

FOIA MARKER

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Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

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Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 2645

FolderID:

Folder Title:

Joycelyn Elders [2]

Stack:

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Row:

29

Section:

4

Shelf:

5

Position:

1

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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INTERVIEW

Divider Title: _____

INTERVIEW MEMORANDUM

COPY

TO: Alexis Herman
FROM: Flo McAfee
DATE: July 7, 1993

MEDIUM: Television

NETWORK: Black Entertainment Television (BET)

PROGRAM: "Lead Story"

DATE: July 8, 1993

LOCATION: BET Studio
1899 9th Street, NE (side entrance)
Washington, D.C.

TIME: 1:00 - 1:30 pm (Taped live to air at a later date)

MODERATOR: Ed Gordon

PANELISTS:
DeWayne Wickham (USA TODAY)
Clarence Page (CHICAGO TRIBUNE)---Initially strong supporter of Clinton; now has changed his views.
Allegra Bennett (WASHINGTON TIMES)---General anti-Clinton.

FORMAT: Roundtable discussion with moderator and 3 journalists asking questions.

TOPICS: General focus will be on the following issues:

- Relationship to President as pertained to African-Americans
- Nomination of Joycelyn Elders
- Lani Guinier Withdrawal
- Haiti

Some of the questions will be:

- Will the President stick with Joycelyn Elders all the way through? Why is she, a friend, different from Lani Guinier who was also a friend? (Keep in mind, that the real question is, what signals are you giving that this nominee isn't business as usual?)

---Will Haitians really reap the benefits of the millions the country is expected to receive?

---What's coming up for nominations?

BACKGROUND: The columnists on this show have generally been opposed to most of what Clinton has done. They feel that a series of signals from Lani Guinier to the economic package indicates that the President is ignoring the black community. Once again, many of them suffering from not getting or receiving all the information on what is going on in terms of appointments, foreign policy, etc.

Your approach/response to all the questions should include our spin on the each issue. With the first question, set the stage by admitting there have been some missteps and failure to communicate the entire story. Then always clarify each misunderstood issue.

The three key points you should make on the show are:

----**What your position/role is at the White House**---the eyes and ears to the President on issues relating to all the constituencies (business, ethnics, etc.). Broader role than Louie Martin and traditional role held by blacks in White House administration.

---**Reiterate the Presidential Priorities**---economic package, health care reform, NAFTA, welfare reform.

---**Change is hard and often difficult**---The President is committed to changing business as you. Although that may not be readily visible there are definite signs through the accomplishments thus far (more African American named to cabinet posts with diverse tasks than any president in history; declared African policy; etc.

AIR DATE/TIME: Sunday, July 11, 1993
11:30 am and repeated at 11:30 pm (locally)

**VIEWING
AUDIENCE:** 30 million households

CONTACT: Chandra or Donna Foster
(202) 636-2831

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DR. C. EVERETT KOOP

Divider Title: _____

DR. JOYCELYN ELDERS AND DR. C. EVERETT KOOP ON THE ISSUES

Dr. Joycelyn Elders	Dr. C. Everett Koop
"Dr. Joycelyn Elders favors sex education as early as kindergarten, condom distribution in schools, taxpayer-funded abortions and medicinal use of marijuana." [<u>The Saturday Oklahoman</u> , 5/29/93]	"...C. Everett Koop turned the office (of Surgeon General) into an outpost for advocacy on certain hot-potato health issues like abortion, AIDS and condom usage, and the perennial favorite of surgeons general, cigarettes. As surgeons general go, Koop was something of a tent preacher where others had been scholarly priests." [<u>Salt Lake Tribune</u> , 12/29/92]
SEX EDUCATION	
"An integral part of a comprehensive school-based health clinic today is that we have sexuality education beginning in kindergarten." [<u>Arkansas Gazette</u> , 7/3/88]	"...Dr. Koop is adamant about the need for sex education in the schools as early as kindergarten." [<u>Washington Post</u> , 3/24/87]
"Proper sex education would be teaching kids how to develop relationships and about consequences of their behavior. Kids can't say no if they don't first learn how to feel good about themselves." [<u>Time</u> , 5/24/93]	"My feeling is that if sexuality is taught gently and gradually from an early age, it is part of your life and it doesn't come as a shock." [<u>Washington Post</u> , 3/24/87]
ABORTION	
"...The issue of reproductive health too often gets lost in the emotional debate over abortion." [<u>Las Vegas-Review Journal</u> , 6/12/93]	"I don't think there has ever been an issue that can rival this one for the psychological overlay, the emotional response of the people who are on the one side or the other. That makes any scientific argument extremely difficult." [<u>Washington Post</u> , 4/24/89]

* NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

Dr. Joycelyn Elders	Dr. C. Everett Koop
"I'm not about abortion, what I'm about is preventing unwanted and unplanned pregnancies. If I can teach Congress the difference between abortion and unwanted and unplanned pregnancies, we'll get somewhere. There will never be a need for another abortion if there aren't unplanned pregnancies. That means education about sex and contraceptives beginning in school." [<u>Las Vegas Review-Journal</u>, 6/12/93]	"If you want to get rid of abortions, you'd better get rid of the reasons for them. The reasons are unwanted pregnancies. To prevent unwanted pregnancies, you have to educate people in a way we've never done...That of course moves into the teaching of contraception." [<u>Washington Post</u>, 6/20/89]
AIDS	
"I think there's still a role for any kind of campaign that we can use that will get the attention of our people. We still have a lot of mixed messages, erroneous messages, and we still have a lot of people feeling that it only affects certain groups, and it cannot touch them." [<u>National Public Radio</u>, 4/20/93]	"We are fighting a deadly disease. We are not fighting people who have the disease. Homosexuality does not produce AIDS." [Cardoza High School, February, 1988]
"We've got to educate our populous and we've not done that. You know,...we don't talk about condoms on TV. We are all afraid to say anything about condoms because, well, we think we might upset somebody. Well, I think when we're losing a whole generation of bright young people because we won't talk about it, it's time to upset somebody." [<u>National Public Radio</u>, 12/31/92]	"The thing that is causing a stir on my position on AIDS has really nothing to do with the disease. It has to do with the fact that we have no cure, we have no vaccine on the horizon and, therefore, our only weapon is information and education." [<u>Washington Post</u>, 3/24/87]

DR. JOYCELYN ELDERS

DR. ELDERS

Biographical

Dr. Elders was appointed director of the Arkansas Health Department of Health in October 1987. A graduate of Philander Smith College, Dr. Elders earned her medical degree from the University of Arkansas Medical School in 1960. She worked as an intern at the University of Minnesota Hospital and as a pediatrician at the University of Arkansas Medical Center. Dr. Elders became a professor of pediatrics at UAMS in 1976 and received board certification as a pediatric endocrinologist in 1978. She has authored several publications and is a member of many health organizations. Dr. Elders is the recipient of several honors and awards, including the National Education Association's Mary Futrell Award for Creative Leadership in Women's Rights. She received an Honorary Doctorate of Medical Services from Yale University. [Aetna African-American Medical History Calendar, 1993]

Ideas

"Dr. Joycelyn Elders... favors sex education as early as kindergarten, condom distribution in schools, taxpayer-funded abortions and medicinal use of marijuana." [The Saturday Oklahoman, 5/29/93]

"Restraint is not a word in Dr. Elders' dictionary. This is a woman, a 59-year-old pediatrician and sharecropper's daughter who's called her right-wing opponents 'mean, ugly and evil,' who's labeled anti-abortion leaders 'very religious non-Christians,' who's told members of Congress they were 'slave masters' who have to get over 'their love affair with the fetus.'" [Baltimore Sun, 5/22/93]

"Elders said too much money is spent keeping people alive during the final years of their lives and not enough on primary health care that will improve their lives much earlier." [Las Vegas Review Journal, 6/12/93]

"Clearly, she is not a child of politics, which requires a certain artistic command of compromise, doublespeak and cave-in ability. Rather, Elders comes off more like a woman fed up with bureaucracies and all the time and money they waste. Moreover, she's impatient with good intentions that fail to produce good results -- like the wailing cry for abstinence, which, as she notes, preachers (like one of her brothers) and other moral chieftains have been promoting for years while young girls and boys continue their haphazard baby-making." [Salt Lake Tribune, 12/27/92]

J NERMAN USC CIVIL

OPPOSITION

What They're Saying

"Dr. Joycelyn Elders will be the quintessential lightning-rod candidate for the Clinton administration," Janet Parshall said of the surgeon general-designate. Ms. Parshall is an official with 600,000 member Concerned Women for America (CWA). [Washington Times, 6/27/93]

"CWA, the country's largest women's group, has met with conservative, Christian and other groups to plan a strategy to oppose the nomination of Dr. Elders, who favors sex education starting in kindergarten, condom distribution in schools, abortion rights and the availability of the Norplant contraceptive for all women, including prostitutes." [Washington Times, 6/27/93]

"CWA initiated its anti-Elders effort by distributing handbills featuring statements Dr. Elders has made on several controversial subjects." [Washington Times, 6/27/93]

"Pat Trueman, director of governmental affairs for the American Family Association, said Norplant is not the answer for women who sell sex to buy drugs. 'She should be discouraging prostitution and drug abuse...Joycelyn Elders has an agenda that's nonmedical and unbecoming for the position of surgeon general,' Mr. Trueman said." [Washington Times, 6/27/93]

"'She's always spoken with great disdain about pro-life Christians,' said Dale Morfey, chairman of the Westark Christian Action Council in Fort Smith, Ark. 'She is a strong proponent of sex education for schoolchildren at all grade levels, including kindergarten,' Mr. Morfey said, adding: 'There is no legitimate reason for sex education in kindergarten.'" [Washington Times, 2/1/93]

"'She's a very dangerous lady...and we're very upset she's going to be surgeon general,' Anne Dierks, president of Arkansas Right to Life." [Washington Times, 2/1/93]

"Pro-family groups feel that parents should be the ones to discuss sex with their children. Dr. Elders has said parents can't be counted on to teach children about health care and sex education because 'many parents are uneducated.'" [Washington Times, [6/27/93]

"Most of the extreme feelings and high-voltage confrontations Dr. Elders has generated have been related to her advocacy of school-based health clinics -- which can dispense contraceptives if they choose to -- as a way to combat AIDS and teen pregnancy." [Baltimore Sun, 5/22/93]

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Medicaid and Abortion

"If Medicaid does not pay for abortions, does not pay for family planning, but pays for prenatal care and delivery, that's saying: I'll pay for you to have another good, healthy slave, but I won't pay for you to use your brain and make choices for yourself... It's a way to keep people poor, ignorant and enslaved. If you are poor and ignorant, you are a slave." [American Medical News, January 1993]

Norplant

"On CNBC's 'Talk Live,' a caller from Alabama asked Dr. Elders what she planned to do about crack-addicted women who sell sex to buy drugs, get pregnant and have crack-addicted babies. 'That's a real problem,' Dr. Elders replied. 'I would hope that we would be able to provide them Norplant, so they could still use sex if they must to buy their drugs and not have unplanned babies.'" [Washington Times, 6/27/93]

"I would hope that we would provide them {prostitutes} Norplant so they could still use sex if they must to buy their drugs." ["Talk Live," CNBC, 6/19/93]

AIDS

"'In relation to the AIDS crisis, anything that we can do that will make a difference and reduce the spread of this disease we need to do,' Elders declares." [Baltimore Sun, 5/22/93]

"'If we are sincere about trying to do something about the spread of AIDS we must begin to fund educational activities that will make will a difference and reduce the number of people who are becoming infected,' said Elders." [Associated Press, 12/30/92]

"We are not reaching the majority of our citizens. ... We don't reach our young people, our poor people, our uneducated people. And that's where we're seeing the greatest spread, where we're seeing the epidemic grow. Every day 5,000 people become infected with HIV and if you prevent just half, look at how much money you'd save." [Associated Press, 12/30/92]

"I think there's still a role for any kind of campaign that we can use that will get the attention of our people. We still have a lot of mixed messages, erroneous messages, and we still have a lot of people feeling that it only affects certain groups, and it cannot touch them." [National Public Radio, 4/20/93]

"Yes, I support condom advertising on television. We've got a crisis in our country." [Washington Times, 1/1/93]

Internal use only

Tax on Alcohol and Tobacco

"We can't continue to sell (our children) to the tobacco industry, the alcohol industry," she said. She advocated additional taxes on tobacco products, noting that some people disapprove of this action because it may put tobacco companies out of business. 'I want you to know I want to tax them out of business,' she said." [Indianapolis News, 3/27/93]

"Elders said she will continue to push for a tobacco tax to fund children's health programs. Elders told Little Rock Rotary Club members she would advocate a 5% increase in federal cigarette taxes to pay for a comprehensive school-based health program." [Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, 3/25/93]

"Dr. Elders is already on the record taking a dim view of advertising for alcohol or tobacco." [Advertising Age, 1/18/93]

"'You sold our children to the tobacco industry,' Elders railed at Arkansas lawmakers after they rejected a tax on cigarettes last month. 'I guess I go to be surgeon general and raise the federal cigarette tax \$2.'" [USA Today, 4/6/93]

Internal use only

"In Elders' view, preventing pregnancy -- through services that are 'user-friendly' to adolescents and 'age-appropriate' sex and health education that begins in kindergarten -- is the key to tackling many of the nation's social ills and would make moot the issue of abortion. 'If we prevent unplanned, unwanted pregnancies, then abortion becomes a nonissue,' says Dr. Elders, who, nonetheless, strongly supports the inclusion of abortion in a basic health benefits package. 'I'm about prevention. I'm not about abortion.'" [Baltimore Sun, 5/22/93]

"'I'm not about abortion,' she said. 'What I'm about is preventing unwanted and unplanned pregnancies. If I can teach Congress the difference between abortion and unwanted and unplanned pregnancies, we'll get somewhere. There will never be a need for another abortion if there aren't unplanned pregnancies.' That means education about sex and contraceptives beginning in school, Elders said. 'We can't just keep saying, 'Just say no.' We know that's not worked,' she said. 'It's time for us to get our heads out of the sand and teach our young people how to be responsible.'" [Las Vegas Review-Journal, 6/12/93]

"Elders said 57% of children born today in the United States were the result of unwanted and unplanned pregnancies. Too many programs now target helping teens cope with unplanned pregnancies, when what really needs to be the focus is preventing pregnancy in the first place, she said. 'We don't want any more programs for pregnant women,' she said. "We do lots of 'too littles, too lates' in America.'" [Milwaukee Journal, 6/10/93]

"'I'm ashamed about what's happening,' said Joycelyn Elders. 'We have been very good at increasing funding for pregnancy, but we have not tried to increase funding for family planning to prevent pregnancy.' The results of these policies, Elders told a conference sponsored by the University of Kansas School of Nursing, have been high rates of teen pregnancy and abortion and unwanted children. 'What we've inherited is for women to be barefoot, pregnant and in the kitchen. We have a system that could only have been designed by a white male slave owner who wanted more slaves.'" [Kansas City Star, 5/14/93]

"Elders said some people oppose school-based health clinics because they believe distribution of contraception is a license for sex and will lead to on-site abortion services. But she maintained that abortion services would not be necessary if contraception were available to young people." [Indianapolis News, 3/27/93]

"Elders views abortion as necessary to attain the goal of planned and wanted children and that has anti-abortion activists stirred up. They protested her activities in Arkansas and they've spoken against her current nomination." [National Public Radio, 12/31/93]

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THE ISSUES

Sex Education

"In her appearance on 'Talk Live,' Dr. Elders, a pediatric endocrinologist, also said that poor teen-agers who are having babies are 'slaves' and that they are 'breeding another class of slaves at a time when we don't need any more slaves.' She believes the answer to ending such 'slavery' lies in comprehensive sex and health education, starting as early as kindergarten, and both 'pre-conceptual counseling' and easy condom availability for teen-agers." [Washington Times, 6/27/93]

"An integral part of a comprehensive school-based health clinic today is that we have sexuality education beginning in kindergarten." [Arkansas Gazette, 7/3/88]

"We taught them what to do in the front seat {of a car}. Now it's time to teach them what to do in the back seat." [Evening Times, West Memphis, Ark., 3/4/92]

"Some people say parents should educate children about health care and sex education, but many parents are uneducated." [Log Cabin Democrat, Conway, Ark., 10/24/91]

"'We've spent all our time fighting each other about whose values we should be teaching our kids,' she complains. 'We've allowed the right to make decisions about our children for the last 100 years, and all it has bought us is the highest abortion rate, the highest nonmarital birth rate and the highest pregnancy rate in the industrialized world.' But Elders is no advocate of values-free instruction. 'Proper sex education would be teaching kids how to develop relationships and about the consequences of their behavior. Kids can't say no if they don't first learn how to feel good about themselves.'" [Time, 5/24/93]

Abortion

"'We've got to get over our love affair with the fetus and start investing in our children so they can grow up healthy, educated and motivated to have hope for the future,' she said." [Las Vegas Review-Journal, 6/12/93]

"If we had good contraceptive measures, with good education, there would never be a need for an abortion. And I've often said, 'I've never known a woman to need an abortion that was not already pregnant.'" [CNN, 5/4/93]

"One of the most serious social ills, Elders said, are the millions of unplanned and unwanted pregnancies. 'Every child in America should be a planned, wanted child,'...American women spend more than half their lives trying not to get pregnant.' But the issue of reproductive health care too often gets lost in the emotional debate over abortion, she said." [Las Review-Journal, 6/12/93]

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"We have not instituted comprehensive health education programs in our schools, from kindergarten through 12th grade. Here, 12 years later, we are still trying to legislate morals. We have not developed a national prevention program." [CNN, 11/17/92]

What Elders Has Accomplished In Arkansas

"In five years of shaping Arkansas' health policy, Elders has:

- Opened school-based clinics that can distribute contraceptives as a means of reducing the state's high rate of teen-age pregnancies, which stands at 78 births for every 1,000 teen-age girls age 15 to 19.
- Persuaded legislators to set aside \$2 million to help poor women get Norplant, a contraceptive.
- More than doubled private funding to the health department, to \$561,000 from \$208,000, and expanded public health programs."

- St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 2/1/93

Focus on Children

"Novello targeted youthful drinking. Her predecessor, Dr. C. Everett Koop, railed against smoking. Elders will focus on children's health. Some say that, based on her record in Arkansas, Elders will not only wake up but also shake up Americans." [St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 2/1/93]

"If I could ensure every child born in America is a planned, wanted child, I could cut poverty in half." [Washington Times, 2/1/93]

"Elders said too much money is spent keeping people alive during the final years of their lives and not enough on primary health care that will improve their lives much earlier." [Las Vegas Review Journal, 6/12/93]

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"Douglas Johnson (National Right to Life Committee): Just very recently Elders was quoted as saying, and I quote, 'Abortion foes love little children as long as they are in someone else's uterus.' And I wonder who Dr. Elders thinks she's talking about. It's--it's a very--type of sweeping, really bigoted statement which fails to recognize, I think, a lot of the activities that people opposed to abortion are engaged in across this country, to help both women and their children." [National Public Radio, 12/31/93]

Who's Saying It

Concerned Women For America
Eagle Forum
American Family Association
Family Research Council
Traditional Values Coalition
Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition
Arkansas Right to Life
Westark Christian Action Council, Fort Smith, AR
National Right to Life Committee
Anti-Abortion Groups
Project Respect

SUPPORT

"Groups such as Planned Parenthood and the Sex Information and Education Council of the U.S., a prominent sex education advocacy organization, are fighting strenuously against the abstinence-only movement, saying the texts rely on fear and shame to discourage sex." [The Morning News Tribune, 6/13/93]

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MISCELLANEOUS

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NEWS RELEASE

MEDIA ADVISORY
July 23, 1993

CONTACT: Donna Fowler
or Eric Rosen at
202-879-4458

Senator Paul Simon Joins Education Organizations
in Press Conference on Joycelyn Elders Appointment for
Surgeon General

Washington --On Tuesday, July 27 at 2:00 p.m. at the
American Federation of Teachers 9th floor conference room,
555 New Jersey Avenue, N.W., Senator Paul Simon (D - IL), the
American Federation of Teachers, the National Education
Association, the National PTA, and the National School Boards
Association will hold a press conference on the appointment
of Joycelyn Elders to Surgeon General.

12:30 - 4:02 - Remain Director
* Nancy - meets separately
- Kansas

- Antifur
- Crippen
- Blumberg
- Jeffries
- Parkwood
- Cohn

-30-

- Sanford
- Specter
- Benda for Cohn
- Benda

Ka
Parkman
Gordon
Danz

Targets

- Packman
- Cohen
- Danforth
- Spatter
- Gordon
- ~~Spatter~~
- Singan
- D'Amato
- Hatfield

Spatter
Spatter
Spatter



House of Representatives

CALVIN SMYRE
REPRESENTATIVE, DISTRICT 136
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COLUMBUS, GEORGIA 31902
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(706) 563-1794 (H)
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STATE CAPITOL, ROOM 401
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30334
(404) 656-5138

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RULES

JUL 28 1993

July 22, 1993

Ms. Alexis M. Herman
Assistant to the President and
Director of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

RE: Dr. Jocelyn Elders

Dear Alexis:

Please forward to me a political profile of Dr. Jocelyn Elders, U.S. Surgeon General nominee. I want to help mobilize support for her as she prepares for hearings before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee.

I'll be in San Diego next week attending the National Conference on State Legislatures representing legislators from all 50 states. I wanted to contact some legislators and encourage them to contact their U.S. Senators and urge them to support Dr. Elders.

In my opinion the confirmation of Dr. Elders, a distinguished African American physician, is crucial. I attended the NAACP Confab in Indianapolis last week and was present during the session where Vice President Gore spoke and I can tell you first hand, politically we need this one.

Secretary Shalala will be attending a plenary session on Tuesday, July 27th. Any help she could give while there would be helpful, whether it was public or a private meeting with legislators representing areas of borderline Senators.

Please have someone contact me regarding this request. I can be reached at the San Diego Marriott & Marina (619)234-1500. With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Calvin Smyre



House of Representatives

Atlanta, Georgia

CALVIN SMYRE
Representative, District 92
P.O. Box 181
Columbus, Georgia 31902



Ms. Alexis M. Herman
Assistant to the President
and Director of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500



OFIELD DUKES & ASSOCIATES
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSELOR

JE/B

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

Telephone Number: (202) 488-4948
Fax Number: (202) 488-1086

DATE: July 30, 1993
TO: Alexs Herman
COMPANY NAME: White House - Public Liaison
FAX NUMBER: 456-2983
FROM: Ofield Dukes

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING THIS COVER Sheet:

Comments:

Please call (202) 488-4948 if this transmission is unclear or incomplete.

Nation rallies in support of Elders as Surgeon General

CAPITAL EDITION

101st Year No. 47

JULY 17, 1993

WASHINGTON Afro-American AND THE WASHINGTON TRIBUNE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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50 CENTS

Dr. Elders gains support to be Surgeon General

By James Wright

Washington AFRO Staff

Dr. M. Jocelyn Elders, director of the Arkansas Department of Health who was nominated by President Clinton to be the Surgeon General of the United States, has gained nationwide support to be confirmed by the Senate and become the first African-American to hold that position.

Few can argue with her

qualifications and outstanding record as a health practitioner, the Senate Labor and Human Resource Committee is learning. Her confirmation hearings began July 15 in Room 403 in the Dirksen Senate Office Building in Room 430.

The Surgeon General serves as the health adviser to the Nation on health related matters and manages the Public Health Service' Commissioned Corps. In addition,



DR. M. JOCELYN ELDERS

the General provides leadership to the 6,500 active duty commissioned personnel, advises the ASH on policy matters pertaining to the Public Health Service, directs a wide range of special initiatives for children and

A4 THE WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN JULY 17, 1993

EDITORIAL

Support Dr. Elders for Surgeon General

NNPA
EDITING

Once again an African American woman takes center stage on Capitol Hill in a confirmation battle expected to exceed the political drama and heat of the Lani Guinier controversy.

The confirmation hearing for Dr. Joycelyn Elders as the first African American Surgeon General is scheduled for Friday, July 15, before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. A vast army of conservative forces, the same people who dominated the Republican National Convention in Houston last summer, have been mobilizing for full warfare to defeat the nomination of Dr. Elders in the Senate, either in committee or on the Senate floor.

No one can raise any legitimate questions about the outstanding qualifications of this dedicated public health professional, pediatrician, and persuasive advocate for changes in healthcare services. Dr. Elders has attracted national attention for her extraordinary leadership as Director of the Arkansas State Health Department.

Dr. Elders is now the prime target of such ultra-conservative and Christian fundamentalist groups as the Rev. Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, Concerned Women for America, the Eagle Forum, the American Family Association, the Family Research Council and the Traditional Values Coalition. We witnessed the mean spiritiness and the vicious attacks of these people at the 1992 Republican National Convention.

HHS Secretary Donna Shalala put the smear campaign in context when she said of Dr. Elders, "Those who portray Dr. Elders as being radical or out of touch with the desires of the American people are distorting her record in an effort to prove their claims. Dr. Elders supports health services for children through school-based clinics, but that does not mean she supports mandatory distribution of condoms in school-based clinics. As in her experience in her home state, she supports local decision-making on that question.

"Likewise, Dr. Elders supports comprehensive health training for our nation's children, but that does not mean inappropriate sex education topics for young children, as her critics suggest."

The thousands of African Americans who expressed their anger over the treatment of Lani Guinier now have the opportunity to demonstrate our unequivocal support for Dr. Elders by sending a strong and clear message to the members of the U.S. Senate. African Americans in every state must call or write to their senator's urging support for the confirmation of Dr. Elders.

African American and other citizens of goodwill must aggressively meet the challenge of the regressive forces in our society. We can and must win this fight! Don't delay.

Write today to members of the U.S. Senate in support of our sister, Dr. Joycelyn Elders, the superb nominee for U.S. Surgeon General.

07/29/93

16:09

THE BUSINESS COUNCIL

Amel

P. 01

amy
The Business Council

FAX COVER SHEET

Date:

July 29, 1993

Pages to Follow:

6

Subject:

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Philip E. Cassidy

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(202) 785-0296

888 17th Street, NW, Suite 506, Washington DC 20006

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PHILIP E. CASSIDY
Executive Director

July 29, 1993

The Honorable Alexis Herman
Director of Public Liaison
Office of Public Liaison
The White House, OEOB
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Alexis,

Sorry I was unable to join you for the session on the 13th, but a family matter arose that took precedence. Please keep me in mind if there is any way I can be helpful as things move forward.

We have begun to work on our program for October and I thought I'd pass along the enclosed information. Jamie Houghton of Corning is the Program Chairman and he is using Clyde Prestowitz of ESI to help develop the agenda. Please let me know if you have any thoughts or suggestions to offer. Bob Allen has invited Sec. Christopher to join us and I want to ensure that the entire program is representative of current policy.

On a more personal note, please remember the dates of October 7-9 for the Council's next meeting in Williamsburg. It would be great if you would be able to join the group as my guest. Please keep in touch.

Sincerely,



Enclosures

PROPOSED AGENDA

Friday October 8 -- 8:00 - 12:00

8:00-8:45 Session I: Economic Forecast

Speaker: Dennis Weatherstone - J.P. Morgan

8:45-10:15 Session II: The World of Geo-economics

In this post Cold War era, what will be the economic realities within which we have to operate? Among the nations of the world, which will emerge as the new economic and political superpowers? Which countries will form regional economic bonds and how exclusive will these arrangements be?

What will Russia be like in 10 or 20 years? What will happen to the former communist countries in Eastern Europe? Can the European Community ever reach its potential? Will China's economy continue to expand at its current rate of growth? What about an expanded free trade agreement among a majority of nations in the Americas? Will there also be an Asian trading bloc?

Moderator: Alan Murray - *The Wall Street Journal*

Backup: Robert Kuttner - *The American Prospect*

Panelists: Jacques DeLors - European Commission

Backup: Leon Brittan - EC Trade Negotiator

Paul Kennedy - Yale

Backup: Edward Luttwak - CSIS

Jeffrey Sachs - Harvard University

Backup: Lawrence Summers - Undersecretary of the Treasury for International Affairs

10:15-10:30: BREAK

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Dept. <i>Per your request</i>	Phone #	
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10:30-12:00 Session III: The New International Economic Issues

The changing world order has brought into question whether multilateral economic organizations such as OECD and GATT can remain effective tools in expanding economic cooperation among nations. There is increased skepticism that the premises on which these organizations were founded are still adequate to deal with the new world economic order.

Although multilateral issues remain, bilateral concerns continue to attract attention. The various conflicts involving the United States and Japan have received the most attention. Are there any indications that the Clinton Administration will be any more successful in diffusing tensions than any of the previous approaches.

There are also increased concerns with several of the up-and-coming economic powers. Perhaps the biggest of these problems is the People's Republic of China (PRC). The United States has a \$15 billion trade deficit with the PRC and there have been numerous questions about how best to deal with the Chinese while the problem remains relatively small and manageable.

These new world realities are not only affecting the relationship between nations but are causing the United States and other industrialized nations to begin to rethink traditionally domestic decisions in light of low-wage nations becoming increasingly productive. The increased mobility of technology and production, increasing wage rates and environmental standards, and ballooning costs of the social safety net are being reexamined through the prism of global competitiveness.

Moderator: Jodie Allen - *The Washington Post*

Backup: Bruce Stokes - *National Journal*

Panelists: Clyde Prestowitz - Economic Strategy Institute

Backup: Lester Thurow - MIT Sloan

Peter Sutherland - Director-General of the GATT

Backup: Noburo Hatakeyama - MITI

Roger Altman - Deputy Secretary of Treasury

Backup: Laura Tyson - Chair, Council of Economic Advisers

07/29/93 16:06 202 347 2315

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Dinner:

Speaker: Secretary of State Warren Christopher

(INVITED)

Saturday 8:00 - 12:00

8:00-8:45 Session IV: The New Diplomacy

Over the past year, numerous local conflicts have come to the world's attention. In today's world, these conflicts, be they in Bosnia, Haiti, Nigeria, Iraq, or Somalia, must be dealt with, but the methods of dealing with them are often very different. What is the best way to deal with these problems? Is the United Nations a solution to all of the world's problems or should the United States be willing to act either unilaterally or coalitions outside the United Nations? Can the United States afford to be involved in all of the world hot spots or should it encourage other regional players to take the lead?

Speaker: James Woolsey - Director of Central Intelligence
- or -
Larry Eagleburger - Former Secretary of State

07/29/93 15:07 202 347 3313

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8:45-10:15 Session V: Combining Foreign Policy and Economic Concerns In the New World Order

Given the increasing challenge the United States faces to reduce both its budget and trade deficits and to bolster its standard of living, what will be the shape of the new American foreign policy given the increased priority given to economic issues?

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the emergence of an increasing number of nations qualifying (or having the potential to soon qualify) as economic heavyweights, the United States needs to grapple with issues such as whether it is appropriate or desirable, in light of this increasing diffusion of economic and political power, for it to continue playing the role of leader in maintaining world peace and prosperity.

Issues that must be addressed include the U.S. response to the emerging strength of Germany and Japan and the proper role of rising powers such as China and India. Other issues include normalization of relations with Vietnam and development of a new relationship with Russia and Latin America.

Moderator: James Fallows - *The Atlantic Monthly*
Backup: Bruce Stokes - *The National Journal*

Panelists: Amb. Mickey Kantor - United States Trade Representative
Backup: Bowman Cutter - Deputy Assistant to the President for Economic Policy
Backup: Roger Altman - Deputy Secretary of the Treasury
Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) - Chairman, Senate Finance Committee
Backup: Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-IN) - Former Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Brent Scowcroft - Former National Security Adviser
Backup: Lester Thurow - MIT Sloan School

10:15-10:45: BREAK

07/29/93 15:07 202 347 2315

003

10:45-12:00 Session VI: The New Geo-political World Order

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the major threat to American security no longer exists. This however, does not mean that the world is safe. Throughout the world, there have been numerous local firestorms that have attracted the America's attention—Iraq, Somalia, and Bosnia are just a few. There are also numerous long simmering regional disputes that threaten to explode onto the international scene. These include the potential of a nuclear North Korea, another war on the India-Pakistan border, international battles over the Spratley Islands, a rearmed and belligerent Iran, continued ethnic wars throughout the Balkans and the former Soviet Union, and the sudden appearance of some as-of-yet unseen problem that could threaten American security.

At the same time the United States has begun to drastically scale back the American armed forces as a way to reduce its large budget deficit. This has led to numerous questions about how the United States should utilize its smaller military/intelligence forces to protect its national interests in a world that remains turbulent.

Speaker: Gen. Colin Powell - Former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

Leaders Rally To Support Jocelyn Elders

By Ofield Dukes
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER
PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

WASHINGTON - After the shock and trauma of the derailed Lani Guinier nomination, the Clinton administration has fully mobilized in support of Dr. Jocelyn Elders as America's first African American Surgeon General.

Battle lines have been drawn between a broad cross-section of supporters of Elders and a coalition of ultra-conservative Christian fundamentalists and anti-abortion groups. A lauded pediatrician and nationally respected public health advocate in Arkansas, Elders has become a main target of the right-wing conservative movement because of her progressive views on health care. In addition, Elders has come under fire for financial impropriety while still on Arkansas' payroll.

According to C. Delores Tucker, president of the National Political Congress of Black Women, these are the same "mean-spirited people" who maliciously distorted the writings of Hillary Clin-

ton and viciously attacked and tried to discredit her at the 1992 Republican National Convention in Houston. Tucker said, "These tactics didn't work then and they won't against Dr. Elders."

President Clinton has indicated that he stands firmly behind the Elders nomination and is prepared to go the distance to gain Senate confirmation. Several days before the opening confirmation hearing before the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, more than 120 organizations pledged their support for Elders' nomination and confirmation. Most of these organizations are predominantly white and include the American Medical Association, American Jewish Congress, National Education Association, American College of Physicians, and the American Public Health Association.

African American leaders and organizations have described Elders' confirmation as "urgent" and "a must." All agree she is qualified for the post.

At the NAACP convention last week in Indianapolis, Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.)

announced that the Congressional Black Caucus and NAACP were working with the Clinton administration in support of the nominee.

Dr. Richard O. Butcher, president of the National Medical Association, which represents the 15,000 black physicians, said "Dr. Elders' determination and persuasive powers are two essential leadership skills needed to help prevent the rampant spread of disease."

Coretta Scott King, president of the King Center in Atlanta, said: "America needs Dr. Elders and we can't afford to let a politically motivated attempt to distort her views (to) deny our country of the services of this outstanding leader in health care. I think she is one of the finest medical care administrators in the country."

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, president of the National Rainbow Coalition, said Elders would bring some unique assets as Surgeon General. "She has a demonstrated record of public service, a long-term personal and working relationship and the trust of the president. The nation needs and deserves her leadership."

Clinton Mobilizes Forces For All Out Fight On Elders' Nomination

By Ofield Dukes

WASHINGTON, DC -- After the shock and trauma of the derailed Lani Guinier nomination, the Clinton administration has fully mobilized in support of Dr. Joycelyn Elders as America's first African American Surgeon General.

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medical care administrators in the country."

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, president of the National Rainbow Coalition, said Dr. Elders would bring some unique assets to the office of U.S. Surgeon General. "She has a demonstrated record of public service, a long-term personal and working relationship and the trust of the president. The nation needs and deserves her leadership."

Robert W. Bogle, president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, said, "The goal of President Clinton to have an inclusive society is a concept that we black editors and publishers embrace

Tri-County Bulletin Thursday, July 22, 1993

'Clinton Mobilizes Forces In Elders Nomination

By Ofield Dukes

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Washington, DC -- After the shock and trauma of the derailed uni Guinier nomination, the Clinton administration has fully mobilized in support of Dr. Celynn Elders as America's first African American Surgeon General.

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The Rev. Jesse Jackson, president of National Rainbow Coalition, said Dr. Elders would bring some unique assets to the office of U.S. Surgeon General. "She has a demonstrated record of public service, a long-term personal and working relationship and the trust of the president. The nation needs and deserves her leadership."

Robert W. Bogle, president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, said, "The goal of President Clinton to have an inclusive society is a concept that we black editors and publishers embrace and endorse. Based on what we know of Dr. Elders, we think she is highly qualified and would make an excellent Surgeon General. For this reason, we strongly support her nomination."

Officials of NAACP, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Operation PUSH, National Urban League, National Urban Coalition, National Council of Negro

Women, National Black Nurses Association, and National Pan-ethnic Council urged their members to write member of the Senate in support of Dr. Elders' confirmation. Elders graduated from Little Rock at the age of 18. She served as a physical therapist in the U.S. Army before earning her medical degree, and a Masters Degree in biochemistry from the University of Arkansas School of Medicine. She then trained in pediatrics at the University of Minnesota Hospital and became chief pediatric resident at the University Hospital in 1961. As a professor of pediatrics at

Medical School and a researcher into the causes and treatment of hormone-related illnesses, Dr. Elders has authored more than 150 articles for medical research publications. As the Director of the Arkansas Department of Health since 1987, Dr. Elders has received numerous national awards for her outstanding work and leadership in health care. As one NAACP official put it, "This country needs a Surgeon General who is not afraid to speak candidly about the difficult care problems facing the nation. Dr. Elders will be such a Surgeon General."

Elders resigns Arkansas post

Associated Press

HOT SPRINGS, Ark. — President Clinton reasserted his support for his embattled surgeon general nominee, taking her back to Washington in his plane yesterday after she resigned as director of the Arkansas Health Department.

Mr. Clinton gave Dr. M. Joycelyn Elders a sturdy hug as the two boarded a small presidential jet. He ignored a shouted question on whether he thought Dr. Elders could be confirmed. But he had told reporters a day earlier during a weekend visit to his home state that he did not think her nomination was in trouble.

Dr. Elders submitted her resignation yesterday as Arkansas health director, effective immediately. She had been under fire for receiving a federal consulting fee while drawing her state salary.

"As work towards my confirmation process intensifies, I must now devote all my efforts and energy to my new federal role," she said in her resignation letter. Her resignation had not been expected until her confirmation process was complete.

Max Parker, a spokeswoman

for Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, said Dr. Elders contacted the governor Saturday and met with him yesterday for about 40 minutes.

A Senate panel postponed hearings on Dr. Elders' nomination last week after opponents raised questions about the dual paychecks, as well her family taxes and her position on an Arkansas bank board. Conservatives have expressed opposition to Dr. Elders because of frank statements she has made in support of abortion rights and sex education for children.

While Mr. Clinton traveled from Little Rock by motorcade, Dr. Elders flew the 50 miles aboard the presidential aircraft with Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty. Dr. Elders then got off the plane only to board it again with Mr. Clinton before television cameras.

On Wednesday, Mr. Tucker said he was not pleased when he learned that Dr. Elders was receiving federal pay while drawing her salary from the state health department.

"I didn't know about this, didn't approve of this and wouldn't have approved of this," he said.

Dr. Elders did nothing illegal by accepting the fee while retaining her job, according to a letter from Jack Kress, special counsel for

ethics at the Department of Health and Human Services.

In the letter, to Democratic Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Mr. Kress said presidential nominees may work in "an intermittent consultant capacity" at the federal agency to which they are nominated for up to 130 days without quitting their jobs. Mr. Kennedy's Labor Committee plans to hold Dr. Elders' confirmation hearing Friday.

In her letter of resignation, Dr. Elders said she had been dividing her time between the state agency and the U.S. Public Health Service since April.

"I have taken annual leave from Arkansas for the days I had to be Washington, and I have always been able to give the [Arkansas Health Department] my fullest attention when required," she wrote.

In Washington, Democratic Rep. Kweisi Mfume of Maryland said on CBS's "Face the Nation" that he believed Mr. Clinton would back up Dr. Elders' nomination.

"The White House has assured me three times in just the last three days that they are firmly committed to moving forward with the nomination process and the confirmation process," said Mr. Mfume, who is chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

July 23, 1993

White House Prepares For Another Confirmation Battle

By Staff Writer

Known as one of the nation's preeminent public health officials, Dr. M. Jocelyn Elders is expected to face Congressional confirmation hearings next week in her quest to become the America's first black surgeon general.

And, there are rumors circulating Capitol Hill and other parts of Washington, D.C. that Elders could face the same fate as Lani Guinier, whose nomination by President Clinton to become head of the U.S. Justice Department Civil Rights Division was later withdrawn. In fact, Elders has already drawn the ire of some powerful conservatives and anti-abortion groups regarding her positions on that specific issue.

"The Congressional Black Caucus and all other

civil rights groups are firmly behind Dr. Elders," said Caucus Chairman Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.) at a recent NAACP Convention in Indianapolis. "We are so behind this nominee that there is not even a crack of daylight between our group and any other civil rights organization."

Indeed, Mfume's remark was meant as a "warning" to Clinton if he fails to put the full weight of the White House behind the Elders' nomination.

According to White House sources, however, the Elders' nomination is going to be different. Preparations have since begun for the upcoming confirmation hearing. And, other sources have also indicated that Clinton will not "turn his back" on Elders, as she is a native



White House Chief of Staff Mack McLarty (c) and other Clinton administration officials brief Surgeon General nominee Jocelyn Elders (r) in preparation for her upcoming confirmation hearing.

White House Photo

Arkansan, like President Clinton.

Born in a small commu-

nity located in the southwest part of the state,

Elders has had a distin-

guished career in medicine.

Upon graduation from college at age 18, she entered

the U.S. Army where she received training as a physical therapist. By 1960, she was working as an intern at the University of Minnesota Hospital and later, as a pediatrician at the University of Arkansas

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Medical Center in Little Rock.

"Dr. Elders is very outspoken and does not bite her tongue," said one White House source. "This has got to be different because she's no Lani Guinier." And she is no stranger to Clinton, either.

Currently, Elders serves as director of the Arkansas Department of Health, having been appointed to that position in October 1987 by then-Gov. Bill Clinton. Elders was selected president of the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers in 1992 and is also a member of many health-related organizations, boards and commissions.

'Clinton Mobilizes Forces In Elders Nomination

By Ofield Dukes

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the National Black Nurses Association, and National Pan-ethnic Council urged their members to write in support of Dr. Elders' nomination. Dr. Elders graduated from Smith College in Little Rock at the age of 18. She served as a therapist in the U.S. Army before earning her medical degree and a Masters Degree in Public Health from the University of Texas School of Medicine. She was trained in pediatrics at the University of Minnesota and became chief resident at the University of Texas in 1961. Dr. Elders is a professor of pediatrics at

the University of Arkansas Medical School and a researcher into the causes and treatment of hormone-related illnesses. Dr. Elders has authored more than 150 articles for medical research publications. As the Director of the Arkansas Department of Health since 1987, Dr. Elders has received numerous national awards for her outstanding work and leadership in health care. As one NAACP official put it, "This country needs a Surgeon General who is not afraid to speak candidly about the difficult care problems facing the nation. Dr. Elders will be such a Surgeon General."

July 21, 1993 - July 27, 1993

Clinton nominizes for fight on Elders nomination

By Ofield Dukes

WASHINGTON, D.C.

After the shock and trauma of the derailed Lani Guinier nomination, the Clinton administration has fully mobilized in support of Dr. Joycelyn Elders as America's first African American Surgeon General.

GUEST COMMENTARY

**"We must support
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Dr. Joycelyn Elders
*...Clinton Nominee for
U.S. Surgeon General
faces challenge*

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Page B

July 23, 1993

Clinton backs surgeon general pick



ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Clinton escorts surgeon general nominee M. Joycelyn Elders to Air Force One at the Hot Springs, Ark., airport.
 July 23, 1993

Clinton Mobilizes Force For All Out Fight On Elders Nomination

-Wilmington Journal, Wilmington, North Carolina, Thursday, July 22, 1993

By OFIELD DUKES

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Leaders Rally To Support Jocelyn Elders

By Ofield Dukes
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER
PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

WASHINGTON - After the shock and trauma of the derailed Lani Guinier nomination, the Clinton administration has fully mobilized in support of Dr. Jocelyn Elders as America's first African American Surgeon General.

Battle lines have been drawn between a broad cross-section of supporters of Elders and a coalition of ultra-conservative Christian fundamentalists and anti-abortion groups. A lauded pediatrician and nationally respected public health advocate in Arkansas, Elders has become a main target of the right-wing conservative movement because of her progressive views on health care. In addition, Elders has come under fire for financial impropriety while still on Arkansas' payroll.

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Tri-County Bulletin Thursday, July 22, 1993

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Elders resigns Arkansas post

Associated Press

HOT SPRINGS, Ark. — President Clinton reasserted his support for his embattled surgeon general nominee, taking her back to Washington in his plane yesterday after she resigned as director of the Arkansas Health Department.

Mr. Clinton gave Dr. M. Joycelyn Elders a sturdy hug as the two boarded a small presidential jet. He ignored a shouted question on whether he thought Dr. Elders could be confirmed. But he had told reporters a day earlier during a weekend visit to his home state that he did not think her nomination was in trouble.

Dr. Elders submitted her resignation yesterday as Arkansas health director, effective immediately. She had been under fire for receiving a federal consulting fee while drawing her state salary.

"As work towards my confirmation process intensifies, I must now devote all my efforts and energy to my new federal role," she said in her resignation letter. Her resignation had not been expected until her confirmation process was complete.

Max Parker, a spokeswoman

for Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, said Dr. Elders contacted the governor Saturday and met with him yesterday for about 40 minutes.

A Senate panel postponed hearings on Dr. Elders' nomination last week after opponents raised questions about the dual paychecks, as well her family taxes and her position on an Arkansas bank board. Conservatives have expressed opposition to Dr. Elders because of frank statements she has made in support of abortion rights and sex education for children.

While Mr. Clinton traveled from Little Rock by motorcade, Dr. Elders flew the 50 miles aboard the presidential aircraft with Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty. Dr. Elders then got off the plane only to board it again with Mr. Clinton before television cameras.

On Wednesday, Mr. Tucker said he was not pleased when he learned that Dr. Elders was receiving federal pay while drawing her salary from the state health department.

"I didn't know about this, didn't approve of this and wouldn't have approved of this," he said.

Dr. Elders did nothing illegal by accepting the fee while retaining her job, according to a letter from Jack Kress, special counsel for

ethics at the Department of Health and Human Services.

In the letter, to Democratic Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Mr. Kress said presidential nominees may work in "an intermittent consultant capacity" at the federal agency to which they are nominated for up to 130 days without quitting their jobs. Mr. Kennedy's Labor Committee plans to hold Dr. Elders' confirmation hearing Friday.

In her letter of resignation, Dr. Elders said she had been dividing her time between the state agency and the U.S. Public Health Service since April.

"I have taken annual leave from Arkansas for the days I had to be Washington, and I have always been able to give the [Arkansas Health Department] my fullest attention when required," she wrote.

In Washington, Democratic Rep. Kweisi Mfume of Maryland said on CBS's "Face the Nation" that he believed Mr. Clinton would back up Dr. Elders' nomination.

"The White House has assured me three times in just the last three days that they are firmly committed to moving forward with the nomination process and the confirmation process," said Mr. Mfume, who is chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

July 23, 1993

White House Prepares For Another Confirmation Battle

By Staff Writer

Known as one of the nation's preeminent public health officials, Dr. M. Jocelyn Elders is expected to face Congressional confirmation hearings next week in her quest to become the America's first black surgeon general.

And, there are rumors circulating Capitol Hill and other parts of Washington, D.C. that Elders could face the same fate as Lani Guinier, whose nomination by President Clinton to become head of the U.S. Justice Department Civil Rights Division was later withdrawn. In fact, Elders has already drawn the ire of some powerful conservatives and anti-abortion groups regarding her positions on that specific issue.

"The Congressional Black Caucus and all other

civil rights groups are firmly behind Dr. Elders," said Caucus Chairman Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.) at a recent NAACP Convention in Indianapolis. "We are so behind this nominee that there is not even a crack of daylight between our group and any other civil rights organization."

Indeed, Mfume's remark was meant as a "warning" to Clinton if he fails to put the full weight of the White House behind the Elders' nomination.

According to White House sources, however, the Elders' nomination is going to be different. Preparations have since begun for the upcoming confirmation hearing. And, other sources have also indicated that Clinton will not "turn his back" on Elders, as she is a native



White House Chief of Staff Mack McLarty (c) and other Clinton administration officials brief Surgeon General nominee Jocelyn Elders (r) in preparation for her upcoming confirmation hearing.

White House Photo

Arkansan, like President Clinton.

Born in a small commu-

nity located in the southwest part of the state, Elders has had a distin-

guished career in medicine. Upon graduation from college at age 18, she entered

the U.S. Army where she received training as a physical therapist. By 1960, she was working as an intern at the University of Minnesota Hospital and later, as a pediatrician at the University of Arkansas

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Medical Center in Little Rock.

"Dr. Elders is very outspoken and does not bite her tongue," said one White House source. "This has got to be different because she's no Lani Guinier." And she is no stranger to Clinton, either.

Currently, Elders serves as director of the Arkansas Department of Health, having been appointed to that position in October 1987 by then-Gov. Bill Clinton. Elders was selected president of the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers in 1992 and is also a member of many health-related organizations, boards and commissions.

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By Ofield Dukes

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July 21, 1993 - July 27, 1993

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GUEST COMMENTARY

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Cont. on Page B

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July 23, 1993

Clinton backs surgeon general pick



ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Clinton escorts surgeon general nominee M. Joycelyn Elders to Air Force One at the Hot Springs, Ark., airport.

July 23, 1993

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Wilmington Journal, Wilmington, North Carolina, Thursday, July 22, 1993

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White House News Report



Handwritten notes:
1. 10/1/93
2. 10/1/93
3. 10/1/93
4. 10/1/93

Friday July 30, 1993
Weekly Editorial Compilation
Produced by the News Analysis Staff
Room 162, OEOB (Ext. 7151)

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Analysis:

I. Budget

All the editorials stress the high stakes in passing the budget. According to most editorials, the budget will help determine the future of the Clinton administration, the economy and even the stability of international financial markets. Many editorials urge fiscal responsibility from Washington and mention Greenspan's support of the budget proposal. The Cleveland Plain Dealer says, "Clinton's plan drove long-term interest rates down to their lowest level in more than twenty years." Many editorials state that the budget proposal represents a serious attempt to reduce the deficit but find that an economic slump may threaten this effort.

Some commentators believe that the thin vote margins in Congress may force the Clinton administration to agree to the expensive demands of individual members. Others attack subsidies for small-businesses and entitlement spending. The New York Times says, "The Clinton budget looks almost the same as the one Bush asked for." Most articles find that the budget proposal distributes the tax burden equitably.

Editorial writers widely praised the increase of the gasoline tax for several reasons. Gasoline remains at the lowest price in a half-century. The gas tax encourages conservation of energy and forces the auto-industry to produce more fuel efficient cars. Several editorials accuse Senator Boren of putting special interests ahead of the nation's welfare. Many editorials viewed Boren's suggestion of holding a budget summit as not constructive or realistic.

II. Ruth Bader Ginsburg

Editorials concerning the President's Supreme Court nominee were overwhelmingly positive. Ginsburg's widespread support prompted newspapers to call for her rapid confirmation. Many editorials echoed the sentiment of the LA Times that she is neither liberal nor conservative, but a believer in ideals that are "essential underpinnings to our society." The Baltimore Sun said, "Our view is that hers is a substantive liberalism, but in terms of process she is very much a judicial moderate." The Dallas Morning News supported Ginsburg's view of judicial restraint when it said, "While Ruth Bader Ginsburg's views may be liberal, her approach on the bench has been one of caution." The Plain Dealer also weighed in on this subject: "Using her

conservative methods, she seems inclined to reach moderate-to-liberal conclusions."

Editorials also praised Ginsburg's openness with regard to abortion compared to Reagan-Bush nominees who seemed intent on obfuscating their position on the controversial subject. The Baltimore Sun, The Star-Tribune, Newsday, and The St. Louis Post-Dispatch all commended Ginsburg's unequivocal support of a woman's right to an abortion.

III. Joycelyn Elders

Just as most newspapers praised President Clinton's choice for Supreme Court nominee, the majority also supported his nomination of Joycelyn Elders as surgeon general. The Atlanta Constitution declared Elders "an excellent choice," and the Detroit Press admired her dedication to the "health and welfare of the young and the poor." The Dallas Morning News commented that "President Clinton has stood by her" despite attempts made by conservatives to "discredit her and embarrass the president."

Several editorials criticize Elder's opponents for trying to shift the focus from her outstanding record and her ideas to unproven allegations of "double-dipping" and failing to recall a faulty condom supply. The Star Tribune and the LA Times both noted that Elders's ideas are similar to those of the highly respected former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, and question why her ideas are portrayed as radical while his were not.

The Detroit News and the Chattanooga Free Press were the only detractors. The Detroit News argued that they "don't agree with almost any of her public policy decisions," yet praised Elders for "speaking her mind." The Chattanooga Free Press was the sole opponent of the nomination; the editorial described her as "tart-tongued" and lambasted her for "having a long record of bad judgment in promoting abortion and juvenile sexual activity." With the exception of these two opinions, the majority of the editorials responded with unequivocal support.

IV. National Service:

Except for the Wall Street Journal, all of the editorials supported the Presidents proposed National Service plan. The editorials characterized Robert Dole and other Republican senators as doing anything to make President Clinton look bad. The New York Times stated that "Robert Dole seems to be marshaling a filibuster to deny President Clinton a major legislative victory at any cost." The L.A. Times described National Service as "a cost-effective way to help Americans help themselves."

The Wall Street Journal was the only editorial which criticized the National Service plan. The Wall Street Journal describes National Service as "growing into a middle class entitlement." It also stated that the plan will "put kids to work at jobs that everybody agrees aren't worth doing."

A Budget Worthy of Mr. Bush

If the conferees who will meet this week to finish a budget stick to their present path, they'll likely hand President Clinton a package much like the one George Bush signed three years ago. Is that what America voted for?

The conferees are about to recommend chopping deficits by about \$500 billion over five years, primarily by cutting defense, trimming Medicare, raising income taxes and imposing a gasoline tax. But that's exactly what Congress did under President Bush three years ago.

Mr. Clinton promised voters more than a re-hash. He pledged to end the consumption frenzy of the 1980's by turning the Federal budget toward investments in infrastructure, children and training. But Congress is veering in a different direction. Unless it turns around, and fast, Mr. Clinton's victory in getting a deficit-reduction package through Congress will be hollow.

There's nothing wrong with the overall target. The conferees appear headed for a package that would reduce the deficit by the fifth year to about \$280 billion — a prudent target because at that level the nation's debt would grow no faster than the economy. And the mix of taxes is about right. Following Mr. Clinton's lead, Congress would raise taxes on the rich by about \$100 billion and impose a gas tax that would likely cost a middle-class family less than \$50 a year.

But what about investment? Congress knocked tens of billions from discretionary spending that Mr. Clinton proposed. And it seems unprepared to prune old programs to make way for Mr. Clinton's initiatives. That probably means that most of his plans to hike spending on worker training, education, mass transit and technological research will be slashed. He'll be lucky to save a third of his investment program.

This week the budget conferees will turn to energy taxes and entitlements. The disagreements are narrowing, but still important. The Senate would impose a \$20 billion gas tax; the House would

raise \$70 billion from an energy tax. The House would use the extra revenue to subsidize low-paid workers, create enterprise zones in depressed areas and spur investment in small businesses.

The small-business subsidies are ill-designed and not worth preserving. But the enterprise zones, though modest, are an important symbolic gesture to ailing cities — the only aid they'll see in the budget package — and are important to winning support among the Congressional Black Caucus and House liberals.

Tax credits to the working poor and higher food stamp allowances for beleaguered families are more than symbolic. These programs lie at the heart of Mr. Clinton's pledge to lift families with at least one full-time worker above poverty. The House delivered on this pledge by providing large tax credits to low-wage workers, enhanced food stamp allotments and money for innovative programs to help distressed families.

However, the Senate had to reduce or eliminate each of these programs once it cut the House's energy tax by \$50 billion. Under the Senate plan, many poor families, for example workers without children, would suffer because they would get no offset to the higher gas tax.

The conferees must decide first the size of the gas tax. If they settle on less than around 8 cents a gallon — which would raise about \$20 billion more than the Senate bill — then there will not be enough money to elevate the working poor above poverty and fund urban enterprise zones.

Some Western senators oppose gas taxes above the Senate level of 4 cents because, they claim, it hits hard at their rural constituents. They exaggerate. Regional disparities in the gas tax are small and, besides, the income tax hikes hit hard at East Coast cities. Overall, a package with an 8 cent gas tax would be fair.

Congress is moving to hand Mr. Clinton a budget. But if it shortchanges the gas tax or the President's spending initiatives, it won't be a budget that invests in the future and it won't be a victory for those who voted for an economic turnaround.

Budget Time

THE SHAKIES rule the day." That's how Sen. John Breaux was quoted as describing the budget situation yesterday. No one understands better than he; it was Mr. Breaux who suggested only a few days ago that the budget conferees solve their problem of how to reduce the deficit while minimizing both tax increases and spending cuts by . . . doing less deficit reduction. But Mr. Breaux, to judge by his performance so far, will be the good soldier in the end. The worst of the wavering Democrats are not those like him, who cheerfully suggest doing less. They are the sanctimonious ones who say they'd love to vote for this deficit reduction plan except that it doesn't do *more*.

The current chief practitioner of this play is Sen. David Boren, but he is hardly the only member of the school. The great problem with the president's proposal, he said again the other day, was that "it does not do enough." You hear the same argument from others, and you wonder where they all were the past 12 years as the deficit widened, the national debt quadrupled and interest on the debt rose to a seventh of the budget, crowding out much else. Were these incipient heroes not in Congress all that while? And now that they have the opportunity to begin to reverse that crippling course, their claim is that the reversal is incomplete. What transparency.

The budget conference is hung up on the issue of an energy tax. The president proposed a strong one; Mr. Boren and others from energy

states were able to weaken it. It is now essentially a gasoline tax increase of about a nickel a gallon. The conferees need a couple of extra pennies a gallon both to meet and to marshal the votes for the president's objectives of cutting the budget deficit without ignoring the social deficit over the next five years. The pennies are insignificant; the estimated cost of the gasoline to drive 100 miles in this country has fallen in real terms from \$8.65 in 1976 to less than \$4.25 today. The people who have to drive the most have gained the most; can they not afford to give back a dime? Nor is the total revenue involved that great—some \$3 billion or \$4 billion a year over five years. Mr. Boren and other such preachers would have you believe that a great principle is at stake in this—tax increases vs. spending cuts. The money is less than half of a percent of federal revenues or federal spending.

The president's plan would reduce the likely deficit some 40 percent five years from now. It is balanced in the way it spreads the burden across the society; those who would pay most are those with the greatest ability to pay. There is no alternative in play. Mr. Boren calls for a "summit," but there has been a summit—the kind called for in the Constitution. A newly elected president made a proposal to a new elected Congress, which worked its will and now must do so a final time. No more backing or filling or dodging; there'll be another chance another year. The choice is yes or no. Do the Democrats govern or duck?

NY Times 7/29

Congress: Pass the budget, puhleeze

President Clinton's economic recipe for the nation, now stewing in the unholy cauldron of a House-Senate conference committee, is so badly mixed up it is difficult to recognize the original ingredients. But it's palatable: It offers reasonably nutritious job creation, deficit reduction and resource reallocation; it trims the deficit to about \$200 billion over time without crippling the economy; it makes specific program cuts, and it helps hold down long-term interest rates. Struggling Democrats should join to overcome the nattering negativism of solid Republican opposition, maintain as much of the House plan as possible, and pass it.

Vice President Al Gore was cautiously optimistic about passage Monday during his Twin Cities visit. But congressional vote margins are so razor thin that conference committee members can be forced to indulge the expensive demands of individual legislators. The last-minute effort to increase the subsidy for business meals is a distasteful example; it should be rejected.

The superior House version would raise \$72 billion over five years with a broad-based energy tax. The Senate passed a pathetic 4.3-cent gasoline tax that would raise \$22 billion. The conference de-

bate has narrowed to a tax of between 6 cents and 9 cents a gallon. What timidity; we remind Congress that Ross Perot urged a gasoline-tax increase of a dime a year, 50 cents over five years. The key isn't the size of the gasoline tax but what the money goes for.

The Clinton plan rightly invests the proceeds in neglected cities, infrastructure, technology, education, job training and crucial tax credits that the working poor out of poverty. Conferees should maintain what remains of Clinton's future-oriented focus by passing the highest gas tax possible while gasoline remains at the lowest price, adjusted for inflation, in a half-century. Legislators needn't be concerned with scare stories about regional disparities in the effect of the gas-tax increase. What minor disparities there are — \$20 to \$50 a year — would be offset by income-tax disparities that go the other way.

With the GOP (Gridlock on Progress) smirking on the sidelines, congressional Democrats need to show the nation that they and their administration can work together to provide, at least in part, change that voters sought last November. Before they take a summer break, they need to pass what remains of the Clinton economic plan.

Dallas Morning News 7/23 CLINTONOMICS

Budget should include entitlement caps

After his first six months in office, Bill Clinton must have certainly learned, as Sidney Blumenthal of the *New Yorker* wrote recently, "There appears to be no place he can stand outside the deficit's shadow." The national debt Bill Clinton inherited will indeed affect every domestic decision he makes as president.

Of course, House and Senate budget conferees now are trying to finalize a deficit reduction plan the president presented earlier this year. A key difference between the House and Senate is over whether to cap spending on so-called entitlement programs, such as Medicare and farm price supports.

After much work by Rep. Charles Stenholm, D-Stamford, the House approved a mechanism by which the growth in entitlement spending can be controlled. In early June, the House approved a budget plan that allows for entitlement increases over the next five years. Yet any spending over the

approved levels would have to be financed through reducing spending elsewhere, or through a vote to change the levels.

The Senate included no such mechanism in the budget plan it recently approved. While the Senate plan, like the House's, does cap growth in discretionary spending (roads, parks, housing, etc.), it does not take on entitlement spending.

Yet that budget component is driving the budget's growth, and thus the deficit's rise. Consider that nearly 50 percent of all federal spending is related to direct payments to individuals.

If Democratic senators are interested in giving their party's leader some domestic breathing room, they will agree in the budget conference to a cap in entitlement spending. Only by controlling mandatory spending will they allow Bill Clinton a moment's reprieve from the deficit's shadow. That's not an unreasonable request.

Brass-knuckles time on the budget

From the start it promised to be a squeaker, but lawmakers still were expected to pass a compromise version of President Clinton's economic plan before they left for their August recess next week.

Now, however, rebellious Democrats are threatening to pull their support, a move that could sink the Clinton deficit-reduction package. With Republicans refusing to cooperate at all, Clinton can't afford Democratic defections. He needs to dig in and play hardball with the recalcitrants.

Oklahoma Sen. David Boren, for one, warned he would switch sides if "dramatic" changes weren't made in the developing conference committee plan. This past spring, Boren led a gang of maverick senators who wanted to substitute more spending cuts for the president's proposed broad-based energy tax. They managed to get that tax killed. Now, Boren says, the conference committee plan doesn't do enough to control entitlement spending. He wants to scrap it all and hold a bipartisan summit.

In his earlier mutiny, Boren raised legitimate, constructive questions. Now he comes across as a narrow-minded, oil-state senator more interested in fighting fuel taxes and protecting special friends than in serving the nation.

If Boren were but one defector, Clinton might ignore him. But because the margin for victory is so thin and tenuous and because Boren could swing other Democratic votes, the president should pull no punches to get him, and his ilk, back in line.

Clinton has been working quietly to convert op-

ponents, but he must do more. He must be a persuasive, forceful proponent, letting the American people and lawmakers like Boren know in no uncertain terms what the consequences will be if his plan fails.

Although there are some key differences yet to be resolved in conference, the elements of the plan are clear. It will reduce deficits by about \$500 billion over five years, primarily by raising taxes on the wealthy, cutting defense spending, curbing Medicare and boosting gasoline taxes by some amount.

It's not a perfect package; it's too heavily weighted toward tax increases and it leaves too many spending cuts for later. But it's a first step by a Democratic administration and a Democrat-controlled Congress to bring down the deficit and stop America from continually borrowing against its future.

In a speech Monday in Chicago, Clinton admitted his plan is only a start. Reducing the deficit, improving education, rewarding work, reforming welfare and cutting health spending are related, he said, but "we must begin by bringing the deficit down."

He's right. And it would only add to the uncertainty to drop everything now and begin a new, bipartisan budget summit that would be contentious and time-consuming. And other than sticking to their pledge of no new taxes, the Republicans haven't offered any credible deficit-reduction alternatives.

The nation has decided that Washington must begin to demonstrate fiscal responsibility. Clinton has offered a first step. He must get tough and make sure he gets it. It's time to play hardball.

Cleveland Plain Dealer 7/27

Greenspan's plea, Clinton's plan

When Alan Greenspan speaks, the financial markets listen — and so should anyone who hopes that the U.S. economy will soon pull out of its slow-growth stall. The chairman of the Federal Reserve system bluntly warned Congress last week that, if lawmakers fail to approve a deficit reduction package, international money markets may go haywire.

Hard bargaining is under way in a House-Senate conference committee, which must reconcile the two chambers' differing budget plans before Congress begins its summer recess in early August. If the negotiators falter, Greenspan warned, a budget failure could have a ruinous impact on the financial markets. "If you (lawmakers) appear to be backing off" from deficit reduction, said the Fed chief, "I think the markets would react, appropriately, negatively. I think we have run out of time. ... If we don't come to grips with this [deficit] issue now, we'll always find the means not to do it."

Anticipating the approval of a version of President Bill Clinton's plan, the markets have already driven long-term interest rates down to their lowest levels in more than 20 years, he said. Low interest rates have sent a surge of low-cost capital into the economy. That has helped homeowners refinance their mortgages, corporations restructure

their balance sheets, and businesses pick up the pace of job creation. But if Congress thwarts deficit reduction, jittery financiers could send interest rates upward again — thus choking off the recovery.

House and Senate negotiators seem headed toward a compromise that, in most respects, resembles Clinton's original outline. The final bill will likely resemble the Senate's idea of a tax on only transportation fuels, shunning the House-passed tax on all energy sources. But House touches, discarded by the Senate, that should be retained in the final bill include: a more generous investment incentive for small business, a cut in the capital-gains tax for new investments, an increased Earned Income Tax Credit for the working poor and an imaginative federal "empowerment zone" initiative for distressed inner cities.

Greenspan predicted that enactment of deficit restraints and a workable health-care plan could eventually leave "the U.S. economy ... healthier and more vibrant than in decades." That is all the more reason for Congress to devise a plan that attacks the deficit and trims wasteful government spending.

IN OUR OPINION

Detroit Free
Press

BUDGET FAIRNESS

7/28

Clinton's basic principles should guide final choices

As the final versions of President Bill Clinton's budget and deficit-reduction plans are hammered out in conference between the House and Senate, the key principles of what the nation's chief executive is trying to accomplish should guide the decisions.

One of those principles is fairness of taxation, which during the Reagan years moved away from the valuable fiscal and social doctrine that the amount paid should be tied to the ability to pay. As the nation struggles to come up with revenues to reduce the budget deficit and begin to slow down the growth of the debt run up during the past two administrations, tax rates for those with the highest incomes should rise.

The president sought a corporate income tax rate of 36 percent, which more nearly corresponds to the new top personal rates, but the 35 percent approved by the House and the Senate is defensible. Either rate serves to recognize the importance of keeping taxation below levels that drain investment and depress production, but high enough to pay for programs that benefit all Americans, including spending to develop and maintain the nation's physical and human infrastructure.

In that context, the value of the earned-income tax credit for the working poor should be obvious. It is the main govern-

ment program that rewards the poor for working, especially at wage levels so low that the incentive could otherwise be great to sit back and rake in a bit less.

There has been more disagreement over whether the economic stimulus the president thinks is needed in fact is. The package he sought, including other tax relief for business, was scaled back greatly. What remains is the minimum chance he should be given to tackle recovery.

Mr. Clinton's national service plan places a new emphasis on instilling in young people a sense of responsibility for society, and an obligation to help improve our life in common. Those values played no small part in the nation's past prosperity, and have a role to play in national renewal.

It is similarly good public policy to raise the federal tax on gasoline by what probably will be about 4.6 cents a gallon. The tax would yield badly needed revenue, while encouraging energy conservation and enhancing the incentive for automakers to improve fuel efficiency further.

Mr. Clinton, like any other president, gets only to fiddle at the margins of national spending. For the sake of his having the chance to do what he, as the people's chief elected official, believes should be done, it is important that his principles and priorities carry the day.

THE PLAIN DEALER

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Ginsburg: Supremely qualified

With her well-reasoned testimony last week before the Senate Judiciary Committee, federal appeals court Judge Ruth Bader Ginsburg proved that she fulfills the high standards for a Supreme Court appointee.

When the Judiciary Committee votes on her nomination tomorrow, the lawmakers should recommend Ginsburg's speedy confirmation by the full Senate. Her addition to the Rehnquist Court, replacing retiring Justice Byron R. White, should be a welcome moderating influence that helps keep justice balanced in America's traditional legal center.

Ginsburg, who has served for 13 years on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, used the Senate hearings to articulate her respect for settled legal precedent. The first Supreme Court nominee by a Democratic president since 1967, Ginsburg used reasoning that seemed to impress even the skeptics among the Judiciary panel's conservative Republicans: She carefully weighs each case's facts before reaching her legal conclusions, rather than imposing any preordained theory of constitutional law onto the case.

Using conservative methods, she seems inclined to reach moderate-to-liberal conclusions. Her re-

strained legal style was evident in her answers to the most sensitive line of senators' questioning: She is a strong supporter of abortion rights, yet she also sees room to differ with some of the logic in Justice Harry A. Blackmun's privacy-rights precedent in the 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* decision. Her reliance on the 14th Amendment's "equal protection clause," distinct from Blackmun's focus on its "liberty clause," is typical of the discerning style she has used on the federal appeals bench.

Given her willingness to explore her legal reasoning on abortion rights, it was somewhat disappointing that Ginsburg declined several Republican senators' invitation to discuss other unsettled areas of constitutional law — notably, whether the Eighth Amendment's prohibition of "cruel and unusual punishment" should cover the modern-day death penalty. Yet Ginsburg (like other recent Supreme Court nominees) correctly insisted that a prospective justice must not foreshadow his or her position on any specific issue that might reach the court.

Ginsburg's intellect and balanced style give her the potential to be an outstanding justice. President Bill Clinton's first appointment to the preme Court merits confirmation.

Dallas Morning News 7/27

SUPREME COURT

Ginsburg's testimony lives up to expectations

Anyone who followed last week's confirmation hearings on Ruth Bader Ginsburg had to be impressed with the jurist's intellect and philosophy.

From the moment President Clinton named her to be the 107th justice of the U.S. Supreme Court last month, people have tossed labels in Judge Ginsburg's direction. Some have called her a "liberal," citing her work as an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union in the 1970s. Others have called her a "conservative" of sorts, pointing out that as a judge she has sided with Republican appointees more often than with her fellow Democrats. Who's for real — Ruth Bader Ginsburg the advocate or Judge Ginsburg the judicial conservative? Last week's hearings provided the answer: Both.

The passion that marked her earlier life as a courtroom advocate for women's rights came through loud and clear as the nominee forcefully expressed her personal support for abortion rights. But she also took pains to distinguish between her former role as a lawyer and her present position as a judge: "We must always remember that we live in a democracy that can be destroyed if judges take it upon themselves to rule as Platonic

guardians" who impose their own vision of government upon society. While Ruth Bader Ginsburg's views may be "liberal," her approach on the bench has been one of caution.

In both her opening remarks and in responses to senators' questions, the nominee emphasized the importance of judicial restraint. "A judge should decide the case before her without reaching out to cover cases not yet seen," she declared. While conservatives on the Judiciary Committee sometimes were frustrated in their attempts to find out Judge Ginsburg's views on issues other than abortion, her overall respect for judicial limits should provide some reassurance that she will be appropriately cautious about legislating from the bench. Her philosophy is likely to be quite compatible with that of the court's centrist members.

Despite the fact that Judge Ginsburg was not President Clinton's first choice for the job, she has withstood the intense scrutiny that surrounds court nominations and has proved herself to be eminently qualified. The Senate Judiciary Committee should have no difficulty recommending her confirmation when it votes this week.

The Star July 24

A nominee who says what she thinks

When Supreme Court nominees show up for confirmation hearings, the Senate Judiciary Committee typically asks their views on abortion. When they're asked, nominees usually hem and haw. Until this week, when nominee Ruth Bader Ginsburg did something almost unthinkable: She said what she thinks. Her candor revealed much that is comforting about the up-and-coming justice.

"This is something central to a woman's life, to her dignity," Ginsburg explained Wednesday. "It's a decision that she must make for herself. And when government controls that decision for her, she's being treated as less than a fully adult human responsible for her own choices." Thus did the nominee express her belief that a woman has a constitutional right to end a pregnancy. And Ginsburg ventured a mildly unconventional basis for her outlook: In her eyes, the abortion right is secured not just by the Constitution's implicit privacy guarantee — but also by its explicit equal-protection promise.

Ginsburg's opinion is hardly as startling as its

disclosure. For years, high-court nominees have guarded their thoughts about *Roe vs. Wade* like trade secrets — declining to answer even the most general inquiries about the 1973 ruling's constitutional underpinnings. Most have insisted it would be improper to speak up on any matter likely to come before the court. But that coy claim has often been used to keep Americans in the dark about a nominee's judicial philosophy. It's certainly proper for nominees to shy away from forecasting their votes on specific cases. But it's utterly wrong for them to conceal their long-standing ideas about what the Constitution means.

Ginsburg's unexpected openness on *Roe vs. Wade* offers assurance that she shares the widespread view that decisions about pregnancy should be made by the people who must live with them. It grants Americans a clearer sense of the mind and manner of a high-court contender. Before senators empower a judge to reshape the legal landscape, they at least deserve to know how she or he sees it. Now that they know, they need not hesitate to confirm this uncommonly candid jurist.

Judge Ginsburg's employment practices

"Suppose a small business in a major city that was majority black had never hired a black person, even though that business in over a decade had hired more than 50 people. Further suppose that a disappointed black job applicant filed a discrimination suit, but he or she was unable to provide any direct evidence of intentional discrimination by the employer.

"Would such statistics, standing alone, in your view justify an inference of racial discrimination by the employer, and would that employer, in your view, to avoid an expensive and protracted lawsuit that could cost hundreds of thousands of dollars, be justified in using quotas or other forms of racial preferences to eliminate the 'manifest imbalance'?"

So wondered Utah Sen. Orrin Hatch last week during confirmation hearings for Supreme Court nominee Ruth Bader Ginsburg. It's an important question, and for lots of small businesses, more than a hypothetical one. Mr. Hatch explained that he knew of a lot of cases of small businesses "suffering the stings of these employment discrimination cases."

The average cost of defending a business in such cases is \$80,000, said Mr. Hatch, and that was prior to the passage of the 1991 civil rights act. The cost is probably even higher now, he suggested.

Judge Ginsburg did not respond directly to the question, but referred to a case involving a California highway department and its hiring of a woman instead of a man who scored higher than she did on an application test. The nominee made two main points: first, that the department had no women in its 238 positions and second, that the test on which the male applicant scored higher was based in part on a subjective interview, one that would allow for "unconscious bias" against women. A 238-person department without any women made Judge Ginsburg wonder "whether the employer wasn't in fact engaged unconsciously in de-

nying full and equal treatment to the women."

How then to account for Judge Ginsburg's own hiring practices? It turns out that the hypothetical small business to which Mr. Hatch referred was her own. In a majority black city — Washington, D.C. — she hired not one black applicant to serve as law clerk during a period of 13 years. All 57 of her law clerks were white. Was she guilty of unconscious bias and a whites-only hiring practice?

"I do want to say that I have tried. . . . And I am going to try harder, and if you confirm me for this job, my attractiveness to black candidates is going to improve," Judge Ginsburg responded. Mr. Hatch consoled her, and his colleagues hurriedly changed the subject.

Lots of businesses "try" not to discriminate. Lots of businesses promise to do better in the future. But they still end up having to spend thousands of dollars defending themselves in court, and they still have to pay penalties — both in cash and reputation, if they can't do better than Judge Ginsburg.

Had, say, Robert Bork been accused of similar hiring practices, one can just imagine the editorial-page smirking, the Judiciary Committee accusations and the special-interest outrage over a claim that he had "tried." But never mind. There is no reason to doubt that Judge Ginsburg has tried to hire and would warmly welcome black clerks. However, the absolute number of black law school graduates with qualifications appropriate for a clerkship on the most important appeals court in the nation and a desire to begin their law careers with such a clerkship is probably not large. And that pool is not in the least related to the racial composition of the city in which the court sits.

This is not a problem only judges have, however. When she joins the high court, here's hoping Judge Ginsburg won't forget her own experience in this area and that she won't hold other employers in this country to a standard she herself couldn't meet.

A Superb Pick by the President

Enthusiastic support for Judge Ruth Bader Ginsburg

In nominating Ruth Bader Ginsburg for the U.S. Supreme Court, President Clinton has made an extremely good choice. Perhaps the strongest testament to her qualifications is that, aside from Democratic delight with her performance in Senate Judiciary Committee hearings last week, even conservative Republicans have been moved to concede an easy confirmation. The Senate panel plans to vote on her nomination Thursday and send it to the Senate floor for final approval in early August.

Ginsburg indeed has impressive credentials. Her background includes 13 years as an appellate judge, eight years as a nationally prominent litigator for women's rights and 18 years as a law professor. In answering the

questions of the Judiciary Committee she displayed an impressive grasp of the law and an ability to articulate and defend the sort of precise distinctions that the high court frequently must make.

Some on the left have criticized her as an "incrementalist" and some on the right have been displeased by what they call her liberal views. But complaints like these are far outweighed by the fact that in the hearings as well as in her long and distinguished career she has demonstrated a sense of compassion and devotion to ideals such as equal protection for women and for homosexuals. Neither inherently liberal nor conservative, such ideals are essential underpinnings to our society.

As the first Democratic nominee in 26 years, Ginsburg

will join a court that in recent times has been characterized by a rightward tilt, particularly in the areas of criminal justice and civil rights. The five justices appointed by Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush now constitute a majority on the court, albeit a majority of shifting alliances and often acrimonious opinions. Ginsburg alone may not be able to move the court's centrists on most issues, but she might restore some much-needed ideological balance.

As her hearings concluded last Friday, Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, said, "I can unabashedly and without reservation support the nomination of Ruth Bader Ginsburg to the Supreme Court." So can we.

Judge Ginsburg's Jurisprudence

Supreme Court nominee Ruth Bader Ginsburg was as vague as possible in answering pointed questions in her confirmation hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Some members of the committee chided her. But her refusal to hint how she might vote in particular cases was as traditional as some of the senators' attempts at entrapment.

Judge Ginsburg explained what the senators already knew: Without reading the briefs, listening to the oral arguments, researching precedents, conferring with colleagues, a justice cannot — or at least should not — have an opinion on a case.

But in one way the discreet Mrs. Ginsburg was more forthcoming than previous Supreme Court nominees. She said that she found a right to an abortion in the Constitution. No nominee since Roe vs. Wade was decided 20 years ago has said that.

Specific issues aside, Judge Ginsburg's testimony differed from recent nominees in enunciating a philosophy. The choices of Ronald Reagan and George Bush who were willing to discuss their ideas of jurisprudence at all said or implied they took a narrow and historical view of the Constitution. Some called this "original intent." Judge Ginsburg said she took an "expansive" view of constitutional rights, and that these rights "evolve" as society evolves. She has been labeled a moderate,

even a conservative, but that was an answer former Justice William Brennan and the late Justice Thurgood Marshall would applaud.

Sen. William Cohen told Judge Ginsburg many suspected she was "basically a political activist hiding in the robes of an appellate judge." Our view, reinforced by her performance at the hearings, is that hers is a substantive liberalism, but in terms of process she is very much a judicial moderate. Passive rather than active. She will defer to popularly elected presidents and legislators whenever she can justify it. She will rule cautiously in specific cases, even while reading the Constitution broadly, and she probably will not enunciate any sweeping legal theory in her decisions. Her judicial views will emerge cumulatively. She will be what one observer has called "a case by case justice."

Yet a justice's robe is quite a different garment from even an appellate judge's. The wearer often changes. "Clothes make the man" has a special meaning in the world of the law. It is certain the Judiciary Committee will approve Judge Ginsburg next Thursday, as it should. It can also be said with certainty, based on her history and her appearance before the committee, that she has the experience, intelligence and self-confidence to be a major figure on the Supreme Court.

Baltimore Sun
7/28/93

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Saturday, July 24, 1993

Tax Ant, Pay Grasshopper

Who wants failure? Nobody! Work is stimulated by the hope of success. But if you penalize success and reward failure, you are likely to get less success and more failure.

Almost everyone will agree with that proposition — until it comes to taxing. Then we do the wrong things.

President Bill Clinton is currently asking for higher taxes on everyone, but some more than others. He plans to "soak the rich," making them pay their "fair share." The truth is that "the rich" have been paying higher tax rates for a long time. But if we confiscated everything they have, it wouldn't be enough to offset the deficits that Mr. Clinton and the spenders in Congress are thrusting upon us.

When the 16th Amendment to the Constitution was being proposed (it was ratified in 1913) to permit the progressive income tax, the pitch was that only "a few" (the rich) would pay and the rate would be "low." Some warned that approval of the income tax would mean that "some day the income tax may take as much as 10 percent of a person's income." Income-tax proponents sneered. Mr. Clinton's current proposal seeks a top individual rate of 39.6 percent.

But forget "the rich," and consider a little "parable" by Joe Cobb of the Heritage Foundation:

"To understand what's really going on here, picture the situation of two twins, age 21. Both get good jobs and earn satisfying incomes throughout their lives. But one is frugal and thrifty, saving and investing in quality stocks and bonds. The other lives for the day, taking expensive vacations, eating in fancy restaurants and lavishing friends with expensive gifts.

"When these twins reach retire-

ment age, the one who lived a frugal and thrifty life will possess a substantial investment portfolio. His 'provisional income' will be an easy target for the Clinton tax scheme. On the other hand, the one who did not save for retirement probably will depend on Social Security, and perhaps Supplemental Security Income (SSI) to make ends meet. He won't have much 'provisional income,' and the IRS won't be nearly as interested.

"Is it 'fair' to make the individual who planned ahead, and saved for old age, pay a higher tax rate?

"The apparent reason for increasing the surtax on 'provisional income' of elderly Americans is because some senior citizens — heaven forbid — have accumulated savings during their lifetimes. If 'ability to pay' is all we care about, our tax strategy is no different from that of the 1930s bank robber Willie Sutton, who robbed banks because, he said, 'that's where the money is.'

"This is where the Clinton administration's notion of 'tax fairness' leads: to punishing those senior citizens who work the hardest and successfully plan for their futures. As a strategy against the rich, the politics of envy usually works. But this time, with the elderly as the target, it may backfire. Clearly, the Clinton administration's idea of 'tax fairness' is unfair to the elderly."

Do you remember when your teacher in elementary school read you Aesop's fable about the grasshopper who loafed and the ant who worked? Well, the Clinton view is to reward the loafer, who is a loser, and penalize the worker, who achieves success.

Mr. Clinton needs to be introduced to Mr. Aesop.

7/29/93



"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

Christian Science Monitor
Budget Squeeze Plays

BUDGET brinkmanship is under way again in Washington. House Budget Committee chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D) of Illinois and Senate Finance Committee chairman Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D) of New York are ironing out the remaining differences between their respective budget resolutions, a task they hope to finish this week. This would pave the way for a vote on the budget reconciliation package next week before the August recess.

Everyone involved senses that failure to pass the budget would be a serious blow to the Clinton presidency, which is why lawmakers as politically diverse as Senate Majority leader George Mitchell (D) of Maine and Rep. Newt Gingrich (R) of Georgia maintain that, in the end, the package that emerges from the House-Senate conference will pass.

This makes some of the 11th-hour political theatrics all the more tedious. Sen. David Boren (D) of Oklahoma, who led a successful revolt against the proposed Btu tax, now says he is leaning against budget plan because it doesn't adequately address entitlements and it lacks bipartisan support. He called on President Clinton to halt the reconciliation process and convene a budget summit with Republicans.

Although some of his colleagues dismiss this as grandstanding, the ad-

ministration and budget negotiators can ill afford to ignore his vote. The budget resolution that passed the Senate did so by one vote - Vice President Al Gore Jr.'s.

Given the drastic impact Mr. Boren's proposal for a summit would have on the process at this stage, the net effect may be to force negotiators to make more concessions to their conservative Senate colleagues than they might otherwise in order to offset any Boren defection.

Negotiators already have been working on Sen. Richard Bryan (D) of Nevada by reducing Mr. Clinton's proposed cut in tax deductions for meals and entertainment - a potential lure given Nevada's convention business.

Entitlements, as well as the proposed gasoline tax increase, trouble many House Democrats as well. There the budget passed by only six votes.

No one expects unanimity on budget matters among Democrats. And entitlements remain a serious budget problem. But no Republican is expected, given earlier votes, to back the reconciliation package - itself an unusual situation. With the House-Senate negotiations so delicate, the president himself does no one any favor by reverting to bashing Congress, as he did in a speech in Chicago earlier this week. The time for closing ranks is here.

EDITORIALS

Today's debate is on **HIGHER GAS TAXES**
and whether they're needed to help reduce the deficit.

Hike gas tax; deficit-cut choices are running low

OUR VIEW A gas-tax boost can throttle down the nation's staggering deficit without hurting the economy.

Tax writers for House Democrats want to pump some life into deficit reduction. But President Clinton and some nervous senators are slapping them down.

They're rebuffing a proposal to hike the gas tax 9 cents a gallon to raise \$9 billion a year, indicating it's "high."

High to whom? Clinton's own defunct energy-tax proposal, aimed at raising \$22 billion a year for deficit reduction by 1998, would have increased gas taxes 7.5 cents. Another cent and a half won't kill anyone.

Even if oil and gasoline prices remained unchanged, the average house-

hold would pay only \$8 a month more to cover a 9-cent higher tax.

That's about a fifth of the monthly savings the average homeowner might gain if deficit reduction knocks another point off mortgage rates.

Meanwhile, oil and gasoline prices are falling. In May, the Senate could have imposed its proposed 4.3 cents-a-gallon tax increase, and motorists wouldn't have felt a thing; gas prices dropped that much. Indeed, after accounting for inflation, gasoline prices today are at their lowest level since World War II.

That's led to Americans losing the conservation habit. Surveys of new car buyers show, for example, that fuel efficiency is only their sixth priority.

Other major nations are much more forceful in encouraging conservation. Gas taxes in Japan and Europe are 10 times the levels here. Even Canada and Mexico, despite more ample energy supplies, tax gas more than the USA does.

So, the House's proposed 9 cents-a-gallon increase is hardly "high." What's high is a federal deficit that now equals \$3,000 per household a year. And higher gas taxes are vital to bringing that down.

Gas prices in other nations

Price per gallon of gasoline (including taxes)	
Mexico	\$1.50
Canada	1.50
Britain	2.50
Germany	2.25
France	2.25
Italy	2.25
Japan	2.50
U.S.	1.00

Don't raise gas taxes

OPPOSING VIEW Taxing transportation is regressive and a burden on the entire economy.

Trucking is the engine of the U.S. economy. We are the conveyor belt that links factories to raw materials, to distribution centers and to the stores in your neighborhood. A fuel-tax hike would increase the cost of production, distribution and the nation's just-in-time delivery system — all of which would add to the price of U.S. products here at home and in worldwide markets, resulting in the loss of thousands of U.S. jobs.

Increasing the fuel tax also would put a massive, regressive tax burden on lower- and middle-income families and small businesses. And Americans who drive long distances, and do not have access to subsidized mass transit, would

also be penalized.

But hardest hit would be the trucking industry — the industry which is fighting to create and preserve jobs. Trucking accounts for one out of every 12 private-sector jobs in the economy, and a tax that falls so disproportionately on trucking will displace many of those workers.

The administration's economic program should address the deficit by first reducing spending and only then through tax increases that are broadly based and fairly allocated. Unfortunately, fewer and fewer taxpayers are being asked to share in the burden, leaving the trucking industry — with a profit margin of less than 2% — to pay for a deficit that everyone created. This situation is not just unfair to trucking, but it will hurt all Americans — shippers and consumers — and the fragile U.S. economy.

If Congress is willing to make the politically hard decisions to cut spending before seeking more taxes, we will do our part. However, the trucking industry and its 7.8 million employees will oppose congressional approval of a deficit-reduction package that leaves us holding the bag.



By Thomas J. Donohue, president and chief executive of American Trucking Associations.

Where are the budget numbers?

President Clinton's quick-draw response to Republican jeers had congressional Democrats cheering back during the president's triumphant February budget speech. Mr. Clinton had said that his budget would be more honest than those prepared by the "decade of greed" crowd. And to prove it, Mr. Clinton said that his budget would be based on the nonpartisan economic estimates prepared by the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office. Republicans, who know firsthand that there is no such thing as a nonpartisan outfit on Capitol Hill, groaned and laughed, mocking the president for his faux-naivete. Well, at least the CBO was always more accurate than the president's Office of Management and Budget in the bad old 1980s. Mr. Clinton responded. Cheers, huzzahs and triumph for Mr. Clinton.

But the Republicans' groans are proving to have been prophetic. The CBO may have been in the ballpark with its economic estimates when it was in the business of trying to expose the rosy scenarios of the Reagan Bush OMB. But now the CBO is in cahoots with the Clinton OMB, and not only are we not getting accurate economic estimates, we're not getting any economic estimates at all.

It is past time for midyear budget reviews from both the CBO and the OMB, and yet neither has coughed up the figures yet. Nor is either outfit going to come up with figures until after the budget deal is done, spokesmen for the CBO and the OMB told the editorial page of *The Washington Times*. This, despite the fact that House and Senate Republicans have been complaining that without the new budget figures any budget deal will be built on false pretenses. Unfortunately, that seems to be just what the CBO and OMB have in mind.

Several weeks ago the head of the Council of Economic Advisors, Laura Tyson, admitted that the administration's projections for short-term economic growth had fallen from a little over 3 percent to about 2.5 percent. The job of the OMB is to take the economic growth estimates made by Mrs. Tyson and put them into the federal government's budget spreadsheet. More growth means more tax revenue; less growth means less money for federal coffers and bigger deficits. For example, if you assume 3 percent economic growth a year over the life of a deal and real growth is only 2 percent, then much of the "deficit reduction" disappears. In 1993 the 1 percent drop in growth would mean about \$10 billion more in deficits. In 1994 the 2 percent cumulative drop would mean \$25 billion less deficit reduction. In 1995 the extra deficit would be \$47 billion. In the out years the totals get higher, and soon half or more of (say) \$500 billion in deficit reduction is gone.

One would think that new projections based on the changing economic climate would be crucial to the decisions being made by the House-Senate budget conferees meeting again this week. All the squabbles over a billion in deficit reduction here and a billion there may not mean a whole lot, after all, if an economic slump threatens to wipe out hundreds of billions of dollars in deficit reduction. But CBO and OMB have refused to give out their new budget estimates, even

though they are in possession of all the data needed to project the impact of the new economic figures.

The most curious explanation for this stonewalling on budget base-line figures comes from CBO spokesman Mark Desautels, who says, "We only do base-lines twice a year, so it would be stupid to do it now when what will really change the base-line are the policy changes," not the changes in the economic forecast. In other words, the budget deal will change most of the inputs in the spreadsheet, so it would be a waste of time to run the numbers before all the inputs change.

This explanation is curious because it begs the question of why the CBO makes projections in the first place. Isn't the very idea of having a Congressional Budget Office that lawmakers need timely and accurate information to deliberate? Why have an expensive CBO at all if it can't or won't come up with budget figures to be used by Congress hammering out a multi-year budget plan? The CBO figures done now may have a short shelf life, but they would be of crucial use. Figures cranked out once the budget deal is done may be valid for a little while longer, but what use will they be? The decisions will already have been made.

Barry Iviv, spokesman for the Office of Management and Budget, makes the same curious argument to explain why OMB is sitting on its midyear economic review (which it was required by law to have issued in the middle of July). Why go to the trouble of running budget numbers that are only going to change with the new budget law? Not that Mr. Iviv thinks any changes in the economic outlook change how the budget deal should be approached: "The bottom line is that we need to do this deficit reduction," says Mr. Iviv. "Nothing has changed that."

If anything, revised economic figures will argue for even more efforts at deficit reduction, because they will show that the current deal won't even get close to the \$500 billion target set by the president. So why not issue the revisions (which for all their protests about extra work, the CBO and OMB have, and could readily release)? There are two main reasons for this silence. First, if economic stagnation is seen to be driving up the deficit, new taxes (which will only further hurt the economy) will no longer look like such a shiny solution to growing deficits. And second, the most important reason is that the new numbers would show that Mr. Clinton will only be able to expect \$400 billion or \$300 billion in deficit reduction. The president would no longer be able to make grandiose claims about his deficit-fighting resolve.

The administration and Congress know that the deficit projections coming out of the House-Senate budget conference are phony, based on outdated economic assumptions. By using January economic data and putting an embargo on the new budget calculations, Mr. Clinton and his congressional allies have perpetrated the very kind of rosy scenario for which they condemned Republican presidents. The real scenario is thorny, and likely to get thornier when new taxes kick in. But instead of owning up to the changed circumstances, OMB and CBO have decided to assert the right to remain silent.

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The cowards are winning

The stakes in this game couldn't be clearer or higher: This country is about to decide whether it wants to remain an economic superpower or allow itself to degenerate into a second-class debtor nation.

For six months, Congress has been trying to hammer out a budget that will reduce the nation's enormous deficit by about \$500 billion over five years. Now, just as Washington should be putting the finishing touches on this vital legislation, the whole process is in danger of slipping into chaos. A CNN poll says that 51 senators now oppose the budget.

In the next few days, the vote will be taken.

Failure to pass a credible deficit-reduction package would be a devastating blow to the economy now that hopes have been raised. In recent months, interest rates have been falling and the dollar has been strengthening because it appeared that fiscal sanity was about to return.

After two decades of spending more and taxing less, Washington was promising to do better.

In February, President Clinton presented Congress with a blueprint for reform, a budget that actually made sense. Mr. Clinton asked legislators to reduce the deficit with a reasonable mix of tax hikes and spending cuts. Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve, praised the plan.

Now, six months later, Congress stands on the threshold of a new era. Both the Senate and the House have approved deficit-reducing budgets. All that remains is for a conference committee to clean up differences between the two

versions and for Congress to pass the final budget.

But just as the deal should be sealed, key members of Congress are caving in to the oil industry and other special interests. The spineless politicians don't have the courage to raise the gasoline tax, even though most Americans understand that this small sacrifice is necessary to put a dent in the deficit.

The weak senators know perfectly well that gasoline has never — never in history — been cheaper than it is today, after adjusting for inflation. At about \$16 a barrel, oil is a fantastic bargain. The country can afford to tax it a bit more to curb the deficit without jolting consumers.

The politicians know that two weeks ago, the United States imported an average of 7.9 million barrels of oil a day — the highest level of imports for any week on record. This country is becoming more and more dependent on foreigners and less and less in control

of its fiscal destiny because the spineless members of Congress don't want to pass a reasonable gas tax and anger their friends in the oil industry.

Meanwhile, they are only too eager to take away earned income tax credits for the working poor — the people struggling to stay off welfare.

The Democrats and Republicans who are abandoning Mr. Clinton in these final days of budget negotiations are selling out the country. If Congress fails to significantly reduce the budget deficit this year, history will remember them as the cowards they are.

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Riegle vs. the Clinton Budget?

Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan appeared before the Senate Banking Committee yesterday, triggering the usual admonitions from Committee Chairman Donald Riegle and his fellow Democrats about the need for an easier grip on the money supply. In making a case for monetary stimulus, however, Sen. Riegle inadvertently seemed to be admitting that the Clinton administration's fiscal plan is contractionary.

As indeed it is.

The Clinton budget plan calls for a \$500-billion reduction in the deficit over five years, with roughly half of the money to be raised through tax increases — the biggest tax increase in American history — and the rest from spending cuts that will probably never materialize. If anything like this package goes into effect, the result is likely to be exactly the same as in 1990: stagnation as far as the eye can see, accompanied by even bigger deficits.

Sen. Riegle asserted that Mr. Greenspan's fight against inflation "threatens to choke off" a recovery. Other panel members urged Mr. Greenspan to pump more money into the economy to stimulate business activity.

But not even a Federal Reserve chairman can make the sun come up in the west. Any effort to use monetary policy to goose the economy would cause a major meltdown in the financial markets. Investors learned the hard way during the 1970s that too

much money in the economy means inflation, not economic growth. If the public gets the feeling that Congress and the administration can bludgeon the Fed into a replay of the Carter era, anybody with \$10 in his or her pocket will head for the exits.

Sen. Riegle and his colleagues should instead be thinking about ways to rescue the president from his budget mess. The gridlock in the House-Senate conference committee suggests that the Hill knows there is something fundamentally wrong with the approach being taken by the administration and the Democratic leadership.

As Alan Greenspan himself noted the other day — though this aspect of his testimony was ignored, as usual, by the deficit-fixated media — more taxes will do nothing for growth. "All taxation suppresses economic activity" to some extent, he noted. He then made a quiet but forceful pitch for a cut in the most job-depressing tax of all: capital gains. "Risk-taking is crucial in the process that leads to a vital and progressive economy. Indeed, it is a necessary condition for wealth creation."

That's especially true for suffering cities such as Detroit, which is why one of the leaders of the Black Caucus, New York's Rep. Charles Rangel, has been trying to work out a deal with some Republicans that would include a major capital gains cut.

Sen. Riegle, who is a member of the House-Senate conference committee, should discourage the Fed-bashing and take another look at the capital gains issue. Tinkering with holding periods, as Sen. Riegle has proposed, isn't good enough. What's needed is a deep cut that would stimulate the economy and actually gain revenue for the government, as the capital gains cut of 1978 did. Otherwise Mr. Riegle and others will be facing re-election next year as political insiders who engineered yet more pain for Michigan and the entire country.



Sen. Donald Riegle

W.S.J. 7/28
Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

In our initial comments on the death of Vincent Foster, we remarked that "the death by gunshot of a high White House official is bound to be troubling" and commended the announced Justice Department investigation. We added, "A direct appointment such as special counsel within Justice would make clear who is in charge and directly responsible."

No such appointment was made, of course, and it now seems the investigation has fizzled out for want of direction and responsibility. "There is no investigation being conducted by the Justice Department," spokesman Carl Stern said Monday. Deputy Attorney General Philip Heymann, previously announced as the official coordinating the effort, says only that he's receiving "regular reports" from the federal Park Police, who discovered the body in Fort Marcy Park on the Virginia side of the Potomac. This is quite a change from the earlier statement of another Justice spokesman that the probe would seek "to find out what the factors were—if it was a suicide—that led to him killing himself."

Now, Mr. Foster was a member of the inner circle of the President of the United States. In his eulogy for his boyhood friend, the President said Mr. Foster's friends found him a "great protector." The White House counsel's office handles sensitive presidential issues, for example the still-uncompleted blind trust for the first couple's financial assets.

Mr. Foster, a first-rate lawyer and steeled litigator, was suddenly found dead, apparently killed with an antique handgun. He left no suicide note. His Arkansas friends do not consider him a likely suicide. Since his death there have been reports that he was dispirited in his last few weeks. But the Washington Times reported that one anonymous source told it he'd discussed depression with his brother-in-law, former Rep. Beryl Anthony; and that Mr. Anthony responded, "There's not a damn thing to it. That's a bunch of crap."

"He was not 'chewed up' by Wash-

ington," Doug Buford, a Little Rock lawyer friend of Mr. Foster, told The Washington Post. "I resent that suggestion. Vince was such an able man. I think maybe the incredible pressure, the workload, exhausted him, and that was part of it. But ultimately, something was badly askew, something so wrong it could make him think his three kids could be better off without him."

These circumstances call for a serious investigation, going well beyond the Park Police's "routine" handling of a corpse. At least so it seems to us, and at least some others. In a column concentrating on the personal aspects of the suicide, the Post's Meg Greenfield took pains to observe: "I think it is both necessary and right that the death be investigated vigorously by police and Justice Department officials, as is being done, and also that the press not ignore the questions raised by the unaccountable violent death or turn away from the pursuit of the answers to them. For there are clearly identifiable public questions yet to be answered, one hopes in a way that will not needlessly or clumsily intensify public grief."

The vigorous investigation has not taken place, and apparently will not. White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum sorted through Mr. Foster's papers, removing any that fell under attorney-client privilege with the President, and gave us his word that nothing shed light on the suicide. So nothing will be done to tell the public why so sensitive an official took his own life, or for that matter, reassure us that he indeed did. The mystery, we suspect, will haunt the White House as further scandals pop up, as they do in most administrations.

But in most administrations Presidents do have their way. President Clinton's first reaction to the suicide was, "We'll just have to live with something else we can't understand." Despite second thoughts at Justice, it seems that the President's view will not only prevail, but become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The Odd Confirmation Process

The Constitution and laws of our land provide that certain federal government officials may be appointed by the president — "with the Advice and Consent of the Senate." That accounts for the "confirmation process" which the American people have been viewing in recent weeks following numerous appointments by President Bill Clinton.

The president nominates, but the Senate must give its consent.

The process is a spotty one. Some officials selected for major office literally fly through confirmation with relatively little examination. History shows that some have been asked no questions at all. Others are pilloried for days and days by sometimes pertinent, sometimes hostile, sometimes inane questioning.

The nomination of U.S. District Judge Louis Freeh to be FBI director is currently being speeded. Meanwhile, days of questioning, mostly friendly, have been devoted to Appeals Judge Ruth Bader Ginsburg's nomination to the Supreme Court.

Judge Ginsburg is being easily let off the hook on touchy questions of the kind that brought now-Justice Clarence Thomas under severe criticism. And sometimes hearings get sidetracked, as the Ginsburg one did briefly when a black woman senator, Carol Moseley-Braun, D-Ill., attacked fellow Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah, for bringing up the 1857 *Dred Scott* decision, that had to do with slavery.

It may be proper for judicial nominees to avoid making statements that might indicate prejudgment of subjects that might come before them in the form of cases they would have to decide. On that ground, Judge Ginsburg, who has not hesitated to show her favor for abortion by choice, danced nimbly to avoid a specific answer regarding her view of the death penalty. She got away with it. By contrast, Justice Thomas was broadly criticized when he dodged questions about his views on abortion.

Sen. Hatch referred to the Supreme Court's 1973 ruling for abortion in the controversial *Roe vs. Wade* case. That was a clear example of ju-

dicial usurpation and violation of the Constitution in that the court unconstitutionally "wrote its own law," and promulgated it by judicial order.

Sen. Hatch compared that wrongful process with the pre-Civil War *Dred Scott* case. In the earlier instance, the Supreme Court ruled that Scott, a slave, did not become free when he moved to a free state. The senator's point was that Supreme Courts have on occasion made decisions "created out of thin air" rather than based upon law. He wanted to know Judge Ginsburg's view of that procedure.

But instead getting a clear answer, he became the object of an attack by Sen. Moseley-Braun: "This line of questioning I find to be personally offensive. I find it very difficult to sit here as the only descendant of a slave (and listen to Sen. Hatch) analogize *Dred Scott* and *Roe vs. Wade*."

There was, of course, nothing racially offensive about what Sen. Hatch said, except that Sen. Moseley-Braun chose to take offense. Sen. Hatch and others, scurrying to be "politically correct" when a racial issue was unjustly raised, responded obsequiously to Sen. Moseley-Braun. And Judge Ginsburg never provided a clear answer.

All of this illustrates the point that the confirmation process is a distinctly uneven one, sometimes informative, sometimes pointed, sometimes offhand, sometimes ridiculous. But it is significant that a number of nominations — those of Zoe Baird, Lani Guinier, Webster Hubbell, Roberta Achtenberg, Sheldon Hackney, William Gould, Joycelyn Elders — have brought to public attention some significant matters that otherwise would have received little attention.

Some nominees have been approved — and some rejected — after disclosure of major flaws. In other cases, some have been rejected — and some approved — after disclosure of only minor faults.

The president nominates, the Senate gives "Advice and Consent," and the ship of state sails on, often on an erratic course. No one ever said our form of government is "neat."

Cha Hanover - Free Press - 7/23

7/29

President Clinton's tax increases ran into more turbulence this week, with Democratic Senator David Boren urging him to withdraw his budget and start over. CNN polled the six Democratic Senators who voted no on the Clinton budget the first time and found all were still leaning against it. Even Senators who voted with Mr. Clinton worry about the political fallout. They should. This week, the President's home state of Arkansas sent Washington a powerful message when it voted for an anti-tax Republican over a former top Clinton aide.

Only two Republicans have been elected statewide in Arkansas in the past 24 years. Bill Clinton is responsible for both victories. Frank White defeated Governor Clinton in 1980 after he appointed a crew of liberal advisers and raised fees. This week,



Mike Huckabee

Republican Mike Huckabee won a high-turnout election for Lt. Governor.

Even Democrats agree that Mr. Huckabee's win is significant. Mr. Huckabee's 51% victory over Democrat Nate Coulter was close enough that voters who wanted to express their concern with the Clinton administration clearly made the difference. Bill Paschall, a Coulter political consultant, warned last week that a GOP victory could give President Clinton "a black eye." He told the Arkansas Democrat: "This is a race with national implications, like the Texas Senate race." He's right: voters in both states have made it clear they aren't happy with what's going on in Washington.

Mr. Huckabee ran against a Democratic machine that pulled out all the stops against him. Mr. Coulter, a 33-year-old Clinton wannabee, had served as legal counsel to Governor Clinton. He also represented the League of Women Voters in its attempt to block term limits in Arkansas.

Mr. Huckabee, on the other hand, is a broadcasting executive and former president of the Arkansas Baptist Convention. The 37-year-old Mr. Huckabee was, like President Clinton, born in a place called Hope, Ark. He jokes that his politics are different because he actually grew up there and didn't move to "a big city" as the young Bill Clinton did.

The campaign was a classic liberal-conservative confrontation. Mr. Huckabee opposed a tax on soda pop passed this year to fund a Medicaid deficit that was discovered after Bill Clinton left for Washington. Mr. Huckabee favored full choice in education and attacked the state's condom distribution program run by Joycelyn Elders, Bill Clinton's nominee for Surgeon General.

Mr. Huckabee says that everywhere he went he met voters "who wanted an opportunity to express their anger at the tax increases coming out of Washington." Mr. Coulter, on the other hand, touted his connections to the Clinton administration and warned of "gridlock" if the governor and lieutenant governor were of different parties.

The voters weren't impressed by Mr. Coulter's arguments, and his ties to the President didn't help. Bill Clinton's popularity in his home state has taken a tumble since last year, when Arkansas was the only state in the nation to give him a majority of the vote. A new Mason-Dixon poll out this week notes that only 36% of Arkansas voters think Mr. Clinton is doing an excellent or good job, while 63% rate him only fair or poor.

Mr. Huckabee's surprising victory should increase the anxiety level of Democrats up for re-election next year. They now fret about the short-term embarrassment to their party if they defeat President Clinton's budget. Perhaps they should worry more about the long-term electoral damage they may suffer should they bear sole responsibility for the largest tax increase in American history.

A baffling resistance on flood aid

One hesitates ever to suggest that Congress be less than deliberate and punctilious in spending public money. Sad experience teaches that the slightest excuse can divert the lawmakers from the path of fiscal responsibility into a swamp of red ink.

But if ever a situation justified departing from the straight and narrow, the flooding throughout the upper Mississippi River basin and along its tributaries is that situation.

Yet Republican members of the House of Representatives, clutching the rulebook as if it were a life raft and chanting "offset" as if it were a mantra, had to be steamrolled Tuesday before the House could vote to approve \$3 billion in emergency flood relief.

Logic says there must have been some powerful issue of principle involved, because surely no one could have supposed there was political mileage to be made in delaying relief for the battered flood victims and their devastated region. Could they?

On the other hand, the GOP has been the minority party in the House for most of the past 50 years, and this kind of political behavior may explain why.

Congress in recent years has followed a fairly standard procedure in providing aid in disasters like the Midwest floods. It appropriates the needed money right away and later, after the emergency is

met, goes back and decides how to pay for it—by spending cuts, tax increases or adding to the deficit.

When the Clinton administration sent its flood relief request up to Capitol Hill, it had no reason to think that general procedure wouldn't be followed. But it didn't reckon, apparently, with the House GOP's zeal for fiscal rectitude.

Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), explaining why the minority party blocked a vote on the bill last week, said it was "just one more example of borrowing on our children, borrowing on our grandchildren."

Well, he may turn out to be right. President Clinton, citing recent deficit estimates \$50 billion lower than had been projected for this fiscal year, said adding flood relief to the deficit would be justified.

Not necessarily. The GOP *ought* to hold his and Congress' feet to the fire to find offsetting spending cuts—*after* the emergency is met. But to hold up aid while Congress dickers over offsets is heartless and mindless. It substitutes ideological reflexiveness for intelligent lawmaking.

Even Bob Dole, the Senate majority leader, seemed to find the House GOP stance baffling. "This is an emergency and it's provided for by law," Dole said. "Now that doesn't mean we can't change that policy maybe next year. But how do you do it now?"

St. Louis Post Dispatch A Test Of Wills 7/27

Just as surprisingly as when it resisted several weeks ago, the Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein now has agreed to allow U.N. inspectors to place monitoring cameras on missile test sites. This placement is designed to make Iraq comply with U.N. inspections as set forth in the 1991 cease-fire that ended the Persian Gulf War.

There is one condition, however: The cameras are not to be turned on for several weeks, while Iraq is to report any tests to the U.N. authorities. Is this agreement good enough?

It certainly avoids direct confrontation and conflict as the U.N. Security Council-directed efforts to require Iraqi compliance continue to unfold. It avoids more deaths, and surely in the mind of Saddam Hussein it is connected in some way to President Bill Clinton's decision to send cruise missiles against Iraq's military intelligence headquarters in retaliation for Iraq's alleged attempt on the life of former President George Bush. The Iraqi dictator seems determined to continue probing for weaknesses in the U.N.-Western opposition to his developing offensive military weapons.

The best one can make of Iraq's latest decision to

allow the U.N. inspectors to do their job is that it is a temporary respite from Iraqi efforts to defy the world organization. And in Saddam's mind, the United Nations and the United States are virtually one and the same. Without the power of the United States to make it tough, what would the U.N. Security Council be saying and doing regarding Iraq?

This means that the contest of wills between Saddam Hussein on the one hand and, essentially, President Clinton on the other, probably will continue indefinitely. Sometimes Iraq will take a stand against the U.N. inspections, other times it will not. Always, though, Iraq will continue to test, to pressure, to see when the other party in this protracted war of nerves will blink, give in and possibly decide to go home.

As long as this attitude is apparent in Baghdad, the U.N. Security Council has no reason to lift the embargo on Iraqi oil sales, nor should it lift the embargo on materials flowing into Iraq. Only when Iraqi leaders clearly and continuously display a conciliatory attitude should the Security Council consider ending the embargoes.

Atlanta Constitution 7/23

Clinton moves gingerly on Vietnam

The Clinton administration is being unnecessarily defensive about its recent openings toward Vietnam. It has done nothing that requires an apology to those Americans who, justified or not, bear a grudge against Hanoi. If anything, it is being too deferential to them.

There's no particular reason to think Warren Christopher has a hidden agenda in meeting with Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam in Singapore on Sunday. After all, Mr. Christopher's two predecessors as secretary of state both met with ranking Vietnamese to no special effect.

The plan to station State Department personnel in Hanoi hardly means normalization is imminent. They'll see to the interests of the growing number of U.S. visitors to Vietnam and allow the U.S. military people already there to concentrate on MIA inquiries.

The release last week of a portion of captured Vietnamese documents to the Hanoi regime was long overdue. The documents provide clues to the burial places of as many as 300,000 Vietnamese soldiers. It hardly seems fair to berate Hanoi for a lack of cooperation while holding back this information. The

Vietnamese cherish their fallen young men just as we do ours.

And as for the recent White House decision to end U.S. opposition to Hanoi's applications for loans from the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, that was merely in recognition that our allies, impatient with our longstanding animus toward Vietnam, were about to outvote us on the issue.

Truth be told, U.S. policy toward Vietnam seems hardly changed from the hard-nosed attitudes of the Reagan-Bush years. Washington still insists on the "fullest possible accounting" of our MIAs — an arbitrary, easily manipulated standard if there ever was one — before it considers ending Vietnam's economic and diplomatic quarantine.

Washington continues to treat the Hanoi regime like a Marxist monolith when in fact it is sharply divided between hard-liners, who may resent U.S. prying, and pragmatists who yearn for decent relations, trade and aid. The best strategy for achieving U.S. ends in East Asia lies in strengthening the hand of the latter with our understanding, not playing into the hands of the former with our obstinacy.

Baltimore Sun 7/26

Warning Signs for the Jobs Summit

President Clinton's "jobs summit" — a Camp David gathering this fall of finance and labor ministers from the Group of Seven advanced industrial countries — may provide some awkward moments for administration advocates of higher minimum wages, open-ended extension of jobless benefits and increased payroll taxes to pay for health care.

All increase the cost of labor and discourage new hiring. On a scale much higher than that found in the United States, they have long been a feature of the European labor scene. Now the 24-nation Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development has come out with a report linking Europe's double-digit unemployment rates with similar policies on the Clinton social agenda.

The OECD said long-term unemployment, which has reached plague proportions in Europe, is an outgrowth of rigid labor laws that discourage job creation and of generous unemployment benefits that gave the jobless scant incentive to look for work. Job growth in Europe, primarily in the public sector, has been slow to non-existent for a long time. In the U.S., in contrast, non-farm employment rose from 71 million in 1971 to 110 million this year, a private-sector record attained, however, at the cost of stagnant real wages, rising inequality in income distribution and diminished job security.

There will be little incentive at the "jobs summit" to trade negatives back and forth across the Atlantic. But fortunately, the organization has a few positive suggestions that seem to find favor in U.S.

and European policy circles. One would be to switch from the passive to the active in helping the unemployed. Instead of putting so much stress on jobless benefits, governments could require counseling, interviews and assistance in job searches. They would put greater emphasis on education, job training, apprenticeships and longer-range employment — a field in which Europe often excels.

The OECD figures, which show European unemployment climbing from 9.9 percent in 1992 to 11.9 percent in 1994, are the mirror image of a U.S. jobless rate going from 7.4 percent in 1992 to 6.5 percent in 1994 (and perhaps as low as 5.5 percent in Mr. Clinton's re-election campaign year, 1996). Japan with unemployment in the 2 percent range would seem to be much better off, but only last week a Japanese think tank figured that "real" unemployment (counting those doing virtually nothing on the job) is in the 6 percent range.

Because all the advanced countries obviously have serious problems with unemployment, Mr. Clinton's call for a "jobs summit" when he was in Tokyo was more than just a public relations gimmick to tie foreign and domestic policy together for the benefit of voters back home. It could lead to serious discussions comparable to the "economic summit" he staged in Little Rock before his inauguration. But administration promoters of liberal social policies had better be forewarned that some of their favorite remedies might get sour billing from European officials who have to live with them.

A Good Idea in Housing

THE CLINTON administration is proposing a major change in the public housing rent structure. It would ease the relationship between rent and income. Under current rules, whenever a tenant's income goes up, the government consumes 30 percent of the increase in rent. The "rent tax" atop all other taxes becomes a disincentive either to work or to get a better job or, if the tenant has such a job, to remain in public housing. The idea is to reduce the disincentive. Officials believe that, in the long run, tenants, projects and the government all will be better off.

The public housing program dates from the 1930s. For years the standard in setting rents was that they should cover operating costs. The federal government had already paid the cost of construction; the rental income would pay the rest. The problem was that the subsidy wasn't deep enough. Rents pegged to operating costs were higher than a lot of poor people could afford.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the government bent to need and began to set rents as a percentage of tenant income instead. The original figure of 25 percent was raised to 30 percent by the Reagan administration in 1981. Even so, the income-based rents weren't enough to cover rising energy and other operating costs, and the government has also been giving local housing authorities operating subsidies since the mid-1970s.

The effect of these and other rules meant to serve the poorest first was to change the nature of public housing. The median income of the national tenant population has declined. Increasingly the projects have become home to the poorest of the poor, who are isolated there; critics say they are warehoused. The accompanying social problems have been a further deterrent to tenants with a choice. Particularly in the Reagan-Bush years, policy makers were wont to deplore a problem that policy had helped produce.

The Clinton people propose two changes. One is an 18-month grace period if a tenant goes to work; the increased income wouldn't count in determining rent. The other would give local officials new authority to set ceiling rents. Rents would continue to rise with income up to a point. Beyond that, the rent tax would be suspended. The theory is that tenants would have a greater incentive to work, and industrious tenants would have a greater incentive to stay. The social structure within the projects would be stronger, and in the end, the tenant population would have more income on which the authority could draw. That beats the present self-defeating and defeatist policy; if it works, it's a winner all around. As it is, the country has too few subsidized housing units. The government needs, if it can, to preserve the viability of the limited supply. This is a creative step in the right direction.

THE WASHINGTON POST MONDAY, JULY 26, 1993

Washington Post 7/29

Who Will Aid Foreign Aid?

THIS WAS supposed to be the year in which America's foreign aid program experienced the comprehensive restructuring long sought by supporters and opponents alike. It was also to be the year in which a new administration committed to sustainable economic development and the eradication of poverty would provide leadership in targeting aid money on poorer nations that are taking the right measures to raise living standards. Unfortunately, the opportunity for achieving both ends is fading fast. If the moment is lost, the Clinton administration will have itself to blame.

The time was ripe for addressing the host of aid reform issues when the House Foreign Affairs Committee considered the foreign assistance authorizing legislation earlier this year. Chairman Lee Hamilton and his Republican counterpart, Benjamin Gilman, had produced a first-rate reform package four years ago and were eagerly awaiting an administration that had a genuine interest in fixing foreign aid. But the Clinton administration was unprepared to engage the House in a serious discussion, despite earlier pledges to have a restructuring plan ready for Congress in the spring. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is faced with a similar

dilemma: it's ready to tackle the problems as well. But the Hill has been stymied by interminable executive branch reviews and turf battles that have left the reform plan languishing in the in-boxes of senior bureaucrats.

Meanwhile, it's close to business as usual with the foreign aid appropriations bill. As the administration meanders, the House has sent to the Senate a spending bill that chops away at what is already a tight aid request. The bill's huge engines—aid to Russia, Israel and Egypt—almost guarantee that most of the administration's money requests will safely pass through Congress in spite of overall budget constraints. But a terrible price is being paid as a result. To make room for these politically inviolable items, programs that serve the poorest of the poor—the World Bank's International Development Association, AID's Development Fund for Africa—had to take serious hits in the House-passed bill. What's worse, people in the world's poorest nations must bear the burden of cuts in order to fund aid to the International Fund for Ireland, Portugal, Greece, Turkey and—unkindest of all—\$7 million for African elephant conservation. Where is the administration?

Fix, but Don't Kill, the N.E.D.

In a surprising turnabout in June, the House of Representatives voted to kill funding for the National Endowment for Democracy. By Washington standards, the money is trivial — \$48 million — but the principle is scarcely petty. Unless the Senate decides otherwise this week, it will mark the end of the N.E.D., which was established during the Reagan years to promote democracy abroad and is now supported by President Clinton.

Opponents charge that the endowment is a cold-war fossil whose mission has been compromised by its peculiar status as a private foundation using public funds. They point with alarm to dubious grants to right-wing trade unions or exile groups favored by one or another of four "core" intermediaries who make the grants — the Republican and Democratic parties, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. But one can acknowledge the point and still wonder if the right remedy is to scuttle the program rather than repair it.

Paul Kanjorski of Pennsylvania, who led the House rebellion, called the endowment "an insult to the Constitution" because it has provided tax mon-

ey to private groups to carry on foreign affairs. But there has long been a workable partnership in disaster relief, without anyone perceiving an insult. And the same House voted \$127 million to subsidize the overseas marketing of prunes, whisky, candy and fruit juice, a form of private sector partnership it found less offensive than helping democrats in post-Communist and third-world countries.

It is nevertheless true that the endowment needs a different structure. Mr. Clinton has defined promotion of democracy as one of the pillars of U.S. foreign policy. It is far better for both recipient and donor if American help is openly provided. Those aims could be achieved, and constitutional qualms met, if the N.E.D. was reborn as a fully public institution answerable to taxpayers through Congress or the President.

Why not give the N.E.D. a fresh charter under a blue-ribbon, publicly appointed board directly empowered to approve grants, thus removing private groups from the scene? That's a more promising approach than abandoning the field just when democrats elsewhere desperately need support.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JULY 27, 1993

NY Times 7/28/93

From Whom the Cuban Bell Tolls

The Clinton Administration has wisely relaxed the economic embargo of Cuba to allow U.S. telephone companies to share toll revenues with the Castro regime. This could end a cruel and senseless game that has compelled Cuban-Americans in Miami to speak to relatives 90 miles away by routing calls through Canada, which shares tolls with Havana. Yet there is another hurdle before the lines open: Fidel Castro has to agree.

In complying with the embargo, American telephone companies have placed in escrow \$80 million owed to Cuba. Havana insists this money has to be handed over before direct calls from Florida are permitted. But one good turn deserves another: Cuba can reciprocate Washington's gesture by putting the escrow issue on hold. It could earn as much as \$15 million in the first year of the new telephone operation and gain good will among exiles

who are eager to speak with cooped-up kinfolk.

The Clinton initiative is bound to draw fire from hard-liners, who oppose letting the Castro regime earn a nickel in hard currency. But now that Cuba offers no security threat, why make life there even harder? More openness, more contacts, more visits would improve the chances for a peaceful transformation within Cuba — just as it did in Germany, where the Bonn Government eased restrictions on contacts with Communist East Germany. For the first time in years, influential Cuban exiles are saying just that.

If Fidel Castro rejects the Clinton overture, the onus will be on him for refusing to open the windows in fortress Cuba. Even that would be a welcome change. Past policies have enabled Mr. Castro to blame America for the miseries wrought by his own dictatorial follies.

Sessions adjourned

President Bill Clinton's dismissal this week of William S. Sessions as FBI director, and the nomination of respected federal Judge Louis J. Freeh as Sessions' successor, should begin to restore the self-confidence of the leading federal law-enforcement agency.

Sessions had to depart. For six months, since he was charged with ethical misconduct by the Justice Department's Office of Professional Responsibility, Sessions had clung to power. During those months, the embattled Sessions lost the credibility to lead his agency.

The ethics report, issued by the Bush administration's departing Attorney General William Barr, included sharply worded charges of Sessions' extravagance in handling FBI money and in taking improper junkets. Sessions never persuasively refuted any of Barr's allegations.

Granted, the timing and severity of Barr's ethics investigation was suspicious: It began only after Sessions had embarrassed the Bush administration, in the middle of the 1992 campaign, by objecting to Justice's botched inquiry into an interna-

tional banking scandal. Sessions rightly insisted on an FBI probe into Justice's mishandling of the money-laundering conspiracy at the Banco Nacional de Lavoro — the Atlanta subsidiary of an Italy-based bank that secretly lent money to Iraq's Saddam Hussein. Justice has never explained how it mishandled that case so badly.

Regrettably, Sessions declined Attorney General Janet Reno's repeated efforts to let him resign gracefully. Sessions stood, with more personal defiance than political decorum, on the principle that only a president could fire an FBI director in the middle of his 10-year term. Reno, after months of needless delay, rightly urged Clinton to end the controversy.

Sessions' stint at the FBI was not without significant accomplishments, especially his efforts to open the agency to women and minorities. It falls to Freeh to continue that progress — and to add a renewed sense of purpose to a bureau of law-enforcement professionals who still enjoy and deserve the public's confidence.

Judge Freeh, At Last

St. Louis Post-Dispatch
7/23/93

Even taking into account the normal dose of euphoria that accompanies a major nomination and the sense of relief that the protracted saga of William S. Sessions had finally ended, President Bill Clinton's choice to head the Federal Bureau of Investigation appears impressive. The combination of Louis J. Freeh's experience as an FBI agent, a federal prosecutor and, currently, a federal judge should allow him to command the respect necessary to restore the bureau to the prominence it needs.

Praising Judge Freeh as "street-smart," the president predicted that his selection will be "good and tough — good for the FBI and tough on criminals." Whoever takes over the bureau at this point in its history will have to be both. As Mr. Sessions doggedly refused to step down in the wake of questions about his financial dealings, leadership at the FBI suffered, even as it achieved success in combating domestic terrorism. Though Judge Freeh's scant management experience may be the weakest aspect of his background, his supporters say he will be able to set the right tone because he was an agent himself for six years and can identify with the concerns of those under his direction.

As far as being tough on criminals, Mr. Clinton

and everyone else pointed to the prosecution of the so-called "Pizza Connection" case, which Judge Freeh handled when he was an assistant U.S. attorney in New York City. He won praise for his skill and tenacity in breaking up the billion-dollar heroin ring, yet also won grudging admiration from one of the defense lawyers in the case for scrupulous attention to the civil liberties of the defendants when questionable searches were involved.

Judge Freeh's selection should allow the FBI to concentrate on its future. How can it best pursue white-collar crime? Will it be able to fight terrorism by operating in what the director-designate called the "global village" of law enforcement? Can it help balance the war on drugs between prosecution and prevention? What police functions are best handled at the federal level and which are best left to state and local authorities? Will it erase past problems of discrimination, to create a bureau that looks like America and wins the nation's confidence?

"Our country must be made safe again," Judge Freeh declared in the White House Rose Garden Tuesday. If he can reach that goal and still stay within the rules, he will live up to Mr. Clinton's description of him as a "law-enforcement legend."

Baltimore Sun 7/28

It Need Not Be This Way

Suddenly it's no longer "Hallelujah" time for the Clinton White House. Instead, the president is reduced to George Bush's old plaint of "gridlock and delay" up on Capitol Hill, currently the scene of another tawdry exercise in mal-government or mis-government or non-government, take your pick.

By the end of this week, operating all alone, the Democrats in control of both the executive and legislative branches hope to conjure a budget bill out of a hopelessly over-lobbied conference committee. Then, they plan to pass the measure next week and race off to an August recess.

Nothing much new there, to be sure, and no miracles in sight in the legislation that will finally emerge. Deficit spending will be pared all of \$100 billion a year on average, from \$300 billion to \$200 billion by the end of the next half-decade, which will add another \$1 trillion to the national debt. And while the country adjusts to new taxes and spending cuts, the uncertainty that has plagued business and discouraged new hiring will remain. Why? Because health care reform, which will require new revenues from somewhere, will hang out there as next year's fiscal question mark.

All this adds up to a vast letdown from the heady hyperbole of the Clinton campaign. The over-promiser of 1992 has become the over-compromiser of 1993, a leader either unable or unwilling to make things palpably better. His economic package, if it actually redistributes wealth more fairly, restores part of the revenue base and pro-

vides some "investments" in the country's future, will do so only marginally and with unpredictable effects on the nation's economic growth.

How did this happen? Where lies the blame?

Because they are in charge, the Democrats have much to answer for. Right at the start of the new administration they spurned the Republicans, saying they didn't need them. Since then they have been mainly negotiating among themselves, a spectacle that exposes a badly fragmented party.

But if matters have reached a pretty low point for Democrats: consider the depths to which the Republicans have sunk. Instead of being the loyal opposition, they are a negative apparition, a political force that has opted out of the game of mapping the nation's fiscal policy. Not a single GOP legislator voted for the budget plans that squeaked through the House and Senate. The ironic result: pending legislation is a lot more liberal than if it had some Republican fingerprints. So what goes on the law books at the end of this sad tale will be a Democrats-only bill. That or a patched-up continuation of the status quo as a crippled administration contemplates its next three years in office.

It need not be like this. The Founding Fathers did not plan it to be like this. American voters have signaled again and again that they don't want it to be like this. Meanwhile, the established American political parties invite the kind of repudiation that threatens their counterparts in other industrial democracies. And Ross Perot waits in the wings.

Richmond Times-Dispatch

VIRGINIA'S NEWS LEADER

No Gridlocksmith

It is now clear that Bill Clinton is no good at picking gridlocks. During his campaign for the presidency, he vowed that he and his fellow Democrats who control Congress would cooperate to achieve legislative progress that had been stymied by friction between Congress and Republican President George Bush. But by Clinton's own admission, gridlock is still there, blocking movement on his major programs.

Congress has been tinkering with the President's economic plan for what, to him, seems like an eternity. It is not acting with enthusiastic speed on his proposal for a national service plan. And it is moving too slowly to suit him to confirm the appointment of his Surgeon-General.



Clinton

Clinton's programs have encountered time-consuming resistance in Congress primarily because they were so defective when they arrived that not even the Democrats could accept them. This is especially true of the President's budget and tax proposals, which are fraught with potentially damaging implications for the nation's economy. The fear of higher taxes already has had a chilling effect on businesses and consumers alike. Congress is not finding it easy to transform the Clinton plan into an acceptable program.

Since the Democrats possess the numerical strength to approve any and every measure the Democratic President proposes, the persistence of gridlock must be a reflection of their own lack of confidence in the leadership of a man who has shown poor judgment on issue after issue. It is also a reflection of the public's lack of confidence in Clinton. If he were more popular with the people, he would have more clout with Congress, which is always conscious of the opinion polls.

Buck-passing won't work for Bill Clinton. His programs are in trouble because, simply put, he has failed as a gridlocksmith.

Where the best help is self-help

Chicago
Tribune
7/27

When President Clinton last spring appointed a national commission to assess how Washington might help the ailing airline industry, there were fears the panel would be tempted to launch a return to government control of routes and fares.

In a recent preliminary report, however, the National Commission to Ensure a Strong, Competitive Airline Industry wisely resisted the temptation to reregulation. It offered instead a menu of more modest suggestions to help an industry that has lost more than \$10 billion in the past three years.

The commission wisely observed that the airlines will be aided most by a stronger economic recovery and their own cost-cutting and debt reduction.

But it added that Washington can lend a hand by easing some regulations, encouraging increased foreign investment and reforming bankruptcy laws to speed the reorganization of failed airlines. More dubiously, the panel also called for tax relief and some tightening of government oversight.

The recommendations aimed at helping airlines help themselves make sense, but special tax treatment for the industry is another matter. The fact is that there is no evidence that taxes have caused the industry's financial swoon and no reason to think easing taxes will revive it.

A rollback of the federal ticket tax might be justified as, at best, a temporary cash-boosting measure. But tax credits or fuel-tax exemptions likely would become merely permanent, unjustified subsidies.

Subsidies, of course, never come without a price.

Led by New York investment banker Felix Rohatyn, a subcommittee of the airlines commission explored giving the government more power to inquire into and affect airline financial decisions. In the end, however, the commission suggested only the creation of a financial advisory committee to help the secretary of transportation review the financial status of airlines and evaluate proposed mergers.

Some worried that this committee would be the first step down the slippery slope to reregulation. But the advisory group would have no enforcement powers and the secretary no new controls. "We're trying to do something about the industry's unsatisfactory financial condition without getting into reregulation," explained Rohatyn.

Indeed, the commission, to its credit, explicitly recognized the benefits of deregulation and refused to pin the industry's woes on it.

It did, however, cite many other contributing factors—rising costs, overly optimistic expansion plans; insolvent airlines that linger in bankruptcy and distort competition; ruinous fare wars and too many seats chasing too few passengers.

But the panel correctly noted that the industry "must bear its fair share of the burden for its current" plight. And, in fact, most of that litany of factors qualify more as challenges to management than as arguments for new governmental policies.

Washington can be of help to the airline industry. But for the most part, this is a case where the best help is self-help.

Cleveland Plain Dealer 7/27

Clinton panel's ideas take flight

President Bill Clinton's commission to rescue the nation's struggling airlines appears to have concluded there is nothing wrong with the industry that can't be fixed by government intervention. But, as if to reassure those who believe deregulation must not be made the scapegoat for the airlines' financial woes, the commission declined even to consider recommending a return to government controls on fares and routes.

But for true free marketeers, there is reason to question, if not oppose, some remedies suggested in the commission's preliminary report issued last week. Various forms of tax relief, for instance, could be construed as federal subsidies for private corporations that have made bad commercial decisions. And a proposal that the government set up a special advisory committee to peer into carriers' financial restructurings, mergers and acquisitions—possibly an indirect form of regulation—should be viewed with reserve.

Realistically, however, the commission could be said to have addressed fairly the very issues that have reshaped U.S. airlines into entities that carry

more passengers than in pre-deregulation days, while piling up heavy losses. The impact of price wars, economic recession and soaring fuel costs, among other contributing factors, was measured. The commission should not be faulted because it took its job seriously.

Nor should its proposals be disregarded merely because they might be considered controversial. One that is sure to inspire debate—and some philosophical hostility on Capitol Hill—would pry the nation's air traffic control system out of the clutches of the Federal Aviation Administration and hand it to a self-financed, independent corporation. It's an idea that should be thoroughly explored.

Indeed, the commission has produced an interim report that is sound in its assessment of the scope of the industry's problems, and hardly outrageous in its recommendations for change. Some of its findings have more merit than others, but all deserve careful consideration by the administration and Congress.

Wonking away with Al Gore

There's a kindly rumor around that when Tipper Gore wants Vice President Al Gore's attention, the sweet nothings she whispers have to do with "performance review," "government decentralization," "employee empowerment" and "culture change." The rumor could be true: During a conversation with Gore Monday afternoon, he was most expressive on the subject of making government work better. Listen for a while, and you come away impressed that if anyone can make government work better, maybe he's the one.

At President Clinton's request, Gore is leading the National Performance Review, an "intensive, six-month study" to make government "work better and cost less." This isn't the first such effort, Gore acknowledges. He admits to looking over the fruits of 500 similar studies, most of which have had zero lasting impact. Gore thinks he can do better, and he builds a potent argument that the country badly needs him to do better.

Gore tells, for example, of assembling a copy of every federal regulation that bears on hiring or

firing a federal employee. They'd cover a large conference table "to the ceiling," Gore said, "and they weigh 1,088 pounds. The comparable volume of material at the Saturn plant in my state is about 20 pages." That sort of regulatory overkill, he says, adds tremendously to the cost of government while dragging down its efficiency.

His effort will be different from those failed previous attempts at reform, Gore says, because he's working "from the inside," unleashing the creative power of federal employees themselves to redesign how they work, and avoiding the antagonism directed at preachy outside consultants.

Gore has a point: The current quality movement that underlies his effort is different from previous reform theologies. It emphasizes reform that flows up, is flexible and respects common sense. It doesn't impose answers; it empowers employees to develop their own — and to keep improving on them. That creates an unusual chance for success which Gore recognizes and is eager to exploit. He may not succeed, but don't bet against him.

Learning Experience

Every administration since Washington's likely has vowed to streamline government. Al Gore heads the current campaign to make the *federals* more efficient. Who does not wish him well?

His billet has led him to question congressional intrusion into mundane matters best left to the Executive Branch. According to *The Washington Post*, "Secretary of Interior Bruce Babbitt, for example, has found to his surprise that he is under orders from Congress to maintain 23 positions in the Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, field office of the anthracite reclamation program and to spend \$100,000 this year training beagles in Hawaii to sniff out brown tree snakes."

Gore says, "Micromanagement is a very serious problem." When Congress compels the Interior Department to train snake-sniffing beagles, it limits the department's maneuverability elsewhere — thereby encouraging inefficiencies.

By the way, before ascending to the vice presidency, Gore served 10 years in the House and eight in the Senate. And even he admits that "it's amazing what a difference six months makes in one's perspective." Presidents Reagan and Bush thank him very much.

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The Dallas Morning News

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With undocumented newcomers continuing to crash U.S. borders and fanatical newcomers abusing generous immigration and asylum laws, President Clinton's plan to shore up immigration law enforcement is prudent and welcome. But the president and Congress must also move swiftly to plug the loopholes in existing laws to discourage illegal immigration in the workplace.

In the rush to confront a deadly triad comprised of terrorists, ocean-bound alien smugglers called "snakeheads" and border smugglers called "coyotes," Americans should also be concerned about the danger of a reaction against immigrants themselves. Mr. Clinton struck just the right note when he noted that "We must say no to illegal immigration so we can continue to say yes to legal immigration."

The president's plan calls for Congress to appropriate \$172.5 million in 1994 so that the following measures can be taken:

- Hire up to 600 new agents for the Border Patrol and purchase needed equipment and technology.

- Double the prison sentences for alien smugglers convicted under the Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act,

authorize use of wiretaps in alien smuggling investigations, and expand the authority to seize the assets of smugglers.

- Expand computerized information gathering at U.S. embassies and consulates, and expand cooperative programs with foreign governments and airline companies to prevent improperly documented passengers from boarding aircraft headed for the United States.

Mr. Clinton's comments reflect a keener understanding of the problems and processes facing the federal immigration authorities than any previous president in memory. But the White House and Congress should now follow through in a bipartisan spirit to craft entirely new legislation designed to eliminate gimmicks in current asylum law.

Even though the Border Patrol must be beefed up, plugging fraudulent document loopholes in the existing employer sanctions law would be even more effective. Mr. Clinton knows immigration control is a long-term process; there is no "magic bullet." Employers and illegal job seekers should be sent a message that the laws will be enforced.

Controlling immigration

Clinton plan should discourage abuses

President Clinton's immigration reform package strikes a proper balance between the need to crack down on growing abuses and the fundamental American tradition of an open door for legal immigrants.

A key element of the administration's plan is aimed at eliminating illegal cargoes of Chinese workers who are cruelly exploited by employers in this country and by organized smuggling gangs abroad. But the biggest impact in San Diego will come from the president's endorsement of 600 additional Border Patrol agents along the Southwest border.

About half of the illegal immigrants apprehended by the Border Patrol each year enter through San Diego County. But there are only 1,000 agents assigned to the sprawling San Diego sector today, including 200 new agents added in the last year.

This force is stretched far too thin to contain the tens of thousands of undocumented migrants who cross the border here each month.

Clinton's acknowledgement that the Border Patrol is "breathhtakingly understaffed" marks an accomplishment of sorts for members of San Diego's congressional delegation, who long have pressed for increased Border Patrol funding.

Even before the Clinton plan was announced, the House had approved an amendment to boost the Border Patrol's

staff by 600. The administration's original budget for next year actually called for a decrease in the Border Patrol's force of 3,500 agents.

At least half of the new agents are expected to be assigned to the San Diego sector. That will amount to a personnel increase of nearly one-third at a time when apprehensions in San Diego County are running 5 percent below last year. Local agents consider that encouraging progress, particularly in light of double-digit increases in apprehensions recorded along the Arizona and Texas border in 1993.

The administration's reform package includes balanced proposals to streamline the processing of political asylum claims and to weed out the growing number of frivolous and fraudulent claims. Among the measures are increased penalties for smugglers and the extension of anti-racketeering laws to immigration violations, thereby giving prosecutors more tools to go after organized cartels that traffic in illegal workers.

None of these changes would infringe on the rights of immigrants who enter the United States legally. Nor would they diminish this country's noble commitment to providing a safe refuge for legitimate victims of political persecution around the globe.

Clinton's constructive leadership on this politically volatile issue ought to help defuse the troubling rise in anti-immigration sentiment — in San Diego and elsewhere.

Boston Herald 7/27

Ready for peace? Not Syria

Many public officials are practiced in the art of talking without saying anything, but Secretary of State Warren Christopher truly has the act down pat. Asked to comment on Sunday's battle between Israeli forces and Arab radicals in Lebanon, Christopher came up with this:

"The violence is clearly counterproductive as far as the peace talks are concerned. At the same time, I want to emphasize that it is precisely because of violence such as that, that we are caused as the co-sponsors, Russia and the United States, to pursue very urgently and aggressively the peace process, because the underlying problems" and so forth and so on.

Most illuminating.

Just what does Christopher mean by "the peace process," anyway? A government (or other fighting force) is either ready to make peace or it isn't. Until enemies agree that their goal is to make peace with each other — as the Nationalist Party and the African National Congress agreed in South Africa, or the FMLN communists and the Christian government in El Salvador — talk of a peace "process" is empty. Only after

the threshold decision to end the enmity is locked in can patient negotiators craft the rules under which the former enemies will live together.

It doesn't work in the other direction. Ten rounds of the Arab-Israeli "peace process," and Christopher is no closer to announcing a peace treaty than James Baker ever was.

And behind the cross-border raids on Sunday lies part of the reason why: Syria.

Israel's raids were a response to weeks of rocket attacks from the other direction. The attacks have come from Hezbollah's religious terrorists and Ahmed Jibril's Palestinian terror cadre. Both seek to wipe Israel off the map. Both vow to sabotage the "peace process." And both operate in Lebanon with Syria's support — for nothing happens in Lebanon unless Damascus approves.

Yet Syria is a full partner in the negotiations with Israel. Whatever its reasons for joining the peace talks, making peace isn't among them. So why does Christopher pretend it is? If he wants to incubate a *real* peace process, turning off the fog and telling the truth about Syria would be a step in the right direction.

War and Peace in the Middle East✓

With luck, the deadly exchanges of bombs and rockets now raining down on civilian populations on both sides of the Israeli-Lebanese border won't blow up the Middle East peace talks. Stopping the negotiations would perversely reward the very group that triggered the latest cycle of violence — the radical Lebanese Party of God, whose guerrillas killed seven Israeli soldiers stationed on Lebanese soil earlier this month in a calculated effort to undermine the talks.

With that danger in mind, Damascus has prudently restrained its own forces in Lebanon even though Syrian soldiers have been killed in the fighting. Showing less restraint, Israel is deliberately trying to force tens of thousands of Lebanese civilians to flee northward, in the hope this will somehow pressure Beirut and Damascus to crack down on the Party of God.

But violence, particularly on such a large scale, can develop its own terrible momentum. Twice before, in 1978 and 1982, Israeli retaliatory raids on Lebanon escalated into bigger battles, with unhappy consequences all around.

Washington is thus right to take this latest crisis extremely seriously, rushing Secretary of State Christopher back from Asia for urgent consultations with President Clinton before he sets off for the Middle East this weekend.

Mr. Christopher's original goal of revitalizing the peace talks suddenly takes on new urgency. The Israeli, Lebanese, Syrian and Jordanian Governments, along with the Palestinian negotiators, all

feel they have a stake in keeping the talks going. But that may not be enough.

With radical Islamic rejectionists like the Party of God and Hamas working to raise the level of violence and with the talks stalemated over core issues like Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, political support for peace in the region could begin to melt away before year's end.

Mr. Christopher faces a formidable challenge. He has no magic powers to create a negotiating breakthrough. Only the Middle Eastern parties directly concerned can do that. Yet he, and his boss, Bill Clinton, will be held politically accountable if the talks break down.

What former Secretary of State James Baker put together with the smoke and mirrors he called "constructive ambiguity" must now be sustained through grit and hard work. Perhaps Mr. Christopher can help Israelis and Palestinians find a way to talk about self-government in the West Bank and Gaza without tripping over final territorial definitions. Maybe he can unlock Israel and Syria from their mutual insistence that the other go first in spelling out a Golan Heights deal. Even better would be a recharging of the will to compromise, worn down by months of interruptions and delay.

The only alternative to negotiated peace is now spectacularly on view on both sides of the Israeli-Lebanese frontier. The grim horror of that alternative has properly concentrated the minds of American statesmen. May it do the same for their Arab and Israeli counterparts, before it is too late.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JULY 28, 1993

Hezbollah's Conceit

IT IS THE conceit of Hezbollah ("Party of God"), the Iran-aided terrorist group, that by provoking Israel it can derail the Arab-Israeli peace talks. This is foolish. Hezbollah's opposition to the talks is not in doubt. But on both sides, these talks express a larger official and popular commitment that is beyond the easy reach of terrorist upset.

Still, once military forces wheel into action in the Middle East, no one can be entirely sanguine about what might ensue. That is reason enough for concern about the week's violence. From their sanctuary in Syria-dominated Lebanon, Hezbollah guerrillas had recently killed seven Israeli soldiers in the slice of the country that Israel controls, and had rocketed border settlements in Israel proper. Israelis responded with powerful assaults aimed at punishing the guerrillas and raising the costs to Lebanon of failing to keep its territory guerrilla-free. North and south of the border, civilian casualties have been recorded and several hundred thousand villagers displaced from their homes.

A familiar pattern is evident here. Lebanon's government, weakened by civil war and foreign intervention, cannot perform the first function of sovereignty of controlling its own territory. If it could, there is every reason to think that Lebanon,

desperately trying to rebuild, would leash the guerrillas Iran and Syria sponsor, in their respective fashions, on its territory.

Israel is then led to protect its borders, as any nation would. But by taking over a slice of Lebanon for its own strategic purposes, Israel inflicts one blow on its neighbor, and by its hot and heavy pursuit of guerrillas well beyond that slice, it inflicts another blow. Israelis of the right tend to see Lebanon as Israel's to make over. Israelis of the left recall earlier wars, especially the one in 1981, and see a quagmire. But both Israeli factions support a negotiated peace.

It was helpful to have President Clinton reassert the priority of the diplomatic track yesterday. It had already been announced that Secretary of State Warren Christopher was heading to the Middle East next week; Mr. Clinton had the secretary cut short an Asia trip to return to Washington first. The United States, eager for progress in the stalled talks, wants to maintain its standing with all the parties. But was it necessary for the president to laud the "commendable restraint" of Syria, which, though it seems to have acted soberly with its own forces, has a measure of responsibility for the guerrilla marauders who touched off this dangerous episode?

OPINION

In Our Opinion

Gay rights

In recent decisions, both were correct

Within days, two major decisions were handed down regarding equal rights for homosexuals.

First, President Clinton issued an executive order modifying the military's ban on homosexuals. The second involved a state Supreme Court ruling in Colorado striking down an anti-gay rights referendum.

Both decisions, though not identical, were correct.

The referendum approved in Colorado was nothing short of a license to practice discrimination. It does not matter if the group singled out was homosexuals, blacks, Mexican-Americans or left-handed people. It opened the door to isolating an identifiable group and permitting anyone to create hardship. Once open, the door remains open for any such group.

We suspect that the referendum was fueled by AIDS hysteria. But the voters in Colorado didn't just identify homosexuals with AIDS, they blamed them for it. Perhaps they felt if gays were isolated they could contain the disease.

That's wishful thinking. AIDS is not exclusively a homosexual illness.

Clinton's decision to modify the military's ban on homosexual enlistment was not purely a legal decision. Politics played into it, and in this case rightfully.

Gay rights activists complained that at best Clinton's decision did not truly end the ban. At worst, they say, it changes nothing.

There is political reality to consider. That reality indicated that an outright end to the ban would not pass Congress. Sometimes you take what you can get.

An outright end to the ban would have also created turbulence within the ranks of the military. That's a legitimate consideration. Effectiveness of fighting forces is a concern and exceptions to the rules more severe than a ban on homosexuals have withstood legal challenges in the past.

At the same time, Clinton's decision brought the question into play and focused a spotlight on military policy. The true test will come when the next time a military recruit takes his hatred out on a homosexual recruit. The question is not how the policy is worded, but how it is enforced.

GAYS IN MILITARY

New policy faces appropriate constitutional challenge

Just as President Bill Clinton tries to close the closet door on the issue of gays in the military, lawyers representing seven homosexual service-people have asserted a stubborn reality:

By denying gays the right to be judged on the basis of their conduct and its connection with military service, the government is denying equal protection of the laws on the basis of sexual orientation.

Interpreted sensibly, judging people on the basis of conduct — heterosexual or homosexual — is a far more defensible standard than trying to figure out the sexual orientation of military personnel. But the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Congress bent that standard as they persuaded Mr. Clinton he could go no further than "don't ask, don't tell" as a way of handling the question. Speech restrictions for military people not on duty look questionable when heterosex-

uals are subjected to no such restraints.

U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno has assured the president and the Defense Department that the new policy can be defended against constitutional challenge. Maybe she's right, but it may well be that neither the old nor the new policy can stand up to such a review. That's why we have a Constitution and courts.

Once politicians attempt to compromise and work out the practicalities of writing law, sometimes judges have to sort out whether they've been true to the highest principles of our Constitution and law. Our system is built on protecting individuals as well as assuring democratic rule.

The debate over homosexuality and the military has to be based on constitutional principles. That test is appropriate and necessary as the society tries to work through this complicated issue.

Christian Science Monitor 7/23

Access to Military Service

THE policy on homosexuals and the military announced by President Clinton this week was based on his notion that individuals have a right to an opportunity to serve in the armed forces if, given the military's unique needs and demands, that is where their sense of service and talents leads them. At the same time he affirmed "the individual's responsibility to conform to the high standards of military conduct."

A key issue has been whether those who identify themselves as homosexuals can be compatible with military service. The political process is an unsatisfactory forum for weighing the social, moral, and spiritual issues implicit in that question. The policy debate will go on with the recognition that while many have been dismissed from the service for homosexual behavior, many others have served and are serving with distinction. That the Pentagon elected to stop administrative discharges, including those for alleged homosexuals, during the Gulf war suggests that the current debate may be one the country can afford only in peacetime.

Yet the unit cohesion that serves the military in combat is built in peacetime. Now that the president has set the policy, with the support of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and presuming Congress does not alter it, the Pentagon must implement it in ways that protect the dignity of all concerned. This will be difficult, given the strong

feeling expressed over the last six months as the policy took shape, but not impossible.

Mr. Clinton's changes appropriately focus on conduct. But they do so in ways sufficiently contradictory that the policy is vulnerable to constitutional challenges on free-speech and equal-protection grounds. For example, if a homosexual publicly announces he or she is gay, the policy states that this action carries a "rebuttable presumption" of homosexual conduct, which is prohibited. Yet that same individual can participate out of

uniform in a gay parade or spend off-duty time at a gay bar — both public activities — without this initiating official inquiries about homosexual activity. The American Civil Liberties Union is already set to test the new policy in court, although the White House and Pentagon claim that the changes will stand up.

The policy's inconsistencies reflect society's grappling with the larger issues of privacy, identity, and individual rights in a democratic society rooted in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Seen in that context, it is important that all those who continue to engage the issue inside and outside the military do so without rancor or condemnation. For those who, like us, find scriptural guidance sufficient on the larger moral questions involved, there remains in that guide no support for bigotry, intolerance, or disrespect of the individual.

EDITORIALS

Today's debate is on the **FIGHT** **B**
and whether the U.S. can help bring it to a halt.

USA can still help Bosnia — and future Bosnias

OUR VIEW As a matter of leadership and security, the United States must engage itself on the ground in Bosnia.

Two months ago, the U.N. Security Council voted to create six Muslim "safe havens" in war-battered Bosnia. Now, Serb marauders are closing in on Sarajevo, and Western governments, including our own, continue to fret and dither, squandering one of the few remaining opportunities to curtail the fighting in that pathetic country.

What to do? Some say ignore it all. Let Bosnia be Bosnia, they say.

But that's no solution. Abandonment would doom thousands of Bosnian Muslims to rape and murder as more powerful Serb and Croat factions carve up the country. Worse, abandonment would embolden every genocidal thug on the planet. If the champions of collective security — the USA, Europe, the United Nations — can't do any better than mutter about what a good thing peace is, few despots will be deterred.

Fortunately, useful intervention still is possible. The warring parties are set to meet in Geneva Tuesday to work on an

agreement to partition Bosnia. The odds are long against it, though, so Washington and its allies must push for acceptance of something less: the havens scheme. And once accepted, Washington must be ready to lead the deployment of a U.N. sanctuary-defense force.

Why us? Because no other source of true leadership has yet arisen — not in Europe, where the diplomatic mood has at times been an ugly conglomeration of bluster and appeasement; and not in the United Nations, which seems to want to act, but which is constrained by the absence of strong leadership.

So it's up to President Clinton. And regardless of the various political obstacles, he must not fail. If the administration does not make a forceful gesture now — even one that requires a commitment of troops to an international ground force — it will doubtless surrender Bosnia to a hideous fate.

Worse, it will undercut the promise of collective security upon which the world now depends. Once that message is sent and heard, Bosnia may well be just the terrible beginning of a terrible age.

► U.N. base fired on, 7A

Avoid messes like Bosnia

OPPOSING VIEW U.S. armed forces should be used solely to defend the security interests of the USA.

As Bosnia enters the final throes of disintegration, armchair interventionists still refuse to recognize the limits of American power. Not only would they entangle the USA in impractical schemes to provide "safe havens" for the defeated Muslims, but they court involvement in future Bosnias.

Advocates of a hyperactivist policy insist that if Washington had intervened early and decisively in Bosnia, that country could have been preserved as a stable multiethnic state. They conclude that the USA must exert greater leadership, including a willingness to use force, when similar problems arise elsewhere.

That is a blueprint for squandering

lives and treasure in a multitude of parochial conflicts that have little or no relevance to the security of the USA.

There will be many Bosnias in the post-Cold War era. Indeed, there are more than 30 civil wars or cross-border conflicts at the moment. Fighting rages in Afghanistan, Angola, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Somalia, Sri Lanka and Sudan, to mention only the bloodiest examples.

Most of those struggles reflect ancient ethnic or religious hatreds or territorial grievances. Bosnia, for example, was never a viable country, merely a battleground where Serbs, Croats and Muslims periodically slaughtered one another for centuries. The notion that the USA, acting alone or through the United Nations, can impose order on such a turbulent world is infantile arrogance.

Policymakers should insist that U.S. armed forces be used solely to defend the vital security interests of the American people. A high threshold ought to be required before a conflict is deemed serious enough to warrant intervention by the USA. Most Bosnia-style struggles, however tragic they may be for the participants, will never reach that threshold.



By Ted Galen Carpenter, director of foreign policy studies at Cato Institute.

Richmond Times Dispatch 7/29

Lurching Again?

Earlier this year the U.S. lurched toward direct military involvement in the shattered remnants of Yugoslavia. President Clinton rattled sabres. After several weeks of hints of U.S. force to come, he prudently took no unilateral action. Has the lurching resumed?

"I'm very upset by the shelling in Sarajevo," said Clinton yesterday. He also said if asked by the United Nations he would commit U.S. air power to protect UN forces in Sarajevo from Serbian shelling. France, whose troops have come under fire, would like to see air cover begin "as rapidly as possible." Indeed, by now allied planes could be strafing Serbian positions.

About the situation in Bosnia, some thoughts:

— U.S. military involvement in this war of European making always has seemed a problematic proposition. When the U.S. employs force, it must do so decisively from the moment intervention begins. Gradualism would doom efforts in the Balkans as surely as it doomed U.S. efforts in Vietnam. Decisiveness does not characterize current (or past) policy.

— If the window for U.S. intervention ever stood open, circumstances long since have slammed it shut. Each succeeding "peace" plan merely validates each succeeding Serbia (and Croatian) advance.

— When the UN deploys force in combat zones, it has a duty to defend the troops on the scene. If Serbian artillery targets French positions, then air attacks should strike at the shelling's source. The distressing suspicion is that while air strikes might temper Serbian behavior, any positive results seem unlikely to endure.

— Regarding all uses of U.S. force, the inevitable question asks: "What if?" What if the Serbs shot down a U.S. plane? What if they shot down several? What if France (or the UN) asked the U.S. to contribute ground forces? No administration — Republican or Democrat — has a right to place the military on the firing line until it answers such questions, and until it explains to the citizenry its goals and the possible consequences of its actions.

Western policy toward Bosnia is more confusing than the map of the mosaic that was Yugoslavia. The UN apparently believes the situation is sufficiently grave to send peacekeepers (whose job is to keep the Serbians in check), but not so sufficiently grave to lift the embargo on arms sales to the Bosnian Muslims. It makes no sense.



'Our Part'

PRESIDENT CLINTON had promised to protect besieged United Nations peacekeepers in Bosnia, if asked, and so he could not possibly say no when the request came. French ground troops have been under hostile Serb fire at Sarajevo, one of six U.N.-designated "safe areas" for Muslims, and American aircraft assigned to NATO now will be dispatched to defend them. Some important particulars of planning and consultation evidently remain to be done, but it is expected that the United States will start providing air cover in Sarajevo within the next several days. This is not the solution to every problem of American policy in the Balkans, but it is a right and necessary thing to do.

Mr. Clinton said yesterday that he didn't know whether American intervention would be enough to deter aggression, save Sarajevo and bring the parties to the table—actually, they're already at the table—but that we in the United States would do "our part." It has never been entirely clear just what he considered "our part" to be, and is not now. In any event, the evidence of the past few days is that it may be a somewhat changeable and flexible thing. The entry of American forces into battle, under whatever terms, is bound to be an event in the Yugoslav wars. It compels all the local

parties to recalculate their policies in light of what they think the Americans might do next. In particular, the Serb attackers, who are in their second year of murdering the people of Sarajevo, must now decide whether they wish to add Americans to their list of targets.

To send Americans into combat, even on a restricted mission, is always a grave decision for an American commander in chief, and it is a particularly delicate one for this president. He must deal with a public numbed by the death and suffering in Bosnia but uncertain about its impact on the American national interest and wary of being drawn into a deeper engagement.

The dispatch of air cover for U.N. peacekeepers, however, does meet the principal criteria that Mr. Clinton laid down for a military role: a limited and purposeful mission undertaken under U.N. resolutions and in full consultation with the allies; presumably there will also be full consultation with Congress and the American people as well. By helping to firm up the "safe areas" for Bosnia's Muslims, the United States can strengthen their negotiating position and save lives. Most of all, it can demonstrate that it has not turned its back on the Balkan agony.

'The U.S. is doing all it can'

Chicago Tribune 7/23

The United States isn't about to do now what it has refrained from doing for a year or more—take decisive action to save Bosnia as a nation.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher made the U.S. position abundantly clear Wednesday, telling reporters that the "United States is doing all that it can, consistent with our national interest."

The message was no revelation. For practical purposes, the U.S. has given up on Bosnia, despite President Clinton's insistence to the contrary. "We're continuing to work" for a solution, he said Thursday.

But the president, like everyone else, is operating within the context of Bosnia's imminent military defeat. There's no thought of turning the tide.

Christopher's statement was prompted by the worsening plight of Bosnia's Muslim-led government and of the people of besieged Sarajevo. The city has come under renewed bombardment from Serb forces in what may be the final phase of the 16-month war.

Serbs have had the upper hand for some time, and are increasingly allied with Croat fighters in battling for towns and territory to claim for their own ethnic groups—and to "cleanse" of Muslims.

The only future for Muslim communities would appear to lie in a plan to partition Bosnia along ethnic lines. It has been advanced by the Croat and Serb sides but so far rejected by the Muslims.

Clinton took a stab at effecting a different outcome, dispatching Christopher to Europe to talk up a plan for lifting the weapons embargo to help the

Muslims. When the Europeans disagreed, Christopher backed off and Clinton soon turned to other matters while putting the onus on Europe.

Still, the appearance of weak leadership notwithstanding, Clinton kept the U.S. about where it should be: on the sidelines. Washington shouldered humanitarian-relief duties but wisely resisted engaging troops in a foreign military venture with dangerously hazy objectives and no visible endpoint.

Government decision-makers never identified a vital national interest to justify greater American involvement in Bosnia. This goes for the present administration and George Bush's.

In any case, common sense says that the Bosnian war should be Europe's problem. Yet the members of the European Community haven't been able to agree to do anything except contribute UN peacekeepers. This is true despite the Balkan refugees spilling Europe's way.

Whether a similar scenario, one full of high-sounding and hope-filling rhetoric ultimately unsupported by meaningful action, will play out in the next Bosnia-like crisis—and there will be more of them—ought to be under consideration already in European capitals, at the UN and in Washington.

Bosnia can be a valuable learning experience if international leaders, rather than indulging in who-lost-Bosnia recriminations, dig out the lessons it holds. With effort and luck, they might learn to do more than brace for a sad endgame.

The Newest Entitlement

With one hand Congress is getting ready to sock us all with new taxes to "reduce the deficit." With the other hand, it's oozing sanctimony to enact new spending programs, not much worrying that they'll increase the deficit.

Under the rubric of "national service," for example, the Senate is on the verge of enacting what will inevitably grow into a big new middle-class entitlement. Technically, national service will be funded annually like other discretionary programs. But if Mr. Clinton keeps his promise to make room for everybody who wants in, the program becomes a de facto entitlement.

It would create a bunch of new federally funded jobs for kids 17 and older. They'd get a paycheck, health benefits and tuition vouchers worth upward of \$20,000 a year. It looks to us as if seducing kids away from classrooms and real jobs would serve mostly to rope them into a codependency relationship with Washington, but it has a warm and fuzzy appeal to some voters and Senators.

Bob Dole and the Senate Republicans are playing Hamlet over whether to filibuster this new entitlement. Little details such as costs get lost even on the Republican side of the aisle, let alone among Democrats panting at more tax revenue.

National service is targeted directly at kids who are nervously scanning the want-ads for that first job: what Mr. Clinton is dangling sounds like pretty good pay to a 17-year-old. He speaks airily of sending the kids out to "help the police" and "combat homelessness." In reality, this means whatever work the national service bureaucrats can scare up, after first making sure not to step on the toes of organized labor or trespass on the turf of 19 million federal, state and local employees. In other words, the kids will be put to work doing jobs that everybody agrees aren't worth doing.

The sorry record of previous federal make-work programs doesn't permit much optimism. Before it was zeroed-out by Ronald Reagan, CETA paid teenagers to attend picnics and meet society's unmet need for nude sculpture classes. It's well known that many CETA offices saw their charges only when it was time to hand out the paychecks. The kids, in turn, learned contempt for productive work and cynicism about government.

Mr. Clinton would recreate CETA on a grand scale, cycling 150,000 youngsters a year through national service by 1997. There'd be jobs for an army of bureaucrats to ride herd on them, and for another army of outside lobbyists to explain why ever greater federal funding is essential. You can bet that 535 Members of Congress would also be getting into the act, making sure the kids are deployed in their home districts to improve their re-election chances.

Once set in motion, this machinery makes sure that any federal program enjoys eternal life. You can read this in the relentless, upward trajectory of federal spending and deficits since Congress absconded with the President's budgetary authority during the wounded days of the Nixon administration.

There's something especially egregious about re-enacting this history with young folks as fodder. No doubt many of the kids who are drawn to national service are genuinely idealistic. And true, there's a slight "New Democratic" twist because at least this entitlement for the unneedy comes with a measure of reciprocal obligation. But kids taking their first steps toward self-reliance don't need Big Government offering itself *in loco parentis*. The bureaucracy is shilling for itself with the idea that work in the public sector is "service" while supporting yourself and paying taxes in the private sector is merely self-indulgent.

Such philosophy aside, what about the money? Yes, the program starts small, as runaway entitlements always do. Clearly its pork-barrel dynamic spells growth. And it already carries the same heart-tugging packaging that just led 400 members of the House to vote for flood relief, including \$100 a week for job-training recipients. Because spending can't be cut, they keep telling us, taxes have to be higher regardless of damage to the economy.

How can Mr. Clinton and the Democrats keep a straight face while pontificating about the urgency of raising taxes to close the deficit and at the same time peddle the notion that the government should hire the nation's kids? The only way to cut the deficit is to reduce spending. And before you can start cutting old spending, you have to keep yourself from creating new spending. The government will never cut its deficit if it keeps assuming vast new responsibilities.

Imperiling a Plan to Harness Idealism

National service bill deserves to be passed; end the Senate filibuster

In what is threatening to become a trademark display of obstructionism, Senate Republicans last week mounted their fourth major filibuster of the year, this time to block scheduling of a vote on President Clinton's national service plan. And in the overall effort to block the program, some Republicans are engaging in deception about the popular bill. Their critical statements about the long-term costs and benefits of this plan, which offers educational grants in exchange for public service, verge on the ludicrous. Let's set the record straight.

The national service measure is based on a simple idea. It would authorize educational grants of up to \$5,000 a year each for the participants, numbering 150,000 by 1997, in exchange for their agreement to tutor grade school students, help senior citizens or perform other public services.

Clinton sold the idea during his campaign last fall as a way to kindle anew a sense of public spirit as well as to help students struggling with high college tuition costs.

Clinton originally intended the initiative to begin last month. But the program has been delayed—and significantly scaled back—as Congress has wrangled over the President's budget package.

Clinton hoped to involve millions of participants and to provide grants larger than the \$5,000 in this bill. Under the current version, only 20,000 to 25,000 persons would participate the first year, at a cost of \$394 million. Nonetheless, even the attenuated plan is worth doing.

The program has a good deal of popular support. Its virtue lies in its promise to tap the creative energy of young people, to reward them for serving their country and communi-

ties and to help them finance their education.

Yet to Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas, Republican leader of the Senate, the legislation is another example of "willy-nilly mortgaging of our future." Come again? National service is not another government handout. Indeed, it is a cost-effective way to help Americans help themselves while providing necessary services to communities that government might otherwise have to fund.

Opponents have fought the measure with increasing vigor since last Tuesday. Supporters insist that a fair compromise is possible. A vote to end the filibuster is scheduled for today. The Senate should stop the games and pass this bill. Clinton isn't going to get very much of his original budget proposal out of this deficit-oriented Congress, but the national service idea deserves a try.

L.A. TIMES 7/27

SA. LOUIS
POST-Dispatch

The Price Of National Service

7/24

So far, Democrats have been able to scuttle most GOP efforts to scale back President Bill Clinton's admirable plans for national service by America's young people. Their success should continue. Even in the face of continuing deficits, the federal government should be able to find money for worthwhile programs that can make fundamental changes in the way the nation runs itself. Underwriting a spirit of national service is an ideal place to start.

The administration's plan would create the Corporation for National Service, which would grant money to states, to colleges and universities and to public and non-profit organizations. Those groups would either establish service programs on their own or award money to other programs. That money would go to help pay young people who work in national service jobs for at least 1,700 hours a year. The workers would receive living allowances ranging from \$7,400 a year — about minimum wage — up to \$14,800 a year. They would also receive \$5,000 a year toward college tuition, up to a total of \$10,000, to be used within five years.

The program would serve several purposes. Too many teen-agers find the costs of higher education staggering and are discouraged from even starting to earn a college degree; the tuition credits would

help ease that burden. At the same time, the nation would benefit from the services of eager, idealistic young people whose talents would be well-used in health care, child care and a range of other community services that are now understaffed. That spirit has been shown on sandbag crews and other humanitarian efforts to combat high water in recent weeks. Best of all, many of those who at first take such jobs mainly for the tuition aid will no doubt find deeper fulfillment and turn what had been a temporary job into a full-time career, serving others.

Who could quarrel with that outcome? Senate Republicans did. They wanted to cut tuition allowances to \$1,500 a year for two years and eliminate the government-subsidized pay. Doing so would keep most people from being able to afford to join the program. House Republicans wanted to limit participation to students who qualify for financial aid; that, too, would change the program drastically and undercut its basic purpose of engendering a sense of service among young people. Luckily, Democrats have prevailed, though the bill bogged down Thursday on unrelated matters.

Can the United States afford \$9.5 billion over five years to build that base of community caring for the future? A better question is: Can it afford not to?

Petty Politics on National Service

Two years or three? It's a trivial difference, but Senate Republicans think President Clinton's national service initiative is worth scuttling for the sake of knocking a year off the life of the program.

But what is really at issue is not the length of the program, or even its cost. The Senate minority leader, Robert Dole, seems to be marshaling a filibuster to deny President Clinton a major legislative victory at any cost. The Senate will vote tomorrow on breaking the filibuster; there's a chance enough Republicans will rise above partisan politics to support the worthy bill.

The Administration proposes to provide volunteers with minimum-wage salaries and up to \$10,000 in grants for higher education in exchange for two years of tutoring students or other public service. Many Republicans support the idea; several, like Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania and John Chafee of Rhode Island, are co-sponsors.

But to Mr. Dole, no idea is too good to escape use as political fodder. So he has applied the all-purpose pejorative "tax and spend" and marshaled a filibuster. The ostensible reason was the possibility that costs would skyrocket.

The Democrats have tried to accommodate.

They agreed to spend less than \$400 million in the first year, enrolling only about 20,000 participants. But Republicans objected that costs in later years weren't specified. So the Democrats proposed to cap annual spending at \$300 million in the first year, \$500 million in the second and \$700 million in the third. They also agreed — as a way of targeting benefits on the needy — to tax the education grants. But these concessions weren't enough for the Republicans. They wanted a two-year program, after which Congress would decide if the program was worth continuing.

On the merits, the Democrats are right. Two years is barely enough time to get the administrative machinery in place and insufficient time to learn if the program works. Besides, it's hard to swallow the Republicans' tax-and-spend complaints: Congress would be in complete control of the costs year by year.

National service could eventually draw hundreds of thousands of Americans into serving needy communities and give participants the means to pay for higher education. Mr. Dole's just-say-no strategy may make for shrewd politics, but it renders poor public — and national — service.

The Washington Post 7/28

A Chance for National Service

SOMETIMES it's hard to distinguish between narrow, partisan obstructionism and hard bargaining in the pursuit of a fair compromise. Take the battle over President Clinton's national service program. It's dear to Mr. Clinton, who harbors memories of how creation of the Peace Corps in the Kennedy administration sent a message of service and sacrifice to a whole generation. The Clinton program would encourage young people to give a year or two for law enforcement, education, the environment and assistance to poor neighborhoods. Volunteers would receive living stipends of about \$7,000 a year and then a \$5,000 award for each year in—to be used to pay off student loans.

Until last week, the proposal seemed set for passage with bipartisan support. But in what is fast becoming a ritual, Senate Republicans objected to the program as too expensive and threatened a filibuster. To block a filibuster, the Democrats need 60 votes, but hold only 56 seats in the Senate. Democrats have picked up support from two Republicans to block the filibuster—Sens. James Jeffords and David Durenberger—but that still left them two votes short yesterday. So the administration went negotiating.

It's important to distinguish between two groups of Republican holdouts. One group that notably includes Sen. Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas seems

genuinely interested in passing a service program, but worries about the expense of the Clinton plan and wants more experimentation before a full-scale program is launched. These are fair concerns. But many other Republicans seem mostly interested in blocking any initiative that might make Mr. Clinton look good, and are in the position of being able to use Sen. Kassebaum as a front.

To its credit, the administration has been willing to scale back its plans to win a bill. Having once talked of spending as much as \$7.4 billion on the program over four years, it is now willing to back a \$1.5 billion plan over three. Republicans proposed \$800 million over two, which the Democrats rejected as providing insufficient time to test the program. With an earlier version of the bill set to pass the House today, negotiations with Senate Republicans will continue.

Getting pushed by Senate Republicans to cut back his program may not have been the worst thing for Mr. Clinton. A scaled-back program may have a better chance of working, and it can be built upon. But the administration has gone a long way toward accommodating Republican concerns. Now it's time for moderate Republicans who say they support national service (among them Sens. John Chafee and Arlen Specter) to demonstrate that they're willing to break with pure partisanship in the interest of a worthy program. Agreement is well within reach.

JOYCELYN ELDERS

Nominee has shown she is worthy of confirmation

Just as C. Everett Koop, Ronald Reagan's surgeon general, overcame the stereotyping that greeted his nomination in the early 1980s, Joycelyn Elders went a long way last week toward showing that her critics had her pegged all wrong.

Dr. Elders is passionate about the health and welfare of the young and the poor. She has been and is a good, plain-talking, activist official — exactly what Dr. Koop proved to be, despite attacks on him by liberals concerned about his views on abortion.

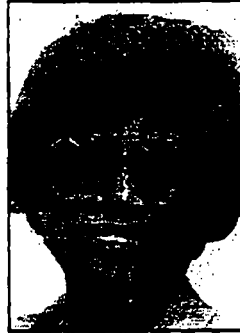
Unlike the unfortunate Lani Guinier, whose nomination for a top post in the Justice Department was withdrawn by President Bill Clinton before she had a chance to make a case for herself, Dr. Elders got her day before a Senate committee. She made a strong brief for herself, answering questions and criticisms, and showing that she is more complex and appealing than the caricature that has been sketched of her.

Dr. Elders' passion about the need to improve the health of the poor and to address the health needs of the country is far more understandable to anyone who watched her opening statement. The country needs her fervor, along with the training and intelligence she also represents.

Dr. Elders is not the radical described by some of her critics. She is simply prepared

to try to deal, as any good public health officer must, with the realities of human behavior, as well as with how we wish people would behave.

She has a tart tongue, and Mr. Clinton can expect it to get her and him into trouble from time to time. But besides being a physician with a passion to be a healer, she is a highly trained, highly professional, intensely practical public official.



Joycelyn Elders

She is interested not in corrupting the morals of children, but in trying to help minimize the threat of sexually transmitted disease to those who are inclined to put themselves at risk. She is not some stereotypical double-dipper, taking advantage of the overlapping of her state job with her prospective job and interim arrangements with the federal government; she is following the law and common

practice.

From what we have seen, Dr. Elders deserves enthusiastic support, not rejection. Like Dr. Koop, she should be seen as a whole person, with a multifaceted view of the world and characteristics that make her a potentially worthy surgeon general.

The Senate should move with reasonable dispatch to give Dr. Elders the endorsement she has earned, both by her career and by her plainspoken response to the criticisms heaped upon her.

Elders: No Stealth Liberal

Let's get one thing straight right off the bat: We don't agree with almost any of the public policy positions taken by Dr. Joycelyn Elders, President Clinton's nominee to be surgeon general of the United States. In her favor, however, is one inescapable fact: Unlike a number of President Clinton's nominees (indeed, unlike the president himself in many ways) she is no "stealth" liberal, feigning moderation to win high office. She is a full-throated left-liberal on social issues. America should take this opportunity to get a good look.



Dr. Elders is nothing if not forthright, speaking her mind in ways many people have found offensive. She does not deny she has made such statements as "we teach teen-agers what to do in the front seats of cars, and now should teach them what to do in the back seats." She admits criticizing the pro-life movement for being "very religious but non-Christian" and "having a love affair with the fetus." The latter two remarks, she says, were made in reference to what she claims are pro-life groups that don't favor providing welfare for children after they are born.

Dr. Elders, a pediatrician, was appointed by then-Gov. Clinton to be director of the Arkansas Health Department in 1987. She moved aggressively to expand the availability of sex education and birth control information and devices with the goal of cutting the state's teen pregnancy rate by 50 percent. Today, as Dr. Elders prepares to move on to Washington, Arkansas has nearly one-eighth of the school-based health clinics in the entire country.

More disturbing was Dr. Elders' refusal in 1991 to make a public announcement when condoms her

office had distributed were found to be defective. Dr. Elders claims it was only a small number, but no doubt she feared that a public recall would have undermined faith in the entire program.

The record of this program, however, has not been encouraging. The pregnancy rate among teen-agers, which had been in decline in the five years before Dr. Elders took office, rose dramatically during her tenure. In 11 of the 12 counties where school-based health clinics were established under Dr. Elders' guidance, the pregnancy rate went up 12 percent.

It seems likely, therefore, that Dr. Elders will seek to take her campaign national, usurping parental prerogatives and deciding what kind of sex education children should have from sea to shining sea. It doesn't take a rocket scientist to see what form that curriculum is likely to take.

One thing Dr. Elders certainly is not doing is trimming her sails to win Senate approval. The same might not be said for Judge Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who evaded questions concerning the constitutionality of the death penalty for criminals even as she spoke in great detail of her support for abortion.

Dr. Elders, assuming she is confirmed by the Senate, could serve as a useful marker for most Americans about where the "mainstream" of liberal opinion is located these days. The evidence is that ordinary Americans tend to have a different view of the mainstream. Ask New York Schools Chancellor Joseph Fernandez, who was overthrown by a coalition of middle-class parents when he began handing out condoms in high schools.

At the time of Clarence Thomas' nomination to the Supreme Court, we said it was a mistake for him to avoid controversial issues. The American voters have a right to know the beliefs of the appointees of the people they voted for in the last election. Bill Clinton ran as a "new" Democrat, supposedly chastened by the failures of liberalism. If Dr. Elders' views really represent his own, then no one should be surprised if the American people conclude he is himself a "stealth liberal."

The senator and the next surgeon general

As Sen. Dave Durenberger waved his way through Saturday's Aquatennial parade, he heard more than applause and a smattering of catcalls. One curb-sitter sprang to her feet and bellowed at the top of her lungs: "Don't confirm the surgeon general!" That's advice Durenberger, a member of the committee considering the nomination, says he's heard a lot from constituents. Fortunately, it's advice he seems wisely inclined to resist.

Dr. Joycelyn Elders, President Clinton's choice for top health official, is hardly a white-bread candidate. During her tenure as director of the Arkansas Health Department, the pediatrician pushed condom distribution and sex education in public schools. Her sharp-tongued defense of the strategy did little to soothe her critics: "We've taught them what to do in the front seat of the car," Elders explained, "but not what to do in the back seat."

Those sound like fighting words to the conservative fringe, which used last Friday's hearing before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee to impugn Elders. Questions were raised, and resolved, about the nominee's family taxes, her role on an Arkansas bank board and her alleged double-dipping. But detractors held fast in assailing Elders for her ideas, insisting that public-health efforts should focus solely on sexual abstinence.

The opponents' ire is as irrational as it is intemperate. Few doctors would deny that abstinence is the surest defense against teen pregnancy and disease. Few thoughtful educators would oppose teaching the virtues of celibacy. But as Elders argued last week, no sensible public-health expert can rely on sermonizing as an antidote to the pressures teens face. "I have seen bright young people all over this country in an ocean surrounded by the sharks of alcohol, violence, homicide, suicide, AIDS and teenage pregnancy," Elders lamented Friday, "while we argue about values."

However colorfully expressed, Elders' views differ little from those of a much-admired former surgeon general, Dr. C. Everett Koop. During his tenure as President Reagan's health czar, Koop promoted condom use as a shield against AIDS and teen pregnancy. There's no sense in sinking Elders for traveling further down that path.

The parallel with Koop wasn't lost on Durenberger, who noted a surgeon general's duty to broach delicate health topics. As Durenberger suggested, that mission can't be fulfilled if the confirmation process gives way to character assassination. Members of the Senate committee should remember that when Elders' nomination comes up for a vote this Friday.

It's A Matter of Judgment

Sharp-tongued, outspoken, confrontational Dr. Joycelyn Elders, who served as Arkansas health commissioner under Gov. Bill Clinton, has come under heavy criticism since she was nominated by President Clinton to be U.S. surgeon general.

There have been several charges. The latest says that she promoted the passing out of a million condoms to Arkansas school children and others — but withheld information that some failed leakage and breakage tests.

Also, while drawing pay for her job in Arkansas, she was picking up \$550 a day, two days a week, as a "consultant" to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services in

Washington. Does anyone really doubt that the Washington job was contrived to pay her a little extra, at taxpayers' expense, perhaps to cover her expenses while she was in the capital in connection with her nomination?

Another question involves her being on the board of a bank that was sued for negligent mismanagement.

While these things are worth noting, the basic reason Dr. Elders ought to be rejected is simply that she has a long record of bad judgment in promoting abortion, juvenile sexual activity and other such indiscretions. She should be put aside for that big central reason that is so clear in her record, not for any peripheral reason.

Chad Hadenryk Free Press 7/23

7/27/93

WASHINGTON EDITION / LOS ANGELES TIMES



A Fine Doctor for the Nation

Joycelyn Elders may be very outspoken, but her prescriptions are sensible and wise

It's now clear that the political enemies of Dr. Joycelyn Elders, President Clinton's nominee for surgeon general, have run short of solid reasons to oppose her. Not that they didn't try hard. But in the end none of their objections held up, so they were left with only ideological arguments: They just don't agree with Elders' philosophies.

That, in fact, is fair politics. But the hysterical tone of the political opposition to her is odd, considering that Elders' views about preventive health care, sex education and AIDS are right in line with another respected doctor hardly known for radicalism—former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop. Koop supports Elders, as does the American Medical Assn., also not exactly revolutionary.

What peculiar, radical ideas has Elders promoted? How about her idea that "the best way to stop abortion is to stop an unplanned pregnancy"? Or how about the rabble-rousing idea



Dr. Elders: A plain-speaking nominee.

that "I want to change the way we think about health, by putting prevention first?"

Now there's no question that Elders was controversial in Arkansas, where she was state health director from 1987 until she resigned last week. The plain-speaking Elders, 59, raised hackles with her support of abortion rights and her advocacy of school-based health educational programs for teen-agers that include the avail-

ability of condoms and other contraceptives. And she has confirmed she made the often-quoted remark that "we've taught [youngsters] what to do in the front seat of the car, but not what to do in the back seat."

"I believe in abstinence," she explained last week at the opening of her Senate confirmation hearing. "What I was really trying to say is if you can't be abstinent, I want you to be responsible. I'm about preventing unplanned pregnancies."

Elders' strong commitment to disease prevention merited her a special award three years ago from the AMA, which cited her for promoting programs in Arkansas that resulted in "greater immunization rates in pre-school children, expanded services for pregnant women, increased AIDS testing and counseling, and improved access to health care providers in rural and underserved areas."

Sounds like a fine national agenda for America's top doctor, doesn't it?

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Dr. Elders Scales A Hurdle

7/28

A breath of fresh air is how one member of the Senate Labor Committee describes Dr. Joycelyn Elders, President Bill Clinton's nominee for surgeon general. The assessment showed how the Arkansas physician had won over a majority of the panel members during four hours of testimony Friday.

She satisfied the panel's questions on a range of issues, including her role as a former board member of the National Bank of Arkansas. She and other board members had been accused of negligent mismanagement and sued for \$1.5 million. The suit has been settled and the panel seemed satisfied that the board had not committed any criminal offenses.

And she succeeded in untangling the far right's mean-spirited distortions of her views on health matters. Rather than concede even an inch to her detractors, Dr. Elders used the Senate forum to reaffirm her advocacy for programs ranging from sex education in schools to condom availability. When she finished, she bore no resemblance to the woman fundamentalists have tried to discredit by labeling her the "condom queen."

The reference was supposed to be a rerun of the

right's tactics against another Clinton nominee — Lani Guinier. She was erroneously branded the "quota queen." Her nomination to head the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division became so controversial that President Clinton withdrew it before Ms. Guinier had an opportunity to respond to the charges. Fortunately, the administration didn't make the same mistake with the Elders nomination.

She made her case for prevention and for more health education programs, from kindergarten through 12th grade, to tackle issues ranging from teen pregnancy to AIDS.

Her basic message was this: "I want to change the way we think about health — by putting prevention first. I want to change the behaviors and attitudes of Americans by promoting programs and policies which will enable us to be responsible for our own health."

If the full Senate listens to her diagnosis of health conditions in America and her remedies, rather than to the far right's distortions of her views, then Dr. Elders should have no trouble being confirmed as the next surgeon general.

The Atlanta Constitution 7/26
Elders' record survives scrutiny

Conservative critics have left no trick untried in their effort to block the appointment of Arkansas pediatrician Joycelyn Elders as surgeon general, and they still have not succeeded in making a case against her confirmation.

Dr. Elders remains an excellent choice to lead the battle against adolescent pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, two of the nation's most alarming public health problems.

In confirmation hearings Friday afternoon, Dr. Elders was questioned on all the issues that her critics have attempted to use against her. She was questioned extensively about her husband's admitted failure to withhold federal taxes from the wages of a private nurse hired to care for his ailing mother. That issue had little to do with Dr. Elders and less to do with

She was asked about receiving pay for work during recent weeks as a consultant for the federal government, when she was also continuing to draw pay as head of the Arkansas Department of Public Health. Dr. Elders replied that she would have taken a leave of absence from her Arkansas job, but she was required to take her accumulated vacation time first.

And she was asked about her support for reproductive rights, contraception and early sex education, issues that are indeed germane

to her nomination as surgeon general. On those subjects, she was clear and focused: She remains a staunch supporter of abortion rights and family planning, and she remains firm in her conviction that the public schools must be used to teach youngsters the basics of sexual health.

Parental guidance is appropriate, she noted, as is religious instruction. But there can be no substitute for sex education in the schools because of the schools' influence in the lives of most youngsters.

Dr. Elders was as straightforward in defending what may have been her most difficult decision in her tenure as director of the Arkansas Department of Public Health. Notified that a batch of condoms her department had distributed had a higher-than-normal failure rate, she approved the decision to withhold that information from the public. Just as there are strong arguments for her decision — avoiding widespread public panic, among them — there are equally strong arguments against it.

She acknowledged that gracefully, adding that difficult decisions go with the territory in any position of leadership. Indeed. And Dr. Elders can be counted on to make them with wisdom, courage and good judgment. She should be confirmed.

Dallas Morning News 7/24
SURGEON GENERAL

Dr. Elders deserves a fair hearing

It's one thing to disagree with the views of President Clinton's nominee for surgeon general, Joycelyn Elders. It's quite another to pull procedural pranks in an attempt to discredit her and embarrass the president the way Sen. Don Nickles, R-Okla., did during the beginning of Dr. Elders' confirmation hearing Friday.

Dr. Elders' positions on abortion rights, sex education in schools, distribution of condoms and availability of contraception have raised red flags with conservatives. And her tendency to be rather sharp-tongued with detractors doesn't make her nomination any less controversial. But that hardly disqualifies her for the job of surgeon general, whose role has taken on added relevance given the AIDS crisis and the growing problem of teen pregnancy.

Dr. Elders, like any other presidential nominee, deserves a fair hearing to defend her views and her qualifications. She had barely begun to do that in her nomination hearing before the Labor and Human Resources Committee when Sen. Nickles invoked a rarely used procedural maneuver — objecting to the meeting taking place while the Senate is in session — that

brought the hearing to an abrupt stop. That tactic comes on the heels of conservative senators acting to postpone the confirmation hearing for a week. Dr. Elders deserves better treatment.

Because of her views, opponents had sought to discredit her by raising issues concerning a lawsuit brought against her and other former members of the board of directors of the National Bank of Arkansas; her receipt of pay from the state as the Arkansas health director while also being paid as a consultant to the Clinton administration; and her personal finances that involved unpaid Social Security taxes for a nurse hired to care for her mother-in-law. The suit was settled. There was nothing illegal about collecting her state salary and consultant fees from the government, although she resigned from her state job. Her "Zoe Baird problem" was resolved by paying the taxes.

Only Dr. Elders' record as a public health official should determine whether she should be confirmed. President Clinton has stood by Dr. Elders, enabling her to defend her record and respond to questions. The Senate should now afford her that opportunity without further delay.

Today's debate is on **RUTH BADER GINSBURG** and whether she should be confirmed to the Supreme Court. ✓

Ruth Bader Ginsburg: A mainstream justice

OUR VIEW Judge Ginsburg brings competence, integrity, experience and a reasoned voice to the court.

If equal treatment under the law is controversial, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, President Clinton's first nominee to the Supreme Court, would be in big trouble.

But it isn't. And that's why today the Senate Judiciary Committee is expected to recommend overwhelmingly that the 60-year-old former civil liberties lawyer be confirmed and why the Senate should quickly follow that recommendation.

No one questions the competence, character or experience of the 13-year federal appeals court judge.

But her few critics claim she is out of the mainstream because of her support for abortion rights and advocacy of women's rights in the 1970s.

Ginsburg's support of abortion rights is hardly unusual. Even with five Reagan and Bush appointees, the high court still upholds a woman's right to abortion.

And as for her record as an advocate of gender equality, it mirrors the fight for racial equality by the late Thurgood

Marshall in the 1950s before he became a justice. Both upheld the idea — common now, not so common at the time — that the Constitution exists to protect the rights of everyone.

For Ginsburg, that meant fighting to get a New Jersey widower the same benefits from Social Security that a widow would receive. It meant getting the same protection for a sexually abused boy under statutory rape laws as for a girl of the same age.

In short, as an advocate, she fought for fairness and equality in the laws.

As a judge, she has sought to be fair-minded. She has sided as often with conservative Reagan and Bush appointees as with more liberal Carter appointees.

Jurists, she believes, should be "independent-thinking individuals with open, but not drafty, minds" who are "willing to listen and . . . to learn" and "re-examine their own premises, liberal or conservative, as thoroughly as those of others." Their job isn't to create law, she says, but they must apply it to the circumstances of the day and fill in any gaps so everyone's rights are protected.

That's not radical. That's what judges and courts are all about.

Ginsburg is too radical ✓

OPPOSING VIEW Based on her written record, those who vote to confirm her will regret it.

Ruth Bader Ginsburg may be the most radical ideologue ever nominated to the U.S. Supreme Court. She is eager to cleanse our laws of everything that could remotely be called "sex discrimination" in order to write in what she calls the "equality principle."

She would require women to be drafted just like men and assigned to combat under affirmative action, force sex integration of prisons and reformatories and even require the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts to change their names and become sex-integrated. These and other radical notions are in *Sex Bias in the U.S. Code*, which she wrote for 1977 publication by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and for



By Phyllis Schlafly, an Alton, Ill., lawyer and president of Eagle Forum.

which she was paid by the taxpayers.

Her off-the-wall demands include declaring unconstitutional all laws against statutory rape and prostitution, lowering the age of consent for sex acts to 12, providing comprehensive government-financed child care and federalizing no-fault divorce. Her animus against the role of mother/homemaker was expressed like this: "This concept (husband as breadwinner, wife as homemaker) must be eliminated from the code if it is to reflect the equality principle."

Ginsburg even called in the 1974 report of the Columbia Law School Equal Rights Advocacy Project for "replacing Mother's Day and Father's Day with Parents' Day." And in a speech published by the *Phi Beta Kappa Key Reporter* in 1974, she called for affirmative action hiring quotas for career women.

When the Supreme Court upheld the ban on taxpayer funding of abortions, Ginsburg wrote that this was a "stunning curtailment" of women's rights. If she gets a chance, it's goodbye to the Hyde Amendment.

She will prove an embarrassment to all those who vote to confirm her.

Judicious Testimony From Judge Ginsburg

If a Supreme Court nominee's confirmation hearing is a preview of performance on the bench, then Ruth Bader Ginsburg would be a thoughtful, patient, confident yet cautious justice, respectful of Congress but not afraid to assert judicial prerogatives when they are appropriate. For the newest member of a Supreme Court heading into a new era, those qualities would be nice ones to have.

Judge Ginsburg's three days of testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee last week were so lacking in fireworks that even C-Span didn't carry them live. But the relative dullness of the proceedings certainly didn't upset members of the committee, still gunshy after the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill showdown. Even though her not-ready-for-C-Span answers did not make splashy headlines, and even though senators were at times frustrated with her guarded responses, Judge Ginsburg did open a limited window into how she might approach her responsibility on the nation's highest court.

The fact that she would sit on the court of last resort is a key point. In her current position on the Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, Judge Ginsburg knows there is always another avenue of appeal, another layer with the final say, so she can let Supreme Court precedent rule. As one of the nine members on that court, however, her word literally could become law, to the extent that she would be able to build a consensus and persuade her colleagues to her way of thinking.

She took great pains to tell the senators that she prefers consensus to confrontation, that she values collegiality and would think twice before writing strident opinions that criticize fellow justices. At the same time, she stressed that "I am a judge. I am not an advocate," and would rule according to the law, not her personal biases. Still, in most cases that reach the Supreme Court, precisely what the law means is far from clear. Interpreting the law is a justice's job, and those interpretations inevitably are colored by a justice's beliefs and experiences.

The beliefs that Judge Ginsburg expressed in her testimony should hearten anyone who has seen the Supreme Court of recent years rely too much on cold legalisms and too little on the effects that the law has on real human beings. Her support for abortion rights was strong and unequivocal, even though she criticized the reasoning behind *Roe vs.*

Wade. Her denunciation of bias, for any reason, was forceful and eloquent: "I think rank discrimination against anyone is against the tradition of the United States and is to be deplored." Her view of the right of privacy was reassuring: "The government shall not make my decisions for me. I shall make as an individual, uninhibited, uncontrolled by my government, the decisions that affect my life's course."

Ideally, she would have Congress pass laws that protect these rights. But Judge Ginsburg also made clear that while judges should not get too far ahead of society in ordering sweeping social change, they cannot let the legislative branch delay justice too long either. "When political avenues become dead-end streets," she told the senators, "judicial intervention in the politics of the people may be essential in order to have effective politics."

Barring any unforeseen obstacles, Judge Ginsburg's confirmation appears assured. Her choice by President Bill Clinton was an inspired one. She combines a reasoned, measured approach toward change with an expansive attitude toward the rights that all Americans should enjoy. If she is as adroit on the Supreme Court as she was in her testimony before the Judiciary Committee, the nation should benefit greatly from her service.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch
7/25

Ruth's Truths

7/23/93

NY News day

Farewell, stealth candidates. At last, a Supreme Court nominee backs abortion rights.

What a refreshing change.

Ruth Bader Ginsburg's sweeping assertion that a woman's right to choose abortion is essential to a woman's equality is the first defense of this crucial constitutional right that Americans have heard from a Supreme Court

nominee since the high court handed down *Roe vs. Wade* in 1973.

Abortion is a decision that a woman must make for herself, Ginsburg told the Senate Judiciary Committee: "And when government controls that decision for her, she's be-

ing treated as less than a fully adult human responsible for her own choices."

Ginsburg's clarity comes in contrast to the cautious fuzziness of her predecessors in the 20 years since *Roe*. While one nominee (John Paul Stevens in 1975) was never asked about abortion, all his successors have hemmed and hawed — or zipped their lips — on this watershed issue of our time — until Ginsburg. Even Sandra Day O'Connor, who came to her confirmation hearing with a mildly pro-abortion-rights record, left the senators and the public baffled about her views on abortion.

As it has turned out, when *Roe* has been challenged, some of the stealth nominees have gone one way, some another. O'Connor, for example, wrote the Supreme Court's rule that the state cannot place an "undue burden" on a woman seeking an abortion, a standard less sweeping than *Roe* but still underlining the basic right.

Ginsburg's candor gratifies in two ways. First, it marks an end to that exasperating era of confirmation coyness when nominees of Republican anti-abortion presidents faced confirmation by hostile Democratic senators and so retreated into silence or obfuscation on abortion. Second, it makes clear that Ginsburg's earlier complaints about the sweep of *Roe vs. Wade* had been more technical than substantive. That ruling struck down abortion bans solely on the grounds of due process, she explained, while in her view the Constitution protects abortion rights through both its due process and its equal protection clauses.

Great. Now, how about equal candor on other crucial issues, like the death penalty?

JE/B

July 30, 1993

TO: Alexis Herman
FROM: Marilyn Yager
RE: Elders Committee Markup Today

The markup starts at 9:00 am in the Senate Labor and Human Resouces Committee Hearing Room 430 Dirksen. I am going alittle early to assess who from our support groups are there. John Podesta is going as well.

You and John should be prepared to speak on behalf of the White House after the vote, should the press there be looking for a statement. Avis will be there to speak on behalf of Sec. Shalala.

Depending on who from our support groups is there, I may identify others who can speak to the press as well.

CLINTON MOBILIZES FORCES FOR ALL OUT FIGHT
ON ELDERS NOMINATION FOR US SURGEON GENERAL

Conservatives Attack
Black Woman Nominee

Washington, D.C--- After the shock and trauma of the Lain Guinier nomination, the Clinton Administration has fully mobilized in support of Dr. Joycelyn Elders as America's first African American Surgeon General.

Battle lines have been drawn between a broad cross-section of supporters of Dr. Elders and a coalition of ultra-conservative, Christian fundamentalist and anti-abortion groups. A highly lauded pediatrician and nationally respected public health advocate, Dr. Elders has become a main target of the right-wing conservative movement because of her progressive views on health care.

According to C. Delores Tucker, president, National Political Congress of Black Women, these are the same "mean-spirited people" who maliciously distorted the writings of Hillary Clinton and viciously attacked and tried to discredit her at the 1992 Republican National Convention in Houston." Tucker said, "These tactics didn't work then and they won't work against Dr. Elders."

President Bill Clinton has indicated that he stands firmly behind the Elders nomination and is prepared to go the full distance to gain Senate confirmation. Several days before the the opening confirmation hearing, scheduled for Friday, July 16 before the Senate Committee on Labor and Human resources, more than 120 organizations had pledged their support for Dr. Elders nomination and confirmation. Most of these organizations are predominantly white and include the American Medical Association, American Jewish Congress, National Education Association, American College of Physicians, and the American Public Health Association.

African American leaders and organizations have described Dr. Elders' confirmation as "urgent" and "a must". All agree that she is eminently qualified.

At the NAACP convention, Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.) announced that the Congressional Black Caucus and NAACP were working with the Administration in solid support of the Elders nomination.

Dr. Richard O. Butcher, president of the National Medical Association, which represents the 15,000 black physicians, said, "Dr. Elders' determination and persuasive powers are two essential leadership skills needed to help prevent the rampant spread of disease."

(2)

Mrs. Coretta Scott King, president, King Center, said, "America needs Dr. Elders, and we can't afford to let a politically motivated attempt to distort her views deny our country of the services of this outstanding leader in health care. I think she is one of the finest medical care administrators in the country."

Rev. Jesse Jackson, president of the National Rainbow Coalition, said Dr. Elders would bring some unique assets to the office of U.S. Surgeon General. "She has a demonstrated record of public service, a long-term personal and working relationship and the trust of the President. The nation needs and deserves her leadership."

Robert Bogle, president, National Newspaper Publishers Association, said, "The goal of President Clinton to have an inclusive society is a concept that we black editors and publishers embrace and endorse. Based on what we know about Dr. Elders, we think she is highly qualified and would make an excellent Surgeon General. For this reason, we strongly support her nomination."

Officials of NAACP, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Operation PUSH, National Urban League, National Urban Coalition, National Council of Negro Women, National Black Nurses Association, and National Pan Hellenic Council urged their members to write members of the Senate in support of Dr. Elders' confirmation.

Dr. Elders graduated from Philander Smith College in Little Rock at the age of 18. She served as physical therapist in the Army before earning her medical degree, and a Masters Degree in biochemistry from the University of Arkansas School of Medicine. She then trained in pediatrics at the University of Minnesota Hospital and became chief pediatric resident at the University Hospital in 1961.

As a professor of pediatrics at the University of Arkansas Medical School and a researcher into the causes and treatment of hormone-related illnesses, Dr. Elders has authored more than 150 articles for medical research publications. As the Director of the Arkansas Department of Health since 1987, Dr. Elders has received numerous national awards for her outstanding work and leadership in healthcare.

As one NAACP official put it, "This country needs a Surgeon General who is not afraid to speak candidly about the difficult health care problems facing the nation. Dr. Elders will be such a Surgeon General."

Rough Draft

WE MUST SUPPORT DR. JOYCELYN ELDERS
FOR U.S. SURGEON GENERAL

Once again an African American woman takes center stage on Capitol Hill in a confirmation battle expected to exceed the political drama and heat of the Lani Guinier controversy.

The confirmation hearing for Dr. Joycelyn Elders as the first African American Surgeon General is scheduled for Friday, July 15, before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. A vast army of conservative forces, the same people who dominated the Republican National Convention in Houston last summer, have been mobilizing for full warfare to defeat the nomination of Dr. Elders in the Senate, either in committee or on the Senate floor.

No one can raise any legitimate questions about the outstanding qualifications of this dedicated public health professional, pediatrician, and persuasive advocate for changes in healthcare services. Dr. Elders has attracted national attention for her extraordinary leadership as Director of the Arkansas State Health Department.

Dr. Elders is now the prime target of such ultra-conservative and Christian fundamentalist groups as Rev. Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, Concerned Women for America, the Eagle Forum, the American Family Association, the Family Research Council and the Traditional Values Coalition. We witnessed the mean spiritness and the vicious attacks of these people at the 1992 Republican National Convention.

The thousands of African Americans who expressed their anger over the treatment of Lani Guinier now have the opportunity to demonstrate our unequivocal support for Dr. Elders by sending a strong and clear message to the members of the U.S. Senate. African Americans in every state must call or write to their senators urging support for the confirmation of Dr. Elders.

African Americans and other citizens of goodwill must aggressively meet the challenge of regressive forces in our society. We can and must win this fight! Don't delay. Write today to members of the U.S. Senate in support of our sister, Dr. Joycelyn Elders, the superb nominee for U.S. Surgeon General.

TO: Constituency

FR: Sherry Moorehead

DATE: July 7, 1993

CC: Minyon Moore
Craig Smith

RE: Nomination of Dr. Jocelyn Elders for Surgeon General

This morning Minyon, Lisa, and myself met at OEOB for a strategy meeting concerning Dr. Jocelyn Elders nomination for Surgeon General. At this point, Senators Bumpers, Pryor, and Boren have come out in strong support of Dr. Elders. Former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop has agreed to do an Op-Ed for Dr. Elders. There are also talking points being developed at this time to help any groups who might be interested in doing a letter, press release, or press conference in support of Dr. Elders.

TIMELINE FOR THE NOMINATION PROCESS

- * Dr. Elders will complete courtesy visits on July 13th & 14th
- * Hearing will begin on July 16th
- * It is expected that the committee will report her out within one week
- * The nomination is expected to be on the Senate floor prior to the August recess to prevent the development of a strong opposition to the nomination during the recess
- * By the 14th of July there will have been a full sweep of Senate Democrats, and a list of all those Senate Democrats and Republicans who are being targeted will be available on July 14th in which they will be ranked 1-5 according to their level of support for Dr. Elders.
- * Letters of endorsement are needed by July 14th. If there are any advocacy groups who have written a letter in support of Dr. Elders feed those into Marilyn Yager in OPL.

Attached is a list of organizations which have already been contacted. If you have additional information about these or other groups who are in support of Dr. Elders please feed it into Marilyn Yager in OPL.

If any one is in contact with any southern ministers, school board superintendents, mayors, or governors in particular who are in support of Dr. Elders, please make sure that those people are fed

in as well.

- * Please make sure that you are also feeding your information into Michael Coen who will be keeping a binder for us of all of our out reach efforts on this nomination process.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 7, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR CONGRESSWOMAN HOLMES-NORTON

FROM: ALEXIS HERMAN
Assistant to the President and
Director of Public Liaison

SUBJECT: THE ATTACHED

Attached, please find a biography of Dr. Joycelyn Elders, a description of the Office of Surgeon General, a model letter of support for her, address of Newspapers to be contacted, a list of responses to the charges that have been made against her, and a list of her supporters.

FROM THE OFFICE OF CABINET SECRETARY

202-456-6280

TO: Congresswoman Holmes - Norton
225 - ~~11~~ 3002

FROM: JENNIFER ALLAN

DATE: 7-7-93 NO. OF PAGES: 20

MESSAGE:

Please give this to
the congresswoman
ASAP. Thanks!

The document to follow is intended for the addressee only and should
be considered privileged and confidential.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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NAACP

Divider Title: _____

Washington Bureau
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Suite 730
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 638-2269/fax (202) 638-5936

ACTION ALERT

TO: Interested Persons **DATE:** July 7, 1993
FROM: Wade Henderson, Director 
RE: Nomination of Dr. Joycelyn Elders for Surgeon General

ACTION NEEDED:

Call, write, and send telegrams to your Senators and urge them to support the nomination of Dr. Joycelyn Elders for U.S. Surgeon General. Contact these members of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources: Edward M. Kennedy-MA (Chairman), Claiborne Pell-RI, Howard Metzenbaum-OH, Christopher J. Dodd-CT, Paul Simon-IL, Tom Harkin-IA, Barbara A. Mikulski-MD, Jeff Bingaman-NM, Paul David Wellstone-MN, Harris Wofford-PA, Nancy Landon Kassebaum-KS, James M. Jeffords-VT, Dan Coats-IN, Judd Gregg-NH, Strom Thurman-SC, Orrin G. Hatch-UT, Dave Durenberger-MN. You may reach your Senators by calling the Capitol Switchboard at (202) 224-3121.

WHEN NEEDED:

Immediately. NAACP members are urged to call their Senators and request their support for Dr. Joycelyn Elders' nomination. It is imperative that the NAACP's vigorous support for Dr. Elders be heard.

Dr. Joycelyn Elders is the first African American woman to be nominated for the position of U.S. Surgeon General. Presently, Dr. Elders is the director of the Arkansas Health Department. In December of 1992, President Clinton selected Dr. Elders as his choice for U.S. Surgeon General; however, Dr. Antonia Novello, outgoing Surgeon General, requested to remain in position until June 30, 1993. Several conservative groups and Christian fundamentalists have attacked Dr. Elders because of her progressive views on health care for all Americans. Leading the attack is the Concerned Women of America, who call Dr. Elders "a very, very dangerous woman," and vow to defeat her nomination.

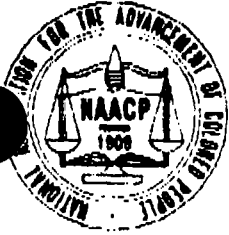
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Dr. Elders believes that discussions of "public health" must include everything from the impact of poverty, the plague of violence, medical assistance to the elderly, nutrition, preventive medicine and treatment of disease. In her capacity as director of public health in Arkansas, Dr. Elders has already battled right-wing forces who opposed her efforts to combat AIDS, child sex abuse, and adolescent pregnancy through public education. These groups became particularly angry over her attempts to reduce teen pregnancy and combat AIDS through school-based clinics and education in public schools. Though personally opposed to abortion, Dr. Elders is pro-choice.

Dr. Elders' life and career have enabled her to appreciate the harsh realities of health problems in the African American community, and have led her to tackle hard issues with vigor. The African American community cannot afford to lose the important opportunity to have Dr. Joycelyn Elders as our nation's Surgeon General. We need to have a Surgeon General who is not afraid to speak candidly about the difficult health care problems facing the nation.

The NAACP must urge Senators to confirm Dr. Elders as U.S. Surgeon General. Senator Edward (Ted) Kennedy, Chairman of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, has voiced his support for Dr. Elders and will prove helpful in guiding her nomination through the confirmation hearings. Dr. Elders' confirmation hearing has been set for Friday, July 16, 1993.

The NAACP must show a strong, independent voice in support of Dr. Elders. The African American community, and this country as a whole, needs both her medical experience and willingness to confront some of the most distressing health problems of our times.

215
copy

WASHINGTON BUREAU

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

1025 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W. • SUITE 730 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
(202) 638-2269 FAX (202) 638-5936TELECOPIER COVER SHEET

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING FAX IMMEDIATELY TO:

DATE: 7-7-93TO: Alexis HermanFAX NO.: (202) 456-2983FROM: Wade HendersonSUBJECT: -- Elders --Please advise immediately if you do not receive a total of 3 pages at the end of this transmission.

COMMENTS: _____

F.Y.I

Please contact Cherie Ann Turpin if there are any problems with this fax!!

Washington Bureau
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Suite 730
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 638-2269/fax (202) 638-5936

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NEWS ARTICLES

Divider Title: _____

cc 760
Amy B. Bond myager
Amst from Ofield
Dukes
Thursday, July 22, 1993 - THE CHARLOTTE POST -

Leaders Rally To Support Jocelyn Elders

By Ofield Dukes
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER
PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

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Battle lines have been drawn between a broad cross-section of supporters of Elders and a coalition of ultra-conservative Christian fundamentalists and anti-abortion groups. A lauded pediatrician and nationally respected public health advocate in Arkansas, Elders has become a main target of the right-wing conservative movement because of her progressive views on health care. In addition, Elders has come under fire for financial impropriety while still on Arkansas' payroll.

According to C. Delores Tucker, president of the National Political Congress of Black Women, these are the same "mean-spirited people" who maliciously distorted the writings of Hillary Clin-

ton and viciously attacked and tried to discredit her at the 1992 Republican National Convention in Houston. Tucker said, "These tactics didn't work then and they won't against Dr. Elders."

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African American leaders and organizations have described Elders' confirmation as "urgent" and "a must." All agree she is qualified for the post.

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announced that the Congressional Black Caucus and NAACP were working with the Clinton administration in support of the nominee.

Dr. Richard O. Butcher, president of the National Medical Association, which represents the 15,000 black physicians, said "Dr. Elders' determination and persuasive powers are two essential leadership skills needed to help prevent the rampant spread of disease."

Coretta Scott King, president of the King Center in Atlanta, said: "America needs Dr. Elders and we can't afford to let a politically motivated attempt to distort her views (to) deny our country of the services of this outstanding leader in health care. I think she is one of the finest medical care administrators in the country."

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, president of the National Rainbow Coalition, said Elders would bring some unique assets as Surgeon General. "She has a demonstrated record of public service, a long-term personal and working relationship and the trust of the president. The nation needs and deserves her leadership."

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By Ofleld Dukes

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Tri-County Bulletin Thursday, July 22, 1993

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Elders resigns Arkansas post

Associated Press

HOT SPRINGS, Ark. — President Clinton reasserted his support for his embattled surgeon general nominee, taking her back to Washington in his plane yesterday after she resigned as director of the Arkansas Health Department.

Mr. Clinton gave Dr. M. Joycelyn Elders a sturdy hug as the two boarded a small presidential jet. He ignored a shouted question on whether he thought Dr. Elders could be confirmed. But he had told reporters a day earlier during a weekend visit to his home state that he did not think her nomination was in trouble.

Dr. Elders submitted her resignation yesterday as Arkansas health director, effective immediately. She had been under fire for receiving a federal consulting fee while drawing her state salary.

"As work towards my confirmation process intensifies, I must now devote all my efforts and energy to my new federal role," she said in her resignation letter. Her resignation had not been expected until her confirmation process was complete.

Max Parker, a spokeswoman

for Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, said Dr. Elders contacted the governor Saturday and met with him yesterday for about 40 minutes.

A Senate panel postponed hearings on Dr. Elders' nomination last week after opponents raised questions about the dual paychecks, as well her family taxes and her position on an Arkansas bank board. Conservatives have expressed opposition to Dr. Elders because of frank statements she has made in support of abortion rights and sex education for children.

While Mr. Clinton traveled from Little Rock by motorcade, Dr. Elders flew the 50 miles aboard the presidential aircraft with Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty. Dr. Elders then got off the plane only to board it again with Mr. Clinton before television cameras.

On Wednesday, Mr. Tucker said he was not pleased when he learned that Dr. Elders was receiving federal pay while drawing her salary from the state health department.

"I didn't know about this, didn't approve of this and wouldn't have approved of this," he said.

Dr. Elders did nothing illegal by accepting the fee while retaining her job, according to a letter from Jack Kress, special counsel for

ethics at the Department of Health and Human Services.

In the letter, to Democratic Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Mr. Kress said presidential nominees may work in "an intermittent consultant capacity" at the federal agency to which they are nominated for up to 130 days without quitting their jobs. Mr. Kennedy's Labor Committee plans to hold Dr. Elders' confirmation hearing Friday.

In her letter of resignation, Dr. Elders said she had been dividing her time between the state agency and the U.S. Public Health Service since April.

"I have taken annual leave from Arkansas for the days I had to be Washington, and I have always been able to give the [Arkansas Health Department] my fullest attention when required," she wrote.

In Washington, Democratic Rep. Kweisi Mfume of Maryland said on CBS's "Face the Nation" that he believed Mr. Clinton would back up Dr. Elders' nomination.

"The White House has assured me three times in just the last three days that they are firmly committed to moving forward with the nomination process and the confirmation process," said Mr. Mfume, who is chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

July 23, 1993

White House Prepares For Another Confirmation Battle

By Staff Writer

Known as one of the nation's preeminent public health officials, Dr. M. Jocelyn Elders is expected to face Congressional confirmation hearings next week in her quest to become the America's first black surgeon general.

And, there are rumors circulating Capitol Hill and other parts of Washington, D.C. that Elders could face the same fate as Lani Guinier, whose nomination by President Clinton to become head of the U.S. Justice Department Civil Rights Division was later withdrawn. In fact, Elders has already drawn the ire of some powerful conservatives and anti-abortion groups regarding her positions on that specific issue.

"The Congressional Black Caucus and all other

civil rights groups are firmly behind Dr. Elders," said Caucus Chairman Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.) at a recent NAACP Convention in Indianapolis. "We are so behind this nominee that there is not even a crack of daylight between our group and any other civil rights organization."

Indeed, Mfume's remark was meant as a "warning" to Clinton if he fails to put the full weight of the White House behind the Elders' nomination.

According to White House sources, however, the Elders' nomination is going to be different. Preparations have since begun for the upcoming confirmation hearing. And, other sources have also indicated that Clinton will not "turn his back" on Elders, as she is a native



White House Chief of Staff Mack McLarty (c) and other Clinton administration officials brief Surgeon General nominee Jocelyn Elders (r) in preparation for her upcoming confirmation hearing.

White House Photo

Arkansan, like President Clinton.

Born in a small commu-

nity located in the southwest part of the state,

Elders has had a distin-

guished career in medicine. Upon graduation from college at age 18, she entered

the U.S. Army where she received training as a physical therapist. By 1960, she was working as an intern at the University of Minnesota Hospital and later, as a pediatrician at the University of Arkansas

"The Congressional Black Caucus and all other civil rights groups are firmly behind Dr. Elders."

Medical Center in Little

Rock. "Dr. Elders is very outspoken and does not bite her tongue," said one White House source. "This has got to be different because she's no Lani Guinier." And she is no stranger to Clinton, either.

Currently, Elders serves as director of the Arkansas Department of Health, having been appointed to that position in October 1987 by then-Gov. Bill Clinton. Elders was selected president of the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers in 1992 and is also a member of many health-related organizations, boards and commissions.

'Clinton Mobilizes Forces In Elders Nomination

By Ofield Dukes

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Washington, DC -- After the shock and trauma of the derailed Jani Guinier nomination, the Clinton administration has fully mobilized in support of Dr. Jocelyn Elders as America's first African American Surgeon General.

Battle lines have been drawn between a broad cross-section of supporters of Dr. Elders and a coalition of ultra-conservative, Christian fundamentalist and anti-abortion groups. A highly lauded pediatrician and nationally respected public health advocate, Dr. Elders has become a main target of the right-wing conservative movement because of her progressive views on health care.

According to C. Delores Tucker, president of the National Political Congress of Black Women, "these are the same misbegotten, misinformed, and maliciously distorted the writings of Hillary Clinton and viciously attacked and tried to discredit her at the 1992 Republican National Convention in Houston. Tucker said, "These tactics didn't work on her and they won't work against Dr. Elders."

President Bill Clinton has indicated that he stands firmly behind the Elders nomination and is prepared to go the full distance to gain Senate confirmation. Several days before the opening confirmation hearing, scheduled for Friday, July 16 before the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, more than 120 organizations had pledged their support for Dr. Elders' nomination and confirmation. Most of these organizations are predominantly white and include

American Medical Association, American Jewish Congress, National Education Association, American College of Physicians, and the American Public Health Association. African American leaders and organizations have described Dr.

Elders' confirmation as "urgent" and "a must." All agree that she is eminently qualified for the post.

At the NAACP convention, Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D-MD) announced that the Congressional Black Caucus and NAACP were working with the Clinton administration in solid support of the Elders nomination.

Dr. Richard O. Butcher, president of the National Medical Association, which represents the 15,000 black physicians, said "Dr. Elders' determination and persuasive powers are two essential leadership skills needed to help prevent the rampant spread of disease."

Mrs. Coretta Scott King, president of the King Center in Atlanta, said: "America needs Dr. Elders, and we can't afford to let a politically motivated attempt to distort her views (to) deny our country of the services of this outstanding leader in health care. I think she is one of the finest medical care administrators in the country."

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, president of National Rainbow Coalition, said Dr. Elders would bring some unique assets to the office of U.S. Surgeon General. "She has a demonstrated record of public service, a long-term personal and working relationship and the trust of the president. The nation needs and deserves her leadership."

Robert W. Bogle, president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, said, "The goal of President Clinton to have an inclusive society is a concept that we black editors and publishers embrace and endorse. Based on what we know of Dr. Elders, we think she is highly qualified and would make an excellent Surgeon General. For this reason, we strongly support her nomination."

Officials of NAACP, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Operation PUSH, National Urban League, National Urban Coalition, National Council of Negro

the National Black Nurses Association, and National Pan-ethnic Council urged their members to write member of the support of Dr. Elders' nomination.

Dr. Elders graduated from Smith College in Little Rock at the age of 18. She served as a medical therapist in the U.S. Army and earned her medical degree and a Masters Degree in Public Health from the University of Arkansas School of Medicine. She was trained in pediatrics at the University of Minnesota and became chief resident at the University of Arkansas in 1961.

Dr. Elders is a professor of pediatrics at

the University of Arkansas Medical School and a researcher into the causes and treatment of hormone-related illnesses. Dr. Elders has authored more than 150 articles for medical research publications. As the Director of the Arkansas Department of Health since 1987, Dr. Elders has received numerous national awards for her outstanding work and leadership in health care.

As one NAACP official put it, "This country needs a Surgeon General who is not afraid to speak candidly about the difficult care problems facing the nation. Dr. Elders will be such a Surgeon General."

July 21, 1993 - July 27, 1993

Clinton mobilizes for fight on Elders non

By Ofield Dukes

WASHINGTON, D.C. -

After the shock and trauma of the derailed Lani Guinier nomination, the Clinton administration has fully mobilized in support of Dr. Joycelyn Elders as America's first African American Surgeon General.

GUEST COMMENTARY

**"We must support
Dr. Elders"**

Battle lines have been drawn between a broad cross-section of supporters of Dr. Elders and a coalition of ultra-conservative, Christian fundamentalist and anti-

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**Dr. Joycelyn Elders
...Clinton Nominee for
U.S. Surgeon General
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Page A

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Page B

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Dr. Elders graduated from Philander Smith College in Little Rock at the age of 18. She served as physical therapist in the U.S. Army before earning her medical degree, and a Masters Degree in biochemistry from the University of Arkansas School of Medicine. She then trained in pediatrics at the University of Minnesota Hospital and became chief pediatric resident at the University Hospital in 1961.

As a professor of pediatrics at the University of Arkansas Medical School and a researcher into the causes and treatment of hormone-related illnesses, Dr. Elders has authored more than 150 articles for medical research publications. As the Director of the Arkansas Department of Health since 1987, Dr. Elders has received numerous national awards for her outstanding work and leadership in health care.

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July 23, 1993

Clinton backs surgeon general pick



ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Clinton escorts surgeon general nominee M. Joycelyn Elders to Air Force One at the Hot Springs, Ark., airport.

July 23, 1993

Clinton Mobilizes Force For All Out Fight On Elders Nomination

Wilmington Journal, Wilmington, North Carolina, Thursday, July 22, 1993

By OFIELD DUKES

Washington, D.C. -- After the shock and trauma of the derailed Lani Guinier nomination, the Clinton administration has fully mobilized in support of Dr. Joycelyn Elders as America's first African American Surgeon General.

Battle lines have been drawn between a broad cross-section of supporters of Dr. Elders and a coalition of ultra-conservative, Christian fundamentalist and anti-abortion groups. A highly lauded pediatrician and nationally respected public health advocate, Dr. Elders has become a main target of the right-wing conservative movement because of her progressive views on health care.

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As a professor of pediatrics at the University of Arkansas Medical School and a researcher into the causes and treatment of hormone-related illnesses, Dr. Elders has authored more than 150 articles for medical research publications. As the Director of the Arkansas Department of Health since 1987, Dr. Elders has received numerous national awards for her outstanding work and leadership in health care. As one NAACP official put it, "This country needs a Surgeon General who is not afraid to speak candidly about the difficult health care problems facing the nation. Dr. Elders will be such a Surgeon General."

Today's debate is on **JOYCELYN ELDERS**
and whether she should be confirmed as surgeon general.

Joycelyn Elders: Meeting health issues head-on

OUR VIEW Elders wants adults, schools and others to realize what teen pregnancy really means.

Too blunt. Too outspoken. Too radical.

Such are the complaints against President Clinton's nominee for surgeon general, Dr. M. Joycelyn Elders, whose nomination will be voted on today by the Senate Labor Committee.

Her critics don't like the Arkansas pediatrician and medical scholar's abortion-rights stance, nor her advocacy of sex education, nor her support for condom distribution — with parental consent — in schools. Most of all, they don't like her willingness to speak her mind.

Such carping isn't new. Indeed, it may only be an echo rumbling on Capitol Hill from hearings for another nominee for surgeon general a dozen years ago — Dr. C. Everett Koop.

Koop's liberal critics labeled him "Dr. Kook" for his anti-abortion beliefs. Fortunately, he was confirmed anyway and went on to crusade loudly against smoking for its links to cancer and to promote safe sex to curb the spread of AIDS.

Elders wants to battle another scourge — teen pregnancy. And so she should. Her abilities outweigh minor concerns about her finances and handling of an Arkansas condom program.

The nation needs some straight talk about teen sex. Look at the numbers:

► 48% of high school girls and 61% of boys are sexually active.

► 335,000 teens become unwed mothers annually.

► 2.5 million cases of sexually transmitted diseases among adolescents are reported each year.

Elders wants adults, schools and others to recognize those realities and what teen pregnancy means — more poverty, more crime, billions in costs to taxpayers and more abortion and disease.

"I am not about abortions," Elders says. "I'm about preventing pregnancy. Which would in turn *prevent* abortions.

"All I want is every child born in America to be a planned, wanted child."

The USA needs a surgeon general who won't leave people in ignorance but will wake them up to the facts.

Everett Koop was one.

Joycelyn Elders could and should be another.



Reject Elders nomination

OPPOSING VIEW She's too divisive, extreme and intolerant to be surgeon general.

WARNING: Making Joycelyn Elders surgeon general would be hazardous to the USA's health.

Elders has radical views on many public health issues, broke federal banking laws and concealed the fact that her health clinics passed out defective condoms.

When asked about prostitutes who give birth to "crack babies," she said, "I would hope that we would provide them Norplant so they could still use sex if they must to buy their drugs." Drug abuse and prostitution are illegal; they also spread AIDS.

She has testified that abortion has "positive public health effects," including reducing the number of children born with Down syndrome. What does that say to the thousands of able, con-



By Sen. Don Nickles, R-Okla.

tributing adults with Down syndrome today — they shouldn't have been born?

She labeled people who disagree with her on abortion as "non-Christian with slave-master mentalities" who should "get over their love affair with the fetus." Her statements indicate a radical agenda and total intolerance for those who disagree.

Federal authorities reprimanded Elders for violating the same banking laws Neil Bush broke. Her husband paid \$15,300 in penalties and back taxes for a nurse who cared for her mother-in-law — illegal activity that sank Zoe Baird. She said paying the taxes wasn't her responsibility, yet admits she sometimes signed the nurse's paychecks.

Her decision *not* to notify people — including schoolchildren — that they'd been given faulty condoms by her health department is reprehensible. We may never know how many teen-agers got pregnant or how many people got AIDS because the condoms Elders' clinics gave them failed.

Divisive, extreme and intolerant, Dr. Elders should not be confirmed as surgeon general.

7-30-93

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Governor Dissatisfied with Elders' Dual Work Arrangement

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James Jefferson= Associated Press Writer=

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) To the chagrin of the Arkansas governor, President Clinton's nominee for surgeon general, Dr. Joycelyn Elders, is being paid as a federal consultant while still collecting her salary as state health director.

"I didn't know about this, didn't approve of this and wouldn't have approved of this," Gov. Jim Guy Tucker said Wednesday through spokesman Max Parker.

State officials said there apparently was no prohibition to bar Elders from serving during her vacation as a federal consultant to Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala. A spokesman for the U.S. Public Health Service said it was not unusual for presidential nominees to receive government consulting fees while awaiting confirmation.

"They come on board in consulting positions to, in effect, learn the job, get acquainted with the offices, catch up on the issues and be of help to the agencies that they'll eventually be operating with," spokesman Bill Grigg said in Washington.

Meanwhile, a Republican senator said today that Elders' confirmation could be jeopardized by her strong positions on abortion and birth control.

She characterized people opposed to abortion as non-Christians with slavemaster mentalities," Sen. Don Nickles, R-Okla. said on ABC. "I've heard a lot of people on the pro-choice side of the issue but I've never heard such a radical statement."

He said Elders would likely be confirmed by the Senate Labor Committee,

"I think her nomination is in jeopardy before the full Senate."

Confirmation hearings begin Friday.

Shalala, speaking on the same broadcast, re-affirmed the administration's support for Elders.

"Her style is straightforward and very American," Shalala said. "We like plainspoken, outspoken people in this country, particularly on health issues."

In an unrelated matter, Elders' husband said Wednesday night that he did not pay Social Security or income taxes for a nurse he hired to care for his 97-year-old mother. Oliver Elders said his wife was not responsible for handling his mother's affairs and that he hoped his error would not provide fuel for critics' efforts to derail her nomination.

"I should have paid them, I didn't pay them and (I'm) going to," Elders said. "But my wife had nothing to do with that, and if they construe it any other way, that would be wrong."

The nurse, Audrey Faye Ruffin was employed by Leona Elders who is suffering from Alzheimer's disease, said HHS spokeswoman Avis LaVelle.

"If there is any problem, it is the senior Mrs. Elders' problem," Ms. LaVelle said. "Dr. Elders made very clear that Audrey Ruffin was never an employee of hers."

Payment of taxes for household employees arose as an issue for Clinton appointees in January when Zoe Baird withdrew her nomination to serve as U.S. attorney general.

Elders is being paid \$42,119 for three months on an extension of her job as Arkansas health director, a post she has held since 1987. She earned \$371,371 in that post last year. As a consultant to Shalala, she is being paid \$550 per day, plus \$135 a day for expenses, according to HHS spokesman Campbell Gardett.

HHS spokesman Victor Zonana said Elders began working two days a week as an adviser to Shalala on April 18. The job turned full-time July 5, he said.

During her absence, Elders keeps up with state health matters, deputy state health director Tom Butler said. "I can still get a hold of her and do

business with her," he said. "Dr. Elders is always on top of things. She is very accessible through the Health Department."

Elders did not return several phone calls seeking comment.

^BC-SURGEON national editors

^Hearing on Elders expected to turn on condoms for teen-agers

(HAS TRIMS)

by Elizabeth Neuffer

Boston Globe

WASHINGTON The fate of a key Clinton nominee could rest on a choice as explosive as this: Should the U.S. surgeon general battle teen-age pregnancy by urging schools to distribute condoms or by preaching abstinence instead?

As Senate lawmakers prepare for Friday's hearings on the nomination of Dr. M. Joycelyn Elders, President Clinton's choice for the highly visible office, they are bracing for a congressional version of the sort of debate that has riven families and school districts across the nation.

Although conservatives appear unlikely to defeat the nomination, they argue that a doctor who stridently supports giving Norplant birth control implants to prostitutes and condoms to students is too radical for the post. Some critics have dubbed her the "condom queen."

But many in the American medical community and in the liberal camp argue that Elders is the perfect 1990s surgeon general. They argue that, as head of the Arkansas Department of Health, Elders was a pioneer in advocating no-nonsense family planning combined with abstinence to deter teen-age pregnancy.

"Elders has taken radical positions in favor of abortion, in favor of condom distribution," said Sen. Don Nickles, Republican of Oklahoma, the only senator so far to oppose Elders publicly. "She is a radical candidate with radical views."

"Her leadership has been recognized by organizations from the PTA to the AMA, which are not radical," countered Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts. "Those organizations concerned about health, education, women

minorities have all joined together in support of Dr. Elders, as do I."

At least 80 national groups declared their support for her this week. The two sides will square off before the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, which Kennedy chairs.

Although each side has accused the other of mudslinging, just how damaging the Senate debate on Elders could be for the administration remains to be seen. Unlike the nomination of lawyer Lani Guinier to the Justice Department which Clinton withdrew after conservatives assailed her position on voting rights the White House has prepared for an attack and is firmly behind the nominee.

"There has been an all-out rounding up of the troops," said a White House source. "This is someone the president has worked with and believes in."

Conservatives admit they probably lack the votes to block Elders.

The usually outspoken Elders has been generally silent in this case as the controversy over her nomination has escalated. But her previous comments have raised many eyebrows.

In an interview aired Tuesday on NBC, Elders, who supports a woman's right to abortion, said anti-abortion activists "love little babies as long as they are in somebody else's uterus."

She vowed in the same interview to make the abortion pill RU 486 "available in this country." She has told reporters she endorses the medical use of marijuana to relieve symptoms produced by major illnesses such as cancer and AIDS.

Supporters say the 59-year-old pediatrician, the eldest of eight children in an Arkansas sharecropping family, has always confronted obstacles. She scrubbed floors to get through college, and was the first black female student at the University of Arkansas School of Medicine.

(EDITORS: NEXT 3 GRAFS OPTIONAL TRIM)

Nor is controversy a stranger to the surgeon general's post. Debate over the nomination of C. Everett Koop, who was President Reagan's choice for surgeon general, dragged on for seven months over many similar issues.

Although the surgeon general's job carries no policymaking authority, the post is often used as a moral bully pulpit, a position from which the administration and the officeholder can set health priorities and guide moral values. For example, Koop during his tenure became a figure of national stature.

Conservatives are also expected to attack the administration's desire for Elders to have broader responsibilities than previous incumbents. Donna Shalala, secretary of health and human services, has asked that Elders have "a beefed-up role" in the department, overseeing issues of minority and women's health and promoting health matters, according to a department spokesman.

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)

Privately, some moderate Republicans say they are more concerned about Elders' loose tongue than her views on family planning. "Our concern is that she barges into situations and is very controversial and divisive," said a Senate Republican staff member.

Her stance on contraception and sex education has led to the most heated debate. She believes schools should have clinics and provide birth-control services if communities and parents will support them.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

"Our opposition is really channeled on this core question: What is it should we be teaching children in a free society about love and sex?" said Gary Bauer, head of the Family Research Council. "We think her position on that question is a prescription for tragedy."

Supporters say conservatives take Elders' statements out of context and interpret her positions too narrowly. While Elders does support distributing contraceptives in schools, she also favors abstinence.

"Abstinence is always the first thing she talks about," said Arthur J. Altmeyer, president of People for the American Way, a liberal advocacy group. While Elders supports local condom distribution, she does not advocate a federal distribution program for teen-agers, as some critics have charged.

Supporters point to her record in Arkansas, where only four of the many school-based clinics distribute condoms all do so because local communities voted in favor of the concept.

"She has always said that parental consent is necessary and that a family planning program has to be with support of local community," Kennedy said.

But conservatives suggest Elders' philosophy is riddled with disrespect for parental authority.

"She has declared that we've taught teen-agers what to do in the front seat now it's time to teach them what to do in the back seat," said Carrie Harrison, of Concerned Women for America. "Has this appointee never thought to teach teen-agers to stay in the front seat and to keep their seatbelts on?"

Elders' supporters say that of course she has, but opponents warily maintain their doubts.

BC ELDERS national editors:WA

Surgeon general nominee supports sex ed from kindergarten on

(HAS TRIMS)

by Mary Otto

Night-Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON Dr. Joycelyn Elders, Clinton's nominee for surgeon general, this week proudly wore the token of her fiery battle to change public policy on sex a lapel pin emblazoned with a tiny lightning bolt.

"I still don't mind being the lightning rod," Elders told colleagues who gave her the tribute at a recent gathering here on unplanned pregnancies.

"But I've got to know the thunder is behind me."

While other nominees have been disqualified by their controversial pasts, the Clinton administration promises to stand behind Elders as she heads for a Senate confirmation hearing, scheduled for Friday, that is a critical step on the way to becoming the nation's top doctor.

Because of her sharp tongue and strong views, however, the passage for Elders, 59, may be stormy.

In her six years as public health director in Arkansas, she has overseen the expansion of school sex education and family planning programs. She has spoken out for abortion rights and the need for publicly funded family planning for poor women. While her supporters view her work as enlightened, she has infuriated conservative, "pro-family" groups.

"Dr. Elders' bloodstained ideas must not touch our nation's children," said Andrea Sheldon, of the Traditional Values Coalition.

The surgeon general serves as health adviser to the nation. But members of conservative groups don't want Elders' advice, or her policies, which they view as radical.

She has said repeatedly that she supports teaching sexual abstinence to school children and that she wishes abortion were unnecessary. But at the same time, she believes public programs should do more to address the complexities of sexual life.

Elders' views on subjects such as early childhood sex education and promotion of condom use have been compared to those of the Reagan-appointed Surgeon General C. Everett Koop. But her style is less conciliatory.

In words that seem to invite rage, Elders dismisses her conservative critics, especially those who oppose abortion rights.

(EDITORS: NEXT 6 GRAFS OPTIONAL TRIM)

"They are the same people who fight health education, contraception and school-based clinics," she said in a recent appearance. "They love little babies as long as they are in someone else's uterus."

Elders' detractors are turning statements like that into their own rallying cries.

For example, a 1992 Elders' comment comparing the need for sex education to the need for driver's education has been widely circulated by the Concerned Women for America.

"We taught them what to do in the front seat," Elders was reported as saying in an Arkansas paper. "Now it's time to teach them what to do in the back seat."

"Has this appointee never thought to teach teen-agers to stay in the front seat with their seatbelts on?" asked Concerned Women spokeswoman Janet Parshall.

Taken out of context, some of Elders' statements are inflammatory. In the example above, however, the article shows she was using the automobile analogy to illustrate the urgency of AIDS education, not the need for children to learn how to have sex.

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)

In an effort to show she is not qualified for the surgeon general post, detractors cite the climbing teen pregnancy and syphilis rates in Arkansas. Supporters say these increases are tied to larger national trends. They say under Elders leadership, Arkansas has fared better than some other states.

If selected, Elders would be coming to office at a time when teen-age pregnancy rates in the United States are higher than in any other industrialized nation in the world. The process of sex education must start earlier, Elders says. High school is too late to begin to discuss sex with young people.

"TV has been teaching them since they were 3," she said recently. "Too little, too late! A child is half as tall as he's going to be at 3. They know half of all they'll know at 4. Hope, will and drive are determined by 5."

Her critics are furious about the kindergarten through 12th-grade health education program now mandated in Arkansas because of Elders. Her supporters stress that the program also encompasses hygiene, substance abuse and self-esteem.

Her school-based clinics and "radical" ideas actually encourage sex, say conservatives. But "if these ideas are radical, so is the majority of Americans," said the civil liberties group People for the American Way, which backs Elders. The group cited a 1992 Gallup poll finding that 68 percent of American adults support condom distribution in schools.

Elders, who grew up poor and black in rural Arkansas, whose brothers and sisters picked cotton to help with her college expenses, says she knows the toll unwanted pregnancy takes on teen-agers. She has often likened it to "slavery."

"Eighty percent of poverty is related to unplanned, unwanted children," she has said.

Elders attended medical school on the GI bill and rose to prominence within the medical world as a researcher in pediatric endocrinology. She was named Arkansas public health director by then-Gov. Bill Clinton.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

When she first took public office, she announced that her crusade would be to reduce teen-age pregnancy through health education and school-based clinics.

Then someone asked her if she planned to distribute condoms to teen-agers in the schools. "Well, we're not going to put them on their lunch plates," she responded. But her answer then, as it is now, was "yes."

She harked back to that story at the recent medical conference here, where she noticed that brightly wrapped condoms were a part of the centerpiece on each table.

"You didn't put them on the plates, but at least you put them on the table!"

The crowd adored her that day. But Elders won't be preaching to the converted when she testifies before the Senate committee.

Conservatives promise to dog her with her past the same way they did Lani Guinier, President Clinton's failed nominee for the civil rights chief.

In a radio broadcast this week, Ralph Reed Jr., a spokesman for Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition pledged, "If Lani Guinier was known as the quota queen, Joycelyn Elders will be known as the condom queen."

BC-REMARKS-w ELDERS national editors:WA

Joycelyn Elders on abstinence, Medicaid, babies

Knight-Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON Some remarks by surgeon general nominee Joycelyn Elders, as compiled by the Family Research Council, which opposes her nomination.

"You've been teaching abstinence for a hundred years. I've still got a problem. I've still got thousands of teen-agers having babies every year."

New York Times Magazine, Oct. 15, 1992.

"We pay for pregnancy, but we won't pay for contraception. That doesn't make sense."

Raleigh News and Observer, March 6, 1993.

"If Medicaid does not pay for abortions, does not pay for family planning, but pays for prenatal care and delivery, that's saying: 'I'll pay for you to have another good, healthy slave, but I won't pay for you to use your brain and make choices for yourself.' It's a way to keep people poor, ignorant and enslaved. If you are poor and ignorant, you are a slave."

American Medical News, Jan. 11, 1993.

"Most of our society believes that a baby is God's just punishment for fornication."

American Medical News, Jan. 11, 1993.

"If I could ensure that every child is a planned wanted child, I could cut poverty in half."

American Medical News, Jan. 11, 1993.

^BC-ABC-GMA-NICKLES SKED
^THE REUTER TRANSCRIPT REPORT
ABC ``GOOD MORNING AMERICA'' INTERVIEW WITH:
SENATOR DON NICKLES, R-OK

THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1993

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JOAN LUNDEN: President Clinton's choice for Surgeon General, Dr. Joycelyn Elders, has a reputation for shooting straight from the hip.

(Begin videotaped segment))

MS. ELDERS: I am obviously pro-choice. Insofar as laws and rules are concerned, I think the governor has expressed what those rules are. I've said many, many times, and I'll say one more time, that I feel that if we would prevent unplanned, unwanted pregnancies, there would never be a need for an abortion.

(End videotaped segment))

MS. LUNDEN: But she has her critics, and tomorrow's Senate confirmation hearing may prove to be more controversial than first anticipated. We'll find out how strong the administration's support is for Dr. Elders from Donna Shalala, Secretary of Health and Human Services, but first, a voice from the opposition -- Oklahoma Senator Don Nickles, who's joining us from the Senate Gallery in Washington.

Senator Nickles, good morning.

SEN. NICKLES: Good morning, Joan.

MS. LUNDEN: You have already declared that you will vote against Dr. Elders. Do you want to tell us why you oppose her nomination?

SEN. NICKLES: Well, primarily because Dr. Elders has made a lot of statements that really are on the radical or on the extreme position on abortion, on distribution of contraceptives, on a lot of issues that really seem almost counter to public health.

For example, she made a statement dealing with -- talking about crack babies. She said, ``Well, we need to give prostitutes Norplant so they can continue to have sex to pay for their drugs,' ' despite the fact that prostitution's illegal, drug use is illegal, in most cases. They're also very unhealthy, and so I'm very concerned about her nomination as Surgeon General.

You ran a piece on abortion. She's also said that abortion has a positive public health effect. That's bad news. That's bad news when we've had a letter now from the head of the Down Syndrome organization saying, ``We're concerned about that,' ' because she cited that in congressional testimony, said abortion has reduced the number of Down Syndrome infants in Washington state.

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ABC GMA/NICKLES PAGE 2 07/15/93

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Does this mean that we're going to have more and more abortions for any

child or any unborn child that might have some type of birth defect?

So I have serious reservations about Dr. Elders, primarily because of her statements. Many of the statements that she's made I think are just really on extreme edge of -- on positions such as abortion and distribution of birth-control devices.

MS. LUNDEN: So it's more the message, not the combative style?

SEN. NICKLES: Well, not so much the style. It's her message, it's her position. She testified before Congress talking about many things on the pro-abortion side, even made recent statements that said the people -- characterized people who were opposed to abortion as, quote, ``non-Christians with slavemaster mentalities.'' That -- I've heard a lot of people, you know, that are on the, quote, ``pro-choice'' side of the issue, but I've never heard such a radical statement as people who are opposed to abortion should be characterized as non-Christians with slavemaster mentalities.

MS. LUNDEN: How many senators do you think will join you in your opposition?

SEN. NICKLES: Well, my guess is Dr. Elders will be confirmed by the Labor Committee -- that's no big surprise -- but I think she has trouble mainly because of her statements, her positions on issues. I think her nomination is in jeopardy before the full Senate.

MS. LUNDEN: All right. Thank you very much.

END

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MORNING NEWS SUMMARY

Room 160 OEOB, Ext 7151

Tuesday, July 13, 1993

MIDWEST FLOODING -- Vice President Gore appeared on the morning shows today to discuss the Administration's response to the flooding. In Missouri, the Vice President said, "the response is being done with overview and coordination at the White House and it will be well done," (ABC) and that "We're going to respond to you better than it's ever been done before." (WP) "When pressed for details, he said only that the Federal Emergency Management Agency would lead a 'strong, effective, coordinated response' with state and local emergency management agencies." (WP) FEMA has already opened more than a dozen centers in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri to process loan forms and distribute aid to victims. (USA Today) A Washington Times headline says, "FEMA getting job done." Sen. Bond's (R-Mo.) spokesperson said, "To date, FEMA's done a wonderful job." (WT)

In Des Moines, the Raccoon and Des Moines rivers began to recede. (WP) Iowa Governor Branstad asked that the entire state be declared a federal disaster area. (NYT A1) Overall damage is at \$5 billion and more than 100 levees have failed on the Mississippi, Missouri and other rivers. (USA Today)

The first three stories on all three evening network newscast were on the flooding; the Vice President's visit was the third story on each network.

Republican consultant Doug Bailey said, "The picture of a president vacationing in Hawaii is simply not understood." (USA Today) In the election, the President won every state bordering the Mississippi except Mississippi. (USA Today) The President is expected to visit the region on his way home Wednesday, unless the White House concludes that the demands of a presidential visit would hurt local efforts. (USA Today)

A Washington Post editorial says, "The Clinton administration, in its first such test, is trying to minimize [aid problems] this time around. We hope it does, and not for political reasons. The rains and rivers have done enormous damage; the affected communities need help."

ECONOMIC PLAN -- USA Today says, "Congress faces a critical four-week agenda beginning today that could make or break the Clinton presidency." The Wall Street Journal says pressure is

growing to limit greatly the energy tax in the deficit-reduction bill. Tomorrow, some House liberal and conservative Democrats will press for a caucus of all House Democrats to drop any energy tax and instead raise all the needed revenue from businesses and top-income individuals. (WSJ) The group is led by Reps. Obey (Wis.), and English (OK). (WSJ) The House GOP leadership plans to meet today to consider offering a motion to instruct House negotiators to remove any energy taxes. (WSJ)

An aide to the House Democratic leadership said that "It's highly likely" that the conferees will add money for the empowerment zones and the earned income tax credit for the working poor, but added that House and Senate leaders have yet to agree on an amount. (WP)

Administration officials said the President will unveil a scaled back \$382 million loan program for inner cities and rural areas this week, probably on Thursday. (WT)

The Wall Street Journal compares and contrasts Rep. Rostenkowski and Sen. Moynihan.

A new USA Today/CNN/Gallup poll indicates that 34% approve of the President's economic efforts. His overall job approval rating is 45%. (USA Today A1)

IMMIGRATION -- Administration sources said U.S. and Mexican diplomats were putting the "finishing touches" on a compromise agreement on the 659 Chinese refugees in ships off the California coast. (WP) However the New York Times says that a senior Mexican Foreign Ministry official told the U.S. "with unusual sharpness" that the fate of the Chinese is up to the U.S. and that Mexico's rejection of a request by the U.S. for assistance still stands. The Mexican official asked, "Why would we do this as a favor to the United States when our own people are victims of the same policy?" (NYT)

Under the proposed accord, U.S. officials would obtain biographical information about the migrants and make arrangements for the swift return to China of those not deemed eligible for asylum in the U.S. (WP) In return, Mexico would accept the migrants on their territory for return to China and seek U.N. assistance in determining their status under international law. (WP) A senior Mexican Foreign Ministry official said that Mexico adamantly insists that the U.S. accept responsibility for the boats without shunting the problem onto Mexico. (WP)

An Administration official said an announcement could be made as early as today. (WP)

HEALTH CARE -- The Washington Post's health section features a description of the Administration's health care reform plan and lists the "key questions Clinton will confront as he makes the final decision on his plan."

The Wall Street Journal reports that Pittsburgh area hospitals are "taking in their help-wanted signs and laying off workers. With bigger cuts looming because of high costs, overcapacity and fear of the Clinton administration's emerging health plan, the local economy is beginning to feel a chill."

G-7 SUMMIT -- "President Clinton is fast learning a lesson President Bush learned the hard way: When the economic news is bad at home foreign policy success has limited political value, at best." (USA Today)

A new USA Today/CNN/Gallup poll indicates that the President's approval rating on trade issues rose to 43% from 37%. The President's rating on foreign affairs is 49%. (USA Today A1)

Japan plans to formally warn the U.S. that it may withdraw from negotiations over specific trade issues if the U.S. moves to impose trade sanctions on Japan as part of those discussions. (WSJ)

GAYS IN THE MILITARY -- A new USA Today/CNN/Gallup poll indicates that 48% support a "don't ask, don't tell" compromise to lift the ban; 49% oppose. Forty-nine percent disagree with the phrase, "Homosexuality is incompatible with military service;" 48% agree. (USA Today)

The Washington Times says the President and Secretary Aspin discussed the issue this weekend and that a decision is likely this week. "There have been increasing signals the strategy will not require homosexuals to keep their secret," but no officials would "deny the president will go further than the unanimous recommendation from the six-member Joint Chiefs of Staff for the 'don't ask, don't tell' policy." (WT A1)

NAACP Director Ben Chavis said a North Carolina chapter's challenge to the NAACP's move to back the Administration's opposition to the ban on gays in the military will be rejected. (WP)

A USA Today editorial says, "Conscience should carry the day. If it does, Clinton will refuse to accept any of the so-called 'compromises' now collecting supporters in the Pentagon and Congress....Clinton should lift the military ban on gays on his own." The counter-editorial is by Sen. Coats (R-Ind.).

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APPOINTMENTS -- Rep. Mfume (D-Md.), told reporters that the Black Congressional Caucus and the NAACP are so firmly together behind the Elders nomination that "there is not even a crack of daylight" between the two organizations. (WP) "The remark was meant to indicate that both groups would look with strong disfavor if Clinton fails to put the full weight of the White House behind Elders." (WP) In his speech to the NAACP, the Vice President omitted a reference in the advance text of the speech to Jocelyn Elders' confirmation. (WP) NAACP spokesperson Rojas said it was not clear if the Vice President's failure to mention Dr. Elders indicated a withdrawal of the Administration's support. (WT)

A New York Times editorial strongly defends Dr. Elders, saying America "is, in brief, a country that needs a First Doctor who can speak with the clarity and integrity of Dr. Elders."

The Washington Post runs an interview with Secretary Cisneros today.

NAFTA -- U.S. Trade Representative Kantor said the U.S. will not back down from a proposal that would include the use in trade

sanctions to enforce NAFTA environmental provisions. (WSJ) He said yesterday's Wall Street Journal story was "inaccurate." (WSJ) "The Clinton administration... realizes that Congress would be far more likely to vote against the trade accord if the U.S. gives up its sanction threat." (WSJ)

SOMALIA -- In Mogadishu, U.S. helicopters attacked one of warlord Aidid's strongholds. (WP) A U.N. spokesperson said that 13 Somali militiamen were known to have been killed, and a spokesperson for Aidid said that 70 Somalis had been killed. (WP) A U.N. spokesperson said damage was confined to the compound. (AP/NY A1) U.S. Admiral Howe said, "We have good evidence that [Aidid] shot his own people from behind to swell numbers" for the press. (USA Today A1) In response to the attack, Somali crowds in Mogadishu shot, beat, and stoned to death three news photographers in the first violence directed against foreign journalists in Somalia. (WP)

Italy asked for a halt to U.N. military action in Somalia to bring a calmer atmosphere to the negotiations to reconcile Somali factions and disarm their militias. (AP)

The Somali "raid" led the Los Angeles Times.

BOSNIA -- One-hundred-and-fifty American infantry troops landed in Macedonia yesterday. (WP) The New York Times reports that 200 U.S. soldiers arrived in Macedonia yesterday, bringing the total to 300. Lt. Col. Holton said, "This is the first time the United States of America has deployed a combat unit under the U.N. blue hat of peace-keeping operations." (WP)

A classified State Department report says the partitioning of Bosnia into three ethnic areas could require the resettlement of 1.5 million to 2.5 million people. (NYT) The report was based on a map drawn by Serbian President Milosevic; senior State Department officials said that the Milosevic map, which international mediators are using as a basis for negotiation, is not inevitable. (NYT)

In Sarajevo, the leaders of Bosnia's Serb and Muslim factions signed an agreement to restore water, gas, and electricity to the besieged city. (WP) If the plan is carried out, it would clear the way for Muslim participation in the Geneva peace talks later this week. (WP) Twelve people in Sarajevo were killed by mortar shells when Serb forces fired on a crowd lined up for water. (USA Today)

A Wall Street Journal front-page feature on trials for war crimes in Bosnia says, "In the end, the tribunal may be forced to settle for an El Salvador-style 'truth commission,' naming names and detailing crimes but with no legal sanctions."

IRAQ -- "Postponing the use of force, the Clinton Administration and its main Gulf War allies turned again to diplomacy...." (NYT A1) The U.N. Security Council decided to send the U.N. weapons commission chairman to Baghdad to try to resolve the missile dispute by diplomacy rather than force. (WP) The U.N. weapons commission withdrew an invitation to Iraq to participate in high-

level talks among technical experts as part of a general review of Iraq's compliance with Security Council resolutions. (WP)

A Washington Post editorial says, "The U.N. cannot leave Iraq under any doubt that, if it is prevented from guaranteeing the region's safety through peaceful arms inspections, it will necessarily have to resort to force."

A New York Times editorial says, "Clearly, the U.N. cannot afford to have Iraq trifle with its resolutions or erode its authority," and that the U.N. diplomatic mission to Baghdad "was a healthy sign that Washington and its allies are thinking about how to avoid getting caught in this mug's game again."

RUSSIA -- Anonymous Pentagon sources told the Washington Times that U.S. Special Forces personnel were sent to the former Soviet republic of Georgia in a covert operation to protect Georgian President Edouard Shevardnadze. (WT A1)

VIETNAM -- A new USA Today/CNN/Gallup poll indicates that 48% support establishing relations with Vietnam and 42% oppose. (USA Today)

NAACP CONVENTION -- In a speech to the NAACP convention in Indianapolis, the Vice President said the Administration would fight for anti-poverty proposals and appoint a "great assistant attorney general for civil rights." (WP) NAACP Chair William Gibson praised Rep. Mfume for standing up to the President when he "kicked us in our teeth" last month by abandoning Lani Guinier's nomination. (AP/NYT, WSJ) Rep. Mfume (D-Md.), said he was "heartened to hear the vice president talk about the programs as if they'd already" survived compromise negotiations. (USA Today)

Anthony Hollis, president of the Shreveport, La. NAACP chapter, said, "There are those who would question [the President's] intestinal fortitude. The jury is still out." (WP)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE -- A New York Times editorial criticizes the House Democratic leadership for not addressing franked mail in the campaign finance reform bill and praises the Senate for passing franking restrictions in its version of the bill, saying, "New franking restraints and campaign reform must go hand in hand."

OPL BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

TO: Alexis Herman
FROM: Flo McAfee
DATE: July 12, 1993

ORGANIZATION: Support Groups of Joycelyn Elders Nomination

DATE: Tuesday, July 13, 1993

LOCATION: Indian Treaty Room

TIME: 8:30 am

PURPOSE: To brief and hold reception for groups supporting the Joycelyn Elders nomination.

Orange juice and donuts will be served before the briefing.

PARTICIPANTS: Approximately 90 people are expected representing the various support groups. See attached list of supporters.

AGENDA:
Welcome.....Mack McLarty
Importance of Surgeon General.....Secretary Donna Shalala
Remarks.....Dr. Joycelyn Elders
Closing Remarks.....Alexis Herman

REMARKS:

- o Thanks for support.
- o Describe what the White House has been doing in support of the nomination.
- o At times, change is hard and difficult. Yet change is needed to improve the lives of our children, to guarantee better health opportunities for all Americans.
- o Dr. Elders represents the type of individual who will bring the sort of positive change that is needed to the position of surgeon general.
- o As we begin the nomination process, let us continue to work together to make sure that Dr. Elders joins our administration, to make sure that Dr. Elders is part of the team that will make a difference in the lives of everyone throughout this country.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 12, 1993

TO: White House Senior Staff

FROM: Alexis Herman
Assistant to the President
Office of Public Liaison

RE: Briefing on Surgeon General Nomination

The White House will be sponsoring a briefing tomorrow morning at 8:30 am on the Surgeon General Nomination. Mack McLarty will welcome over ninety organizations gathered to meet Dr. Joycelyn Elders and hear Secretary Donna Shalala discuss the importance of the position of Surgeon General. The Briefing will be held in the Indian Treaty Room.

On a related issue, the American Academy of Pediatrics is holding a news briefing at 10:00 am tomorrow morning on behalf of the Elders Nomination. Over 130 organizations have announced their support of the Elders nomination. Of special note is the support of former Surgeon General Dr. C. Everette Koop. List is attached.

The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee will hold its nomination hearing on Friday, July 16.

M. JOYCELYN ELDERS, M.D.

Dr. M. Joycelyn Elders is a native of Scaal, Arkansas, a small community located in the southwest part of the State. The eldest of eight children, she has had a distinguished career in medicine. Upon graduation from college at age 18, she entered the U.S. Army where she received training as a physical therapist. She attended the University of Arkansas Medical School on the G.I. Bill. After graduating from UAMS in 1960, she worked as an intern at the University of Minnesota Hospital and as a pediatrician at the University of Arkansas Medical Center in Little Rock, Arkansas. Upon completion of her pediatric residency at UAMS, she obtained a Master of Science degree in biochemistry. In 1976, she joined the faculty at UAMS as a professor of pediatrics. She received board certification as a pediatric endocrinologist in 1978. Based on her studies in growth in children and the treatment of hormone-related illnesses, she has written over 150 articles for medical research publications.

In December of 1992, then President-elect Bill Clinton announced his intention to nominate Dr. Elders as the next U.S. Surgeon General. Dr. Elders currently serves as the Director of the Arkansas Department of Health, having been appointed to that position in October of 1987 by Governor Clinton. She was selected President of the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers in August of 1992 after having served on that organization's Executive Committee for several years. She is a member of many health related organizations, boards and commissions including the National Advisory Commission on Rural Health, the Secretary's Advisory Committee for Infant Mortality, the Editorial Board for the Journal of Pediatrics, the Southern Regional Education Board, the Endocrine Society and many more.

In addition, she has established an equally impressive civic record with board memberships and service to the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, Northside YMCA, and Youth Homes, Inc. The list could go on. She has been recognized in 100 Outstanding Women in Arkansas, Personalities of the South, Distinguished Women in America, Worthen Bank's Arkansas Professional Women of Distinction Award, the Arkansas Democrat's Woman of the Year, the National Governor's Association Distinguished Service Award, AMA National Congress on Adolescent Health Award for Outstanding Efforts on Behalf of America's Youth, the National Education Association Mary Putrell Award for Creative Leadership in Women's Rights, the Southern Health Association's Charles Jordan Award, the AMA Dr. Nathan Davis Award, the De Lee Humanitarian Award, the Nation Coalition of 100 Black Women's Candace Award for Health Science and the Alvin C. Ehrich Award (Academy of Educational Development). Dr. Elders has received Honorary Doctorate of Medical Sciences degrees from Moorehouse College, the University of Minnesota and Yale University.

Until his recent retirement, she was her husband Oliver's most outspoken supporter at Hall High School basketball games. The Elders have two grown sons, Eric and Kevin.

OFFICE OF SURGEON GENERAL

The Surgeon General serves as the health advisor to the Nation on health related matters and manages the Public Health Service' Commissioned Corps.

Throughout the years, the Office of Surgeon General has occupied various positions in the Department of Health and Human Services and the Public Health Service. Prior to 1966, the Surgeon General was responsible for the administration of the PHS and for exercising the numerous authorities contained in the PHS Act. By 1968, all authorities formerly delegated to the Surgeon General had been transferred to the Assistant Secretary of Health. Dr. Julius B. Richmond served as both the ASH and Surgeon General from 1977 until 1982. However, in 1982, the dual title was again divided. In 1987, an Office of Surgeon General was officially established under the Assistant Secretary of Health (ASH).

In addition to the administration and management of the commissioned corps, the Surgeon General provides leadership to the 6,500 active duty commissioned personnel, advises the ASH on policy matters pertaining to the PHS, directs a wide range of special initiatives as directed by the President, Congress or the Department and serves as the focal point for dialogue with health professional societies.

The Surgeon General has the following responsibilities vested by law:

Release of various Surgeon General's Reports under the authority of the Secretary of Health and Human Services (15 U.S.C. 1337)

Serves as a member of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences (USUHS). Other Board responsibilities include the National Library of Medicine, Seamen's Health Improvement Program, Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, Gorgas Memorial Institute on Tropical Medicine, Executive Committee of the Association of Military Surgeons of the U.S. and the PHS representative to the American Medical Association House of Delegates.

Issues warnings to the public on health hazards associated with products in the United States.

Reviews the particulars of Department of Defense plans for transportation, open testing and disposal of lethal chemicals and biological agents and recommend precautions necessary to protect public health and safety.

Under a proposed reorganization within the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health, the Offices of Women's Health, Minority Health, Disease Prevention and Health Promotion and Population Affairs will be under the direct supervision of the Surgeon General.

**Model letter in support of Joycelyn Elders
For newspapers:**

I'm writing to express my strong support for Joycelyn Elders M.D., a pediatrician, a public health professional and a superb advocate for children. Dr. Elders has the determination and the ability to persuade Americans to take better care of their health, and she should be quickly confirmed as President Clinton's U.S. Surgeon General.

As the nation's top health advisor and the manager of the Public Health Service's 6,500-member Commissioned Corps, she would make dramatic and enduring changes to better the health of all Americans. In the five-and-a-half years since then-Gov. Clinton appointed her as the director of the Arkansas State Health Department in 1987, she helped raise the immunization rates of pre-school children in the state and has been instrumental in attracting more health professionals to practice in underserved rural areas.

In addition, her programs have led to a downward turn in the teenage pregnancy rate and helped lower the infant mortality rate.

Dr. Elders has always been willing to tackle the tough issues head on. One of her major goals "is preventing unplanned and unwanted pregnancies," and she is disturbed that in America, "Our children are having children." She is provocative and she gets results.

We urgently need Dr. Elder's leadership nationwide to help prevent the spread of disease, to curb smoking and drinking among teens and adults, and to help conquer the AIDS epidemic.

As a professor of pediatrics at the University of Arkansas Medical School and a researcher into the causes and treatment of hormone-related illnesses, she has authored more than 150 articles for medical research publications. Her resume points to a life-time of achievement, and a breadth of experience that uniquely qualifies her for public office. Among her many accomplishments, she served as a 1st Lieutenant in the U.S. Army and was chief resident and a research fellow in Pediatrics at the University of Arkansas Medical Center. She is a board-certified pediatric-endocrinologist.

Among numerous distinctions, she received the AMA National Congress on Adolescent Health Award in 1990 for Outstanding Efforts on Behalf of American Youth, the National Education Association's Mary Futrell Award in 1990 for Creative Leadership in Women Rights, the American Medical Association's Dr. Nathan Davis Award in 1990 and the National Coalition of 100 Black Women's Candace Award in 1991 for Health Science.

She currently serves on the boards of a dozen councils and

commissions in the public and private sectors, including the National Institute of Medicine's Health Promotion Disease Prevention, the Robert Wood Johnson Generalist Physician Initiative Advisory Commission, and the Council on Government Affairs for the Academy of Pediatrics.

Dr. Elders will be a phenomenal role model to children and adults across the country. Undoubtedly, she will be an exceptional model to African-Americans, who are vastly underrepresented in the medical profession.

The daughter of sharecroppers, Dr. Elders knows what it is to be poor. She will fight to ensure that children and teenagers of all races have the opportunities all of America's young people deserve. As Surgeon General, I'm sure she will inspire a new generation of young health providers to bring the same compassion and idealism to their work as she has displayed throughout her career.

She should be confirmed quickly. Thank you.

CITY	NEWSPAPER	ADDRESS	PHN FX
Birmingham, AL	<i>The Birmingham News</i>	Ron Casey 2200 4th Ave. N. P.O. Box 10127 Birm, AL 35202	205-325-2222 205-325-3246
Mobile, AL	<i>The Mobile Press, The Mobile Register</i>	TMP = Ralph Poore TMR = Bill Sellers 304 Government St. PO Box 2488 Mobile, AL 36630	205-433-1551 205-434-8662
Montgomery, AL	<i>The Montgomery Advertiser</i>	Ken Hare 200 Washington Ave. PO Box 1000 Mont, AL 36101	205-262-1611 205-261-1501
Phoenix, AZ	<i>Arizona Republic, Phoenix Gazette</i>	AR = Paul Schatt PG = James Hill Phoenix Newspapers, Inc. PO Box 1950 Phoenix, AZ 85001	AR 602-271-8000 602-271-8500 ----- PG 602-271-8000 602-271-8911
Tucson, AZ	<i>The Arizona Daily- Star</i>	Jim Kiser Star Publishing Co PO Box 26807 Tucson, AZ 85726	602-573-4400 602-573-4107
Miami, FL	<i>The Miami Herald</i>	Jim Hampton 1 Herald Plaza Miami, FL 33132	305-350-2111 305-376-2677
Jacksonville, FL	<i>The Florida Times Union</i>	Lloyd Brown Morris Communications Corp. PO Box 1949 Jack. FL 32231	904-359-4111 904-359-4400
Tampa, FL	<i>The Tampa Tribune</i>	Edwin Edwards 202 S. Parker St. PO Box 191 Tampa, FL 33606	813-272-7711 813-272-7823

CITY	NEWSPAPER	ADDRESS	PHN FX
St. Petersburg, FL	<i>The St. Petersburg Times</i>	Bill Gailey Times Publishing Co. 490 1st ave. S. PO Box 1121 St., FL 33731	813-893-8111 813-893-8673
Orlando, FL	<i>The Orlando Sentinel</i>	Manning Dynn Sentinel Communications Co. 633 N. Orange Ave. Orlando, FL 32802	407-420-5000 407-420-5661
Atlanta, GA	<i>The Atlanta Journal Constitution</i>	TAJ=S. Tucker TAC=Jim Wooten 72 Marietta St. NW Atl, GA 30303	TAJ 404-526-5431 404-526-5610 ----- TAC 404-526-5431 404-526-5611
Savannah, GA	<i>The Savannah Morning News</i>	Tom Barton PO Box 1088 Sav, GA 31402	912-236-9511 912-234-6522
Columbus, GA	<i>The Columbus Ledger-Enquirer</i>	Billy Winn PO Box 711 Columbus, GA 31994	706-324-5526 706-576-6210
Wichita, KS	<i>The Wichita Eagle</i>	David Owbre 825 E. Douglas Wichita, KS 67202	316-268-6000 316-268-6609
Topeka, KS	<i>The Topeka Capital Journal</i>	Mike Ryan 616 Jefferson St. Topeka, KS 66607	913-295-1111 913-295-1198
New Orleans, LA	<i>The Times Picayune</i>	Malcolm Forsyth Times-Picayune Publ. Corp. 3800 Howard Ave. NO, LA 70140	504-826-3300 504-826-3007
Shreveport, LA	<i>The Times</i>	Frank May 222 Lake St. Shreveport, LA 71130	318-459-3200 318-459-3301

CITY	NEWSPAPER	ADDRESS	PHN FX
Baton Rouge, LA	<i>The Advocate</i>	Doug Manship, Jr. Capital City Press 525 Lafayette St. BR, LA 70802	504-383-1111 504-388-0129
Bangor, ME	<i>The Bangor Daily News</i>	Mark Woodward Bangor Daily News 491 Main St. PO Box 1329 Bangor, ME 04402	207-990-8000 207-941-0885
Minneapolis St. Paul, MI	<i>St. Paul Pioneer Press Dispatch</i>	Ron Clark 345 Cedar St. Saint Paul, MN 55101	612-222-5011 612-229-5268
Lincoln, NE	<i>The Lincoln Journal</i>	Kathy Rutledge Journal Star Printing Co. 926 P St. Box 81589 L, NE 68501	402-473-7325 402-473-7291
Omaha, NE	<i>The Omaha World- Herald</i>	Frank Partsch World-Herald Sq. Omaha, NE 68102	402-444-1000 402-345-0183
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Columbia, SC	<i>The Columbia State</i>	Tom McLean The State-Record Co. Box 1333 Columbia, SC 29202	803-771-6161 803-771-8430
Greenville, SC	<i>The Greenville News Piedmont</i>	Tom Inman 305 S. Main St. Box 1688 Greenville, SC 29602	803-298-4100 803-298-4137
Burlington, VT	<i>The Burlington Free Press</i>	Candy Page 191 College St. Burlington, VT 05401	802-863-3441 802-862-5622

09 93 11 8. 890 5873

"Clearly, she is not a child of politics, which requires a certain artistic command of compromise, doublespeak and cave-in ability. Rather, Elders comes off more like a woman fed up with bureaucracies and all the time and money they waste. Moreover, she's impatient with good intentions that fail to produce good results ..." [Salt Lake City Tribune, 12/27/92]

DR. JOYCELYN ELDERS: CHARGES AND RESPONSES

SOUND POLICY AND STRAIGHT TALK

Charge: Dr. Joycelyn Elders is a "radical" with dangerous ideas. Critics assert that Dr. Joycelyn Elders advocates ideas of the far left "fringe."

Response: Throughout her career in public health, Dr. Joycelyn Elders has been a fearless voice for children and she has always insisted in dealing with the reality they face. Like Harry Truman she speaks the truth, and some don't like to hear it.

Dr. Elders is an advocate of sound public health policies the objectives of which few disagree. Leading public health experts including former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, an appointee of President Ronald Reagan, have advocated many of the same policies -- early childhood education, including education on sexuality, condom distribution, and candid talk about AIDS and prevention strategies.

Dr. Elders is nationally reknowned for her work on children's health, but she has been active in many spheres of health care:

Expanding Home Care Services

- Dr. Elders initiated a plan to expand home health care in Arkansas allowing senior citizens or medically fragile patients to remain in their communities.

Increasing Early Childhood Screening

- In 1990, Dr. Elders instituted a new born sickle cell screening program that now covers 40,000 infants.
- Under Dr. Elders leadership the number of early childhood screening in Arkansas went from just over 4,000 in 1988 to over 45,000 in 1992.

Dramatically Improving Arkansas' Immunization Rate

- The immunization rate for Arkansas' two year olds went from 34% in 1989 to 60% in 1992.

PREVENTING BABIES FORM BEING BORN DRUG ADDICTED

Charge: Dr. Elders has advocated giving Norplant to prostitutes so they may continue to use sex to buy drugs.

Response: Dr. Elders has always fought tirelessly for the health of children, and has worked to prevent babies from being born addicted to crack and other drugs. In response to a question about "crack-addicted women who sell sex to buy drugs, get pregnant, and have crack addicted babies" Dr. Elders acknowledged that this was a real problem. She suggested that providing Norplant was one way to ensure that children were not born into such a tragic situation.

Dr. Elders understands that there are some very difficult realities that challenge public health officials, and has not shirked from facing these realities.

This remark, now being used in isolation by several far right groups opposed to her confirmation, was taken entirely out of context.

CONTRACEPTIVES IN SCHOOLS

Charge: Dr. Elders argues for distributing condoms in schools.

Response: Dr. Elders has championed family planning as a means of preventing abortion, AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases, and poverty -- many of the worst public health problems.

One of Dr. Elders most notable and widely praised achievements was the establishment of innovative school-based clinics in Arkansas, raising the number from one to twenty six during her tenure. Linking public schools with the Arkansas health department, Dr. Elders was able to successfully bring to those who most needed them services that increase childhood immunization and early childhood screening, and reduce teen pregnancy, substance abuse, sexual abuse, sexually transmitted diseases, and other dangers in those communities. She said: "I'm talking about comprehensive primary preventive health care service on the school campus where the children are." ["Today", December 30, 1992]

Dr. Elders believes that local school boards should have the jurisdiction to make decisions about distributing contraceptives and providing sex education.

EDUCATION ON PREVENTIVE HEALTH CARE IN EARLY GRADES

Charge: Dr. Elders supports telling kindergartners about sex.

Response: No. Dr. Elders believes in comprehensive health education in public schools beginning in kindergarten and continuing through twelfth grade. She believes such education should provide children with age appropriate information on a wide variety of challenges they can encounter. Dr. Elders primary goal has been to educate children on issues which will keep them healthy and prevent them from engaging in harmful behavior. The school based health clinic she set up in some of Arkansas' schools reached many of the poorest children with health care they would not otherwise have received.

Dr. Koop believed in teaching about sexuality as early as kindergarten. He said "My feeling is that if sexuality is taught gently and gradually from an early age, it is part of your life and it doesn't come as a shock." and "The issue is not just AIDS, it's sexually transmitted disease and its pregnancy and low birthweight babies and it's a tremendous big hunk of what public health is all about.... I suggested sex education in the third grade and you know what furor that brought. I still think if we did it right, had the right coalition of parents, churches, civic organizations, working together not fighting each other you could raise a generation of preteens to become adolescents who are less sexually active." [Washington Post 6/20/89]

ADVERTISING CONDOMS ON TELEVISION

Charge: Dr. Elders supports advertising condoms on television.

Response: Dr. Elders along with many public health experts has said time and time again that "We are facing a crisis in this country" with AIDS. She believes as do many others that because the use of condoms helps prevent the spread of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.

One of the hallmarks of former Surgeon General Koop's tenure was the encouragement of increased condom use to fight AIDS. He was very outspoken on this issue talking "at every opportunity about using condoms. On television and radio, in newspapers and magazines, on posters in subways, in church and community centers, on billboards, in schools... in English and Spanish." [Washington Post 3/24/87]

DISCOURAGING ABORTIONS

Charge: Dr. Joycelyn Elders is a vocal advocate of abortion.

Response: Wrong. Dr. Elders is a vocal advocate for making abortions unnecessary. She has said hundreds upon hundreds of times that preventing unwanted pregnancy is the most sure path towards preventing abortion.

Both sides of this debate have had to grapple with the emotional nature of the issue. Dr. Elders has tried to decrease the number of abortions and most of all increase the number of wanted loved babies. As she often says, her first priority is to make every child born in America a planned, wanted child. Her battle has always been for the children. She will fight in any way she can to make sure that they can live better fuller lives with less poverty, illness and loneliness.

ON MARIJUANA FOR MEDICINAL USE

Charge: Elders supports use of marijuana for medicinal use -- a first step towards total legalization of the drug.

Response: Dr. Elders has not advocated changing current law. She has said that she is open to a discussion of the medicinal use of marijuana if physicians feel marijuana "would be beneficial for use the patient," especially in cases of people who suffer with a painful terminal illness. The Administration has no plans to change current law.

SLAVERY TO CIRCUMSTANCE

Charge: Elders said that poor teen-agers who are having babies are "slaves" and that they are "breeding another class of slaves."

Response: Dr. Elders said that teen pregnancy often leads to poverty and a powerlessness over one's destiny which is a kind of enslavement. Barriers to education, cyclical poverty, a fragmented family structure lead to a servitude of circumstance which a generation of young people risk falling into.

Dr. Elders has worked ceaselessly to undermine this terrible cycle, and believes that improvements in preventive care and public health can help teen-agers in crisis rise above the difficulties of their circumstances.

PROGNOSIS: CONTROVERSY

Pro-condom and pro-choice, the nominee for Surgeon General is provoking a heated reaction from conservatives

By MARGARET CARLSON WASHINGTON

JOYCELYN ELDERS, THE PEDIATRICIAN nominated to be Surgeon General, was the first in her sharecropper family of eight children to go to college, working her way through Philander Smith, a black institution in Arkansas, as a cleaning woman. When she was home one weekend, her younger brother Chester, now a Methodist minister in Pine Bluff, realized that she had begun to change when she took her siblings to the drive-in to see a movie. "She went to a section not marked off for coloreds," says her brother. "The attendant told her to move, and they got in a heated argument. We started to cry. We weren't into the politics of life; we just wanted to see the movie. Finally she and the attendant compromised on how far back we would go. That's when I first noticed my sister was a little different."

This week, when the Senate opens hearings on the Elders nomination, the rest of the U.S. will find out that the 59-year-old Arkansas public-health director is still a little different. While she has the bedside manner of the white-coated physician, she has also been a verbal bomb thrower, trying to wake up Arkansas citizenry to the health crises in teenage pregnancy and AIDS by promoting sex education, birth control and freedom of choice on abortion. Just after her appointment in 1987, Elders was asked if school-based clinics would dispense contraceptives. She replied, "I'm not going to put condoms on their lunch trays, but yes."

The controversy grew from there. Antiabortion activists have called her a "mass murderer" and "director of the Arkansas Holocaust." Her reputation has provoked a coalition of national right-to-life groups to challenge her nomination. "We are deadly opposed to her confirmation," says James A. Smith, a lobbyist for the Christian Life Commission. But the White House contends it is ready to fight

Last year she declared that abortion foes need to get over their "love affair with the fetus."



In Arkansas, Elders has been a verbal bomb thrower

for this nominee. Says Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala: "She is colorful and plainspoken, and Americans like people who are straightforward." One Republican Senator, Don Nickles of Oklahoma, has come out against her, but no one expects it to stop there.

Elders has been in battle most of her life. It was a struggle to escape rural Schaal, Arkansas. She started school at four, walking five miles daily to catch the bus. At night, she helped her father stretch raccoon hides, which he sold to Sears. After college, she enlisted in the Army and trained as a physical therapist. Later, she was the only black woman in her class at the University of Arkansas medical school.

She made enemies traveling the state preaching that the consequences of irre-

sponsible sex should not be a child who will more than likely grow up uncared for. She has not taken her lumps quietly. Elders attacks her religious-right critics as "non-Christians" who harbor "slave-master mentalities." Last year Elders told an abortion-rights rally that abortion foes need to get over their "love affair with the fetus." Earlier this month on a CNBC call-in show, Elders was asked what she planned to do about crack-addicted women who sell sex to buy drugs, get pregnant and have crack-addicted babies. "That's a real problem," the pragmatic Elders replied. "I would hope that we would be able to provide them with Norplant, so they could still use sex if they must to buy their drugs and not have unplanned babies."

SHEPARD SMITH/REUTERS—SABA

Elders is no stranger to drug problems. In 1981 she took in a foster child, Nina, 13, a blue-eyed diabetic patient she had been treating for five years. When Nina was 25 and on her own, she was arrested on a drug charge and Elders' husband paid the \$1,000 bail to get her out. Last February the girl and her boyfriend were found murdered, possibly because of a drug deal gone bad. "It was a major loss," says her aide Carol Roddy, "like the daughter she never had."

For all Elders' empathy with families that don't work, she is at the center of one that does. Married since Valentine's Day 1960 to Oliver Elders, she cheered at almost every game during his 33 years as basketball coach of a Little Rock high school team. Her husband's 97-year-old mother, who has Alzheimer's disease, lives with them. Elders has two grown sons. My sister, says her brother Jones, is "your typical housewife. She cooks like our mother cooked—fried chicken, turnip greens and corn bread. Yet when she gets out of the house, you wonder who this person is."

Washington will try to find out this week, but confirmation hearings are not always an accurate indicator of future performance. Who would have thought that former Surgeon General C. Everett Koop, appointed by President Reagan for his Fundamental beliefs and fervent pro-life position, would refuse White House pressure to label abortion "psychologically harmful," would become a crusader for condoms, or would be reviled by Phyllis Schlafly and air-kissed by Elizabeth Taylor? If Elders gets to don the gold-braided uniform of the nation's No. 1 doctor, she may end up, like Koop, infuriating her supporters and amazing her detractors.

—Reported by Ann Blackman/
Washington and Richard Woodbury/Houston

8/4-10/93

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Uncompromisingly bold: Dr. Jocelyn Elders



THE POLITICS OF HEALTH: Dr. Jocelyn Elders makes a point during a discussion with longtime friend, President Bill Clinton.

Local leaders speak out on health expert

By Kenneth Coleman Jr.
CHRONICLE STAFF WRITER

Surgeon general nominee states her convictions, apologies not incl

Dr. Jocelyn Elders survived round one of her fight to become U.S. surgeon general. President Clinton's outspoken choice was endorsed by the U.S. Senate Labor and Human Resource Committee last Friday. The vote was 13 to 4.

But that endorsement came after nearly a month of scrutiny on Capitol Hill. Questions concerning her personal finances, her position on sex education in public schools and her efforts in Arkansas to distribute condoms to prevent the spread of the AIDS virus sparked considerable debate.

Conservative groups, such as the American Family Association and Concerned Women for America, continue to oppose her. But most local reaction to the proceedings has favored Dr. Elders.

"I anxiously await for confirmation," says Marie Farrell-Donaldson, Detroit's ombudsman. "She represents a breath of fresh air. I support her."

Dr. Elders, 59, recently resigned her post as Arkansas' director of health after nearly six years and is considered controversial by many in her

home state. During the first day of hearings, she openly discussed allegations concerning her finances and public record.

Labeled by conservative groups as a supporter of abortion rights, Dr. Elders explained her position.

"The only thing that works 100 percent is abstinence," she maintained. "We know our children are not being abstinent. I would like to make every child born in America a planned, wanted child."

On the allegation of receiving pay as a consultant to the

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services with the staff of the Arkansas Health Department pointed out that she used vacation time for travel in Washington, DC.

She also responded to criticism that, despite her stance at raising Arkansas' awareness regarding care, the state's teen pregnancy rate is only slightly below the nation's average. She replied, "I'm not perfect."

Some local leaders

See Health Page

concerned that President Clinton would withdraw the Elders nomination after heated allegations made headlines.

"He had to support her," says Farrell-Donaldson. "I don't think that Black women in this country would have stood by and let another Black woman go down."

Clinton withdrew his nomination of Lani Guinier, a University of Pennsylvania law professor and former law clerk for U.S. Appeals Court Judge Damon Keith. Guinier had been nominated as assistant U.S. attorney general for civil rights, but became a casualty of pressure from Democratic moderates and conservatives.

Akua Budu-Watkins, board member of the National Black Women's Health Project (NBWHP), says that her organization was ready to back up their stated support for Dr. Elders.

"We were ready to call the president's hot line if he tried to withdraw her name." The NBWHP, which recently held its national convention in Detroit, represents Black women in 31 states and eight countries.

But not everyone in the metropolitan area supports President Clinton's nominee to become the country's principal health official. Ron Ed-

wards, host of the Detroit-based, nationally syndicated "Edwards Notebook" radio program, says he's against the nomination of Dr. Joycelyn Elders.

"She's for teaching five- and six-year-olds sex education," he charges. "There is a correlation between the teaching of sex education in the public schools and the increase in children born out of wedlock and the spread of venereal diseases. Dr. Elders advocates teaching sex education in schools at early ages."

But at its national convention two weeks ago in Indianapolis, the NAACP adopted a resolution to support the Elders nomination.

"Benjamin Chavis (national executive director) spoke to it, and certainly the Detroit branch supported it," said Detroit NAACP Executive Director Joann Watson.

"We need people like her," Jackie Currie adds. "She's qualified and will help kids of all ages and races."

Dr. Elders, a child of an Arkansas sharecropper father and a teenaged mother, says she wants to be "the voice and the vision of the powerless." If confirmed, she will be the first African American and only the second woman to hold the position of U.S. surgeon general. Because of the Democratic majority in the U.S. Senate, she is expected to be confirmed. The full Senate vote is expected either this week or in September after the August recess.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Nominee Is Worth a Fight

GILLIAM, From B1

surgeon general. But the conservatives who adored Koop are out to kill Elders's confirmation. To do this, they have taken her statements out of context and misquoted and mischaracterized her. In a recent news report, a critic called her agenda "flawed and . . . a prescription for national disaster."

Elders supports telling kindergartners about sex and endorses advertising condoms, views Koop also advocated. In light of the conclusion of the national commission on AIDS that only prevention will stop this epidemic, her approach seems rational and reasonable.

In Arkansas, Elders set up school-based health clinics in some areas to reach many of the poorest children with health care they otherwise would not have received. She has championed family planning to prevent abortion, AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, but she always has deferred to the local school boards for the ultimate decisions.

An array of mainstream health, education, religious and children's and youth organizations have announced their support of her nomination. These include the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the National Association of County Health Officials, the Children's Defense Fund and the Child Welfare League of America.

Despite efforts by the right

wing to distort her stance, Elders is in the mainstream of American thinking.

According to a recent Gallup poll, 51 percent said abortion is justified under some circumstances. Only 13 percent of those polled believed it should be illegal under all circumstances.

In her position in Arkansas, Elders has faced a microcosm of the problems we as a country must face. She has shown that she is able to deal with those urgent issues with compassion and with an eye toward the surrounding ethos and cultures.

While we are walking this delicate line between political sensibility and prevention in the growing AIDS epidemic, for example, it is exactly her pragmatism that is called for.

Clinton, it appears, knows that. He nominated her early on, and his administration says that he is going to stick by her.

I am sure, however, it would be easier to hold him to his word if the cards and letters flowed into newspapers, legislative offices and the White House from supporters of Elders's views.

The issue is larger than one woman from Arkansas, or even whether Clinton will do the right thing.

It is whether we are going to let the screamers prevent us from doing what Koop, Elders, Clinton and every parent not colored by their politics knows: Children must have appropriate care and education to live free of sexually transmitted diseases, poverty and drugs.

SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1993 . . . R

The Washington Post

METRO

DOROTHY GILLIAM

Another Chance to Stand By a Nominee

The Clinton administration says it will put up a spirited fight for the confirmation of Joycelyn Elders as surgeon general. Vowing to mobilize to support her against what they acknowledge is a bold and broad right-wing battle against her, one administration official said, "On this one, don't expect retreat."

When she faces the Senate this month, Elders can expect opposition from antiabortion groups such as Concerned Women of America and conservative Christian fundamentalists.

After Lani Guinier's humiliating fate in her effort to be confirmed as the chief enforcer of civil rights, the Clinton administration has another opportunity to stand up for a highly qualified black woman whose portfolio includes issues of importance to all Americans.

Washington, in particular, is plagued with public health problems such as a high infant mortality rate, high rates of drug and alcohol abuse, AIDS, depression and tuberculosis.

Clinton's support is crucial in Elders's case because the ranks in opposition are forming fast. Unlike in the case of Guinier, when the president said he had not read all of her writings before her nomination, Clinton cannot say that he is unfamiliar with Elders's viewpoints. Since 1987, she has been director of the Arkansas Health Department under his governorship.

The opposition to her is a bit odd. It is not focused just on her abortion-rights stance, an understandable target even if it happens to be consistent with the views of most Americans. Rather, it appears conservatives want to put Elders at the heart of a philosophical debate on sex education, contraception and a range of issues that combine to suggest that her approach to sex and sexuality is radical.

Ironically, with the exception of her stand on abortion, Elders's positions are similar to those of C. Everett Koop, Ronald Reagan's outspoken

See GILLIAM, B4, Col. 1

Senator
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Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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BILL CLINTON
GOVERNOR

Arkansas DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

4815 WEST MARKHAM STREET • LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72205-3867
TELEPHONE AC 501 681-2000

M. JOYCELYN ELDERS, M.D.
DIRECTOR

July 18, 1993

The Honorable Jim Guy Tucker
Governor of Arkansas
State Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Governor Tucker:

After five and a half years of serving the State of Arkansas in the most exciting and fulfilling job I have ever had, I am today submitting my resignation as Director of the Arkansas Department of Health.

During my time with the Department, I have served with the most professional staff of people who are truly committed to the improvement of health of the citizens of Arkansas. I was blessed with the support of a superb State Board of Health whose members were willing to get in the game, not just sit on the sidelines, in protecting the health and environment of Arkansas. And, finally, as I worked throughout the state, I enjoyed the backing of the medical community, civic and volunteer organizations, the business community and religious community. I want to express my sincere gratitude and deep appreciation to all of these for the work we have done together to accomplish many of the goals I set when I became director in 1987.

Since April, I have been dividing my time between the Arkansas Department of Health and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services where I have been consulting on a part-time basis in preparation for my service to the United States. I have taken annual leave from Arkansas for the days I had to be in Washington and I have always been available to give the Department my fullest attention when required. As a consultant, I have had no direct line authority over any issues or programs that would impact the State of Arkansas.

As work towards my confirmation intensifies, I must now devote all my efforts and energy to my new federal role. Thus the reason for my resignation. As we previously discussed, upon my confirmation, UAMS has granted me a leave of absence without pay.

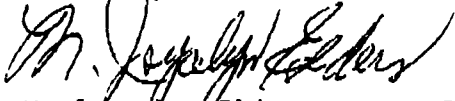
The Honorable Jim Guy Tucker
Governor of Arkansas
July 19, 1993

Page II

I have enjoyed staying on in my position following the change of administration. I feel we achieved some significant improvement for the health of our citizens during the 1993 session of the Arkansas General Assembly. My continued tenure also allowed me to stay on as president of ASTHO, an organization near and dear to my heart. I thank you for these opportunities.

I wish you well in the tasks before you. As the state of my birth and my entire professional life, Arkansas will always be my home. Please take care of her.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "M. Joycelyn Elders".

M. Joycelyn Elders, M.D., Director

MJE:wam

STATE OF ARKANSAS
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

*State Capitol
Little Rock 72201*

Jim Guy Tucker
Governor

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
July 18, 1993

CONTACT: Max Parker
501-373-8954

STATEMENT OF GOVERNOR JIM GUY TUCKER

"Dr. Joycelyn Elders has submitted her resignation as Director of the Arkansas State Department of Health effective today. I have accepted her resignation with deep regret but also with appreciation for a job well done and in anticipation of her confirmation as Surgeon General of the United States of America. Mr. Tom Butler, Deputy Director of the Department, has agreed to serve as Interim Director.

Dr. Elders has served the people of our State well. As Surgeon General, she will have the opportunity to confront at the national level the many challenges to public health that she has battled here in Arkansas, such as AIDS, low birth weight babies, teen pregnancies, clean drinking water, and our national failure to assure that all our children are immunized.

During the past year, and in the most recent session of the Arkansas General Assembly, Dr. Elders worked with me to institute comprehensive health screening for children entering school; to protect and fund our State's medicaid program; to assure the purity

PAGE 2 OF 2

of our State's drinking water; to provide funding for Norplant; and to increase significantly Arkansas' childhood immunization efforts.

Dr. Elders is a fine public health physician and pediatrician. She is a committed, caring and energetic champion for the children of our State. We will miss her but will be very proud to have her as our Surgeon General. I recommend wholeheartedly her swift confirmation to that post."

- 30 -

FACT SHEET

DR. M. JOYCELYN ELDERS

Federal Payments prior to Confirmation

It is common practice for nominees to Federal positions to retain their former positions until their confirmation by the Senate. Nominees may be employed by their prospective departments in a consulting capacity and may receive Federal compensation for periods of service to their agencies prior to confirmation. (See attached letter from Jack M. Kress, Special Counsel for Ethics and Designated Agency Ethics Official.)

Annual Leave Status

In order to prepare for her Federal employment upon confirmation, Dr. Elders traveled to Washington to work at HHS. She used annual leave accrued while employed as Director of the Arkansas Department of Health for the time in which she was engaged in Washington.

In accordance with the Arkansas Uniform Attendance and Leave Policy Act, Dr. Elders earned 15 hours of annual leave per month. §21-4-204(a) and the Arkansas Department of Health Policies and Practices, Annual Leave. Under Arkansas law, employees are entitled to carry over 30 days (240 hours) of annual leave from one calendar year to the next. §21-4-204(e)(1). Dr. Elders began 1993 with 30 days of leave, and has earned approximately 90 additional hours since the beginning of the year, bringing her total leave accumulation to approximately 41 days of annual leave available to her. At the conclusion of her employment with the State of Arkansas, Dr. Elders will be entitled to receive a lump sum payment for any unused leave, up to a total of thirty (30) days. §21-4-205(a). Dr. Elders has used 28 days of annual leave during the period of her consultancy with the Federal government.

Leave of Absence

In addition to her position as Director of the Arkansas Department of Health, Dr. Elders is a member of the faculty of the University of Arkansas Medical School. Dr. Elders has applied for, and has been granted a leave of absence without pay from her faculty duties, effective upon her confirmation by the Senate. (See attached letters from University of Arkansas Chancellor Harry P. Ward and University of Arkansas President B. Alan Sugg.)

Current Status

Dr. Elders resigned as Director of the Arkansas Department of Health on July 18, 1993.



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Office of the Secretary

Office of the General Counsel
Washington, D.C. 20201

July 17, 1993

The Honorable Senator Edward M. Kennedy
Chairman
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510-6300

RE: M. Joycelyn Elders, M.D.

Dear Senator Kennedy:

I am a career member of the Senior Executive Service and have been the Designated Agency Ethics Official for the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) for the past three years. Prior to that, I served as Deputy General Counsel at the Department of Energy for approximately four years and supervised the ethics function in that Department as well. I therefore have a close working familiarity with the practices of two Cabinet Departments with respect to incoming Presidential appointees in the Reagan, Bush and Clinton Administrations.

It is to my knowledge common practice throughout the Executive Branch for incoming Presidential appointees to retain their former positions until such time as they are confirmed by the Senate.

Prior to confirmation, such nominees may, however, legally join the Department in an intermittent consultant capacity. Moreover, from the perspective of Federal law, there is no impediment to the receipt of payments by an intermittent consultant from that person's current non-Federal employer, for as long as that person remains a special Government employee (SGE).

In the Executive Branch of the United States Government, the primary prohibition against supplementation of outside income is 18 U.S.C. Section 209. By its terms, Section 209 "does not apply to a special Government employee" and is thus inapplicable to all of the many intermittent consultants who serve the Federal Government. (It would be difficult, if not impossible, for example, to persuade tenured members of academic faculties ever to serve as intermittent consultants if such brief Federal service required them to resign from their academic positions.)

18 U.S.C. Section 202(a) defines a "special Government employee" as an employee retained to perform "temporary duties either on a full-time or intermittent basis" for a period "not to exceed one hundred and thirty days during any period of three hundred and

sixty-five consecutive days." M. Joycelyn Elders, M.D., began service as a consultant (SGE) to HHS on April 18, 1993, on approximately a two day a week basis until July 6, 1993, when she began working for HHS on approximately a five day a week basis. As of this date, she has been employed as an SGE for approximately 30 workdays, well below the legal limit of 130.

I stand ready to answer any further questions at any time with respect to this matter. If I may be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to contact me at (202) 690-7258.

An identical letter has been addressed to the Ranking Minority Member.

Sincerely,



Jack M. Kress
Special Counsel for Ethics and
Designated Agency Ethics Official



May 4, 1993

OFFICE OF THE
CHANCELLOR

4301 West Markham
Mail Slot 641
Little Rock, Arkansas
72205-7198
(501) 686-6881

College of Medicine
College of Pharmacy
College of Nursing
College of Health
Related Professions
Division of the Graduate School
University Hospital
Surgery Care Center
Child Study Center
Health Education Centers
Cancer Research Center
Harvey and Bernice Jones
Eye Institute

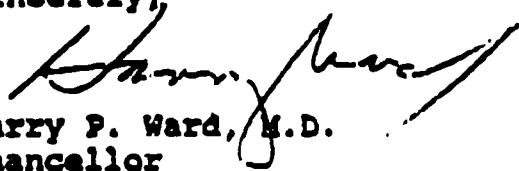
Dr. B. Alan Sugg, President
University of Arkansas System
1123 South University Avenue, Suite 601
Little Rock, AR 72205

Dear Dr. Sugg:

The University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences is very proud that Dr. Joycelyn Elders has been nominated for Surgeon General. Her confirmation hearings will start at the end of this month and, if confirmed, her appointment is to begin July 1, 1993.

Assuming that she is confirmed, UAMS requests to grant Dr. Elders a leave of absence without pay for the year 1993-94. This request would be re-evaluated yearly for continuation, if appropriate.

Sincerely,


Harry P. Ward, M.D.
Chancellor

HPW:ae



UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

RECEIVED

MAY 13 1993

Chancellor's Office

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

University Tower Building - Suite 601
1123 South University Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72204

Telephone (501) 686-2505
FAX (501) 686-2507

May 10, 1993

**Dr. Harry P. Ward, M.D., Chancellor
University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences
4301 West Markham Street, Mail Slot 541
Little Rock, Arkansas 72205**

Dear Harry:

As requested in your letter of May 4, 1993, I am hereby approving a leave of absence without pay for Dr. Joycelyn Elders at the University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences for the fiscal year 1993-94.

Please notify Dr. Elders of this action.

Sincerely,

**B. Alan Sugg
President**



**University of
Arkansas
for Medical
Sciences**

**OFFICE OF THE
CHANCELLOR**

4301 West Markham
Mail Slot 641
Little Rock, Arkansas
72205-7100
(501) 686-5681

College of Medicine
College of Pharmacy
College of Nursing
College of Health
Related Professions

the Graduate School
University Hospital
Ambulatory Care Center
Child Study Center
Arms Health Education Centers
Cancer Research Center
Harvey and Bernice Jones
Eye Institute

June 1, 1993

Dr. Joycelyn Elders, Director
Arkansas Department of Health
4815 West Markham Street
Little Rock, AR 72205

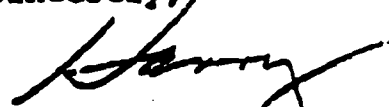
Dear Joycelyn:

The President of the University of Arkansas has approved my request for a leave of absence for you for 1993/94. We will plan to re-submit this yearly as long as the two of us feel that it is appropriate.

The Trustees, the President, and I are proud of your achievements for our state. We have been honored to have you as a member of the faculty of the College of Medicine and now as the Surgeon General of the United States. I am confident that you will achieve great success in Washington. When your service is completed, we look forward to welcoming you back as a faculty member at UAMS.

My best regards

Sincerely,


Harry P. Ward, M.D.
Chancellor

HPW:aa

cc: Dr. Dodd Wilson
Dr. Robert Fiser