

Samuel
What about this?
Back

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-8 00

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Berger
Podesta

Spate of Numerical Sparring Highlights the Fiscal Focus of the Presidential Race

By ALISON MITCHELL

WASHINGTON, May 2 — Aides to Gov. George W. Bush fought back today against accusations that his fiscal proposals are risky, saying that the growth in the economy over the past six months meant that there would be enough money to accommodate comfortably the governor's spending and tax cut proposals.

Mr. Bush's advisers released a new analysis of his budget plans after days in which Vice President Al Gore has sharply criticized Mr. Bush on fiscal issues. Mr. Gore has asserted that Mr. Bush's large tax cut proposal and plan to push for a portion of Social Security payroll taxes to be put into private investment accounts would return the nation to the era of deficits.

Mr. Gore went on an advertising offensive on Monday against Mr. Bush, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, through a series of interviews and television ap-

pearances, charging that Mr. Bush would continue "multitrillion-dollar debts." Campaigning today, Mr. Gore called Mr. Bush's Social Security proposal "bad for America's future and bad for America's economy."

The battle over numbers underscores how much the presidential campaign — the first one waged in the new era of federal surpluses — will be fought over economic policy and the related question of how to shore up Social Security. The Gore campaign considers the economic prosperity of the Clinton years one of its greatest assets.

The figures released by Bush aides today addressed a weakness in earlier calculations. With the annual spending battle stepping up on Capitol Hill, the Bush campaign stopped assuming Congress would make large reductions in domestic spending, instead assuming discretionary domestic spending would grow.

At the same time, Mr. Bush's ad-

Where Bush sees a tax cut, Gore predicts a deficit.

visers argued that the growth in the economy over the past six months means the federal surplus will be larger than previously forecast. They said that under their new calculations the estimated federal surplus across 10 years — after \$2.2 trillion is set aside for Social Security — will amount to \$1.8 trillion.

That is roughly \$1 trillion more than the Gore campaign estimates and about \$500 billion more than the Bush campaign's earlier projections. Mr. Gore assumes a higher rate of spending and a less robust economy.

Mr. Bush's aides said his cut would use 1.3 trillion surplus dollars, allowing \$512 billion for other programs.

"The bottom line is clear," said Lawrence B. Lindsey, the Bush campaign's chief economic adviser. "Governor Bush's plan takes care of Social Security first, provides America's working families with a tax break and does it all within the context of a balanced budget."

The Bush campaign's new calculations were released less than 24 hours after Mr. Gore's aides held their own session with reporters and released an array of numbers they said showed that to accommodate his tax cut, Mr. Bush either had to make "cuts in core areas of government that are unimaginable" or risk a return to deficits.

Mr. Gore's aides were still critical of Mr. Bush today.

"Last month he claimed that his tax cut and spending increases were paid for," said Elaine Kamarck, policy adviser to Mr. Gore. "Today, after finding more money, Bush still can't pay for his promises for a huge tax cut, increased spending and privati-

zation of Social Security."

The Gore campaign said Mr. Bush was underestimating spending, and Mr. Bush's advisers refused to disclose how much Mr. Bush's embrace of a national missile defense system and prescription drug program would cost, while saying the proposals fit in their spending plan.

The most serious dispute between the two campaigns is the true cost of Mr. Bush's tax-cut proposal. Mr. Bush's aides said the tax cut would cost \$1.3 trillion over 10 years from 2001-2010. Over just five years they said it would cost \$460 billion, slightly less than their original estimate of \$483 billion. And they pointed to an analysis from the Congressional Joint Committee on Taxation backing them. The committee is controlled by Republicans.

The Gore campaign argued that it was more appropriate to examine the tax cut through 2011, since the tax cut does not go into effect until fiscal 2002. Mr. Gore's aides said that

Russian Labs Could Divert U.S. Funds, Report Says

By JUDITH MILLER

As the Clinton administration seeks a tenfold increase in money for Russian-American biological cooperation, the General Accounting Office has concluded that American support could inadvertently help Russian scientists and former weapons labs make germ weapons.

In a new report, the G.A.O. presents no evidence that Moscow is conducting such illegal research or making germ weapons. Nor does the report state that American assistance to Russian labs and scientists is being diverted for military purposes. But Congress's auditing agency said that despite the administration's efforts to reduce the risks of such misuse or diversion, there is no way to prevent Russian scientists from "potentially using their skills or research outputs to later work on offensive weapons activities at any of the Russian military institutes that remain closed to the United States."

The report, which was obtained by The New York Times before its publication later this week, says such concerns have been intensified by Russia's unwillingness to open four vital military labs to inspection or visits by foreign scientists. It chides Moscow for retaining in senior posts the "cold war leadership" of the germ-weapons complex, like Gen. Yuri T. Kalinin, who heads Biopreparat, an organization that directed the Soviet germ warfare program.

In a written response to the G.A.O.'s concerns, the administration argued that the risks of not helping 15,000 impoverished Russian germ-weapons scientists and technicians at about 50 institutes throughout the former Soviet Union far outweigh the risks of doing so. Scientists desperate for employment would likely find work with rogue states like Iran, the administration argued.

"We can stay home and wish the problem away, or we can confront it head on at the source," an administration official said.

Privately, officials cite what they call quiet breakthroughs in scientific cooperation with the Russians that have enhanced their confidence that Moscow is getting out of the germ-weapons business. For instance, a team of Russian scientists that once made a deadly strain of anthrax last week gave their American counterparts at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta two rare anthrax strains as part of a long-awaited exchange program.

Administration officials also cite some progress in efforts to open up Russia's closed military germ labs. A group of Russian military scientists has agreed to visit American chemical-biological defense facilities this summer as part of another exchange program, officials disclosed.

The G.A.O. report is likely to help fuel a long-simmering debate over whether Russia is still making germ weapons or conducting illegal research and development as the Soviet Union did after signing a treaty that banned germ weapons. Former President Boris N. Yeltsin declared in 1992 that Russia had ended its germ warfare program and told Washington he would dismiss General Kalinin, a former intelligence officer. But Biopreparat, which has been reborn as a state-owned drug company, still controls many Russian institutes, though it no longer finances them, and it is still headed by General Kalinin. Russian officials and the general have denied that Russia is making germ weapons or conducting illegal research.

To help prevent the spread of deadly scientific knowledge and germ-weapons expertise from Russia to Iran, Iraq and other potentially dangerous states, the administration has provided about \$20 million between the fiscal years 1994 and 1999 to support collaborative research projects in Russia that redirect former germ-weapons scientists to peaceful research activities.

Between the fiscal years 2000 and 2004, the administration plans to spend at least \$220 million to expand efforts to engage former Soviet germ weapons institutes.

Representative Floyd D. Spence, the Republican chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, said today that the G.A.O. report "reinforces my concern that the administration's plans to increase assistance to Russia could exacerbate the risk of a renewed Russian offensive biological weapons effort."

Several experts disagreed. Amy E. Smithson, a defense expert at the Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington who toured some of the six labs that the G.A.O. team visited, said the report itself contained considerable evidence that the administration's program was effective.

She noted that the report discloses that American support has prompted former Soviet scientists at about 15 labs to reject an offer to cooperate with states like Iran. "The American auditing of its grants is usually very tight," Dr. Smithson said. "If the State Department finds evidence that a scientist has gone astray, the institute loses its grant. Whenever the U.S. has placed that choice before a Russian scientist or lab, the answer is always: 'We're on your team.'"

100 MAY 9 4-5106

HOGAN & HARTSON

L.L.P.

5.8.00

May 8, 2000

To NSC for reply?

Yes ☒ No ☐

DR. CHRISTINE M. WARNEKE
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS ADVISOR
(202) 637-5645
CMWARNEKE@HHLAW.COM

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC

Dearest President Clinton:

You have my warmest congratulations for the African people and specifically the African and Caribbean Trade bill. Your entire White House and USTR staff have been outstanding in ensuring that this legislation finally become a reality. I can only say that the vision you have for the world will never be forgotten by the entire global community. I am working very closely with a telecommunications company, headquartered in Chicago, Illinois, called New World Telecom. Because of my travels to Africa over the last ten years, I have acquired a deep compassion for the African people and am pleased to be working with companies like this one who are moving aggressively to structure and establish new capital projects in Africa. The most developed is a joint venture to provide a fixed wireless communications network in Nigeria. A combination of deregulation, falling technology costs, an increasingly stable business environment and huge latent demand led the company to be attracted to this market.

This is why the company is now close to the largest ever non-energy private equity investment in Nigeria. This envisages a capital investment of over 200 million US dollars before the end of the decade with the aim of installing nearly 2 million wireless lines and nearly 15,000 wireless pay phones. To put this in perspective - over eight times the number of installed usable lines present available. New World Telecom LLC has a team comprised of some of the best (telecommunication and Internet) talents in the world. The group has aggressively sought to utilize the best available technology for developing new business models and markets. Moreover, it aims to be a low cost operator but intends to use the latest available data transmission networking equipment to allow Nigeria to develop its own appropriate information technology. Adequate communication is a precondition for this development.

The company also has developed in association with the X-Stream Network the pioneering business model for free Internet access in the United

BRUSSELS BUDAPEST LONDON MOSCOW PARIS PRAGUE WARSAW

WASHINGTON, DC BALTIMORE, MD COLORADO SPRINGS, CO DENVER, CO LOS ANGELES, CA MCLEAN, VA NEW YORK, NY ROCKVILLE, MD

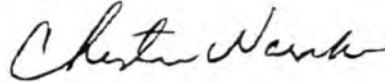
*Affiliated Office

Kingdom and subsequently Norway, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands. The company has recently merged with Libertysurf and the combined entity is one of the top five Internet Service Providers in Europe.

The same business model has also been developed latterly in Japan through Livedoor and after just a few months in operation is now one of the top ten Internet providers in the country and is the leading international provider.

On behalf of the New World Telecom, its founder and owner, Dr. Chirinjeev Kathuria, we would welcome the opportunity to be part of the vision you have for Nigeria and the entire African continent as the next few months unfold.

Sincerely,



Christine Warnke

HOGAN & HARTSON L.L.P.

COLUMBIA SQUARE
555 THIRTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, DC 20004-1109

Tel.: (202) 637-5600
Fax: (202) 637-5910

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MIAMI, FL
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NEW YORK, NY (THIRD AVE)
ROCKVILLE, MD

**Affiliated Office*

IMPORTANT NOTICE

TELECOPY/FACSIMILE COVER LETTER

TO: Betty Curry

DATE: 05/08/00

FROM: Christine Warnke

TIME: 12:53 PM

TOTAL NO. OF PAGES, INCLUDING COVER: 3

The attached information is **CONFIDENTIAL** and is intended only for the use of the addressee(s) named above. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient(s) or the employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient(s), please note that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this communication is strictly prohibited. Anyone who receives this communication in error should notify us immediately by telephone and return the original message to us at the above address via the U.S. Mail.

MESSAGE:

FOR INTERNAL PURPOSES ONLY

TELECOPY/FAX NUMBER: 202/456-1210

CLIENT NUMBER: _____

ATTORNEY BILLING NUMBER: _____

CONFIRMATION NUMBER: _____

Davis O'Connell

Facsimile Transmittal

Date: May 5, 2000

To: Betty Currie

00 MAY 8 4:31 PM

Fax: 456-1210

From: Chelsea Clough per Terry O'Connell

Re: Request for Stephen Stills of CSNY to meet with President Clinton

Ms. Currie-

From Friday May 12 through Monday, May 15, Stephen Stills of Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young will be in town visiting his good friend Terry O'Connell. He would be extremely honored if President Clinton were able to afford him any time--perhaps for lunch or a game of golf. Mr. Stills' schedule is largely open, and very flexible, with the exception of one prior commitment at 2:00 p.m. on Saturday, May 13.

Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Stills greatly appreciate your kind consideration of this request. If you have any questions, please contact me. I will soon be in touch.

Thank you,

Chelsea Clough

5-8-00
To scheduling
for appropriate
action ✓

Smith - Brooks Investments, Inc.

NH-
fixi

P.O. Box 6191
Springdale, Arkansas 72766
(751-4000 - (501) 750-1642

05/03/2000

Mr. Justin Cooper/Mrs. Betty Curry
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20205

Potus not
able to do

Dear Justin,

Thanks for taking your time to visit with me about the ground breaking of the Northwest Arkansas Pediatric Clinic. As I mentioned some of the physicians that President Clinton would probably know from his days as Governor of Arkansas Are Dr. Joe T. Robinson, M.D. (father was a long time state senator), Dr. Terry Payton, M.D. and Possibly Dr. Charles Ball. The Northwest Arkansas Pediatric Clinic is the largest pediatric clinic in the state of Arkansas. One of the very unique Features of the new clinic will be separate waiting rooms for sick children as well as A well baby waiting room for well baby check ups.

I will fax a copy of the plan. Maybe if you have time a short letter of congratulations From the President or whatever you think would be appropriated that the Mayor Could read during the ground breaking ceremonies. Anything you might be able to Put together on this short of notice would definitely be appreciated. My fax number is Danny L. Smith - 501-751-2772 or my home phone is 501-751-4000. Thanks so much!

5-8-00

Sincerely,

Danny
Danny L. Smith

To Burkhardt ^{to handle} for reply?
Yes ☒ No ☐

DLS:rmw

Cc: Mr. Tommy Holland

B.

EXHIBIT "C"
To Commercial Lease Agreement
Dated March 2000
Floor Plan drafted by Don Mobley
of Wischmeyer Architects



Smith • Brooks Investments, Inc.

P.O. Box 6191
Springdale, Arkansas 72766
(501) 751-4000 ~ (501) 750-1642

05/03/2000

PRESS RELEASE

The Physicians & Associates of the Northwest Arkansas Pediatric Clinic, PA in Correlation with Smith*Brooks, Inc. as the developer/proprietor, are proud to Announce the construction of a new clinic to be located in the North Hills Medical Park at: 3380 Wimberly Drive. The Physicians & Associates of the Northwest Arkansas Pediatric Clinic cordially request your presence at the ground breaking Ceremonies to be held: Thursday, May 4th, 2000 at 12 Noon.

For additional information please contact Danny L. Smith at 501-751-4000

To Commercial Lease Agreement
Dated _____ day of ~~March~~ APRIL 2000

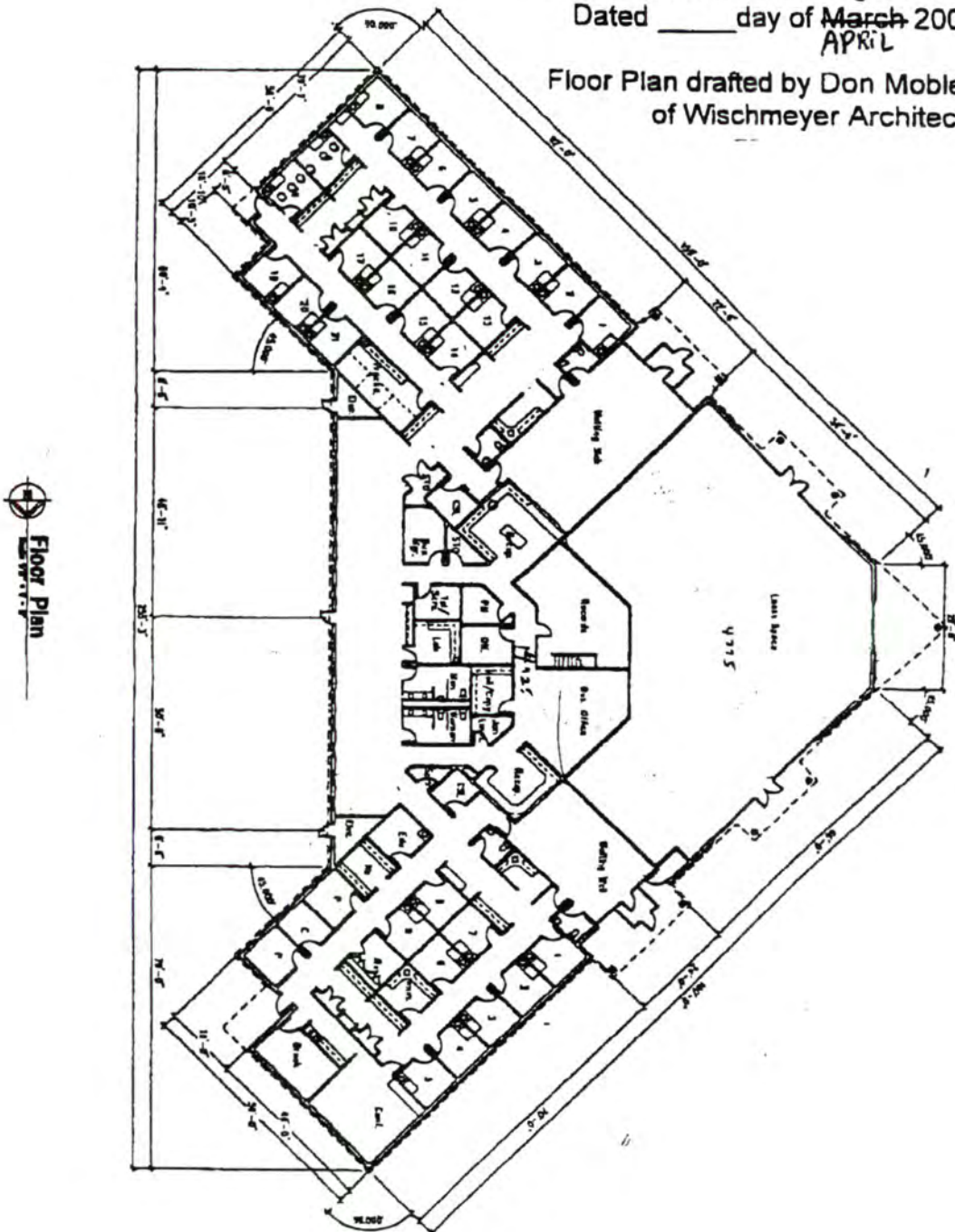
To Commercial Lease Agreement
Dated _____ day of ~~March~~ 2000

Dated _____ day of ~~March~~ 2000

APRIL

Floor Plan drafted by Don Mobley
of Wischmeyer Architects

of Wischmeyer Architects



Smith • Brooks Investments, Inc.

P.O. Box 6191
Springdale, Arkansas 72766
(501) 751-4000 - (501) 750-1642

05/03/2000

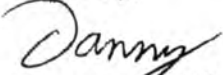
Mr. Justin Cooper/Mrs. Betty Curry
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20205

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Sincerely,


Danny L. Smith

DLS:rmw

Cc: Mr. Tommy Holland

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-8-00

International

What about this? - should I do anything with
~~to find out about it~~

Arkansas Democrat & Gazette

U.S. senator helps broker accord to try Rouge heads

BY KER MUNTHIT
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia — Helped along by a U.S. senator, Cambodia and the United Nations took a big step Saturday toward convening a court to try Khmer Rouge leaders for genocide.

The tentative agreement on a complete tribunal plan comes after more than a year of haggling over how to bring to justice the top communist guerrillas under whose rule 1.7 million Cambodians died

in the late 1970s.

"Finally they have agreed, both sides, to exert [their] best efforts to complete all the tasks necessary to be able to have a formal agreement by June 15," Sen. John Kerry, D-Mass., who helped broker the deal, said after meeting with Cambodian negotiators in Phnom Penh.

The agreement for a tribunal in Cambodia led by U.N. and Cambodian judges still needs approval from the country's legislature. The

United Nations has agreed to wait for a formal agreement until parliament amends and ratifies a proposed law on the tribunal.

Cambodia first requested U.N. assistance for a tribunal in 1997. But since direct talks began more than a year ago, the government has balked at U.N. demands for partial control of the tribunal designed to ensure international standards of justice.

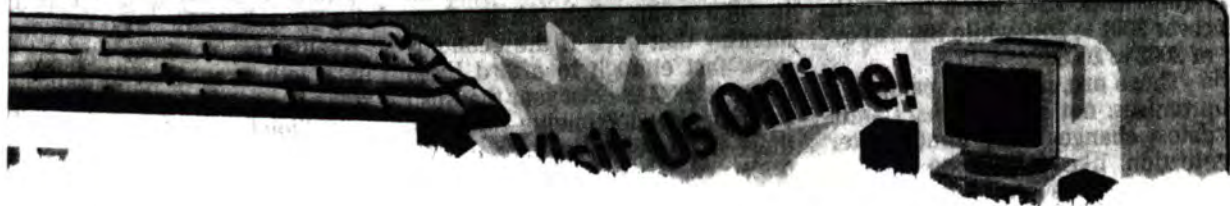
During its brutal 3½ years in power, the Khmer Rouge turned Cam-

bodia into a vast rural work camp, pushing the country toward starvation and conducting bloody purges. Toppled by a Vietnamese invasion in 1979, the movement took to the jungles to fight a long guerrilla war that finally ended in 1998, the year its leader, Pol Pot, died.

Only two important Khmer Rouge leaders are in custody but about a dozen live freely in Cambodia after cutting deals with Hun Sen. They are in their 70s and many are in poor health.

Will send 58
to Burchard for
Reply after you
have seen.

JS



Propose to arrange
Do we reply
BR

5-800
To Eugenic
for Reply?
YES

THE PRESIDENT HAS SENT
5-800

April 23, 2000

Dear President Clinton,

Thank you so much inviting me and my teammates to greet you at Moffett Field. It was such a wonderful day and an honor to be a part of your visit to Northern California.

I also would like to thank you again for the opportunity to serve as an Americorps member. I believe in the promise of our country and working through Americorps has taught me so much about the problems facing our society.

I have also learned about how we can work together to work on those problems.

I am finishing my tenure with Americorps in June and I will be moving on to graduate school at Boalt Hall in the fall. My Americorps experience has deepened my commitment to advocate for children professionally. Thank you for making this all possible.

Sincerely,
Margaret L. Richardson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
May 5, 2000

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-8-00

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY *LL*
JUSTIN COLEMAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- (A) **Thurman memo re: AIDS in South Africa.** In response to your question regarding a *Washington Post* story about President Mbeki's comments on HIV/AIDS, Sandy provides a background memo on AIDS in South Africa. NSC has reviewed and concurs with the memo, with one exception: in the memo's final section on USG/SAG cooperation, Sandy describes your Office of National AIDS Policy's activities, including "ensuring participation" by U.S. scientists in Mbeki's scientific review panel, scheduled to meet next week; NSC would stress the importance of "encouraging" American scientists' participation rather than "ensuring" it, so as not to appear to be forcing our views on Mbeki regarding the science of this issue.

OK
6/7/00
Tab A - copied cover and memo to Thurman, Podesta, NSC

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Tab B - copied cover and memo to NSC, Podesta

Director Witt
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Item executed on your behalf:

- (C) Memorandum on the National Moment of Remembrance. Schedule this week, we executed on your behalf the attached memorandum, which directs the agencies to encourage their employees to observe a "National Moment of Remembrance" at 3:00 PM on each Memorial Day.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 5, 2000

58-00

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY *LL*
JUSTIN COLEMAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- (A) **Thurman memo re: AIDS in South Africa.** In response to your question regarding a *Washington Post* story about President Mbeki's comments on HIV/AIDS, Sandy provides a background memo on AIDS in South Africa. NSC has reviewed and concurs with the memo, with one exception: in the memo's final section on USG/SAG cooperation, Sandy describes your Office of National AIDS Policy's activities, including "ensuring participation" by U.S. scientists in Mbeki's scientific review panel, scheduled to meet next week; NSC would stress the importance of "encouraging" American scientists' participation rather than "ensuring" it, so as not to appear to be forcing our views on Mbeki regarding the science of this issue.
- (B) **Witt Memo re: NATO Consultations on Civil Emergency Planning.** Director Witt reports on his meetings at NATO headquarters with the Allies and our Euro-Atlantic partners on civil emergency planning. Following NATO's poor performance in the initial stages of the Kosovo refugee crisis, he launched an initiative to strengthen our emergency preparedness; the U.S. continues to assert itself in the civil preparedness community, sharing lessons from our domestic disaster response experience, and developing viable operations and contingency planning capacity. Witt reports that NATO activity in support of State is important and will prove cost-effective, and FEMA is taking steps to strengthen its working arrangements as part of the State/Defense/FEMA operations at the U.S. Mission to NATO and here in Washington.

Item executed on your behalf:

- (C) **Memorandum on the National Moment of Remembrance.** Due to your travel schedule this week, we executed on your behalf the attached Memorandum, which directs the agencies to encourage their employees to observe a "National Moment of Remembrance" at 3:00 PM on each Memorial Day.

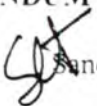
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 1, 2000

5800

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM:  Sandra Thurman, Director, Office of National AIDS Policy

SUBJECT: AIDS in South Africa

In response to your inquiry regarding the Washington Post story on President Thabo Mbeki and the controversy surrounding his comments about HIV and AIDS, I thought it would be helpful to provide you with an AIDS in South Africa background memo. This memo seeks to: address the relevant issues, analyze their impact on our global AIDS initiative, and provide a coordinated strategy for working with South Africa on their growing AIDS emergency.

South Africa currently has the fastest growing AIDS epidemic in the world. Since the fall of apartheid, South Africa has seen an explosion of HIV infection as a by-product of the increased flow of commerce, travel, and immigration. The number of people in South Africa infected with HIV is now estimated at more than 4 million, or 1 in 10 South Africans, with 1,700 new infections each day. Shockingly, more than 50% of these new infections are among young people under the age of 20, with a ratio of 6 teenage girls infected for every 1 teenage boy. Their 1999 national antenatal survey projects that nearly 1 in 4 pregnant women are already HIV+, and in the KwaZuluNatal Region, 1 in 3 pregnant women are HIV+. A recent report indicates that 60-70% of the South African National Defense Force may now be infected, up from estimates of less than 40% just two years ago. It is projected that in the next decade, more than 2 million South African children will be orphaned by AIDS, and the South African Security Institute has raised real concerns about the effect of this tragedy on crime and civil society. There is little debate that HIV and AIDS seriously threaten the future of South Africa.

Top level leadership is desperately needed in this fight. We know from our success here in the US, as well as the successes in Uganda, Senegal, and Thailand, that leadership is an essential ingredient in effective action against AIDS. When President Museveni came into power in Uganda, he made the battle against AIDS a top priority. Under his leadership, all government officials were directed to talk about HIV and AIDS in *every* public appearance and all government departments were required to engage in the fight. It was this multi-sectoral approach that created the "enabling environment" needed to ensure that the resources invested in AIDS achieved real results (a 50% reduction in infection rates). It was this bombardment with a *consistent* message about HIV and AIDS from the government and its partners that enabled Uganda to reduce stigma and to make serious progress. While President Mbeki has shown considerable leadership, his recent statements, and interpretations of his positions, have meant that the public message has grown inconsistent and confusing. Although the South African Government has developed a national AIDS plan, appointed a national AIDS council, and increased their AIDS budget, fear, denial, and stigma remain fierce and continue to plague efforts to slow the spread of HIV and to care for those with AIDS. As you may recall, on World AIDS Day, a South African woman disclosed her HIV status as part of a new education campaign, only to later that day be stoned to death by her neighbors. And she is not alone.

The domestic and international focus on President Mbeki's views unfolds in this context, but also in the context of major economic challenges facing South Africa. In post-apartheid South Africa, the needs and aspirations of the poor majority are paramount – but are as yet unmet. In a society where most cannot even afford aspirin, the costs of new AIDS drugs far exceed per capita health spending and per capita income. We believe that Mbeki is wrestling with the reality that an appropriate assault on AIDS may require not just increased health spending, but a reorientation of national economic priorities. He is also, we believe, posing an important challenge to all of those engaged in the fight against HIV/AIDS, and particularly those of us from wealthier nations: that the international community and Africa must simultaneously fight HIV/AIDS and poverty, or the two will combine to wipe out

Africa's future. This point has been obscured by other, more controversial statements, but does reflect one of the real challenges we face.

President Mbeki is to be commended for his desire to do all he can to respond to the "specific threat that faces [them] as Africans". But for those engaged in the battle against AIDS in South Africa, including the NGOs funded by the USG, the protracted debate about whether or not HIV causes AIDS seems to be feeding long-standing denial and stigma about AIDS. Ads have run in the South African newspapers distorting the President's comments and discouraging people from pursuing HIV counseling and testing – a primary goal of our LIFE initiative investment in South Africa. While we desperately need to use all media outlets to push a consistent HIV prevention message, the only message consistently getting to the South African public in the past month has been related to this controversy. This is clearly not the President's intent – but it is none the less where we are

The reach of this debate extends far beyond the borders of South Africa. For the Congress and for our private sector, support for investing in the AIDS crisis in Africa is based not only on the magnitude of the crisis, but on the belief that there is a *real* opportunity to make a difference. The bipartisan Co-del that traveled to South Africa to look at AIDS, led by Reps. Gephardt and Houghton, was very disturbed by their conversations about HIV and AIDS with President Mbeki – but continue to be strong supporters of increased investment. For those who are more skeptical about our ability to slow the spread of HIV in Africa, this debate only heightens their anxiety. In addition, our colleagues in South Africa and across the continent have expressed concern that some African leaders, particularly those who have been more reluctant to acknowledge the full extent of their AIDS crisis, will wait to see how this debate plays out before taking much needed action. Unfortunately, the one luxury we do not have is time. Each day, 11,000 Africans become HIV+, and the rapid implementation of effective prevention efforts is essential. Nations with infection rates of less than 10% need to act now to keep their infection rates low. And the sixteen African nations with infection rates already above 10% (including South Africa where nearly 20% of adults are already infected) need to move aggressively to hold the line and reverse their growing tragedy. With your support and leadership, we have made great strides in the past year – and we need to do all we can to ensure that this effort continues to move forward.

In July, South Africa will host the International AIDS Conference. This is the first time that this conference will take place in the developing world and there is great interest. The organizers are expecting more than 10,000 participants and every major media outlet worldwide. While this recent controversy has led some activists to call for a boycott of the conference, it has only increased press interest. It is not clear if President Mbeki will address the gathering, and if so, what he would say. While protests are likely, we are all invested in helping to ensure that this conference is productive for both the battle against AIDS and for South Africa generally. But again, we are running out of time.

We have much in common with South Africa and together we can make a difference. In President Mbeki's letter to you, which you received from the NSC, he states that a "simple superimposition of Western experience on African reality would be absurd and illogical" and that, "contrary to the West, HIV/AIDS in Africa is heterosexually transmitted". While it is true that in the early 1980s in the US, AIDS was largely confined to gay white men, today HIV in the US is spreading most rapidly among women, young people, people of color, and the poor. In fact, the epidemic in the US increasingly parallels the epidemic in South Africa. A recent US study shows that of the 29 states that currently report HIV infections, girls account for 6 out of 10 new infections among teenagers. In addition, here as there, issues of race, gender, and poverty are inextricably linked to AIDS. Finally, while new treatments have brought health and hope to many here, less than 1/2 of people with HIV currently benefit from these promising drugs. Certainly, there is much more we all need to do – together.

One lesson that is now clear from nearly two decades of painful experience with this epidemic is that one-size-fits-all solutions do not work. We are constantly challenged to target our own HIV prevention and AIDS care programs to keep pace with the changing face of the epidemic here at home. We know that our success, both here and abroad, depends on our ability to support locally controlled and culturally appropriate interventions, designed to meet the particular needs and circumstances of those most at risk. What works in Des Moines, Iowa is no more

likely to work in the South Bronx or in South Central LA than it is to work in South Africa. And while the components of an effective HIV/AIDS strategy remain constant (ie. widespread education, voluntary counseling and testing, care and support), how these programs are implemented must be "home-grown" and uniquely tailored.

There is much that we can learn from each other and much progress that we can make together. We have all learned a great deal from the world's most effective HIV prevention program – which was not implemented in the West, but in Uganda. The US is justifiably proud to have been the major donor in the Ugandan success story and we continue to have great hopes for an enhanced AIDS partnership throughout sub-Saharan Africa. As a result of our LIFE initiative, we will be able to double our HIV prevention and AIDS care efforts in Africa, and to nearly triple our investment in the battle against AIDS in South Africa. In addition, the nearly \$2 billion per year we spend on HIV/AIDS research, including vaccine development, will continue to bear fruit not just for the US but for our global community.

USG should continue to work closely with the SAG toward our shared goals. I have talked extensively with both the NSC and the State Department and we are all in agreement that the active engagement of our friends in South Africa is the most productive strategy for moving forward. The upcoming State visit provides an ideal opportunity for further dialogue. In the interim, we are all working to keep the lines of communication open and to lay the foundation for future progress. While your Office of National AIDS Policy (ONAP) is coordinating the flow of information specifically related to HIV/AIDS, our colleagues at the NSC are ensuring that this interaction fits within the broader framework of our ongoing relationship with the SAG. ONAP activities include:

- meeting with the South African Health Minister and Ambassador to the US to discuss our *common* challenges and shared desire to work in partnership;
- participating in an upcoming meeting with South African Health Officials in Mozambique next week where I will co-facilitate a workshop on HIV/AIDS at the US-Southern African Development Council (SADC) Forum with the South Africans;
- ensuring participation by noted American scientists including those from the NIH and the CDC in President Mbeki's scientific review panel scheduled to meet next week in Johannesburg; and,
- discouraging a boycott of the International AIDS Conference among US AIDS organizations and AIDS experts.

It is our hope that this process will assist President Mbeki in his quest to leave no stone unturned in responding to this growing tragedy. While the HIV/AIDS pandemic will continue to raise new and serious questions, we should continue to seek ways to use the knowledge we have gathered and the lessons we have learned for the benefit of the millions whose lives are caught in the crossfire.

Thank you.



Office of the Director
Federal Emergency Management Agency

Washington, D.C. 20472

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1001-1-100

MEMORANDUM FOR: President William Clinton

THRU: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.
Assistant to the President
and Secretary to the Cabinet

FROM: *James L. Witt*
James L. Witt
Director

SUBJECT: Results of NATO Consultations on Civil Emergency
Planning (CEP) April 12-14, 2000

I wanted to provide you with a quick summary of the results of my meetings at NATO Headquarters and in Rome last week on Civil Emergency Planning. You may recall that early last Spring following our poor performance in the initial stages of the Kosovo Refugee Crisis I launched an initiative within the Senior Civil Emergency Planning Committee (SCEPC) of the Alliance to strengthen our emergency preparedness. Over the past year, working with the US Mission and NATO's senior leadership we have developed a Broad Political Framework for Civil Emergency Planning as reflected in the New Strategic Concept agreed at the 1999 Washington Summit. It has been a challenge getting all of the allies committed to this wider and more demanding set of goals.

The purpose of this visit was to ensure that the US continued to assert itself in the civil preparedness community and to keep the focus on developing a more timely and flexible response capability. We can only do this through good planning procedures and realistic assessments of both the risk and capability. I have found that much of the hard-earned emergency response insight gained from domestic disaster response experience in the US is very relevant. In fact it has the prospect of becoming a substantial element of early contributions to the Partnership for Peace Program, Defense Capabilities Improvement (DCI) initiative and other efforts to enhance security and stability. This is especially the case in Southeast Europe.

After initial preparatory meetings with Ambassador Sandy Vershbow, Secretary General Robertson, and key Allied delegations we conducted three days of meetings with the Allies and our Euro-Atlantic Partners. We were able to orchestrate the involvement the Secretary General and Director of the Military Committee Staff in order to highlight the need for improved integration of our efforts with the political and military leadership of the Alliance. Our consistent emphasis was on developing an aggressive and realistic implementation strategy and work plan for our new political guidance that would

preserve momentum and show early results. The US has taken the lead in developing a viable concept of operations and contingency planning capability. I am finding that work within the NATO environment takes considerable patience -- particularly where the French are involved. We know that success won't come easily but we are laying the groundwork for a sustained effort that maximizes effective use of the talent and capability that exists within our Federal Response Planning community.

While always peripheral to our domestic emergency and disaster response priorities, this NATO activity in support of the Department of State is extremely important and I believe it will prove to be very cost-effective. We are taking steps to strengthen our working arrangements as part of the integrated State/Defense/FEMA operations at the US Mission to NATO as well as with the interagency coordination process here in Washington. I intend to meet with Madeleine Albright at an early date to provide feedback on my trip and seek her guidance on further cooperative efforts.

There are two other initiatives resulting from consultations last week that I believe are significant and worth mentioning:

Bilateral Agreement with Italy on Civil Emergency Planning and disaster response.

Italy has consistently been our strongest ally over the past year in efforts to strengthen NATO civil preparedness. At the request of the Prime Minister's Office I diverted from my scheduled NATO meetings to fly to Rome and meet with my Italian counterpart Professor Barberie who heads their Civil Protection Ministry. He is reorganizing his government's civil emergency response structure and sought our advice. Barberie is also seeking close cooperation on use of advance technology such as "overhead resources" and their exploitation in disaster preparedness and response. I was impressed with the Italians' overall capability and use of state-of-the-art technology. We agreed to develop a formal bilateral memorandum of understanding governing close cooperation on emergency arrangements. I will use our existing agreement with Canada as a model.

US-Macedonia Seminar on Lessons Learned from Kosovo.

I also met with Ministry of Defense, Under Secretary for Civil Protection Gjorgi Hristovski-Gore who sought me out to request assistance in organizing and conducting a high-level seminar in June to review the lessons learned during the Kosovo Refugee Crisis. The particular emphasis will be on assisting "front line" states or impacted communities to mitigate the immediate and long-term economic, social and political consequences of disasters.

At FEMA we have extremely limited resources to carry out this work but I believe it exploits the numerous emergency and disaster response capabilities that we have developed here in the US. It may yet prove to be an extremely valuable civil contribution to our national security and foreign policy.

cc: Secretary Madeleine Albright
Secretary William Cohen

5800

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HEADS OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

SUBJECT: White House Program for the
National Moment of Remembrance

As Memorial Day approaches, it is time to pause and consider the true meaning of this holiday. Memorial Day represents one day of national awareness and reverence, honoring those Americans who died while defending our Nation and its values. While we should honor these heroes every day for the profound contribution they have made to securing our Nation's freedom, we should honor them especially on Memorial Day.

In this year of unprecedented success and prosperity throughout our land, I ask that all Americans come together to recognize how fortunate we are to live in freedom and to observe a universal "National Moment of Remembrance" on each Memorial Day. This memorial observance represents a simple and unifying way to commemorate our history and honor the struggle to preserve our freedoms.

Accordingly, I hereby direct all executive departments and agencies, in consultation with the White House Program for the National Moment of Remembrance (Program), to promote a "National Moment of Remembrance" to occur at 3 p.m. (local time) on each Memorial Day.

Recognizing that Memorial Day is a Federal holiday, all executive departments and agencies, in coordination with the Program as well, to the extent possible, promote and provide resources to support a National Moment of Remembrance, including:

- Encouraging individual department and agency personnel, and Americans everywhere, to pause for one minute at 3:00 p.m. (local time) on Memorial Day, to remember and reflect on the sacrifices made by so many to provide freedom for all.
- Recognizing, in conjunction with Memorial Day, department and agency personnel whose family members have made the ultimate sacrifice for this Nation.

- To the extent permitted by law, providing such information and assistance as may be necessary for the Program to carry out its functions.

I have asked the Director of the White House Millennium Council to issue additional guidance, pursuant to this Memorandum, to the heads of executive departments and agencies regarding specific activities and events to commemorate the National Moment of Remembrance.

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Medical Research on People

MEDICAL PROGRESS depends to a rarely appreciated degree on clinical trials done on patients. In recent years, though, as medical research seems to take on a more frenetic pace, concern has mounted as to whether the safety of patients in clinical studies is being adequately protected. Two years ago the inspector general of the Department of Health and Human Services found "disturbing inadequacies" across the system intended to guard patients' safety. It called for major improvements in the system's mainstay, the institutional review boards that oversee clinical trials at individual research institutions.

Now a sharp follow-up report says that hardly any of the 1998 recommendations has been carried out. The review boards remain overworked and sometimes unqualified for the crucial task before them; many, the report says, "don't even question the safety of an ongoing study unless someone dies." The government has not pushed the boards to track trials in progress rather than, as now, simply vetting experiment designs before they begin. It has not required the boards to oversee the way patients are recruited for clinical trials, though the recipe for trouble is there when doctors eager to fill out a roster meet patients who may be desperate for a cure that the study isn't really offering. Nor has the government come up with promised rules that would set educational requirements for review board members and curb

potential conflicts of interest—for instance, by barring those with a financial interest in a drug's success from serving on review boards for trials of that drug.

These are not abstract issues. Many of them were dramatized last fall in the tragic death of 18-year-old Jesse Gelsinger in a gene therapy trial that was subsequently accused of just such shortcomings, from overzealous recruitment to inadequate tracking once it began. Most recently, a Food and Drug Administration warning letter alleged that the death of a volunteer went unreported and others may have been endangered in a gene therapy trial by a Tufts University researcher. And gene therapy, though under a stronger spotlight, is only a tiny corner of the research landscape.

Left untended, the problem could worsen in the next few years, if only in sheer scale. More medical research is taking place in the private sector, where oversight is scarce. Meanwhile, the promise of more biological breakthroughs around the corner has led to pressure to double or triple the number of patients enrolled in trials; some research groups are lobbying to have more of the costs of these trials covered through patients' insurance. More clinical trials may in fact be called for if, as many believe, we are on the brink of incredible medical breakthroughs in every direction. But the system ought to be shored up if it is to be so heavily loaded.

5.8.00

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Can we do anything
about this?
Bob

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By Tim Piller, USA TODAY

Warnings elude patients, doctors alike

Prescribing and taking medicine has never been more complicated, and critics say patients are becoming sick or dying as a result.

FDA critics say the agency, which regulates package inserts, expects too much of the leaflets. In-

Please see COVER STORY next page ►

stead of withholding approval of potentially dangerous drugs, critics say, the agency sends them to market with inserts jam-packed with warnings.

"Should we have relatively dangerous drugs and simply warn people that they might kill or seriously injure them?" asks Thomas Moore, a health policy fellow at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. "My perception is that the top management of the FDA seems to have a more permissive view than we have historically had."

He and like-minded FDA-watchers are quick to tick off Propulsid, Rezulin, Posicor and Duract, four drugs whose inserts underwent multiple revisions as new safety concerns came to light. In each case, the manufacturer also mailed "Dear Doctor" letters to alert physicians of label changes.

Apparently, though, some doctors never saw the warnings, and patients died. The last three drugs are now off the market, and Propulsid, which is used to treat severe heartburn, will follow them by mid-August.

"FDA has an almost ritualistic belief in labeling changes, as if they have some magical property to change behavior," says Jerry Avorn, chief of the division that tracks adverse medication events at the Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston. "There is very little data to support that belief."

The FDA's own research backs Avorn.

In a "talk paper" in January, the FDA noted that 85% of the 270 Propulsid-related adverse side effects reported to the agency — including 70 deaths — occurred in patients with risk factors already listed on the drug's label, such as congestive heart failure or use of antibiotics or antidepressants.

And after Rezulin's label was changed in late 1997 to recommend monthly liver function tests, the FDA found that far fewer than 10% of patients had the tests.

Apparently, even the agency's expert advisers don't always follow the package insert instructions.

At the recent advisory committee meeting, an FDA staff member had to remind urologists on the panel about how to treat patients with Muse, an injectable impotence treatment. Instead of sending men home with a prescription, doctors are supposed to administer the first dose in their office so they can watch for possible side effects.

Flawed system

In many cases, package inserts "are far from perfect," acknowledges Rachel Behrman of the FDA's medical policy office. "We are working hard to improve that."

Recognizing that patients as well as doctors need to read package inserts, the FDA hopes to make them "more user-friendly, more informative, more consistent," she says.

"If you flip through the PDR (the Physicians Desk Reference, the medication bible that reprints package inserts for nearly all prescription drugs) today, some of our labels are very good, and some are not."

The older the drug, the more likely its package insert is to fall in the latter category, she says: until recent years, comprehensiveness superceded clarity.

Still, "the best available science is often not communicated adequately to practicing doctors to shape their prescribing decisions," says Avorn, who lectures Harvard Medical School students on the subject.

Rezulin, a diabetes drug, looked so dangerous that Avorn and his colleagues advised diabetes doctors at their hospital to stop prescribing it a year before Parke-Davis, at the FDA's urging, pulled it from the market.

"I'm astonished that the additional year of product life even existed," Avorn says.

Why does the FDA approve such medications and allow them to stay on the market? "There are very strong economic and political pressures when a company has spent hundreds of millions of dollars to develop a drug," Avorn says.

Wyeth-Ayerst Laboratories yanked Duract, a painkiller in the same class of drugs as ibuprofen, naproxen and others, from the

market in June 1998 after reports of four deaths and eight transplants resulting from severe liver failure. According to the company, all but one of the cases occurred among patients who took the drug for more than 10 days, against the label's advice.

Just two weeks before Duract came off the market, Roche Laboratories pulled Posicor, which is used to treat high blood pressure and chest pain.

Taking Posicor with any of a number of commonly used drugs, including some heart disease treatments, could lead to potentially fatal heartbeat irregularities, the same problem that led to Propulsid's impending withdrawal.

As with Propulsid, changes to Posicor's label were designed to minimize the drug interaction risk.

"In principle, drug interactions can be addressed by appropriate labeling; however, with respect to Posicor, Roche Laboratories believes that the complexity of such prescribing information would make it too difficult to implement," the company wrote in a "Dear Doctor" letter announcing Posicor's

withdrawal.

At least one drug, sorivudine for shingles, never made it to the U.S. market because of concerns about the effectiveness of label warnings. The pill was withdrawn in Japan after 15 users died in just its first month on the market. They had developed aplastic anemia, a blood disorder, after taking sorivudine with a common anti-cancer drug.

Three years later, Bristol Myers Squibb representatives argued before an FDA advisory committee that a "black box warning" — like the ones on cigarette packages — would adequately minimize sorivudine's risks.

"No one was convinced that it would work," says Raymond Woosley, chairman of pharmacology at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., and a member of that committee, which recommended not approving sorivudine.

Because a drug already on the market, acyclovir, provided a similar benefit with far less risk, the agency followed the advisory committee's recommendation, the FDA's Behrman says. "We believed zero deaths was the only acceptable number."

Risk vs. benefits

Rezulin, on the other hand, was the first drug of its class. FDA officials have said the agency sought to remove that drug from the market only after similar, safer medications became available.

"I've heard that line, but I don't buy it," Avorn says. "It's as if we don't have other medications to treat diabetes."

The risk/benefit issue arose at the FDA advisory committee meeting, where panelists recommended approval of Uprima, which would be the second impotence pill on the market.

Pre-market studies showed that the drug can trigger fainting, especially when taken with alcohol, so committee members suggested a black box warning against drinking on Uprima's label.

But panel member Thomas Graboys, who had to leave the meeting early, says he would have voted against Uprima, partly because of concerns about the label's ability to protect patients.

When the condition a drug treats isn't life-threatening, only the lowest level of risk is acceptable, says Graboys, director of the Low Cardiovascular Center at Brigham and Women's Hospital.

Much inappropriate prescribing could be eliminated if doctors actually read package inserts or looked up the drugs in their PDRs before prescribing them, Woosley says.

Instead, they rely on memory, a Herculean task when one considers that one doctor might prescribe scores of drugs. But that's what they're taught to do in medical school, Woosley says. Doctors wrote nearly 3 billion prescriptions last year; the number is expected to reach 4 billion annually by 2004.

"We've got to start by changing the way we teach people," he says. Among his students, "the kid who gets the 'A' is the one who says 'I don't know, but I'll look that up and get back to you.'"

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Miss / Terry E

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Taylor Branch
1806 South Road
Baltimore, Maryland 21209

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Taylor Branch
y/c. Need a letter of
congratulations and
appreciation to the folks
for the march — did like to do it
can sit big machine,
Mr. President: include Selma speech

May 4, 2000

Attached is the promised list of students, teachers, and SCLC sponsors who marched from Selma to Montgomery in March. We all left Selma on Monday, March 6, the day after you spoke at the ceremony near Pettus Bridge, and reached Montgomery on Saturday, March 11. Because of rain, the closing rally in Montgomery was moved from the steps of the Alabama capitol (where Dr. King closed the original march with his "How Long? Not Long" address) to the nearby Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, where King began his career.

The participants were mostly very bright high school and college students, but many of them began with very little knowledge of segregation or Selma history. They learned along the way. We stopped in tiny churches for meetings with some of the original marchers. We sat along the highway to hear Alabamans who had never voted in 1965 explain how they became probate judges or deputy sheriffs. We gathered at the memorial built by SCLC women for Viola Liuzzo, the white Teamster's wife from Detroit who was killed by Klan ambush on the last day of the 1965 march. The 54-mile march over six days was a powerful bonding and learning experience.

Here is a rough starting point for any letter you might send these marchers:

"It was an honor for me to be at the Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama on Sunday, March 5, as the first sitting President to pay tribute in person to the voting rights movement of 1965. Now I also salute you and the students who literally took the next step that week by walking the 54 miles from Selma to Montgomery.

"Your 35th anniversary re-creation of the Selma-to-Montgomery march honors the best spirit of America. I'm sure all those miles along Highway 80 were a great learning and bonding experience for you, not only through those you met along the way but through the revived lessons of your forebears who risked violence and suffered blisters and abuse for the right to vote. Their triumph is a lasting gift to American freedom.

"It is our privilege to remember the Selma campaign. It is our duty to preserve and advance the cause of justice still embodied in the equal right to vote.

"I hope and trust that memories of the anniversary march will enrich your life as an American citizen. Hillary and Chelsea join me in sending thanks for your effort and best wishes for you in the days ahead."

Spelman College Participants in the 35th Anniversary Selma to Montgomery March

Kristen Moorhead	350 Spelman Lane SW	Atlanta, GA	30314 19
Philathia Bolton	350 Spelman Lane SW	Atlanta, GA	30314 20
Nicole Dixon	350 Spelman Lane SW	Atlanta, GA	30314 19
Rakitia Murphy	350 Spelman Lane SW	Atlanta, GA	30314 19
Maya Dawson	350 Spelman Lane SW	Atlanta, GA	30314 21
Jennifer Grimes	350 Spelman Lane SW	Atlanta, GA	30314 19
Stephanie Bowman	350 Spelman Lane SW	Atlanta, GA	30314 20
Marta Sanchez	350 Spelman Lane SW	Atlanta, GA	30314 21
Iyabo Kwayana	350 Spelman Lane SW	Atlanta, GA	30314 21
Dione Moultrie	350 Spelman Lane SW	Atlanta, GA	30314 19
Dr. Victoria Gonzalez	350 Spelman Lane SW	Atlanta, GA	30314
Kimberly Copeland	408 McGill Place, SW	Atlanta, GA	30314 20
Gwen Daniel	4073 Bakers Ferry Road	Atlanta, GA	49
Larena Flemmings	14 Longford Street	Phila., PA	19136 20
Taneya Gethers	5675 Roswell Rd, #61H	Atlanta, GA.	30342 19
Latressa McLawhorn	1833 Walton Lane	Smyrna, GA	22
Kalilia Wilson	7105 Renaissance Way, NE	Atlanta, GA	30308 21
Dr. Tiffany Simpkins	350 Spelman Lane SW	Atlanta, GA	30314
Dr. Felecia Smith	350 Spelman Lane SW	Atlanta, GA	30314

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Organizers and Participants
35th Anniversary Selma to Montgomery March

Martin Luther King III			
President, SCLC	334 Auburn Avenue, NE	Atlanta, GA.	30312
Rev. E. Randel T. Osburn	334 Auburn Avenue, NE	Atlanta, GA.	30312
Gordon Sellers	334 Auburn Avenue, NE	Atlanta, GA.	30312
Rev. Fred D. Taylor	334 Auburn Avenue, NE	Atlanta, GA.	30312
Rev. Anthony Johnson	334 Auburn Avenue, NE	Atlanta, GA.	30312
Wendell Rogers	334 Auburn Avenue, NE	Atlanta, GA.	30312
Rev. R. B. Cottonreader	334 Auburn Avenue, NE	Atlanta, GA.	30312
Brenda Davenport	3862 Norron Drive, SW	Atlanta, GA	30331
Larry Lewis	3311 Peppertree Circle	Decatur, GA	30034
Spiver Gordon	P.O. Box 385	Eutaw, AL	35462
Frederick Moore	84 Hillard Street #Q	Atlanta, GA	30312
Ralph Worrell	1421 Bentley Woods Lane	Lithonia, GA	30058

Toledo EXCEL Student Participants
35th Anniversary Selma to Montgomery March

Kevin Thomas	3532 Willow Brook Lane	Toledo, OH	43611
Daryel Reed	629 Jean Road	Toledo, OH	43615
Matt Kimura	1964 Grimes Golden	Toledo, OH	43611
Ashley Glover	1821 Freemont Street	Toledo, OH	43605
Mark Taylor	2017 Circle Drive	Toledo, OH	43606
Jamin Guilford	4356 Oak Creek	Toledo, OH	43615
Kenneth Harris	1213 Eton Road	Toledo, OH	43615
Tamara Rodgers	2028 N. 14 th Street	Toledo, OH	43620
Micheal Smith	1108 Elysian Avenue	Toledo, OH	43607
Jocelyn Daniels	2243 Robinwood	Toledo, OH	43620
Dean Westbrook	1431 ½ Shenandoah	Toledo, OH	43607
Latoria Brooks	3235 Cambridge	Toledo, OH	43610
Elizabeth Flores	110 S. Cousino	Oregon, OH	43618
LaToya Morgan	621 N. Eber Road	Holland, OH	43618
Jannette Garcia	2002 Wynnhurst Street	Toledo, OH	43607
Sourisack Luangrath	227 Graham	Toledo, OH	43607
Antonio D. King	339 Kingswood	Toledo, OH	43607
Nicole Ramsey	224 Charles Lane	Toledo, OH	43609
LaVette Sledge	2852 Chestnut Street	Toledo, OH	43608
Tony Fraiss	1009 Underwood Avenue	Toledo, OH	43607
Melinda A. Welborn	2270 Applewood Drive	Toledo, OH	43615
William Ellis, Jr.	963 Islington	Toledo, OH	43610
Robert Arellano	2816 116 th Street	Toledo, OH	43611
Mandi McDaniel	820 S. Erie	Toledo, OH	43609
Angela Henning	333 Evanhill Road	Toledo, OH	43605
Alissa Josey	1752 Ottawa Drive	Toledo, OH	43606
Kristina Carpenter	706 Brookley	Toledo, OH	43607
Ashely Levesque	449 Elden Drive	Toledo, OH	43608
Harley Maddox	4820 Cotdina Drive	Toledo, OH	43615

Toledo EXCEL Teachers/Chaperones

Shawanna Smith	2801 W. Bancroft	Toledo, OH	43606
Rev. Brenda McWhorter	2002 Oakwood Avenue	Toledo, OH	43607
Marion S. Crooks	3025 Glanzman RD #5	Toledo, OH	43614

Miscellaneous Participants

Greg Wegrich	86 Whitney St.	SF, CA	94131 [Canadian]
Francis Coleman	8417 Hidden Hills	Selma, AL	36701
Jimmy Rogers	5920 Colby Street	Oakland, CA	94168 [SNCC '65]
Denise Laflan	1127 Glenwood Avenue	Atlanta, GA	30316 [Buddhist
Konomu Utsumi	1127 Glenwood Avenue	Atlanta, GA	30316 peace order]

Renaissance High School Participants in the 35th Anniversary of the Selma to Montgomery March

Ms. Catherine Coleman Flowers -- Coordinator

Oni Akilah	17546 Parkside	Detroit, MI 48221
Jessica Allen	2546 Edison	Detroit, MI 48206
Kiarra Ambrose	12631 Coyle	Detroit, MI 48227
LoRico Andres	15912 Monica	Detroit, MI 48221
Johnathan Barlow	2638 S. Ethel	Detroit, MI 48217
Bryant Coleman	8062 Pierson	Detroit, MI 48228
Mitchell Cobb	19262 Gainsborough	Detroit, MI 48223
Catherine Coleman Flowers	6533 East Jefferson, 124W	Detroit, MI 48207
Thomas Craig	5635 Parkdale	Detroit, MI 48210
Carl Dixon	16767 Rosemont	Detroit, MI 48219
Katie Dover-Taylor	16715 Edinborough	Detroit, MI 48219
Veronica Gadson	22611 Pembroke	Detroit, MI 48219
Crystal Hampton	16730 Heyden	Detroit, MI 48219
Carol Hare	643 E. Laurel Bay Dr.	Ypsilanti, MI 48196
Enjoli Hobbs	15090 Stahelin Rd.	Detroit, MI 48223
Krystle Hunter	17315 Mark Twain	Detroit, MI 48235
Lakesha Jackson	20428 Briarcliff	Detroit, MI 48221
Dana Jenkins	15477 Lauder	Detroit, MI 48227
Cardies McWhite	18074 Murray Hill	Detroit, MI 48235
Shabeka Mitchell	18275 Muirland	Detroit, MI 48221
Tatiana Mitchell	19950 Faust	Detroit, MI 48219
Shannon Moody	14425 Lappin	Detroit, MI 48205
Jessica Nabongo	14344 Greenview	Detroit, MI 48223
Tedarian Nickberry	15115 W. Chicago	Detroit, MI 48228
Marla Philpot	17154 Monica	Detroit, MI 48221
Deanna Robinson	15370 Winthrop	Detroit, MI 48227
Markita Round	16261 Prairie	Detroit, MI 48221
Amanda Shipp	16665 Tracey	Detroit, MI 48235
Bryan Smiley	17154 Parkside	Detroit, MI 48221
Mario Smith	3044 Webb	Detroit, MI 48206
Mario Smith, Sr.	3044 Webb	Detroit, MI 48206
Kacy Somerville	3345 West Grand	Detroit, MI 48238
Wynter McGruder	7777 Wykes	Detroit, MI 48210
Dayna Newkirk	20012 Woodingham	Detroit, MI 48221
Carlos Talison	8825 Quincy	Detroit, MI 48204
Crystal Tate	13000 Mackenzie	Detroit, MI 48228
Veronica Taylor	4828 Haverhill	Detroit, MI 48224
Marie Thornton	8062 Pierson	Detroit, MI 48228
Brandy Walker	7628 Greenview	Detroit, MI 48228
Taylor Janai Flowers	6533 East Jefferson, 124W	Detroit, MI 48207
Dexter Scott	14030 Artesian	Detroit, MI 48223



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INSIDE TRAIL BEATWAY

By John McCaslin

Paybacks are hell

Tim Russert, host of NBC's "Meet the Press" and master of ceremonies for the 15th annual congressional dinner of the Boys & Girls Clubs of Greater Washington, had everybody in the crowd laughing when he recalled one particular Sunday when Clinton adviser James Carville and his Republican wife, Mary Matalin, finished taping another "shouting match" and — with tempers still flaring — sped off in their car, Mr. Carville steering.

The policeman who caught up with Mr. Carville a short time later couldn't help but ask Mary if her husband always yells at her in public?

"Only when he's been drinking," she told the cop.

Up, down, buy, sell

Treasury Secretary Lawrence H. Summers plays a crucial role on issues related to economic policy and the nation's fiscal health.

He has a proven track record. Prior to joining the Clinton administration, he served as vice president of Development Economics and chief economist of the World Bank. And in 1993 he was awarded the John Bates Clark Medal, handed every two years to the outstanding American economist under the age of 40.

On Wednesday night, at the 15th annual congressional dinner sponsored by the Boys & Girls Clubs of Greater Washington, Mr. Summers was presented with the chairman's award "for keeping America's economy strong," among other accomplishments.

Wouldn't you know Wednesday had been another tough day for the stock market, which plummeted for the umpteenth time this year. Upon accepting the award, Mr. Summers told the anxious crowd:

"I can't make any prediction on interest rates except they will continue to fluctuate."

Cessna, perhaps?

Speaking of Lawrence H. Summers, the Treasury secretary



Treasury Secretary Lawrence H. Summers was given the Boys & Girls Clubs chairman's award.

opened a letter this week from Sen. Michael D. Crapo, Idaho Republican, who questions why the United States is allowing the government of Uganda to spend \$37.5 million on a presidential Gulfstream jet. — while, at the same time, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank have approved nearly \$450 million in debt relief for the country.

"One must ask how a country can expend millions of dollars on a luxury aircraft, then turn around and ask for what translates to approximately \$1.3 billion in debt relief over time," notes Mr. Crapo.

"As I recall, when the United States federal government helped bail out Chrysler Corporation, former Chairman Lee Iacocca was required to sell the company jets."

Slow motion

"I've always said that if God gave me only 5 years to live, I'd spend it as a member of Congress, because they've been the longest years of my life," Rep. J.C. Watts Jr., Oklahoma Republican, was overheard to remark this week.

Keep your parsnips

The departments of Agriculture and Health and Human Services are co-hosting the National Nutrition Summit (President Clinton is invited to participate in the opening ceremonies) at the end of this month to develop federal programs to get us to "eat our vegetables."

The federal government, you may or may not know, is being pressured into: a) imposing mandatory menu warning labels; b) levying "Twinkie" taxes on high-calorie items; c) launching media campaigns to "de-normalize" popular restaurant food; and d) mandating food and beverage marketing restrictions.

"We need a strategy to deal with obesity. We need to intervene, change our behavior, break our eating habits," says Eileen Kennedy, USDA's undersecretary for research, education and economics.

The Guest Choice Network, on the other hand — a coalition of more than 30,000 restaurant and tavern operators — believes adults are capable of making their own food choices and is vigorously challenging government bureaucrats who think "they know what's best for us."

Another third party

We've just finished reading the page proofs for "Greenfield for President" by Arthur D. Robbins (Acropolis Books), and talk about poking fun at both the press and the presidency.

The book tells the story of Jeremiah Greenfield's rise to fame and national recognition as a reporter whose inside-Washington stories attract the attention of some of the most powerful men in the country.

He's approached by the Committee to Resurrect the American Presidency to run for president on a third-party ticket, reigniting the political dialogue until... well, you'll have to read the rest for yourself.

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

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George W. Bush: The Record in Texas Putting Faith In a Social Service Role

Church-Based Providers Freed From Many Rules

By HANNA ROSIN
Washington Post Staff Writer

CORPUS CHRISTI, Tex.—Over the door of one church-based drug treatment center in Houston, a sign printed in foot-high letters announces: "Drug Addiction Is NOT a Disease. It's a Sin." At another, clients pass by a poster of an addict in a hospital bed, ripping IV tubes out of his arms and throwing his pills in the garbage. An angel hovers nearby, offering her protection from this plague of prescriptions.

CAMPAIGN
2000

And at a Christian young adult home in Corpus Christi, police recently took the unusual step of arresting a supervisor after teenagers complained that they were beaten and roped to a bed, all in the name of Christian discipline. More arrests are anticipated, authorities say.

These are some of the results—expected and unexpected—of Gov. George W. Bush's "bold new experiment in welfare reform." With his conviction that religious groups can transform lives in ways government can't, Bush sponsored laws in 1997 that allow churches to provide social services their own way, outside the intrusive glare of the state.

The new laws exempted faith-based drug treatment programs from all state health and safety regulations followed by their secular counterparts, a list contained in a rule book as thick as a Russian novel that covers every detail from fire detectors to frayed carpets. Counselors in religious treatment programs now may skip the criminal background checks and hundreds of hours of training required of their state-licensed peers.

Faith-based groups that provide child care or operate homes for troubled youths

can opt out of state inspections and choose to be regulated by a Christian child care agency approved by the state.

Since their inception, the new rules have been criticized by traditional caretakers, who worry that Bush has placed too little emphasis on holding religious groups accountable, and too much on the notion that faith alone can heal addiction and delinquency—despite decades of research to the contrary.

"We've worked so long and hard to combat the stigma that substance abuse and delinquency and mental health are a symptom of a breakdown of morality, and to convince people they are an illness," said Bill McColl, spokesman for the National Association of Drug and Alcohol Counselors. "This would roll us back 60 years, right back to when people thought you were an alcoholic merely because you didn't accept Jesus as your personal savior."

Traditional social service organizations say allowing faith-based programs to regulate themselves creates a mutually affirming atmosphere, where groups of a similar mind-set could be reluctant to find or report abuse. The Christian agency that oversees the juvenile homes invites the superintendents of those homes onto its board, and facility supervisors inspect one another's homes—an obvious conflict of interest.

Perhaps more important, the critics worry that these are precisely the types of problems that would crop up in every state under a Bush administration, given his campaign promise to establish an "Office of Faith-Based Action" to seed the Texas experiment nationwide.

Texas officials say they're only correcting years of narrow-mindedness. The secular, post-New Deal world has shut certain churches out of providing social services, despite their obvious successes, they say.

"So far, government rules have reflected a 'one size fits all' mentality. But we have to respect the different methods," said Don Willett, a policy adviser to Bush. "In their view, addiction is indicative of sinful behavior; it's at root a moral problem that requires a moral solution, as opposed to the therapeutic notion that it's a disease."

They also argue that the system includes sufficient checks and balances. So far, the one Christian oversight group has set up its own stringent criteria, and when abuse is reported the state is empowered to step in.

The Texas experiment began in a spirit of defiance. In 1995, the Texas Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse threatened to shut down Teen Challenge, a popular faith-based drug rehab program, for violating a variety of state regulations, including hiring unlicensed counselors.

Bush sided with Teen Challenge. He convened a task force and called faith-based providers to testify how they'd turned around troubled lives. His staff then wrote and promoted legislation similar to laws in Florida.

The Texas changes took effect in September 1997, mainly targeting child care and drug treatment. Under the new rules, churches that once merely gave advice or pastoral care can now advertise them-

selves as drug treatment programs, simply by signing up with the state. So far, 58 churches have registered. And next year, the state will consider funding the faith-based groups.

Under the child care changes, the state has so far approved one Christian oversight agency, the Texas Association of Christian

Child Care Agencies, which oversees seven Christian juvenile homes.

Bush's initiative was called "Faith in Action: A New Vision for Church-State Cooperation." In fact, the rules embodied the opposite philosophy. The main goal was to limit contact between church-run groups and the state as much as was safely possible.

"Wherever we can, we must expand their role and reach, without changing them or corrupting them," Bush said about church-run programs in July, when he an-

nounced a campaign initiative modeled on the Texas experiment. "This is the next bold step in welfare reform."

Even before the new laws were approved, Texas had no shortage of church-based social service groups, from Lutheran Social Services to many Baptist and Methodist homes around the state. But most of those traditional charities opposed the changes, and afterward chose to stay under state regulation.

The churches that took advantage of the new laws were mainly

from the more evangelical, independent strains of Christianity, part of the long Protestant tradition that believes the church is solely accountable to Jesus Christ and government oversight infringes on God's authority.

As a practical matter, oversight by fellow Christians instead of government came as a great relief to the homes. Previously, they'd been subject to the whims of state investigators. In its two decades of existence, Victory Children's Home in Alice, an hour west of Corpus Christi, has dealt with one in-

vestigator who called the home a "weird cult," another who opposed any form of corporal punishment and a third who pulled 11 girls from the home when he decided they were too isolated.

"We'd tell a person from the state the Lord really changed this girl and they'd say: 'Okay, uh, next. And who's the Lord?'" said Nancy Ruth Gill, the home administrator. "Now the people who oversee us speak the same language. It's not that we're trying to get away with anything. But they understand us."

Still, traditional social service providers have their doubts. "I continue to be nervous about whether folks who constantly work together will be strong in their determination to assure protection for children," said Phil Strickland, who runs the social service arm of the Baptist Convention and chose to leave his homes regulated by the state.

To these more traditional groups, the redemption-only cur ignores reality. The Rev. Buck Griffiths, who runs Christians Against Substance Abuse out of a Church of Christ in Corpus Christi, still insists on working only with counselors who have met the state's cre

dential requirements. The first page of his client handbook says in bold letters: "Chemical dependency is a disease. . . . It is NOT a moral weakness."

"Initially it's a choice, and we're responsible for our choices, but some people are biologically or chemically disposed," said Griffiths. "We have to be realists. Sometimes people just need medical detox."

Social scientists say faith-based groups make exaggerated claims of success, long before there are any studies to back them up. Teen Challenge, for example, claims a 90 percent cure rate for drug addiction.

But no evidence supports that, said John Diulio, who favors the approach but is skeptical of some of the claims of success. A study by one Christian researcher considered favorable to Teen Challenge showed a success rate equal to the medical model—13 percent.

Teresa Calalay knew nothing of the statistics when she first thought of sending her son, Justin Simons, to Roloff Homes, a group

of five juvenile and young-adult facilities in Corpus Christi.

She did not know that months earlier, the mother of a teenage girl living at one of the group's juvenile homes, shut down by regulators several years earlier but newly reopened by Bush's laws, complained to state officials that her daughter had been bound with rope and duct tape, an account confirmed by the state. All she knew was that her son would be away from home for the first time in his life.

Reluctant as she and her husband were, they knew they had to

do something with their son. When he was a young boy, doctors diagnosed a genetic disorder that ultimately made him jumpy and aggressive. Nine times he was hired at fast-food restaurants, and nine times he was fired because he couldn't concentrate. Then came the speeding tickets and a fight with a friend that police had to break up.

Calalay heard of Roloff Homes through her pastor in Georgia, who told her they had a good record with wayward teens. So on March 10, the whole family flew to Corpus

Christi to take Justin to one of the homes for young adults.

"I thought he would find himself putting out sweet feed and salt lick," she said. "And that he would find God out there in a field with a bunch of cows." She and her husband asked about the discipline policy and were told that if the boys misbehaved, they would be forced to run a few laps, Army style.

What Justin, 18, says he found was something quite different. "Every night I always heard someone getting beat and screaming, saying 'Please help me' and 'Please stop

hitting me.' I couldn't see them but I always heard them." They never saw the cows, or the field, but spent most of their days cleaning the kitchen.

"Lord, I am going crazy," he wrote one night in his Bible. "Please help me."

After almost a month, Justin and Aron Cavellin, 17, decided to run away, right after laps, but both were caught. At about 6 p.m., Alan Lee Smith, a supervisor at Roloff Homes, drove them into the woods and tied their wrists, then roped them to each other. He took them to a 15-foot-deep sewage pit, the boys told police.

At about 2 a.m., Simons was told if he needed a break he would have to jump over the pit. He tried, but was tired and fell short. He wound up in the hospital with three toes broken, his ankles sprained and his feet swollen into useless clumps.

Police found enough evidence to arrest Smith, 42, and charge him with unlawful restraint, a third-degree felony. About one-third of the 30 boys living there at the time have since filed complaints, and the sheriff's department expects to make at least four more arrests this week.

David Gibbs, an attorney with the Christian Law Association, speaking for Roloff Homes, pointed out that the program is for older teenagers, and voluntary. He described it as "military style," but said any punishment was "an incentive to encourage competitive behavior."

"As I look at the situation, I would hope law enforcement gets an understanding of the program, and the tough discipline involved, and sees if there are any criminal elements," Gibbs said. "And they have to look at the veracity of who is giving statements. Some of it is terrifically elaborate."

Texas law allows caretakers to use reasonable force to impose discipline and keep order, said Grant Jones, Smith's attorney. In any case, homes designed for boys over 18 have never been regulated by any agency. The Lighthouse, where Simons was staying, shares property and supervisors with Roloff's new children's home, and at least three of the teenagers staying there were under 18, but it is not supervised by the new Christian child care agency.

The boys' stories were not well-received in the church community that supports Roloff, where they are assumed to be the tall tales of undisciplined, unsaved boys. After the arrests, David Blaser, who runs the new Texas Association for Christian Child Care Agencies, sent two of his inspectors to Roloff to determine if the younger boys and girls his agency oversees were affected.

"These boys have a great imagination, I guess," said Blaser. "My men were down there and found out what the situation was. The boy claimed he was pushed and shoved and made to jump the pit. But he did it himself. He wanted to jump the pit, just like any boy always doing the wrong thing."

The home's defenders note stories of former and current residents who have told how the Lighthouse transformed them. "When I came in here, I was worthless, into drugs and alcohol," said Steve Summers of North Carolina, one of five boys still left in the home. "But things have been happening for me here. God's been blessing me here. It's like a family," he told a reporter for the Corpus Christi Caller Times.

Authorities plan to convene a grand jury next week. None of the boys has a spotless record, and the homes have a long history of litigation against people who file complaints against them.

The only one who seems to have found some peace is Calalay, Justin's mother.

"I believe God sent Justin there for a reason," she said. "So that we could work to make these boys understand that these people are not the face of God, that God is about love."

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Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Yellow Brick Geopolitics

Al Gore delivered a provocative foreign policy speech Sunday that raised an important question: Does George W. Bush have the experience, the gravitas and, by implication, the brains to run U.S. foreign policy?

If not, said Mr. Gore, one can only assume that "the gaps in Governor Bush's foreign policy views and experience will be filled by the ideologies and inveterate antipathies of his party — the right-wing, partisan isolationism of the Republican Congressional leadership."

Now this is a legitimate question. Mr. Bush has no experience in foreign policy, the well-displayed gaps in his knowledge suggest he may not have even read the newspaper much, and this could make him easy prey for the foreign policy ideologues in his party.

But in raising this question Mr. Gore, inadvertently, raises a question about himself — a question that many people who respect him have been asking. If you talk to Al Gore about geopolitics, the Internet or the global economy, you leave feeling *he really does get it*. But what good are brains if you don't always act on them? Mr. Bush may not have the brains to always do the right thing, but does Mr. Gore have the spine?

Most of Mr. Gore's speech was a serious appeal for an activist, internationalist U.S. foreign policy — something that, in fairness, Mr. Bush would also pursue. So what was legitimate in Mr. Gore's critique of Mr. Bush? It's the charge that the internationalism Mr. Bush offers often sounds like a we-will-do-whatever-we-want-because-we're-the-only-superpower-and-I-am-not-a-wimp-like-Clinton set

Mr. Gore and Mr. Bush head for Oz.

of policies, which, if adopted at once, could be destabilizing and would have virtually no allied support. The best thing you can say is that Mr. Bush doesn't really mean some of this stuff. But what if he does?

What if he really is ready to unilaterally "withdraw" from the ABM treaty, if the Russians won't change it, and destroy the whole fabric of arms control? What if he really is ready to plunk down billions to build a dubious missile defense system against a dubious threat? What if he really is ready to launch a war to "take out" Saddam Hussein? What if he really is ready to expand NATO to the Russian border?

If it were his father, the former president, you know that he would do the prudent thing. But we don't know that with George W., and when you look at his own party's willingness to be led around by the fringe views of Jesse Helms, well, Mr. Gore is right to ask: Is George W. his father's son or his advisers' captive?

But as for Mr. Gore, in his speech he called for a foreign policy of "forward engagement" — addressing problems early before they become a crisis and doing so "as close to the source of the problem as possible." Well, I can think of no problem more in need of such forward engagement

than the U.S. embargo of Fidel Castro's Cuba, which has failed for 40 years to oust the Cuban dictator and, if continued, is only going to ensure that when Castro dies the Cuban economy collapses, civil war breaks out and thousands of Cubans sail for Miami. Fixing that policy means engaging the hard-line Miami Cubans, who want no change in policy, but as Mr. Gore showed in the Elián case, that sort of tough love is not his thing.

Elián was not a one-day story. It was one of those moments when you get to see everyone's character: Attorney General Janet Reno stood her ground. Mr. Bush said what his advisers told him to say. And Mr. Gore tried to both exploit the Elián saga for political advantage and hide from it.

In his speech, Mr. Gore decried "protectionism and isolationism," but when union-led demonstrators were disrupting the World Trade Organization meetings in Seattle in the name of more protectionism, Mr. Gore was silent. What good is it to be for things in principle if you won't take them on in practice? I know Mr. Gore has cast tough votes before. I know he has to get elected. But the growing trend in the Clinton years was that the campaign never ends. This administration has not given a Sister Souljah speech to anyone in a long, long time.

That's why the best you can say today about Governor Bush on foreign policy is that he doesn't really mean it, and won't do the wrong thing. He'll wise up. And the best you can say about Al Gore is that he really does mean it and will do the right thing. He'll stand up. But both still have something to prove. □

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The New York Times

FRIDAY, MAY 5, 2000