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WH Strategy Session - Kids and Violence 5/10/99 [2]

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Richard Socarides 05/09/99 02:50:11 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: 1998-10-15 President's remarks at Conference on School Safety

see paras in bold

----- Forwarded by Richard Socarides/WHO/EOP on 05/09/99 02:48 PM -----



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Subject: 1998-10-15 President's remarks at Conference on School Safety

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release
15, 1998

October

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AT WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON SCHOOL SAFETY

The East Room

1:28 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Your kindness is interfering with my determination to stay on schedule. (Laughter.) But thank you very much. I want to thank Secretary Riley and Attorney General Reno for their devotion and consistent work on this matter. I thank the Vice President. He and Hillary and I are delighted to have all of you here at the White House today, and the many, many people all across America who are joining us, thanks to the technological

revolution.

I thank the members of Congress who are here. And, Governor, thank you for coming -- and the mayors and the other members of the administration, and all the distinguished citizens who are here. Our good friend, Edward James Olmos, thank you for being here.

I saw a survey, a public opinion survey a few months ago that asked the American people what they thought the most important story of the first six months of 1998 was, and dwarfing everything else was the concern our people had for the children who were killed in their schools. And I think that your presence here and the number of people who are involved all across America, the quality of the panelists and, indeed, the courage of many of them -- the mother of one of the children killed at Jonesboro, Arkansas, in my home state, was on the morning panel with Hillary -- this is truly a moving thing. And it's a very important thing for our country.

You know, when I leave here -- and I hope I don't have to leave before this panel is over, but I think all of you know that we have been able to put together a conference for several days, a meeting between the Prime Minister of Israel and the Chairman of the PLO in our attempts to make the next big step toward peace in the Middle East. And I got to thinking about it on the way over here today, as I was walking over from the Oval Office, and all the things I'm trying to get these people to lay down and get over and give up, so they can go on with their children's future, so that we can stop innocent children from being killed in the place in the world that is the home of the world's three great monotheistic religions.

It's all a part of our attempt not to give up on anybody and not to permit hatred or anger to destroy even one child's life anywhere. And if we're going to do that elsewhere in the world, to try to be a force for good, then we have to be as good as we can here at home. And all of you are trying to help us achieve that, and I'm very, very grateful to you.

Because this is the only chance I'll have to do it today, and because all of you care so much about education, I'd like to just take a moment to talk about where these budget negotiations are on Capitol Hill. They're about to concluded, I hope -- they've certainly gone on long enough. But we're not quite there yet. However, even though there are still points outstanding, I believe we'll succeed. And as the Vice President said, one thing we know

already, we know that now this budget will reflect a major commitment to education and to the future of our children.

I am very pleased it will make the first installment on our plan to hire 100,000 new teachers. (Applause.) You heard the Vice President's catalogue of the class size issue, but the Secretary of Education tells me that we haven't fully grasped it because,

unlike the baby boom, we think that this increase in our children will go on more or less indefinitely, and we've got a lot of very fine teachers in the classroom who will be retiring in the next few years. So this is a huge challenge for us.

The United States has never before done anything like this. And there were a lot of people who honestly thought I was wrong to fight for this or they disagreed with me, but it seems to me that we had enough experience when we put 100,000 police on the street. I was told the United States had never done anything like that before. We didn't have anything to do with telling the cities where the police should go, but the results have been pretty satisfactory. And everywhere I go, someone mentions it to me.

If it worked there and we have crime at a 25-year low, how much more important is it to put the children in the classroom? And this will make a major down payment toward our goal of an average class size of 18 in the early grades -- very different from what has been reported.

And I should also say that when the Attorney General and the Secretary of Education went out across the country in the wake of all of these school shootings, and they met with educators and they met with people talking about how we can prevent these things from happening in the first place, one of the things that they were told was, get us small classes in the early grades so that we can get to know these children, find out the ones who obviously have got some serious problems, and try to get them the help they need before their lives and others' are irrevocably changed. So this is a very, very good day for the United States.

There were some other very important educational initiatives that will be fully supported -- our child literacy drive, to make sure every child can read independently by the end of the 3rd grade; our college mentoring drive to help lower-income students prepare for college and to be able to tell every one of them what kind of financial aid they'll get if they stay in school and learn their lessons and stay out of trouble.

It increases support for Head Start, expands the number of innovative charter schools. There are now 1,000 of those schools in America; there was one when I became President, and there will be 3,000 before we're done in 2000.

We will provide for half a million summer jobs for our young people, a program that many had sought to eliminate. It will provide for after-school programs for a quarter million young people. And I think we all know how important that is.

I'm very, very grateful for the strong support I have received from the members of my party in the Congress to turn away attempts to actually cut funds from our public schools and instead to renew our historic commitment to them, to more and better-trained teachers, to smaller classes, to hooking up all those classrooms to

the Internet by the year 2000, for extra support for children who need it, for accountability and choice.

This is what I mean by putting partisanship behind progress, by putting people ahead of politics. And I am grateful to all those in both parties who are responsible for pulling this agreement together.

There's still a lot to be done. A lot of these teachers we'll hire will have to hold class in trailers or hallways, or crowded or crumbling classrooms. I proposed in the State of the Union a targeted tax cut for school modernization that was fully paid for, wouldn't take a dime from the surplus, won't create a single new federal bureaucracy, but it will lower the cost of building these buildings. It could mean as much as 300 new schools in Florida alone next year.

If our children are learning in trailers and schools with broken windows and where the wiring won't even permit them to be hooked up to computers, then we're not getting them ready for the 21st century. So I do want to say, while I am profoundly grateful for the 100,000 teachers, I am determined to see that we finish the job next year in the next Congress. (Applause.)

Now, I also want to thank the First Lady for her role in this conference. We've been at this a long time. In 1983, when I was governor of our state, I asked Hillary to chair a commission on school standards, and one of the things that we fought hardest for, that was very controversial at the time, was to have a class size limit of 20 in the early grades. And 15 years ago, it was a hard fight, and we got it. And I haven't checked the numbers yet, but I bet, given the growth in population in our schools, they're being swamped and hard-pressed to meet it. And we really believe that making this a national goal and sticking with it will pay major, major benefits to our children all across the country.

Let me also say what I've already said a little bit of. The American people -- if I had been polled, I would have been right there with them. I think that all of us were shocked by the violence we saw in Springfield and Paducah and Jonesboro and Edinboro and Pearl. I think we're still disturbed when we see the sights of metal detectors in school doorways or see gangs of young people who are on the streets when they ought to be in the halls of their schools.

We know that there are still some schools where children are afraid to go to school. And doing something about school violence, therefore, is very important, but also we have to understand the nature, the magnitude of the problem. Why do some teenagers from some troubled backgrounds pick up guns and open fire on their classmates? Why do some teenagers who don't appear to have trouble at home do the same thing? What is at the bottom of this and what can we really do?

You know, I have to say this -- and I'm not blaming anybody because I've done it myself, so I will posit the fact that I have done this -- but when people are in elected office and they hear about a problem like this, and they know the people they're doing their best to represent are afraid, the first impulse is always to say, well, if we just punish them a little harder and a little faster and kept them a little longer, everything would be all right. Now, the truth is that some people are so far gone and what they have done is so heinous that that is the appropriate thing to do. But I have never met a police officer in my life who believed that we could punish our way out of our social problems without other appropriate actions -- not one time. And I think we're all here because we believe in a good society we would stop more bad things from happening in the first place.

The report that's being released today tells us that the vast majority of our schools are safe, that the majority of our children are learning in peace and security. But it also tells us that in too many schools students feel unsafe. Even if they're not, if they feel unsafe it's going to have a huge detrimental impact on their ability to learn and grow and relate to their fellow students in an appropriate way.

In too many schools, there is still too much disrespect for authority and still too much intolerance of other students from different backgrounds. Our schools, all of them, must be sanctuaries of safety and civility and respect.

Now, here are some things that I think we can do to help you meet the challenge. First, in the schools with the biggest violence problems, security has to be the top priority. Today, I am pleased to announce a new \$65-million initiative to help schools hire and train 2,000 new community police and school resource officers to work closely with principals and teachers and parents and the students, themselves, to develop antiviolence and antidrug plans, based on the actual needs of individual schools. Community policing has helped to make our streets safe; it can work for our schools, too.

I'm also very pleased that Congressman Jim Maloney of Connecticut has sponsored a bill to help schools use the funds available for hiring the community police officers to hire officers to work with the schools. This bill was passed by the House and Senate and it will get up here to me in a day or two and I'll look forward to signing it into law.

Second, we have to help schools recognize the early warning signs of violence and to respond to violence when it does strike. Today, I want to tell you that soon I will be sending to Congress a plan to create a School Emergency Response to Violence, the SERV Program, that will work just as FEMA does when it responds

to natural disasters. Project SERV will travel to where the trouble is and help communities respond quickly to school violence, from helping schools to meet increased security needs, to providing emergency and longer-term mental health crisis counseling for students, faculty and their families.

Now, let me just say a word here of appreciation to somebody who is not here, to Tipper Gore, who, once she became 50, fell victim to the Vice President and my propensity for leg injuries -- (laughter) -- but, you know, more than any other person in America since we've been here in the White House, she has tried to elevate the importance of proper mental health care and the fundamental dignity of it. And I think that we have got to, all of us, keep working until we remove any last vestige of stigma that attaches to getting treatment for children who have troubling mental problems. We know that most of them, the vast majority of them, can be treated successfully. And we know that it is not a cause for shame or denial among families. And we have to keep working on that. And all of you, I ask you to join Tipper Gore and others who understand this and try to make that a part of our approach to this issue as well.

Third, we can't stop the prevention efforts at the schoolhouse door. As I said, the budget agreement we reached today will double or more the after-school programs that keep young people safe after the bell rings. But if young people leave the safe school and enter an unsafe community, they're in trouble.

Today we want to announce two new steps to help them meet that challenge. Our Safe Schools-Safe Communities initiative will help 10 targeted communities develop plans to reduce youth violence and drug use in and out of school -- not only more police, but after-school programs, mentoring, counseling, conflict resolution, mental health services, and more. We wanted to put together in at least 10 places that don't have it now, a truly comprehensive approach.

I'm also pleased to announce that in response to constructive criticism and suggestions from many members of Congress and educators and community leaders across this country, we're going to overhaul our Safe and Drug-Free Schools program, which we have dramatically increased in the last few years, to require schools who get the funds to establish tough, but fair discipline rules; to put in place proven drug prevention strategies; to issue yearly school safety and drug use report cards to measure their own progress. These methods have worked so well in cities like Boston, they can work around the country, and it will guarantee that the money that's being spent will actually achieve the results that it's been appropriated to achieve.

Fourth, we have to expect more from young people themselves. Given the facts, the resources, the encouragement, almost all of them will do the right thing. This year we launched a huge media campaign to tell young people that drugs are wrong, illegal and can kill you. Now we have to tell them they, too, have

responsibilities to prevent youth violence, to help their fellow students who are violence prone, to report trouble signs they see and try to help kids get the help they need.

I am pleased that MTV is going to work with us to launch a new campaign to encourage people to become mentors -- young people -- to help their peers resolve their conflicts peacefully. And, again, I'm very grateful and I'd like for all of you to join me in thanking MTV for their willingness to invest in this important endeavor. (Applause.)

Lastly -- I've spoken a little longer than I meant to because I wanted to really hear the panelists, but I return to the theme on which I began and what I will do when I leave here in working for the peace process in the Middle East. We have got to do more to teach our young people to have tolerance and respect for one another; to understand the rich and only superficial dichotomy that the more we appreciate each other's diversity, the more we reaffirm the fundamental core values and existence we have in common.

The recent death of young Matthew Shepard in Wyoming makes it all too clear to us that violence still can be motivated by prejudice and hatred. Yes, we do need a new hate crimes law. And I have directed the Education Department Civil Office to step up its enforcement to stop discrimination and harassment against students. But, again, ultimately, we have to be reconciled to one another. We have to believe in one another's fundamental humanity and equal right to be here and to become whatever they can become.

And I hope that all of us -- the young people of this country, because our school population is more diverse than ever before, and because to some extent they are unburdened by some of the problems that their parents and grandparents grew up with, can go either way with this issue. If they become the victims of a kind of a current climate of prejudice and bigotry and a sense of opposition and isolation, because of our increasing diversity it could wreak total havoc in this country, in a way that we can't even imagine and even couldn't have imagined in the old days of the civil rights years. But if they do what they will do left to their own better-selves, then the increasing diversity of America is something that will guarantee us renewed strength, unparalleled opportunities in the 21st century world.

So I don't think we should forget that, either. In the end, the human heart still counts for quite a great deal, and we ought to bring out the best in all the ones we can.

Now, I would like to start the program -- and I'm going to sit down to do it -- and I'd like to begin with Mr. Kent, Jamonn Kent, who is the Superintendent of the Springfield, Oregon, public schools, that I had the honor the visit after the terrible incident there. And because we're running a little late, I'm going to do something a little bit unconventional. I'm going to call on the all the panelists to make their remarks and then open for questions,



starting with Mr. Kent. (Applause.)

* * * * *

THE PRESIDENT: I don't want to violate my own rule, so I won't ask a question, but I do want to highlight one thing he said, because if it resonates with your experience, then we need your feedback to the Attorney General and to the Secretary of Education, ultimately to the Congress.

We now have a national policy of zero tolerance for guns in schools. Last year, I believe the number of -- the Secretary of Education can correct me if I make a mistake -- last year, I believe there were 6,000 children who were found -- students who were found with guns. Guns were taken, and they were sent home. This actually happened in Oregon to this young man right before he came back the next day and killed the kids.

So the question is what is -- we have to find the constitutional fix here, and then the schools have to have the resources so that you don't just take a gun and expel somebody because there's obviously something going on inside the child that is just as important as the physical manifestation of having the gun. So that was the one thing that they've really done in Springfield, is to sort of spark a nationwide reassessment of what we ought to do with the children besides just send them home.

And they've proposed a period of 72 hours or some sort of period of evaluation, and we're trying to work out the details of it. But if any of you have any thoughts about this, I would ask you to give it to us, because that's a very clear issue that was raised in the Springfield case, that I must confess until I went and talked to them had never occurred to me before.

I'd like to now call on Commissioner Paul Evans, the Police Commissioner from Boston who led Boston's innovative operation Cease-fire. I spent a half a day up there with the Mayor and the Commissioner and others several months ago. And many of you know that Boston went for over two years without having a single child under 18 killed by a gun. That's astonishing. (Applause.)

And so I would like for Commissioner Evans to make whatever remarks he'd like to make on this subject.

* * * * *

THE PRESIDENT: I would like to make one brief observation about what the Commissioner said, because I have spent a great deal of time in Boston -- and I don't want to single them out in derogation of the astonishing efforts that have been made elsewhere, many of which have already been featured. But the thing that strikes me -- it struck me when I spent a day up there and I met with -- the Mayor's got a nun who represents him, who has this youth council for the city. The city has its own youth council, like

others have the city council. But the thing that struck me about Boston is they do things that seem obvious when you hear about them, but a lot of people don't do it. The systematic contact that they have in a personal, one-to-one way, with a huge percentage of the young people in their cities is quite astonishing.

And if somebody asked me, in a sentence, why have they been so successful, I would say they mobilize in a systematic way a consistent contact with a huge percentage of the young people. The idea of, you know, well, we hear we're going to have a gang problem in middle school, why don't we go interview the customers. You know, if you were running a business that's exactly what you'd do. But I think they deserve a lot of appreciation, but also a lot of modeling for that.

* * * * *

THE PRESIDENT: I have two brief things to say. First of all, don't you feel better knowing that there are people like her in the classrooms of America? (Applause.)

And second, I want to thank you for what you said about school uniforms. When Secretary Riley and I set out to promote school uniforms around the country, there were some here in Washington who derided this as one of those "little ideas" that we were constantly harping on. It may be a little idea, but I have never been to a school that had them that didn't think it made a huge difference in the lives of the children there. And so I thank you for giving a boost to that endeavor.

* * * * *

THE PRESIDENT: First of all, I want to apologize to all of you, and in particular to Mayor Corradini, who made a terrific presentation, according to the First Lady. I got a call -- we just completed our agreement on the budget and the negotiations -- (applause.) In a half hour or so, for the members of the press, we'll have a statement about that.

But let me say, first, I think about Congressman Etheridge, it is -- one of the things that we desperately -- that we need so much in Congress -- Congress works better when there are people in the Congress who have all kinds of different experiences that are relevant. It's an incredible gift that we have a member of the House of Representatives that was actually a state superintendent of public instruction. And the influence he can have on other members and the role he can play in the years ahead I think is virtually limitless just because of the life he lived before he came there. And I'm very grateful for what he said today and for what he's done.

I would also like to thank Mayor Corradini for the report, for the recommendations and for the Best Practices booklet.

I think that we need -- every single challenge we've got in this country, we'd be a lot better off if everybody who was working on it issued a Best Practices book, because one of my pet theories is that everybody solved every problem somewhere, but we're not very good at playing copycat when we ought to. So I thank her for that.

The only other thing I want to say, and then I want to turn it over to the Vice President and let him ask a question, is that the mayors recommended new youth counselors, and Bob talked about other kinds of support personnel on security issues. One of the things that we had to fight hardest for in 1983, that Hillary convinced me we ought to do 15 years ago, was to require every elementary school to have a counselor. But 15 years later, it looks like a pretty good decision.

And I think we have to -- with people who have to pay for these things, with the taxpayers and others who may not deal with it, we need to let them know that a well-trained counselor dealing with the kind of challenges these children face is a terrific investment. And I appreciate the recommendation of the mayors and I like forward to following up on them.

* * * * *

THE PRESIDENT: I would have an elementary school that would have classes between 15 and 20 in the early grades. I would have a maximum number of kids in the school of about 300. I would have -- and about 1,000 for the high school. I would have the support personnel, I'd have all the teachers trained, and I'd have a parent coordinator that had huge numbers of the parents coming in and out of the schools all the time.

And then I'd try to figure out how to make young people like Liberty the rule rather than the exception. That is -- I was sitting here when she was telling her story -- I was thinking about she got to the Boys and Girls Club, and that's a good thing, but there's a whole bunch of kids that live in the place where she does that didn't get there, and that's not a good thing. And so I think that would mean you'd either have comprehensive before- and after-school programs and summer school programs for the kids on-site, or there would be some system by which the school, in effect, connected every child to responsible adult community groups of some kind that Professor Earles says works so well.

I think those are the things that I would -- I basically believe you've got to have problem-solving mechanisms, but I think the prevention approach is by far the best approach. And I think almost all -- so that's what I would do.

In the high schools, it's more complicated. I'd also have a uniform policy. I think they're very important. I'd be in a community that had a strong antitruancy policy. If I had a violence problem, I'd have a curfew. I'd be interconnected with all of the churches and synagogues and other faith institutions. I would have

the school bringing people in in a systematic way, and I would be connected with the police department that would do what the Commissioner explained that they tried to do in Boston.

But I think -- in the high schools, I think that, as I said, I'd make sure that we had programs that would keep every child who needed it, give them all an opportunity to be in the school.

Let me just say one other thing that I think is worth saying. It may have been put on the table while I was out briefly. But twice -- if you read what the mayors say here, twice, they say, they talk about the importance of the arts programs, the music programs, the physical education programs -- not the kids that are on the athletic teams, the other things. I have seen school after school after school all across this country, because of the financial burdens on the schools, have to abandon these programs. And I think it is terrible.

I think that -- basically, all of these people are saying you've got to treat the whole child here, deal with the whole child, deal with the family situation, deal with the community situation. And I just wanted to put in a little plug for that. I think that there are a lot of ways to learn in this life, a lot of ways to communicate in this life, and a lot of ways for people to find greater peace and connection. And I think it's been a terrible setback to American education that so many schools have had to abandon their art programs, their music programs and their physical education programs for the non-team athletes. Anything we can do to advance that I think would also be positive. (Applause.)

* * * * *

THE PRESIDENT: Let me say, I wish we could stay here another hour, but we have another panel. We don't want to deprive them of the opportunity to make their contributions and to be heard. Perhaps at the end of that, you could have a more free-flowing question and answer session.

But again, let me thank all of you. And let me ask you to join me in thanking all of our remarkable panelists for their contributions. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

3:00 P.M. EDT

Message Sent To: _____

WHSO LAYOUT Draft 1
a/o 5/5/99; L. Schwartz

**WHITE HOUSE STRATEGY MEETING ON CHILDREN, VIOLENCE AND
RESPONSIBILITY IN THE EAST ROOM AND STATEMENT IN THE ROSE GARDEN
Monday, May 10, 1999**

East Room

Pool Press (opening remarks only)

3 (t) Social Aides for entry

Principal Time:	10:00 a.m.	Briefing in Map Room
	10:25 a.m.	Proceed to Green Rom
	10:30 a.m.	Event in East Room
	12:30 p.m.	End Time in East Room
	1:00 p.m.	Statement in Rose Garden

Number of participants: Approx. 50 at u shaped table
 (POTUS, HRC seated on South side of table
 VPOTUS and MEG on legs of table)
 Approx. 10(t) staff at north end of East Room for note taking

7:00 a.m. WHCA arrives to set mics

9:00 a.m. DPC staff to seat Round Table.
 Contact: Karin Kullman and Justin Coleman

9:45 a.m. **Participants** begin to arrive at the East Appointments Gate/East Visitor's Gate.
 Contact: Bronson Frick

Participants proceed to the Grand Foyer and at the appropriate time are shown to their seats in the East Room.

Note: Karin Kullman and Justin Coleman

Grand Foyer Set Up Notes: coat check in the China Room;
coffee/juice/pastries served in Grand Foyer; Staff at Cross Hall doors to direct
to seats with copies of seating chart; brass quintet under Seal outside Blue
Room for reception; soda's etc. available in Foyer during session.....tbd

10:00 a.m. Briefing in the Map Room for **THE PRESIDENT, THE FIRST LADY, THE
VICE PRESIDENT AND MRS. GORE.**

<i>Map Room Briefing Participants:</i>	
Maria Echaveste	John Podesta
Richard Socarides	Bruce Reed
Attorney General Reno	Larry Stein
Secretary Riley	Jeff Shesol
Laura Schiller	Melanne Verveer

10:30 a.m. THE PRESIDENT, THE FIRST LADY, THE VICE PRESIDENT AND MRS. GORE are announced into the East Room from the Green Room to honors.

Note: Brass quintet moves inside to the south end of the East Room and remain standing to play honors - music holders on instruments (no music stands or chairs).

THE PRESIDENT, THE FIRST LADY, THE VICE PRESIDENT AND MRS. GORE proceed to their seats.

PROGRAM

- **THE PRESIDENT** makes remarks from his seat at the table.

Press Note: Press Pool depart after THE PRESIDENT's remarks.

12:45 p.m. THE PRESIDENT concludes meeting.

THE PRESIDENT, THE FIRST LADY, THE VICE PRESIDENT AND MRS. GORE proceed to the Map Room for briefing on the statement.

1:00 p.m. THE PRESIDENT, THE FIRST LADY, THE VICE PRESIDENT AND MRS. GORE proceed to the Rose Garden accompanied by TBD.

1:20 p.m. THE PRESIDENT, THE FIRST LADY, THE VICE PRESIDENT AND MRS. GORE depart.

Participants are escorted to the North Lawn for press interviews. (T)

EAST ROOM SET UP NOTES:

- WHCA announce from Green Room.
- WHCA toast lectern on South side behind table
- U shaped table
- Press set up at North side, stanchioned, 3 risers.
- Staff seats (** chairs) at North End
- Ushers: to provide some type of overlay for table setting (dark blue/black)
- WH note pads and pencils at places provided by Ushers Office
- Water around table
- Calligraphers: provide tent cards

ROSE GARDEN SET UP:

stage size/location tbd; blue goose; POTUS and American Flag behind blue goose from whca; announce from colonnade, Chairs tbd; Press Risers opposite podium and one cut away; stanchions around press risers.

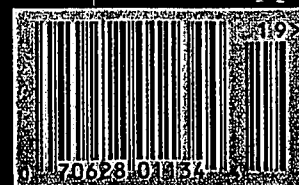
Newsweek®

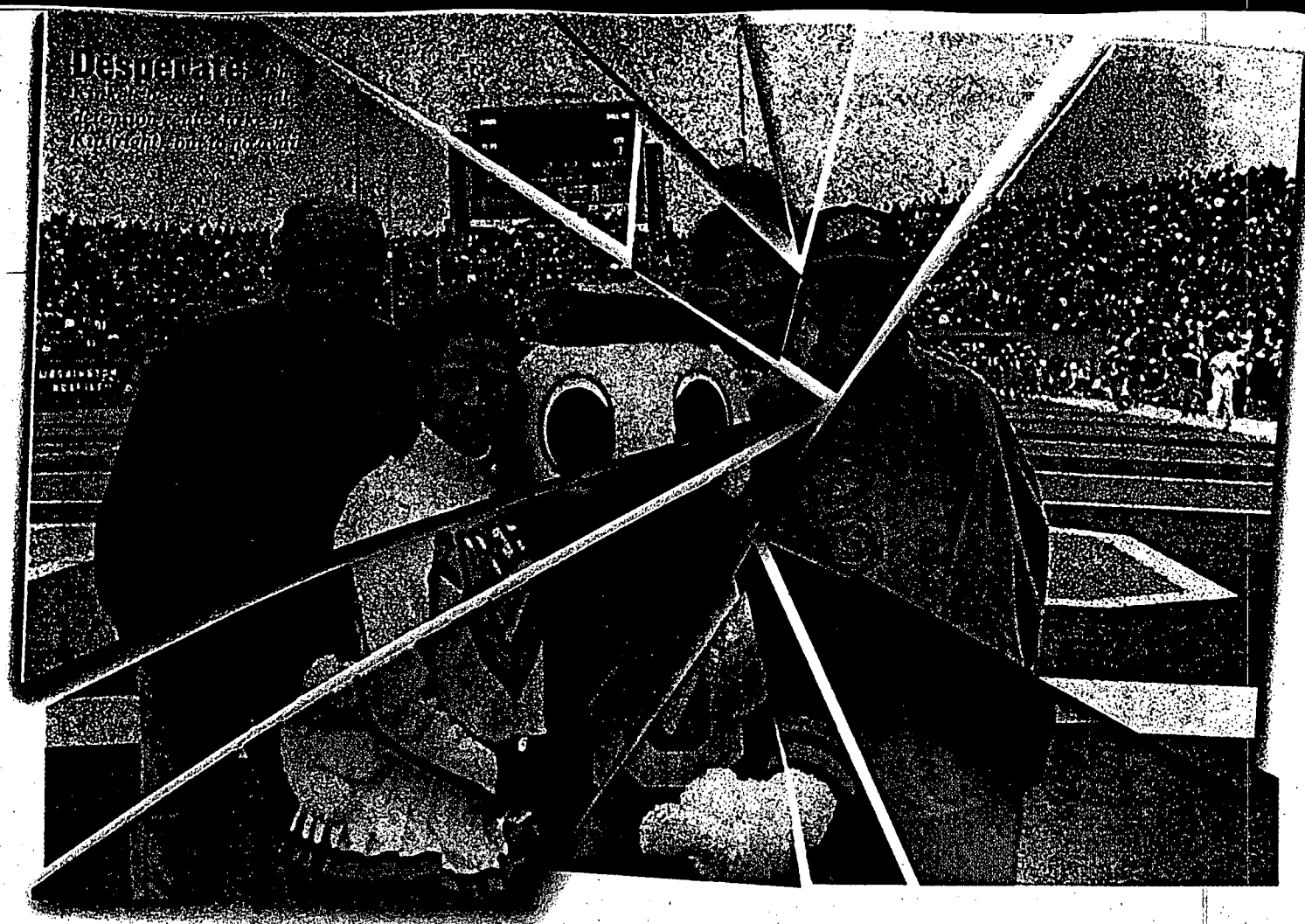
BEYOND LITTLETON

How
Well Do
You Know
Your Kid?

Heading
Off **Trouble**

THE SECRET LIFE OF TEENS





When Teens Fall Apart

Spotting the warning signs isn't enough. Parents also need help from professionals—help that is not always forthcoming. **BY SHARON BEGLEY**

LIKE SO MANY PARENTS, KIP Kinkel's tried, and tried desperately. For 10 years, Bill and Faith Kinkel regularly huddled with teachers to figure out why Kip fought with fellow students at his Oregon elementary school. They put him on Ritalin and then Prozac. They pulled him out of seventh grade and home-schooled him. They begged the juvenile-detention center to keep their son there last May after he stashed a loaded .32 pistol in his school locker. Bill said he had "nowhere left to turn" in what was, in retrospect, a life-or-death struggle. A year ago this month Kip, then 15, killed his parents. Then he shot 24 students at his school in Springfield, Ore. Two died.

In the wake of last year's school shootings and now the Littleton massacre, educators and parents alike have been flooded with information on how to identify the child who is so aggressive that he is in dan-

ger of treating his schoolmates like targets in a videogame. Picking up the warning signs is crucial. But it isn't enough. Parents who detect these danger signs and reach out to schools, social-welfare agencies and the justice system for help too often come up empty. Some families live in communities that lack the resources or the will to offer prevention or intervention programs; others are simply turned away. There is no mystery about which programs work. But in order to tap into them, says Prof. Michael Nunno of Cornell University, "you need education and money and the moxie to navigate the system. You must be willing to make it a full-time job and get past all the people trying to tell you that everything's fine. With anything less, you're out of luck."

Kids' problems start early, and so do the problems of parents trying to help them. Children who are unresponsive, impulsive, aggressive or otherwise difficult are the most in need of competent parenting to

keep their innate tendencies from pushing them toward criminality, addiction or violence. Researchers have a pretty good idea of how to help these kids. Since 1981, communities in 49 states have contracted with the "Parents as Teachers" program to screen newborns and toddlers. The program's "parent educators" teach mothers and fathers to help their child emotionally, socially and cognitively through simple games, reading, talking and loving. But they reach only 500,000 of the 19 million children under 5; that's less than 3 percent. "Society acknowledges that prevention is important," says executive director Mildred Winter, "but won't spend a lot of money on it." Financial barriers have also limited "First Step to Success." This Oregon-based program screens kindergartners for antisocial behavior and then spends three months turning around bullies-in-the-making by rewarding good behavior at school and showing parents, in their

homes, how to teach their problem child to cooperate, make friends and develop confidence. First Step costs just \$400 per child, but it's available in only a few schools in 10 states, says codirector Hill Walker of the University of Oregon: "Schools wait and see which kid actually develops a serious problem in, say, sixth grade before they do anything for them. But by then the horse has left the barn."

A gunman is as likely to be the bullied as the bullier. Yet when parents of bullied children report the taunts and pummeling to school authorities, the institutional response is too often, "You brought it on yourself; you need to take care of it yourself," says psychologist John Crumbley, who helped evaluate Kinkel after his arrest. When one 13-year-old started skipping classes in her western Oregon school, she was expelled. A truant officer appeared on the family's doorstep to tell the parents that if they did not work out a plan to re-enroll her, they'd be fined \$1,000 for negligence. "They send someone to threaten you but offer no help at all," says the distraught mother.

Help can be especially scarce in schools with huge numbers of students. In the 1960s educators fell in love with big schools, figuring they could offer a wider curriculum at lower costs. A school with a graduating class of 50 is indeed unlikely to offer six languages and eight permutations on math. But large schools dampen enthusiasm for extracurricular activities: if you're one kid out of 600, your chance of getting playing time on the soccer field or face time with the debate coach is much less than if you're one in 150. In smaller schools—the ideal four-year high school, say education researchers, is 600 to 900 kids—every student can be part of a group that includes an adult role model. And administrators have a better chance of getting to know each student. That might have made a difference to "Nick," who at 14 became fascinated with knives and dark poetry, dressed in black and began smoking marijuana. When he cut classes, his southern California school chalked it up to adolescent angst, says Nick's father: "The school is large and has a staff equipped to deal with two kinds of kids—the class president and the kid who is trying to burn the school down. Nick wasn't [either] so they didn't seem to care. What was made clear to us was that we better shape him up or he was



SHAWN G. HENRY

Intervention:

A'Kheem Lipscomb, 14, learns conflict resolution at a Boston counseling center

going to be shipped out."

Even if a kid brandishes a gun, effective programs can yank him back from the brink. Since 1986 Boston students suspended for carrying weapons have been required to attend the Counseling and Intervention Center, where they spend five to 10 days learning anger management, conflict resolution and other skills. Only 8 percent of the program's graduates are caught again for violations. Salt Lake City, Cleveland, San Jose, Calif., and Rochester, N.Y., have or are developing comparable programs, but they are the exceptions. "We've got families crying out for help, and the system is not responding," says Philip Jackson, director of the Boston center. Similarly, an approach called multisystemic therapy has been shown to reduce rearrest rates of juvenile delinquents by up to 70 percent.

Three to five months of home visits from a therapist, who works with parents as well as the child, costs \$4,500 per child, but saves an estimated \$12,000 in criminal-justice costs by reducing recidivism. Yet the program exists in only a few communities in 15 states.

An even greater problem is kids whose first offense isn't hiding a weapon in school but using one. Carol Van Strum says her adopted, biracial son Jordan was mercilessly taunted with "n—" by both kids and adults in their rural Oregon town. She could tell he was headed for trouble. "When I asked for help, the response was, 'He hasn't committed a crime,'" says Van Strum. In 1997 Jordan, then 15, killed a friend's grandfather. He was sentenced to 25 years in prison.

We know how to help troubled children. Yet "we don't put resources into meeting their psychological needs," says Marin County therapist Madeline Levine. "We pay for computers in their classrooms but not counselors in their schools." Perhaps Littleton will change that. For now, however, the gap between what we know about prevention and intervention and what society puts within parents' reach is a yawning chasm—a chasm that is swallowing our most vulnerable children.

With DONNA FOOTE in Los Angeles,
PATRICIA KING in San Francisco and
LYNETTE CLEMETSON in Washington, D.C.

Where to Go for Help

Scientists have identified dozens of programs and policies that reduce the risk of antisocial behavior by children and juvenile delinquency. Some of them:

1 Early-childhood intervention: programs such as "Parents as Teachers" and "First Step to Success" offer developmental screenings of children up to age 5 and help parents cope with difficult children.

2 Zero tolerance for bullies: the littlest victims can grow up feeling alienated and ready for revenge. Schools should monitor playgrounds and hallways to prevent bullying.

3 Smaller schools: high schools work best when enrollment is between 600 and 900. In a school of this size, fewer students are marginalized, and more kids are likely to be part of an extracurricular activity with an adult role model.

4 Multisystemic therapy: an innovative, at-home program in which a therapist teaches parents how to enforce rules, keep their kids from bad influences and help the child hook into a support network.

BEYOND LITTLETON





Sex, drugs and rock have worried parents for decades. But now the Net, videogames and no-holds-barred music are creating new worlds that many adults can't enter. BY JOHN LELAND

The Secret Life of Teens

HI, KIDS, DO YOU LIKE VIOLENCE? WANNA SEE ME STICK NINE-inch nails through each one of my eyelids? Wanna copy me and do exactly like I did?" The bleached-blond pixie could be a refugee from the set of "Friends," all smirk and glimmer. He is Marshall Mathers, better known as Eminem, whose debut rap album has been near the top of the charts for the last two months. In the secret lives of American teenagers, Eminem is large. "By the way," he raps, "when you see my dad, tell him I slit his throat in this dream I had."

Since they first emerged as a demographic entity earlier this century, adolescents of every era have carved out their own secret worlds, inventing private codes of style and behavior designed to communicate only within the in group and to exclude or offend adults. It is a central rite of American passage. But lately this developmental process has come under great strain. "In the past, the toughest decision [teens] had was whether to have sex, or whether to use drugs," says Sheri Parks, who studies families and the media at the University of Maryland. "Those are still there, but on top are piled all these other issues, which are very difficult for parents or children to decipher." New technologies and the entertainment industry, combined with changes in family structure, have more deeply isolated grown-ups from teenagers. The results are what Hill Walker, codirector of the Institute on Violence and Destructive Behavior in Oregon, calls "almost a virtual reality without adults."

With as many as 11 million teenagers now online, more and more of adolescent life is taking place in a landscape that is inaccessible to many parents. "That is apparent in the geography of households," says Marlene Mayhew, a clinical psychologist who runs an online mental-health newsletter. With the computer often in the teen's bed-

ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN CRAIG

Voices of a Generation

Teens say their lives are stressful, filled with social pressures—especially about looks and dress—worries about safety and fears of being stereotyped. And, of course, some parents just don't understand.

ON CLIQUES

“I see people who don't allow themselves to grow in certain areas, even though

they have talent or skill, because they feel that

would be out of character or that people wouldn't like them if they changed. Say you're really good at math, but your friends say, 'That's math. It's such a nerdy, stupid subject. You can't be good at it because then you're a nerdy brainiac person. And then you feel like you don't fit in.’



ON MEDIA VIOLENCE

“Our generation is far more desensitized to violence than any other generation.

TVs raise children now more than parents do, and

television caters to children's violent fantasies. Parents are working more and spending less time with their kids.”

**Chris Haley, 17,
Junior, Lewisville High
School, Lewisville,
Texas. Founder of a
philosophy group,
loves classical music.**

ON FASHION

“The biggest thing here is wearing name

brand clothes. If you even think of wearing a non-name

brand, you have guts. Looks like real im-

portant, too. If you're not pretty, people won't want to hang out with you. Even the girls with dark hair usually dye their hair blonde. Everything is just one big competition.



room, Mayhew says, the power structure in the family is turned upside down. “Kids are unsupervised, looking at whatever they please.” A parent who might eventually notice a stockpile of Guns & Ammo or pornographic magazines has fewer clues to a child's online activities. “We're missing the opportunity for an adult reality check, adult perspective on the stimulation [teens] are getting exposed to. Kids have less access to parents, more access to potentially damaging information.”

The pop-culture industry, marketing tribal styles through MTV and the Internet, makes it harder than ever for adults to read their kids, even parents raised on rock and roll. Parents in the '50s could “read” the ripe sexuality of Elvis—they just might not have approved. But what to make of the much more densely encrypted messages and camp nihilism of Eminem or Marilyn Manson, who dare outsiders to take offense? How to distinguish a kid drawn to gangsta rapper DMX for the rhymes from

one drawn to the crimes? Making the process harder, teens have long been adept at lying, dissembling and otherwise conniving to hide their secret lives. Robyn Sykes, a senior at Jordan High School in Long Beach, Calif., reports that the skills are still sharp. “Some girls,” she says, “leave the house wearing one thing, and then change into tight, short skirts when they're here.”

Mike L., 13, from suburban New York, is one of the unsupervised millions online. A couple years ago his father spied on him



ON FEAR

“I used to not worry about safety at my school. But after the Jonesboro shootings, I started to think about it more. Jonesboro is

Thomas James, 17, Senior, Northside High School, Ft. Smith, Ark. Plays trombone in the band; does volunteer work. just across the state from here. I just started to think if it

can happen there, it can happen here. This year we had two bomb threats. It was a hoax this time, but it makes me think that next time it may not be.

ON APPEARANCE

“I went to a National Honor Society induction. The parents were just staring at me. I think they couldn't believe someone with pink hair could be smart. I want to be a high-school teacher, but I'm afraid that, based on my

Lauren Barry, 16, Senior, Henry Jackson High School, Glenview, Ill. National Honor Society; alternative theater group.

appearance, they won't hire me. Don't be afraid of us. Don't stereotype us.”



through a window, catching him in a chat room where people swapped pirated software. But now Mike has his own laptop and can do what he wants. Like many kids, he mostly sends e-mail and hangs around chat rooms, where he encounters both adults and other teens. “You go in, and someone offers what they've got stored in their computer,” he says. “And maybe one of the things is ‘The Anarchist Cookbook,’ a notorious handbook that includes instructions for building bombs. Though he

doesn't have it, he says, “one of my friends gets called down to the guidance counselor every day because somebody told a teacher that he knows how to make bombs. He's not the kind of guy who would do it. But he found out how on the Internet.” Andrew Tyler, 13, from Haddonfield, N.J., used his Internet freedom another way: two weeks ago, while his mother tended the family garden, Tyler placed bids on \$3.2 million worth of merchandise via the online auction house eBay, including the winning bid

on a \$400,000 bedroom set. “I thought [eBay] was just a site,” he told NEWSWEEK. “It turned out to be a lot more than that.”

The vast majority of adolescents' online activity ranges from edifying to harmless. Though hard numbers on Internet use are notoriously suspect, Malcolm Parks, an Internet researcher at the University of Washington in Seattle, says that most teens use the computer to send e-mail or instant messages, visit chat rooms or fan Web sites, do homework or download songs.

ON SCHOOL AND PARENTS

“The school is divided into different groups of kids: the break-dancers, the people who listen to heavy metal, the pretty girls, the ravers and the hip-hop people. But there’s no pressure to be in one group or another. If a person is a break-dancer, they can still chill with the ravers. I’m a hip-hopper. We wear baggy jeans and sweatshirts. But if I’m really good friends with a person in the heavy-metal group, I can go chill with them and it’s just like, whatever. I don’t really worry about

Diana Leary, 17,
Senior, Memorial
High School, West
New York, N.Y.
(Student council,
tennis team)

violence. And I don’t really worry about peer pressure. Like if you’re at a party and you don’t drink, that’s cool.



Most kids’ parents don’t know what they are doing. I talk to my mom about everything. She shows up for every parents’ night; sometimes she’s the only one there. It makes me feel good that I have a mom who cares about what is going on with me.”

For the most part, he says, “I worry more about poor quality of information online, and students’ lack of skills for evaluating information, than I worry about frequently discussed evils like pornography.”

At Neutral Ground in Manhattan on a recent afternoon, other skills are in play. The drafty, fourth-floor gaming room, undetectable from the street, is a teen oasis, dotted with interconnected computers. By a quarter to four, it is packed with adolescent boys. Robert, one of eight boys glued to the screens, suddenly curses and bangs on the table. “Die, you stupid whore,” he shouts. Then, “I’m gonna go kill Sebastian now.” Sebastian, three terminals down, calls back: “You take this game way too seriously.”

They are playing Half-Life, known in videogame parlance as a multiplayer “first-person shooter” game, or FPS. As Robert pushes a key, a red shell fires from an on-screen shotgun; arms fly off, blood spatters on the walls. “If my parents came down here now,” says Mike, pausing from the carnage, “they’d probably drag me out.” The best-known FPS is Doom, the game reportedly favored by the Littleton shooters, but to the kids at Neutral Ground, Doom is already

passé. A new game, Kingpin, promises even hairier carnal gratifications. “Includes multiplayer gang bang death match for up to 18 thugs!” coos the ad copy. “Target specific body parts and actually see the damage done including exit wounds.”

The videogame business last year topped \$6.3 billion, much of it dedicated for play on the home computer. The more violent games are marked for sales to mature buyers only, but like R-rated movies, they are easily accessible to kids. “The people usually tell you you’re not old enough,” says Eddie, 14, a regular at Neutral Ground, “but they don’t stop you from buying it.” Eddie says most FPS games “make me dizzy,” but he enjoys one called Diablo, which is not just another shoot-em-up orgy. “It’s more like slice ‘em up.” His parents don’t like the games but rarely engage him on it. His mother, he says, “thinks it’s too violent, so she doesn’t watch.”

Most teenagers seem to process the mayhem as mindless pyrotechnics. But not all kids react the same way, warns Dan Anderson, a University of Massachusetts psychologist who has studied the effects of TV on children. “It’s always been the case that the kids who have been vulnerable to violent

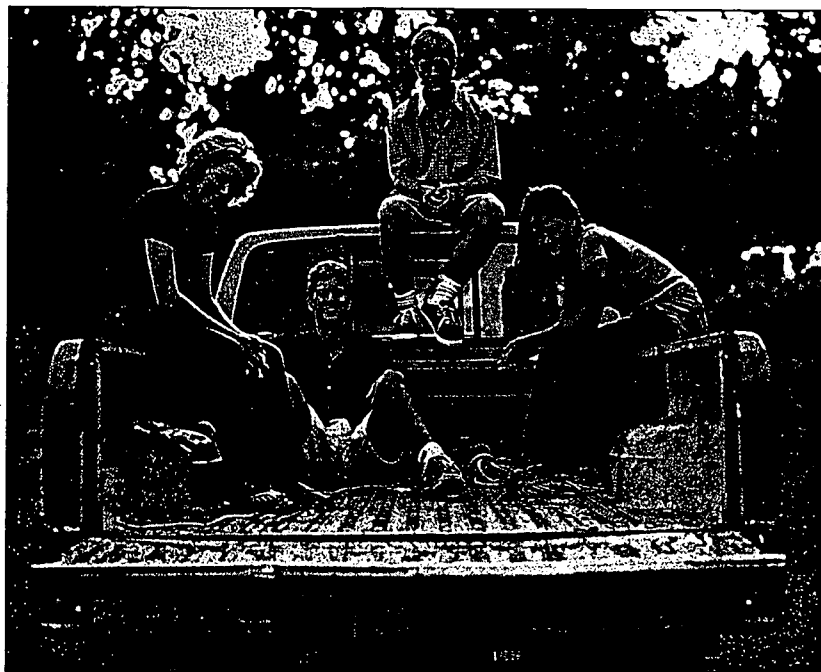
messages on television have been a small minority. But a small minority can cause serious havoc. If you’re predisposed to violence and aggression, you can find like-minded people who will validate your experience. You can become part of an isolated group that family and friends don’t know about, and that group can exchange information on getting or making weapons.” Brad Bushman, an Iowa State University psychologist, argues that violent computer games are more harmful than movies, “because the person becomes the aggressor. They’re the one that does the killing.”

In Santa Monica last week Collin Williams and his friends, a multiracial group of eighth graders, describe a numbing effect. Sure, they shrugged, a tragedy like the one in Littleton could happen in their school. Though they don’t spend much time on computers, says Williams, 14, “we see so much violence on TV and in the movies that it just seems like it’s everywhere. We don’t go to school thinking we’re going to be killed. But maybe it’s because we’re so used to it.”

The challenges for parents may be new, but they are not insurmountable. Many psychologists recommend changing the

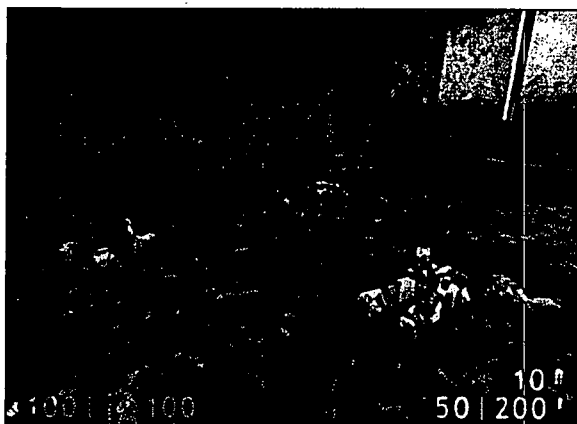
The Good, the Bad and the Ugly

Parents once just had to contend with Elvis's pelvis thrusting on the family TV. Now teens are off in their own garden of electronic delights. Here's what they're doing:



Roll: Teen luv still conquers all. Amid the sour stuff, candy like 'Dawson's Creek' and Britney Spears tally sweet ratings and sales figures.

Shake: Teen style has long strived to offend adults. Yesterday's bobby-soxer is today's pierced Goth.



Rattle: Violent entertainments like the videogame *Half-Life* and the rapper DMX both reflect and create a harsher cultural climate for adolescents



way the computer is used. Put it in a family room, where adults and teens have more opportunities to discuss what's coming into the house. Every Web browser records what sites users visit; parents can monitor their kids' activities with just elementary computer savvy. Filters, such as Net Nanny, restrict which sites users can visit, but smart kids can get around them often by using a friend's computer. Idit Harel, founder of the kid-friendly site Ma-

Media, highly recommends playing videogames along with your kids. Even in violent games, she says, "there is learning, visualization; there is analysis of hints." Likewise, parents can either set limits on their kids' pop-cultural diets or just talk to the teens about what they're consuming. Say: "I don't understand this kid Eminem. What's he about?"

Even with such interaction, the secret lives of teenagers are likely to remain se-

cret. They are as unbounded as the Internet and as plebeian as the Backstreet Boys, a daunting world for any parent to enter. But this remains the job of parenting. Today's teens command an electronic landscape more stimulating, vibrant and mysterious than any before. They are the masters of the new domain. But they still need adult guidance on their travels.

With DEVIN GORDON, ANNE UNDERWOOD, TARA WEINGARTEN and ANA FIGUEROA

47% of Americans say very few parents really know what their teens are up to;
60% say the government should restrict access to some Internet material

Their Dark Romance With Risk

All adolescents take chances. Parents need to understand healthy and dangerous risks, and how peers can influence both. BY DR. LYNN E. PONTON

WHY DID THEY DO IT? WHAT MAKES KIDS LASH OUT LIKE that?" "Should the parents have seen this coming?" In the days since Littleton the whole country is asking these kinds of questions. And as a parent of two teenage girls, I too have my questions. But as a psychiatrist who has worked with adolescents for more than 20 years, I am perhaps less shocked than others. To begin to understand Littleton, and the often-murky world teenagers inhabit, you have to realize that all adolescents are going to take risks, and that even good kids can often fall in with friends who may lead them astray. Keeping kids on the right track means maintaining parental involvement, encouraging them to take healthy risks instead of dangerous ones, listening instead of lecturing. Parents also have to watch their own risk-taking behavior—because teens are.

Taking on challenges in uncharted territory is an important tool that young people use to develop distinct identities apart from their parents. So healthy risk-taking, such as playing sports or travel, is good for them. But at another point in the spectrum, adolescents define themselves through rebellion and anger at parents or other adults, engaging in high-risk behaviors including drinking, smoking, drug use, reckless driving, unsafe sexual activity, disordered eating, self-mutilation, stealing, gang activity and violence. Clearly Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold were taking risks—and putting others at risk—on the extreme edge of this spectrum.

What provokes aggression and violence among peers? Often it's scapegoating, in which children and teens are bullied by and in front of their peer group, leaving them excluded and humiliated. Several days after the Colorado shooting I was at a locked psychiatric hospital, interviewing a 17-year-old adolescent boy, Robert. He had put a gun to another boy's head. As he described it, he lowered his voice so much that I could barely hear him.

"Put it to whom?" I asked.

"Put it to him, held it to his head."

"How did you feel?"

"Strong. Powerful." And then, "I ain't never felt like that before."

As it turned out, Robert hadn't pulled the trigger, but he had held a gun to other kids' heads several times. Why? I asked. Revenge, he said, to get back at kids who were picking on him.

Though boys who are unhealthy risk-takers often hurt others, girls usually turn their shame and anger on themselves, engaging in self-destructive behaviors such as cutting or extreme dieting. The same day I interviewed Robert, I received a phone call from the father of one of my patients. He was worried that his 17-year-old daughter, a self-styled, self-proclaimed Goth, was going to start cutting herself again, something she hadn't done in six months. She told

him that after the Colorado shooting, people kept mockingly asking her where her black trench coat was. "Those guys weren't even Goths," she said. "They were fascists, and even if they had been, why do adults assume one Goth is just like another? Or that one kid is just like another?" "I don't," said her father. He was doing the right things: paying attention to the potential danger signals, taking her seriously, asking questions and really listening to her answers.

Peers can influence risk-taking in both positive and negative ways. Kids get very concerned when they see friends taking bad chances. They don't want to "rat" on them to adults, but they will still confide in an adult whom they trust when they suspect a peer is in

trouble. However, a "toxic" best friend or group of friends can escalate bad behavior, especially where there is no adult input. Jim was 15 years old when several bullying boys took him onto the schoolyard and beat him up. Jim then struck up a friendship with another boy who had been similarly treated. They teamed up and started beating up younger children.

Years later, Jim told me in my office that he had longed to talk to his father about his new "best friend" and what they were doing. He had really hoped his father would ask why he had bruises on his face, or cuts on his hands. But his father never did ask, and Jim didn't know how to begin that conversation.

Most kids don't give such obvious signs that they are heading for trouble, but parents can detect other, subtler clues that a friend or peer group is leading their child astray. Often they'll undertake new risks together, such as petty theft or lying. What can you do about it? Discouraging contact with such friends can backfire, provoking rebellion and bonding the buddies even more closely together. The best strategy is simply to increase your own contact with your teen. Conversely, if a new friend or group is becoming a positive influence on your child, you may see an increase in healthy risk-taking, such as going on camping trips or even bungee jumping.

Parents and other adults should encourage young people to take those kinds of chances, to help them grow and learn to assess danger. Even things as benign as running for school office or attempting a new creative activity carry with them the possibility of failure; so elders must be ready to offer them support and consolation. Adults also need to examine our own risk-taking patterns—kids are emulators, and they are watching us. Ultimately, teenagers, risk-takers all, need to be taken seriously. We have to keep asking the right questions—and listen when our children answer.

LYNN E. PONTON, M.D., is a professor of child and adolescent psychiatry at the University of California, San Francisco, and the author of "The Romance of Risk: Why Teenagers Do the Things They Do."



Signals: Parents should watch for new or increased risk-taking by their kids, such as petty theft or simply lying more

From who's in which clique to where you sit in the cafeteria, every day can be struggle to fit in. BY JERRY ADLER

IT WAS ONE CARELESS MOMENT in the cafeteria that she now believes will haunt her forever, or at least until graduation, whichever comes first. Blond, smart, athletic and well off, she must have thought she could get away with sitting down with a couple of gawky skaters from the fringe of high-school society, if only to interview them about hip-hop music for the school newspaper. She should have known that in high school, appearance outweighs motive by 100 to 1. There were giggles and stares, then loss of gossip privileges and exile from her seat at the center table next to the jocks. Now, a year later, recovered from a bout of anorexia as she tried to starve her way back into favor, she has found new friends. But the formerly cool sophomore, too humiliated to bear being identified, views her years in a West Coast high school as "hell."

It should come as no surprise, given the events of two weeks ago, that teenagers can turn their social lives into a matter of life and death. Since the invention of high school, adolescents have been forming cliques and mentally ranking them—it is, says David Zinn, adolescent psychiatrist at Chicago's Beacon Therapeutic Center, excellent practice for an adult society "dominated by hierarchies." The relative positions of some groups have shifted over time, reflecting changes in adult society: jocks are, like their adult models, bigger than ever; cheerleaders are less exalted, perhaps because girls are now playing more sports themselves; while kids are still doing drugs, they've lost some of their demimonde glamor. In general, Zinn believes, high-school kids are more tolerant of differences than they were a generation ago. Minority kids, penetrating deep into the heartland, are less likely to be regarded as exotic freaks. But one of the biggest changes, says University of North Carolina pediatrician William Coleman, is driven by simple loneliness. As adolescents spend less and less time with their parents, cliques increasingly fill the emotional vacuum, and the high-school game of acceptance or rejection is being played for even higher emotional stakes.

Athletes enforce the social code at most high schools, which helps explain why

they're usually at the top. "It's pretty common," says senior Lowell Crabb, a varsity football and baseball player at South Pasadena High, near Los Angeles, "to see jocks picking on the fat kid or the wimpy kid, or anybody who's different." Jocks were like that even in the old days, before their games were broadcast on the school's in-house cable channel, their teams were ranked nationally by USA Today and big-city newspapers sent reporters around to

interview them. Now Chicago psychiatrist Marc Slutsky believes their aggression is a response to the increased pressure they labor under. While schools have grown more and more concerned with nurturing students' academic self-esteem, athletics are becoming increasingly performance-driven and professional. "These kids get the least sensitive treatment," he says. "All that pressure on them saying 'don't screw up' gets displaced onto others."

BEYOND LITTLETON

The Truth At High School



out cool

Once high schools were divided simply into the in-crowd and everyone else. But as they have grown larger they have spawned a fabulous diversity of gangs, cliques, crews and posses. These include athletes and preppies and wanna-be gangsters; pot-smoking skaters and sullen punks; gays and nerds and, yes, morbid, chalk-faced Goths. Cliques proclaim their identities with uniforms that are surprisingly similar from coast to coast. Chinos and button-down

Inclusive: *With 70 clubs and 23 sports, just about everyone at Glenbrook South has a niche. For junior Heather Boehm, it's orchestra, drama and swimming.*

shirts mark kids as preppies a thousand miles from Andover; baggy jeans signify hip-hop on a Laotian kid in Iowa no less than on a homeboy straight out of Bed-Stuy. Long before most people had heard of Columbine High School, the black trench coat was a potent symbol for kids in places like central Texas who would rather suffo-

cate than conform to how the cool kids thought they should dress.

In contrast to a generation ago, cliques are much more likely to have both boys and girls in them, Zinn says, a development he traces to early exposure to sexual imagery on television. "Familiarity with the opposite sex comes much earlier now," he says. "You



KEN SCHLES

Contact: *High school fills a need for connection among kids whose parents and neighbors are seldom home, according to principal David Smith*

don't find as much mystery or excitement attached to it."

The lush diversity of cliques has made student life more democratic. "This isn't like a pyramid with one group on top," says Eva Greenwald, a senior at Oak Park and River Forest High School near Chicago, population 2,700. "Think of us as living in a lot of different bubbles." Conversely, in schools this size students can live not just apart from their peers, but almost unaware of them. Andrew, a senior athlete and honor student at Cal High School in Whittier, Calif., eats his lunch with his friends every day in the quad. After four years at Cal, "I have no idea what goes on in the cafeteria," he says. "I've actually never been in there."

Some students jealously guard their turf. At Glenbrook South High School, in the Chicago suburb of Glenview, the groups even take their names from their perches: the fashionable "wall people" who favor a bench along the wall outside the cafeteria, and the punkish "trophy-case" kids who sit on the floor under a display of memorabilia. When freshman Stephanie Hernandez sat at the wall one day last fall, she was ordered off the bench by a football player, and hasn't sat there since. "It's just a piece of plastic with holes

in it, but they love it," she says. "OK, you can have your bench."

Must life be like this? Experiments in creating egalitarian high-school cultures have met with mixed results. The Paideia School, founded in 1971 as a liberal alternative to the white-flight academies springing up in Atlanta, sought to pre-empt jock culture by decreeing that every student had to be on a sports team. "I'm not a jock, I'm an athlete," says junior Will Arnold, a distinction that might seem superfluous for the captain of the Ultimate Frisbee team. This system has worked well, but it was tested last year when both the boys' and girls' basketball teams made it to the state finals, and hero-worship reared its unfamiliar head. "It can be seductive," headmaster Paul Bianchi says. "People like to see their names in the paper." Glenbrook South, home of the wall kids and trophy-case kids, makes an extraordinary effort at inclusiveness, offering something like 70 clubs and 23 sports and both regular and alternative student newspapers and theater groups. But still, says principal David Smith, there's no avoiding the fact that "adolescence is a tribal society. It's just the nature of the thing."

Fitting in is partly a matter of choice. Wearing black trench coats to school is not

A Teen Who's Who

Jocks rule and nerds still struggle for acceptance just about everywhere. But many schools have their own unique cliques. A look at Illinois' Glenbrook South High:

Trophy-Case Kids Named for their hangout under the school awards case. They're punkish in black hooded sweatshirts.

Wall Kids Mostly seniors, mostly popular. Lots of preppies and "Abercrombies." Their turf: a wall outside the cafeteria.

Bandles Musicians, they stick to themselves outside rehearsal room. Not especially cool or uncool, just good friends.

Backstage People Theater and arts types (both genders) lounge on couches backstage to talk, do homework and take naps.

Student-Council Kids Clean-cut, popular. Lunch-time hangout: the council office.

just a neutral fashion choice, but a way of flaunting one's indifference to the ruling cliques, which is precisely why the cool kids find it so infuriating. But fitting in is also a gift. To be popular, "either you have money, you look good or you play football," says Steve Walker, the gregarious captain of the football team at Merritt Island High School, 50 miles east of Orlando, Fla. Lacking those, you could try throwing a really great party, he says, but "other than that, I couldn't tell you, because I've been popular all my life. As long as I show up, the party's going to be OK."

In some ways, the system works, assigning kids the roles they're comfortable with. As an experiment one day last month, Lauren Barry, a pink-haired trophy-case kid at Glenbrook, switched identities with a well-dressed girl from "the wall." Barry walked around all day in the girl's expensive jeans and Doc Martens, carrying a shopping bag from Abercrombie & Fitch. "People kept saying, 'Oh, you look so pretty,'" she recalls. "I felt really uncomfortable." It was interesting, but the next day, and ever since, she's been back in her regular clothes. The lines drawn by teenagers are frequently unfair, often hurtful and generally enforced by physical and psychological intimidation. Which is why it's worth bearing in mind that high school only seems as if it lasts forever.

With JOHN McCORMICK and KAREN SPRINGEN in Chicago, DANIEL PEDERSEN in Atlanta, NADINE JOSEPH in San Francisco, ANA FIGUEROA in Los Angeles and BETH DICKET in Melbourne, Fla.

90% of Americans say parents aren't spending enough time with their teens;
56% say teens don't have enough places to go to help them stay out of trouble

ON THE CUSP OF A CRUSADE

Real change comes when trouble touches the middle class. And violence is doing just that.

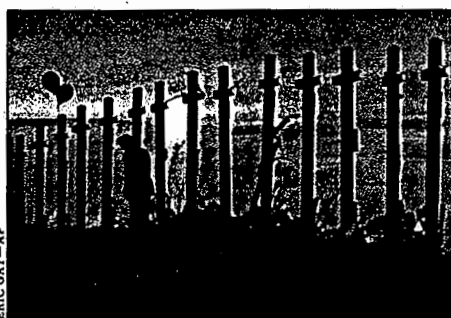
BY JONATHAN ALTER

FOR ALL THE CARNAGE, THERE just might be a silver lining in the Littleton tragedy. Even if next week's White House summit is a bust, you can sense the political weather changing. Both the NRA and Hollywood are running for cover, and it's no longer acceptable to mindlessly say that only one of them is to blame. The 1989 school shooting (by an adult; five dead) in Stockton, Calif., led to assault-weapons legislation. Littleton has the potential to leave a deeper mark, across a wider range of problems. The challenge is to look beyond what might have prevented this particular rampage—maybe nothing—and use it to focus on concrete reform.

Some of the ideas of recent days are useful; some—like arming teachers—are dangerous. But at least America is finally paying attention. The hard truth about social movements in this country is that they don't gather strength until the comfortable white middle class is engaged. When white civil-rights workers were beaten and killed in 1964, the civil-rights movement moved to a new level. When college students began to be drafted, the Vietnam antiwar movement ignited. And when Archie and Veronica are worried about being shot, "violence prevention" and "youth development" can become real American crusades, not just platitudes.

For years now, an average of roughly 40 teenagers a week have been murdered in this country, nearly 90 percent of them killed by guns. That's the equivalent of 150 Littleton massacres a year. But they happen mostly one by one, off school grounds—no national-news potential there—and slightly more than half of the teen killers and victims have been black. Those figures still hold true, but the gruesome school shootings are changing the picture. In the 1980s youth violence was associated with poverty and crack. It wasn't politically correct to say, but it was usually *someone else's children*. Not those at Columbine High. You can regret that double standard but still use it to build momentum for change.

Not all the ideas floated lately make sense. In most places, metal detectors do no good; kids just wait until after school to assault someone. "It increases fears without reducing risks," says James Alan Fox, a criminologist at Northeastern University. The new TV ratings have caused barely a ripple; in fact, they may make kids want the forbidden fruit more. Movie ratings like NC-17 (today's "X" equivalent) are enforced and potentially important, because that's where the worst screen violence is. But Jack Valenti's Motion



Legacy of a tragedy:
Memorial crosses to the Littleton victims

Picture Association has been so compromised that it doesn't impose NC-17 for even the most unremittably violent films like "Natural Born Killers" (the alleged inspiration for at least two real-life murders), only for films showing sex.

As was said about the Holocaust: some are guilty; all are responsible. If President Clinton is going to have any credibility on this issue—a big if—he has to publicly read the names of all the big companies (and their CEOs) that make not just slasher films and gangster rap but also splatter software, the kind that lets kids "virtually" kill people. Simply meeting with gun and entertainment executives will accomplish little; individuals must be named and shamed. Because that is unlikely to happen in Washington, it will be up to Americans to mobilize with selective boycotts. A little of this gets a lot accomplished, especially when it's done by angered moderates, not the usual right-wing suspects. To start educating themselves, parents can consult Web sites like www.screenit.com, which tell them the content of what their kids are watching.

The NRA has been on the offensive lately, but now gun-control advocates have an opening. The goal should be to start with Clinton's modest package, which includes cracking down on gun shows and limiting handgun purchases to one a month, which will inhibit some traffickers. The best way to make gun control a first-tier political issue in 2000 is to steer clear of politically hopeless ideas like handgun bans and

concentrate on "smart" guns, which use fingerprint recognition to prevent anyone but the owner from firing it. The goal should be to mandate that *all* guns must be "smart" by a certain date. Because they will be more expensive, that may even require a government subsidy for gun makers—a useful basis for compromise.

Beyond the entertainment and gun industries, lots of other ideas are percolating to the surface. Many parents simply need parental-skills training. A long-term study at the University of Colorado shows that home visits to young at-risk mothers cut child abuse by 80 percent and later arrest rates by 50 percent. With juvenile crime tripling between the hours of 3 and 8 p.m., increased funding for after-school programs is essential and has proven effective in cutting violence (see www.fightcrime.org). Churches must do more to open their doors to youth programs. High schools need to ask whether they've gotten too big and should be broken up into schools within schools so kids don't slip between the cracks. The whole school-guidance system desperately needs to be rethought so that students are assured of regular one-on-one advice from designated faculty advisers. Right now the ratio is more like one guidance counselor for every 150 to 200 students—a recipe for trouble.

Last month I visited a terrific after-school program in South-Central Los Angeles called A Place Called Home. The kids and staff were mourning a good kid killed the night before in a drive-by shooting. An astonishing number of kids came up to say they would be dead, too, if it weren't for this safe haven. Imagine: every day certain adults actually rechannel student anger and save young lives. The culture of violence in America isn't going to disappear in our lifetimes. But with any luck, any justice, the campaign against it is at long last underway.

The Death of a Good Idea

Kosovo is teaching relief workers a bitter lesson: there are no humanitarian solutions to humanitarian problems. BY DAVID RIEFF

WHEN WE THINK OF THE PHENOMENON THE MILITARY rather primly call collateral damage, we usually think of civilian casualties and shattered buildings. But ideas can be destroyed as well. The war over Kosovo offers ample proof. A conflict that was undertaken on humanitarian and human-rights grounds may well signal the death of humanitarianism as a movement that can set the agenda of international politics.

On the surface, events in Kosovo seem to dictate the opposite conclusion. After all, NATO's first "hot" war in its 50-year history was not undertaken as an act of self-defense in any conventional sense, nor out of any treaty obligation. The war is being fought, as President Clinton rightly said at the NATO summit in Washington, to prevent "the slaughter of innocents on [NATO's] doorstep." And yet in prosecuting this war, the ideals of humanitarian action as they have been painfully developed over the past three decades have been challenged, and their limits exposed.

Modern humanitarianism dates not from the 19th century and the founding of the Red Cross, but rather from the Biafran war of 1967, when the Nigerian Army prevented relief supplies from getting through to secessionist areas. It was then that a few young French physicians formed Doctors Without Borders. They were indignant at the implacable neutrality the Red Cross insisted on maintaining, and convinced that the conflict required moral activism. Contemporary humanitarianism's creed was not to bring "development," or to offer relief as the Red Cross had done; the idea, rather, was to look after civilians displaced, injured or traumatized by war, and to bear witness to atrocities. Young activists jettisoned the discretion of the Red Cross, publicized what the Nigerians were doing and hoped to pressure and shame the governments of the rich world to act.

Organizations like Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International used much the same tactics. And for more than 20 years they worked brilliantly. With the end of the cold war, however, the limitations of this kind of activism—client states may no longer do what Washington or Brussels tells them—have become apparent.

Humanitarian workers have found themselves in a cruel dilemma. They thought that bringing aid to suffering people was an unimpeachably good thing to do; but in places like Ethiopia, the Congo and Bosnia, they discovered to their horror that they had become logisticians to the war efforts of belligerents. If a warlord knows that he can depend on a relief agency to feed his civilian population, he may be freer to act solely on the basis of his military imperatives. It is not that the relief workers were acting in bad faith. To the contrary, whether it was in the camps of central Africa or in Sarajevo, they were in a lose-lose situation and they

knew it. But though the discovery of these contradictions quickly became the subject of anguished debate within the aid community, the public retained the impression that humanitarian action was a successful ingredient in international relations.

The Kosovo crisis demonstrates that we were kidding ourselves. It is one thing to insist that humanitarians want to do good. It is another to believe that they have either the resources or the power to do so. As one American aid worker in Albania told me recently, "You can't defeat ethnic fascism of Milosevic's stripe with humanitarian aid. You have to do it with military force." And the problem goes beyond the truth that groups like Doctors Without Borders and the International Rescue Committee are not soldiers. Once the shooting started in Yugoslavia and the refugee exodus began, the aid agencies found that all their traditional norms of neutrality and impartiality, like their desire to be able to move across front lines, had been blown to pieces.

It was NATO that took care of the refugees in Albania and Macedonia.

Only a military organization had the money, the logistical capability and the political muscle to build camps for hundreds of thousands. If NATO were to withdraw from the camps in Macedonia, where the Kosovar refugees are hated by the ethnic Macedonian majority, a new catastrophe would be all but a certainty. The relief agencies, which seemed so essential only a decade ago, have functioned more like subcontractors in this crisis—a trend that is only likely to accelerate as private companies like Brown & Root and Bouygues bid for contracts to build and maintain camps the way they bid for other construction projects.

Only NATO, and certainly not the relief agencies, can resolve the worsening refugee crisis—one that

will grow worse so long as Kosovo remains in the hands of Milosevic's thugs. Relief agencies would have to negotiate access with the very murderers who caused the disaster. The bitter lesson of Kosovo is that there are no humanitarian solutions to humanitarian problems. In future disasters the central role

will be played by private companies that have the expertise and governments that have the power.

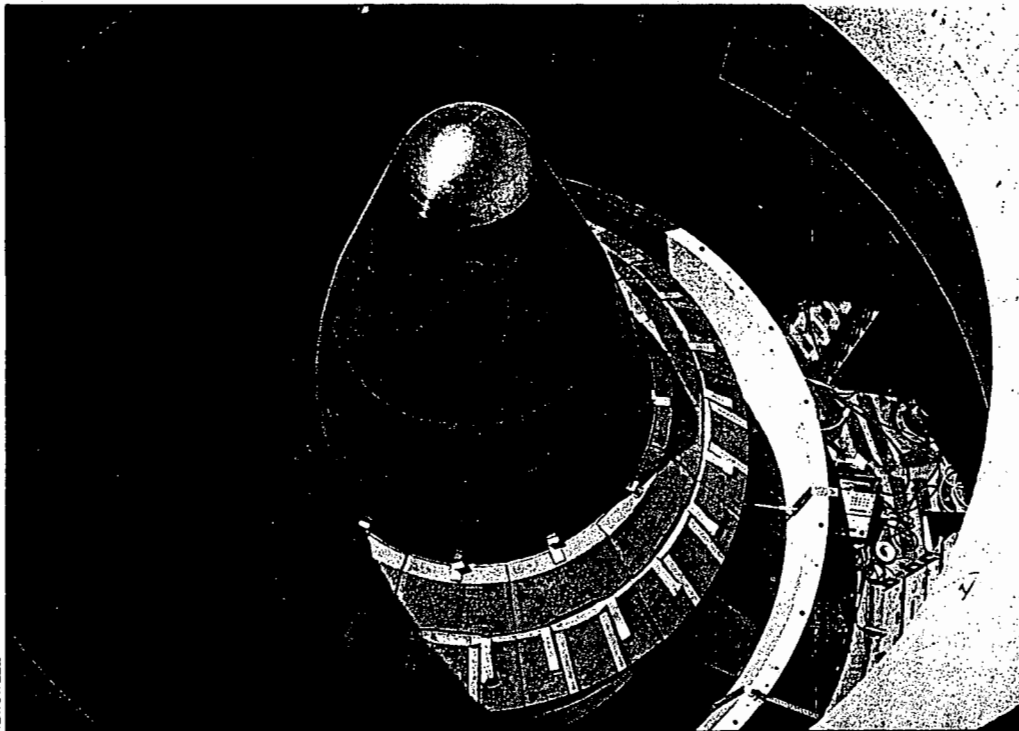
Whether this turns out to be desirable remains to be seen. In Kosovo, the world cares enough to devote blood and treasure to setting things right. But what about Angola, Sierra Leone or Tajikistan? The end of humanitarianism leaves those nations even more bereft than they were already. But it is already clear that if humanitarianism is to contribute to solving the world's most awful problems it must find a different paradigm, both operationally and morally. The old way of doing things is dying in Kosovo.

RIEFF is the author of *"Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West."* He is completing a new book on humanitarian aid.



ANS-ACTIONPRESS—SABA

A meal amid harsh conditions at a refugee camp in Albania



Cracking the codes: The compromised files simulate explosions of MXs and other U.S. nukes

ESPIONAGE

The Slow Boat to China Crew

Did the Feds take too long to investigate the Lee case?

BY MARK HOSENBALL
AND DANIEL KLAIDMAN

LOUIS FREEH COULD hardly believe his ears. In the summer of 1997 the FBI director called a secret meeting to discuss a problem that was just coming to his attention: appallingly lax security at the nation's nuclear-weapons labs. Notra Trulock, the Energy Department's deputy director of intelligence, warned Freeh that scientific exchanges between U.S. and foreign labs were jeopardizing nuclear secrecy. Trulock left the room. Freeh, stunned at the lack of security, turned to his deputy, William Esposito. "Forget about [spies] sneaking around the back door," Esposito said despairingly. "The front door is wide open."

Freeh may have been shocked by the Energy Department's security lapses, but he is now facing tough questioning about whether his own agency mishandled an explosive case of alleged nuclear espionage. Did the bureau fumble its investigation of Wen Ho Lee, the Los Alamos scientist who was fired in March under suspicion of leaking nuclear secrets to Beijing? Government officials tell NEWSWEEK that both the Energy Department and the FBI failed to act aggressively



Under suspicion: Lee

on suspicions that Lee may have been leaking secrets—despite warning signs that spanned nearly 20 years. (Lee has not been charged, and his lawyers maintain his innocence.)

Last week the case took on new urgency when The New York Times reported that Lee transferred supersecret "legacy codes"—strings of numbers that simulate how each nuclear weapon in the U.S.

arsenal explodes—to an unsecure computer system at Los Alamos. Sources tell NEWSWEEK that the transfers took place sporadically between 1983 and 1995. The Feds shouldn't have been entirely surprised. Two top security officials at the Energy Department, Glenn Podonsky and Edward McCallum, secretly warned their superiors in the early 1990s, sources say, that files in the classified computer system were vulnerable. The warnings were ignored. In fact, according to administration sources, when Podonsky urged increased security at all the labs, officials rejected the idea, saying the risks were acceptable. Podonsky told NEWSWEEK: "The computer-security issues we identified in 1994 have been corrected."

Those issues weren't the first danger

want to know why, given apparent clues like these, the FBI didn't identify Lee as a potential security risk earlier.

Lee was certainly no stranger to the FBI spycatchers. His wife, Sylvia, a Los Alamos administrator, was herself an FBI informant at the same time he was allegedly leaking secrets to the Chinese. And Wen Ho Lee was questioned three times by FBI counterintelligence agents who asked if he'd noticed any suspicious activity at the lab.

Yet it wasn't until 1996 that the various notations in Lee's file got serious attention. The FBI, looking for the source of a weapons leak at Los Alamos, began seriously scrutinizing Lee's activities and trips to China. But even then, the agency was hampered by bureaucratic obstacles. Twice the Justice Department refused FBI requests to wiretap Lee, saying agents needed more evidence. A secret panel of federal judges must authorize national-security eavesdropping, and Justice didn't want to endanger its standing with the judges by bringing a request; in 20 years, the department had never been turned down. Law-enforcement sources complain that Justice should have been willing to take that risk. After being neglected for years, the facts about the Alamos leaks are only now coming into focus. But in Washington, the haggling over who's to blame is well underway.

With GREGORY L. VISTICA in Washington

AMERICA'S HOTTEST NEW THEME PARK

**Littleton
Remembers**

**The Long
Air War
Ahead**



Killer Bacteria

**Because of overuse, many
antibiotics are powerless
against deadly microbes.
This boy survived—but
many others may not**



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The vocabulary of evil

Why we have such a hard time talking about what's truly bad

BY JAY TOLSON

The tragedy in Littleton is appalling for many reasons—not least for the torrent of banalities that it has unleashed. As *Washington Post* media columnist Howard Kurtz noted, one professor went so far as to send out a press release declaring, "Littleton Shootings are Symptomatic of Male Identity Crisis." Quips University of Chicago philosopher Jean Bethke Elshtain: "When we need Reinhold Niebuhr, we get 50 Dr. Joyce Brothers." And the chasm between our TV-savvy pundits and the great midcentury theologian just keeps getting wider.

So why is it that the nation's vast explanation industry seems to miss the point of what happened in Littleton—not to mention Jonesboro, West Paducah, and other towns now too numerous to name? Have we lost a vocabulary adequate to the enormity of the evil and ended up with threadbare theories ranging from "society (or bad families or genes) made them do it" to "those kids are monsters"? Some have suggested that the vacuity of the answers actually *contributes* to the problem. Psychiatrist and author Robert Coles puts it directly: "Part of the evil is all these experts coming out with their shrinky comments."

Those comments would not have satisfied earlier generations of Americans. They possessed a vocabulary that balanced religious and humanistic traditions in a way that never fully absolved individuals from responsibility for the good or bad they did. Call those traditions, in shorthand, the Augustinian and the Socratic—though most Americans had other, simpler shorthands for the combination of the two, including the all-purpose "common sense."

Personal choice. From St. Augustine came a distillation of Old and New Testament teaching: Evil is what results, he wrote, "when the will abandons what is above itself, and turns to what is lower—not because that is evil to which it turns, but because turning itself is wicked." For Augustine, the emphasis on will and choice was crucial. People were imperfect creatures, disposed by their natures to turn from the good for selfish reasons. But that, says Elshtain, is precisely what contemporary experts are reluctant to consider in their discussions of misunderstood kids, genetics, and inadequate counseling. "We want to avoid talking about the falling away from the good, the habituation to evil. Why can't we come to grips with the fact that some people *want* to be like this?"

We can't, in part, because of our Socratic heritage—or at least a corrupted version of it. That tradition originated with

the Greek philosopher's argument that people erred "in their choice of good and evil from a defect of knowledge." If ignorance causes evil, the reasoning went, knowledge could banish it. Such confidence, refined in the 18th-century Enlightenment, inspired a goodly part of the American creed.

To be sure, Enlightenment confidence in human perfectibility gave rise to a partly laudable optimism and to a host of progressive policies, from penal reform to public education. But as Ralph Waldo Emerson and others transformed it into a kind of civic religion, that optimism revealed its limitations. "The problem," says cultural historian Jackson Lears, "is that it leads to a stupefied response in the face of palpable instances of evil."

As progressive optimism, armed with a host of psychological theories, swept aside a realism grounded in religion—even in the pulpits, Elshtain says, "the language of syndromes replaced the language of sin"—new explanations were needed for the evil that persisted. From the early 19th century on, Gothic literature and sensationalistic true-crime reporting attempted to satisfy that need, depicting murderers as monstrous "others" and reassuring normal folks that they weren't like that.

The growing dominance of psychobabble, on the one hand, and demonizing representations of criminals, on the other, has finally yielded a set of explanations both titillating and un-

convincing. "Psychology cannot explain the enormous variations of behavior," says Robert Coles, "including the fact that millions of kids listen to the same rock music or see the same videos that Harris and Klebold did and never commit murder. The greater mystery really is that most people don't act this way. But you can understand the fear of families, and why they can't accept that evil is around every corner." And so they consume the explanations, even though most people finally don't buy them—not even many evildoers themselves.

That fact comes through most powerfully in *Cries Unheard*, English journalist Gitta Sereny's new profile of the English child murderer Mary Bell, who at age 11 killed two younger children and subsequently served 12 years in prison. Now in her late 30s and a mother herself, she says she understands the social and psychological factors that pushed her toward the deeds—fatherless, poor, she was brutally abused by her prostitute mother, who twice tried to kill her. But if Bell could today stand as a prime example of the unfairly condemned child criminal, she refuses to accept any exoneration that denies her own responsibility and freedom of will. "Nothing can justify what I did," Bell told Sereny. "Nothing."



Mourning for Columbine High, where the unspeakable occurred



What does Richard Gephardt want? The Social Security debate may come down to that question.

The exaggerated death of Social Security

A crafty new plan revives the reform debate

BY JODIE T. ALLEN

Social Security reform poked its head from an early grave last week when two powerful Republicans outlined their plan to guarantee a secure old age for the national pension system. The creative proposal, by Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Archer and subcommittee chair Clay Shaw, seemed to startle even the usual critics of the GOP approach to Social Security.

"Chairmen Archer and Shaw have made a serious effort to extend Social Security solvency, unlike some Republican leaders," says White House economic policy chief Gene Sperling. "Any criticism from us should be constructive on the policy merits." Says a Democratic economist: "If John Kenneth Galbraith had proposed this, Democrats would say, 'Way to go!'"

It was a tenuously promising finish to a week that began with flat declarations of death and a partisan search for assassins. Still there's much suspicion about the true agenda of the many interested parties. With few months left before the 2000 campaign begins in earnest, key

players seemed most interested in avoiding blame for the reform effort's demise.

Still, after all the unspecific talk, there is finally a Republican plan on the table. Archer and Shaw would give workers an income tax rebate equal to 2 percent of wages covered by the Social Security payroll tax. The rebate would be earmarked for an individual "Social Security Guarantee Account" invested in a corporate bond/stock index fund selected by the worker from an approved list. At retirement, workers could choose between receiving an annuity based on their accumulated savings or the currently guaranteed benefit.

Something for everyone. The plan aims to placate a full spectrum of political interests. For liberals worried that individual accounts are a stalking horse for privatizing the system, there is the benefit guarantee and the allocation of all trust-fund money plus a major part of general-fund surpluses to Social Security. The tax rebate addresses the GOP's desire for tax cuts. Earmarking rebates for private savings meets concerns of Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin that using surpluses

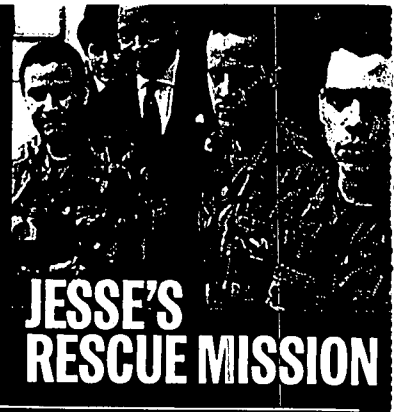
for government programs or a consumption-promoting general tax cut would limit economic growth. Letting workers choose from a menu of investments should satisfy Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan, who (with most of the public) worries that direct private investment by the government would lead to political interference.

"This is a doable thing," says Sperling, "but it's going to require an emerging effort on all sides to search for a bipartisan consensus." Hill Democrats had no doubts about whom to blame for the failure thus far: the Republican leadership. "[House Speaker Dennis] Hastert has made it very clear he has no intention of doing anything," says an aide to House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt. Hastert's office, however, denied abandoning reform efforts. Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott's

spokesman, John Czwartacki, says presidential leadership was the "missing piece of the three-legged stool." Republicans argued it's in their own interest to make a deal lest Democrats batter the issue all the way to control of the House in 2000. "The Democrats have an illustrious record of demagoguing on Social Security," says Hastert's spokesman, John Feehery.

No, we want a deal, too, say the Democrats. "There's no question about it," says Charles Rangel, the Ways and Means Committee's ranking Democrat, "having a bipartisan plan before the election would be a good thing." Ironically, Rangel says, Archer's very efforts at compromise invited attacks from all sides. These were not long in coming. AFL-CIO President John Sweeney blasted the plan as a "pig in a poke." Liberals worried that individual accounts would lead to privatization. Conservatives complained the accounts weren't independent enough since workers couldn't pick unapproved investments or pass gains on to their heirs unless they died before retirement. Others noted that Archer relied on the private market to solve all Social Security's problems while President Clinton at least recognized benefit cuts were also needed.

Still, says Rangel, criticism is to be expected. Archer's real problem is that "politically he went at it in the wrong way," failing even to secure the endorsement of his own leadership. "This isn't a bill, it's a Joan Rivers 'can we talk?' paper." But, he adds, chuckling, "What the hell, let's talk. ... But what's the next step, I don't know." Neither, it seems, does anyone else in Washington. ■



JESSE'S RESCUE MISSION

Today's kids dwell in
a world of computers
and video games.
Here's how parents
can help them make
the right choices

Growing Up Online

Battling the Columbine Copycats

SOMEONE THREW A BOMB AT A HIGH SCHOOL IN TEXAS, AND ANOTHER THREW A BOMB AT A HIGH SCHOOL IN NEW YORK. Then, in a small town in the Canadian province of Alberta, someone initiated a 10-minute gun-and-bomb siege. He did it himself, but the multi-grade dropout whipped out a 22-cal. rifle, killing a 15-year-old boy and critically wounding another. The crime would have been horrible enough. But come just eight days after the Littleton massacre, it was the centerpiece of a several-week copycatting epidemic across the continent. Authorities rounded up scores of kids for allegedly plotting to blow up their schools, snuck guns onto campus for threatening to off their enemies. Some schools hired guards; others canceled classes. All of them are reeling exactly how many of these threats were serious. But the one that killed in the Colorado case was an unprovoked and misguided kid's new way to garner attention. Most kids aren't interested in this stuff, says Ellis Benetok, a professor of clinical psychiatry at the University of Michigan. "But there are lots of unhappy ones who want their moment in the sun, and this is one way to do it."

One threat that was almost surely serious took place in Wimberley, Texas, where four 14-year-olds were arrested April 24 for allegedly plotting to blow up Danforth Junior High School. Though the plot was initiated well before the Colorado massacre, Littleton was probably what spurred fellow students to report the boys after overhearing them bragging. Authorities who searched their homes said they found gunpowder and bomb-building instructions downloaded from the Internet. The eighth-graders were charged with a conspiracy to manufacture explosives and commit murder and arson.

Other incidents were more ambiguous. Five teens at William McKinley Junior High School in Brooklyn, N.Y., were arrested after boasting about plans to blow up their school on graduation day. The students insisted they were just joking. Authorities slapped them with conspiracy charges nevertheless. Schools in Hillsborough, N.J., were shut down for a day when students received e-mail warnings. "If you think what happened in Colorado was bad, wait until you see what happens in Hillsborough Middle School on Friday." In Bakersfield, Calif., authorities yanked a 13-year-old boy out of school after his classmates spotted him loading a 40-cal. handgun. He had a hit list of 30 names with "they deserved to die" scrawled at the bottom. The epidemic has put school administrators in a tough position. "Now everyone has to be serious about everything," says Paul Houston, executive director of the American Association of Administrators in Arlington, Va., "because they're afraid if they aren't, they might be jeopardizing children." At the same time, the American Civil Liberties Union has been deluged with complaints from parents whose children were suspended for wearing black or making provocative statements on their web page. "There is a danger that schools are interpreting being different as being dangerous," says ACLU attorney Ann Beeson. "Any nonconformist kid fits some sort of profile of a killer."

—By Tammerlin Drummond

With reporting by Hilary Hyfton/Austin and Andrew Purvis/Toronto



AFTERSHOCKS Texas authorities arrest four eighth-grade boys for allegedly plotting to blow up their junior high school

would do the trick, and Dylan seemed to agree. Just a few days before the shooting, Dylan told his friend Terra Oglesbee that he "couldn't wait to graduate." He was playing in his beloved fantasy baseball league until the night before the siege, making plans to trade players on the day he killed so many and then died. Was this a masterful cover, or did his mind fail to process what the killing spree would mean? Why would he follow Harris into hell on earth, laughing as they slaughtered or maimed people he knew, people he in some cases truly cared about?

People like Rachel Scott, a beatific presence at the high school who hoped to become a missionary. After she had been buried, some of Scott's classmates recalled a talent show last year in which she did a mime dance portraying Simon of Cyrene, who carried Jesus' cross along part of the Via Dolorosa. Midway through her performance the music cut out, leaving her stranded. The guy in the sound booth, who obviously liked her, scrambled to hook up a reserve tape deck in time to save her performance. The sound guy was Klebold. How does the same boy have fun carrying out the massacre that took her life?

"If Dylan can do this, who isn't capable of it?" asks Brooks Brown's father Randy, a longtime friend of Tom and Sue Klebold.



STEVE LISS FOR TIME

destroyed the memorials for the two killers last weekend

Randy Brown. "He had a strong, manipulative personality. He could convince his dad of anything." After Harris cracked Brooks' car windshield with that ice ball last winter, for instance, Harris told his father that he thought he was throwing a harmless snowball. His dad believed him, but Judy Brown didn't. "You can pull the wool over your father's eyes," she told Eric, "but you can't pull it over mine." He pretended to be offended. "You calling me a liar?" he demanded. "Yes, I suppose I am," she said. Harris stomped away.

In March, according to Harris' website, he and Klebold were busy making their first pipe bombs. But they gave few clues to the people around them. Appearing before Jefferson County magistrate John DeVita on March 25, after being arrested for breaking into a car and stealing electronics equipment, Harris and Klebold made like latter-day Eddie Haskell: "Yes, Your Honor... No, Your Honor." That persuaded DeVita (who knew nothing of Harris' website) to agree to put them in a juvenile diversion program, and charges were dropped in return for their performing community service and enrolling in "anger management" classes.

A week after Harris yanked his venomous website offline, he had replaced it with an equally venomous secret diary—the one in which, authorities say, he plotted his campaign to take out Columbine High. The diary hasn't been made public. But in the months of late 1998 and early 1999, there were many preparations: guns to acquire, bombs to make, locations to scout, timing to perfect. In the fall of 1998, Klebold and Harris made a video for a class project—a video in which they dress in

After the Grief: The Lawyers

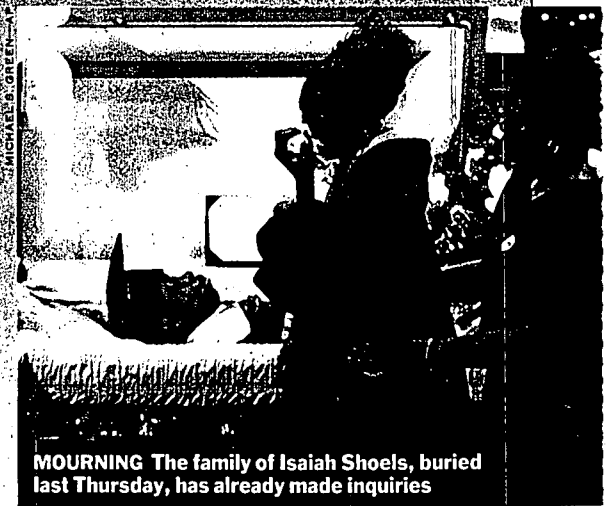
ELISABETH KURLER ROSS HAS DELINEATED FIVE STAGES OF REACTION TO death: from denial to acceptance, but in America there is a sixth, litigation. Just days after the Columbine shootings, the father of Isaiah Shoels, a slain 18-year-old, made a call to attorney Geoffrey Bieger, famous for defending Jack Kevorkian, about representing his family. No suits have been filed yet, and Colorado bars lawyers from soliciting clients for 30 days after an incident. But it is probable that a wave of lawsuits is coming from the victims' families and from those injured in the shootings. What is less certain is what good they will do.

Who could be sued? The killers' parents are obvious targets. Many find it hard to believe the Harris and Klebolds didn't have a clue that their kids were buying guns, making bombs and spending a year plotting the rampage. Still, the law makes it difficult to prevail in suits against parents for the acts of children. And even if the plaintiffs beat the odds, the families' assets and homeowner's insurance wouldn't go far. The school district is another possibility, if it is shown that Columbine High officials ignored signs that Harris and Klebold were a threat. Among those warning signals, videotape the two boys made simulating a school bloodbath, and some verbal threats made by Harris. Yet even if the school blundered, Colorado gives the government immunity except in rare cases. Then there are the police. The Jefferson County sheriff has been faulted for failing to follow up on complaints by the parents of Brooks Brown that Harris had threatened their son. Police have also been criticized for not acting faster, on April 20, to storm the school and stop the shootings. The strongest claim could come from the family of Dave Sanders, the teacher who bled to death while waiting three hours for help. Yet any suit against the police would again run into immunity problems, as well as the reluctance of courts to second-guess police on tactics. "It's not like Waco, where law enforcement's own action produced the death," says Denver trial lawyer Bill Keating.

A few individuals could be liable: the gun seller whom police are investigating for selling a semiautomatic that may have been used in the killing; a pizza-parlor co-worker of Harris and Klebold who may have been the middleman in the gun sale; and Robyn Anderson, Klebold's prom date, who police say bought three guns used in the massacre. But probably none of them have enough money to justify the time and effort of a suit. The victims might turn to bigger culprits. Victims of the Jonesboro, Ark., school killings have sued gunmakers, and victims of the Paducah, Ky., shooting are suing Time Warner and PolyGram, the maker of *The Basketball Diaries*, a movie in which a student imagines shooting his classmates.

Ironically, it is the survivors of the Columbine massacre, rather than the families of the dead, who may stand the best chance of collecting. The grimmest TV footage out of Littleton was of a badly injured boy dangling out of a window until he could be rescued by a SWAT team. Patrick Ireland, 17, was shot in the brain and is partially paralyzed on his right side. He is likely to have enormous medical bills for years. If victims like him were to seek redress in court, it would take a jury with a heart of stone to send them home empty-handed.

—By Adam Cohen. With reporting by Richard Woodbury/Littleton



MOURNING The family of Isaiah Shoels, buried last Thursday, has already made inquiries

WHEN HARRIS WAS TURNED down by the Marines on April 15, it was because of his antidepressants. A day before, Brandi Tinklenberg had turned down his invitation to the prom. Did these failures set him off? It's impossible to say. But five days later, he and Klebold started shooting. Fittingly, they had already computer-modeled their crime. The Simon Wiesenthal Center, which tracks Internet hate groups, discovered last week in its archives a copy of Harris' website with a version of the bloody shoot-'em-up video

Brooks Brown makes much the same point. "What they did wasn't about anger or hate," he says. "It was about them living in the moment, like they were inside a video game." As long as they were rolling with the plan, Brown argues, the slaughter didn't seem real to them. But that explanation absolves the killers too easily: Is it really possible that the flesh and blood of the maimed and dying was no more real to them than pixels on a video monitor? Brown thinks so. "Then they can't get out of the library, and they have a moment of overwhelming remorse," he surmises. "Or maybe one does, while the other is still lost inside the game."

Harris' customized Doom game was programmed so that the shooter who runs

out of ammunition dies first. Inside Columbine, that was never an issue. But maybe one of them ran out of fantasy first. "I think Dylan would have snapped out of it, while Eric was still in the moment," says Brown. "Maybe that's when they get into their own gunfight." Rumors are swirling among the students that the end did not come with a double suicide. "I keep hearing that Eric's bullets were found in Dylan's body," says Terra Oglesbee. Another version has Harris and Klebold counting to three, then executing each other; some law-enforcement sources say it could even be true. Though ballistics results have not been released, District Attorney Dave Thomas told *TIME* that the forensics suggest double suicide. But given the location of one wound and the fact that the bullet that passed through Klebold's head has not been recovered, he doesn't dismiss the possibility of a murder-suicide. Says Thomas: "We may never know." Game Over. —*With reporting by John Cloud, S.C. Gwynne, Maureen Harrington and Jeffrey Shapiro/Littleton; Elaine Rivera/Plattsburgh; and Richard Woodbury/Denver*

To keep his family informed, he mails his wife him a "care package."



— We must all cooperate. What are we as the adult community going to do? Yes, the entertainment industry needs to stop selling products to children. Yes, the gun industry needs to stop fighting to put a gun within everyone's reach. Yes, politicians need to look at these issues as a matter and bipartisan effort and not just as divisive tools in campaigns. And yes, the media need to do more than just report on headlines. But what responsibility are we as individuals going to accept?

Just days after the Columbine shootings, I visited a high school and listened to teenagers discuss their fears and reactions. All of them said they knew kids who were troubled. Most knew kids who were depressed or had attempted suicide. Some knew kids who were openly discussing violence—to the point that the speakers were frightened of them. One student told me, "My friends know they need help, and we know they need help, but they are ashamed to come forward because they fear being labeled."

If we are serious about stopping the violence and helping our children, we as adults need to cease the stigma that over-

[illegible]

Last January, our two daughters and I traveled with the people of Liberia. A young girl said to me, "We need to know if you have got to tell me that these children did not die in vain. We've got to make changes. Promise me that you will." Our country needs to make this promise in every house, on every street, in every community. And then we need to keep it. ■



PHOTOGRAPH BY JIMMY HARRIS



ਅੰਤਰਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ ਪੱਧਰ 'ਤੇ
ਸਿੱਖ ਫਿਲਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ੰਸਾ

The Vice President's wife is a longtime advocate of mental-health reform.

Margaret Carlson

An Outrage That Will Last

The public has had its fill of politicians who won't touch the gun problem

IF SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN HAS SHOWN WHAT HE IS MADE OF by becoming shadow Commander in Chief during the war in Kosovo, Al Gore may do the same during the war in the schools. Unlike so many others, he didn't single out culture or guns for blame, but immediately addressed both. He and Tipper were for values before it was cool. If his below-radar efforts last week are successful, the man who clumsily claimed to have created the Internet may be the one to clean it up, getting the biggest players to voluntarily keep the worst sites from children.

Gore came out squarely for gun control, even as the President initially hung back. While the Republicans pandered to the powerful gun lobby, which targets heretics for defeat, Gore spoke eloquently at the memorial service in Littleton (even if he does mistake shouting and arm chops for animation). The raw sadness of burying children had temporarily alleviated his stiffness, and he plaintively asked, "What say we into the open muzzle of this tragedy, cocked and aimed at our hearts?"

At a campaign stop in the living room of a turn-of-the-century house in Dubuque, Iowa, he told how the father of a dead child had asked him in a whisper to promise that his child and the other had not died in vain. Gore did.

If his words rang true, it may have been because Republicans hit so many false notes. Dan Quayle led the clanging chorus, warning that the massacre should not be used "as an excuse to go and take away guns." He sounded like gun lobbyist Neal Knox, who fretted that "fresh victims" bring out the "anti-gun" fanatics. The other Republican presidential contenders avoided blaming weapons in favor of blaming the culture, except McCain, who flicked at the gun problem in a joint letter with Democrats asking for a White House summit on the entertainment industry. Texas Governor George W. Bush found himself doing another waffle. Responding to Littleton, he said he supported background checks for people buying weapons at Texas gun shows or flea markets, but a bill to that effect had just died in committee without his support. Asked if he planned to revive it, he said no because it was "flawed." Then the candidate of small government said maybe Congress should take up the issue.

In Congress, while Democrats were pushing stringent legislation, the boldest move by Republicans was to call for a

"national dialogue" by religious and other leaders that would "inform the nation about modern culture and its impact on youth." Senate majority leader Trent Lott seemed intent on keeping his earlier vow that gun control legislation would never pass on his watch. He called the renewed push for gun control a typical "knee-jerk reaction" to the shootings and staved off for at least two weeks an effort to have a vote, in the hope that emotions will cool. The House, heavily mortgaged to the gun lobby, has scheduled no bills. House Re-

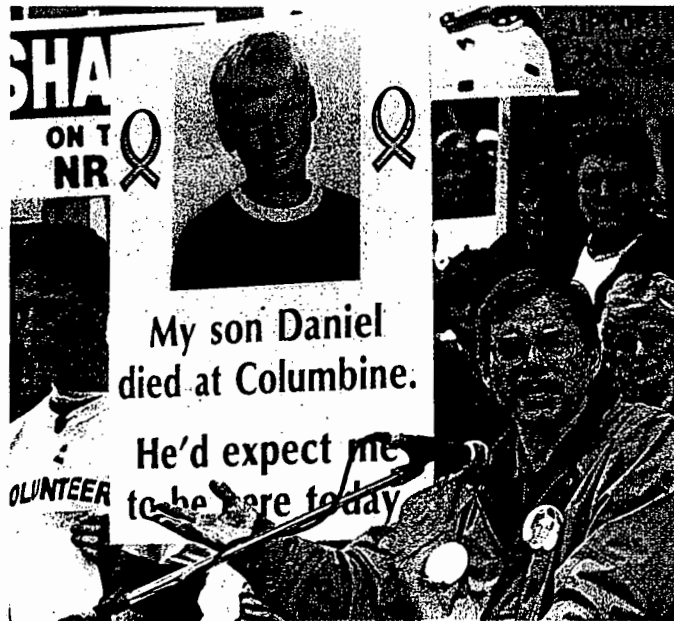
publican whip Tom DeLay, whose office was the site of the murder of one of the two Capitol guards slain by a crazed gunman last summer, accused Clinton of exploiting tragedy for political benefits.

Republicans are betting that this too will pass, that as with Jonesboro and Paducah, Pearl and Springfield, once the white coffins are in the ground and the cameras gone, the outrage will subside. But maybe not this time. In town meetings and talk radio, the public has had its fill of politicians talking resignedly about our gun culture, as if there's nothing to be done about a subgroup that finds schoolyard massacres an accept-

able cost for its right to be armed to the teeth. But if the Constitution speaks of a "well-regulated militia," why don't we regulate it? Surely the sanest teenager isn't militia material. Gun ownership should not start until age 21, and it should require a background check at every purchase point, and a waiting period.

Just as no one has a right to a machine gun, no one should have a right to a semiautomatic weapon, or a gun that can be altered to become one. Of course guns should have safety locks.

Just a year ago in Jonesboro, teacher Shannon Wright, mother of a two-year-old, stopped a bullet for another mother's child. Two week ago, Dave Sanders bled to death after directing kids to safety. And we're supposed to think gun buyers can't endure a little red tape, a little delayed gratification in making their purchase? Without guns, Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold were menacing misfits in trench coats feasting on Internet swill. With guns, they became merciless mass murderers. We're hungry for a politician who can stand up to the gun lobby and convince it that burying Isaiah Shoels last Thursday in the graduation gown he would have worn to his commencement this month is unacceptable in a civilized society. —With reporting by Karen Tumulty/Dubuque



Arms and the Boys

Daniel's father Tom Mauser protesting the N.R.A. convention in Denver at the steps of the Colorado capitol

RAISING KIDS ONLINE

WHAT CAN PARENTS DO?

We want our kids to use the Net but worry about what they'll find. Here are some ways to steer them straight

By DANIEL OKRENT

ON THE MORNING OF TUESDAY, APRIL 20, AS the sun rose over Littleton, Colo., more than 14 million American teenagers punched off their alarm clocks, scarfed their breakfasts, brushed their teeth, rushed off to school... and did not kill their classmates. On that day, like other days, 40% of those teenagers—a number that has doubled in the past two years alone—logged on to the Internet. The vast majority did not encounter recipes for pipe bombs or deranged rants about white supremacy. Most were getting sports scores, downloading the most recent Britney Spears cut, chatting with friends. Some were even doing their homework, tapping into colorful libraries of information on the rain forests, data about particle physics, essays on *Hamlet*.

These are things, true things all, that we try to impress on our children, and ourselves, as we struggle to come to terms with the slaughter in Colorado and the vivid gash it has left in our psyche. We know that the Internet couldn't possibly be the source of the demons that drove the two killers. We want our kids to use the Net; we know that this technological wonder, every bit as revolutionary as the light bulb or the telephone, is going to shape all our lives in the century ahead.

And yet we worry, because we are parents and because we are citizens. Since Littleton, we worry not so much about our kids' or their classmates' being turned

into mass murderers as about something more persistently troubling: that even if our kids aren't playing blood-soaked computer games or plotting violence in the dark crannies of an online chat room, they are plunging into a whole world of influences and values and enticements that is, most of the time, hidden from our view.

At any moment, those same kids exploring jungle fauna or listening to... *Baby One More Time* are just a few keystrokes away from Pandora's hard drive—from the appalling filth, unspeakable hatred and frightening prescriptions for homicidal mayhem that the Littleton massacre evoked. If you listened to the conversations at PTA meetings and around Little League diamonds last week, it was as if we'd already forgotten that the Internet brings us vital medical information, cross-cultural dialogue, vast stores of learning and beauty and virtue. Yet what comfort is that to a parent who came across a website last week in which the index included the following entries: "Counterfeit Money," "Hot-Wiring Cars," "Breaking into Houses," "Termite Bombs," "Tennis Ball Bomb"? Such is the power of Web technology that the simple act of listing the phrases here will make it possible for anyone to type these words into a search engine and immediately locate the site that houses them.

Read this page, then burn it.

Would that it were so easy. The Internet is as persistent as it is potent, an indelible and uncontainable presence in the culture. In fact, the Internet isn't separate from the culture at all; it is the culture. All the trash, flot-



STRONG parental control is the best way to be sure fingers are not wandering too far

It just makes it forbidden fruit."

If there is a war to be fought, the critical beachhead is in the home. For the wonder and the horror of the Web is not that it takes you out into the world; on the contrary, it brings the world—in all its glorious, anarchic, beautiful, hateful variety—into your home. We'd all prefer that the porn, the neo-Nazis, the violent misogynists and all the other floating trash of a cacophonous culture not wash up into our living rooms. But because they do, we are at least able to know the enemy. We can devise strategies to steer our children away from what's worst on the Net, and toward what is best, even as they grow up much, much too fast.

I think I first felt the parental quiver of fear when I had my initial encounter with a chat room—that invisible meeting spot where the impressionable encounter the unknowable. Web fans say that the Internet, and chats in particular, force interaction, engagement, connection. The favored

sam and spillage of our society gets its moment there, where the tiniest obsession has its spot on the shelf, right next to Bach and charity and sunsets. The Internet lets a million flowers bloom, and a million weeds.

One might wander through the rank reaches of this garden for a reason: a teacher or a parent who feels the need to know how bad it can be out there. Or maybe a racist searching for kindred spirits, or someone lusting for images of brutality or sex. Often, though, you wander because you're 13.

Where an earlier generation of children sneaked hygiene texts off library shelves to giggle over drawings of the human reproductive system, our kids can now cruise through unspeakable swamps. But ask Michael Thompson, a clinical psychologist based in Boston, if the kids he sees think of themselves as imperiled. "Because there's a lot of omnipotent thinking in adolescents," he says, "and because the dangers are somewhat more abstract than climbing trees, I

don't feel they perceive the dangers in anything like the way adults do."

And it's not as if governmental action can really make any difference. The Internet is too diffuse, too international, too much the cat that long ago escaped the bag. Besides, as Brenda Laurel, a Silicon Valley veteran and mother of three girls, says, "Resisting open access to the Internet isn't going to be an effective strategy.

term for all the Web's weightless, disembodied conversation is community. But in fact, the Web provides only a shadow of community; the interaction with another human being that is held out as the great virtue of Web community is actually interaction with the facsimile of a human being.

I remember passing through the study in our house when my 13-year-old daughter was engaged in a chat with someone who

said she was a 15-year-old Californian named Cheryl. It occurred to me—and I suggested to my daughter—that her chatmate, with whom she was sharing the sort of intimacies a 13-year-old will indulge in, could just as likely be a 53-year-old backwoods hermit named Earl. It was a nauseating thought to both of us.

And it was frightening evidence of how, as the medium has matured, its architects' noble commitment to the user's privacy was becoming inverted. What was once a protective shield has now morphed into an obscuring cloak of anonymity. Inventive screen names and

TIME/CNN TEEN POLL

■ Do you use the Internet for things like e-mail, chat rooms or visiting websites? **YES 82%**

■ Have you ever seen websites that:

Are X-rated or have sexual content **44%**

Have information about hate groups **25%**

Teach how to build bombs **14%**

Show where or how to buy a gun **12%**

■ What do your parents know about the websites you visit? **A lot 38%**
A little 45%
Nothing 17%

■ Do your parents have rules about your Internet use, and do you follow them?*

Yes, and always follow **31%**

Yes, but don't always follow **26%**

No, parents don't have rules **43%**

■ Have you ever encountered people online who:

You suspect are pretending to be someone they're not **GIRLS 72% BOYS 57%**

Say offensive things **66% 54%**

Want personal information like your address or phone number **58% 39%**

From a telephone poll of 409 American teenagers 13 to 17 years old taken for TIME/CNN on April 27-29 by Yankelovich Partners Inc. Sampling error is ±4.8%. *Not sure omitted

*Asked of the 341 who use the Internet; sampling error is ±5.3%

In 1998
17 million kids ages
2 to 18 were online.
That number is expected
to grow in five years
to more than
42 million

coy e-mail addresses have replaced those conventional signs of identity: a name, a face. Under the banner of privacy, Internet anonymity has become the ultimate plain brown wrapper. Some parents who decline to monitor their kids' on-line chatting liken it to eavesdropping on their phone calls, which they say they would never do. But there's a difference: when your child's on the phone, she knows who's on the other end of the line.

Privacy can be as dicey an issue within the household as it is out on the Web itself. There are thousands of families in which reading the kids' e-mail, monitoring their chats and tracking their Web travels is a solemn parental obligation. "I have every right to read their e-mail," says Bruce Cohen, a Reno, Nev., father of two. "Legally, I'm responsible for them until they're 18." Yet many others believe that invading an e-mail file is no different from opening a pen-and-paper diary that your daughter keeps under lock and key in a dresser drawer. A lot of parents—not to mention kids—find that a breach of parent-child trust.

But even if e-mail is considered inviolate, there are tactics by which the alert parent can control it. America Online, the Internet service provider used by nearly 17 million households, allows parents to limit incoming e-mail to a finite list of correspondents. In any e-mail program, a scan of the senders' addresses can give you a good idea of the nature of your kid's correspondents. The proliferation of mailing lists being such a Web commonplace, what's coming in can sometimes tell you what's been going out: even unsolicited e-mail—from, say, a Ku Klux Klan site—can be a clue that someone's been surfing some pretty scary pages.

In fact, this sort of Web transparency can actually be a boon to worried parents. If your teenager is going places in the material world and doing things that you wouldn't approve of, you may never know it. If he's connecting with the world's ugliness on the Web, you may have a chance to track it down. Some parents make a regular practice of typing their kids' names and nicknames into a search engine, which gives the parents a shot at discovering what the kids are saying on their own websites or on message boards and

what others are saying about them.

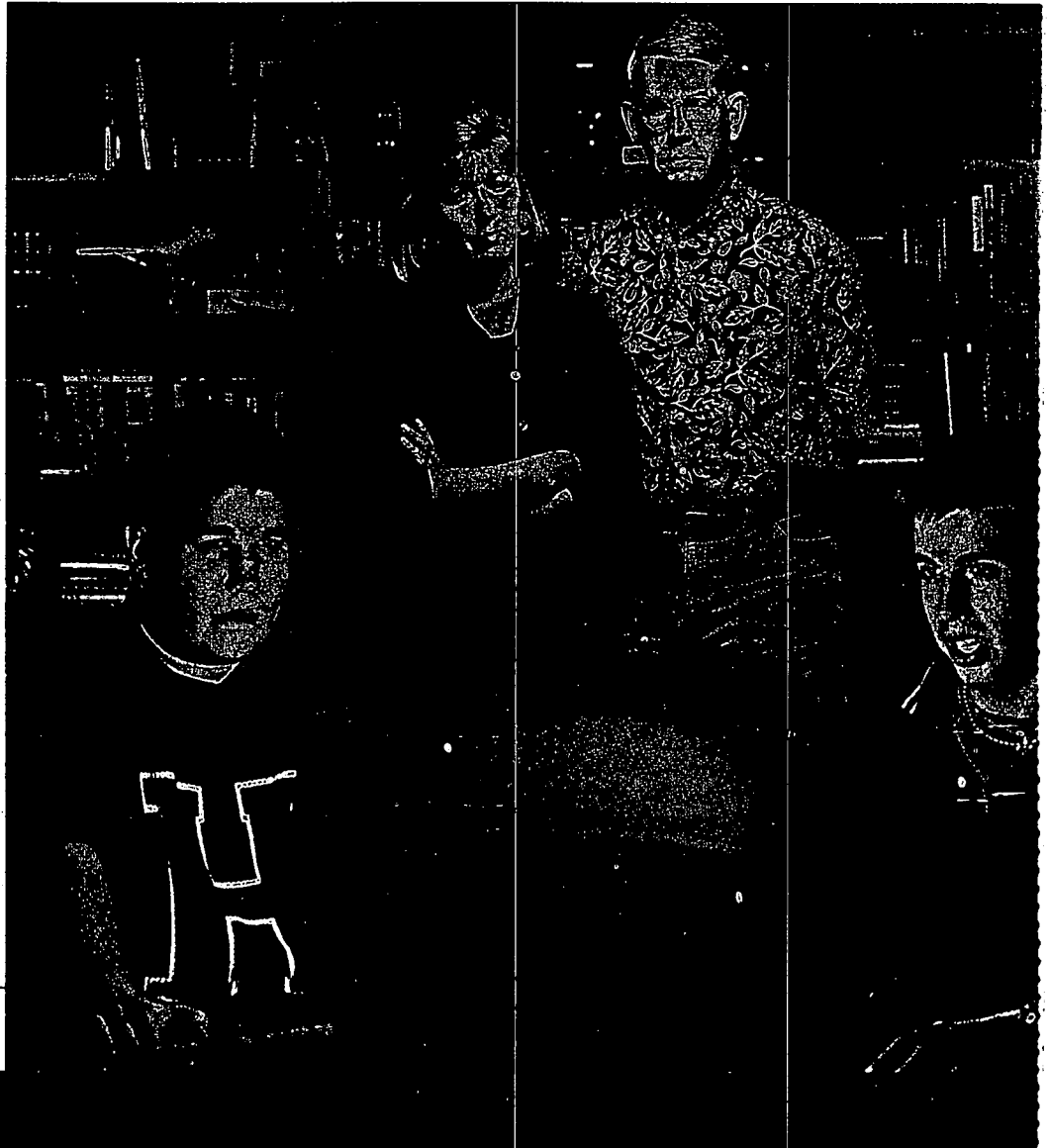
Everyone agrees that the most effective way to monitor kids' online activity is ... to monitor it. Literally. To stand beside the computer from time to time when your son is at the keyboard, watching his every mouse click, mindful, of course, that when he starts typing numerals—1,2,3,4—he could be using the chat signal that says "parental unit nearby." If the count reaches five, he's telling his chat partners there's a parent reading the screen.

Every parent should also take advantage of the wonderful excuse the Web has given us to keep credit cards from our teenage kids. Entry past the first or second level to most porn sites—and to other beyond-the-pale operations of hustling Web entrepreneurs—is governed by the ability to key in a valid card number.

But beyond random shoulder surfing and convenient-credit-card denial, we parents have a more potent range of options than we may be aware of. "A lot of parents might be somewhat computerphobic,"

says Ed Donnerstein, co-director of the Center for Communication and Social Policy at the University of California at Santa Barbara, explaining why we seem so undone by the perceived threats of the Web. But it doesn't take a degree in electrical engineering to know, for instance, that your kids should be admonished never to reveal personal information to anyone online without your permission—the digital equivalent of not taking candy from strangers. Or that something as simple as the computer's placement in the home can be an effective way to keep an eye on where your kids are going. One of my colleagues has put his family's computer on a balcony atop the stairs. Whenever the kids are surfing, Dad can see where they're going from his reading chair, and Mom can check in by leaning out the door of the upstairs study, where her computer lives. And the kids can see them.

As kids get older and are likely to demand a little more privacy, some basic technological know-how comes into play. Surprisingly few parents realize how easy it is to find out where their kids have been surfing or to make effective use of simple



THE WEB brings the world with all its glory—but also with all its evils—into your living room. Who polices it?

software that would block access to taboo sites. Dale Berger-Daar, a Chicago early-childhood professional, says she can't check up on her 13-year-old son's activities even if she wants to. "He set the whole computer up," she says. "He can do whatever he wants." Tom Horan, a New Mexico lawyer and lobbyist, doesn't check his teenage sons' e-mail simply because, he acknowledges, he doesn't know how. At least Berger-Daar and Horan are honest. While more than 70% of parents in a recent Jupiter Communications survey asserted that they set at least some restrictions on their kids' Internet activities, a TIME/CNN poll of teenagers last week indicated that the kids see things somewhat differently: 62% said their parents know little or nothing about the websites their kids visit.

I think we know whom to trust. Parents who tell a pollster they're keeping an eye on things may really be relying wishfully on someone—anyone—else, probably at school. But schools and libraries stake a claim on too little of the child's time, and inescapable First Amendment issues make it unlikely that any public agency will be or should be able to play an effective role in controlling Net access and content. That can happen only at home. One family may respond to the Web's enticements by disconnecting the phone line; another may simply make them a regular topic of dinner conversation. And because we're each entitled to cleave to our own parenting ideology, both would be right.

But both should also understand that there are tools that can make the task easier and more effective, chiefly filters that bar access to offensive or dangerous content and monitors that tell you where the browser has been browsing. America Online, despite all the odious get-rich-quick or get-horny-quick e-mail that it can't seem to keep out of my own mailbox, has been particularly effective in helping parents give their children an online experience under the firm guidance of its editors: a "kids-only" AOL account blocks young users from all but full-time-monitored chat rooms and prescreened kid-friendly sites.

Many other filtering systems work differently from AOL's, dumbly applying a list of forbidden words against the content of any site the user tries to see or simply blocking access to a list of sites ruled obscene or

TIME/CNN TEEN POLL

■ How much do you trust the information you get from:

	GREAT DEAL	SOMEWHAT	NOT AT ALL
Your parents	83%	16%	1%
Teachers	61%	35%	3%
Religious leaders	55%	32%	11%
Friends	48%	49%	3%
TV news and newspapers	39%	53%	7%
The Internet	13%	62%	24%

■ Do you think it is a good idea or bad idea for teenagers to have access to the Internet?

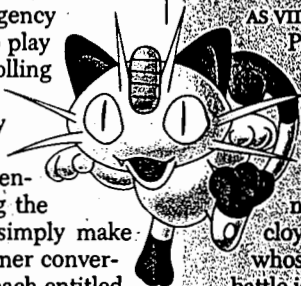
	GOOD	BAD	NO DIFFERENCE
	78%	13%	8%

otherwise objectionable. In both instances, the filter will almost always work like a blunt instrument. If you tried to get to the home page of the Almaden Valley (California) Youth Soccer League and you had a filter, you would be blocked because the filter, tuned to look out for pedophiles, might have the phrase "Boys Under 12" on the proscribed list. If "sex" is labeled taboo, you can't read the poet Anne Sexton. Katherine

Borsecnik, the senior AOL official involved in the development of the service's generally laudable parental controls, acknowledges that "if I have a middle school child who's going to do a research report on breast cancer—a child with kids-only AOL access can't view sites with even straight medical information about breasts—I might want to turn off the filters" while helping the child with the research.

Yet the most advanced filters available make it unnecessary to do so. CyberPatrol, a piece of retail software from the same company that manages AOL's Web filters, is a customizable system that allows parents to choose which types of sites to block based on the parents' criteria. I may not want to block my children from information about gay and lesbian politics, but let's say you do: CyberPatrol accommodates. So does Net Nanny.

Pokémon: The Cutest Obsession



AS VIDEO GAMES GO,

Pokémon is a far cry from Doom.

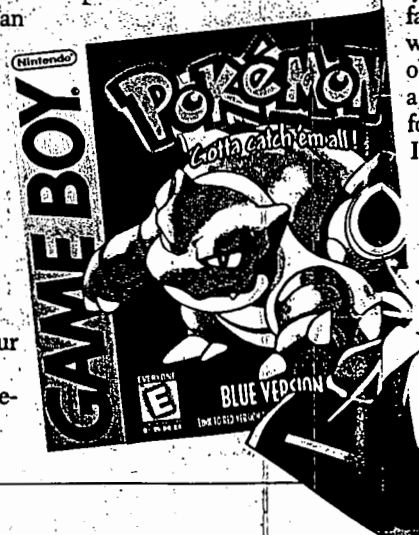
Rather than annihilating demons with an arsenal of firepower, kids manipulate a group of cloyingly cute critters whose primary form of battle is a glorified version of rock, paper, scissors. There are no guns, no blood—no one even dies. Players choose a starter Pokémon (short for pocket monster), then nurture and train it to battle other monsters using such "weapons" as water, fire and electricity. After defeating a foe, the original monster becomes more powerful. The aim is to become a "master trainer" by vanquishing all 150 challengers.

With its benevolent characters and empowering ethic of "whatever doesn't kill you makes you stronger," Pokémon is un-

likely to spur kids to purchase assault weapons. But it has inspired the kind of obsessive acquisitiveness not seen since—well, the Beanie Baby. When Pokémon was introduced in Japan in 1996, the characters immediately captivated the preteen set, particularly young boys. Pokémon creatures such as Pikachu (a yellow catlike mite) and Poliwhirl (a disk with bulging eyes) were soon presiding over a media juggernaut, including an animated TV show and trading cards, and appearing on everything from cell phones to hot-dog packages.

Now the fever has spread to the U.S. Within a month of its debut last September, the TV series—less a cartoon than a half-hour exercise in Pokémon product placement—be-

came the highest-rated children's show in the U.S., first in syndication and now on the WB network. Nintendo has sold 2.5 million Pokémon Game Boy cartridges in seven months, making it the fastest-selling product in company history. Since January, 850,000 Pokémon trading-card sets have been sold in the U.S., and kids flock to malls to participate in official trading bazaars. So preoccupied are kids with the trad-



In 1996
there were two
(crude) Internet filters
on the market. The
number of Net safety
tools available today:

120

Many parents don't realize that a simple click on the "history" tab on a browser tool bar will produce a list of links to every site the computer has visited recently. It's true that any canny 13-year-old knows how to delete potentially incriminating evidence from the history files. Already, though, there are several programs available, such as Cyber Snoop (at least the manufacturer doesn't euphemize), that create a tamperproof database—a trail of bread crumbs, as it were—so parents can examine every Web address the computer has visited since the last time Dad checked in. But consider this evidence of the complexity of the privacy issue: Susan Getgood, a vice president of the company that makes CyberPatrol, suggests that monitors have their own problems. "If a preteen is a child of an alcoholic parent," she asks, "and goes

to a website that discusses alcohol abuse, and the parent finds out, what happens then?"

Many Internet service providers offer filtering services. But because of the need to appeal to the largest audience, they may go much further in their proscriptions than some parents would want. Amy Bruckman, a computer-science professor at Georgia Tech, points out that "a lot of these filtering companies are not making clear what their values are, their method for deciding what is acceptable and what is not." That's why it's so important to buy a filter that can be tuned to your family's values.

The Center for Democracy & Technology, a Washington advocacy organization,

is leading a campaign to make information on the growing pool of safety tools more widely available on the Web. Parents need to be able to find this information in a central, organized place, says executive director Jerry Berman.

Still, even the best of these tools, deployed with the greatest care, work only when they're coupled with bold parental involvement. Bonnie Fell, of Skokie, Ill., is the family Internet cop, making certain at least once a month to open all the files that have been downloaded by her two teenage sons—which she'll do, she says, "whether the boys are there or not. And they know it." Carleton Kendrick, a family therapist in Medfield, Mass., suggests that accompanying your child to a website he frequents is no different from "checking out a playground where your kids go, to see that it's safe, to see who hangs around there."

Of course, if your kids are teenagers, they're eventually going to find ways to get online when you're not around. Or they'll have learned how to disable every filter but the one they cannot break on their own: the human bond between parent and child. "I'm C.J.'s mother, so I'm responsible for what he does," says Kelley Jones, a Detroit single mom who generally allows her 13-year-old son to browse just about any website he wishes on the computer in the living room, as long as he discusses what he finds. Says Jones: "It's a waste of time to blame technology for parents' mistakes." Or, as Jim Lynch, who manages message boards for the Boston-based

Family Education Network, says, "Parents are the ultimate filter."

As they always have been. Consider this picture: a kid sits alone in front of his computer, cruising the Internet. In the background a CD player blares misogynistic obscenities. In another room, the television features a teenage heroine contemplating violence against her classmates. The local sixplex is playing a film that spills more blood than a slaughterhouse hoses down in a month. And in most states, if you can't buy a gun with a few phone calls and a couple of hundred bucks, you haven't really tried.

Now you go into that kid's room, unplug the computer and walk out. What have you really accomplished? —Reported by Maryanne Murray Buechner/New York, Nichole Christian/Detroit, Wendy Cole and Maggie Sieger/Chicago, Nancy Harbert/Albuquerque, Michael Krantz/San Francisco and Elaine Marshall/Reno



COLLECTORS: For fans of *Poliwhirl*, there's a TV show, a video game—and trading cards. For fans of *Pokémon*, there's a TV show, a video game—and trading cards. Some schools have banned them.

For most parents, *Pokémon* seems a relatively benign, if exasperating fad. But could it be a gateway to more dangerous obsessions? David Walsh, a child psychologist and founder of the National Institute on Media and

the Family, thinks it's possible. The technology behind most video games, he explains, is based on a psychological principle called "operant conditioning"—essentially, stimulus-response-reward. "Research has shown that operant conditioning is a powerful shaper and influencer of behavior," says Walsh. "The obsession is not about violence; it's about how engrossing the game becomes."

Walsh stresses the need to balance children's activities, which is not so easy when it comes to

Pokémon. "I play it whenever I can get my hands on it," says eight-year-old Chad Boeckle of Kenosha, Wis. Joshua Tunis, also 8, of New York City, would play every waking moment if his parents didn't set a kitchen timer to signal the game's end. Like most fads, *Pokémon* mania will undoubtedly fade. But there are no signs of that yet: the *Pokémon* movie is due out around Thanksgiving. —By Michele Orecklin. With reporting by Autumn De Leon/New York, Erik Gunn/Kenosha and Jeanne McDowell/Los Angeles



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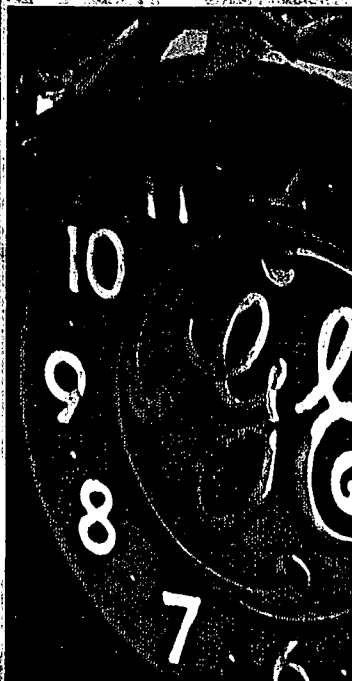


MAY 1, 1999 NUMBER 18

National Journal

THE WEEKLY
ON POLITICS AND
GOVERNMENT

Breaking Banking's Barriers



The framers of the banking reform bill that is heading to the Senate floor had a chance to cement a crack in the wall between banking and commerce that allows companies, such as Ford and General Electric, to own savings & loans. But they left the crack open. And some fear it will widen over time. ■ By JULIE KOSTERLITZ

A GOVERNOR IS AT WAR. GUESS WHO?

By JACK W. GERMOND AND JULES WITCOVER

ST. PAUL, Minn.—With less than three weeks before the scheduled adjournment of the Minnesota Legislature, Reform Party Gov. Jesse Ventura is not mincing any words with the Republican-controlled House of Representatives and the Democrat-led Senate. If they don't send him a budget that gives him what he wants on education, rebates a \$3.3 billion state tax surplus, and furthers spending cuts, he says he won't hesitate to shut down the government.

"I'm not going to call a special session," he says resolutely from behind his desk at the State Capitol. "You never say never, but it's highly unlikely that I would. I was under a time limit to get my budget to them. . . . I could have waited until the last day [for submission]. I didn't do that. I gave it to them two and a half weeks ahead of time. So for them to even insinuate that we should have some kind of special session is ludicrous."

He goes on: "If they don't have the bills done, well, all I can say is, 'Remember what happened to Newt when they shut the government down?' " He refers to the strong public reaction to then-House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., in the federal shut-down during the winter of 1995-96. "He didn't come out on the good end. I think the President came out on the high side on that one, and I think the same thing will happen here, that I, the Governor, will come out on the high side and the Legislature will be the losers."

It is determined talk from the political outsider who upset the Republican and Democratic candidates last November—and has yet to convince the skeptics that he is up to the job. He displays no doubts about himself after four months of dealing with the split-party Legislature. What he has found, Ventura reflects, is that "it's very much a power game with those two parties. The great majority of their focus is on holding or gaining their caucus power rather than doing what is best for the state of Minnesota. They want their people in line. . . . Many may be freethinkers who come over here with the attitude that they're going to vote their conscience. But then they're almost steamrolled into line by the party caucus."

Ventura, complaining about "the pompous arrogance of the two parties," compares them to "my little bantam roosters I have out at my farm. They kick the dirt up, and puff their chests out, and they cock-a-doodle-do and act real tough, and posture around at the people's expense."

In response, he says, "the only thing I'm able truly to do is take my case to the people, and I will do that. I can't answer for everything, because it is a poker game. They're used to playing bluff poker. . . . Pretty much all the cards have been dealt now, and everybody's sitting with their

hole card, and everybody's posturing around betting. But at some point, you've gotta turn it over, don't you?"

If spending bills aren't passed in time for the new fiscal year, Ventura says, "then we start systematically shutting down the government. If I agree to [the amount of] the House's cuts, then they have to come forward and say what are we cutting. I'm not going to let them just make the cuts and run home, and then they leave me [to decide] what's going to be eliminated."

Although Ventura sounds like a man ready to call his opponents' bluff, there are some signs that in the end he may not have to. Members of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, in particular, are close to his position on deep tax cuts—that is, holding off on them in deference to any economic downturn—and they back him on using the \$1.3 billion in tobacco industry money (won in a law suit) for health-related endowments rather than for rebates, as the Republicans want.

But the Republicans, too, are moving his way on some issues. The GOP-controlled House has just voted to spend more for grade-school education than he asked, and he notes with satisfaction that they have dropped their longtime push for voucher payments to private schools, a program Ventura firmly opposes. "Two years ago, it was vouchers out of the same group of [Republican] people. I said in my campaign I wanted to outlaw the word 'voucher.' Apparently I've done so."

The DFLers reacted even more sharply to the November result, he says. "The Democrats took a shellacking. They lost the House, Hubert [H. "Skip"] Humphrey [III] came in third place with only 28 percent of the vote. They're not dumb. They saw that they needed to change their position. I'm centrist and that's not a bad word. The Democrats have just [moved closer] to a centrist position."

For all of Ventura's tough talk, he appears to be winning tentative acceptance from leaders of both major parties. Senate Majority Leader Roger D. Moe (DFL) says he thinks Ventura sees himself more as an "arbitrator" toward the legislation than as an initiator, and that it's "wise" to be cautious in his first budget. With opposition parties in control in each house, Moe says, he thinks Ventura can achieve more without legislative action, using his popularity to be "the state's chief ambassador."

House Speaker Pro Tem Ron Abrams, a Republican, praises Ventura for the quality of his cabinet appointments, for halting budget growth, and for his directness. Both Abrams and Moe say he deserves more time to show what he can do. Whether he can get a satisfactory budget by May 17 will be his first real test.

**"THEY COCK-A-
DOODLE-DO AND ACT
REAL TOUGH," JESSE
VENTURA SAYS OF
HIS LEGISLATIVE
OPPOSITION.**

AMMUNITION FOR LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES

BY WILLIAM SCHNEIDER

In human terms, what happened in Colorado last week was tragic. In political terms, it was ironic. Colorado has been trending Republican. It was one of only three states that voted for Bill Clinton in 1992 and then switched to Bob Dole in 1996 (the others were Montana and Georgia). Now that Colorado has a Republican Governor and a Republican state legislature for the first time in 12 years, the National Rifle Association has decided to showcase its clout in Colorado. Starting with its convention in Denver this week.

Prodded by the NRA's 60,000 Colorado members, the legislature was ready to pass new gun laws. One law would have made it easier for citizens to carry concealed weapons. Another would have wiped out local gun regulations, including Denver's highly restrictive laws that banned the display of assault weapons at the NRA convention. Republican Gov. Bill Owens was expected to sign those new laws. "The American Constitution does give people a right to keep and bear arms," Owens has said. The NRA expected to come to Denver in triumph. Especially after suffering a bitter defeat on April 6 in Missouri, where voters narrowly defeated an association-backed ballot proposition that would have lifted that state's ban on concealed weapons.

Then came Littleton, and everything changed. After such a bloody event, gun control always gets thrust onto the public agenda, and it's happening now. Last week's Gallup Poll asked Americans where they place the blame for tragedies such as the one in Colorado. More than any other single factor, people blame the easy availability of guns (60 percent). Next come parental shortcomings (51 percent) and popular entertainment—"TV, movies, and music" (49 percent). Guns, family, culture: There's the agenda. With guns at the top.

The debate has begun to take on a predictable quality. Liberals blame the guns. Conservatives blame the culture. "It's not a gun control problem. It's a culture control problem," argued Rep. Bob Barr, R-Ga., an NRA board member.

You know how President Clinton likes to steal issues from Republicans? So does his wife. Speaking at a teachers conference in New York, Hillary Rodham Clinton (who might or not run for that state's open Senate seat) blamed guns first: "Why on earth would we permit any young person access to the firearms those two young men brought into that school?" Then she blamed the culture, in remarks that echoed Bob Dole's 1996 anti-Hollywood campaign: "We can no longer shut our eyes to the impact the media is having on all our children, and the potentially violent impact it is having on some of them."

So what is to be done? The truth is, it's

hard to do much without violating someone's rights. Pass gun control laws, and people will complain you're violating their gun rights. Pass laws to regulate the culture, and people will cry censorship. Pass laws to promote family values, and people will complain you're trying to tell parents how to raise their kids.

An overwhelming majority of Americans—nearly 80 percent—reject the view that Littleton was an isolated event. They believe it means that something is seriously wrong in the country. But the public is divided over whether government and society can do anything to prevent such tragedies. Something's deeply wrong, and Americans doubt they can do *anything* about it. Hence, the frustration. And the anger.

In Colorado, community leaders are taking out their anger on the gun culture and its foremost advocate, the NRA. Gun-rights advocates argued that the Littleton tragedy was caused more by bombs than by guns. Gun control supporters, like Sen. Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif., answered right back: "If high-powered weapons with big clips weren't available, at the very least they would have killed fewer people."

Gov. Owens blamed "the day in and day out demeaning of human life that we see in this country, where euthanasia is excused, where infanticide is excused, where violence is glorified." Gun control supporters, like Vice President Al Gore, responded: "In times past, it was not uncommon for kids who fell into anger and got on the wrong path to break windows with bricks or get into fistfights. But now, with the availability of these semiautomatic weapons and pipe bombs, the consequences are truly horrific."

The legislators who sponsored Colorado's new gun laws quickly got the message and pulled their bills. "We could not rationally deal with this bill this year and come up with good

policy," one sponsor said. The NRA got the message, too. After initially blaming the parents and the school, association President Charlton Heston wrote to his members that the organization would "modify our schedule to show our profound sympathy and respect for the families and communities." The convention was scaled back to one day.

But it's only a tactical retreat. In the end, the gun lobby is likely to have the last word. That's because, as many politicians have learned, public anger over gun violence is usually not sustained for very long. By election time, the only people who vote the issue are gun owners. They remember every vote for gun control as an infringement on their rights. As one gun-rights advocate said last week—insensitively, but not incorrectly—anti-gun groups "make their headway only when there are fresh victims" of gun violence. Like now. ■

AFTER THE
BLOODBATH IN
LITTLETON, COLO.,
GUN CONTROL IS
BACK ON THE
PUBLIC AGENDA.

BusinessWeek

MAY 10, 1999

A PUBLICATION OF THE MCGRAW-HILL COMPANIES

AT&T vs. Comcast



The
battle for
MediaOne

Jim Barksdale

Life
after
Netscape



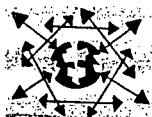
Kosovo

The economic
fallout



The Internet

Who's writing
the
rules?



US \$3.95 / CANADA \$4.95

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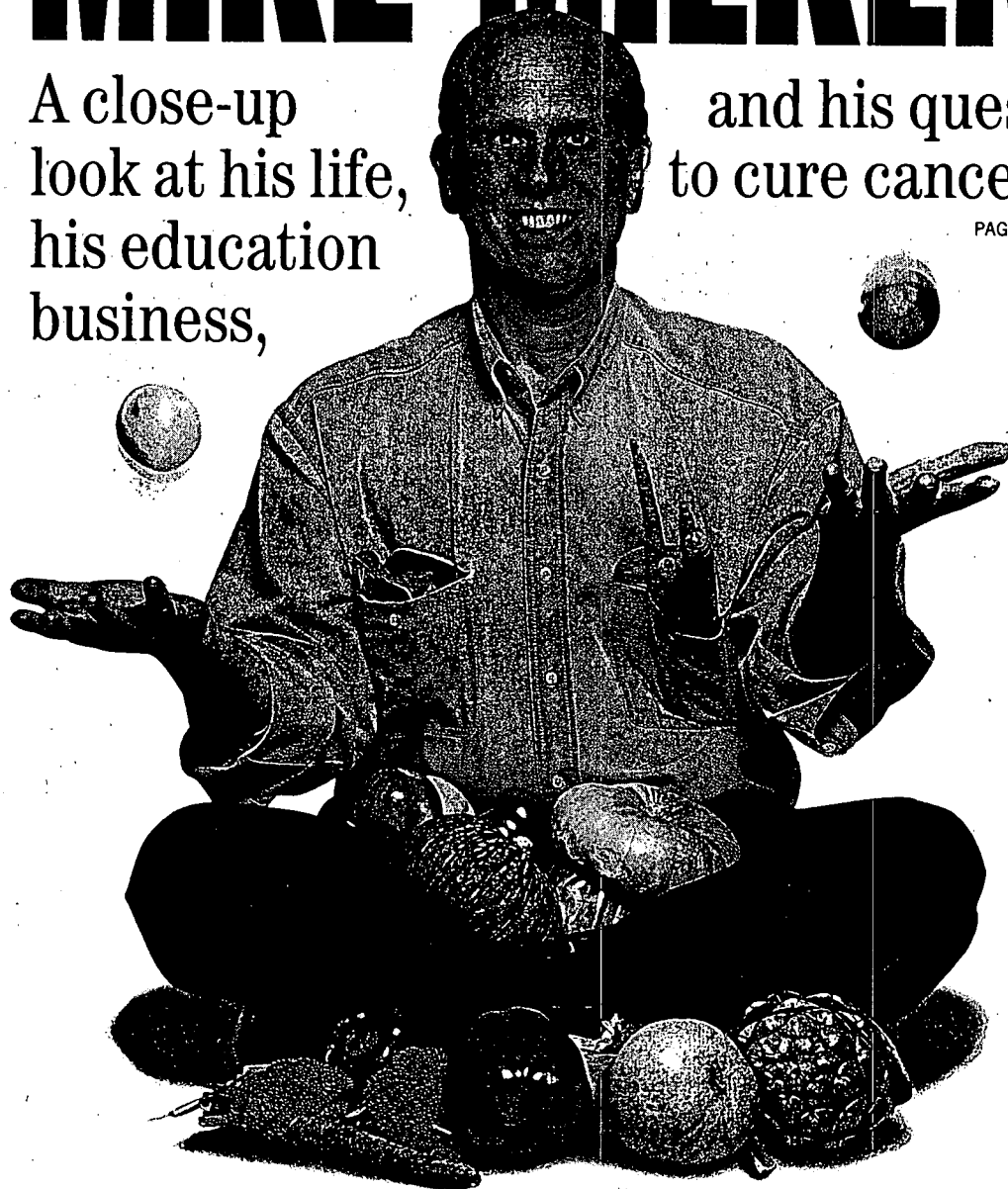
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THE REINCARNATION OF MIKE MILKEN

A close-up
look at his life,
his education
business,

and his quest
to cure cancer.

PAGE 92



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News: Analysis & Commentary

EDUCATION

ITCHING TO GET OUT OF PUBLIC SCHOOL

A new scholarship fund heats up the debate over vouchers

Quantina Samuels, a single mother of two honor students in Washington, D.C.'s public schools, is proud of her offspring. But she wishes they could have the attention she knows private schools lavish on their pupils. "I want someone to treat my children with concern, to push them," says Samuels, a medical secretary.

Until late April, the promise of private schools was no more than a dream. Now, Samuels can hardly believe her good fortune. Thanks to the largesse of financier Theodore J. Forstmann and investor John T. Walton, Samuels' children will join some 40,000 other kids from low-income families to receive around \$1,000 a year over the next four years for private or parochial schools. "I was speechless," says Elizabeth Carver, a single mother of two in Chicago, whose scholarship application was selected in the national drawing. "I'm so excited—and my kids are, too."

VAST. No question, the Forstmann-led Children's Scholarship Fund has excited parents, educators, and politicians across the country. Its sheer size—more than \$160 million raised, with Forstmann and Walton kicking in \$50 million each—dwarfs all other private scholarship programs. Then there's the outpouring of applicants: 1.2 million families, with av-



erage incomes of just \$22,000 a year, vied for the funding. The winners are now sifting through literature on private schools in their neighborhoods. Catholic schools will grab the bulk of the kids.

The program is far more than Education Lotto, however. Forstmann, who tapped a list of luminaries from Barbara Bush and Andrew Young to Senate Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D.), has struck a chord that cuts across party lines. Despite years of education reforms, including new standards for teacher and student accountability, the number of parents eager to bail out of the public schools shows that the efforts haven't done nearly enough for poor students

trapped in the country's worst schools. "The public-school system is a monopoly that delivers bad products at high prices," charges Forstmann. "We need to open it up and allow competition to create innovation."

Talk like this has thrust Forstmann into the national debate over how best to shake up public education. He is careful not to endorse vouchers explicitly—

the idea of allowing parents to spend public tax money on private schools. But advocates and critics view Forstmann's scholarships as a spur to the voucher movement.

Forstmann may be wise to soft-pedal any link. Polls show the public is deeply divided on vouchers, and despite years of debate, only Cleveland and Milwaukee have adopted programs. California and other states have recently rejected vouchers. The political momentum also has slowed at the national level, where Republicans are leery of championing such a divisive issue as they try to soften their image.

Vouchers are also under legal challenge. Since most private schools have some religious affiliation, using

LARGESSE

Financier Forstmann has given \$50 million. Schools, he says, must "allow competition to create innovation"

public money to send students to them strains the doctrine of separation of church and state. Last year, Wisconsin's Supreme Court upheld Milwaukee's plan, and the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review the decision. But on Apr. 27, Maine's Supreme Court rejected a suit by parents who sought to overturn the state's policy of restricting vouchers to nonreligious schools. (Both Maine and Vermont have decades-old

How the Children's Scholarship Fund Works

FUNDING

With backing from financier Theodore Forstmann and investor John Walton, the Children's Scholarship Fund raises \$160 million for 40,000 families to spend on private- or parochial-school tuition.

PUBLICITY

Applications distributed over the Net and through churches and stores. Income limit is \$51,975 for a family of five. Word spreads through public service announcements and Forstmann's appearance on *Oprah*.

SELECTION

The CSF receives 1.2 million applications, representing 44% of eligible parents in Baltimore and 29% in New York. Lottery selects winners of four-year scholarships. Parents chip in \$1,000 a year.

RESULTS

Winners receive information packets identifying local schools that have places available. Counseling for families is available from 40 local organizations scattered around the country.

voucher programs for farm children living far from public schools.)

Still, the voucher movement may be picking up steam. On Apr. 27, Florida Governor Jeb Bush and Republican legislative leaders agreed on a plan to let children in the worst-performing schools use state money to transfer to private ones. New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani is trying to ram through a small voucher experiment, which the chancellor of the city's schools bitterly opposes. And New Mexico's Republican governor, Gary Johnson, has threatened to veto the state budget unless it includes vouchers. **"VARIANCE."** It's not clear that breaking up the public-school monopoly is a solution for the country's most troubled schools, however. In Milwaukee, surveys show parents and students are pleased with vouchers, which are being extended to allow 15,000 students to attend religious schools. But the evidence is inconclusive on whether the voucher students actually do better academically. In fact, a study by Princeton University economist Cecilia Rouse shows that low-income kids in public schools with smaller class size and more parental involvement outperform voucher pupils in reading and equal them in math.

Nationwide, private schools, which educate 10% of the country's 53 million children, do show better test scores. But "there is as much variance in private-school quality as in public" ones, says Columbia Teachers College professor Pearl Rock Kane. And the data don't show whether scores are better at schools costing less than \$4,000 a year, where low-income students such as those on Forstmann's program go.

Experts seem to agree on why private schools do better. They note that private schools attract better students and those with the most involved parents. And they can reject students with learning or social problems. As a result, private schools could lose their edge if vouchers flooded them with deprived kids. With vouchers, "private schools might become more like public ones," says Jack Jennings, director of the Center on Education Policy in Washington.

But, as the response to Forstmann's scholarship program shows, many low-income Americans want to see their schools fixed—even if that means using vouchers to prod faster change. "I'm not spending my energy trying to block vouchers," says Paul Vallas, chief executive of the Chicago public-school system and a leading reformer. "We're still going to need to fix public schools."

By Richard A. Melcher in Chicago and Aaron Bernstein in Washington

COMMENTARY

By Steven V. Brull

FOR ALL THAT TOBACCO MONEY, DON'T STINT ON THE SMOKING WAR

Experts say that there has never been a more effective antismoking campaign than Florida's. Over the past year, a series of commercials portraying the tobacco industry as sinister and manipulative helped cut smoking rates among middle-school students by 19%, according to the Florida Dept. of Health. Yet on Apr. 27, the Florida legislature voted to slash funding for the program nearly in half, to \$41 million.

It's an ominous sign. Florida's \$70 million program, funded with just a trickle of the \$13 billion the state won from the tobacco industry, had raised hopes that a significant chunk of the \$246 billion the tobacco companies will pay to all states over the next 25 years would go to improving public health. Yet in 16 states and the District of Columbia, politicians propose to spend less than 2% of their tobacco funds on smoking prevention and control, according to the Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids.

REVAMP THE MORGUE? True, some states plan to spend the bulk of their money on health. Washington, which is getting \$330 million over the next two years, will set aside \$100 million for prevention programs. The remaining \$230 million will go toward basic public health. But in many states, the windfall has set off a scramble to fund anything but tobacco-related programs. North Dakota may renovate its state morgue, while Los Angeles Mayor Richard J. Riordan wants to build new wheelchair-friendly sidewalks. New York, Louisiana, and Idaho plan to reduce state debt.

Certainly, states have a right to use tobacco money for other things. For years they had to find money in

their budgets to fund tobacco-related Medicaid costs. So it's reasonable to use some of the settlement windfall for general expenses. Indeed, even the Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids is only recommending that about 25% of the money go toward smoking prevention and control programs. Anything more would be overkill—producing diminishing returns.

Still, states would be shortsighted not to give prevention programs adequate funding. Tobacco use in the U.S. causes more than 430,000 deaths and runs up \$50 billion to \$73 billion in medical expenses yearly. Each day, 3,000 teenagers become smokers; one in three will eventually die of smoking-related diseases, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention says. "It's extremely frustrating to see us turn our backs on what is an immense opportunity," says Washington State Attorney General Christine O. Gregoire.

Florida's program shows that "if you run a program that's big and aggressive, it will save lives and money," says Stanton A. Glantz, professor of medicine at the University of California at San Francisco. An \$18 million ad campaign showed how teenagers were being manipulated by Big Tobacco. In one ad, a 17-year-old girl phones the makers of Lucky Strikes and asks if "you could tell me what is the lucky part about Lucky Strike? Is it that I might live?"

The tobacco settlement has created a historic opportunity to fund tobacco-prevention efforts. If citizens and groups such as the American Cancer Society challenge politicians more aggressively, such efforts won't get snuffed out.

Brull covers tobacco issues from Los Angeles.



EDITED BY PAULA DWYER

GUN CONTROL: EVEN AFTER LITTLETON, THE NRA WILL KEEP IT AT BAY

Has public outrage at long last pierced the National Rifle Assn.'s full-body armor? One would think so in the aftermath of the Littleton (Colo.) school massacre, a shooting spree that left 15 dead. As Americans watched gruesome footage of the carnage at Columbine High School, the NRA was put on the defensive—forced to scale back its Denver convention and look on in silence as politicians readied a barrage of anti-gun legislation.

But so much for defining moments: When the rhetoric subsides, the NRA will still be standing—maybe not as tall, but in the same feral crouch that has kept it one of the nation's most resilient lobbies.

That's not to say that Littleton hasn't hurt. It has. The massacre had NRA-loving lawmakers from Colorado to Florida keeping a low profile and snatching back pro-gun bills. In early April, Missouri voters defeated an NRA bid to allow concealed weapons. And President Clinton was quick to respond to the tragedy: On Apr. 27, he unveiled proposals that seek to limit gun purchases to one a month and make parents responsible for some gun crimes committed by their children.

STATE STRATEGY. Yet the ability of the 2.8 million-member NRA to weather such challenges can hardly be overstated. Armed with a slick grassroots organization and lobbyists adept at battling for "the right to keep and bear arms," the NRA has managed to withstand six years of an anti-gun Democratic Administration and make major progress at the state level. In fact, President Charlton Heston has kept NRA membership stable and its bank account full: The group has a \$150 million annual budget and a \$100 million cash cushion. Even the Brady Law requiring background checks of gun buyers has proven porous: Only 10 people have been prosecuted under the law in five years, according to the NRA.

True, Senate Democrats made headway on Apr. 27 when

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) promised that they will be able to offer a package of anti-gun provisions, including Clinton's proposals and others, as a floor amendment in May. But with elections looming, some Dems fear that the issue could backfire by galvanizing pro-gun voters. Some of the party's toughest races next year will be in the gun-friendly South and Mountain States. And Dems don't want a replay of 1994, when two dozen House candidates lost after voting for the Brady Law.



CLINTON: Limit gun buys

BACKPEDALING. Senate Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D.), usually an outspoken liberal, sent a chill through gun-control advocates when he said: "I'm not sure that gun legislation is what we need" to prevent future Littletons. Daschle's survival instincts may be kicking in. Just a few weeks before Littleton, South Dakota lawmakers joined four other states to pass laws prohibiting cities and towns from suing gun manufacturers for abetting violent crimes—the latest tack of anti-gun forces. Even after the shootings, the NRA was able to push a similar bill through the North Carolina House.

The NRA has also persuaded 31 states to liberalize statutes to make it easier to carry concealed weapons. It expects several more to follow suit this year. In Colorado, however, the future of concealed-weapon legislation looks doubtful.

For now, NRA reps in Washington are walking softly. But the gun-control crowd shouldn't be misled by the lull. The organization has lots of campaign cash to throw around. The NRA and like-minded groups donated some \$4.2 million to federal candidates and parties during the '98 elections, up 25% since '94. In the near term, anyway, the disarming of America will remain a pipe dream.

By Lorraine Woellert, with Richard S. Dunham and Amy Borrus

CAPITAL WRAPUP

FUND-RAISING DOs AND DON'Ts

► Haunted by the '96 Donorgate scandal, Vice-President Al Gore is taking no chances in his 2000 Presidential bid. Gore is not only refusing PAC money, he's also taking care to avoid "staff mistakes" like the one that had him attending a fund-raiser at a Los Angeles Buddhist temple. Gore 2000 finance aides must sit through a legal briefing on fund-raising dos and don'ts—and take home for further study a three-ring binder packed with details on federal fund-raising laws.

PENTAGON PORK

► Hill Democrats have seized on a new General Accounting Office study showing that lax Defense Dept. procedures resulted in the loss of some \$3 billion worth of Navy gear, including missile launchers and night-vision devices, from 1996 to 1998. It's Exhibit A in the Dems' effort to stop the GOP from loading money for base construction, spare parts, and military pay onto Clinton's \$6 billion Kosovo-emergency request. Those GOP goodies could send the tab to \$13 billion.

A NEW CAMPAIGN-FINANCE IDEA

► Venture capital's Jerome Kohlberg, a leading advocate of campaign-finance reform, wants Securities & Exchange Commission Chairman Arthur Levitt Jr. to require publicly traded corporations to disclose political donations in quarterly or annual reports. On Apr. 28, Kohlberg asked that the SEC require disclosure of both hard-money gifts to state pols and unlimited soft money to political parties. SEC insiders doubt Levitt will act.

COMMENTARY

By Mike France

THE NET: HOW TO HEAD OFF BIG-TIME REGULATION

As E-commerce blossoms into a trillion-dollar business, there's only one thing that seems capable of slowing it down: politics. Worried about the Internet's potential to invade people's privacy, separate them from their money, and cause untold additional havoc, politicians around the globe are considering new laws to prevent the revolutionary communications channel from being misused. That impulse, in turn, is making many business executives worry that their dream of a frictionless, worldwide electronic marketplace will be ruined by a patchwork of inconsistent local regulations. Imagine how much harder life would be at Amazon.com if the company were forced to comply with everything from Kuwaiti decency standards to European privacy laws to Iowa sales taxes.

For the moment, companies have avoided this nightmare. But it could easily happen down the road, and that's why businesses have pleaded with government to let them police themselves. The Clinton Administration heard this message loud and clear—much to Corporate America's relief. In 1997, its resident cyberguru, Ira C. Magaziner, wrote "Framework for Global Electronic Commerce," a blueprint for Internet governance. Because of the Net's global reach and evolving technology, Magaziner argued that regulation should be kept to a minimum. In the few areas where rules were needed, such as privacy and taxation, he suggested that politicians bow out and let policy be made by such quasi-governmental groups as the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) or the Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development (OECD).

While Magaziner's philosophy

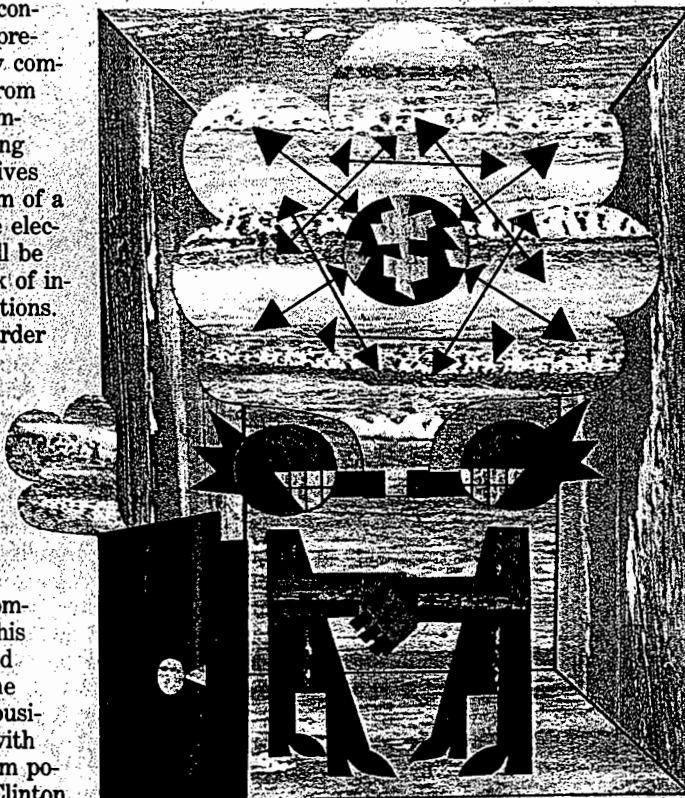
makes sense in theory, it's not working out as well in practice. Unlike traditional government, such quasi-governmental organizations operate outside the public eye and have few rules about due process. Their leaders aren't always required to talk to the press, open up their meetings, or

now, but as the Web becomes a bigger part of everyday life, they're likely to find this imbalance intolerable. Just as citizens demand accountability from officials making important decisions about highways, phone lines, and other key parts of the economic infrastructure, they're going to demand a voice in the governance of the Internet. And if they don't get it, they're apt to chuck Magaziner's vision of self-regulation and ask elected representatives to take charge of the Web—the exact thing business wanted to avoid.

WEB TRADEMARKS. The transparency problem shows up clearly in one of the first big Net policy dilemmas: cybersquatting. That's when a private speculator seizes a valuable corporate brand name on the Internet—say, "business-week.com"—and sells it back to the company at an exorbitant price. Because Web addresses are critical to online branding, companies want to establish a rule that they are entitled to any domain names using their trademarks—no matter who gets there first.

But because the Net is used for more than just E-commerce, many consumer advocates say this rule would unfairly restrict the rights of schools, museums, political parties, and myriad other noncommercial Net users. If an astronomy club or a New Age religious sect is first to register "Saturn.com," they reason, why should the car company later be able to boot it off?

The group the Administration appointed to resolve this important dispute was WIPO, an arm of the U.N. But ever since the agency began considering the issue of cybersquatting last July, its deliberations have been attended mostly by multinational corporations such as Ford, Microsoft, and Time Warner—just about the only groups that could afford to have staffers study the technicalities of the issue, write formal



When Net rules get made behind closed doors, the public usually loses out

let critics participate in their decision-making—and often they aren't even elected.

That's bad news. As a practical matter, this lack of transparency is making it harder for consumers to shape the way the Internet is governed—and much easier for big companies to dominate the process. Few people may be complaining right

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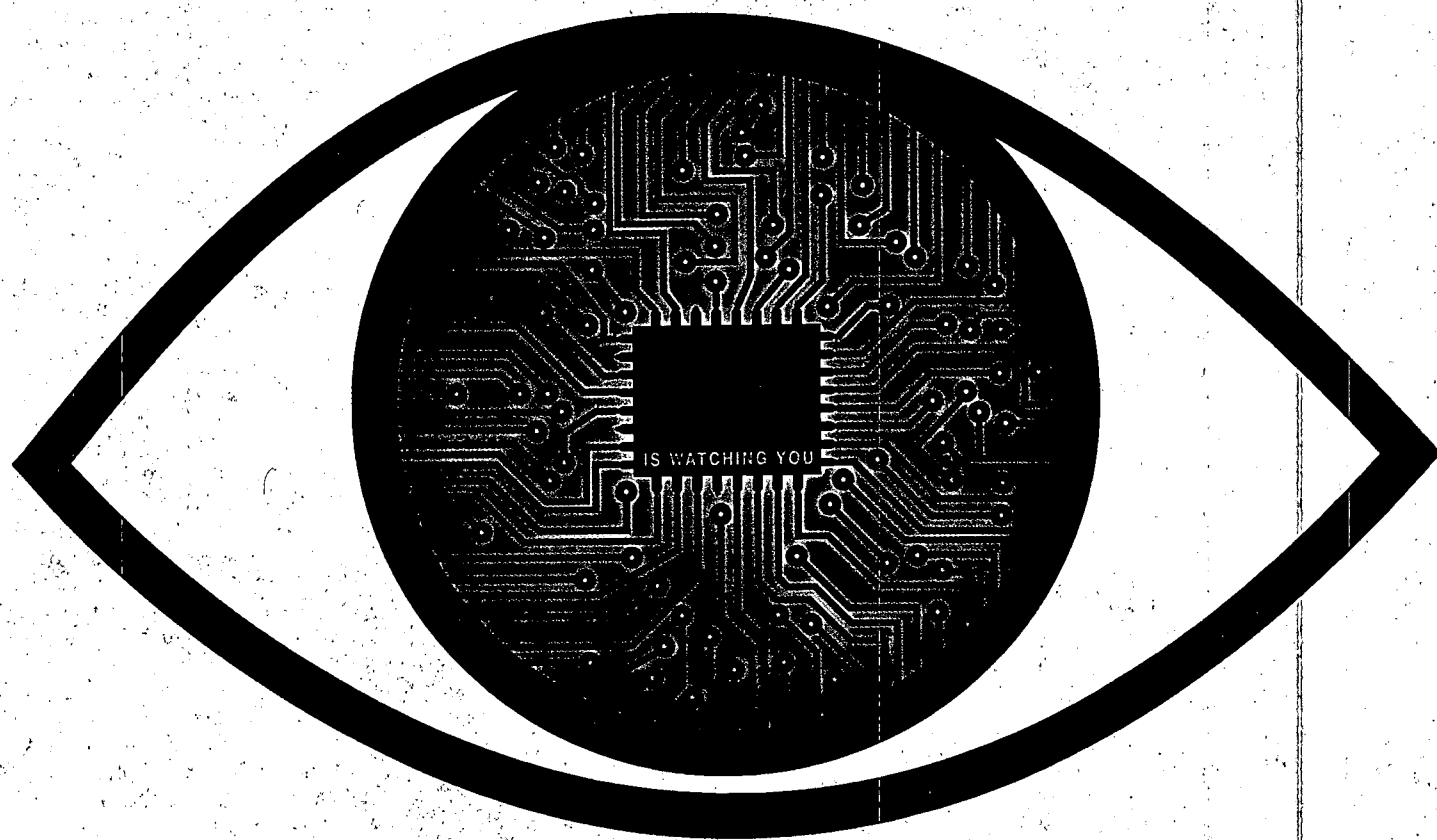
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THE NRA'S
MOSES

LEXINGTON, page 30

KOSOVO'S FOILED
DIPLOMACY

pages 17 and 45-49



The end of privacy

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The end of privacy

REMEMBER, they are always watching you. Use cash when you can. Do not give your phone number, social-security number or address, unless you absolutely have to. Do not fill in questionnaires or respond to telemarketers. Demand that credit and data-marketing firms produce all information they have on you, correct errors and remove you from marketing lists. Check your medical records often. If you suspect a government agency has a file on you, demand to see it. Block caller ID on your phone, and keep your number unlisted. Never use electronic toll-booths on roads. Never leave your mobile phone on—your movements can be traced.

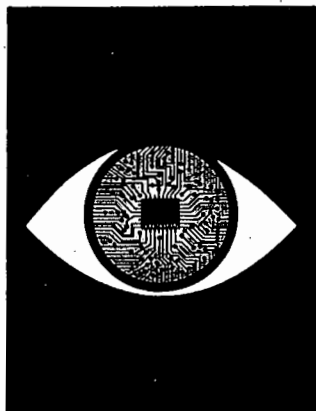
Do not use store credit or discount cards. If you must use the Internet, encrypt your e-mail, reject all "cookies" and never give your real name when registering at websites. Better still, use somebody else's computer. At work, assume that calls, voice mail, e-mail and computer use are all monitored.

This sounds like the paranoid ravings of the Unabomber. In fact, it is advice being offered by the more zealous of today's privacy campaigners. In an increasingly wired world, people are continually creating information about themselves that is recorded and often sold or pooled with information from other sources. The goal of privacy advocates is not extreme. Anyone who took these precautions would merely be seeking a level of privacy available to all 20 years ago. And yet such behaviour now would seem obsessive and paranoid indeed.

That is a clue to how fast things have changed. To try to restore the privacy that was universal in the 1970s is to chase a chimera. Computer technology is developing so rapidly that it is hard to predict how it will be applied. But some trends are unmistakable. The volume of data recorded about people will continue to expand dramatically (see pages 21-23). Disputes about privacy will become more bitter. Attempts to restrain the surveillance society through new laws will intensify. Consumers will pay more for services that offer a privacy pledge. And the market for privacy-protection technology will grow.

Always observed

Yet here is a bold prediction: all these efforts to hold back the rising tide of electronic intrusion into privacy will fail. They may offer a brief respite for those determined, whatever the trouble or cost, to protect themselves. But 20 years hence most people will find that the privacy they take for granted today will be just as elusive as the privacy of the 1970s now seems. Some will shrug and say: "Who cares? I have nothing to hide." But many others will be disturbed by the idea that most of their behaviour leaves a permanent and easily traceable record. People will have to start assuming that they simply



have no privacy. This will constitute one of the greatest social changes of modern times.

Privacy is doomed for the same reason that it has been eroded so fast over the past two decades. Presented with the prospect of its loss, many might prefer to eschew even the huge benefits that the new information economy promises. But they will not, in practice, be offered that choice. Instead, each benefit—safer streets, cheaper communications, more entertainment, better government services, more convenient shopping, a wider selection of products—will seem worth the surrender of a bit more personal information. Privacy is a residual value, hard to define or protect in

the abstract. The cumulative effect of these bargains—each attractive on their own—will be the end of privacy.

For a similar reason, attempts to protect privacy through new laws will fail—as they have done in the past. The European Union's data protection directive, the most sweeping recent attempt, gives individuals unprecedented control over information about themselves. This could provide remedies against the most egregious intrusions. But it is doubtful whether the law can be applied in practice, if too many people try to use it. Already the Europeans are hinting that they will not enforce the strict terms of the directive against America, which has less stringent protections.

Policing the proliferating number of databases and the thriving trade in information would not only be costly in itself; it would also impose huge burdens on the economy. Moreover, such laws are based on a novel concept: that individuals have a property right in information about themselves. Broadly enforced, such a property right would be antithetical to an open society. It would pose a threat not only to commerce, but also to a free press and to much political activity, to say nothing of everyday conversation.

It is more likely that laws will be used not to obstruct the recording and collection of information, but to catch those who use it to do harm. Fortunately, the same technology that is destroying privacy also makes it easier to trap stalkers, detect fraud, prosecute criminals and hold the government to account. The result could be less privacy, certainly—but also more security for the law-abiding.

Whatever new legal remedies emerge, opting out of information-gathering is bound to become ever harder and less attractive. If most urban streets are monitored by intelligent video cameras that can identify criminals, who will want to live on a street without one? If most people carry their entire medical history on a plastic card that the emergency services come to rely on, a refusal to carry the card could be life-threatening. To get a foretaste of what is to come, try hiring a car or booking a room at a top hotel without a credit card.

In a way, the future may be like the past, when few except the rich enjoyed much privacy. To earlier generations, escaping the claustrophobic all-knowingness of a village for the relative anonymity of the city was one of the more liberating aspects of modern life. But the era of urban anonymity al-

ready looks like a mere historical interlude. There is, however, one difference between past and future. In the village, everybody knew everybody else's business. In the future, nobody will know for certain who knows what about them. That will be uncomfortable. But the best advice may be: get used to it.

Britain's welcome devolution

Scotsmen, Welshmen and Englishmen may live together more comfortably as a result of devolution



THE last time there was a parliament in Scotland, Louis XIV was on the throne of France and George Washington had not yet been born. On May 6th Scotland's voters will elect the first parliament to sit in Edinburgh for almost 300 years. At the same time the Welsh will be voting for the first elected national assembly in their history. These developments do not signal the rebirth of Scotland and Wales as independent countries. But they do signal an historic—and welcome—shift in the way Britain is governed.

It is easy to sketch out post-devolution scenarios that are both pessimistic and plausible. The most common is that a Scottish Parliament will simply prove a way-station on the road to Scottish independence and the break-up of Britain. Another frequently touted idea is that there will be an English nationalist backlash against the new powers for a Scottish Parliament—as the English come to resent the continuing Scottish presence at Westminster, and the higher level of government spending in Scotland. And do not neglect Wales in this gloom-mongers' guide. The Welsh voted to set up an assembly only by the narrowest of margins; and it will not have the legislative or tax-raising powers of the Scottish Parliament. So the Welsh Assembly can easily be envisaged as a white elephant in the making.

All of these things may come to pass. But, encouragingly, they are looking increasingly unlikely. There is nothing inherently wrong with the idea of Scottish independence. But many Englishmen would regret the break-up of Britain, and the most recent polls suggest that a majority of Scots also reject the idea. As for the much anticipated "English backlash", it has made good journalistic copy, but there is precious little evidence of it in reality. Rather, the English seem to be reacting to the coming of the Scottish Parliament in an admirably relaxed fashion. And Wales? An energetic, if peculiar, election campaign (see page 56) suggests that the assembly may yet catch the popular imagination.

Think positive

So while it is only realistic to acknowledge that devolution could "go wrong", the reality is that the new parliaments in Scotland and Wales are more likely to invigorate Britain than enfeeble it. In different ways, the English, the Scots, the Welsh and the British as a whole stand to benefit from devolution.

Take the English first. They will gain if the new parliament in Edinburgh eases the political tensions created by an alienated Scotland. If Scots have more control over their own affairs, they are less likely to agitate against "rule from London". Traditionalists who see a Scottish parliament as a dangerous change to a system which has delivered Britain centuries of

peace and stability are missing the point. Yes, Britain has been enviably stable. But that is because it has been governed pragmatically, by politicians prepared to adapt the system in response to popular pressures—for example in the series of reform acts, which widened the franchise and ushered in mass democracy. Setting up a Scottish parliament is squarely in this tradition of judicious adjustment to popular pressure.

More broadly, the English should welcome a decentralisation of power that may help to invigorate peripheral parts of Britain. It is probably no coincidence that Britain's golden age in the 19th century was also a period of powerful provincial cities. But this century, and particularly the past 20 years, has seen an unhealthy concentration of political, cultural and economic power around London and the South-East. The palpable sense of new confidence in Edinburgh and the rebuilding of Cardiff—both linked to devolution—are good for Britain, and may also provide a model for the revival of some English provincial cities.

Devolution will not, however, be the answer to every Scottish prayer. The Scots will have to face some difficult questions. If, as many Scots believe, their education system is markedly superior to that of the English, why are so many Scottish children leaving school without qualifications? Are Scots really more public-spirited than the English, and if so are they prepared to pay higher taxes? Facing up to these issues will introduce a welcome new realism into Scottish politics, and should weaken the "blame the English" culture.

Wales's challenge is rather different. The first task facing an assembly in Cardiff will simply be to overcome the ingrained scepticism of many Welsh voters about the assembly's utility. That has been made all the harder by Tony Blair's decision to prevent the Welsh Labour Party from opting for a leader who showed dangerous signs of being capable of independent thought. But even the relatively toothless Welsh Assembly will have the power to scrutinise and alter the administration of Wales, and so give its people a greater sense of participation in their own government. If it does that job well, the Welsh may opt to give their assembly Scottish-style powers over taxation and primary legislation.

These benefits for the Scots, the Welsh and the English will add up to a general benefit for Britain as a whole. If devolution works it will suggest that Britain's traditional gift for creating political stability through moderation and pragmatism still exists. And if gloomy predictions of "the break-up of Britain" prove to be ill-founded, the notion of Britishness could well emerge strengthened by a proven ability to accommodate diverse national cultures and new centres of power.

THE END OF PRIVACY



The surveillance society

New information technology offers huge benefits—higher productivity, better crime prevention, improved medical care, dazzling entertainment, more convenience. But it comes at a price: less and less privacy

"THE right to be left alone." For many this phrase, made famous by Louis Brandeis, an American Supreme Court justice, captures the essence of a notoriously slippery, but crucial concept. Drawing the boundaries of privacy has always been tricky. Most people have long accepted the need to provide some information about themselves in order to vote, work, shop, pursue a business, socialise or even borrow a library book. But exercising control over who knows what about you has also come to be seen as an essential feature of a civilised society.

Totalitarian excesses have made "Big Brother" one of the 20th century's most frightening bogeymen. Some right of privacy, however qualified, has been a major difference between democracies and dictatorships. An explicit right to privacy is now enshrined in scores of national constitutions as well as in international human-rights treaties. Without the "right to be left alone", to shut out on occasion the prying eyes and importunities of both government and society, other political and civil liberties seem fragile. Today most people in rich societies assume that, provided they obey the law, they have a right to enjoy privacy whenever it suits them.

They are wrong. Despite a raft of laws, treaties and constitutional provisions, pri-

vacancy has been eroded for decades. This trend is now likely to accelerate sharply. The cause is the same as that which alarmed Brandeis when he first popularised his phrase in an article in 1890: technological change. In his day it was the spread of photography and cheap printing that posed the most immediate threat to privacy. In our day it is the computer. The quantity of information that is now available to governments and companies about individuals would have horrified Brandeis. But the power to gather and disseminate data electronically is growing so fast that it raises an even more unsettling question: in 20 years' time, will there be any privacy left to protect?

Most privacy debates concern media intrusion, which is also what bothered Brandeis. And yet the greatest threat to privacy today comes not from the media, whose antics affect few people, but from the mundane business of recording and collecting an ever-expanding number of everyday transactions. Most people know that information is collected about them, but are not certain how much. Many are puzzled or annoyed by unsolicited junk mail coming through their letter boxes. And yet junk mail is just the visible tip of an information iceberg. The volume of personal data in both commercial and govern-

ment databases has grown by leaps and bounds in recent years along with advances in computer technology. The United States, perhaps the most computerised society in the world, is leading the way, but other countries are not far behind.

Advances in computing are having a twin effect. They are not only making it possible to collect information that once went largely unrecorded, but are also making it relatively easy to store, analyse and retrieve this information in ways which, until quite recently, were impossible.

Just consider the amount of information already being collected as a matter of routine—any spending that involves a credit or bank debit card, most financial transactions, telephone calls, all dealings with national or local government. Supermarkets record every item being bought by customers who use discount cards. Mobile-phone companies are busy installing equipment that allows them to track the location of anyone who has a phone switched on. Electronic toll-booths and traffic-monitoring systems can record the movement of individual vehicles. Pioneered in Britain, closed-circuit tv cameras now scan increasingly large swathes of urban landscapes in other countries too. The trade in consumer information has hugely expanded in the past ten years. One single company, Acxiom Corporation in Conway, Arkansas, has a database combining public and consumer information that covers 95% of American households. Is there anyone left on the planet who does not know that their use of the Internet is being recorded by somebody, somewhere?

Firms are as interested in their employees as in their customers. A 1997 survey by the American Management Association of 900 large companies found that nearly two-thirds admitted to some form of elec-

THE END OF PRIVACY

tronic surveillance of their own workers. Powerful new software makes it easy for bosses to monitor and record not only all telephone conversations, but every key-stroke and e-mail message as well.

Information is power, so it is hardly surprising that governments are as keen as companies to use data-processing technology. They do this for many entirely legitimate reasons—tracking benefit claimants, delivering better health care, fighting crime, pursuing terrorists. But it inevitably means more government surveillance.

A controversial law passed in 1994 to aid law enforcement requires telecoms firms operating in America to install equipment that allows the government to intercept and monitor all telephone and data communications, although disputes between the firms and the FBI have delayed its implementation. Intelligence agencies from America, Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand jointly monitor all international satellite-telecommunications traffic via a system called "Echelon" that can pick specific words or phrases from hundreds of thousands of messages.

America, Britain, Canada and Australia are also compiling national DNA databases of convicted criminals. Many other countries are considering following suit. The idea of DNA databases that cover entire populations is still highly controversial, but those databases would be such a powerful tool for fighting crime and disease that pressure for their creation seems inevitable. Iceland's parliament has agreed a plan to sell the DNA database of its population to a medical-research firm, a move bitterly opposed by some on privacy grounds.

To each a number

The general public may be only vaguely aware of the mushrooming growth of information-gathering, but when they are offered a glimpse, most people do not like what they see. A survey by America's Federal Trade Commission found that 80% of Americans are worried about what happens to information collected about them. Skirmishes between privacy advocates and those collecting information are occurring with increasing frequency.

This year both Intel and Microsoft have run into a storm of criticism when it was revealed that their products—the chips and software at the heart of most personal computers—transmitted unique identification numbers whenever a personal-computer user logged on to the Internet. Both companies hastily offered software to allow users to turn the identifying numbers off, but their critics maintain that any software fix can be breached. In fact, a growing number of electronic devices and software packages contain identifying numbers to help them interact with each other.

In February an outcry greeted news that

Image Data, a small New Hampshire firm, had received finance and technical assistance from the American Secret Service to build a national database of photographs used on drivers' licences. As a first step, the company had already bought the photographs of more than 22m drivers from state governments in South Carolina, Florida and Colorado. Image Data insists that the database, which would allow retailers or police across the country instantly to match a name and photograph, is primarily designed to fight cheque and credit-card fraud. But in response to more than 14,000 e-mail complaints, all three states moved quickly to cancel the sale.

It is always hard to predict the impact of new technology, but there are several developments already on the horizon which, if



the recent past is anything to go by, are bound to be used for monitoring of one sort or another. The paraphernalia of snooping, whether legal or not, is becoming both frighteningly sophisticated and easily affordable. Already, tiny microphones are capable of recording whispered conversations from across the street. Conversations can even be monitored from the normally imperceptible vibrations of window glass. Some technologists think that the tiny battlefield reconnaissance drones being developed by the American armed forces will be easy to commercialise. Small video cameras the size of a large wasp may some day be able to fly into a room, attach themselves to a wall or ceiling and record everything that goes on there.

Overt monitoring is likely to grow as well. Intelligent software systems are already able to scan and identify individuals from video images. Combined with the plummeting price and size of cameras, such software should eventually make video surveillance possible almost anywhere, at any time. Street criminals might

then be observed and traced with ease.

The burgeoning field of "biometrics" will make possible cheap and fool-proof systems that can identify people from their voices, eyeballs, thumbprints or any other measurable part of their anatomy. That could mean doing away with today's cumbersome array of security passes, tickets and even credit cards. Alternatively, pocket-sized "smart" cards might soon be able to store all of a person's medical or credit history, among other things, together with physical data needed to verify his or her identity.

In a few years' time utilities might be able to monitor the performance of home appliances, sending repairmen or replacements even before they break down. Local supermarkets could check the contents of customers' refrigerators, compiling a shopping list as they run out of supplies of butter, cheese or milk. Or office workers might check up on the children at home from their desktop computers.

But all of these benefits, from better medical care and crime prevention to the more banal delights of the "intelligent" home, come with one obvious drawback—an ever-widening trail of electronic data. Because the cost of storing and analysing the data is also plummeting, almost any action will leave a near-permanent record. However ingeniously information-processing technology is used, what seems certain is that threats to traditional notions of privacy will proliferate.

This prospect provokes a range of responses, none of them entirely adequate:

- **More laws.** Brandeis's article was a plea for a right to sue for damages against intrusions of privacy. It spawned a burst of privacy statutes in America and elsewhere. And yet privacy lawsuits hardly ever succeed, except in France, and even there they are rare. Courts find it almost impossible to pin down a precise enough legal definition of privacy.

America's consumer-credit laws, passed in the 1970s, give individuals the right to examine their credit records and to demand corrections. The European Union has recently gone a lot further. The EU Data Protection directive, which came into force last October, aims to give people control over their data, requiring "unambiguous" consent before a company or agency can process it, and barring the use of the data for any purpose other than that for which it was originally collected. Each EU country is pledged to appoint a privacy commissioner to act on behalf of citizens whose rights have been violated. The directive also bars the export of data to countries that do not have comparably stringent protections.

Most EU countries have yet to pass the domestic laws needed to implement the directive, so it is difficult to say how it will work in practice. But the Americans view it

as Draconian, and a trade row has blown up about the EU's threat to stop data exports to the United States. A compromise may be reached that enables American firms to follow voluntary guidelines; but that merely could create a big loophole. If, on the other hand, the EU insists on barring data exports, not only might a trade war be started but also the development of electronic commerce in Europe could come screeching to a complete halt, inflicting a huge cost on the EU's economy.

In any case, it is far from clear what effect the new law will have even in Europe. More products or services may have to be offered with the kind of legalistic bumph that is now attached to computer software. But, as with software, most consumers are likely to sign without reading it. The new law may give individuals a valuable tool to fight against some of the worst abuses, rather than the pattern of consumer-credit laws. But, also as with those laws—and indeed, with government freedom of information laws in general—individuals will have to be determined and persistent to exercise their rights. Corporate and government officials can often find ways to delay or evade individual requests for information. Policing the rising tide of data collection and trading is probably beyond the capability of any government without a crackdown so massive that it could stop the new information economy in its tracks.

• **Market solutions.** The Americans generally prefer to rely on self-regulation and market pressures. Yet so far, self-regulation has failed abysmally. A Federal Trade Commission survey of 1,400 American Internet sites last year found that only 2% had posted a privacy policy in line with that advocated by the commission, although more have probably done so since, not least in response to increased concern over privacy. Studies of members of America's Direct Marketing Association by independent researchers have found that more than half did not abide even by the association's modest guidelines.

If consumers were to become more alarmed about privacy, however, market solutions could offer some protection. The Internet, the frontline of the privacy battlefield, has already spawned anonymous remailers, firms that forward e-mail stripped of any identifying information. One website (www.anonymizer.com) offers anonymous Internet browsing. Electronic digital cash, for use on or off the Internet, may eventually provide some anonymity but, like today's physical cash, it will probably be used only for smaller purchases.

Enter the infomediary

John Hagel and Marc Singer of McKinsey, a management consulting firm, believe that from such services will emerge "infomediaries", firms that become brokers of

information between consumers and other companies, giving consumers privacy protection and also earning them some revenue for the information they are willing to release about themselves. If consumers were willing to pay for such brokerage, infomediaries might succeed on the Internet. Such firms would have the strongest possible stake in maintaining their reputation for privacy protection. But it is hard to imagine them thriving unless consumers are willing to funnel every transaction they make through a single infomediary. Even if this is possible—which is unclear—many consumers may not want to rely so much on a single firm. Most, for example, already have more than one credit card.

In the meantime, many companies already declare that they will not sell information they collect about customers. But many others find it more profitable not to make—or keep—this pledge. Consumers who want privacy must be ever vigilant, which is more than most can manage. Even those companies which advertise that they will not sell information do not promise not to buy it. They almost certainly know more about their customers than their customers realise. And in any case, market solutions, including infomediaries, are unlikely to be able to deal with growing government databases or increased surveillance in public areas.

• **Technology.** The Internet has spawned a fierce war between fans of encryption and governments, especially America's, which argue that they must have access to the keys to software codes used on the web in the interests of law enforcement. This quarrel has been rumbling on for years. But given the easy availability of increasingly complex codes, governments may just have to accept defeat, which would provide more privacy not just for innocent web users, but for criminals as well. Yet even encryption will only serve to restore to Internet users

the level of privacy that most people have assumed they now enjoy in traditional (ie, paper) mail.

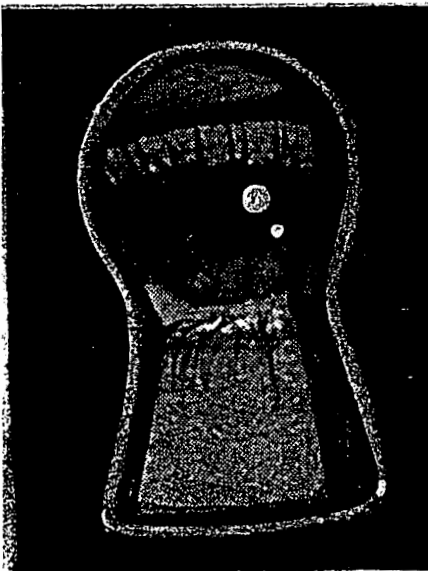
Away from the web, the technological race between snoopers and anti-snoopers will also undoubtedly continue. But technology can only ever be a partial answer. Privacy will be reduced not only by government or private snooping, but by the constant recording of all sorts of information that individuals must provide to receive products or benefits—which is as true on as off the Internet.

• **Transparency.** Despairing of efforts to protect privacy in the face of the approaching technological deluge, David Brin, an American physicist and science-fiction writer, proposes a radical alternative—its complete abolition. In his book "The Transparent Society" (Addison-Wesley, \$25) he argues that in future the rich and powerful—and most ominously of all, governments—will derive the greatest benefit from privacy protection, rather than ordinary people. Instead, says Mr Brin, a clear, simple rule should be adopted: everyone should have access to all information. Every citizen should be able to tap into any database, corporate or governmental, containing personal information. Images from the video-surveillance cameras on city streets should be accessible to everyone, not just the police.

The idea sounds disconcerting, he admits. But he argues that privacy is doomed in any case. Transparency would enable people to know who knows what about them, and for the ruled to keep an eye on their rulers. Video cameras would record not only criminals, but also abusive policemen. Corporate chiefs would know that information about themselves is as freely available as it is about their customers or workers. Simple deterrence would then encourage restraint in information gathering—and maybe even more courtesy.

Yet Mr Brin does not explain what would happen to transparency violators or whether there would be any limits. What about national-security data or trade secrets? Police or medical files? Criminals might find these of great interest. What is more, transparency would be just as difficult to enforce legally as privacy protection is now. Indeed, the very idea of making privacy into a crime seems outlandish.

There is unlikely to be a single answer to the dilemma posed by the conflict between privacy and the growing power of information technology. But unless society collectively turns away from the benefits that technology can offer—surely the most unlikely outcome of all—privacy debates are likely to become ever more intense. In the brave new world of the information age, the right to be left alone is certain to come under siege as never before.



UNITED STATES



First safety, then civility

BOSTON AND NEW YORK

New York's troubled police force can learn from its counterpart in Boston

UNTIL Amadou Diallo, an unarmed African immigrant, died in a hail of police bullets on February 4th, the Big Apple was celebrated around the world for its success in beating crime. Now that reputation is in tatters. Daily protests are still going on outside the Police Department. Rudolph Giuliani, New York's mayor, who took most of the credit for the fall in crime, has seen his popularity plunge. Howard Safir, the police commissioner, has suffered the indignity of a vote of no confidence in his leadership by his own officers' biggest union.

Increasingly, New York's style of policing is being contrasted unfavourably with that of other cities, particularly Boston. Like New York, "Bean Town" has seen a dramatic fall in crime during the 1990s. Unlike New York, it has managed to achieve this success without increasing the city's racial tensions. Whereas in New York falling crime has gone hand-in-hand with a rise in complaints against the NYPD, complaints against the Boston police have fallen steadily (see chart on next page).

The differences between the two approaches can easily be exaggerated. William Bratton who, as police commissioner, im-

plemented many reforms at the NYPD before falling out with Mr Giuliani, was previously police commissioner in Boston, where he had laid some of the foundations of its community-policing policy. Both forces deploy a heavy, visible presence on the streets, particularly in spots known for crime. Both try to disperse decision-making and accountability away from headquarters to individual precinct captains. Both have moved away from reactive policing driven by emergency calls to a pre-emptive approach in which officers meet regularly to identify crime hot-spots and concentrate on them.

As for "zero tolerance"—the notion that police should crack down even on minor breaches of the law, in order to discourage major ones—Paul Evans, Boston's current police commissioner, thinks the idea should be employed with discretion. When he identifies a problem that needs solving—an outbreak of gang violence, say—the police will use any leverage the law gives them to sort it out. But Mr Evans thinks it makes no sense to arrest a homeless person each time he has a drink in public.

What makes Boston's crime-fighting different is the willingness of the police to work

with other organisations and community groups. "We are always looking at who we can collaborate with," says Mr Evans. Among the Boston force's partners are the local US attorney, probation officers (who have started evening home visits, and have raised the rate of compliance with probation terms from 30% to 70%), local employers and the 10 Point Coalition, a group of black clergy. The Boston Police Department has backed its co-operative talk with cash, awarding substantial grants to helpful non-profit organisations.

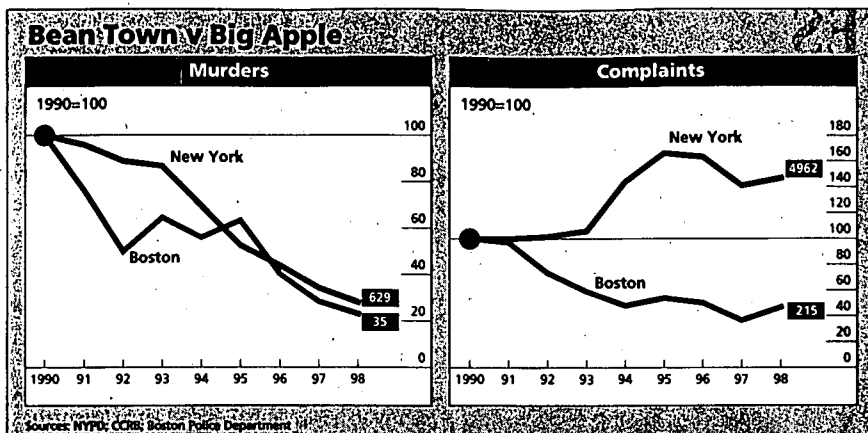
The Boston model has worked to greatest effect in tackling the teenage gangs responsible for a sharp rise in drug-related killings in the early 1990s. Meetings between police, probation officers and clergymen identified the main people involved; these offenders were then told that the Police Department would use all its legal powers against them unless the killings stopped, a message that was reinforced by the probation officers and the clergy. "We told them we'd rather see them in jail than conduct their funerals," says the Rev Jeffrey Brown, a co-founder of the 10 Point Coalition. This policy, a big part of which was reducing the number of guns in circulation, helped to lower gun-murders of under-24-year-olds from 51 in 1990 to only 16 last year.

Nobody involved in the Boston model claims to have got everything right. In the past few months there has been an increase in teenage gang violence, as new groups have started to fill the vacuum created by the successful attack on the old gangs. Even so, there is much confidence that the co-operative approach will stop these new problems getting out of hand. Plenty of Bostonians reckon that the NYPD could learn useful lessons from their experience.

This is despite important differences between the two cities. Boston has a population of around 550,000 compared with New York's 7.3m. The Boston police force has 2,200 officers; the NYPD has 40,000. Last year there were 35 murders in Boston, compared with 629 in the Big Apple. Teenage gangs accounted for a large part of Boston's crime in the early 1990s; in New York, the sources of lawlessness were much broader and more diverse.

Nevertheless, lesson number one in both cities is for the police to treat the public with respect. The NYPD's stop-and-frisk policy is extremely unpopular with minorities, who feel they often get stopped by police officers for no good reason. The NYPD admits that minorities are disproportionately inspected, but says this is because they are disproportionately involved in crime. More-

UNITED STATES



over, stop-and-frisk is a vital part of the anti-guns campaign being waged by the controversial Street Crimes Unit (scu), which was responsible for the Diallo killing.

Boston used to have an equally unpopular stop-and-frisk policy, but by 1989 it had got out of hand. To reduce public hostility, the Boston police subsequently required officers to have a reasonable suspicion before stopping a suspect, and to record every search. According to Mr Evans, "A lot of the problem goes if there is mutual respect, if the police explain why the search is being done."

The NYPD commissioner, Howard Safir, now seems to recognise this need. Although he claims that the NYPD, of all the city police forces in America, is the most restrained in its use of force, he "pleads guilty" to failing to treat the public with enough respect. "The NYPD's problem is not brutality, it is civility," he says. Since the Diallo killing, all officers have been given cards telling them how to address the public appropriately ("Sir", "Ma'am", even "Sorry"). But being polite will not come easily; like most New Yorkers, NYPD officers are seldom civil even to each other.

An even bigger challenge will be for the NYPD to work with other agencies and, in particular, with minority groups and their leaders. At present, although New York's black leaders privately admit that they now have better communication with the police on drug problems, they say that this has not turned into any broader co-operation. One problem, admits Mr Safir, is that New York's precinct community councils do not include a broad enough range of minority opinions.

In Boston, the task was made easier by the fact that the police force is more racially representative. A third of the Boston Police Department is non-white, the same proportion as the general population; whereas in New York, where one-third of the NYPD is also non-white, this represents only half their share of the general population. The scu is more than 80% white.

Another boost to Boston's policy was the decision, by black leaders, to stop blaming crime on race and instead to take a role in "tackling moral problems within our own

community", according to Mr Brown. In New York, by contrast, recent tragedies have tended to deepen rather than weaken black leaders' indignation against whites.

Lastly, New York's politics does not encourage co-operation as Boston's has done. Mr Giuliani, a Republican, reversed the policing policies of a man who was not just a Democrat, but the city's first black mayor. Boston's mayor is the latest in a long line of white Democrats who have been re-elected unopposed. In a city still dominated by the Irish, not even minority leaders expect Boston to elect a black mayor any time soon. As a result, black leaders have had more reason to try to get along with the powers that be.

Mr Giuliani's prickly personality has

not helped, and may have played into the hands of New York's more extreme minority leaders. According to Fred Siegel, a New York historian, Mr Giuliani needed to be confrontational at first, because nobody believed he could restore law and order in New York. But once he started to succeed, his ego may have blinded him to the need for a second more collaborative or consensual phase. "You cannot lower the crime rate below what a community sets itself without a serious political backlash," Mr Siegel says. "Even successful programmes sometimes have to be modified."

Yet Mr Giuliani's ego may now give him the motivation to change. After all, he would dearly like a safe New York to be his legacy. There is every chance that if the Democrats regain the mayoralty after Mr Giuliani steps down—and New Yorkers rarely elect two Republican mayors in a row—they will reverse many of his policing policies. Unless, that is, he can persuade the minority communities to support these policies as Boston's minorities do. In the past month, Mr Giuliani has hinted that he now understands this. He has met black leaders—and, at a healing service in St Patrick's cathedral, even embraced the Rev Calvin Butts, a relatively moderate black leader who had called him a racist. If Boston is any guide, such symbolism will need to be followed up with lots of hard work in private. Certainly, it will take a lot more than hugs.

Immigration policy

The next masses

BOSTON

WHAT does America owe the Kosovars now? At a minimum, a bit of shelter. On April 22nd, Vice-President Al Gore announced that America would bring as many as 20,000 Kosovar refugees to America. Most of them will probably wind up in Detroit, New York and Los Angeles, where they can join sizeable Albanian-American communities. America is also planning to look after another 20,000 Kosovars in Albania. "It's a meaningful contribution," says an administration official, "which indicates to Macedonia and our allies that we're making a commitment to burden-sharing."

It will also say something about how America sees its obligations to the people on whose behalf it is dropping bombs but not sending troops. The White House's first plan was to put those 20,000 Kosovars in a naval base at Guantanamo Bay, in Cuba. "It was ready made, already on the shelf," says an administration official. Because the Kosovars would not be in America proper, they would not be able to make asylum claims that would let them stay. The administration was told it was being callous, and the



How many can you take?

The outcasts reply

NO ONE can say the reaction was not swift. In most schools in Colorado, in the week after the massacre at Columbine High School, pupils were suspended if they turned up at school in trench coats. The killers at Columbine had worn such coats. Therefore, the threat was clear.

In the suburbs of Chicago, a girl called Anika was stopped at the school door for wearing a trench coat, and was told to take it home. When she refused, security guards made her take the coat off and searched it. She was then called into the principal's office, "and he asked me if I was a member of any hate group, or any online group, or if I had ever played Doom or Quake." Anika didn't play those games, but, as she explained defiantly on a website called Slashdot, "I love geek guys, and there aren't many of us."

The reverse seems true; to judge by the outpouring of feelings on various teenage websites round the country, there are many solitary pupils, alienated from their schools, for whom Internet chat sites and

violent computer games are the easiest way to communicate. While not condoning the killings, they are outraged that parents and teachers have responded by clamping down both on trench coats and on the computer games favoured by the killers. One Slashdot reader summed it up:



"Nothing I've been taught in school interests me as much. And believe me, the gamers who (try to) kill me online all day are a lot closer to me than the kids I go to high school with."

Not all the news about teenagers is discouraging. The Alan Guttmacher Institute reports this week that levels of teenage pregnancy are continuing their downward trend, partly because of "responsible sexual decision-making". And new research by two academics at the University of Chicago ("The Ambitious Generation", by Barbara Schneider and the late David Stevenson, published by Yale University Press) shows that more than 90% of teenagers expect to attend college, compared with 55% in the 1950s.

Yet the Chicago study also notes a downside. Today's teenagers are far less likely to form "strong, long-term bonds with a group of friends". Instead, they change friends frequently, and spend about 20% of their time alone. They do not think they are alone, of course; they are chatting or fighting in their virtual worlds. But, judging by their e-mails, they understand all too well how isolated they are.

White House quickly reversed itself.

America took the lead on military action against Yugoslavia, but is not yet as bold in taking in refugees. True, its new promise to take 20,000 Kosovars is matched only by Turkey; but so far Germany has already taken in 10,000 of these unhappy people, and Turkey 5,000. Against the total of 78,000 refugees from around the world that America was already planning to take in this year, 20,000 Kosovars is a modest figure. And against a total of displaced and refugee Kosovars reckoned at around 925,000 people, the American number is tiny.

The country's refugee policy has always been deeply politicised. The people who have the best chance of getting a new life in America are those who have made common cause with America against a foreign foe, and are suffering for it. In practice, this has usually meant being against communism. If the Kosovars now get truly generous treatment, the change will be plain. The common foe will not be communism; it will be Slobodan Milosevic's brand of ethnic hatred.

Which refugees has America preferred? During the cold war, American policy catered chiefly to refugees from communist countries. According to a 1953 law, anyone from a communist or communist-dominated country in Europe had an automatic claim to be a refugee. It was not until 1980 that a new law rubbed out any reference to communism in America's definition of a refugee. The old definition was good news for Soviet Jews and dissidents, Vietnamese, and Cubans; it has been less good for those flee-

ing from right-wing Latin American dictatorships, or small and poor countries forgotten in geopolitical rivalries.

There is another, subtler pattern, often obscured when it overlaps with anti-communism. America has a habit of opening its borders as a gesture of shame and responsibility after a foreign debacle. When the Soviet Union crushed Hungary's uprising in 1956, a flood of desperate Hungarians poured into Western Europe. Distressed by America's inability to rescue Hungary, President Dwight Eisenhower used a new immigration law to allow 38,000 of them to come to America.

Vietnam was the next big responsibility case. When America lost the war there, the problem was not just South Vietnamese soldiers and officials who would now be exposed to the wrath of the victorious communists. Large numbers of ordinary Vietnamese wanted out, too. So, from 1975 to 1980, America let in almost half a million people from Indochina. Similarly, America's sympathy for Cuban refugees stems at least in part from American shame over the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

But the most striking cold-war responsibility story is that of the Hmong. Until the war in Indochina, the Hmong were a small, isolated community of farmers living in the highlands of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. But during the war the CIA recruited the Hmong to fight against the Vietnamese and Laotian communists. In 1974, the triumphant communists turned on the Hmong, many of whom fled to refugee camps in

Thailand. America then took the Hmong in, with communities growing in California and Minnesota, where Lutheran church groups tried to help out.

There are now about 180,000 Hmong in America, roughly a third of them clustered in Minneapolis and St Paul. The transition has been wrenching. Trying to leap from a peasant society to industrial America, many Hmong ended up in poverty or on welfare. And conservative Minnesotans have tended to look askance at Hmong traditions such as polygamy and animal sacrifice. But, for all the difficulties, the principle of sheltering the Hmong is a decent one.

Under Bill Clinton, there has been an effort to change the emphasis. Now the push is more towards straight humanitarianism, says Alexander Aleinikoff, who was general counsel for the Immigration and Naturalisation Service under Mr Clinton. But old habits die hard. The State Department's list of countries singled out for priority for refugees still has a strong whiff of the cold war. America favours human-rights-minded Cubans, Jews and evangelical Christians in the former Soviet Union, Iranian religious minorities, and Vietnamese who spent more than three years in detention camps because of their pre-1975 ties to America or the defunct South Vietnamese regime. This year, America will run special refugee services in Havana, Ho Chi Minh City and Moscow, so that people in those places can start the process of becoming refugees without actually leaving their countries.

The emergence of true post-cold-war

Charlton Heston's tablets of stone

EVEN the best actor can occasionally fluff his lines. But some fluffs so distract an audience that it loses the plot. Has Charlton Heston (not one of the greatest actors, but a good one nonetheless) committed such a gaffe? "If there had been even one armed guard in the school," Mr Heston announced the day after teenage gunmen killed a dozen fellow students, one teacher and finally themselves in a Littleton, Colorado, high school, "he could have saved a lot of lives and perhaps ended the whole thing instantly."

Well, actually no. There was indeed an armed guard at Columbine High School, he exchanged gunfire with the teenagers—and he failed to prevent the tragedy. The obvious conclusion is that Mr Heston's script, or at least his sense of timing, has gone awry. But is it equally obvious that the play is ruined, and that Mr Heston is doomed to lasting embarrassment when he presides over this weekend's annual meeting of the National Rifle Association (which, by bitter irony, is being held in Denver)?

Clearly the risk is there: the NRA has resisted the plea of Denver's mayor to cancel the event, but has shortened it from three days to one "to show our profound sympathy and respect for the families and communities in the Denver area in their time of great loss." Moreover, making the accident of the calendar still riskier for the NRA are the days of televised mourning that have preceded it: heart-wrenching funeral scenes and countless hours of electronic punditry.

Tragedy in Colorado hits home in a way that tragedy in Kosovo does not. Yet, sadly for those Americans dismayed by their society's addiction to guns, the risk to the NRA's standing is probably less than it appears. One reason is that in the land of attention-deficit disorder the media cannot sustain its focus for long. Horrendous acts of schoolboy violence, for example, are regular occurrences, but they fade all too quickly from public memory (the killings by Littleton's "Trench-Coat Mafia" were the seventh such incident to have captured the TV cameras in the past 18 months). The bigger reason, however, is that Mr Heston's script, for all his recent mistakes of timing and delivery, is one that cannot be dismissed out of hand. Instead, it has to be listened to when the actor is on form.

Take, for example, Mr Heston's speech (just four days before the Littleton killings) to the students at Yale. To their parents, Mr Heston is an American icon, somehow embodying the heroism of his roles of yesteryear: Ben Hur in his Roman chariot; Moses bearing aloft God's ten commandments; El Cid defying the Moorish hordes. Today's students are too young to be influenced by such epics (though some will remember Mr Heston's cameo appearance as the boss of the CIA, intimidating Arnold Schwarzenegger in "True Lies"). Perhaps they see simply an old man, further over the hill than Clint Eastwood (a mere 68, compared with 74-year-old Mr Heston) and with a ridiculously poor toupee. But when they listen, they hear one of America's most inspiring voices, awakening all the atavistic longing, felt even by the young, for a simpler, better nation:

Here I am still in the chariot... The thought police do not frighten me. I hope I

frighten them... I believe that in your heart you already know something is profoundly wrong. When bartenders are responsible for drunk drivers' acts, and gunmakers are responsible for criminals' acts, and nobody is responsible for O.J. Simpson's acts, something is wrong.

Lest this version of "truth and consequences" seem a trifle too rabidly right-wing, Mr Heston reminds his audience that he once marched with Martin Luther King (his critics say his civil-rights activism has grown in the telling). And, lest it seem a trifle simplistic, he reminds them that "passing laws is what keeps politicians' careers alive. Enforcing laws is what keeps you alive."

It is a shrewd mantra, intoned to discredit even the most modest attempts to restrict Americans' access to weapons of personal destruction. Remember Bill Clinton's 1994 crime bill stopping

the transfer of handguns by adults to juveniles? "His Justice Department bothered to prosecute only five people in 1997 and six in 1998." Or the ban on semi-automatic guns? Just four prosecutions in 1997 and four in 1998. Or "that media love-child, the Brady Bill"? Just nine people convicted out of the quarter-million felons who attempted to buy handguns. Look, by contrast, at the NRA way: the imposition of punitive federal law for firearms offences and the right (available now in 31 states) to carry a concealed weapon. The result, say some scholars to the NRA's delight, is both lower crime and better economics (Sterling Burnett of the National Centre for Policy Analysis impressively calculates that the

deterrent effect of "defensive gun use" confers a net benefit ranging between \$1 billion and \$38.8 billion a year).

Say all this enough times and the audience will doubtless forget the distraction of Littleton. When 53% of adults polled—after Littleton—by CBS oppose a ban on the sale of handguns to civilians, this week's call by the *Washington Post* for just such a ban looks, sadly, like wishful thinking. So too, alas, does the incrementalist approach of that other American actor, Bill Clinton.

This week, in what the Senate Republican leader Trent Lott dismissed as a "typical knee-jerk reaction" to Littleton, the president proposed legislation requiring child-proof locks on all guns sold; background checks on people buying from private dealers at gun shows; a lifetime ban on owning guns for violent juveniles; a three-day waiting period for all handgun purchases, with the minimum buyer age raised from 18 to 21; a ban on the possession by juveniles of semi-automatic assault rifles; and a limit (as in Virginia) on handgun sales to one per person per month.

Can such puny measures really be what the White House calls "the most comprehensive gun legislation in 30 years"? Unfortunately, yes. But, as Mr Clinton pointed out, guns are part of America's culture and cultural change comes hard. Mr Heston's NRA straddles two streams of the nation's consciousness: the huntin' and fishin' of America's idyllic past and rural present, and the "Dirty Harry" violence of its inner cities. What a pity the combination is so durable—and so deadly.



FAX COVER

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ROCK THE VOTE

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MEDIA ADVISORY

"LOCAL AREA YOUTH TO PARTICIPATE IN DIALOGUE WITH YOUNG CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS ON THE URGENT NEED TO ADDRESS THE RISE OF HATE CRIMES AND VIOLENCE AMONG YOUTH"

WASHINGTON, D.C. (May 5, 1999) - A group of approximately twenty five local area high school students will participate in a dialogue with young civil rights leaders about increasing the civil rights community's relevance to the lives of young adults and the urgent need to address the rise of hate crimes and violence among youth.

Students from Banneker High School, Georgetown Day School, and Woodson Senior High School will participate in the forum convened by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR), the Leadership Conference Education Fund (LCEF), and Rock The Vote (RTV).

This forum, entitled, "Civil Rights And the Next Generation: New Voices, New Leaders," will be moderated by Tavis Smiley, Host of Black Entertainment Television's BET Tonight. It is part of "WORKING TOWARDS ONE AMERICA" a day and a half civil rights policy conference that is being held in conjunction with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights' Annual Hubert H. Humphrey Civil Rights Awards Dinner.

When: Monday, May 10, 1999, 12:00 noon - 2:30 p.m.

Where: 311 Cannon House Office Building, Capitol Hill

Confirmed Participants Include:

The Honorable Jesse Jackson Jr. (D-IL), U.S. House of Representatives; Reverend Jamal Bryant, National Youth and College Director, NAACP; Patricia Campos, Assistant to the Executive Director, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement; Christine Chen, Project Director, Organization of Chinese Americans; Jeff Cohen, Legislative Correspondent, U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA); Marco Davis, Director, Leadership Development, National Council of La Raza; Ingrid Duran, Executive Director, Congressional Hispanic Caucus Foundation; Stephen Friedman, Vice President of Public Affairs, MTV Music Television; Frank Luntz, President, Luntz Research; Hans Riemer, Executive Director, 2030 Center; Guila Franklin Siegel, Association Director for Domestic Concerns, Jewish Committee for Public Affairs; Elizabeth Toledo, Vice President - Action, National Organization for Women; Angela Wheeler, Publisher & CEO, Who Cares magazine; Victoria Wright, Legislative Associate, National Congress of American Indians; and, Jonathan M. Young, Associate Director, Office of Public Liaison, The White House.

"WORKING TOWARDS ONE AMERICA"

Civil Rights and the Next Generation: New Voices New Leaders

DRAFT PROGRAM

- 12:00 noon Conference attendees and students receive box lunches and materials
- 12:15 p.m. Wade Henderson, Executive Director, LCCR, introduces Tavis Smiley
- 12:20 p.m. Tavis Smiley welcomes everyone and thanks them for coming

Suggested Comments:

- 1) Mentions LCCR and LCEF's commitment to engaging young adults in conversations about how to make the civil rights movement more relevant to young adults
- 2) Mentions how pleased we are to be working with Rock the Vote and that today's event marks the first in a series of events leading up to the 2000 elections in which LCCR and LCEF will be working with Rock the Vote and other organizations serving youth to support and encourage young people to realize and utilize their power to affect change in the civic and political lives of their communities. Our particular focus will be educating about civil rights, and its role in shaping the country in which young people will live, work and raise their children.
- 3) Tavis introduces participants (see enclosed bio summaries) and explains the structure of the session to the participants.
- 4) There are four **suggested segments** with time allotted for audience participation at the end, not between segments. If time runs short, by 1:30 p.m. we should move to hate crimes and youth violence and allow at least ten minutes at the end for Q & A.
 - First segment will be a "Reality Check" - a discussion of the current status of civil rights,
 - Second segment will focus the discussion on young adults - what they know about civil rights, how they acquire that knowledge, what's important to them -- and highlights recent polling data about youths and civil rights, and their involvement in the political process.
 - Final segment will focus specifically on hate crimes and youth violence with particular focus on MTV's recent survey.

Fact sheets with background information on all segments are enclosed.

12:30 p.m. **SEGMENT ONE -- A REALITY CHECK**

We believe that in order to have an honest conversation about civil rights and the next generation, it is important to assess the current status of social and economic justice.

ONE AMERICA DISCUSSION – President Clinton said repeatedly during his year-long Initiative on Race that as we approach the 21st Century, America is once again a nation of new promise, with the opportunity to become the world's first truly multiracial, multiethnic democracy. The President continually highlighted that there are great challenges but also great opportunities. If we are to have an honest conversation about the great opportunities within the challenges, we must better understand the context in which we find ourselves at the dawn of the new millenium.

- I. Current status of civil rights at the dawn of the new millennium according to key indicators – education, employment, economic status, health – (“The Best and Worst of Times”).
- II Demographics of the nation's -- the country's increasing diversity.
- III. Suggested Questions
 - A. Given that the nation has never resolved the black-white dilemma, nor its treatment of Native Americans, what is the outlook for a country that is growing even more diverse with growing Hispanic and Asian populations?
 - B. How do we bridge the economic and educational divide? Is there a role for educators, government, nonprofits?
 - C. What role do whites have to play in the debate and the solutions.
 - D. How important is intergroup interaction given the nation's racial and ethnic segregation in neighborhoods and schools?
 - E. What are the best venues in which to generate such interaction?
 - F. Are their useful models for 21st Century? (Coalition building – LCCR as a model – are there other model around the country?)
 - G. Is there reason to believe the next generation will do a better job of building an multiracial, multiethnic, multireligious democracy then the previous generation?

TRANSTION INTO SEGMENT TWO: YOUNG ADULTS AND CIVIL RIGHTS: A REALITY CHECK

The focus of the panel in on youth, so lets turn our attention to young people and in particular their knowledge of civil rights and involvement with civil rights organizations.

Young people were a major force in the civil rights movement (SNCC, Freedom Riders). All over the South, teenagers went to jail during the movement and, in the process, many of them helped get their parents involved. This is the thirty-fifth anniversary of Freedom Summer and the Mississippi Summer Project when hundreds of college students arrived in Mississippi to help with voter registration and the denial of other rights. It is also the 35th anniversary of the murders of James Earl Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner, three young adults who sacrificed their lives in an effort to secure the right to vote for disenfranchised African Americans.

- I. Research suggests that college students are interested in civil rights but admit their knowledge is limited (see enclosed sheet)
- II. Suggested Questions
 - A. Why is it that young adults know so little about civil rights?
 - B. How can the traditional civil rights organizations do a better job of reaching young people? What about educators?
 - C. What will Make this Generation March?
 - D. What are the issues about which young people are passionate.

TRANSITION INTO SEGMENT THREE: YOUTH ACTION, LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

- I. See enclosed research on how young adults define leadership and the role they are playing in their communities. While the media has written at great length about the lack of interest in careers in public service by today's youth, the findings from the Public Allies Survey provide encouraging news about their commitment to redefining the concept of leadership in our country, working together to provide direct assistance to others, and reaching out to people from different backgrounds to collectively forge new solutions to social problems.
- II. Suggested Questions
 - A. Based on your personal and professional experience, are young people eager to devote themselves to public service work?
 - B. How would you characterize the support and/or encouragement for them to do so?
- III. Research on young adults involvement in the political process (see enclosed sheet)
 - A. Youth turnout in 1996 elections was disturbing low. Most estimates put 18-24 year old turnout at about 29 percent – down from about 37 percent in 1992 and roughly the same as the historically low youth turnout rate in 1988. In raw numbers – nearly 2 million fewer young people voted in 1996 than in 1992.
 - B. Yet turnout for all age groups was down in 1996 -- total voter turnout was 49 percent versus 55 percent in 1992 (the lowest turnout rate since 1924, and second lowest since 1824). Some analysts say that what is happening is part of a larger problem of alienation from the political process and civic involvement. However, turnout dropped even more precipitously among young people than among other voters. In 1992, 18-29 year olds, made up 21 percent of the voters but just 17 percent in 1996.
- IV. Suggested Questions
 - A. Why is participation down? Why to young adults not vote?
 - B. What do we know about effective models to improve participation?
 - C. What impact does this have on public policy?

- D. Disconnect between civic engagement and involvement in political process – seemingly contradictory – on one hand, indications that young adults are more involved than ever before, at same time, extremely low participation in the political process – why not voting?
- E. Implications for public policy – Social Security for example (Hans)
- F. How to encourage involvement?

TRANSITION INTO SEGMENT FOUR: COMBATING HATE CRIMES AND YOUTH VIOLENCE

Research on the perpetrators of hate crimes, suggests that a surprisingly large number may be youthful thrill-seekers, rather than hard core haters. According to a study conducted in 1993 for Northeastern University, 60 percent of offenders committed crimes for the “thrill associated with victimization.” Often, the perpetrators hoped their acts of violence would gain respect from their friends – a feeling that explains why so many hate crimes are committed by gangs of young men. On the other hand, there are hard-core fanatics, imbued with the ideology of racial, religious, or ethnic bigotry and often a member of, or a potential recruit for, an extremist organizations. And increasingly these groups and individuals are advancing their views through the Internet.

- I. Big Issue is violence — aftermath of Colorado, etc...MTV poll RTV Materials
 - 1. Hate Crimes Poll
 - 2. More details II
 - 3. More details III

CLOSURE SETH MATLINS, PRESIDENT, ROCK THE VOTE



The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
and
The Leadership Conference Education Fund
Annual Civil Rights Policy Conference



"WORKING TOWARDS ONE AMERICA"

May 10-11, 1999

On May 10-11, 1999 the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR) and the Leadership Conference Education Fund (LCEF) will convene a 1½ day conference in Washington, D.C. focusing on important civil rights policy issues. The conference, entitled, "WORKING TOWARDS ONE AMERICA" will be held in conjunction with the LCCR's Annual Hubert H. Humphrey Civil Rights Award Dinner and the LCCR National Board Meeting. Issues covered at the conference will include affirmative action, the 2000 Census, hate crimes, emerging technology issues, and repositioning the civil rights movement to be more relevant to young adults. The conference will be held on Capitol Hill and at the National Press Club.

CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS!!

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: THE DEBATE CONTINUES

This two-part session will review the latest empirical research on affirmative action in higher education as well as continue the discussion on the merits of affirmative action policies and programs.

PART I. Affirmative Action in Higher Education: Debunking the Myths

The debate over affirmative action in higher education too often has relied on rhetoric rather than hard empirical evidence. By examining the admissions policies of several institutions and following the fortunes of their minority graduates over a period of years, The Shape of the River strikes a blow to those who are rallying against affirmative action. William Bowen, President, Andrew Mellon Foundation and Former President, Princeton University, will present the findings from The Shape of the River, which he co-authored with Derek Bok, Immediate Past-President, Harvard University, and the 300th Anniversary University Professor at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard.

PART II. Continuing The Discussion

Marcia Greenberger, Co-President, National Women's Law Center and Abigail Thernstrom, Senior Fellow, Manhattan Institute for Policy Research will continue the discussion about affirmative action in an interactive session moderated by Karen Narasaki, Executive Director, National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium.

**SPECIAL LUNCHEON SESSION IN CONJUNCTION WITH
ROCK THE VOTE!!!**



**CIVIL RIGHTS FOR THE NEXT GENERATION:
NEW VOICES, NEW LEADERS**

Ever wonder what will make the next generation march? Tavis Smiley, host of Black Entertainment Television's BET Tonight, will moderate this special session that will focus on the civil rights movement's outreach and relevance to young adults at the dawn of the new millennium. The participants will be young activists, advocates, and leaders who will share their ideas on how civil rights organizations can become more effective in addressing the evolving needs of today's youth. Particular emphasis on how organizations can support and encourage young people to realize and utilize their power to affect change in the civic and political lives of their communities.

"WORKING TOWARDS ONE AMERICA"

CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS CONTINUED

CENSUS 2000: POWER AND MONEY

Census data provide the statistical basis for determining the political contours of federal, state, and local governments. In addition, these data affect the annual distribution of over \$180 billion dollars from the federal government to states and localities. Much rides on the outcome of the 2000 census. This session will examine some of the policy implications of an incomplete count with an eye on how the census affects real people in real communities around the nation. Richard Riley, Secretary, U.S. Department of Education; Antonia Hernandez, President and General Counsel, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund; and, Marian Wright Edelman, Founder and President, Children's Defense Fund have been invited to participate.

THE CONTINUING BATTLE AGAINST HATE CRIME VIOLENCE

The recent murder of Billy Jack Gaither in Alabama and the horrific 1998 deaths of James Byrd in Texas and Matthew Shepard in Wyoming serve as a painful reminder of how beastly attacks against innocent citizens, driven by nothing but irrational hatred, threaten the very soul of America. We believe hate crimes are a more serious problem than is generally recognized and that the problem requires a unified and determined response by all sectors of our society. This session will examine how various organizations and institutions are responding to a call for action.

PUBLIC EDUCATION: THE ELUSIVE SEARCH FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

The discussion will focus on the practical meaning of equal educational opportunity in the context of the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) during the 106th Congress. The ESEA was first enacted in 1965 to provide federal assistance to disadvantaged children and Title I of ESEA is the largest federal education program designed specifically to serve our nation's poorest children and their families -- reaching nearly every school district in the country -- and providing nearly \$8 billion annually to improve the educational achievement levels of low-income students. Invited to the discussion are: Robert Chase, National Education Association; Kweisi Mfume, NAACP; Raul Yzaguirre, National Council of La Raza; and, Nancy Zirkin, Chair, National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education (NCWGE). The session will be moderated by Civil Rights Attorney William Taylor, LCCR Vice-Chair.

LUNCHEON KEYNOTE

*STEVE CASE, CHAIRMAN AND CEO, AMERICA ONLINE
THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB*

USING THE NEW MEDIUM TO BUILD ONE AMERICA IN THE 21ST CENTURY: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Steve Case, Chairman and CEO, America Online, will address the future of telecommunications in the new millennium, with a particular emphasis on under-served communities. Bridging the technological divide is critical toward achieving One America in the 21st Century.

TO REGISTER FOR THE CONFERENCE OR TO RECEIVE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, PLEASE
CONTACT: BRIAN KOMAR, LCCR/LCEF, (202) 466-3311; KOMAR@CIVILRIGHTS.ORG

President Clinton:
Announces Comprehensive Legislation to Keep Guns Away
From Youth and Criminals
April 27, 1999

Today, President Clinton will announce new legislation to strengthen federal firearms laws and make it more difficult for kids and criminals to have access to guns and explosives. The President's proposed bill will include new proposals to: (1) reduce illegal gun running by limiting the purchase of handguns to no more than one per month; (2) raise the age of the youth handgun ban from 18 to 21 years of age; (3) ban the juvenile possession of semi-automatic assault rifles; (4) halt the importation of large capacity ammunition magazines; (5) require Brady background checks for the purchase of explosives; (6) help law enforcement trace more crime guns to their source; and (7) authorize repeat inspections to crack down on gun dealers involved in illegal gun trafficking. The President's package represents the most comprehensive gun legislation any Administration has put forward in 30 years.

BUILDING ON THE SUCCESS OF THE BRADY LAW. Since taking effect in 1994, the Brady Law has prevented over a quarter of a million felons, fugitives, stalkers, and other prohibited purchasers from buying handguns. In November 1998, the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) took effect, allowing access to a fuller set of records that law enforcement officials can use to conduct checks of all prospective gun purchases -- not just for handguns. To date, NICS has conducted over 3.4 million background checks on gun purchasers, and the FBI has stopped over 36,000 illegal gun sales. The President's legislation will propose strengthening the Brady Law by:

- **Extending the Brady Law's requirements to purchases of explosives.** Under current law, no Brady background check is required to buy explosives. The President's bill will help cut off easy access to explosives by requiring Brady background checks before the sale of explosives, and by extending the same prohibitions in our gun laws to prospective purchasers of explosives. The bill will also prohibit convicted felons from purchasing any quantity of black powder, which is used to make most pipe bombs, and require all explosives dealers to keep records of their sales of black powder.
- **Closing the gun show loophole on Brady background checks.** In 1998, there were more than 4,000 gun shows held in states across the country as well as flea markets and other events at which guns can be traded anonymously. An estimated 25-50 percent of the sellers at these gun shows are unlicensed and the guns sold by the unlicensed sellers are not subject to background checks. As a result, gun shows can provide a forum for illegal firearms sales and gun trafficking. In fact, a recent review by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) of 314 gun show investigations found that 46 percent of these investigations involved the purchase or sale of firearms by felons, and 34 percent involved the sale of firearms later used in serious crimes, including homicides. To end this policy of firearms being sold at gun shows on a "no questions asked" basis, the President's bill will require : (1) Brady background checks on all firearms transferred at

gun shows, with the assistance of federally-licensed dealers; (2) vendors to report information on firearms sold at gun shows to the ATF, so that they can be traced by law enforcement if they are later used in crimes; and (3) gun show promoters to register with the ATF and notify it of all gun shows.

- **Creating a mandatory Brady waiting period.** Although the NICS has generally improved law enforcement's ability to conduct background checks, a mandatory waiting period will provide a cooling-off period for handgun purchases and allow local law enforcement officers to check additional, non-computerized records. Accordingly, the President's legislation will: (1) require a minimum 3-day waiting period for all handgun purchases; (2) add up to an additional two days to the waiting period if law enforcement officers need more time to clarify arrest records; and (3) provide authority for dealers to notify local law enforcement officials of all proposed handgun purchases.
- **Extending the Brady Law to violent juveniles.** Although violent youth convicted in adult courts are barred from owning firearms as adults, the same is not true for youth convicted of serious violent crimes in juvenile court. Violent juveniles should be treated as adults for their adult crimes, and stopped from getting weapons to hurt again. The President's legislation will permanently ban all violent juveniles from buying guns, so that they cannot purchase a gun on their 21st birthday.

RESTRICTING YOUTH ACCESS TO GUNS. Keeping guns out of the hands of juveniles has been one of President Clinton's top priorities. He fought for and signed legislation prohibiting the juvenile possession of handguns, requiring "zero tolerance" for guns in schools, and establishing the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative (YCGII) to help identify and arrest adults who traffic guns to children. The President's bill will do even more to restrict unauthorized youth access to guns by:

- **Raising the age of the youth handgun ban to 21 years of age.** In 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Youth Handgun Safety Act, which generally banned the possession of handguns by juveniles under the age of 18, and prohibited adults from transferring handguns to juveniles -- except in limited circumstances. A separate provision of the 1968 Gun Control Act also prohibits federally-licensed gun dealers from selling handguns to any one under 21 years of age. However, it is perfectly legal for 18-20 year-olds to possess handguns -- and even to buy them from unlicensed sellers, such as from a neighbor who is a private collector. Additionally, ATF gun trace data show that the more crime guns are traced to 18 and 19 year-olds than all other age groups. The President's legislation will extend the provisions of the youth handgun ban to youth between 18 and 21 years of age.
- **Banning juvenile possession of semiautomatic assault rifles.** Although the Youth Handgun Safety Act generally banned the possession of assault pistols, it did not include assault rifles and large capacity magazines manufactured before the Assault Weapons Ban went into effect. Thus, it remains legal for juveniles under the age of 18 to possess

these deadly weapons and ammunition. The President's bill will prohibit their possession by juveniles in any instance.

- **Holding adults responsible for child access to guns.** Child Access Prevention (CAP) laws promote gun safety and responsibility by holding adults responsible if they allow children easy access to loaded firearms. According to a study published by the Journal of the American Medical Association, CAP laws help reduce fatal unintentional shootings by an average of 23%. The President's legislation will impose felony penalties on adults who knowingly or recklessly allow a child to have unlawful access to a gun that is later used to cause death or injury. Individuals sentenced under this provision could be imprisoned for up to three years, fined a maximum of \$250,000, or both.
- **Requiring child safety locks for guns.** Child safety locks and other devices can reduce the unauthorized use of handguns, by a child at play or a teen looking to commit a crime. Many youth have to look no further than their own home to get their hands on a gun: it is estimated that one third of all privately-owned handguns are left both loaded and unlocked. To address this problem, the President's bill will require federally-licensed firearms dealers, manufacturers, and importers to provide a child safety lock or device with every gun they sell.
- **Increasing penalties for transferring guns to juveniles.** The President's bill will increase penalties for adults who transfer handguns to juveniles knowing that they will be used in a violent crime -- establishing a new mandatory minimum sentence of at least 3 years and up to 10 years.

CRACKING DOWN ON ILLEGAL GUN TRAFFICKERS. In 1996, President Clinton launched the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative (YCGII) in 17 cities to help trace crime guns to their source, as well as identify and arrest the adults who traffic firearms to our children. Since that time, YCGII has been expanded to 20 more cities and conducted more than 200,000 traces for local law enforcement. Additionally, over the last two years the President has proposed hiring more than 280 new ATF agents and more than 40 new federal prosecutors to arrest gun traffickers and violent criminals, and crack down on illegal gun sales.

- **Reduce illegal gun running by limiting handgun sales to no more than one per month.** The President's legislation will crack down on gun trafficking by limiting handgun sales to a maximum of one per month. Gun runners should not be able to circumvent Brady background checks, and employ "straw purchasers" -- or persons not prohibited from purchasing firearms -- to buy guns in bulk and divert them to the street. The President's bill will implement a national system as soon as practicable to limit handgun sales to one per month.
- **Allowing law enforcement to trace all firearms used in crimes.** Under current law it is much more difficult for law enforcement to trace used firearms that are later used in crimes. To improve law enforcement's ability to trace crime guns, the President's

legislation will require that federal gun dealers also report the manufacturer, model, and serial number of all used guns sold to ATF's National Tracing Center. No information on the purchaser would be provided to ATF unless the gun later became the subject of a crime gun trace.

- **Doubling the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative (YCGII).** Over the past 2 years, the President has expanded the YCGII initiative to 37 cities -- helping them to trace all crime guns to their source, to identify illegal gun markets, and to crack down on gun traffickers. Last year, ATF initiated over 300 investigations in these cities, which involved over 3,300 illegally trafficked firearms. The President's bill will increase the number of cities participating in YCGII over the next 4 years to a total of 75.
- **Increasing penalties on gun kingpins.** To send a strong message to gun runners that their illegal gun trafficking will not be tolerated, the President's bill will double the maximum penalty for illegally selling firearms without a license (from 5 to 10 years of imprisonment), and instruct the U.S. Sentencing Commission to enhance the current penalty for offenses where over 50 firearms have been illegally trafficked.
- **Cracking down on gun dealers involved in illegal gun trafficking.** While most gun dealers are not associated with unlawful activities, some are involved in the illegal gun trade. The President's legislation will allow for more inspections of federal firearms licensees (from 1 to 3 per year), tougher penalties for serious violations that interfere with trafficking investigations, and suspension of a gun dealer's license for willful violations of the Gun Control Act.

STRENGTHENING THE ASSAULT WEAPONS BAN. In 1994, the President fought for and signed into law legislation to ban the manufacture and importation of the 19 deadliest assault weapons, their copies, and large capacity ammunition clips. Last year, the President also took action to ban the importation of over 50 models of modified assault weapons. The President's bill strengthens the assault weapons law by:

- **Banning the importation of all large capacity ammunition magazines.** Although the 1994 assault weapons law banned the future domestic manufacture and importation of large capacity ammunition feeding devices that hold more than 10 rounds of ammunition, those manufactured before the law's enactment were grandfathered. Because of the difficulty in determining when large capacity ammunition magazines manufactured by foreign companies were made, it has become relatively easy for foreign gun manufacturers to circumvent the ban. As a result, the President's bill will close this loophole by banning the importation of all large capacity magazines -- regardless of when they were manufactured.

Families, Children and the Media

"The ability of the United States to make the 21st century the age of greatest possibility in our nation's history depends in no small measure on our ability to build strong families today; to help our parents to succeed not only in the workplace, but in their most important job, raising good, well-educated, well-balanced, successful children."

-- Remarks by the President at the Children's Television Conference,
July 29, 1996

- **Giving Families A New Tool -- A Content-Based Television Ratings System.**

Striving to protect children from violence and adult content on television, the President and Vice President garnered a breakthrough agreement from the television industry to create a content-based voluntary ratings system. The new system went into effect October 1, 1997, giving parents the information they need to determine if TV shows are appropriate for viewing by their children and identifying which programs they want to block from their homes through screening technology (the V-chip). The voluntary rating system includes age- and content-based ratings.

- **Helping Parents Control What Comes Into Their Living Room with the V-Chip.**

Four years ago, President Clinton and Vice President Gore used the Family Policy Conference in Nashville to call for V-chip legislation -- to give parents new tools to help them screen out television programs that are not fit for their kids. Under strong leadership from the White House, the following year saw Congress enact the Telecommunications Act of 1996 which included V-chip legislation. Now, by January 2000, all new televisions are scheduled to include this screening technology.

- **Hosting the White House Conference on Children's Television.** In July 1996, the President and Vice President convened the White House Conference on Children's Television to improve and expand education television for children. Conference participants included parents, industry representatives, advocates, experts and advertisers. At the Conference, the television industry joined with the President and agreed to air more educational and instructional children's shows.

- **Encouraging More Educational Television.** At the President's urging, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) adopted clear and concrete rules to encourage the development and promotion of TV programming that would be both welcomed by parents and watched by children. The rules require three hours of regularly scheduled, half-hour weekly educational and instructional programming as a requirement for license renewal.

- **Promoting a "Family Friendly" Internet.** The President and Vice President have worked to make cyberspace a safe place for children. The Administration has enlisted the assistance of numerous stakeholders, including industry leaders, teachers, parents, Internet users and librarians to work towards the creation of a "family friendly" Internet. The Administration's three part strategy includes: (1) industry commitments to provide blocking, filtering and labeling technology for use by parents and teachers using the "Net; 2) effective enforcement of existing laws; and 3) increased parental awareness and involvement. This strategy is designed to give parents and teachers the tools they need to prevent children from getting access to inappropriate material on the Internet, and to guide them towards high-quality educational resources.

**Families, Children And The Media:
The President's Leadership In Working To Give Parents The Tools To Protect T
Children**

The President, Vice President, First Lady and Mrs. Gore have each worked for years to give parents more tools to control what their children are exposed to in our popular culture. Below are excerpts from some of President Clinton's major statements on this topic.

June 30, 1993 Letter to Television Networks on Use of Program Violence Warnings

"Millions of parents are rightly concerned that their children are exposed to far too many graphic pictures of murder and mayhem... For the health of our society and the American family, we must continue to find ways to limit the excessive portrayal of violence in our television programming."

December 4, 1993 Remarks at the Creative Artists Agency Reception in Beverly Hills, California

"There are few things more powerful in any time and place than culture. The ability of culture to elevate or debase is profound.... And so I ask you, while you entertain the rest of us, let us together do something to rebuild the bonds of community, to restore the spirit of these children... We must rebuild this country fundamentally. And we need to have the support of people who can shape our culture to do it."

January 24, 1995 Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union

"For people in the entertainment industry in this country, we applaud your creativity and your worldwide success, and we support your freedom of expression. But you do have a responsibility to assess the impact of your work and to understand the damage that comes from the incessant, repetitive, mindless violence and irresponsible conduct that permeates our media all the time."

July 10, 1995 Remarks at the Family and Media Conference in Nashville

"It's commonplace to say that most of us believe that there's too much indiscriminate violence...in various parts of our media today. I believe the question is, so what? What we ought to be talking about today is what are we all going to do about that?"

September 18, 1995 Letter to the Chair of the Federal Communications Commission on the Children's Television Act of 1990

"I believe the public interest should require broadcasters to air at least

three hours per week, and preferably more, of quality children's programming at reasonable times of the day."

January 23, 1996 Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union

"To the media, I say you should create movies and CD's and television shows you'd want your own children and grandchildren to enjoy. I call on Congress to pass the requirement for a V-chip in TV sets so that parents can screen out programs they believe are inappropriate for their children."

February 8, 1996 Statement on Signing the Telecommunications Act of 1996

"I am especially pleased that the Act requires new televisions to be outfitted with the V-chip, which will empower families to choose the kind of programming suitable for their children."

February 9, 1996 Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on the V-Chip With Families in Alexandria, Virginia

"Just this week we have seen another major study chronicling the destructive impact on young children of hours and hours and hours of mindless violence and the so numbing impact it has on our young children. So that's what the V-chip is designed to do.... [I]t will rapidly come to be a very important part of American family's arsenal of tools for raising children."

February 10, 1996 The President's Radio Address on Families And Our Future

"Just this week, another national study confirmed the destructive impact on children of being permitted to watch excessive violence on television for hours and hours a day, year after year after year.... We must do a better job of dealing with these challenges.... Just this week I signed the Telecommunications Act of 1996 into law which gives parents the V-chip so they can take greater responsibility for their children's lives and help them to kick the degrading influence of excessive television violence..."

February 29, 1996 Remarks Following a Meeting With Entertainment and Media Executives

"I am pleased to report on a breakthrough voluntary agreement to help parents protect their children from violence and adult content on television. Our purpose in this meeting has been to find out how we can help parents raise their children in the right way and to protect them as they raise them."

March 1, 1996 Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion With Families on Television Programming

"We wanted to have you in here today because we want to get a feel and we want the country to get a feel for what kinds of things parents feel about this [television] rating system and the V-chip.... And of course, we have some advocates and professionals here who can talk about the impact of this on child-rearing in America and on childhood."

March 2, 1996 The President's Radio Address On The Entertainment Industry's Agreement To Implement A Voluntary Television Rating System

"With the V-chip and the [television] rating system, we mark a sea change. We are harnessing technology, creativity, and responsibility, bringing together parents, business, and Government to meet a major challenge to our society. After all, it doesn't do a family any good to have a nice television if the images it brings to our children erodes their values and diminishes their future."

June 24, 1996 Remarks to the Family Re-Union V Conference in Nashville,

Tennessee

"I want to take my hat off to the people in the entertainment industry who are coming to grips with this really tough problem of rating television programs.... [I]t's a move in the right direction."

July 29, 1996**Remarks at the Children's Television Conference**

"We're here for a clear purpose: to improve and expand educational television for our children.... That's why it gives me great pleasure to announce that the four major networks, the National Association of Broadcasters, and some of the leading advocates for educational television have come together to join me in supporting a new proposal to require broadcasters to air 3 hours of educational programming a week."

October 15, 1996 **Remarks on the Second Annual Report on Television Violence and an Exchange With Reporters in Albuquerque**

"Nothing is more important than strengthening our families and helping our parents to teach their children good values. We know that television can be a positive force or a destructive force in the lives of our children. Every parent knows that exposure to TV violence can be numbing and send the wrong message to their kids.... Everyone has a responsibility in bringing this kind of change: parents, the entertainment industry, government, each of us as individuals. Step by step, working together, our administration...[has] worked to make television better for our families.... We will continue to sit down, to work with entertainment leaders, to fight for the public interest. I'm confident we will continue to make progress for our families..."

November 9, 1996 **The President's Radio Address on Helping Parents As They Try To Raise Their Children**

"Today I want to talk with you about what we can do as a nation to help parents as they try to raise their children.... American parents are working overtime to set good examples only to have the full force of popular culture make their work harder. That's why we gave parents the V-chip and a television rating system so they can keep televised violence and explicit sexuality out of their young children's lives."

December 19, 1996 **Remarks Following a Briefing on the Television Rating System**

"I want to thank the industry leaders for the television rating system which they have proposed today. Earlier this year, in February, I asked them to do this. They said that they would and that they would do it by January 1st. They are on time, and they have done what they said they would do. And they are going to give America's families more help in choosing appropriate television programming for their children."

July 10, 1997 **Statement on the New Television Rating System**

"Two years ago, Vice President Gore and I challenged Congress and the television industry to give parents new tools to control the television children watch. We were pleased with their response. Last year, Congress passed legislation giving American families the V-chip and the industry developed a voluntary system of ratings for television programs. Today these tools are being made stronger. The television industry, working with parents, has strengthened its original rating system by agreeing to assign new ratings that will better help families choose appropriate television programming for their children."

Promoting School Safety & Preventing Youth Violen

--The Clinton-Gore Administration Record --

Making Our Schools and Communities Safer and Drug-Free

Hosting the White House Conference on School Safety. Convening experts, parents, principals, students, law enforcement and local community leaders, on October 15, 1998, the President held the first-ever White House Conference on School Safety to provide an opportunity for Americans to learn more about how they can make their own schools and communities safer. The Conference included members of communities affected by school shootings and was linked by satellite to schools and communities across the nation.

Creating a New Federal Response for Violent Deaths in Schools. President Clinton has proposed a \$12 million School Emergency Response to Violence -- or Project SERV -- in his FY 2000 budget to help schools and local communities respond to school-related violent deaths, such as those that occurred last school year in Jonesboro, Arkansas; Paducah, Kentucky; Pearl, Mississippi; and Springfield, Oregon. Developed with input from local officials and educators in these and other communities, Project SERV will enable the federal government to assist local communities in much the same way that the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) assists in response to natural disasters.

Hiring School Resource Officers, Targeting Assistance to Schools with Serious Crime Problems. To help give schools with crime problems the tools they need to put the security of our children first, at the White House Conference on School Safety, the President announced a new \$65 million initiative to hire up to 2,000 community police and School Resource Officers to work in schools -- and to train police, educators and other members of the community to help recognize the early warning signs of violence.

Forging School-Based Partnerships Between Schools and Law Enforcement. Under the School-Based Partnerships grant program, the Clinton Administration released \$16.4 million in grants to 155 law enforcement agencies in September 1998. The School-Based Partnerships grants will be used by policing agencies to work with schools and community-based organizations to address crime at and around schools. This initiative emphasizes using principles of community policing and problem-solving methods to address the causes of school-related crime. The grants will help forge or strengthen partnerships between local law enforcement and schools to focus on school crime, drug use and discipline problems.

Launching a Community-Wide Response to School Safety and Youth Violence. To help communities throughout the country promote a coordinated, comprehensive

response to school safety, the President launched a new Safe Schools/Healthy Students initiative designed to help 50 cities develop and implement community-wide school safety plans. In April 1999, the Departments of Justice, Education, and Health and Human Services announced that they will provide over \$180 million this year, and a total of \$380 million over three years through the Initiative for communities to fund comprehensive school safety plans that include anti-truancy initiatives, mentoring, mental health services, conflict resolution programs, school resource officers, and more -- helping to promote healthy development and to prevent youth violence before it occurs. Communities will have until June 1, 1999 to apply for the funds.

Helping to Make All Schools Safe, Disciplined and Drug-Free. In 1994, President Clinton expanded the Drug-Free Schools Act into the Safe and Drug-Free Schools Act, making violence prevention a key part of this program. Safe and Drug-Free Schools provides support for violence and drug prevention programs to 97 percent of the nation's school districts. At the White House Conference on School Safety, President Clinton announced his plan for a significant overhaul of the nearly \$600 million Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Program. Under the President's proposal, schools will be required to adopt rigorous, comprehensive school safety plans that include: tough, but fair, discipline policies; safe passage to and from schools; effective drug and violence policies and programs; annual school safety and drug use report cards; links to after school programs; efforts to involve parents; and crisis management plans.

Responding to the Early Warning Signs of Troubled Youth. President Clinton directed the Secretary of Education and the Attorney General to develop a guide to help teachers and principals identify and respond to the early warning signs of troubled youth that can lead to school violence. In August 1998, the Departments of Justice and Education released *Early Warning, Timely Response: A Guide to Safe Schools*. This guide provides schools and communities with information on how to identify the early warning signs and take action steps to prevent and respond to school violence. More than 200,000 copies of the guide have been distributed, and additional copies may be obtained through the websites of the Departments of Education and Justice.

Issuing the First Annual Report on School Safety. In December 1997, President Clinton called for an Annual Report on School Safety, which was released on October 15, 1998 and sent to every school in the nation. The report includes: an analysis of all existing national school crime data and an overview of state and local crime reporting; examples of schools and strategies that are successfully reducing school violence, drug use and class disruption; actions that parents can take locally to combat school crime; and resources available to schools and communities to help create safe, disciplined and drug-free schools.

Enforcing Zero Tolerance for Guns and Other Weapons in Schools. In October 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Gun-Free Schools Act, requiring states to have in effect a law requiring local education agencies (LEAs) to expel students who bring guns to school. The President issued a Presidential Directive later that month to enforce "zero tolerance" for guns in schools, a policy requiring the expulsion of students who bring guns to schools. In school year 1996-97, the U.S. Department of Education estimates that, under zero tolerance policies, 6,093 students were expelled from public schools for bringing a firearm to school.

Supporting Civic, Community and Faith-Based Organizations. Recognizing the important role that civic, community and faith-based organizations can play in reducing crime, the Administration launched a new Values-Based Violence Prevention Initiative to make \$2.2 million in grants available to 16 community-based collaboratives, including religiously-affiliated organizations, that target youth violence, gangs, truancy, and other juvenile problems by promoting common-sense values and responsibility.

Providing Safe After-School Opportunities for More than a Million Children a Year. Last year (FY98), the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program was expanded to \$200 million. This funding is already supporting hundreds of school-based after-school programs in rural and urban schools in 44 states and the District of Columbia, including weekend and summer programs. This year, the President proposed to triple this initiative -- to \$600 million -- to provide safe and educational after-school opportunities for up to 1.1 million school-age children in communities across the country. In addition, the Education Department released a report in June 1998, titled *Safe and Smart: Making the After-School Hours Work for Kid*. This report shows that after-school programs can lower juvenile crime and improve academic performance. *Safe and Smart* was sent to every school district in the country.

Cracking Down on Truancy. Truancy prevention initiatives have been shown to keep more children in school and dramatically reduce daytime crime. The Education Department issued a guidebook to the 15,000 school districts nationwide which outlines the central characteristics of a comprehensive truancy prevention policy and highlights model initiatives in cities and towns across the country. Since then, the Education Department has provided grants to local school districts to develop innovative truancy prevention programs of the kind described in the guidebook.

Encouraging Schools to Adopt School Uniform Policies. School uniforms have been found to be a promising strategy to reduce violence while promoting discipline and respect in school. Because of this, the Clinton Administration has encouraged schools to consider adopting school uniform policies by sharing with every school district a school uniforms manual prepared by the Department of Education in consultation with local communities and the Department of Justice. Since the

President highlighted school uniforms, a growing number of schools have adopted these policies including: New York City, Dade County, San Antonio, Houston, Chicago and Boston.

Supporting Curfews at the Local Level. Community curfews are designed to help keep children out of harm's way and enhance community safety. Because of their success, President Clinton has encouraged communities to adopt curfew policies. A 1997 survey by the U.S. Conference of Mayors has shown that 276 of 347 cities surveyed -- or 80 percent -- had youth curfew laws, up from 70 percent in 1995.

Developing a Comprehensive Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Strategy. President Clinton has proposed a comprehensive strategy to (1) target gangs and violent youths with tougher punishments and by expanding anti-gang task forces and the use of racketeering statutes (i.e., RICO) for gang-related offenses; (2) crack down on kids and guns by prohibiting violent juveniles from buying guns and increasing penalties for selling handguns to youths; and (3) keep kids off the streets and out of trouble by expanding after-school programs and promoting anti-truancy initiatives and youth curfews.

Keeping Guns Out of the Hands of Children. A number of laws and initiatives are keeping guns out of the hands of children and away from criminals. For instance, since the Brady Law's enactment, 250,000 felons, fugitives and stalkers have been denied handguns, and the 1994 Crime Bill banned 19 of the deadliest assault weapons and their copies -- keeping assault weapons off America's streets. The Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative (YCGII) is cracking down on the illegal gun markets that supply firearms to juveniles and criminals in 37 target cities. The ATF has already traced more than 77,000 crime guns in the YCGII cities, which has led to the investigation and arrest of hundreds of illegal gun traffickers supplying guns to juveniles and criminals. The Administration's FY 2000 budget proposal proposes adding ATF agents to new YCGII cities to assist in gun trafficking investigations. In addition to these programs, President Clinton signed a directive to every federal agency, requiring child safety locking devices with every handgun issued to federal law enforcement officers. And, in an historic agreement, eight major gun manufacturers have voluntarily agreed to provide child safety locking devices with all their handguns, helping to protect our children.

Encouraging Conflict Resolution. The Departments of Education and Justice have developed and distributed 40,000 conflict resolution guides to schools and community organizations, providing guidance on how to develop effective conflict resolution programs; Education and Justice are training community officials and educators on these conflict resolution measures.

Targeting Young People with a National Anti-Drug Media Campaign. In July 1998,

President Clinton launched the national expansion of the Anti-Drug Media Campaign first proposed in last year's drug strategy and budget. The 5-year, \$2 billion campaign is designed to let teens know -- when they turn on the television, listen to the radio, or surf the 'Net -- that drugs are dangerous, wrong and can kill you.

Building and Strengthening 14,000 Community Anti-Drug Coalitions. In 1997, President Clinton signed into law the bipartisan Drug-Free Communities Support Program. Over the next five years this program will provide \$143.5 million to help community coalitions rid their streets of drugs -- the coalitions are made up of young people, parents, media, law enforcement, religious and other civic organizations and school officials. Under this program, the President announced in September 1998 Federal assistance to enhance grassroots efforts in 93 communities in 46 states to prevent youth drug abuse. This assistance will fund the work of broad-based community coalitions to target young people's use of drugs, alcohol and tobacco.

4/99