

ALASKA LEGISLATURE COMMITTEE FILES, 1989-1990 8672
5828 HOUSE JUDICIARY

community on the outskirts of Washington, D.C., originally attempted to ban possession of all handguns. The Montgomery County Council refused, however, to consider the proposal because it was a clear violation of the Maryland State Firearms Pre-Emption Statute. Friendship Heights then attempted to subvert state law by passing a complete ban on possession of all ammunition. Possession of ammunition for self-defense would have been outlawed, and anyone passing through Friendship Heights with a single bullet could have been subject to arrest and conviction — a \$500 fine for the first offense and up to six months in jail for the second offense.

The attempted F.H. bullet ban was defeated by the county council; Montgomery County, nonetheless, ultimately passed an ordinance which will prohibit the purchase of ammunition unless a firearm registration certificate is produced, although registration is not required in Maryland. While Councilman David Scull claims it is a symbolic step toward gun control at the state and federal level, in reality, this ordinance "is an abysmal waste of governmental energy and corrodes the respect without which law is a husk." (*The Washington Times*, June 20, 1983)

In response to this ban and other similar restrictive ordinances, a number of local jurisdictions have gone in the opposite direction and required all individuals or household heads to own a firearm. The NRA does not condone these mandatory ownership ordinances because we believe it is an individual's choice whether or not to possess a firearm.

How Can Pre-Emption Help?

Local firearms legislation serves only to create a crazy quilt of laws, resulting in gun owners running the risk of arrest, prosecution and confiscation of personal property for unwitting violation of local law by transporting a gun for sporting or other legitimate purposes across city or county lines. Such legislation clearly interferes with the "uniform application of laws" as citizens from one city are treated differently from citizens of another. Such legislation also puts an undue burden on the nation's 28 million hunters and 7 million competitive shooters who would be required to know the firearms laws of each various city and county they may pass through on their way to hunting areas or shooting matches.

We are greatly concerned by this eruption of hostile camps of "pro-gun" and "anti-gun" localities in states who do not have firearms pre-emption legislation. A state firearms pre-emption law will curtail this movement and ensure that state law will be enforced uniformly through the state on an equal basis.

ANALYSIS OF SJR 15

Claim: SJR 15 not needed: Second Amendment provides protection to gun owners.

Consider the opinion handed down in State v. Friel, 508 A.2d 123 (Me. 1986):

"The Second Amendment is inapplicable to this case; it operates as a restraint solely upon the power of the national government and does not restrict the power of the states to regulate firearms."

Other cases culminating with the same decision:

Miller v. Texas, 153 U.S. 535 (1894)
Presser v. Illinois, 116 U.S. 252 (1886)
Quilici v. Village of Morton Grove, 695 F.2d 261 (1983)
U.S. v. Kozerski, 740 F.2d 952 (1st Cir. 1984)
State v. Sanne, 116 N.H. 583 (1976)
State v. Skinner, 189 Neb.57 (1973)

Additionally, in State v. Skinner, the Nebraska Supreme Court ruled that the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution guarantees the right to keep and bear arms to an organized militia, not individuals.

This aspect of the Skinner decision is quite similar to the April 13, 1983, opinion of Alaska Attorney General Norman C. Gorsuch on the meaning of Article I, Section 19, of the Alaska Constitution, stating: "The modern judicial view has increasingly found that the guaranteed right to keep and bear arms is not an individually protected right, but rather a collective right which allows the people of the various states to serve in a militia."

Claim: Individual language in SJR 15 will allow felons to own/possess firearms.

Courts in states with "individual" constitutional guarantees have consistently rejected challenges to state statutes restricting or denying the possession of firearms by convicted felons:

(State: Citation: Constitutional Language: Proscription By Felons.)

North Dakota: State v. Ricehill, 415 N.W.2d 481 (1987); "All individuals....":
ownership or possession of firearms.

Maine: State v. Friel, 508 A.2d 123 (1986); "Every citizen....":
possession of firearm.

Kentucky: Eary v. Commonwealth, 659 S.W.2d 198 (1983); "All men....":
possession of handgun.

Alabama: Bristow v. State, 418 So.2d 927 (1982); "Every citizen....":
possession of pistol.

Wyoming: Carfield v. State, 649 P.2d 865 (1982); "The right of
citizens....": possession of any firearm.

- Texas: Shepperd v. State, 586 S.W.2d 500 (1979); "Every citizen...": possession of firearm away from residence.
- Louisiana: State v. Amos, 343 So.2d 166 (1977); "Each citizen...": possession of firearms.
- Colorado: People v. Blue, 544 P.2d 385 (1975); "The right of no person to keep and bear arms...": possession of firearms.
- Washington: State v. Tully, 89 P.2d 517 (1939); "The individual citizen...": possession of pistol.

In addition to the cases cited above, courts in Georgia, Oregon, and Arizona have also rejected challenges based on state constitutional keep-and-bear-arms provisions to statutes making illegal a felon's possessing a firearm.

Claim: SJR 15 will invalidate reasonable laws currently on the books

Specifically mentioned have been laws regulating the carrying of concealed weapons and proscribing possession of firearms by intoxicated persons. As above, numerous citations can be offered indicating that courts regularly and routinely rule that the right to bear arms is subject to reasonable regulation:

(State: Citation: Decision.)

- Wyoming: State v. McAdams, 71 P.2d 1236 (1986); concealed carrying of arms subject to regulation.
- Oregon: State v. Delgado, 692 P.2d 610 (1984); legislature may regulate possession and use of arms.
- Indiana: Schubert v. DeBard, 398 N.E.2d 1339 (1980); license may be required to carry a pistol concealed.
- Oregon: State v. Kessler, 614 P.2d 94 (1980); concealed weapon carrying regulations permissible.
- Colorado: People v. Garcia, 595 P.2d 228 (1979); carrying a gun while drunk is outside the protected boundaries of the right to bear arms.
- North Carolina: State v. Dawson, 159 S.E.2d 1 (1968); open carrying for unlawful purposes may be prohibited.
- Kentucky: Holland v. Commonwealth, 294 S.W.2d 83 (1956); limits carrying of concealed weapons.
- Idaho: State v. Hart, 157 P.2d 72 (1945); upholds statutes prohibiting the carrying of concealed weapons.

*West Virginia
Opinion.*

COPY

NO. CC972

STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA
EX REL. CITY OF PRINCETON

FILED

JUL 1 1988

v.

[Signature]
CLERK OF THE
SUPREME COURT OF WEST VIRGINIA

HAROLD L. BUCKNER, MAGISTRATE
OF MERCER COUNTY

Mercer County

Certified questions answered.

McHugh, Chief Justice

1. "Where a provision of a constitution is clear in its terms and of plain interpretation to any ordinary and reasonable mind, it should be applied and not construed." Syl. pt. 3, State ex rel. Smith v. Gore, 150 W. Va. 71, 143 S.E.2d 791 (1965).

2. W. Va. Code, 61-7-1 [1975], the statutory proscription against carrying a dangerous or deadly weapon, is overbroad and violative of article III, section 22 of the West Virginia Constitution, known as the "Right to Keep and Bear Arms Amendment." It infringes upon the right of a person to bear arms for defensive purposes, specifically, defense of self, family, home and state, insofar as it prohibits the carrying of a dangerous or deadly weapon for any purpose without a license or other statutory authorization.

3. "The police power is the power of the state, inherent in every sovereignty, to enact laws, within constitutional limits, to promote the welfare of its citizens. The police power is difficult to define precisely, because it is extensive, elastic and constantly evolving to meet new and increasing demands for its exercise for the benefit of society and to promote the general welfare. It embraces the power of the state to preserve and to promote the general welfare and it is concerned with whatever affects the peace, security, safety, morals, health and general welfare of the community. It cannot be circumscribed within narrow limits nor can it be confined to precedents resting alone on conditions of the past. As society becomes increasingly complex and as advancements are made, the police power must of necessity evolve, develop and expand, in the public interest, to meet such conditions." Syl. pt. 5, State ex rel. Appalachian Power Co. v. Gainer, 149 W. Va. 740, 143 S.E.2d 351 (1965).

4. The West Virginia legislature may, through the valid exercise of its police power, reasonably regulate the right of a person to keep and bear arms in order to promote the health, safety and welfare of all citizens of this State, provided that the restrictions or regulations imposed do not frustrate the constitutional freedoms guaranteed by article III, section 22 of the West Virginia Constitution, known as the "Right to Keep and Bear Arms Amendment."

McHugh, Chief Justice:

This action is before this Court upon two certified questions from the Circuit Court of Mercer County. This action concerns the constitutionality of W. Va. Code, 61-7-1 [1975], relating to the carrying of certain types of dangerous or deadly weapons without a license, in light of the adoption of article III, section 22 of the West Virginia Constitution, commonly referred to as "The Right to Keep And Bear Arms Amendment," and whether the legislature may reasonably regulate the right of a person to keep and bear arms in West Virginia. This Court has before it the petition for appeal, all matters of record and the briefs and argument of counsel.¹

I

The facts in this case are uncontroverted. On March 10, 1987, a municipal police officer in the City of Princeton, in Mercer County, stopped a vehicle and arrested the driver for driving under the influence of alcohol. After searching the driver, the policeman discovered a .22 caliber automatic pistol inside the driver's jacket pocket. The driver was then asked to produce a license allowing him to carry such a weapon, and he subsequently advised the police officer that he did not have such a license.

The police officer presented these facts to a duly elected magistrate of Mercer County, and sought a warrant for the driver's arrest for the DUI offense. The respondent

¹This Court also has before it the brief of amicus curiae filed by the National Rifle Association of America.

advised the officer that he would not issue a warrant for carrying a dangerous and deadly weapon against the driver, based upon the magistrate's conclusion that W. Va. Code, 61-7-1 [1975] violated article III, section 22 of the West Virginia Constitution.

The prosecuting attorney then filed a writ of mandamus in the Circuit Court of Mercer County requesting the court to compel the magistrate to issue a warrant against the driver for carrying a dangerous or deadly weapon without a license in violation of W. Va. Code, 61-7-1 [1975].

After a hearing on the matter, the circuit court concluded that when comparing W. Va. Code, 61-7-1 [1975] and W. Va. Const. art. III, § 22, the statute was in conflict with the subsequently adopted constitutional provision. The court further concluded that article III, section 22 of the State Constitution voided that part of W. Va. Code, 61-7-1 [1975] dealing with the carrying of firearms without a license. The court concluded that the legislature may, in some fashion, regulate the right to keep and bear arms so as not to conflict with W. Va. Const. art. III, § 22.

The court then certified the matter to this Court. The following questions were certified:

1. Is W. Va. Code Chapter 61, Article 7, Section 1 constitutional in light of the subsequent adoption of Article 3, Section 22 of the Constitution of West Virginia?

2. May the Legislature of the State of West Virginia by proper legislation regulate the right of a person to keep and bear arms in the State of West Virginia?

II

This case involves the interpretation of article III, section 22 of the West Virginia Constitution and its effect on the constitutionality of the state's weapons statute, W. Va. Code, 61-7-1 [1975], which prohibits the carrying of a dangerous or deadly weapon without a license.² Because both of the questions certified to this Court are so closely associated, we choose to discuss them together.

Article III, section 22 of the West Virginia Constitution was approved by the voters of this State on November 4, 1986, and succinctly states: "A person has the right to keep and bear arms for the defense of self, family, home and state, and for lawful hunting and recreational use."

²W. Va. Code, 61-7-1 [1975] provides in pertinent part:

If any person, without a state license therefor or except as provided elsewhere in this article and other provisions of this Code, carry about his person any revolver or pistol, dirk, bowie knife, slung shot, razor, billy, metallic or other false knuckles, or other dangerous or deadly weapon of like kind or character, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned in the county jail not less than six nor more than twelve months for the first offense; but upon the conviction of the same person for the second offense in this State, he shall be guilty of a felony, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than one nor more than five years, and, in either case, shall be fined not less than fifty dollars nor more than two hundred dollars[.]

The State of West Virginia has had a long history of statutory provisions regulating the use of weapons. See generally McNeely, The Right of Who to Bear What, When, and Where-- West Virginia Firearms Law v. The Right-to-Bear-Arms Amendment, 89 W. Va. L. Rev. 1125, 1127-41 (1987).³ A 1882 statute is actually the first statutory provision which is similar to the statute now before us, W. Va. Code, 61-7-1 [1975]. 1882 W. Va. Acts ch. 135, § 7.⁴

³A comprehensive discussion of the statutory, common law and general historic backdrop surrounding this amendment, as well as its possible impact on existing weapons statutes is detailed in this law review article.

⁴The 1882 statute, found in chapter 135, section 7 of the acts of the West Virginia Legislature provided as follows:

If a person carry about his person any revolver or other pistol, dirk, bowie knife, razor, slung shot, billy, metallic or other false knuckles, or any other dangerous or deadly weapon of like kind or character, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and fined not less than twenty-five nor more than two hundred dollars, and may, at the discretion of the court, be confined in jail not less than one, nor more than twelve months; and if any person shall sell or furnish any such weapon as is hereinbefore mentioned to a person whom he knows, or has reason, from his appearance or otherwise, to believe to be under the age of twenty-one years, he shall be punished as hereinbefore provided; but nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent any person from keeping or carrying about his dwelling house or premises any such revolver or other pistol, or from carrying the same from the place of purchase to his dwelling house, or from his dwelling house to any place where repairing is done, to have it repaired, and back again. And if upon the trial of an indictment for carrying any such pistol, dirk, razor or bowie knife, the

(Footnote Continued)

The 1882 statutory provision was interpreted by this Court in State v. Workman, 35 W. Va. 367, 14 S.E. 9 (1891). The Court in Workman considered several issues regarding the right to bear arms, including the constitutional right to self-defense, the constitutionality, under the due process clause, of the weapons statute in effect in West Virginia at that time and the definition of the term "arms" in the context of the second amendment to the United States Constitution.⁵

(Footnote Continued)

defendant shall prove to the satisfaction of the jury that he is a quiet and peaceable citizen, of good character and standing in the community in which he lives, and at the time he was found with such pistol, dirk, razor or bowie knife, as charged in the indictment, he had good cause to believe and did believe that he was in danger of death or great bodily harm at the hands of another person, and that he was, in good faith, carrying such weapon for self defense and for no other purpose, the jury shall find him not guilty. But nothing in this section contained shall be so construed as to prevent any officer charged with the execution of the laws of the state from carrying a revolver or other pistol, dirk or bowie knife.

(emphasis added) We need not address the implications of the impermissible burden shifting to the defendant regarding the possession of arms for self-defense purposes. See syl. pt. 4, State v. Kirtley, 162 W. Va. 249, 252 S.E.2d 374 (1978) (once there is sufficient evidence to create a reasonable doubt that the killing resulted from the defendant acting in self-defense, the prosecution must prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendant did not act in self-defense); see also Bowman v. Laverette, 169 W. Va. 589, 595, 289 S.E.2d 435, 439 (1982).

⁵The second amendment to the United States Constitution provides: "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."

Despite language embodied in § 7 of the 1882 weapons statute which on its face appeared to grant the right of self-defense only to persons of "good character," see note 4, supra, the Court in Workman found that there was a constitutional right to self-defense guaranteed to all persons under both the due process clause of the fourteenth amendment to the United States Constitution and article III, section 1 of the West Virginia Constitution. 35 W. Va. at 370-71, 14 S.E. at 10-11.

After recognizing a constitutional right to self-defense, the Court addressed the general intent of the second amendment to the United States Constitution and determined that it involved the protection of keeping and bearing arms as a popular or collective right.⁶ 35 W. Va. at 372-73, 14 S.E. at 11. The Court concluded that "to regulate a conceded [constitutional] right is not necessarily to infringe the same." Id at 372, 14 S.E. at 11. In so holding, the Court compared a state's regulation of the right to keep and bear arms to the regulation of the freedoms guaranteed under the first amendment to the United States Constitution. Thus, the Court implied that a

⁶We note that the Court in Workman interpreted the second amendment as though it was a restriction upon state as well as federal legislation. Id. at 372, 14 S.E. at 11. Of course, since our Court's holding in Workman, the Supreme Court of the United States has determined that the second amendment operates as a restraint solely upon the power of the national government and does not restrict the power of the states to regulate firearms. Miller v. Texas, 153 U.S. 535, 538, 14 S. Ct. 874, 875, 38 L. Ed. 812, 813 (1894). "Workman does not stand for the proposition that the second amendment extends to the states, but is rather a decision assuming, but not holding, that the second amendment did apply to the states." McNeely, supra at 1130 n. 29.

constitutional guarantee or right to keep and bear arms would subject laws regulating protected arms to the same standard of scrutiny given laws regulating first amendment freedoms. McNeely, supra at 1130.

Significantly, the Court in Workman defined the term "arms" in a second amendment context as follows:

[I]n regard to the kind of arms referred to in the [second] amendment, it must be held to refer to the weapons of warfare to be used by the militia, such as swords, guns, rifles, and muskets--arms to be used in defending the State and civil liberty--and not to pistols, bowie-knives, brass knuckles, billies, and other weapons as are usually employed in brawls, street fights, duels and affrays, and are only habitually carried by bullies, blackguards, and desperadoes, to the terror of the community and the injury of the State.

35 W. Va. at 373, 14 S.E. at 11. Clearly, with this definition, the Court refused to include pistols as a constitutionally protected weapon pursuant to its second amendment analysis.

However, it is important to note that the definition of "arms" presented in Workman focuses on the "well regulated militia" language of the second amendment. No parallel language appears in our state constitutional amendment. Because the second amendment does not operate as a restraint upon the power of states to regulate firearms, supra note 6, the definition of "arms" set forth in Workman is not particularly helpful in the case now before us. Moreover, the broad language embodied in our current Right to Keep and Bear Arms Amendment makes any further reexamination of the Workman definition unnecessary.

In several cases where courts have considered the constitutionality of statutes and ordinances in light of constitutional provisions guaranteeing a right to bear arms for defensive purposes, proscriptive laws infringing on that constitutionally protected right have been voided. See, e.g., City of Lakewood v. Pillow, 180 Colo. 20, 23, 501 P.2d 744, 745-46 (1972) (ordinance prohibiting possession of dangerous or deadly weapon unconstitutionally overbroad where it prohibited activities which under police power could not be reasonably classified as unlawful); In Re Brickey, 8 Idaho 597, 599, 70 P. 609, 609 (1902) (statute prohibiting carrying of weapons in any manner in cities, towns or villages was unconstitutional); People v. Zerillo, 219 Mich. 635, 642, 189 N.W. 927, 929 (1922) (statute prohibiting possession of pistol by unnaturalized foreign born resident unconstitutional because of broad term "person" in the constitutional provision); State v. Delgado, 298 Or. 395, 403-04, 692 P.2d 610, 614 (1984) (constitutional right to bear arms violated by statute prohibiting mere possession and mere carrying of a switchblade knife); State v. Blocker, 291 Or. 255, 261-62, 630 P.2d 824, 827 (1981) (statute prohibiting possession of billy club in public unconstitutional infringement of right to bear arms); State v. Kessler, 289 Or. 359, 372, 614 P.2d 94, 100 (1980) (statute prohibiting possession of billy club in home unconstitutional infringement of right to bear arms); State v. Rosenthal, 75 Vt. 295, 299, 55 A. 610, 611 (1903) (ordinance prohibiting carrying dangerous concealed weapon without written permission of mayor or police chief unconstitutional).

The language embodied in art. III, § 22 of our State Constitution is sweeping, and we look to the well established rules of constitutional construction in order to ascertain its meaning.

At the outset we note that "[t]he fundamental principle in constitutional construction is that effect must be given to the intent of the framers of [the constitutional amendment] and of the people who ratified and adopted it." State ex rel. Brotherton v. Blankenship, 157 W. Va. 100, 108, 207 S.E.2d 421, 427 (1973); see also syl. pt. 4, State ex rel. Smith v. Kelly, 149 W. Va. 381, 141 S.E.2d 142 (1965); syl. pt. 4, State ex rel. Morgan v. O'Brien, 134 W. Va. 1, 60 S.E.2d 722 (1948). Unfortunately, no real statement of legislative intent is before us.

Questions of constitutional construction are governed by the same general rules as those applied in statutory construction. State ex rel. Brotherton v. Blankenship, 157 W. Va. 100, 108, 207 S.E.2d 421, 427 (1973). It is a well established principle of constitutional construction that "[w]here a provision of a constitution is clear in its terms and of plain interpretation to any ordinary and reasonable mind, it should be applied and not construed." Syl. pt. 3, State ex rel. Smith v. Gore, 150 W. Va. 71, 143 S.E.2d 791 (1965). See also Ray v. McCoy, ___ W. Va. ___, ___, 321 S.E.2d 90, 92 (1984).

Moreover, a cardinal rule of statutory construction, which of course applies to the construction of constitutional provisions as well, is that a statute, or in this case a constitutional amendment, must be considered in its entirety, with effect given, if possible, to every word

or phrase within the provision. Diamond v. Parkersburg-Aetna Corp., 146 W. Va. 543-553-54, 122 S.E.2d 436, 443 (1961). A constitutional amendment will supersede any inconsistent portions of antecedent constitutional or statutory provisions, as "the latest expression of the will of the people." State ex rel. Kanawha County Building Commission v. Paterno, 160 W. Va. 195, 203, 233 S.E.2d 332, 337 (1977). (citation omitted)

Because the constitutional provision in the case before us is clear and unambiguous, this Court must apply the amendment rather than construe it. See discussion supra. Thus, the meaning of a phrase or terms would generally be sought in the plain and ordinary meaning of the words themselves. State ex rel. Dunbar v. Stone, 159 W. Va. 331, 334-35, 221 S.E.2d 791, 793 (1976) (and cases cited therein).

W. Va. Code, 61-7-1 [1975] is written as a total proscription of the carrying of a dangerous or deadly weapon without a license or other authorization. W. Va. Code, 61-7-1 [1975] thus prohibits the carrying of weapons for defense of self, family, home and state without a license or statutory authorization. Article III, section 22 of the West Virginia Constitution, however, guarantees that a person has the right to bear arms for those defensive purposes. Thus, the statute operates to impermissibly infringe upon this constitutionally protected right to bear arms for defensive purposes. See City of Lakewood v. Pillow, 180 Colo. at 23, 501 P.2d at 745. We discuss infra the legislature's power to reasonably regulate the exercise of the right to bear arms; however, W. Va. Code, 61-7-1

[1975] prohibits the exercise of this right by infringing upon the constitutional right to bear arms for the defensive purposes guaranteed in the amendment. See In Re Brickey, 8 Idaho at 599, 70 P. at 609.

In considering the constitutionality of a particular statutory proscription against the possession of a certain weapon in public in light of the right to bear arms amendment of the state, the Supreme Court of Oregon determined that the statute was overbroad and therefore unconstitutional. State v. Blocker, 291 Or. 255, 261, 630 P.2d 824, 827 (1981). The court's insightful discussion of the overbreadth doctrine is applicable in this case:

An 'overbroad' law, as that term has been developed by the United States Supreme Court, is not vague, or need not be. Its vice is not failure to communicate. Its vice may be clarity. For a law is overbroad to the extent that it announces a prohibition that reaches conduct which may not be prohibited. A legislature can make a law as 'broad' and inclusive as it chooses unless it reaches into constitutionally protected ground. The clearer an 'overbroad' statute is, the harder it is to confine it by interpretation within its constitutionally permissible reach.

Id.

Based upon the foregoing, we conclude that the language embodied in W. Va. Code, 61-7-1 [1975] sweeps so broadly as to infringe a right that it cannot permissibly reach, in this case, the constitutional right of a person to keep and bear arms in defense of self, family, home and state, guaranteed by art. III, § 22. Accordingly, W. Va. Code, 61-7-1 [1975], the statutory proscription against carrying a dangerous or deadly weapon, is overbroad and violative of article III, section 22 of the West Virginia

Constitution, known as the "Right to Keep and Bear Arms Amendment." It infringes upon the right of a person to bear arms for defensive purposes, specifically, defense of self, family, home and state, insofar as it prohibits the carrying of a dangerous or deadly weapon for any purpose without a license or other statutory authorization.

The question remains whether the State may reasonably regulate the right of a person to keep and bear arms in this State.⁷

⁷The principal statute involved in this portion of our discussion is W. Va. Code, 61-7-2 [1988], which delineates the procedures to obtain a license. W. Va. Code, 61-7-2 [1988] provides in pertinent part:

(a) Any person desiring to obtain a state license to carry any such weapon as is mentioned in the first section of this article, within one or more counties in this state, shall first publish a notice setting forth his name, residence and occupation, and that on a certain day he will apply to the circuit court of his county for such state license. Such notice shall be published as a Class I legal advertisement in compliance with the provisions of article three, chapter fifty-nine of this code, and the publication area for such publication shall be the county in which such person resides. Such notice shall be published at least ten days before such application is made. After the publication of such notice and at the time stated in such notice, upon application to such court, it may grant such license to such person, in the following manner, to wit:

(b) The applicant shall file with such court his application in writing, duly verified, which application shall show, as basic qualifications, as follows:

(1) That such applicant is a
(Footnote Continued)

We stress that our holding above in no way means

(Footnote Continued)

citizen of the United States of America;

(2) That the applicant has been a bona fide resident of this state for at least one year next prior to the date of such application, and of the county sixty days next prior thereto;

(3) That the applicant is over eighteen years of age; that he is a person of good moral character, of temperate habits, not addicted to intoxication, not addicted to the use of any controlled substance, and has not been convicted of a felony or of any offense involving the use on his part of such weapon in an unlawful manner, and shall prove to the satisfaction of the court that he is gainfully employed in a lawful occupation and has been so engaged for a period of five years next preceding the date of his application;

(4) The purpose or purposes for which the applicant desires to carry such weapon, the necessity therefor, and the county or counties in which such license is desired to be effective; and

(5) That the applicant has qualified under minimum requirements for handling and firing such firearms. These minimum requirements are those promulgated by the department of natural resources and attained under the auspices of the department of natural resources: Provided, That the court may waive this requirement in the case of a renewal applicant who has previously qualified.

(c) Upon the hearing of such application the court shall hear evidence upon all matters stated in such application and upon any other matter deemed pertinent by the court, and if such court be satisfied from the proof that there is good reason and cause for such person to carry such weapon, and all of the other conditions of this article be complied with, the court, or

(Footnote Continued)

that the right of a person to bear arms is absolute. See cases cited infra at pp. 15-16. Other jurisdictions concluding that state statutes or municipal ordinances have violated constitutional provisions guaranteeing a right to bear arms for defensive purposes, though not specific in what ways this is to be done, have recognized that a government may regulate the exercise of the right, provided the regulations or restrictions do not frustrate the guarantees of the constitutional provision. See, e.g., In Re Brickey, 8 Idaho 597, 599, 70 P. 609, 609 (1902); City of Las Vegas v. Moberg, 82 N.M. 626, 627, 485 P.2d 737, 738 (Ct. App. 1971). Particularly, on three occasions, the Supreme Court of Oregon, in striking statutes as violative of the state's constitutional right to bear arms, has repeatedly stressed

(Footnote Continued)

the judge thereof in vacation, may grant such license for such purposes, and no other, as such court, or the judge in vacation, may set out in the license (and the word 'court' as used in this article shall include the circuit judge thereof, acting either in term or vacation); but, before such license shall be effective such person shall pay to the sheriff, and the court shall so certify in its order granting the license, the sum of fifty dollars, and shall also file a bond with the clerk of such court, in the penalty of five thousand dollars, with good security, signed by a responsible person or persons, or by some surety company, authorized to do business in this state, conditioned that such applicant will not carry such weapon except in accordance with his application and as authorized by the court, and that he will pay all costs and damages accruing to any person by the accidental discharge or improper, negligent or illegal use of such weapon or weapons.

that the court's holdings should not be construed to mean that an individual has an "unfettered right" to possess or use constitutionally protected arms in any way they choose. The Oregon court has consistently emphasized that the legislature may regulate such possession and use. State v. Delgado, 298 Or. at 403, 692 P.2d at 614; State v. Blocker, 291 Or. at 259, 630 P.2d at 826; State v. Kessler, 289 Or. at 370; 614 P.2d at 99.

The State, through exercise of its police power, is vested with the authority to enact laws, within constitutional limits, to promote the general welfare of its citizenry. See generally State ex rel. Appalachian Power Co. v. Gainer, 149 W. Va. 740, 143 S.E.2d 351 (1965); syl. pt. 5, Farley v. Graney, 146 W. Va. 22, 119 S.E.2d 833 (1960). In syllabus point 5 of Gainer, this Court defines the State's police power as follows:

The police power is the power of the state, inherent in every sovereignty, to enact laws, within constitutional limits, to promote the welfare of its citizens. The police power is difficult to define precisely, because it is extensive, elastic and constantly evolving to meet new and increasing demands for its exercise for the benefit of society and to promote the general welfare. It embraces the power of the state to preserve and to promote the general welfare and it is concerned with whatever affects the peace, security, morals, health and general welfare of the community. It cannot be circumscribed within narrow limits nor can it be confined to precedents resting alone on conditions of the past. As civilization becomes increasingly complex and as advancements are made, the police power must of necessity evolve, develop and expand, in the public interest, to meet such conditions.

See also Security National Bank & Trust Co. v. First W. Va. Bancorp., Inc., 166 W. Va. 775, 780, 277 S.E.2d 613, 616 (1981).

Our research has revealed that courts throughout the country have recognized that the constitutional right to keep and bear arms is not absolute, and these courts have uniformly upheld the police power of the state through its legislature to impose reasonable regulatory control over the state constitutional right to bear arms in order to promote the safety and welfare of its citizens. See, e.g., Bristow v. State, 418 So. 2d 927, 930 (Ala. Crim. App.), cert. denied (Ala. 1982); People v. Blue, 190 Colo. 95, 102-03, 544 P.2d 385, 390-91 (1975); State v. Rupp, 282 N.W.2d 125, 130 (Iowa 1979); In re Atkinson, 291 N.W.2d 396, 399 (Minn. 1980); State v. Angelo, 3 N.J. Misc. 1014, 1015, 130 A. 458, 459 (1925); State v. Dees, 100 N.M. 252, 254-55, 669 P.2d 261, 263-64 (Ct. App. 1983); Commonwealth v. Ray, 218 Pa. Super. 72, ___, 272 A.2d 275, 279 (1970); Carfield v. State, 649 P.2d 865, 871 (Wyo. 1982). We stress, however, that the legitimate governmental purpose in regulating the right to bear arms cannot be pursued by means that broadly stifle the exercise of this right where the governmental purpose can be more narrowly achieved. City of Lakewood, supra.

At least forty-two jurisdictions have constitutional provisions guaranteeing a right to bear arms; however, most are distinguishable from art. III, § 22 either in their failure to specifically recognize the right to self-defense, or in their express recognition that the constitutional provision is subject to legislative regulation. See R. Dowlut & J. Knoop, State Constitutions and

the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, 7 Okla. City U.L. Rev. 177, 236-240 (1982). The State, in the appendix to its brief, cites thirteen states which, like art. III, § 22, grant a rather broad, unrestrictive right to bear arms for the defense of self and the state.⁸ With the exception of

⁸The following is a list of the jurisdictions with constitutional provisions, quoted below, guaranteeing a right to bear arms, which are worded similarly to West Virginia's amendment. Of particular note is the Delaware constitutional provision which is nearly identical to West Virginia's constitutional guarantee, except for the insertion of the word "lawful" before the word "hunting" in the West Virginia amendment.

Alabama: "That every citizen has a right to bear arms in defense of himself and the state." Ala. Const. art. I, § 26.

Arizona: "The right of the individual citizen to bear arms in defense of himself or the State shall not be impaired, but nothing in this section shall be construed as authorizing individuals or corporations to organize, maintain, or employ an armed body of men." Ariz. Const. art. II, § 26.

Connecticut: "Every citizen has a right to bear arms in defense of himself and the state." Conn. Const. art. I, § 15.

Delaware: "A person has the right to keep and bear arms for the defense of self, family, home and State, and for hunting and recreational use." Del. Const. art. I, § 20.

Indiana: "The people shall have a right to bear arms, for the defense of themselves and the State." Ind. Const. art. I, § 32.

Michigan: "Every person has a right to keep and bear arms for the defense of himself and the state." Mich. Const. art. I, § 6.

(Footnote Continued)

Vermont, which imposes no significant regulation, the

(Footnote Continued)

New Hampshire: "All persons have the right to keep and bear arms in defense of themselves, their families, their property and the state." N.H. Const. pt. 1, art. 2-a.

Oregon: "The people shall have the right to bear arms for the defence [sic] of themselves, and the State, but the Military shall be kept in strict subordination to the civil power[.]" Or. Const. art. I, § 27.

Pennsylvania: "The right of the citizens to bear arms in defence [sic] of themselves and the State shall not be questioned." Pa. Const. art. I, § 21.

South Dakota: "The right of the citizens to bear arms in defense of themselves and the state shall not be denied." S.D. Const. art. VI, § 24.

Utah: "The individual right of the people to keep and bear arms for security and defense of self, family, others, property, or the state, as well as for other lawful purposes shall not be infringed; nothing herein shall prevent the legislature from defining the lawful use of arms." Utah Const. art. I, § 6.

Vermont: "That the people have a right to bear arms for the defence [sic] of themselves and the State--and as standing armies in time of peace are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be kept up; and that the military should be kept under strict subordination to and governed by the civil power." Vt. Const. ch. 1, art. 16.

Washington: "The right of the individual citizen to bear arms in defense of himself, or the state, shall not be impaired, but nothing in this section shall be construed as authorizing individuals or corporations to organize, maintain or employ an armed

(Footnote Continued)

remaining jurisdictions regulate the ownership and use of arms in general, particularly handguns.⁹

Again excluding Vermont, certain statutory regulations are common to most of the jurisdictions having constitutional provisions comparable to West Virginia's. For instance, the prohibition against the possession or ownership of handguns by persons previously convicted of a felony or other specified crime is widely accepted.¹⁰ Four states prohibit the open or concealed carrying of handguns without a license or permit; several others specifically prohibit carrying a concealed handgun without a license, while at least one of these jurisdictions, namely, Arizona, further prohibits carrying a handgun in public establishments or certain specified public places.¹¹

(Footnote Continued)

body of men." Wash. Const. art. I, § 24.

Wyoming: "The right of citizens to bear arms in defense of themselves and of the state shall not be denied." Wyo. Const. art. I, § 24.

⁹Although Vermont imposes no significant restriction on the carrying of handguns, it nevertheless has regulations prohibiting the possession or carrying of handguns and other deadly weapons with intent to injure another person. Vt. Stat. Ann. tit. 13, § 4003 (1974).

¹⁰Ala. Code § 13A-11-72 (1982); Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 29-29 (West 1975); Ind. Code Ann. § 35-47-2-3 (Burns 1985); Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. § 28.422 (West Supp. 1988); N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 159:3 (1981); Or. Rev. Stat. § 166.270 (1987); Pa. Stat. Ann. tit. 18, § 6105 (Purdon 1983); S.D. Codified Laws Ann. § 23-7-7.1 (Supp. 1987); Utah Code Ann. § 76-10-513 (Supp. 1987); Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 9.41.040 (West 1988); Wyo. Stat. § 6-8-104 (1977, 1986).

¹¹See, e.g., Ala. Code § 13A-11-52, 13A-11-73 (1982); Ariz. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 13-3102 (Supp. 1987); Conn. (Footnote Continued)

West Virginia does not regulate the carrying of a weapon on one's own premises nor prohibit the carrying of such weapon to and from places where they may be lawfully used, i.e., target-shooting clubs and hunting grounds. W. Va. Code, 61-7-3 [1987].¹² Pursuant to W. Va. Code,

(Footnote Continued)

Gen. Stat. Ann. § 29-35 (West Supp. 1988); Ind. Code Ann. § 35-47-2-1 (Burns Supp. 1988); Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. § 28.422, § 750.227 (West Supp. 1988); N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 159:4 (1977); Or. Rev. Stat. § 166.250 (1987); Pa. Stat. Ann. tit. 18, § 6106 (Purdon 1983 and Supp. 1988); S.D. Codified Laws Ann. § 22-14-9 (Supp. 1987); Utah Code Ann. § 76-10-513 (Supp. 1987); Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 9.41.050 (1988); Wyo. Stat. § 6-8-104 (1977, 1986).

Alabama, Connecticut, Indiana and Michigan are the four jurisdictions which prohibit the unconcealed (or open) or concealed carrying of handguns without a license or permit.

¹²W. Va. Code, 61-7-3 [1987] provides in pertinent part:

Nothing in this article shall prevent any person from carrying any such weapon as is mentioned in the first section of this article, in good faith and not having felonious purposes, upon his own premises; nor shall anything herein prevent a person from carrying any such weapon, unloaded, from the place of purchase to his home or residence, or to a place of repair and back to his home or residence; . . . nor shall anything herein prevent any member of a properly organized target-shooting club authorized by law to obtain firearms by purchase or requisition from this state, or from the United States for the purpose of target practice, from carrying any revolver or pistol mentioned in this article, unloaded, from his home or place of residence to a place of target practice, and from any such place of target practice back to his home or residence, for using any such weapon at such place of target practice in training and improving his skill in the use of such weapons[.]

61-7-2 [1988], any person desiring to obtain a license to carry a weapon must meet the following requirements: (1) is a citizen of the United States; (2) has been a resident of West Virginia for at least one year next prior to the date of application; (3) is an adult of good moral character and temperate habits; (4) has not been convicted of any felony or handgun offense; (5) has been employed for five years; (6) is qualified to handle handguns; (7) has "good reason and cause" to carry such weapon, and (8) must post a \$5000 surety bond.

The regulatory requirements, embodied in W. Va. Code, 61-7-2 [1988], rather than being unique, are for the most part found in the fourteen states with similar constitutional provisions.¹³ Of the three states whose constitutional provisions most closely resemble our own, Connecticut, Indiana, and Michigan, two require the licenses to be a United States citizen and resident of the state;¹⁴ all three require that the licensee be of good character or a "suitable person;"¹⁵ two require that the licensee be an

¹³See, e.g., Ala. Code §§ 13A-11-72 to -75, as amended; Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. §§ 29-28, -29, -33, as amended; Ind. Code Ann. §§ 35-47-2-3, 35-47-1-7, as amended; Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. §§ 28.422, -.426, as amended; N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. §§ 159:3, -:6, as amended; Or. Rev. Stat. §§ 166.270, -290, as amended; Pa. Stat. Ann. tit. 18, §§ 6105, 6109, as amended; S.D. Codified Laws Ann. § 23-7-7.1 (Supp. 1987); Utah Code Ann. § 76-10-513 (Supp. 1987); Wash. Rev. Code Ann. § 9.41.070 (1988); Wyo. Stat. § 6-8-104 (1977, 1986).

¹⁴See Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. §§ 29-33 and -28, as amended, respectively, and Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. § 28.422 (West Supp. 1988).

¹⁵Conn. Gen. Stat. Ann. § 29-28 (West 1975); Ind. (Footnote Continued)

adult;¹⁶ all three prohibit possession by persons convicted of a felony;¹⁷ two require that the licensee demonstrate good cause or proper reason to carry a weapon;¹⁸ and one requires that a licensee not be addicted to drugs or alcohol.¹⁹

It is important to note that the state of Delaware recently adopted a constitutional amendment strikingly similar to our West Virginia provision, see Del. Const. art. I, § 20, quoted in note 8, supra. The Delaware weapons statute, Del. Code Ann. tit. 11, § 1441 (1987) is analogous to our weapons regulations in that it requires an applicant to obtain a license in order to carry a concealed weapon. Similar to W. Va. Code, 61-7-2 (1988), the statute further provides that an applicant be of "full age, sobriety and good moral character" as well as demonstrate that the carrying of such a weapon is necessary for the protection of the applicant himself, his property or both in order to be so licensed.

(Footnote Continued)

Code Ann. § 35-47-2-3 (Burns 1985); Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. § 28.426 (West Supp. 1988).

¹⁶Ind. Code Ann. § 35-47-2-3 (Burns 1985); Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. 28.422 (West Supp. 1988).

¹⁷See note 10, supra.

¹⁸Ind. Code Ann. § 35-47-2-3 (Burns 1985); Mich. Comp. Laws Ann. § 28.426 (West Supp. 1988).

¹⁹Ind. Code Ann. § 35-47-1-7 (Burns 1985).

We further note that Utah, like West Virginia, requires applicants for a weapon license to have an employment history. Utah Code Ann. § 76-10-513 (Supp. 1987).

Thus, our research reveals that the only requirement unique to West Virginia is that the licensee post a \$5000 surety bond.

Based upon the foregoing, we conclude that the right to keep and bear arms guaranteed by W. Va. Const. art. III, § 22 is not unlimited. The individual's right to keep and bear arms and the State's duty, under its police power, to make reasonable regulations for the purpose of protecting the health, safety and welfare of its citizens must be balanced. See People v. Blue, 190 Colo. 95, 102-03, 544 P.2d 385, 390-91 (1975). Accordingly, the West Virginia legislature may, through the valid exercise of its police power, reasonably regulate the right of a person to keep and bear arms in order to promote the health, safety and welfare of all citizens of this State, provided that the restrictions or regulations imposed do not frustrate the constitutional freedoms guaranteed by article III, section 22 of the West Virginia Constitution, known as the "Right to Keep and Bear Arms Amendment." However, a governmental purpose to control or prohibit certain activities, which may be constitutionally subject to state regulation under the police power, may not be achieved by means which sweep unnecessarily broadly and thereby invade the realm of protected freedoms, such as the right to keep and bear arms guaranteed in our State Constitution. See City of Lakewood v. Pillow, 180 Colo. 20, 23, 501 P.2d 744, 745 (1972).

For the foregoing reasons, we answer the first certified question in the negative and the second in the affirmative and remand this action to the Circuit Court of Mercer County for further proceedings consistent with this opinion.

Having answered the certified questions, this case
is dismissed from the docket of this Court.

Certified questions answered.

§ 10. Right of assembly. — The people shall have the right to assemble in a peaceable manner, to consult for their common good; to instruct their representatives, and to petition the legislature for the redress of grievances.

Comp. provisions: Cal. Art. 1, § 3.
Mont. Art. 2, § 26.
Ore. Art. 1, § 26.
Wyo. Art. 1, § 21.

of this section. *Lewiston v. Frary*, 91 Idaho 322, 420 P.2d 805 (1966).

ANALYSIS

Deprivation of right.
Newspaper report of assembly.

Newspaper Report of Assembly.

Newspapers had a conditional privilege to publish with accuracy the proceedings of a public gathering called for the purpose of inducing a district judge to call a grand jury. *Borg v. Boas*, 231 F.2d 768 (9th Cir. 1956).

Deprivation of Right.

Labor union was not deprived of right of assembly, contrary to this section, where it was enjoined from picketing and displaying sign which announced that plaintiff's store was unfair to labor union where the employees of the store did not belong to the union, did not participate in picket line, and were not involved in any labor dispute with the plaintiff. *J. J. Newberry Co. v. Retail Clerks Int'l Ass'n*, 78 Idaho 85, 298 P.2d 375 (1956), rev'd, 352 U.S. 987, 77 S. Ct. 366, 1 L. Ed. 2d 367 (1957).

Collateral References. Discussion of this section in constitutional convention. *Constitutional Convention Proceedings*, Vol. I, p. 281; Vol. II, p. 1595.

16A Am. Jur. 2d, Constitutional Law, §§ 526-532.

16 C.J.S. Constitutional Law, § 214.

Constitutional questions involved in conviction based on failure or refusal to obey police officer's order to move on, on street. 65 A.L.R.2d 1152.

The assembly of defendants for the purpose of threatening other persons with assault and battery after an automobile chase of such persons by defendants across a state line and through the city streets was not an assembly in a peaceable manner within the protection

Participation of student in demonstration on or near campus as warranting imposition of criminal liability for breach of peace, disorderly conduct, trespass, unlawful assembly, or similar offense. 32 A.L.R.3d 551.

Peaceful picketing of private residence. 42 A.L.R.3d 1353.

§ 11. Right to keep and bear arms. — The people have the right to keep and bear arms, which right shall not be abridged; but this provision shall not prevent the passage of laws to govern the carrying of weapons concealed on the person nor prevent passage of legislation providing minimum sentences for crimes committed while in possession of a firearm, nor prevent the passage of legislation providing penalties for the possession of firearms by a convicted felon, nor prevent the passage of any legislation punishing the use of a firearm. No law shall impose licensure, registration or special taxation on the ownership or possession of firearms or ammunition. Nor shall any law permit the confiscation of firearms, except those actually used in the commission of a felony.

Compiler's notes. As originally adopted, this section read as follows:

"§ 11. Right to bear arms. — The people have the right to bear arms for their security and defense; but the legislature shall regulate the exercise of this right by law." This section was amended as proposed by S.J.R. No. 116 (S.L. 1978, p. 1031) and ratified at the general election on November 7, 1978, to read as it now appears.

Cross ref. Fish and game law, restrictions on carrying unlicensed shotguns and rifles, § 36-401.

Comp. provisions: Mont. Art. 2, § 12.
Ore. Art. 1, § 27.
Utah. Art. 1, § 6.
Wyo. Art. 1, § 24.

Cited in: *Fall Creek Sheep Co. v. Walton*, 24 Idaho 760, 136 P. 438, 1915C Ann. Cas., 1252 (1913).

ANALYSIS

Legislative regulation.
Municipal regulations.

STATE OF ALASKA

DEPARTMENT OF LAW

CRIMINAL DIVISION

STEVE COWPER, GOVERNOR

REPLY TO:

CIR4

CRIMINAL DIVISION CENTRAL OFFICE
P.O. BOX KC
JUNEAU, ALASKA 99811-0310
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OFFICE OF SPECIAL PROSECUTIONS
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1031 WEST 4TH AVENUE, SUITE 318
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February 12, 1989

Commissioner William G. Demmert
Department of Education
P.O. Box F
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Dear Commissioner Demmert:

You have asked whether school districts will be able to prohibit the possession of weapons on school property if the Alaska constitution is amended as set out SJR 4. It is our opinion that the proposed amendment could present a constitutional impediment to adoption of laws that infringe on the right to keep or bear arms, including regulation of weapons on school grounds.

As set out more fully in the attached letter to Senator Jan Faiks, to support a finding of constitutionality in the face of a challenge based on the proposed amendment, each law infringing on the right to keep and bear arms must be based on a compelling state interest. Although we believe that a compelling state interest can be shown for prohibiting young children from having weapons, we are concerned that the new amendment could limit the prohibiting of adults, or older students, from having weapons on school property.

We must emphasize that the legal effects of the proposed constitutional amendment can not be predicted with any degree of certainty. However, based on the broad reading the Alaska court gives to the provisions of our constitution, and the lack of any language in the amendment giving the legislature the authority to regulate the exercise of the constitutional right, it is much more likely than at present that laws regulating firearms will be declared unconstitutional.

The constitutional hurdle could easily be avoided if the legislature amends the language of SJR 4 to specifically reserve the right to reasonably regulate arms. Language that would accomplish this result is set out at page 37 of the attached

Commissioner William G. Demmert
Right to Bear Arms Amendment

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Page Two

letter, as well as in the attached document entitled "Alternative Methods of Reserving the Right of the Legislature to Reasonably Regulate Arms in SJR 4."

Please let us know if you have any remaining questions about this important issue.

Very truly yours,

GRACE BERG SCHAIBLE
ATTORNEY GENERAL

By:



Laurie H. Otto
Assistant Attorney General

Attachments: Letter to Senator Faiks, January 29, 1989
"Alternative Methods of Reserving the Right of the
Legislature to Reasonably Regulate Arms in SJR4"

ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF RESERVING THE RIGHT OF THE LEGISLATURE TO
REASONABLY REGULATE ARMS IN SJR 4

The individual right to keep and bear arms shall not be denied or infringed by the state or a political subdivision of the state,

1. ... except that the state or a political subdivision of the state may regulate the manner in which arms may be kept, borne, or used.

2. ... except that the state or a political subdivision of the state may reasonably regulate the manner in which arms may be kept, borne, or used.

3. ... except that the exercise of this right may be regulated by law.

4. ... except that the exercise of this right may be reasonably regulated by law.

5. ... except that the state or a political subdivision of the state may regulate the manner in which arms may be kept, borne, or used. No law shall impose licensure, registration or special taxation on the ownership or possession of firearms.

6. ... except that the state or a political subdivision of the state may reasonably regulate the manner in which arms may be kept, borne, or used. No law shall impose licensure, registration or special taxation on the ownership or possession of firearms.

7. ... except that the exercise of this right may be regulated by law. No law shall impose licensure, registration or special taxation on the ownership or possession of firearms.

8. ... except that the exercise of this right may be reasonably regulated by law. No law shall impose licensure, registration or special taxation on the ownership or possession of firearms.

ANALYSIS OF
PROPOSED ALASKA CONSTITUTIONAL
GUARANTEE TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS

"The individual right to keep and bear arms shall not be denied or infringed by the state or any subdivision thereof."

This proposal protects the traditional lawful rights that gun owners assumed were guaranteed in Alaska.

The Individual Right

The proposed amendment guarantees an individual right. Nevertheless, a person in a high-risk category would not enjoy this right. That, e.g., felons, minors, and the mentally infirm are treated differently has gained such universal acceptance that commentators mention only in passing that such persons do not enjoy the full benefits of this right. Dowlut & Knoop, State Constitutions and the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, 7 Okl. City Univ. L. Rev. 177, 191 & n. 71 (1982). See also Richardson v. Ramirez, 418 U.S. 24 (1974) (felons have no right to vote).

The constitutions of 42 states contain a right to bear arms. These guarantees have not been an obstacle to reasonable regulation. Statutes prohibiting possession of firearms, e.g., by convicted felons have been consistently upheld. Examples of such decisions include State v. Ricehill, 415 N.W.2d 481 (N.D. 1987); Carfield v. State, 649 P.2d 865 (Wyo. 1982); State v. Fant, 53 Oh. App.2d 87, 371 N.E.2d 588 (1977); State v. Amos, 343 So. 2d 166 (La. 1977); State v. Cartwright, 246 Ore. 121, 418 P.2d 822 (1966). Over a century ago a court upheld a conviction under a statute forbidding selling, giving, or lending weapons to minors. Coleman v. State, 32 Ala. 581 (1858).

Keep and Bear Arms

The term "arms" refers only to such arms as are commonly kept by the people. Constitutionally protected arms would include the rifle, shotgun, and pistol. State v. Kessler, 289 Ore. 359, 614 P.2d 94 (1980); Taylor v. McNeal, 523 S.W.2d 148, 150 (Mo.App. 1975); Rinzler v. Carson, 262 So.2d 661, 666 (Fla. 1972); State v. Shelby, 90 Mo. 302, 2 S.W. 468 (1886); State v. Duke, 42 Tex. 455, 458-59 (1875); State v. Andrews, 50 Tenn. 165, 8 Am. Rep. 8 (1871); Nunn v. State, 1 Ga. (1 Kel.) 243 (1846).

Bombs, cannon, poison gas and other arms of mass destruction or which are exclusively used by the organized military do not come under the protection of the constitutional umbrella. State v. Kessler, Rinzler v. Carson, State v. Kerner, State v. Shelby, supra.

A person may only keep or bear constitutionally protected arms. The right to keep arms includes the following:

What, then, is involved in this right of keeping arms? It necessarily involves the right to purchase and use them in such a way as is usual, or to keep them for the ordinary purposes to which they are adapted ... The right to keep arms, necessarily involves the right to purchase them, to keep in a state of efficiency for use, and to purchase and provide ammunition suitable for such arms, and to keep them in repair. Andrews v. State, 50 Tenn. 165, 178, 8 Am. Rep. 8, 13 (1871).

The bearing of constitutionally protected arms may be regulated. Concealed carrying statutes, e.g., are routinely upheld. State v. McAdams, 714 P.2d 1236 (Wy. 1986); State v. Kessler, 289 Ore. 359, 614 P.2d 94, 99 (1980); Holland v. Commonwealth, 294 S.W.2d 83, 85 (Ky. 1956). Even open carrying for an unlawful purpose may be prohibited. State v. Dawson, 272 N.C. 535, 159 S.E.2d 1 (1968). A license may be required to carry a pistol concealed. Schubert v. DeBard, 73 Ind. Dec. 510, 398 N.E.2d 1339 (Ind. App. 1980). Carrying a gun while drunk is outside the protected boundaries of the right to bear arms. People v. Garcia, 197 Colo. 550, 595 P.2d 228 (1979) (en banc). One may not be armed in court, church, at elections or concerts. Hill v. State, 53 Ca. 473, 476 (1874). Unauthorized parading with arms may be prohibited. Commonwealth v. Murphy, 166 Mass. 171, 44 N.E. 138 (1896). Discharging a firearm without justification within the city limits is not constitutionally protected conduct. State v. Johnson, 76 S.C. 39, 56 S.E. 544 (1907).

The traditional lawful defense of self, family, and home has ancient roots. Halbrook, The Jurisprudence of the Second and Fourteenth Amendment, 4 Geo. Mason L. Rev. 1, 5 (1981); Caplan, The Right of the Individual to Bear Arms: A Recent Judicial Trend, 1982 Detroit Col. L. Rev. 789, 794; Dowlut & Knoop, State Constitutions and the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, 7 Okl. City Univ. L. Rev. 177, 183 (1982); Malcolm, The Right of the People to Keep and Bear Arms: The Common Law Tradition, 10 Hastings Const. L. Q. 285 (1983).

There is no social interest in preserving the lives and wellbeing of criminal aggressors at the cost of their victims. The only defensible policy society can adopt is one that will operate as a sanction against unlawful aggression. The police have no duty to protect the individual. Warren v. District of Columbia, 444 A.2d 1 (D.C. App. 1981) (en banc). One court reduced this principle of law to the succinct comment that "there is no constitutional right to be protected by the state against being murdered by criminals or madmen." Bowers v. DeVito, 686 F.2d 616, 618 (7th Cir. 1982).

The proposed guarantee is a victims' rights measure. It will guarantee that a person may exercise the choice to have arms to lawfully and effectively resist violent criminal aggression against self, family or home.

Conclusion

This legislative history indicates that the legislature is left with the power to deal effectively with criminal misconduct. On the other hand, it would prevent the decent people of this state from being disarmed. State v. Kessler, 289 Ore. 359, 614 P.2d 94 (1980); City of Lakewood v. Pillow, 180 Colo. 20, 501 P.2d 744 (1972); City of Las Vegas v. Moberg, 82 N.M. 626, 485 P.2d 737 (Ct. App. 1971); Glasscock v. City of Chattanooga, 157 Tenn. 518, 11 S.W.2d 678 (1928); People v. Zerillo, 219 Mich. 635, 189 N.W. 927 (1922); State v. Kerner, 181 N.C. 574, 107 S.E. 222 (1921); In re Brickey, 8 Idaho 597, 70 P. 609 (1902).



Robert Dowlut
Attorney at Law
12 Feb. 1988



NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
INCORPORATED 1871

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WHY DOES ALASKA NEED A FIREARMS PRE-EMPTION LAW?

The right to keep and bear arms is at the forefront of the various emotional issues that currently confront our society. Legislators, judges and bureaucrats at all levels of government — federal, state and local — are being called upon by citizens who wish to see this right expanded or restricted.

One underlying question is at what level should such legislation occur. The National Rifle Association has traditionally believed that the government most representative of the people is best. The explosion over the past few years of local ordinances that are more restrictive than current state law has, however, created the need for the states to pre-empt these local actions. Such legislation will prevent a hodgepodge of varying gun laws within a state, and thereby protect the law-abiding citizen not only from unwitting violation of the law, but also from arbitrary infringements of his or her rights. Indeed, in enacting pre-emption legislation, thereby expressly preventing local governments from infringing the rights of citizens and effectively eliminating the need for citizens to undertake costly litigation to protect their rights, state legislators fulfill their constitutional duty to protect the rights of citizens.

A state firearms pre-emption law will guarantee to the citizens of your state their right to own and use firearms for legitimate purposes based on state statutes and federal law.

Federal Law

Many people do not realize the full extent of federal law. Under the Gun Control Act of 1968 and as amended by the McClure-Volkmer Amendments (May 19, 1986), anyone convicted of a felony, adjudicated mentally defective, or addicted to drugs is prohibited from owning, purchasing or receiving or transporting any firearms or ammunition. The Gun Control Act also bans mail order sales of firearms by other than federally licensed dealers and requires that the sale of handguns is restricted to residents of the same state of the purchaser and seller.

Federal law also requires persons engaged in the business of dealing in firearms to be federally licensed. Dealers must

require from all firearms purchasers proof of identity and residence, and buyers must sign, under penalty of perjury, a statement certifying eligibility to purchase. Dealers are required to keep records of all firearms sales and are forbidden from selling handguns to persons under 21 or rifles and shotguns to persons under 18. Additionally, dealers are prohibited from making any sale of firearms or ammunition which would place the buyer in violation of state or local law.

The History of Firearms Pre-Emption Legislation

The first pre-emption firearms law was passed in the late 1960s, when, in response to the assassinations and urban rioting of that time, a number of localities passed "gun control" measures. Recognizing that these ordinances were based on emotional response rather than logical efforts to control crime, citizens of California and Pennsylvania led the way in enacting firearms pre-emption statutes. Today, some 15 states have firearms pre-emption either by statute or by legal precedent including: Alabama, Arizona, California, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Virginia, Washington and West Virginia.

The Problem Behind Local Firearms Laws

The renewed popularity in passing local ordinances effecting gun ownership has triggered a great debate over the benefits of local rule on this issue. Clearly, all legislation — whether federal, state, or local — must be designed to ensure uniform and nondiscriminatory access to the rights and privileges of the citizenry as guaranteed by the U.S. and State Constitutions. Yet, a close look at the passage of the Morton Grove, Illinois, handgun ban, the most infamous of these local ordinances, proves beyond doubt that local firearms legislation does not guarantee this. In passing their ban, the Morton Grove Village Trustees were acting in defiance of a majority of the village citizenry as the opponents of the measure greatly outnumbered supporters at all public hearings on the ban. Morton Grove was acting not to control crime, which was minimal in the village, but rather to gain the attention of national media and to create a situation of harassment for individual firearms owners. Their gimmick worked! Today, Morton Grove is almost a household word and it is estimated that close to a thousand formerly law-abiding citizens are now technically "criminals" for exercising a right guaranteed by both the U.S. and the Illinois Constitutions.

The local intent to harass gun owners and sportsmen, rather than control crime, is even more apparent in the recent actions of the Friendship Heights (Maryland) Township. This tiny

community on the outskirts of Washington, D.C., originally attempted to ban possession of all handguns. The Montgomery County Council refused, however, to consider the proposal because it was a clear violation of the Maryland State Firearms Pre-Emption Statute. Friendship Heights then attempted to subvert state law by passing a complete ban on possession of all ammunition. Possession of ammunition for self-defense would have been outlawed, and anyone passing through Friendship Heights with a single bullet could have been subject to arrest and conviction — a \$500 fine for the first offense and up to six months in jail for the second offense.

The attempted F.H. bullet ban was defeated by the county council; Montgomery County, nonetheless, ultimately passed an ordinance which will prohibit the purchase of ammunition unless a firearm registration certificate is produced, although registration is not required in Maryland. While Councilman David Scull claims it is a symbolic step toward gun control at the state and federal level, in reality, this ordinance "is an abysmal waste of governmental energy and corrodes the respect without which law is a husk." (*The Washington Times*, June 20, 1983)

In response to this ban and other similar restrictive ordinances, a number of local jurisdictions have gone in the opposite direction and required all individuals or household heads to own a firearm. The NRA does not condone these mandatory ownership ordinances because we believe it is an individual's choice whether or not to possess a firearm.

How Can Pre-Emption Help?

Local firearms legislation serves only to create a crazy quilt of laws, resulting in gun owners running the risk of arrest, prosecution and confiscation of personal property for unwitting violation of local law by transporting a gun for sporting or other legitimate purposes across city or county lines. Such legislation clearly interferes with the "uniform application of laws" as citizens from one city are treated differently from citizens of another. Such legislation also puts an undue burden on the nation's 28 million hunters and 7 million competitive shooters who would be required to know the firearms laws of each various city and county they may pass through on their way to hunting areas or shooting matches.

We are greatly concerned by this eruption of hostile camps of "pro-gun" and "anti-gun" localities in states who do not have firearms pre-emption legislation. A state firearms pre-emption law will curtail this movement and ensure that state law will be enforced uniformly through the state on an equal basis.

STATE OF ALASKA

DEPARTMENT OF LAW

CRIMINAL DIVISION

January 29, 1989

The Honorable Jan Faiks
Alaska State Senator
P.O. Box V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Dear Senator Faiks:

Thank you for the opportunity to review SJR 4, relating to a proposed amendment to the constitutional right to bear arms in Alaska. After considerable research regarding the law in Alaska and other states on this issue, it is our opinion that the existing constitutional provision protecting the right to bear arms should not be, nor does it need to be, amended.

In summary, our analysis is:

1. In Alaska, the right of the people to bear arms for legitimate purposes has never been infringed. In the absence of a specific need to amend the constitution, it may be wise to follow the adage "If it ain't broke, don't fix it."

2. In a wide variety of contexts, the Alaska Supreme Court has interpreted individual rights under the state constitution more broadly than the federal constitution, and there is no reason to believe the court would not interpret the existing right to bear arms provision in an equally broad manner.

HSE 4 packet

STEVE COWPER, GOVERNOR

REPLY TO

✓ CRIMINAL DIVISION CENTRAL OFFICE
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*Right to
Bear Arms
amendment*

that the legislature continues to have the authority to reasonably regulate firearms by law.

1. The Right to Keep and Bear Arms in Alaska

The Alaska Constitution addresses the right of the people to keep and bear arms at Article I, Section 19. It provides: "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." Although this section of the constitution has never been interpreted by the Alaska Supreme Court, existing law grants Alaskans broad and relatively unrestricted rights to keep and bear arms.

Alaska's right to bear arms provision is virtually identical to language found in the Second Amendment to the United States Constitution. However, as noted by Legislative Counsel Tamara Brandt Cook in her memorandum to Senator Rodey dated April 14, 1983, "the [United States] Supreme Court has never directly considered whether the Second Amendment provides any protection to the private ownership of arms for lawful purposes." There is ample legal authority for the proposition that protection of the individual right to bear arms is provided by the language of both the Second Amendment and Section 19 of the Alaska Constitution.

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3. The legal effects of the proposed constitutional amendment can not be predicted with any degree of certainty. The recent experiences of West Virginia illustrate the unreliability of political statements made by proponents of this type of amendment.

4. The only effect of the amendment that can be stated with certainty is that it transfers power currently in the hands of the legislature to the judiciary. A similar and well-known example of such a power transfer occurred when the constitution was amended to specifically mention the right of privacy. The legislature is still struggling with the resulting supreme court opinion which recognized a constitutional right to use marijuana.

5. Based on the broad reading the Alaska court gives to the provisions of our constitution, and the lack of any language in the amendment giving the legislature the authority to regulate the exercise of the constitutional right, it is more likely that portions of Alaska's statutes regulating firearms will be declared unconstitutional. Case authority exists as legal precedent for invalidating, or seriously weakening, both the state statute prohibiting all felons from having firearms, and the Anchorage municipal ordinance against carrying concealed weapons in automobiles.

6. If the Legislature decides to approve a constitutional amendment modifying the right to bear arms in Alaska, the language of the amendment should affirmatively state

that the legislature continues to have the authority to reasonably regulate firearms by law.

1. The Right to Keep and Bear Arms in Alaska

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For example, in one scholarly article,¹ the author demonstrated that the amendments guarantee the individual right to keep and bear arms for the following purposes: (1) to enable the individual to perform militia duties; (2) to deter governmental oppression; (3) to maintain public order; and (4) to enable the individual to exercise the right to self-defense. The author concluded his analysis by clearly stating that, under language identical to the Alaska Constitution, common and traditional users of private firearms are protected and that it would be unconstitutional to enact

(1) any law that infringes the right of the people (excepting those people who fall into a traditional high-risk category, such as felons, the mentally deficient, and infants) to keep any arms commonly used for personal protection or any of the modern equivalent of arms that were fairly commonly possessed by the people at the adoption of the Constitution, or (2) any law that infringes the right to bear those arms for traditional lawful purposes.²

¹Dowlut, "The Right to Arms: Does the Constitution or the Predilection of Judges Reign?," 36 Oklahoma Law Review 65 (1983).

²Id. at 101. The following articles have been cited as authority for the proposition that the Second Amendment guarantees an individual right to bear arms: S.P. Halbrook, That Every Man Be Armed: The Evolution of a Constitutional Right (Univ. of N. Mex. Press 1984); Dowlut, "The Current Relevancy of Keeping and Bearing Arms," 15 U. Balt. L. F. 32 (1984); Kates, "Handgun Prohibition and the Original Meaning of the Second Amendment," 82 Mich. L. Rev. 204 (1983); Malcolm, "The Right of the People to Keep and Bear Arms: The Common Law Tradition," 10 Hastings Const. L. Q. 285 (1983); Caplan, "The Right of the Individual to Bear Arms: A Recent Judicial Trend," 1982 Detroit Col. L. Rev. 789; Shalhope, "The Ideological Origins of the Second Amendment," 69 J. Am. History 599 (1982); Halbrook, "To Keep and Bear Their Private Arms: The Adoption of the Second Amendment, 1787-1791," 10 N. Ky. L. Rev. 13 (1982); Gardiner, "To Preserve Liberty--A Look at The Right to Keep and Bear Arms," 10 N. Ky. L. Rev. 63 (1982); Halbrook, "The

An analysis of the constitutional right to bear arms in Alaska must of necessity consider the history of gun regulation in the state.³ The right of the people to bear arms for legitimate purposes is widely recognized in Alaska, and has never been

Jurisprudence of the Second and Fourteenth Amendments," 4 Geo. Mason U.L. Rev. 1 (1981); Cantrell, "The Right to Bear Arms," 53 Wis. Bar Bull. 21 (Oct. 1980); Caplan, "Handgun Control: Constitutional or Unconstitutional?," 10 N.C. Central L. J. 53 (1978); Caplan, "Restoring The Balance: The Second Amendment Revisited," 5 Fordham Urban L.J. 31 (1976); Whisker, "Historical Development and Subsequent Erosion of the Right to Keep and Bear Arms," 78 W. Va. L. Rev. 171 (1976); Weiss, "A Reply to Advocates of Gun Control Law," 52 Jour. Urban Law 577 (1974); Hardy & Stompoly, "Of Arms and the Law," 51 Chi.-Kent L. Rev. 62 (1974); McClure, "Firearms and Federalism," 7 Idaho L. Rev. 197 (1970); Levine & Saxe, "The Second Amendment: The Right to Bear Arms," 7 Houston L. Rev. 1 (1969); Olds, "The Second Amendment and The Right to Keep and Bear Arms," 46 Mich. St. Bar. J. 15 (Oct. 1967); Comment, "The Right to Keep and Bear Arms: A Necessary Constitutional Guarantee or an Outmoded Provision of the Bill of Rights?," 31 Albany L. Rev. 74 (1967); Sprecher, "The Lost Amendment," 51 Am. Bar Assn. J. 554 and 665 (1965); and Hays, "The Right to Bear Arms: A Study in Judicial Misinterpretation," 2 Wm. & Mary L. Rev. 381 (1960).

³See, e.g., Hootch v. Alaska State-Operated School System, 536 P.2d 793, 800 (Alaska 1975): "In determining the scope of a constitutional right, the focus of the court's inquiry is not, however, on the question of whether there is a burden on the exercise of that right. We must look to the intent of the framers of the constitution concerning the nature of the right itself, the problems which they were addressing and the remedies they sought. While prior practice and the framers' purposes are not necessarily conclusive, an historical perspective is essential to an enlightened contemporary interpretation of our constitution."

infringed.⁴ Alaska and Vermont share the distinction of having the least restrictive firearms laws in United States.⁵

Proponents of the amendment indicate it is not proposed to rectify a current injustice nor to overturn existing guns laws or regulations, but to protect the rights of individuals to keep and bear arms against the caprice of an irresponsible legislature. We believe the protection of the existing constitution and the respect and restraint historically shown by the Alaska legislature and courts for the people's right to bear arms renders the proposed amendment unnecessary, and worse, the amendment interjects the uncertainty of judicial interpretation into a new and uncharted area.

2. Constitutional Interpretation in Alaska

It is often difficult to predict how a court will interpret the scope and effect of a new constitutional amendment, and how the power of the legislature will thereafter be limited. This unpredictability is very familiar to Alaskans. In 1972, the

⁴In previous years, a 1983 informal Attorney General's opinion has been cited as proof of the need for a constitutional amendment. The opinion addressed whether a landlord could prohibit a tenant from having firearms. This analysis of the right to bear arms, rendered in the context of a contractual relationship between private parties, did not comprehensively address the issue of governmental regulation of arms.

⁵Department of the Treasury, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, State Laws and Published Ordinances: Firearms (18th Ed. 1988).

people explicitly recognized the right to privacy in Alaska by approving a constitutional amendment. In the first major case interpreting the privacy amendment, the Alaska Supreme Court in Ravin v. State,⁶ struck down the law that criminalized possession of marijuana in the home for personal use. The legislature has been struggling for many years to deal with this unique interpretation of our constitution.⁷

Ravin is only one example of the propensity of the state supreme court to interpret the Alaska constitution as giving broader protection to individual rights than similar constitutional provisions in other jurisdictions. As a result, the judicial decisions of other states interpreting individual rights cannot be

⁶537 P.2d 494 (Alaska 1975).

⁷Although other states, including Arizona, California, Florida, Hawaii, Louisiana, Montana, South Carolina, and Washington, have adopted similar constitutional provisions recognizing the right to privacy, the Alaska court stands alone in its conclusion that the right to privacy protects the right to possess marijuana in the home.

heavily relied upon in predicting what will happen when the Alaska courts are asked to analyze identical issues.⁸

With respect to the actions of individual citizens, Alaska court decisions frequently rely on the privacy amendment to justify constitutional interpretations that are significantly broader than those reached by other courts. Our court has repeatedly determined that the effect of the right of privacy is to amplify the protections afforded by other constitutional rights. The complexity of anticipating the court's interpretation of a right to bear arms is compounded by the potentially augmenting effect of the explicit right to privacy.

For example, the Alaska constitutional guarantee against unreasonable searches and seizures is held to be broader in scope than identical guarantees under the federal constitution, in part because of the right to privacy.⁹ Despite considerable authority

⁸In addition to the cases discussed below, the Alaska Supreme Court has held that the Alaska Constitution provides greater protection in areas ranging from the free exercise of one's religious beliefs, Frank v. State, 604 P.2d 1068 (Alaska 1979) (defendant entitled to exemption from fish and game regulations on account of his religious beliefs even though the charges against defendant would have been upheld under the federal constitution) to the right to counsel, Resek v. State, 706 P.2d 288 (Alaska 1985) ("the right to counsel under the Alaska Constitution is more expansive than the corresponding right under the sixth amendment to the United States Constitution.").

⁹Reeves v. State, 599 P.2d 727, 734 (Alaska 1979). In this case, the court reversed a conviction for possession of heroin. The defendant had been arrested for driving while intoxicated, and a correctional officer discovered the heroin inside a balloon in

to the contrary in other jurisdictions, the Alaska court has held that the state constitution prohibits warrantless administrative inspections of private business premises.¹⁰ The warrantless monitoring of private conversations with the consent of one participant, acceptable under federal constitutional standards, is held in Alaska to be an unreasonable search and seizure in light of the combined effect of the Alaska constitutional prohibition against unreasonable searches and seizures, and the Alaska constitutional right of privacy.¹¹

The Alaska court has also forged new legal ground in interpreting the equal protection clause of the state constitution. This amendment provides additional protection for the exercise of constitutional rights such as the right to bear arms because it is used by the court in evaluating whether legislation is

the defendant's pocket. Although it was permissible for the officer to take the balloon away from the defendant before he was booked into the jail, the court held that the defendant's right to privacy and right to be free from unreasonable searches and seizures was violated when the officer looked inside the balloon.

¹⁰Woods & Rohde, Inc. v. State, 565 P.2d 138 (Alaska 1977).

¹¹In the cases of Coffey v. State, 585 P.2d 514 (Alaska 1978) (court reversed conviction of marijuana dealer); Aldridge v. State, 584 P.2d 1105 (Alaska 1978) (court reversed conviction of heroin dealer); State v. Glass, 583 P.2d 872 (Alaska 1978) (court agreed charges against heroin dealer should be dismissed), the decisions were based on the court's broad interpretation of Alaska's constitutional rights to privacy and to be free from unreasonable searches and seizures. Federal courts faced with the same issues have interpreted similar federal constitutional guarantees relating to searches and seizures differently, and would have upheld the convictions.

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constitutional. In developing its own equal protection analysis, our court rejected the deferential test applied by the United States Supreme Court, holding instead that the Alaska Constitution requires social and economic legislation to pass a more rigorous test.¹²

In Herrick's Aero-Auto-Aqua Repair v. DOT, 754 P.2d 1111 (1988), the court explained its expansive equal protection analysis as follows:

In reviewing equal protection claims under the Alaska constitution ... the minimum burden that the state must meet when defending legislation challenged on equal protection grounds under the Alaska constitution is greater than that required under the United States Constitution. The burden on the state increases in proportion to the primacy of the interest involved. Eventually this burden reaches the functional equivalent of the federal compelling state interest test in those cases where fundamental rights and suspect categories are at issue.¹³

Another liberal interpretation of Alaska's constitution was set out in Vogler v. Miller, 651 P.2d 1 (Alaska 1982). In this case the court invalidated statutes relating to ballot access by

¹²Isakson v. Rickey, 550 P.2d 359 (Alaska 1976).

¹³754 P.2d at 1114. The court in Herrick also pointed to an additional burden placed on the state in defending against an equal protection challenge. "[T]he rational basis test articulated by the Supreme Court allows a court to 'hypothesize' facts. Under that test, a party challenging legislation on equal protection grounds, cannot prevail so long as 'it is evident from all the considerations presented to [the legislature], and those of which we may take judicial notice, that the question is at least debatable.'" Minnesota v. Clover Leaf Creamery Co., 449 U.S. 456, 464 (1981). In Alaska, the court will not hypothesize facts.

candidates of small parties. The court relied on the free speech and equal protection provisions of the Alaska constitution, and acknowledged that the statutes would have been upheld under the interpretation the federal courts have given to identical provisions of the United States constitution. The court declared that Alaska restrictions on the right to associate in pursuit of political beliefs are permissible only where the government is able to show that the restrictions are justified by compelling governmental interests. Further, the restrictions must be no broader than needed to accomplish the governmental interests which justify them.¹⁴

Thus, any effort to predict the interpretation of any amendment relating to an individual right in the Alaska court must be mindful of the court's tendency to interpret individual rights broadly, in often unexpected contexts, and the court's frequent insistence that regulatory schemes satisfy a compelling state interest test.

3. The West Virginia Experience

Despite Alaska's unique constitution and the willingness of our court to adopt novel legal interpretations, we have also considered the experience of other states with right to bear arms amendments. For example, based on its newly-enacted right to bear

¹⁴651 P.2d at 5.

arms amendment, the West Virginia Supreme Court recently struck down a statute that prohibited carrying dangerous or deadly weapons without a license.

Proponents of the amendment had argued during legislative hearings that existing laws would not be affected by the amendment, but when an existing law was challenged, the proponents switched positions and argued for the unconstitutionality of the West Virginia law. This case shows the dangers that arise when a legislature approves a constitutional amendment that does not spell out in plain language its precise intent. A detailed description of what happened in West Virginia is therefore important because many of the same issues are currently being discussed in the context of your consideration of SJR4.

a. Legislative History

In 1986, West Virginia amended its constitution to expand the right to keep and bear arms. The new constitutional provision stated, "A person has the right to keep and bear arms for the defense of self, family, home and state, and for lawful hunting and recreation use."

Despite the popularity of the right to keep and bear arms amendment in the West Virginia legislature, the legislative process "failed to give the amendment's language any real definition beyond

a general sense that passage of the amendment would leave undisturbed current law and constitutionalize existing state law prohibiting municipal governments from banning the ownership of weapons or ammunition. The very popularity of the concept seemed to insulate the proposed amendment from the 'hard look' analysis appropriate for amendments to a constitution."¹⁵

No significant statement of legislative intent was prepared by any of the committees that considered the proposal, nor was any substantive research done by the legislative committees that recommended the measure for passage. As a result, there was little in the legislative history to assist the court in fixing any specific meaning to the words, phrases, or the intent of the amendment. In researching the legislative history, McNeely concluded, "All that can be said without question was that legislative proponents consistently took the position that the amendment, if adopted, would not change existing laws, and that legislative opponents consistently attempted, with no ultimate success, to amend the measure to assure that the state would retain its ability to maintain the existing state of the law."¹⁶

¹⁵McNeely, "The Right of Who to Bear What, When, and Where - West Virginia's Firearms Law v. The Right-To-Bear-Arms Amendment," 89 West Virginia Law Review 1125 (1987) at 1160.

¹⁶McNeely at 1152.

In an analysis provided to the West Virginia legislature by the National Rifle Association, the proponents argued that under the amendment the bearing of constitutionally-protected arms "may be regulated." The analysis described the various statutes that the NRA believed would be upheld if the proposed amendment were adopted, and specifically stated that "a license may be required to carry a pistol away from one's home, place of business, or land."¹⁷

In attempting to predict the effect the court would give to the amendment, McNeely predicted that,

Given the legislature's failure to provide clear legislative intent in any formal sense, it shall be up to the judicial branch of the state to interpret the amendment consistent with its language and demonstrated intent. With that interpretation, the court may continue the state's traditional legal attitude toward firearms by finding the amendment consistent with state law, or it may embark the state on an uncharted course of repeal and revision of long-standing statutes and case law ... It is, perhaps, ironic that such a lack of legislative research and formal legislative findings, coupled with the broad, unqualified

¹⁷The National Rifle Association "Analysis of Proposed West Virginia Constitutional Guarantee to Keep and Bear Arms" is set out as Appendix H to the McNeely article at 1176-78. It is virtually identical to the "Analysis of Proposed Alaska Constitutional Guarantee to Keep and Bear Arms" contained in the Senate Judiciary file for SJR4.

In addition, at least one advertisement by the NRA for the amendment in West Virginia contained "a prominent statement that no existing federal or state law would be repealed by passage, with the statement reading 'Amendment 1 keeps Federal and State firearms laws the law.'" McNeely at 1148.

language of Amendment No. 1, have combined to place the future of firearms regulation, heretofore primarily a legislative activity, in the hands of the judicial branch of state government.¹⁸

b. Princeton v. Buckner

The case of Princeton v. Buckner¹⁹ began when a police officer searched a drunk driver who had been placed under arrest, and found a .22 caliber automatic pistol concealed in the driver's pocket. Under existing West Virginia law, a license was required to carry a concealed weapon. Although the drunk driver did not have a license, the magistrate refused to issue charges for illegally carrying a firearm because he concluded that the licensing law was unconstitutional under the newly-enacted right to bear arms amendment to the West Virginia Constitution.

Despite the assertions during the legislative and public debates that existing West Virginia firearms laws would not be affected, the challengers to the law in Buckner lost little time in proving the non-binding nature of such statements.²⁰ In their analysis of legislative intent, the challengers pointed to the

¹⁸McNeely at 1162.

¹⁹Case No. CC972, West Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals, July 1, 1988, reconsideration denied December 20, 1988.

²⁰The National Rifle Association filed an amicus brief in the Buckner case on behalf of its West Virginia members, which concluded: "... the licensing statute is unconstitutional because it frustrates rather than regulates the right to bear arms."

legislature's refusal to modify the amendment to specifically state that the legislature retained the power to regulate firearms.

For example, in his brief to the Supreme Court, Buckner argued as follows:

The State, in its brief, concludes that "it is clear that the Right to Keep and Bear [Arms] Amendment to the West Virginia Constitution was not meant to nullify existing laws." This conclusion is without factual support or logic. Had the efforts of Delegate McNeely to add the word "lawful" and had the efforts of Delegate Knight to make the amendment subject to the "police power" of the State, or either of these efforts, been successful, then the argument of the State might bear some logic. The fact that both of these efforts were specifically turned down by the Legislature indicates clearly that the Legislature had no such intent as stated by the State. Had that been the clear intent of the Legislature in passing the resolution, it could have simply added language to that effect, or adopted one of the amendments referred to. (emphasis added) Brief of Respondent Buckner at 4.

The basis of the argument of the State is that the proponents took the position that the right to bear arms amendment did not change existing laws. The fact of the matter is that the opponents of the amendment took the position that it would, in fact, change existing law and the Legislature refused, although given opportunity to do so, to word the amendment in such a fashion so as to deal with that question. (emphasis added) Brief of Respondent Buckner at 5.

In addition to pointing out that the legislature refused to address the extent to which it retained the power to pass firearms legislation, the challengers concluded that the

legislature and the people must have wanted to place restraints on the legislature. At page 6 of his brief, Buckner argued that if the constitutional amendment "means anything, it has to mean that the people of the State wanted to change the law in existence at the time, and place restraints upon the Legislature. Any other conclusion is illogical and would render the act of the Legislature and the people in adopting the constitutional provision an exercise in futility." In other words, it doesn't matter what the supporters of the bill said; it only mattered what the legislature itself said in the language of the amendment.

The West Virginia Supreme Court accepted the arguments presented by the challengers, and held that a "constitutional amendment will supersede any inconsistent portions of antecedent constitutional or statutory provisions, as 'the latest expression of the will of the people.'"²¹ The court rejected the position taken by the state that "West Virginia's licensing statute evinces an intent to control, but not prohibit, carrying weapons, such as handguns, which are both easily concealable and deadly."²²

²¹Princeton v. Buckner, at page 10.

²²Brief of Petitioner State of West Virginia, at 15.
On December 20, 1988, the West Virginia Supreme Court reaffirmed its holding that the statute was unconstitutional. The opinion did not isolate the specific provisions of this statute, or the related licensing requirements, which rendered the statute violative of the right to keep and bear arms amendment. Instead, the court declared that the prohibition against carrying a dangerous or deadly weapon for defensive purposes without a license or other statutory authorization was overly broad.

c. Current Status of West Virginia Gun Law

Similar to the current situation in Alaska where the legislature is trying to pass a constitutional statute prohibiting people from possessing marijuana in their homes, the West Virginia legislature is now working on developing a constitutional statute relating to the carrying of deadly and dangerous weapons.²³ In the meantime, unless a person commits a separate criminal offense with a firearm, West Virginia law enforcement authorities are prohibited from arresting persons for, or protecting persons from, carrying concealed weapons, regardless of whether the offender is carrying the weapon for defensive or other purposes. (Source--West Virginia Department of Public Safety)²⁴

Although the court acknowledged that the legislature "may, through the valid exercise of its police power, reasonably regulate the right of a person to keep and bear arms in order to promote the health, safety and welfare of all citizens of this State, provided that the restrictions or regulations imposed do not frustrate the constitutional freedoms guaranteed by...the Right to Keep and Bear Arms Amendment," the court recognized that each statute regulating firearms would need to be evaluated in light of the new constitutional provisions. The court cautioned that "a governmental purpose to control or prohibit certain activities, which may be constitutionally subject to state regulation under the police power, may not be achieved by means which sweep unnecessarily broadly and thereby invade the realm of protected freedoms, such as the right to keep and bear arms guaranteed by our State Constitution." (emphasis added)

²³Telephone conversation, Steve Hernden, West Virginia Assistant Attorney General.

²⁴Petition for Reconsideration of Remedy filed by the State of West Virginia at pages 1-2.

4. The Proposed Alaska Amendment

The proposed amendment to the Alaska constitution states that "The individual right to keep and bear arms shall not be denied or infringed by the state or a political subdivision of the state."

The first and most significant effect of the constitutional amendment proposed in SJR4 is to limit the legislative authority to regulate the right to bear arms. The amendment takes authority away from the people's elected representatives as to what policies the state will follow concerning the right to keep and bear arms and, shifts to the courts the ultimate authority to decide state policy through the uncertain course of constitutional interpretation.

The sweeping but ambiguous language of the proposed amendment means that, if passed, it can be expected to trigger a great deal of litigation in a number of different contexts. If the courts were to construe the amendment in a fashion that the Legislature felt was harmful to the public interest, the only way that the law could be changed, without inducing the court to change its own position, would be through another constitutional amendment. Thus, the amendment would give the courts a much greater role in interpreting the regulatory authority of the Legislature than it has at present.

As discussed above, relying on legal precedents from the courts of other states to predict what the Alaska court may decide under the proposed amendment is fraught with difficulty. Although proponents of amending Alaska's constitution argue that at least 42 states have constitutional provisions guaranteeing a right to bear arms, and that all firearms laws have been upheld in every state, this assertion is incorrect and misleading, as discussed below.

Most constitutional provisions enacted by other states differ from SJR4 because they either define the circumstances in which the constitutional right applies, or they expressly recognize that the constitutional provision is subject to legislative regulation.²⁵ Only Rhode Island has a constitutional provision, like SJR4, that grants an apparently unfettered right to keep and bear arms.²⁶

Each of the 50 state supreme courts interpret its own constitutional provisions consistent with the legal precedents of that state. Decisions made by courts of sister states may be

²⁵See R. Dowlut & J. Knoop, "State Constitutions and the Fight to Keep and Bear Arms," 7 Okla. City U.L. Rev. 177, 236-240 (1982).

²⁶We have been unable to find any cases in which the Rhode Island Supreme Court has directly interpreted this constitutional provision.

informative, yet are not persuasive or conclusive authority from which one can predict the result in a different jurisdiction. For example, the West Virginia court struck down its licensing statute after considering and rejecting an Indiana Supreme Court decision that reached the opposition conclusion.²⁷ In the Indiana decision, the dissent noted that "The decisions from other jurisdictions are not uniform on the right to keep and bear arms any more than the constitutional provisions are stated in the same language."

²⁷An Indiana statute which imposed licensing requirements on handguns similar to those of West Virginia was addressed in Matthews v State, 148 N.E. 2d 334 (1958). As in West Virginia, the Indiana statute placed no restrictions on possessing or carrying a weapon on one's own premises, but to carry a gun elsewhere required a license conditioned on a showing that, among other things, "the applicant has a proper reason for carrying a pistol and is of good character and reputation and a suitable person to be so licensed." 148 N.E.2d at 336. The Indiana constitution provided that "the people shall have a right to bear arms, for the defense of themselves and the State." The Matthews court affirmed the statute and held that the licensing statute was a legitimate exercise of the legislative power to provide for the public safety and welfare.

In a subsequent case, Schubert v. DeBard, 398 N.E.2d 1339 (Indiana App. 1980), the Indiana court relied on the constitutional right to bear arms provision in reversing the denial of a license to carry a handgun made by an applicant who claimed he needed a gun for self-defense. The authorities had denied the license after reviewing evidence showing that the applicant "was a 'chronic liar' suffering from a 'gigantic police complex.'" Evidence also showed that when the applicant had previously held a license, he "had carried and displayed his pistol at inappropriate times." Other witnesses testified that the applicant had "mental problems."

The Schubert court reiterated that establishing a licensing procedure for handguns is not violative of the constitution. However, the court ruled that once a person makes the claim that a gun is needed for self-defense, the constitutional right to bear arms provision prohibits authorities from withholding the license, or even making a factual determination as to whether the person actually needs a gun.

Since the analysis of each case turns on the precise wording of each constitutional provision, it is difficult to use the cases for purposes of comparison. For example, the court's reasons for upholding a challenged statute in State v. Grob, 690 P.2d 951 (Idaho App. 1984) are illustrative of the limited precedential value out-of-state decisions would have in Alaska. In this case, the defendant argued that a statute providing a mandatory sentence for using a firearm while engaged in kidnapping or aggravated battery violated his constitutional right to bear arms. Since Idaho's constitutional right to bear arms provision was amended in 1978, the court looked to the language of both the pre-1978 and post-1978 constitutions. The court found that the statute was constitutional under the pre-1978 language because the provision specifically stated "the legislature shall regulate the exercise of this right by law." Similarly, the statute was found to be constitutional under the post-1978 language based on the specific authorization given the legislature to prescribe "minimum sentences for crimes committed while in possession of a firearm" and to punish the unlawful "use of a firearm."²⁸

5. The Risk to Specific Alaska Statutes

a. Constitutionality of Concealed Weapons Statutes

Despite the assertions of supporters of this amendment, it is by no means certain that a new right to bear arms amendment

²⁸State v. Grob, 690 P.2d 951, 953-54 (Idaho App. 1984)

would leave current Alaska statutes prohibiting the carrying of concealed weapons untouched. If the Alaska courts interpreted the amendment to permit the carrying of concealed weapons, AS 11.61.220(a)(1) would be unconstitutional. On the other hand, it cannot be said that the Alaska Supreme Court would hold that this was an area beyond legislative regulation. The matter is simply uncertain.

An article published by Robert Dowlut, General Counsel for the National Rifle Association,²⁹ gives rise to concern about the constitutionality of an Anchorage municipal ordinance, if the proposed amendment to the Alaska constitution were approved. Dowlut asserts that the right to keep and bear arms includes the right to carry weapons in private vehicles,³⁰ something which is now prohibited by Anchorage Municipal Code 8.05.070(A), as interpreted in Municipality of Anchorage v. Lloyd, 679 P.2d 486 (Alaska App. 1984).³¹

²⁹Dowlut & Knoop, "State Constitutions and the Right to Keep and Bear Arms," 7 Oklahoma City University Law Review 177 (1982).

³⁰Id. at 220.

³¹Support for amending Alaska's constitutional right to bear arms provision has been predicated on an unwarranted assumption that the amendment will not have an effect on existing state or municipal laws. For example, Resolution No. AR 87-238, dated September 29, 1987 and passed by the Anchorage Assembly, included the bald assertion that the amendment "will not invalidate existing municipal public safety measures regulating the use and possession of firearms."

In the document entitled "Analysis of Proposed Alaska Constitutional Guarantee to Keep and Bear Arms," which was written by Dowlut and provided to members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the assertion is made that "concealed carrying statutes ... are routinely upheld." A review of the cases cited in support of this proposition highlights the problems involved in relying on judicial decisions in jurisdictions outside the state of Alaska to predict how our court would interpret the proposed constitutional amendment.

For example, Dowlut cites Holland v. Commonwealth, 294 S.W.2d 83 (Ky. 1956) as standing for the proposition that concealed weapons statutes are constitutional despite the broadly drafted language of SJR4. However, a review of the case shows that the Kentucky constitution explicitly declares that the right to bear arms is "subject to the power of the General Assembly to enact laws to prevent persons from carrying concealed weapons," a phrase not included SJR4. The court upheld the concealed weapons statute because it found that "the meaning of the constitutional provision is plain and the legislature has exercised the power granted to it by enacting [the concealed weapons statute]." Id. at 85.

Similarly, Dowlut claims that State v. Kessler, 614 P.2d 94, 99 (Oregon 1980) is another case in which a concealed weapons statute was "routinely upheld." In fact, the court in Kessler

struck down a statute that prohibited possessing billy clubs. Despite Dowlut's claim, the court did not address the constitutionality of concealed weapons laws, although it noted in passing that the court in State v. Hart, 157 P.2d 72 (Idaho 1945) upheld a concealed weapons statute.

In Hart the Idaho court specifically based its decision to uphold the ordinance on the language of Idaho's constitutional right to bear arms provision. At the time Hart was decided, the Idaho constitution stated "The people have the right to bear arms for their security and defense; but the legislature shall regulate the exercise of this right by law."

The final case cited by Dowlut to support his claim that Alaska's courts will uphold concealed weapons statutes is State v. McAdams, 714 P.2d 1236 (Wyo. 1986). However, once again, the constitutional provision that was analyzed in McAdams is significantly narrower than the proposed amendment contained in SJR4. The Wyoming constitution provides, "The right of citizens to bear arms in defense of themselves and of the state shall not be denied." The court upheld the concealed weapons statute because it did not believe that the law placed unnecessary restraints on the right to possess arms for self defense: "We are cognizant of the fact that our concealed deadly weapons statute imposes some limitation on a person's right to bear arms in defense of himself;

but, when balanced against the object of the statute, we do not find the limitation unreasonable." Id. at 1238.

b. Constitutionality of Felon in Possession Statutes

It is also by no means certain that the Alaska Supreme Court would uphold current laws controlling or prohibiting convicted felons from owning or possessing weapons if SJR4 were adopted. Felons convicted of bootlegging or drug dealing would be allowed to possess firearms with impunity if the opinion expressed by the General Counsel of the National Rifle Association, and discussed below, were adopted in this state. Moreover, the Colorado Supreme Court has interpreted its constitutional right to bear arms as providing a defense to the charge of felon in possession. If the Alaska courts reached a similar interpretation, the ability to prosecute felons for possessing firearms would certainly be impaired.

The supporters of SJR4 have provided you with the "Analysis of Proposed Alaska Constitutional Guarantee to Keep and Bear Arms" which implies that Alaska's felon in possession statute would withstand constitutional scrutiny. However, Robert Dowlut, General Counsel for the National Rifle Association, has previously published contrary statements. In a law review article, he stated, "To prevent the people from being disarmed by the expedient of classifying regulatory offenses as felonies, the disqualification

for felons should be restricted to common law felonies and their modern equivalents and to offenses requiring some state of mind above strict liability which are inherently inimical to life and property."³² (emphasis added). Thus, under Dowlut's view, felons charged with drug dealing and bootlegging, which are not "common law felonies," could legally carry weapons.

Under current AS 11.61.200, all persons convicted of any felony are prohibited from possessing a firearm capable of being concealed on the person, and this law applies to persons convicted of regulatory offenses such as bootlegging and drug dealing, as well as the common law felonies such as murder, assault or kidnapping. If Dowlut's interpretation were adopted, Alaska's statute would be over broad, and struck down as unconstitutional.

A conviction for being a felon in possession of a firearm was reversed by the Colorado Supreme Court in People v. Ford, 568 P.2d 26 (Colorado 1977), based on the "right to bear arms" provision of the Colorado Constitution. The court held that the constitutional protection extends to a defendant "who presents competent evidence showing that his purpose in possessing weapons was the defense of his home, person, and property" and that this type of evidence provides a complete defense to a felon-in-

³²Dowlut & Knoop at 192.

possession charge.³³ Once the defendant has raised the issue as a defense, the prosecution must prove, beyond a reasonable doubt, that the defendant's purpose in possessing firearms was not for defense. Thus, unless the felon is committing a crime with the gun, it is virtually impossible to prove that the weapon was not for "defense." As a practical matter, the teeth have been taken out of the law because of the problems of proving that a felon in possession of a gun at the felon's home, on the felon's person, or on the felon's property is using it other than for defense.

As with the concealed weapons statutes, there are problems in relying on the judicial decisions of other states in reaching the conclusion that Alaska's statute would withstand constitutional scrutiny. For example, in the North Dakota case distributed to the Senate Judiciary Committee, State v. Ricehill³⁴, the statute only prohibited persons "convicted anywhere for a felony involving violence or intimidation" from owning firearms. Unlike current Alaska law, North Dakota's narrower felon in possession statute would fall within the category of felon in possession statutes that Dowlut considers to be constitutional, in

³³The court noted at page 28 that this affirmative defense is available in cases involving the charge of carrying a concealed weapon.

³⁴415 N.W.2d 481 (N.D. 1987).

that it only prohibits felons convicted of common law felonies from having firearms.³⁵

Other state courts have upheld felon in possession statutes based on express constitutional language that preserved the right of the legislature to regulate arms. In Landers v. State, 299 S.E 2d 707 (Ga. 1983), the court affirmed the conviction of a felon charged with possessing a firearm, and held "Where a State constitution in terms provides, in connection with the right to bear arms, that the State may regulate this right, or may regulate the manner of bearing arms, these words expressly

³⁵See also, Dickerson v. State, 517 So.2d 625 (Ala. Cr. App. 1986), Bristow v. State, 418 So.2d 927 (Ala. Cr. App. 1982) and Mason v. State, 103 So.2d 337 (Ala.App. (1956), aff'd 103 So.2d 341 (1958) (Statute prohibited "a person who has been convicted of a crime of violence from owning or possessing a pistol); State v. Krantz, 164 P.2d 453 (Wash. 1945) and State v. Tully, 89 P.2d 517 (Wash. 1939) (Statute prohibited possession of a firearm after having been convicted of a crime of violence); Carfield v. State, 649 P.2d 865 (Wyo. 1982) (Statute prohibited persons convicted of "murder, voluntary manslaughter, assault to commit murder, aggravated assault, robbery, burglary or sexual assault in the first or second degree, or mayhem" to possess any firearms.); State v. Noel, 414 P.2d 162 (Ariz. 1966) and State v. Rascon, 519 P.2d 37 (Ariz. 1974) (Statute prohibited any person convicted of a crime of violence from possessing a pistol); Sheppard v. State, 586 S.W.2d 500 (Tex. Crim. App. 1979), McGuire v. State, 537 S.W.2d 26 (Tex. Cr. App. 1976) and Webb v. State, 439 S.W.2d 342 (Tex. Cr. App. 1969) (Statute prohibited persons convicted of "a felony involving an act of violence or threatened violence to a person or property" from possessing firearms "away from the premises where he lives."); State v. Cartwright, 418 P.2d 822 (Ore. 1966) (Statute prohibited possession where convicted of "a felony against the person or property of another."

recognize the police power in direct connection with the constitutional declaration as to the right."³⁶

Similarly, in Nelson v. State, 195 So. 2d 853 (Fla. 1967), the conviction for possession of a pistol by a defendant who had previously been convicted of a felony was upheld. Although the statute applied to persons convicted of all felonies, Florida's constitutional provision said "The right of the people to keep and bear arms in defense of themselves and of the lawful authority of the state shall not be infringed, except that the manner of bearing arms may be regulated by law."

The court in Amos v. State, 343 So.2d 166 (La. 1977) upheld charges for felon in possession of a firearm because the "purpose [of the statute] is to limit the possession of firearms by person who, by their past commission of certain specified serious felonies, have demonstrated a dangerous disregard for the law and present a potential threat of further or future criminal activity." However, two justices of the Louisiana Supreme Court dissented from the opinion, believing that the statute impermissibly infringed on the right to bear arms.

³⁶Georgia's constitution states "The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed but the General Assembly shall have power to prescribe the manner in which arms may be borne."

The reasoning of the two dissenting justices in Amos is important, since if this position were adopted in Alaska, AS 11.61.200 would be struck down. The dissenters stated that the felon in possession statute "impermissibly limits the affirmative constitutional guarantee and as such is not a valid exercise of the police power." The dissenters looked at other state decisions upholding felon in possession laws and concluded "These states, however, have constitutional provisions different from ours. Every one of these constitutions link the right to bear arms to the need for a militia. Unlike these provisions, the Louisiana Constitution of 1974 expressly grants to each citizen the 'right to keep and bear arms,' a right which 'no law' shall abridge. This constitutional guarantee is not limited by linking it to a militia or a defense for the people as a whole. It is limited only by one state exception: the legislature has the authority to prohibit the concealment of weapons on the person. Otherwise, the legislature lacks the authority to nullify the right of Louisiana citizens to keep and bear arms."

An analysis of the effect the proposed right to bear arms amendment will have on the state's felon in possession statute must be undertaken with both the right to privacy and the Alaska Supreme Court's expansive equal protection standard in mind. Alaska law prohibits all felons, including persons convicted of non-violent felonies such as embezzlement and certain sex offenses, from

possessing firearms. If SJR4 were adopted, the court would require the state to prove that the law is based on a compelling state interest. In relation to non-violent felons, it is not unlikely that the state would be unable to meet the burden of proving it had a compelling state interest in prohibiting the possession of firearms by non-violent felons.

c. Constitutionality of Prohibited Weapons Statutes

The possession of certain classes of weapons is prohibited in Alaska.³⁷ Included in the category of prohibited weapons are switchblades, gravity knives, and metal knuckles. Under SJR4, this law would be unconstitutional, if the court in this state accepted the analysis of the Oregon Supreme Court in State v. Delgado, 692 P.2d 610 (Ore. 1984); State v. Blocker, 630 P.2d 824 (Ore. 1981); and State v. Kessler, 614 P.2d 94 (Ore. 1980).

In Delgado, the Oregon court held that a statute prohibiting mere possession of a switchblade was unconstitutional under the right to bear arms provision of the Oregon constitution.³⁸ The court first determined that the drafters of Oregon's constitution "intended that the private citizen have the

³⁷AS 11.61.200(e).

³⁸Article I, section 27, of the Oregon Constitution provides: "The people shall have the right to bear arms for the defence of themselves, and the State..."

right to possess arms for the defense of person and property."³⁹ Next, the court reasoned that switchblades were arms, and as a result, possession of a switchblade is a constitutionally protected in Oregon and the statute making such possession a crime is unconstitutional.

d. Constitutionality of Game Regulations

Alaska's regulatory scheme relating to the lawful methods of taking game is potentially at risk if the proposed amendment is adopted.⁴⁰ Since each of the game regulations infringes on the right to bear a particular type of arm, in order for the regulation to withstand constitutional scrutiny, the state would need to prove that it had a compelling state interest for adopting the regulation.

For example, under 5 AAC 92.100(a)(1), it is illegal to shoot waterfowl with a rifle or pistol. The purpose of the regulation is to make hunting waterfowl less efficient, and more

³⁹Delgado at 611.

⁴⁰5 AAC 92.075 (the permissible weapons for taking big game are a shotgun, a muzzle-loading rifle, or a rifle or pistol using a center-firing cartridge); 5 AAC 92.080 (it is prohibited to take game with the use or aid of a machine gun, set gun, or a shotgun larger than 10 gauge); and 5 AAC 92.100 (it is prohibited to take waterfowl, snipe and cranes with a rifle or pistol, a shotgun larger than 10 gauge, or a shotgun not plugged to a three shell capacity).

sporting.⁴¹ However, many biologists have argued that the regulation is unnecessary as it doesn't matter how a bird is killed, it only matters how many animals are shot, and whether the appropriate bag limit was exceeded.⁴² In the face of this type of expert testimony, it is not unlikely that a court would strike down 5 AAC 92.100(a)(1) as an infringement of the right to bear arms.

6. The Legislature Should Affirmatively State Its Intent

The State, through exercise of its police power, is vested with the authority to enact laws, within constitutional limits, to promote the general welfare of its citizenry. The Alaska Supreme Court examined the state's police power in light of express constitutional limitations on regulatory authority in Matthews v. Quinton.⁴³ In this case, the court analyzed whether a statute providing for the transportation of children to nonpublic schools at public expense was in contravention of a constitutional prohibition against the appropriation of public funds for the support of private schools. Since the statute had been on the books before the constitutional provision was adopted, the court

⁴¹Telephone conversation with James Sheridan, Assistant Special Agent in Charge, Law Enforcement, Alaska Region, United States Fish and Wildlife Service.

⁴²Id.

⁴³362 P.2d 932, app. disp., cert. den. 82 S.Ct. 530, 368 U.S. 517, 7 L.Ed.2d 522 (Alaska 1961)

considered the effect of subsequently adopted constitutional provisions on existing statutes.

The court concluded that for a constitutional provision to operate retrospectively to validate antecedent legislation in the face of claimed unconstitutionality, "the validating constitutional provision must make some reference, however slight or inferential, to the statute intended to be validated." The statute authorizing transportation of private school pupils was declared void because the newly adopted constitutional provision did "not show by the language used, either directly or by necessary implication, that it was intended to operate retrospectively so as to validate [the statute]." Id. at 939.

Whether the statute was a valid exercise of the police power of the state was also considered in Matthews. The court noted that "the police power -- broad and comprehensive though it is -- may not be exercised in contravention of plain and unambiguous constitutional inhibitions." Although the state has "inherent and reserved police power to enact laws to promote the safety, health and general welfare of society," the court emphasized that "this power must be exercised within constitutional limits." Id. at 944.

During the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Legislatures, versions of the right to bear arms amendment contained a general statement of "legislative intent" indicating that the constitutional amendment, if adopted, "should not be construed to preclude the regulation of the manner in which arms may be borne, carried, or used." We are concerned that this indirect statement of legislative intent will not be effective to preserve the present power to reasonably regulate the possession and use of weapons.

As a general rule, a statute or constitutional provision will be interpreted according to the plain meaning of the language on its face. If the intent behind the adoption of the amendment were to later become an issue, it is the intent of the voters who adopted the measure that will be relevant, rather than the intent of the legislators who drafted it. Although last session's resolution directed the Legislative Affairs Agency to consider the stated "legislative intent" when preparing its neutral summary for the election pamphlet, the intent language would not appear on the ballot itself, and might not be contained verbatim in the election pamphlet. See art. XIII, sec. 1 of the Alaska Constitution and AS 15.58.010.

Conclusion

It is our belief that the present provision of the Alaska constitution and the traditional restraint of the legislature in

regulating firearms adequately protect the right to bear arms. However, if the legislature believes this issue should be placed before the people in the form of a constitutional amendment, that amendment should be drafted to explicitly recognize the legislature's regulatory authority with regard to arms.

Both legal principles and common sense dictate that a well-drafted statute or constitutional provision should reduce uncertainty and disputes about interpretation. Statements of "legislative intent" are not an adequate substitute for clear, unambiguous language in the proposed constitutional amendment. A more precisely drafted amendment would minimize the possibility that a criminal defendant would later be able to successfully convince a court, as has been done in other that states, that a statute, regulation, or ordinance is unconstitutional.

As alternatives to SJR4, we suggest language such as:

The individual right to keep and bear arms shall not be denied or infringed by the state or a political subdivision of the state, except that the state or a political subdivision of the state may regulate the manner in which arms may be kept, borne, or used.

or

The individual right to keep and bear arms shall not be denied or infringed by the state or a political subdivision of the state, except that the exercise of this right may be regulated by law.