

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	re: phone number (1 page)	n.d.	Personal Misfile
002a. memo	Cheryl Mills to Marcia Hale re: Chelsea Clinton (2 pages)	08/04/1993	P6/b(6)
002b. memo	Press Office to Maggie Williams re: Chelsea Clinton (3 pages)	08/03/1993	P6/b(6)
003a. letter	Linda Franklin to Chelsea re: address [partial] (1 page)	11/09/1994	P6/b(6)
003b. envelope	re: address (1 page)	11/14/1994	P6/b(6)
004. paper	re: Secret Service (2 pages)	n.d.	b(7)(E)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Bobbie Greene
OA/Box Number: 15630

FOLDER TITLE:

Chelsea

2012-0872-S

rc997

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

*File
Amy Carter*

TO: Maggie
FROM: Karen
RE: Japan
DATE: 6/18/93

Mary Hoyt gave me the following tips from the Carter's trip to Japan in 1979:

- o The foreign press were quite aggressive and showed a great interest in Amy.
- o All of her outings were very thoroughly advanced; usually she was with Mrs. Carter.
- o The advance people needed to be very firm and tough with the press, (more so than in the U.S.).
- o During the trip, the advance staff set up brief photo opportunities at the beginning of an event. The press were put in a pen and were expected to leave after the photo opportunity.
- o It was impossible for Amy to go anywhere in public without being noticed or recognized. Therefore, her activities consisted of "official" functions or advanced activities in which she travelled as "the President's daughter."
- o Very few people were told of Amy's schedule in advance. At the end of the day the media were briefed on the events Mrs. Carter and Amy had participated in that day. This seemed to satisfy everyone.
- o The Carters assigned a staff person to Amy when she was not with her mother.

Hig Me

Trading in Stock Options

Pacific

[illegible]

Three original issues were consolidated into a single case by 1973 naming 15 defendants, the defendant "Grain"

FREE from
OTHER SILVER
...REN FROM FV

Reporter's Notebook: At the Energy Meeting, Gas to Burn

By **TERENCE SMITH**
Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, June 28 — One after another the big cars arrived: matching, streamlined Cadillac limousines surrounded by fleets of black sedans and swirling schools of motorcycle outriders. Reporters watching this morning as the leaders of the world's oil-short industrial democracies pulled up in front of the ornate Akasaka Palace for their first meeting counted 134 automobiles in all and about 100 motorcycles.

As the seven Presidents and Prime Ministers alighted, the heavy limousines rolled to the side of the building, where they sat with engines and air-conditioning units humming. Blue exhaust haze filled the courtyard.

Shaking hands with Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira at the top of the palace steps, President Carter gazed down at the sea of gas guzzlers purring below and observed dryly to his host: "Maybe next time we should all come in one car and save the gas."

The "Kjomeini summit," as this energy-conscious convocation has been sarcastically dubbed, was finally under way. The Iranian Ayatollah is not here, of course, but the oil crisis he set in motion with his Islamic revolution is at center stage.

The long gasoline lines and continuing truckers' protests in the United States have evidently been weighing on Mr. Carter's mind here as well. Two days ago, his aides began musing aloud about the political wisdom of the President's itinerary, which at that point included a four-day vacation stop in Hawaii after a weekend visit to South Korea.

How would it look, they asked themselves, if the President was tanning on the beach at Waikiki while other Americans were spending the Fourth of July at home because they had no gasoline? "How would that play in Peoria?" the President's media advisers asked.

By yesterday, it was clear that the Hawaii stopover was in jeopardy. This morning the expected cancellation became official.

A terse announcement from the office of Jody Powell, the White House press secretary, read as follows: "The President has decided to skip a planned vacation in Hawaii to return to Washington for Congressional and staff meetings on the increasingly serious domestic and international energy situation."

Asked later whether concern for the

President's political image had played a part in the decision, Mr. Powell said: "I'll leave you to judge that for yourselves."

Fittingly, this first major international summit conference to be held in the home of the transistor radio and pocket calculator has proven a technological marvel. All manner of gadgetry has been employed to carry word of the deliberations to a waiting world.

In the vast and elaborately equipped press center in the Hotel Okura, for example, closed-circuit live television coverage of the arrivals and departures of the seven leaders is constantly being flashed across catwalked screens, videotaped and played back periodically on monitors throughout the room.

When simultaneous interpreting is required, such as at the "town meeting" Mr. Carter held yesterday in Shimoda, it is provided by pocket-sized receivers distributed to the audience and members of the press and staff.

Turn in channel three, and the Japanese questions are rendered in English. Turn in channel two and Jimmy Carter speaks faultless Japanese.

The audience that assembled in the Shimoda junior high school gymnasium for the town meeting yesterday was obviously pleased to be there. But not many of the townspeople showed much initial interest in putting questions to the President. Kevin Foley, a White House advance man sent out to "warm up" the audience before Mr. Carter arrived, looked alarmed when he asked for a show of hands of potential questioners. Only one man raised his hand.

"Surely there must be more people here who would like to ask a question of the President of the United States," Mr. Foley said with a genial smile reminiscent of Ed McMahon. No hands went up.

Panicking, Mr. Foley raised his

voice a notch and continued: "I appeal to you, I am begging you, come forward and tell us you will ask a question." Thus implored, first six, then a dozen hands were finally raised. Greatly relieved, Mr. Foley smiled. "That's more like it."

The Presidents and Prime Ministers assembled here are not the only objects of the elaborate security precautions surrounding the summit meeting. In a military barracks on the edge of Tokyo, 1,000 riot policemen and 54 buses are on 24-hour call. They have become known as Amy's Army.

Whenever the President's 11-year-old daughter wants to go shopping or sightseeing, the army springs into action. The buses sweep into the area ahead of her and the policemen spill out onto the sidewalks and intersections. Yesterday, they were all over the Ginza, the shopping district. Amy was looking at dolls in one of the department stores.



Rosalynn Carter with her daughter, Amy, at a Japanese tea ceremony in Kyoto

Associated Press

6/79 GROMYKO WARNS U.S. ANY CHANGES DOOM NUCLEAR ARMS PACT

HAILS CARTER-BREZHNEV TALK

Foreign Minister, at a Rare News
Conference, Rules Out Return
to the Negotiating Table

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, June 25 — Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko warned the United States Senate today that rejection, or even amendment, of the strategic arms limitation treaty signed in Vienna a week ago would mean "the end of negotiations." That would be "a fantastic situation," he said.

Mr. Gromyko's declaration came during a news conference, his second here in more than two years. The conference was apparently intended to give publicity to Moscow's attitudes and reactions to the June 15-18 Vienna meeting of President Carter and Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist Party chief and head of state.

Mr. Brezhnev, who is 72 years old, tired visibly at the end of the meeting. He left for the Soviet capital that day and departed from Moscow on Friday for a rest at an undisclosed site, believed to be in the Crimea.

Gromyko Replies in English

Replying in English when asked what would happen if the United States Senate rejected the treaty, Mr. Gromyko said:

"I tell you frankly, it is impossible to resume negotiations. It would be the end of negotiations, the end, no matter what amendments would be made."

It seemed clear that Mr. Gromyko meant his warning to apply not only to what the Soviet Union would do in the event of a rejection, but also to what it would do if the treaty were amended.

Both Mr. Gromyko and Mr. Brezhnev have this categorically rejected any kind of amendment to the treaty text, as negotiated. In private, some Soviet specialists on American affairs have been making inquiries among their American friends about what kinds of amendments the Senate might be likely to make, and some of them have indicated the Soviet Union could accept changes that did not alter the essence of the treaty. This was not reflected in anything Mr. Gromyko said today.

Brezhnev Warned of 'Collapse'

Mr. Brezhnev said in Vienna that attempts to change the agreement could cause it to "collapse."

U.S. and Japan Dubious on Idea Of an Oil Freeze

Carter and Ohira Confer
on How to Cut Imports

By TERENCE SMITH

Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, June 25 — President Carter and Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira met today to prepare for a seven-nation economic summit conference, and American officials said they expressed serious reservations about a five-year freeze on oil import levels proposed by Western European nations.

Instead, the leaders of the United States and Japan were reported to be likely to propose that the major industrial nations reaffirm their commitment to a 5 percent reduction in oil imports this year and set a more ambitious target for 1980.

The head of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries said moderate members might raise oil production to keep other members from increasing prices too sharply. Page D11.

Subsequent targets could be reviewed annually, a senior American official suggested, in light of each country's needs.

The talks between the two leaders, which focused on the global energy crisis and the continuing flow of Indochinese refugees, came in the midst of a day of celebration and pageantry as the President and Mrs. Carter were welcomed and lavishly entertained by Emperor Hirohito on their first full day in Japan.

Mr. Carter and Mr. Ohira devoted more than half of their two hours of formal talks today to the energy question and other issues scheduled to be on the agenda of the seven-nation conference, which opens here Thursday. They will be joined at the two-day conference by the leaders of Britain, France, West Germany, Canada and Italy, the world's leading industrial democracies.

Common Market's Proposal

The idea of a five-year freeze on oil imports at the 1978 level was put forward last week at a meeting of leaders of the nine nations of the European Economic Community in Strasbourg, France. The Europeans acknowledged there that their idea depended for success on American and Japanese endorsement at the summit conference here this week.

But it became clear at today's talks, American participants said, that neither country was prepared to accept the Common Market's plan as presented.

Mr. Ohira reportedly argued that a five-year commitment would be excessively rigid and would make it difficult for his country, for example, to respond



As waiting at the gasoline line has become a way of life, motorists have adjusted accordingly. Yesterday in New Jersey, Robin Wagner, left, brought her breakfast. Alan Zelenka, who arrived at a station at 4 A.M., came prepared with pillow and blanket.

Gen. Haig Unhurt as Car Is Target Of Bomb on Road to NATO Office

By JOHN VINOCUR

Special to The New York Times

CASTEAU, Belgium, June 25 — Gen. Alexander M. Haig Jr., the commander of North Atlantic Treaty forces, survived an assassination attempt on his way to work this morning when a bomb exploded near his car, lifting it into the air and gouging a five-foot-deep hole in the pavement.

The blast, set off by remote control at about 8:30, damaged a security car trailing the general's limousine as he was being driven to his office here at Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Europe. General Haig and three other men in the limousine were unhurt, but three security guards in the second vehicle received slight injuries.

General Haig, who is retiring at the end of the month at age 54, later said at a news conference that he believed the explosion would have cost him his life had it come a split second earlier. He said the blast had the force of 100 to 300 pounds of

class: auto were falling like rain," he said.

The Belgian police gave no indication whether they had identified suspects, but the general said he had seen two motorcycle riders drive away from a nearby highway. The police found detonator wires about 500 feet long leading away from the explosive device, which was lashed to a support in a culvert, as well as a detonator, a walkie-talkie and a construction worker's protective helmet.

General Haig said there had been several threats against Atlantic alliance and United States Army personnel since he was made commander in 1974 by President Ford after his service as White House chief of staff under President Nixon. "A year ago, I had information I was a specific target," he said. "And we've had some recent threats."

Atlantic command sources said the threats had come from various groups;

MUCH OF U.S. FEELING IMPACT OF GAS CRISIS

Frustration Over Station Lines Is
Bringing On More Violence

By LEE A. DANIELS

The shortage of gasoline, which began on the West Coast and has now reached crisis proportions in much of the Northeast, is beginning to be felt in other parts of the country.

From the Gulf Coast to the Great Lakes region to the Pacific Northwest, more automobile drivers are finding it more difficult to get gasoline. Stations are shortening their daily hours and more of them are closing completely on one weekend day. Several metropolitan public transit systems have had a dramatic increase in riders in recent months.

Motorist Shot in Dallas

There has been violence. Last week two persons were shot in the New York metropolitan area and Sunday night in Dallas a

KEY D OF RES GAS FL

JULY'S SUP

Governor Cit

— Motori

to Mas

By PR

Governor Car planned to use agency gasoline because of what increasingly "clearly in the Ne

Mr. Carey alerted authorities additional gas at Governor Byrne. Ella T. Grasso wants for add. They met with t tues of their sta a renewed lobby

During the da continued to cur that were open -- retail official afternoon only, pumping -- an selves routinely \$1.00 a gallon. customer were most stations.

Public Tr

Mass transit d that new figure piles of gasoline many as one in driver's seat an The shift appea gasoline unavail eating the upu might be tempor

At a news conf office, Mr. Car the Federal Dep required for any such reserves c following month's permission had denied. No perm current month's York, New Jersey, was

But barely an announcement, sooner James L. he had just con tion with David the Federal En nomic Regulator agency that had

NY Times 6/26/79

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JUNE 26, 1979



President Carter exchanging a toast last night with Emperor Hirohito at a state dinner in the Imperial Palace in Tokyo

U.S. and Japan Cool to Oil Freeze

Continued From Page A1

to a recession or any other economic crisis: Japan imports virtually all of the oil it uses, and about 70 percent of Japanese industry operates with oil-anticipating demand for the year.

Mr. Carter concurred, American officials said, although he stressed a need for the seven nations that will be represented here to agree on some sort of program to hold down their aggregate oil imports. Earlier this year the International Energy Agency agreed to reduce their imports of oil in 1979 by 6 percent of anticipated demand for the year.

Mr. Carter reportedly is prepared to commit the United States to an even more severe quota of reductions for 1980, but both he and Mr. Ohira are said to feel that annual targets would be more meaningful and realistic than a five-year plan.

In addition, the United States would be unwilling to accept 1978 as the base year for a five-year commitment, according to sources close to the talks. That was the year that significant amounts of Alaskan crude began to flow into the American market, reduc-

ing the need for imported oil.

Beyond these specific objections to the European plan, American and Japanese officials displayed considerable irritation today at the European tactic of preparing what one American described as a "precooked package" and presenting it publicly in advance of the summit conference.

The Problem of Refugees

On the refugee question, the two leaders agreed that all the nations assembling here this week should resettle more refugees within their own borders and increase their contributions to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, which has been caring for the displaced persons in transit camps throughout Southeastern Asia.

There was an unconfirmed report from Japanese sources tonight that Japan had agreed to resettle 1,000 refugees. So far only a handful have been permitted to settle here, although the Government previously announced a willingness to accept 500 refugees. The United States has admitted approximately 200,000.

Mr. Carter and Mr. Ohira apparently

also discussed the possibility of direct talks with the Vietnamese in an effort to persuade them either to halt the forced exodus from their country or at least allow the refugees to be brought out in an orderly and humane fashion.

American officials said that no specific decisions had been taken, but they suggested that, if Hanoi refused to cooperate, Japan and other countries that currently provide "humanitarian" aid to Vietnam would be urged to transfer those funds to the United Nations refugee commission instead.

After a night's rest at the elegant, white-walled residence of the American Ambassador to Tokyo, the Carters began their busy day with an official arrival ceremony at Akasaka Palace, the state guest house modeled after the French palace at Versailles. Mr. Carter stood rigidly at attention as the national anthems of the United States and Japan were played and then broke into a delighted laugh when a crowd of schoolchildren frantically waved small American and Japanese flags.

This evening the Carters sat on either side of the 78-year-old Emperor Hirohito at a flower-decked banquet table in the vast, chandeliered dining room of the Imperial Palace as a string ensemble played selections from "The Sound of Music" and other Broadway shows.

Earlier they had toured the grounds of the palace and the Meiji shrine, a parklike Shinto memorial to Emperor Meiji, grandfather of the present Emperor, in the heart of Tokyo.

Yesterday's long flight from Washington and the grueling schedule was taking its toll on the first family. Mr. Carter appeared tired this afternoon. Both his wife, Rosalynn, and daughter, Amy, came down with what was diagnosed as a 24-hour intestinal flu. The illness caused Mrs. Carter to excuse herself from a receiving line at the luncheon at the Prime Minister's residence, but by this evening she had recovered sufficiently to attend the banquet at the Imperial Palace.

Deliveries of Oil and Gas To Distributors Down 4%

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 25 — The Energy Department reported today that total deliveries of gasoline and oil to distributors in the United States were down 4 percent in the last four-week reporting period compared with the year-ago level.

Officials said the decline should reinforce President Carter's position at the economic summit meeting in Tokyo that begins Thursday. Other industrial nations have asserted that consumption in the United States is largely responsible for current oil shortages and that the first step toward stability requires a cut in the American use of oil.

At the same time, the report showed that deliveries, which give a rough idea of consumption, were up from a week ago, as more gasoline and oil became available on the market. The Administration for several weeks has been urging the oil industry to refine more crude oil into gasoline and to dip into its stocks to make more available at the

reports contending that output had dropped to 2.8 million barrels a day.

For the four weeks ended June 13, the department reported that deliveries into the domestic market totaled 17.3 million barrels a day, down 4 percent from the similar period a year ago. But they were up 500,000 barrels a day from the previous four-week period.

The oil industry delivered 7.1 million barrels of gasoline a day, up 100,000 from the four weeks ended June 8. That meant an addition of 4.2 million gallons of gasoline a day, or enough to fill about 210,000 cars.

Most Came From Gasoline Stocks

But the figures indicated that most of that came from gasoline stocks, which dropped sharply, and not from increased runs of crude oil through refineries. Crude oil stocks remained almost unchanged. Oil industry executives, according to Secretary of Energy James R. Schlesinger, have said they plan to increase refinery runs next week.

Northeast Assured On Oil for Homes

WASHINGTON, June 25 (AP) — The Government will take drastic steps — including possible new curbs on gasoline and diesel fuel — if needed to guarantee enough home heating oil this winter, Deputy Energy Secretary John F. O'Leary told Congress today. "We're not going to have homes go cold in New England," he

Hea

GENEVA, president of the oil exporters that the cartel might raise oil prices more rapidly than increasing prices. "I don't want to see colleagues in OPEC, oil Arab Emirates, very high price raising of my into increasing. "If they don't go our own way, I will not go to price of oil."

Mr. Otaiba's back a base price an increase the price of the gasoline or he States. Many OPEC would \$20.

The base price of oil is \$14.55, but it is being pushed up by current oil shortages. The average OPEC oil price is \$15.50.

The United States OPEC's larger about one-fifth of the world's oil. Arab oil is the most important source of oil for the United States. The price of oil is a major factor in the cost of living. The price of oil is a major factor in the cost of living.

Among the OPEC is Libya. The price of oil is a major factor in the cost of living. The price of oil is a major factor in the cost of living.

In addition, the price of oil is a major factor in the cost of living. The price of oil is a major factor in the cost of living.

Dollar On Course Over

Continue

renewed dollar clearing up of States — incur support packs surprising — move into a balance of payments.

"I don't think it's quite why it is and the press one banker. hindsight, so reasons other side. Among the growth in the supply, index interest rates and rumors would have to European Monetary Concern Over. In addition, price increase has quickly been based on the dollar would be for dollars to pay.

\$350 Japanese Doll Among Gifts to Amy

TOKYO, June 24 (AP) — Amy Carter toured a big Tokyo department store today, and a kimono, sash and doll that she looked at were later delivered to the U.S. Embassy as gifts, a store official said.

Shigero Okada, president of the Mitsukoshi department store, accompanied the president's 11-year-old daughter on the department store tour and then sent her the gifts: a summer kimono that sells for \$28, a \$37.50 obi or sash, and a \$350 Japanese doll.

Under U.S. law, gifts of more

than nominal value given to U.S. officials and their families must be turned over to the government.

Amy also reportedly passed a wedding gown in the store and said, "I'll be needing one of those soon."

But White House spokesman Paul Costello said of the report: "That is so ridiculous we won't comment."

Meanwhile Rosalynn Carter, recovered from an intestinal virus, jogged, swam and lobbied for people-to-people contacts between Americans and Japanese.

6/18

Maggie -

These are UPI
+ AP stories
I got from the
Center Library.
They are Fed-exing
better copies to
arrive 6/19.
KF

AM-CARTER SKED 2TAKES 6-25

BY HELEN THOMAS

WHITE HOUSE REPORTER

TOKYO (UPI) -- PRESIDENT CARTER, HAUNTED BY NEWS OF GAS LINE RIOTS AT HOME, MET JAPAN'S LEADERS MONDAY TO DISCUSS THE WORLDWIDE ENERGY CRISIS, BUT FAILED TO DEVELOP A JOINT STRATEGY TO COMBAT IMMINENT OPEC PRICE INCREASES.

CARTER WAS OFFICIALLY WELCOMED TO JAPAN BY EMPEROR HIROHITO, WITH TRADITIONAL POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE ON THE FIRST FULL DAY OF A STATE VISIT MARRED BY THE SUDDEN ILLNESS OF HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER.

FIRST LADY ROSALYNN CARTER SUFFERED AN ATTACK OF GASTROENTERITIS THAT FORCED HER TO MISS A LUNCHEON, BUT RECOVERED SUFFICIENTLY TO ATTEND A BANQUET MONDAY NIGHT GIVEN BY HIROHITO, THE 78-YEAR-OLD HEAD OF STATE.

DAUGHTER AMY STAYED IN BED UNDER DOCTORS' ORDERS WITH A "TUMMY ACHING."

CARTER, UNAFFECTED BY THE VIRUS, JOGGED AND SWAM BEFORE PLUNGING INTO A SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH JAPANESE LEADERS IN PREPARATION FOR THIS WEEK'S TOKYO SUMMIT WITH THE WORLD'S BIG SEVEN INDUSTRIAL NATIONS.

BUT IT WAS THE ENERGY QUESTION, AND THE PRICE OF OIL THAT TOPPED THE AGENDA WHEN CARTER SAT DOWN FOR HIS FIRST ROUND OF TALKS WITH JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER MASAYOSHI OHIRA.

WARNING HOME THE IMPORTANCE OF BOTH TOPICS WAS THE SOMBER NEWS THAT THE ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES WOULD HIKE OIL PRICES BY AS MUCH AS 44 PERCENT AT ITS MEETING TUESDAY IN Geneva.

NEWS OF LENGTHENING LINES AT GAS STATIONS ACROSS AMERICA AND AN OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE IN AREAS OF PHILADELPHIA AND ELSEWHERE REACHED CARTER AND UNDERLINED THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE SITUATION.

CARTER AND OHIRA DID NOT ATTEMPT TO PUT TOGETHER A JOINT ENERGY PLAN TO SUBMIT TO THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD'S SEVEN TOP INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS LATER THIS WEEK, AN ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL SAID.

AT THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE "THE IDEA IS TO COME UP WITH A COLLECTIVE EFFORT IN WHICH ALL COUNTRIES PARTICIPATE," THE OFFICIAL SAID. "I CAN SAFELY SAY THAT THERE WILL NOT BE A KIND OF EFFORT BY THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN TO PUSH ANYTHING ON THE (EUROPEAN) COMMUNITY AND WE DON'T EXPECT THE COMMUNITY TO DO THAT."

THE OFFICIAL INDICATED, HOWEVER, CARTER WAS ONLY LUKEWARM ON A EUROPEAN PLAN TO FREEZE OIL IMPORTS FOR FIVE YEARS AT 1973 LEVELS.

"WE ARE STILL EXAMINING THAT," THE OFFICIAL SAID.

HOPE

PICKUP 6TH GRAF A053 6-25

LADY ROSALYNN CARTER RECOVERED FROM AN
THE TO ATTEND A STATE DINNER GIVEN BY EMPEROR
HAVING MISSED SOME OF THE EXCITEMENT OF HER
FULL DAY IN JAPAN.

THE 78-YEAR-OLD AMY CAME DOWN WITH THE "TUMMY BUG" DURING THE
FLIGHT FROM WASHINGTON, BUT MRS. CARTER WAS NOT STRICKEN
SHE STOOD IN A RECEPTION LINE BEFORE A LUNCHEON GIVEN BY PRIME
MINISTER MASAYOSHI OHIRA.

SHE LOOKED FAINT AS SHE TURNED TO MRS. OHIRA FOR ASSISTANCE AND
WAS WHISKED THROUGH A BACK DOOR TO THE RESIDENCE OF U.S. AMBASSADOR
MIKE HANSFIELD, WHERE SHE RESTED IN BED.

THE FIRST LADY MISSED THE OHIRA LUNCHEON AND A TOUR OF THE NEIJI
SHRINE BUT RECOVERED IN TIME FOR A STATE DINNER HELD IN THE
NORT-ENCIRCLED IMPERIAL PALACE.

MRS. CARTER, LOOKING PALE AND WEARING A LONG-SLEEVED WHITE CHIFFON
DRESS, WAS GREETED AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE PALACE BY HIROHITO, WHO
SAID, "THANK YOU FOR COMING."

WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY JODY POWELL SAID THE AILMENT THAT
STRUCK MRS. CARTER AND AMY WAS "SOMETHING THEY PICKED UP FROM THE
CARTER GRANDCHILDREN" WHO HAD BEEN VISITING THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THE
PAST FEW DAYS. PICKUP 6TH GRAF: POWELL SAID

UPI 06-25 09:09 AED

NUMBER OF COMMERCIAL PRESS CORRESPONDENTS
FEWER FILED STORIES.

HIROHITO, THE 78-YEAR-OLD MONARCH ONCE REGARDED AS A LIVING GOD,
LED JAPANESE DIGNITARIES IN WELCOMING CARTER AND FIRST LADY ROSALYNN
CARTER AT AN ELABORATE CEREMONY IN AKASAKA PALACE AND AGAIN AT A
STATE DINNER.

AUTHORITIES MOBILIZED SOME 30,000 POLICEMEN IN WHAT WAS CONSIDERED
THE HEAVIEST SECURITY EVER DEPLOYED TO PROTECT CARTER, WHO ARRIVED
SUNDAY FOR A STATE VISIT TO JAPAN BEFORE THE TWO-DAY ECONOMIC SUMMIT.

CARTER CLEARLY REMEMBERED THOSE WHO GAVE HIM A FEW MOMENTS OF
THEIR TIME IN 1975. AT A RECEPTION LINE BEFORE OHIRA'S LUNCHEON, THE
PRESIDENT GAVE HIS WARMEST GREETING FOR FORMER PRIME MINISTER
RODOLPHO KISHIDA WHO WELCOMED CARTER TO JAPAN THE FIRST TIME.

"MY OLD FRIEND, I'M GLAD TO SEE YOU AGAIN," THE PRESIDENT SAID.
"I REMEMBER THE LAST TIME I WAS HERE."

UPI 06-25 02:25 PED

SEEK RELEASE OF ALL SOUTH KOREAN POLITICAL PRISONERS.

R 1 BYLZVTZYV A561

JAH-CARTER, BJT, 700

LASERPHOTO5 TOK3, 4, 6, 9, 14

BY R. GREGORY NOKES

ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

TOKYO (AP) -

PRESIDENT CARTER WANTS THE MAJOR INDUSTRIAL NATIONS AT THE TOKYO ECONOMIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE TO MAKE A JOINT EFFORT TO REDUCE OIL IMPORTS, ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS SAID MONDAY. THIS COULD AGGRAVATE THE OIL SHORTAGE THAT HAS CAUSED LONG GASOLINE LINES IN THE UNITED STATES. BUT OFFICIALS SAID AN IMPORT REDUCTION WOULD HELP AVOID HORSE PROBLEMS IN THE FUTURE.

THE OFFICIALS SPOKE AT THE END OF THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST FULL DAY IN THE FAR EAST, DURING WHICH HE CONFERRED ABOUT ENERGY AND VIETNAMESE REFUGEES WITH PRIME MINISTER NASAYOSHI OHIRA AND ATTENDED A BANQUET GIVEN BY THE 78-YEAR-OLD EMPEROR HIROHITO. AN ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL SAID CARTER STRESSED TO OHIRA THE NEED FOR NATIONS TO ADMIT MORE REFUGEES OR PROVIDE AID FOR RESETTLING THE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF HOMELESS VIETNAMESE. THE OFFICIAL ALSO SAID THE LEADERS DISCUSSED TRYING TO GET THE GOVERNMENT IN HANOI, "WHERE THE BASIS OF THE PROBLEM RESIDES," TO ASSIST.

THE OFFICIAL SAID NO DECISIONS WERE MADE AND THAT THE REFUGEE QUESTION WILL BE A MAJOR TOPIC DISCUSSED AT THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE. DURING THE AFTERNOON ON MONDAY, THE PRESIDENT'S WIFE, ROSALYNN, AND THEIR DAUGHTER, AMY, WERE REDIDDED WITH A STOMACH VIRUS. MRS. CARTER RECOVERED IN TIME TO ATTEND THE STATE DINNER AT THE IMPERIAL PALACE, AND AMY HAS ALSO REPORTED FEELING BETTER.

WITH HALF OF THE DAY'S MEETINGS DEVOTED TO ENERGY, ONE OFFICIAL TOLD REPORTERS: "WHAT WE ARE AFTER IS A COLLECTIVE EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE COUNTRIES AT THE SUMMIT TO REDUCE ENERGY IMPORTS, AND WE WILL BE WORKING WITH THOSE COUNTRIES AS WE HAVE IN THE PAST TO COME UP WITH SOME COMMON APPROACH TO DOING THIS."

BUT HE SAID THE UNITED STATES WON'T ENTER THE SUMMIT WITH A PRECONCEIVED PLAN ON HOW SUCH A REDUCTION WOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED AND HE SAID HE HOPED OTHER NATIONS WILL ALSO KEEP AN OPEN MIND.

U.S. OFFICIALS HERE ARE GROWING SENSITIVE TO WHAT THEY FEEL MAY BE A EUROPEAN EFFORT TO MAKE IT APPEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES, IN LEAGUE WITH JAPAN, IS BLOCKING FIRM ACTION TO RESTRAIN OIL IMPORTS. THEY WORRY THAT THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BE UNFAIRLY BLAMED IF THE SUMMIT FAILS TO AGREE ON A JOINT EFFORT TO SOLVE THE OIL CRISIS.

CARTER WILL ATTEND THE SUMMIT ON THURSDAY AND FRIDAY WITH LEADERS OF JAPAN, WEST GERMANY, BRITAIN, FRANCE, ITALY AND CANADA. U.S. OFFICIALS SAID CARTER AND OHIRA AGREED THERE SHOULD BE 100 AND 300 POUNDS.

POLICE SAID THE NINE WAS WEDGED BETWEEN THE UNDERSURFACE OF THE BRIDGE AND A CULVERT COVERING A CONVEYOR BELT THAT RUNS BELOW THE BRIDGE. WIRES FROM THE BOMB RAN ALONGSIDE THE ROAD COMING OFF THE

MEETING SITE, ARMED VESSELS PATROLLED OFFSHORE AND POLICE IN FULL
GEAR CARRYING STEEL SHIELDS COMBED NEARBY BEACHES.
WHAT ARE THEY EXPECTING, AN INVASION BY SEA?" ASKED ONE
CLABBERGASTED WHITE HOUSE STAFFER.
ON THE HEALTH FRONT, BOTH FIRST LADY ROSALYNN AND 11-YEAR-OLD AMY
NEARLY FULLY RECOVERED FROM THE INTESTINAL BUG THAT FORCED THEM TO MISS
SOME OF THE EXCITEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST DAY IN JAPAN MONDAY.
ROSALYNN SAID SHE FELT "JUST FINE" AND PLUNGED BACK INTO A
SCHEDULE HIGHLIGHTED BY MEETINGS WITH U.S. EMBASSY STAFFERS AND
MEMBERS OF THE JAPAN-U.S. FRIENDSHIP GROUP, AN ORGANIZATION STARTED
BY CARTER TO EXPAND CONTACT BETWEEN PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT NATIONS.
AMY WENT ON A SUCCESSFUL SHOPPING SPREE IN TOKYO'S FAMOUS
MITSUKOSHI DEPARTMENT STORE WITHOUT SPENDING A PENNY. A \$375 JAPANESE
DOLL AND A \$36 KIMONO SASH CAUGHT HER EYE, HOWEVER, AND THE STORE'S
MANAGER SAID HE WOULD SEND THEM TO HER AS GIFTS.

UPI 06-26 02:56 PED

CARTER 2ND LD-PICKUP 4TH GRAF 8059 6-26
BY HELEN THOMAS
UPI WHITE HOUSE REPORT
TOKYO (UPI)
ATTENDING THE...

WORLD OIL CONSUMPTION IN 1972 WAS ABOUT 1 MILLION BARRELS A DAY THIS YEAR COMPARED TO WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN USED UNDER MORE NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES. WITH INCREASED DEMAND, THIS CUTBACK HAS LENGTHENED THE LONG GASOLINE LINES IN AMERICAN CITIES, HE INDICATED. THERE ARE SOME IN EUROPE WHO SUGGEST FROM TIME TO TIME - AND IT'S AN EASY WAY OUT FOR THEM - THAT THE REAL PROBLEM WITH THE ENERGY SITUATION IS THE PROFLIGACY OF THE UNITED STATES. HE SAID. IT'S A BIG COPOUT," HE SAID. "WE HAVE DONE AS WELL AS OTHERS. IT'S JUST AS MUCH OF A SACRIFICE FOR US AS IT IS FOR THEM." THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HOPES AN AGREEMENT LIMITING OIL IMPORTS WILL REDUCE WORLD CONSUMPTION BY ABOUT 2 MILLION BARRELS DAILY IN 1979 AND THEREBY EASING THE WORLD OIL SHORTAGE'S PRESSURE ON PRICES. IF OIL-PRODUCING NATIONS COULD FORGO THE SPECIAL SURCHARGES THEY ADD TO OFFICIAL OIL PRICES AND PRICES IN SPOT OIL MARKETS COULD DROP.

ON THE EVE OF THE FIFTH ECONOMIC SUMMIT, THE PARTICIPANTS REMAINED IN DOUBT ABOUT THE SIZE OF AN EXPECTED INCREASE IN OIL PRICES BY THE ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES.

THE OPEC NATIONS WERE MEETING IN GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, AND OFFICIALS THERE SAID THE OIL CARTEL MIGHT BE WAITING TO SEE WHAT CONSERVATION EFFORTS THE SUMMIT NATIONS TAKE BEFORE SETTING NEW PRICES.

REAGAN SUMMIT TALKS: CARTER MET WEDNESDAY EVENING WITH PRIME
MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER OF BRITAIN AND JOE CLARK OF CANADA; BOTH
WERE AMONG THE FIRST ECONOMIC SUMMIT. EARLIER, HE VISITED THE
INDIAN RESERVE TOWN OF SHINDOG, WHERE HE HELD A TOWN MEETING WITH
THE TOWN PEOPLE.

ALTHOUGH THEY COULD QUESTION THE PRESIDENT ABOUT MAJOR WORLD ISSUES, THE JAPANESE SEEMED MORE INTERESTED IN CARTER'S PERSONAL LIFE, ASKING IF HE HAD BEHAVED HIMSELF AS A SCHOOLBOY AND HOW HE TREATED HIS DAUGHTER. ANY.

HE SAID HE IS VERY CLOSE TO HIS 11-YEAR-OLD DAUGHTER, BUT THAT SHE WILL GET MARRIED IN SEVEN OR EIGHT YEARS. "AMY WILL FIND A GOOD, YOUNG MAN, GET MARRIED AND MOVE AWAY."

THE PRESIDENT WAS ASKED DURING THE ONE-HOUR MEETING IN A SCHOOL
 WHETHER HE WOULD MARRY A BLACK WOMAN "IF IN LOVE," AND HE
 SAID HE WOULD.

THAT HE LOOKED AT HIS WIFE, WHO SAT IN THE FRONT ROW WITH ANN, AND
 LISTENED TO AUDIENCE LAUGHTER. "IT IS A HYPOTHETICAL QUESTION! ROSALYNN,
 DO YOU HAVE ANY INTENTION TO LEAVE ME FOR ANOTHER HUMAN."

APR 27 1964

THE FRENCH PRESIDENT SAID IN A NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE INTERVIEW THAT THE
UNITED STATES HAD FAILED TO START REDUCING ENERGY CONSUMPTION.
Giscard d'Estaing's pointed remarks were understood to be angry
at the outset of the hour-long summit conference.

AFTER HE VISITED SOUTH KOREA THIS WEEKEND, THE PRESIDENT WAS OVERHEARD WEDNESDAY TELLING CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER JOE CLARK, "WE ARE GOING TO KOREA, THEN HOME."

CARTER LOOKED VERY FATIGUED WHEN HE RETURNED FROM A SHORT TRIP TO SHIMODA, A SEAPORT WHERE THE FIRST U.S. CONSULATE WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1855.

HIS HUMOR WAS NOT HELPED BY REMARKS MADE BY FRENCH PRESIDENT VALÉRY GISCARD D'ESTAING, WHO SAID IN A MAGAZINE INTERVIEW AMERICANS "HAVEN'T STARTED" CONSERVING ENERGY YET.

EVEN MORE ANNOYING WAS GISCARD'S REMARK THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LACK OF PROGRESS IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

U.S. OFFICIALS SAID THAT WAS "ABSOLUTELY ABSURD."

WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS SAID THE PRESIDENT WAS "DEEPLY ANGRY" THE FRENCH LEADER'S REMARKS.

CARTER DID MANAGE A WIDE SMILE FOR THE JAPANESE IN SHIMODA, WHERE HE AND FIRST LADY ROSALYNN STOOD IN THEIR BLACK LIMOUSINE AND WAVED AT 5,000 DELIGHTED ONLOOKERS.

IT WAS THE FIRST TIME SINCE ARRIVING SUNDAY THAT SO MANY PEOPLE HAD BEEN ABLE TO SEE CARTER, WHO HAS BEEN BLANKETED BY THE STRICTEST SECURITY OPERATION EVER MOUNTED IN JAPAN.

AFTER JOGGING AND SWIMMING FOR THE THIRD STRAIGHT DAY, THE PRESIDENT ANSWERED QUESTIONS FROM 500 CITIZENS OF SHIMODA GATHERED IN A LOCAL SCHOOL HALL.

NOW, THEY WANTED TO KNOW, WOULD HE REACT IF HIS DAUGHTER, ANY, NOW 11, MARRIED AND MOVED AWAY.

AND IF HE FELL IN LOVE WITH "A COLORED GIRL," WOULD HE MARRY HER?

AMY, SITTING IN THE AUDIENCE WITH HER MOTHER, GIGGLED. MRS. CARTER SMILED, SO DID THE PRESIDENT.

"I'VE NEVER BEEN IN LOVE WITH ANYONE BUT MY WIFE," HE ANSWERED.

BUT HE SAID, "I HOPE THAT IN THE SPIRIT OF EQUALITY, IF I FELL IN LOVE I WOULD NOT LET THE COLOR OF THE WOMAN'S SKIN INTERFERE WITH OUR LOVE."

ON AMY'S FUTURE, THE PRESIDENT SAID HE HOPED "IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS -- BUT AT LEAST SEVEN OR EIGHT" -- THAT HIS DAUGHTER WOULD FIND A "GOOD MAN" TO MARRY.

THEN A TRICKY QUESTION POPPED UP: HOW DID THE PRESIDENT SEE THE ROLE OF WOMEN.

"IN THIS DAY OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION IT IS MORE DIFFICULT TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE RESPONSIBILITY OF WOMEN AND MEN," CARTER SAID.

THE PRESIDENT LATER FLEW BACK TO TOKYO AND MET WITH CANADA'S CLARK AND BRITISH PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER.

UPT 06-27 02:02 PED

POWELL INSISTS ALL THE FATIGUE IS IN THE EYES OF THE BEHOLDERS, AND IT'S REALLY THE REPORTERS WHO ARE TIRED.

POWELL HAD A FEW WELL-CHOSEN WORDS FOR REPORTERS WHO WERE WAITING IN THE FOYER OF THE JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER'S RESIDENCE WHEN ROSALYNN CARTER SUFFERED AN INTESTINAL VIRUS ATTACK AND HAD TO SKIP A FORMAL LUNCHEON ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE CARTER STATE VISIT TO JAPAN. REPORTERS WHO HAD BEEN WAITING THERE, AT THE BEHEST OF THE WHITE HOUSE, SUDDENLY FOUND THEMSELVES PERSONA NON GRATA. POWELL WANTED EVERYONE OUT OF THE FOYER SO THE FIRST LADY WOULD NOT BE SEEN LEAVING THE RESIDENCE. WHEN THE PRESS FUSED TO LEAVE, HE UTTERED A STREAM OF NORTHERN COLLOQUIALISMS. THEN HE SOLVED THE PROBLEM BY SNEAKING HER OUT A SIDE DOOR.

THE WHITE HOUSE WAS INFURIATED WHEN THE JAPANESE PRESS WROTE THAT THE PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTER, AMY, 11, HAD SPENT \$500 SHOPPING AT A TOKYO TOY STORE -- WHICH IS NOT HARD TO DO. LATER IT TURNED OUT THE OWNER OF THE DEPARTMENT STORE, THE SOURCE OF THE STORY, APOLOGIZED AND ADMITTED IT WAS UNTRUE. BUT AMY HAS BEEN A BIG ATTRACTION IN TOKYO. WHEN SHE DID GO ON A SHOPPING SPREE FOR COMIC BOOKS AND TOYS, WORD SPREAD RAPIDLY, AND A LARGE CROWD OF JAPANESE REPORTERS GATHERED TO INTERVIEW HER. SHE WAS TAKEN ABACK WHEN SHE SAW THEM AND HER SECRET SERVICE AGENTS ASKED THE REPORTERS TO STAND BACK.

UPI 06-28 01:23 PED

8237

B I

AM-Rosalynn SKED 6-28

BY MARIANNA OHE

KYOTO, JAPAN (UPI) -- WHILE PRESIDENT CARTER DISCUSSED WEIGHTY PROBLEMS OF THE MODERN WORLD AT THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT THURSDAY, HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER SHED THEIR SHOES, DONNED WHITE KIMONOS, DRANK CEREMONIAL GREEN TEA AND VISITED A 17TH-CENTURY CASTLE.

ROSALYNN CARTER AND DAUGHTER AMY, MAKING THEIR FIRST TRIP TO JAPAN, RODE FROM TOKYO TO THE COUNTRY'S ANCIENT CAPITAL OF KYOTO BOARDING THE "BULLET" TRAIN. THE FIRST LADY TELEPHONED WASHINGTON ON A PAY PHONE IN THE SLEEK BLUE-AND-WHITE EXPRESS.

THEY WERE TAKEN ON A TOUR OF NIJO CASTLE, A CLOAK AND DAGGER PLACE WITH 1000 ROOMS AND FLOORS THAT CHIRP LIKE A BIRD, BUILT TO DECEASE SHOGUN MILITARY GOVERNORS TO INTRUDERS.

"THEY ACTUALLY CHIRP WHEN YOU WALK ON THEM," ROSALYNN SAID. "IT'S UNBELIEVABLE, THEY JUST CHIRP, CHIRP, CHIRP."

THE ELABORATELY DECORATED PALACE WAS BUILT BY THE FIRST TOKUGAWA SHOGUN, IYASU, IN 1603 AS HIS RESIDENCE WHEN VISITING THE IMPERIAL COURT IN KYOTO.

IN A WOODEN TEAHOUSE OVERLOOKING A ROND IN THE CASTLE'S GARDEN, ROSALYNN AND AMY WERE SERVED THE BITTER GREEN CEREMONIAL TEA.

AMY, WHO HAD DIFFICULTY ASSUMING THE JAPANESE KNEELING POSITION, WIGGLED AROUND ON HER PILLOW DURING THE CEREMONY BEFORE SETTLING DOWN CROSS-LEGGED.

SHE DOWNED A WHOLE BOWL OF TEA IN ONE SWALLOW, TURNING THE BOWL AROUND IN HER HANDS THREE TIMES IN ACCORDANCE WITH CUSTOM. AMY LOOKED AT HER MOTHER QUIZZICALLY AS SHE WIBBLED ON SWEET CAKES SERVED BY KIMONO-CLAD WOMEN.

MOTHER AND DAUGHTER THEN VISITED THE HOME OF KAKO MORIGUCHI, A MASTER DYER OF KIMONO SILK WHO HAS BEEN DESIGNATED BY THE GOVERNMENT AS A "LIVING NATIONAL TREASURE."

THE DIGNIFIED, SILVER-HAIRED ARTIST SHOWED THEM SILK KIMONOS HE HAD DESIGNED, ONE OF THEM DYED WITH GOLD.

DURING THE KIMONO DISPLAY, AMY PLAYED WITH MORIGUCHI'S ANIMATED 2-YEAR-OLD GRANDSON, MOTO, DRAWING WITH HIM ON BLANK PAPER WITH A BLACK FELT PEN.

BOTH MRS. CARTER AND AMY WORE WHITE KIMONOS AND PINK SASHES FOR THURSDAY'S DINNER OF WILD DUCK, TEMPURA, STEAK AND CUSTARD SOUP, AT A JAPANESE RESTAURANT GIVEN BY SHIGEKI OHIRA, WIFE OF PRIME MINISTER NAOTO OHARA.

ROSALYNN AND AMY REJOIN THE PRESIDENT IN TOKYO FRIDAY AFTER VISITING THE KYOTO IMPERIAL PALACE AND THE FAMOUS ZEN ROCK GARDEN AT THE RYOANJI TEMPLE.

UPI 66-28 04:56 PED

6-29

JAMES KIN

SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA (UPI) -- PRESIDENT CARTER ARRIVED IN SOUTH KOREA TONIGHT FOR WEEKEND TALKS WITH SEOUL GOVERNMENT LEADERS AND A STAFF LOOK AT A DIVIDED KOREA.

CARTER'S PLANE LANDED IN SEOUL AT 8:55 P.M. (7:55 A.M. EDT) FROM TOKYO WHERE HE AND SIX OTHER LEADERS OF GIANT INDUSTRIAL NATIONS REACHED AN ACCORD TO CURB THE USE OF IMPORTED CRUDE OIL.

UPI 06-29 08:25 AED

PR-KOREA 1STLD-1STADD A076 6-29

CRUDE OIL

CARTER WAS ACCOMPANIED BY WIFE ROSALYNN AND DAUGHTER AMY.

THE PRESIDENT'S PLANE LANDED AT INCHON INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, CARTER WAS FLYING BY HELICOPTER TO CAMP CASEY, HEADQUARTERS OF THE COMBAT-READY 2ND U.S. INFANTRY DIVISION, JUST 10 MILES BELOW THE 38TH PARALLEL DIVIDING THE KOREAS.

CARTER WILL STAY THERE OVERNIGHT, WHILE MRS. CARTER AND AMY REMAIN IN SEOUL.

UPI 06-29 08:32 AED

WASHINGTON

SOUTH KOREAN OFFICIALS SAID THE MAJOR TOPICS AT THE MEETINGS WILL BE SECURITY MATTERS. IN FEBRUARY, CARTER HALTED THE PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF 30,000 U.S. GROUND TROOPS, PENDING FURTHER ASSESSMENT OF THE MILITARY SITUATION BETWEEN THE TWO KOREAS.

UPI 06-29 08:41 AED

"SINCE LIBYA PRODUCES ABOUT 2.4 MILLION BARRELS A DAY OUT OF THE FREE WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF ROUGHLY 52 MILLION BARRELS A DAY, ANY CUSTODIAN TO WITHHOLD SUPPLIES FROM THE OIL-HUNGRY WORLD WOULD BE A CATASTROPHE," THE ANALYST SAID.

LIBYAN OIL COMPANIES COVET THE HIGH-QUALITY LIBYAN CRUDE

AND GET IT FOR RESERVATIONS ONLY THROUGH 1990.

WHILE FUTURE NEEDS ARE TOO DIFFICULT TO PREDICT, BUT THEY YIELDED

TO AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO PERIODICALLY REVIEW IMPORT POLICIES

REPORT 0502

UNITED STATES AND SOUTH KOREA, AUGUST 21, 1965

JUN 21

SEATTLE, SEATTLE

IN MATERIAL GRAF 1: 3-6 WITH CARTER ARRIVAL AT CAMP CASEY
 DETAILS OF SEUL ARRIVAL, EDITS 2TH GRAF FOR TRANSITION. PICKS UP
 WITH SOUTH K. LEADER

ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

CAMP CASEY, SOUTH KOREA (AP) - PRESIDENT CARTER ARRIVED AT THIS ARMY
 BASE THIS EVENING TO SPEND THE NIGHT WITH U.S. TROOPS 10 MILES FROM
 THE DANGEROUSLY ZONE.

THE PRESIDENT LEFT TOKYO TODAY AT THE END OF AN ECONOMIC SUMMIT OF
 THE SEVEN MAJOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES.

AFTER LANDING IN SEUL AT KIMPO INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, CARTER SHOOK
 HANDS WITH SOUTH KOREAN PRESIDENT PARK CHUNG-HEE, WHO HAD NOT BEEN
 SCHEDULED TO MEET HIM UNTIL SATURDAY, AND REVIEWED AN HONOR GUARD
 FORMER A RED CARPET. THE TWO WERE MOBBED BY PHOTOGRAPHERS AND U.S.
 SERVICE AGENTS HAD TO CLEAR A PATH FOR THEM.

CARTER THEN FLEW BY U.S. MARINE HELICOPTER TO CAMP CASEY, WHERE
 HE FOLLOWED A ROUTE THAT NORTH KOREAN TROOPS WOULD PRESUMABLY
 INVASION OF THE SOUTH.

PRESIDENT, WHO HAS ACCOMPANIED HERE BY SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS
 VANCE, DEFENSE SECRETARY HAROLD BROWN, AND NATIONAL SECURITY
 AID ROBERT BRZDZINSKI, GREETED SOLDIERS OUTSIDE THE COMMANDING
 GENERAL'S QUARTERS.

WHILE WISALYNN AND DAUGHTER AMY REMAINED IN SEUL,
 WELCOMER IN SEUL WAS PREPARED BY THE KOREAN GOVERNMENT

RESIDENTS INCLUDING FLAG-DECORATED STREETS AND A FOUR-STORY
 HOTEL AT CAMP CASEY.

END OF 2TH GRAF

15-22-100507

END OF 3TH GRAF

THE SUMMIT AGREEMENT REPRESENTED A COMPROMISE HANNED OUT WITH
 DIFFICULTY AT THE AKASHA PALACE, THE SUMMIT SITE.

UNITED STATES PREVAILED IN ITS INSISTENCE THAT EACH OF THE SEVEN
 NATIONS SET SPECIFIC IMPORT CEILING.

GENERALLY SPEAKING, THEY ADOPTED THE POSITION ADVOCATED BY THE
 UNITED STATES, SAID AN AMERICAN OFFICIAL.

HOWEVER, THE UNITED STATES ACCEPTED EUROPEAN DEMANDS THAT IT SET A
 CEILING THROUGH 1985.

U.S. OFFICIALS WANTED TO SET IMPORT RESTRAINTS ONLY THROUGH 1980,
 BECAUSE FUTURE NEEDS ARE TOO DIFFICULT TO PREDICT. BUT THEY YIELDED

TO AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO PERIODICALLY REVIEW IMPORT CEILINGS
 AFTER 1980.

IN ADDITION TO SETTING IMPORT CEILINGS, THE SUMMIT COMMITTEE PICKED

J
U
N

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, 1979

Security Destroys Shimoda's Plans for Greeting Carter

By TERENCE SMITH
Special to The New York Times

SHIMODA, Japan, Wednesday, June 27 — It was going to be a wonderful welcome.

The local junior high school band was going to lead the Presidential motorcade through the narrow, twisting streets, a flotilla of 100 yachts and fishing boats festooned with flags was going to anchor in the harbor and dozens of traditional festival drums were to provide the background for a drama recreating the arrival of Commodore Matthew C. Perry and his fleet at this village 125 years ago.

That was the way it was planned by the local townsfolk until security officials arrived from Tokyo and said, in effect, forget it.

The marching band was scratched, the yachts chased from the harbor, the festival drums put in storage and the drama driven from the boards.

Instead, when President Carter arrived here this morning for a "town meeting" with the people of Shimoda, an estimated 8,000 policemen — one for every five residents — were posted at the intersections.

Visit to First Consulate

Standing on a stage in the gymnasium of the junior high school, Mr. Carter fielded questions about his family, childhood and background. Later he sat cross-legged at lunch in a traditional inn overlooking the sea and visited a temple that served as the first United States consulate in Japan in the mid-19th century. He was due to return to Tokyo by helicopter later in the day.

Despite the heavy security, the atmosphere at the town meeting was warm and friendly. The townspeople asked the President about his farm in Georgia, the education he was providing for his daughter, Amy, and what he was like as a child. Either by advance agreement or out of the keen Japanese sense of propriety, virtually none of the questions were political.

One woman caused a stir when she

asked the President about racial discrimination in the United States and whether, if he were not already married, he would marry a black woman. Mr. Carter acknowledged that not all discrimination had been erased and said that if he were single and in love with a black woman, he "would not let color interfere."

Although the town meeting was a success, the mayor and other officials here had made it clear earlier that the Government concern with security had robbed the occasion of the spontaneity they had hoped it would have.

Complaint About Security

Yoshio Aoki, the genial, silver-haired mayor of this resort 118 miles southwest of Tokyo, lost his patience last week and complained publicly that the national security authorities were strangling the town.

In addition, all 28 members of the city council turned in their highly prized invitations to the town meeting when the police vetoed their plan to form a receiving line outside the school to greet the President. They gave their tickets to pupils.

There is no special threat to Mr. Carter's safety in this peaceful village that is customarily described as the birthplace of American-Japanese relations. It was Commodore Perry's arrival here in April 1854 that opened Japan to American trade.

The security here, while oppressive, is a reflection of the extraordinary precautions in force in Tokyo, where Mr. Carter and the leaders of Britain, West Germany, France, Italy and Canada are assembling for the economic summit meeting that begins Thursday.

Since Mr. Carter arrived in Japan on Sunday, he has been enveloped in a dark blue cocoon of policemen that has kept him out of the sight of most Japanese. He has either been driven in a bullet-proof limousine or taken by helicopter from place to place.

Yesterday, American officials said, the President raised the issue tactfully with Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira, saying he appreciated the concern but despaired that he had not had any contact with the Japanese public. Mr. Ohira, who had resisted earlier entreaties from Ambassador Mike Mansfield to the same effect, reportedly gave the order to ease up.

In Shimoda, however, the law was in

evidence everywhere last night. Riot policemen with helmets, shields and sticks were stationed along the roads while dull gray sound trucks and water cannons moved ominously through the streets. A Coast Guard cutter was in the harbor and teams of frogmen probed beneath the bridges and causeway along the Presidential route.

1877-1979: THE FRESH AIR FUND

THE LOWEST PRICES ANYWHERE ARE BEHIND OUR BLUE DOOR.

Colossal Closeout of Lateral Files

We bought a maker's entire 1978 inventory. First quality, brand new 36" and 42" laterals, take both letter and legal sizes, wide range of colors. Compare these amazing closeout prices to our low regular selling price!

	36	42
	Regular Price	Closeout Price
2 Drawers	\$104.88	\$150.88
3 Drawers	\$117.88	\$170.88
4 Drawers	\$133.88	\$194.88
5 Drawers	\$155.88	\$224.88

Small additional charge for locks

Phone orders accepted
Call for free catalogue
212-564-1285
Weekdays 9 to 4:30
Major credit cards accepted

Charles S. Nathan Clearance Center, Inc.
575 West 43rd St. Across from R.T. Public Library Annex
FREE PARKING
Prices FOB Clearance Center delivery available

Executive Survival Chair
Wood base and frame, vinyl cushions and padded arms, black or brown \$188.88
Matching swivel arm chair \$104.88

AMERICA'S ONE
FIGHT BACK! FIGHT!

INVEST AS LITTLE AS \$500 OR MORE
IN THE
USA
Representing you in the
UNITED STATES
8

Invest as little as \$500 or more in your choice of maturities, from 1 to 30 years.

Amalgamated Bank
"The bank that works for the working person with the fewest restrictions."

1115 Third Avenue (at 25th St.)
So. 40th Street, N.Y.C. 10018 (Tel. 671-1870)
2nd St. and Broadway (Tel. 245-3200)

FOUNDED IN 1923 • TOTAL RESOURCES \$200,000,000

NOW YOU CAN GET

Explanatory Notes

In subsection (a), the definitions of "agency" and "appointment" are added on authority of the Act of Aug. 7, 1946, ch. 744, 1 Stat. 88 Stat. 811.

In subsection (b), the words "the provisions of this title governing appointment in the competitive service" are substituted for "the civil-service laws". The words "chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of this title" are substituted for the reference to the classification

laws which originally meant the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, except from the Classification Act of 1949, based on sections 703(27), and 1103(a) of the Act of Oct. 28, 1949, ch. 681, 63 Stat. 660, 672.

Standard changes are made to conform with the definitions applicable and the style of this title as outlined in the preface to the report.

Cross References

Community Relations Service, Department of Commerce, authority of Director to procure services as authorized by this section at \$75 per diem limitation, see section 2000g of Title 42, The Public Health and Welfare.
Education, professional development grants and contracts, see section 1091f of Title 20, Education.
Employment of experts or consultants by Director of Administrative Office of United States Courts, see note set out under section 602 of Title 28, Judiciary and Judicial Procedure.
General Accounting Office authorized to credit accounts of special disbursing agent of Saint Elizabeths Hospital with certain amounts, notwithstanding this section, see section 105 of Title 31, Money and Finance, and Comptroller.
International Health Research Act of 1950, application of section to, see sections 2103, 2105 of Title 22, Foreign Relations and Intercourse; section 2121 of Title 42, The Public Health and Welfare.
Travel expenses of consultants or experts, see section 5703 of this title.

Notes of Decisions

Evidence 2

Temporary legal services 1

1. Temporary legal services

Government agency was treated with authority to secure temporary or intermittent services of attorney by contract or appointment and authorized it to enter into independent contractor relationship with attorney as distinguished from employment status. *Durts v. U. S.*, 150 F.2d 289, 149 C.C. 230.

2. Evidence

In action by temporary appointee against the Secretary of the Army and

others for mandatory injunction commanding reinstatement of temporary appointee to position as astronomer in Army Map Service, evidence established that appointing officer accorded to temporary appointee all procedural safeguards required to be extended in case of temporary appointees, and that valid regulations of the Civil Service Commission authorized separation of temporary appointees from the service. *Kamey v. Brucker*, 1900 F.2d 823, 108 U.S.App. D.C. 340, certiorari denied 81 S.Ct. 802, 339 U.S. 643, 6 L.Ed.2d 780.

§ 3110. Employment of relatives; restrictions

(a) For the purpose of this section—

(1) "agency" means—

(A) an Executive agency;

(B) an office, agency, or other establishment in the legislative branch;

(C) an office, agency, or other establishment in the judicial branch; and

(D) the government of the District of Columbia;

(2) "public official" means an officer (including the President and a Member of Congress), a member of the uniformed service, an employee and any other individual, in whom is vested the authority by law, rule, or regulation, or to whom the authority has been delegated to appoint, employ, promote, or advance individuals, or to recommend individuals for appointment, employment, promotion, or advancement, in connection with employment in an agency; and

(3) "relative" means, with respect to a public official, an individual who is related to the public official as father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, uncle, aunt, first cousin, nephew, niece, husband, wife, father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, stepfather, stepmother, stepson, stepdaughter, stepbrother, stepsister, half brother, or half sister.

(b) A public official may not appoint, employ, promote, advance, or advocate for appointment, employment, promotion, or advancement, in or to a civilian position in the agency in which he is serving or over which he exercises jurisdiction or control any individual who is a relative of the public official. An individual may not be appointed, employed, promoted, or advanced in or to a civilian position in an agency if such appointment, employment, promotion, or advancement has been advocated by a public official, serving in or exercising jurisdiction or control over the agency, who is a relative of the individual.

(c) An individual appointed, employed, promoted, or advanced in violation of this section is not entitled to pay, and money may not be paid from the Treasury as pay to an individual so appointed, employed, promoted, or advanced.

(d) The Civil Service Commission may prescribe regulations authorizing the temporary employment, in the event of emergencies resulting from natural disasters or similar unforeseen events or circumstances, of individuals whose employment would otherwise be prohibited by this section.

(e) This section shall not be construed to prohibit the appointment of an individual who is a preference eligible in any case in which the passing over of that individual on a certificate of eligibles furnished under section 3317(a) of this title will result in the selection for appointment of an individual who is not a preference eligible.

Added Pub.L. 90-206, Title II, § 221(a), Dec. 16, 1967, 81 Stat. 640.

Don, still a Democrat

If William Donald Schaefer decides to run for Baltimore mayor again, it won't be as a Republican.

The former Maryland governor and four-term mayor is seen as less likely to run again after he let lapse the Monday deadline for switching parties without making a move to join the GOP.

He has not been the most partisan of Democrats in recent years. As titular head of the state party, then-Gov. Schaefer enraged Democrats when he endorsed Republican George Bush over Bill Clinton for president in 1992.

The most likely scenario for Mr. Schaefer entering the mayoral race had the former governor switching parties, winning the Republican primary and challenging the winner of the Democratic primary between Mayor Kurt Schmoke and Baltimore Council President Mary Pat Clarke in November's general election.

Mr. Schaefer has endorsed Mrs. Clarke without ruling out his own possible return. He could still run for mayor in the general election as an independent "petition candidate" or unaffiliated write-in candidate, or even as a Democrat in the Sept. 12 primary.

Good for the GOP

Republicans fiercely opposed the federal "motor voter" law because it was supposed to give Democrats an unfair advantage. But in Maryland, the law is helping Republicans gain on Democrats in the number of new registered voters.

Democrats still outnumber Republicans 2 to 1 in the state, but the GOP has registered 35 percent of new voters, compared with 45 percent registering as Democrats since the law took effect Jan. 1, according to election board data. The other 20 percent registered as independents or with a third



William Donald Schaefer

party.

The federal law allows citizens to register to vote at the same time they get their driver's licenses. It also requires states to sign up voters by mail, at welfare, social services and unemployment offices, and when they use other government services.

Republicans in Congress fiercely opposed the law in 1993 and filibustered against it in the Senate for two weeks, claiming

By Lisa Nevans

it would foster voter fraud and give Democrats an unfair advantage. Low-income voters who use social service programs tend to register as Democrats.

Watchdog dogged

Common Cause-D.C., a watchdog group that has been backing reforms in lobbying and campaign finance issues, has been fined \$70 by the D.C. Office of Campaign Finance for operating as a political committee in opposing last fall's term-limits initiative without filing the required papers, including reports of receipts and expenses.

Melvin Dowie, director of the campaign finance office, suspended the fines but put Common Cause on probation until Feb. 16, according to a June 15 ruling.

Gene Cisewski, a term-limits

activist who complained that Common Cause illegally distributed fliers against Initiative 49, acknowledged that the fines were small.

But he said the sanctions were "a victory in a sense in that Common Cause is always out there telling everybody else how to run their campaigns ... but when you hold the mirror up to them, there's a double standard."

Common Cause officials thought they had not spent enough money to cross the threshold that requires reporting, said Peter Montgomery, chairman of Common Cause-D.C.

"The spirit of the law was followed," Mr. Montgomery said. "But you could argue we didn't follow the letter of the law, so we're going to go ahead and file what they want."

The Chelsea test

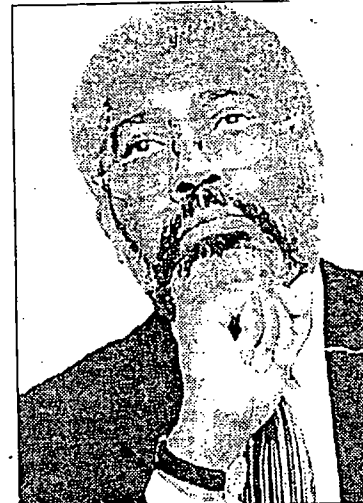
Who was that complaining about government regulations and bureaucracy at the opening of Mother Teresa's home for unwed mothers in Northwest on Monday?

It was none other than Hillary Rodham Clinton, who nearly became the mother of national health care. As Mayor Marion Barry and Mother Teresa sat nearby, Mrs. Clinton twice lamented the multilayered bureaucracy that had to be negotiated in order for the shelter to open.

Regulations on businesses are one thing, but when it comes to regulations on social-service facilities, Mrs. Clinton said a facility need only to pass the "Chelsea test," which consists of detecting the presence of love in the house.

Bill, a flack

The chairman of the House Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee tried out a new job this week — as impromptu press secretary for



Melvin Dowie

Speaker Newt Gingrich's task force on D.C. school reform.

Rep. William Goodling yielded to two colleagues — Rep. Steve Gunderson, Wisconsin Republican, and D.C. Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton, a Democrat — to give reporters the official scoop after a Monday meeting on reforming the District's schools that included key members of the House and Senate.

The pair explained they would meet with D.C. school officials and activists to try and get a reform bill acceptable to all through Congress by August.

Mr. Goodling, Pennsylvania Republican, then took over.

"I'll be press secretary," he joked, then turned to the reporters. "Thank you," he said with a firm nod that proclaimed the impromptu press conference dismissed.

• Jeanne Dewey and Brian Blomquist contributed to this column, which is based in part on wire service reports. Have an item for *That's Politics*? Call Lisa Nevans at 202/636-3196 or write to her at *The Washington Times*, 3600 New York Ave. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

New file Chelsea

China Abroad

China is a difficult country to govern, and its present leadership has the added burden of trying to make its Communist Party base relevant to the future. Even so the current crowd has done a remarkable job in souring the country's relations with the world. It wasn't long ago that other nations were welcoming the Chinese out of isolation into the global economy. A fifth of mankind enjoyed new freedom, new wealth and a respite from the wild schemes of the savants of Zhongnanhai. These were developments in which mankind took universal pleasure.

Deng Xiaoping may go down as the only genuine statesman produced by Chinese Communism, in that he saw which way history was moving and put China on the right side. It took a degree of courage and wisdom to open up China and let the world spill in. And Mr. Deng will be remembered for raising the living standards of more people more rapidly than anyone in history.

Assuming they represent only a transitional leadership, Jiang Zemin and his allies will be remembered for something too. For turning complacent Southeast Asian neighbors into a region united by distrust of China; for arousing Japan to the danger of China's military potential; for poisoning a U.S.-China relationship just as President Clinton took his own risk to liberate trade from impractical human rights conditions.

Two former U.S. diplomats, Burton Levin and Chas Freeman, put most of the blame on Washington for the deteriorating relationship. Clinton policy has indeed been less than masterful: The White House backed itself into a corner with its early posturing on trade and human rights. It had to be shamed by a Republican Congress into letting Taiwan's president—a genuine democrat with no

criminal record—have a visa to visit his American alma mater. Both decisions came across as acts of weakness, not strength.

Yet China bears the greatest responsibility. The criticism of Washington now being heard is typical of a certain school that treats the U.S. as the only country whose actions matter. This is an especially foolish view with respect to China, where outsiders have little leverage to shape internal events.

Where Mr. Deng balanced forces and kept China racing headlong toward the future, Mr. Jiang and his colleagues have chosen the artless expedient of trying to command the various genies back into their bottles. Domestically, in dealing with the dissidents who have discovered the constitutional means of submitting petitions to the National People's Congress, Mr. Jiang has thrown them by scores into jails.

In foreign affairs, whether the issue is the Spratlys or Taiwan, the Chinese government has simply raised the decibels, crudely substituting bluster for any appeal to common benefits. Yet all this may prove the least of the transitional regime's mistakes. Mr. Jiang has taken on himself the mantle of defender of "spiritual civilization," in practice an agenda of economic nationalism that aims to roll back Western influence and bring the high-growth, outward-looking southern provinces to heel.

More than any contretemps with the U.S. over President Lee going to Cornell, Beijing's domestic agenda poses the greatest danger. As China walks the edge of regional conflict, the world may be wise to play a circumspect role, but also to draw some lines Beijing must respect. That will be harder with China's advocates in the West characterizing every act of firmness as a provocation.

Asides

Hillary's Education

Hillary Clinton's commencement address to ninth graders at a public school in D.C. knocked people "who would turn back the clock and . . . sound the retreat on our support for public education." The wires quickly

noted that Chelsea goes to the private Sidwell Friends in D.C. That's beside the point. Like her husband, Mrs. Clinton is wholly focused on 1996, and without the votes of unionized school teachers in the NEA, that campaign has no chance. The public discrepancies hardly matter.

JODY POWELL ON AMY CARTER AND PRESS

120 |

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE STORY

Mr. Powell's daughter have, and what newsworthy crisis might she be facing? Were there drugs involved?

A letter from the pastor inviting us back to church had been in the stolen garbage. It was addressed to Emily because she had signed the visitor's card, and it contained a short handwritten note saying he had enjoyed the chance to talk with her. The talk had taken place at the door of the church at the end of the morning service.

In our case, Mr. Gourley's effort was for naught. His calls to creditors—Nan had paid the bills the night before I put the garbage on the curb—and to friends turned up no juicy tidbits. So far as I know, our trash bags produced no story for the *National Enquirer*.

In some ways that first experience was misleading. In the coming years we found that sifting through garbage in search of a story is not confined to employees of the *National Enquirer*, and some news organizations that turn up their noses at the *Enquirer* are less careful about checking the accuracy of the trash that comes in over the telephone than Mr. Gourley was with what he picked up from the street.

* * * * *

And whosoever shall offend one of these little ones . . . , it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea.

Nothing during the entire four years of the Carter administration left me more bitter, nor with a more abiding revulsion for those responsible, than the way Amy Carter was treated by some in the press. I should hasten to add that in this case I am referring to a very small minority of journalists. Most of those who covered the White House, whatever their feelings about the administration, were too mature to take out their differences on a child; and they shared, to some extent, my contempt for the few who did.

If I have a complaint against that majority, it is that they kept their condemnation to themselves. Never was I able to get any one of them to say in print or on the air what they were quite willing to say privately.

That feeling of cold, impotent fury that is as fresh and real as

I was
colle
wate
proa
flam
chil
McI
daug

to fo
part
In t
Uni
at th

mu:
exp
so
fou
the
inst
riet
chil

rou
It
pre
di
co
sp
ma

na
wr
ac
en

wi
dc

I write this today as it was six years ago was shared by most of my colleagues in the White House, particularly those of us who had watched Amy grow from a little girl to an adolescent now approaching young womanhood. Our feelings were further inflamed, to the extent that was possible, because many of us had children of our own. Frank Moore, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jim McIntyre, Jack Watson, and I—to mention just a few—all had daughters of about the same age as Amy.

If it is natural, at least in the old-fashioned sense, for fathers to feel especially protective of daughters, it is as inevitable to feel particularly sympathetic with the same emotions in other fathers. In this case, the other father was our boss and the President of the United States; but that had little to do with the way we or he felt at the time.

I had always assumed that those who treated Amy so cruelly must have no children of their own. Surely no one who had ever experienced that intense desire to protect a child from harm could so casually and callously inflict it. In researching this book, I found that I was wrong. Some of these journalists have children of their own. Either they have long since lost whatever nurturing instinct they once had, or perhaps all they learned from the experience was how deeply you can wound a parent by hurting the child.

I should make clear that my complaint here is not against the routine buffeting that children of any person in public life receive. It cannot be pleasant for any child to see a parent pilloried in the press. And other children, as the old saying goes, can be extraordinarily mean in such situations. That, however, is an inescapable correlate of public life, a burden that one knowingly imposes on spouse and children when the decision to pursue such a career is made.

(I do think, however, that it would be worthwhile for journalists to bear in mind that when they falsely accuse someone of wrongdoing, the damage that is done is not confined to the one accused. The pain and embarrassment and scars are borne by the entire family, including the children.)

My outrage here is directed toward those so-called journalists who attack the parent through the child, who are so bent upon doing harm to an adult—or on selling a story or a column—that

they are completely willing to attack children if that is what it takes to get the job done. No more repugnant creatures exist on the face of the earth.

For those who may think my earlier comments about old-fashioned fathers a bit sexist, I will now compound the offense by admitting that it was always particularly hard for me to accept the fact that the writer who was by far the most vicious to Amy was a woman.

In March of 1978, Diana McClellan was writing a gossip column called "The Ear" for the now defunct *Washington Star*.

(When the *Star* folded, she was hired by the *Post*, despite strong objections from some at the paper who thought her style of journalism beneath the dignity of a national newspaper. Her tour there ended not long after she falsely accused President Carter of bugging President-elect Reagan. She now writes her gossip column for the *Washington Times*.)

In 1978, "The Ear" was reputed to be the most widely read column in Washington, a claim that I do not question, and that says a great deal about our nation's capital. Though, to be fair, most public officials read it to make sure that they were not among that day's victims.

Because of the *Star's* perilous financial position and the wide readership of the column, it was subjected to a minimum of editorial control. No editor of a paper that is losing millions each year wants to risk losing his most popular columnist. Even responsible reporters sometimes defended the excesses of "The Ear" because "it's helping to keep the *Star* alive."

Ms. McClellan had taken swipes at the President's daughter before, but on this particular morning she opened her column with a story depicting Amy as a spoiled brat who used her residence in the White House to get anything she wanted. At the time Amy was ten years old.

According to "The Ear," Amy's relay team had lost a race against another local elementary school. That part was true, but it was the only part.

She went on to claim that Amy "sat on the ground and howled . . . 'I want a trophy.'" At which point, a Secret Service agent "sneaked the sparkly gilt first-place trophy away in his jacket [and] gave it to the First Daughter." The real winners sup-

posedly had to make do with the second-place trophy. The coach of the winning team then called them aside and threatened to throw anyone off the track team who breathed a word about the incident.

The whole thing was absurd; even if Amy had been the kind of child who pitched a temper tantrum over losing a race, which she decidedly was not, it is impossible to imagine a teacher and a Secret Service agent becoming involved in such foolishness.

As usual, Ms. McClellan had written her column without making any attempt to check with the people whose names she was defaming. Nor was she about to admit an error. Statements from school officials and Secret Service agents who had been at the event to the effect that nothing of the kind had occurred had no impact on her (which is not surprising), or on the editors of the *Star* (which is).

Ms. McClellan's response was simply to note in a subsequent column that her vicious little story had been denied, restate her contention that it was nevertheless true, and look for another chance to vent her spleen on Amy. Several months later she found it, and reported in her column that Amy had been disappointed when a shop did not have the item she was looking for. "The Ear" was glad to report "that she did not cry . . . but she did stamp one little foot."

The other thing that bothered me and others in the White House about press coverage of Amy was the pictures. I fully realize how subjective a subject that is. The tendency to read malice into an unflattering news photograph is almost reflexive among those in public life—even those who know better.

Still, it is a fact of life that the choosing of pictures can have a powerful effect on the impact of a story and on public perceptions of the person involved. It is also a fact that pictures tend to be chosen not only to convey the mood of a story, or because they are newsworthy in themselves, but because they conform to pre-existing notions about the subject.

In Amy's case the preexisting notion was of a spoiled, not very happy, and singularly gawky and unattractive child. None of that fit the real Amy, except that she was in the White House at the time when she was going through those delightfully awkward and bittersweet years of transition from little girl to young

woman. There were the glasses and braces, and a certain clumsy shyness with adults. She was in those years a surprisingly typical adolescent.

It started, I think, on her first day of school in Washington. Her mother took her down, as mothers are wont to do on such occasions. The press, of course, covered it as though it were the arrival in court of a Mafia don. There was, as might have been expected, precious little to write about. But there were the pictures.

The one that was chosen to run over most of the country showed Amy with eyes down and head ducked walking into the school building. The impression was of a terribly self-conscious little girl on the verge of tears because she had to go to school. The fact was that there was ice on the sidewalk and her downcast eyes and serious expression were the result of a desire not to lose her footing.

From that day forward, I can hardly remember any news photo of Amy that was not unflattering. There is certainly no rule that requires the news organizations to run only flattering photos of anyone. But it is widely understood to be an unwritten rule that unflattering photos of public officials are usually discarded. It always seemed to me that a child might have been due the same consideration that is accorded to fully grown men and women in statehouses and city halls across the land.

Journalists who are willing to defend the way their colleagues treated Amy, and to the credit of the institution they are few in number, claim that Amy's parents were responsible for the journalistic excesses. "After all," they say, "Amy was allowed to travel with the President and First Lady, and even to attend a state dinner—where, horror of horrors, she was observed reading a book."

One may agree or not with other parents' methods of raising their children. My own experience has been that nothing makes you humbler on the subject than trying to raise one of your own. However, I did not, and do not now, see anything wrong with allowing a child to experience some sense of the historic and important events going on around her—so long as the effort does not disrupt the business of government or unduly burden the taxpayers.

Amy was on all these occasions, so far as I was able to observe, an inoffensive and inexpensive spectator. She certainly never got drunk and made an ass of herself, which is more than one can say for some of those who took such exception to her presence.

As for reading the Book at the state dinner, it seemed to me to be a remarkably constructive use of the time spent at such occasions.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	re: phone number (1 page)	n.d.	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Bobbie Greene
OA/Box Number: 15630

FOLDER TITLE:

Chelsea

2012-0872-S

rc997

RESTRICTION CODES

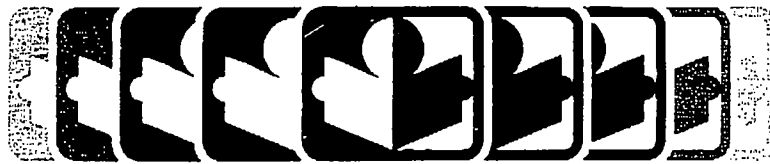
Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.



Little Rock School District

News Release

Guidelines for News Media at Mann Magnet Junior High School

November 9, 1992

For more information, contact
Dianne G. Woodruff, telephone 324-2020

In order to assure a routine school day for all students at Mann Magnet Junior High School, the Little Rock School District procedure is that all news media representatives must obtain permission from the LRSD Communications Department prior to going onto the campus.

The Clintons have expressed their desire that their daughter Chelsea and her classmates be able to maintain their routines at the school without interference.

"We very much appreciate their concern on behalf of their daughter and all our students at Mann," said Superintendent Dr. Mac Bernd. "While we intend to continue to be cooperative with the news media in every respect, this procedure will be strictly enforced. We wish to see that teaching and learning proceed normally at Mann," he added.

Statement from HRC press office

While the Clinton's appreciate the media's interest in Chelsea, it is however their strongest desire that Chelsea and her classmates are allowed to continue their school routines without interference inside or outside the school. We are certain that members of the media, many who are parents themselves, will leave the children in peace to their school activities.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002a. memo	Cheryl Mills to Marcia Hale re: Chelsea Clinton (2 pages)	08/04/1993	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Bobbie Greene
OA/Box Number: 15630

FOLDER TITLE:

Chelsea

2012-0872-S
rc997

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002b. memo	Press Office to Maggie Williams re: Chelsea Clinton (3 pages)	08/03/1993	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Bobbie Greene
OA/Box Number: 15630

FOLDER TITLE:

Chelsea

2012-0872-S
rc997

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003a. letter	Linda Franklin to Chelsea re: address [partial] (1 page)	11/09/1994	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Bobbie Greene
OA/Box Number: 15630

FOLDER TITLE:

Chelsea

2012-0872-S
rc997

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

November 9, 1994

[001]



Dear Chelsea,

I am writing you in response to my impulse to do something positive after yesterday's awful election. I hope I am only one of many writing you, your mother or your father today to tell you how much I (or we) admire your parents, particularly your father. No matter how much they try to help you understand the terrible nastiness and even hatred shown your father, I'm sure you wonder sometimes, why us? Why me? Politics does awful things to people, even very young ones.

When I was 15, I had been a staunch Democrat for as long as I could remember. My whole family were Democrats. My grandmother — at that time in her 80s — had been a volunteer for the Democratic party in Memphis, Tennessee, and she would work all Election Day chauffeuring people to and from the polls. I felt as if I were a born Democrat; even today I can't imagine, in my wildest or worst dreams, being a Republican. In 1956 I was a Junior in high school in Toledo, Ohio. In a class of 45 or so, I was one of only two Democrats. Adlai Stevenson, a remarkable man of great vision and amazing intelligence, was

running against Ike Eisenhower. I thought of Adlai Stevenson as an idol, and I felt very warmly toward him. I decided that I would make him a gift and somehow give it to him when he came to campaign in Toledo. I was to cover the visit for the school newspaper. I made him something which seems rather silly and very old-fashioned today — it was an applique and embroidered cut-out head and neck (a bust if you will!) of a Democratic donkey. I cut it out of beautiful brown wool cloth, stuffed it with some cotton, and embroidered a mane and forelock, nostrils, lips and beautiful expressive eyes. My idea was, the donkey's bust would fit in the palm of my hand, and I would push and shove through the crowd and tap him on his sleeve and give it to him. The day came, and I got a ride downtown to the Courthouse with my mother, and I found a place to stand along the long sidewalk crossing the courthouse lawn, and soon Adlai Stevenson's entourage arrived. Cheers went up, and Gov. Stevenson came up the walk, smiling his remarkable smile, his intelligence almost gleaming in the sun. I lunged forward as he came near, and thrust the donkey's head in his hand and said "Here! Good Luck!" and that was that. It was thrilling to me, and I wrote up the visit enthusiastically for the "Arrowhead" newspaper. (Normally, I wrote the music column, called "Platter Chatter," which featured black rock 'n' roll records I heard on a tiny radio station)

that broadcast late at night from Nashville, Tennessee. Ask your father if he ever listened to Ernie's Record Mart!) Anyway, my article on Stevenson and the Democrats was as poorly received by my Republican schoolmates as my taste in rock 'n' roll was. People, children really, my own age were nasty and sarcastic and insulting. I was unprepared for defense. It seemed so logical to me that a person who could vote would vote for a man with brains and ideas. But Stevenson was derided as an "egghead", an impractical intellectual, a "geek" (which is what we called nerds in those days).

* Anyway, what I want you to know is that even if the Republican victories yesterday seem overwhelming a rejection of your father, perhaps there are other ways to think about it. First of all, please know that the many hundreds of thousands of people who admire, like, even love your father for himself and his ideas, are stronger than those who say they hate him because ours is a positive force, a constructive force, an intelligent force. His enemies are negative, destructive, prejudiced and expedient. Some are even rabble rousers. One must beware of the rabble, but one doesn't have to change because they don't like something.

Your father is "in politics" because that is

where he believes his strength, energy and idealism, as well as his inventiveness and imagination, are likely to do the most good and have the most effect. He is a deeply empathetic person — that surely is the highest of all virtues: empathy. It is in one word, the Golden Rule's entire message. You are a most lucky young woman to have such a father, and such a mother as you have. Do not take the messages of hate and insult that are hurled at your family every day to heart. Don't take them personally, if you can help it. Ignorant people, frightened and small-minded people may be numerous and loud, and they may even have temporary, short-term influence now and then, but they have nothing to do with the future which we can dream of and work toward. They are people with no karma, with no enlightenment, and only many lives, or much wakeful thinking, can help them.

Best wishes to you and your family,
Love,

Linda C Franklin

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003b. envelope	re: address (1 page)	11/14/1994	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Bobbie Greene
OA/Box Number: 15630

FOLDER TITLE:

Chelsea

2012-0872-S

rc997

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.



Thank you for taking the time to write to Chelsea. She appreciates all the wonderful letters she receives and wishes that she could answer them all herself.

My family and I are grateful for the support and encouragement we have received from around the world. Your warm wishes mean a great deal to all of us.

Bill Clinton

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
--------------------------	---------------	------	-------------

004. paper	re: Secret Service (2 pages)	n.d.	b(7)(E)
------------	------------------------------	------	---------

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Bobbie Greene
OA/Box Number: 15630

FOLDER TITLE:

Chelsea

2012-0872-S
rc997

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

File
Chelsea

VIEWPOINT

Lance Morrow

Childhood in a Fishbowl

Having famous parents can be so embarrassing. How's a kid going to cope?

TO HAVE PARENTS WHO ARE, AS THEY SAY, DYSFUNCTIONAL—in this case, needy, infantile, self-indulgent, narcissistic, ruthlessly selfish hysterics who use up all the oxygen in the room and then gasp self-pityingly that they are having trouble breathing—is a maturing burden for a child, and a sad kind of discipline.

To have parents who are dysfunctional, and famous too, is a cruel and unusual fate. (Maybe not so unusual nowadays).

Children are sensitive to the slightest hint of humiliation; they tend to be almost bizarrely shamed by anything in their parents' behavior that smacks of the unconventional. What's a kid to do, then, when his parents' entire lives constantly erupt in spectacles of global embarrassment?

A child in such circumstances may become a monster or a drunk, as the children of the famous sometimes do. Or else he submits to a reversal in nature: he accepts his role as the grownup in the house. He parents his infantile parents. He skips much of childhood and gets to be 14 going on 45.

At one time, the myth of monarchy presented the King as a father figure. This was almost always wishful thinking. The royal houses of the world probably have a slightly worse record for producing sane, responsible, intelligent parents than most families do. Monarchs have rarely been role models of any kind, probably because they felt no need to be. The role of the inspired prince as leader—the type of whom Charles is the ghost's memory of a remnant—vanished long ago, and following Agincourt, the servants have done the fighting. Princes of the royal blood since then have opened trade shows or talked to trees.

Of course, it is hard enough to be a decent and intelligent private person. In the late 20th century, when the media magnify every private witlessness of public figures, then even the appearances of traditional majesty are at risk. Walter Bagehot wrote of the monarchy in the 19th century: "You must not let daylight in upon magic." You must not let daylight in upon Dracula either. Relentless public exposure is the death of grandeur, especially when there are tapes from the phone conversations. The tabloid is to the House of Windsor as a summer dawn to the Transylvanian count.

Perhaps we make a mistake to insist that the monarchy should be majestic. That is only one way for the royals to

be exemplary. Homer's gods on Olympus, after all, played out elaborate soap operas of venality, stupidity, cruelty and greed. The Windsors, bearing up well under their hereditary burden of chinlessness and a tendency to run to twits, managed nonetheless to turn the saga of the stunningly unbright Duke and Duchess of Windsor into one of the century's great love stories. Perhaps Charles and Diana, in their follies, are simply enlarging the dramatic franchise of the family, giving it a contemporary feel.

Even so, their performance is witness to the truth of John F. Kennedy's famous cliché: "Life is unfair." The unfairness, in the case of Charles and Diana, lies in the fact that classically, it is their children who must pay so much of the price for the silly lives of their parents.

Being the child of the famous has always been especially hard, in part because of the danger that the child cannot live up to the parent's public success (no matter how awful the parent might have been in private). And only modest success seems a dramatic falling off: the Sean Lennon, Gary Crosby, Nancy Sinatra syndrome. But Prince William's future seems assured; he can hardly fail to surpass his father.

Fame is often difficult for parents to cope with; but surely it imposes upon them an obligation where their

children are concerned. A lot of illustrious parents have produced unhappy offspring. Winston Churchill, himself a neglected child, did not do well with his profligate boozehound son Randolph. On the other hand, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis raised sane and decent children against what, one guesses, were considerable odds. Bill and Hillary Clinton, whatever their private shortcomings, seem to be faring well in giving their daughter a constructive, intelligent upbringing.

Raising children is as unscientific as begetting them, and the ultimate results are unpredictable. Whether the parents should be held responsible for the children is problematic; if justice has not vanished from the universe, however, no child should be held responsible for his or her parents.

Maybe there is a Law of Procreational Dynamics stating that for each generation there is an equal and opposite generation—meaning that for each neurotic, childish father or mother there will come next a mature, productive son or daughter. The House of Windsor lives in hope. ■



CHelsea CLINTON is faring well despite her public childhood

JOHN KENNEDY JR. and his sister had a sane, decent upbringing against all odds

— 9/6
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Maggie -

HRC wants Harold to
send Tim's speech to our
Congressional allies. Lisa
would like you to look at
the speech & approve
before we do that.

KP

*File
Health
care -*

IRA C. MAGAZINER
REMARKS TO THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
NEW YORK CITY
SEPTEMBER 1, 1994

Today we find ourselves in a great -- yet still unfinished -- chapter of American political and social history. Great because for the first time in decades we are addressing one of the most intractable social and economic problems of our time -- a health care system that is out of reach for millions of Americans and too costly for our nation. Unfinished because Congress has not yet written the final words of the text.

As you know, the daily accounts we read on issues like health care reform are merely first drafts of history. Over time, those interpretations are revisited by scholars like you, who bring their own theoretical and historical perspectives to bear.

Analyzing health care reform is all the more difficult right now because the process is far from over. So my perspective, like the perspectives of other insiders and journalists and political commentators, is based on current and fluid events that can change from day to day and month to month. But hopefully I can offer some useful insights into the health care reform process that has engaged the Clinton Administration and Congress for much of the last year.

President Clinton continues to press for health care reform for the same two reasons he outlined when he ran for the Presidency: First, because the health of tens of millions of Americans -- both uninsured and insured -- was at risk and is at risk in the current system. And second, because there is no way to fully restore our economy over the long-term without doing something about rising health care costs.

Every day, the health care picture gets worse. On any given day, close to 40 million Americans -- most of them working people -- lack insurance. Millions are locked in jobs they couldn't leave for fear of losing their insurance. Families can't get coverage because of "pre-existing conditions" and other forms of insurance discrimination. Small businesses face health care premiums 35 percent higher than those of large corporations -- and those premiums are projected to grow at double-digit rates.

And there is little hope of further reducing the deficit when health care expenditures consume 14 percent of our national income, and a decade from now, the figure will be closer to 20 percent. Month after month, year after year, health care costs

are further eroding our savings, our investment capital, our public treasury, our ability to create new jobs in the private sector. And we cannot take full advantage of the progress this President is making in restoring the economy if we attempt to reduce health care costs simply by chipping away at Medicare and Medicaid.

So the question President Clinton faced upon his inauguration 20 months ago was this: How do you solve a problem of this magnitude, of this complexity, of this urgency, when no President, Republican or Democrat, has managed to do it in 60 years?

Many people advised President Clinton that it was too politically risky to tackle health care reform. It couldn't be done, they said, because of the array of special interests positioned to stop it -- special interests that had spent millions and millions of dollars to stymie the efforts of Presidents Truman and Kennedy and Nixon and Carter before him.

But health care reform was simply the right thing to do socially, economically, and morally. That's why the President took on this mammoth challenge, and set in motion this historic process, regardless of the political risk. That's why he is sticking to it, and why he will keep fighting for reform until it is achieved.

Throughout the process the President's goal has been twofold: to achieve universal coverage and to control health care costs while still preserving quality. Universal coverage and cost containment sometimes are viewed as contradictory, when in fact they go hand-in-hand. Counter-intuitive as it may seem, you can't reduce the burdens on business and government and individual families until everyone is insured.

The reality is that people who don't have insurance can't pay but still get health care. They just get it when it's too late, too expensive, and often from the most expensive source of all, the emergency room. The result is that the rest of us end up footing the bill through higher hospital bills and higher insurance premiums.

The President beat the historical odds by putting health care reform on the national agenda and presenting a plan last year. Furthermore, virtually all Democrats and moderate Republicans supported the goal of universal coverage. And virtually all the comprehensive health care bills subsequently submitted by Democrats and moderate Republicans included cost containment.

There are only three ways to achieve universal coverage, all of which have been debated by politicians, economists, and policy

experts for years. One is a single payer approach that would replace today's employer-based system with a broad-based income, payroll or value-added tax. It would require about three to four hundred billion dollars of new federal taxes each year, a political implausibility.

A second approach is to require all individuals to buy health insurance, the same method many states use with auto insurance today. The down side of that method is that employers might be inclined to stop covering their workers, that more and more individuals would need government subsidies to help pay for their premiums, and new taxes and a new administrative bureaucracy would result. More important, the public opposes it.

The third option -- the approach the President chose -- is to extend the system that 90 percent of insured Americans already use. The employer mandate is the least disruptive, most conservative option available. It was an option embraced by groups across the political spectrum: the American Medical Association, the Health Insurance Association of America, many labor unions, the Jackson Hole group, the Chamber of Commerce and other business groups, and the National Coalition on Health Care Reform co-chaired by former Presidents Carter and Ford.

In fact, the President's proposal for achieving universal coverage through an employer mandate was first proposed by President Nixon more than two decades ago in a bill introduced by Senator Packwood, the ranking Republican member of the Senate Finance Committee.

Cost containment is an equally important part of the President's equation. Cost containment is essential if you want families and businesses to be able to afford health care, and if you want to control federal spending.

But as with universal coverage, there are only a few ways to get costs under control.

One option is to have the government directly set the price for goods and services delivered in the health care sector, or set ceilings on the total amount the nation would spend on health care. But having the government involved in every health care transaction is way too bureaucratic.

Some advocates support the idea of "tax caps" to contain health care spending -- limits on the tax deductibility of health spending by companies. The President rejected that approach because it would raise taxes on middle-class families.

The President's plan relied on creating a more competitive market and a more cost-conscious consumer to control costs. As a back-up, the President proposed premium caps to limit the amount

insurance premiums could be raised if market forces did not succeed in keeping prices down. This approach was borrowed directly from a bill put forth by Republican Senators Danforth and Kassebaum and moderate Democratic Representatives McCurdy and Glickman.

As you examine the main elements of the President's plan you will find that the bulk of ideas he proposed were gleaned from members of both parties, from liberals and conservatives and moderates alike. And in many cases, the proposals already had been tested successfully at the state level. Employer mandates are working effectively in Hawaii, Washington, and Oregon; premium caps in Washington and Minnesota.

Perhaps no idea occasioned as much debate initially as mandatory alliances. The first barrage of negative ads came from the insurance industry, which misrepresented alliances as government take-overs of health plans that would reduce consumer choice, when in fact the opposite was true.

The idea behind alliances was to give people more choice of plans and to reduce the administrative burdens that now exist for businesses.

As someone who ran a successful small business, I can tell you that today, cost and complexity make it nearly impossible for small businesses to offer their employees a choice of plans. Alliances would have made this choice possible.

The idea for mandatory alliances came from the Jackson Hole group and from legislation sponsored in 1992 by Representatives Cooper and Andrews and Senators Boren and Breaux.

Other provisions such as the long-term care benefit, a focus on primary care, funding for academic health centers, improvements in rural and urban health care infrastructures, and some public health initiatives were also included in Republican health reform proposals.

So if you compare the President's approach to some of the options at hand, you will see that -- in case after case -- his plan was fundamentally reasonable, moderate, and in line with what most Americans wanted then and still want now.

Yet while the bill's provisions reflected the conventional solution, the size and detail of the document generated criticism from opponents that it was a bureaucratic form of social engineering and an example of "big government."

Health care reform is a very complex subject. A bill to reform the health care system is never going to make for light beach reading. Our goal in writing the legislation was to offer

the American people a realistic description of how the proposed changes would work.

It's worth noting that many pieces of major legislation are as long or longer than our bill. Health care reform measures circulating on Capitol Hill range from 650 to 1,400 pages. The crime bill that passed last month was almost as long as health care legislation, and NAFTA was literally thousands of pages.

Yet the length of the President's health care reform bill became a metaphor for the complexity people would supposedly face under a reformed system. The number of pages became a symbol of the amount of government involvement people would see in their health care.

How did we arrive at the provisions of the bill?

To meet an aggressive timetable, we established a process for making policy that was unconventional for Washington, borrowed from private sector models for conducting big projects in a short time frame. We cast a wide net for participants.

To have a credible health care bill, one must address dozens of specific issues such as long term care, mental health, malpractice, and insurance reform. So we brought together experts and practitioners in each of these areas -- both from Washington and from around the country.

We held daily meetings with members of Congress, and involved more than 120 Congressional staffers in the working groups. The First Lady also held public hearings and town meetings across the country.

By May of 1993, review groups composed of health care providers, consumers, auditors, actuaries, hospital and insurance administrators, and lawyers responded to ideas that had been proposed by different working groups.

The whole process resulted in an amazing amount of work completed in a very short amount of time. We succeeded in meeting a very tight deadline.

Has it been a flawless operation? Of course not. And while some of the problems we encountered were avoidable, others were not.

One that we couldn't avoid was the legislative calendar. We were ready to move forward at the end of May of 1993, just as the President had pledged we would do. During April and May of last year, the task force met 21 times to finalize decisions, a number of times with the President. But after the defeat of the economic stimulus package, it became clear to everyone that the

introduction of health care reform should be delayed until passage of the economic package was assured. There was concern that introducing health care might compromise support for the economic package. For example, when word leaked out -- erroneously -- about a Treasury Department analysis of health care financing that included a tax on wine and beer, the California delegation immediately sent a letter of complaint to the White House and some members privately threatened to withhold support for the economic package.

With the economic package stalled, the introduction of health care was delayed from early June, to late June, to mid July, to late July, and finally to late September. The legislation finally was submitted in late October instead of in late May. Attention was further diverted from health care because of the debate over NAFTA and the crisis in Somalia, both of which dominated the White House and Congress during the weeks after the President's bill was introduced.

There wasn't much we could do about the calendar. But we could have done things differently in terms of the press. From the outset, we should have done a better job of informing the press about the process. That way we could have avoided perceptions that the deliberations were cloaked in secrecy, and we could have helped the news media develop a better understanding of reform as the debate evolved.

These problems notwithstanding, when the plan was introduced in the fall it was greeted very enthusiastically, and in fact, it became a baseline for other approaches. Representative Cooper termed his plan "Clinton Lite," a "close cousin" of the Clinton plan. Senator Chafee spoke on Sunday talk shows about "the similarities in our approaches" and voiced optimism about achieving a consensus. The President, meanwhile, was applauded for offering a clear and persuasive enunciation of his goals to Congress and the nation. Polls showed broad support for his plan. The New York Times went as far as to term the President's bill "alive on arrival."

As the President's plan generated excitement and support for reform, interest groups who benefited from the status quo mobilized their attacks.

Powerful special interests are perhaps the biggest single obstacle we faced then and still face today as we try to move forward with reform. Several recent studies have documented the amount of money spent on advertising and lobbying to influence the outcome of the health care debate. Every major legislative battle -- from the New Deal to Social Security to Civil Rights -- has met with opposition. But never in the history of this country have modern technology and scare tactics combined to produce the degree and tone of misinformation that was spewed out so quickly

08/01/94 05:07

about health care reform. And never has there been such an extraordinary amount of money spent on disseminating that misinformation.

The Annenberg Public Policy Center studied this phenomenon and concluded that the health care debate has generated "the largest, most sustained advertising campaign to shape a public policy decision in the history of the Republic."

Over \$100 million has been spent overall to influence the outcome. One study found that \$50 million was spent largely to influence reporters and legislators rather than the public as a whole. And these figures don't capture direct mail and phone bank efforts financed by opponents.

Whatever your view of health care reform, if you've seen or heard the now famous -- or infamous -- ads you know that they are not only negative, they're downright scary.

In fact, they were so distorted that the Wall Street Journal ran a story about the misinformation campaign under the headline "Truth Lands In Intensive Care Unit."

The article began:

The baby's scream is anguished, the mother's voice desperate. "Please," she pleads into the phone as she seeks help for her sick child.

"We're sorry; the government health center is closed now," says the recording on the other end of the line. "However, if this is an emergency, you may call 1-800-GOVERNMENT." Her baby still wailing, she tries it, only to be greeted by another recording: "We're sorry, all health care representatives are busy now. Please stay on the line and our first available"

"Why did they let the government take over?" she asks plaintively. "I need my family doctor back."

The story goes on to say: The only problem with the radio spot, produced by a Washington-based group called Americans for Tax Reform, is that it isn't true. [WSJ, 4/29/94]

Misconceptions about the President's plan were continually fueled by this type of fearmongering. At town hall meetings I attended, angry people would shout their opposition to the Clinton plan. I'd ask why they were against it. They would talk about the government taking over and running all the hospitals. Or they would talk about how people wouldn't be allowed to see their own doctor outside the health plan approved by the government and that, if they did, the doctors could go to jail. I'd explain that this just wasn't true. But the questioner

invariably would shout back that I was lying and wave a mailing he had received from some group asserting one or another of these points as fact.

The Wall Street Journal said that "another of the big canards about the Clinton plan is that people face '5 years in jail if you buy extra health care.'" The story alluded to a direct mail package sent to millions of Americans by the American Council for Health Reform. The story explained that this penalty referred to an anti-bribery provision in the Clinton proposal and, in fact, the President's bill explicitly stated that people were free to purchase any health care services they wanted.

But these ads proved that it's always easier to make the negative case rather than the positive, more complicated case.

I point out the degree of misinformation because these advertising campaigns distorted the President's plan into some radical, wild-eyed attempt to revamp our health system. In fact, as I mentioned earlier, the main elements he proposed were drawn from Republicans and Democrats alike -- most of whom could be described as political moderates. Universal coverage, employer mandates, and premium caps, while opposed by powerful interest groups, are heavily favored by most Americans -- even though, as a Wall Street Journal headline noted, "Many Don't Realize It's the Clinton Plan They Like."

In spite of the barrage from special interests, the American people have said what they want -- and they have said how they want to pay for it. And they've been very consistent in their views.

A recent Washington Post/ABC poll showed that 77 percent favor universal coverage, 72 percent favor an employer mandate, and 75 percent favor government cost controls. Even more, 80 percent, support a tobacco tax.

With that kind of support, these ideas and proposals are not going to disappear and be forgotten by the public.

Another thing worth remembering about this process is that the President never expected his plan to be the final version adopted by Congress. He has always stated very clearly that his bottom line was universal coverage but he knew his plan would be rewritten. In fact, two House committees and one Senate committee wrote their own bills, which were similar to the President's. This was all part of the legislative process the President envisioned.

So where are we today, nearly 20 months after the process began?

We are on the path to restoring the economy and fulfilling the President's broader agenda. And ultimately history will show that this was a time of great ferment and energy when a courageous President didn't dodge a difficult issue, but instead launched a process to solve the health care problem once and for all.

We have made extraordinary progress in the fight for the health security of the American people and the fight goes on. The Congressional Leadership has made certain that health care will be first on the agenda when they return to Washington. As was proven with passage of the Crime Bill, special interests do not always succeed in undermining the interest of the American people. And we must continue to make sure that the voices of reason are heard over the shouts of fear and confusion. That's why we will not walk away from the fight to provide security for the American people.

Thank you.

###

Hopes Fade for State-by-State Health Care Reform

Legislation: Statehouses aren't picking up the pieces of Clinton's failed initiative as expected. Instead, efforts are being slowed, and repealed in some cases.

By EDWIN CHEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—When President Clinton's health care reform initiative collapsed last year, many experts saw a silver lining: State governments, they predicted, would enact major reforms of their own to address the twin problems of runaway costs and rising numbers of people without insurance.

Instead, the opposite is happening.

From Florida to Massachusetts, Minnesota to Washington, states are sharply slowing or halting their reform efforts, with some even repealing the measures they had adopted.

Amid such reversals, the afflictions of the nation's \$1-trillion-a-year health care system have only worsened—and once again are exerting pressure on Congress to act. And despite the traumatic collapse last year of Clinton's top-to-bottom reform initiative, there are signs of movement on Capitol Hill. A few tenuous, narrow proposals are being advanced by Republican lawmakers, and Clinton weighed in last week with his own package of limited reforms.

A record 41 million Americans, predominantly women and children, are currently uninsured. The trend was exacerbated by the sixth consecutive annual decline in the percentage of Americans with employer-based coverage. At the same time, medical costs continue to rise at more than double the rate of inflation.

"The two big problems that put this issue on the agenda in the first place—the uninsured and rising health care costs—are still here," said Drew Altman, president of the Kaiser Family Foundation, a health philanthropy in California.

Moreover, if the economy begins to slow dramatically, as many believe is happening, those problems could accelerate.

As it is, the grim scenario already has dashed the hopes of politicians who thought barely six months ago that a combination of state initiatives and private-sector cost-containment measures would take the pressure off Washington to find cures.

Now there is a growing realization among the Republican majority that Congress must devise reforms that transcend the current GOP plan to make steep cuts in the rate of growth in Medicare and Medicaid.

"There are a number of things wrong in the private sector that need to be fixed," conceded Sen. Robert F. Bennett (R-Utah), a former business executive who heads the Senate GOP task force on health care.

For all the rush by Washington to return power to the states, he said, it is Congress

that must come up with federal solutions to health care problems.

A central reason for the demise of statehouse-inspired health care reforms is skepticism about government's ability to dictate sweeping reforms in what is one-seventh of the economy—an enduring lesson of Clinton's failed initiative.

Richard Merritt, director of George Washington University's intergovernmental health policy project, said the GOP sweep in November's elections tilted many statehouses to the right. "What happened at the national level also happened at the state level—and then some. Legislatures now in session are much more conservative, much more market-oriented and much more anti-government."

A second reason is the growing reluctance on the part of these fiscally conservative lawmakers to expand coverage at a time of growing budgetary pressures. "What we're seeing is the implementation of the popular will," said Uwe E. Reinhardt, a Princeton University professor of political economy.

Also feeding into the mix is emerging data that some reforms have fallen short of expectations, most notably the projected savings from channeling Medicaid patients into managed-care networks.

In Florida, Democratic Gov. Lawton Chiles' Health Security Act is said to be "dead on arrival" now that the GOP has taken control of the state Senate. Contributing to its demise are studies indicating that pushing Medicaid recipients into managed care will not produce the estimated \$3.2 billion in savings needed over five years to subsidize coverage for low-income workers, according to State Health Notes, a monthly newsletter edited by Merritt.

"We expected a 15% reduction in costs. We had a 6% increase," state Sen. John McKay, a Republican, told the publication. "So the basis of the governor's plan is moot."

In Massachusetts, lawmakers for the third time since 1988 have delayed—this time until January—the start-up of an employer mandate that requires businesses to pay a portion of employees' insurance premiums.

In Minnesota, lawmakers recently repealed key elements of the landmark 1993 MinnesotaCare law, including a requirement on all individuals to have insurance as well as state subsidies to the needy to help them buy such insurance.

In Oregon, lawmakers have taken an employer mandate off the table.

The most notable setback occurred last month in Washington state, where veto-proof majorities in both houses of the Legislature repealed the Health Services Act, which had been approved in 1993 amid much hoopla and expectation of national reforms. It bore striking similarities to the plan Clinton proposed, complete with a standard benefits package, government authority to set insurance prices, consumer purchasing cooperatives and a requirement for employers to pay at least 50% of the cost of workers' health coverage.

A major factor in the demise of health care reform in Washington state is the 1974

federal Employee Retirement Income Security Act, or ERISA, which looms as an all-but-insurmountable barrier to most state initiatives. The law bars states from regulating health plans set up by the growing number of self-insured companies, thus seriously hampering the ability of states to mandate reforms.

Even though state initiatives assumed new importance last fall after the death of Clinton's agenda, Congress adjourned without granting Washington or any other state an ERISA waiver, thus all but guaranteeing further deterioration of the system.

Analysts therefore are not surprised by emerging evidence of what they believe is a reawakening public desire for health care reform. As a Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll found last week, for all the current emphasis on federal deficit reduction, Americans ranked health care reform as the most important of six legislative priorities. The poll said 45% wanted health care reform, up from 29% just five months ago, while 38% cited a balanced federal budget as the next most important priority.

The explanation for such surprisingly strong public support for health care reform appears to lie in an array of recent data.

Medical inflation is forcing more employers to cut health care benefits to workers and dependents, often by channeling them into less expensive managed-care plans or health maintenance organizations. By 1994,

a record 51.1 million Americans were members of such networks, a 13% increase from 1993, the Group Health Assn. of America, an industry organization, reported last week.

In the worst-case scenario, employers simply stop providing coverage altogether—first to dependents and then to the employees themselves. And in 1994, an additional 1.1 million Americans younger than 65 became uninsured, primarily after losing employer-provided coverage, according to Deborah Chollet, associate director of the Alpha Center, a health care think tank in Washington.

The squeeze on working families was also documented recently by Foster Higgins, an employee benefits consulting firm. In a national survey of employers, it said the average per-employee health care cost fell 1.1% in 1994—due mainly to cost-cutting measures such as shifting workers into managed-care networks and trimming retiree health benefits.

"We understand there's urgency and that it will take big change," Rep. Nancy L. Johnson (R-Conn.) said in a recent interview.

But rather than try to overhaul the system in one fell swoop, as was Clinton's approach, the GOP is designing legislation for specific problems, such as ending insurance industry biases against the aged, the ill and small-group purchasers.

Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Bakersfield), chairman of the House Ways and Means health subcommittee, has introduced a bill to allow workers moving from one job to another to maintain their group coverage. Johnson has offered legislation to make insurance policies designed to cover people between jobs, known as COBRA, more affordable.

Separately, as a part of the budget process, Republicans want to save \$256 billion to \$282 billion by cutting the rate of growth of Medicare over seven years, from about 10% to 7%.

They also want to cut the rate of growth for Medicaid, the health program for the indigent, from 10% to 4% or less—and turn the program over to the states.

But many experts warn that the proportionately deeper cuts in the rate of growth for Medicaid, a \$158-million-a-year federal-state program, will lead financially pressed states to impose new restrictions, thus eliminating coverage for more people.

The fate of the GOP reform efforts are far from clear, given the strong opposition from a phalanx of interest groups, most notably the elderly. What is clear, though, is that the problems will worsen unless Congress acts.

"The bottom line is, we really haven't addressed any of the factors that led to the health care debate in the first place," said William S. Custer, the former research director at the Employee Benefit Research Institute.

Going Under the Knife

Major Overhaul of the Health Care System Could Be a Byproduct of Budget-Cutting

By ADAM CLYMER

WASHINGTON, June 25 — With none of the drama and deliberation that accompanied President Clinton's failed effort, Congress is almost accidentally embarking on major change in the health care system.

News Analysis Last year the primary goal was to insure the 37 million Americans who had no coverage. This time the point is to save the Government \$450 billion in projected spending over seven years. "We don't have any money," Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the majority leader, explained to a meeting of nursing home operators a few days ago.

On the face of it, the changes and cuts will affect only Medicare, the program that pays doctor and hospital bills for the elderly, and Medicaid, which covers the poor, especially children and the aged.

But because those two programs account for almost a third of all spending on health care, the effects of the cuts are sure to ripple across the entire medical system.

The optimists expect a sharp decline in unnecessary treatments, the closing of scores of inefficient hospitals, change in government programs to allow them to catch up with the managed-care revolution and the abandoning of the traditional fee-for-service system of paying for whatever the doctor orders. Senator Dole tried to reassure the nursing home officials that "we're not going to turn our backs on people that need help."

Pessimists foresee sharp increases in the cost of private insurance and in the number of uninsured, threats to the best and most-needed hospitals and an end to the mythic tradition that no seriously sick or

Clinton's plan sought, the transformation may still be greater than anything the nation has experienced since it confronted racial desegregation. "I'm not sure we'll ever know in advance" how the changes will work, said Diane Rowland, vice president of the Kaiser Family Foundation, an authoritative health care research group.

The concerns do not come just from Democrats, or from affected interests like the hospitals and the elderly. Representative Nancy L. Johnson, a Republican from Connecticut who voted for the budget cuts and who will help put them into effect as a member of the Ways and Means Committee, said, "The reductions we are doing are the right direction, but I'm very concerned about the complexities of change." She said she feared that cutting spending too fast might wreck the system before it could be reformed.

Gail Wilensky, a senior fellow at Project HOPE who ran the Medicare and Medicaid programs under President George Bush, said: "People should be concerned. These are very big changes." While Ms. Wilensky is generally supportive of the effort, one issue she wants examined is the proposal to hand Medicaid

over to the states with a block-grant program. "Do we think that states will do right by their vulnerable populations?" she asked. "Should we have some performance evaluations?"

The core uncertainty about ripple effects is just how much real excess capacity there is in the health care system. Simply put, if extra hospitals and doctors exist now, cuts in Federal spending and more managed care will put most of them out of business.

If there is no such excess, or if other forces like community pressures preserve hospitals from market forces, someone else will have to pay the bills, through a phenomenon long known in health care as cost-shifting. Businesses and consumers are already footing some of the costs for Medicaid, Medicare and uninsured patients.

Another possibility is that services will be cut. Mr. Davidson of the hospital association said hospitals have already cut a vast amount of fat, adding, "We're about at the cost-shift dead end." He insisted the cuts will eliminate benefits, not inefficiencies.

Ms. Wilensky of Project HOPE sharply disagreed. "If we didn't have so much slack in the system right now," she said, "I would be more worried than I am."

The Senate's leading voice for national health insurance for a quarter century, Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, said he anticipates cost-shifting that would sharply raise insurance rates and cause smaller businesses to drop coverage, leading the number of uninsured to skyrocket. (They already total 41 million, an increase of about 10 percent since Mr. Clinton first promised "Health Care That Is Always There.")

Mrs. Johnson sees a different re-

sult. "I think providers are genuinely going to get paid, gradually, a little less. Physicians will earn a little less."

The risk of a new round of major cost-shifting scares big business more than small business.

Dr. Henry Simmons, who heads the National Leadership Coalition on Health Care, a collection of 93 corporations, unions and consumer groups, accused Congress of ignoring estimates by the Congressional Budget Office that "as a rule of thumb, 25 to 30 percent of government cuts would be shifted to the private sector." He called it a "hid-

den tax," thus in effect accusing Republicans of the mortal sin of planning to raise taxes.

Bill Gradison, head of the Health Insurance Association of America, a major player last year, said his organization does not yet have a plan. But he warned that no one yet knows how much managed care would save, and that any cuts beyond those savings would lead either to "cost shifting or reductions in quality or reductions in services."

The interrelations between Medicare and Medicaid are not widely understood in Congress, and barely thought of at all by the public. Medicare has a constituency; Medicaid is often scoffed at as a program for the poor. It covers a quarter of the nation's children, but they do not vote. Yet the elderly poor receive major assistance from Medicaid, and many of them are poor only because they have grown old and spent their savings on medicines and nursing home care not covered by Medicare.

The one committee on Capitol Hill with jurisdiction over both Medicare and Medicaid, and thus an obvious place to weigh the combination of cuts, is the Senate Finance Committee. But its chairman, Bob Packwood of Oregon, declined through an aide to be interviewed. The aide said Mr. Packwood was preoccupied with telecommunications legislation and welfare.

The potential ripples that Congress might ponder do not stop with capacity and cost-shifting.

On all sides, there is fear for four particular groups of hospitals that are now especially dependent on government payments: rural hospitals with many elderly patients, children's hospitals, urban hospitals mostly serving the poor and teaching hospitals specializing in difficult cases. A patchwork of not very logical subsidies — Medicare helps out the teaching hospitals, for example — keeps the system afloat, but those subsidies are much more inviting targets than raising the costs to individual beneficiaries.

Ms. Rowland of the Kaiser Family Foundation said she feared that managed care would never produce the savings Republicans anticipated, and the cuts would eliminate the cushion that lets emergency rooms treat people with no money. That would put an end to an argument that the Republicans made so powerfully last year: that the uninsured can always get care.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JUNE 26, 1995

Continued on Page B10, Column 1.

Continued From Page A1

injured American goes untreated.

But even a good number of the optimists worry that this process is under way without the serious examination that probed the details, implications and political vulnerabilities of President Clinton's plan — and allowed opponents to exploit those vulnerabilities. One critic, Dick Davidson, president of the American Hospital Association, complained: "The pressure that has been created to balance the budget gets in the way of rational policy making."

The numbers, amounting to about half the cuts that Republicans say are needed to reach a balanced budget, are more or less set, as a result of work by the House and Senate Budget Committees. But the details of how to save money will be left to other committees.

Even when the changes are spelled out by early fall, their impact will be uncertain. They will involve guesswork about highly personal decisions, and about how 50 state governments will react, especially about changes in Medicaid. Though the scope of change will be less than Mr.