


Episode 113-- Do Guns Make Us Free

 Tue, 1/26 4:43PM  35:24

SUMMARY KEYWORDS

guns, nra, people, gun violence, brady, society, law, gun rights advocates, argued, gun rights, assault rifles, talking, impacted, rule, point, democracy, movement, kris, book, country

SPEAKERS

JJ Janflone, Kris Brown, Kelly Sampson, Firman DeBrabander



JJ Janflone 00:00

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JJ Janflone 00:40

Hey everybody, Welcome back to "Red, Blue and Brady." As always, I'm JJ and I'm joined by my fantastic co-host, Kelly Sampson. Today we're talking about something really important in this extra special minisode. We all know that in the past year, we've seen a national increase in gun sales and more and more often, we've been seeing the presence of guns at places like legislative buildings and at protests. Now, groups like the NRA have long claimed that guns are the key to America's freedom, but that isn't actually correct. According to researcher Dr. Firman DeBrabander, "guns don't make our freedom safe. In fact, they place us in danger." In his 2015 book, "Do Guns Make Us Free?: Democracy in the Armed Society. Dr. DeBrabander maintains that an armed society isn't a free society, and as such, our civil rights and freedom get chased away today with him and Brady, President Kris Brown, Kelly and I are discussing where the myth that guns equal safety came from, the role that the NRA has, and continues to play, in sharing that rhetoric and how these myths are being played out in current legislation across the US, like in the case

of Stand Your Ground laws. Dr. DeBrabander, Kris, thank you so much for for joining Kelly and I today, can I have you two introduce yourself to everyone?



Kris Brown 01:57

I'm Kris Brown, and I am the President of Brady.



Firman DeBrabander 02:00

And hi, I'm Firman DeBrabander, I teach philosophy at the Maryland Institute College of Art in Baltimore, and I have written a book on the gun rights movement called "Do Guns Make Us Free?"



JJ Janflone 02:10

I am really happy to go ahead and jump right into this conversation. Because recently we've seen these insurrection movements, not just at the Capitol, but across the country, with a lot of individuals who seem to very strongly believe that the right to carry guns, wherever they go, isn't an issue of safety -- it's an issue of freedom. And so I would really love to start by, you know, addressing, can you explain why it's a myth and where this myth came from?



Firman DeBrabander 02:35

You know, the reason I felt I need to write this book is because I'm in based in Baltimore here, and we have Johns Hopkins University and the Bloomberg School of Public Health. And we have some of the greatest, most famous public health scholars in the world writing on this issue here. Daniel Webster in particular, who's always on the news. And it always struck me that these public health arguments - which were very sensible to me - and maybe, it makes abundantly clear that guns do not make us safer. I was always wondering, I always wondered why those arguments did not make more headway. And my own background is as a political philosopher. And so you know, when I thought more about this issue, I decided that I think that I think the, the NRA and the gun rights movement, where they have been singularly successful, is in pushing these political arguments for guns. You know, and you can certainly see this over the trajectory of the NRA over the last few decades, you know, migrating from an organization that is principally concerned with hunting, to one that is concerned with self defense. But as I was arguing, in my latest article this week in The Atlantic, you know, the gun market demands that different call to arms, if you will. I was writing the handguns do the job, in a way, for

self defense. They might be suitable for self defense, but that's not good enough for gun manufacturers. They have, you know, assault rifles to sell, and scopes and high-mag, you know, high-capacity magazines. And this is all the stuff that's properly seen in the military, you know, on the battlefield. So how do you sell that in civil society? Well, you argue that actually, the point of guns was never for hunting or self defense, it was actually to take on tyranny. And so if that's the case, then yeah, you better have an assault rifle. Oh, and you better have a couple, okay. And so, you know, I used to be rather critical of the Public Health Group. I mean, I don't like to be critical of the public health side, because I'm incredibly sympathetic to their arguments. I think they're absolutely right. But I always was a bit chagrined that the public health crowd would issue - and I, I've been in contact with David Hemingway at Harvard as well, I admire his work very much. You know, I was always chagrined that they were taking on the claims about the NRA you know about that guns do not make us safer. You know, the, you know, households that have a gun in them lead to higher incidences of violence and higher mortality rates, etc, etc. They're they're hitting the NRA on - head on - with these very logical arguments, but they're kind of missing the point, because the NRA has moved on. They moved on from that.

F

Firman DeBrabander 05:16

Public health, public safety is a minor concern when the very foundation of democracy and freedom are at risk, which is what they're arguing, and which is what we saw last week in the Capitol building, right, come to fruition. So, you know, I have argued that political arguments to take on the NRA are more important. And frankly, I think, you know, the way that the gun rights advocates, you know, and gun rights extremists, they retrieve these guns, and they tout them as almost like, an existential cause. This opens the door for religion too. We need, the churches. In the Catholic church there are, I'm Catholic, and there are, there are bishops in the Catholic church who have issued arguments that I think are very useful to the gun safety movement. And we really need to tap into that, because that's the really powerful stuff. You know, that's the really emotive, deep emotive stuff that can take on the NRA. Because I'm sorry, at the end of the day, I'm with Machiavelli -- reason only goes so far. You can only appeal to people's reason to a certain point. And as we've seen in the gun debate over the last 20 years, reason is not winning the day.

K

Kelly Sampson 06:26

It's interesting hearing you talk about sort of how you brought your lens as a political philosopher, to this issue. And as you were speaking, you just reminded me, you know, one of the things we say so often here at Brady is that gun violence is so multifaceted and so connected to so many different aspects of our society, that we really need to be thinking about it in an interdisciplinary way, and also thinking about it in an intersectional way, to

really get at the heart of it. And so I was wondering if, Kris, if you had anything to add on, about the NRA's role in shaping the gun culture that we have today, from your perspective, as someone who's sort of a practitioner in the advocacy/policy space?

K

Kris Brown 07:05

I do have a lot of things to say about that. Yes, I mean, I think Firman touched on this right, that the NRA was founded in the 1870 somethings, actually, ironically, as a civil rights organization, that's part of their credo. And when they talk about that, of course, they're talking about the Second Amendment. And from their perspective, as an organization founded at that time, they really focused as Firman said, on hunting, and on a lot of training around safety. A lot of the ranges that we have across this country, the NRA helped sponsor, and it really had to do with the recreational use of guns in our society where it was more agrarian, and that was something that many people did. Obviously, those numbers are going down. And then there was a fight for the soul of the NRA, that took place at some point in the 70s. And Wayne LaPierre won, and he took over, and he basically created a cultural touch-point, in order to sell guns. This has nothing to do with representing members who are interested in hunting. This is about selling as many guns as you possibly can, to as many people as you can, for use for any purpose, and rejecting every notion that there should be an appropriate balance between public safety, right, which is enshrined in many aspects of our Bill of Rights, and our Constitution, and the Second Amendment. And what I think about that is, if you look at it as a master class of misinformation and disinformation, they get an award for that. The expense has been human lives. And what you're talking about, Kelly, is the way we look at gun violence in America -- it's multifaceted. It's not just that we have an epidemic of gun violence in this country, right? On top of that, what they don't talk about, but you know we do, quite a bit, is the disparate impact of different kinds of gun violence on different populations here in the United States. We have an epidemic of gun suicide - two thirds of the 40,000, on average, Americans who die from gun violence in this country - die by suicide. And the demographics of this are changing, but the predominant population, historically impacted by that and growing, are white men, roughly between the ages of 40 and 65. That's obviously very different than the individuals who are impacted every day by this country, in this country, by everyday gun violence. What you find is the populations that are truly impacted most by that, both as survivors and as victims themselves, are Black and Brown communities across this country. And we talk a lot, historically I would say, about gun violence and the solutions to it, as if, well, if we just expand Brady background checks, well, that will solve the issue. We stopped doing that, as you know, Kelly, because we have to, yes, we have to strengthen policy, absolutely. And Brady background checks are a piece of that.



Kris Brown 10:19

We also have to make sure that we work across Congress, courts and communities, to tackle the myriad different kinds of indicators that are causing gun violence in a place like Baltimore. You can't do that without also large investments in community-based intervention programs, and with a real understanding of the impact on communities who have experienced gun violence for a very long time, of the trauma associated with that, right. So this is trauma-informed care, trauma-informed engagement. And I think for our movement, our focus therefore, across everything we do is treating gun violence as a public health epidemic, and basing our approach on facts, and what we know works. The hardest backdrop, which is why I love Firman's book so much, is understanding the amount of misinformation that has been spread, and this emotional view that some people have, that any balanced approach on regulation and law that's related to public safety means really, it's about "taking someone's gun away." And I think that has a lot to do with the myth that the NRA has propagated for 30 years, thanks to Wayne LaPierre.



JJ Janflone 11:45

One of the things that I think is so great about your book, professor, is the section where you're talking about how, very intentionally, under Wayne Lapierre, there's this focus of aligning the NRA or aligning the gun lobby with the fundamentalist-Christian right. And I'm wondering if you can talk about sort of that fear, this, this positioning that, that the US has headed towards that apocalypse towards zombies towards riots towards... Because we see this rhetoric a lot, I think certainly we saw it leading up to the insurrection that happened at the Capitol. And so I'm wondering if we can start to try to unpack that a little bit as best we can.



Firman DeBrabander 12:18

Sure. I mean, this is one of the strangest phenomena about this country, is this, is this movement that thinks that society is in the pits, and it's at an end. And I mean, actually, that's tied into the culture wars quite deeply. You know, this is a very, I was just, you know, thinking this the other day: one of the least helpful things that I think the modern republican party has done, since Reagan on, is what reagan did is he said that government is not the solution, government is the problem. And that, you know, the Republicans have really taken that and run with it. And I always tell my students, you know, what is this business about government being inefficient? You guys don't know how good you have it. Americans don't have any idea how good we have it. So what, what mystifies me about the insurrectionist movement is, they're railing against this government like it is tyrannical. They don't know what tyranny is, give me a break. Give

me a break. They run around with their guns. You know, I wrote a piece about the anti-lockdown march in Michigan, and they had these pictures of the guys in their camouflage with their masks, and their whatever, and their assault rifles yelling, and your Congresswoman from Detroit, Tlaib is her name, Rashida Tlaib, aptly pointed out if those people had been Black, that would not have happened. You know, white men get to run around with their guns in this country, and wave them in people's faces and then one of the more popular essays on gun rights circles, believe it or not, is an article by I think his name is Bill Bridgestone. He is dead now, but he was a, he was a big gun rights advocates in the 90s, and he's, the article is entitled, "Armed Revolution Is Possible And Not So Difficult." Just imagine "Armed Revolution Is Possible And Not So Difficult." Where the hell do you get that idea? Well, when you are, as a white man, allowed to, you know, waive your assault rifle in the face of police and they don't do anything about it. Yeah oh, then it seems possible. Ask African Americans how they feel, and they will tell you something quite different, okay.

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Firman DeBrabander 14:29

So the problem is these gun rights advocates, their fantasy land, you know, world has been nourished and cultivated. They can have these "militias," and they can play soldier on the weekends, but they don't know what real tyranny is. I wrote this in my article about Michigan. In real tyrannies, you do not get to walk around in the street with your guns, advertising who you are. Just imagine the guys who went into the Capitol last week one, of them had his name badge on. How stupid is that? You don't do that in China. Oh no, it doesn't take much reflection to realize that you don't really live in, in a tyranny. But as a philosopher, I would also say that one of the, you know, the, what I think about a lot is this thing called "rule of law." Rule of law is one of the most important institutions in a democracy. The problem is, it's invisible. What I mean by rule of law is, it's this like, unspoken agreement that we will all act in a lawful behavior in public, non-violently. And that's, that's, so it's this unspoken contract. The problem is, that rule of law is mostly visible when it's absent. So my wife from Middle East, you have to pay back shish, if you want to get something or go somewhere. It's basically a little blackmail, a little corruption. So you see it. I've been in countries where there were soldiers with armed rifles outside the bank. Or out, I was in the Philippines once on Election Day, and they were men with assault rifles outside the voting places. When you see those things, there you know you have absence of rule of law. Unfortunately, I'd say in downtown Baltimore City, you know, you have absence of rule of law in certain neighborhoods, right. They are lawless. So unfortunately you, when you have, you know, rule of law is most visible when it's absent. But when you have it, you don't see it. And what's strange is that these guys with their guns are allowed to march around -- because we have rule of law. They're protected in doing that. Black people, not so much. However, I've also argued that doing this, that, you know, this this

kind of behavior and the permissive laws that the gun rights movement is pushing, open carry, Stand Your Ground, constitutional carry, permitless carry this stuff together, becomes a threat to democracy itself, that undermines it. And so, when I saw them overrunning the Capitol last week, I thought, this is the, you know, the coming fruition of this movement, this anti-democratic movement. Here they are blowing up democracy, just as they have threatened to.

K

Kelly Sampson 15:57

When you were talking about, sort of, the distinction between government here and government and other countries, where there actually are issues around tyranny and censorship, it reminded me of some of the reactions people have had to the debate during impeachment this week, where certain members of Congress are, you know, on one hand, they were being censored, while their comments were being broadcast around the world and unedited. So I definitely take that point. And I kind of wanted to continue down the path you have raised, around insurrection and the rule of law, because there are some clear parallels - which you've already pointed out - between what's been happening lately, like with the January 6 insurrection on the Capitol, and even some of the laws that we've seen promulgated over the past decade or so, like Stand Your Ground laws, and through the normalization of armed quote unquote, "protesters." So I'm wondering if you could talk, in particular, around how laws that are on the books, like Stand Your Ground laws, translate into emboldening armed citizens to, kind of, go out and act on them.

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Firman DeBrabander 18:09

Well, Stand Your Ground is, is disastrous, in my view, right. But you know, from a strictly political point of view, Stand Your Ground is, it emboldens what we call "vigilantism." And vigilantism is not rule of law, that's the opposite, right? That's citizens taking the law into their own hands, oh, and in such a way that they can shoot them dead. I mean, that is outrageous. You know, this is the kind of behavior that, you know, can possibly potentially set in, you know, motion cycles of vengeance, you know, that that lead to war, you know. You can't have citizens taking the law into their own hands in this manner, right? The whole point of civil society, you know, John Locke and Hobbes pointed out, and Rousseau, is that you transfer this right to government to do this for you and, and as Locke uses the word, "an impartial judge," as far as possible, it's never perfect. We all know that. You know, juries can be subjective too, but there is a better chance they will be objective than you in the heat of the moment when you're angry, by the way, and start shooting.

K

Kris Brown 19:20

I, like many other Americans firmly believe in all of my rights, as an American. I think all of us, every American, should be able to exercise our rights. And in trying to exercise my right to share my voice, and my perspective in the public square, namely Richmond, Virginia, which was contemplating passing laws, I had, standing next to me, a person who believed that anything the General Assembly passed to regulate guns better, was somehow going to take their gun away and he was standing next to me with basically an assault weapon. It was an AR 15, so semi-automatic weapon. And when I looked over and saw him with the gun, I can tell you I felt unsafe. There's something fundamentally flawed, right? Here we could go on and on about how many somethings there are. But about the NRA's "more guns make us freer" kind of philosophy, which is, well, but that means that everyone whether you want to have a gun or not, is supposed to be existing in our world with a gun. And why would anyone wants to live in that society?

F

Firman DeBrabander 20:39

Well, something has come to mind. And I'm very, I hope they maybe the Brady initiative will do something about this, which would be great, I'm not a lawyer. But I was, I was talking to the other day with John Donahue, saying that, you know, it's not looking good with the Supreme Court. He thinks that this Supreme Court is really going to be tough on guns, for at least from the gun safety point of view. But listen, this court is supposedly a staunch defender of free speech. So much so that they passed this Citizens United law, which is quite outrageous, frankly, where they say money is speech. Well, if they are going to be big defenders of free speech, then they need to understand exactly what you just said about the guns, because I bet that armed gentleman in Richmond, because I have argued from the very beginning, actually my great epiphany and writing the whole book was my son, after hearing about the Sandy Hook shooting said "I don't want to go to school anymore." And I said, well, "what the hell," that's not, doesn't sound very "free." And I, so I transformed that into an argument that when you push the Second Amendment - to a certain extent, as the NRA has done - it overtakes and undermines the First. And that is not acceptable in this country, okay? What gun rights advocates don't understand is that a gun speaks. This is the problem with open-carry. A gun speaks, a gun says something. It doesn't invite speech. When you see those men with arms, with their assault rifles, in the Capitol building that doesn't invite you to come up and say, "oh, let's engage in a debate." No, they don't want to hear you. They want you to shut up. Their mind is made up. Well, that is not democracy. I'm sorry. And now we've seen what those, you know, this is no idle threat. Now they've attacked, they've invaded the Capitol, okay. So we have seen, this is no longer mere theory. We have left the realm of the theoretical, and we have seen exactly what these men will do. There was a man who was arrested with the wristbands, right. And they asked, "what were you going to do?" He was going to take members of Congress hostage, and perhaps some, execute them. Okay, listen, this is, this is clear now

that the the some of the, you know, the more extreme parts of this group, of this movement, they will undermine the first amendment rights of everybody else.



Kris Brown 22:58

I love what you just said. And I think it's very profound that a gun speaks, because that's exactly what it is. It's not a representational object.



Firman DeBrabander 23:09

No.



Kris Brown 23:10

Right. And I think that's, that's a hugely important point.



Firman DeBrabander 23:15

And by the way, the gun rights advocates admit this, because they defend open carry on the basis that it will deter criminals. So they know, it's more than just, you know, they know it speaks.



Kris Brown 23:27

Yeah.



Kelly Sampson 23:27

Some of what you're getting at to reminds me of your earlier comments about how we are governed by the rule of law, here in the United States. And I think so much of what the NRA and some of the gun lobby have done, is they have twisted and distorted history. And I'm the first person to say that, as a Black person, I do not buy into the mythology around the Founding Fathers, or the idea that the Constitution is somehow a perfect document by any means. But, even that being said, it is not, it is a document that is based on this idea of a well-ordered society, where you have laws and you have - you can talk about who is included in the democracy - but among the people who are included in democracy at any given time, there's an opportunity for debate. And the gun lobby has, sort of, distorted that to say that - no, they were actually creating a society that wasn't premised on law, that was premised on violence and premised on, particularly the right to, sort of, threaten each other. And so when you see this rhetoric around, "well, this is what keeps us

safe" and "this is what makes our society function" is this opportunity that everyone can threaten everyone at any given time. I think it goes to your point around there's a breakdown. And like I said, I am the first person to admit that we have ideals about what the rule of law looks like in the United States, and we don't meet them. We fall short of them, but the ideals are there. And this idea that we are only as good a society as we are armed, I think really takes us to a place that we don't want to go, and then we supposedly are not based around. And I was just struck by that, and your comments, and Kris's comments around how this impacts your ability to function in society.

F

Firman DeBrabander 25:10

And I would say, I would say one of the, one of the features of American history and culture that is not talked up enough, is that civil disobedience is an American tradition. Nonviolent protest is an American tradition. You've seen it in civil rights movement you've seen in the labor movement, and the gay rights movement. Okay, so the NRA likes to talk about, "we've had guns forever," and "we're in an armed society," which is not accurate, by the way. Okay. The historian, Saul Cornell at Fordham, has put a lot of holes in that, okay, very, you know, actively. But if they're going to argue that I would counter that civil disobedience is just as much an American tradition. We have made our mark on the world through civil disobedience, and civil rights have been advanced more regularly through civil disobedience, than through any act of violence. For sure. The notion that you're referencing, Kelly, is an armed society is a polite society, right? That gun rights saying "an armed society is a polite society." Well, I've argued that that's not a peaceful society, actually. You know, that's, that's a society living on, on edge. And no one is safe in that society, for sure.

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Firman DeBrabander 26:20

But it also occurs to me - and I'm thinking of what Kris was talking about earlier - you know, where, where does this, where do we get this idea that this is acceptable? And I guess, you know, I would say there's two things that come to mind here. On one hand, you're talking about this demographic, and these are Dan Baum has talked about in his book about the gun - I think it's called gun guys - and he talks about that culture. He points out that this demographic has been, you know, they've been taken down a notch over the last 30 years, okay. Their egos have been bruised. Some of it, justifiably, some not so much there. This gen this, this demographic is the victim of globalization. They've lost their, you know, steady work, and they have been relegated to, you know, the kind of uncertainty that that the rest of the economy has long-known, and are, you know, they are in competition with minorities and who are becoming, you know, more politically potent. And so this, this group of people, they feel the grievance. They feel maligned. They

feel on edge. And a gun is a very important existential boost for them. Add to that, how Hollywood has glorified violence throughout the years. Why do you need more than one assault rifle? Well, Rambo had, how many? I don't know, right. That kind of thing. Right, you know, you gotta have a couple. You can't have one, you have to get a couple. And they look so good running around with these assault rifles, you know, that that I think has really fueled a mythology too, you know. That makes it look easy also. It's a search for meaning. So again, I'm going back to my roots as a philosopher, it's a search for meaning, you know, this is a this is deep seated.

K

Kris Brown 27:59

These aren't "militias," these. These are clubs of disenfranchised individuals, who the gun symbolically, and as a something of power, makes them feel better about their station in the world. And I just wonder what you think about that, having written the book, I'm sure you heard back from a lot of these people. And I started wondering, well, can we just try to facilitate in society, a different kind of club? Where people can come and bond and it accomplishes the same thing for them. And what would that look like? Because it seems to me they're looking for something that is lost, that's sad. Everything you said is right, it's globalization, it's a lot of other things. But they don't have the right to deal with their sadness by making me afraid for my life. That's not, that's not cool. And they don't have the right to conspire, to kidnap, try, and execute anyone, including elected officials.

F

Firman DeBrabander 29:00

The first thing that comes to mind is I'm now doubly worried about the men who have these assault rifles. They are the least hinged, the most unhinged, the least hinged have the weapons. That's troubling. But yeah, I mean, look, there is a deep cultural malaise, I think, at work here. Part of my other work that I've done, that I've written about, I have a current book on privacy, where I think a lot about suburbia, and suburban isolation, you know. And that has really undermined a lot of how people function and flourished in society, you know, and, but yeah, you raise a good question. What kind of community activities would, would help? Well, I might say, as you know, as political philosopher, I might just say good ol' politics. I mean, when Tocqueville came to America, the one thing that struck him, is it every Joe Schmo was at the town hall meetings speaking up. I always ask my students "how many of you have been to town halls" and they look at me mystified like, "what the heck is a town hall?" They don't, don't take part in politics at the local level, hardly anymore. National politics has eclipsed everything. You see this across the board, local newspapers are in trouble. You know, people don't know what's going on at the local town hall. But that used to be a big, if you read Tocqueville, that used to be a big deal. That was a big affair, that was a big activity. You would go to these places, and

you these town halls, and you would take part in these meetings, and you would weigh in and you have your voice held, voice heard, and listened, and all of the various psychological boosts that come through all that right. Everybody in society, well, except for people that were not white, of course - I'm talking about the 1800s. And women, I guess we're largely excused, so we have to take this ideal and repurpose it. But the way it would be repurposed is that we would have a real rebirth of local politics, you know, where people could take part, and have their voice heard at the local level, you know. So many people, you know, not only Black but white feel disenfranchised by the system. For white people, it's not legally disenfranchised. It's not the voter ID laws and such, it is just in the nature of our, you know, our society, the way it's laid out, the way we communicate the way we live, how we how we rarely see one another anymore, you know, and to the extent that that has diminished, yeah, I think more and more people feel disenfranchised. And so some of them reach for the gun as an instrument of political voice and representation.

K

Kelly Sampson 31:38

To tack on, I think, because I've seen a lot of people mentioning the decline of local politics and how that can be corrected, but I just wanted to tack on to that as well. I think, even with strength in local communities, there is this current white supremacy that I think has always impacted national and local politics. You know, you see the sun downtown's, back in the day, and to some extent in the modern day. And so I think, also thinking about the ways in which white supremacy acting as a standard in our society, what that does to people, to white people, when they feel disenfranchised, and how that impacts the way we think about guns, and gun violence, and gun policy. Because I think there are so many links there. To, to your point, where you mentioned that so many people feel disenfranchised today - of all walks of life - but what you feel like you can do with your disenfranchisement, I think, is also another step in the process of maybe getting off of this path, and figuring out how, how can we also help people understand that the society is not functioning for them in the way they think it does. Because I was struck by the fact that, you know, Trump was telling people, "I'm going to walk with you to the Capitol," and then he didn't. And I feel like that's a metaphor for how white supremacy works, where you can get people riled up, thinking that you're on their side, but then you're hurting them as well. And it's just like a few people benefiting at the top. And so I think that that also impacts our gun policies and our gun culture here.



JJ Janflone 33:13

No, and thank you for that, Kelly, because I think that's a really important point to remember. I think it'd be really easy to assume that because the Trump presidency has come to an end, that a lot of the things we've been talking about today - sort of this idea

of disenfranchisement, this idea of people going to guns, and equating them with freedom - is just somehow magically going to go away, and that's not the case. And I think, Professor, you make an excellent case for why that's not the case in your book. So these are all really important things, I think, to consider in 2021, and beyond. Which I think then means that we just have to go ahead, and plan to have you back on, Professor, with all of us to discuss this more in depth. Maybe in the future, or hopefully, you know, maybe this is all solved, and we don't have to meet up. But I want to thank you so, so much for coming on and for your marvelous book and The Atlantic article, which of course, I will be linking in the description of this episode.



Firman DeBrabander 34:09

JJ, thank you.



JJ Janflone 34:10

Thank you.



JJ Janflone 34:13

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JJ Janflone 34:31

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