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PRESIDENT CLINTON UNVEILS LARGEST EVER NATIONAL GUN ENFORCEMENT INITIATIVE, HAILS NEW PROSECUTIONS DATA

January 18, 2000

At an event today in Boston, where federal and local partnerships have helped dramatically reduce gun crime, President Clinton will unveil the largest national firearms enforcement initiative in history. He will also announce new figures from the Department of Justice showing increased federal prosecutions of dangerous gun criminals. The Administration's initiative provides a record \$280 million increase in the FY 2001 budget to: 1) add 500 new Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) agents and inspectors to target violent gun criminals and illegal gun traffickers; 2) fund over 1,000 new federal, state, and local gun prosecutors to take dangerous gun offenders off the streets; 3) create the first nationally-integrated ballistics testing system and expand crime gun tracing to help catch more gun criminals; 4) fund local media campaigns to discourage gun violence and send a tough message on penalties for breaking gun laws; and 5) expand development of "smart gun" technologies. The President today will also unveil new data from the Justice Department indicating that federal firearms prosecutions rose 25 percent from 1998 to 1999. Finally, he will call again on Congress to enact common sense gun measures that will keep guns out of the wrong hands and make our communities safer.

SWEEPING INITIATIVE TO CRACK DOWN ON GUN CRIMINALS. President Clinton today will unveil budget plans for an unprecedented initiative on gun enforcement. The plan includes funding for:

- **500 New ATF Agents and Inspectors.** The President's initiative includes the largest-ever increase to the ATF for firearms enforcement, including 500 new ATF agents and inspectors. The agents will crack down on violent gun criminals and illegal gun traffickers at gun shows, gun stores and on the street. The firearms inspectors, whose numbers are doubled by this funding, will target unscrupulous gun dealers that supply guns to criminals and juveniles.

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(21 to 2369)
261 full time
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23% rise
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- **Over 1,000 Federal, State, and Local Gun Prosecutors.** The President's initiative will fund more than 1,000 new federal, state and local prosecutors to incarcerate gun criminals:
 - 1,000 state and local gun prosecutors. The initiative provides \$150 million to hire 1,000 more state and local gun prosecutors. The new prosecutors will work closely with the community, law enforcement, and federal prosecutors on gun-related crimes.

- Over 100 additional federal gun prosecutors and new enforcement teams. The initiative will fund nearly 100 more federal gun prosecutors in the offices of U.S. Attorneys. The initiative also funds 20 gun enforcement teams in high gun crime areas, enabling 20 cities to replicate Boston's comprehensive anti-crime strategy, "Operation Ceasefire." These teams will coordinate enforcement efforts and maximize tough federal sentencing laws against armed career criminals and illegal gun traffickers.

- **Comprehensive Crime Gun Tracing.** Boston's "Operation Ceasefire" and the Boston Gun Project have brought federal, state and local law enforcement together to trace crime guns

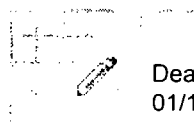
and identify and arrest illegal gun traffickers. The Administration's Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative was launched to replicate the Boston model, and today the President will announce that his budget expands the YCGII from 38 cities to 50 cities. Today's initiative will also help more cities crack down on illegal traffickers by providing funds for tracing equipment and training to 250 state and local law enforcement agencies.

- 23 • **New Initiative on Ballistics Testing:** The Administration's FY 2001 budget request will triple current ballistics testing funding by investing \$30 million to create the first ever National Integrated Ballistics Information Network (NIBIN). This system will help law enforcement use the unique "fingerprints" of bullets or shell casings left at the scene of a crime to identify criminals and illegal gun traffickers – even in the absence of a firearm. Ballistics testing programs at the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and ATF have already advanced over 16,000 criminal investigations of gun crimes in over 40 states. This initiative will link these two systems for the first time, and within two years will triple the number of law enforcement jurisdictions with access to nearly one million ballistics images. 
- 60 • **Local Anti-Gun Violence Media Campaigns.** The President's initiative will provide \$10 million ~~more than double last year's request~~ in Justice Department matching grants to support local media campaigns on gun violence and gun safety. Campaigns would be linked to local gun violence strategies to publicize gun penalties and to maximize deterrence, as well as to highlight proper storage of guns and child access prevention. Targeted campaigns have been used successfully in Richmond's "Project Exile" to emphasize lengthy federal sentences, and in Boston to make clear the consequences of breaking gun laws.
- 60 • **Innovative "Smart" Gun Technologies.** The President will also propose \$10 million for the expansion, testing and replication of "smart" gun technologies. These state-of-the-art safety innovations could limit a gun's use to its owner or other authorized users – and could therefore prevent accidental shooting deaths of children, deter gun theft, and stop criminals from seizing and using the guns of police officers against them.

NEW DATA SHOW THAT FEDERAL FIREARMS PROSECUTIONS ARE UP. Today, the President will also highlight new data from the Justice Department showing the results of bolstered efforts by federal prosecutors to put serious gun criminals behind bars. From 1998 to 1999, the number of federal firearms cases prosecuted by U.S. Attorneys increased 25 percent, from 4,391 cases in 1998 to 5,500 cases in 1999. Tough prosecutions, strategic efforts to deter and prevent gun crime, and the passage of strong new gun laws such as the Brady Act, have together led to a more than 35 percent drop in gun-related crime since 1992 and a 57 percent decrease in juvenile gun homicide offenders since 1993.

COMMON-SENSE GUN MEASURES ARE STILL NEEDED AND LONG OVERDUE.

In addition to pursuing an aggressive enforcement budget, the President will continue to call for much-needed reforms to our nation's gun laws to keep guns out of the wrong hands. Among the common-sense measures he will call on Congress to enact: requiring background checks at gun shows, mandating child safety locks for handguns, banning the importation of large capacity ammunition clips, and banning violent juveniles from owning guns for life.



Deanne E. Benos
01/17/2000 10:55:14 PM

ENFORCEMENT

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP@EOP, Eric P. Liu/OPD/EOP@EOP
cc: Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OPD/EOP@EOP, Anna Richter/OPD/EOP@EOP
Subject: CBS Online Story on Gun Enforcement Initiative.

<http://www.cbs.com/now/story/0,1597,150422-311,00.shtml>

**Clinton's Gun Proposal
More Money And Personnel To Enforce Laws
Plus Strict Mandatory Sentencing
Even NRA Seems To Approve -- So Far**

NEW YORK

Monday, January 17, 2000 - 08:20 PM ET

(CBS) On Tuesday, CBS
News Chief White House
Correspondent John
Roberts reports, President
Clinton will announce the
largest gun enforcement
initiative in this country's
history, a 280 million dollar
investment in the war
against gun crime.

The proposal, which must be approved by Congress, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, would empower 500 new agents to target violent gun criminals, illegal gun traffickers and unscrupulous gun dealers. States would share 1000 new state prosecutors and a hundred federal prosecutors who would concentrate exclusively on gun crimes.

"I think that an argument could be made that the numbers we're asking for are really just a down payment for that which we ultimately are going to need," says Eric Holder, Deputy Attorney General. "But I do think that the numbers the president is talking about are substantial and will have a substantial impact on the gun and violence problem."

The initiative builds on partnerships like Richmond, Virginia's Project Exile, which combines federal funding for gun enforcement with strict mandatory sentencing. Richmond has seen double digit drops in the crime rate

in each of the past three years.

"If we keep pushing we'll expect to see continued reductions, but a lot of that is dependent upon the resources we get." says Tim Kane, Richmond's mayor.

The announcement comes after years of criticism from Republicans and the National Rifle Association that Mr. Clinton prefers writing new laws to enforcing ones already on the books. At a gun show in Las Vegas today, the NRA came close to applauding the measure.

"Until we take a hard look at exactly what the president is suggesting in his budget proposal, we have no idea whether he has decided to enforce the existing laws or make a political move," declared James Baker of the NRA.

The president will also propose new measures to trace guns used in crimes and new money to develop technology which will only a gun's owner to use it.

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January 18, 2000

Clinton Seeks New Spending to Enforce Laws on Guns

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By MARC LACEY

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17 -- The White House will ask Congress for \$280 million in new spending to enforce existing gun control laws, a strategy intended to address one of the main complaints of those who oppose additional gun restrictions, administration officials said today.

President Clinton plans to announce the spending proposal, which will be part of his 2001 budget, on Tuesday at an appearance in Boston. The spending, which is subject to Congressional approval, would be used to hire more gun investigators and prosecutors, foster development of so-called smart-gun technology, improve the government's ballistics testing program and begin an antigun news media campaign.

In a joint appearance with Attorney General Janet Reno and local law-enforcement officials, Mr. Clinton will also hail new Justice Department figures showing a 25 percent increase from 1998 to 1999 in the number of firearms cases brought by federal prosecutors. The number of such cases rose to 5,500 last year, from 4,391 in 1998.

The increase in financing and the release of the new data are intended to counter a major argument advanced by the National Rifle Association and other critics of gun control laws: that new gun restrictions are not needed because scores of existing laws are rarely enforced.

"These numbers should put to rest once and for all the gun lobby's phony contention that the government is not enforcing the existing laws," said Bruce Reed, the White House domestic policy adviser.

Mr. Clinton is planning to propose a 20 percent increase in staffing

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at the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, adding 300 agents and 200 firearms inspectors, officials said. The agents will focus on violent gun criminals and illegal gun traffickers, while the inspectors will target "unscrupulous gun dealers that supply guns to criminals and juveniles," a White House fact sheet said.

The president will also recommend tripling the spending for the development of a national ballistics database. At a cost of \$30 million, the database, the National Integrated Ballistics Information Network, will link the firearms identification computer files operated by the A.T.F. and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Within two years, 230 local and state law enforcement agencies are expected to have access to the system.

To prosecute violators, the president's budget will also provide financing for more than 1,000 new federal, state and local prosecutors. A new \$150 million program will provide grants to state and local governments to hire gun prosecutors.

The National Rifle Association reacted cautiously to the administration's plans, embracing the focus on existing laws while repeating its opposition to new gun legislation.

"We're glad that the Clinton administration agrees with the N.R.A. that enforcing the federal firearms laws is a good thing to do," said James Baker, the rifle association's chief lobbyist.

Along with increased spending, Mr. Clinton will announce proposals in his State of the Union address next week to limit sales at gun shows, require safety locks for handguns, ban the importation of large-capacity ammunition clips and ban violent juveniles from owning guns for life. Mr. Clinton proposed similar measures last year, without success.

Mr. Reed said, "We'll continue to keep the pressure on Congress to finish the job and pass the gun bill that has been tied up in a conference committee since last summer."

The climate for such gun control bills is not expected to improve markedly from last year, analysts say, despite school shootings.

"Congress won't touch some of these measures with a 10-foot pole," said Mark Pertschuk, legislative director for the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, based in Washington. "But there is a modest chance that we can bring up some of these issues, like the gun show loophole."

Administration proposals to impose strict restrictions on firearms sales at gun shows were a source of bitter division in Congress last year.

Also last year, Mr. Clinton failed to win approval of a \$4 million program to develop smart-gun technology that would allow only the owner of a gun to fire it. The president will try again in his 2001 budget proposal, aides said. He will propose \$10 million in federal spending to spur development of the technology, which is intended to prevent accidental shootings and deter gun theft.

The Justice Department figures to be released on Tuesday show that the number of prosecutions has risen 16 percent, up from 4,754, since 1992, presidential aides said. The length of the average sentence for gun violators has also risen, to eight years in 1999, from six years in 1992.



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In shadow of Columbine, 35,000 gather for world's biggest gun show

By Melanie Eversley

Knight Ridder Newspapers

LAS VEGAS, Nev. The weight of 19 lawsuits brought by 29 cities and counties has not demoralized a gun industry that offered tough talk this week against the movement to make it pay for gun violence.

Rather than give in to the pressure, gunmakers and dealers making up most of the 30,000 people who flooded the Sands Expo and Convention Center in Las Vegas for one of the industry's largest trade shows are digging in for a fight.

Among the hot topics at the 22nd annual Shooting, Hunting and Outdoor Trade (SHOT) Show:

The raising of money to help companies defend against the crush of litigation.

The forming of a political action committee to contribute to the campaigns of candidates for president and Congress who oppose gun-control measures.

Most important, the message to gunmakers, dealers and enthusiasts was to get political, a tactic that has worked well for other organizations, such as the National Rifle Association.

"This upcoming election will impact our industry, and we must have an impact on this election," Robert Delfay, president of the National Shooting Sports Foundation (NSSF), the Newtown, Conn., organizer of the show, told members in a fiery speech Monday night.

Many who attended the show said the lawsuits helped them resolve to vote in November. And many said those votes would likely be for pro-gun Republican candidates.

Delfay harshly admonished the Bill Clinton White House for its recent announcement that the Department of Housing and Urban Development might file its own lawsuit against the gun industry.

"We will not allow the most anti-gun administration in history to bully us into an agreement that will impact our customers' right to own and use firearms, or your right to conduct your business responsibly," Delfay said.

"The next president could appoint up to five Supreme Court justices who could decide the future of our 2nd Amendment," he said. "A Democratic House and Senate would blaze through a series of gun-control measures that have been stymied to date.

"Now historically, we have not been politically active as an industry," he said. "That must change, and it will change with these upcoming elections."

Guest speaker Alan Simpson, the former Republican senator from Wyoming, also volleyed harsh words at the White House and its threatened HUD lawsuit and urged members to "get in, get wet" in the political arena.

"You can get yourself a new president. When you get a new president, you get a new HUD," Simpson said.

Responded Sarah Gegenheimer, a White House spokeswoman, on Tuesday: "The Clinton administration is working on all fronts to keep guns out of the wrong hands and help make our communities safer. This isn't about politics. It's about saving lives."

Organizers used the show to announce the formation of an NSSF political action committee to give financial support to pro-gun candidates. The group also formed a fund to help pay legal defense costs and other pro-gun projects.

The group also said it had moved for dismissal of 17 of the lawsuits and that three dismissal requests would come before a judge in the next few weeks, including Detroit's on Feb. 10. NSSF members said they were confident that they would prevail after

judges threw out three lawsuits Cincinnati, Bridgeport, Conn., and Miami-Dade County. The plaintiffs are appealing those cases.

Despite the siege-like undercurrent, visitors remained enthusiastic about the show.

The back offices of sleek, two-story displays hummed with buying and selling, while row after row of dealers studied and fingered the latest technology. Along people-packed, carpeted aisles, videos featured the newest firearms, alongside rows of pistols, rifles, camouflage clothing, books, locks, covers, cases, safes, knives, birdcalls, backpacks, hunters' chairs and bowls of free hard candy, all cramped onto two convention center floors, each easily the size of a football field.

Dealers attending said they blamed the media for misinforming the public about their business. Dealers and gun manufacturers are law-abiding, not criminals, they said. Yet many said they feel the media have been unduly harsh since late 1998, when New Orleans became the first jurisdiction to file a lawsuit. Detroit and Wayne County are each seeking \$400 million in damages from several gun manufacturers and dealers.

Employees staffing the booths for Colt Manufacturing, a firearms maker based in Hartford, Conn., were barely responsive when asked to discuss safety technology. One employee said there was no one at the show representing the company who would discuss the issue.

There have certainly been other tough times for the gun industry the assassination era of the 1960s was one, said Jeff Reh, spokesman for Beretta U.S.A. But even that atmosphere did not spawn a rash of lawsuits, Reh said Monday.

"I don't think we've seen anything in the past that is quite as severe as this," Reh said.

Others were focused on the November general elections.

"If the Democrats get the presidency and the House and the Senate, we'll be in trouble," Dennis Mazet, owner of High Country Sporting Goods in Riverton, Wyo., said Monday.

"I don't think you're going to see very many dealers voting Democrat," he said.

Another theme that ran through the show was a movement to get the public thinking differently about the sport of shooting. Leadership of the NSSF repeatedly referred to criminals as "nontraditional gun owners" and touted a new television campaign to encourage more participation in shooting sports by promoting the time it gives families to share experiences outdoors.

Mary Lou Boyd, 57, who with husband Cliff Boyd owns Cliff's Rifle Shop in Traverse City, and others talk wistfully of the culture surrounding a sport that brings people closer with nature, allows them to spend time with their children and other family members and keep wildlife populations at a manageable size.

"These are good people in here," Mary Lou Boyd said. "The problem is with the general public, not the people in here."

Another Michigander attending the show, Madeleine Rafferty of Coldwater, spoke of discovering the joy of hunting two years ago.

"Once I got outdoors, it was unbelievable, the feeling of being out there, the release of everyday stress," Rafferty said.

Industry members said they are not overly concerned by the lawsuits. One executive, Reh of Beretta, even suggested they might have a positive effect on sales.

Gun owners might increase their purchases as a sign of protest, Reh explained.

"This is an activist industry," he said.

END

Clinton Proposes New Measures to Crack Down on Illegal Gun
By Ricardo Alonso-Zaldivar and Robert L. Jackson
Los Angeles Times

BOSTON Responding to critics who say that his administration has done too little to enforce gun-control laws already in place, President Clinton proposed \$280 million in new measures Tuesday to crack down on illegal firearms and to improve handgun safety.

On a visit to Boston's Roxbury section, an area notorious for drug-related violence that has seen a marked drop in its crime rate, Clinton called for 500 new agents and inspectors to police gun dealers across the nation, 1,100 more prosecutors at the federal and state level and development of new technology for so-called "smart guns" that can be fired only by their owners, not by children or thieves.

Speaking in a gymnasium packed with law enforcement officers, lawmakers and community leaders, Clinton soft-pedaled his embrace of a legislative position long espoused by congressional Republicans and the National Rifle Association that the nation needs better enforcement of existing gun laws rather than restrictive new ones.

"It's a stale debate," Clinton said, declaring that "the real answer is we should do both." He added that "the drop in the national crime rate has been due both to changing laws and to better enforcement and prevention."

Clinton's conservative foes seemed to welcome his new approach.

"I am pleased that President Clinton appears to be partially signing onto the Republican solution to reducing gun violence," said Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

"The NRA for decades has called for vigorous prosecution of criminals who violate gun laws," NRA spokesman Jim Manown said. "We hope this proposal is serious and sincere."

At a hearing last May, House Republicans charged that one sign of the administration's failure to enforce gun laws was its poor record of prosecuting people who had tried to buy weapons but were rejected when crime data checks showed that they were ineligible as convicted felons.

GOP lawmakers said that there have been only a handful of prosecutions of more than 250,000 felons and others in this category and of more than 6,000 juveniles who were expelled from school for carrying firearms.

But Deputy Attorney General Eric H. Holder told the hearing that since 1993 the number of violent crimes involving a firearm has declined by 27 percent.

Furthering the debate, the Justice Department released statistics on Tuesday showing an increase in federal gun prosecutions in 1999 over 1998. Last fiscal year, federal prosecutors brought 5,500 firearms cases against 7,057 defendants compared with 4,391 cases against 5,876 defendants in 1998 a 25 percent increase in firearms cases, the department said.

Meanwhile, the Washington-based Coalition to Stop Gun Violence joined its conservative opponents in calling Clinton's proposals "a huge step in the right direction."

Desmond Riley, representing the coalition, said that the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms "could do a better job of enforcement" and that the additional funding the president is requesting "will help a great deal."

Riley added, however, that "with 100,000 gun dealers in the nation there's really no way ATF can adequately regulate them" without additional laws.

In his speech, Clinton also called on Congress to approve his package of new gun-control bills that cleared the Senate by one vote last year but died in the House. That package included background checks for people buying weapons at gun shows, child safety locks for handguns, a ban on the importation of large capacity ammunition clips and a lifetime ban on gun ownership for violent youths.

A breakdown of the administration's \$280 million proposal:

Hiring 500 new ATF agents and inspectors, which would be the largest increase in staffing ever.

Hiring 1,100 additional federal, state and local prosecutors to work on gun-related crimes. Federal funds would pay for the local hires. The cost of this part of the package is estimated

at \$50 million. It also would pay for 20 new gun enforcement teams in high crime areas around the country.

Funding to expand ATF's capacity to trace guns used in crime and "fingerprint" bullets recovered from crime scenes.

Providing an additional \$10 million for research into "smart gun" technologies, which can prevent a weapon from being accidentally fired.

Funding for anti-violence media campaigns by city and state governments.

Gun Talks Stall as Industry Shuns Clinton

By Myron Levin

Los Angeles Times

LAS VEGAS Talks aimed at settling the wave of anti-gun lawsuits by major cities have hit a snag because handgun manufacturers are refusing to admit Clinton administration officials to the negotiations.

The White House announcement last month that it would throw its weight behind the cities and join them at the bargaining table had been widely seen as boosting chances for a settlement. Cities and counties involved in the litigation had welcomed the increase in their leverage, and industry officials said White House participation might improve prospects for an agreement.

But a meeting scheduled here for Friday, which was to be the first negotiating session attended by administration officials, was called off early this week when industry negotiators, in a shift in strategy, told the cities they would not show up if the White House took part. The cities then balked at resuming talks on Friday by themselves.

"Those are the terms," an official for one city involved in the talks said of White House involvement. "They (the industry) may be pursuing a divide-and-conquer strategy," but "we believe we are stronger if unified."

"We've got a few manufacturers who are standing in the way of making progress," said Los Angeles City Attorney James Hahn, who filed one of the suits.

"It's unfortunate that a few hard-line voices in the industry are delaying this effort and playing politics," said Bruce Reed, President Clinton's domestic policy adviser.

The announcement of a White House alliance with the cities had been coupled with the threat by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to help public housing authorities plagued by gun violence to file another big lawsuit if settlement talks weren't productive.

It later emerged that few of the nation's 3,400 public housing authorities had agreed to join in. Other housing authorities since have questioned the need for the suit and voiced frustration at not being consulted in advance.

Many in the firearms industry have criticized the White House move as election-year politics, and the industry has responded in kind. Pinning their hopes on a Republican victory in November's presidential and congressional elections, industry officials do not want the Clinton administration to be able to take credit should a peace accord be reached.

The industry's strong embrace of the GOP had been clearly evident this week at the annual SHOT (Shooting, Hunting, Outdoor Trade) show, a giant trade fair in Las Vegas that has attracted 30,000 people, including makers and retailers of all manner of guns and ammo, accessories and apparel.

At a "state of the industry" briefing Monday night, Robert Delfay, executive director of the National Shooting Sports Foundation, which sponsors the show and has led gun manufacturers in settlement talks, blasted away at White House officials, vowing not to "allow the most anti-gun administration in history to bully our industry."

He called on all members of the firearms industry to support a new political action committee that he said will become heavily involved in the upcoming elections.

Swiss Gun Maker SIG Plans to Sell U.S. Unit

By PAUL M. BARRETT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LAS VEGAS — Another well-known firearms manufacturer said it hopes to leave the U.S. handgun market.

Switzerland's SIG Swiss Industrial Co. Holding Ltd. said at the industry's annual trade show here that as part of a larger restructuring, it will seek to sell its firearms businesses in Europe and the U.S.

Asked if the costs and risks related to pending municipal litigation against the gun industry in the U.S. played a role in the decision to exit from the American firearms market, SIG executive Dieter Strich said "a lot of factors" were considered. SIG's American unit has been named as a defendant in some of the municipal lawsuits.

Gun executives at the trade show said if the Swiss company can find a buyer, it would probably be another firearms company and the sale would add momentum to the consolidation of the U.S. handgun market. SIG, which says it has an 11% share of the U.S. commercial pistol market, declined to discuss potential buyers.

In a separate development, gun manufacturer H&R 1871 Inc. said it would cease to produce handguns because of the litigation-driven increases in the cost of product-liability insurance and shipping. H&R, Gardner, Mass., had made a relatively small number of handguns and is primarily known for shotguns and rifles.

The SIG and H&R announcements follow a move in the fall by Colt's Manufacturing Co., one of the oldest and best-known gun companies in the world, to sharply reduce its production of handguns and transform itself almost entirely into a maker of military small arms. The New York investor group, headed by Donald

Zilkha, that owns Colt's also is trying to finalize the acquisition of Heckler & Koch GmbH, a German manufacturer of military, law-enforcement and civilian weapons. If that deal comes through, the owners of Colt's say, they plan to reduce or phase out Heckler & Koch's sales of civilian pistols in the U.S.

In addition, over the last year, three small California makers of inexpensive handguns went out of business or sought bankruptcy-court protection, at least partly because of the financial pressure of lawsuits filed against the industry by 28 cities and counties. The suits seek to recover the public costs of gun violence but are being used as leverage to try to force the industry to add safety features to handguns and to exercise more self-regulation in distribution and marketing.

The trade show under way here offers a snapshot of an industry both fired up and under fire. Gun executives said 1999 produced excellent sales, although most of their companies are closely held and don't release results. Beyond the healthy overall economy and some buying based on fears of year-2000 computer havoc, handgun sales were driven by consumer concern that the lawsuits and legislative gun control might limit supplies in the future, industry executives said.

Robert Delfay, head of the industry's main trade group, the National Shooting Sports Foundation, said in his "state of the industry" speech Monday that despite strong sales, the industry faced "unprecedented" legal and political threats. In response, he announced it has formed its own political action committee to make contributions to candidates in this year's elections. Traditionally, that sort of political activity has been left to the National Rifle

Association, whose primary mission is representing gun owners.

The industry has agreed to meet here Friday for another round of preliminary settlement talks with representatives of some of the municipalities that have sued, as well as officials from the Clinton administration, which has threatened to sue on behalf of violence-ridden public-housing authorities. But in his speech, Mr. Delfay attacked the White House as "the most antigun administration in history," and some executives raised the possibility that the meeting would be canceled.

The SIG announcement that it would try to sell its American firearms unit is notable because the company attracted attention just last month, when it said that it would be the first manufacturer to market "personalized" handguns. These weapons include an electronic locking system designed to allow only authorized users to fire.

The municipalities have made development and marketing of personalized, or "smart," guns one of their demands to settle the suits. SIG said it will go ahead with "limited shipments" of its personalized pistols later this year.

Once again, Clinton's solution is more officers

By Kevin Johnson
USA TODAY 01/19/00

WASHINGTON — President Clinton has addressed every big problem confronting law enforcement during his two terms in roughly the same way: He has put more people in uniform. Since 1994, the administration has:

- Financed the hiring of 100,000 more local police officers nationwide.

- Provided funding for more than 400 new FBI agents to fight terrorism after the 1995 bombing in Oklahoma City.

- Added hundreds of officers to the ranks of the Border Patrol to cut the flow of illegal immigrants from Mexico.

Clinton applied the same strategy Tuesday to the national struggle for control of firearms when he proposed the largest firearms enforcement initiative in U.S. history: a \$280 million proposal to hire 500 Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) officers and 1,100 federal and state prosecutors.

Here are some questions and answers on the proposal:

Q: Does this kind of strategy work?

A: Crime is down, there have been no terrorist incidents on

U.S. soil in the past five years, and vast portions of the Southwest border are no longer unguarded. Yet questions have been raised about the start-up time and long-term future of some of these programs.

Last year, the Justice Department's inspector general found that some local police departments had difficulty keeping officers hired under the 1994 federal plan. Last month's arrest of a suspected Algerian terrorist in Washington state also raised concern about the inadequate distribution of officers along the Canadian border.

ATF officials said Tuesday it is too early to tell how 500 new officers would be deployed, but the plan has won over a key ATF critic on Capitol Hill.

"It's about time," said Arlen Specter, R-Pa., a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee. "The first line of defense against guns is investigation and prosecution. The president is finally putting the money where it's needed."

Q: How radical is this plan?

A: Treasury officials, who oversee the ATF, say it essentially provides \$53 million for a hiring initiative that the ATF has been urging for months.

Before leaving office last

month, former ATF director John Magaw said his long-term hope was to increase the number of special agents from 1,800 to 2,400. Under Clinton's plan, the number of agents would increase by 300, while 200 inspectors (officers who monitor compliance among gun dealers) would be added to an existing force of 740. "This allows us to focus more intensely on violent crime and the people who would be trafficking in guns," Treasury Undersecretary James Johnson said.

Q: If approved by Congress as part of the federal budget process, how long would it take to implement the plan?

A: Oct. 1 is the earliest the money could be available. What's not known is how long it would take to recruit, train and hire the additional agents, inspectors and prosecutors.

Q: What opposition does the initiative face?

A: So far, one of the administration's harshest critics on gun policy, the National Rifle Association, is not ready to throw Clinton its full-fledged endorsement. "I'm tempted to declare victory," said Wayne LaPierre, the NRA's executive vice president. "But I'm not persuaded

their heart is really in (enforcement)."

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., hinted Tuesday that congressional approval might be possible. "Some additional funds for enforcement of gun laws is something Congress would look favorably at," he said, as long as the proposal's details pass scrutiny.

Q: What are the political implications of this plan?

A: Some gun-rights advocates say the election-year tim-

ing of Clinton's proposal is designed to disarm Republicans who have criticized the administration's enforcement of gun laws.

"Everything about this president is about getting a political advantage. Should this be any different?" said John Snyder, spokesman for the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms.

Contributing: Gary Fields, Wendy Koch and Laurence McQuil-

WASHINGTON TIMES 01/19/00

Clinton force to fight gun crimes

Wants more agents, prosecutors; NRA applauds idea, claims credit

By Kevin Galvin
ASSOCIATED PRESS

BOSTON — President Clinton yesterday called for the hiring of 500 new federal agents to police gun laws and 1,000 more prosecutors to focus on gun-related crimes in a move the National Rifle Association said is "right out of the NRA playbook."

In a city that drove its homicide rate down by emphasizing community policing and aggressive enforcement of firearms laws, Mr. Clinton called for \$280 million worth of new steps to combat gun violence.

Speaking to a group of lawmakers and police officers at the Orchard Gardens Community Center in Boston's Roxbury section, an area notorious for drug-related violence, Mr. Clinton issued a warning: "If you commit crimes with guns or violate gun laws, you will pay a heavy price."

He also said he will seek to expand an existing gun-tracing program from 38 to 51 cities and ask for \$30 million to create a ballistics information network to track data of guns used in crimes.

The executive vice president of the National Rifle Association lauded the effort — and said it is one the organization has been pushing for some time.

"We have been begging this administration for three years to do something about the lack of enforcement of gun laws," Wayne LaPierre said. "All the existing laws are only as good as the prosecutors who enforce them."

Mr. LaPierre questioned whether Mr. Clinton's "heart is in this" and also warned that unless Congress earmarks the money for the program, problems will ensue.

But he said it is clear why the Clinton administration moved now.

"The heat got too hot. In an election year, they knew they had to do

something about the lack of prosecution," Mr. LaPierre said.

The new measures Clinton seeks — 500 new Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents and inspectors and creation of a program to track guns through ballistics testing — represents a shift in administration strategy.

After a spate of high-profile shooting attacks by troubled killers at high schools and community centers, Mr. Clinton pushed for tougher gun-control measures in Congress. Republicans on Capitol Hill, however, raked the administration for its poor prosecution record for criminals who break gun laws.

The new plans for the budget for fiscal 2001, which begins Oct. 1, represent an effort to invest more in enforcement of existing laws on the illegal use and possession of firearms, a priority for Republicans and groups such as the NRA.

"This administration is finally coming into line with the NRA view that the laws we have on the books must be enforced," said spokesman Jim Manown. "The Clinton administration has done a poor job of prosecuting criminals who violate the nation's tough gun laws."

"It looks like they've taken a page out of the NRA handbook," Mr. Manown said.

The president urged Congress to move beyond the debate between enforcement and preventive measures and to quickly pass "common sense" gun legislation instituting background checks at gun shows, mandating child safety locks and banning the import of large ammunition clips.

"I have always been convinced that we have to have the proper balance of punishment and prevention," Mr. Clinton said.

Boston's homicide rate dropped

to a 38-year low in 1999, thanks in part to a program that allied law enforcement, the clergy, community leaders and gang members against crime, as well as greater enforcement of gun laws.

The Boston Pilot Project is credited with the homicide toll dropping from 153 slayings in 1990 to 31 in 1999. A strong economy and declining use of crack cocaine also

contributed to improved neighborhood security.

City Mayor Thomas Menino, Reps. Joe Moakley, Barney Frank and Michael Capuano, and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, all Massachusetts Democrats, and several religious and community leaders attended the address in an area where crime was down more than 65 percent last year. Attorney General Janet Reno also attended.

Pressured by Suits, Gun Makers Turn To Political Effort

AL By MICHAEL JANOFSKY

LAS VEGAS, Jan. 18 — Feeling pressure from a succession of lawsuits against gun makers, the trade organization that represents them is collecting millions of dollars from its members for legal defense and this week announced plans to support candidates and to lobby at all levels of government to fight greater gun restrictions.

Until recently, the National Shooting Sports Foundation, representing companies that make all manner of outdoor products as well as firearms, had steered clear of political entanglements over gun laws and elections, leaving the fight to the National Rifle Association, an organization of gun owners that has long taken the lead on such matters.

At the foundation's 22nd annual trade show here, Robert T. Delfay, the foundation president, said on Monday that his group would join the rifle association in opposing forces that favor more laws and regulations as a way to curb violent crime.

"Historically, we have not been politically active as an industry," Mr. Delfay said in a state-of-the-industry address on Monday night. "That must change and will change. This upcoming election will impact our industry, and we must have an impact on this election."

More than symbolic, Mr. Delfay's remarks reflected a major shift in strategy for the 39-year-old foundation, which represents more than 1,700 manufacturers and distributors of things like camouflage outfits, telescopic sites and the most elaborate of handguns and rifles.

To this point, the foundation has concerned itself almost exclusively with issues focusing on how its members do business, like regulations governing sales, marketing and distribution. By comparison, the major thrust of the rifle association has always been the rights of gun ownership, most recently supporting the enforcement of existing gun laws rather than the passage of new ones.

While the two organizations have many interests in common, they diverge on some issues, with the manufacturers backing help to the federal government in tracking guns and exploring new technologies like so-called smart guns.

And now, recent lawsuits filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and more than two dozen municipalities, the first major assault on gun makers, have forced the foundation to assert its own political agenda rather than to rely on the rifle group.

As part of an initiative, many members are contributing 1 percent of their gross sales to help the gun makers defend themselves in the lawsuits, which are trying to force the companies to make safer guns. The money has been coming in since the program was announced at last year's trade show, and in an interview, Mr. Delfay predicted that the donations could reach as much as \$10 million a year.

The recent threat of a federal lawsuit by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to force the companies into an omnibus settlement with the N.A.A.C.P. and municipalities has spurred further action by the industry group.

For the first time, Mr. Delfay said, the foundation has formed a political action committee to influence elections in November. He said efforts were under way to gather the names of customers from member companies to establish an initial list of 500,000 people who would be encouraged to support gun-friendly candidates for Congress and president, including any Republican who opposed Vice President Al Gore or the former Senator Bill Bradley.

In delivering the keynote address on Monday, former Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming, an avid gun enthusiast, encouraged industry officials to get involved in the political process. He was especially critical of the housing department lawsuit and said: "You can do something about HUD. Get yourself a new president, and you get yourself a new HUD."

He slipped in words of support for two candidates, saying that nothing would be heard about gun control from George Bush and Senator John McCain, "so remember that when you waddle off to the polls."

It was an easy sell to gun makers in the audience, for whom the gun wars have become a growing concern since New Orleans became the first city to sue in October 1998.

Since then, 27 more jurisdictions have sued the gun makers, but some have combined efforts, leaving 19 actual lawsuits. Of the four that have come before judges, three — in Cincinnati, Miami and Bridgeport, Conn.

— have been dismissed. In a fourth, by Atlanta, the product liability claim was dismissed but a negligence claim was allowed to proceed. The other suits are still pending.

"My advice is stay the course," Douglas Kliever, the foundation's general counsel, told members, whose resources are far less than those of tobacco companies, which faced similar legal action from states. "Above all, do not panic in the face of this litigation."

From the rifle association's perspective, the new efforts by the shooting group to exert political pressure can only enhance the power and influence of gun-rights proponents in months ahead.

"Any time an organization with the potential of the firearms industry can participate in elections, it is a great assist to everybody who believes in less gun control and more crime control," said James Jay Baker, the association's chief lobbyist.

He conceded that the two groups might disagree on some objectives, but he said the lawsuits "have certainly activated, invigorated and expanded the industry to look at the political and legislative landscape."

Besides threatening their business operations, gun makers here said the lawsuits have also made them a growing target of public disdain. Many blamed organizations like Handgun Control Inc., a nonprofit organization that fights for tighter gun-control laws, for orchestrating a campaign against them and distort-

ing messages that stress gun safety and crime prevention.

"We're a security company for cities, states and homes," said Ed Shultz, president of Smith & Wesson, one of the country's largest gun makers. "But we've been demonized."

As the lawsuits have been filed in recent months, individual gun makers have taken some steps like telling distributors not to sell guns at gun shows, as Sturm, Ruger & Company did this year, or abandoning the retail gun business, as the Colt Manufacturing Company has done.

Still, Mr. Shultz and executives at other gun companies said business had never been better. They said their opponents' efforts to pass new laws and file lawsuits had rallied their customers to buy more guns to show support.

"It's fair to say people are apprehensive about the future of our industry," said Jeffrey K. Reh, general counsel to Beretta U.S.A. "Having said that, many times in the past when the firearms industry has come under attack, we have not only survived but flourished."

Just how and when an agreement might arise between the litigants is unclear. Many company executives here said they did not even know what a settlement might include. Mr. Delfay and other foundation officials have already held informal meetings with officials from the housing department and cities that are suing to discuss a possible resolution.

In time, some companies might grow more anxious to settle than others — at least that was the impression conveyed by Housing Secretary Andrew M. Cuomo, who has monitored the meetings.

"Keep in mind," Mr. Cuomo said in an interview from Iowa, "there is no one group. There is a spectrum. Some are more responsible than others. Some are more political than others. All we want is for them to design and distribute safer guns. Nobody wants to outlaw guns. That is not the question."

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2, 2000

Clinton Seeks New Spending To Enforce Laws on Guns

By MARC LACEY

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17 — The White House will ask Congress for \$280 million in new spending to enforce existing gun control laws, a strategy intended to address one of the main complaints of those who oppose additional gun restrictions, administration officials said today.

President Clinton plans to announce the spending proposal, which will be part of his 2001 budget, on Tuesday at an appearance in Boston. The spending, which is subject to Congressional approval, would be used to hire more gun investigators and prosecutors, foster development of so-called smart-gun technology, improve the government's ballistics testing program and begin an antigun news media campaign.

In a joint appearance with Attorney General Janet Reno and local law-enforcement officials, Mr. Clinton will also hail new Justice Department figures showing a 25 percent increase from 1998 to 1999 in the number of firearms cases brought by federal prosecutors. The number of such cases rose to 5,500 last year, from 4,391 in 1998.

The increase in financing and the release of the new data are intended to counter a major argument advanced by the National Rifle Association and other critics of gun control laws: that new gun restrictions are not needed because scores of existing laws are rarely enforced.

"These numbers should put to rest once and for all the gun lobby's phony contention that the government is not enforcing the existing laws," said Bruce Reed, the White House domestic policy adviser.

Mr. Clinton is planning to propose a 20 percent increase in staffing at the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, adding 300 agents and 200 firearms inspectors, officials said. The agents will focus on violent gun criminals and illegal gun traffickers, while the inspectors will target "unscrupulous gun dealers that supply guns to criminals and juveniles," a White House fact sheet said.

The president will also recommend tripling the spending for the development of a national ballistics database. At a cost of \$30 million, the database, the National Integrated Ballistics Information Network, will link the firearms identification computer files operated by the A.T.F. and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Within two years, 230 local and state law enforcement agencies are expected to have access to the system.

To prosecute violators, the president's budget will also provide financing for more than 1,000 new federal, state and local prosecutors. A new \$150 million program will provide grants to state and local governments to hire gun prosecutors.

The National Rifle Association reacted cautiously to the administration's plans, embracing the focus on existing laws while repeating its opposition to new gun legislation.

"We're glad that the Clinton administration agrees with the N.R.A. that enforcing the federal firearms laws is a good thing to do," said James Baker, the rifle association's chief lobbyist.

Along with increased spending, Mr. Clinton will announce proposals in his State of the Union address next week to limit sales at gun shows, require safety locks for handguns, ban the importation of large-capacity ammunition clips and ban violent juveniles from owning guns for life. Mr. Clinton proposed similar measures last year, without success.

Mr. Reed said, "We'll continue to keep the pressure on Congress to finish the job and pass the gun bill that has been tied up in a conference committee since last summer."

The climate for such gun control bills is not expected to improve markedly from last year, analysts say, despite school shootings.

"Congress won't touch some of these measures with a 10-foot pole," said Mark Pertschuk, legislative director for the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, based in Washington. "But there is a modest chance that we can bring up some of these issues, like the gun show loophole."

Administration proposals to impose strict restrictions on firearms sales at gun shows were a source of bitter division in Congress last year.

Also last year, Mr. Clinton failed to win approval of a \$4 million program to develop smart-gun technology that would allow only the owner of a gun to fire it. The president will try again in his 2001 budget proposal, aides said. He will propose \$10 million in federal spending to spur development of the technology, which is intended to prevent accidental shootings and deter gun theft.

The Justice Department figures to be released on Tuesday show that the number of prosecutions has risen 16 percent, up from 4,754, since 1992, presidential aides said. The length of the average sentence for gun violators has also risen, to eight years in 1999, from six years in 1992.

THE VICE PRESIDENT

Gore Blends His Campaign With Service For Dr. King

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

ATLANTA, Jan. 17 — On the dais of Ebenezer Baptist Church, what he called "the high ground" of the civil rights movement, Vice President Al Gore clasped hands today with Coretta Scott King and swayed as the choir hummed "We Shall Overcome."

It was an election-year bonus, this observance of the birthday of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., an "official" tableau provided to Mr. Gore by dint of his position as vice president and one he used to advance his platform in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination.

He extolled the record of the Clinton administration in furthering the prosperity of African-Americans and their appointments to federal positions. He called for affirmative action, recalled his tie-breaking vote in the Senate in favor of gun control and lamented the Republicans' failure to confirm Bill Lann Lee as chief of the Justice Department's civil rights division.

Repeating Dr. King's summons to build "a greater economic base," Mr. Gore echoed phrases from his stump speech: "We must keep our prosperity going, not for the primary benefit of those who already have the most, but to profit at last those who as yet have so little. Like Dr. King, we do not seek to comfort the comfortable; we do not seek to give away our hard-won surplus to the powerful few, but to use it to establish justice and opportunity for the many."

Mr. Gore also announced that private donors had contributed half a million dollars to help restore the Ebenezer church, where Dr. King

preached, and that the Clinton administration would seek \$1.5 million in next year's budget to preserve and maintain Dr. King's birthplace.

Mrs. King, whose husband would have been 71 on Saturday, hailed Mr. Gore as "a compelling advocate for racial justice." She praised him for denouncing the Confederate battle flag, which flies over the capitol of neighboring South Carolina, and re-

called that his father, the late Al Gore Sr., a longtime senator from Tennessee, had opposed the poll tax and the Vietnam War.

The three-hour service featured two of Dr. King's children, Dexter Scott King and the Rev. Dr. Bernice Albertine King, who offered a fierce and passionate tribute to her mother. ("Thank you, Bernice," Mrs. King said upon taking the pulpit, "but I can take care of myself.")

The audience of a few hundred people included Alexis M. Herman, the labor secretary, as well as John J. Sweeney, president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., which has endorsed Mr. Gore, and James P. Hoffa, president of the Teamsters union, which has made no endorsement. Both served as grand marshals in a King parade here.

Gore advisers have said the votes of African-Americans are crucial to his campaign, especially in the South, and Mr. Gore has made frequent appearances here to rally blacks on his behalf.

Mr. Gore has referred to the assassination of Dr. King as an important event in his young adulthood. He was driving from Boston to Washington on spring break in 1968 when he heard the news on the car radio. He said he drove to downtown Washington to pick up his mother at a store, where protesters were smashing the windows. He described the assassination as one of the factors contributing to his disillusionment with politics. He has said he became more optimistic about the system after he worked as a reporter.

\$280M to beef

up gun control

Clinton plan comes after NRA criticism

By Laurence McQuillan
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Trying to counter critics who accuse the administration of lax enforcement of gun control laws, President Clinton will propose a \$280 million funding increase today to pay for what his aides call the largest firearms enforcement initiative in U.S. history. Clinton also will announce new Justice Department figures showing a 25% increase in federal firearms prosecutions, from 4,391 in 1998 to 5,500 last year.

White House officials acknowledged that the announcements were designed to quell gun control opponents, including leaders of the National Rifle Association, who complain that prosecution of federal gun control laws has declined 43% under Clinton.

"We're glad that the president finally agreed with the National Rifle Association that enforcing federal firearms laws is a good idea," said James Baker, the group's chief lobbyist in Washington. "But we'll monitor what he actually does closely."

In a speech in south Boston, Clinton will call for \$53 million to hire 500 agents for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. The agents would be assigned to crack down on illegal gun traffickers who supply weapons to violent criminals.

When Clinton presents Congress his fiscal 2001 budget plan next month, it will include:
► \$150 million to hire 100 federal prosecutors to deal with firearms cases and 1,000 state and local prosecutors who would be assigned to prosecute gun violators.

► \$30 million to create a National Integrated Ballistics Information Network clearinghouse. The move would merge the findings of ballistics testing now conducted by the FBI and the ATF.

► A \$10 million matching fund to support local campaigns warning of the dangers of gun violence and promoting gun safety.

Clinton earlier announced a plan to set aside \$10 million for research into the development of "smart guns" that could be fired only by their owners or authorities.

White House officials said Clinton intends to renew his efforts this year to get Congress to pass laws that would require background checks at gun shows, order child safety locks for handguns and ban violent young people from owning guns.

Liposuction death rate 'unacceptable'

By Robert Davis
USA TODAY

The death rate for liposuction, the popular cosmetic surgery performed mainly in doctors' offices and clinics, is 20 to 60 times higher than the death rate for all operations performed in hospitals, a newly published survey shows.

Hospital patients undergoing all types of surgery, including risky procedures on the sickest of the sick, die at a rate of 1 in 100,000 to 1 in 300,000.

But the liposuction survey, in which 917 plastic surgeons voluntarily reported deaths in ex-

Though the surgery is considered safe, experts say such non-hospital procedures carry added risks

change for confidentiality, shows that for every 5,000 liposuction procedures from 1994 to 1998, one patient died — 95 in all. Among the causes were blood clots, anesthesia problems and internal injuries.

More than 172,000 Americans have liposuction, a procedure in which fat is sucked out of thighs, bellies and other parts of the body, every year by board-certified plastic sur-

geons. Any doctor can perform the surgery, so the actual tally may be more than double that.

Because the surgery is widely regarded as simple and safe, the high death rate comes as a shock to patients and medical safety advocates.

"The difference (in death rates) is gigantic," says Ellison Pierce, executive director of the Anesthesiology Patient Safety Foundation, which has

been at the forefront of a national effort to reduce medical errors. "That's a completely unacceptable mortality rate."

Plastic surgeons say they have addressed many of the causes of fatal flaws. They suspect that current death rates may be half of what was found in the survey, which is reported in the *Journal of the American Society of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgeons*.

"We're on top of this problem," says Jack Bruner, a plastic surgeon in Sacramento and chairman of the society's liposuction task force. He says a more detailed study of mortal-

ity rates is under way, and results are due in two years.

Patient safety experts, however, say they are not surprised by the rate within the growing practice of office surgery.

"There are no rules for office-based surgery whatsoever," Pierce says.

Doctors must follow strict federal rules for blood and urine samples taken in offices, but there are no rules that apply to surgery in the offices. The result, Pierce says, is that "surgery in doctors' offices is rampant with death."

► Weighing the dangers, 1D

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HIGH SCHOOL CLUBS

Gay students stake their ground

Religious groups have won their battle to be allowed on campus; now another struggle tries to stop schools from drawing the line

By John Ritter
USA TODAY

ORANGE, Calif. — Religious conservatives went all out in 1984 to win passage of a federal law forcing high schools to allow Christian clubs and prayer groups on campus. Now, to the dismay of the religious right, gay students are using the same law to secure a place for their own clubs.

The number of gay and lesbian clubs meeting on high school grounds has grown dramatically, from fewer than 100 to more than 600 in just two years, according to the New York-based Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network.

But the growth hasn't come without controversy. Many principals and school boards balk at clubs for gay students alongside the chess club or the glee club and refuse to sanction them. Other school districts balk initially, then reluctantly permit such clubs rather than risk lawsuits.

Here in suburban Los Angeles, an urbscape where diversity of all kinds is as conspicuous as anywhere in the country, a rare court battle is taking shape over the limits schools can impose on that traditional mainstay of the high school experience: extracurricular activities.

Last month, the seven members of the Orange Unified school board voted to reject a Gay Straight Alliance club at El Modena High. Within days, the club's gay student organizer sued in federal court, and the board dug in for a fight.

"This club is about what goes on in real life," says Su-

zanne Wilson, 16, a straight member of the El Modena club. "It's forcing kids to think about real-life situations they'll have to deal with later on."

The battle here puts a fresh twist on an old debate: To what extent can a school regulate after-class activities that it permits? Civil libertarians say school officials cannot censor a club because they don't like its members' views or sexual orientation.

In Orange, a city of 124,000 in northern Orange County, board members set two conditions for the club to be approved: that it change its name and that sex not be discussed. The board said both conditions were within the scope of the 1984 law, the Equal Access Act. The law prohibits high schools that have clubs and that get federal money from discriminating against any club on the basis of the speech at its meetings.

"You can't say, 'We won't let the Black Panthers in because we don't like what they say, but we're going to let the Girl Scouts in because that's wholesome,'" says Anthony Scariano, a Chicago lawyer on the board of the National School Boards Association's attorneys council.

James Bowles, the lawyer for the Orange board, says calling heterosexuals "straight" offended some parents. And he says the board thought Gay Straight Alliance, the name favored by most such clubs nationwide, was a "divisive, derogatory and inflammatory" name.

Board members declined to be interviewed.

Some school districts have rejected gay-straight clubs

and have gone unchallenged, Scariano says. But in others, the Equal Access Act has proved potent.

In 1998, students at Smoky Hill High in Aurora, Colo., sued the school board to win recognition of a gay-straight club. The board agreed to students' demands before a judge heard the case. Students at Mauldin High in Greenville, S.C., had to threaten their board with a lawsuit in 1996 to get club approval. Last year, West High students in Manchester, N.H., threatened a lawsuit before the board backed down.

School districts sometimes win. In Salt Lake City in 1996, the school board banned all extracurricular clubs rather than permit a gay-straight club, a tactic that held up in federal court. All clubs, including the gay-straight club, meet off school grounds.

Typically, gay-straight clubs are open to all students, homosexuals and heterosexuals alike, and their popularity reflects several trends. More homosexuals are coming out of the closet — acknowledging their sexual orientation — at younger ages than in the past. Gay students are more visible to their classmates, and that has spawned more gay-bashing in schools, experts say.

In a survey of gay students by the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network, a civil liberties group, 91% said they regularly heard homophobic comments at school. More than two-thirds had been verbally, physically or sexually harassed because of their sexual orientation, half of them on a daily basis.

"It's the best of times and the worst of times to be gay," says Kevin Jennings, the network's founder. "There's an unprecedented level of visibility and activism, but with that an unprecedented level of backlash and opposition."

Homosexuality as a target

Gay young people may also be vulnerable to suicide. There are no national studies, but a Centers for Disease Control and Prevention analysis of Massachusetts statistics in 1997 found that gay students were more than six times as likely to have tried suicide as straight students. A CDC analysis of Seattle data found that gay students who had reported harassment were 50% more likely to have tried suicide.

In the cauldron of high school, where differences are magnified and ridiculed, homosexuality provides an easy target. Many gay students say they don't feel safe at school. But gay

COVER STORY

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Clinton Plans Gun Initiative

President Seeks \$280 Million for Enforcement of Existing Laws

By EDWARD WALSH
Washington Post Staff Writer

Preparing for a new round of skirmishes in Congress over gun control, President Clinton plans to announce a substantial increase in funding for enforcement of existing gun control laws today and will hail what administration officials described as a 25 percent increase in prosecutions for federal firearms law violations.

Clinton will announce the \$280 million initiative at a community center in Boston, the location of an aggressive federal, state and local law enforcement program targeted at crimes involving guns.

Bruce Reed, Clinton's chief domestic policy adviser, said yesterday that the new money would add 300 firearms agents and 200 firearms inspectors to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF). It would also fund the hiring of about 100 prosecutors in U.S. attorneys' offices across the country to concentrate on firearms violations and pay most of the cost of hiring 1,000 new state and local prosecutors, whose primary responsibility would be prosecuting gun-related crimes, Reed said.

The new funding would be for the fiscal year that begins Oct. 1 and, according to Reed, would be "the largest national firearms enforcement initiative in history."

The initiative also was the Clinton administration's response to gun control critics, who argued during last year's congressional debates that there was no need for new gun con-

trol laws because the administration was doing such a poor job of enforcing existing laws.

"If Congress is as serious as we are about fighting gun crime, they should put their money where their mouth is and give us additional resources to do even more than we have," Reed said. "The gun lobby has always raised this issue at the same time they've fought to deny the ATF the resources it needs to do its job."

James J. Baker, the National Rifle Association's chief lobbyist, said the organization supported increased efforts to enforce federal gun laws but that he could not comment on the Clinton initiative without knowing its details.

"I'm glad that the president has finally agreed with the NRA that enforcing federal firearms laws makes sense," he said. "We've been pushing for more enforcement of existing laws, and it's unfortunate that it took him until the seventh year of his term to finally take that seriously."

"The president has proved adept at changing his position," Baker added. "When we see the detailed budget we'll know if he has truly changed."

The two sides in the gun control debate remain at odds over how aggressively the administration has pursued violations of firearms laws. According to Reed, 5,500 firearms cases were prosecuted by U.S. attorneys in 1999, a 25 percent increase over the 4,391 federal prosecutions in 1996. The 1999 prosecutions also exceeded, for the first time during the Clinton administration, the 4,754 federal firearms

prosecutions in 1992, the last year before Clinton took office.

However, White House officials have always argued that total federal, state and local firearms prosecutions have been steadily climbing during Clinton's tenure.

"This is an absolute increase [in federal prosecutions since 1992] in a period when gun crime has dropped by more than a third," Reed said. "This should put to rest once and for all the gun lobby's phony argument. We've cracked down on gun crime at the same time we're pressing to strengthen the gun laws."

But Baker expressed skepticism about the numbers and, citing a Syracuse University study released last year, accused the administration of "presiding over the sharpest decline in the enforcement of existing federal gun laws of any administration." He said the study showed that during Clinton's first seven years in office, prosecutions for federal firearms violations declined by 43 percent.

Reed said the initiative to be announced today will include \$150 million to hire the 1,000 new state and local prosecutors, with state and local governments required to provide 15 percent in matching funds. He said the proposal will also include \$30 million to expand a national program of ballistics testing of munitions used in crimes, \$10 million in new money for local media campaigns on gun violence and safety and \$10 million for development of "smart gun" technologies that could limit a gun's use to its owner or other authorized users.

tee that all patients in the study had pancreatic cancer. "No peer review can guarantee you that," Gori said. "Keep in mind, we have not published this paper here with any pretense of scientific accuracy. It was presented as a way of stimulating interest."

A Federal Boost

Gonzalez's treatment also sparked congressional interest. In 1998, a Burton committee staffer heard Gonzalez speak on alternative cancer treatments and told her boss. Gonzalez at the time was urging Columbia University researchers to conduct a larger trial of his regimen.

"I have been interested in alternative medicine... for a long, long time," said Burton, whose wife received alternative treatment several years ago while also undergoing chemotherapy for breast cancer.

Burton held 10 hearings in two years on alternative medicine, questioning the commitment of the National Institutes of Health to studying such therapies. He was impressed with Gonzalez's efforts to cooperate with the research establishment.

A month after Burton convened the June 1998 meeting with Klausner and Gonzalez, Klausner mentioned during testimony at a Burton hearing that the NCI planned to cosponsor a trial of Gonzalez's regimen. The funding, he said, would come from NCCAM, the division of NIH created in 1992 to study alternative medicine.

Klausner said that before Burton arranged the meeting, Columbia researchers were already planning a study and had been assured of NCCAM funding.

"Congressman Burton has been consistently concerned about whether we are supportive of doing clinical trials of alternative medicine," Klausner said. "I didn't do anything other than meet with [Gonzalez] and was asked whether I would be supportive of such a trial."

Two NCI officials helped supervise Columbia's study design, and the NCI continues to provide oversight, said Jeffrey D. White, director of NCI's office of cancer complementary and alternative medicine.

But several researchers suggested that political pressure, not scientific merit, prompted the federal decision.

"We would fall over dead to get a trial like this," said Boston's Blackburn.

Unlike the cancer institute, which gives funding priority to the most promising therapies, NCCAM's budget (\$68 million for the current fiscal year) is dedicated to alternative research. Current projects include studying shark cartilage for the treatment of lung cancer, green tea as a cancer preventative and St. John's wort as

an antidepressant.

"That budget, by congressional mandate, has to be spent," Mayer said. "The real issue is, what were the pressures that led to that office being formed in the first place?"

Push for Legitimacy

Purveyors of unorthodox cancer therapies have often resisted scrutiny, but Gonzalez's fight to win scientific review has earned him the respect of some alternative medicine experts.

"If you think of him as one of the large cadre of individuals practicing unproven methods... at least the guy is collecting data," said Barrie Cassileth, chief of the integrative medicine service at Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center.

Efforts to recruit patients for the Columbia trial began early last year. But the researchers ran into an unexpected problem: patients' strong aversion to chemotherapy. Under the study's design, between 60 and 90 patients with inoperable pancreatic cancer are to be randomly assigned either to Gonzalez's nutritional regimen or to receive gemcitabine, the standard chemotherapy drug. Then, survival rates will be compared.

Such a study, called a randomized controlled trial, is considered the best way to judge the relative merits of two treatments.

But most patients have balked at even the possibility of chemotherapy. Of more than 200 cancer patients approached, only three have agreed to be randomly assigned to either treatment, said Chabot. The rest declined to enroll.

"They really come to us with a strong bent toward alternative medicine," Chabot said. "When they confront the potential to be randomized to a chemotherapy arm, they back away from the study."

Chabot said the researchers may be forced to redesign the study, enrolling all eligible patients in the nutritional regimen and matching them with comparable pancreatic cancer patients who are undergoing chemotherapy at hospitals.

He acknowledged that such a trial, called a "case-control study," could yield less conclusive results.

"It'll be easier to criticize and easier to poke holes in," Chabot said.

If the Columbia trial is not conclusive, researchers fear that more patients will spend money, time and energy on the Gonzalez regimen and similar treatments without knowing whether they work.

"If we don't do a large enough study that's well controlled," said the NCI's White, "we're going to get a muddy answer and we'll be worse off than we are now."

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Boston is model city for Clinton's plans

Housing tour, talk with street workers on agenda of visit to tout anticrime ideas

By Charles A. Radin and Ann Scales, Globe Staff, 1/18/2000

President Clinton will visit the Orchard Gardens housing development in Roxbury today to preview anticrime initiatives he will propose in his State of the Union speech Jan. 27.

The president will also meet with street workers who are attempting to combat youth violence.

It is the second time in recent years that Clinton has chosen to highlight Boston's success in dealing with troubled youth and to use the city as a backdrop for new proposals. Early in 1997, he praised the city's youth programs in a speech at UMass-Boston, in which he proposed a two-year, \$500 million set of initiatives on youth violence.

Before returning to Washington tonight, Clinton plans to attend a Democratic National Committee reception at a private home in Boston.

Eric Liu, assistant domestic policy adviser in the White House, said yesterday that the president will announce \$280 million in initiatives aimed at improving enforcement of firearms laws.

The money would provide for 500 new agents and inspectors at the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, which he said is the biggest-ever increase in funding for that agency. It would also finance the hiring of 1,000 state and local prosecutors and 100 federal prosecutors to pursue gun-related cases.

Liu said Clinton will also propose establishment of gun-law enforcement teams in 20 high gun-crime areas. The teams would consist of federal prosecutors, crime analysts, and an attorney to work on a coordinated community approach, which the White House aide called an attempt "to replicate what Boston has been able to accomplish through Operation Ceasefire ... to provide a coordinated communitywide approach that engages law enforcement at every level in an effort to fight gun crime."

Other elements of Clinton's initiative are the establishment of a national system for ballistics testing, funding of research on technology that would make guns fireable only by their owners, and funding for local antigun media campaigns.

Mayor Thomas M. Menino said yesterday that Orchard Gardens was chosen for today's event, which will begin about 1 p.m., because of the renaissance that the housing development and the neighborhood around it are undergoing. Until the current, massive overhaul was undertaken, the development, previously known as Orchard Park, was a hotbed of crime and violence, and was one of the least desirable low-income housing complexes in the city.

"Now people want to live there," Menino said. "Everything the president and vice president have been talking about for the last seven years" in the area of urban reconstruction "is there at Orchard Gardens: economic opportunity, better education, a safe neighborhood."

Major assistance for the renovation of Orchard Gardens has come through the federal government, which has committed about \$50 million to assist the redevelopment of the housing complex into units for rental and for ownership. A similar makeover is being attempted at Mission Main.

In addition to the housing funds, because the Orchard Gardens area is part of the city's empowerment zone, federally assisted low-income loans and grants for economic development and human services also are available there.

After his speech, the president is to meet with Boston's street workers, who have been the city's front-line in its widely recognized efforts to reduce youth gang activity and related crime and violence.

"The street workers are one of the most important groups we have," Menino said. "The kids trust them. They can talk with them. He wants to see how it works."

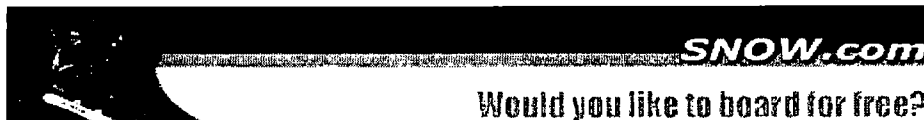
The mayor said particular attention may be paid to Boston's programs for girls, as the need for such programs nationwide has not received the same recognition as programs for boys.

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National News

Clinton will outline \$280M anti-gun measure on Roxbury tour **by Andrew Miga**

Tuesday, January 18, 2000

President Clinton, previewing part of his upcoming State of the Union address, today will roll out a new \$280 million anti-gun initiative during his Roxbury visit.

"It all boils down to one basic message: more prosecutors and fewer guns on the streets," said White House deputy domestic policy adviser Eric Liu. "That's our basic formula for bringing down crime."

More than half of the funding will be to hire 1,000 new federal, state and local prosecutors who will focus on gun cases.

Clinton, during his visit to Orchard Gardens Community Center, will also highlight new statistics showing prosecutions for federal firearms cases by U.S. attorneys were up 25 percent in 1998 and 1999.

Among the crime-fighting proposals the White House said Clinton will unveil:

\$150 million for 1,000 prosecutors;

Funding for 500 new Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents and inspectors to crack down on illicit sales at sites such as gun shows and from dealers;

Expand the federal government's 38-city comprehensive gun-tracing program to 50 cities;

\$30 million to develop the nation's first integrated ballistics testing system, which Liu compared to "a fingerprint system for bullets;"

Doubling to \$10 million federal funds for research and development of so-called "smart gun" technology that limits who can use a particular weapon;

\$10 million in matching grants for local anti-gun media campaigns.

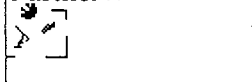




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Clinton Announcing New Gun Program

Partners:



By Kevin Galvin
 Associated Press Writer
 Tuesday, Jan. 18, 2000; 7:41 a.m. EST

WASHINGTON — President Clinton is asking Congress for \$280 million in additional funds to hire 500 Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents and inspectors and create a program to track guns through ballistics testing.

"We're at a moment where crime rates across the country are going down, but the message that we feel is important to send is that we've got to keep our vigilance up," said Eric Liu, the White House deputy domestic policy adviser. "We have to do all that we can to strengthen our enforcement efforts and crack down on gun criminals."

Clinton was announcing the program to hire 500 more ATF personnel today in Boston. The appearance at the Orchard Gardens Community Center in Boston's Roxbury section also was expected to highlight Clinton's community policing initiative.

The emphasis on law enforcement represented a subtle shift in the administration's efforts to curb gun violence.

After a spate of high-profile shooting attacks by troubled killers at high schools and community centers, Clinton pushed for tougher gun-control measures in Congress. But legislation has stalled over such issues as how to extend Brady law background checks to gun shows or whether to require safety locks on handguns.

Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder said today the administration's approach has produced results. "We've increased the number of federal prosecutions from 1998 to 1999 by 25 percent and the overall rate of gun violence has gone down about 35 percent since 1992," he said on ABC's "Good Morning America."

"We have a gun violence rate now that is at historic lows but we think that we can take it even lower," Holder said.

Wayne LaPierre of the National Rifle Association questioned whether the administration really plans to go after gun criminals. "While I applaud what they're doing — they seem to be embracing it — I want to look real hard at this to see that they have had a change of heart and want to make this a way of life," he told ABC.

Outlining plans for his final year in office, Clinton last week alluded to new projects aimed at curbing gun violence. The administration already announced a request for \$10 million to develop "smart guns" that fire only when held by their owners. A similar request died in

Congress last year.

The new plans for the budget for fiscal year 2001, which begins Oct. 1, represent an effort to invest more in enforcement of existing laws on the illegal use and possession of firearms, a priority for Republicans and groups such as the National Rifle Association.

"These things are all overlapping armor," said Liu. "I don't think it makes sense to focus on one piece to the exclusion of others."

Clinton intended to ask Congress to hire the new ATF agents and inspectors and 1,000 more federal, state and local prosecutors to focus on gun-related crimes.

He also will seek to expand an existing gun-tracing program from 38 to 51 cities and ask for \$30 million to create a ballistics information network to track ballistics data of guns used in crimes.

By maintaining records of unique markings each gun barrel leaves on bullets, investigators could track firearms used in crimes to their purchasers, even if that person had passed the weapon to another individual.

Boston's homicide rate dropped to a 38-year low in 1999, thanks in part to a program that allied law enforcement, the clergy, community leaders and gang members against crime.

The Boston Pilot Project is credited with the homicide toll dropping from 132 slayings in 1990 to 31 in 1999. A strong economy and declining use of crack cocaine also contributed to improved neighborhood security.

Mayor Thomas Menino, Rep. Michael Capuano and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, all Democrats, and several religious and community leaders were expected to attend the address at the Orchard Gardens, in an area where crime was down more than 65 percent last year, officials said.

In his Roxbury appearance, Clinton also was expected to stress the success of his 1994 crime-fighting package, which provided money for 100,000 community police officers. The fiscal 2000 budget includes funds for 50,000 more.

Afterward, Clinton was addressing a Democratic National Committee fund-raising reception at a private residence in a Boston suburb.

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Yellow Pages

FY 2001 Gun Initiatives
Q&A
January 18, 2000

Chris
D'Amico

General

Q: Aren't you making this announcement as a response to the NRA's accusation that you aren't enforcing the laws?

A: Not at all. We have been enforcing the laws, and today's firearms prosecution data confirm that we've significantly increased federal firearms prosecutions. [The number of firearms prosecutions is now higher than in 1992 by nearly 16 percent.] Moreover, my sweeping firearms enforcement initiative in the FY 2001 budget demonstrates that we are absolutely committed to doing even more on enforcement, to give federal, state, and local law enforcement more and better tools to enforce our gun laws and crack down on violent gun criminals and illegal gun traffickers. I hope that we can count on the NRA to support our aggressive initiative. But importantly, I have always believed that it's a false choice to choose between enforcing current laws and supporting legislation to strengthen them as well. I will continue to push for my budget proposals and new legislation – and I hope that those who have used enforcement as an excuse not to pass common sense gun laws will revisit their position in view of today's initiatives.

Federal Firearms Prosecutions

Q: How do you explain the steep increase in federal firearms prosecutions? Are they higher than when you came to office?

A: We believe that the new statistics show that U.S. Attorneys have redoubled their efforts to focus on targeting gun crime and violence in this country – and show that we are serious about enforcing the laws against dangerous gun criminals and illegal gun traffickers. The number of federal firearms cases is also higher than in 1992 by nearly 16 percent progress in this area. There are a number of factors that have helped to lead to this increase. I believe a key factor has been strengthened coordination between our U.S. Attorneys and state and local prosecutors to target gun criminals in the community and refer them for appropriate prosecution; this collaboration has resulted in more federal prosecutions in some areas, as well as increased prosecution by state and local prosecutors.

But I think it's important to remember that the phenomenal success we've experienced in reducing gun crime shouldn't be measured by firearms prosecution numbers alone. Tough prosecutions, law enforcement efforts to deter gun crime, and preventing guns from getting into the wrong hands in the first place – through Brady background checks and other common sense gun measures – have all contributed to the remarkable 35 percent decline in gun-related crime nationwide since 1993.

Q: Why are you saying that firearms prosecutions are up when the number of defendants is nearly identical to the number of defendants prosecuted in 1992?

A: First of all, the number of federal firearms cases prosecuted by U.S. Attorneys has, in fact, increased from 4,754 in 1992 to 5,500 in 1999 – a 15.7 percent increase. In the last year alone (1998 to 1999), we increased the number of federal firearms prosecutions by over 25 percent, and the number of defendants prosecuted also increased by 20 percent. While it is true that the number of defendants prosecuted in 1999 is about the same as 1992, it is also true that the federal prosecutors have substantially increased prosecutions of more serious gun criminals. In 1999, the number of federal gun defendants sentenced to 5 years or more was 41 percent higher than in 1992, and the average sentence length increased by more than two years. This shows that our federal prosecutors are targeting more dangerous gun offenders for prosecution, and that dangerous gun criminals prosecuted by federal prosecutors today are taken off the street for a longer time.

Q: Do you know how many of these cases are prosecutions for individuals denied a sale due to a Brady background check?

A: We do not yet have the breakdown yet on the types of cases, but the Justice Department should be able to provide it in the near term.

DOJ Budget Proposals

Q: Why does the Administration provide funding for more new local gun prosecutors than new federal prosecutors?

A: The overwhelming majority of firearms cases – as with other violent crime cases-- are handled by local and state prosecutors. In many cities, local and federal prosecutors are forming successful partnerships to reduce gun violence by targeting the most serious gun criminals for federal prosecution in appropriate cases. For example, in some instances, federal penalties for armed career criminals and illegal gun traffickers are more severe, and should be handled for federal prosecution. My budget maintains the appropriate federal-local balance and significantly enhances resources for prosecutors across the board to bolster prosecutions overall.

Q: How would your local gun prosecutor program work?

A: The Justice Department program would provide state and local prosecutors' offices with three-year grants to fund the hiring of attorneys to work closely with the community and local law enforcement authorities to focus on prosecuting gun-related crimes. The program would operate similarly to our successful COPS program, requiring a local match for communities applying for them and requiring localities to retain the gun prosecutors beyond the three-year grant period.

Q: What will the 1000 new Federal gun prosecutors be doing? What are “enforcement teams”?

A: This initiative calls for an increase of over 1000 federal gun prosecutors to work in the offices of U.S. Attorneys across the nation on gun-related cases. In addition, 20 new enforcement teams, consisting of federal prosecutors and crime analysts, will be deployed into high gun crime communities. Enforcement teams will form partnerships between federal and local prosecutors, ATF and other national, state and local law enforcement and community leaders to analyze and identify key sources of community gun crime problems; coordinate enforcement efforts; expand access to crime-fighting tools, like crime gun tracing, to help crack down on illegal gun traffickers; and target the most serious gun offenders for federal prosecution. Such partnerships have had dramatic success reducing gun violence in communities across the nation modeled after programs such as Boston’s “Operation Ceasefire.” In addition, programs such as Richmond’s “Project Exile” have had an impact on gun violence through utilizing enhanced federal penalties for armed career criminals to deter and incarcerate gun criminals.

Q: What more can you tell us about your smart gun technology proposal in the budget?

A: My budget includes \$10 million in new funds for the Justice Department’s National Institute of Justice (NIJ) to fund the expansion, testing, and replication of “smart gun” technologies. Smart gun technologies limit a gun’s use to the proper owner – preventing accidental gun death, theft, and other unintended gun use. Several handgun manufacturers have already started to experiment with smart gun technologies.

NIJ has already formed a partnership with Colt’s Manufacturing, which has resulted in the development of a smart gun prototype. My budget will help to build additional partnerships with gun manufacturers to help speed the availability of smart gun technology to the average consumer.

Once smart gun technology is fully developed and tested, it can help prevent law enforcement officers from having their weapons used against them, and accidental gun death and injuries from children who obtain access to a gun.

ATF Budget Proposals

Q: Why did the Administration previously cut ATF funding?

A: While there was a brief time when we believed it was appropriate to direct resources toward other law enforcement priorities, since then, we have been providing steady increases to ATF. Today’s announcement represents the largest budget increase in ATF’s history, helping to make it stronger than ever before.

Q: How many ATF agents and inspectors are there currently? How large of an increase does this represent?

A: The President's initiative provides funding for 300 new ATF firearms agents, and represents a 23% increase over the 1,287 agents currently working on firearms enforcement at ATF. The President's initiative would double the current number of ATF firearms inspectors by providing funding for 200 new inspectors.

Q: What specifically will the new 500 ATF agents and inspectors do?

A: The new agents and inspectors will complement many of the initiatives we are announcing today. For example, new agents will be deployed to cities participating in the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative, using tracing data to pursue illegal gun traffickers; ATF agents also will join the gun enforcement teams we are proposing to create out of the U.S. Attorneys' offices in 20 high gun crime areas. In addition, ATF agents will work with communities to carry out intensive firearms prosecutions strategies that focus on the most violent offenders and illegal gun possessors, like Richmond's Project Exile. And finally, new agents will add strength to ongoing efforts to target illegal gun trafficking at gun shows, gun stores, and on the street.

New inspectors will allow ATF to conduct more inspections of gun dealers who are the source of crime guns to criminals and juveniles; make more criminal referrals for further law enforcement investigations against unscrupulous gun dealers; and enhance their current ability to issue more frequent warnings and revoke more licenses, where appropriate.

Q: What is the Administration proposing on ballistics testing and how will it be funded?

A: My request will triple current funding to \$30 million for ballistics testing, to fund a groundbreaking National Integrated Ballistics Information Network (NIBIN) that will eventually give every law enforcement agency in the nation access to valuable information on gun criminals. Ballistics testing is a successful crime-fighting tool that enables police to use the unique "fingerprints" of bullets or shell casings left at the scene of a crime to identify violent criminals and illegal gun traffickers – even in the absence of a firearm. This initiative creates a groundbreaking partnership between ATF and the FBI to increase access to nearly one million ballistic images to 230 law enforcement agencies across the nation within a two-year period. These two systems combined have helped advance over 16,000 gun crime investigations in over 40 states.

Q: What is ballistics testing and how does it work?

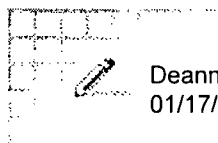
A: Ballistics testing makes it more difficult for criminals to cover up crimes committed with firearms than ever before. Similar to a fingerprint identification system, ballistics systems maintain databases of the unique markings that are left on every bullet and

casing when fired from a gun. Using this technology, an examiner can match bullets to firearms used in crimes across the nation in seconds. Ballistics databases give police the tools they need to use bullets or casings left at the scene of a crime to identify criminals or the illegal gun traffickers who supply the firearms criminals -- even in the absence of a firearm. They also help link criminals found in possession of firearms to crimes they may have committed with the same gun in other jurisdictions on the network. In some cases, criminals identified through ballistics testing have been successfully linked to murders and other violent crimes in several states.

Gun Lawsuit Talks

Q: What is the status of your discussions with the gun industry and the cities that have filed lawsuits? What more can you tell us about the meetings you've had? And what do you plan to discuss at the gun industry's Shot Show this week?

A: As we've made clear before, the White House intends to engage the gun industry in negotiations. We've had some preliminary discussions, and want to engage as many members of the gun industry as we can to achieve meaningful reforms to the way the gun industry does business. Some of the reforms we are seeking include tightening distribution controls to prevent firearms from reaching the illegal market, improving the design and safety of firearms to prevent accidents and unintended uses, and halting the practice of marketing to criminals and juveniles. In sum, we want real reforms that will improve public safety and save lives.



Deanne E. Benos
01/17/2000 03:09:05 PM

CRIMES -

ENFORCEMENT

Record Type: Record

To: Eric P. Liu/OPD/EOP@EOP
cc: leanne a. shimabukuro/opd/eop@eop, anna richter/opd/eop@eop
bcc:
Subject: Re: boston stats

YOUR QUESTIONS:

(1) **JUVENILE GUN HOMICIDES:** There were no juvenile gun homicides in Boston from July 1995 to December 1997. (Note: MA law defines juvenile as under 16 years old. Also, Ceasefire didn't start until 1996. . . .)

(2) **"OPERATION CEASEFIRE":** David Kennedy says that we are absolutely permitted to call the entire initiative "Operation Ceasefire." (It has since enveloped the "Boston Gun Project." Ceasefire has 2 strategic components: (1) "doing something about gun trafficking;" and (2) "telling gangs to stop."

STATISTICS:

BOSTON and ROXBURY --

(1) **BOSTON:** Under Operation Ceasefire, which began in May 1996, murders of youth (under 24) are down 63% -- most of which are gun-related. Murders of adults are down 50% -- most of which are gun-related. (these figures are through June 1998.) And, you can say that the homicide rate has continued to decline. (but no official reports released yet.) SOURCE: David Kennedy.

(2) **ROXBURY GUN CRIMES:** Through November 1999: As a result of Operation Ceasefire and federal partnerships, gun crimes (including homicide, aggravated assault and robberies) are down by over 70% in Roxbury since 1990. Depending on our message, if we want to focus on Operation Ceasefire specifically, then gun crime is down 41% in Roxbury since 1996 when Ceasefire started.

(3) **BOSTON GUN CRIMES:** Through November 1999: Since 1990, gun crimes (homicide, aggravated assault and robberies) are down citywide by 64%. Since Operation Ceasefire, they are down over 25%. Since 1993, they are down over 50%.

BACKUP DATA --

ROXBURY: Gun crimes (homicide, aggravated assault and robberies)

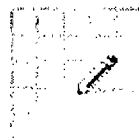
1990	826
1991	714
1992	645
1993	541
1994	517

1995	503
1996	400 (year that Ceasefire began)
1997	263
1998	235
1999	236

BOSTON: Gun crimes (homicide, aggravated assault and robberies)

1990	2,626
1991	2,328
1992	2,126
1993	1,963
1994	1,867
1995	1,587
1996	1,347 (year that Ceasefire began)
1997	998
1998	896
1999	937

Eric P. Liu

 Eric P. Liu
01/17/2000 02:08:16 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OPD/EOP@EOP, Deanne E. Benos/OPD/EOP@EOP
cc: Anna Richter/OPD/EOP@EOP
Subject: boston stats

In addition to the stat in the Wkly, what are the other great Boston gun or crime stats?

Gun Enforcement
August 18, 1999
Question and Answer

Q: In an advertisement today, the NRA claims that you are not prosecuting or arresting any of the hundreds of thousands of individuals who illegally tried to purchase guns but were stopped by Brady background checks. They also claim that you have ignored their request to expand Richmond's Project Exile. Instead of focusing on enforcement of existing laws, you have been focused on passing new laws. What is your response?

A: We think the facts on our record speak for themselves. Our Administration has focused on putting gun criminals behind bars, as well as preventing them from getting guns in the first place. Since the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) was implemented last November, the FBI has been actively referring cases to ATF and state and local law enforcement for further investigation and potential prosecution. Ultimately, we won't take every case, but we have asked Congress for more funds to hire ATF agents and federal prosecutors to do the best follow-up possible.

On this issue, it is unwise to take the gun lobby at its word. Let's review the facts:

More gun criminals are doing time. The number of gun criminals doing time in state and federal prisons is up by 25 percent since 1992 (from 20,681 to 25,186), and the number of serious gun criminals (those serving sentences of 5 or more years) in federal prison is up by nearly 30 percent. This is because we work more closely with state and local law enforcement – who investigate and prosecute most gun crimes – to vigorously enforce gun laws.

This Administration has increased funding for state and local law enforcement by more than 500 percent, helping to put more officers on the street who can enforce the law, and has assisted state and local law enforcement trace a record number of crime guns.

The Brady Law has stopped over 400,000 illegal gun sales. Two-thirds of the illegal gun sales we stop involve persons who have been previously convicted or are currently indicted for a felony crime. It is completely reasonable to assume that, by stopping criminals from buying guns, we have prevented gun crimes and violence. Prior to passage of the Brady Law – which the NRA strongly opposed -- guns were bought and sold on the honor system

Gun crimes are down by virtually every measure. FBI crime statistics confirm that, since 1993, gun-related crime is down by more than 25 percent. The overall number of violent crimes is down, and so too is the percentage of violent crimes committed with guns. The national homicide rate is at its lowest level in 30 years.

STATE + FED CRIMES ↑ 25%
SERIOUS GUN CRIM/FED ↑ 30%.

We've proposed and support increased federal funding for investigation and prosecution of gun crimes. We increased funds for new ATF agents and more federal prosecutors in our budget. Yet the Republican Congress has failed to increase funding for federal prosecutors. Unfortunately, the gun lobby and critics of our enforcement record have not backed up their tough talk with real support for the resources we need to continue to strengthen gun enforcement.

THE ATLANTA MASSACRE

SQUEEZING OUT THE BAD GUYS

How ATF and local police have dramatically turned the tide in the battle against crime guns

By ERIK LARSON

ONCE I WAS A GUN GUY. OR AT least I tried to be. In 1992 and 1993, while researching a book on the forces that propelled guns into the hands of killers, I immersed myself in America's gun culture. I learned to shoot, haunted gun shows and went so far as to get myself a gun dealer's license just to see how easily such licenses could be obtained. The deeper I ventured into the culture, the more it seemed to me that the nation had bent over backward to ensure a brisk flow of guns to felons, wife killers and assorted other lunatics.

Things have changed mightily, although there are still inexplicable gaps in federal regulation. The law, for example, allows gun owners to sell firearms from their personal collection without subjecting the buyer to the kind of criminal background check that a licensed dealer would have to invoke if selling exactly the same gun. This

loophole has turned flea markets and gun shows—and the Internet—into Quick Marts for anyone needing an untraceable handgun. Guns remain exempt from consumer-product safety regulations, although those rules apply to toy guns. And penalties for crooked dealers still fail to recognize the societal costs of illegal gun sales. Says David M. Kennedy, a Harvard expert on gun commerce: "You can get more time for selling crack on a street corner than for putting thousands of guns on the street."

Over the past few years, however, as the public backlash against guns has grown louder and louder, police, federal agents and social scientists have together waged a quiet war against gun crime that has been dramatically successful, albeit in ways that tend to be obscured by such atrocities as last week's shootings in Atlanta. It has been a subtle, deeply nuanced campaign involving tactics as simple as knocking down walls—literally—in field offices of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. Nonetheless, it has caused a tectonic

change in how police around the country view gun crime. Now police routinely ask a basic question that, contrary to popular belief, they used to ask only rarely: Where did the bad guys get their guns?

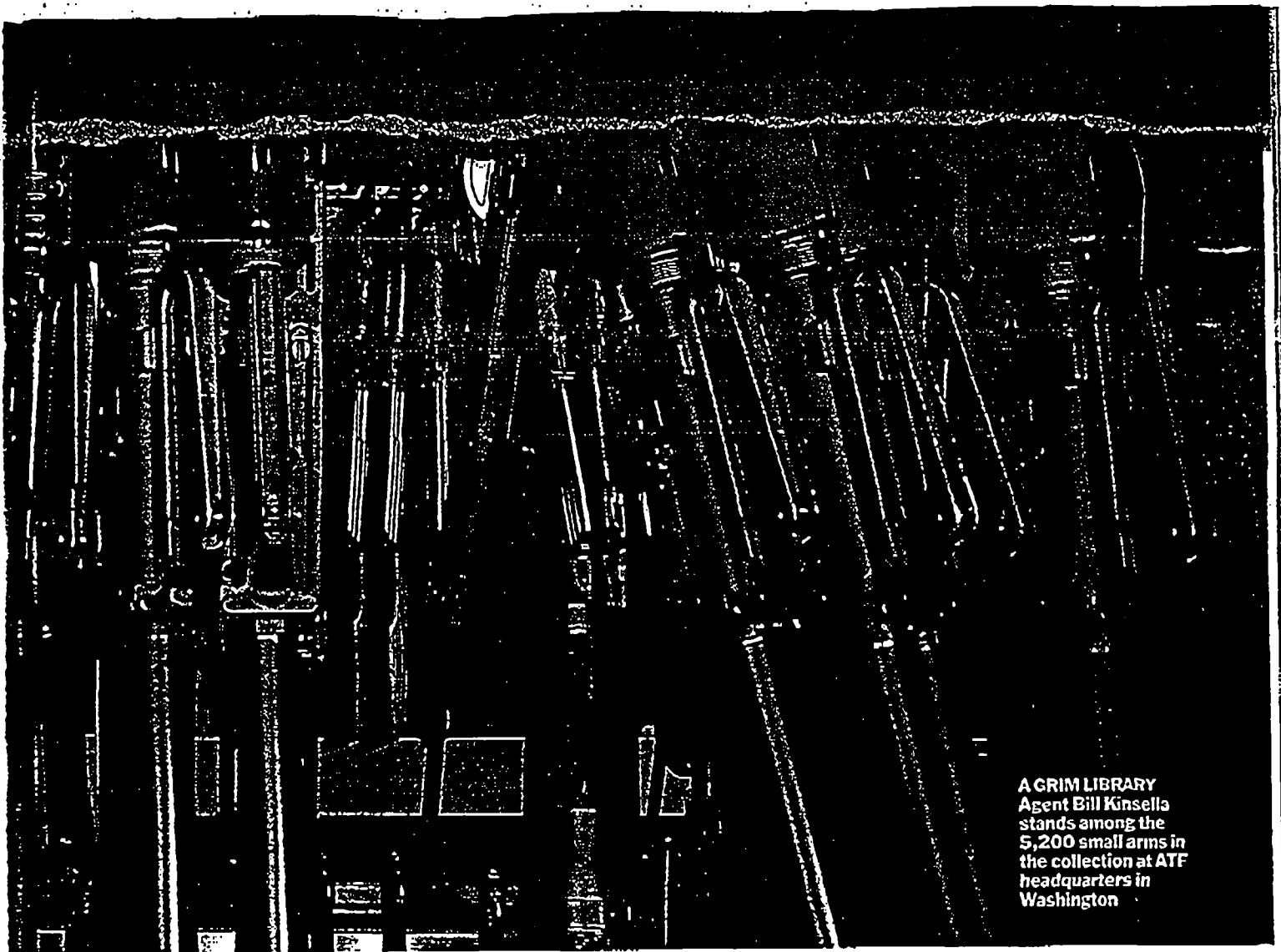
Consider:

► In 1994 America had 198,848 licensed gun dealers. Most were so-called kitchen-table dealers operating out of their homes with virtually no ATF oversight. By the end of last year, the number of licensed gun dealers had fallen to 74,220.

► The sudden decline in the number of dealers contributed to an equally dramatic decline in handgun production. That's significant because street cops and criminologists have long suspected that more guns on the street lead inevitably to more shootings. Between 1993 and 1997, production of pistols, the style of gun most preferred by youthful killers, fell more than 50%, from 2.3 million a year to just over 1 million. The steepest drops occurred in California's notorious "Ring of Fire," a handful of companies that make cheap Saturday night specials.

► Last November the Brady law's "permanent" provisions kicked in, requiring dealers to run the identity of every buyer through the FBI's National Instant Check

Crime -
Enforcement



A GRIM LIBRARY
Agent Bill Kinsella
stands among the
5,200 small arms in
the collection at ATF
headquarters in
Washington

System or a comparable state system. As of July 14, the FBI's system alone had denied 50,416 attempted purchases.

► In a concerted effort to track the flow of guns, ATF and police in America's largest cities launched a campaign to trace every crime gun the police recovered, part of ATF's Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative, nicknamed Yogi. The number of guns followed through the bureau's national tracing center increased more than 400%, to 197,537 last year, from 37,181 in 1990. Yogi fractured long-held myths and gave police a much clearer picture of how guns really migrate—so much clearer that at least 20 cities and counties felt empowered to file tobacco-style liability lawsuits targeting the firearms industry. Until lately, says Harvard's Kennedy, "we were blind men groping around in the dark."

Fundamental to these changes was a revolution in the way law-enforcement agencies saw the nation's gun crisis, a revolution born within ATF, the agency gun owners have always loved to hate.

IN THE EARLY 1990S POLICE TYPICALLY asked ATF to trace guns only in specific

cases, often homicides. Popular wisdom held that most crime guns were stolen guns and therefore untraceable. Within ATF, however, a core group of special agents began an effort to encourage police in cities with soaring homicide rates to trace guns more frequently. Despite the sporadic tracing ATF by the early '90s had accumulated a rich database, though it had the computers and savvy to conduct only the most basic kinds of analysis. In September 1994, the bureau offered researchers at Northeastern University access to its tracing data to see how computers could be used to identify sources of crime guns nationwide. The study came up with a surprising finding: a tiny percentage of dealers—one-half of 1%—accounted for 50% of all guns traced.

In 1995 Kennedy tapped the bureau's records as part of the Boston Gun Project, an experiment to reduce the number of homicides among the city's youth. He analyzed traces of guns recovered in Boston, which a few years earlier had become one of the few cities in the nation to request ATF to trace every single gun recovered by police. "The results were just astonishing," Kennedy says. He recalls

the first meeting when he presented his findings. "I don't think I had ever seen anyone's jaw really drop before," he said.

His study showed, first, that about a third of Boston's crime guns came from federally licensed gun dealers based in Massachusetts. He and his colleagues calculated the time that elapsed between the date a gun was acquired from a dealer and the date it was recovered by police, a measure known as "time-to-crime." Agents had told Kennedy that the faster a gun completed the journey from dealer to crime scene, the more likely it was sold by a trafficker or corrupt dealer. Kennedy's team discovered that about a quarter of the traced guns had a time-to-crime of less than two years, indicating that guns used by Boston's young killers tended to be new guns. This finding dovetailed with what project members had learned in conversations with gang members. They wanted guns, especially semiautomatic pistols, that were "literally still in the shrink wrap," Kennedy says.

When Kennedy's team members sharpened the focus to individual brands, they found that guns traced to one company—Lorcin Engineering, a member of the

Ring of Fire—had a short time-to-crime in 90% of traces.

These were important discoveries. A hopelessness about gun crime had risen, based partly on the belief that most crime guns were stolen, partly on estimates that so many millions of guns were already in the hands of Americans that nothing could stanch their flow to criminals. But the discovery that crime guns were new guns and that many came from in-state dealers suggested that the migration of guns to criminals could be interrupted. And the tracing data produced a road map for how to do it.

Kennedy's computer named names. The data showed, for example, that guns bought by a single customer sometimes turned up in the hands of rival gangs, suggesting that the customer had been a "straw purchaser" who bought guns for resale to felons, kids and others forbidden by law to acquire them directly. The analysis produced the names of licensed dealers to whom an inordinate number of weapons had been traced. "Once you had all the data in one place, this stuff just fell right out," Kennedy says. "It couldn't have been more obvious."

Meanwhile, passage of the Brady law radically changed the rules governing firearms commerce. Previously, anyone purchasing a gun from a licensed dealer had only to fill out ATF Form 4473, which asked a customer a series of questions, including whether he had been convicted of a felony. If he answered yes, he could not buy the gun. If no, the dealer could sell it with a clear conscience, even if the buyer was twitching from a methamphetamine rush. No one bothered to check the answers. The

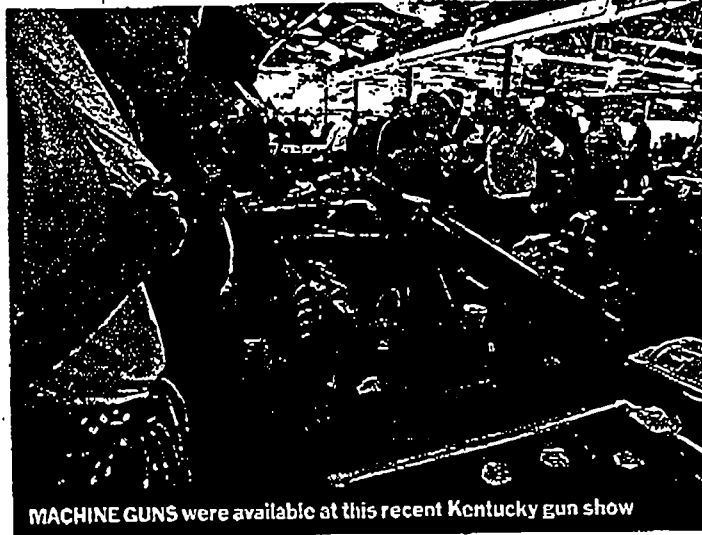
approach was absurd: the nation was asking felons to confess their ineligibility just at the point of purchase. The Brady law required for the first time that someone check the truthfulness of a customer's answers. In the process, police and dealers discovered that many gun-shop customers were convicted felons—which proved that over the years, crooks had come to see li-

three-year licensing fee to \$200. In 1994 additional legislation required, for the first time, that gun dealers had to operate in compliance with municipal and state laws, including zoning ordinances. It also required would-be dealers to notify local police of their intent to open a gun store and to cooperate with ATF investigators seeking to trace firearms. Incredibly, such cooperation had been largely voluntary.

In Boston, New York and other cities throughout the nation, pairs of ATF agents and local cops set out to visit every local dealer listed in bureau files to inform them of their new obligations. The great majority of license holders turned out to be the kitchen-table variety. Most seemed to be hobbyists who merely used their licenses to buy guns at wholesale prices. But across the nation, police and ATF, prodded by the press, discovered kitchen-table dealers who had become conduits to the bad guys, in some cases selling thousands of firearms.

In Boston as in other cities, the joint ATF-police teams took a low-key approach. They asked a few questions and explained the new laws. They did not openly threaten dealers with investigation or prosecution, but the message was there. Of the city's 99 dealers, 82 voluntarily turned over their license or did not renew their application. "I think that tells you that bottom line, maybe they weren't complying," says Paul Evans, Boston's police commissioner. "They couldn't withstand the scrutiny, so they're out of business."

Nationwide, equally dramatic decline occurred. In 1993 Berkeley, Calif., had 34 licensed dealers; in 1996 it had two. Across the Bay, San Francisco knocked its population of dealers from 155 down to 10. Three



MACHINE GUNS were available at this recent Kentucky gun show

censed dealers as an easy source of guns.

Brady drew intense fire from America's Second Amendment fundamentalists. Meanwhile, in the background, a set of quieter regulations kicked in that further transformed the marketplace.

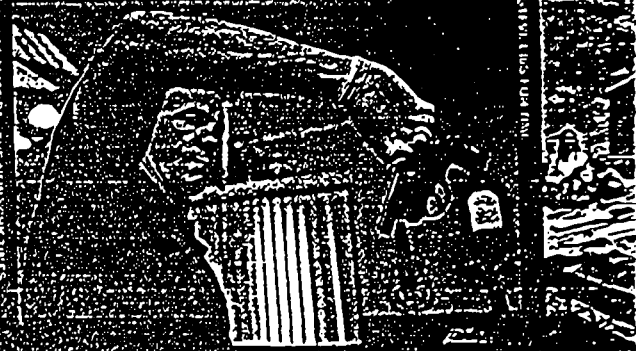
When I applied for a gun dealer's license in 1992, all I had to do was fill out a questionnaire and pay a \$30 fee. Tens of thousands of Americans did likewise—until 1993, when President Clinton directed ATF to toughen the application process, noting that a driver's license was a lot harder to acquire. In December 1993 the bureau promptly issued new rules that required applicants to submit fingerprints and photographs, and Congress passed legislation boosting the

New Tactics And Squads In the Drive Against Crime Guns

Around the country, police and ATF are coming up with imaginative ways to round up illicit arms



FRESNO, CALIF. Once rarely deployed, antiterror squads now go on routine patrols



RICHMOND, VA. The police's Project Exile exacts a heavy penalty on suspects found possessing guns

HIGHWAY expert

quarters of New York City's dealers gave up their licenses; so did 80% of Detroit's.

What effect this had on gun sales is unclear, but there is tantalizing evidence that the disappearance of these dealers contributed to a sharp reduction in handgun sales across America, particularly the cheap handguns sold by Lorcin and its peers in the Ring of Fire.

By law, manufacturers can sell guns only to licensed distributors, and they can sell them only to licensed dealers. Dealers, therefore, are the manufacturers' most important customers. Nationwide, 125,000 of those customers disappeared. Some dealers—like me—never bought or sold a single gun. Most of them probably sold only a few guns each year. Some sold hundreds, even thousands. The sudden shrinkage surely had an effect on sales and production. Says Andy Molchan, director of the National Association of Federally Licensed Firearms Dealers: "If you have 125,000 dealers who sell just four guns a year, how many guns is that?"

And the figures, though largely unreported by the mainstream press, are surprising. During the period of the sharpest decline in the number of dealers—between 1993 and 1996—overall U.S. pistol production fell nearly 60%, from 2.3 million to just under 1 million. Manufacturers of expensive, well-crafted guns reported only moderate decreases in production. Smith & Wesson, for example, actually saw its production of pistols rise more than 40% between 1993 and 1994, before its sales too began falling. Lorcin, by contrast, reported an immediate decline. In 1993 it produced 341,243 cheap pistols and became for that year the leading pistol producer in the U.S.

In 1996 it manufactured only 87,497, a 74% reduction. Davis Industries, another maker of cheap pistols, experienced an equally precipitous fall.

No one can say whether the decline in dealers and handgun production had an effect on gunshot crime in America. During the same period, however—1993 through 1996—the nationwide total of violent

ed by tracing data, Boston police and ATF attacked the illegal-firearms market. "We were able to shut down about five different traffickers right off the bat," says Jeff Roehm, an ATF official who at the time ran the bureau's Boston field office.

The bulk of the project was devoted to interrupting a street dynamic in which a relatively small core of young, violent gang members had produced a climate of fear that drove gun acquisition. A team of police officers, prosecutors, federal agents and others began meeting with gang members, putting them on notice that henceforth violence by any single member would bring down a concentrated local, state and federal assault on the entire gang. That month, Boston's youth homicide rate began to plummet. The average monthly rate from May through November 1996 was 70% lower than the monthly average before the project began. From June 1996 through June last year, the city had seven months when

not a single youth homicide occurred.

But the Boston Gun Project had a more far-reaching effect.

IN 1995, AS THE RESEARCH PHASE OF THE project was just starting, ATF was in the early stages of a post-Waco reorganization under a new director, John Magaw, who set trafficking as the bureau's primary strategic target. At about this time, Harvard's Kennedy and a Treasury Department official, Susan Ginsburg, began an extended conversation that prompted Ginsburg to lobby within Treasury, ATF's parent, for a national program of comprehensive gun tracing. She and ATF's tracing advocates envisioned tracing every single gun recovered



IN MISSOURI Two years of ATF surveillance shut down this shop

crimes committed with firearms fell 20%, the total of handgun homicides 23%. And both rates have continued falling. In 1997, for the first time, the nation's homicide rate fell below that of 1968, the year that marked the initiation of America's three-decade dance with murder.

Other forces contributed. The nation's biggest cities, armed with new tracing data and new confidence that the flow of crime guns could be halted, launched campaigns to get guns off their streets. The Boston Gun Project quickly proved one of the most successful and became a source of hope for cities around the country.

With its initial studies completed, the project got under way in May 1996. Guid-



PATROL Interdiction
confiscated goods



WASHINGTON At the field office, ATF agents review
weapons during an intelligence briefing



FALLING WATERS, W.VA. The resources of cyberspace
are at the fingertips of the National Tracing Center

by police in America's largest cities—a vision that resulted in Clinton's July 1996 launch of the Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative—Yogi—which initially set out to trace every gun recovered in 17 major cities including Atlanta, St. Louis and New York.

The studies produced on a national level the same scale of revelation that Boston had experienced. ATF and city police gun units immediately launched investigations of gun purchasers and dealers whose names appeared repeatedly in ATF's fast-growing tracing database. Every new trace ordered by police enriched the database and enhanced the power of the bureau's Project Lead, a computer-aided system for analyzing traces to generate investigative targets. Most dealers were law-abiding businessmen, but invariably ATF agents using Project Lead uncovered licensed dealers peddling high volumes of guns to gangs and other potential crooks.

High last April might not have prompted a trace request, since the suspects and their guns were found at the scene. But ATF and local police made tracing the Columbine guns a top priority. Today even guns recovered during routine investigations are likely to be traced. By the time Benjamin Smith was identified last month as the likely gunman in a series of hate shootings in Illinois and Indiana, ATF had launched an investigation of the allegedly illegal dealer who sold Smith his guns. In fact, agents searched the suspect dealer's apartment the night before Smith allegedly began his spree.

The case provided an example of a subtle change within ATF. Until recently, direct communication between the bureau's inspectors and its law-enforcement agents was rare. Magaw, as part of his reform effort, placed both functions under the command of the law-enforcement agent who

that he had noticed a recurring newspaper advertisement announcing guns for sale and listing a telephone number. The agent checked with the phone company and found the number belonged to Fiessinger.

ATF launched a formal undercover investigation and on Thursday, July 1, executed a search warrant at Fiessinger's apartment, where agents found 27 guns and rudimentary sales records. Among the names of customers was Benjamin Smith. At the time, the name meant nothing.

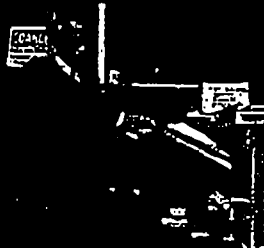
The next day, Friday, shortly after 8 p.m., this customer allegedly drove into an Orthodox Jewish neighborhood in Chicago and began shooting. He wounded six men. Shortly afterward, he allegedly drove to Northbrook, Ill., and shot and killed Ricky Byrdsong, former head basketball coach at Northwestern University, as he walked with two of his children. By the time police cornered Smith, he had al-

Searching For Proof

In the firearms and toolmark section of the Washington police department, weapons are tested to determine whether they were used at crime scenes



CATALOGED Marks and measurements are recorded



TEST The water-recovery tank receives a sample shot



RETRIEVAL Bullets from the tank are then examined

COMPUTER IMAGING The system detects links to crime

"One dirty federal firearms licensee can put volumes of guns on the street," Kennedy says. "It's just a fire hose."

THE YOGI PROGRAM QUICKLY PRODUCED leads. Agents discovered, for example, that dozens of crime guns recovered from kids and gang members in Chicago, St. Louis and Washington had all come through a Cape Girardeau, Mo., man who until February 1996 was a licensed dealer. Investigators soon discovered that he had sold about 1,100 firearms to two buyers, who resold them "off paper" at gun shows. These two fingered a man from Nashville, Tenn., who regularly bought their guns and sold them on the streets of Washington. The Nashville man later admitted selling 110 guns. Thirty were recovered by Washington police investigating a wide array of crimes.

Other cases followed, but the Yogi studies had a broader, more subtle effect. Suddenly police throughout the country began asking how guns reached their towns. Five or 10 years ago, agents say, even a massacre like that at Columbine

ran each field office. He went so far as to direct that in some offices the walls dividing cops and inspectors be removed, and that both groups share the same kitchen. He also refocused the inspection mission. Until the past year or so, inspectors dutifully worked their way down the lists of licensed dealers, examining each in turn. Now their first priority is to inspect dealers who draw the most traces. Interestingly, an ATF pilot study found that even when no further investigation occurred, these targeted audits resulted in a 50% reduction of crime-gun traces to those dealers in the year following the inspection.

Last June an inspector auditing the books of a licensed dealer in Pekin, Ill., noticed that the dealer had sold 65 cheap handguns to a single customer named Donald Fiessinger. The inspector passed the tip to a special agent, who then ran the serial number of each gun through ATF's database. He found that one of the guns sold to Fiessinger had been recovered by Illinois state police from a different possessor during a traffic stop in May 1998. In requesting the formal police report on the incident, the agent talked to a state investigator, who mentioned

legedly killed two men and wounded eight.

Later Fiessinger told police that Smith had talked about using one of the guns, a .22-cal. pistol, for hunting.

LAST YEAR ATF EXPANDED THE YOGI TRACING studies to 27 cities. In February ATF added 10 more. Each Yogi city found unique patterns, but nearly all discovered the single biggest source of crime guns was the network of licensed dealers operating within their home states. The most important effect was to replace the hopelessness of the late '80s and early '90s with a confidence that the right measures aimed at the right targets could interrupt the flow of guns to the bad guys.

Suddenly the seemingly intractable debate over gun control became a debate over "crime-gun interdiction." The tracing studies had produced a new middle ground—the crime gun—a rhetorical species no one could love. "It really is a sea change," says Kennedy. "People are now asking the right questions. So when Ben Smith went crazy outside Chicago, they wanted to know where his guns came from. Guess what—they came from an illegal trafficker." ■

Roger Rosenblatt

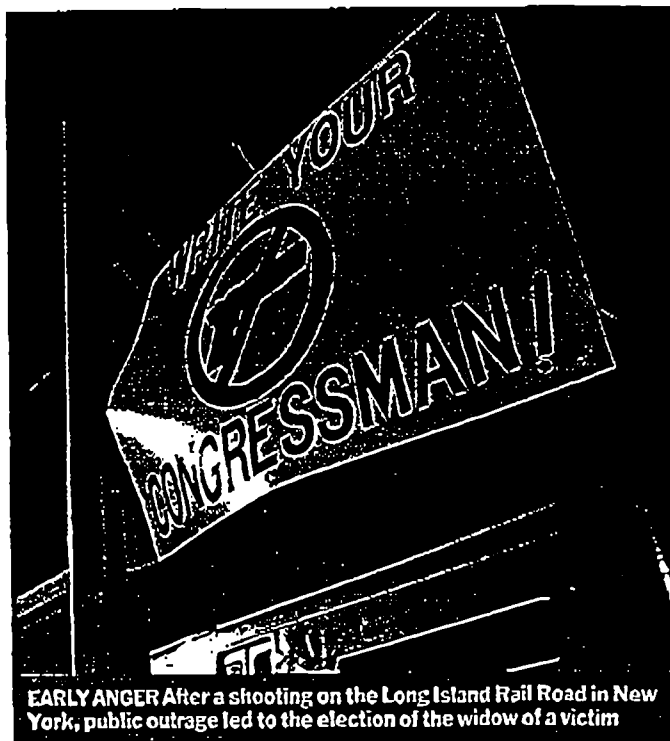
Get Rid of the Damned Things

AS TERRIBLE AS LAST WEEK'S SHOOTING IN ATLANTA WAS, AS TERRIBLE AS ALL THE GUN KILLINGS OF the past few months have been, one has the almost satisfying feeling that the country is going through the literal death throes of a barbaric era and that mercifully soon, one of these monstrous episodes will be the last. High time. My guess, in fact, is that the hour has come and gone—that the great majority of Americans are saying they favor gun control when they really mean gun banishment. Trigger locks, waiting periods, purchase limitations, which may seem important corrections at the moment, will soon be seen as mere tinkering with a machine that is as good as obsolete. Marshall McLuhan said that by the time one notices a cultural phenomenon, it has already happened. I think the country

has long been ready to restrict the use of guns, except for hunting rifles and shotguns, and now I think we're prepared to get rid of the damned things entirely—the handguns, the semis and the automatics.

Those who claim otherwise tend to cite America's enduring love affair with guns, but there never was one. The image of shoot-'em-up America was mainly the invention of gun-maker Samuel Colt, who managed to convince a malleable 19th century public that no household was complete without a firearm—"an armed society is a peaceful society." This ludicrous aphorism, says historian Michael Bellesiles of Emory University, turned 200 years of Western tradition on its ear. Until 1850, fewer than 10% of U.S. citizens had guns. Only 15% of violent deaths between 1800 and 1845 were caused by guns. Reputedly wide-open Western towns, such as Dodge City and Tombstone, had strict gun-control laws; guns were confiscated at the Dodge City limits.

If the myth of a gun-loving America is merely the product of gun salesmen, dime-store novels, movies and the National Rifle Association (NRA)—which, incidentally, was not opposed to gun control until the 1960s, when gun buying sharply increased—it would seem that creating a gun-free society would be fairly easy. But the culture itself has retarded such progress by creating and embellishing an absurd though appealing connection among guns, personal power, freedom and beauty. The old western novels established a cowboy corollary to the Declaration of Independence by depicting the cowboy as a moral loner who preserves the peace and his own honor by shooting faster and surer than the competition. The old gangster movies gave us opposite versions of the same character. Little Caesar is simply an illegal Lone Ranger, with the added element of success in the free market. In more recent movies, guns are displayed as art objects, people die in balletic slow motion, and right prevails if you own "the most powerful hand-



EARLY ANGER After a shooting on the Long Island Rail Road in New York, public outrage led to the election of the widow of a victim

gun in the world." I doubt that any of this nonsense causes violence, but after decades of repetition, it does invoke boredom. And while I can't prove it, I would bet that gun-violence entertainment will soon pass too, because people have had too much of it and because it is patently false.

Before one celebrates the prospect of disarmament, it should be acknowledged that gun control is one of those issues that are simultaneously both simpler and more complicated than it appears. Advocates usually point to Britain, Australia and Japan as their models, where guns are restricted and crime is reduced. They do not point to Switzerland, where there is a gun in every home and crime is practically nonexistent. Nor do they cite as sources criminology professor Gary Kleck of Florida State University, whose studies have shown that gun ownership

reduces crime when gun owners defend themselves, or Professor John R. Lott Jr. of the University of Chicago Law School, whose research has indicated that gun regulation actually encourages crime.

The constitutional questions raised by gun control are serious as well. In a way, the anti-gun movement mirrors the humanitarian movement in international politics. Bosnia, Kosovo and Rwanda have suggested that the West, the U.S. in particular, is heading toward a politics of human rights that supersedes the politics of established frontiers and, in some cases, laws. Substitute private property for frontiers and the Second Amendment for laws, and one begins to see that the politics of humanitarianism requires a trade-off involving the essential underpinnings of American life. To tell Americans what they can or cannot own and do in their homes is always a tricky business. As for the Second Amendment, it may pose an inconvenience for gun-control advocates, but no more an inconvenience than the First Amendment offers those who blame violence on movies and television.

Gun-control forces also ought not to make reform an implicit

it or explicit attack on people who like and own guns. Urban liberals ought to be especially alert to the cultural bigotry that categorizes such people as hicks, racists, psychotics and so forth. For one thing, a false moral superiority is impractical and incites a backlash among people otherwise sympathetic to sensible gun control, much like the backlash the pro-abortion rights forces incurred once their years of political suasion had ebbed. And the demonizing of gun owners or even the NRA is simply wrong. The majority of gun owners are as dutiful, responsible and sophisticated as most of their taunters.

That said, I am pleased to report that the likelihood of sweeping and lasting changes in the matter of America and guns has never been higher. There comes a time in every civilization when people have had enough of a bad thing, and the difference between this moment and previous spasms of reform is that it springs from the grass roots and is not driven by politicians or legal institutions. Gun-control sentiment is everywhere in the country these days—in the White House, the presidential campaigns, the legislatures, the law courts and the gun industry itself. But it seems nowhere more conspicuous than in the villages, the houses of worship and the consensus of the kitchen.

Not surprisingly, the national legislature has done the least to represent the nation on this issue. After the passage of the 1994 crime bill and its ban on assault weapons, the Republican Congress of 1994 nearly overturned the assault-weapon provision of the bill. Until Columbine the issue remained moribund, and after Columbine, moribund began to look good to the gun lobby. Thanks to an alliance of House Republicans and a prominent Democrat, Michigan's John Dingell, the most modest of gun-control measures, which had barely limped wounded into the House from the Senate, was killed.

"Guns have little or nothing to do with juvenile violence," said Tom Delay of Texas. Compared with his other assertions—that shootings are the product of day care, birth control and the teaching of evolution—that sounded almost persuasive.

A more representative representative of public feeling on this issue is New York's Carolyn McCarthy, whom gun violence brought into politics when her husband was killed and her son grievously wounded by a crazed shooter on a Long Island Rail Road train in 1993. McCarthy made an emotional, sensible and ultimately ineffectual speech in the House in an effort to get a stronger measure passed.

"When I gave that speech," she says, "I was talking more to the American people than to my colleagues. I could see that most of my colleagues had already made up their minds. I saw games being played. But this was not a game with me. I looked up in the balcony, and I saw people who had been with me all along on this issue. Victims and families of victims. We're the ones who know what it's like. We're the ones who know the pain."

Following upon Columbine, the most dramatic grass-roots effort has been the Bell Campaign. Modeled on Mothers Against Drunk Driving, the campaign plans to designate one day a year to toll bells all over the country for every victim of guns during the previous year. The aim of the Bell Campaign is to get guns off the streets and out of the hands of just about everyone except law officers and hunters. Andrew McGuire, executive director, whose cousin was killed by gunfire many years ago, wants gun owners to register and reregister every year. "I used to say that we'd get rid of most of the guns in 50 years," he tells me. "Now I say 25. And the reason for my optimism is that until now, we've had no grass-roots opposition to the NRA."

One must remember, however, that the NRA too is a grass-roots organization. A great deal of money and the face and voice of its president, Charlton Heston, may make it seem like something more grand and monumental, but its true effectiveness exists in small local communities where one or two thousand

votes can swing an election. People who own guns and who ordinarily might never vote at all become convinced that their freedoms, their very being, will be jeopardized if they do not vote Smith in and Jones out. Once convinced, these folks in effect become the NRA in the shadows. They are the defense-oriented "little guys" of the American people, beset by Big Government, big laws and rich liberals who want to take away the only power they have.

They are convinced, I believe, of something wholly untrue—that the possession of weapons gives them stature, makes them more American. This idea too was a Colt-manufactured myth, indeed, an ad slogan: "God may have made men, but Samuel Colt made them equal." The notion of guns as instruments of equality ought to seem self-evidently crazy, but for a long

time Hollywood—and thus we all—lived by it. Cultural historian Richard Slotkin of Wesleyan University debunks it forever in a recent essay, "Equalizer: The Cult of the Colt." "If we as individuals have to depend on our guns as equalizers," says Slotkin, "then what we will have is not a government of laws but a government of men—armed men."

Lasting social change usually occurs when people decide to do something they know they ought to have done long ago but have kept the knowledge private. This, I believe, is what happened with civil rights, and it is happening with guns. I doubt that it will be 25 years before we're rid of the things. In 10 years, even five, we could be looking back on the past three decades of gun violence in America the way one once looked back upon 18th century madhouses. I think we are already doing so but not saying so. Before Atlanta, before Columbine, at some quiet, unspecified moment in the past few years, America decided it was time to advance the civilization and do right by the ones who know what the killing and wounding are like, and who know the pain.

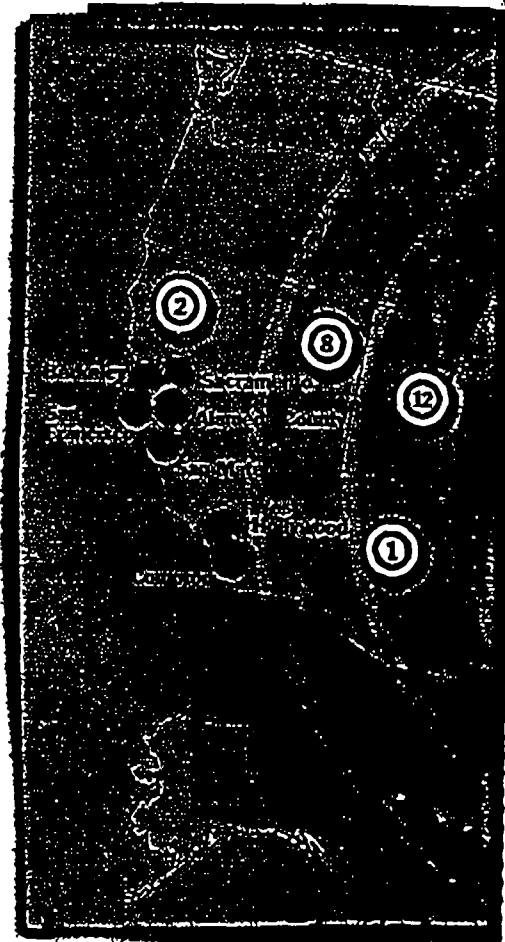


IN MEMORIAM Amid tears for the dead in the Barton rampage, reminders last week that it was the third set of shootings in Atlanta

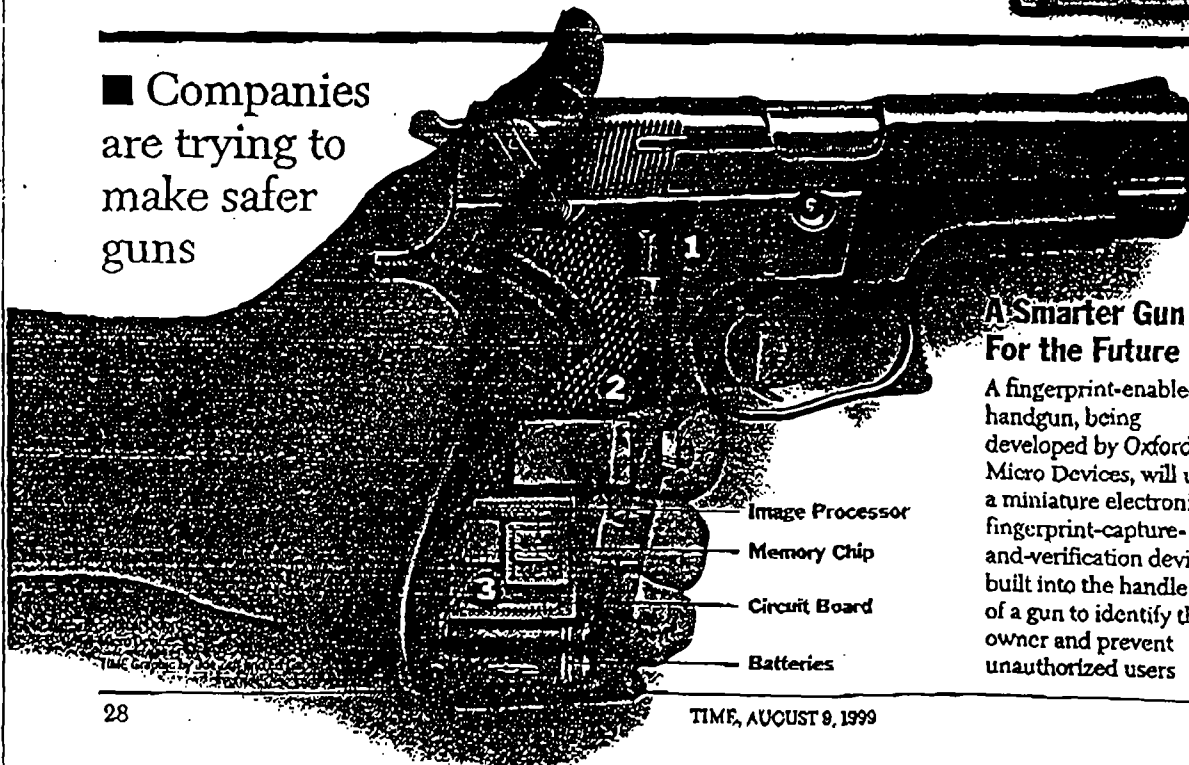
A NATIONWIDE BACKLASH

■ State and local governments are taking aim at the gun industry, either by enacting legislation or by filing lawsuits

- ① **ARIZONA** G.O.P. Governor Jane Dee Hull vetoes a bill that would have prevented cities and counties from enacting gun controls
- ② **CALIFORNIA** Gun purchases are limited to one a month; lawmakers tighten assault-weapons ban. Laws are among the toughest
- ③ **COLORADO** Legislators kill a bill making it easier to win concealed-guns permits; officials mulling new restrictions on the permits
- ④ **CONNECTICUT** A new law allows police to obtain a warrant to confiscate the guns of someone who might injure himself or others
- ⑤ **FLORIDA** Lawmakers withdraw a conceal-carry bill; Governor Jeb Bush hails law stiffening sentences of those who use guns in crimes
- ⑥ **ILLINOIS** New laws force gun owners to keep weapons secured from kids and increase penalties for those who buy guns for criminals
- ⑦ **MICHIGAN** Gun opponents plan a referendum on concealed weapons; lawmakers nix an N.R.A.-friendly conceal-carry bill
- ⑧ **NEVADA** After a longer than expected debate, legislators allow concealed guns in public buildings—but not in schools or airports
- ⑨ **NEW JERSEY** Governor Christine Todd Whitman seeks a law saying dealers can sell only "smart" handguns; the bill passes the senate
- ⑩ **OHIO** Republicans back away from a bill to ban suits against gunmakers, and the Governor says he opposes a conceal-carry law
- ⑪ **TENNESSEE** Legislators ax a bill that would have let faculty members arm themselves on campus but passes a bill to ban gun suits
- ⑫ **UTAH** Anti-gun forces are pushing a referendum on concealed weapons; poll says 80% think only police should have guns in schools



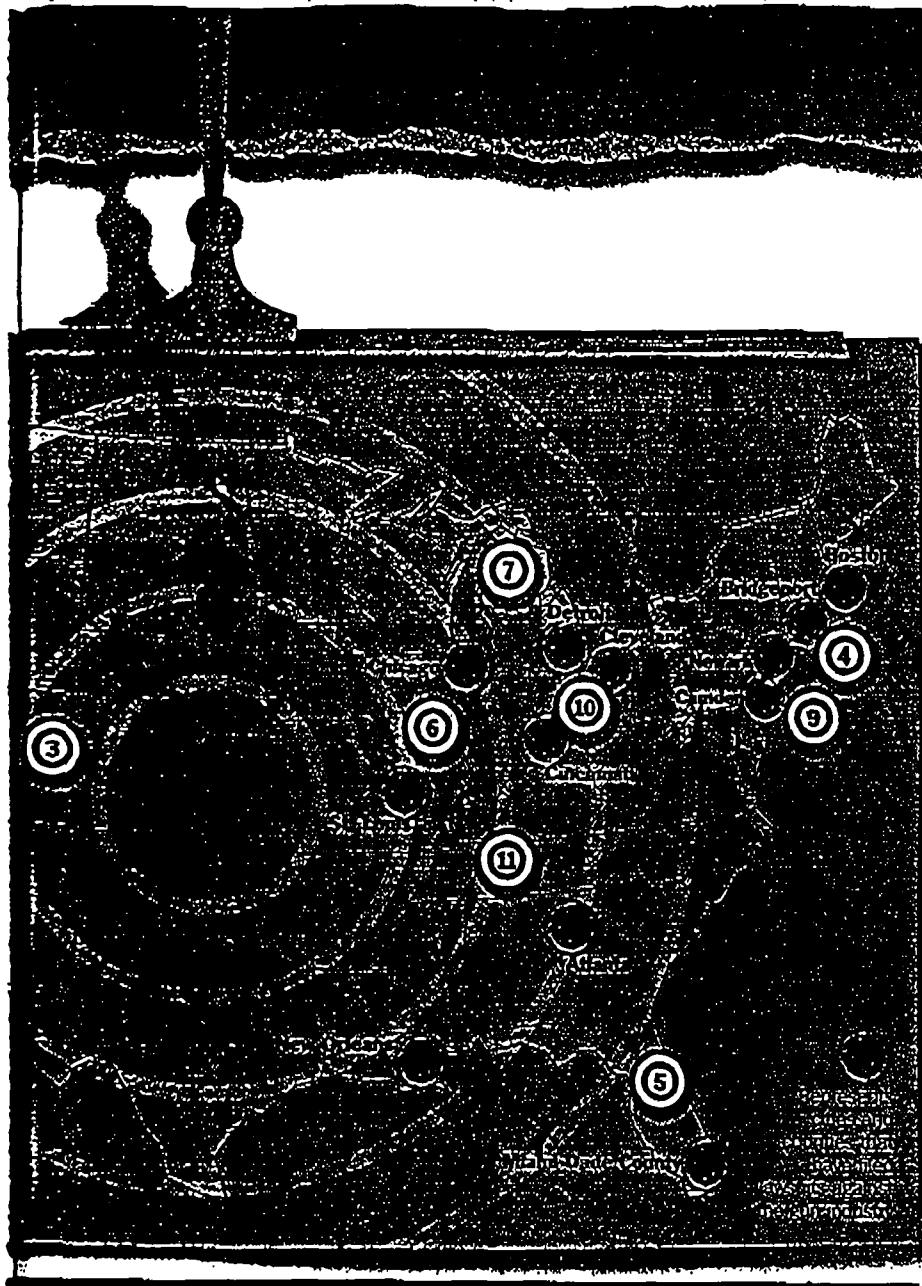
■ Companies are trying to make safer guns



A Smarter Gun For the Future

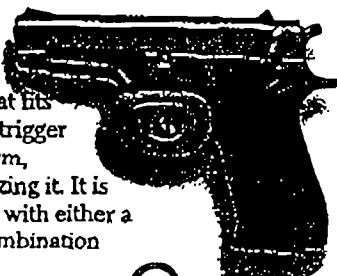
A fingerprint-enabled handgun, being developed by Oxford Micro Devices, will use a miniature electronic fingerprint-capture-and-verification device built into the handle of a gun to identify the owner and prevent unauthorized users

- ① The "latching solenoid" locks the gun's hammer and trigger, preventing unauthorized use
- ② On picking up the gun, the owner's middle finger covers a tiny red button, activating the fingerprint unit on the side of the grip. The finger also wraps over the print sensor, which it scans the fingerprint
- ③ An image-processor chip captures the image from the sensor and, with the memory chip and circuit board, identifies the fingerprint and unlocks the gun

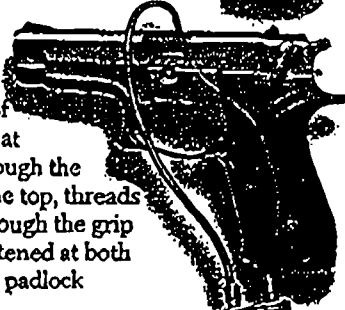


Some Current Safety Devices

The trigger lock is a device that fits over the trigger mechanism, immobilizing it. It is unlocked with either a key or combination



The cable lock consists of a cable that loops through the slide at the top, threads down through the grip and is fastened at both ends by a padlock



■ Guns are becoming a major issue for 2000

BILL BRADLEY has taken the toughest position on guns of any major candidate in recent history. He wants a license-registration system for handguns

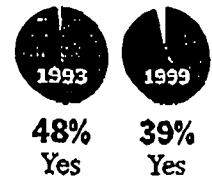
AL GORE would require licenses for buyers but not registration of the weapons themselves. Both want to ban "junk guns," but Gore doesn't attack the N.R.A.

GEORGE W. BUSH signed a law ending Texas' concealed-weapons ban. He supports background checks at gun shows but hasn't pushed for them in Texas

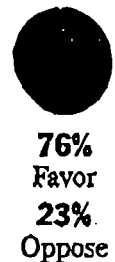
JOHN MCCAIN voted against the Senate bill that would have required background checks at gun shows. He also voted against the Brady bill in 1993

■ TIME/CNN Poll

Do you have any guns of any type in your home?



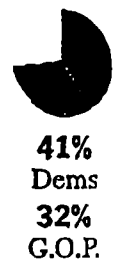
Do you favor or oppose the Federal Government's requiring handgun owners to register each handgun?



Do you favor or oppose the Federal Government's requiring people to get a license in order to legally own a handgun?



Do you have more confidence in the Democrats or the Republicans to handle the issue of gun control?



Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for a candidate who favors stricter gun-control laws?



From a telephone poll of 1,017 adult Americans taken for TIME/CNN on July 14-15 by Yankelovich Partners Inc. Margin of error is ±3.2%. "Not sure" omitted.

ATF Firearms Prosecution Referrals Drop

Study Says Criminal Cases Have Fallen Since 1992, but Picked Up Last Year

By EDWARD WALSH
Washington Post Staff Writer

There has been a steady decline during the Clinton administration in the number of weapons-related criminal cases that the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) has turned over to federal prosecutors for legal action, according to a new study made public yesterday.

The study by the Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse (TRAC) at Syracuse University, which analyzes law enforcement data, said the number of ATF referrals to federal prosecutors has dropped by 44 percent since 1992, when there were 9,885 referrals. Last year, the agency charged with enforcing federal firearms laws referred 5,510 cases to federal prosecutors, according to TRAC. Most ATF referrals to federal prosecutors involve alleged weapons offenses.

It also said that until last year there had been a matching decline in the number of federal prosecutions of ATF weapons cases, which fell from 4,108 in 1992 to 2,165 in 1997. But in 1998, that trend was reversed with the prosecution of 2,710 ATF weapons cases, a 25 percent increase over the previous year, the report said.

The TRAC researchers, who analyzed data

from the Justice Department, the Office of Personnel Management and ATF, said one reason there may be fewer criminal referrals is that ATF's work force is smaller now than it was earlier in the decade. The agency's total force has declined by 8 percent since 1992 and there has been an even sharper drop of 14 percent in the number of its criminal investigators. ATF had 2,072 criminal investigators in 1992 and 1,779 last year, according to the report.

The findings are likely to fuel the gun control debate in Congress, where opponents, such as the National Rifle Association, argue that there is no need for new gun control laws and that the administration should concentrate on enforcing existing laws.

Administration officials did not dispute the trend toward fewer federal prosecutions, but said part of this was due to a decision by ATF to concentrate more of its resources on complex investigations of major gun traffickers and less on individual firearms law violations.

A Justice Department spokeswoman, who declined to be identified, also disputed the accuracy of some of the numbers in the TRAC report. The report said that in 1998 there were 2,528 federal prosecutions under two frequently used federal firearms laws, but Justice Department records show that 5,876 defendants

were prosecuted under those laws that year, she said.

She said the number of federal firearms violators who have received sentences of more than five years in prison has increased by more than 25 percent since 1992, reflecting ATF's decision to focus more on gun traffickers.

"There is a decline in those [firearms] charges, but it is not as dramatic as portrayed here," the spokeswoman said.

"The number of low-end federal offenders is down because the ATF is strapped for resources and made a conscious decision to focus on traffickers and because the states are doing a better job so we don't have to do those cases."

An ATF spokeswoman, who also did not want her name used, said the agency experienced a 20 percent reduction in field agents between 1993 and 1997, losing some of its most experienced agents to retirement. ATF is now aggressively hiring agents, she said, but it will take time to train them and get them in the field.

The ATF spokeswoman also said that statistics on prosecutions do not reflect all of the agency's activities, which in the 1990s have included major investigations of the bombings of the World Trade Center in New York and the federal building in Oklahoma City.

CRUS —
Enforcement

THE WHITE HOUSE

OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

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CRIME-

Enforcement

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

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Participants in the Press Conference

September 15, 1999

Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-UT, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee

Sen. Jeff Sessions, R-AL, Chairman, Subcommittee on Youth Violence

Rep. David Vitter, (R-LA)

Rick Castalto, father of Rich Castalto, a student wounded in the Columbine High School shootings

Gil Gallagos, President of the National Fraternal Order of Police

Fred Russell, Deputy Police Chief, Richmond, Virginia where Project Exile started

Peggy Landry, New Orleans, Louisiana, member of several parole boards in Louisiana, victim of an attempted gun crime



News Release

JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

United States Senate • Senator Orrin Hatch, Chairman

September, 15, 1999

Contact: Jeanne Lopatto, 202/224-5225

Remarks of Senator Orrin G. Hatch

Press Conference on Release of

"Crimes Committed With Firearms"

Working Towards a Comprehensive Solution: Over 13,000 murders and non-negligent manslaughters a year are committed with firearms. Too many of the crimes involve juveniles. According to the Justice Department, the number of juvenile arrests for violent crime, including crimes committed with a firearm, exceeded the 1988 level by 48%. Our violent crime problem, and youth violence in particular, are complex problems that demand comprehensive solutions. The Hatch-Sessions youth violence bill, which is being considered in conference, presents the Congress and the Administration with an opportunity to give the American people a comprehensive response to violent crime.

Our bill makes our schools safer; it empowers parents; it recognizes the importance of prevention; and it emphasizes enforcement. It is this last component of our strategy which we are here to discuss with you today.

Part of any comprehensive solution to deal with crime must be a commitment to enforcing the firearms laws on the books. Actions speak louder than words, whether we're talking about how the government deals with gun offenders or how it deals with terrorists.

Today, I am joined by representatives of the law enforcement and victims communities. We are here to talk about the need to restore a national policy to enforce our firearms laws. I am also releasing a report entitled *Crimes Committed With Firearms- A report for Parents, Prosecutors, and Policy Makers* prepared by the majority staff of the Judiciary Committee.

Our report makes some interesting findings, reviews proven, effective enforcement policies of the past; and offers some promising suggestions for the future. For example, we found:

Criminals use firearms to commit approximately 440,000 total violent crimes each year. Available data indicates that many of these crimes are committed by repeat offenders.

Our report also found that proven enforcement programs and policies of the past have been de-emphasized by the Justice Department:

In 1991, the Department of Justice initiated Project Triggerlock, under which violent repeat offenders who broke federal firearms laws were targeted for federal prosecution. The average sentence received by an armed career criminal under Triggerlock was 18 years without parole. Yet, Triggerlock was effectively dumped. In 1992 there were 7,048 federal prosecutions of federal firearms violations. In 1998, there were only 3,807 such prosecutions.

Over the same time period, the budget for the Department of Justice, excluding some large new grant programs, increased some 54%. Thus, we appear to be paying more and getting less.

For the past three years, the Committee found that the Justice Department's total, nationwide prosecutions of criminals for transferring a handgun or handgun ammunition to a juvenile amounted to a total of 22. For possession or discharge of a firearm in a school zone -- 17. And for violations of the Brady background check provisions -- 1 in the last three years.

- The Committee also learned that the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms ("BATF") has reduced the number of referrals for federal prosecution of all firearms violations by 44%, from 1992 to 1998.

The Administration recently reported 100,000 disqualified persons--a large portion of which have a serious criminal record--were prevented from purchasing a gun since November 1998 by the National Instant Check System--NICS background checks. This means that tens of thousands of criminals may have broken existing federal law in attempting to purchase a firearm. And these criminals may be still be trying to obtain a firearm. However, the BATF has referred only 200 of these illegal attempted purchases for prosecution. That is just .2%--POINT 2 PERCENT who MAY be prosecuted.

This movement away from prosecution needs to be reversed and, despite a lack of national-level leadership, efforts are underway to do so. Local U.S. Attorneys in Richmond and other cities have continued an enhanced, localized version of Project Triggerlock with great success. Under the new version of the program, Project Exile, Richmond's homicide rates has fallen by more than 30% each year. That is what prosecution of criminals who use firearms to violate federal law can accomplish.

Project Exile was instituted because: (1) federal laws generally provide longer prisons sentences for criminals that commit firearms offenses; and (2) federal prosecutors often have greater resources to devote to enforcement of firearms statutes than their state counterparts.

CONCLUSION

Any serious, comprehensive strategy to deal with the problem of criminals using firearms must include the reinstatement of an aggressive national policy to prosecute criminals who violate firearms statutes. The report I have issued today recommends - among other things - that we do exactly what Sen. Sessions - and our other speakers - are advocating - prosecute criminals. The report recommends that we:

1. Restore a national program to prosecute criminals who violate federal firearms laws by enacting Project CUFF ("Criminal Use of Firearms by Felons"). CUFF will expand Project Exile nationally and will ensure active and thorough investigation and prosecution of criminals who violate firearms laws.
2. Fund Project CUFF with at least \$50 million to ensure the active and thorough investigation and prosecution of criminals who violate firearms laws and provide for an advertising campaign to deter firearms violations.
3. Create an office within the Department of Justice to coordinate and oversee the national prosecution program.
4. Designate at least one prosecutor in every U.S. Attorney's office to prosecute firearms offenses.
5. Prohibit juveniles who are convicted of a violent crime from ever possessing a firearm-Juvenile Brady.

The Congress cannot arrest or prosecute a single violent offender. But we can take steps to insure that the Executive Branch does so. We must act because the Administration has failed to do so.

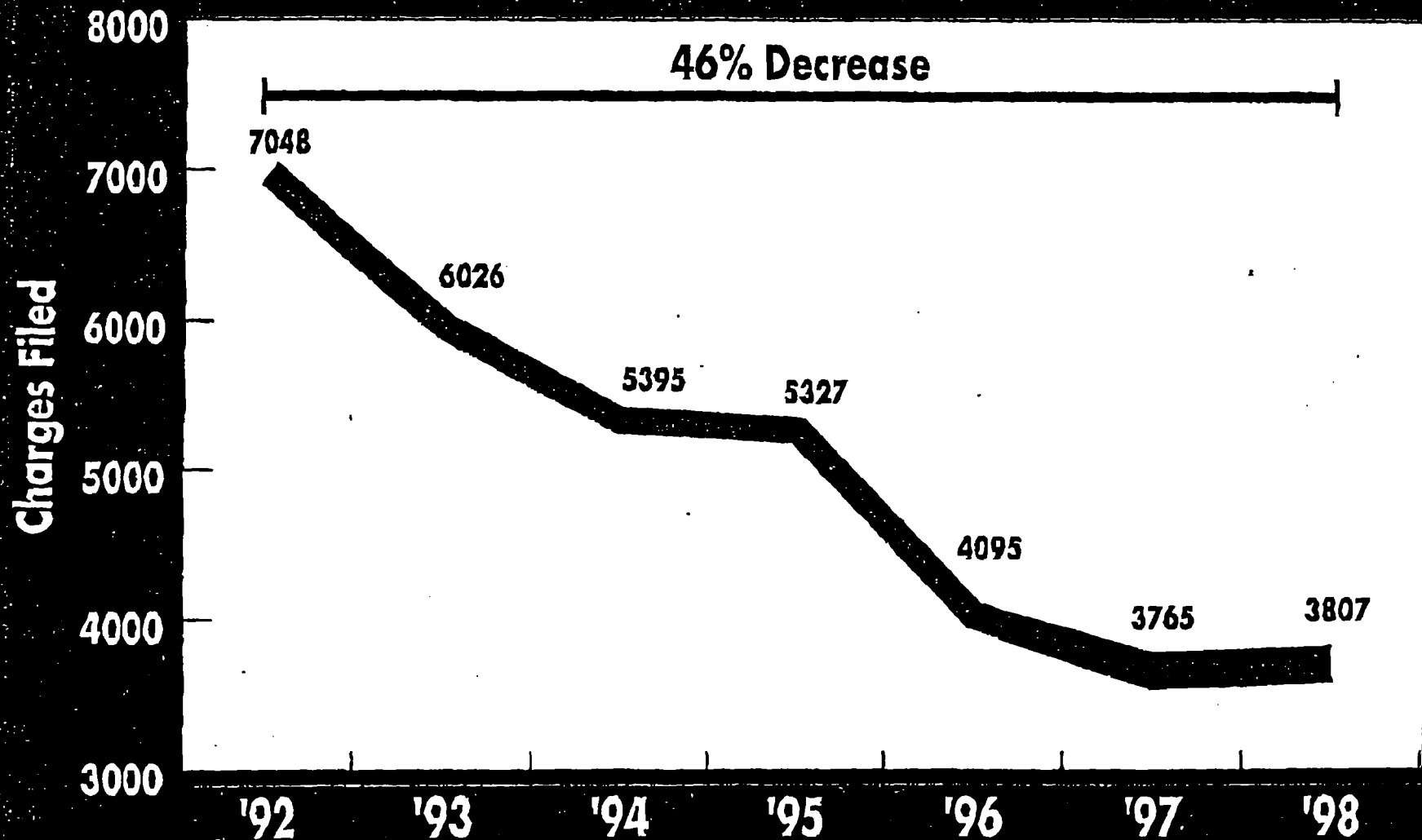
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Prosecutions of Federal Firearm Laws

Cases Reported, Executive Office, U.S. Attorney
Requested Firearms Sections Counts Charged, Calendar Years 1996-1998

Title 18 U.S.C.	1996	1997	1998
922(d) Providing a firearm to a prohibited person, unspecified category	17	25	10
922(d)(1) Providing a firearm to a felon	20	13	24
922(g)(2) Possession of a firearm by a fugitive	30	30	23
922(g)(3) Possession of a firearm by a drug addict or illegal drug user	46	69	129
922(g)(4) Possession of a firearm by a person committed to a mental institution or an adjudicated mental incompetent	1	4	5
922(g)(5) Possession of a firearm by an illegal alien	72	96	107
922(g)(6) Possession of a firearm by a person dishonorably discharged from the Armed Forces	0	0	2
922(g)(8) Possession of a firearm by a person under a certain kind of restraining order provision	3	18	22
922(g)(9) Possession of a firearm by a person convicted of a domestic violence misdemeanor	0	21	56
922(q) Possession or discharge of a firearm in a school zone	4	5	8
922(s) All violations under the Brady Act, first phase	0	0	1
922(t) All violations under the Brady Act, Instant Check phase	0	0	0
922(u) Theft of a firearm from a Federal Firearms Licensee	52	51	25
922(v)(1) Manufacturing, transferring, or possessing a non-grandfathered "assault weapon"	16	4	4
922(x)(1) Transfer of a handgun or handgun ammunition to a juvenile	9	5	6
922(x)(2) Possession of a handgun or handgun ammunition by a juvenile	27	3	8
Brady Act Unspecified violations	46	26	21
924(c)(1) Enhanced penalty: Use of a firearm or destructive device during crime of violence or drug-related crime prosecutable in federal court	1987	1885	1763
922(g) Possession of a firearm by a prohibited person, unspecified category	683	752	603
922(g)(1) Possession of a firearm by a felon	1213	1366	1550

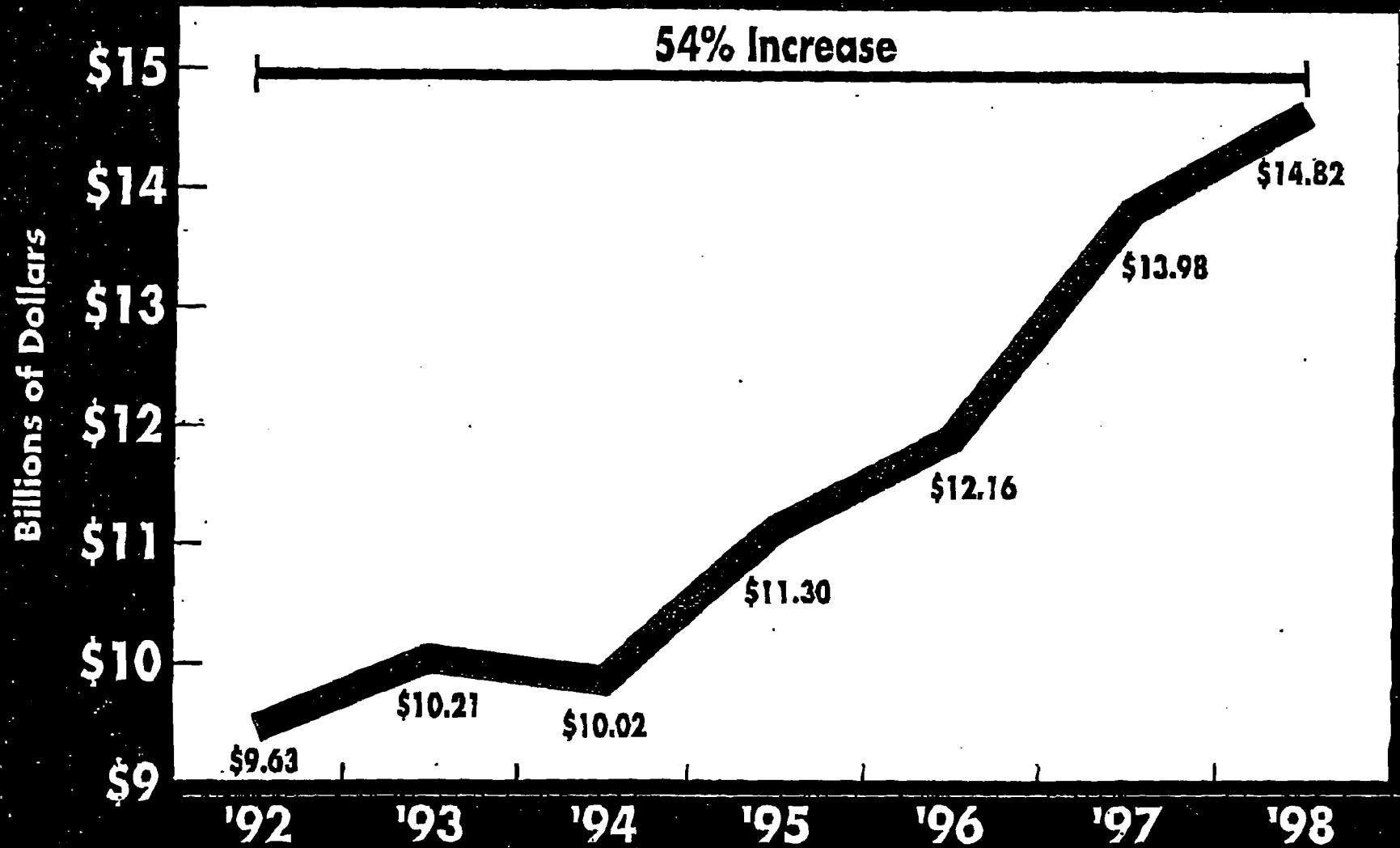
Clinton-Gore Administration Decrease In Prosecutions of Criminal Use of Firearms FY 1992-1998



Source: United States Attorneys Annual Statistical Report

Clinton-Gore Administration Increase in Department of Justice Budget*

FY 1992-1998



*Does not include OJP, Community Oriented Policing Services, or the Crime Victims Fund

Source: DOJ Budget Trend Data, Spring 1999

Republican Project CUFF

Criminal **U**se of **F**irearms by **F**elons

- **Restores a national program to prosecute criminals who violate Federal firearms laws.**
- **Funds program with at least \$50 million to ensure active and thorough investigation and prosecution of criminals who violate firearms laws.**
- **Designates at least one prosecutor in each U.S. Attorneys office to prosecute firearms offenses.**
- **Provides for advertising prosecution program to increase deterrence of firearms violations.**

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SPECIAL NEWS ADVISORY

News About the ATF on the World Wide Web
Embargoed for Sunday, August 29 (6:30 PM Saturday)

Sharp Decline in Overall ATF Referrals from 1992 Peak

ATF Weapon Prosecutions Also Down, Despite 1997-1998 Upturn

Partial Explanation Seen in Staff Cuts

Syracuse, N.Y.—August 29—Referrals for federal prosecutions by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms have sharply declined during the Clinton Administration, according to the latest government data obtained by the Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse (TRAC).

• From a peak in fiscal year 1992, Justice Department data show that the total of all ATF matters sent to federal prosecutors declined by 44%, dropping from 9,885 in 1992 to 5,510 in 1998.

• While ATF weapon prosecutions also were well below their 1992 peak, there has been a recent upturn in this category of cases, a 25% increase from 1997 to 1998.

The broad decline in the enforcement of existing laws by the ATF occurred during a period when a number of highly publicized shooting incidents prompted President Clinton and his administration to call for new laws and programs to deal with gun violence.

For additional information—including maps, graphs and tables—about ATF enforcement within individual judicial districts and the nation as a whole go to <http://trac.syr.edu/roads>. There you will be offered two choices. One option is TRAC's free public site on the ATF. The second is TRACFED, a special news-only site with complete 1992-1998 data about all federal enforcement activities, as well as more detailed ATF data. In addition to enforcement data, TRACFED's subscription service offers quick access to demographic and economic data—by county, state and federal judicial district—as well as federal staffing information. The embargo for Sunday, August 29, is designed to give news organizations time to contact the ATF, federal prosecutors and others concerned with the government's gun control policies.

The ATF has long been the principal actor in the federal government's efforts to control the use of illegal firearms, but its importance has slipped. In 1992, ATF recommended 88% of firearms prosecutions for illegal procedures and other agencies handled the remaining 12%. By 1998 the share handled by other agencies had doubled to 24%.

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One factor contributing to the drop in ATF enforcement has been cutbacks in its staff. According to the Office of Personnel Management, the number of ATF criminal investigators went from 2,072 in 1992 to 1,779 in 1998, a 14 percent reduction. But because the pace of this decline has been much less than the decline in enforcement, other unknown forces or policy changes are apparently at work.

ATF administrators have told reporters that the declines in their enforcement actions are related to improved targeting. More focused prosecutions, however, can reasonably be expected to result in longer sentences. This has not been the case. During the last seven years, the peak ATF sentence—a median of 57 months—came in 1996. In 1997, the median—half got more and half got less—dropped to 48 months. In 1998, it went to 46 months.

There has been some speculation that the ATF declines might be related to the broad drop in the nation's rate of reported crime, although there is little reliable evidence of declines in major weapons trafficking activity where the feds have the lead enforcement role. But the pattern of ATF declines doesn't mirror crime trends, nor explain why ATF's level of activity has fallen relative to weapons enforcement by other federal agencies.

Despite the recent declines in sentence length, ATF prison sentences were among the longest achieved by the major agencies. The 1998 ATF median sentence of 46 months, for example, compared with 57 months for the DEA, 25 months for the FBI, 21 months for Customs Service, 12 months for the Immigration and Naturalization Service and 5 months for the Internal Revenue Service. The median sentence for all federal agencies was 18 months. Under sentencing guidelines, weapons offenses tend to receive higher sentences than many white collar and regulatory offenses handled by other agencies.

The Justice Department data also point to wide variations in how the ATF enforces the law in different parts of the country. In relation to population, for example, there were at least six times more referrals in a number of more rural districts like Oklahoma North (Tulsa), Tennessee East (Knoxville), North Carolina West (Asheville) than in major urban centers such as California North (San Francisco), California Central (Los Angeles), Illinois North (Chicago) and New Jersey (Newark).

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WWW: <http://trac.syr.edu> Email: trac@syr.edu
Syracuse: 435 Northrup II, Syracuse, NY 13244-2100 Tel: (315) 443-3363
Washington, D.C.: Suite 201, 646 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., 20003-4318 Tel: (202) 344-6722

I took a call from David Burnham, a former reporter for the New York Times and now director of a research organization funded by several foundations (including the Rockefeller, Knight and NYT Fdns) and Syracuse University. His organization, TRAC (Transactional Record Access Clearinghouse) gathers and compiles publicly available data from various government agencies (including ATF), creates reports out of them, and has just started publishing them on a website.

On Sunday, TRAC is issuing a press release about a report which shows that ATF referrals for prosecution for gun crimes has dropped 40% under the Clinton Administration, which basically supports the NRA's "lack of enforcement" line.

This guy does not have a pro-gun agenda -- he seemed to think he was helping us by pointing this report out. At the same time, he harbors some hostility towards the ATF (and to some extent, the FBI) for not cooperating with his group in giving him access to information. (When I said I thought the FBI had released information that prosecution of gun crimes has increased, he actually said that the ATF -- and to a lesser extent, the FBI -- is "shameful in its willingness to lie" and manipulate data in such matters.) It was hard for me to tell if he even realizes how much this report plays into the NRA's hands, and I did not say anything to that effect. He also told me that he let other groups -- including VPC and the NRA -- know about this report.

He has faxed me an embargoed copy of their press release regarding this report and parts of it read like they were written by the NRA ("The broad decline in the enforcement of existing laws by the ATF occurred during a period when a number of highly publicized shooting incidents prompted President Clinton and his administration to call for new laws and programs to deal with gun violence."). The report attempts to account for drop in personnel and crime rates, but doesn't find those factor sufficient to explain such a steep drop. Personally, Mr. Burnham believes that Ruby Ridge and Waco have had a chilling effect on the ATF, but I think he's waiting for other people (reporters) to come to that conclusion on their own.

We need to come up with a unified response to this report. We're sure to get calls asking for our opinion.

To view the report, go to <http://trac.syr.edu> and click on the ATF icon.

agents, projects & process.

→ fewer ACP agents now - one - The revenue increase, still below '92

• new unit: USA not present - Project Tropicana stopped

→ we have some process at higher level + process will be up
+ Gen unit is down ^{revisions} + yr percentage = 25% (fed + state)

• NOT process as Gen + AFF - For Butterfield

→ It'll be an unneeded gen on \$

• WH Leg, Councils, Cumbria + Bea + Robert Robin 200 Leg, Ricki

• NICS report + a separate ACP report on enforcement activities

→ data comparison

Pres. directive on gen enforcement →
not ready, but actions are possible
- but what other recommendations says?
- a USA + ATF to be put people
- end October

Project OTIC → we keep getting present in this - being page 211 to replicate

SS / 9/14

DU / Wed 9/1

KUD / 9/1

~~Gen~~
CRIME -
ENFORCEMENT

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The Justice Department data also point to wide variations in how the ATF enforces the law in different parts of the country. In relation to population, for example, there were at least six times more referrals in a number of more rural districts like Oklahoma North (Tulsa), Tennessee East (Knoxville), North Carolina West (Asheville) than in major urban centers such as California North (San Francisco), California Central (Los Angeles), Illinois North (Chicago) and New Jersey (Newark.)

(TRAC is a non-partisan data gathering, research and data distribution organization associated with Syracuse University. TRAC has been supported by the University, the Rockefeller Family Fund, the New York Times Company Foundation, the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation and many other organizations. TRAC's embargo on the information about the ATF is intended to give news organizations adequate time to contact responsible government officials for their comments. For detailed information go to <http://trac.syr.edu/media>)

WWW: <http://trac.syr.edu> Email: trac@syr.edu
Syracuse: 489 Newhouse II, Syracuse, NY 13244-2100 Tel: (315) 443-3363
Washington, D.C.: Suite 201, 656 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., 20003-4319 Tel: (202) 544-5722

Gun/JJ Meeting Agenda
August 26, 1999

- I. Juvenile crime legislation
 - A. Gun shows
 - compromise options
 - timing
 - B. Other strategy issues on guns
- II. Mayors gun event – 9/9/99 (T)
 - A. NICS report
 - B. ATF report
 - C. HUD gun buy-back
 - D. COPS grants
- III. Enforcement report -- response

DRAFT 4: Preliminary Analysis of TRAC study** For Internal
USE ONLY***Who is TRAC?**

- The Transactional Records Clearinghouse (TRAC) stakes claim as a "comprehensive, independent, and non-partisan" source for information on Federal Law enforcement agencies.
- Co-directed by David Burnham and Susan Long, TRAC compiles statistical information regarding the prosecutive performance of various Federal Law enforcement agencies and recently released a study of FBI prosecution performance.

What are the claims made in the TRAC Study?

- 44% decrease in ATF prosecutions from 1992 to 1998
- 25% increase in ATF prosecutions from 1997 to 1998
- ATF remains the preeminent agency in the presentation of weapons related cases for Federal prosecution (Tab 1, p. 11), however their relative share of the workload has slipped from 88% in 1992 to 76% in 1998.
- Decline in the number of ATF criminal investigators by 14% from 1992 to 1998.
- There is inconsistent enforcement of the laws under ATF jurisdiction across the country.

What is the TRAC Study explanation for decreased case production?

- The decrease in ATF special agents
- ATF's multi-mission function and specialized programs have stretched the resources of the agency.
- Relatively small size of the agency dedicated to the area of law enforcement.
- "Exceedingly ambitious" goals in reducing violent crime, protecting the public and collecting the revenue in spite of the limited personnel and resources.

Post-It® Fax Note	7671	Date	8/27	# of pages	3
To	Eric Liu	From	Maria Hanks		
Co./Dept.	WH	Co.	reas		
Phone #		Phone #	622-2960		
Fax #	456-2878	Fax #			

Draft - Internal Use Only

Q & A --TRAC REPORT

What is ATF's reaction to the TRAC report?

- The authors of the TRAC report collected data from sources outside of ATF, however the basic trends outlined by TRAC appear to be valid.

What do ATF statistics indicate about ATF case trends?

- ✓ • ATF statistics indicate a decrease in the number of cases referred for prosecution between 1993-1996, however statistics indicate an increase, in 1997-1998, in cases referred for prosecution.
- ✓ • During the same period of time a reduction of violent crime (firearms related crime) has been realized. Gun crimes are down by virtually every measure. FBI crime statistics confirm that since 1993 gun-related crime is down by more than 25 percent.

What is ATF's response regarding prosecution rates and sentencing?

- We would refer questions about prosecution and sentencing to the Department of Justice.

What is the status of ATF staffing levels?

- ✓ • The Administration has increased funding for state and local law enforcement by more than 500 percent, helping put more officers on the street and has assisted state and local law enforcement trace a record number of crime guns.
- ✓ • We are currently in an aggressive hiring mode. The numbers have been increasing in the last year and the Administration is committed to continuing the increase of ATF agents.

What additional responsibilities has ATF been involved in?

- ATF special agents have multiple responsibilities that in recent years have grown in complexity and scale in all areas, for example:

1993 - World Trade Center bombing investigation

1995 - Murrah Federal building (Oklahoma City) bombing

1996 - TWA Flight 800 investigation

1996 - Church Arson Task Force (formed)

1997 - Kehoe Brothers investigation, trial in Pacific Northwest

1998 - Birmingham, Alabama family planning clinic bombing

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	Preliminary analysis of TRAC study (1 page)	08/27/1999	b(7)(E)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Eric Liu
OA/Box Number: 16238

FOLDER TITLE:

Crime - Enforcement

2013-0717-S

sb10

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Draft - Internal Use Only

- Many ATF special agents have duties critical to public safety which, when performed do not necessarily result in a referral for prosecution. All of the foregoing duties provide valuable services to local and state law enforcement agencies, prosecutors, other federal agencies and ATF personnel but do not result in capturing a case statistic.

National Response Team members (b)(7) special agents)

Certified Explosive Specialists (b)(7) special agents)

Certified Fire Investigators (b)(7) special agents)

Interstate Nexus Experts (b)(7) special agents)

Special Response Team Operators (b)(7) special agents)

Hostage Negotiators (b)(7) special agents)

Peer Support Specialists

Gun Enforcement
August 18, 1999
Question and Answer

Q: In an advertisement today, the NRA claims that you are not prosecuting or arresting any of the hundreds of thousands of individuals who illegally tried to purchase guns but were stopped by Brady background checks. They also claim that you have ignored their request to expand Richmond's Project Exile. Instead of focusing on enforcement of existing laws, you have been focused on passing new laws. What is your response?

A: We think the facts on our record speak for themselves. Our Administration has focused on putting gun criminals behind bars, as well as preventing them from getting guns in the first place. Since the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) was implemented last November, the FBI has been actively referring cases to ATF and state and local law enforcement for further investigation and potential prosecution. Ultimately, we won't take every case, but we have asked Congress for more funds to hire ATF agents and federal prosecutors to do the best follow-up possible.

On this issue, it is unwise to take the gun lobby at its word. Let's review the facts:

More gun criminals are doing time. The number of gun criminals doing time in state and federal prisons is up by 25 percent since 1992 (from 20,681 to 25,186), and the number of serious gun criminals (those serving sentences of 5 or more years) in federal prison is up by nearly 30 percent. This is because we work more closely with state and local law enforcement – who investigate and prosecute most gun crimes – to vigorously enforce gun laws.

This Administration has increased funding for state and local law enforcement by more than 500 percent, helping to put more officers on the street who can enforce the law, and has assisted state and local law enforcement trace a record number of crime guns.

The Brady Law has stopped over 400,000 illegal gun sales. Two-thirds of the illegal gun sales we stop involve persons who have been previously convicted or are currently indicted for a felony crime. It is completely reasonable to assume that, by stopping criminals from buying guns, we have prevented gun crimes and violence. Prior to passage of the Brady Law – which the NRA strongly opposed -- guns were bought and sold on the honor system

Gun crimes are down by virtually every measure. FBI crime statistics confirm that, since 1993, gun-related crime is down by more than 25 percent. The overall number of violent crimes is down, and so too is the percentage of violent crimes committed with guns. The national homicide rate is at its lowest level in 30 years.

We've proposed and support increased federal funding for investigation and prosecution of gun crimes. We increased funds for new ATF agents and more federal prosecutors in our budget. Yet the Republican Congress has failed to increase funding for federal prosecutors. Unfortunately, the gun lobby and critics of our enforcement record have not backed up their tough talk with real support for the resources we need to continue to strengthen gun enforcement.

For Immediate Release

March 20, 1999

March 20, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Deterring and Reducing Gun Crime

Since the start of my Administration, we have developed and implemented a number of effective national strategies to reduce crime. We have provided funds to over 11,000 communities to hire and deploy more than 92,000 local law enforcement officers; we have prevented more than a quarter of a million illegal handgun sales through Brady background checks; and we have developed a coordinated attack on the illegal sources of guns used in crime. Dozens of other smart, tough, crime-fighting strategies have been put in place throughout the country through the leadership and dedicated efforts of State and local police and prosecutors, Mayors, U.S. Attorneys, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF), and community leaders.

During this period, the Nation's crime rate has dropped by more than 20 percent, and crime committed with guns has dropped 27 percent. In certain communities, where Federal, State, and local law enforcement officials have worked with other community leaders, violent crime rates have gone down even more dramatically. In Boston, Massachusetts, for example, when law enforcement and community leaders worked together to reduce violence by youth gangs, they reduced the number of homicides among youth by 70 percent in just 2 years. In Minneapolis, Minnesota, effective law enforcement and prevention efforts conducted by public-private partnerships have reduced homicides by 30 percent and summertime homicides by 75 percent. And in Richmond, Virginia, effective and coordinated law enforcement, including stepped up enforcement of gun crimes through the program known as Project Exile, has reduced the homicide rate significantly.

Still, the number of people killed with firearms remains unacceptably high. More than 14,000 people were murdered with guns in the United States in 1997. We must redouble our efforts to deter and further reduce gun crime -- and work to make every neighborhood and community free of gun violence.

I therefore direct you to develop an integrated firearms violence reduction strategy that draws on the proven measures and innovative approaches being demonstrated by communities throughout the country. We know that gun violence issues differ in each community, and no single program or strategy will be right for every community. Therefore, in developing the strategy, you should consult closely with U.S. Attorneys and ATF Special Agents in Charge, as well as other Federal, State, and local law enforcement, elected officials, and other leaders. The strategy should consider the special needs of local communities and strike an appropriate balance between Federal and State law enforcement. I ask that the strategy specifically include elements to:

more

(OVER)

prosecutors and ATF agents so we can crack down on even more gun criminals and illegal gun trafficking all across America.

After six years of hard work, America is winning the war against crime. But we're a long way from declaring victory. We must keep even more guns from falling into the wrong hands by requiring background checks at gun shows, and banning violent juvenile offenders from owning guns for life. And I ask you to support our 21st century policing initiative to give law enforcement the manpower, the high-tech tools, and the prevention strategies they need to keep us safe.

Unfortunately, the Republicans in Congress have proposed a budget that would dramatically cut back our investment in community policing, just when we're trying to increase it. That would be a big mistake. We must move forward in our fight for safer streets and safer families.

Over the years the proliferation of guns in our streets, of criminals packing pistols instead of switchblades, have made crime deadlier than ever. Guns have magnified the malevolence of crime. That is why disarming criminals has been, and must continue to be, a top crime-fighting priority. Let none of us rest until every American is safe from gun violence.

Thanks for listening.

END

10:11 A.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 20, 1999

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

The Oval Office

10:06 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. Today I want to talk with you about the next important steps we can take to rid our streets of gun violence and to make our communities even safer for our families. I'm proud to be joined today in the Oval Office by Attorney General Janet Reno, Treasury Under Secretary Jim Johnson, ATF Director John Magaw, Mayor Kurt Schmoke of Baltimore, Police Chief Jerry Oliver of Richmond, and Chief Robert Olson of Minneapolis, Congressman Anthony Weiner, as well as four of our United States attorneys who are leading this fight across America.

Over the last six years we've worked hard to fight crime, putting in place a strategy of more prevention, stricter enforcement, tougher punishment. We funded more than 92,000 police officers for 11,000 communities, taken more criminals and deadly assault weapons off the street, and with Brady background checks, stopped more than a quarter of a million handguns from falling into the hands of convicted felons and other prohibited persons.

As a result, the crime rate has dropped by more than 20 percent, to the lowest level in a generation. Gun crimes have declined by more than 25 percent. Gun murders have fallen by a third. Slowly, but surely, neighborhoods once abandoned at the crack of gunfire and the wail of ambulance sirens are coming alive with the sounds of children playing freely in the streets.

This is indeed encouraging news. But we must do more. In 1997, 14,000 people were murdered by guns. While the numbers are declining, any child caught in the cross-fire of a gang shootout, or a police officer struck down by a criminal's bullet, or a store clerk murdered in a robbery is one tragedy too many.

That is why today I'm directing Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin and Attorney General Reno to use every available tool to increase the prosecution of gun criminals and shut down illegal gun markets. I'm asking them to work closely with local, state and federal law enforcement officials, and to report back to me with a plan to reduce gun violence by applying proven local strategies to fight gun crime nationwide.

Look at what federal prosecutors and the ATF are doing in Richmond, Virginia, in an effort they call Project Exile. Under the leadership of U.S. Attorney Helen Fahey, Project Exile has used the threat of tough federal statutes -- statutes that require stiff sentences and deny bail to offenders -- to reduce gun crime and take serious gun criminals off the street. And gun murders are down in Richmond by a remarkable 41 percent.

My balanced budget will help to hire more federal

MORE

(1) Increase investigation and prosecution of significant firearms violations, including illegal possession, use, and trafficking of guns, through innovative programs such as Project Exile and Boston's Operation Ceasefire;

(2) Expand comprehensive "crime gun" tracing, analysis, and mapping; increase use of ballistics identification technology; and coordinate use of crime gun information to identify illegal gun markets, gun "hot spots," and illegal gun traffickers;

(3) Strengthen the coordination of law enforcement and regulatory enforcement efforts to ensure compliance with all applicable laws by federally licensed gun dealers and prospective gun purchasers;

(4) Implement targeted deterrence of violent offenders through (a) improved coordination with probation and parole officials supervising such offenders, and (b) swift and certain punishment for those found to have violated the conditions of their parole or probation; and

(5) Promote problem-solving analysis and innovative strategies to work closely with community members to identify gun criminals, remove weapons in the hands of juveniles, search for and seize crime guns, and increase the public's knowledge of their community's gun-related crime and violence problem.

★ Finally, I direct you to make recommendations on how best to allocate Federal resources to support the goals of the strategy you develop. I further direct you to provide me with your report on this integrated firearms violence reduction strategy within 90 days of the date of this memorandum.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

#

VI. ITEMIZED INITIATIVES -- Draft Discussion Items

(1) Increase investigation and prosecution of significant firearms violations, including illegal possession, use, and trafficking of guns, through innovative programs such as Project Exile and Boston's Operation Ceasefire;

- a. More ATF Agents and Inspectors.
- b. More prosecutors.
- c. More cities modeled after Boston's Operation Ceasefire, such as DOJ's "Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI). Potentially, funding "facilitators" in target cities, such as YGCII.

(2) Expand comprehensive "crime gun" tracing, analysis, and mapping; increase use of ballistics identification technology; and coordinate use of crime gun information to identify illegal gun markets, gun "hot spots," and illegal gun traffickers.

- a. More YCGII cities.
- b. Expand crime gun tracing to all cities.
- c. Annual YCGII Report to map locations where crime guns recovered.
- d. Develop partnerships with all manufacturers to come on board with IBIS test shoots.

(3) Strengthen the coordination of law enforcement and regulatory enforcement efforts to ensure compliance with all applicable laws by federally licensed gun dealers and prospective gun purchasers;

- a. More ATF Inspectors.
- b. Improved FFL Training.
- c. Training for state/local law enforcement on crime gun tracing.
- d. Build upon the success of the NICS System by providing a National Instant Notification System of Brady denials for national/state/local law enforcement.

(4) Implement targeted deterrence of violent offenders through (a) improved coordination with probation and parole officials supervising such offenders, and (b) swift and certain punishment for those found to have violated the conditions of their parole or probation;

- a. The 93 partnerships built by the U.S. Attorneys per this directive could incorporate courts/parole and probation officers into their local task forces.

- (5) **Promote problem-solving analysis and innovative strategies to work closely with community members to identify gun criminals, remove weapons in the hands of juveniles, search for and seize crime guns, and increase the public's knowledge of their community's gun-related crime and violence problem.**
- a. More YCGII cities.
 - b. Create national ad campaign similar to Project Exile or provide grants to localities to create their own ad campaigns.
 - c. Use the COPS community index crime reports to build awareness of gun crime problems in the area. Consider adding illegal trafficking to the list of index crimes collected by FBI and COPS for these reports?

*main cost is looking
the capital requirements*

(f) **EXPAND TRACING/YCGII CITIES.** Expand accessibility of firearms tracing to as many police departments as possible. Increase the number of YCGII cities.

(g) **DEVELOP VOLUNTARY BALLISTICS TESTING PROGRAM WITH MANUFACTURERS.** Get commitments from all firearms manufacturers to voluntarily participate in ballistics testing for every new firearm manufactured.

FBI / state close to interpretation.

(h) **ANNUAL YGCH REPORTS TO INCLUDE CRIME GUN MAPPING TO HELP LOCAL AUTHORITIES IDENTIFY TRAFFICKING HOT SPOTS.**

(i) **HIGHLIGHT THE 93 NEW U.S. ATTORNEYS' INTEGRATED FIREARMS VIOLENCE REDUCTION STRATEGIES RESULTING FROM THE DIRECTIVE. CREATE GRANT PROGRAM TO BOLSTER THEIR EFFORTS AS MODEL PROGRAMS.**

(j) **CREATING PLAN FOR TRACING OF ALL CRIME GUNS.**

(k) **BOLSTERING EFFORTS OF BOSTON PROJECT/CEASEFIRE MODELS THROUGH HIRING OF FACILITATORS OR ADDING NEW RESOURCES SUGGESTED BY DOJ FOR START-UP INITIATIVES MODELED AFTER THIS PROGRAM.**

(l) **NCHIPS IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM -- PERHAPS TARGETED TO AN ISSUE SUCH AS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE OR STALKING.**

(m)

Min. Civil Justice Improvement Program

*what
does
YCGII
do -
37 states
now*

CWS-

BUREAU

For Immediate Release

Date: November 29, 1999

Contact: Jeffrey R. Roehm

DRAFT(202) 927-8500
DRAFT**DRAFT****ATF ANNOUNCES ONLINE TECHNOLOGY TO STOP GUN TRAFFICKERS**
Partnering with State and Local Law Enforcement to Reduce Violent Crime

Washington - Treasury Secretary Lawrence H. Summers joined John W. Magaw, Director of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) today to launch Online LEAD, a new technology designed to aid law enforcement in its fight against illegal firearms traffickers. "Online LEAD" is the newest crime-fighting tool in ATF's "electronic crime fighting arsenal".

DRAFT "Online LEAD incorporates 21st century technology that will enhance law enforcement's ability to detect and deter the criminals who illegally supply weapons in our communities," said Secretary Summers. "With this preventive enforcement tool we can more effectively trace guns and catch gun traffickers."

Online LEAD was created in February to enhance the ATF's information system that provides investigative leads to identify illegal firearms trafficking. The system will send up "red flags" on potential illegal firearms traffickers throughout the country.

Director Magaw commented, "With Online LEAD, ATF field offices nationwide will be able to assist our State and local law enforcement partners with real time access to Firearms Tracing System (FTS) data."

DRAFT

The FTS currently contains over 1 million crime gun traces and is updated continuously. This greatly enhances the field investigator's ability to quickly identify illegal firearms trafficking and interdict the supply of guns to the illegal market.

ATF and local law enforcement personnel have used Online LEAD in a variety of locations successfully. Firearms trafficking task forces in cities such as New York, Memphis, Atlanta, Baltimore and Washington, DC have been able to link the purchaser of a crime gun to crime guns recovered in other locations thus identifying potential illegal firearms traffickers.

To illustrate the importance of Online LEAD, Metropolitan Nashville Police Chief Emmett H. Turner cited a recent case where information obtained through Project LEAD identified the persons responsible for illegally trafficking a firearm used in the May 1996 murder of Officer Francis Scurry of his department. That firearm was one of approximately 400 firearms illegally trafficked by two people who were subsequently arrested and convicted for violations of the Federal firearms laws.

Online LEAD is available to all State and local law enforcement agencies at the ATF field offices throughout the country.

www.atf.treas.gov**DRAFT**

Remarks
Secretary Lawrence H. Summers
Project Online LEAD
November 29, 1999
ATF Headquarters

DRAFT

DRAFT

- Thank you, Chief Turner for that kind introduction and for the outstanding leadership you and your colleagues provide on a daily basis. State and local law enforcement are our most important partners in the fight against violent crime and we are pleased that you are joining us today.
- Thank you, Director Magaw, for the tremendous leadership you have provided ATF over the last six years, and to Under Secretary Johnson for his outstanding commitment to Treasury's law enforcement mission.
- A key mission of the Department of Treasury is to ensure economic security for all Americans. Equally important in Treasury's mission and just as fundamental for the health of our nation is security of a different kind – ensuring the safety of our communities, schools, and workplaces.
- Since 1992, the rate of violent crime in our nation has dropped by 20 percent. During the same period, violent crime with guns fell by more than 35 percent and homicides with guns have dropped an average of 7 percent annually since 1993.
- We believe this trend shows that the Administration and state and local law enforcement are on the right track. We have strengthened state and local law enforcement by increasing federal funding by nearly 300 percent. Because of the 1993 Brady law, felons can no longer walk into gun stores and buy guns. Through programs like ATF's Youth Crime Gun Interdiction Initiative, and comprehensive local initiatives such as those in Boston and Richmond, we are supporting strategic law enforcement focused on gun crimes.
- We must do more and we are committed to doing more. In 1997, firearms were related to more than 42,000 deaths, and firearms-related death remained the second leading cause of injury-related death in the United States.
- We will continue to call on Congress to pass rational gun legislation. It makes no sense to prevent felons from buying guns from gun stores, but allow them to buy guns at gun shows, no questions asked. Trafficking guns to juveniles should be a felony, not a misdemeanor. Requiring that safety devices be sold with every handgun is a long overdue measure. Without more comprehensive laws, we will not put an end to the terrible costs that guns are inflicting.
- Given the need to enhance our tools in combating gun crime, I am pleased to announce the nationwide deployment of Online Project LEAD. Learning the story of a single crime gun often can allow us to understand the story behind many crimes. Online LEAD will greatly

DRAFT

enhance law enforcement's ability to detect, ~~imprison~~, and deter these criminals behind the criminal who are illegally supplying guns to our communities.

- ATF's National Tracing Center now has information from over 1 million crime gun trace requests. Online LEAD will allow investigators to access all this information, from all ATF field offices, in real time, within 24 hours of ATF adding new traces to the Firearms Tracing System. State and local investigators will be able to access this information through task forces and other partnerships with all ATF field offices.
- Using online LEAD, task forces will be able to intercept straw purchases, stop corrupt gun dealers, arrest gun traffickers, and build better cases against armed criminals. This is *preventive* enforcement that interdicts illegally supplied guns *before* criminals can use them in violent crimes. By vigorously enforcing the laws against gun trafficking, we create obstacles for young people and those with criminal intent. We raise the costs to the criminal of acquiring and using guns.
- The brief presentation you will see today about Online LEAD illustrates the vulnerability of the illegal market to systematic use of crime gun information. The presentation is based on an actual firearm's recovery and the investigative leads generated from the tracing of that crime gun. Using Online LEAD to develop investigations like this one, law enforcement officials will further reduce gun violence.
- I am now pleased throw the symbolic switch enabling every ATF field office to provide State and local law enforcement personnel access to the valuable and real time data brought together by Online LEAD.

DRAFT

GUN STRATEGY MEETING

December 14, 1999

I. GUN LAWSUIT NEGOTIATIONS

- Meeting with the Mayors
- Upcoming meetings
- Proposed reforms -- impact on legislation and message

II. ENFORCEMENT DIRECTIVE

- Estimated completion date
- Timing of event
- 93 plans
- Link to State of the Union: Budget vs. legislative angle on event
- Potential blueprint for year-long gun strategy

III. OUTSTANDING LEGISLATIVE DECISIONS

- Hill meeting Thursday and interest in gun legislation
- Message on Youth Crime Gun Enforcement Act, i.e. Gun Shows, One gun per month, Brady Waiting Period, Under 21 Handgun
- Licensing
 - Budget and/or legislative approach*
 - Cost estimate*
- Registration or alternatives
 - "No background check, No gun"*
 - Database of all firearms serial numbers*
- Industry Regulation
 - CPSC vs. Treasury authority*

IV. UPCOMING EVENT IDEAS

Proposed Timeline:

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| ■ Enforcement Directive Release | Early-mid January |
| ■ ATF Gun Trafficking Report (complete?) | mid-January (?) |
| ■ State of the Union | January 27, 2000 |
| ■ ATF Firearms Commerce Report | February |
| ■ Industry Reform Bill Unveiling | March |
| ■ Enforcement Event | April |

V. NEXT STEPS

October 12, 1999

Firearms Enforcement Directive
Status Report

I. THE DIRECTIVE

To: Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General
Issued: March 20, 1999
Due: 90 days

Develop and implement an integrated firearms violence reduction strategy that draws on innovative approaches being demonstrated by communities throughout the country, and make recommendations on how to best allocate Federal resources to support its goals:

- (1) Increase investigation and prosecution of significant firearms violations, including illegal possession, use, and trafficking of guns, through innovative programs such as Project Exile and Boston's Operation Ceasefire;
- (2) Expand comprehensive "crime gun" tracing, analysis, and mapping; increase use of ballistics identification technology; and coordinate use of crime gun information to identify illegal gun markets, gun "hot spots," and illegal gun traffickers.
- (3) Strengthen the coordination of law enforcement and regulatory enforcement efforts to ensure compliance with all applicable laws by federally licensed gun dealers and prospective gun purchasers;
- (4) Implement targeted deterrence of violent offenders through (a) improved coordination with probation and parole officials supervising such offenders, and (b) swift and certain punishment for those found to have violated the conditions of their parole or probation; and
- (5) Promote problem-solving analysis and innovative strategies to work closely with community members to identify gun criminals, remove weapons in the hands of juveniles, search for and seize crime guns, and increase the public's knowledge of their community's gun-related crime and violence problem.

II. DEVELOPMENTS

- (1) The Attorney General has responded to the directive in the following ways:
 - A. On July 17, 1999, she sent a memo to all 93 United States Attorneys requesting that they: (1) appoint a point of contact for the directive; (2) conduct a district gun analysis; and (3) provide an integrated gun violence reduction plan consistent with the President's directive in writing to her office by August 30, 1999.

- B. Many of the integrated violence reduction plans have already begun operation in each of the 93 districts across the nation. The Attorney General attended the first of these in Denver on Monday, October 5th. She will cite the best of these plans as models in the report to the President.
- (2) The Secretary of the Treasury responded to the directive in the following ways:
 - A. A memo was sent out to all 23 ATF Field Offices requesting them to report back on successful integrated violence reduction strategies. He will cite the best of these plans as models in the report to the President.
 - B. ATF has been largely focusing on regulatory improvements and resources.
 - (3) The Department of Justice and the Department of the Treasury are meeting regularly.

III. TIMELINE

- (1) DOJ/TREASURY to have outline of report available by the week of October 18th.
- (2) DOJ/TREASURY believe that the report will be completed by late November.

IV. KEY ISSUES: Prosecution and Resources

- (1) At the heart of the directive are two key issues: Prosecution and Resources. Each issue carries a history that is relevant to the development of a new integrated firearms violence reduction strategy.

A. PROSECUTION -- Evolution into Current Policy

- (a) **"Project Triggerlock."** Consistent with federal firearms enforcement policy throughout the 1980's, the focus of this Bush Administration program was to federally prosecute armed career criminals ("one gun felon in possession cases"), preferably the multiple convicted armed felons and armed drug traffickers. (The ATF counterpart to this program was called "Achilles.")

Under Triggerlock, U.S. Attorneys were directed to: (1) create national/state/local task forces designed to strategize on targeting the most violent firearms offenders and prosecute them federally; and (2) designate

*inflates
database*

one senior AUSA in each district as the "Triggerlock" coordinator charged with identifying firearms cases best suited for federal prosecution. In addition, a special "Triggerlock" code was created in the general case database to better track the number of firearms prosecutions.

- (b) **Attorney General Dick Thornburgh's Memo on Plea Bargaining.** In 1989, Attorney General Dick Thornburgh issued a memo to all U.S. Attorneys directing them never to plea bargain on gun cases as a way to appear tougher on the issue.
- (c) **ATF Shifts Focus from Felon in Possession Cases to Illegal Trafficking Cases.** ATF began reevaluating their enforcement strategies in the late 1980's, and developed a National Firearms Strategy that called for more complex cases and a renewed focus on illegal firearms trafficking -- this was deemed to be a better use of Federal resources than simple armed career criminal cases that could be handled by state/local law enforcement.

For the past five years, ATF has approached the problem of firearms violence, particularly among juveniles and youth, by expanding their illegal market disruption activity, while remaining focused on serious violent offenders where State laws or policies were not as effective as the Federal alternative. (The number of gun trafficking cases referred for prosecution rose from 533 in 1994 to 788 in 1998 under this plan.)

- (d) **Project Triggerlock Evolves into the 1994 Anti-Violent Crime Initiative.** Under Attorney General Janet Reno, the Anti-Violent Crime Initiative was developed to energize the attack on *all* violent crimes instead of focusing strictly on firearms crimes. For example, instead of merely targeting gun crimes, many U.S. Attorneys chose to target gangs or drug dealers in their community who happened to use guns to commit serious violent crimes.

Under the Anti-Violent Crime Initiative, the ATF and the DOJ shared the opinion that the once prioritized "Triggerlock" cases, or "one gun felon in possession cases," should be made when they are in the context of a violent crime reduction strategy relevant to a specific community and where the case would significantly impact public safety.

Similar in makeup to "Project Triggerlock," the Anti-Violent Crime Initiative called upon all U.S. Attorneys to: (1) reach out to national/state/local officials to target the most serious violent crime problem in the area and to identify the best use of federal resources to eradicate it; and (2) appoint one AUSA in each district to serve as the

"Violent Crime Coordinator" to identify cases best suited for increased sentencing under federal prosecution.

(e) Attorney General Janet Reno Overturns Thornburgh Plea Bargaining Directive.

Attorney General Janet Reno issued a 1993 memo to all U.S. Attorneys overturning the Thornburgh directive that had restricted them from plea bargaining on firearms cases. Reno's repeal provided prosecutors with greater discretion to maximize sentencing for more violent criminals when non-firearms charges carried heavier sentences. Under the Thornburgh policy, Reno believes that prosecutors lost opportunities to keep the most violent criminals in jail longer because they were bound by a largely cosmetic policy to appear tougher on gun enforcement.

B. RESOURCES

- (a) **Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms (ATF).** As the primary federal agency charged with enforcing firearms laws, the ATF has been attacked by the National Rifle Association (NRA) and challenged throughout the appropriations process since its inception in 1973. Ironically, the NRA professes to be a leading advocate for stronger enforcement of gun laws.

ATF has

the power

to

work

with

The ATF has only 9 more agents today than when it was created 26 years ago -- yet its responsibilities have nearly tripled in that same time period. For example, Congress mandated that the Bureau dedicate 25% of its resources to explosives cases, such as the Oklahoma City bombing, without allocating funding for new agents to handle the added workload. Since the Drug Enforcement Administration has grown from 1,370 agents to 4,261 over the same period, critics argue that Congress has never taken gun trafficking as seriously as the war on drugs.

1,300
1,370 + new
agents

With approval of the FY 2000 budget request, ATF expects to achieve a level of close to 1,900 special agents. For FY 2001, they are developing a request that will continue to build to 2,500 agents.

need
more

In addition, the Bureau is seeking an increase in the number of inspectors they have to crack down on unscrupulous firearms dealers among the 104,855 that have licenses. In spite of an increase in the number of dealers since 1973, ATF still has virtually the same number of inspectors handling alcohol, tobacco and firearms cases -- 800.

number of a 600 + up in FY 2001

- (b) **Department of Justice -- U.S. Attorneys.** In contrast to ATF, the DOJ is criticized by gun control opponents for a reduction in firearms prosecutions in spite of a tripling of their budget from \$6.1 billion in 1989 to \$18.1 billion in 1999. The majority of the increase in budget was dedicated to new federal prisons and increased border patrols. While we are waiting on exact numbers, we've been assured by OMB that the number of prosecutors has stayed level during this time period.

V. POTENTIAL INITIATIVES

- A. **Deliverables Exist -- Packaging is the Challenge.** The President has requested that several issues be addressed under the directive. While many deliverables exist, the true challenge will be packaging them to appropriately address all fronts. More clarity will be brought to this issue when the report outline is received from DOJ/TREASURY next week.

B. Blanket List of Potential Initiatives -- For Discussion Purposes Only

- (a) **MORE ATF AGENTS.** Put a historic number of ATF Agents on the street to crack down on more gun crimes than ever before.
- (b) **MORE ATF INSPECTORS.** Put a historic number of ATF Firearms Inspectors on the street to identify unscrupulous gun dealers.
- (c) **MORE PROSECUTORS.** Increase the U.S. Attorney budget for more prosecutors to handle firearms cases. (Some have suggested dedicating teams of prosecutors in each district to handle all firearms cases -- this has faced resistance at DOJ.)
- (d) **NATIONAL INSTANT NOTIFICATION.** Expand the National Instant Check System to provide instant notification of Brady denials to state/local authorities so that they are made immediately aware of felons attempts to purchase guns in their communities.
- (e) **BUILD NATIONAL ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN SIMILAR TO PROJECT EXILE.** Create a national advertising campaign modeled after Project Exile on the penalties criminals face when they use firearms to commit crimes. Or, consider the creation of a grant program that allows communities to create their own local campaigns.

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Rep. Vukobratovic

Federal Team Will Seek 1,700 Guns Sold to Ineligible Buyers

By CHARLES BABINGTON
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Clinton administration has assembled a special 60-person law enforcement team to locate and retrieve up to 1,700 guns that were sold to felons and other ineligible buyers because the FBI did not complete their criminal background checks within the mandatory three-day limit.

The administration, which gun advocacy groups have accused of insufficiently enforcing existing

gun regulations, said yesterday "the quickest possible recovery" of such firearms is a top priority for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. To help the bureau, 20 agents each have been assigned, for at least 60 days, from the Secret Service, Customs Service and Internal Revenue Service, all divisions of the Treasury Department.

The new program, outlined yesterday in a 17-page Treasury Department report, touches on two sensitive issues for advocates of gun ownership. On one hand, they

have opposed new gun control proposals by arguing that the government has not tried hard enough to enforce laws already on the books. But the image of federal agents knocking on someone's door to collect a gun raises deep-seated fears among those who contend that confiscation is the ultimate goal of gun control advocates.

"This validates one big concern that we have about any government background checks: That it will lead to gun owner registration and even confiscations," said John Velasco, spokesman for Gun Owners of America. "The law says the government has up to three business days to do the check, or the sales goes through, period. . . . This is not law enforcement, this is government abuse of liberty."

ATF officials say their targets are not innocent owners entitled to keep their firearms. A prohibited buyer, they say, would have to falsify a purchase application in order to obtain a gun with the help of a delayed background check.

Under the five-year-old Brady law, someone seeking to buy a gun from a licensed firearms dealer must undergo a criminal background check by the FBI. Felons, illegal drug users and illegal aliens are among those barred from buying guns.

Most background checks are completed within two hours, thanks to a computerized "instant check" system inaugurated seven months ago. But some take longer, and if a check has not been completed within three business days, the dealer is instructed to make the sale.

In about 2,000 cases thus far, the delayed background checks concluded that the purchase should have been barred. ATF has retrieved about 300 of those guns, and now is "committed to retrieving all such firearms from prohibited persons," according to yesterday's report, Implementation of the Brady Law.

ATF spokesman Jeff Roehm said his agency is aware that critics

have accused the administration of lax enforcement of gun laws. "We are always trying to enforce what we have on the books," he said, adding that the 2,000 "delayed denial" purchases are a recent phenomenon. "This is a new avenue that the violations are coming to our attention," he said.

Asked if some felons could pose a danger to officers seeking to retrieve their guns, Roehm said: "Any time you approach a person

who is prohibited from purchasing a firearm" but has done so anyway, "you have certainly created a dangerous situation." But agents prepare carefully for such possible confrontations, he said. "We certainly don't just run out on these things. A lot of background work is done."

Yesterday's report said a recent "delayed denial" gun purchase in Ohio was made by a Crips gang member, whose criminal record should have kept him from buying a gun. "The firearm was used less than 24 hours after its acquisition

by the gang members to commit an armed robbery of a restaurant," the report said.

President Clinton yesterday urged Congress to renew the law giving the FBI three business days to conduct background checks. The seven-month-old "instant check" system has already blocked about 100,000 prohibited purchases from going through, he said in a White House ceremony.

The president also announced that the federal government will spend \$15 million in and around

public housing areas to buy guns from residents, a move to get more firearms off the streets. The program will provide local police agencies up to \$500,000 each to buy guns, which will be destroyed, for a "suggested price" of \$50.

Clinton said Americans under 15 are nine times more likely to die by accidental shooting than children in the 25 other industrialized nations combined. "Every gun turned in through a buyback program means potentially one less tragedy," he said.

The Washington Post
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1999

CRIME -
Law Enforcement

Carter, Tutu Were Involved On Clemency *Clinton Details His Reasons for Deal*

By CHARLES BABINGTON
Washington Post Staff Writer

AI

President Clinton, facing mounting criticism for granting clemency to members of a Puerto Rican terrorist group, yesterday gave his fullest explanation yet for the decision, saying he was swayed by his lawyer's recommendation, the lengthy sentences already served by the members, and the lobbying of former president Jimmy Carter, South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu and others.

Clinton told reporters at the White House that he did not discuss the clemency offer with his wife, whose Senate aspirations in New York helped stir the issue into a serious controversy. Hillary Rodham Clinton said Saturday the offer should be withdrawn because the Puerto Ricans had not renounced violence. Republicans had accused Clinton of offering clemency in hopes of boosting the first lady's popularity among New York's Puerto Rican voters.

"She didn't know anything about it until—as far as I know—until someone from her office called and asked her for a comment, because I did not discuss it with her," said Clinton. "I haven't discussed other clemency issues with her and I didn't think I should discuss this one. So it was up to her, and entirely appropriate for her to say whatever she wanted to about it."

The clemency offer, made Aug. 11, has mushroomed into a roiling debate, especially in New York. It is extremely unusual for the president

to agree to a clemency request—during his tenure Clinton has granted only out of 3,000 requests. Though Hispanic groups and human rights activists said the 16 Puerto Rican nationalists had been punished enough, several administration law enforcement agencies opposed clemency, saying it would undermine the nation's campaign against terrorism worldwide.

Yesterday, the House voted 311 to 41 for a resolution criticizing the clemency offer, with 93 Democrats

opposing the president. The Senate will vote on a similar resolution Monday. A draft text condemns Clinton for a "deplorable concession to terrorists" that has "undermined national security."

"There is a feeling of outrage in this country against this action," said Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.).

Clinton portrayed the decision as routine, saying politics played "absolutely" no role in it. He said it began with a detailed memo making a case for clemency from Charles F.C. Ruff, then the White

House counsel. "I didn't know it was coming," Clinton said. "It came with all the other papers I get every day and every week, and I dealt with it the way I deal with everything."

The 16 Puerto Ricans in question were members of nationalist group known by its Spanish initials, FALN. The 16 were not directly linked to violent acts, but the FALN was responsible for bombings in the 1970s and 1980s that killed six people and injured many others.

On Tuesday, 12 of the 16 accepted the president's clemency offer,

which requires them to renounce violence. Eleven are to be freed in the next few days after serving 16 to 19 years in prison.

After yesterday's House vote, Clinton recounted the process for reporters. "I was requested by hundreds of people, including President Carter, Bishop Tutu and many other religious leaders and members of Congress, to look at this and act favorably on it," he said. "And then, obviously, there were those who disagreed."

"My judgment was that these people should be offered a conditional clemency for two reasons. One, none of them, even though they belonged to an organization which had espoused violent means, none of them

were convicted of doing any bodily harm to anyone. And two, they had all served sentences that were considerably longer than they would serve under the ... guidelines which control federal sentencing now."

As Clinton walked away from the lectern, a reporter noted that Hillary Clinton has said she was not aware—when she made her comments Saturday—that her husband had set today as a deadline for the Puerto Ricans to accept or reject his offer.

"That's also true," the president said. He kept walking back to his office, and ignored the reporter's shouted request for an explanation of why he had not told her.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1999

ChenS-
Empire

Denver adopts Project Exile to control use of firearms

By Valerie Richardson
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DENVER — Colorado joined the movement yesterday to adopt Project Exile, the widely praised Virginia-based anti-crime program that guarantees federal prison time for felons caught with guns.

Attorney General Janet Reno and U.S. Attorney Tom Strickland presented Colorado Project Exile yesterday at the Denver federal building, flanked by state prosecutors, police and sheriffs.

"The message of this initiative is simple: If you violate federal or state gun laws, you will go to prison," said Mr. Strickland's office in a statement. "The goal of this program, and similar pro-

Project guarantees prison time for felons carrying guns

grams throughout the country, is to change the culture of gun violence in America."

Since it was launched in Richmond two years ago, Project Exile has won praise for its success in combating violent crime. The program has recently been adopted by the states of Virginia and Texas, and advocates expect a similar announcement by Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Ridge later this month.

The recent spread of the program comes in part in reaction to a directive issued by the Clinton administration. In June, President Clinton asked the nation's 94 U.S. attorneys to recommend strategies

to combat gun violence in their localities.

Project Exile has emerged as a leading choice, which comes as no surprise to officials at the National Rifle Association, one of the program's biggest backers. The gun lobby has championed the program for years, even taking out advertisements calling for the Clinton administration to sink \$50 million into implementing Project Exile nationwide.

Part of its appeal is that Project Exile doesn't create new anti-gun laws, but rather advocates the strict enforcement of existing laws prohibiting felons from carrying

firearms. In Colorado, offenders will be charged in state or federal court, depending on which jurisdiction has the toughest laws.

"In Richmond, their experience is that it changes criminal behavior," said NRA spokesman Bill Powers. "Drug dealers don't carry firearms any more because they know it'll get them five years in federal prison."

Under the program, felons caught with guns are prosecuted under federal gun laws and "exiled" to federal prison for a minimum of five years. The threat of federal prison is apparently greater because it often takes criminals

out of their communities, said Mr. Powers.

Richmond officials launched the program in 1997 after the city recorded the second-highest per capita homicide rate in the nation. In two years, Richmond has prosecuted over 300 cases under the program, and the city's murder and violent-crime rates have dropped by a third.

In Colorado, the push to prosecute violators of gun laws has increased since the Columbine High School shootings.

"We will attempt to inflict maximum pain because we as a community are fed up with gun violence," said Jefferson County District Attorney Dave Thomas, whose office has prosecuted gun-law violators in the Columbine case.

Activists flesh out naked truth about nukes in San Francisco

By Ray Delgado
SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

SAN FRANCISCO — Some activists get arrested to draw attention to their cause. Others scream and rant in hopes that people will listen.

Some nuclear activists, on the other hand — well, they get naked.

About 50 people who gathered Sunday night for a conference on the potential dangers of year-2000-induced nuclear catastrophes ended the session with a mass demonstration in the buff. Desperate for press attention for their

cause, they opted to get covered by uncovering.

The naked march was led by Dr. "Patch" Adams, an activist and doctor who inspired the movie based on his lifetime of unconventional approaches to adversity.

"Nonviolent people like us really have so few tools to face a capitalist system," Dr. Adams told the crowd as they uncomfortably disrobed. "All we really have are ourselves and our ideas. Our ideas have not done the job."

With those words, the protesters whooped and hollered their way out of the building for a quick stroll

down the street, chanting, "Disrobe for disarmament."

Some cars slowed to gawk and others honked at the protesters, who cheered in response.

The night air was chilly enough to have a noticeable effect on some participants, but there was no shortage of enthusiasm among them.

"I'm glad to be a part of a community that is as passionate as I am," said Carol Brouillet of Palo Alto, Calif., a 42-year-old mother of three who has written books on nuclear issues. "I'm glad my husband's not here. He wouldn't do

this, but we have different world views."

The conference, "Creating a Culture of Peace for the 21st Century," was well attended but generated little media interest until Dr. Adams and activist Dr. Helen Caldicott called for the naked demonstration.

Although many ideas were discussed at the forum, the main topic of the meeting was the dangers of nuclear accidents occurring on Jan. 1, 2000, if computer systems in countries around the world crash. Dr. Caldicott warned that some countries are unprepared for

the year-2000 problem, and she said too little attention is being paid to the dangers and consequences of nuclear fallout.

Shedding her own clothes was not easy, she said, but was worth it to call attention to the problem.

"To be scared of doing something like this, which is a little thing compared to what's facing us, is just silly," Dr. Caldicott said. "It just shows that people are desperate for this cause and will do whatever it takes."

• Distributed by Scripps Howard

'Bye bye'

The title alone of Jack Germond's upcoming memoir, scheduled for release the middle of next month by Random House, couldn't better describe the political columnist and the perks of his profession: "Fat Man in a Middle Seat."

The advance proof provides personal glimpses of Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton, George Wallace, Nelson Rockefeller, and last, but never least, John McLaughlin.

Which means we've turned to Chapter 14, "Life With McLaughlin." A relationship launched, warmly enough, in early 1981 when the ex-Jesuit priest invited the stout scribe to be a panel member on a new program that supposedly would replicate dinner party arguments on politics.

"In those early days, the show was fun to do and McLaughlin easy to live with off the air, even if inclined to periods of ranting on camera," observes Mr. Germond, whose aw-shucks take on politics became an overnight sensation.

"You could write your fingers off for 25 years," the columnist notes, "and never get the kind of hearing you could get from shoot-

ing off your mouth on television for a half hour every week."

Even so, he says, "The viewers obviously took the show more seriously than it deserved."

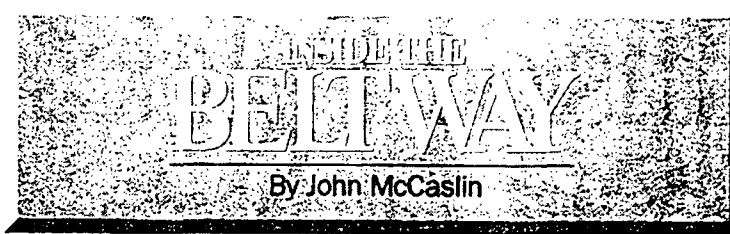
Like the "predictions" delivered at the end of each "McLaughlin Group" program.

"I would wing it," Mr. Germond admits, "secure in the knowledge that if I couldn't think of anything on the air, I could manage by nodding sagely and saying, 'Two more members of the Reagan Cabinet will be gone by June 1' — a safe bet at any time in any administration. If McLaughlin demanded to know which two, I would simply look smug and tell him to buy my newspaper."

Once the Baltimore Sun columnist bumped into Sen. Charles McC. Mathias, Maryland Republican, on a Capitol Hill street corner and was struck by how dispirited the lawmaker seemed.

"So that Friday, stuck for a prediction, I guessed out loud that Mathias would retire rather than seek another term," says Mr. Germond. By Monday morning, a Mathias aide called to see if Mr. Germond knew something nobody else did.

"Not at all," he replied. "If I knew something, I would have put it in the Sun. I was just guessing."



Three days later, Mr. Mathias suddenly announced he would not seek another term. He sent Mr. Germond a note saying he decided to retire to spare the columnist the embarrassment of being wrong.

"If the viewers and politicians took the show too seriously, so did McLaughlin," Mr. Germond adds. "He began to believe we were performing some educational function for the great unwashed ... as if our viewers had been on the moon all week."

"And he became increasingly testy ... always irked when I would be quoted as saying that it was 'just television' and that my 'serious job' was writing a newspaper column five days a week for the Sun."

The final straw came in San Diego, site of the 1996 Republican national convention, when Mr. McLaughlin announced at a luncheon of General Electric ex-

ecutives that the program GE helped underwrite was going to be distributed internationally. When the host called on each panelist for a few words, Mr. Germond observed that now "we could take credit for dumbing down the whole world."

Everybody laughed except Mr. McLaughlin.

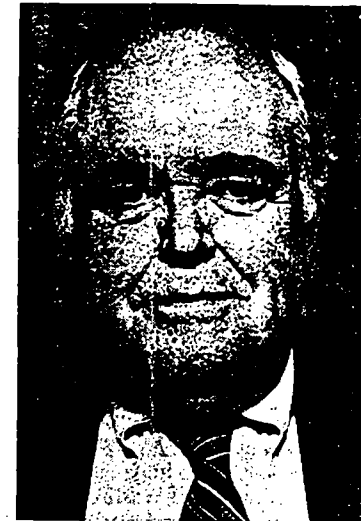
Career changes

Donna Rice Hughes, who sailed away with Gary Hart in 1988, squares off at the National Press Club this Friday with ex-porn star Gloria Leonard. The topic: protecting children from sex on the Internet.

The former is an anti-porn advocate, the latter an adult film actress-turned-privacy advocate.

Pre-year-2000 bug

In 1996, the U.S. Postal Service



Jack Germond tells of events that lead to his departure from "The McLaughlin Group" in a new book.

reported that 9,044 (68 percent) of 13,252 race-based complaints of discrimination it received were filed by white postal workers.

In 1997, it reported whites filed 10,040 (70 percent) of the 14,326 race-based complaints. Those are unusual figures, which drew the curiosity of the General Accounting Office, if nobody else.

The GAO launched an investigation, and found that a computer programming error resulted in significant overcounting.

It turns out if a complainant left his or her discrimination form blank under the race category, they were simply identified as white.

The GAO tells us the actual numbers of white complainants stands at 1,505 in 1996 and 1,654 in 1997.

Timor turmoil

Bar-hoppers and sidewalk diners on the Capitol Hill "strip" of Pennsylvania Avenue were entertained the other night by a double-parked, nine-vehicle cavalcade of spooks and guns that took up half the 300 block.

Speculation ran high as to who was dining in the private, upstairs dining room of the Thai-Roma, the unique combination satay-pasta hangout. We were hoping to barge in on Billy Boy himself.

Turns out it was the president of the East Timorese resistance movement being entertained by the Portuguese ambassador.

• John McCaslin can be reached at 202/636-3284 or by e-mail (mccasl@twtmil.com).

Drawing a bead on kids

Why a law designed to target teen violence isn't working

BY TONI LOCY

In July 1995, Eric Deshun-Rhyan's mother was beaten up. The 17-year-old found out that a rival on the streets of Memphis was responsible. So he got himself a gun. And he got even, wounding his mother's attacker. Eric was charged in state court with aggravated assault. But it didn't end there. As part of a federal effort to determine how violent juveniles get weapons, authorities wanted to know who gave Eric the gun. They found out—from Eric—that it was his dad. Then they charged his father under what was then a new federal law. Case closed?

Not really. At first, the law, the Youth Handgun Safety Act, seemed to have all the makings of a powerful tool for federal prosecutors. President Clinton thought so. So did Attorney General Janet Reno, who touted it as a centerpiece of efforts to combat juvenile use of handguns. Instead, the law has been mostly gathering dust. Eric's father, Eddie J. Rhyan, is one of only 89 people who have been charged since the law was passed five years ago—less than one case for each of the nation's 94 U.S. attorneys' offices. Despite the lack of use, the Justice Department is now asking Congress to toughen the law's penalties.

Justice officials defend the low number, saying states are handling the gun cases involving juveniles; as in Colorado, after an adult was charged with supplying a gun to teenage killers at Columbine High. It is part, they say, of an effort to allow federal prosecutors to concentrate on more serious gun traffickers and leave the simpler possession cases to the states. "We are not case counting," says Bea Witzleben, Justice's gun-policy guru. "We think we can prosecute smart." But the National Rifle Association says such figures prove that the Clinton administration isn't enforcing the laws on the books.

A flaw in the law. From the start, the Youth Handgun Safety Act had a serious problem. Under the measure, juveniles caught carrying a handgun without parental permission could be brought into federal court. This sounded good and tough. But it wasn't practical because juveniles are rarely prosecuted in federal courts. Last week, there were fewer than 270 juveniles in fed-

eral custody. Donald Stern, the U.S. attorney in Boston who has used the act, says federal judges aren't "practiced" at dealing with juveniles nor is the Bureau of Prisons equipped to house them. He says he also prefers to let local authorities handle gun cases involving juveniles because their laws are tougher. In Massachusetts, a juvenile caught with a gun faces a mandatory six months in lockup. Under the federal law, a kid caught for the first time with a handgun gets mandatory probation. That is little incentive, Stern says, for prosecutors to go through the hassle of asking



ON THE MEND. Columbine student Pat Ireland, returning last week. Below, being rescued by police.



a federal judge for permission to bring a juvenile into U.S. District Court. He says the law is no better for adults nabbed giving guns to juveniles because it doesn't add prison time. There are other charges with tougher penalties that he says he can use against adults.

Veronica Coleman, the U.S. attorney in Memphis who prosecuted Eddie Rhyan, says gun cases generally are hard to make, because it's difficult to trace guns sold in private exchanges and even tougher to get witnesses to testify about them. As a result, Stern and Coleman say there's no guarantee prosecutors will use the law more if the penalties are stiffer. But they still support the law and the proposed changes. That attitude is the typical response on a hot-button crime issue like guns, says Michael Buerger, associate professor of criminal justice at Northeastern University. "Sometimes," he says, "what we do is just the best guess available."

■ **Testing and accountability.** At Casis Elementary in affluent West Austin, Texas, Principal Barry Aidman runs a school with an impressive academic history. And Casis has put together an excellent record in Texas's testing and accountability system, even though Aidman admits the system has its flaws. The state's initiatives are "useful tools," Aidman says, "but the data they give us only tell part of the story" because they don't measure important traits like self-esteem, academic basics such as knowledge of science, or student performance prior to the third grade, when many kids need the most help.

Yet the skills tests represent only one component of Texas's accountability system. Schools also must meet goals for dropout prevention and daily attendance, and performance standards for minority groups, poor students, non-English speakers, and special-education students. Based on those criteria, all schools receive a state rating: exemplary, recognized, acceptable, or low-performing.

True tests? Some critics say the tests are too easy. Others argue that educators "teach to the test" so students do well on the exams but don't master the normal curriculum. Says Betsy Davis, a fourth-grade teacher at Casis, "When this past legislature decided to have a separate test for each area [such as social studies, science, and history]—not just reading, writing, and math, the result is that you have a lot of knowledge tests, but you don't necessarily teach what's important."

Yet the Texas system has strong proponents. Across town from Casis, Principal Claudia Santamaria of T.A. Brown Elementary says the accountability and testing regimen has helped improve her once low-performing school. "Without accountability," says Santamaria, "we would have been in deep, deep trouble." Fourth-grade teacher Michele Trevino adds: "The program gives us a way to assess how our kids are doing. We have a running record of their progress, which means I can offer more individualized instruction."

And in quantitative terms, the system seems to be at least a modest success, as Texas students have performed increasingly well in recent years. Eighty-six percent of third graders passed the reading exam in 1999, for example, compared with only 77 percent in 1994.

Such an outcome may not impress education experts, but it looks like progress to a growing number of parents across the state.

*With Betsy Streisand in Los Angeles,
Carolyn Kleiner in Washington, and
Joe Holley in Austin*

DID HE OR DIDN'T HE?

George W. stumbles on the drug issue

This time, it was Texas Gov. George W. Bush's turn to squint uncomfortably into the cameras, force a smile, and try to quell a growing media feeding frenzy. The subject: the long-standing rumor that he had used cocaine, a charge he repeatedly insisted he would never discuss because it would only encourage the "politics of personal destruction." Yet this time, Bush gave a strangely illuminating reply. He indicated that if he ever used illegal substances, it was more than a quarter century ago,

point that he had always complied with the standard his father imposed at the White House starting in 1989: being drug free for 15 years; Bush served his dad as an informal adviser until President Bush lost in 1992.)

Friends say that, in private, the governor never admits to having used cocaine or other controlled substances like marijuana. But some confidants infer that he did so because he never actually denies it. And he gives the impression of being ashamed of whatever it was he did.

Early last week, just before the storm hit, Bush told longtime friend Doug Wead, a former adviser to his father, that a new round of cocaine accusations were being circulated by his political foes, who claimed that he had used the drug very recently. It clearly bothered him, but he still didn't want to dignify the whispers with a response. "Do you think presidential candidates should offer a litany of everything they ever did wrong in their lives?" Bush asked Wead. "Even years ago? Do you want your kids coming up to you and saying, 'Daddy,

the president did it. Why can't I?'"

Aides say that as the media scrutiny intensified, Bush saw an opportunity to reveal that unspecified bad conduct happened many years ago, when he was "young and irresponsible," and to, in effect, appeal for a quarter-century statute of limitations.

Some of his allies say addressing the drug question was a mistake because it gave the rumors new life. His critics say he comes off as a hypocrite, akin to President Clinton when he claimed he smoked marijuana but didn't inhale. But his closest advisers say that while he may have been briefly thrown off balance, Bush succeeded in arguing his case: that whatever skeletons remain in his closet were put there a generation ago—and the public will forgive and forget. —Kenneth T. Walsh



George W. (center) and brothers Jeb (left), Marvin.

when he was a heavy-drinking, 20-something party animal enjoying *la vida loca* in Texas. "I made some mistakes years ago, but I learned from my mistakes," he told a news conference in Baton Rouge, La. In Akron, Ohio, he added: "I have learned from the mistakes I may or may not have made, and I'd like to share some wisdom with you, and that is: 'Don't do drugs.'"

The source. It all started with Bush's response to a reporter's question about security procedures at the White House. The Republican candidate said he would insist on drug-related background checks for all White House staffers, and he declared that he could pass such a test himself. This, he and his staff confirmed, meant that he was denying drug use since 1974, when he was 28. (Technically, he was making the