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Journal photo/KATHY BORCHERS

FIRST, Senate candidate Clinton attends a campaign fundraiser at the Providence home of Jack McConnell. She briefly appears outside the house, surrounded by some of Rhode Island's political elite, including, from left, Democratic fundraiser Mark Weiner, U.S. Rep. Patrick Kennedy and McConnell.

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cc:

Subject: ProJo article

A double-duty day

By MARIA MIRO JOHNSON
Journal Staff Writer

At 1 p.m. yesterday, she was Hillary Rodham Clinton, candidate. At 3, she was Hillary Rodham Clinton, first lady.

By the end of her three-hour visit to Rhode Island, audiences for the dual-action celebrity seemed satisfied -- and she, too, had reason to be happy: The first stop of the day, a fundraising luncheon at a private home on the East Side of Providence, added \$108,000 to her campaign war chest, as she seeks to become the next U.S. senator from New York.

It's a lot of money, said Mark Weiner, a veteran Democratic fundraiser who cosponsored the event. He believes it's the most ever raised at a single event for a non-presidential candidate in an out-of-state race in the history of Rhode Island.

Which raises a question: Why would Rhode Islanders care about such a candidate in such a race?

It was the question on several reporters' lips yesterday, but they had to content themselves with asking it of politicians other than Clinton. She is not granting interviews these days.

Republicans, of course, have a theory about the visit.

Said Rhode Island GOP Chairwoman Joan Quick in a statement: "New York is a heavily populated state, full of corporate and individual campaign contributors. . . . [so if] Mrs. Clinton is visiting Rhode Island, the smallest state in the union, to raise money, there may be merit in reports by the New York and national media that hers is a campaign in jeopardy."

Not so, said Jack McConnell, the Democratic lawyer who, with his wife, Sara, hosted the \$1,000-a-plate event at their Elmgrove Avenue home. He says he volunteered his help as soon as he heard Clinton would run against New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, "because I care about the Senate, it's

really that simple."

"I care about what issues get dealt with and how they're dealt with in the Senate. I want Hillary Clinton in there and not Rudy Giuliani. I want Tom Daschle in there and not Trent Lott."

The event drew a familiar stream of Democrats to the McConnells' front door. ("Every weekend, I see the same people," quipped Serena Conley, who dates U.S. Sen. Jack Reed.) A smattering of curious East Siders watched from nearby lawns.

"I have the nosiest friends," said Linda Baker, 59, who lives next door to the McConnells'. Members of her bridge club were being less than subtle in craning over the property line to see what was happening. "They told me they would act with decorum. Oh, look at them. Look at my nosy friends."

Asked their take on Clinton, the three women -- their fourth was late -- agreed that she is very bright, and said they are inclined to like her "as a woman."

"One wonders what she is, though, underneath it all," mused Sandra Scoliard of Providence.

"I feel sorry for her," said Beverly Cohen of Pawtucket. "She's been through so much humiliation." If she ran in Rhode Island, she'd vote for her, "probably because I have sympathy for her."

The candidate arrived about an hour late, stepped out of a blue Cadillac wearing a brown pantsuit, waved and called, "Hi, how are you?" to the folks on the street, then shook hands with Reed and U.S. Rep. Patrick Kennedy and disappeared behind a closed door with a Christmas wreath on it.

Later, Weiner, who is finance chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, said Clinton spoke for about 20 minutes, posed for photos with guests and signed autographs.

Then she was on her way up the highway. She was the guest of honor -- appearing as first lady now -- at a gathering of students and officials at Cumberland High School gym, where they'd discuss violence in the schools.

Might that be so she could charge some of the cost of her trip to the federal government? Senator Reed was asked.

"Typically, we always try, if a first lady is here or anyone is here, to ensure that there is a public opportunity to see and talk to people in Rhode Island," he said.

This event was not entirely public, as it was for invited guests. But at least it was a whole gymnasium full of them -- students from public and private schools in the area, and local and state officials.

Julie Beral, a 16-year-old exchange student from Lyons, France, said she signed up to attend because Clinton is an important person, well-respected in France -- "People really like the way she reacted to all the Monica Lewinsky things. . . . The fact that she didn't say anything, that was appreciated."

Mike O'Connor, 17, of Cumberland, said Clinton "stands for good." It doesn't bother him that she's running from a recently adopted state. A candidate could be from anywhere, he said, "as long as they stand for what people want in that state."

When Clinton arrived at 2:44, she was greeted with cheers and a standing ovation.

She did not give a speech, but asked questions of the students -- a kind of "reverse Town Hall" forum.

One by one, students rose with questions and comments, until by the end of an hour, it was well-established that America is a violent society, that respect is a thing of the past, and that it's mainly the fault of the media, which accentuates the negative.

Parents also took it on the chin for not paying enough attention, or for giving up on trying to control their teenagers.

"There has to be a sea change in the culture," said Clinton, who won a hearty burst of applause for her comment that school districts and parents should support teachers who discipline students.

Agreeing with one teenager who observed that "all students want to be known," Clinton referred more than once to a "terrifying" Time magazine article she'd read about the motives of the killers in the Columbine massacre.

She exhorted the audience to be fearless in seeking mental help; "it is a sign of real courage."

On this subject, some of the strongest comments of the day were made by Kennedy, who offered his own experience as a teaching tool. "I was very fortunate to get mental health counseling," he said, apparently referring to the drug problems of his younger days. "I was very fortunate to get it. It means I'm a much stronger person."

There's no stigma about it for him, he said, because "guess what? The people that are really losers are those who are too afraid to face" their problems.

Clinton's summation of the problem with violence in schools is that while "I do believe that there are some people who are, for some reason, evil and bad," others may simply suffer from undiagnosed mental health problems, or else are having "trouble coming to grips with who they are and their identity."

"But when you lose 13 kids a day to gun violence, we got too many people

who are doing things that are stupid." There was no time left to go into what she might do about it.

After she left and the Secret Service released the crowd from the gym, students gave the first lady good reviews.

"I thought it was great," said Barcellia Bropheh, 15, who attends Tolman High School in Pawtucket. "Someone older showed us respect and took our opinions into consideration. It was about time that someone came to see what we stand for. She didn't look at us negatively, like the media usually looks at us" -- especially after some high school tragedy.

"She was positive toward us. She took the time to come down here and look at us in a positive position.

MEMORANDUM

TO: President Clinton
FROM: Jeffrey L. Bleich
DATE: October 14, 1999
RE: National Campaign To Prevent Youth Violence: Two-Month Status Report

This memo provides a summary of the Campaign's progress to date. Briefly, we are well ahead of schedule in advancing each of the Campaign's three strategic objectives (i.e., launching a large scale media campaign, inaugurating a community-by-community violence reduction campaign, and improving the delivery of non-violence resources nationwide). This progress, however, is in jeopardy because the Campaign has not been able to raise early capital and assemble an initial Board of Directors as quickly as expected. As set forth below, we would be particularly grateful for any assistance that the White House can provide in identifying Board members and providing introductions to these individuals.

I. Substantive Program

The Campaign has made substantial progress in advancing its three objectives. The following summarizes some accomplishments that you may wish to announce in connection with the Voices Against Violence youth summit on October 19.

A. Media Campaign

Contracts: The Ad Council Board has agreed to adopt our ad campaign for a three-year advertising effort. We have hired Foote, Cone & Belding, the largest advertising agency in North America, and a San Francisco design firm, Templin/Brink Designs to develop a multiphase program that will include T.V. PSAs, radio spots, movie trailers, in-school internet and Channel One programs, print media, and grass-roots "guerilla" marketing.

Messages: We conducted meetings on October 5 and 6 in New York at the Ad Council to develop our message and enlist cooperation with other like-minded organizations and media. The meetings were attended by several television executives including representatives from NBC, CBS, MTV, the WB, Discovery, Court TV, AT&T BIS, and Time Warner. In addition, the meetings included several youth violence experts and other groups who are creating related PSAs

campaigns in order to clarify our message and ensure coordination. We determined that there is a need for the Campaign to emphasize two key messages. The first message, to youth, will be youth-generated and will amplify existing efforts by young people to discourage violence. It will be patterned after the Students Against Drunk Driving messages that empowered young people to take a stand against drunk driving. The second message, to parents and care-givers, is that violence is learned behavior which can be unlearned. Each of us has the ability to stop teaching violence to our children.

Media Support: We have already received commitments from several media sources to run our PSAs and potentially co-brand our programs. Most significantly, the NFL and Westwood One radio have agreed to run radio spots sight unseen, as soon as they are ready. The NFL and Foote, Cone are on schedule to have our ads on the air the week of November 1, and to run the ads continuously until the end of the football season. Foote, Cone expects to have all print ads ready to go by January 1, and to roll-out our first set of PSAs and trailers by February 2000. All of the attendees at the Ad Council meeting made a commitment to encourage their networks to run the PSAs. In addition, we are now in negotiations to co-brand our messages with several major corporations, including The Gap, Simon Malls, Disney, Levi Strauss, AOL, the NBA, NFL, Major League Baseball, and Mattel.

Related Events: We are developing the following major events to support and enhance our ad campaign:

Athletes for Non-Violence: We have arranged to meet with representatives of all of the professional sports leagues on October 22-23 in Colorado Springs to organize a unified campaign of professional athletes and leagues to help young people understand the importance of being physical in a productive way, and that violence is never okay. This initiative would be carried out through an ad hoc Citizenship Through Sports Alliance representing all of the major sports, several sports agent organizations, and Do Something's "community coaches" program.

Concerts and Events: MTV, WB, Nick, Discovery, SHINE, and Do Something have agreed in principle to help develop and expand upon the the MTV, Fight for Your Rights concept of anti-violence concerts and events to raise funds and youth consciousness. We are in the process of contacting Ken Kragen who organized the recent NetAid event.

Media Non-Violence Day: We are approaching the networks, major cable channels, and major studios to organize a day of media non-violence on April 20 (the anniversary of Columbine) in honor of those youths who

were injured or died from violence. The working title for this program is either "Speak Your Peace" or "Give Peace A Chance."

School Programs: Working with SHINE, The Learning Company and Broderbund (software divisions of Mattel), Zap Me (an on-line school based program), Court TV, Ripple Effects, NARAS, the Bernstein Center, and the Justice and Education Departments, as well as other providers of non-violence and esteem-building curricula in the schools, we will be providing extensive in-school and after school arts programs. These will be developed through the internet, video, and Channel One. These programs are designed to occupy youth during critical after-hours times and to provide up-to-date techniques for preventing violence, building dispute resolution skills, identifying at-risk youth, and drawing on community resources to treat at risk youth. Alan Rambam of SHINE is taking a leading role in developing a network to support this effort.

Military Support: We have contacted Secretary of the Army Caldera, Secretary of the Navy Danzig, and General Colin Powell to develop a message as part of the Armed Forces campaign that emphasizes how real strength comes from discipline, and the world's heroes are people who help make and keep peace.

B. City-by-City Campaign

This portion of the campaign is directed toward helping local communities develop effective, multi-disciplinary approaches to violence prevention. Our strategy has four components. First, we are identifying the communities in America that are most at need and working with local youth violence services to identify where gaps in services exist. Second, we are identifying individuals on the ground capable of organizing a sustained interdisciplinary effort in that community to reduce violence. Third, we are recruiting corporate sponsors to make a multi-year commitment to support best practices (such as Big Brothers, Big Sisters) for a number of communities, or adopt a community's multi-disciplinary program. Fourth, we are arranging with corporations and media to underwrite a town hall meeting and nationally covered kick-off event in a different community every two weeks in 2000 to launch these efforts. We have made substantial progress on each of these fronts.

Cities in Need: In conjunction with the National Center for Juvenile Justice we have now completed a community-by-community database of juvenile arrests and victimization. We are analyzing the data this week to determine which are the 40 communities most in need in the U.S. based on absolute numbers of youth violence incidents, rates of youth violence arrests, and trends in that community. Our statisticians expect to have the list completed this week.

People on the Ground: We have reached formal agreements with several national youth services organizations groups that have agreed to identify and provide their best people nationally to pull together effective multidisciplinary programs in their respective community. These groups include Americorp, City Year, Vista, America's Promise, Points of Light, YWCA, The California Wellness Foundation, National Funding Collaborative for Violence Prevention, The National Violence Prevention Practitioners Network, YouthBuild, Do Something, the National Crime Prevention Council, the Boston Violence Prevention Project, the California State Violence Prevention Authority, and other local organizations. We will also be contacting several other organizations such as Boys & Girls Clubs of America, the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, Big Brothers Big Sisters, the Red Cross, and the YMCA. We are also in the process of arranging a meeting with the Conference of Mayors and the National League of Cities to develop a network of people who are reliable and will ensure genuine community involvement in this initiative.

Corporate Sponsors: Although we are waiting until we have selected appropriate cities and identified actual needs before approaching sponsors, our preliminary discussions with potential sponsors have been very encouraging. Representatives from Southern California Edison have expressed interest in sponsoring such a program in Southern California and the Gap has offered to help with a similar program in Northern California. We have also received a preliminary expression of interest from BMW in funding a youth violence program in South Carolina.

Kick-off Events: We have had tremendous success in recruiting underwriters to sponsor events around the country. Court TV has offered to host 10 youth-forum town halls on the subject of youth violence — tailoring them to the specific issues in each City to coincide with this effort. We have received preliminary offers from the Gap and the Simon Mall Corp. (developers of the Malls of America) to host these events, which would then be broadcast nationally. Teen People has also agreed to host 6-10 youth-oriented town hall meetings on the subject of youth violence in 2000. Finally, another national cable channel has confidentially committed to hosting four nationally televised events on the issue, featuring town hall meetings of youth experts in various cities.

Although delivering a meaningful contribution to individual communities will require help from numerous affiliates, their enthusiasm for our approach appears genuine, and their early commitments to assist in this are particularly encouraging.

C. Clearinghouse

Finally, as noted in my prior memo, there is a perceived need within the various communities that work on youth violence issues that better communication and access to effective programs is needed. We have enlisted AOL to help us work with various foundations to build upon existing databases and clearinghouses to link these groups effectively.

II. Administrative Efforts

Incorporation: The Campaign was incorporated on September 17 and filed its application for 501(c)(3) status during the week of October 11.

Office Space: The Campaign has established its headquarters at 33 New Montgomery Tower, 20th Floor, San Francisco, California.

Personnel: The Campaign has hired or extended employment officers to the following people:

- (1) Chief Operating Officer, Mark Abbott: Hired. Prior to joining the Campaign, Abbott was the Chief Operating Officer of Major League Soccer.
- (2) Communications Director, Sarah Ingersoll: Offered employment. Ingersoll is currently the point person for OJJDP's youth violence programs. She has been instrumental in working with NCPC, ONDCP, the Ad Council, and Justice in developing public relations campaigns. Ingersoll has expressed interest but is also committed to completing her work at OJJDP.
- (3) Public Relations Director, Camille Massey: Offered employment. Massey is the communications director for the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights in New York. She has expressed preliminary interest in the position.
- (4) Development Director, Peter Sherer: Sherer has extensive experience in fundraising and was recommended by Eli Segal. He has expressed preliminary interest in the position and we are currently checking his references.
- (5) Outreach Coordinator, Lisa Danzig: Danzig has been active in the violence prevention field for the past four years. She is the daughter of the Secretary of the Navy, Richard Danzig, and is well-connected nationally with several affiliates.
- (6) Researcher, Hillary Margolis: Margolis is a Yale graduate who has agreed to work without pay for the Campaign prior to beginning her service in the Peace Corp in 2000.

Fundraising: As noted above, although we have received some financial commitments, we have not yet received any cash contributions. This has prevented the Campaign from: (1) making payments to the Ad Council, Foote Cone & Belding, and Brink/Templin Design to begin media research and production; (2) hiring essential personnel; arranging necessary travel. Our current commitments are as follows:

Department of Justice:	\$100,000	expected 11/99
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Kaiser Family Foundation,	\$25,000+	expected 11/99
Neal Neilinger, Deutschebank	\$100,000?	requested 10/99
Steve Case, AOL Foundation	\$100,000+	expected 11/99
Ira Lippmann, Guardsmark	\$100,000	expected 3/00
Maurice Paprin	\$20,000+	

Business Plan and Budget: A draft business plan and budget has been prepared for approval by the Board of Directors once the Board is formed. A copy is attached to this summary. As noted, we expect that the budget for the Campaign for the first 12 months will be approximately \$3 million.

Board of Directors: We have made some progress in establishing the initial 10 member Board of Directors. Because we have not been able to arrange for people who know many of these Board members to contact them and make introductions, we have expanded our initial list. We will hope to announce the Board's formation before the end of this month.

The names and status of the Board members is listed below:

Steve Case (AOL), Invited and accepted
 Ira Lippmann (Guardsmark), Invited and accepted
 Deborah Prothrow-Stith (Harvard), Jeff Bleich has invited, awaiting response
 Judith McHale (Discovery), Mark Abbott has invited, awaiting response
 Leigh Steinberg (Steinberg & Moorad), Jeff Bleich has invited, awaiting response
 Ron Burkle (Yucaipa), Marsha Scott will introduce Jeff Bleich
 Bill Moyers (PBS), Jeff Bleich to invite
 Rob Reiner (I Am Your Child), Jeff Bleich to invite
 Gerald Levin (Time Warner), Eli Segal to invite
 Leo Hindery (former AT&T BIS Chair), Mike Smith to invite
 Rosie O'Donnell (Entertainer), Kate Carr to invite
 Bill Cosby (Entertainer/Educator), Margot Strom or Secretary Riley to invite
 Richard Thornburgh (Former AG), Jeff Bleich to invite
 Benjamin Civiletti (Former AG), Jeff Bleich to invite
 Hugh McColl (Bank of America), Rahm Emanuel to invite
 Neal Neilinger (Deutschebank), Mark Abbott has invited, awaiting response
 George Soros (Open Society), Rahm Emanuel to invite
 Jim Burke (Johnson & Johnson), Ron Olson to invite
 Don Keogh (Coca-Cola), Ron Olson to invite
 Brian Mulligan (Universal), Ron Olson to invite
 Jill Bradd (Mattel), Jeff Bleich to invite
 Tom Murphy (Cap Cities), Ron Olson to invite
 Augie Busch IV (Anheuser-Busch), Vilma Martinez to invite
 Eli Segal (Welfare to Work), Jeff Bleich to invite

Internet Site: AOL has agreed to assist us in developing our home-page. As noted, our website will link to various clearinghouses that provide services in the youth violence area. Brink/Templin have begun the design work for the Site.

Marketing: Foote, Cone & Belding has agreed to develop and oversee the Campaign's media efforts. It has assumed responsibility for promoting the campaign and all public relations efforts, including developing campaign messages, program names, and a logo for the organization.

Advisory Panels: We have established six advisory panels to support the work of the Campaign: Media, Social Science, Grassroots, Youth, Industry, and Political.

Media: We assembled an ad hoc board of advisers including several other PSA creators, advertising agencies, television executives, and violence experts which met in New York on October 5 to discuss campaign themes. We may ask Hubert Jessup of Mediascope to chair this effort going forward.

Social Science: John Devine of New York University has agreed to chair the National Academic Advisory Council. He is in the process of inviting 25 internationally renowned scholars to join the council. Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government has agreed to host the first meeting of this group this fall.

Youth Advisory Council: Eric Dawson of Peace Games in Boston has agreed to form the Youth Advisory Council. The Council will be composed of at-risk youth from around the Country who will advise the Board regarding media messages and community programs.

Grassroots Advisory Council: We are considering asking Pam Eakes of Mothers Against Violence in America to chair the Grassroots Advisory Panel.

Political Panel: We have developed a bi-partisan list of individuals to include in our political advisory panel. We will work with the National Conference of Mayors to assemble this panel.

Business and Industry Panel: We are in the process of engaging one or more experts in the area of corporate sponsorships to assist us in developing the Industry panel.

Affiliate Outreach: We have contacted over 200 organizations and established formal affiliations with approximately 150. We are in the process of preparing a database of these partnerships.

III. Conclusion

Although the Campaign is less than two months old, I believe we have made an unusually strong start in our efforts. Our ability to maintain this pace is, at present, limited only by delays in developing our initial Board and to raise the immediate cash necessary to hire staff and fund on-going media efforts. Thank you again for your great support. We are also thankful for the help of Marsha Scott, Bruce Reed, Tom Freedman, Eric Liu, Richard Socarides, and Karen Kullman.

DRAFT - DRAFT

PREVENTING VIOLENCE IN OUR NATION'S SCHOOLS
Accomplishments and New Initiatives Proposed by President Clinton

We know the vast majority of our schools are safe, but we can't forget the communities in cities, suburbs and rural areas that have a serious problem with school violence. And we can't forget that even one incident of school violence is one too many.

-President Clinton, September 11, 1999

Goal: Getting Guns Out Of The Hands Of Juveniles And Away From Schools.

Signed into Law the Youth Handgun Safety Act. In 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Youth Handgun Safety Act, which generally banned the possession of handguns or handgun ammunition by juveniles under the age of 18, and made it a Federal offense for adults to transfer handguns to juveniles, with limited exceptions. In 1997, the President directed the Treasury Department to require that signs be posted on the premises of Federal firearms licensees and that written notification be issued with each handgun sold to non-licensees to help ensure compliance with the Youth Handgun Safety Act.

Enforcing Zero Tolerance for Guns and Other Weapons in Schools. In October 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Gun-Free Schools Act, requiring school districts to expel students who bring guns to school. The President issued a Presidential Directive later that month to enforce the "zero tolerance" policy for guns in schools, consistent with the Gun-Free Schools Act. In school year 1997-98, the U.S. Department of Education estimates that, under zero tolerance policies, nearly 4,000 students were expelled from public schools for bringing a firearm to school.

Introduced the Youth Gun Crime Enforcement Act. In April 1999, President Clinton unveiled his omnibus gun legislation to strengthen the Brady Law and the assault weapons ban, restrict access to guns by our youth and crack down on illegal gun traffickers. The President's proposed bill will: (1) raise the age of the youth handgun ban from 18 to 21 years of age; (2) ban youth possession of semi-automatic assault rifles; (3) prohibit violent juveniles from ever owning guns; (4) require child safety locking devices for guns; (5) reduce illegal gun running by limiting the purchase of handguns to no more than one per month per person; (6) halt the importation of large capacity ammunition magazines; (7) require Brady background checks for the purchase of explosives and at gun shows; and (8) help law enforcement trace more crime guns to their source.

Next Steps:

President Clinton Urges Congress to Act on Gun Legislation. In his September 11, 1999 radio address, the President urged Congress to complete work on the juvenile crime legislation and pass a final bill that includes common sense gun provisions proposed in his gun legislation and passed in the Senate, including measures to: closing the gun show loophole; requiring child safety locks for handguns; barring the importation of large capacity ammunition clips; and banning violent juveniles from owning guns for life.

Goal: Providing The Best Information To School Administrators, Teachers, Parents And Students On Preventing Youth Violence And Creating Safe, Disciplined, And Drug-Free Learning Environments.

Responding to the Early Warning Signs of Troubled Youth. President Clinton directed the Secretary of Education and the Attorney General to develop a guide to help teachers and principals identify and respond to the early warning signs of troubled youth that can lead to school violence. In August 1998, the Departments of Justice and Education released *Early Warning, Timely Response: A Guide to Safe Schools*. This guide provides schools and communities with information on how to identify the early warning signs and take action steps to prevent and respond to school violence. More than 400,000 copies of the guide have been distributed to every school in the country and to youth organizations throughout, and additional copies may be obtained through the websites of the Departments of Education and Justice.

Helping Students Take a Stand Against Violence. In October 1998, the President kicked-off a partnership between the Federal government and MTV to engage youth in solutions. The MTV year-long media campaign -- "Fight For Your Rights: Take A Stand Against Youth Violence" -- is designed to give young adults a voice in the national debate on school and youth violence. In partnership with the Department of Justice and Education, and the National Endowment for the Arts, MTV created and is distributing a Youth Action Guide and CD-Rom that aim to engage youth in mentoring, conflict resolution, and other positive solutions to violence. The guide is available through a 1-800 number at the Justice Department and through MTV.

Goal: Helping Communities Coordinate Their Efforts To Identify Troubled Young People, Prevent Them From Acting Violently And Respond When Violence Does Occur.

Supporting a Community-Wide Response to School Safety and Youth Violence. To help communities throughout the country promote a coordinated, comprehensive response to school safety, last year at the White House Conference on School Safety, the President launched a Safe Schools/Healthy Students initiative designed to help communities develop and implement community-wide responses to school and youth violence. It empowers parents, principals, police, and others to collaborate on local solutions. In September 1999, the President announced over \$100 million in Safe Schools/Healthy Student grants for 54 school districts. The grants will support coordinated and comprehensive school safety plans that include anti-truancy initiatives, mentoring, mental health services, conflict resolution programs, school resource officers, and more -- helping to promote healthy development and to prevent youth violence before it occurs.

Providing Safe After-School Opportunities for More than a Million Children a Year. Last year (FY99), the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program was expanded to \$200 million. This funding is already supporting hundreds of school-based after-school programs in rural and urban schools in 44 states and the District of Columbia, including weekend and summer programs. This year, the President proposed to triple this initiative -- to \$600 million -- to provide safe and educational after-school opportunities for up to 1.1 million school-age children in communities across the country. In addition, the Education Department released a report in June 1998, titled *Safe and Smart: Making the After-School Hours Work for Kid*. This report shows that after-school programs can lower juvenile crime and improve academic performance. *Safe and Smart* was sent to every school district in the country.

Forging School-Based Partnerships Between Schools and Law Enforcement. Under the School-Based Partnerships grant program, the Clinton Administration has provided \$30 million to 275 policing agencies to work with schools and community-based organizations to address crime at and around schools. This initiative emphasizes using principles of community policing and problem-solving methods to address the

causes of school-related crime. The grants will help forge or strengthen partnerships between local law enforcement and schools to focus on school crime, drug use and discipline problems.

Next Steps:

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

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

Hiring School Resource Officers, Targeting Assistance to Schools with Serious Crime Problems. To help give schools with crime problems the tools they need to put the security of our children first, at the White House Conference on School Safety, the President announced an initiative to put more community police and School Resource Officers to work in schools -- and to train police, educators and other members of the community to help recognize the early warning signs of violence. Under the COPS in Schools initiative, the Justice Department has provided \$145 million for 649 communities to hire 1,350 officers to work in schools.

Goal: Creating A National Dialogue Around Preventing Youth Violence.

President Hosted a White House Conference on School Safety. In October 1998, President and Mrs. Clinton hosted the first-ever conference on school safety to provide an opportunity for Americans to learn more about how they can make their own schools and communities safer. Students, parents, teachers, principals, law enforcement, ministers, and other experts from across the country participated in the Conference, and hundreds of communities and schools were linked by satellite. At the conference, the President presented information from the First Annual Report on School Safety -- a report intended to give parents, principals and policy makers an accurate, yearly snapshot of school crime, as well as to provide information on what practical steps they can take to make their schools safer. The President also announced a number of new resources and partnerships to give communities new tools to prevent school and youth violence.

President and Mrs. Clinton Held a White House Strategy Session on Youth Violence after the Littleton Tragedy. In May 1999, President Clinton and the First Lady held a strategy meeting to discuss the problem of youth violence and develop a strategy for a national campaign to address this problem. The meeting included a broad cross section of Americans, including parents and children, teachers and religious leaders, law enforcement and government officials, gun manufacturers and sportsmen, and representatives of the entertainment industry. The President unveiled several initiatives to address the

problem of youth violence, including a Surgeon General's Report on Youth Violence, gun industry support for gun legislation in five important areas, and public and private commitments to ensure the effective implementation of the V-Chip.

Next Steps:

Establishing a National Campaign Against Youth Violence. The President called for a National Campaign Against Youth Violence and recently announced its formation. The campaign will be an independent, national, non-partisan campaign that will address the problem of youth violence by: (1) serving as an information clearinghouse to share what programs work in one community with communities all over the country; (2) securing commitments from all sectors of society to do their part to help reduce violence; and (3) helping give parents more tools to protect their children from violence.

Network Anti-Violence Roadblock. At the White House Strategy Session on Youth Violence in May 1999, the President challenged the entertainment industry to do its part to combat youth violence. In August, the President announced that an extensive coalition of broadcast and cable networks have joined together in an unprecedented effort to air simultaneously the prime time debut of public service ads on the theme of "Talking with Kids About Violence." The ads, which feature children and the President talking about the need for parents to talk to their kids about violence, will air between 8 p.m. and 10 p.m. on August 18. This first-ever Ad Council television "roadblock" will include ABC, CBS, FOX, NBC, UPN, WB, A&E, Animal Planet, BET, CNN, CNN Airport, Comedy Central, Country Music Television, Discovery Channel, Discovery Digital Networks, FOX Family Channel, Headline News, the History Channel, the Learning Channel, Lifetime, MTV, the Nashville Network, Nickelodeon, TBS, TNT, Travel Channel, TV Land, Univision, VH-1, and FastTV.com, a website with video streaming capability, which will provide the spot online. The public service ads were sponsored by the Kaiser Family Foundation, the Advertising Council, and Children Now. A free booklet has been developed for parents on how to talk about violence and is available at www.talkingwithkids.org, or by calling 1-800-CHILD44.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 15, 1999

October 15, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THE SECRETARY OF LABOR

THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

THE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION

THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
DOMESTIC POLICY

SUBJECT: White House Council on Youth Violence

Violence by youth and against youth is an issue that deeply concerns us all. Youth violence can be thought of as a juvenile crime issue, as a public health issue, and as a school safety issue. It affects every region and demographic group. As many recent incidents have made us aware, it is a problem that can strike with unexpected force -- and that now demands uncommonly unified responses. That is why I announced, on August 17, 1999, that a nonprofit, nonpartisan "National Campaign Against Youth Violence" had been established to bring together all segments of society to help prevent youth violence.

The Federal Government already addresses many aspects of youth violence through its programs. I am particularly proud of the joint efforts of the Attorney General, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, and the Secretary of Education in developing the Safe Schools/Healthy Students initiative. These agencies also worked well together to help us respond quickly to the Columbine High School incident. I have read with interest the report of the Attorney General's Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. I look forward to the report that the Surgeon General in response to my May request is preparing on the causes of youth violence. The Secretary of Labor's efforts to address the needs of youth are also about to bear fruit, as high-poverty communities implement our new Youth Opportunity Grants, and as the

Secretary and the Attorney General finalize their agreement for cooperative work on those grants and on Labor's Youth Offender grant program.

With so many agencies and programs involved, and with the need for my Administration to work closely with different elements of State and local governments, tribes, schools, community groups, and families, it has become increasingly clear to me that the Federal Government needs a more effective policy coordination strategy for youth violence issues.

Therefore, today I direct the Assistant for Domestic Policy to form a White House Council on Youth Violence to provide this policy coordination, to provide flexible and timely responses to the challenge of youth violence, and to ensure that our Nation's citizens are able to benefit from the Federal Government's many antiviolence initiatives.

Structure of the Council

The Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy will chair the Council. The Office of the Vice President and the Office of Management and Budget will be regular participants. Four agency heads will be the regular program members of the Council:

- The Attorney General, responding to the juvenile crime aspects;
- The Secretary of Health and Human Services, responding to the public health aspects, including mental health aspects, and to family issues;
- The Secretary of Education, responding to the school safety issues; and
- The Secretary of Labor, responding to youth employment and out-of-school youth issues.

The Chair of the Council may add such other officials as he deems appropriate to further the purposes of this overall effort or to participate in specific aspects of it. For example, matters relating to public health aspects would involve the Surgeon General. Matters relating to firearms control or drug abuse would involve the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of National Drug Control Policy, respectively. Implications for economic development policies

would call for involvement of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Commerce. Comparable policies for Indian country would engage the Secretary of the Interior. Issues relating to community service opportunities for youth would involve the Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation for National and Community Service.

The Chair, after consultation with Council members, will appoint staff members to coordinate the Council's efforts. The Chair may call upon the participating agencies for logistical support to the Council, as necessary.

Duties of the Council

1. Develop a citizen's information hub. The Council will develop and maintain a coordinated inventory of relevant agency programs and provide analyses of their effectiveness. It will make this inventory widely available in summary form -- and upon request in more detail -- through the services of the appropriate Council member, to elected officials, community groups, police organizations, school systems, parents, and others working on local solutions to these issues. The inventory and full texts of program reports and evaluations should be available on an easily accessible website. The availability of this compilation will be widely publicized.

2. Produce reports on youth violence. The Council will prepare or have prepared reports on various aspects of the problem of youth violence, describing, for instance, best practices in combating the problem. In doing so, the Council should consult with nonprofits, foundations, and other organizations that have conducted research and/or developed resources on the prevention of youth violence. In addition, the Surgeon General is now carrying out a broad study of the potential causes of youth violence. I ask that the Surgeon General consult closely with the Council in the development of the study so that I may have the benefit of participation of all the involved agencies in its analysis and findings.

3. Expand the Safe Schools/Healthy Students model of collaboration. This initiative of the Departments of Justice, Education, and Health and Human Services has evolved into a highly effective collaboration among the agencies. The Council will oversee this effort and examine options for improving its operations and applying the model to other governmental efforts. The Secretary of Labor will begin participation in

the initiative through establishing linkages to Youth Opportunities and Youth Offender grants.

4. Provide tools for parents to deal with the issue. Many Federal programs address issues relating to strengthening the family and helping parents raise children. The Council will explore the possibility of devising a cross-program strategy to help parents address youth violence. It will also report on new tools emerging in both the private and public sectors to assist parents.

5. Coordinate the Federal research agenda. The Council will oversee coordination of agency research agendas and the development of needed cross-agency research collaborations. I ask the Council to seek to have this structure in place to support the planning for FY 2001 research funds, and where feasible, to improve the planned use of funds available from prior years.

6. Develop further policy responses. The Council will meet at the call of the Chair to discuss new findings from analyses of the youth violence issue and to consider new or modified Administration responses to it, especially those that involve more than one agency. Recommendations for initiatives will be discussed in the Council for consistency with overall coordinated policy before being presented for formal decision in the budget process. From time to time, the Council will report to me directly on the results of its efforts.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

cc: The Vice President

The Secretary of the Treasury

The Secretary of the Interior

The Secretary of Agriculture

The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

The Director of the Office of Management and Budget

The Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy

**PRESIDENT CLINTON:
WORKING WITH YOUNG PEOPLE TO COMBAT YOUTH VIOLENCE**

October 19, 1999

"America will never have a better time to face its biggest problems; America will never have a better time to save all of its children. Why don't we, together, say that we're going to make America the safest big country in the world in the 21st century, starting with making our children safe."

President Bill Clinton
October 19, 1999

Today, at the Voices Against Violence conference at the U.S. Capitol, President Clinton spoke with over 350 teen leaders from across the country about key priorities for our nation's future. The President stressed the importance of passing a budget that invests in young people and makes education our first priority, and called on Congress to enact common-sense gun laws and long-overdue hate crimes legislation. The President also released the second Annual Report on School Safety and announced that the Justice Department will distribute multimedia toolkits on preventing youth violence.

Demanding a Budget That Invests in America's Future. In his address to teen leaders, President Clinton called on Congress to pass a budget that makes education America's number-one priority, with measures that:

- * add 100,000 teachers to reduce class size in the early grades;
- * fund critical education initiatives such as mentoring, after-school and summer school programs;
- * support school construction and modernization; and
- * invest in accountability to turn around failing schools.

Unveiling New Tools to Prevent School Violence. The President released the findings of the second Annual Report on School Safety – a report that gives parents, principals, youth, and policy makers an overview of school crime and offers practical steps to make schools safer. Key findings include:

- * While homicides in school remain extremely rare, multiple victim school homicides have increased;
- * Less than one percent of the total number of children nationwide who were murdered or committed suicide were killed at school;
- * Overall crime rates are down at school and away from school;
- * Serious violent crime at school comprises about ten percent of all school crime, and is on the decline;
- * Fewer students are carrying weapons to school and getting into fights; and
- * Minority students and younger students feel less safe than other students at school.

The President also announced that the Justice Department – in partnership with MTV and the Department of Education – will distribute 200,000 additional copies of a CD with an interactive conflict resolution program, and a Youth Action Guide on preventing youth violence. The guides and CDs will be sent to organizations such as Boys and Girls Clubs, juvenile justice agencies, and after-school programs.

Calling on Congress to Finish the Job on Guns and Hate Crimes. Six months after the tragedy at Columbine High School, the President reiterated the importance of passing common-sense gun legislation that would close the gun show loophole; require child safety locks for handguns; ban the importation of large-capacity ammunition clips; and bar violent juveniles from owning guns for life. The President also urged Congress to pass the bipartisan Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 1999, which would make it easier to

prosecute crimes based on race, color, religion, or national origin and expand coverage to include crimes based on sexual orientation, gender and disability.

Facsimile from Senator Jack Reed's Office

201 Hillside Road, Suite 200

Cranston, RI 02920

(401) 943-3100 Fax: (401) 464-6837

Date: 12/13/99To: Ruby Simone

Office: _____

Fax Number: 202-456-2878Number of pages: c+ 1Original to follow in the mail: yes no

From:

☐ Senator Jack Reed	☐ Raymond D. Simone
☐ Lynne M. Lombardi	☐ Kathryn Hanson
☐ Norelys R. Consuegra	☐ Cheryl A. Ward
☐ Robert Gousie	☐ Brenda M. Pacheco
☐ Dennis Riley	☒ Nancy L. Langrall
☐ Nancy Melo	☐ Mary Ellen Rodgers
☐ Other: _____	

Remarks: Rennet memo

Agenda for Cumberland High School Discussion with First Lady Hillary Clinton**Monday, December 13, 1999**

- 1:15 pm Expected arrival time for invited dignitaries to First Lady's holding room
(See enclosed list)
- 1:30 pm General public time of arrival including high school students & local officials from Blackstone Valley communities: Cumberland, Burrillville, Central Falls, Lincoln, North Providence, North Smithfield, Pawtucket, Smithfield, & Woonsocket)
- 1:45 pm Pre-program with musical entertainment begins
- 2:00 pm First Lady, Sen. Reed and Cong. Kennedy expected to arrive and meet dignitaries in holding room
- 2:15 pm Program begins (reverse town meeting format)
- Welcome by Mayor Frank Gaschen (1 minute)
- Remarks by Cong. Weygand (2 minutes)
- Remarks by Sen. Lincoln Chafee (2 minutes)
- Remarks by Cong. Patrick Kennedy (2-3 minutes)
- Remarks by Sen. Jack Reed (2-3 minutes) and introduction of student
- Introduction of First Lady by Sarah Bak, President of Cumberland High School Student Council (1 minute)
- Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton (5-6 minutes)
- First Lady with Sen. Reed and Cong. Kennedy ask questions of the audience
- 3:10 pm Closing remarks and Cumberland High School presentation to the First Lady
- 3:15 pm Program ends

As of 12/113/99, 9AM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 10, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

CC: MELANNE VERVEER
MARSHA BERRY

FROM: ANN O'LEARY
RUBY SHAMIR

SUBJECT: YOUTH VIOLENCE POLICY UPDATE FOR RHODE ISLAND
EVENT

The purpose of Monday's youth violence event is to focus on ways to combat youth violence by bringing all sectors – parents, teachers, community leaders, kids, and others – together. Since the format of the session will be a reverse town hall, in that you will be asking questions of the mostly student-populated audience, you could also refer to the many people you have met in communities all over the country, who are thinking about this issue, and working to reduce youth violence. Attached are suggested questions that you, and the Members of Congress joining you on stage, may want to use when addressing the audience.

Below you will find brief updates on the activities of the National Campaign Against Youth Violence, the progress of White House policy initiatives on youth violence, and guidance on recent legal actions against the gun industry.

National Campaign Against Youth Violence

Formally launched by the President in August, the National Campaign has been working on developing a large-scale media campaign, inaugurating a community-by-community violence reduction campaign, and improving the delivery of non-violence resources nationwide.

- **Media Campaign:** For the media campaign, the National Campaign has received commitments from several media sources to run PSAs and potentially co-brand its programs. The PSAs and trailers should be ready for release by February 2000. Additionally, the National Campaign is developing major "Athletes for Non-Violence" press events to support the ad campaign, as well as concerts and events, is approaching television networks to organize a day of media non-violence, and is developing on-line and video in-school and after-school programs.
- **City-by-City Campaign:** The City-by-City campaign has four components. First, the National Campaign is identifying the communities in America that are most at need and working with local youth violence services to identify where gaps in services exist. Second, the National Campaign is reaching agreements with several national youth organizations to identify people who can best develop multi-disciplinary programs in their communities.

Third, the National Campaign is identifying corporate sponsors that can "adopt" communities, or their multi-disciplinary programs. Fourth, the National Campaign is identifying corporations to sponsor a town hall meeting and nationally covered kick-off event in a different community every two weeks in 2000 to launch these efforts.

White House Youth Violence Council

The White House Council on Youth Violence is the Federal government's response to developing more effective ways to prevent youth violence. This Council will ensure that parents, teachers, and community leaders are able to benefit from the Federal Government's many anti-violence initiatives by more effectively coordinating and collaborating among the Federal agencies. The tasks of the Council include developing a citizen's information hub on youth violence, producing reports on youth violence, expanding effective models of collaboration such as the Safe Schools/Health student grants, providing tools for parents to deal with the issue, and coordinating the Federal research agenda on youth violence.

Guns: Lawsuits Against the Gun Industry

As you know, on Wednesday, the New York Times reported that the Department of Housing and Urban Development was prepared to sue gun manufacturers, however, the story missed some important nuances of the situation.

Each year, over 10,000 crimes are committed with guns in the nation's 100 largest public housing authorities (PHA's) and each year all of the nation's over 3,000 PHA's spend \$1 billion in security costs. The PHA's had decided to file class action lawsuits against the gun manufacturers rooted in the same legal theories as lawsuits filed by 28 cities. While they have not fully developed their legal strategy, many of the cities are suing on the basis of product liability, saying that the gun industry has failed to make a safe product, and on the basis of nuisance and negligence, saying that the industry has been negligent in marketing and distribution of its product, that it has made it easy for criminals to obtain guns, that it has marketed criminal-friendly features on its guns and that it advertises to juveniles. HUD's public housing mission is to maintain safe and sanitary conditions in the public housing it oversees and it also consults PHA's on all lawsuits, even though the agency does not have individual litigating authority. HUD checked with legal experts and determined that a lawsuit by the PHA's would be viable and they are ready to recommend that the PHA's file when necessary.

In addition to the cities suits, two states, New York and Connecticut, are threatening lawsuits as well, while at the same time, a number of states are passing laws that would provide gun industry immunity from these lawsuits. The lawsuits filed by cities, threatened by the states, and now by the PHA's, have brought some industry representatives and cities together to work towards a settlement. Please see the attached Q and A on the subject.

**YOUTH VIOLENCE EVENT
CUMBERLAND HIGH SCHOOL
*December 13, 1999***

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

About Kids

Have you had any experiences with violence here at Cumberland High School? If so, how have those experiences changed your feelings about the school?

Are you worried about violence at your school?

What can young people do to prevent violence?

How can we encourage students to be more accepting of students who seem different from them?
What role do cliques and labels play in your school?

About Parents

What sort of a role do you think parents can play in your lives? In reducing youth violence?

Do your parents talk to you about violence? What do you talk about when you hear about acts of youth violence?

How do you think parents can get more involved in schools?

About Counselors and Teachers

Are there enough trusted adults at school for you to talk to? Do students feel comfortable talking to them?

Should we expand mental health services for young people at school?

About Schools and Communities

Do you have access to after-school programs in your community?

What kind of role does your church, police department, or other community group play in working with young people in the community?

What steps has Cumberland High School taken to reduce youth violence?

What can public officials do to reduce youth violence?

About Guns

Is it easy or difficult for young people to get access to guns in your community? Have there been problems with weapons here at Cumberland, or in the surrounding community?

Do you know people who keep guns in the house? Do you know if parents talk to their kids about having guns in the house?

About Media

Does the media help or hinder efforts to reduce youth violence? How would you change it if you could?

**Gun Litigation
December 8, 1999
Questions and Answers**

Q: Why are the public housing authorities threatening to sue gun manufacturers?

A: We are determined to do everything we can to keep guns out of the wrong hands. My Administration has worked hard to make public housing safer, but gun violence remains a serious problem in many of these communities. Every year, thousands of gun-related incidents and hundreds of gun-related murders take place in and around public housing buildings. So I think it makes sense for the housing authorities – which bear the costs of this violence – to consider filing suit against the gun industry. Of course, it's my preference that the industry and housing authorities can work toward a negotiated settlement before anyone has to go to court. I know there are talks already underway between some of the manufacturers and the cities that have sued them. I want to spur those talks along, and encourage the industry to do all it can to address gun violence – in public housing and in all our communities.

Q: What would the public housing authorities be seeking from the gun industry by filing a lawsuit?

A: My understanding is that the plaintiffs [wouldn't be seeking monetary damages; they] want injunctive relief of the sort that has been proposed by many of the cities in their suits against the industry. This would include industry distribution controls to prevent the leakage of firearms into the illegal gun market, and improvements in the design and safety of firearms to prevent accidents and unauthorized uses. Their goal – which of course we share-- will be remedies that truly make our communities safer.

Q: Didn't HUD testify to Congress that they were not going to file a lawsuit? What is their role in the lawsuit? And what is the Justice Department's role?

A: As HUD's general counsel testified, HUD is not bringing a lawsuit. Instead, public housing authorities from across the nation are considering filing a class action lawsuit on behalf of the over 3,000 public housing authorities nationwide. HUD has helped housing authorities to take this step – which is exactly what three HUD employees told Congress. But let me say: I believe the goals of this lawsuit would be entirely consistent with HUD's mission and with my Administration's efforts to help make this the safest big nation on earth.

HUD has a statutory mandate to provide safe and decent housing to the nation's neediest citizens. That's why they have helped the public housing authorities in their efforts to organize against gun violence and to work through some of the technical aspects of this possible litigation. The Justice Department would not have a role in this suit, since the housing authorities are not part of the federal government and hire their own private counsel.

Q: On the heels of the tobacco litigation, isn't this just ushering in the era of big lawsuits? And does this mean that you've given up on passing legislation?

A: Not at all. I am absolutely committed to passing common sense gun legislation – and it remains among my top legislative priorities for next year. There is tremendous public support for reasonable gun

measures like closing the gun show loophole, and we will keep the pressure on Congress. Having said that, I am absolutely committed to doing all we can to keep guns out of the wrong hands. A dozen American children die every day due to gunfire. We owe it to them to look into every available avenue to make our streets and schools safer. Just because Congress refuses to act doesn't mean that everyone else should give up on their responsibility to make this country safer. And, I believe that those who bear the costs of gun violence should have a chance to make their case in court.

Q: Why is the possibility of the lawsuit coming out now?

A: The public housing authorities have been reviewing the possibility of a lawsuit for the past several months. After consulting widely with private attorneys, the housing agencies and HUD have concluded that a suit would be viable, and I understand that the public housing authorities are prepared to move forward with a case. The string of violent gun incidents in recent months only underscores the urgency of this issue. But again, my belief is that we can avoid more litigation if the industry works in good faith toward a meaningful and comprehensive settlement – and my Administration stands ready to engage them on those terms.

Q: What about the NRA's charge that you could do more to reduce gun violence by simply enforcing the law against criminals than by passing legislation or filing a lawsuit?

A: I agree that effective enforcement of our gun laws is a critical part of any crime-fighting strategy. This Administration has boosted assistance to state and local law enforcement – who carry out most gun-related enforcement activities – by over 500 percent. Total prosecutions are up, and federal prosecutions of the most serious gun offenders are up by over 34 percent since 1992. We've also funded 100,000 more police for our streets and we've proposed funding to add more police and local community prosecutors to help fight crime at the local level.

But ultimately, what you enforce matters too. We know that laws that keep guns out of the wrong hands can make a difference. Take the Brady Law. Since it took effect, over half a million guns have been kept from felons, fugitives, stalkers, and other prohibited persons through common sense Brady background checks – saving countless lives and averting countless crimes.

Let me say too that while we have made significant strides in reducing gun violence over the past several years, we could do even more with the cooperation of the industry. When gun manufacturers, distributors and dealers don't share records on crime guns with law enforcement in a timely fashion; when manufacturers continue selling guns to dealers who are the source of large numbers of crime guns; when most of the roughly 100,000 gun dealers in this nation aren't subject to more than one inspection a year; and when guns are marketed to criminals and juveniles – then our enforcement efforts are hindered. These are some of the practices that need to be remedied.

TIME

EXCLUSIVE

THE COLUMBINE

TAPES

The killers tell why they did it

- The five home videos they made before their death
- What the families are doing to prevent another tragedy



The school-cafeteria surveillance video

SPECIAL



THE COLUM

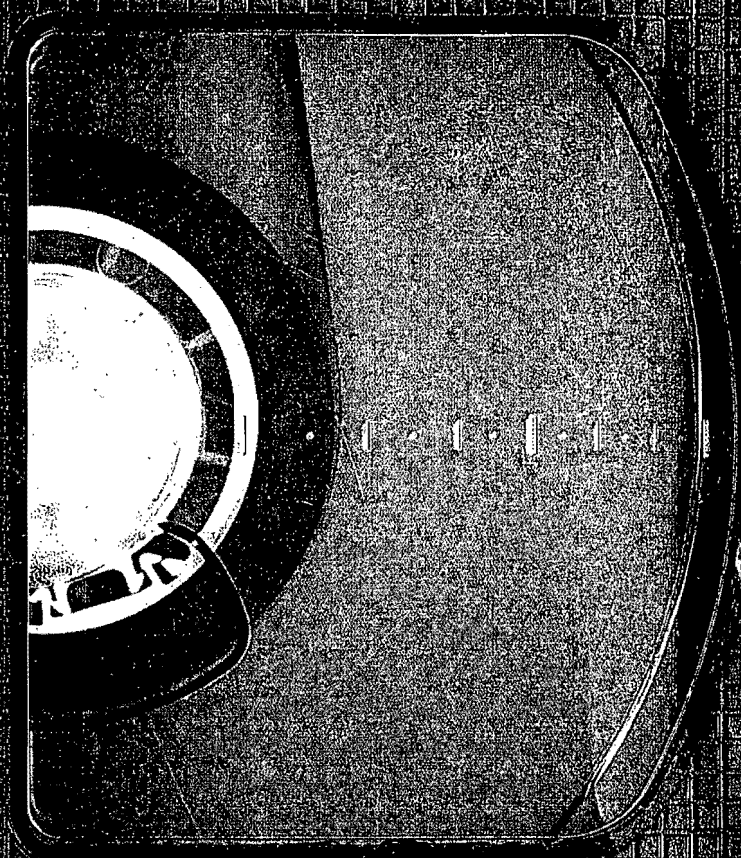
In five secret videos they recorded before the massacre

By Nancy Gibbs and Timothy Roche

THE NATURAL BORN KILLERS WAITED until the parents were asleep upstairs before heading down to the basement to put on their show. The first videotape is almost unbearable to watch.

Dylan Klebold sits in the tan La-Z-Boy, chewing on a toothpick. Eric Harris adjusts his video camera a few feet away, then settles into his chair with a bottle of Jack Daniels and a sawed-off shotgun in his lap. He calls it Arlene,

REPORT



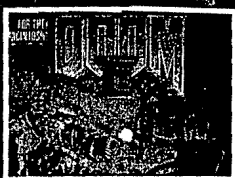
BORN TAPES

, the killers reveal their hatreds—and their lust for fame

after a favorite character in the gory Doom video games and books that he likes so much. He takes a small swig. The whiskey stings, but he tries to hide it, like a small child playing grownup. These videos, they predict, will be shown all around the world one day—once they have produced their masterpiece and everyone wants to know how, and why.

Above all, they want to be seen as originals. “Do not think we’re trying to copy anyone,” Harris warns, recalling the school shootings in Oregon and Kentucky. They had the idea long ago, “before the first one ever happened.”

GEORGE KOCHANIEC—DENVER ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS/SCORPION SYGMA



Tick, tick, tick, tick ... Haa! That

And their plan is better, "not like those f_cks in Kentucky with camouflage and .22s. Those kids were only trying to be accepted by others."

Harris and Klebold have an inventory of their ecumenical hatred: all "niggers, spics, Jews, gays, f_cking whites," the enemies who abused them and the friends who didn't do enough to defend them. But it will all be over soon. "I hope we kill 250 of you," Klebold says. He thinks it will be the most "nerve-racking 15 minutes of my life, after the bombs are set and we're waiting to charge through the school. Seconds will be like hours. I can't wait. I'll be shaking like a leaf."

"It's going to be like f_cking Doom," Harris says. "Tick, tick, tick, tick... Haa! That f_cking shotgun is straight out of Doom!"

How easy it has been to fool everyone, as they staged their dress rehearsals, gathered their props—the shotguns in their gym bags, the pipe bombs in the closet. Klebold recounts for the camera the time his parents walked in on him when he was trying on his black leather trench coat, with his sawed-off shotgun hidden underneath: "They didn't even know it was there." Once, Harris recalls, his mother saw him carrying a gym bag with a gun handle sticking out of the zipper. She assumed it was his BB gun. Every day Klebold and Harris went to school, sat in class, had lunch with their schoolmates, worked with their teachers and plotted their slaughter. People fell for every lie. "I could convince them that I'm going to climb Mount Everest, or I have a twin brother growing out of my back," says Harris. "I can make you believe anything."

Even when it is over, they promise, it will not be over. In memory and nightmares, they hope to live forever. "We're going to kick-start a revolution," Harris says—a revolution of the dispossessed. They talk about being ghosts who will haunt the survivors—"create flashbacks from what we do," Harris promises, "and drive them insane."

It is getting late now. Harris looks at his watch. He says the time is 1:28 a.m. March 15. Klebold says people will note the date and time when watching it. And he knows what his parents will be thinking. "If only we could have reached them sooner or found this tape," he predicts they will say. "If only we would have searched their room," says Harris. "If only we would have asked the right questions."

SINCE THEN, WE'VE NEVER STOPPED ASKING, of course, in our aching effort to get back on our feet, slowly, carefully, only to be pushed

back down again. And what if the answers turn out to be different from what we've heard all along? A six-week TIME investigation of the Columbine case tracked the efforts of the police and FBI, who are still sorting through some 10,000 pieces of evidence, 5,000 leads, the boys' journals and websites and the five secret home videos they made in the weeks before the massacre. Within the next few weeks, the investigators are expected to issue their report, and their findings are bound to surprise a town, and a country, that has heard all about the culture of cruelty, the bullying jocks, and has concluded that two ugly, angry boys just snapped, and fired back.

It turns out there is much more to the story than that.

Why, if their motive was rage at the athletes who taunted them, didn't they take their guns and bombs to the locker room? Because retaliation against specific people was not the point. Because this may have been about celebrity as much as cruelty. "They wanted to be famous," concludes FBI agent Mark Holstlaw. "And they are. They're infamous." It used to be said that living well is the best revenge; for these two, it was to kill and die in spectacular fashion.

This is not to say the humiliation Harris and Klebold felt was not a cause. Because they were steeped in violence and drained of mercy, they could accomplish everything at once: payback to those who hurt them, and glory, the creation of a cult, for all those who have suffered and been cast out. They wanted movies made of their story, which they had carefully laced with "a lot of foreshadowing and dramatic irony," as Harris put it. There was that poem he wrote, imagining himself as a bullet. "Directors will be fighting over this story," Klebold said—and the boys chewed over which could be trusted with the script: Steven Spielberg or Quentin Tarantino. "You have two individuals who wanted to immortalize themselves," says Holstlaw. "They wanted to be martyrs and to document everything they were doing."

These boys had read their Shakespeare: "Good wombs hath borne bad sons," Harris quoted from *The Tempest*, as he reflected on how his rampage would ruin his parents' lives. The boys knew that once they staged their final act, the audience would be desperate for meaning. And so they provided their own poisonous chorus, about why they hated so many people so much. In the weeks before what they



WHAT THE INVESTIGATORS HAVE LEARNED

f__ing shotgun is straight out of Doom.

—ERIC HARRIS



SHERIFFS show the three weapons the killers used

WARNINGS WERE IGNORED

Police received complaints about Harris' violent website, which contained threats against another student, but failed to investigate.

THEY PLOTTED FOR A FULL YEAR

Harris and Klebold had planned their attack on Columbine for more than a year. They had wanted to strike on April 19, but later let it slip by a day.

THERE WAS NO BACKUP PLAN

The duo had planned to gun down students as they fled bombs in the cafeteria. But the bombs fizzled, and the gunmen began firing aimlessly.

SWAT TEAMS WERE TOO LATE

The best chance to get the killers was during their first 7 min. in the library. But by the time the teams deployed, the killers were moving.

GUNMEN WERE EQUAL PARTNERS

Though Harris has been called the dominant personality, ballistics show Klebold fired about as many rounds and killed about as many victims.



44 People constantly make fun of

called their Judgment Day, they sat in their basement and made their haunting videos—detailing their plans, their motives, even their regrets—which Harris left in his bedroom for the police and his parents to find when it was all over.

The dilemma for many families at Columbine is ours as well. For months they have searched for answers. "It's not going to bring anything or anybody back," says Mike Kirklin, whose son survived a shot in the face. "But we do need to know. Why did they do this?" Still, the last thing the survivors want is to see these boys on the cover of another magazine, back in the headlines, on the evening news. We need to understand them, but we don't want to look at them. And yet there is no escaping this story. Last week another child shot up another school, this time an Oklahoma junior high where four were injured, and all the questions came gushing out one more time.

At Columbine, some wounds are slow to heal. The old library is walled off, while the victims' families try to raise the money to replace it by building a new one. The students still have trouble with fire drills. Some report that kids are drinking more heavily now, saying more prayers, seeing more counselors—550 visits so far this year. Two dozen students are homebound, unable, whether physically or emotionally, to come back to class yet. Tour-bus groups have changed their routes to stop at the high school, and stare.

Some people have found a way to forgive: even parents who lost their beloved children; even kids who won't ever walk again, or speak clearly, or grow old together with a sister who died on the school lawn. But other survivors are still on a journey, through dark places of anger and suspicion, aimed at a government they fear wants to cover up the misjudgments of police; at a school that wants to shift blame; at the killers' parents, who have stated their regrets in written statements issued through their lawyers but who still aren't saying much and who surely, surely had to know something.

It's easy now to see the signs: how a video-game joystick turned Harris into a better marksman, like a golfer who watches Tiger Woods videos; how he decided to stop taking his Luvox, to let his anger flare, undiluted by medication. How Klebold's violent essays for English class were like skywriting his intent. If only the parents had looked in the middle drawer of Harris' desk, they would have found the four windup clocks that he later used as timing devices. Check the duffel bag in the closet; the pipe bombs are inside. In his CD collection, they would have found a recording that meant so much to him that he willed it to a girl in his last videotaped suicide message. The name of the album? *Bombthreat Before She Blows*.

The problem is that until April 20, nobody was looking. And Harris and Klebold knew it.

THE BASEMENT TAPES

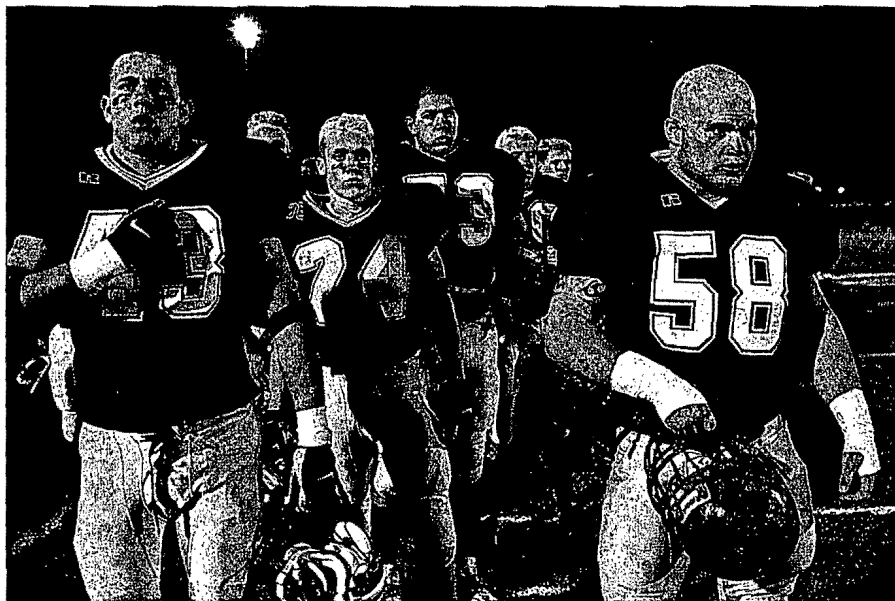
THE TAPES WERE MEANT TO BE THEIR FINAL word, to all those who had picked on them over the years, and to everyone who would come up with a theory about their inner demons. It is clear listening to them that Harris and Klebold were not just having trouble with what their counselors called "anger management." They fed the anger, fueled it, so the fury could take hold, because they knew they would need it to do what they had set out to do. "More rage. More rage," Harris says. "Keep building it on," he says, motioning with his hands for emphasis.

Harris recalls how he moved around so much with his military family and always had to start over, "at the bottom of the ladder." People continually made fun of him—"my face, my hair, my shirts." As for Klebold, "If you could see all the anger I've stored over the past four f---ing years..." he says. His brother Byron was popular and athletic and constantly "ripped" on him, as did the brother's friends. Except for his parents, Klebold says, his extended family treated him like the runt of the litter. "You made me what I am," he said. "You added to the rage." As far back as the Foothills Day Care center, he hated the "stuck-up" kids he felt hated him. "Being shy didn't help," he admits. "I'm going to kill you all. You've been giving us s--- for years."

Klebold and Harris were completely soaked in violence: in movies like *Reservoir Dogs*; in gory video games that they tailored to their imaginations. Harris liked to call himself "Reb," short for rebel. Klebold's nickname was VoDKa (his favorite liquor, with the capital DK for his initials). On pipe bombs used in the massacre he wrote "VoDKa Vengeance."

That they were aiming for 250 dead shows that their motives went far beyond targeting the people who teased them. They planned it very carefully: when they would strike, where they would put the bombs, whether the fire sprinklers would snuff out their fuses. They could hardly wait. Harris picks up the shotgun and makes shooting noises. "Isn't it fun to get the respect that we're going to deserve?" he asks.

The tapes are a cloudy window on their moral order. They defend the friends who bought the guns for them, who Harris and Klebold say knew nothing of their intentions—as though they are concerned that innocent people not be blamed for their massacre of innocent people. If they hadn't got the guns where they did, Harris



THE CLASSMATES Harris and Klebold felt immense rage toward all, not just jocks

my face, my hair, my shirts. 77

—ERIC HARRIS



BROOKS BROWN He was once suspected of being an accomplice. His parents had actually warned police about Eric Harris but were ignored

says, "we would have found something else."

They had many chances to turn back—and many chances to get caught. They "came close" one day, when an employee of Green Mountain Guns called Harris' house and his father answered the phone. "Hey, your clips are in," the clerk said. His father replied that he hadn't ordered any clips and, as Harris retells it, didn't ask whether the clerk had dialed the right number. If either one had asked just one question, says Harris, "we would've been f__ed."

"We wouldn't be able to do what we're going to do," Klebold adds.

THE WARNING SIGNS

YOU COULD FILL A GOOD-SIZE ROOM WITH the people whose lives have been twisted into ropes of guilt by the events leading up to that awful day, and by the day itself. The teachers who read the essays but didn't hear the warnings, the cops who were tipped to Harris' poisonous website but didn't act on it, the judge and youth-services counselor who put the boys through a year of community service after they broke into a van and then concluded

that they had been rehabilitated. Because so many people are being blamed and threatened with lawsuits, there are all kinds of public explanations designed to diffuse and defend. But there are private conversations going on as well, within the families, among the cops, in the teachers' lounge, where people are asking themselves what they could have done differently. Neil Gardner, the deputy assigned to



SCHOOL COP Neil Gardner traded gunfire with Harris, but wishes he did more

the school who traded gunfire with Harris, says he wishes he could have done more. But with the criticism, he has learned, "you're not a hero unless you die."

Nearly everyone who ever knew Harris or Klebold has asked himself the same question: How could we have been duped? Yet the boys were not loners; they had a circle of friends. Harris played soccer (until the fall of 1998), and Klebold was in the drama club. Just the week before the rampage, the boys had to write a poem for an English class. Harris wrote about stopping the hate and loving the world. Klebold went to the prom the weekend before the slaughter; Harris couldn't get a date but joined him at the postprom parties, to celebrate with students they were planning to kill.

To adults, Klebold had always come across as the bashful, nervous type who could not lie very well. Yet he managed to keep his dark side a secret. "People have no clue," Klebold says on one videotape. But they should have had. And this is one of the most painful parts of the puzzle, to look back and see the flashing red lights—especially regarding Harris—that no one paid attention to. No one except, perhaps, the Brown family.



44 Directors will be fighting over

Brooks Brown became notorious after the massacre because certain police officers let slip rumors that he might have somehow been involved. And indeed he was—but not in the way the police were suggesting. Brown and Harris had had an argument back in 1998, and Harris had threatened Brown; Klebold also told him that he should read Harris' website on AOL, and he gave Brooks the Web address.

And there it all was: the dimensions and nicknames of his pipe bombs. The targets of his wrath. The meaning of his life. "I'm coming for EVERYONE soon and I WILL be armed to the f---ing teeth and I WILL shoot to kill." He rails against the people of Denver, "with their rich snobby attitude thinkin they are all high and mighty ... God, I can't wait til I can kill you people. Feel no remorse, no sense of shame. I don't care if I live or die in the shoot-out. All I want to do is kill and injure as many of you as I can, especially a few people. Like Brooks Brown."

The Browns didn't know what to do. "We were talking about our son's life," says Judy Brown. She and her husband argued heatedly. Randy Brown wanted to call Harris' father. But Judy didn't think the father would do anything; he hadn't disciplined his son for throwing an ice ball at the Browns' car. Randy considered anonymously faxing printouts from the website to Harris' father at work, but Judy thought it might only provoke Harris to violence.

Though she had been friends with Susan Klebold for years, Judy hesitated to call and tell her what was said on the website, which included details of Eric and Dylan's making bombs together. In the end, the Browns decided to call the sheriff's office. On the night of March 18, a deputy came to their house. They gave him printouts of the website, and he wrote a report for what he labeled a "suspicious incident." The Browns provided names and addresses for both Harris and Klebold, but they say they told the deputy that they did not want Harris to know their son had reported him.

A week or so later, Judy called the sheriff's office to find out what had become of their complaint. The detective she spoke with seemed uninterested; he even apologized for being so callous because he had seen so

much crime. Mrs. Brown persisted, and she and her husband met with detectives on March 31. Members of the bomb squad helpfully showed them what a pipe bomb looked like—in case one turned up in their mailbox.

The police already had a file on the boys, it turns out: they had been caught breaking into a van and were about to be sentenced. But somehow the new complaint never intersected the first; the Harises and Klebolds were never told that a new complaint had been leveled at Eric Harris. And as weeks passed, the Browns found it harder to get their calls returned as detectives focused on an unrelated triple homicide. Meanwhile, at the school, Deputy Gardner told the two deans that the police were investigating a boy who was looking up how to make pipe bombs on the Web. But the deans weren't shown the Web page, nor were they given Eric's name.

As more time passed and nothing happened, the Browns' fears eased—though they were troubled when their son started hanging out with Harris again. Then came April 20. As the gunmen entered the school, Harris saw Brown and told him to

run away. But when all the smoke had cleared and the bodies counted, the Browns went public with their charge that the police had failed to heed their warnings. And even some cops agree.

"It should have been followed up," says Sheriff Stone, who did not take office until January 1999. "It fell through the cracks," admits John Kiebusch, the sheriff's division chief in charge of investigations and patrol.

Some people still think Brooks Brown must have been involved. When he goes to the Dairy Queen, the kid at the drive-through recognizes him and locks all the doors and windows. Brown knows it is almost impossible to convince people that the rumors were never true. Like many kids, his life now has its markers: before Columbine and after.

THE INVESTIGATORS

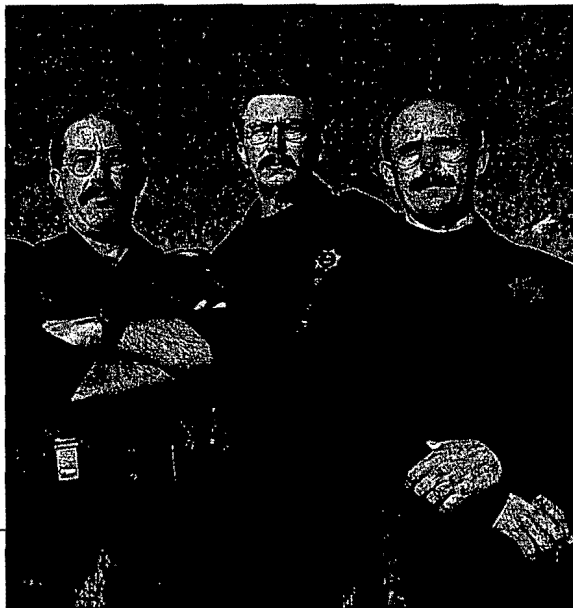
DETECTIVE KATE BATTAN STILL SEES IT IN her sleep—still sees what she saw that first day in April, when she was chosen to lead the task force that would investigate the



FBI AGENT
Rich Price of the domestic terrorism squad works the case

LEAD INVESTIGATOR
Kate Battan, shown with a model of the high school, heads the police task force

SWAT TEAM
The marksmen are being criticized for not going after the killers more aggressively



his story. Tarantino ... Spielberg.

—DYLAN KLEBOLD

—ERIC HARRIS

massacre. Bullet holes in the banks of blue lockers. Ceiling tiles ajar where kids had scamped to hide in the crawl space. Shoes left behind by kids who literally ran out of them. Dead bodies in the library, where students cowered beneath tables. One boy died clenching his eyeglasses, and another gripped a pencil as he drew his last breath. Was he writing a goodbye note? Or was he so scared that he forgot he held it? "It was like you walked in and time stopped," says Battan. "These are kids. You can't help but think about what their last few minutes were like."

Long after the bodies had been identified, Battan kept the Polaroids of them in her briefcase. Every morning when starting work, she'd look at them to remind herself whom she was working for.

On the Columbine task force, Battan was known as the Whip. As the lead investigator, she kept 80-plus detectives on track. The task force broke into teams: the pre-bomb team, which took the outside of the school; the library team; the cafeteria team; and the associates team, which investigated Harris' and Klebold's friends,

including the so-called Trench Coat Mafia, as possible accomplices.

Rich Price is an FBI special agent assigned to the domestic terrorism squad in Denver, a veteran of Oklahoma City and the Olympic Park bombing in Atlanta. He was in the North Carolina mountains searching for suspected bomber Eric Rudolph on April 20 when he heard about the rampage at Columbine. In TV news footage that afternoon, he saw his Denver-based colleagues on the scene and called his office. He was told to return to Denver ASAP—suddenly two teenage boys had become the target of a domestic-terrorism probe.

Price became head of the cafeteria team, re-creating the morning that hell broke loose. The investigators have talked to the survivors, the teachers, the school authorities; they have reviewed the videotapes from four security cameras placed in the cafeteria, as well as the videos the killers made. And they have walked the school, step by step, trying to re-create 46 minutes that left behind 15 dead bodies and a thousand questions.

Battan is very clear about her responsibilities. "I work for the victims. When they don't have any more questions, then I feel I've done my job."

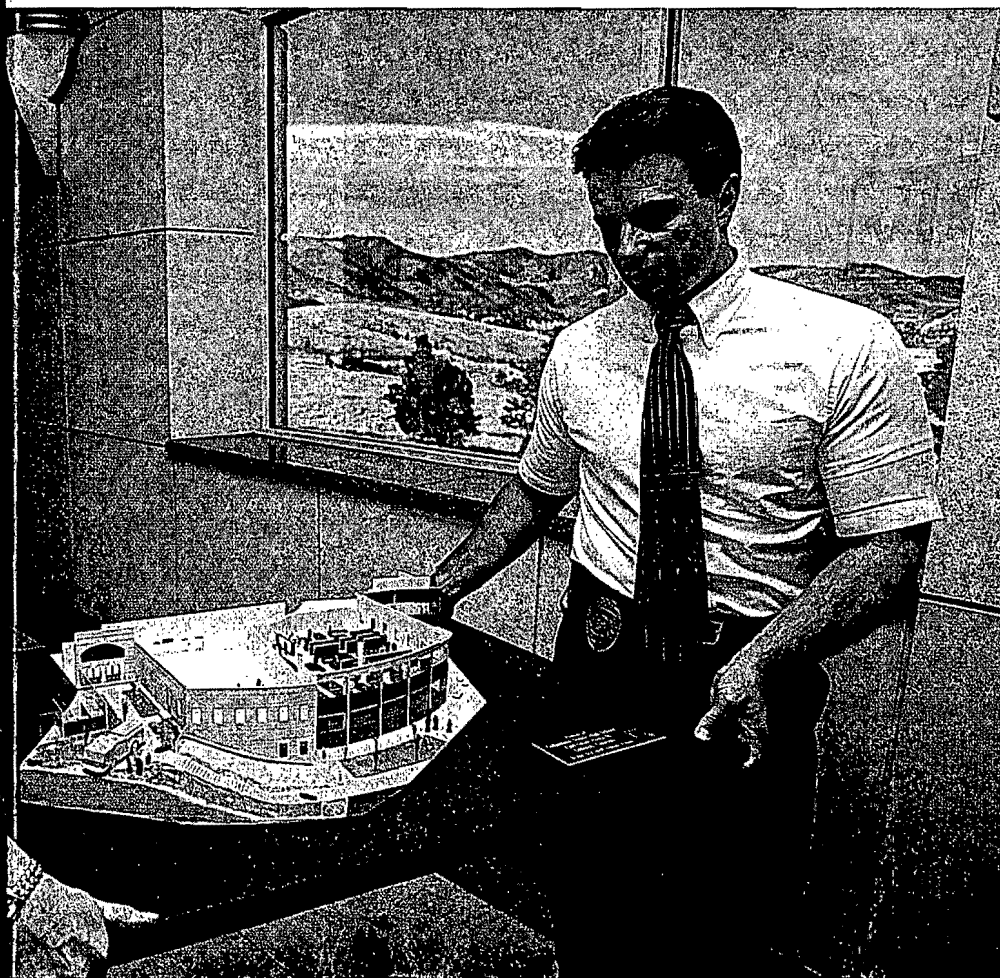
It quickly became obvious to the investigators that the assault did not go as the killers had planned. They had wanted to bomb first, then shoot. So they planted three sets of bombs: one set a few miles away, timed to go off first and lure police away from the school; a second set in the cafeteria, to flush terrified students out into the parking lot, where Harris and Klebold would be waiting with their guns to mow them down; and then a third set in their cars, timed to go off once the ambulances and rescue workers descended, to kill them as well. What actually happened instead was mainly an improvisation.

Just before 11 a.m. they hauled two duffel bags containing propane-tank bombs into the cafeteria. Then they returned to their cars, strapped on their weapons and ammunition, pulled on their black trench coats and settled in to wait.

Judgment Day, as they called it, was to begin at 11:17 a.m. But the bombs didn't go off. After two minutes, they walked toward the school and opened fire, shooting randomly and killing the first two of their 13 victims. And then they headed into the building.

Deputy Gardner was eating his lunch in his patrol car when a janitor called on the radio, saying a girl was down in the parking lot. Gardner drove toward her, heard gunshots and dived behind a Chevy Blazer, trading shots with Harris. "I've got to kill this kid," he kept telling himself. But he was terrified of shooting someone else by accident—and his training instructions directed that he concentrate on guarding the perimeter, so no one could escape.

Patti Nielson, a teacher, had seen Harris and Klebold coming and ran a few steps ahead of them into the library. One kid was doing his math homework on a calculator; another was filling out a college application; another was reading an article in *PEOPLE* about Brooke Shields' breakup with Andre Agassi. "Get down!" Nielson screamed. She dialed 911 and dropped the phone when the two gunmen came in. And so the police have a tape of everything that happened next.





I'm sorry. Like Shakespeare says

The 911 dispatcher listening on the open phone line could hear Harris and Klebold laughing as their victims screamed. When Harris found Cassie Bernall, he leaned down. "Peekaboo," he said, and killed her. His shotgun kicked, stunning him and breaking his nose. Blood streamed down his face as he turned to see Brea Pasquale sitting on the floor because she couldn't fit under a table. "Do you want to die today?" he asked her. "No," she quivered. Just then Klebold called to him, which spared her life.

Why hadn't anyone stopped them yet? It was now 11:29; because of the open line, the 911 dispatcher knew for certain—for seven long minutes—that the gunmen were there in the library and were shooting fellow students. At that early stage, though, only about a dozen cops had arrived on the scene, and none of them had protective gear or heavy weapons. They could have charged in with their handguns, but their training, and orders from their commanders, told them to "secure the perimeter" so the shooters couldn't escape and couldn't pursue the students who had fled. And by the time the trained SWAT units were pulling in, the killers were on the move again.

Leaving the library, Harris and Klebold walked down a flight of stairs to the cafeteria. It was empty, except for 450 book bags and the four students who hid beneath tables. All the killing and the yelling upstairs had made the shooters thirsty. Surveillance cameras recorded them as they drank from cups that fleeing kids had left on tables. Then they went back to work. They were frustrated that the bombs they had left, inside and outside, had not exploded, and they watched out the windows as the police and ambulances and SWAT teams descended on the school.

MOST PEOPLE WATCHING THE LIVE TELEVISION coverage that day saw them too, the nearly 800 police officers who would eventually mass outside the high school. The TV audience saw SWAT-team members who stood for hours outside, while, as far as everyone knew at the time, the gunmen were holding kids hostage inside. For the parents whose children were still trapped, there was no excuse for the wait. "When 500 officers go to a battle zone and not one comes away with a scratch, then something's wrong," charges Dale Todd, whose son Evan was wounded inside the school. "I expected dead officers, crippled

officers, disfigured officers—not just children and teachers."

This criticism is "like a punch in the gut," says sheriff's captain Terry Manwaring, who was the SWAT commander that day. "We were prepared to die for those kids."

So why the delay in attacking the gunmen? Chaos played a big part. From the moment of the first report of gunshots at Columbine, SWAT-team members raced in from every direction, some without their equipment, some in jeans and T-shirts, just trying to get there quickly. They had only two Plexiglas ballistic shields among them. As Manwaring dressed in his bulletproof gear, he says, he asked several kids to draw on notebook paper whatever they could remember of the layout of the sprawling, 250,000-sq.-ft. school. But the kids were so upset that they were not even sure which way was north.

Through most of the 46 minutes that Harris and Klebold were shooting up the school, police say they couldn't tell where the gunmen were, or how many of them there were. Students and teachers trapped in various parts of the school were flooding

911 dispatchers with calls reporting that the shooters were, simultaneously, inside the cafeteria, the library and the front office. They might have simply followed the sounds of gunfire—except, police say, fire alarms were ringing so loudly that they couldn't hear a gunshot 20 feet away.

So the officers treated the problem as a hostage situation, moving into the school through entrances far from the one where Harris and Klebold entered. The units painstakingly searched each hallway and closet and classroom and crawl space for gunmen, bombs and booby traps. "Every time we came around a corner," says Sergeant Allen Simmons, who led the first four SWAT officers inside, "we didn't know what was waiting for us." They created safe corridors to evacuate the students they found hiding in classrooms. And they moved very slowly and cautiously.

Evan Todd, 16, tells a different story. Wounded in the library, he waited until the killers moved on, and then he fled outside to safety. Evan, who is familiar with guns, says he immediately briefed a dozen police officers. "I described it all to them—the

THE PRINCIPAL

COULD HE HAVE DONE MORE?

THE NIGHT AFTER PRINCIPAL FRANK DeAngelis lost part of his school to Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, he got no sleep. In such bleak hours, a man takes account, and DeAngelis wasn't sure he liked the results. "I feel so guilty," he told Jon DeStefano not long after morning came. "I failed myself and my community." Besides being a close friend, DeStefano is president of the school board. Now DeAngelis asked him, "How can you ever trust me with your students again?"

Since that night, DeAngelis has had to grope around in a darkness most of us will never know. The entire nation has wondered why Harris and Klebold did what they did, but imagine wondering whether you could have stopped it. The uncertainties of Columbine will be with DeAngelis forever.

Remarkably, though, those doubts haven't broken him. In a four-hour interview with TIME, DeAngelis said he had shaken off much of the guilt he felt that awful morning. Before he was prin-

cipal, DeAngelis spent 14 years coaching football and baseball, and these days he seems like a coach again, ready for battle. "People are telling me I should have known. I'm telling you it's inaccurate," he says. "This harassment by athletes on Eric and Dylan that has been printed time and time again—I never received a call indicating that these people were harassing them. At no time did Eric or Dylan walk into my office and say, 'Mr. DeAngelis, I'm concerned.'"

Like many principals, DeAngelis makes his school his life, a life of after hours student baseball games and debate tournaments and art shows. These days at least, DeAngelis isn't falsely modest about this commitment. "People are saying I was out of touch with this school. I put in hours and hours and hours at extracurricular activities. I was at the play last year when Dylan was lighting specialist. Ask my wife how many hours I'm gone."

DeAngelis admits that harassment could have occurred without his know-

Good wombs hath borne bad sons.

—ERIC HARRIS

guns they were using, the ammo. I told them they could save lives [of the wounded still in the library if they moved in right away]. They told me to calm down and take my frustrations elsewhere."

At about noon Harris and Klebold returned to the library. All but two wounded kids and four teachers had managed to get out while they were gone. The gunmen fired a few more rounds out the window at cops and medics below. Then Klebold placed one final Molotov cocktail, made from a Frappuccino bottle, on a table. As it sizzled and smoked, Harris shot himself, falling to the floor. When Klebold fired seconds later, his Boston Bruins cap landed on Harris' leg. They were dead by 12:05 p.m., when the sprinkler turned on, extinguishing what was supposed to be their last bomb.

But the police didn't know any of this. They were still searching, slowly, along corridors and in classrooms. They found two janitors hiding in the meat freezer.

Students and teachers had barricaded themselves and refused to open doors, worried that the shooters might be posing as cops.

Upstairs in a science classroom, student Kevin Starkey called 911. Teacher Dave Sanders had been shot running in the upstairs hallway, trying to warn people; he was bleeding badly and needed help fast. But by this time the 911 lines were so flooded with calls that the phone company started disconnecting people—including Starkey. Finally the 911 dispatcher used his personal cell phone and kept a line open to the classroom so he could help guide police there.

Listening to another dispatcher in his earpiece, Sergeant Barry Williams, who was leading a second SWAT team inside, tried to track Sanders down—but he says no one could tell him where the science rooms were. Still, he and his team searched on, looking for a rag that kids said they had tied on the doorknob as a signal.

The team finally found Sanders in a room with 50 or 60 kids. A paramedic went to work, trying to

stop the bleeding and get him out to an ambulance. But it had all taken too long. Though Harris and Klebold had killed themselves three hours earlier, the SWAT team hadn't reached Sanders until close to 3 p.m.

Sanders' daughter Angela often talks to the students who tried to save her dad. "How many of those kids could have lived if they had moved more quickly?" she asks. "This is what I do every day. I sit and ponder, 'What if?'"

The SWAT team members wonder too. By the time they got to the library, they found that the assault on the school was all over. Scattered around the library was "a sea of bombs" that had not exploded. Trying not to kick anything, the SWAT team members looked for survivors. And then they found the killers, already dead. "We'll never know why they stopped when they did," says Battan.

Given how long the cops took and how much ammunition the killers had, the death toll could have been far worse. But some parents still think it didn't need to have been as high as it was. They pressed Colorado Governor Bill Owens, who has appointed a commission to review Columbine and possibly update SWAT tactics for assailants who are moving and shooting. "There may be times when you just walk through until you find the killers," Owens says. "This is the first time this has happened." The local lawmen "didn't know what they were dealing with."

THE PARENTS

BEFORE THE SWAT TEAMS EVER FOUND the gunmen's bodies, investigators had already left to search the boys' homes: the kids who had managed to flee had told them whom they should be hunting.

When they knocked on each family's door, it was Mr. Harris and Mr. Klebold who answered. By then, news of the assault at Columbine was playing out live on TV. Mr. Harris' first reflex was to call his wife and tell her to come home. And he called his lawyer.

The Klebolds had not been told that their son was definitely involved. They knew his car had been found in the parking lot. They knew witnesses had identified him as a gunman. They knew he was friends with Harris. And they knew he still had not come home, though it was getting late. Mr. Klebold said they had to face the facts. But neither he nor his wife was



HEALING Once torn by guilt, DeAngelis looks ahead

ing, without anyone complaining. Kids as troubled as Harris and Klebold aren't likely to stop making bombs one day and decide what they really should do is talk to an ex-jock principal about what's bugging them. And an alienated teen probably wouldn't expose his interior life during a well-attended extracurricular event. But DeAngelis says the official police report on Columbine, set for release in January, will show that the school wasn't a brutish place where cool kids humiliated outcasts every day.

That report may be gratifying, but the search for answers can leave you feeling empty. What progress DeAngelis has made in his search owes something to the support he has enjoyed in Littleton. The day after the massacre, he went to address students and parents at a local church. He felt uncertain, but when his name was announced, the place erupted in a spontaneous ovation. As he had in the past, DeAngelis told the students he loved them.

But DeAngelis remains frustrated. Sometimes he thinks about the final conversation he had with Dave Sanders, the teacher killed April 20. Both men had been coaches. They had been to each other's wedding, had kids around the same age. On April 19 they sat together at a baseball game, and their how-are-you chat turned more contemplative, the long hours they spent, the many challenges of working with teenagers. "Is all the time worth it?" they wondered. They both said yes then. And DeAngelis says yes now.

—By John Cloud and Andrew Goldstein/Littleton



I'm going to kill you all. You've

ready to accept the ugly truth, and they couldn't believe it was happening. "This is real," Mr. Klebold kept saying, as if he had to convince himself. "He's involved."

Within 10 days, the Klebolds sat down with investigators and began to answer their questions. It would be months before the same interviews would take place with the Harrises, who were seeking immunity from prosecution. District Attorney David Thomas says he has not ruled out charges. But at this point, he lacks sufficient evidence of any wrongdoing. And he is not sure whether charging the parents would do any good. "Could I really do anything to punish them anymore?"

Sheriff Stone questioned the Harrises himself. "You want to go after them. How could they not know?" says Stone. "Then you realize they are no different from the rest of us."

Still, of all the unresolved issues about who knew what, the most serious involves Mr. Harris. Investigators have heard from former Columbine student Nathan Dykeman that Mr. Harris may once have found a pipe bomb. Nathan claims Eric Harris told him that his dad took him out and they detonated it together. Nathan is a problematic witness, partly because he accepted money from tabloids after the massacre. His story also amounts to hearsay because it is based on something Harris supposedly said. Investigators have not been able to ask Mr. Harris about it either; the Harrises' lawyer put that kind of question off limits as a condition for their sitting down with investigators at all.

As for the Klebolds, Kate Battan and her sergeant, Randy West, were convinced after their interviews that the parents were fooled liked everyone else. "They were not absentee parents. They're normal people who seem to care for their children and were involved in their life," says Battan. They too have suffered a terrible loss, both of a child and of their trust in their instincts. On what would have been Klebold's 18th birthday recently, Susan Klebold baked him a cake. "They don't have victims' advocates to help them through this," Battan says. They do,

however, have a band of devoted friends, and see one or more of them almost every day. In private, the Klebolds try to recall every interaction they had with the son they now realize they never knew: the talks, the car rides, the times they grounded him for something minor. "She wants to know all of it," a friend says of Mrs. Klebold.

Many of the victims' parents wish they could talk to the Klebolds and Harrises, parent to parent. Donna Taylor is caring for her son Mark, 16, who took six 9-mm rounds and spent 39 days in the hospital. She has tried to make contact. "We just want to know," she explains. "From Day One, I wanted to meet and

spend any more time with them," he says. "I wish they were out of town so I didn't have to look at them and bond more."

OVER THE MONTHS, THE POLICE HAVE KEPT the school apprised of the progress of their investigation: principal Frank DeAngelis has not seen the videotapes, but the evidence that the boys were motivated by many things has prompted some at the school to quietly claim vindication. The charge was that Columbine's social climate was somehow so rancid, the abuse by the school's athletes so relentless, that it drove these boys to murder. The police investigation provides the school with its best defense. "There is nowhere in any of the sher-

iff's or school's investigation of what happened that shows this was caused by jock culture," says county school spokesman Rick Kaufman. "Both Harris and Klebold dished out as much ribbing as they received. They wanted to become cult heroes. They wanted to make a statement."

That's an overstatement, and it begs the question of why the boys wanted to make such an obscene statement. But many students and faculty were horrified by the way their school was portrayed after the massacre and have tried for the past eight months to correct the record. "I have

asked students on occasion," says DeAngelis, "The things you've read in the paper—is that happening? Am I just naive? And they've said, 'Mr. DeAngelis; we don't see it.'"

Maybe they saw the kids who flicked the ketchup packets or tossed the bottles at the trench-coat kids in the cafeteria. But things never got out of hand, they say. Evan Todd, the 255-lb. defensive lineman who was wounded in the library, describes the climate this way: "Columbine is a clean, good place except for those rejects," Todd says of Klebold and Harris and their friends. "Most kids didn't want them there. They were into witchcraft. They were into voodoo dolls. Sure, we teased them. But what do you expect with kids who come to school with weird hairdos and horns on their hats? It's not just jocks; the whole school's disgusted with them. They're a



THIRTEEN CROSSES A memorial last month for victim Cassie Bernal

talk with them. I mean, maybe they did watch their boys, and we're not hearing their story."

Throughout the videotapes, it seems as though the only people about whom the killers felt remorse were their parents. "It f—ing sucks to do this to them," Harris says of his parents. "They're going to be put through hell once we do this." And then he speaks directly to them. "There's nothing you guys could've done to prevent this," he says.

Klebold tells his mom and dad they have been "great parents" who taught him "self-awareness, self-reliance ... I always appreciated that." He adds, "I'm sorry I have so much rage."

At one point Harris gets very quiet. His parents have probably noticed that he's become distant, withdrawn lately—but it's been for their own good. "I don't want to

been giving us s_____ for years.

—DYLAN KLEBOLD

bunch of homos, grabbing each other's private parts. If you want to get rid of someone, usually you tease 'em. So the whole school would call them homos, and when they did something sick, we'd tell them, 'You're sick and that's wrong.'"

Others agree that the whole social-cruelty angle was overblown—just like the notion that the Trench Coat Mafia was some kind of gang, which it never was. Steven Meier, an English teacher and adviser to the school newspaper, says, "I think these kids wanted to do something that they could be famous for. Other people tend to wait until they graduate and try to make their mark in the working world and try to be famous in a positive way. I think these kids had a dismal view of life and of their own mortality. To just focus on the bullying aspect is just to focus on one small piece of the entire picture." Meier points out that Harris' brother, from all accounts, is a great kid. "Why would a family have one good son and one bad son?" asks Meier. "Why is it that some people turn out to be rotten?"

THE KILLERS MADE THEIR last videotape on the morning of the massacre. This is the only tape the Klebolds have seen; the Harrises have seen none of them. First Harris holds the camera while Klebold speaks. As the camera zooms in tight, Klebold is wearing a Boston Red Sox cap, turned backward. "It's a half-hour before our Judgment Day," Klebold says into the camera. He wants to tell his parents goodbye. "I didn't like life very much," he says. "Just know I'm going to a better place than here," he says.

He takes the camera from Harris, who begins his quick goodbye. "I know my mom and dad will be in shock and disbelief," he says. "I can't help it."

Klebold interrupts. "It's what we had to do," he says.

Then they list some favorite CDs and other belongings that they want to will to certain friends. Klebold snaps his fingers for Harris to hurry up. Time's running out.

"That's it," concludes Harris, very succinctly. "Sorry. Goodbye." —*With reporting by Andrew Goldstein, Maureen Harrington and Richard Woodbury/Littleton*

VIEWPOINT ■ James Garbarino

SOME KIDS ARE ORCHIDS

MOST OF US THINK WE KNOW THE KIND OF KID WHO BECOMES A KILLER, AND most of the time we're right: Boys commit about 85% of all youth homicides, and in those cases about 90% conform to a pattern in which the line from bad parenting and bad environment to murder is usually clear. Through my work, I see these boys and young men in the courtroom and in prison with depressing regularity. Their lives start with abuse, neglect and emotional deprivation at home. Add the effects of racism, poverty, the drug and gang cultures, and it is not surprising that in a violent society like ours, damaged children become deadly teens.

But what about the other 10% of kids who kill: the boys who have loving parents and are not poor? What about boys like Dylan Klebold or Eric Harris, or Kip Kinkel of Springfield, Ore., who killed his parents and two schoolmates in 1998? Are their parents to blame when these kids become killers? I have learned as a researcher and an expert witness in youth homicide cases that the answer is usually no.

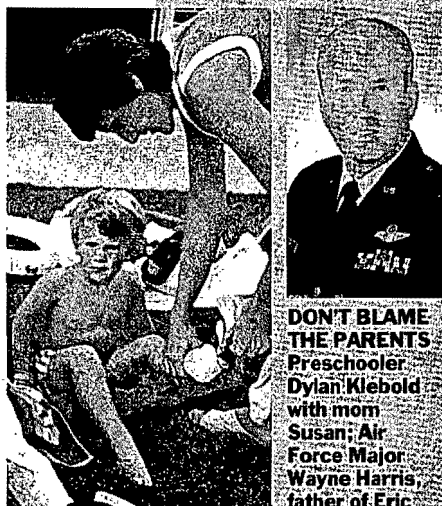
Most children are like dandelions; they thrive if given half a chance. Some are more like orchids. They do fine while young enough to be nurtured by loving parents, but wilt as adolescents subjected to peer competition, bullying and rejection, particularly in big high schools. Research shows that while only 10% of children who are born temperamentally "easy" have adjustment problems in elementary school, 70% of those who are "difficult" temperamentally have such problems. And while most fragile children do fine in early childhood, 50% have significant difficulties once they enter adolescence. Then children respond to the influence of peers and the larger culture in the neighborhood and the nation. The U.S. youth homicide rate is about 10 times higher than in Canada.

The "normal" culture of adolescence today contains elements that are so nasty that it becomes hard for parents (and professionals) to distinguish between what in a teenager's talk, dress and taste in music, films and video games indicates psychological trouble and what is simply a sign of the times. Most kids who subscribe to the trench-coated Goth lifestyle, or have multiple body piercings, or listen to Marilyn Manson, or play the video game Doom are normal kids caught in a toxic culture.

Intelligent kids with good social skills can be quite skillful at hiding who they really are from their parents. They may do this to avoid punishment, to escape being identified as "crazy," or to protect the parents they love from being disappointed or worried. In the wake of his shooting rampage, Kip Kinkel reported that he had been hearing voices but didn't tell anyone. Klebold successfully hid his inner turmoil from his loving parents. Anyway, how many parents are capable of thinking the worst of their son—for example, that he harbors murderous fantasies, or that he could go so far as acting them out? Even if parents know their child as an individual, they may not understand what he is capable of when in the company of another boy. Though it appears from public accounts that Harris was more prone to violence than Klebold, neither kid was likely to go on this rampage alone.

I think many of us are too ready to blame good parents for how their children cope with a violent and coarse society. Even loving, attentive parents can lose children who are temperamentally vulnerable—if they develop a secret life, get caught up in the dark side of the culture and form dangerous peer alliances. And that's scary for any parent to acknowledge.

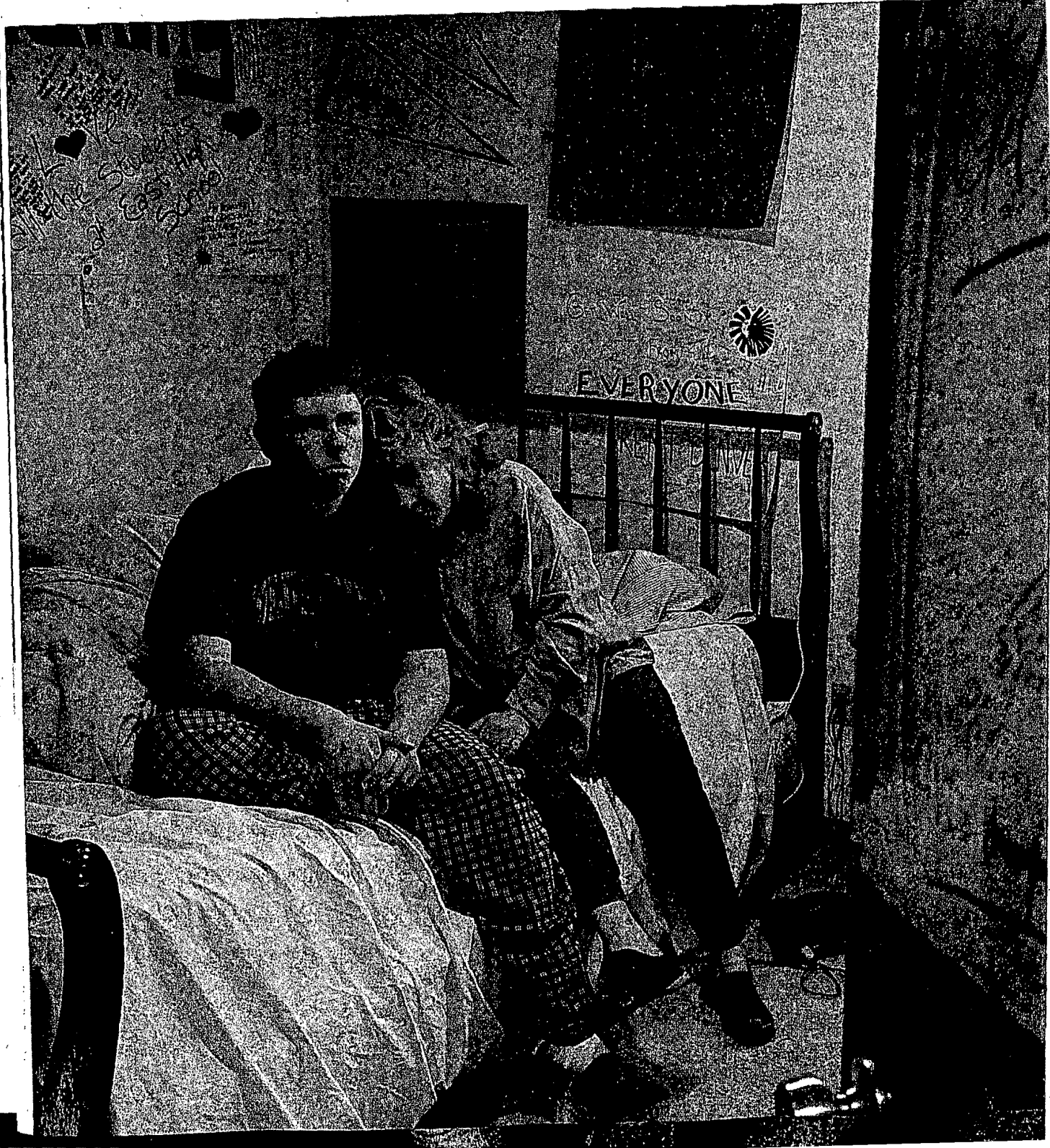
Garbarino is professor of human development at Cornell University and is author of Lost Boys: Why Our Sons Turn Violent and How We Can Save Them.



DON'T BLAME THE PARENTS
Preschooler Dylan Klebold with mom Susan; Air Force Major Wayne Harris, father of Eric

SPECIAL REPORT THE COLUMBINE TAPES

THE VICTIMS:



NEVER AGAIN

Although often overcome by tears, many Columbine victims' families are determined not to be overwhelmed by rage

By **ANDREW GOLDSTEIN** LITTLETON

FOR SOME OF THE FAMILIES OF THE dead children of Columbine, the very idea of "closure" is an insult and a hoax. There can never be closure for them. "To say that we want to move on and put this behind us, that's not true," says Brian Rohrbough, whose son Daniel was among the first to die. There is still too much pain and too many questions, and even if the answers come, their children will never come back, and nothing will be the same again.

And so, he is still burning. His rage starts with the killers. Rohrbough is the one who took down the two crosses meant to commemorate the shooters alongside the victims. But he has other culprits in his sights. "For 20 minutes the Jefferson sheriff knew absolutely where Klebold and

Harris were in the building," he says. "For 20 minutes they listened to them murdering children, and they did absolutely nothing." As for the school, he charges, "jocks could get away with anything. If they wanted to punch a kid in the mouth and walk away, they could. Had I known this, my son wouldn't have been there. They did nothing to protect students from each other."

At a glance it would be easy to conclude that the Columbine community is still shattered in pieces—angry, frightened, heartbroken. On the six-month anniversary of the shooting in October, a Columbine senior threatened to "finish the job" started by Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, and hundreds of panicked parents kept their kids home from school. Some fired off angry letters saying that when it comes to the safety of their kids, the school is still "in denial." Two days later, Carla Hochhalter, the



UNFORGIVING Al Velasquez refuses to let the killers be commemorated alongside his son

A MOM'S LOVE: Mark Taylor's bedroom is filled with good wishes, but he's often ill at ease



RICHARD CASTALDO

After seven operations and four months in the hospital, Richard still doesn't have the finger coordination to master the saxophone, his true love. Yet he's back playing with the school band, now on percussion. "There's nothing to be angry at now," he says. "But I do want to get better"

ADAM KECHTER

His older brother Matt used to play lineman for the football team. When Matt died, the team adopted Adam, 13. Two weeks ago, Columbine won the state football championship. Afterward the team presented Adam with the trophy



mother of Anne Marie, who was paralyzed in the April 20 shootings, walked into the Alpha Pawn Shop, asked to see a gun and shot herself. Michael Shoels, whose son Isaih was murdered, appeared at a rally with Al Sharpton, ranting against the killers' parents and the police. "I'm as angry as the day it happened," says Shoels. And 18 families filed notices of intent to sue the school district, the sheriff's office or both.

But beneath all the public outrage, there are signs that most of the victims of Columbine have been quietly piecing their lives back together. The victims' families have written thousands of thank-you notes, have created scholarships in the names of their children, and are trying to raise money to build a new library. Students and teachers have managed to have a relatively normal school year, and many are using April 20 as inspiration to rethink the way they treat their peers. All say they are committed to finding ways to ensure that a tragedy like this doesn't happen again, anywhere.

Even the growing pile of potential lawsuits is not what it appears. The families insist they are less interested in blame or rec-

ompense, than simply answers. A few do need money because of mounting medical bills. Expenses for Richard Castaldo, who is paralyzed from the waist down, could top \$1 million. Mark Taylor, who has had four operations and faces a long, painful road to recovery, needed an \$1,800 therapeutic mattress, but his HMO refused to pay for it, and the family had to find other means. "If the insurance companies aren't doing their job," asks Donna Taylor, "then what are we supposed to do but sue?"

Most families filed intents to sue simply because the sheriff's office had not yet finished its report by the time Colorado's 180-day deadline to file such intents came, and the families wanted to keep their options open in case the report fails to answer the questions that have haunted them since April. Why didn't the police or the school pick up on the killers' warning signs? Why, once the carnage began, didn't the police move in faster? "We'd love to know exactly what happened," says Darcey Ruegsegger, whose daughter Kacey is recovering from a shotgun wound in the back. "Not to blame, but just to know. If there were mis-

takes made, then by learning perhaps we can prevent something like this from happening again."

On the Sunday before Thanksgiving, many of the victims' families gathered at St. Luke's Church for their monthly potluck dinner. Few of these families had even met before April 20, but the tragedy has brought them together. "They're my family now," says Don Fleming. "They have become our closest friends." They sit around, tell stories and support one another. After Carla Hochhalter killed herself, Ted Hochhalter was left to care for Anne Marie by himself. The parents of Corey DePooter, who was killed at Columbine, gave the Hochhalters a freezer they had received as a gift, and they—along with other families of the dead—stocked it with food.

With the pain of the six-month anniversary behind them, the families were finding joy in taking baby steps: Kacey Ruegsegger, who was a world-class quarter-horse rider before the blast shattered her right arm and shoulder, is back in the saddle again, competing even though after bone transplant and three operations she still might neve-



5A State Champions - 99



son Daniel at Columbine

TOM MAUSER

Shown here at a charged anti-N.R.A. rally, he knows real change in gun laws will take years

LANCE KIRKLIN

He took four shots from Klebold and one from Harris that mangled his jaw. But he hasn't given up shooting with his dad



have full use of her arm. Richard Castaldo, whose eight gunshot wounds left him a paraplegic, has spent four months in the hospital and suffered through seven operations, but now he's back at Columbine. Every day a special lift hoists Richard and his black wheelchair into the big yellow Bluebird school bus that can seat 72 passengers but is reserved just for him; Richard plans to graduate with his class in June.

Families that kept their dead children's rooms locked up since April 20 have finally begun to open the doors: Dee Fleming goes inside her daughter Kelly's room with Kelly's friends, listens to stories about her daughter and invites the girls to take home special keepsakes. The Mausers had always slept with their son Daniel's door closed, but since summer they've kept it open. Patricia Depooter takes comfort in going into her son's room, gazing at his clothes and shoes as he left them that April morning, and even taking an occasional whiff of his cologne.

It's still hard for Linda Sanders to talk about her husband Dave, the much loved teacher and coach who died while heralding kids to safety, without welling up with

tears. By the end of November, she still had not gone back to the campus. Every time she had been inside the school, she was walking with Dave or going to pick him up or watch him coach. Returning, she feared, would destroy all those positive memories. But last week was the opening game for the girls' basketball team, which Dave had coached. The girls from the team have regularly stopped by Linda's house with gifts or just to talk and keep her company. So Linda decided to support the girls on opening night. "It was definitely a big step for me," she says. "But I know I wasn't alone. I was with Dave every step of the way." The girls went out and won handily, for Linda and for coach Sanders.

The families at the potluck gathering were putting together laundry baskets for the needy. They filled 40 baskets—donated by the Denver Foundation—with clothing, food, soap and lotions, and drove them to shelters and charities. "This is a club nobody wants to join," says Bob Curnow, whose 14-year-old son Steven was killed, "but now we need to be role models, to create something positive out of all that's happened."

And they are. Patricia DePooter, whose son Corey had always wanted to be a Marine, helps the Corps collect toys and other gifts for impoverished kids. Linda Sanders, who says all the support from across the nation "has restored my faith in humanity," has written 1,700 thank-you cards, but she's worried she's missed some people. Next fall the Mausers plan to adopt a baby girl from China.

And together, many of the victims' families have formed the HOPE (Healing of People Everywhere) library fund. Last week the families announced HOPE's campaign to raise at least \$3.1 million to build a new library adjacent to the school and to tear away the floor of the existing library to create a stunning two-story atrium with a view of the Rockies. "The library is a kind of sanctuary. It was the heart and soul of the school," says Don Fleming. "How could you go in and concentrate, knowing that 10 kids were murdered there?"

In early November, several of the victims' families came together under different circumstances to testify at the sentencing hearing of Mark Manes, the 22-year-old ac-

quaintance of Klebold's and Harris' who bought Dylan's semiautomatic Tec-9. With their suicide pact, Harris and Klebold had cheated their victims of a day in court, so this hearing might be the only chance for the families to describe in a court of law what they've been through. Representatives from nine families spoke, and the stories of suffering were so wrenching that several people had to leave the courtroom and a clerk had to get three extra boxes of tissues. When Manes was finally escorted out of the courtroom in handcuffs, sentenced to six years in prison, the families clapped. It wasn't much, but it was the first sense of justice they had got since April.

At the hearing, Tom Mauser was the only speaker who did not focus on the loss of his son. Instead, Mauser

talked about guns. "I want you to consider," he told the courtroom, "that we lose an average of 13 young lives every day to gunshots. Every day. Every day."

Two weeks before the shootings, Daniel Mauser came home from school and asked his parents if they knew about the loopholes in the Brady Bill. Looking back, says Mauser, "that was a sign." His fight against gun violence is his way of honoring Daniel's memory. Mauser protested the N.R.A. convention held in Denver two weeks after the shootings; he picketed the offices of Colorado's U.S. Senators Wayne Allard and Ben Nighthorse Campbell after they voted to keep background checks at gun shows voluntary; and he's joined the Bell Campaign, a group that lobbies against gun violence. "There's something wrong with a country when a kid can get a gun so easily and

shoot that gun into the face of another kid, like my child," says Mauser. "Unfortunately it looks like it's going to take a lot more of these tragedies for real change to occur."

Students at Columbine don't want to wait that long. Eleven of them—their backgrounds as diverse as can be hoped for in this mostly white, Abercrombie and Fitch community—spend an hour one morning sitting around the conference table in the front office. They're brainstorming about what they've learned from their tragedy, and what they plan to do so that it never happens again. "I don't tease my friends as much as I used to," says freshman Kent Van Zant. "I try to be a lot nicer now to everybody."

Senior Joel Kuhns, who was in Harris' video class last year, says that this year, "a lot of seniors have been more open to people, even to underclassmen. This is the class

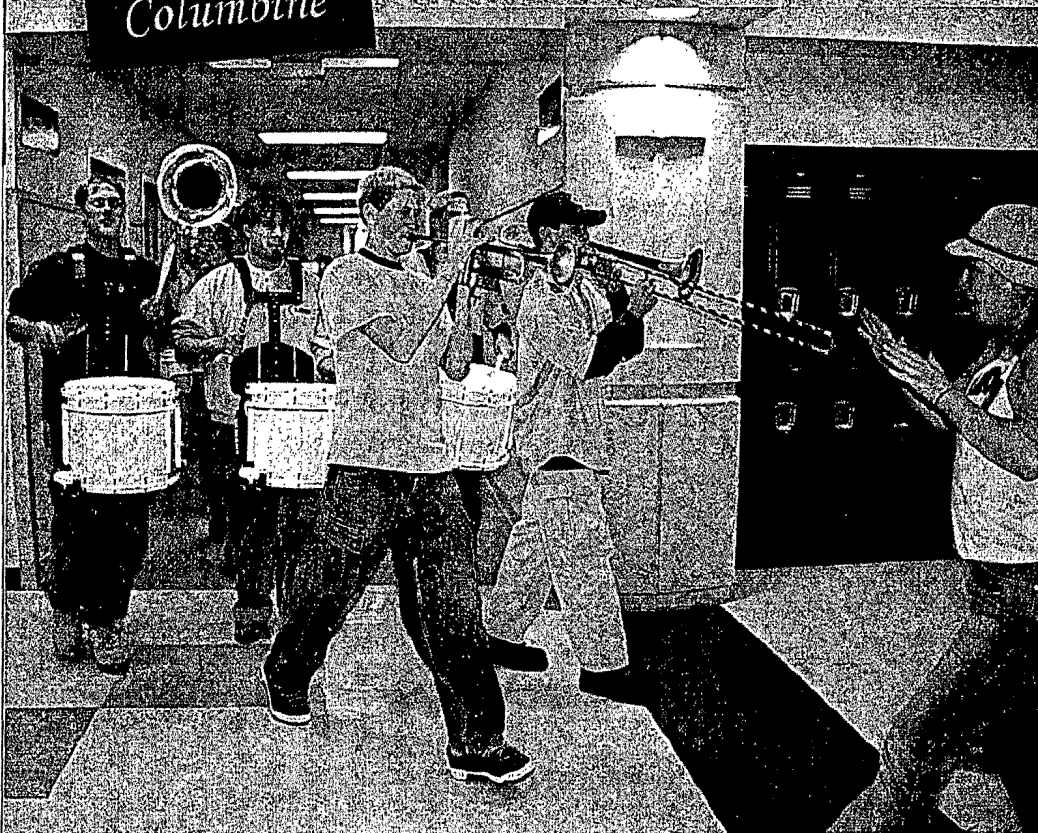
We Are Still



Columbine

COLUMBINE, IN THEIR EYES

Our images of Columbine have all come from outsiders. Here's how its own yearbook photographers see the school



DIFFERENT SOUNDS Seven months after students fled through the hallways, the marching band, left, fills them with music to celebrate the football championship. Above, juniors Josh and Lindsey prepare to enter the school on the first day of

“I came home from school. I will be able to pass that test. I will be a

that they're going to look at to see what happened afterward. I just think that's a huge responsibility for us, and we're doing a pretty good job of it." Adds Lindsey White, who serves in the senior senate: "There are still cliques. You're going to get that no matter what. But more people are willing to talk to other people they don't usually talk to."

All summer, principal Frank DeAngelis has been listening. He spent July and August serving on two school-safety task forces, reviewing everything from metal detectors to dress codes to having four or five armed officers patrol school grounds. "I'm not sure if that's the answer," says

DeAngelis. "I think where money needs to be spent is educating our students about tolerance, about respecting one another, about communication." While Columbine High School did add an additional campus supervisor this year, along with 16 security cameras and a keyless entry system, DeAngelis is most proud of Columbine's efforts at prevention: the Links program that pairs upperclassmen with incoming freshmen; the emphasis on "zero tolerance" of threats and harassment; the hiring by the school district of Jackson Katz, a consultant who speaks to coaches and athletes about using their status to be role models, and the peer-

counselor program, in which senior leaders can help identify students in need of support. At Columbine's opening-day rally in August, DeAngelis urged all students "who don't feel part of the Columbine family" to come to his office and let him know why.

In September a Columbine student expressed to victim parent Bob Curnow what many of her peers were feeling. "I just want everything to get back to normal," she said. Curnow told her: "I understand what you're feeling. But you need to know that normal, before April 20, will never occur to you again. You need to redefine what normal is with this event as part of your life." And so it is with everyone in this community, and maybe in the nation too. We suffer through tragedies, we grieve, and we try to learn.

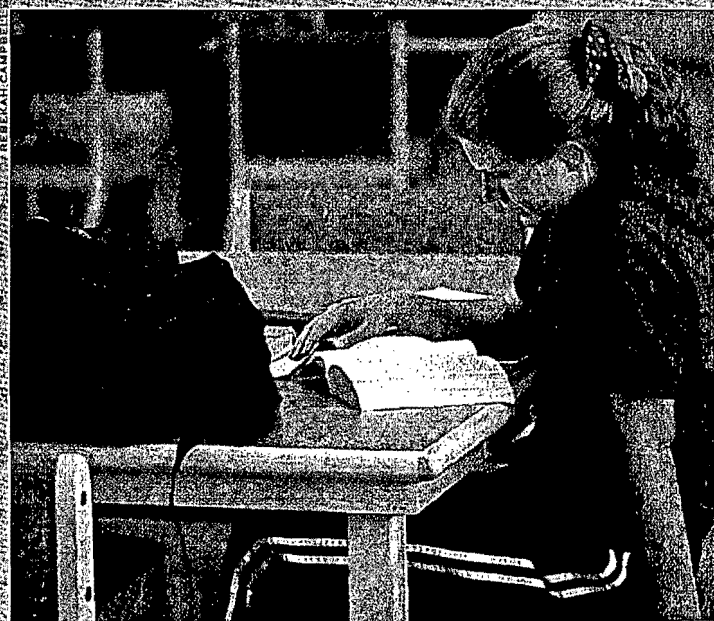
—With reporting by Maureen Harrington and Richard Woodbury/Littleton



IT'S NOT ALL TEARS Left, cheerleaders dance at a football pep rally. Above, seniors Ara and Jesse goof off in chemistry class.



RECLAIMING THEIR SPACES Above, students fill the redesigned cafeteria, where bombs went off in April. Right, a senior studies in the temporary library attached to the school. Many students won't even go there



to keep daydreaming. I will be able to graduate, and I am still alive.??

—COURTNEY SHAKOWSKI, writer for Columbine yearbook

THE EVANGELISTS

AN ACT OF GOD?

The family of Rachel Scott believes she died at Columbine to spark a spiritual revival among youth

By S.C. GWYNNE LITTLE ROCK

DARRELL SCOTT IS TIRED. SINCE HIS daughter Rachel was murdered at Columbine High eight months ago, Darrell, 50, has left his job as a sales manager for a food company, and now lives on the road, speaking at churches, stadiums and high school gyms from Dallas to Bismarck. He takes Dramamine for motion sickness and eats in Cracker Barrel restaurants. It might seem like a dreary existence, reliving your daughter's death over and over. But while others in Littleton still seethe with anger, Darrell and his family have found deliverance from despair. To them Rachel's death was a Christian martyrdom—an act of God meant to spark a spiritual revolution in young people.

This conviction has brought Darrell's family, including his ex-wife, together in a ministry they call the Columbine Redemption. The message is powerful: in London, Ky., a town of 7,000, fully 5,500 people showed up to hear Darrell speak. That was a jaw dropper, but he regularly draws crowds of more than 3,000. "God is using

REDEMPTION ON THE ROAD Darrell Scott addresses students in Lewistown, Pa.

this tragedy to wake up not only America but also the world," Darrell told a Christian group in Little Rock in November. "God is using Rachel as a vehicle. If I believed for one second that God had forsaken my daughter or that he had gone to sleep or that he wasn't aware, I would be one of the angriest men in America."

Instead, Darrell believes Rachel's death was meant to be. He believes this because of the eerily prophetic journals Rachel kept, as well as a number of "visions" experienced by others that prove, say the Scotts, that the killings at Columbine were "a spiritual event."

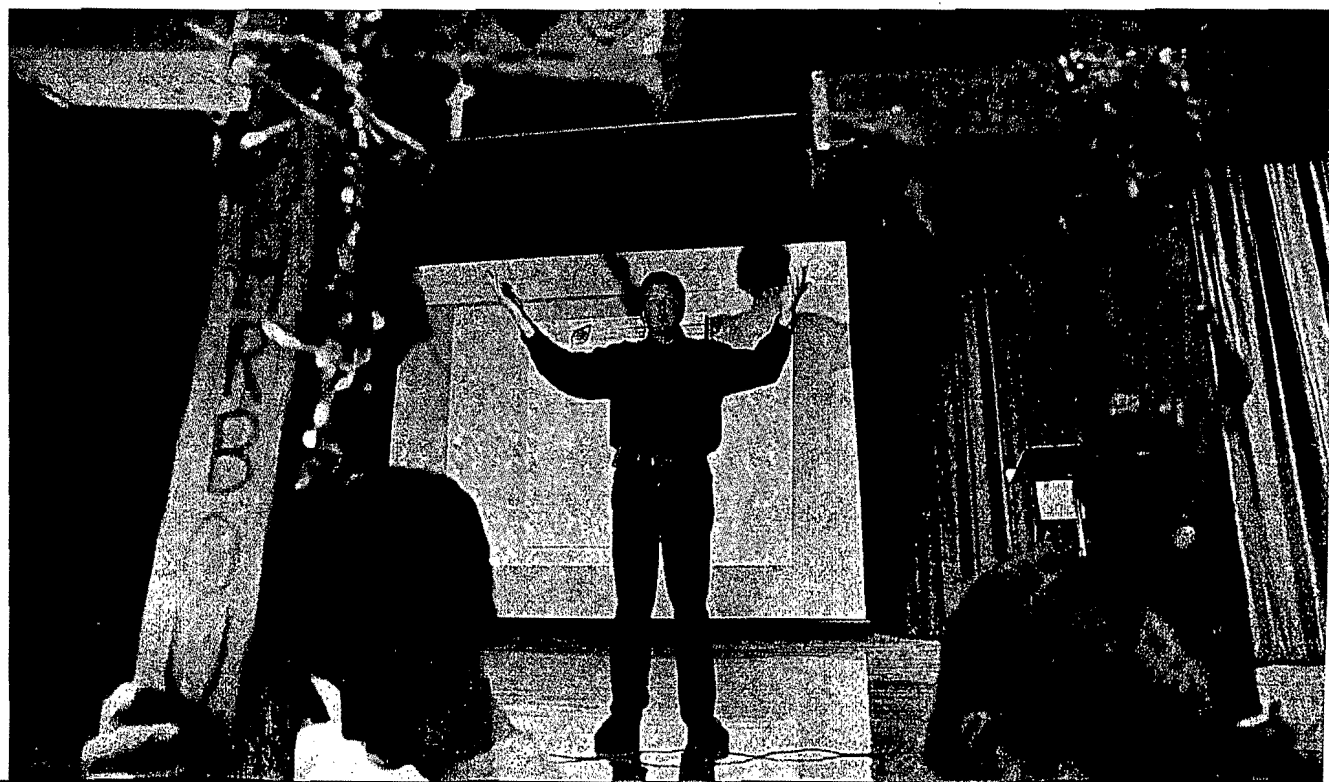
The voluminous journals, which her parents discovered only after her death, and which contain poetry, letters to God and drawings, convey Rachel's belief that she was not going to live to see adulthood, and that God was going to use her for some purpose. On May 2, 1998, she wrote, "This will be my last year, Lord. I have gotten what I can. Thank you." On another occasion she wrote, "God is going to use me to reach the young people, I don't know how, I don't know when." Her last diary entry, written 20 minutes before she died, was a drawing of a pair of eyes crying; from the eyes fell 13

drops onto a rose—images Darrell says have been described to him in an earlier phone call from a man he did not know.

Among the many stories about Rachel was one that first appeared in a local Christian newspaper, saying she had been asked if she believed in God and had answered yes before Eric Harris shot her. The account was credited to Richard Castaldo, the now paralyzed boy who was having lunch with Rachel when she died. The Scott family believes this account. But in an interview with TIME last week, Castaldo denied telling the story. Darrell, who agrees that Castaldo would be the only plausible source of such a story, says, "I'm surprised. If he said that, then either it didn't happen or he changed his story."

Darrell, former pastor of a 300-member church in Lakewood, Colo., first came to prominence with an appearance before the House Judiciary Committee in May after the Columbine killings. He declared the answer to school violence "liability not in gun laws" but in a "simple trust in God." His message resonated strongly with Christian groups. Soon he was deluged with speaking engagements. And he invited his daughters Bethanee, 24, and Dana, 22, as well as his ex-wife (Rachel's mother) Beth Nimmo, to become full-time members of the Columbine Redemption. Beth and Dana speak to groups; Bethanee answers mail and runs the Littleton office. Darrell's fiancé Sandy will be joining him on the road after their Jan. 30 wedding.

In spite of their shatterproof belief that Rachel did not die in vain, the last eight months have been difficult for the Scotts.



family. Craig Scott, Rachel's 16-year-old brother, who was kneeling next to Isaiah Shoels and Matt Kechter when they were shot to death in the library, has had the hardest time. Though he has on occasion spoken to groups with Darrell, he refuses to return to Columbine High and is being schooled by a county home-tutoring program. "Some days he can't get out of bed," says his mother Beth.

It was Craig who first identified Cassie Bernall as the girl in the library who said she believed in God just before she was shot. When police later took Craig back to the library, he pointed forward, to the place where he had heard the question asked. His face turned ashen when he realized that Cassie had been sitting at a table behind him. One policeman said he thought Craig was going to vomit. The girl who actually said the words Craig heard, according to witnesses interviewed by police, was Valeen Schnurr.

Members of the Scott family say every atom of their lives has been rearranged since Columbine. "Things I did before, like shopping or going to movies or eating out, seem frivolous now," says Bethanee. Beth says, "Things don't mean much anymore. They bring no joy or comfort. It's only people now. And even my friends have changed." Darrell spends hours at Rachel's grave when he is not on the road, indulging in the tears he can't afford to shed on the podium. "The biggest thing I do for him is just listen to him cry and talk about her," says friend Wayne Worthy of Springfield, Mo., who helps with the new ministry.

Darrell is also pushing ahead with his vision of a large youth ministry based on his daughter's life and journals. He has become a prominent advocate of reinstating prayer in schools. He has stepped up his fund raising—he earns about \$1,500 for the ministry each time he speaks—and in December brought out the first issue of a magazine called *Rachel's Journal*. He wants to build a combined Columbine memorial and Christian youth center that would focus on teaching and training young people from around the country. And he wants to build a 200-ft.-high cross somewhere in the area.

The big question is whether the Columbine tragedy has spiritual legs. "We all realize that at some point the Columbine story is not going to be as strong as it was," says Pastor Billy Epperhart of Littleton, a close friend of the Scotts'. "There has to be something that is bigger than Columbine. The question is, What does it look like for Darrell's life?" Right now it just looks busy: he has speaking engagements booked through the end of the year 2000. —With reporting by Timothy Roche/Littleton

THE POLITICS

ENTER THE BIG GUNS

The feds threaten gunmakers with a huge lawsuit, and most can't afford not to talk settlement

EIGHT MONTHS AFTER COLUMBINE—AND only one day after the small Oklahoma town of Fort Gibson became the latest stage for an apple-cheeked boy to open fire on his schoolmates—the gun industry faced its biggest threat, the one that could finally force major changes in the way firearms are made and marketed.

On Tuesday, the Clinton Administration said it was preparing to file a class action on behalf of the nation's 3,191 public-housing authorities. Twenty-nine cities and counties have already filed suits against the manufacturers since October of last year,

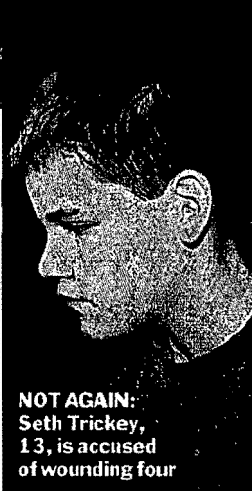
if there's no a settlement, the feds will be asking for compensation. The public-housing authorities spend about \$1 billion a year trying to keep their 3.3 million residents safe from gun violence, according to the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The department hasn't decided how much to ask for in damages, but the number would be hefty—and added to what the 29 cities and counties are seeking in their lawsuits, the gunmakers face potential exposure running into the billions. Their pockets are not really as deep as those of the tobacco industry, which has faced a similar

siege, and many of their insurers have said they won't pay to defend the lawsuits.

The attack on the gunmakers, is patterned closely on the tobacco campaign and even involves some of the same lawyers. But the federal role is different this time. When the government finally sued the tobacco companies last September, it was more than a year after the states had concluded a far-reach-

What Governments Want Gunmakers to Do

- **BUILD SAFETY LOCKS** into guns as a component, not an optional extra.
- **DEVELOP "SMART" GUNS** that only owners can fire.
- **CUT OFF GUN SHOWS** by refusing to deal with distributors who sell at the shows.
- **WRITE NEW CONTRACTS** with dealers that require them to sell only one gun a month per buyer.
- **REFUSE TO SUPPLY** dealers who sell a disproportionate number of guns that authorities have linked to crimes.
- **CHANGE ADVERTISING** so that it appeals less to criminals.



NOT AGAIN: Seth Trickey, 13, is accused of wounding four

DAVID GREENHAW—TULSA WORLD-OKLAHOMA STATE

seeking to recover the public costs of gun violence, force the design of safer firearms, and restrict the flow of guns to illegitimate buyers. As the suits have made their way through the courts, the industry and plaintiffs have held sporadic settlement talks, to little effect. But that could change dramatically with the arrival of the feds, who will throw their weight behind the plaintiffs' demands. The plaintiffs want gunmakers to distribute only to dealers who won't sell at gun shows, to require that dealers sell only one gun a month per buyer, to cut off those who sell a disproportionate number of guns linked to crimes, and to make the industry develop "smart" guns that only their owners can use.

The feds and the plaintiffs say they're not after big money, not yet anyway. And that's one reason the gunmakers might yield:

ing settlement with the industry. This time the feds are jumping in when they can make a difference, even after a year when Congress did nothing to further gun control. Some manufacturers, like Glock, said last week they would consider meeting with the Clinton Administration, while others—notably Sturm, Ruger & Co., the largest gunmaker—indicated they plan to fight it out.

In any case, the lawsuits have caused a rift between some gunmakers and the National Rifle Association, which cares more about the principles involved than the economics. Gunmakers point out that they are the ones being sued, not the N.R.A. Says Robert Delfay, head of the manufacturers' trade group: "If the day comes when we have to do something the N.R.A. doesn't approve of, we'll tell them and so be it." —By Viveca Novak/Washington

**YOUTH VIOLENCE EVENT
CUMBERLAND HIGH SCHOOL**

December 13, 1999

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

About Kids

Have you had any experiences with violence here at Cumberland High School? If so, how have those experiences changed your feelings about the school?

Are you worried about violence at your school?

What can young people do to prevent violence?

How can we encourage students to be more accepting of students who seem different from them? What role do cliques and labels play in your school?

About Parents

What sort of a role do you think parents can play in your lives? In reducing youth violence?

Do your parents talk to you about violence? What do you talk about when you hear about acts of youth violence?

How do you think parents can get more involved in schools?

About Counselors and Teachers

Are there enough trusted adults at school for you to talk to? Do students feel comfortable talking to them?

Should we expand mental health services for young people at school?

About Schools and Communities

Do you have access to after-school programs in your community?

What kind of role does your church, police department, or other community group play in working with young people in the community?

What steps has Cumberland High School taken to reduce youth violence?

What can public officials do to reduce youth violence?

About Guns

Is it easy or difficult for young people to get access to guns in your community? Have there been problems with weapons here at Cumberland, or in the surrounding community?

Do you know people who keep guns in the house? Do you know if parents talk to their kids about having guns in the house?

About Media

Does the media help or hinder efforts to reduce youth violence? How would you change it if you could?

**YOUTH VIOLENCE EVENT
CUMBERLAND HIGH SCHOOL
*December 13, 1999***

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

About Kids

Have you had any experiences with violence here at Cumberland High School? If so, how have those experiences changed your feelings about the school?

Are you worried about violence at your school?

What can young people do to prevent violence?

How can we encourage students to be more accepting of students who seem different from them? What role do cliques and labels play in your school?

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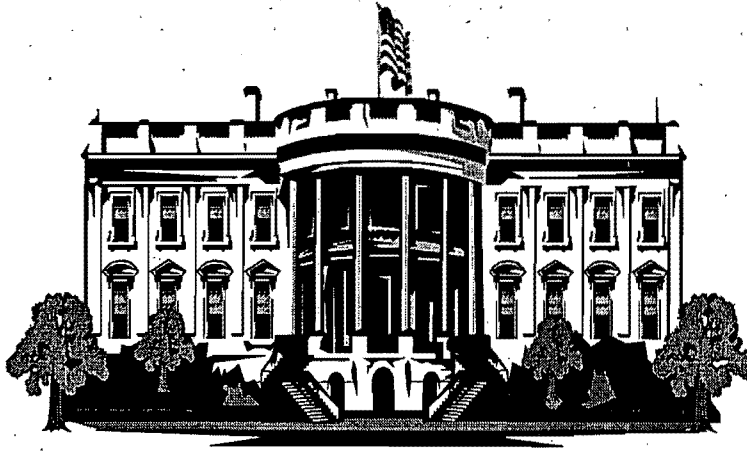
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FAX COVER SHEET

DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, DC 20502

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DATE: _____ NUMBER OF PAGES (INCL. COVER): _____

TO: Princeton John Scullin

FAX: 401-658-3124

FROM: Ruby Shamir

COMMENTS: Here are the suggested questions I have
given to the First Lady, and to Senator Riehl and Rep.
Kennedy's offices.

Re: Let's speak later this afternoon. I will call you
at around 530pm or feel free to page me at
202-757-5000

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To:	Brenda Costello	From:	Peter Buckley
Fax:	62239	Pages:	9
Phone:		Date:	December 10, 1999
Re:	June 11, 1999		

Here is the briefing that you requested. I hope it is of some use — Peter

Forum on School Safety and Youth Violence

Gym, Shea High School, Pawtucket, RI
3:00 p.m. - 4:15 p.m., Friday, June 11, 1999

**Event requested by Sen. Jack Reed, Rep. Patrick Kennedy, and Rep. Robert Weygand.
Briefing prepared by Dan Taylor.**

EVENT

You are leading a forum discussion on school safety and youth violence at a high school in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. You will be joined by Secretary Richard Riley, Sen. Reed, Rep. Kennedy, Rep. Weygand, and Bill Modeleski, Director of the U.S. Department of Education's Safe and Drug Free Schools Program. The 200-person audience for this event will include students, parents, teachers, and other community leaders. **Note: This event is open press.**

LOGISTICS

- You are announced on-stage, accompanied by Secretary Riley, Senator Reed, Representative Kennedy, and Representative Robert Weygand, by Andrea Beltran, Rising Senior Class President.
- Senator Jack Reed makes opening remarks and introduces you.
- You make remarks and open the discussion.
- You close the discussion, work a ropeline, and depart.

YOUR ROLE AND CONTRIBUTION

This is an opportunity to continue the dialogue you have been leading with students, parents, teachers, and community members about school safety and youth violence. You should talk about the work you have been doing -- the White House summit, casting the tie-breaking vote on the Lautenberg amendment -- and listen to the audience members' thoughts and concerns. You should continue to emphasize that no one factor is to blame, but that a coordinate effort must be made to address excessive violence in the media, guns, and better parenting.

PROGRAM NOTES

- **Shea High School.** Shea is one of two high schools in Pawtucket. The high school serves 872 students in grades 9-12. The diverse student body is 38% white, 33% black, 28% Hispanic and 1% Asian and includes students from 42 countries. (The most predominant minority is Cape Verdean; as you know, Cape Verde is a group of 10 islands off the west coast of Africa.) The school mascot is the Raiders. The motto

of this year's graduating class is "Saved the Best for Last." *Note: Some members of the Congressional delegation suggested visiting Tolman H.S., but today is the school's graduation day.*

Note: On June 7, junior Nyisha Conry appeared on the Oprah Winfrey show and received a \$25,000 scholarship for her work on a project for the Boys and Girls Club, in which she helped teach CPR following a tragic drowning accident at her housing complex.

- **Pawtucket School District.** Last month, in the weeks following the shooting at Littleton, schools in Pawtucket and around Rhode Island were plagued by copycat pranks that played on the fears of students, parents, and teachers. At Tolman High School, Pawtucket's other high school, a rash of bomb threats was ended after police arrested a high-school dropout who admitted to phoning in several of the threats. In one week in May, thirteen threats were made to six Pawtucket schools. Threats at some schools led administrators to dismiss classes.

Violence in Pawtucket schools is rare, but has occurred. Last year, a student was arrested for building a pipe bomb and threatening to detonate it at an off-campus party. In 1996, a non-student brought a gun to a dance at Tolman High School and shot a student. All of Pawtucket's schools have some level of security in place, including security cameras and limited entrances to school buildings that are checked by teachers. Following the Littleton shooting, Pawtucket schools revisited their security arrangements.

In addition to his work in the state House of Representatives, St. Rep. Joe McNamara has helped the district organize a Health and Wellness program for students, which emphasizes the importance of positive and healthy choices in students' lives. The program also focuses on the importance of peer mediation.

The Superintendent of Pawtucket Schools is Dr. Hans Dellith. *Note: Superintendent Dellith will not attend tomorrow's event; he will be attending Tolman High School's commencement.*

- **Bill Modzeleski.** Bill Modzeleski, the Director of the U.S. Department of Education's Safe and Drug Free Schools Program, will accompany you and Secretary Riley on this trip. As you know, the Safe and Drug Free Schools Program provides funds and assistance to Governors, State Education Agencies, and local school districts to develop strategies and programs to meet the seventh National Education Goal: That by the Year 2000, all schools will be safe, disciplined, and drug-free.
- **Andrea Beltran.** You will be introduced on-stage by Andrea Beltran. Andrea just completed her junior year at Shea. She will be the Senior Class President next year.

ATTACHMENTS

- Your remarks
- Possible speakers and suggested questions
- *Providence Journal-Bulletin* article on gun legislation, June 10, 1999