LESSONS FROM COLUMBINE: VIRTUAL AND REAL RAGE

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The 1999 attack on Columbine High School by two of its students resulted in 15 dead and 24 wounded. The death toll might easily have been over forty times higher. An attempt is made to understand the motivations of the two shooters and to explain the critical events that changed them into mass murders. The history leading up to the attack is reviewed. A theory is proposed wherein virtual reality, as experienced in computer games, can act protectively in allowing the non-violent processing of rage and sexual impulses. However, when implementing time or content restrictions, caution is warranted. If such constraints are too blunt, too dismissive, or too contemptuous, one might provoke a potentially dangerous crisis.

OVERVIEW

On April 20, 1999, two students killed 13 and injured 24 others when they attacked Columbine High School in Jefferson County, Colorado. They then committed suicide. The attack bordered on the unimaginable. In a pre-9/11 world, the immensity of the terror was startling. The two teenagers, Eric Harris (age 18) and Dylan Klebold (age 17) hoped to kill more than 250 of their classmates and teachers.^{1, 2} Their attack included several large propane bombs, diversionary explosives, car bombs, Molotov cocktails, and many grenade-like devices. In total, they had prepared 99 improvised explosive devices.³

The plan was to bomb the school's cafeteria, which would have probably collapsed the library and classrooms above. They had previously studied the flow of students into the cafeteria and timed the bombs to kill the maximum number of people.⁴ They then planned to blow up cars and shoot people from the parking lot, as the victims fled. The two would then attack neighboring homes and businesses and, if they could remain alive, intended in some ill-defined fashion to hijack a jet. They fantasized of crashing the plane into New York City, two years before Al Qaeda did so.⁵

Two large bombs, set to be triggered by timers, had been placed into duffel bags and snuck into the cafeteria. The bombs malfunctioned, frustrating

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the scheme. Instead, the shooters were forced to improvise. They entered the school and fired at many of those that they saw. Many people heard the ensuing mayhem and fled. Consequently, the death toll, though terrible, was far lower than might have been expected.

DOCUMENTATION

The attack is remarkably well documented. Several agencies, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives (ATF), and responding police departments, performed exhaustive investigations. Hundreds of witnesses were interviewed and a large amount of physical evidence was examined. All in all, the resulting documentation easily exceeds 25,000 pages in length, much of it in the public domain.

Perhaps the most revealing and disturbing documents are Harris' and Klebold's diaries. Both diaries start with a title page—each remarkably relevant to concepts discussed in this article. Harris named his journal "The Book of God." Klebold called his, "A Virtual Book: Existences." As will be discussed, the teenagers saw themselves as enormously powerful "gods" while also seeing life as fleeting, meaningless, and unreal. Why they kept the diaries is of interest; Klebold started his diary on 3/31/97 as, essentially, a suicide letter ("My existence is shit...I feel that I am in eternal suffering...."⁶). Harris started writing his about a year later. It is likely that Harris' diary was started on the recommendation of his therapist, after he and Klebold first got into legal trouble and Harris was banned from using his computer.

Harris' diary entries are remarkably angry and filled with hatred. Eleven days after starting the diary, he made his first concrete reference to the attack. Here, Harris uses "NBK," as a code for the attack. NBK is believed to be an abbreviation for *Natural Born Killers*, a film that Harris and Klebold watched numerous times and knew verbatim⁷.

When I go NBK and people say things like "Oh, it was so tragic," or "oh he is <u>crazy</u>!" or "It was so bloody." ...just because your mommy and daddy told you blood and violence is bad, you think it's a fucking law of nature? Wrong, only science and math are true, everything, and I mean every fucking thing else is Man made. ...Before I leave this <u>worthless</u> place, I will kill whoever I deem unfit for anything at all, especially life...⁸

This particular passage was dated almost a year, to the day, before the attack occurred. As a result, a great deal of the investigation was spent trying to find other conspirators—people who knew of the plan. None were found. How could these two high school students keep such a secret for an entire year? Here, in middle-America, two teenagers from reasonably affluent and well-educated families became mass murderers. They went from being troubled kids to homegrown terrorists who continue to haunt us with many uncomfortable questions. Why did they do it? Could anyone have prevented it? Could it happen again?

It is this author's belief that, in addition to the factors that have already been identified, the killers were motivated and enabled in their murderous pursuits by their relationship with technology. Moreover, it is likely that similar attacks, within and outside of America, will occur until the link between computers and what occurred at Columbine is widely appreciated and addressed.

EXPLANATIONS

The textbook explanations for what happened are helpful but, ultimately, incomplete. It would be comforting to be able to attribute the events at Columbine to a peculiar lapse in the killers—something that would make them significantly different and, perhaps, less human than the rest of us. A particularly abusive upbringing or bad set of genes would assuage much anxiety. Unfortunately, there are no such ready-made explanations. Essentially, there are six basic reasons that have been suggested as to why school children decide to kill: They may have had traumatic childhoods; had poor parenting; were psychotic; were bullied; were copycatting other school shootings; or were peer pressured into killing by each other.

Traumatic Childhoods

Harris' upbringing seems to have been more problematic than that of Klebold. Harris' father was in the Air Force and, as required by his work, the family frequently moved and never settled in one particular locale for any length of time. As a result, Harris' childhood relationships were disrupted and that may have interrupted the proper development of empathy in him. Perhaps, graduating from high school and losing yet more friends was too much for Harris:

...I have moved to different houses or locations about six times. The last three times... I left behind some of the greatest friends I ever had...Loosing a friend is almost the worst thing to happen to a person...⁹

Harris also had childhood medical issues that required surgical interventions. He is known to have had pectus excavatum, a malformation that causes the chest wall to cave inwards. The malformation can cause "easy fatigability and decreased stamina" and may lead many adolescents to "choose sedentary activities, such as working with computers, rather than athletics."¹⁰ Harris' chest wall was corrected after undergoing two surgical procedures; one in December, 1993, and the other in June, 1994. The surgery is often painful.

As for Klebold, there are no obvious clues as to any childhood trauma. We know that he seemed to be successful in elementary school. In 3rd through 6th grade, he was fast-tracked into a program for gifted children. Otherwise, his past, as compiled for his court evaluation in 1998 and by the police after the shootings, gives us no other developmental clues that make him stand out.

Bad Parenting

Neither Klebold nor Harris seems to have come from a "bad" family. Both sets of parents appeared appropriately concerned and protective, trying to help the troubled kids as best they could.

The Harrises were aware of many of their son's problems. Apparently, Eric Harris' mother had discovered at least one of his fully armed pipe bombs, stashed away in a closet during the summer of 1997.^{11 12} The bomb was one of his first. Imagine the terrible dilemma the parents were put into: either report your son to the police on potential felony charges or try to manage the situation yourself. As many would, they chose the latter. Harris' father apparently disposed of the bomb¹³.

Harris' friends believed that his parents were strict.¹⁴ The parents disciplined their son by grounding him, assigning chores, and removing phone and computer privileges. When the detectives searched the Harris home after the killings in 1999, they found only one computer in the home. It was upstairs, in an office near the parents' bedroom.

Less is known regarding Klebold's upbringing. Writings from and about him are more fragmented and often undated. From what is available, it appears Klebold's parents were aware but at a loss about what to do with their child's difficulties. According to one of Klebold's friends, at some point during their high school years, Harris and Klebold broke into a school storeroom and stole some equipment, including a computer. Klebold took the computer home but his father discovered it, determined it was stolen and made him return it.¹⁵ That incident, two driving tickets, two school suspensions, and one criminal arrest certainly alerted them to problems.

However, at other times they were less responsive. A few weeks before the attack on the school, a teacher called the parents to discuss a paper that Klebold had written. The paper was violent and disturbing. The teacher reported that the parents "did not seem worried and made a comment about trying to understand kids today." ¹⁶ Then again, there were just a few weeks left until Klebold's graduation. Their son had been accepted into college, was talking about majoring in computer science, was looking at dorm rooms, and was preparing for the senior prom. Just how concerned should a parent have been?

Klebold was very intensely involved with technology. Indeed, his parents complained that he spent too much time alone in his room using the computer. However, he planned on being a computer science major and his parents tried to support him. When their home was search after the attack, five computers were found. Three of these were in Klebold's room.¹⁷

Psychosis

As far as we know, in the year they spent making well over 100 bombs and acquiring weapons, neither Klebold nor Harris were psychotic, in the typical way psychiatrists understand that word. Nothing they wrote or said indicates that they heard voices, saw hallucinations, or were classically delusional. While both alternated between depression and grandiosity, diagnoses like schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, or psychotic depression do not adequately explain the teenagers' actions. Psychotic states leading to a school attack are not "scheduled" a year in advance. Moreover, Harris was getting mental health treatment and was never put on an antipsychotic.

Harris was, however, taking selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs). About a year before the attack, his internist briefly started him on sertaline (Zoloft). He did not tolerate it. He was switched to fluvoxamine (Luvox) and remained on it for almost a year. At his autopsy, Harris had a therapeutic level (390ng/ml) of fluvoxamine in his serum. There has been recent controversy regarding the use of SSRIs in adolescents. Some believe that the risk of suicide or violence is increased when starting some SSRIs.¹⁸ Others dispute this.¹⁹ Of note, Harris' switch from sertaline to fluvoxamine occurred at around the time the teenagers began planning the attack. Thus, one might argue that one of the medications, or the crossover between SSRIs, may have contributed to Harris' rage. The science behind such beliefs remains hotly disputed.²⁰

It is also of interest to note that according to his calendar book, Harris saw a psychologist roughly every 2 to 4 weeks, for about a year. This would have been concurrent to his plotting and preparing for the attack. He appears to have ended his treatment with the therapist a few months before initiating the attack. The resulting clinical notes, which might have immense forensic value, are privileged patient-doctor communication. As recently as September 2000, Harris' parents tried to compel the therapist to disclose the medical record.

Setting aside the particulars of their psychiatric diagnosis, Klebold and Harris could be accurately described as terrorists. They believed that their lives would have meaning only upon bringing death to themselves and others. They glorified death and felt it preferable to life. Indeed, in causing as much mayhem and terror as possible, Klebold and Harris believed they would live on, in the minds of the survivors. Klebold wrote this, a day before the attack:

...About 26.5 hours from now the judgement will begin. Difficult, but not impossible, necessary & nervewracking & fun.

What fun is life without a little death?

Its interesting, when im in my human form, knowing im going to die. Everything has a touch of triviality to it. Take how none of this calculus shit matters. The way it shouldn't. the truth in 26.4 hours ill be dead, & in happiness. The little zombie human fags will know their errors, & be forever suffering & mournful. HAHAHA, of course I will miss things. Not really²¹.

Besides the desire for revenge and to provoke terror, there is one other thing to observe in this passage: note how Klebold talks about himself and other people. Klebold seems to be writing while in some other form than his "human form." This will make sense after understanding the role of computers in the killings.

Bullying

It is well documented that the two adolescents were bullied at school. The killers often blamed their rage on their unpopularity.

Everyone is always making fun of me because of how I look, how fucking weak I am, and shit, well I will get you all back: ultimate fucking revenge here. You people could have shown more respect, treated me better, asked for my knowledge or guidance more, treated me more like a senior, and maybe I wouldn't have been as ready to tear your fucking heads off. Then again, I have <u>always</u> hated how I looked, I make fun of people who look like me, sometimes without even thinking...sometimes just because I want to rip on myself. That's where a lot of my hate grows from...²²

Bullying is, however, common; school shootings are not. Whereas the bullying accounted for some of the shooters' rage, there is no precedent for the degree of preparation for the attack or its extent. Moreover, the degree of bullying suffered by Harris and Klebold, as documented by a classmate²³, does not seem particularly severe, when compared to that which many adolescents suffer.

Copycat Killing

Other factors contributed to Harris' and Klebold's decision to destroy Columbine. For example, the copycatting of other school shootings. In their "basement videotapes," five videotapes that total over three hours in length, Harris and Klebold claimed that the two conceived and planned their attack, uninfluenced by other school shootings.^{24 25} This is, however, doubtful.

On December 10, 1997, about a year-and-a-half before his own rampage, Harris wrote a paper titled "Guns in School."²⁶ In it he noted the attack by Michael Carneal which occurred a week and a half earlier at Heath High School in West Paducah, Kentucky. Three students were killed in the shooting. Harris and Klebold also would have known of Andrew Golden and Mitchell Johnson's attack on the Westside Middle School in Jonesboro, Arkansas. The attack occurred about a year before Columbine's. Five were killed, ten wounded. A month after that attack, Harris and Klebold first began documenting their own plans for Columbine. Finally, while Harris and Klebold were in the early stages of formulating their own plans, Kip Kinkel killed two and wounded twenty-five at his own school in Springfield, Oregon.

Peer Pressure

Perhaps most important of the factors discussed so far is the dynamics of shame. After a year of detailed and precise preparations for the attack, the teens had locked themselves into a Faustian contract that had no exit. Each was planning the assault and helping to create the weapons they would use. If either had wanted to escape the plan, the shame of letting down his best friend would have made it enormously difficult. Rather, one might expect that unconsciously they might arrange for their plan to be discovered by the police or some such entity. As will be discussed, this appears to have happened on several occasions. However, these missteps were mismanaged by the police and the plans remained undiscovered.

Thus, all these explanations for the attack have merit. Yet, one critical explanation for their rage is missing. Harris and Klebold had one thing in common, something that set them apart from others—both were immersed in the world of technology. They had an intense relationship with their computers that was critical to both motivating and facilitating the attack. The technology also made it possible to secretly prepare for the attack, something that would have been impossible a few years earlier.

DOOM

Harris and Klebold were computer game enthusiasts. By the time of the attack, Harris had been immersed in the culture of computer games for well over four years.²⁷ He considered himself an expert at several games, most notably Doom and Doom 2. He first started playing Doom in 1994, within a year of the game's release. Harris wrote how important the game Doom was to him after he was asked by an instructor to list the "25 things that make me different." The first item listed, and by far the most extensive, was:

My love for a computer game called DOOM. Doom is such a big part of my life and no one I know can recreate environments in DOOM as good as me. I know almost anything there is to know about the game, so I believe that seperates me from the rest of the world.²⁸

Doom is a landmark computer game that heralded the popularization of an entirely new class of games, called first-person shooters (FPS). FPS games are so named as they allow play from the perspective of the protagonist. The screen pictures what one would see if looking out from the hero's eyes. With a turn of the mouse or a press of a key, one can turn to look, move, or shoot in a different direction. What one generally sees when playing a FPS is a rather scary but intriguing virtual world filled with ominous sounds and surroundings. Of course, there are other characters like you (generally NPCs—non-player characters) and various types of monsters, most of which are trying to kill you. The game's excitement comes in fending off these attacks and discovering the secrets built into the virtual world—a hidden cache here, a secret path there, etc.

Computer games are perhaps the most common way people experience virtual reality. The game creates its own world which exists for only as long as the computer is powered up and the software is running. One may achieve great things in these artificial worlds. Indeed, one might become an expert with tremendous knowledge and skill in a particular virtual world. However, upon exiting the game, that expertise is difficult to use or convey to others. With few exceptions, there are no diplomas, no credentials, and no trophies to put on the wall. Newspapers do not write up your virtual achievements and classmates do not clap you on the back. Thus, although it can be intensely rewarding, the virtual is usually isolated from the rest of the world. Even in the modern variants of Doom, such as the massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs), it is uncommon to get much real acknowledgement for one's virtual accomplishments.

As a result, most people do not try to condense their real and virtual lives. Rather, they compartmentalize the two, rarely discussing the virtual when talking to people in the real. In her book *Life on the Screen*, Sherry Turkle described this phenomenon, noting that people who live virtually segment themselves, as if they are opening and shutting various identities, all the while keeping them distinct and separate. She stated that this is like opening several "windows" on your computer and switching back and forth between them—from an email, to a Word document, to another email. She quoted from one computer enthusiast, "RL (real life) is just one more window and it's not usually my best one."²⁹

However, the virtual and real can blend together. Harris and Klebold did so by taking the game Doom a step further, creating what are known as "mods." Modding allows a player to customize a game, changing it by adding new elements such as sounds, buildings, weapons, and/or monsters. We know from Harris' writings and Internet files that he and Klebold spent hundreds of hours modding Doom. Harris took his creations and posted them to the Internet, for other hobbyists to download and play. What did these mods contain? Harris wrote this about an early mod that he created:

...Lots of the rooms and levels in this place came directly from my imagination. So you are basically running around in my own world. I live in this place. I mean a person could write a freakin book on all the symbolism and double meanings used in these levels. So show some respect, ya bastages.³⁰

Harris' spent much of his last year alive creating "Tier," a seven-part Doom 2 mod. One or two days before attacking the school, Harris uploaded the Tier mod to the Columbine school computer network—along with a "cookbook" explaining how to make explosives and napalm. ³¹ Unfortunately, while the contents of Harris' other mods have been examined, the Tier mod never was. The file has since disappeared. As Tier was created concurrent to planning the attack, one should expect it contained a virtual

mock-up of Columbine High School. After all, this is exactly the sort of blending of the virtual and the real that they did with their "Mission" mod, as will be discussed later in this article.

Between playing the game and making the mods, Harris and Klebold undoubtedly spent thousands of hours in the virtual. Using the computer for this much time can change people. For example, one often starts dreaming about the games: Harris documented several such dreams, as homework for his psychology class. In one paper, Harris wrote of a dream in which he and a friend were attacked by Doom-like "shadows that seemed to have evil, demented inhabitants" that made an "evil growling."³² The dream recounts an assault at Columbine by the creatures and, in retrospect, is remarkably transparent. The creatures destroy the school and kill many police. By even writing up the dream to be shared with others, Harris seems to be taunting whoever received the writing and, perhaps, unconsciously hoping that his plot will be discovered.

In another paper, Harris also discussed his intense relationship with the game and how it permeated his dreams. Here, the term "Deathmatch" refers to a mode in a FPS wherein two or more people can play in the same virtual gameworld at the same time, working together or, more typically, against one another.

Doom is so burned into my head my thoughts usually have something to do with the game. Whether it be a level or environment or whatever. In fact a dream I had yesterday was about a "Deathmatch" level that I have never even been to. It was so vivid and detailed I will probably try to recreate it using a map editor...What I cant do in real life, I try to do in doom...The fact <u>is</u>, I love that game and if others tell me "hey, its just a game." I say "ok, I dont care"³³

In addition to playing Doom, Harris and Klebold regularly played other FPS games: Doom 2, Quake, Quake 2, and Duke Nukem. ³⁴ In one note, Harris appears to list the other games he has on his hard drive. In abbreviated form, the list includes: Warcraft, Command & Conquer: Tiberian Sun, Hexen 2, Redneck Rampage Rides Again, Shadow Warrior, Tomb Raider, Tomb Raider 2, Age of Empires 2, Heretic 2, Total Annihilation, X-Com, Diablo, Diablo 2, Unreal, Jedi Knight, Need for Speed 3, Deer Hunter, Links 98, Tri-

ple Play 99, and Ignition. It is clear, though, that Doom and Doom 2 were their favorites. Harris went so far as to write a fan letter to the company behind Doom, ID Software.³⁵ In it, he highlighted modifications to the game that he thought should be implemented in a sequel, Doom 3. All of his suggestions were realized, with the release of the game Doom 3 (2004) and Doom motion picture (2005).

Games like Doom have been described as "murder simulators" which desensitize the player, training them how to shoot and murder others.³⁶ The American Psychiatric Association, the American Psychological Association, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, and the PTA all joined together in July 2000 to issue a statement noting that "we are convinced that repeated exposure to enter-tainment violence in all its forms has significant public health implications." However, the unfortunate truth is that the research around violent content remains inconclusive. Many of the most damning scientific papers that purport to correlate virtual and real violence have serious problems, such as incorrect statistical calculations or overreaching conclusions.^{37 38 39} In short, it is this author's belief that if there is a relationship between watching virtual violence and acting out real violence, it appears to be a weak one.

Rather, what happened to Klebold and Harris involved a different sort of risk—one that is poorly described in the psychiatric literature. Exposure to the virtual may, in itself, be dangerous. Using this theory, heavy use of an entirely non-violent game could pose the same threat as a violent one, like Doom. The problem is not the content but, rather, living one's life in an alternative place without real touch, real smells, or real accomplishment. Such a life may lead to an existential crisis. Who am I—the virtual persona or the real one? Is my life a fiction and, if so, which world is false? Where do I exist, in my body or somewhere on the Internet? Such questions might come to the forefront when one is abruptly severed from that virtual life, triggering a crisis.

PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY

Conceptually, there are at least two ways to model how the virtual might have played a critical role for these two students. Using a traditional analytic model of the mind, playing in the virtual might be used to re-channel or sublimate aggressive and sexual impulses. Rather than hurt others, people can harmlessly express their rage and libido in their games. In the virtual, one can master the worst of enemies. One fears nothing and the virtual foes die by the hundreds. Moreover, one can even play God, creating new worlds, the landscape, the traps, and the secrets. One can also make and master the monsters that inhabit it. As a result, anger can be transformed into creativity and a tremendous sense of power.

A different model, though considerably more complex, is equally helpful and instructive. "Object relations theory"⁴⁰ is an offshoot of traditional theory. In it, an individual is thought of as being at the center of a web of relationships. An individual's personality or sense of self is, in effect, made up of these interactions-some characterized by love, others by indifference or even hate. It is important to realize that one could argue that these psychological objects need not be alive-they just need to have a presence, within the mind. Thus, a person and a computer can coexist in the psyche, side-byside. To the mind, one's relationship with their computer and the games played on it may be as real as their bonds to a parent or friend. Furthermore, if one spends hour after hour tending to their computer, the importance of that relationship increases. Indeed, to heavy computer users, the technology might become a "significant other." In a practical sense, most everyone has experienced profound anger, frustration, or sadness when their computer "misbehaves" or the hard drive "dies." Even the language we use anthropomorphizes the technology and betrays our attachment to it; technophiles ascribe human attributes to their devices and suffer, as if betrayed by a lover, when the technology fails.

Pulling these two theories together, we may anticipate separating some people from their virtual lives will be profoundly upsetting. When a hacker's access to his computer is limited, he is concurrently disempowered, enraged, and isolated. He will probably feel attacked, as if others were trying to destroy him. Worse yet, because such restrictions might seem trivial to others, the enormity of the event is likely be underestimated and misunderstood by society.

Consider a high school quarterback who is caught cheating on a test and banned from leading his team. People will empathize with his plight, even if they agree the punishment is appropriate. It would be difficult to imagine people trying to comfort the quarterback, telling him how unimportant football is. In contrast, imagine the hacker banned from using computers. For one thing, most people would not recognize any loss. Even if the pain were recognized, what exactly should one grieve? There is no physical reality to mourn.

With this understanding, we are left with a model to recognize and understand Klebold's and Harris' reaction to efforts to limit their computer use. Such a model does not excuse the killers' actions; it just enables us to anticipate such crises with others, in the future.

TIMELINE: VIRTUAL AND REAL-LIFE EVENTS

Up until the middle of their sophomore year, Klebold and Harris had been doing relatively well. As best we know, they kept out of trouble and were valued as computer experts by other students and faculty.

However, sometime near the beginning of 1997, Harris created an early version of a blog on America Online (AOL). In his blog, Harris documented "missions" that he and his friends would perform. These missions involved drinking alcohol and criminal mischief in the community—egging, fireworks, toilet-papering trees, and supergluing locks. There were six such events that Harris wrote up but only one is dated: Mission #2, which occurred on February 7, 1997. This particular night of vandalism is notable in that it is the first dated event where we can demonstrate Klebold's and Harris' slide into increasingly dangerous behavior.⁴¹

A few weeks after "Mission #2", parents and police began learning that there might be significant problems brewing within Harris. At first, a conflict erupted between Harris and a classmate. The classmate, Brooks Brown, was a childhood friend of Klebold's. On February 28, 1997, Harris allegedly threw a snowball at Brown's car, cracking the windshield. This resulted in Brown's family calling Harris' father and the police.^{42 43} A few days later, Harris' father received another call, this time from the school dean: Harris and Brown had fought at school. Somehow, the dean had learned that Harris had a stockpile of alcohol.⁴⁴ The next day, March 4, 1997, Harris and his father talked about the incidents and Harris denied having alcohol.⁴⁵ On his blog, Harris complained that Brooks Brown had told his "parents that I had

booze and shit in my room. I had to ditch every bottle that I had and lie like a fuckin salesman to my parents." 46

On April 17, 1997, the police were again called by the Browns for an "ongoing juv(enile) problem with neighbor kid."⁴⁷ The next day, Harris' father made inquires about some other damage that his son may have caused to a second classmate's home.⁴⁸ On April 19, 1997, the police called the Harris residence to speak about "tree damage."⁴⁹ It would be the first direct contact between the police and the Harris household. They left a message. That same day, the Browns again complained to the police, reporting annoying phone calls.⁵⁰ At this point in time, Harris' blog was, in fact, listing the Browns' address and phone number and exhorting people on the web to harass the family.⁵¹ On the 24th, the police directly spoke with Harris' father⁵² and, three days later, the father conferenced with the Browns.⁵³

Much is unclear about these three critical months. We do not know if Klebold was affected, in any way. He does not appear in the police record. As for Harris, it remains a mystery how Harris' parents reacted to the chaos of those months. It seems that Harris told his father that Brooks Brown was lying. He said that Brown had a vendetta against him. His father may have believed him but, regardless, it is clear Harris got into trouble. Based on information his parents gave the following year,⁵⁴ it appears Harris had his computer privileges revoked for a considerable amount of time.

As previously discussed, it is entirely understandable to cut Harris off from his computer. It was also counterproductive. As Harris had his computer access restricted, his anger increased and he became increasingly sociopathic. In a tragic feedback loop, people reacted by disciplining and restricting him even more.

On August 7, 1997, another complaint was filed with the police against Harris.⁵⁵ Almost certainly, the report was initiated by one of the Browns. This time, the police were told the web address of Harris' blog. Found on the website were the six "mission" reports and a rambling diatribe on things that Harris hated. More alarming, the blog also documented that Harris and Klebold had begun making bombs that summer. The website detailed the measurements and explosive content of four pipe bombs. In addition, it also mentioned that the teens made a "CO₂" bomb and two small grenades ("crickets"). The website also offered a game mod to download. The mod was a

mock-up of select nearby residential areas. Playing the mod on the FPS game Duke Nukem 3D allowed the player to visit the "mission" sites, in the virtual. They could then simulate the "missions" or fight other players there. In the following passage, "dm" is an abbreviation of "deathmatch."

I have created a duke map that's almost exactly like the area in which we do our missions. Please check it out if you want to learn a bit more and see for yourself what its like, plus its a good dm map and its got bitchloads of awesome explosions...⁵⁶

The police took a detailed report of the website. They interviewed the Browns and filed the complaint for more investigation. Unfortunately, the police report was lost. The paperwork was found again, four years after Columbine.⁵⁷

On October 2, 1997, Harris and Klebold got into more trouble. The two, along with a third classmate, hacked into their school's computer system and stole several classmates' locker combinations.⁵⁸ They were caught and suspended from school for several days.⁵⁹ Their computer access at the school's computer lab was revoked. After the suspension, one teacher noted that Harris' personality changed; he "began wearing black" to school, everyday.⁶⁰

Then, on January 30, 1998, their problems escalated immensely: the two students were caught by the police after breaking into a electrician's van and stealing the electronics gear within. Pending a court hearing, Harris' father sought therapy for his son. In his notes, he wrote down a professional's recommendation that he restrict his son's computer use.⁶¹ It appears that both Klebold and Harris' were banned from their computers. In Harris' case, it was recommended he be prohibited from accessing his virtual worlds for at least four weeks.^{62 63} Following the arrest on January 30, 1998, Harris' and Klebold's writing grew markedly angry, violent, and disturbed. The mechanisms that were being used to manage anger lost their utility. Either they were no longer available because they were banned from their computers or the virtual could no longer contain their rage.

Three days after his arrest, Klebold made one of his few entries into his diary. He wrote about his love for a female student and wondered if the feelings were mutual. But the note turned dark. He talked about suicide, blowing himself up with a bomb strapped to his neck. He wrote that at least one au-

thority, probably a parent, knew of his pipe bombs and vandalism. He also made the first reference to the attack (NBK), even before Harris did so:

...The zombies & their society band together & try to destroy what is superior & what they don't understand & are afraid of. Soon...either ill commit suicide, or ill get w. [redacted] & it will be NBK for us...Ive been caught w. most of my crimes - [1 unknown word] drinking, smoking, & the house vandalism, & the pipe bombs...⁶⁴

There are two additional things to note about the passage. First, for those who suspect more people were involved in the plot, this entry is alarming. Why was the name redacted? If it was "Eric Harris," the police would not have removed the reference. Second, "zombies" are the lowest of life forms in the virtual world of Doom. With the arrest, Klebold has entered the game; his life now mirrors Doom. He feels the police, parents, teachers, and his classmates are like the villains in the game, trying to destroy him and make him into one of them.

Each time they were banned from their games, culminating in their arrest in 1998, their sense of self was splintered. From their perspective, they were required to capitulate and comply with the police, their school, their parents, and their classmates. As they saw it, they were being remade into normal people, toiling away within the system at the mundane tasks of living. They saw little choice but to join with others in condemning the virtual. In doing so, they went to the extreme, becoming more concrete, devaluing the abstract, and seeking harsh reality over imagination. They grew fascinated with nihilistic music, moral relativism, and the brutal exercise of power. Their experience with computers had betrayed them; their expertise led to nothing but trouble and wasted years of their lives. They began to hate all technology and the escape it offered.

On the other hand, it was within the virtual that the teens were the most skilled and accomplished; that part of them would not just simply fade away. So, they compromised. The teens continued to dabble with Doom and create their mods. Only this time, the scenarios were real. In doing so, they mingled the virtual and real and declared war on most everyone around them. For example, note the following passage from Harris' diary. Here, "V" is a reference to "VoDkA," a pseudonym for Dylan Klebold. According to one ac-

count, Klebold was a problem drinker, thus the nickname⁶⁵. "Thrasher," "Whiskey," "UAC Labs," and "Tier" were the names for Doom mods that Harris produced and distributed over the Internet. "Duke" is a reference to Duke Nukem, another FPS game.

Put everyone in doom I and see who can get past at least level 1. Actually, then put them into MY worlds. Like Thrasher, Whiskey, UAC Labs, und TIER. I would love to see all you fuckheads die. NBK. I love it! Sometime in April me and V will get revenge and will kick natural selection up a few notches. Armed with the following: a terrorist bag full of noisey crickets [improvised grenades], noisey crickets strapped to WD40 cans, pipe bombs with a shit load of shrapnel, fire bombs, chlorine gas bombs, and smoke bombs. Fire arms we arnt sure of yet...We will have knives and blades and backup weaponary all over our bodies...Itll be like the LA riots, the Oklahoma bombing, WWII, Vietnam, duke and doom all mixed together.⁶⁶

Note how harsh and judgmental reality has become for Harris:

...Everyone should be put to a test, an ULTIMATE DOOM test, see who can [ed.—unreadable 1-2 words] in an environment using only smarts and military skills—put them in a doom world. No authority, no refuge, no BS copout excuses. If you cant figure out the area of a triangle or what 'cation' means, you die! If you cant take down a demon w/ a chainsaw or kill a hell prince w/ a shotgun, you DIE! ... Plus it would get rid of all the fat, retarded, crippled, stupid, dumb, ignorant, worthless people of the world. No one is worthy of this planet, only me and who I choose. There is just no respect for anything higher than your fucking boss or parent. Everyone should be shot out into space and only the people I say should be left behind....⁶⁷

On March 18th, as the teens waited for their day in court for the car break-in, a fifth police complaint was filed against Harris by the Browns.⁶⁸ For the first time, Klebold was also listed. Again, the website was central to the report. In the six months since the police last saw the website, the blog had expanded. It had become downright menacing. Now, the site included an

early blueprint for the Columbine attack and an actual threat on Brooks Brown's life:

My belief is that if I say something, it goes. I am the law, if you don't like it, you die. If I don't like you or I don't like what you want me to do, you die. If I do something incorrect, oh fucking well, you die. Dead people cant do many things, like argue, whine, bitch, complain, narc, rat out, criticize, or even fucking talk. So that's the only way to solve arguments with all you fuckheads out there. I just kill! ...I don't care if I live or die in the shootout, all I want to do is kill and injure as many of you pricks as I can, especially a few people. Like brooks brown.^{69 70}

In addition to the police, the Browns also complained to America Online (AOL), asking that they investigate the web pages. Soon thereafter, the site disappeared. Either Harris took it down or AOL did. In either case, Harris became aware that his website was being scrutinized. From this point forward, Klebold and Harris became more cautious, hiding information about their plans as best as they could.

Although the site was taken down, the police still had their printouts of the content. Using the hardcopies, the police expanded their investigation of the threats on the blog, involving more officers and supervisors. They interviewed the Browns at length about the death threat. But, inexplicably, eight days later the case was closed, apparently in error.⁷¹

However, in the meantime, the police opened a third case investigating Harris. While examining the AOL blog and the notes found there describing pipe bombs, the police realized that an unexploded pipe bomb had been discovered a few miles from Harris' home. The detectives wondered if Harris and Klebold might be the cause of an unexplained rash of pipe bombings in the area; in 1997 and 1998, the local sheriff's department was responding to about one pipe bomb incident each week.⁷² An affidavit for a search warrant to examine the Harris' home for bomb material was prepared.⁷³ But it was never submitted to the court. The police decided they needed a witness to justify the warrant; talk of bombs on the website was not enough.⁷⁴ Soon thereafter, the investigation stopped. Unfortunately, all the police investigations were isolated from Klebold's and Harris' ongoing judicial matters⁷⁵.

The prosecutor, the court, and the diversion officers were never aware of any of the other police investigations. For their part, Klebold, Harris, and their parents were also unaware of any investigations.

On March 25, 1998, the two teens struck a deal with the prosecutor on the break-in charges and entered juvenile diversion, together. Juvenile diversion in Colorado allows some offenders to avoid legal repercussions by participating in other educational or work programs. There they jointly attend classes on topics like criminal justice and anger management. They placed out of alcohol and drug classes, lying about past alcohol use. Klebold got a dilute urine result, which might indicate that he watered down the urine sample to reduce its alcohol or drug concentration.⁷⁶ (22). It seems the test result escaped notice.

On April 11, about three weeks after the teens entered diversion, the police were called a sixth time by the Browns. Harris allegedly threatened Brooks Brown by email. The email was accidentally deleted by the Browns and the investigation ended.⁷⁷ Finally, on July 19, 1998, a paintball was shot through a window to the Browns' garage. The Browns filed yet another police report and Harris was listed as a suspect.⁷⁸ Harris was not confronted and there was no follow-up.

By fall, the two killers were deep into their attack plans. On the side, Harris again had computer access and tried to make more Doom mods. However, he could no longer recapture the excitement. Mere fantasy was no longer enough:

...my latest Doom 2 level. It's called Tier 6 and, obviously, is the 6th level in this series. I have trouble making this one for some reason though. In the past I have been able to just go a create several rooms and hallways and secret rooms just off the kopf. But for some reason I cant for Tier 6. Maybe its the fact that school is back in session and there is more on my mind now than there was during the summer when 1-5 were made. I keep making just plain, boring, empty rooms like I am a beginner. Just room after room of the same old stuff...⁷⁹

USING TECHNOLOGY TO MAINTAIN SECRETS

One might easily argue that in 1997 and early 1998, Harris gave ample opportunities for the police to intervene and prevent the Columbine attack of 1999. However, once the AOL blog site was removed, Harris and Klebold proceeded to plot the actual attack, in secret, for a year—a remarkably long time for two high school students to sit on and otherwise conceal such rage. How does one purchase weapons, create bombs, and plan to kill several hundred people while working, attending anger management classes, going to therapy, and performing community service?

By October 1998, Harris' diary started detailing specifics. He documented budgets, listed what was needed,⁸⁰ noted who would be killed,⁸¹ and sketched out how he and Klebold would dress (see appendix)⁸² They tested their homemade explosives, studying how well they worked.⁸³ In a parody of what they had been taught in school, they logged their test explosions like lab experiments. They mixed napalm and imagined ways to deliver it (see appendix).⁸⁴ They videotaped and took notes on cafeteria attendance. Then, they calculated when to trigger their bombs to kill the most people—all while bowling and completing their English, math, and history assignments for school.

One reason they escaped discovery was their terror cell only included the two of them. In the past, assembling a 100+ bomb arsenal and obtaining weapons would require expert help. With the advent of the Internet, however, the teens had immediate and anonymous access to numerous anti-social guides like The Anarchist's Cookbook. The document, and many others like it, gave the young novices detailed instructions on how to make napalm and pipe bombs. Since only adults could buy them, guns were a larger problem. Without revealing their plan, Klebold and Harris got older friends to purchase several weapons. However, as more people got involved, the secrets became a larger burden. For instance, one parent received a phone call from a gun store about backordered ammunition but, lacking context, the parent just became confused.

Klebold and Harris resisted the pressure to tell others by sometimes blending, sometimes maintaining the virtual/real split. Just as people do not generally discuss their virtual lives in the real, Klebold and Harris did not discuss their lethal plans—until carried out, the plans were not real. They were conceptualized as just more Doom mods. Using the terminology of Harris and Klebold, in their "human form" they were vulnerable to human emotions such as sympathy. In their "god form," they were just designing and playing another game—a huge, bloody game. Thus, the immorality of what they intended was also buffered and sectioned out of awareness by their experience in the virtual. In the following note, "FH" and "LS" refer to Former Human and Lost Soul, respectively. These, like "Demons," are monsters in the computer game Doom.

I have a goal to destroy as much as possible so I must not be sidetracked by my feelings of sympathy, mercy, or any of that, so I will force myself to believe that everyone is just another monster from Doom like FH or LS or Demons, so it is either me or them. I have to turn off my feelings. Keep this in mind, I want to burn the world, I want to kill everyone except about 5 people⁸⁵.

In retrospect, Klebold and Harris slipped enough times that one might suspect that they wanted to be stopped. In the spring of 1998, soon after they began planning the attack, Klebold and Harris were unusually public about their plan. They wrote extensively in their respective yearbooks, despite the risk that some other student or a parent would read the entry (see partial reprints in appendix)^{86,87}. The writings in the yearbook reference two Doom books, "Hell on Earth" and "Endgame." These were the second and fourth books in a four-book series that was based on the game. In Book #2, a major character is named Arlene. Harris would later name the sawed-off shotgun that he used at Columbine, "Arlene" and etch the name into the gunstock.

In the "Adult Legal Issues" class that Klebold was mandated to take as part of his diversion, he was asked to give examples of certain criminal offenses. Three of his examples involved bombs.⁸⁸ A few months later, for a writing assignment, Klebold wrote a paper titled "The Mind and Motives of Charles Manson." Just weeks before the attack, Klebold wrote a disturbing paper about a man becoming "godlike" and brutally killing several other people. The paper was so upsetting that it triggered the student/teacher/parent conference that was discussed earlier.

Harris, for his part, wrote an 11-page paper titled, "The Nazi Culture." He wrote another paper about a bloodied space marine. He wrote about the ethics of war, indiscriminant killing, and about the Brady gun-control law. Late in 1998, he wrote "The Trenchcoat Mafia: Hit-Men for Hire," that included descriptions of the guns he and Klebold would use at Columbine. He

and Klebold expanded the paper into a video, "Hitmen for Hire," which was filmed on Columbine school grounds and simulated the killing of students. He created a video showing Columbine blowing up.

The teen's use of technology allowed them to research weapons, plan, and simulate the attack while also maintaining an emotional distance from what they were doing. While rage still was a problem, for the most part the computer helped them contain it. Thus, when they did seriously slip up, it was either when they were banned from computer use (i.e., the yearbook entries) or when they were actively moving from the virtual to the real and wiring-up large numbers of bombs (i.e., Klebold's threatening essay).

THE ATTACK AT COLUMBINE HIGH SCHOOL

On the morning of April 20, 1999, Harris and Klebold rigged two timed diversionary devices to explode sometime around 11:15 a.m. and set fire to a field, three miles southwest of Columbine. These devices were intended to distract the fire and police departments from the real threat, the attack at the school. Harris and Klebold then went to Columbine and parked their cars on opposite sides of the school lot. They activated more bombs within the cars. One note indicates they intended for them to blow them up at 11:18.

Harris then walked by his arch-nemesis, Brooks Brown. In his diaries, he had explicitly targeted Brown for death numerous times. Something had changed, though, a few weeks before the attack. For some reason, Harris had approached Brown and told him that he was no longer angry with him. Now, moments before trying to kill hundreds, Harris warned Brown, "Brooks, I like you now. Go home. Now!" After walking away, Brown heard explosions and broke into a run, fleeing to a neighboring home and calling the police.⁸⁹ After the assault began, Brown was to become a suspect because, in part, he received the one and only explicit warning the killers gave. We do not know why Brown was spared. One might, at best, guess. Brown, more than anyone, recognized the danger Harris posed. Perhaps Harris understood, in those last few weeks, that Brown was right about him all along. Or maybe it was just Brooks' longstanding friendship with Klebold that motivated the warning.

After warning Brown away, it is believed that Harris and Klebold then carried two large duffle bags into the school at around 11:12 and placed them separately on the floor of the cafeteria, under tables. The two bags were indistinguishable from the many other student backpacks that were there. However, the knapsacks contained two large propane bombs, set to explode at 11:17. Harris and Klebold then returned to the center of the parking lot, waiting the five minutes for the bombs at the school to explode. The plan was designed so that the cafeteria bombs would be deadly. Those that survived them would flee to the exits, toward the two car bombs or to the center of the school parking lot. There, in the center, Klebold and Harris waited, with their many pipe bombs, homemade grenades, Molotov cocktails, and guns. Fortunately, none of the timed bombs at the school ignited on schedule and hundreds of lives were spared. They had been wired incorrectly. Harris and Klebold waited about two minutes before choosing their alternative plan.

At 11:19, just as the fire and police department were reacting to the fire caused by the diversionary bombs, Harris and Klebold shot their way into Columbine High School, killing 3 and wounding 12. They then spent time trying to explode their cafeteria bombs. About 10 minutes later, at 11:29, the two killers entered the school library. There, in the next seven and a half minutes, they executed 10 people and wounded 12. While initially the two were laughing as they killed, by the end they no longer seemed to enjoy it. Before the terrorists left the library, several witnesses heard one of them, probably Klebold, say, "I have always wanted to kill somebody with a knife."⁹⁰ But they did not.

By then, they seemed to lose interest in killing. If Klebold or Harris had wanted to murder more people, they easily could have. In the library, 46 people remained alive. They were hiding, as best they could, behind desks and bookcases. Forty-four of them fled to safety only after Harris and Klebold left the room. The other two remained, badly injured. After Harris and Klebold left the library, they again went to the cafeteria to fix their bombs. Along the way, they fired haphazardly. They did not hit anybody. Their actions became more random and directionless. They roamed the school, threatening students in classrooms but making no concerted effort to kill. They taunted several girls hiding in a bathroom. They did not, however, enter the bathroom to harm them. Eventually, they returned to the library. The two severely injured students were still there, unconscious. Klebold and Harris may have mistaken them for dead. At any rate, the injured students were not

killed. At a little past noon, about 45 minutes into the attack, Harris and Klebold committed suicide in the library.

The original attack plan and the improvised version both seemed focused on sheer destruction—blowing up bombs, spraying gunfire, and tossing Molotov cocktails and homemade grenades. In addition to targeting people, the assault also seemed directed at technology. The vicious attack in the library initially focused on the area where two long tables held most the library's computers. Two of these devices, and one at the checkout desk, were destroyed. Tragically, those students sitting or hiding near the computers seemed preferentially attacked. All were either killed or badly wounded. Klebold and Harris also attacked equipment in the unoccupied technology classroom, shooting up two computers, a monitor, and a video recorder. They also destroyed a TV and computer monitor in the evacuated administration office⁹¹.

What killing they did was in the first twenty minutes of the attack; it soon became ungratifying. Their goal seems to have been to kill in the abstract—to make the virtual kills and "frags" of Doom—and sow as much terror as possible, destroying the physical facilities of Columbine. When they began executing people up close, the reality of what they were doing set in. Harris' and Klebold's "game" was no longer "fun."

CONCLUSION

A few months before the attack, Harris wrote the following:

I think if more people would let the reality inside themselves come out it would be a different world...they should be doing whatever they feel like doing on the inside. If that person wants to be just like everyone else or try to be different just to be different, then ok. If they want to try to fly off a bridge, ok. If they want to commit crimes, ok.⁹²

The switch from the virtual to reality requires the restraint that society demands. Most games allow play in the virtual without significant ethical or social consequences for one's actions. When you shoot a zombie in Doom, nobody is hurt. When the zombie gets you, you just lose one of your several "lives." As long as you finish the game with at least one of your lives left,

you win. If not, you just restart the game from the last "save" point. Unfortunately, in the real world, there is no "restart" button, actions can hurt others, and lives do end. After being seduced by the ease of the virtual, the harshness of the real can be jarring. For Klebold and Harris, the two worlds collided and they were unwilling or unable to restrict their impulses.

The tragedy at Columbine is even more relevant to today's society. Now, unlike in 1999, there are massive numbers of children, teens and adults who live much of their lives in the virtual. In 2006, there were over 8 million people worldwide who regularly played just one virtual game, World of Warcraft (WoW)-more than the entire population of Colorado.⁹³ WoW players spend hour after hour building up their virtual characters, making them stronger, more powerful, more godlike. Indeed, the blending of the real and virtual is far more extensive than it ever was in 1999. Some people finance their real lives from money made in virtual games. For example, one might spend 300 hours building up a virtual character in WoW, so that the character is highly "skilled," and then sell it to another person for hundreds of real dollars. Or consider the Miami resident who, in 2005, bought a virtual space station for \$100,000. The space station existed only within the game "Project Entropia." The man bought the rights to take the virtual property and make a huge disco and a space ranch appear in the game. He figured he would turn a profit, in real money, from the virtual charges and taxes his customers would pay.94

Yet, as our lives become more and more entangled with the computer, it is easy to anticipate that disruptions in this virtual life, for whatever reason, can lead to crisis. That crisis is both an opportunity for change but also holds great potential for disaster. It appears that virtual reality is a two-edged sword. On the one hand, the virtual seems to be a powerful tool that allows people to feel more connected and empowered. It also allows them to escape stress and have a relatively harmless outlet for aggression. On the other hand, when a heavy user must eliminate or cut back on the virtual, the opposite can occur: they may feel lonely, insubstantial, anxious, and angry. In some ways the virtual is similar to alcohol. In moderation, it can be healthy and helpful. In excess, it can be destructive and isolating. And, if the person abruptly goes "dry," the immediate situation can be dangerous. Finally, the analysis, as presented here, is speculative. Klebold and Harris are dead and, for the most part, those who knew them best are traumatized and do not want to remember. Many of the police and mental health records on the two have been destroyed or are inaccessible.⁹⁵ Additional research is needed and others are encouraged to submit case reports and research that validate or contradict the findings discussed here.

APPENDIX I

- A-2,3: Eric Harris Yearbook, 1998. Writings from Dylan Klebold
- A-4: Dylan Klebold Yearbook, 1998. Writings from Eric Harris
- A-5: Eric Harris, Clothing and Weapon Sketches
- A-6: Eric Harris, Bomb Tests & Accounting
- A-7: Eric Harris, To-do List
- A-8: Eric Harris, Flamethrower Designs
- A-9: Eric Harris, Napalm Tests
- A-10: Timeline

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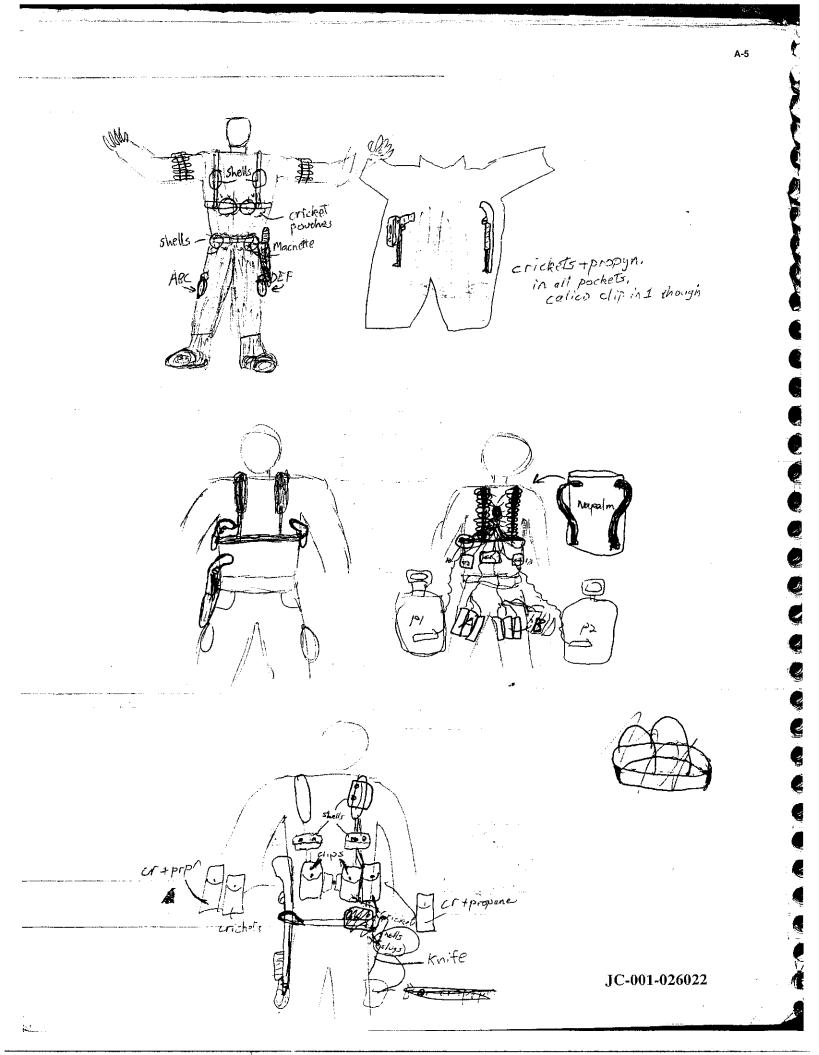
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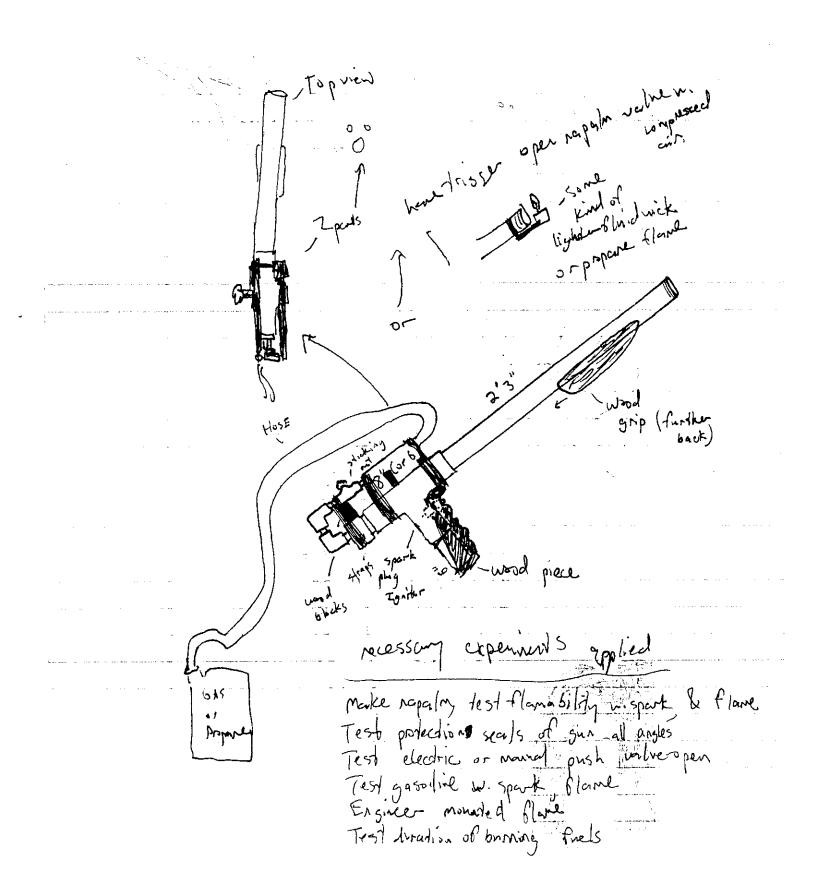
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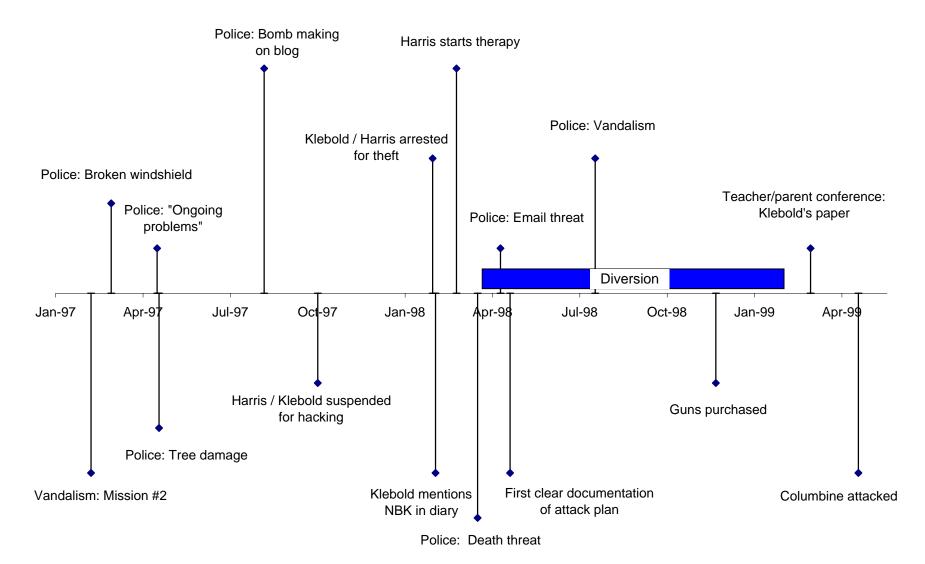
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Columbine- Legal Issues Preceding the Attack

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