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001. cable	Bruce Riedel to APNSA re: Iran (4 pages)	04/19/2000	P1/b(1)
002. memo	Beth Nolan et al. to POTUS re: Decision Memorandum Regarding Vacancy [partial] (3 pages)	04/26/2000	b(6)

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are needed for today's duties

out cumbersome divisions of some 18,000 troops that have been the Army's basic fighting unit.

And instead of using big Abrams tanks, these more-mobile units would rely on smaller armored vehicles.

But even this reform has run into my's bureaucratic and funding snags that reflect a basic problem: the Army's long adherence to its basic 20th-century structure of relying on its 10, often-unwieldy, divisions and its top-down linear command and control.

That type of force did well in World War II. But with better-educated, better-trained soldiers these days who can use high-tech communications and weapons, the Army needs to lighten up: smaller units, more autonomy for lower officers, and more integration with the other services.

These smaller units could serve the menu of future military duties, but could also be assembled into large divisions if needed. They'd require less top brass and be cheaper, more flexible, and morale-boosting. They'd also require officers to be tested for competence rather than rely on promotions by cronyism.

A key part of this proposed "combat module" Army is a reliance on the latest communication technology to allow field commanders to keep in touch with each other and with other services – not just with Army superiors. That kind of lateral responsibility would take a culture shift away from today's central-command approach. The units could also be rotated overseas into "theater" commands to get to know a region better.

General Shinseki is moving to have three "interim brigade combat teams" (IBCTs) by 2003. But questions linger over whether the money for them is coming, what ground vehicles to use, and whether these teams will be truly independent of the old divisions.

The Pentagon has long tried to create a rapid-response military. Support is building now to revive the Army by shifting to lighter, more capable teams that better use the training and talent of today's professional corps to fight the battles of tomorrow.

While the nation's nuclear arsenal, warships, and bombers remain the ultimate defense, the US still needs boots on the ground for the many global responsibilities it is taking on and the countries it still defends.

Congress and the Pentagon need to support a transformed Army that will be ready when called.



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Plutonium at the summit

By Matthew Bunn

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

BY MUSCLING the START II arms pact through the Russian legislature, President Vladimir Putin showed his support for US-Russian cooperation on nuclear security and set the stage for a June summit.

President Clinton should use this opportunity to seek agreement on bold new steps to prevent theft of nuclear-bomb material.

The hard part of making a nuclear bomb is getting the plutonium or highly enriched uranium (HEU). The entire global structure for preventing the spread of nuclear weapons is built around controlling these materials.

But in the former Soviet Union, these materials are being stolen. As recently as 1998, conspirators at one of Russia's largest nuclear-weapons facilities tried to steal 40 pounds of weapons-usable material – enough for a nuclear bomb.

A nuclear-security system designed for a single state with a closed society, closed borders, and well-paid nuclear workers has been splintered among multiple states with open societies, open borders, unpaid nuclear workers, and rampant corruption.

US-Russian efforts to address this threat to international security are making significant headway. At a funding level of \$500 million – less than a quarter of 1 percent of the US defense budget – they represent some of the most cost-effective investments in US security and deserve strong support. But the pace of progress doesn't match the scope and urgency of the threat. After six years of effort, security for less than a sixth of the material in the former Soviet Union has been fully upgraded, and less than a tenth of the Russian HEU stockpile has been blended to forms that cannot be used in weapons.

Now is the time to put dramatic new steps on the table. Putin seems ready. He has emphasized the critical threats that terrorism and nuclear proliferation pose to Russia, and called for new steps to eliminate "excess" nuclear weapons and improve the safety of Russia's nuclear complex. A comprehensive plan for addressing this security hazard is urgently needed, focused on six key steps:

1. Radically accelerate security and accounting improvements, upgrading security

for all the plutonium and HEU in the former Soviet Union within a few years.

2. Pay Russia to blend down all of its excess HEU within a few years, permanently eliminating an enormous security hazard.

3. Finance the needed program to get rid of Russia's huge excess-plutonium stockpile.

4. Boost efforts to help Russia shrink its nuclear-weapons complex and re-employ excess weapons experts – in return for Russian agreement to measurable steps to reduce the complex's threat to the US.

5. Finance dismantlement of thousands of Russian warheads, with monitoring to confirm it is taking place (without revealing classified information) – and with substantial US dismantlement as well, under identical monitoring measures.

6. Create new revenue streams for nuclear security, through projects such as commercial spent-fuel storage, a "debt-for-security swap," and relaxing trade restraints on Russia's legitimate nuclear exports, with a substantial portion of the proceeds targeted for auditable financing of nuclear-security efforts.

Such a strategy would cost the US \$1.5 billion a year for several years – a small price for a dramatically reduced US security threat. There's support in Congress for a well-thought-out, carefully coordinated plan to deal with this security threat. To succeed – and to gain support on Capitol Hill – the effort needs to be led by a full-time senior official with presidential access.

Clinton should seek a summit agreement to pursue such a bold new nuclear-security agenda, committing to work with Congress and his successor to make sure the US holds up its end of the bargain. The cost of action now is tiny compared with the costs of failing to seize this opportunity.

■ Matthew Bunn, a former White House adviser on nuclear proliferation, is assistant director of the Science, Technology, and Public Policy Program at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. This article is adapted from his new report 'The Next Wave: Urgently Needed New Steps to Control Warheads and Nuclear Material' (Harvard and the Carnegie Endowment).

OPINION

WORLD

*A strong tradition of education in math and science
pays off for a former Communist country.*

High-tech Hungarians forge 'Silicon East'

By Daniel Langencamp
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY — When Gábor Bojár pawned his wife's jewelry and smuggled four Apple computers across the Hungarian border to create his own software firm in the early 1980s, he didn't realize he'd be part of a revolution in Hungarian industry.

Twenty years later, his firm, Graphisoft, stands as one of the world's top five companies making computer-aided design (CAD) software for architects. It represents a growing number of Hungarian firms turning this post-Communist country into what many are now calling a "Silicon East" — the high-tech center of Eastern Europe.

"I'm actually surprised it has taken so long for Hungary to become recognized," says Mr. Bojár. His firm boasts subsidiaries in 12 countries and a slick office campus that seems transported from Silicon Valley itself. "Hungary has talent and respect for math and science that goes back centuries," he says.

As Eastern European countries struggle to rebuild their economies following the collapse of communism, perhaps no other country in the region can claim as many successful high-tech firms or as much foreign high-tech investment.

Taking advantage of Hungary's low wages, well-developed infrastructure, and an abundance of talent stemming from an educational system that emphasizes math and science, multinational firms have invested hundreds of millions of dollars in research, development, and manufacturing facilities in Hungary. Local start-up firms, meanwhile, have started to have an impact on world markets.

Mobile-telephone manufacturers Ericsson, Nokia, Motorola, and Siemens have all built major research and development facilities in Hungary. In Nokia's case, it is the largest R&D facility outside its Finnish headquarters.

"You cannot make a difference between the quality of the Hungarian or American engineering teams, but the cost is dramatically different," says Ákos Reszler, head of Recognita, a leading producer of optical character recognition (OCR) software in Europe. "In California, the better software engineers earn between \$80,000 and \$120,000 per year, and here I can pay around \$30,000."

Perhaps more telling of Hungary's new status is the success of its local high-tech firms, which had been held back by a lack of capital. Cygron, a firm focused on artificial-intelligence software — which helps computers learn, reason, and make decisions — struggled with only three full-time employees and about \$40,000 in revenues until 1998.

It was then that San Jose, Calif.-based MindMaker purchased Cygron for less than \$2 million, boosted the employee base to 33, and quickly began marketing its Data-Scope software worldwide. Last year, Cygron won the prestigious Best of COMDEX Award, at the Las Vegas trade show of the same name.

"We acquired Cygron and a year and a half later, it is worth between \$20 (million) and \$40 million.... There are a lot of companies like this," says MindMaker founder and CEO József Király. A Hungarian, Mr. Király, returned to invest in Hungary after working for most of the 1990s in California.

The success of such firms is no surprise to Hungarians, who point to a list of scientific notables that is far out of proportion to their population of 10 million. That list includes Andy Grove, who fled Communist rule in 1956 and went on to found computer-chip giant Intel. Hungarian-born mathematician John von Neumann, meanwhile, is an émigré credited with inventing the computer in the US through his work in the 1940s and 1950s.

Graphisoft's Bojár theorizes that talented Hungarian minds had to delve into areas like math and science that could be explored locally and in private, because the country has been dominated by foreign powers and cut off from major trading routes through most of its history.

"It used to be that if a Hungarian wanted to exploit his talents, he had to move to Vienna or Munich, and hope to get a job at Siemens," Bojár says. "Now, two revolutions in computer

technology — the personal computer and the Internet — mean that the barriers no longer exist and we don't have to leave the country."

He recalls that Siemens used to employ hundreds of Hungarian programmers in Germany as early as the 1970s. And executives in Hungary say that many of the country's most talented programmers are still leaving.

"The situation is much like it is with Indians," another big source of labor in California's Silicon Valley, says MindMaker CEO Király. But there is a crucial difference between the two countries: "Most of the firms that start offices in India are not really doing critical development there. They will just use that office as a head-hunting pod" because of India's poor data-protection laws, he says.

The success of Hungary as a programming center could bring a reversal of the brain drain that has sapped the country of some of its greatest talents through most of the 20th century, Király adds. "I think you are going to see a lot of Hungarians going back and starting their own businesses. This is going to be very good for the country."

The PC and Internet 'mean we don't have to leave the country' for jobs anymore.

— Gábor Bojár



VOTERS' SERENADE: A street musician plays in front of an election poster. Bosnian voters chose municipal officials from ethnic parties or new ones opting for change.

Former Communists gain in Bosnia's municipal elections

■ In April 8 elections, other communities followed the Tuzla model — forsaking nationalist leaders' parties.

By Paul Hockeney
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

TUZLA, BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA — Along Tuzla's cafe-lined korzo, this run-down industrial city's pedestrian walkway, people are a little smug about the landslide reelection victory of their popular mayor, as well as the unexpected triumphs of his opposition Social Democratic Party (former Communist Party) elsewhere in Bosnia.

"It's about time other places started to catch up with us," says Danny Mihlovic, a local businessman.

Tuzla is the only Bosnian city that eschewed the leadership of nationalist parties throughout the war and in its aftermath. Since 1990, when the Social Democrat Selim Beslagic won his first term as mayor, Bosnian Muslims, Serbs,

and Croats have lived together in this northeastern city.

But for the first time, the recent nationwide municipal elections issued victories for the opposition Social Democrats outside Tuzla as well. In areas with majority Bosnian Muslim populations, including the capital Sarajevo, and half the municipalities in the populous Tuzla canton, the opposition dealt heavy blows to the ruling Muslim nationalist party of Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegovic. Elsewhere, the Social Democrats put sizable dents in the Party of Democratic Action's (Muslim party's) majorities. The Social Democratic Party, which includes members of all three ethnicities, backs market-oriented economic reform, the return of refugees, and full cooperation with the Dayton peace process.

Some observers cautiously see the election results as an emerging pattern of backlash against nationalist parties across the Balkans. Recent elections in Croatia roundly ousted ruling hardliners after 10 years in power. But in

See **BOSNIA** page 6

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- David Clark Scott
World editor

REPORTERS ON THE JOB

KICK BOXING IN KUWAIT: The Monitor's Ilene Prusher got a first-hand taste of modern Kuwait. A young Kuwaiti woman invited Ilene to her Saturday night kick-boxing class. Kuwaiti men and women - mostly in their 20s and 30s - had a sweaty and raucous workout together. "It was a 'kick' - my first time kick boxing! It was also a good window into the diversity of the culture," says Ilene. "It let me see that although this is a conservative Islamic society, it's not starkly black and white - with women staying at home and men going to diwanis." By the way, Ilene adds, "The instructor, an Egyptian musclem, was a real slave driver."

FOLLOW-UP ON A MONITOR STORY

SMOKING TAB: A Spanish regional government intends to sue international tobacco companies unless they agree to pay a part of its health budget. As reported on Sept. 22, European nations are starting to adopt a legal strategy used in the U.S. Andalusia, a tobacco-producing region, incurs costs of more than 60 billion pesetas (\$350 million) annually for treating health problems caused by smoking, reports El Pais, a Spanish daily. If the suit is filed, it would be the first time that a European government has taken legal action against tobacco companies, El Pais said.

CULTURAL SNAPSHOT



KENNY RODGERS/NEW ZEALAND HERALD/REUTERS
FEE, FIE, FOE, FUM: Torrens Parsons, age 6, takes on Emanuel Yarbrough (704 lbs.) at an Easter Show in New Zealand.

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Mail to: One Norway Street, Boston, MA 02115 via e-mail: world@csmonitor.com

Bogotá's link to far-right militias

■ This month's UN report on a Colombian Army-paramilitary link could jeopardize US aid.

By Martin Hodgson
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BUGA, COLOMBIA - When they saw military helicopters dropping uniformed men on a hillside above town, inhabitants of the mountain village of Buenos Aires thought that the Army had come to protect them from a marauding band of far-right paramilitaries who were terrorizing this rugged Andean region.

But no troops intervened when some 200 militiamen stormed the community two days later. Brandishing assault rifles and machetes, the paramilitaries announced that they were hunting rebels.

"Where were the soldiers? Why didn't they stop those people?" asks villager Marlene Correa.

A new report from the United Nations that the Colombian security forces maintain an intimate relationship with these far-right death squads, could jeopardize the \$1.6 billion aid package for Colombia still under debate in the US Senate. Analysts warn that the package - primarily military in scope - might help an Army which supports the violent squads.

According to the UN report, released on April 14, members of the military participated in massacres, organized paramilitary groups, and spread death threats. "The security forces also failed to take action, and this undoubtedly enabled the paramilitary groups to achieve their exterminating objectives," it added.

President Andrés Pastrana and his forces are presently entangled in a devastating civil war with Marxist guerrillas - who have been waging war on the government since the mid-60s. The main leftist groups are the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) in and the smaller National Liberation Army (ELN), mainly in the north. Both are fierce rivals of the ultra-right paramilitaries since all three are battling for territory, political power, and kickbacks from drug traffickers. Yesterday, Mr. Pastrana agreed to pull troops from a northern region and turn the zone over to the ELN for peace talks. But paramilitary commanders announced they might attack the zone.

Colombia's ambassador to the UN, Camilo Reyes Rodríguez, denies any collusion with the far-right militia. Addressing the General Assembly he said, "The Colombian government cannot accept that the authorities have a generalized responsibility for the actions of these criminal groups."

US law forbids aid to military units involved in human rights abuses. Unfortunately, concrete proof of links with the paramilitaries is hard to obtain.

According to one Western diplomat, witnesses are often too scared to testify,

and even state investigators fear to delve into cases of possible collusion. "It's like abortion in a Catholic country. Everyone knows it's going on - but nobody sees it happen," he says.

Loosely allied as the "United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia," or AUC, the paramilitaries now field between 5,000 and 7,000 fighters. They are a hybrid force combining the private armies of powerful landlords and drug dealers with now-outlawed rural intelligence networks once set up by the government to combat leftist guerrillas. These militias rarely launch direct attacks against rebel groups, instead targeting civilians accused of supporting the guerrillas.

Although Pastrana has repeatedly pledged to crack down on soldiers who collaborate with paramilitaries, evi-

drew from Buenos Aires they marched down the same road used just two hours later by an Army unit sent to intercept them. But those soldiers claim they never saw the militiamen.

"How do you explain that? Two hundred armed men don't just disappear," asked one Colombian human rights official, who asked not to be named.

After the incursion, over 700 villagers fled to the nearby town of Buga - many to makeshift lodgings like the sports arena. They still fear for their safety, especially since a lawyer who had taken up their case was killed in January.

In addition, Lt. Col. Rafael Jani of the "Palace" Battalion in Buga admits that an ex-guerrilla turned paramilitary spy has regularly visited him with information on rebel movements.



KERL PENAHU/REUTERS/FILE

ATTENTION! Colombia's elite troops, US trained and funded, stand ready to fight the war on drugs. But critics say such troops also are used to fight rebel insurrectionists.

dence suggests some units have done little to break old habits. According to the State Department, some servicemen provide them with weapons and intelligence. Others merely look the other way.

One region hit by last year's paramilitary onslaught was the Andean range north of Cali. The AUC's "Calima Front" murdered a peasant farmer and his daughter in July and publicly warned locals to leave the region or die. Since August the group has killed more than 90 people, and forced around 2,000 to flee their homes. The Calima Front then arrived in Buenos Aires in late September.

"It was the worst.... They said 'Speak, or we'll kill the men like dogs - where are the guerrillas?'" remembers Marlene Correa. Before dawn, the paramilitaries shot and killed her son, Luis.

What she cannot understand is how the paramilitaries managed to arrive and escape unchallenged.

Local police and army officials deny reports from villagers that military helicopters flew over the village in the days before the raid, dropping off armed men in the mountains above town.

When the paramilitaries finally with-

"It's true, but he doesn't work with us.... Many informers aren't model citizens, but if someone comes here and tells me where the guerrillas are hiding, I have to use his information," he says.

Military commanders say that the overstretched Army is powerless to stop the paramilitaries, and that many locals are uncooperative, thanks to accusations from human rights groups.

"Information always gets to us too late, because people are scared to speak to us. Look at the damage these slanders create," says Brig. Gen. Jaime Ernesto Canal.

But according to local priest Carlos Alberto Quiceno, "Everyone knows where [the right-wing fighters] are. But when the paramilitaries arrive, the police withdraw to their barracks."

And while Mrs. Correa must sleep in a crowded sports hall, farmers report the Calima Front has set up a permanent base in the abandoned village of Buenos Aires.

"The paras are living in our houses," she says. "They have dances and cock-fights up there. What more information do the army want?"

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TO INJURE NO MAN, BUT TO
BLESS ALL MANKIND.
- Mary Baker Eddy

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The very model of a modern marriage

So far, the Clintons' long-distance relationship is working

By Francine Kiefer

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON - They were like ships passing in the night, or in this case, the morning.

President Clinton, with a day trip to South Carolina behind him, arrived at his residence in Chappaqua, N.Y., just after midnight. His wife, on her way back from California, didn't get home until 6:30 that morning.

That left exactly four hours and 45 minutes of bleary-eyed visiting time before the president would head out the door for a full day of fund-raising in the city. Then it would be back to the White House until the next blitz trip to his Dutch colonial on Old House Lane.

In the nearly four months since Bill and Hillary Clinton embarked on the nation's most visible commuter marriage, the first couple may not be spending tons of "quality time" together, but they are at least managing to see each other regularly - about once a week, sometimes more.

And when it comes to analyzing the state of the Clintons' marriage, it seems everyone, from New York cabdrivers to marriage counselors, has an opinion.

Some give the Clintons high marks for their efforts, especially in light of the fact that many commuter couples can go for months between visits.

"That's a pretty good record, considering he's president and she's running for office," says Judith Wallerstein, an expert on marriage and divorce, and author of "The Good Marriage: How and Why Love Lasts."

More often than not, the president combines his trips to New York with official or political business.

This week, he was four for four - making

his fourth fund-raising trip to New York this year at a gala event featuring the four White House principals: himself, his wife, and Al and Tipper Gore.

It was an unusual gathering of the political quartet, considering their diverging campaign schedules. But it was obviously worth the effort of schedulers, with the event pulling in \$2.2 million for the Democratic National Committee.

It also had a nice side benefit for the first fund-raiser: a chance to RON ("remain overnight") in Chappaqua.

Of course, the Clinton commuting track is a two-way street, with the first lady doing her share of flying south.

According to her spokeswoman, Lissa Muscatine, Mrs. Clinton tends to be at the White House "most weekends." The Clintons - including daughter Chelsea - just passed the Easter weekend together among the freshly greening trees of Camp David (though it's hard to see how nearly seven hours golfing sans wife and daughter counts as family time).

Despite her barnstorming around New York, the first lady has always maintained that she would not completely give up her Washington role. And she hasn't. She's just doing less of it.

In January, of course, she flew down for the State of the Union address, but she's also returned for education and health events - two issues of special importance to her. Next week, she'll be back for a White House conference on teen violence.

On Monday, she joined the president in



LARRY DOWNING/REUTERS

TOGETHER AGAIN: President Clinton helps the first lady down the steps of Air Force One. The Clintons were both in New York for a fund-raiser April 24.

welcoming 30,000 children to the annual Easter egg roll on the South Lawn - pointing out, with a twinge of nostalgia, that this was the last time they would be hosting it.

Those close to the Clintons say the New York-Washington commute is no big deal for the couple. After all, the president spent roughly one-third of his time on the road without his wife last year - and that's not even counting the trips she made.

Says one longtime friend, "They wouldn't even think of this as a strain."

Political Notes

...neville, for one, is not
Continued on next page

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4-28-00

Albright, At the U.N., Defends U.S. On Arms Plan

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

UNITED NATIONS, April 24 — Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright tried today to convince the world that the United States is not threatening to undercut a quarter century of progress on arms control by developing a new antimissile defense system that has drawn criticism from both Russia and China.

"If the Clinton administration were bent on sabotaging the ABM treaty and strategic arms control," she told an international arms-control conference, "we have surely gone about it in a strange way — in the open, with care and in consultation not only with Congress, but after extensive discussions with our allies and other countries, Russia and China emphatically included."

In a speech at the opening of a conference called to review a treaty banning the spread of nuclear weapons, Dr. Albright also said the United States had reduced its nuclear arsenal by 60 percent since the end of the cold war, and had joined in cutting NATO's nuclear stockpile by 85 percent. She spurned calls for the quicker elimination of nuclear arms.

"Unfortunately, none of us has it within our power to create overnight the conditions in which complete nuclear disarmament is possible," she said. The speech offered no new initiatives but was more of an accounting of how the administration wants to define its record.

Dr. Albright walked into an almost solid wall of criticism of the United States at the General Assembly hall because of what is widely perceived as the slow pace of nuclear disarmament more than a decade after the end of the cold war and because of the fears that the proposed American antimissile defense system will start a new arms race.

Furthermore, the United States, which last fall saw the Senate reject another crucial accord, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, after the administration had fought for its approval by United Nations members in 1996, is seen as setting a bad example for other countries that can now cite political pressures for refusing to sign.

"The Clinton administration's legacy is the re-legitimizing of nuclear weapons after the end of the cold war," said Daniel Plesch, director of the British American Security Information Council, an independent research group in Washington and London.

India and Pakistan, which tested nuclear weapons in 1998, and Israel, which is assumed to have nuclear arms, also were criticized today, and heard demands that they adhere to the treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. The treaty, which came into effect in 1970, has been ratified by 187 countries. Only India, Pakistan, Israel and Cuba have refused to sign.

"Nuclear testing has no place on our planet," said Brian Cowen, Ireland's foreign minister. "The time to rid the world of these weapons is now."

Nuclear arms are the only weapons of mass destruction not banned by international treaties. The United States and Russia have a majority of the world's nuclear warheads.



Reuters

Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright speaking at the U.N.

Mr. Cowen's speech was one of the day's toughest, but his sentiments were echoed by other governments, independent arms control groups and former American arms-control officials.

Republicans in Congress, including Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, have been especially harsh in attacking international arms control agreements, and independent experts say they are puzzled by that development.

"What appears anomalous to me is that historically, the Republican Party has led in the area of arms-control strengthening," Jonathan Granoff, co-chairman of the American Bar Association's committee on arms control and disarmament, said in an interview today. "The scuttling of arms control through ballistic missile defense or through the undermining of the commitment to nuclear disarmament contained in the nuclear nonproliferation treaty is against the heritage of the Republican Party."

Thomas Graham Jr., who was the Clinton administration's special representative for arms control from 1994 to 1997 and is president of the independent Lawyers' Alliance for World Security, said that much of the annoyance with the United States stems from commitments all nuclear powers made five years ago to work harder on eliminating nuclear weapons in return for international agreement to make the nuclear nonproliferation treaty permanent.

"Many non-nuclear weapons states — particularly nonaligned countries, but also some Western countries, indeed even some NATO countries — believe that the nuclear weapons states have not lived up to commitments that they made in exchange for everyone else agreeing" to make the treaty permanent, Mr. Graham said. "If that doesn't change over the next few years, it could have a very negative effect on the long-term viability of the treaty."

Although the conference here is focused on the treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons, much attention was also given today to the perceived threats to the antimissile accord.

Antonio Monteiro, Portugal's representative, speaking for the European Union, called the ABM treaty "one of the pillars of strategic stability" and said it must be preserved.

Secretary General Kofi Annan also joined in voicing concerns about the disruptive potential of a missile defense system — without mentioning the United States — when he said in a speech opening the conference this morning that "it could well lead to a new arms race."

Handwritten note:
Touche
my concern too
AK

THE WHITE HOUSE

we need to discuss 4/23
what steps -

To: President

Interesting article on Iran
by Elaine Sciolino (who is publishing
book soon on Iran) and excellent
cable on internal conflict there from
our Counsel-General in Dubai

Sandy

✓
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Berger
Podesta

4-28-00

ie World

Country Making History Is Too Busy to Read

By ELAINE SCIOLO

WASHINGTON — The top of Iran's list of historical grievances against the United States is the coup engineered by the Central Intelligence Agency in 1953 to oust Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh and reinstate Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. The revolution in 1979 and the seizure of the U.S. Embassy that soon followed, militant Iran cited the coup as proof of the United States' involvement in Iran. Over the years, the coup has fueled Iranian theory view, widely held among ordinary Iranians, that external powers, particularly the United States, are behind every misfortune to befall Iran. It might have been expected that the surfacing of a new C.I.A. report that lays out the American role in the 1953 coup would have been the talk of Iranian and journalistic circles last week.

It is not a moment for historical reflection in Iran. Iranians are too busy fighting a brutal, open-ended war in real time to worry much about a short, if brutal, war 47 years ago.

Iran's war is waged on several fronts — the press, television, the Parliament, the pulpit, the streets. And last week the fighting was particularly intense, having heated up after reformist forces swept to victory in the first round of Parliamentary elections in February. The stakes are high — the future of the Islamic Republic itself — and the outcome is uncertain.

The story mesmerizing the Iranian media last week did not come out of Washington but out of Berlin; it was the disruption by opponents of the Islamic Republic of a conference there on Iranian politics. The protesters heckled the speakers, all of them reformists. One man protested with a hip-rotating dance. Another danced to her bra and panties.

Speakers expressed embarrassment and disapproval. The protest was videotaped and much of the footage aired on Iran's state-controlled television, intended to discredit the reform movement.

At the end of the week, 140 members of the outgoing Parliament had signed a letter to the nation's leading cleric, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, branding some participants "traitors" and calling on the Islamic Republic to punish them. Ayatollah Abolghasemi, who is never unrestrained in his language, said participants deserved to die. "They insult the Islamic Republic," he was quoted in the reformist daily *Hamshahri* as saying. "They attend a conference to discuss the Islamic Republic. Kill them wherever you find them. This is the Islamic Republic's position."

The Berlin incident was not the only example of a meddling since the parliamentary elections. The Expediency Council, an oversight body created by former President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, said that the new Parliament will have no authority to investigate any institutions controlled by Ayatollah Khamenei. That would deprive Parliament of the power to look into abuses in the judiciary, radio and television, the intelligence and security apparatus and state-supported foundations that control huge portions of the economy.

Days ago, Ayatollah Khamenei delivered an inaugural sermon in which he acknowledged a need for change in all of Iran's major institutions. But he rejected the promotion of "U.S.-style reform" as "un-Islamic and un-Islamic, further emboldening those who often act in his name. The Merchants'



An Iranian woman walks past the former United States Embassy in Tehran, where the outer wall is now festooned with anti-American paintings.

Association of the Tehran bazaar, for example, called for the bazaar to close last Thursday as a show of support. But Thursday is the best shopping day of the week. In bold defiance — and a sign of how fluid and unpredictable politics have become in Iran — merchants opened their doors anyway.

There is even talk of a coup, but it has nothing to do with 1953. Last Sunday, the Revolutionary Guards issued an official threat against the reformists. "If necessary, our enemies, be they small or large, will feel the reverberating impact of the hammer of the Islamic revolution on their skulls," the communiqué said.

WHILE all this has been going on, a council responsible for vetting candidates and overseeing elections has invalidated the first-round election victories of a number of reformist candidates and a run-off election has been postponed.

To silence an increasingly emboldened press, the outgoing conservative Parliament also passed a law last

week that severely restricts the activities of the press. And a high-profile, high-stakes trial of 13 Jews and several Muslims on charges of spying for Israel remains in the background, having been put off until next month.

Still, the remarkable thing about this moment is that all of this evidence of a conservative backlash has failed to quiet the reformists. One pro-reform group, the Islamic Revolution Mujaheddin Organization, responded to the Revolutionary Guards communiqué by calling its goal "a childish dream." In a letter released to the newspapers, the group said that "The power mafia is seeking to justify an anti-reform coup with the goal of imposing dictatorship under the cover of religion."

Criticism is even coming from the far provinces. After the state-run television announced the invalidation of the election of the candidate from the town of Oshnaviyeh in West Azerbaijan province, the local governor, Ali Mostafavi, called the move unjust and unbelievable.

There is a lesson for the United States in all this. American policy makers have clearly been hoping for months now that modest concessions to Iran, like a

lightening of sanctions, may encourage a change in the American stance. Iran's history can only help. Last year, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright eased sanctions on non-oil exports, calling the "democratic winds" in Iran and acknowledging American errors with Iran, including the C.I.A.-led

BUT she is still waiting for a response to that speech. The problem is that the winds blowing in Iran are more than they subside, there is little movement toward the United States. Foreign Minister Kamal Khatami, who visited New York for United Nations talks last week, but he has been turning down in such a wild and uncertain atmosphere possibly say?

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. cable	Bruce Riedel to APNSA re: Iran (4 pages)	04/19/2000	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Chron Files
OA/Box Number: 21414

FOLDER TITLE:

Friday, April 28, 2000

2019-0990-S

rs3462

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE
4-28-00

Maina
for outing. please
show our good will

Columbus County Commissioners

TR

ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDING
111 WASHINGTON STREET - WHITEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA 28472 - PHONE 910-640-6600 - FAX 910-642-2386

April 26, 2000

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Echaveste
Podesta
Burkhardt
(for reply)

COMMISSIONERS

Amon E. McKenzie
Zone 1

C.E. Wilson
Zone 2

Sammie Jacobs
Zone 3

A. Dial Gray, III
Zone 4

Lynwood Norris
Zone 5

Spruell R. Britt
Zone 6

David L. Dutton, Jr.
Zone 7

.....

James E. Hill, Jr.
County Attorney

Dempsey B. Herring
Administrator

Ida L. Smith
Clerk to Board /
Asst. to Administrator

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton, President
United States of America
Washington, DC

Dear President Clinton:

As a County Commissioner, I am very concerned about the people of Columbus County. We have had an economic set back with factory closings and small farmers being put out of business. We would appreciate any assistance that you can give in these areas. My concerns are:

1. People are out of jobs having little or no income with mortgages and property that will be lost. We need some protection from the Federal Government.
2. In order to keep good teachers for our schools, we need to be able to pay them. Our teachers are some of the lowest paid in the United States. The way to attract good teachers is to provide decent salaries.
3. As you have already been informed, we have a 12% unemployment rate in Columbus County. People are very depressed, we need a shot in the arm and assurance that relief is on the way.

Your visit to Columbus County was very necessary and we thank you.

Sincerely,

Can we get
Team from
of the teacher?

can we do anything
about this?

Amon E. McKenzie

Amon E. McKenzie
County Commissioner
District I

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. memo	Beth Nolan et al. to POTUS re: Decision Memorandum Regarding Vacancy [partial] (3 pages)	04/26/2000	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Chron Files
OA/Box Number: 21414

FOLDER TITLE:

Friday, April 28, 2000

2019-0990-S

rs3462

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

4-28-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 2000

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Nolan
Lindsey
Wilson
Racine
Premysler
Podesta

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT (via John Podesta)

From: ^{BN} Beth Nolan, Bruce Lindsey, Sarah Wilson, Karl Racine, Debra Premysler

Subject: Decision Memorandum Regarding Vacancy on the Superior Court of the District of Columbia

I. INTRODUCTION

The District of Columbia Judicial Nomination Commission has submitted a list of three candidates for the vacancy created on the Superior Court of the District of Columbia by the resignation of the Honorable Ellen Segal Huvelle. All three of the candidates, (b)(6) have been interviewed. We recommend **John Ramsey Johnson**, a candidate from the previous list who remains eligible for this vacancy because the candidate nominated from his list (John Mott) has not yet been confirmed. Of all the candidates on the current and remaining lists, he has the most relevant experience and he also has a very strong professional reputation. We must submit a nomination by April 28, 2000 in order to comply with the statutory timelines applicable to the D.C. Superior Court nomination process.

II. RECOMMENDATION: JOHN RAMSEY JOHNSON

Johnson, a 54-year-old Caucasian male, currently serves as Special Counsel to U.S. Attorney Wilma A. Lewis and has held that position since 1998. He also served as interim U.S. Attorney for a six-month period in 1993, prior to the swearing in of Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder. In 1995, Eric Holder named Mr. Johnson his Principal Assistant.

Johnson received his J.D. from the Antioch School of Law in 1976. He has dedicated his entire legal career to the United States Attorney's Office for the District of Columbia and has served in all sections of the office. As an Assistant U.S. Attorney from 1976 through 1981, Mr. Johnson worked in the Misdemeanor Trial, Grand Jury and Felony Trial Sections. During that period, he also was assigned to work in the Appellate Division. In 1981, Mr. Johnson was appointed Deputy Chief of the Misdemeanor Trial Section. In 1984, Mr. Johnson was named Counsel to the U.S. Attorney. Later that year, he was appointed Deputy Chief of the Superior Court Division. From 1986 to 1989, Mr. Johnson served in the Special Prosecutions Section of the Criminal Division. In 1989, Mr. Johnson became the Chief of the Transnational and Major Crimes Section, and later was named Chief of the Superior Court Division.

Johnson currently serves on the District of Columbia Advisory Commission on Sentencing. He is active in the Ben W. Murch Elementary School, a public school in the District of Columbia that his children attend, and, in 1999, he was elected Second Vice-President of the school's association. Johnson is supported by Eric Holder, and is highly regarded by current D.C. Superior Court judges, U.S. District Court judges, and prominent members of the D.C. Bar.

III. OTHER CANDIDATES CONSIDERED

Two additional vacancies exist on the Superior Court, and we can consider the candidates from the current list for those positions along with the six individuals who will be recommended by the Commission shortly. A brief discussion of the candidates from the current list follows.

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

IV. DECISION

✓

Approve John Ramsey Johnson

4-28-00

John
We should
be doing all they
can to draw them
PR

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Podesta

Energy Secretary Says That Threat of Blackouts Is Rising

By MATTHEW L. WALD

NEWARK, April 24 — Raising the specter of widespread blackouts, the United States secretary of energy said today that the nation's electric system might fare worse this summer than it did in 1999 because of a rocky transition to deregulation when demand for power is booming.

In meetings with government officials, corporate executives and customer advocates here and in Hartford, the secretary, Bill Richardson, called for new steps at the state and federal levels to line up customers who would be willing to be unplugged on the hottest summer days in exchange for appropriate payment, and for identifying the backup generators that some hospitals, factories and big companies maintain for emergencies and using them on days when electricity demand peaks.

"We're worried as a nation, despite a hugely booming economy, about problems in our electricity grid," Mr. Richardson said at a forum at the New Jersey Institute of Technology this afternoon. Mr. Richardson had a similar appearance in Hartford this morning and had scheduled one in New Orleans this evening. He plans to hold another, in Sacramento, on Friday.

Taking note of blackouts last summer, he said: "Fortunately, we were able to avoid a widespread systems failure, this time. But we may not be so fortunate in the future."

"Things may get worse before they get better. That's especially alarming in light of the National Weather Service prediction of a long hot summer in 2000."

A rocky transition to deregulation while power demand rises.

But representatives of the region's electricity suppliers — Consolidated Edison, Public Service Enterprise Group Inc. (the parent of Public Service Electric and Gas) and General Public Utilities — said they had made extensive investments since last summer and would be ready for hot weather this year.

And in Hartford, Dean Pagani, a spokesman for Gov. John G. Rowland, said that state officials expected Connecticut's largest power gen-

erator, the Millstone 3 nuclear plant, to be in service this summer; last year, it was sidelined because of management problems.

But Mr. Rowland, who was the co-host of the session in Hartford with Mr. Richardson, said the public should be aware that conservation would be required on peak demand days. And in Newark, E. James Ferland, the chairman, president and chief executive of P.S.E.&G., said that New Jersey could face shortages "if there are problems in the Midwest and we are required to help."

Not everyone agreed with Mr. Richardson's short-term steps. "Turning on old dirty diesel generators that are the standby backup generators is going to be an environmental disaster," said Nathaniel Greene, an electricity expert at the Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental group, who was one of 19 panelists at the 90-minute session here.

The experts suggested a variety of reasons that the difference between electric supplies and peak demand had become uncomfortably small. One is that New England, New York and the Middle Atlantic states are all in various stages of deregulation.

Under the old system, the monopoly utilities generated power, transmitted it over their own lines and sold it to their own customers, but now some utilities have gotten out of the generating business while dozens of other companies have gotten into it. Under deregulation, electricity is bought and sold wholesale, hour by hour or minute by minute.

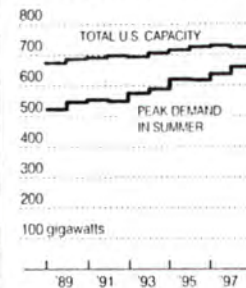
One difficulty, according to several participants, is that the new system has not provided proper incentives to companies to build new transmission lines. Scott Weiner, a former head of the New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection and Energy and now a senior vice president of Sitr Northeast, an independent power producer, said that the deregulated system was not "sending price signals that allow for the construction of new capacity and shoring up transmission systems."

Although New England runs low on spare capacity on peak days, he said, some companies are taking generators out of that region and shipping them elsewhere in the country to make larger profits.

The session was moderated by Kurt Yeager, the president and chief executive of the Electric Power Research Institute, a nonprofit organi-

Electricity Demand Nearing Capacity

Overworked air-conditioners in the hot summer months are pushing the U.S. demand for electricity close to capacity.



Source: North American Electric Reliability Council

The New York Times

zation in Palo Alto, Calif., that has complained recently that deregulation has cut investment in research and development. The institute said recently that the electric system was in its worst condition since the great Northeast blackout of 1965.

Chris Jennings
Dear Medicine Court
Hello Jennings - ~~Don't~~ DO
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w/ breast cancer screening policy
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cc Connie Mariano
Are you doing this screen?

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Jennings
Podesta

4-28-00

Drop in Prostate-Cancer Deaths Fuels Debate Over PSA Blood Test

4-28-00

By MARILYN CHASE
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Prostate-cancer death rates among American men dropped decisively over the last 10 years—the decade following introduction of the prostate-specific antigen blood test—according to a new study by researchers at the National Cancer Institute in Bethesda, Md.

Separately, European cancer researchers in a new and still-unpublished report will shortly announce an even steeper plunge in mortality among men offered free PSA screening in the Austrian state of Tirol.

It's welcome news by any measure. After lung cancer, prostate cancer is this country's second-biggest cancer killer, with 180,400 new cases and 31,900 deaths expected this year. But does the new data offer the ringing vindication of PSA that the test's advocates are celebrating?

Skeptics in the scientific community, while no less gratified by the statistics, insist it isn't clear

whether the gains in survival are mainly due to screening and early detection, to faster and better treatment, or to a combination of both.

The questions are at the heart of a long-running debate over the merits of PSA screening, which measures levels of antigen, a type of protein, from the prostate. Elevated levels can be caused by cancer. But they can also come from an overgrowth of normal tissue as a man ages—which, PSA skeptics point out, can lead to false positives and trigger the cost and discomfort of needless biopsies.

Another facet of the debate centers on the variability of prostate tumors, with some being aggressive and lethal and others slow and non-threatening. The prostate, a walnut-shaped gland nestled beneath a man's bladder, produces seminal fluid, and prostate cancer is usually treated with surgery, radiation or hormones to counter the testosterone that fuels the tumor. Skeptics fear that overreliance on PSA may lead men with non-

lethal cancers into unnecessary surgery or radiation with major side effects like impotence and urinary incontinence. Major refinements in surgery and radiation have reduced, but not eliminated, these problems.

As the debate has intensified, many American men have been voting with their feet in favor of getting screening from their family physicians. But untold numbers of others have hesitated out of fear, denial, or confusion spawned by conflicting advice from government bodies and medical organizations—a mixed message that is sure to persist even in the wake of the two new studies.

In the U.S. study, cancer-institute researchers tracked long-term declines in the prostate-cancer death rates among men of all ages, both black and white. The deaths rates now have dipped below the levels of 1986, the year when PSA was first approved.

Among men aged 60 to 79 years old, death rates

are even lower than they were in 1950. For whites, mortality fell 16% during the 1990s. Among blacks, who are statistically at greater risk, the rate dropped almost 11%.

The study by NCI researchers Otis Brawley, Robert Tarone and Kenneth Chu was published in the journal *Epidemiology* in March.

The unpublished Tirol study data offer even greater improvement in survival statistics. In this study, Peter Boyle of the European Institute of Oncology in Milan and Georg Bartsch of the University of Innsbruck, Austria, contrasted prostate-cancer death rates in Austria as a whole with death rates in the state of Tirol, where a program of free mass PSA screening was introduced in 1993.

After two-thirds of the state's 65,000 eligible males aged 45 to 75 underwent PSA screening, the prostate-cancer death rate in Tirol plunged 32% below expected levels in 1997 and 42% below expected levels in 1998.

Drs. Boyle and Bartsch have submitted their study to the British journal *Lancet*. The results will be unveiled at the American Urological Association meeting in Atlanta, which gets under way this week.

Currently, the American Urological Association backs "regular" PSA screening. The American Medical Association recommends a PSA test every three years after age 50.

The American Cancer Society, which previously promoted a proactive program urging men to seek annual screening, retrenched in 1997 to a more moderate stand.

The cancer society now recommends that doctors offer the PSA test and digital rectal exams (to check the prostate's size) to all men annually from age 50, and earlier to men at higher risk, including blacks and those with a family history of the disease.

On the other hand, the government-sponsored U.S. Preventive Services Task Force in its influential "Guide to Clinical Preventive Services," flatly labels the PSA test "not recommended" as a routine test because of doubts about its value. Simi-

larly, the American College of Physicians and the American Academy of Family Physicians don't recommend routine screening, but urge doctors to counsel men about the test, mentioning both its benefits and its drawbacks.

Among prominent individuals taking a stance on PSA, one of the most vocal of the pro-screening group is Andrew Grove, the founder of Intel Corp. and a prostate-cancer survivor.

"Yes, I'm glad I was screened," says Mr. Grove, who passionately argues that early detection preserves more treatment options for men. "I am forever grateful to my doctor for it. No question, dealing with cancer is not fun. But I prefer that the choices of treatment are left to me, rather than to others in the name of saving me from having to deal with bad news, and causing me to inherit worse."

Meantime a number of cancer experts are still sitting on the fence.

At a session of the American Association for Cancer Research in 1998, some 3,000 scientists were asked to indicate with a show of hands how many would have PSA screening. About half raised their hands in favor of the test, and half against.

"It creates enormous controversy every time it's debated. A straw poll of cancer specialists split 50-50 is a good commentary on the state of the science," says Harmon Eyre, chief medical officer of the American Cancer Society.

Public sparring over PSA has long made sparks fly in decidedly unscholarly fashion. At an American Cancer Society meeting in 1992, anti-PSA speakers complained that they found the microphones dead when they rose to speak, and one group of cancer-institute scientists stalked out prior to a vote on PSA, rather than be

forced into taking a premature stand on such a heated public-health issue.

The National Cancer Institute, for its part, is reserving judgment on the value of PSA screening until the completion of its huge prostate, lung, colorectal and ovarian study. Launched in 1994, the PLCO study is a clinical trial that is randomly assigning over 140,000 men and women to get screening tests or their usual care (i.e., no tests). Then, the NCI will compare the fate of volunteers to determine whether the screening tests save lives. But this prospective trial, while the gold standard of medical research, may take at least a decade—during which time 1.8 million men will be diagnosed.

Barnett Kramer, the cancer institute's

deputy director for cancer prevention, warns that population studies such as the Epidemiology report and the Tirol study only describe trends but don't determine cause and effect as does a randomized clinical trial.

"Our role isn't to advocate [for PSA] but to identify uncertainties and to fill in gaps so that men can make informed decisions," Dr. Kramer says. "PLCO should provide the strongest study to date." He hints that NCI may take an early peek at interim results next year.

One of the PLCO study volunteers, 74-year-old Jim Harrison of Denver, flew missions over North Africa and Italy as one of the fabled Tuskegee Airmen. Now retired from his job as a United Airlines flight instructor, he says helping humanity is worth the risks of being randomized. "As a human being, I don't like to be the one who gets the placebo," he explains. "But I know it has to be."

Volunteers promise to stay in the group at the outset, but there is no practical way to enforce their continued participation or to monitor their activity. For example, some join the study but seek an independent PSA test on the side. Richard Olivieri, a 79-year-old retired postal-service employee, says he doesn't know whether he was assigned to the PSA test or placebo group. But he knows his PSA score anyway. Driven by fears about his family his-

tory of cancer, he got a PSA test outside the trial from his personal physician. "Fortunately, it was negative," he notes. It's unclear whether such outside tests could skew results of the PLCO trial.

The new data on survival are softening reservations of some prominent scientific skeptics—including the co-author of the report in Epidemiology. NCI's Dr. Brawley—has publicly maintained for years that he hasn't had a PSA test, and doesn't intend to. His stand has puzzled and enraged activists.

Now, however, he concedes that his own data in the Epidemiology report, and those of the Tirol study researchers, suggest that "out of the whole package of things we're doing, something is positive." That positive effect may come not just from early-detection PSA, he cautions, but from the aggressive treatment and more careful monitoring that men now receive here and abroad.

"Is PSA screening a part of this?" Dr. Brawley asks. "I believe it is. But I do not know it is." He compares the PSA wars to religious debates pitting faith against knowledge.

Dr. Boyle, co-author of the Tirol study, says he too has long been a PSA skeptic. Now, as he reviews the drop in death rates, he acknowledges, "I think the decline is real."

One fact skeptics raise about the Tirol study is that men got very aggressive treatment—with 96% of patients opting for radical prostatectomy, and men with more advanced disease getting hormone therapy, which prolongs life even when an outright cure is impossible. This tilt toward aggressive therapy may well boost survival, too. Even so, Dr. Bartsch, the study's co-author, insists the key to survival among men in the Tirol is "first of all, PSA."

National Cancer Institute Director Richard Klausner says he was "really excited about the possibility that the Tirol study would tell us what's going on." But he adds "there are too many variables" to draw any final conclusions just yet.

Still, many feel the two studies can help but strengthen the case for early detection.

"Decisions in public policy aren't made on the basis of one study," Dr. Boyle says. "But you don't need every piece of the puzzle to know what's going on. And we're getting some big pieces."

4-28-00

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Podesta

Podesta
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hard for ourselves
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Federal Help for the District

DEL. ELEANOR Holmes Norton proposes to tax the salaries of nonresidents who work in the District of Columbia and then let them claim the 2 percent levy as a credit on their federal income taxes. This is yet another possible way of compensating the District for the heavy costs associated with the federal presence. Ms. Norton is right to raise the issue at this time. The relief provided by the federal government's assumption of the unfunded pension liability and of several state functions previously performed by the District government still does not make up for services rendered the federal government or for revenues denied the city because of taxation restrictions.

Most of the land in the District now off the tax rolls belongs to the federal government. Moreover, by act of Congress, numerous wealthy organizations in the city are tax-exempt. In addition, a majority of the city's work force—tax-exempt commuters—makes free use of city services paid for by D.C. taxpayers. Those tremendous costs to the District—which Congress recognized for more than a century through an annual federal payment—have now been transferred to District taxpayers in exchange for the Clinton financial rescue package. We

said at the time the rescue package was adopted in 1997 that the Clinton plan would not cover all the costs associated with the federal presence, that the rescue plan was not an acceptable trade-off for the principle of the federal government's formally recognizing its unique obligation. The District's financial dilemma is even more apparent today.

Del. Norton noted yesterday that the city's surpluses, while robust, are on a downward path. The city's top two private sectors—health care and hotels—have lost jobs. District unemployment leads the region. The city's restricted tax base cannot support expenditure demands—demands that stem in part from the federal and non-resident worker presence. Faced with entrenched opposition from area congressional delegations to a commuter tax and the loss of the historic federal payment, Ms. Norton has turned to this proposed federal solution.

Her proposal is not the only way to structure a federal contribution, and it may not turn out to be the best way. But it demands more than a knee-jerk negative reaction from area congressional delegations. The Norton proposal should elicit a thoughtful and constructive federal response.

Bankrupt in Secret

THE BANKRUPTCY reform legislation in Congress is murky in many respects. It is presented as a device to prevent irresponsible borrowing, but it is also a fight between credit card companies, car-loan providers and sundry other creditors that want to protect their claims on bankrupt debtors, each at the others' expense. Equally, the reform is presented as response to a dramatic rise in bankruptcies during the past decade or so. But last year the number of bankruptcies was down by a tenth from the previous year, suggesting that the market may be reforming by itself.

Now the bankruptcy bill is shrouded in a new layer of murkiness. Senate leaders, both Republican and Democratic, have resolved to avoid the usual open conference in which their version of the legislation is reconciled with the House's efforts. Instead, they plan to negotiate with the House secretly and then fold the resulting deal into some unrelated bill. The senators say this is the only way to circumvent foot-dragging by the bill's opponents, which may be correct. But the new maneuver puts the onus on the administration to exercise its veto if secrecy turns out to have produced a bad bill.

One of the tests for the legislation will be whether it addresses irresponsible behavior by creditors as well as by borrowers. The Senate's proposal is said to compel credit card companies to put debt warnings on their monthly statements, a move that would usefully deter customers from being seduced into paying only the 2 percent minimum re-

quired each month. The warning would explain that if you owe \$1,000 and the annual interest rate is 17 percent, it will take fully 88 months to be free of the debt if you make only minimum repayments. And it would provide a toll-free number for those who want help.

This good provision is unpopular in the House, which asks only that credit card companies send a bland debt warning to customers once a year. It is essential that the Senate get its way on this, and on two other contentious issues. The first is a proposal to curb abuse of bankruptcy protection by rich debtors, who exploit a loophole putting homes outside the reach of creditors. In some states, there is no upper limit on the value of a home that can be shielded: A clever debtor who owns a million-dollar house and not much else can escape his obligations unfairly. The House is determined to keep the homestead exemption. The administration needs to weigh in on the side of the Senate.

The other argument is over rules designed to prevent bankruptcy laws from imposing undue hardship. Nearly all bankruptcies are caused by genuine misfortune, not irresponsibility: Of the 1.3 million filings last year, nearly half were brought on at least partly by medical expenses relating to an illness or accident; others were caused by job loss or divorce. Bankruptcy law should allow responsible borrowers who fall on hard times relief from their creditors. Once again, the Senate goes some way toward this, but the House is too harsh.

Republicans for Hillary

"Republicans trust parents and believe that they, not courts and lawyers, know what is best for their children."

So declares the 1992 Republican platform. This ancient document works itself up into quite a froth over what it calls "parental authority." Republicans in those days were specifically alarmed over the notion that children have legal rights independent of their parents—and might even be allowed to bring lawsuits that would break up the nuclear family. "For more than three decades," we learn, "the liberal philosophy has assaulted the family on every side. Today, its more vocal advocates . . . deny parental authority and responsibility, fracturing the family into isolated individuals, each of them dependent upon—and helpless before—government. This is the ultimate agenda of contemporary socialism under all its masks," no less.

Even in a generally hysterical tract, this emphasis on the less-than-pressing issue of lawsuits by children stands out as a bit odd.

The explanation is that it was part of an effort to make Hillary Clinton that year's Willie Horton: a symbol of wretched liberal excess. As a law student, Hillary Rodham had published an article arguing that children have legal rights and in some circumstances they should indeed be allowed to sue for separation from their parents. Speaker after speaker at the convention that renominated George H. W. Bush warned that if Hillary's husband was elected president, children would soon be suing their parents for making them do their homework or take out the trash. The Clintons and other Democrats responded that the article was being grotesquely misrepresented (which it was). They weren't about to be trapped defending an idea as un-American as children's independent legal rights.

You see where this is going, of course. But wait: It gets better. The Republicans tried to use a specific case to illustrate the depraved, socialistic road the Hillaryites

were leading the country down. It involved a 12-year-old Florida boy who was suing for the right to remain with a foster family rather than return to his natural parents (or suing to "divorce" his parents, as the headline and talk-show shorthand had it). His mother had repeatedly abandoned him and was living with a man with a criminal record who had recently been arrested for allegedly beating her.

His father, the suit alleged, was an alcoholic who had abandoned the family.

But the GOP party line was that a 12-

Suddenly, children's rights are in fashion.

year-old was far too young to decide he'd rather not live with such people, and that anyone who wanted lawyers and government to keep these parents apart from their child was a liberal sociopath.

Autres temps, autres mœurs. The harvest of ironic counterpoint from this past Sunday's news and talk shows alone is almost too rich to bear. Republican critics needed a reason why, after five months of fruitless negotiation and brazen defiance of the law by the Miami contingent, Juan Miguel Gonzalez's obviously loving "parental authority" should not be honored. Most of them grasped onto the circuit court ruling that 6-year-old Elian may have an independent legal right to live in the United States, against his father's wish.

There was Rudy Giuliani, of all people, emoting about the "traumatic damage" that can be caused by forceful police action. (Besides the rule of law and "family values," the whole realm of psychobabble is a subject on which Republicans are sounding distinctly un-Republican these days.) Hillary Clinton's Senate-race opponent declared that Elian's "rights" had been "trampled." He stated flatly that "this boy is entitled to an asylum ap-

plication in the United States."

Kate O'Beirne, professional Hillary hater and possibly the most reliable right-wing apparatchik on television: "The child has rights separately distinct from his father."

House Republican Whip Tom DeLay, endorsing the court ruling, declared the Elian case to be a custody battle just like "what I have been involved in with my wife." That '92 platform failed to explain that a great uncle has the same "parental authority" as a mother or father.

Perhaps most sublimely, there was Newt Gingrich, reduced to subbing for some Fox News host who wouldn't have been allowed to carry Newt's ego around behind him in a wheelbarrow back in 1992. After Rep. Illeana Ros-Lehtinen (R-Miami) stated that the courts had given "little Elian" the right to asylum, Gingrich forgot to remind her that "Republicans trust parents and believe that they, not courts and lawyers, know what is best for their children."

Instead, he criticized Janet Reno's timing on the adorable grounds that "this is a time for Easter egg hunts. This is a time for the Easter bunny."

All these critics of the operation that reunited father and son seemed more than open to the possibility that the government, or a 6-year-old child, or strangers such as themselves, might all be better judges of the child's welfare than the child's one surviving parent. And they may even be right about that. No one ever thought of this particular scenario back in '92.

Maybe it's an exception. But then maybe there are other exceptions, too. In fact, maybe if you've been self-righteously indignant on both sides of an issue, you should conclude that it's not an issue about which self-righteous indignation is called for.

And maybe you should apologize to Hillary.

Michael Kinsley, editor of *Slate* (www.slate.com), writes a weekly column for *The Post*.

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E. J. Dionne Jr.

Spotlight On Castro

Vivian Escobar-Stack understands why Cubans in Miami were willing to push aside the rights of Elian Gonzalez's father in the name of keeping Elian in a free country. Her parents did much the same thing with their own parental rights when it came to making choices on behalf of her brother, and herself.

In 1962, when Escobar-Stack was 7 and her brother was 11, they were sent to the United States to live with friends even as their parents stayed behind in Cuba. "When we left, we didn't know if we'd ever see our parents again," she says. It took 3½ years for her parents to get out of Cuba and for the family to be reunited.

Escobar-Stack isn't sure she could ever make the same choice and separate herself from her own sons, who are 7 and 9. But she respects what her parents did, is grateful to be an American and suggests we try to understand the traumas so many Cuban American families have gone through because of Fidel Castro's regime.

"The community," Escobar-Stack says, "allowed its passion to cloud its judgment in responding to the controversy." But what may seem to outsiders irrational behavior, she adds, is consistent with choices so many Cuban Americans felt they had to make because the political had overwhelmed the personal in their country's history.

It was sobering to have Easter dinner in Rockville with Vivian, her husband, Bob, and their children in the wake of the INS raid that reunited Elian with his father Juan Miguel. Hearing Escobar-Stack describe the struggles of individual Cubans made the canned political responses to Attorney General Janet Reno's actions seem inadequate to the human tragedy that has unfolded over these past several months and, for that matter, since the 1959 revolution that put Castro in power.

Reno couldn't win, no matter what she did. Before she called in the INS agents, she was bitterly criticized for indecisiveness and for allowing Elian's Miami relatives to string out negotiations endlessly. But then came that gruesome photograph of the automatic-weapon toting INS agent. Suddenly, Reno was under assault for deploying excessive force and for not giving negotiators enough time.

It's easy to say now that she could have given negotiations another go. It's also easy to see that had she done so, the papers would be full of talk of her "weakness" and "vacillation."

Elian's Miami family helped bring about this result by badly overplaying its hand. Putting out that videotape in which a young boy said (or was encouraged to say) that he didn't want to go back to Cuba with his father seemed a form of exploitation several steps too far.

As Castro receded from public view and Juan Miguel Gonzalez began speaking for himself in public, sympathy inevitably shifted to the pleading father. Once a court guaranteed that father and son would have to remain in the United States until the conflicting claims in this case were adjudicated, it became untenable to keep Juan Miguel and Elian apart.

We'll now proceed to political recriminations. Republicans will have yet another go at Janet Reno, a favorite sport in Washington. Progressives will denounce fanaticism in the Cuban American community. We'll argue about whether asylum and immigration laws give Cuban refugees an unfair break over others.

All this contention is what makes us a free country. But now that Elian is with his dad, as he was going to be inevitably, perhaps we can shift the spotlight a bit. Let's ask Castro to answer for the circumstances that led Elian's mother to give her own life in bringing her son to these shores.

Yes, Cuban exile leaders misread American public opinion and underestimated the natural sympathy that flows to a father separated from his son. But the problem in this case lies not only in Miami but also in Havana. Castro can now have no argument with the American government, which enforced our law on behalf of one of his own citizens. He no longer has a little boy to parade as a potent symbol against his Miami foes.

Resolving the case in favor of Juan Miguel, however painful that is for the Cuban exiles, can build pressure for democratization in Cuba. And the democratic freedoms that today give us all the right to beat up on Janet Reno will someday save Cubans from the tragic choices faced by Escobar-Stack's parents, and Elian's.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, APRIL 25, 2000

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Stupid
wouldn't they
to take the
Turtle down?
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And Now the Zoo

THAT BULLETS could fly at the National Zoo on Easter Monday was horrifying but, in a country that lets its handguns do the talking, sadly unsurprising. This time, the bullets hit seven young people, one an 11-year-old boy shot in the head. Police said the shooter was part of a group of youths involved in a running scuffle with another group. Youths have always scuffled; but today, scuffles too often turn into tragedies that couldn't happen were guns not so accessible.

The pro-gun lobbyists try to shift the subject away from the weapons to youth violence in general. They will say that to cite the shootings at the zoo in the nation's capital as more evidence of the need to control guns is to exploit the incident. We don't pretend for a minute that any new law will bring an immediate end to school shootings or church shootings or zoo shootings. Nor do we dismiss efforts to get at the root causes of extreme violence in youth.

But nothing beats easily carried and concealed guns for efficiency when it comes to wounding and killing people quickly and in great numbers.

It is true that the District of Columbia's ban on handgun sales and possession has not stopped the shootings here. Handguns travel; without effective, uniform federal controls in place, guns will be available. They will keep going off in the streets and in private homes, in the hands of criminals, unstable people, curious children and older kids in fights.

Congress doesn't hear gunfire unless it's in a school or maybe at a national tourist attraction like the zoo. Then speeches are made and proposals are introduced, diluted and abandoned. The most sensible proposal, to ban handguns and assault-style weapons, gets no hearing. Will public concern bring more pressure to bear at election time this fall? Or will the country simply stand by for the next gun tragedy?

China's Rules

THE BLEND of religious conviction and political courage that motivates Chinese Falun Gong followers inspires awe. Consider Mei Yulan, who was among members of the group who came to Beijing yesterday for a demonstration calling for an end to the persecution that began one year ago when the group surprised the government with a peaceful protest by 10,000 people. According to a Wall Street Journal report, Ms. Mei made the journey despite having previously been tortured by police and having seen 11 members of her family arrested as well. By now, harsh treatment of Falun Gong adherents has become routine in China. The Journal also described how officials beat a woman named Chen Zixiu, shocked her with cattle prods and forced her to run barefoot through snow until she died in custody Feb. 21. Authorities have now arrested Ms. Chen's daughter, apparently for confirming these details to the newspaper.

So it was not surprising yesterday when the group's attempt to commemorate the anniversary was quashed. Police dragged dozens of people to jail (no word yet on whether Ms. Mei

was among them), where no doubt more will be abused and ordered to renounce their beliefs.

All of this violates the commitments China undertook in signing the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 1998. And China is no more respectful of international law with regard to non-Chinese. Thousands of people from famine-stricken North Korea have made their way to northeast China, where they live at the margins of society, fearing arrest and repatriation, but where they can at least find something to eat. This week, about 100 North Koreans at a Chinese detention camp rioted to resist being returned, according to a Japan-based group that assists North Korean refugees. China's authorities subdued them and sent them home—just as seven other North Koreans recently were repatriated despite warnings by the U.N. High Commissioner on Refugees that they would face "grave consequences." Execution is likely. China's alleged actions would violate the 1951 international convention on refugees, of which the People's Republic is a signatory. But this is a regime that plays by its own rules.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26, 2000

4-28-00

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By Lloyd Grove

Christopher Reeve, Superlobbyist

Cause celeb Christopher Reeve used to lobby Congress for arts funding when he was president of the Creative Coalition. Today he goes before a Senate subcommittee as a quadriplegic activist.

"I've been a pest on the Hill for a long time," the 47-year-old actor told us yesterday from his home in Bedford, N.Y. He'll argue for federal support for embryonic stem cell research, currently banned in the absence of ethics guidelines. Stem cells are thought to offer the best hope for curing spinal cord injuries, as well as Parkinson's disease, multiple sclerosis and other maladies. Five years ago, Reeve nearly died when a horse threw him during a riding competition near Charlottesville.

His voice sounding Superman-strong, he told us that embryonic stem cells—which can nourish ailing cells and grow into virtually any kind of



Reeve and wife Dana, before a New York benefit Monday.

human tissue—are readily available at fertility clinics. "The cells really are the body's self-repair kit, and their potential was only discovered in 1998," he said, noting that private research has proliferated unchecked. "You need the government to oversee the use of these cells to make sure there's a standard."

Meanwhile, Reeve revealed: "I'm in the best health I've been since the accident." He now can breathe from 45 to 90 minutes a day without his ventilator and spends three hours daily in physical therapy. "I have been free of infections for over two years. I haven't had to go to the hospital for about three years. I've had a collapsed lung; four bouts with pneumonia, two blood clots. I had an ankle infection; they threatened to amputate my left leg. All those crises are past."

He's still in show business and has spent the last year developing a big-screen romance for Nicolas Cage's production company. And he's determined to walk again. "If we harness the forces of the government, the private sector, foundations and pharmaceutical companies, then I'll walk sooner," he said. "If not, it will just take longer. But I will still walk."

ENGAGED?: Word is Gingrich is planning to marry Bisek.



FILE PHOTO

■ We hear that our resident Fun Couple, lovebirds **Newt Gingrich** and **Callista Bisek**, are indeed making themselves legal. Word is that the 56-year-old former House speaker and the 34-year-old House committee staffer are planning to be married on Aug. 18. No comment from the Gingrich or

Bisek camps.

■ The Polk County, Iowa, prosecutor is throwing the book at Seattle sex columnist **Dan Savage**—who boasted in the online magazine Salon about his doorknob-licking attempts to infect failed GOP presidential candidate **Gary Bauer** with the flu, and about his use of a temporary address to vote in the January caucuses in which Bauer finished last. The Des Moines Register reports that Savage will be charged with two counts of voter fraud with a possible penalty of six years in jail. "The good people of Iowa take the responsibility of the presidential preference caucuses very seriously," Bauer spokesman **Matt Smith** told us yesterday. No comment from Savage.

■ More trouble for stars in cars. According to Reuters, **Gwyneth Paltrow** is being sued by ordinary citizens **Veronica Cabello** and **H. Jorge Arauz**, who claim they

suffered "permanent and serious" back and neck injuries a year ago when Paltrow's rental car and their vehicle collided in West Hollywood. Paltrow's publicist did not return our calls.

■ It's a dark day for the federal bureaucracy. After 36 years at The Post, Federal Diarist **Mike Causey** is leaving to join a Web site, natch: PlanetGov.com. "Don't forget me," Causey told us yesterday.



FILE PHOTO/REUTERS

SUED: Paltrow's got car trouble.

For k.d. lang, a Cause Close to the Heart

■ We asked **k.d. lang** why she's lending her soul-stirring voice to Saturday's "Equality Rocks," a star-studded concert that will raise nearly \$1 million for the Human Rights Campaign. "Why? Because I'm a homosexual!" the 38-year-old Canadian answered with a giggle. "Do you need any more reason than that?"

The decidedly lowercase lang, who'll perform at RFK

Stadium on the eve of the Millennium March on Washington with such fellow luminaries as **Garth Brooks** and **George Michael**, has long supported the gay rights organization. "Because of the multitude of people, I think it is an important event," lang said. "We've made inroads over the last 10 years, even though there have been setbacks like **Matthew Shepard**," the gay college student murdered in

Wyoming two years ago, "and Prop 22," the recently approved California ballot initiative that limits legal marriages to those between men and women. "A concert is a really nice way to advocate a positive sort of passive politicking, I guess. So it's important for me to be there, standing up for my people."

Lang—who plans to sing her crowd-pleaser "Constant Craving" and the tune "Summer Fling," from her upcoming album, "Invincible Summer"—is living happily in L.A. "My love life is fantastic," she told us. "I've been with somebody"—pop singer **Leisha Hailey**—"for the last four years."



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Lang, performing Saturday at "Equality Rocks."

With Beth Berselli

The Washington Post
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26, 2000

THE FOLLOWING IS

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Sunday
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Dispute Could Warm U.S.-Cuba Relations

By JANE PERLEZ

WASHINGTON, April 24 — In an immediate sense, the hostility in Cuban-American official relations is unlikely to be touched by the Elián González case. But in the longer term, the dispute could encourage trends in American public opinion that favor more relaxed ties, experts say.

To change the relationship fundamentally, the trade embargo strengthened by Congress and signed by President Clinton in 1996 would need to be ended, an impossibility in an election year and in the current overheated atmosphere.

If the Republican candidate, George W. Bush, wins in November, there is not likely to be a change in policy; nor is it clear that Vice President Al Gore would push for much change, particularly given President Fidel Castro's defiance on the question of improving relations.

For their part, Clinton administration officials have repeatedly said there would be no change in policy toward Cuba because of a family argument over a 6-year-old. The White House went out of its way to focus the drama as a legal one, not a matter between two nations.

But subtle shifts in Congress and small tinkering by the Clinton administration on the travel ban to Cuba last year point to movements in policy and attitudes that the González case could propel in some ways.

Close to 200,000 Americans, both legal and illegal travelers, visited Cuba last year, nearly double the number from 1998, according to Julia Sweig, the deputy director for Latin American affairs for the Council on Foreign Relations. According to the Cuban government, Americans now account for the second-largest group of visitors, after Canadians.

"This is a lot more exposure to Cuba," Ms. Sweig said, noting that the American travelers ranged from Hollywood producers to Midwestern farmers looking for business selling seeds to nongovernmental agencies. (The farmers went under a new program sanctioned by the Clinton administration, but they found little business.)

This exposure has contributed, Ms. Sweig said, to a "certain sense of exhaustion — people are tired of deferring to a Cuban-American minority view."

A Gallup poll last May showed that 70 percent of Americans were in favor of lifting the trade embargo against Cuba, with 28 percent opposed. More than 20 years earlier, another Gallup poll showed that 63

percent favored abolishing the trade embargo and 37 percent were opposed.

An ABC News poll conducted earlier this month, in the heat of the González battle, showed a shift in opinion, with respondents evenly split on whether to restore relations with Cuba and end trade restrictions. Respondents strongly favored removing travel restrictions between the United States and Cuba.

In Congress, where opposition to improving ties with Cuba has been the most enduring, the Senate voted last year, 70 to 28, in favor of ending the restrictions on sending food and medicine to Cuba, a softening of attitude that took some by surprise.

In the same vein, Congressional supporters of broader ties with Cuba noted that earlier in the Elián González dispute, Senator Robert C. Smith,

same side of an issue," said Wayne Smith, who was the head of the United States Special Interests section in Havana from 1979 to 1982.

It also served a purpose for policy in a human way. "The more Cubans are seen as normal human beings — that the father is a decent guy — public opinion will swing," he said.

The Clinton administration policy has been carefully devised, according to a former National Security Council official, to ensure that it was not "Castro-centric" but rather "people-centric."

Richard Feinberg, who dealt with Cuba policy on the council in the early Clinton years, said the administration decided that there was not much to gain by directing a policy at Mr. Castro, who has consistently defied any attempts at relations with the United States.

Rather, he said, the policy was devised to build up a civil society in Cuba so that in the "indeterminate time when the regime collapses, that there is not a vacuum and a transition to a peaceful society is much easier."

Any Democratic administration would be reluctant to initiate dramatically changed relations with Cuba because Mr. Castro has been so unresponsive, Mr. Feinberg said.

Among the changes that Mr. Clinton offered but did not achieve last year was a direct postal link between Cuba and the United States. An administration official said today that Mr. Castro rebuffed the idea.

The administration was considering easing the travel restrictions further last fall but put the idea aside at the height of the González crisis. At the same time, there was a proposal to enlarge the remittance program, which was eased in January 1999 to allow American citizens to send \$300 each quarter to family members in Cuba.

At the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva last week, the United States vigorously pushed the case against Cuba. Administration officials said they were pleased that a motion citing a deteriorating human rights situation in Cuba was passed by a larger margin than in the past.

Elián González may have softened the attitudes of some Americans on Cuba.

Republican of New Hampshire, could not muster enough support in the Republican Senate caucus to give asylum in the United States to the child.

The most passionate anti-Castro crusaders in the Congress nonetheless believe that in the short term, the heightened tensions stirred by the case have helped their efforts to slow any move to normalize relations. But others doubt that there will be any lasting impact.

For example, in permitting more Americans to go to Cuba, the Clinton administration believes that it has broadened the debate within the United States and undermined somewhat the power of the Cuban American minority in Florida.

Since last May, academics, artists, scientists and other professionals have been allowed to apply for licenses from the Treasury Department to visit Cuba; the departure points were expanded from Miami to include New York and Los Angeles. Many other people have gone illegally as tourists, administration officials said.

The González case is important because it is "the first time, two governments find themselves on the

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so given time to get foundation

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New York Times Magazine / APRIL 16, 2000

Whatever the fallout from the federal antitrust suit, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation will be one Gates institution left standing. Betty Stonesifer and her colleagues at the foundation have problems of a different kind: everyone wants a piece of them. By Jean Strouse

How to Give Away 21.8 Billion

ONE OF THE WAYS IN WHICH THE VERY RICH ARE DIFFERENT FROM YOU and me is that they become public property. Just about everyone has an opinion about Bill Gates's business tactics, products, motives, character, house — and about what he should be doing with his immense fortune.

Before he began giving money away, people complained that he was a miser. Now that he is giving money away, they complain that he's doing it too late, that he isn't giving enough, that he hasn't a clue about what he's getting into, that the projects he is financing are too conservative, too liberal, too big, too small, too safe, too risky, too conventional, too splashy. Or they say he's only doing it to avoid taxes, or to expand Microsoft's markets, or, especially, to improve his image in light of the government's high-profile antitrust suit.

"Bill Gates can't win," says Vartan Gregorian, president of the Carnegie Corporation and a longtime adviser to Gates on the subject of philanthropy. "It's like 19th-century anti-Semitism. If the Jews didn't mix into German society, people said they had a parochial, *shtetl* mentality. If they did mix, people said they were trying to pass. More important than why he's doing this is what

the proof will be in the pudding.” the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, past Britain’s Wellcome Trust to largest in the world, with assets of \$30 billion. Even the greatest philanthropists do not give away as much in real dollars over entire lifetimes as Gates has at the age of 55. According to the Chronicle of Philanthropy, Carnegie made gifts amounting to \$1.1 billion before he died in 1919 — a sum worth about \$3 billion in today’s dollars. The \$540 million that John D. Rockefeller dispensed before his death in 1937 is equivalent to more than \$6 billion today — less than a third of the Gates total so far. As a percentage of the gross national product, Gates’ gifts do not yet match those of his predecessors, but he is just getting started.

Gates began adding to the foundation in 1994 in 100,000 (on) increments over the past 14 years. A 1995 government prosecution took its toll on Microsoft, led to a widespread conviction that philanthropy was just part of a public relations strategy. Then, on April 3, Federal District Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson ruled that Gates violated the law with “predacious” behavior, and the stock market lost \$100 billion off the company’s value. Microsoft reportedly lost \$12 billion to the government that day, but the foundation’s endowment remains intact: its donations come in the form of Microsoft stock and are immediately converted to cash. What effect, if any, the lawsuit will have on future contributions to the foundation is unclear. Microsoft intends to appeal, and the battle could go on for years.

Gates always said that, like Carnegie, he would give away most of his fortune before he dies. He wants to make sure his children are well taken care of, but doesn’t want to leave them the burden of enormous wealth. Carnegie, however, gave attention to philanthropy only after he got away from the steel business at age 65. Gates has several decades of earning ahead of him. He has not set a schedule for giving away his fortune. In February, Patty Stonesifer, president of the foundation, said that Gates had reached about the right size for his giving.

Currently occupied at the moment with his family, Gates has delegated the running of the foundation to his friend Stonesifer, a Microsoft executive, and to his father-in-law, H. Gates Jr., although he and his wife are actively involved. Well aware that philanthropy requires as much activity as building a business does, Gates refers to himself “very early on the learning curve,” he says. “There are just

the author of “Morgan: American



United way: Bill Gates Sr. helps administer the billions in his son's foundation, as does Patty Stonesifer, previous page.

an infinite number of things to be figured out.” Still, backed by his enormous resources and extraordinary renown (it would be hard to overestimate the power of being Bill Gates), the foundation is already having a major impact — not only on specific projects in the fields of education and global health but also on other wealthy individuals, on the American conversation about philanthropy and on public policy.

ONE MORNING IN FEBRUARY, PATTY STONESIFER and I drove from Seattle to the Microsoft campus in Redmond to talk with Gates about his philanthropy. He was, of course, looking at a computer screen in his office when we arrived. Emerging from behind his desk, he had on a pale green button-down shirt with the initials W.H.G. in light blue over the left breast, tan slacks, tan socks and brown basket-weave loaf-

ers. On the shelves and walls surrounding his workstation were pictures of Melinda and their two young children, a photograph of Einstein, several framed covers of *The Economist* and an aboriginal mask from Australia. We sat around a small table in the anteroom — Gates’s work and reception areas combined are about the size of a midlevel publishing executive’s office in New York. Not exactly what you’d expect for a man whose company had a market value roughly equal to the gross domestic product of Spain.

There was no sign, for the next hour, that the release of Windows 2000 had set off firestorms the previous week, or that lawyers for both sides in the antitrust case were scheduled to make their final arguments the following day. Gates compartmentalizes well. At one point in the conversation he brought up his friend Warren Buffett, who does not intend to give his billions



He recently urged Gates to trade his wife and his father to the Ford Foundation people with more experience.

he has finished earning them. "War—it's very tricky to be in a meeting one where you're talking about giving away money, and then in the next minute talking about making money," Gates thinks that's a little schizophrenic, and . But I've always had partitions where I'm talking about biotech, or working on my way to play bridge. So, at least so far," he laughed — "it hasn't created schizophrenia for me."

nd Stonesifer have worked together since she started at Microsoft in 1988, and she's entirely at ease in each other's company. Tall and slim at 43, with brown eyes, freckles and a close-cropped brush of hair, for years she was the only female executive at Microsoft, and when she retired in early 2000, she took home millions of dollars in Microsoft quantities of money, she did another job. "Patty could sit on a beach the rest of her life if she wanted to," says one of her friends. She takes no salary for her work at the Gates Foundation and serves on the boards of CBS, Amazon.com and Kinko's.

Though they are widely recognized around the world, the Gateses do not stay in one place — they go to movies and to basketball games — and people go to the Gateses in coffee bars and airports for proposals and free advice. In the course of working on this article, I've come in contact with dozens of what she deals with all the time: the heads of five New York institutions that I put in a good word for their requests in Seattle. A producer at "60 Minutes" who doubles as an amateur coach. "How would Gates like to supply uniforms for a bunch of 13-year-old basketball players?" asks Gordon J. Davis, the chairman of Jazz at Lincoln Center. "Find out if he's interested in having a young female editorial assistant: 'Ask her how many nice 26-year-old guys.'"

He told these requests to Gates, who then said, "Well, you know, capitalism is a strange thing, where some people have more resources." Having so much in the world, Gates can make it hard to tell what he really wants. When he first met Vartan Gregorian, Gates recalls thinking: "Ah, why is it taking so long to get to know me?"

First, he was at Brown. So I wondered, does he want a bunch of money for Brown? And then he'd come and see me and we'd talk about what were good causes, or what was going on with foundations." It turned out that Gregorian just wanted to encourage Gates to think about giving money away, not to ask for any.

In those early conversations with Gregorian, Gates was thinking about finding an underfinanced area of scientific research to support. Now the aspects of his philanthropic work that he seems most excited about have to do with redressing tremendous inequities in global health. According to the W. H. O., less than 10 percent of the world's medical research financing is directed at the health problems that afflict 90 percent of the human population. Pharmaceutical companies don't make drugs for people who can't afford them. And millions of children in poor countries die every year from diseases that could be prevented by existing vaccines. The Gates Foundation recently pledged \$750 million to a fund that will help buy and distribute those medications in developing countries through a new group called Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI). "We're in this unbelievable era where you could argue, What's the most amazing thing taking place?" Gates says, leaning forward in his chair. "Is it software technology stuff and the Internet and new forms of communication? Or is it the revolution in biology?"

At the World Economic Forum at Davos, Switzerland, in January, Gates was disappointed to find not everyone as galvanized as he is by the combination of biotechnological innovation, widespread social disparities and hugely difficult problems that might be solved by the intervention of enormous resources and armies of intelligent people. He sat on a panel that officially inaugurated the global vaccine alliance with Gro Harlem Brundtland of the W. H. O., Carol Bellamy of Unicef, James Wolfensohn of the World Bank, Joaquim Chissano, the president of Mozambique, and Raymond Gilmartin of Merck. It was, Gates said in his office a month later, a colossal bore: "I was sitting there on that panel thinking, We're talking about saving three million lives a year here. It's about *people*. I hate to be critical, but that was one of the least inspirational, least informative panels I've seen."

Though he was by turns voluble, thoughtful, funny, self-deprecating and serious on a range of subjects, Gates sidestepped my questions about personal motives for his philanthropic choices. The banker J. P. Morgan supposedly once said that a man always has two reasons for the things he does: a good reason, and the real reason (although in his own case he never acknowledged the slightest difference between the two). The "reasons" historically ascribed to philanthropy have ranged from guilt to concern for one's legacy to religious principle to noblesse oblige to plain generosity. It has been widely assumed that the "robber barons" of the Gilded Age tried to buy their way through the eye of the needle with large gifts to libraries, medical research, educational and cultural institutions and the arts. However, as the historian Richard Hofstadter wrote in the 1940's: "To imagine that such men did not sleep the sleep of the just would be romantic sentimentalism. In the Gilded Age even the angels sang for them."

Maybe, but in fact these men did not believe — regardless of what others thought — that they had earned their fortunes in sinister ways. Rockefeller, Carnegie and Morgan saw themselves as building great industrial or financial empires and making America rich, and they did not feel that they had to atone for commercial sins or "clean up" their images for posterity by giving money away. This is a very different era, but I would imagine that Gates sees himself as having created extraordinary new technological capacities and widespread public access to information, and as having helped stimulate the phenomenal recent growth of the American economy. That he wouldn't tell a reporter about his "real" reasons isn't surprising. Maybe, like Morgan, he doesn't think they are any different from the "good" ones. And as Gregorian says, it doesn't matter. What he's doing is more important than why.

IN EARLY JANUARY, I WENT TO AFRICA WITH Stonesifer and the foundation's director of global health, Gordon Perkin, to see some of the projects they are underwriting in Ghana, Gambia and South Africa. Stonesifer had specifically decided not to call on the heads of governments. She wanted to be able to spend her time talking with people "on the ground" about their work — on childhood immunization, family planning,

Ghana's president surprised report. 'Someone like you shouldn't arrive in without announcing your presence. he got around to what Stonesifer calls 'the

cancer, malaria, the reduction of mal- infant mortality and AIDS. Even be- hatched Africa, however, it was apparent can't travel around the world represent- ates with any degree of anonymity. At as a jet-lagged Stonesifer waited in line n's Gatwick Airport en route to Ghana, rk investment banker standing behind d out who she was and told her how to be spending Gates's money. When d at the airport in Accra that night, was holding up a misspelled sign that lcome Bill and Malinda Gates Founda- d a local hustler tried to charge \$5,000 ng some photography equipment ustoms.

ndation does not generally finance di- ery of health services. Instead, it chan- s through existing organizations, seek- ntify good projects that are already und- nd to find new models and strategies . This sounds more conservative than it er the world, health care issues are insepm politics and economics, and anyone worked in developing countries will tell the most difficult problem for poten- saving interventions is *delivery* — get- cations and services to the people who n. The majority of the Gates Founda- lth financing will be directed at im- eople's access to existing and newly de- medical technologies. To facilitate that e foundation promotes the use of sim- like vaccines, contraceptives, nutrition- ents, single-use syringes and diagnos- ures. At an immunization clinic on our 1 Ghana, Dr. Perkin recognized a small the label of a polio vaccine vial — a ign devised by a nonprofit organiza- elped found in Seattle called Program ppropriate Technology in Health. He was when the nurse in charge was able to at the darkening circle meant the vac- approaching its expiration date and had l right away. Even health workers who d can dispense this medicine.

tes Foundation also seeks to support

people who are finding innovative ways to ap- proach public health problems and promote major social change. Lynette Denny, for exam- ple, whom we saw toward the end of the trip, is a gynecological oncologist working with wom- en in impoverished squatter villages and town- ships near Cape Town. Most of these women have never seen a gynecologist before, much less had a Pap test. Cervical cancer is the leading cause of cancer death among women in de- veloping countries, but it can effectively be pre- vented by early detection. Because Pap smears are complicated to administer and expensive to analyze, Dr. Denny's work led her and several colleagues to devise a simple new screening test for cervical cancer. In early January, the Journal of the American Medical Association published a study based on her group's work, showing that the new test detects the precursors of cervi- cal cancer at least as well as the Pap test does. Many questions remain and the research is still under way, but this work could lead to extensive changes in social policy and the saving of mil- lions of lives. Dr. Denny works with the Alli- ance for the Prevention of Cervical Cancer, which received a \$50 million grant over five years from the Gates Foundation in 1999.

Gates has referred to people who don't operate at full mental capacity as having "unused bandwidth." Stonesifer doesn't appear to have any. Throughout the week we spent in Africa she worked from 7 a.m. until midnight every day, talking with people in hospital beds, nursing sta- tions and makeshift doctors' offices, at briefing breakfasts, village councils, private houses and dinner meetings. When we got back to a van or a plane, the rest of us would be ready to sleep or goof off. Stonesifer and Perkin spent the down- time talking about what they had learned, where they would like to go with it and how they would report back to Bill and Melinda. The book she read on the trip was "The Politics of Inter- national Health: the Children's Vaccine Initia- tive and the Struggle to Develop Vaccines for the Third World," by William A. Muraskin.

For a couple of days in Ghana, most of the people we met had never heard of Bill Gates. As

we were about to leave for Gambia, however, Stonesifer got word that Ghana's controversial president, Jerry Rawlings, was coming to the air- port to see us off. Rawlings has been a surpris- ingly outspoken advocate of AIDS education, family planning, economic development and women's rights. A big man with a broad face framed by a salt-and-pepper beard, he arrived by helicopter. Striding across the tarmac in black jeans, cowboy boots, a black-and-white Nike warmup jacket and shades, he looked more like a music-industry mogul than a head of state. In the airport lounge he mock-scolded Stonesifer: "Someone like you shouldn't arrive in Ghana without announcing your presence. I'm glad to hear about your noble intentions here. I had to come see you and thank Bill Gates." They talked for a few minutes, then he got around to what Stonesifer calls "the ask." (It is inevitable, and she's not cynical about it; she wants to know what people need.) "What we need in Ghana," said Rawlings, "is to make AIDS testing afford- able." Then he stepped back onto the tarmac, signaled the chopper pilot by twirling his finger over his head and took off.

By the time we reached Gambia, its president knew that Rawlings had met with Stonesifer and wanted an audience as well. It took some delicate negotiating to avoid a diplomatic insult. The les- son Stonesifer drew: political leaders play an im- portant role in what the foundation is trying to do, and its officers can't go in under the radar.

THE NEW HEADQUARTERS OF the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation offer as sharp a con- trast to the stone-and-glass-clad, high-rise, wood-paneled prem- ises of the big East Coast founda- tions as the new techno-billionaires' dress code does to C.E.O. pinstripes. A two-story tan and gray concrete building, it backs up against a ma- rina on Seattle's Lake Union and is identified only by its street address. (It used to be a check-pro- cessing plant, which usually prompts someone to

**them at the
Ghana
he said. Then
ask.'**



Stonesifer on a January trip to Africa to visit some of Gates's philanthropic projects.

quip that it still is.) Inside, there are ficus trees, an orchid on the receptionist's desk, earth-tone walls, wood and slate-tile floors, several modest executive offices, an open geometry of staff cubicles and 1,700,000 feet of computer cable.

When I first visited Seattle in early December, Nelson Mandela and his wife, Graca Machel, were in town to raise money for their work in Africa — Mandela and Gates have known each other since 1997 — and Stonesifer spent part of a morning showing the couple around the building. At one point on the tour Stonesifer stopped, tapped her fingernail on a polished countertop that looked like stone and said: "Sunflower seeds. We're testing new materials. It's very Seattle." Also very Seattle is the foundation's lean, informal structure. Last year, when Gates decided to combine two smaller charitable funds into one and increase the endowment, he specifically chose not to enlarge the foursome in charge of ultimate decisions — himself, his wife, his father (C.E.O.) and Stonesifer (president) — and not to appoint a board. He had set up his first foundation in 1994, the year he married Melinda. At a bridal lunch the day before the wedding, his mother, Mary, a pro-

minent civic leader in Seattle, read a letter to the couple saying, in effect, "From those who are given great resources, great things are expected." By all accounts Melinda has played a significant role in directing more of her husband's attention to the world outside Microsoft.

A few months after the wedding, Mary Gates died. Bill's father, who had also been a leader of Seattle's "old" philanthropy — chiefly the United Way — was moving toward retirement from the law firm Preston, Gates & Ellis and volunteered to help his son deal with the floods of requests for money that were coming in. (Although the father is William H. Gates Jr. and the son W.H.G. III, people in Seattle refer to the elder Gates as Bill Sr. and to the Microsoft founder as simply Bill.) Now 73 years old, with genial blue eyes, sparse white hair and big glasses, Bill Sr. is 6 feet 6 inches tall and looks like a combination of his son and Paul Volcker. Bill established the William H. Gates foundation in 1994 with \$106 million and added about \$2 billion over the next four years. It focused on global health issues and projects in the Pacific Northwest. Until last fall, Bill Sr. ran it out of cardboard boxes in the basement of his house.

Gates enlisted Stonesifer to launch the second foundation, aimed at reducing the "digital divide," early in 1997. She had just left Microsoft, where she had been head of the Interactive Media division; Time magazine in 1996 named her one of the 25 most influential people in America. Ready for a change and wanting more time for her two teenage children, she rented an office over a pizza parlor in Redmond and started a management consulting firm. Her first client was DreamWorks SKG. She lasted three months. "Someday I'll write a book called, 'My 12 Weeks in Hollywood,'" she says with a laugh. By March she was running the new \$200 million Gates library program, which provides computers, Internet access and training and technical support in low-income communities all over the United States and Canada.

She had no hesitation about returning to the workaholic Gates fold. Raised in a Catholic family in Indiana (she was the sixth of nine children), she has always had a strong sense of social responsibility — she keeps a plastic figure of Jiminy Cricket in her office as a comic reference to her hyperactive conscience. "I loved working with Bill and Melinda at Microsoft, so to be able to use everything we'd learned in technology and turn it

to social good, to help shape their philanthropic efforts and give the money back — this job was tailor-made for me." The foundation has proved no less demanding than Microsoft, but she does have somewhat more flexibility about time.

As the two Gates foundations combined and moved into new headquarters last year, they expanded their accounting and public affairs staffs and appointed executive directors for the library program, education and global health. The Canadian-born Gordon Perkin, director of global health, has more than 35 years of experience in international health and family planning. The foundation's senior adviser for global health is William Foege, a widely revered epidemiologist and former head of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, who was part of the international team that eradicated smallpox. In all, the staff now consists of about 130 people, 110 of whom belong to what Gates calls the Internet Peace Corps — a team of young computer trainers who spend about half their time on the road wiring public libraries. Which leaves 20 people for everything else, although the officers consult with 60 to 75 experts in various fields. The Ford Foundation has a staff of 567 worldwide.

Stonesifer and Bill Sr. serve as co-chairpersons of the foundation, but she essentially runs it — he doesn't want to be bothered with decisions about hiring, process and organizational structure. On questions of grant-making, however, she says they are "two in a box — we try not to be at the same meetings since it's unnecessary; that way we get more done." Still, she confesses with a grin, it can be a little weird that "the other person in the box is Dad." Though she is the only nonfamily member of the group, Stonesifer is so close — and so fiercely loyal — to Bill and Melinda that she seems a virtual Gates. How do the foursome handle disagreements? They argue things out, she says: "All of the Gateses, and myself, are strong-minded, strong-willed individuals. That's one reason we get along so well."

Some philanthropy watchers are highly dubious about this all-in-the-family approach. The historian Mark Dowie, who is writing a book on American foundations, recently urged Gates to trade his wife and his father to the Ford Foundation for people with more experience and to set up an executive board with race and gender balance. Gordon Conway, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, however, has been impressed with the leadership of the new Gates enterprise, finding it "extraordinarily well focused in the health field." And Charles Hamilton, executive director of the Clark Foundation, applauds the agility with which a closely held foundation can make decisions: "I hope Gates will continue to maintain personal control — that he really gets and stays involved."

Gates apparently intends to. He and Melinda set the overall direction and priorities for their

Where the Money Goes

\$1 BILLION over 20 years to establish the Gates Millennium Scholarship Program, which will support promising minority students through college and some kinds of graduate school.

\$750 MILLION over five years to the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization, which includes the World Health Organization, the Rockefeller Foundation, Unicef, pharmaceutical companies and the World Bank.

\$350 MILLION over three years to teachers, administrators, school districts and schools to improve America's K-12 education, starting in Washington State.

\$200 MILLION to the Gates Library Program, which is wiring public libraries in America's poorest communities in an effort to close the "digital divide."

\$100 MILLION to the Gates Children's Vaccine Program, which will accelerate delivery of lifesaving vaccines to children in the poorest countries of the world.

\$50 MILLION to the Maternal Mortality Reduction Program, run by the Columbia University School of Public Health.

\$50 MILLION to the Malaria Vaccine Initiative, to conduct research on promising candidates for a malaria vaccine.

\$50 MILLION to an international group called the Alliance for the Prevention of Cervical Cancer.

\$50 MILLION to a fund for global polio eradication, led by the World Health Organization, Unicef, Rotary International and the U.N. Foundation.

\$40 MILLION to the International Vaccine Institute, a research program based in Seoul, South Korea.

\$28 MILLION to Unicef for the elimination of maternal and neonatal tetanus.

\$25 MILLION to the Sequella Global Tuberculosis Foundation.

\$25 MILLION to the International AIDS Vaccine Initiative, which is creating coalitions of research scientists, pharmaceutical companies and governments in developing countries to look for a safe, effective, widely accessible vaccine against AIDS.

giving, and Stonesifer and Bill Sr. report to them constantly — one on one, in four-way meetings, on the phone and by e-mail, which they call simply "mail." They are rarely all in one place at the same time. Stonesifer travels to New York once a month for CBS board meetings and has been to Davos and India since the Africa trip. The foundation receives more than 3,000 proposals a month, and its public affairs manager, Trevor Neilson, gets about 500 additional personal requests about everything from eviction notices to medical bills to prosthetic limbs. The senior officers, with some staff help, weed out thousands of proposals that do not accord with the Gates aims, then submit lists of projects they would like to finance to Melinda and Bill, who read and talk about the proposals and personally approve every grant over \$1 million.

Bill writes questions and comments all over the lists — sometimes saying simply yes (to a request for \$40 million) or no, or "tell me more about respiratory diseases," or "why this country?" or "if this does well what's the next step?" His negative response isn't always final: "When I say no," he says with a grin, "somebody usually comes back with, 'Did you really mean to say no on this one?'" Melinda, who does not give interviews to the press, is more closely involved than her husband in the day-to-day operations of the organization. Do the couple have different kinds of input? "Melinda has a strong interest in children and early childhood," says Stonesifer. "Bill is very interested in medical interventions and new tools, in figuring out what is possible with new scientific technology. And they are both passionate about how those areas can work together."

Once Gates made up his mind to create a single large foundation, he began adding to it at the rate of \$5 billion a quarter. And since foundations are required by law annually to give away 5 percent of their assets, the directors of this \$21.8 billion fund now have to dispense more than \$1 billion a year — not an easy thing to do well. They insist on careful monitoring to assure that the money is not wasted or mismanaged. They take a long-term, strategic view of what their grants can do, and they place strong emphasis on evaluation procedures — even though measures of success in the nonprofit world are notoriously hard to come by. Stonesifer says, "I

If that technology In around and thin not be the



Inner circle: Gates, second from left, flanked by his father and wife, at a foundation board meeting. Also

sometimes miss the marketplace, which really kicks you around when you make a mistake."

At first, the selection process was largely reactive. But as the foundation's resources have grown, notes Bill Sr., the process has become more proactive, and the scope of the giving is narrowing to areas in which the money stands to have the greatest impact — projects that aim at the causes rather than the symptoms of social problems. The officers talk a great deal about leverage, impact, strategy, scale and the "catalytic dollar" and are determined not to let their financing drive other sources of money away. On the contrary, they try to use their grants and Gates's celebrity to bring more partners and dollars to the table.

So far, the Gates domestic programs have drawn more critical fire than the work in international health. Last September the foundation announced that it was pledging \$1 billion over 20 years to scholarships for minority students — for



took a while before Gates realized might not always be the answer. one poverty-stricken town he recalls looking king, Hmm, computers may highest priority in this particular place.



attending, from right, are William Foege, Gordon Perkin and Stonesifer.

The negative reactions did not cause Gates to reconsider the program, reports Stonesifer, but he and Melinda didn't anticipate the cynicism. "Like the rest of us, they want people to think what they're doing is good," Stonesifer says. "It shouldn't have come as a surprise that one of Bill's first major philanthropic projects would be in the field of technology. All first gifts tend to be something you know about, and he had 20 years of technological expertise."

GATES LOOKS BACK WITH SOME amusement at his belated realization that access to technological information might not be the answer to the world's most serious problems. Microsoft was donating computers to poor communities in Africa in the mid-90's, and during a visit to Johannesburg, Gates went to Soweto where he was proudly shown the town's single computer. As he took in his surroundings, he recalls, he said to himself: "'Hey, wait a minute — there's only one electrical outlet in this whole place.' And yup, they had plugged in that computer, and when I was there, man, that thing was running and everybody was very thankful. But I looked around and thought, Hmm, computers may not be the highest priority in this particular place. I wondered, Who the heck is going to be really using this thing?"

He says it was toward the end of 1998 that he realized — partly through working with Foege and Perkin and partly through his own reading — how little international attention was being paid to some of the world's most urgent medical problems and how much of a difference his large-scale resources could make. The W.H.O. estimates that malaria kills about two million people a year, nearly half of them children in sub-Saharan Africa, and infects about 200 million more. There has been a 180 percent in-

crease in the number of cases in South Africa over the past year and a dangerous rise in drug resistance to the disease. Roughly 2.3 billion people — more than a third of the world's population — are at risk of infection, but since most of them live in the world's poorest countries and cannot buy expensive drugs, there has been no financial incentive for pharmaceutical companies to develop a malaria vaccine. Piers Whitehead of Mercer Consulting has compared large pharmaceuticals to supermodels: they don't get out of bed and go to work for less than \$350 million in annual sales for a single product. According to *The Economist*, the amount of money spent on malaria vaccine research worldwide in 1996 was about \$60 million. In June 1999 the Gates Foundation set up a \$50 million Malaria Vaccine Initiative. "With one grant," says Gates, "we became the biggest private funder of malaria research. It just sort of blows the mind."

The malaria vaccine research fund creates what economists call a "push" mechanism, providing the means for scientists to conduct studies that would not otherwise be economically feasible. And the foundation is tackling malaria in other ways as well. By putting up \$750 million for GAVI, it also gives pharmaceutical companies a "pull" incentive — essentially saying, "If you develop a vaccine, we'll buy and distribute it." It is the medical equivalent of the fairy tale king who challenges his knights to solve some impossible problem, promising that the man who succeeds will marry his daughter. Still, scientists think it will take at least 10 years to find a vaccine against this extremely complex virus.

The foundation is also applying the "pull" mechanism to the less glamorous but no less urgent problem of getting childhood vaccines that the industrialized world takes for granted — against measles, whooping cough, tetanus, polio and diphtheria — to developing countries. It often takes 10 to 15

Continued on Page 78

full-time college programs and graduate study in engineering, math, science, education or library science, to be administered by the United Negro College Fund. In October, the conservative *Weekly Standard* ran an article called "Bill Gates, Minority Leader: A Billion Dollars Is a Terrible Thing to Waste." The argument: that the program should not be race-based and is an attempt to circumvent recent anti-affirmative-action rulings in states like Washington and California.

The library-wiring initiative has had critics from the start. It delivers Gateway machines and free Microsoft programs, which led to a widespread perception that Gates was using his philanthropy to expand the market for Microsoft, much the way tobacco companies hook adolescents on cigarettes. Stonesifer says, "The only software we donate is Microsoft, but these machines are wide open, and many of the libraries load them up with all kinds of other software."

Sidney Poitier's Demons

In a new memoir, the pioneering actor once dismissed as Stepin Fetchit in a gray flannel suit rages against his critics — but ever so softly.

By Brent Staples

SIDNEY POITIER HAS SWORN OFF ALCOHOL, red meat, milk, sugar — and refers to his occasional scoop of ice cream as “falling off the wagon.” His dietary discipline is legendary in Beverly Hills, where his frequent dinner companions include the romance novelist Jackie Collins and the billionaire businessman Marvin Davis. At breakfast recently at the Beverly Wilshire Hotel in Los Angeles, Poitier consumed an omelet made of egg whites, to avoid cholesterol, and a side dish of broccoli, in keeping with his habit of eating vegetables at every meal. But the highlight was the serving of granola topped with blueberries. Instead of milk, Poitier poured water into the bowl.

Poitier has been a health food and exercise enthusiast for at least 40 years, and it has served him well: at 73, he is 6-foot-3, 200 pounds, trim, fit and still smiling the incandescent smile that started his career five decades ago. His eating habits, however, constitute more than a diet. They flow from an iron-willed self-control that covers his every waking moment, allowing him to present himself as the cool and elegant gentleman, even through periods of enormous personal strain.

People who know him from his first days as a stage actor in New York, like Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis, know a different person, however. As Dee says: “Sidney is the smoldering flame that you don’t think will catch fire and burn down the house. He has a capacity for explosion that is incredible. It takes possession of him.” Davis adds that having to sit on that temper in Hollywood “is a prison I certainly would not wish to occupy.”

The subject of that temper does not come easily to Poitier in conversation, but he describes his relationship with his “demons” as “perfect” because he knows when to give vent to them and when to force them down. “I know that my biggest job is to keep them as controlled as I can because they are — what’s the word? — seismic.”

Control is the dominant motif in Poitier’s new

memoir, his second, “The Measure of a Man,” which is revealing in what it leaves out. Poitier views the book as a “summing up” of his career and his life as father to six daughters, but the crux is Poitier’s preoccupation with the choices he made to sustain his long run as a leading man, and the shift in racial politics that helped to bring that run to an end. Everything about Poitier is indirect — an image reflected in an image, seen through an inflection. But read between the lines, “The Measure of a Man” is a self-defense brief, deployed against critics who attacked him during the 1960’s as an “Uncle Tom” and a “house nigger.”

BEFORE SIDNEY POITIER LEFT NEW YORK FOR Hollywood, African-American characters in the movies consisted mainly of butlers, maids and Stepin Fetchits who shuffled across the screen in dimwitted bewilderment. Poitier broke this mold in 1950, playing a black doctor who treated white patients in “No Way Out” — a film that was so threatening at the time that the authorities banned it in parts of the United States and in Poitier’s native Bahamas, then still a colony of Britain. By the late 1960’s, Poitier had been awarded an Oscar for best actor for his performance in “Lilies of the Field” (he is still that award’s only black recipient) and made more than two dozen films in the same vein, allowing Americans to envision black people not just as butlers and maids, but also as doctors, psychiatrists, engineers, war correspondents, teachers and police detectives.

The attack on Poitier began in earnest in 1967, when he starred in three hit movies during the same year. While “To Sir With Love,” “In the Heat of the Night” and “Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner?” made him the biggest box-office star in the country, Poitier came under ferocious fire. White critics savaged his work as superficial. African-American critics like the playwright Clifford Mason, writing in *The New York Times*, branded him “a showcase nigger” who coddled white racists instead of punching them in the face. All at once, black radicalism begat the question-

able blessing of the black exploitation films with pimps, prostitutes and tough guys yelling “Get Whitey.” Poitier was suddenly reviled as a Stepin Fetchit in a gray flannel suit.

Everything changes if you live long enough, and now Poitier has gone from outcast to hero once more. Over the last several years, the critical establishment has beaten a path to his door bearing laurels and awards. The period of rejection in the 1960’s, according to those who knew him, was a living hell. But when Poitier speaks of it today, he does so with the typical reserve: “I didn’t feel victimized by any of it. There was never a time when I didn’t take those attacks without giving them their due natural measure, and saying, ‘Is there value in this?’”

But those “demons” still rage beneath this polished veneer. In the most illuminating section of his memoir, Poitier discusses Virgil Tibbs, the black police detective he portrayed in “In the Heat of the Night.” The emotional center of the movie is a scene in which Tibbs interviews one of the town’s most important white citizens and the man slaps him across the face, as he would any black person from the surrounding cotton fields. Without missing a beat, Tibbs slaps him back, quickly — and returns to his cool, cerebral self.

Poitier explains that he, and not the director, added the retaliation to the script. Poitier writes that a black man solving the murder of a white person in deep Mississippi represented progress that “didn’t come from unbridled rage any more than it came from polite submission. Progress then and now comes from the collision of powerful forces within the hearts of those who strive for it. Anger and charity, love and hate, pride and shame, broken down and reassembled in an igneous process that yields a fierce resolve.”

Indirectly, Poitier invites us to re-examine his work and, through it, our history. Now who was “blacker” in the 1960’s: the cerebral detective Virgil Tibbs, outwitting white folks in Mississippi, or those long-gone blaxploitation heroes screaming “Kill Whitey” at the camera? ■

Photograph by Rankin

years for basic vaccines to get to people in poor countries, even though immunization could save millions of lives a year, and administering a \$1 shot is much more cost-effective than paying for years of medical care. The \$750 million fund will buy and distribute those basic drugs, along with new ones against yellow fever, hepatitis B and Haemophilus influenza type B. That was the subject of the panel Gates found so disappointing at Davos. Michael Rothschild, dean of the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton, thinks it "extremely smart of the Gates Foundation to move on all these fronts at the same time. It's hard to think of a more exciting image for science than finding a vaccine for malaria. But figuring out how to distribute a measles vaccine is about as sexy as clearing up the New Jersey Meadowlands."

TWENTY-ONE BILLION, EIGHT HUNDRED MILLION dollars. It is hard to conceive of that much money. To put the figure in some perspective: as of March 30, 2000, the market capitalization of Apple Computer was \$22.5 billion; Ganett's was a little more than \$20 billion, J.P. Morgan & Co.'s \$21.9 billion and Safeway's \$20.5 billion. The Ford Foundation, America's second largest, has an endowment of \$14 billion, but its growth, like that of most philanthropic institutions, has come from asset appreciation over time. The Gates Foundation grew by nearly \$20 billion in one year. Next to these Olympian sums, the recent charitable gifts of mere mortal billionaires — like the \$150 million given to Stanford University by Jim Clark, the co-founder of Netscape, in 1999, or the \$134 million that Warren Buffett and his wife, Susan, divided among four organizations — begin to look like pocket change.

The United States has not seen philanthropy on this scale since the era of Rockefeller, Carnegie, Morgan and Ford. The sources of America's great fortunes have moved west over the course of the century, but as recently as 15 years ago there were no major foundations in the Pacific Northwest. Now venture capitalists and foreign dignitaries go to Seattle for the same reason Willie Sutton robbed banks. And over the past decade, the wealth created by the information technology and telecommunications businesses has been doing for Seattle what the big railroad and industrial fortunes did for New York in the Gilded Age. The city gleams with new or renovated cultural institutions and sports arenas — the Seattle Symphony's Benaroya Hall, the Seattle Art Museum, the SuperSonics' Key Arena, the Mariners' Safeco Field and an as yet unbuilt waterfront sculpture park. Some of the new multimillionaires are putting personal time and money into social services and public schools. The Gates Foundation has recently given grants ranging from \$5,000 for a local AIDS group to \$30 million for King County's United Way.

One of the most ambitious of the Gates-financed projects is the New York-based International AIDS Vaccine Initiative. Founded by an intense, 43-year-old physician named Seth Berkley, IAVI identifies promising AIDS vaccine candidates, then brokers deals with drug manufacturers and developing countries to fast-track the candidates into clinical trials. More than 33 million people are infected with H.I.V. worldwide, about 70 percent of them in sub-Saharan Africa, where AIDS is expected to kill more people in the coming decade than died in all the wars of the 20th century. Only a vaccine could stop this devastation. And as with malaria, pharmaceutical companies are not about to spend enormous amounts of money developing a vaccine that is needed primarily by people who can't afford it. But if IAVI supplies the research money, the pharmaceutical company has no major costs to recoup. In exchange for its financing, IAVI expects the company to provide the vaccine at low cost in developing countries or forfeit the rights to the technology. In the United States the com-

'Giving is as tough a business as getting,' cautions an investment manager who has done a substantial amount of both. 'You can do so much damage. The rule in philanthropy, as in medicine, should be, "First, do no harm."'

pany can charge whatever the market will bear. AIDS researchers believe it could take at least a decade to develop a vaccine against this constantly mutating virus, and some think it won't be possible at all.

Nonetheless, Berkley is determined to get human trials under way. The Gates Foundation gave the AIDS vaccine initiative \$1.5 million in 1998 in support of a "scientific blueprint." Inaugurated at the international AIDS conference in Geneva in June 1998, the blueprint attracted worldwide attention and brought in additional financing — \$325,000 from the British government and another \$160,000 from the Elton John Foundation. That fall, IAVI announced two novel vaccine approaches for Kenya and South Africa and started preparations for clinical trials. Early in 1999 the Gates Foundation granted the AIDS vaccine initiative \$25 million to be paid over five years.

Like other Gates projects, this one has critics. Some want more emphasis on forcing pharmaceutical companies to donate huge quantities of therapeutic drugs like AZT to Africa — an issue that is fraught with economic and political

complications. Others spoke off the record because their institutions hope to get Gates grants. One prominent AIDS researcher predicts that the vaccine route will prove fruitless — that no one knows what will spark broad immunity and, given the infrastructure problems in Africa, it would be impossible to deliver a vaccine even if science found one. He argues that Gates's support of IAVI is about politics and his image. The foundation, the physician suggests, would do a lot more good handing out condoms on truck routes from Kenya than paying hundreds of thousands of dollars to IAVI bureaucrats.

David Ho, the director of the Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center, an affiliate of Rockefeller University, disagrees with this point of view. "Vaccines are the biggest thing in AIDS research today," he says, and the vaccine initiative is "a very worthy project" for Gates Foundation support. Dr. Ho, who came up with the concept of the triple-combination drug therapy that has significantly checked the progress of AIDS in the United States and Europe, thinks the freedom Gates has to provide substantial financing more quickly than the N.I.H. is essential. Wouldn't it be interesting, he reflects, "if Bill Gates were remembered in the future more for his philanthropy than for his work with computers?"

David Baltimore, president of the California Institute of Technology and chairman of the AIDS Research Vaccine Committee, says that AIDS research right now is in greater need of new ideas than of more money, but "we can't possibly do too much" about a disease that has "skyrocketed over everything else in importance." He thinks the vaccine initiative is positioning itself at a crucial juncture between drug companies and developing countries, that the candidates it is moving toward trials are good ones, and that science will learn from the research regardless of the outcome.

ONE IAVI-SPONSORED VACCINE TRIAL IS SCHEDULED to begin in Hlabisa, a village in the South African province of KwaZulu/Natal, before the end of 2000. The landscape of undulating hills and neatly planted farms around Hlabisa, 180 miles north of Durban, could be mistaken for Tuscany or Vermont. This beautiful place is the epicenter of South Africa's AIDS epidemic: 38 percent of the population is H.I.V. positive, with the highest incidence among women and men in their 20's. Many of the men leave for months at a time to work in mines near Johannesburg, where they patronize prostitutes or take "town wives" and contract H.I.V. When they return home they infect their rural wives, who often pass the virus along to babies while nursing. A high rate of sexually transmitted diseases (about 25 percent) enhances the ease of H.I.V. transmission. The community's religious leaders spend most of their time officiating at funerals. "This is

Continued on Page 88

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GATES

Continued from Page 78

not an epidemic," says Dr. Salim Abdool Karim, the principal investigator for the IAVI trial project in South Africa. "It's a catastrophe."

The day we were there the community held a meeting in an open field to discuss preparations for a vaccine trial. Because of its high levels of H.I.V. and S.T.D.'s, Hlabisa has a relatively well-developed medical system and a strong community advisory board that includes tribal and religious leaders, teachers and health care and social service workers. The vaccine candidate, started last year with an initial \$4.5 million grant from IAVI, is being developed jointly by the South African Medical Research Council, the University of Cape Town, the National Institute of Virology in South Africa and a biotechnology company in Durham, N.C., called AlphaVax. It is based on the strain of H.I.V. that dominates in this region. The first phase of the trial will simply test the vaccine for safety, using healthy volunteers in the United States and South Africa.

After the community meeting I took a walk with Janet Fröhlich, a tall woman with short dark hair and a strong South African accent who works in Hlabisa as a field coordinator for the Medical Research Council. The vaccine trial has to run in tandem with education and prevention, she said; measures that are perceived as "punitive," like insistence on men using condoms, have failed, and health workers are now trying to teach women how to protect themselves. They are also trying to teach both men and women how to talk about sex and S.T.D.'s. A soccer game that had been going on during the meeting was still under way. As we

stood watching the players, I realized that nearly a third of them will probably be dead in 15 years. Fröhlich said, "If you ask the boys what they know about AIDS, they say: 'We've learned not to sleep with the thin girls. Only sleep with the fat ones.'"

AT THE WHITE HOUSE IN March, President Clinton inaugurated his Millennium Vaccine Initiative, which includes a \$1 billion tax credit for drug companies to speed up the development of new vaccines and \$50 million for the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization purchase fund — and he acknowledged the 'Gateses' leadership in these areas: The Gates Foundation is a relative newcomer to the field of global health, but in collaboration with others it has helped to create a sense of urgency about a wide range of international health problems, to mobilize vast financial resources and to bring these issues to the forefront of economic and political debate.

On the subject of his own politics, Gates has refused to characterize himself as conservative or liberal and declines to declare a party affiliation. He contributes to both parties. Last fall he told Sam Howe Verhovek of The New York Times that he thinks the Republicans often do a good job of figuring out how to encourage wealth creation while Democrats tend to think more about how to spread wealth around — "and those are both things I think are very important." He went on, with a smile: "When people attack the wealth-creation mechanisms, it seems to push me in one direction, and when they don't take spreading the wealth seriously, well, that pushes me in the other direction."

The Gates Foundation has a decidedly liberal agen-

Continued on Page 96



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GATES

Continued from Page 88

da — intervening to offset social inequities in health and education — and the online magazine Salon “outed” Gates as a “closet liberal” in 1998 for supporting family planning, gun safety and organizations that opposed tax cuts in Washington State. The downsizing of federal spending on health and social programs over the last two decades, along with a widespread decline of public confidence in Washington, has steadily shifted responsibility for social welfare issues to state and local initiatives and to private philanthropy. And though some conservatives dislike the Gates Foundation’s choices and others think the money would do more good left in the marketplace, many favor this kind of privatization. Edward Crane, president of the Cato Institute in Washington — a libertarian policy center — says: “I applaud Gates for all the wealth he’s created. It’s his money, and he can do with it whatever he likes.”

TIMES OF EXTRAORDINARY PROSPERITY IN America periodically draw national attention to the nature and reach of private philanthropy, raising moral and legal questions about accountability, taxation, spending requirements and limitations on charitable giving. Susan Berresford, the president of the Ford Foundation, points out that Americans are at once fascinated by and profoundly uneasy about wealth and the power it confers, and she urges her colleagues to welcome increased public scrutiny. Michael E. Porter and Mark R. Kramer have argued in a recent Harvard Business Review that foundations need to improve their performance and justify their tax-exempt status by creating value much the way businesses do. Peter Bienstock, a Princeton, N.J., investor, predicts that the tremendous current flow of money into private foundations is going to create pressure for greater government regulation — that we are moving toward a period of “charitable trust-busting.” And Joel L. Fleishman, a law professor at Duke University and president of the Atlantic Philanthropic Service Company in New York, has called for a new federal agency to regulate the nonprofit sector.

Probably the warning I heard most often in conversations about the Gates Foundation had to do with the law of unintended consequences. “Grant-making on that scale is a very difficult art,” says Edward A. Ames at the Mary Flagler Cary Charitable Trust, who fears that the people in charge of the “huge new pools of money being turned to philanthropy” may not know enough about “the impact they can have on the fields that are the objects of their generosity.”

Richard Gilder, an investment manager, cautions, “Giving is as tough a business as getting.” Gilder has done a substantial amount of both. “You can do so much damage,” he says. “The rule in philanthropy, as in medicine, should be, ‘First, do no harm.’”

The best story about unintended consequences comes

Continued on Page 101

GATES

Continued from Page 96

from Gordon Conway at the Rockefeller Foundation, who worked as an entomologist in Borneo in the 1960's. In an attempt to control malaria, the W.H.O. sprayed houses with DDT. The campaign did kill mosquitoes and reduced the incidence of malaria, but it had side effects. House lizards ate the dead bugs, then cats ate the lizards and died from the accumulated insecticide. Without cats, the local rat population exploded — rats that could carry plague and typhus. Neighboring states donated cats to the affected upland regions. For the remote interior, the W.H.O. and Singapore's Royal Air Force devised a maneuver worthy of Disney called Operation Cat Drop: they packed cats into perforated containers and sent them plummeting into upland villages by parachute.

The day we drove to Hlabisa in mid-January, the Gates Foundation group took off two hours between 6 a.m. and 8 a.m. for a minisafari at the Phinda game reserve in Zululand on the eastern coast of South Africa. The high point was a mother cheetah with four cubs, who let us watch her from about 20 yards away for nearly 10 minutes. As we drove back toward the lodge, our guide, Gavin, said that since there is no hunting in the park, the predators tend to take over and kill too many other animals. As a result, the wardens periodically capture some of the big cats and send them off to other parks.

"Is that a good idea?" Patty Stonesifer wanted to know. "To intervene in nature that way?" Gavin said, "Oh, they do it at all the big parks, even Kruger," which didn't really answer the question.

"It's such an enormous responsibility," Stonesifer reflected. "How do you know how far to go?" ■

ANSWERS TO PUZZLES

OF APRIL 9, 2000



(JOEL GLENN) BRENNER, (THE) EMPERORS OF CHOCOLATE — [I]t was ... customary to eat a Hershey Almond bar by biting the letter H first, and then the ... Y, and then the E and the R, leaving behind the SHE. No one knew why ... Like playing hopscotch ... it was part of growing up in the U.S.A.

- | | | |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| A. Babbitt | J. Props | S. Hush-hush |
| B. Retin-A | K. Enigma | T. Odetta |
| C. Eighth | L. Rinky-dink | U. Cheshire |
| D. Natty | M. Ottawa | V. On the dot |
| E. New Wave | N. Rehash | W. Lefty |
| F. Ethane | O. Shepard | X. Annuity |
| G. Ricotta | P. Owlsh | Y. Thighs |
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*Call her
with the
letter
all of this*

4-28-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 25, 2000

100 APR 25 PM 6:31

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Nzinga (EN-ZING-GA), the 12-year-old girl who was shot at the National Zoo yesterday, and her parents Naomi Kerr Smith and George Smith.

CONTACT INFO: Call 202-884-4434
Nzinga's room at Children's Hospital. Parents will be there until approximately, 8:00 pm

DATE: April 25, 2000

RECOMMENDED BY: Mary Beth Cahill, Assistant to the President, Director of OPL *mbc*

PURPOSE: To express your concern for Nzinga who was seriously injured during yesterday's shooting at the National Zoo.

BACKGROUND: Seven youths were shot at the entrance of National Zoo yesterday afternoon when a dispute between two groups of youth escalated into gunfire. The National Zoo was celebrating the African American Family, an annual tradition at the Zoo. It is unclear whether the injured youths were involved in the original altercation.

Nzinga, a 12-year-old girl, was shot in the body and underwent surgery last night. She is currently listed in good condition at Children's Hospital.

Two other victims are at Children's Hospital, an 11-year-old boy (the most seriously injured) is in critical condition and 14 year-old boy listed in good condition. The other four victims are suffering from less serious injuries.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: Express your deepest concern for Nzinga (EN-ZING-GA)
Regret that their family is facing this tragedy
Sincere wishes for a speedy recovery

STAFF CONTACT: Christine Stanek x66614 or Laura Efurd x62617

DATE OF SUBMISSION: April 25, 2000

4-28-00

*To Burkhardt for letters
after you have seen?*

Yes ☒ No ☐

b.

(6 letters total)

#

4-28-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 25, 2000

00 APR 25 PM 6:32

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Gillian Bates, the mother of Harry Bates, the 11-year-old boy shot and injured at the National Zoo yesterday. He was the most critically injured of seven victims.

CONTACT INFO: Call 202-884-3250 Intensive Care Unit Children's Hospital Charge Nurse, Wendy Knight will get Gillian Bates to the phone

DATE: April 25, 2000

RECOMMENDED BY: Mary Beth Cahill, Assistant to the President, Director of OPL *mbc*

PURPOSE: To express your concern for her son who was seriously injured during yesterday's shooting at the National Zoo.

BACKGROUND: Seven youths were shot at the entrance of National Zoo yesterday afternoon when a dispute between two groups of youth escalated into gunfire. The National Zoo was celebrating the African American Family, an annual tradition at the Zoo. It is unclear whether the injured youths were involved in the original altercation.

Harry, an 11 year-old boy, was the most seriously injured of the six youths. He is currently in critical condition at Children's Hospital with gunshot wounds to the back and head.

Two other victims a 12-year-old girl and a 14 year-old boy are also at Children's Hospital, listed in good condition. The other four victims are suffering from less serious injuries

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: - Express your deepest concern for the her son
- Regret that her family must face this tragedy
- Her son and family will be in your prayers

STAFF CONTACT: Christine Stanek x66614 or Laura Efurd x62617

DATE OF SUBMISSION: April 25, 2000

ACTION: _____

#3

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 25, 2000

4-28-00

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Raynard Dugger, the 14-year-old boy who was shot at the National Zoo yesterday, and his parents Lawan and Garry Dugger.

CONTACT INFO: Call 202-884-4420
Raynard's room at Children's Hospital. Parents will be there until approximately 8:00 pm.

DATE: April 25, 2000

RECOMMENDED BY: Mary Beth Cahill, Assistant to the President, Director of OPL *MBL*

PURPOSE: To express your concern for Raynard, who was seriously injured during yesterday's shooting at the National Zoo.

BACKGROUND: Seven youths were shot at the entrance of National Zoo yesterday afternoon when a dispute between two groups of youth escalated into gunfire. The National Zoo was celebrating the African American Family, an annual tradition at the Zoo. It is unclear whether the injured youths were involved in the original altercation.

Raynard, a 14-year-old boy, who was shot in the leg. He is currently listed in good condition at Children's Hospital.

Two other victims are at Children's Hospital, an 11-year-old boy (the most seriously injured) is in critical condition and 12-year-old girl listed in good condition. The other four victims are suffering from less serious injuries.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: Express your deepest concern for Raynard
Regret that their family is facing this tragedy
Sincere wishes for a speedy recovery

STAFF CONTACT: Christine Stanek x66614 or Laura Efurd x62617

DATE OF SUBMISSION: April 25, 2000

ACTION: _____

4-28-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
April 25, 2000

00 APR 25 AM 11:49

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

Mayor Anthony Williams (D-DC)

O: (202) 727-6377 (Contact: Leslie Pinkston)
(202) 727-6263 (Main line)

H: (202) 333-5223 or (202) 727-7777

Office of Emergency Management (202) 727-6161 (24-hours)

Police Chief Charles Ramsey (Contact: Terrance Gainer 727-4363)

O: (202) 727-4218

H: (202) 488-3535

DATE: April 25, 2000

RECOMMENDED BY: Mickey Ibarra, Director of Intergovernmental Affairs

PURPOSE: On April 24, seven children were injured by gunfire at the National Zoo in Washington, DC. The children ranging in age from 11-16 were attending the annual "African American Family Day," a 100 year tradition on Easter Monday. An 11-year old male, Harris Bates, is in critical condition from a wound to the back of his head and is on life support at Children's Hospital. Currently, three youth are hospitalized at Children's Hospital, three at Georgetown University Hospital and one 16-year old is at Washington Hospital Center. The Mayor and Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton visited the victims and their families on Monday. This is the first shooting to ever take place in the more than 100-year history of the zoo. The shooter has not been apprehended and it is believed that the victims were innocent bystanders.

BACKGROUND: The Mayor has been a strong advocate against youth violence in the city. Most recently, he announced the "Youth Violence Initiative" a multi-agency approach to curbing youth violence. This initiative was created in response to the February shooting deaths of two Wilson High School students.

TALKING POINTS:

- To share your concern.
- To express your outrage at the continued proliferation of gun violence.
- To offer any services that might compliment the immediate needs of the city.

STAFF CONTACT: Mickey Ibarra (6-7060)

4-28-00

To Burleigh for letter?

Yes ☒ No ☐

8.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

00 APR 26 4:54

April 26, 2000

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC)

DATE: As soon as possible.

RECOMMENDED BY: Chuck Brain *UMB*
Broderick Johnson

PURPOSE: To express your concern regarding Monday's shooting at the National Zoo.

BACKGROUND:

The incident, which took place on the zoo's African American family day, apparently arose from a dispute involving two groups of youth. The Metropolitan Police Department is investigating whether the shootings were gang-related. A 16-year-old youth was charged last night with assault with intent to kill. He will be tried as an adult. There are no other suspects to date. One of the seven children shot is an eleven-year-old boy who is in critical condition. The other six victims have less severe injuries.

The NAACP is offering a \$25,000 reward for tips leading to an arrest and conviction in the case.

Delegate Holmes Norton is serving her 5th term in Congress. She sits on the House Transportation and Infrastructure, and Government Reform Committees.

Delegate Norton is a vocal supporter of gun safety legislation.

**CONTACT PERSON
AND TELEPHONE
NUMBER(S):**

Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton 202-225-8050 (O)
202-543-5699 (H)

DATE OF SUBMISSION: April 26, 2000

4-28-00

To Burkhardt for letter?
Yes + No -

B.

UNCLASSIFIED

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASER: Phv

DTG: 26 2279z

MESSAGE NO.: 62296 CLASSIFICATION: Not Classified TOTAL: 2
(PAGES INCLUDING COVER)

FROM: Sean Maloney (202) 456-2702 Gr Fl/W Wing
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: Brain/Johnson Recommended Telephone Call to
D.C. Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton to express concern about shooting
at National Zoo

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBE
	To: NANCY HERNREICH (please give Nancy 2 copies)		
	cc: Maria Echaveste		

REMARKS:
Nancy -- You may want to give to POTUS if he calls Williams/Ramsey.
Sean

UNCLASSIFIED

4-28-00

Main
fronting. pls have
down our book into
for

Columbus County Commissioners

ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDING
111 WASHINGTON STREET - WHITEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA 28472 - PHONE 910-640-6600 - FAX 910-642-2386

April 26, 2000

Copied
Echaveste
Podesta
Burkhardt
(for reply)

COMMISSIONERS

Amon E. McKenzie
Zone 1

C.E. Wilson
Zone 2

Sammie Jacobs
Zone 3

A. Dial Gray, III
Zone 4

lynwood Norris
Zone 5

pruell R. Britt
Zone 6

David L. Dutton, Jr.
Zone 7

.....

ames E. Hill, Jr.
County Attorney

Dempsey B. Herring
Administrator

a L. Smith
erk to Board/
ist. to Administrator

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton, President
United States of America
Washington, DC

Dear President Clinton:

As a County Commissioner, I am very concerned about the people of Columbus County. We have had an economic set back with factory closings and small farmers being put out of business. We would appreciate any assistance that you can give in these areas. My concerns are:

1. People are out of jobs have property that will be lost. Government.
2. In order to keep good teachers pay them. Our teachers are States. The way to attract good
3. As you have already been involved in Columbus County. People need arm and assurance that relief

We will send to
Burkhardt for reply? d
Yes ☒ il
No ☐ l
Coordinate w/ Echaveste?
Yes ☒
No ☐ a

Your visit to Columbus County was very necessary and we thank you.

Sincerely,

Amon E. McKenzie
County Commissioner
District I

Can we get
them from
of the teachers?
Can we do anything
about this?

4-28-00

Main
for routing. please
don't lose track of this
TR

Columbus County Commissioners

ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDING
111 WASHINGTON STREET - WHITEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA 28472 - PHONE 910-640-6600 - FAX 910-642-2386

April 26, 2000

Copied
Echaveste
Podesta
Burkhardt
(for reply)

COMMISSIONERS

Amon E. McKenzie
Zone 1

C.E. Wilson
Zone 2

Bammie Jacobs
Zone 3

A. Dial Gray, III
Zone 4

Wynwood Norris
Zone 5

Prueell R. Britt
Zone 6

David L. Dutton, Jr.
Zone 7

James E. Hill, Jr.
County Attorney

Dempsey B. Herring
Administrator

Ida L. Smith
Clerk to Board/
Asst. to Administrator

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton, President
United States of America
Washington, DC

Dear President Clinton:

As a County Commissioner, I am very concerned about the people of Columbus County. We have had an economic set back with factory closings and small farmers being put out of business. We would appreciate any assistance that you can give in these areas. My concerns are:

1. People are out of jobs having little or no income with mortgages and property that will be lost. We need some protection from the Federal Government.
2. In order to keep good teachers for our schools, we need to be able to pay them. Our teachers are some of the lowest paid in the United States. The way to attract good teachers is to provide decent salaries.
3. As you have already been informed, we have a 12% unemployment rate in Columbus County. People are very depressed, we need a shot in the arm and assurance that relief is on the way.

Your visit to Columbus County was very necessary and we thank you.

Sincerely,

Amon E. McKenzie
County Commissioner
District I

Can we get
Team from
of the teacher?
Can we do anything
about this?

COPIENT HAS SEEN
4-28-00
WENDY SMITH

CC: HRC ²⁶/₄

Mr. President -

Our own example of convergence
between core business and
the Foundation's good works!
Thought you would enjoy
the book. I included one
for HRC. Please talk soon!
Warm regards, Wendy

4-28-00 ✓

Book to read after you
have seen? Yes ☒ No ☐

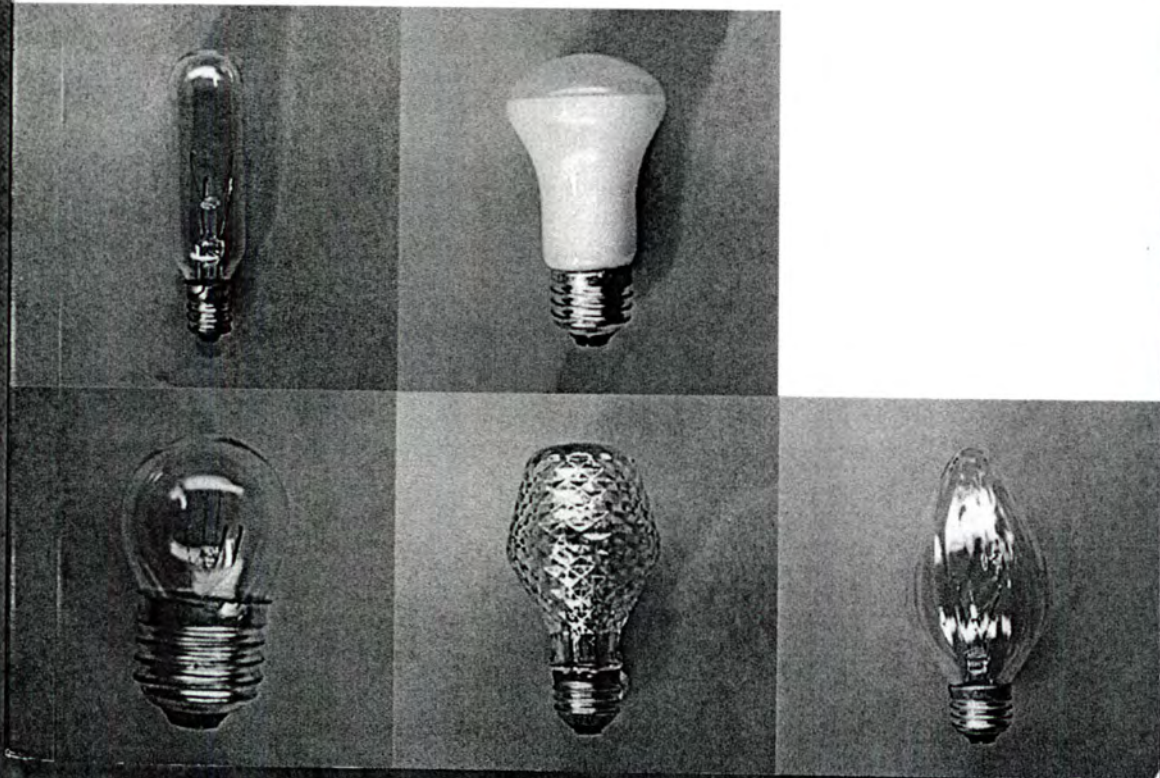
Copy of note and book's
introduction to Podesta?
Yes ☒ No ☐

4-28-00 To Brand
Fy - A

Themes Out of School:

ART & EDUCATION IN LOS ANGELES

CAArt





'00 APR 28 PM10:57

Note No. 75-2000.

The Embassy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria presents its compliments to the United States Department of State and has the honour to forward herewith, for onward transmission to the highest destination, two Christmas greeting cards addressed to the President of the United States and Secretary of State from the Nigerian President.

The Embassy regrets the delay, which was as a result of late arrival of the cards from Nigeria.

The Embassy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria avails itself of the opportunity to renew to the Department of State the assurances of its highest consideration. 

Washington, D.C. 25th April, 2000



The Chief of Protocol
The Department of State

To NSC to reply?
Yes ☒ No ☐

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

WAGING PEACE WORLDWIDE

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Frank K. Kelly, *Senior Vice President*
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Adam Curle, Ph.D.
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Jonathan Granoff
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Farzeen Nasir, Ph.D.
Jan Oberg, Ph.D.
Dan K. Smith, Ph.D.
Theodore B. Taylor, Ph.D.
Leonard Wallock, Ph.D.
Burns H. Weston, J.S.D.
Robert C. Wilkinson

U. N. Representative

Vernon C. Nichols

Staff

Christoph Hanterman, Ph.D.
Laura Lynch
Carah Ong
Christopher Pizzinai
Penny Sidoli
Kati Smith
Sharon M. Tolar

*Nobel Laureate

00 APR 28 AM 11:08

April 19, 2000

President William Jefferson Clinton
Attn: Betty Currie
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton,

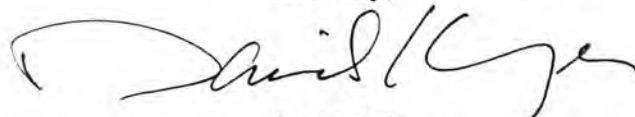
I want to thank you for your letter of tribute which is included in the enclosed Tribute Journal honoring King Hussein of Jordan posthumously and Her Majesty Queen Noor. I know the Queen was deeply touched by the tributes to her late husband.

Our Evening for Peace provided a memorable experience for the more than 350 guests in attendance. A highlight of the evening was the Queen's speech, which we will be publishing soon. I will be sure that you receive a copy.

A theme that was stressed at the event and in the two days of Peace Leadership Training for Youth we conducted following the Awards Dinner can be summarized in King Hussein's words: "It should never be forgotten that peace resides ultimately not in the hands of governments, but in the hands of the people."

Thank you again for your leadership and for helping to shine a light on peace leadership and its importance in our troubled world.

Sincerely,



David Krieger
President

DK:smt

Enclosure

c:\napfcorrespondence\trclinton041900.dk.doc

Send to ~~Bush~~ NSC

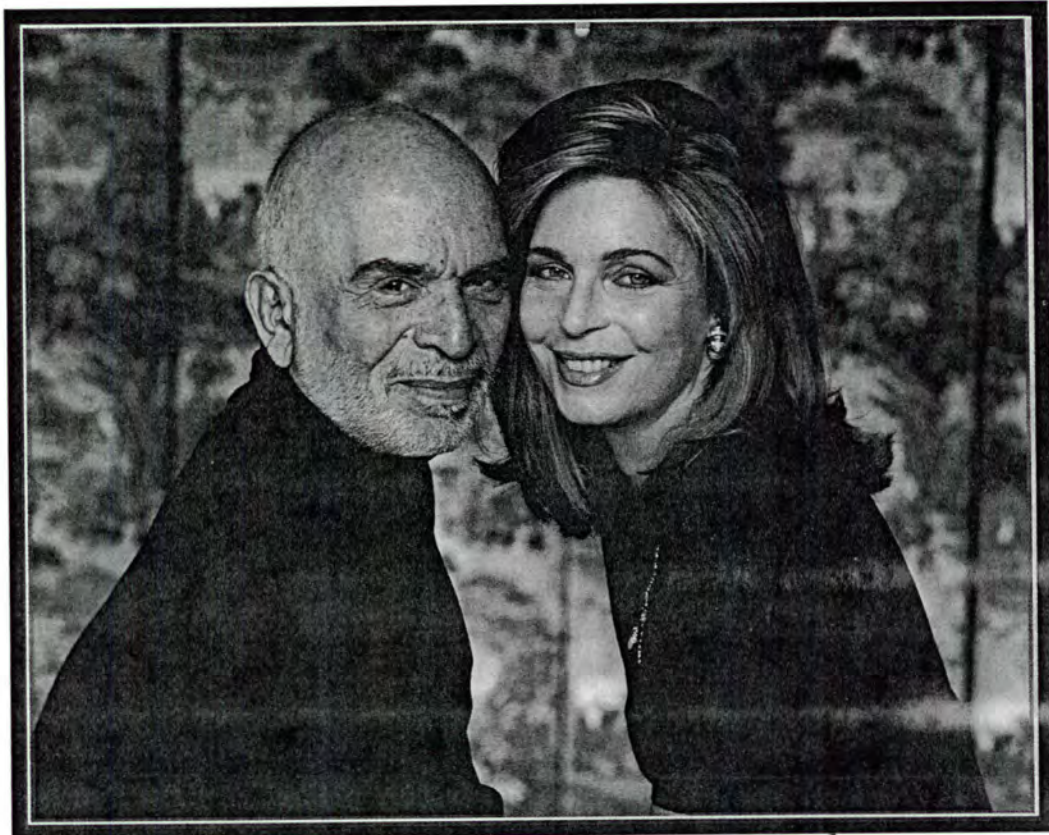
Yes ☒

No ☐

cal

A Royal Evening for Peace

honoring



His Majesty King Hussein
and
Her Majesty Queen Noor

April 6, 2000

Returned Peace Corps Volunteers
Mission for Peace in Ethiopia and Eritrea

4-28-00

NSC
Send to President?

'00 APR 28 AM 11:06

April 24, 2000

Yes ☒
No ☐

Carol

William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President;

The ever-increasing reports of famine in the Horn of Africa, exacerbated by the ongoing war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, have caused us to intensify our efforts to facilitate the movement toward peaceful resolution of this needless conflict. We believe the war can be brought to a quick conclusion if you take the bold step to call both leaders to a peace conference in Washington, DC.

As you may recall, we are a team of five Returned Peace Corps Volunteers who have been working for more than a year to encourage the two sides to move down the path to peace. We are determined to do whatever we can to promote the peace process. We have access to the leaders of both countries, and they have encouraged us to persist in our efforts as neutral and equal friends of both sides.

Much has been done to define the terms for peace. The OAU, with vital support from your special envoy, the State Department and the National Security Council staff, has produced a mutually acceptable framework and modalities for peace. The remaining issues in dispute concern implementation procedures and sequences. We are encouraged by this progress. We are hopeful that the planned but delayed proximity talks will take place soon, and that they will be productive. We fear, however, that they will not be conclusive. Two years have passed without closure, and the stalemate persists.

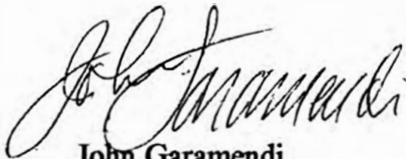
Last summer, when we returned from our peace mission to Ethiopia and Eritrea, we then, and we believe more strongly today, that the swiftest and perhaps the only means of ending the deadly impasse between these two countries is by your intervention in calling President Isaias and Prime Minister Meles to a meeting in Washington or at Camp David to resolve their differences. We urge you, most respectfully, to take this humane step.

Our discussions with Prime Minister Meles and President Isaias, and their key ministers lead us to believe that lack of trust between the governments prevent them from meeting and reaching a final resolution. You have the stature and power to cause the two leaders to overcome the distrust. Your intervention can provide both leaders with the opportunity to meet together and take the final steps to peace. We believe you are the only person who can bring them together and end the war.

Ending this needless war was extremely important last summer, but it is imperative today. Saving tens of thousands of soldiers and the economic capacity of two countries was at stake then. Saving hundreds of thousands, possibly millions, from starvation is the added obligation today. We are no longer only urging American leadership to end a war. Now, we are urging immediate action against preventable massive starvation. The looming famine compels us

to press on with renewed vigor and determination. As Americans with a long and close friendship with the people of Ethiopia and Eritrea we feel this obligation with intensity. Therefore, we appeal to you to use your personal influence and the power of your office to bring this war to an end.

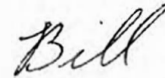
Respectfully,



John Garamendi
Team leader



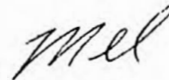
Charles Dambach
President, Museum
Trustees Association



William Canby
private citizen



Michael McCaskey
Chairman, Chicago Bears



Melvin Foote
President, Constituency for Africa

2727 29th Street, NW, #609
Washington, DC. 20008
202-248-1773



5711 SOUTH 86TH CIRCLE • PO BOX 27347 • OMAHA, NEBRASKA 68127-0347 • USA

PHONE 402/596-8900 • FAX 402/339-0265

E-MAIL vin@infousa.com • INTERNET www.infoUSA.com

VINOD GUPTA
CHAIRMAN & CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER
DIRECT LINE 402/593/4575

April 20, 2000

William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20502

'00 APR 28 AM 11:06

Dear Mr. President:

★ Terry McAuliffe, my surrogate father, Andy Andersen and I would like to play golf with you at the Army Navy Club.

Andy (age 77) is a member at Augusta, a staunch conservative Republican, and retired publisher of Omaha World Herald. You will enjoy his company. If you are willing to host us for a round of golf, we will host you at a public course of your choice.

Your trip to India was a real hit. People in the villages loved you, especially when you danced with the village women. They all wished you had gone to India in 1993, so India would have benefited from your love and affection.

Finally, your warmth and friendliness towards my mother made her life. She said to me "Now, I can die happily and in peace." I cannot thank you enough for your love and affection.

4-28-00

Always your friend,

Vinod Gupta

Send to Scheduling?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Cal



President Wil
1600 Pennsylv
Washington,

Recommend sending
to Agency liaison
DOT/INS

ONS

00 APR 28 PM3:54

U.S.

April 14,2000

My Dear Mr.

CC: VP

It is with great pleasure I am writing this letter. Thank you for all that you have done to make me proud to stand up and be counted. I am a proud American a 4-28-00

As your total
attempt to
confidence

To Burkhardt for agency
liaison and reply?

that whoever we choose to
the global respect and national

I am also so
both param
woman, he
is not the p
immigratio
Springstee
with her at
We don't
may, is ask

Yes ☒ No ☐
B.

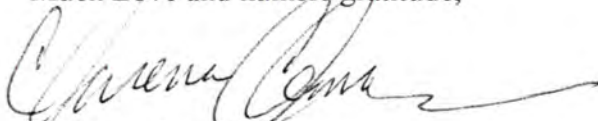
me in a matter that has become
fallen in love with a wonderful
woman that I plan to marry. That
and I am having a problem with
now, I am still on tour with Bruce
possible for me to go back to London
able for her to stay here with me.
lives. What I would like to do if I
could, if you will, and make me the

happiest man on earth. I need your help in keeping us together.

Thank you in advance for taking the time to read this letter and for any input or direction that you might be able to offer. Please accept my humble and sincere offer of any assistance I may ever be able to give you.

Now that your tour is about over, you have a standing invitation to come and join me on my tour, on any stage, any where, at any time. I always have an extra horn and I know what mouthpiece you use. I am enclosing my contact numbers and itinerary. You went in blowing your horn, why not go out the same way?

Much Love and humble gratitude,


Clarence Clemons

THE TIARA

3000 NORTH OCEAN DRIVE · SINGER ISLAND, FLORIDA 33404
TELEPHONE (561) 848-4847 ~ FACSIMILE (561) 848-3849

CLARENCE CLEMONS

00 APR 28 PM 3:54

President William J. Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500

April 14, 2000

My Dear Mr. President,

It is with great pride, respect and gratitude that I send you this letter. Thank you for all that you have done to make me proud to stand up and be counted. I am a proud American and a proud Democrat. Thank you.

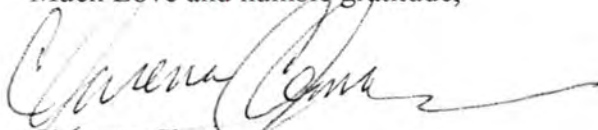
As your tour of duty comes to a close, I hope and pray that whoever we choose to attempt to fill your shoes will be able to come close to the global respect and national confidence that you have given us, as Americans.

I am also sending you this letter to ask for your assistance in a matter that has become both paramount and crucial in my personal life. I have fallen in love with a wonderful woman, her name is Elizabeth Connell-Barr. She is the woman that I plan to marry. That is not the problem. The problem is, that she is British and I am having a problem with immigration, keeping her here with me. As you may know, I am still on tour with Bruce Springsteen & The E Street Band, which makes it impossible for me to go back to London with her and immigration seems to be making it impossible for her to stay here with me. We don't want to get married and have to live separate lives. What I would like to do if I may, is ask for your direction in this matter. To play cupid, if you will, and make me the happiest man on earth. I need your help in keeping us together.

Thank you in advance for taking the time to read this letter and for any input or direction that you might be able to offer. Please accept my humble and sincere offer of any assistance I may ever be able to give you.

Now that your tour is about over, you have a standing invitation to come and join me on my tour, on any stage, any where, at any time. I always have an extra horn and I know what mouthpiece you use. I am enclosing my contact numbers and itinerary. You went in blowing your horn, why not go out the same way?

Much Love and humble gratitude,



Clarence Clemons

THE TIARA
3000 NORTH OCEAN DRIVE • SINGER ISLAND, FLORIDA 33404
TELEPHONE (561) 848-4847 ~ FACSIMILE (561) 848-3849

CLARENCE CLEMONS

Contact Information & Itinerary

Home Telephone- 561-848-4847 **Cell Phone-** 561-308-9349
Office- 561-369-0755

I am registered under the name **Solomon King** at the following hotels as listed:

April 19,20,21-The Park Hotel-**Charlotte,NC**-704-364-8220
April 22-Washington Duke Inn-**Durham,NC**-919-490-0999
April 23,24,25,26-The Westin William Penn-**Pittsburgh,PA**-412-281-7100
April 27,28,29,30-The Cincinnati Hotel-**Cincinnati,OH**-513-381-3000
May 1,2,3,4-The Four Seasons-**Toronto,ONT**-416-964-0411
May 5,6,7,8-The Goodwin Hotel-**Hartford,CT**-860-246-7500

May 9 thru 19 I will be at home number.

'00 APR 28 AM 11:05

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 2000

Carolyn -
Have you
seen? B

Betty:

I wanted to make sure you were aware of this letter that came to the President from former governor Bob Miller. I talked to his office today, and they were not sure if they had faxed this to the Oval Office as well. I believe Gov. Miller spoke to the President about these issues when they saw each other in Las Vegas several weeks ago.

Also, Gov. Miller will be in D.C. this Friday and has requested a meeting with John Podesta to discuss the sports betting bill (which he references in the letter). John's office is aware of the request, and I'll make sure John gets a copy of this letter as well.

Let me know if you need additional information.

Thanks.

Ray
Ray Martinez
6-6581

4-28-00

Send to Burkhardt?
for reply.
card. w/ NSC Yes ☒

Dan- No ☐
I think this is
a duplicate, we should
double-check.
cc: NSC

JONES VARGAS

ATTORNEYS AT LAW
THIRD FLOOR SOUTH

3773 HOWARD HUGHES PARKWAY
LAS VEGAS, NEVADA 89109-0949

TELEPHONE
(702) 734-2220

TELECOPIER
(702) 734-2722

CLIFFORD A. JONES (Retired)
GEORGE L. VARGAS (1909 - 1985)
JOHN C. BARTLETT (1910 - 1982)
LOUIS MEAD DIXON (1919 - 1993)
GARY T. FOREMASTER (1953 - 1998)

OF COUNSEL
CRAIG H. NORVILLE

E-mail Address
bjmill@jonesvargas.com

April 3, 2000

HERBERT M. JONES
MELVIN D. CLOSE, JR.
JOSEPH W. BROWN
ALBERT F. PAGNI
JOHN P. SANDE, III
WILLIAM J. RAGGIO
BOB MILLER
GARY R. GOODHEART
MICHAEL E. BUCKLEY
DOUGLAS G. CROSBY
RICHARD F. JOST
JANEY L. CHUBB
DOUGLAS M. COHEN

KIRK B. LENHARD
KEVIN R. STOLWORTHY
STEPHEN M. RICE
ANTHONY C. GORDON
GREG L. JENSEN
JODI R. GOODHEART
PAUL A. LEMCKE
PHILIP M. BALLIF
RENEE R. REUTHER
MICHAEL P. LINDELL
MICHAEL G. ALONSO
ERIC W. LERUDE
BRIAN P. CLARK

KRIS T. BALLARD
MELISSA P. BARNARD
GREGORY A. BROWER
EDWARD M. GARCIA
DANIEL W. GLASSER
DAWN R. HINMAN
CARLA R. JONES
R. DOUGLAS KURDZIEL
JANIECE S. MARSHALL
KARL L. NIELSON
DENNIS L. OLSON
MICHAEL A. T. PAGNI
PUONYARAT K.
PREMSIRIYUT

PATRICK A. ROSE
TOMY F. SANCHEZ III
SCOTT M. SCHOENWALD
PATRICK J. SHEEHAN
JENNIFER A. SLOAN
DIANA L. SULLIVAN
ERIC W. SWANIS
SANDRA D. TURNER
STACEY A. UPSON
GORDON H. WARREN
CAROL L. WETZEL
MARK E. WILKEY

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave
Washington, D.C. 20500

Fax (202) 456-6220

Dear Mr. President:

It was great to spend some time with you yesterday. Pursuant to your request, contained herein is additional background on the issues we discussed: the NCAA legislation banning legal betting on college sports and Newmont Gold's corporate presence in Uzbekistan. I also wanted to update you on recent activities of the Past Governors' Association.

As you are aware, the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee held a hearing last week on a proposal (S. 2267) by Senator McCain that would ban legal gaming on college sporting activities. As you know, Nevada is the only state in the country that allows legal wagering on college sports.

The genesis of this errant legislation is from a brief mention in the Gaming Impact Study Commission's findings. Instead of addressing the problem of illegal sports wagering directly, the NCAA has chosen this legislation as a feel good reaction to the problem. In fact, legal sports wagering constitutes only 1% of the betting nationwide and it was the legal sports books in Nevada that uncovered an illegal college basketball sports fix in Arizona.

While this legislation might make people feel good, the plain fact is it will not curb illegal sports betting. This effort is merely one to cover the fact that the NCAA failed to testify on this issue before the Commission and should be recognized as such. Nevada should not be made their scapegoat. As American Gaming Association Chair Frank Fahrenkopf so aptly testified in his prepared remarks before the Commerce Committee, "To ban college sports betting in Nevada to address this problem [illegal betting] would be like

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shutting down Napa Valley to curb binge drinking on campus". Clearly the NCAA has to look within its own membership for a solution to this problem without blaming Nevada, which has the best gaming regulatory system in the world. I hope your staff will take a critical look at this bill as it progresses.

I also wanted to reiterate Newmont Gold's corporate status as the largest American business in Uzbekistan, where they operate the largest mine in the country. In addition, Newmont is the largest American based gold mining company in the world. I now serve on the Board of Directors for Newmont. It is my understanding that Secretary of State Albright will be in Uzbekistan somewhere between April 14th to the 17th. I have spoken to Secretary Albright's Chief of Staff, Elaine Shocus, in hopes that Secretary Albright might be able to recognize the potential \$1 billion increase to the already significant investment Newmont has made in Uzbekistan and how good this is for both countries. Newmont President Wayne Murdock will be present in Uzbekistan during Secretary Albright's visit. Should you or your staff have an opportunity to facilitate something along those lines, it would be greatly appreciated.

Last, I wanted you to put in the back of your mind an organization I recently founded, the Past Governor's Association ("PGA"). The other Board Members are John Waihee, Stephen Merrill and David Beasley. This year I am the Chairman, and you may recall our Secretary-Treasurer Jim Martin, who recently retired from the National Governors' Association after many years of excellent stewardship. Zell Miller will be hosting the next PGA event in Atlanta. We had one last year in Las Vegas. We are developing an agenda and identity for this association. Please let me know if the PGA can assist you during the balance of your Presidency, or in the long term if there are ways we can assist or work with you.

I hope you were able to break 80 yesterday, I'd love to join you next time you are in town. I look forward to speaking with you soon.

Sincerely,

JONES VARGAS



Bob Miller

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DEAR Ms CURRIE,

'00 APR 28 AM 11:09

THANK YOU FOR THE GREAT JOB
YOU DO FOR OUR COUNTRY. YOU ALWAYS HAVE
AN AIR OF GREAT DIGNITY. GOD BLESS YOU.

WE HAVE INVITED A NUMBER OF
INTERESTING PEOPLE (POPE JOHN PAUL II, BORIS YELTSIN,
CORETTA SCOTT KING, ECT. ECT.) TO WRITE A 10 MINUTE
SKETCH-PLAY FOR OUR 14TH ANNUAL FESTIVAL OF
SHORT PLAYS "PLAYWRIGHTS EXPRESS 2000." WE WISH
TO INCLUDE OUR GREAT PRESIDENT CLINTON.

4-28-00

Send to Buskhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

ONLY PRAY THAT YOU WILL
MY REASON TO DO SO, IS
IT VERY INTERESTING. WITH
I WOULD LOVE TO INCLUDE A PIECE
MAYBE HE'LL FIND IT A RELIEF
WAY.

A WONDERFUL PERSON AND I

≡.

Card

Sincerely
John McDonald

Carolyn 2.7
B

to Special Projects
for a Buskhardt
turnaround

yes ☒

no ☐

BETTY CURRIE

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SHORT PLAYS "PLAYWRIGHTS EXPRESS 2000." WE WISH
TO INCLUDE OUR GREAT PRESIDENT CLINTON.

I CAN ONLY PRAY THAT YOU WILL
ASK HIM AND THE ONLY REASON TO DO SO, IS
BECAUSE HE MAY FIND IT VERY INTERESTING. WITH
HIS GREAT MIND WE WOULD LOVE TO INCLUDE A PIECE
OF HIS WRITING AND MAYBE HE'LL FIND IT A RELIEF
TO WRITE SOMETHING FUNNY.

YOU ARE A WONDERFUL PERSON AND I
THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME.

Sincerely
John McDonald

Carolyn 2.7
B

JOHN PAUL II • DESMOND TUTU • MARGARET THATCHER • BILL CLINTON • FIDEL CASTRO •
TED KENNEDY • BORIS YELTSIN • VACLAV HAVEL • HENRY KISSINGER • DALI LAMA • JOHN BROWN
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DEAR MR PRESIDENT,

AS ONE OF THE GREATEST MINDS OF
OF WORLD THINKERS WE INVITE YOU TO JOIN SOME OF
THE PEOPLE ABOVE BY ASKING YOU TO WRITE A 10
MINUTE SKETCH-PLAY.

WE KNOW HOW BUSY YOU ARE AND
CAN ONLY HOPE AND PRAY THAT YOU'LL FIND IT FUN
TO DO. PERHAPS YOU COULD WRITE A PIECE IN HONOR
OF YOUR MOTHER. WE WOULD BE HONORED TO PERFORM
YOUR PLAY.

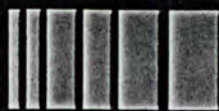
YOUR PLAY WOULD BE PERFORMED IN
OUR THEATRE IN HOLLYWOOD ON APRIL 29 30 OR MAY
6TH OR 7TH WE COULD SEND YOU A VIDEO OF IT.

THANK YOU FOR THE GREAT JOB YOU
DID DEFENDING THE CONSTITUTION. YOU ARE AN AMAZING
MAN.

Yours truly

John McDonald

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3. A ~~\$25~~ tax-deductible donation for each work.
4. A video of your work will be available for an additional ~~\$25~~ per submission.
5. Include enough copies for each character plus director.
6. All rights remain property of the writer.
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**NANCY J. STEWART**2037 Overbrook Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39213

April 25, 2000

4-28-00

To Burkhardt ^{to handle}
Yes ☒ No ☐Coordinate with Counsel
Yes ☒ No ☐The Honorable Bill Clinton
President
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

REFERENCE: Your Consideration of Robert Galloway for the Fifth Circuit

Dear President Clinton:

I recently learned that you are considering appointing one of Senator Trent Lott's law school classmates, Robert Galloway, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. As a resident of Mississippi and an African American, I am extremely troubled by this prospect. As an African American, I know that many of the rights I now enjoy, or seek to enjoy, (for example, voting, equal employment, fair housing) are because of rulings by courageous, fair-minded judges who occupied seats on the original Fifth Circuit. Many of those rights are being eroded every day by judges who apparently who do not believe in justice for all. I therefore believe it is important to appoint to this important court men and women whose life and professional experiences suggest they would be sensitive to the need to protect the rights of all of the citizens of this state. I do not believe Mr. Galloway is such a person.

As an African American and a Mississippian, I am concerned that Mr. Galloway is a law school classmate of Senator Lott and that Senator has an interest in seeing him on the Fifth Circuit. In this state, history has shown that conservative white men associating together usual means the denial of rights for people like me. I cannot ignore the White Citizens' Council connection and urge you likewise not to ignore it.

I urge you, Mr. Clinton, with any remaining judicial appointments you might make, appoint persons who will give true meaning to the founding principles of this country. As a Mississippian, those rights were denied to me for many years, and many such rights are not yet fully realized. I would like to be able to continue to enjoy the rights for which so many suffered and died. Federal judges help ensure that I do.

The organizations of which I am a member, including ~~Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Incorporated~~, (a national organization with the largest African American members in this state), and Alcorn State University National Alumni Association, NAACP, Improvement of Quality Life, AARP and Hinds County Democratic Party have a vested interest in protecting African American rights and are particularly interested in appointments to the federal bench. You can be sure we will watch this issue closely and govern ourselves accordingly.

Sincerely,


Nancy J. Stewartcc: Ben Johnson, Director of the President's Initiative on One America
Representative Bennie Thompson

Carolyn-
Thoughts?
B 30

4-28-00

Send to Bulchardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Dear President Clinton,

response
necessary? Carl

to see you
in Heston
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(on TV).

Lisel - do we
need to respond?

...ent year
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ness to forgive all, including
sweet openness and sense of we
ship.

I am absolutely convinced that
see it beginning in our own co
priorities. I think mental health is coming into the top spot.
The Early Child Initiative is one example of our shift towards
developing healthy minds.

I am full of joy knowing the Illinois death penalty has
been put on hold. And I'm hearing from everywhere that though
punishment has its place, rehabilitation must follow.

Justin
please find out
if Betty knows/
knows of her.

Betty Thank,
don't know
her ~~her~~ 5-6-00

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ckly,
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our

April 16, 2000

Dear President Clinton,

I was so happy to see your non-defensive, forgiving response to Charleston Heston. And I felt at one with the Columbine audience through your sensitive, compassionate interaction with them (on TV).

I believe the recent years have brought you to a maturity and wisdom that couldn't have come by any other means so quickly, than what you have gone through. I thank God for your willingness to forgive all, including yourself. And I feel such a sweet openness and sense of well-being coming through your leadership.

I am absolutely convinced that peace on earth is possible. I see it beginning in our own country now, as we are shifting our priorities. I think mental health is coming into the top spot. The Early Child Initiative is one example of our shift towards developing healthy minds.

I am full of joy knowing the Illinois death penalty has been put on hold. And I'm hearing from everywhere that though punishment has its place, rehabilitation must follow.

I believe you agree that restoration is God's will for each and every one, no matter how horrifying their mistakes. And we are His instruments of forgiveness and restoration.

Thank you again for being our leader of forgiveness. You and your beautiful-spirited wife are my model for enduring strength through faith.

Most Sincerely,
Jill Demarest

PS Are you familiar with the book--The Debt: What We Owe To Black Americans. The author suggests \$1.4 trillion.

P.PS You are probably well aware of The Discovery Channel's reports, entitled Hate Among Us In America. It is excellent in my view, because their solutions come from understanding of all.