

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 4/19

TO: *Will Itoh*

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

*share with
appropriate or interested
NSC staff*

MEMORANDUM

TO: *John Podesta*
FROM: Nancy Hernreich
RE: PRESIDENTIAL MAIL
DATE: *5-18-93*

The President has reviewed the attached and has forwarded it to you for:

_____ ACTION - Please draft reply for the President's signature.

_____ ACTION - Please follow up (an initial letter has been sent indicating that it was sent to you for follow up).

☒ Follow up - As indicated

To send to appropriate staff

_____ FYI - Information copy

5-6-93 DOV RONEN

Thanks for your handwritten note. He offers two points of clarification and one concrete suggestion.

1. Self-rule is quest to be free from being ruled by perceived "other." Freedom achieved by gaining freedom from that "other."

2. End of Cold War has unleashed pent up aspirations for self-rule and reinvigorated new ones. Lists groups not to be ruled by their perceived "others."

Suggestion: Appoint a commission or study groups to examine (a) whether these propositions can be substantiated, (b) what might optional institutionalization of self-rule entail, and (c) useful for U.S. to formulate and adopt principle of self rule as basis of future world order and guiding norm of her foreign policy.

TO Secretary

*John
1
5-18-93
1
11-11-93*

Wkr
VIP
Harvard
The
Center
for
International
Affairs

Harvard
University

1/37 Cambridge Street Cambridge, MA 02138
Phone (617) 495-4420
FAX: (617) 495-8202

Direct phone/fax: 617-232-7415

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

May 6, 1993

Fax: 202-456-2461

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you very much for your letter from May 3. I especially appreciate your hand written note, that you have passed on to the USC staff some of the points I made in my letter from April 21.

I take the liberty to bother you only once more with two points of clarification and a concrete suggestion.

1. The aspiration for self-rule is a quest to be free from being ruled by a perceived "other." Thus freedom is achieved by gaining freedom from that "other."

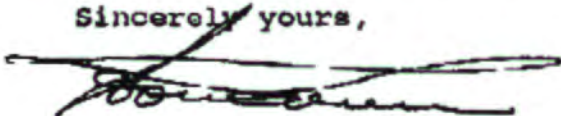
2. The end of the Cold War has unleashed long pent up aspirations for self-rule and has reinvigorated old ones. Among groups of people aspiring to self-rule, i.e., not to be ruled by their perceived "others," are: Bosnian Serbs, Armenians, Kurds, Palestinians, Tamils, Catholics in Northern Ireland, as well as Black South Africans, Afrikaners, and Zulus.

3. My concrete suggestion is to appoint a commission or study group to examine in detail a) whether or not these propositions can be substantiated both theoretically and historically, b) what might the optional institutionalization of self-rule entail in different parts of the world, and c) whether it would be useful for the United States to formulate and adopt the principle of self rule as a basis of the future world order and as a guiding norm of her foreign policy.

I might add that some of my ideas originate in Carroll Quigley's THE EVOLUTION OF CIVILIZATIONS, Macmillan Company, 1961.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Sincerely yours,


DOV RONEN (Ph.D.)



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/19/93

TO: BOB RUBIN

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

FYI.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

05/19

John

FYI

Nancy rec'd this fax today.
The President talked to him today
on the Hill.

Nancy sent a copy to Paster,
she kept a copy to show the
President, she wanted you to
see. Do you want anyone else
to get copy?

S

93 MAY 19 P8

Rubin

The Honorable William H. Orton
U.S. House of Representatives
1122 Longworth HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-7751

FAX COVER SHEET

TO: President Bill Clinton

FROM: Congressman Bill Orton

DATE: May 19, 1993

TIME: 7:55 p.m. EST

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES TO INCLUDE COVER:

4

ADDITIONAL MESSAGES:



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

WILLIAM H. ORTON
THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
UTAH

May 19, 1993

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

It was an honor to see and visit with you at the Democratic Caucus this morning. After the meeting, you asked me to send you some specific details on my recommendations for lowering taxes on the middle class.

Before election to the House of Representatives in 1990, I spent eleven years with the Internal Revenue Service and ten years as a tax attorney. I will not burden you with all of the complex background, legal analysis, or specific provisions of my proposals unless you request more detail. Below is a basic encapsulation of the concept which I would be happy to expand and explain to you or staff at your convenience.

REDUCE FICA TAX BURDEN:

As you are aware, over the past decade the tax burden that increased most significantly is the FICA tax. Most lower and middle income Americans pay a higher social security tax than income tax. Since this tax is only imposed on "earned income" beginning with the first dollar and capped currently at \$57,600, it is also the most regressive tax imposed by the federal government.

I favor Senator Moynihan's proposal to reduce the FICA tax rate across the board and only raise the amount of tax necessary to pay for the current benefits to recipients. The \$70 Billion annual surplus generated from the FICA tax does not insure the future safety of the trust fund, but rather masks the true size of the current deficit and cruelly imposes an additional burden on lower income working Americans to pay a disproportionate share of our nation's taxes. However, I am a pragmatist and I understand why that is probably not possible in today's political environment since the bottom line result would be to increase the already intolerable annual deficit.

It is possible, however, to reduce the FICA tax burden on lower and middle income Americans and continue to raise the same tax revenue. There is no justifiable policy basis for requiring only "working" Americans to carry the entire economic burden of our Social Security System.

I recommend that all income, both earned and unearned income, be subject to the FICA tax, and that the income cap be removed. As a result, the FICA tax rate could be reduced and continue to generate the same FICA revenue. Although CBO has not yet scored this proposal, our initial projections indicate that the tax rate (currently at 6.2% on employees and 6.2% matching tax on employers) could be reduced down to approximately 4.5% on each. This would result in a tax cut of \$500 to \$600 annually for a worker earning \$30,000, and a similar \$500 to \$600 per employee tax cut for business. Such a tax cut would be more than double the tax increase you have proposed in the BTU tax.

The obvious opponents of such a proposal reside on Wall Street. It will be argued that imposing another tax on investment and savings is the opposite direction from which we should be moving. I tend to agree, but spreading the FICA burden across the entire American public and not just workers has tremendous appeal and would have insignificant economic impact on savings. Also, there are numerous changes in our tax and banking laws which could encourage savings, investment, capital growth, and credit markets which would more than offset any potential impact from realigning the FICA tax burden.

ELIMINATE THE BTU ENERGY TAX:

I will not recite here all of the reasons to eliminate the energy tax, but would be happy to respond if you would like a comprehensive list. The most compelling reason is the promise not to raise taxes on the middle class.

The energy tax raises slightly over \$70 Billion in five years. The tax losses from the Investment Tax Credit, Earned Income Tax Credit, Food Stamp increase, and increase in Low-income Energy Assistance Program equal the amount of new revenue raised by the BTU tax. If the BTU tax were eliminated, the offsetting increases in programs to help lower income persons pay for the tax (EITC, LEAP, and Food Stamps) would be unnecessary. The net loss in revenue without the BTU tax would then be approximately \$40 - \$50 Billion over 5 years, and could be offset with other cuts. I have specific recommendations which Congressmen Penny, Stenholm, McCurdy, myself and others have developed. However, if our cuts are not acceptable, spread ratably over the jurisdiction of the various committees, each committee would only have to find less than \$500 Million annually to reach this level of cuts. Politically, this would be much easier than the energy tax, which is an ugly puppy very difficult to sell.

As another option, the increase in Earned Income Tax Credit, which is extremely important to you, could be deferred and included as part of comprehensive Welfare Reform. This would be a perfect fit since the EITC is designed to help low-income working people avoid the welfare trap. In addition, the EITC has numerous problems (such as eligibility of non-resident aliens) which should be amended, and would reduce the total cost of the program.

I want you and your program for America to succeed. I believe that the majority of the public will support the majority of your program. However, I believe that we can disarm our opponents by taking affirmative action on key "pocketbook" issues which we can win and are consistent with your economic plan. If you or staff would like me to expand on any of these topics, my office telephone is [D.C. 225-7751; Utah (801)379-2500] and my home telephone is [D.C. 547-7665; Utah (801)226-7866].

Sincerely,



William H. Orton,
Member of Congress

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/19

TO: *Wancy*

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

*These were attached
to another Maria
Arias memo. Do you
want them back.
I think no response necessary
Tom*

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H. HUGH MCCONNELL
OSCAR R. RIVERA
STEVEN M. SIEGFRIED
DANIEL DAVIS, P.E.
FORENSIC CONSULTANT

FILE NO.

REPLY TO:

MEMORANDUM

TO: PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

FROM: MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS

DATE: May 7, 1993

RE: LETTER ADDRESSED TO DAVID WILHELM

The attached letter was "faxed" to my office. As you can see, the request is addressed to David Wilhelm. I thought you should be aware of this.

P.S. There has been a lot of support for Simon Ferro. I hope the results are positive. He is a good man.

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NAPLES, FLORIDA (813) 591-0133

FILE NO.

REPLY TO:

MEMORANDUM

TO: PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

FROM: MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS

DATE: May 7, 1993

RE: MIAMI HERALD ARTICLES

I thought you would like to see what is printed in the Miami Herald.

I miss you all!!!!

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/19

TO: *Terry McCarthy*

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

*can you look into
this. Thanks*

Totten

MEMORANDUM

93 MAY 18 P5:38

TO:

John Podesta

FROM:

Nancy Hernreich

RE:

PRESIDENTIAL MAIL

DATE:

5-18-93

The President has reviewed the attached and has forwarded it to you for:

_____ ACTION - Please draft reply for the President's signature.

_____ ACTION - Please follow up (an initial letter has been sent indicating that it was sent to you for follow up).

☒ Follow up - As indicated

to forward to appropriate person!

_____ FYI - Information copy

5-7-93

MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS

Nancy S

Writes re. Rosa Pena - woman who has been trying for two years to bring her daughter and her daughter's husband and children from Cuba.

Rosa is an American citizen.

Attaches letters, clippings, articles re. situation.

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NAPLES, FLORIDA (813) 591-0133

FILE NO.

REPLY TO:

MEMORANDUM

TO: PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

FROM: MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS

DATE: May 7, 1993

RE: ROSA PENA

This woman has been trying for two (2) years to bring her daughter and her daughter's husband and children from Cuba. This is the only family she has left. Mrs. Pena's two other children died. Rosa Pena is an American citizen and is alone in this country. Supposedly, her family should have been here by now. According to Ms. Pena, only an interview is needed.

The attached letter was delivered to me at one of my radio shows. In addition, Mrs. Pena called me at work.... was crying hysterically ...

Applicant/Petitioner A # A24 665 453		Application/Petition I1300 IMMIGRANT PETITION FOR RELATIVE
Receipt # EAC-91-198-51631		Applicant/Petitioner PENA, ROSA
Effective Date August 21, 1991	Page 1 of 1	Beneficiary ALVAREZ-PENA, MARIA

ROSA PENA
1735 WEST 41 ST #5
HIALEAH FL 33012

Approval Notice
Approved on August 21, 1991
Class Granted: P41
Priority Date: May 6, 1991
Consulate: HAVANA

Notice also sent to:
None

The above petition is approved. We have forwarded it to the consulate listed above. This completes our action on this petition. If you have any questions about visa issuance, please contact the consulate directly.

The back of this form contains additional information entitled "Approval of a Petition". Please read it carefully.

ACTION OFFICE
NO RECORD
FORWARDED TO

You will be notified separately about any other applications or petitions you filed. Save this notice. Please enclose a copy of it when you write to us about this case, or if you file another application based on this decision. Our address is:

IMMIGRATION & NATURALIZATION SERVICE Tel: (802) 527-3160
EASTERN SERVICE CENTER
75 LOWER WELDEN STREET
SAINT ALBANS VT 05479-0001

MAY 07 1993 10:00

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FILE NO.
REPLY TO:

MEMORANDUM

TO: PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

FROM: MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS

DATE: May 7, 1993

RE: THANK YOU LETTERS

Thank you notes from my nephews.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/19

TO: Bernie Nussbaum

FROM: **JOHN D. PODESTA**
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

Bernie —

can you let
Marin Arias know that
you'll have someone
at the Counsel's office or
DOS review the attached
John

MEMORANDUM 93 MAY 18 PM 3:38

TO: *John Podesta*
FROM: Nancy Hernreich
RE: PRESIDENTIAL MAIL
DATE: 5-18-93

The President has reviewed the attached and has forwarded it to you for:

_____ ACTION - Please draft reply for the President's signature.

_____ ACTION - Please follow up (an initial letter has been sent indicating that it was sent to you for follow up).

☒ Follow up - As indicated

_____ FYI - Information copy

Please forward to appropriate office

5-7-93 MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS

Writes re. Paul Luskin - a convicted man who she thinks is innocent. Attached documentation re. his case.

Her father knows this man and truly believes he is innocent.

only forwarded to review if it is a federal case

LAW OFFICES
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BOCA RATON, FLORIDA (407) 395-0200

HENRY PAUL JOHNSON
NAPLES, FLORIDA (813) 591-0133

FILE NO.
REPLY TO:

MEMORANDUM

TO: PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
FROM: MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS
DATE: May 7, 1993
RE: PAUL LUSKIN



I was approached with the problem concerning Paul Luskin. Although I know you have heard it before that the defendant is innocent, this may be worth looking at once more. Perhaps this case did fall through the cracks.

My father knows this man. He truly believes this man is innocent.



SUSAN AND PAUL LUSKIN



1710 NORTH 50TH AVENUE
HOLLYWOOD, FLORIDA 33021
305-962-8919

February 5, 1993
4AM

Dear Mrs. Rodham,

Thank you very much for agreeing to review the enclosed material.

The Justice Department statistics show that each year, about 3% of the people convicted of crimes in this country are innocent. Once convicted, however, there is no longer the presumption of innocence, and the convicted person no longer has any credibility. In spite of that, there has been a growing consensus that Paul is indeed innocent, and that he should either be released or at least granted a new trial so that the newly discovered evidence can be presented to a jury.

Families of prisoners face very difficult times - emotionally, financially, socially and personally. For my family, these past five years have been a nightmare. It is painful enough when the person that you love is incarcerated. But when that person is truly innocent, the pain is almost unbearable.



There are literally thousands of documents related to Paul's Case. I know that your time is precious, so I have compiled those which appear to summarize his plight the best. For example, I have the 400 page confession of one man who admits that he and the government witnesses made up the whole story to lessen their chances of conviction in the State of Maryland. If you feel that more information is warranted, it is available.

I am praying that President and Mrs. Clinton will agree to review Paul's case. I truly believe that he has fallen through the cracks of the system. My husband has not committed any crime, and I would very much like for him to come home.

When serious trouble comes, you find out who your true friends and supporters are. I am proud to know that respected community leaders such as Dr. Belle and your father have believed in Paul; Dr. Prias enough to actually have asked for your help.

I appreciate this very much, Mrs. Rodham.

Sincerely,
Susan Luskin

FLOWERS FOR MRS. LUSKIN

But was the florist going to ring twice?

*An investigation proving that an innocent man was imprisoned
in the true-life mystery of*

THE BULLET THAT DIDN'T SHATTER THE MIRROR

Book Proposal

By ARTHUR JAY HARRIS

Copyright, 1992, Arthur Jay Harris

PAUL LUSKIN
2680 HIGHWAY 301 SOUTH
26018037 D2
JESUP, GEORGIA 31545

November 6, 1992

Rabbi Moshe Horn, J.D.
Aleph Institute
9401 Collins Avenue
Suite 314
Surfside, Florida 33154

Dear Rabbi Horn:

I enjoyed meeting with you Tuesday at FCI Jesup and look forward to seeing you again. I hope the following information concerning the issues in my case is of some help. As far as what can be done, while the issues below are on appeal, I can only leave to your discretion. I would, of course, appreciate a letter to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals although I do not know if they would be responsive. I do believe that the outrageous conduct of the Justice Department and the subsequent miscarriage of justice should warrant political concern and involvement. I am, of course, not aware which political connections you may have contact with but I am certain that my case will be resolved only with political resources. This is my opinion, at any rate.

In February 1988 I was convicted of a crime that not only was I not guilty of, but that the actual perpetrator claims did not occur. A Federal prosecutor, Bernstein, turned a simple house robbery into an alleged murder for hire plot, based on the proffer and sole testimony of a 17-time convicted felon, James Manley, who was looking for relief from his firearms and drug charges. Apparently Bernstein knew from other sources that there was no federal crime committed and Manley was lying, but attempted a conviction for his own personal professional gain. (U.S. v Luskin, 87-0478-JFM)

At the trial, the only witness was James Manley, the felon in Bernstein's possession, and it was his sole testimony that provided a conviction. Manley claimed that the total sum of his knowledge came from Manley's partner Milton Cohen, since Manley was not present at the time of the offense in March 1987.

Cohen became my co-defendant, remained silent during the proceedings and refused to participate in the defense of Luskin or offer any information as to the basis of the charges. Other than Manley, there was no other evidence of the alleged crime and Manley claims all of his knowledge comes from Cohen.

Finally in April 1992, after three years of silence, Cohen finally spoke to investigating attorneys and provided sworn

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/19

TO: KATIE MCGINTY

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

Did you see this.

John

accidents, chemical exposure, respiratory disease and hearing loss among the state's farm families. The article points out that farms are among the nation's most dangerous work places. One of the researchers says the three-phase, detailed checkup of agriculture offers a chance to make the industry safer. The study is funded by \$1.6 million from NIOSH.

CANADA'S OAT EXPORTS MAY RISE (KRF-5/14) -- Canadian grain analysts believe their oat exports to the US could rise sharply in the coming marketing year if US planting delays cause production shortfalls. They think US oat imports needs could be significantly higher than what USDA projected in the last supply/demand report because it did not consider planting delays.

GATT DEVELOPMENTS (Reuter-5/14) -- Japan's Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives plans to host a worldwide farmers' summit before the G7 meeting in July. They hope to exchange views among farmers' groups, all of whom oppose the Uruguay Round. Reuter says many farmers in industrial countries say the GATT negotiations favor agri-business over family farmers. The Japanese union opposes the proposal to replace import barriers with tariffs.

(Dailies-5/15 7 17, Reuter-5/14) -- Japan's offer to cut or eliminate tariffs on about 770 products helped move the GATT talks into high gear. The articles do not mention agriculture.

(Reuter-5/15) -- Trade ministers from the EC, US, Japan and Canada said they hoped to reach a deal on market access issues soon. Such an agreement would add impetus to wrapping up the GATT talks. The article notes France's more moderate position on the talks, and agreement by other top trade officials that it is most important to look at the GATT package as a whole, rather than looking at it sector by sector.

(AP-5/15) -- The article notes claims of progress on market access issues, but says there is little evidence of it. AP notes France's continuing rejection of the US-EC farm-trade accord, but the EC's trade minister said the EC would speak with a single voice at the Tokyo G7 meeting.

(AFP-5/14) -- Japan desires to organize a conference of top trade ministers (US, Canada, Japan and EC) before the G7 meeting to make progress in market access issues for a number of areas. They believe success would then likely advance the agricultural dossier.

(Reuter-5/14) -- France is trying to regain control over the way the GATT talks are conducted. An adviser to France's prime minister said Paris wants to avoid having to say yes or no to an overall GATT agreement negotiated by technocrats.

(Reuter-5/14) -- Radical French farmers accused more moderate farmers and their government of betrayal for their position on the GATT farm issues. They do not want to see agriculture isolated and claim the US-EC oilseed agreement is unacceptable, as is the overall farm-trade agreement.

PRESERVATION OF THE EVERGLADES (AP-5/15) -- The article explores environmental problems being faced in the Everglades and Florida Bay. Environmentalists say the demands of sugar cane and vegetable growers for fresh water, and phosphorus runoff from their fields, are damaging the ecosystem. Some want government subsidies to end and farmers driven out to ease restoration of the Everglades. Others point to urbanization as a cause of the problems.

MUSHROOMS: ANOTHER FOREST PRODUCT (AP-5/14) -- Harvesting of wild mushrooms is growing rapidly. The Forest Service, which historically has required permits for collecting the fungi, is studying managing the resource and is experimenting with selling the rights to the mushrooms to the highest bidder.

(AP-5/14) -- The article outlines increasing problems (robberies, gunfire and a murder) associated with harvesting mushrooms in the West, including those on national forests.

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mass distribution press. Inclusion of an item in Ag a.m. does not imply USDA agreement; nor does USDA attest to the accuracy or completeness of the item. News Division will not read, mail or fax source material to any user.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 4/19

TO: JACK GIBBONS
FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

for follow up
as appropriate

FAXFORM#: 93 - 03081

DATE: March 23, 1993

93 MAY 17 P6: 37

TO: Correspondence Analysis Office

COMPANY: The White House

FAX #: (202) 456 - 2461

Pages including this one: **A 7**

FROM:

Dr. Bogdan Maglich, President and Chief Scientist
Research Consortium S.A.F.E., System for Aneutronic Fusion Energy
680 University Tower, 4199 Campus Drive, Irvine, CA 92715
Fax #: 714-854-3065
Phone #: 714-854-6919

MESSAGE:

This is the follow-up of my telephone call of this afternoon (4:30 PM EST).

Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Nobel Laureate and one of the nation's greatest scientific figures, had sent on February 17, 1993, a one-page letters (enclosed) and a six-page *White Paper* (first two pages enclosed) to the President.

Dr. Seaborg was surprised the President did not mention it to him three days later (at Westinghouse Science Talent Award event). Dr. Seaborg has not received any response to this date. We just learned that OSTP's Director had seen the *White Paper* only three days ago, when it was shown to him by Astronaut Buzz Aldrin. We conclude the President never received this communication of vital national interest.

Please advise.

Thank you.

B. Maglich

*John Podesta
not
pres. career
may be inq.*

S.A.F.E. University-Industry Research Consortium

Advanced Physics Corporation — Industry Lead Member

Consortium Members - USA

Advanced Physics Corp.
Industrial Lead Member

Univ. of California at Irvine
Academic Lead Member

Advanced Reactor Group
Prof. L. L. Lidsky
Dept. of Nuclear Engineering
Mass. Inst. of Technology

Guilford Transportation Inds., Inc.
Merrimack, N.H.

General Electric Corp. R&D Center
Schenectady, N.Y.

Maxwell Laboratories, Inc.
San Diego, CA

Consortium Members - Russia

Institute for Technical Physics
Chelyabinsk-70, Lead Member

Russian Academy of Science
Ural Division, Yekaterinburg

Institute of Electrophysics
Ekaterinburg

High Current Electronics Institute
Tomsk

Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute
Moscow

Budker Nuclear Physics Institute
Novosibirsk

Institute for Theoretical and
Experimental Physics
Moscow

Directors

Glenn T. Seaborg, Nobel Laureate
Chairman

Bogdan C. Maglich
President and Chief Scientist

Murray Gell-Mann, Nobel Laureate

Buzz Aldrin, Apollo 11 Astronaut

Harry Hamlin
Actor & Environmentalist

Ken Boxley, Publisher,
Philanthropist, Los Angeles

Marilyn Chandler Stuart, Urban
Planning Executive, Los Angeles

Edgar Appleby, Lawyer, New York

David Bird, Economist, Boston

Alec Trembley, Banker, Phoenix

Harb Alzuhr, Industrialist
Saudi Arabia

Scientific Board

Prof. Keith Brueckner
UC San Diego, (ret.)

Dr. Albert Ghiorso
Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, (ret.)

Acad. Gennady A. Mesyets
VP Russian Academy of Science,
Moscow

Prof. N. Rostoker, UC Irvine

Prof. Liu Chen, UC Irvine

Prof. Martin Deutsch, MIT, (ret.)

Prof. Russell Kulsrud, Princeton U.

Prof. Bruno Coppi, MIT

Honorable
Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

February 17, 1993

Dear Mr. President:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing with this letter, for your personal attention, the *White Paper on New Fusion Energy Option: Nonradioactive Fuel Fusion*.

Since 1982, I have actively followed, encouraged and supported — as much as my time and other obligations allowed — this pioneering work of a small group of scientists carried out independently on the East and West Coasts of the US. The progress made within the past years makes it "an idea whose time has come." Although not without risk, a successful completion of the final (5th) stage of this research (which can be decided only with laboratory tests, not by computations) could have a major impact on the national economy, the environment, oil independence and non-proliferation efforts. Most (91%) of this research was privately funded. It is felt that this final stage of research ought to be funded by the government.

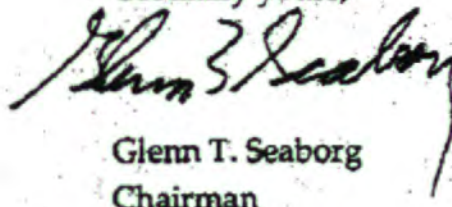
In early April, scientific and environmental spokesmen for this project will testify before George Brown's House Committee on Science, Space and Technology and Tom Beville's Subcommittee on Energy and Water Appropriations.

I commend this enthusiastic and deserving group of forward-thinking Americans and hope you can receive them during this period.

Thank you very much.

With best wishes for a successful first term,

Cordially yours,


Glenn T. Seaborg
Chairman

BCM:rc

Enclosures

680 University Tower • 4199 Campus Drive • Irvine, California 92715
Telephone: 714-854-6919 • Fax #: 714-854-3065

S.A.F.E. University-Industry Research Consortium

Advanced Physics Corporation — Industry Lead Member

Consortium Members - USA

Advanced Physics Corp.
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Academic Lead Member

Advanced Reactor Group
Prof. L. L. Lidsky
Dept. of Nuclear Engineering
Mass. Inst. of Technology

February 17, 1993

TO: The President of the United States of America
The Congress of the United States of America

Directors

Glenn T. Seaborg, Nobel Laureate
Chairman

Bogdan C. Maglich
President and Chief Scientist

Murray Gell-Mann, Nobel Laureate

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Moscow

Prof. N. Rostoker, UC Irvine

Prof. Liu Chen, UC Irvine

Prof. Martin Deutsch, MIT, (ret.)

Prof. Russell Kulsrud, Princeton U.

Prof. Bruno Coppi, MIT

WHITE PAPER

ON

NEW FUSION ENERGY OPTION: NONRADIOACTIVE-FUEL FUSION

In the five-year period, 1988-1992, scientific foundations have emerged for a new nuclear fusion energy technology whose successful completion will have a major impact on the national and world economy. It would also have a major impact on the reduction of global warming. Unlike conventional fusion, it is based on **nonradioactive fuel**, helium-3, and on a **compact, modular power plant**; and — because it does not produce significant neutron radiation — it **cannot breed or proliferate nuclear weapons**. The nonradioactive-fuel fusion technology would be cost effective as either an electric power plant or as a mobile power plant, and is environmentally safe. Helium-3 fuel is both terrestrially available, and can be manufactured from sea water.

Six major Russian nuclear centers, including the weapons laboratory Chelyabinsk-70, have formally joined this Consortium whose sole purpose is R&D on nonradioactive fuel fusion reactor.

"We may be at the brink of a new era of energy technology — compact, safe, economical, and producing virtually nothing but the electricity we need," wrote Glenn T. Seaborg, Nobel Laureate pioneer of peaceful nuclear technology and Ambassador Paul H. Nitze, arms control adviser to every President from Harry Truman to Ronald Reagan (*New York Times*, 11/23/91). The helium-3 fusion fuel cycle "would change the entire [energy] picture," according to an ad-hoc panel of experts chaired by Dr. John Foster, Chairman of

680 University Tower • 4199 Campus Drive • Irvine, California 92715
Telephone: 714-854-6919 • Fax #: 714-854-3065

1st of 6 pages

the DOD's Defense Science Board (1978). An analysis in MIT's *Technology Review* stated: "A growing community of physicists believe it may be possible to develop a type of nuclear power that does not require radioactive fuel and does not produce radioactive waste. Unlike today's fission plants or the fusion plants generally promoted by government-sponsored research, a nuclear power plant of this sort could not be converted to an atomic bomb factory" (12/82). A scientific panel assembled by Ambassador Paul H. Nitze, concluded that the time scale from scientific to engineering demo would be so short, that the scientific proof of nonradioactive fusion could be nearly tantamount to its engineering proof (1982). The US Air Force Studies Board found that after the scientific demonstration has been reached, "no insurmountable technical issues" would prevent development of a helium-3 fusion power plant (1987).

Because the devices are small, they could be tested on a time scale of 3 years and, if successful, become commercially available 5-10 years thereafter, depending on the plant size. The entire program would cost \$100 million/5 years.

Is "exclusively peaceful" nuclear energy possible?

The United States has made no effort thus far to develop an exclusively peaceful nuclear energy technology. For reasons more historical and institutional than scientific and technical, our nation has been developing as nuclear energy sources chiefly those concepts and technologies which have first served military purposes or were derived

Extended Page
from them. The present US Department of Energy fusion research programs are based on the fuels and concepts of the hydrogen bomb — a fact reflected in the popular slogan "Tame the H-bomb." Both fission reactors and the planned fusion reactors could be used to breed plutonium and tritium for nuclear weapons.

The USA-Russian Industry-University Research Consortium S.A.F.E. System for Aneutronic Fusion Energy proposes to show that the time has come for a concerted research and development effort toward second-generation fusion energy that has been conceived with purely peaceful purposes, people's needs and market demands in minds.

The helium-3 fueled fusion processes —

- burn nonradioactive fuel — helium-3, rather than radioactive tritium;
- emit negligible neutron radiation — 1% or less of that produced by fission and other fusion reactors — thus called aneutronic;
- cannot breed or proliferate nuclear weapons;
- produce minimal heat pollution (waste heat) — at most, 50% of that produced by any other fuel-powered energy generator. This is because the helium-3 reaction releases energy in the form of electrically charged atomic nuclei rather than neutron radiation which opens the way for electric power generation by direct conversion of nuclear energy into electricity.

The difficulty that long faced nonradioactive-fuel fusion was that the helium-3 reactor requires 10 times the temperature needed for conventional fusion (1 billion as opposed to 100 million degrees centigrade). A solution to this problem came, unexpectedly, from another field, High Energy Particle Physics. It was shown that the ultra-high temperatures needed to ignite helium-3 based-fuel can be reached relatively easily without heating, by firing atomic nuclei head-on against each other as is done in particle colliders.

*I am new document was not in TO, 12824562461-
We are sending it because of its new revelations for President's attention.*

SM

ENVIRONMENTAL WARNING
on
International Thermonuclear
Experimental Reactor "ITER"

**TRITIUM FUELED FUSION REACTORS:
BENIGN ENERGY SOURCES FOR THE FUTURE
OR
INSTRUMENTS OF NUCLEAR ECOCIDE?**

Boyden MacLeash and David Sereda
The Tesla Foundation* - Dedicated to Innovation

This compilation of 40 technical papers and reports was prepared for the benefit of the environmental organizations. It is being sent to selected members of the national energy and environmental community for comments. The compilation and the comments so received will then be submitted to an impartial scientific panel. Those rebuttals that the panel finds substantive will be included in the final version of this paper.

SYNOPSIS

For the past 40 years, the US fusion energy R&D program has concentrated its efforts on those fuels believed to be the easiest to ignite in a reactor --- a mixture of deuterium and radioactive tritium.

Deuterium and tritium are the most well understood nuclear fuels because they are the same ingredients used in nuclear weapons; therefore the controlled fusion research program was known originally as the "tame the H-bomb" program. To date, \$15 billion (1992 dollars) have been spent on this form of fusion R&D.

Since the 1950's, U.S. fusion policy has been guided by the decision to narrow the choice only to the tritium based reactor approach.

The sole recipient of DOE fusion funds (\$300-500 million / year) has been the design known as Tokamak - a

* Suite 2106, 2222 Avenue of the Stars, Century City, CA 90067

Soviet invention of the late 1950's. All other fusion approaches have been excluded.

Scientific demonstration of energy break-even in a tokamak device (when energy output becomes equal to energy input), originally scheduled for 1980-82, has now been postponed to the year 2015. It would be performed in a new, larger (100 ft x 100 ft x 100 ft) model of tokamak, named ITER (International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor). The original cost estimate for ITER of \$6 billion has since escalated to \$10-15 billion; it would be borne by an international consortium consisting of the USA, Russia, Western Europe and Japan. In the National Energy Strategy, the engineering demonstration of electric energy production is projected for the year 2025.

The DOE has been presenting the tritium based fusion program in general, and the Tokamak reactor in particular, to both the public and Congress as a safe, benign, clean, non-toxic, environmentally attractive and renewable energy source. This is open to debate.

Tokamak operation would require simultaneous use of four fuels: tritium, deuterium, lithium and beryllium. Tritium is a radioactive isotope of hydrogen with a half life of 12 years; in contact with the environment it forms **tritiated water** which is not distinguishable from ordinary water and thus **enters the life cycle**. A tritium inventory of about 100 kilograms must be present at the tokamak reactor site. This represents 10 times the on site storage of radioactivity for an average fission (uranium) reactor installation. Tritium does not exist in nature. It is manufactured in nuclear reactors (for nuclear weapons) and it would also be bred in the tokamak reactor. Deuterium is a non-toxic, non-radioactive, natural isotope of hydrogen, obtainable from sea water. Lithium, the lightest metal, is **highly flammable and toxic, affecting the nervous system and the kidneys**. Beryllium is a **highly toxic metal**, causing the "**beryllium dust poisoning**" or "**berylliosis**" when beryllium content in air exceeds one-millionth part of a gram per cubic meter.

Most (80%) of the fusion energy from tokamak, or any tritium-based fusion) is in the form of **neutron radiation** (compared to the 1/2% in a fission reactor). Neutron radiation is the stumbling block in the engineering development of a fusion reactor based on tritium. Neutrons, essential for nuclear weapons, are atomic-age villains in commercial applications of nuclear energy. They are the principal producers of radioactivity. Moreover, the neutrons give tokamak the potential of being the single most efficient **breeder of nuclear materials**, plutonium and tritium, for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction, and thus open the way for **nuclear weapon proliferation**. Neutrons can penetrate up to 15 feet of steel and cause structural damage in the toughest of materials. This requires that present reactors be enclosed by thick, concrete shielding, many times the weight of the reactor itself. Thus, because of neutrons, the planned

fusion plants are large and uneconomical and therefore unsuitable for decentralized use.

The Soviet proponent of tokamak, Dr. Evgeny Velikhov, originally proposed to his government (1975) construction of the world's largest tokamak "T-20" with the purpose to "make the USSR an OPEC of plutonium." Brezhnev canceled the project, but it was renewed with Gorbachev's ascendance to power, supported with military funds. Velikhov is now

Chairman of ITER.

Neutron radiation during tokamak operation will produce more radioactive waste than present fission reactors, although its duration will be shorter (hundreds as opposed to millions of years). To reduce radioactivity, the DOE proposes to use new, radioactivity-resistant alloys for the reactor walls. Such materials have not yet been developed; if feasible, they would further enhance the proliferation potential, and of course, the expense of tokamak.

For each megawatt of electric power generated, tokamak would generate 2.3 megawatts of heat pollution. Since unit size would be of the order of 2,500 Megawatts (electric), the reactor would be venting about 6000 Megawatts of waste heat into the environment. Such heat pollution would alone preclude Tokamak power plants in most industrialized states of the USA.

There has been no serious analysis of the economics of electric power production by tokamak reactors. For example, the DOE's estimate assumes zero cost of tritium while today's cost is \$100 billion/ton. The cost of new, radioactivity-resistant alloys is assumed to be equal to that of steel, while it is more likely to increase the cost of the reactor 2.5 times, which makes the electricity cost at least 10 times that of fission-produced electricity. Because of its engineering complexity and large size, the tokamak reactor will be highly prone to many small accidents, which requires greater maintenance overhead. A German study concluded that tokamak's electric power production would be marginally economic only if it is used to breed and sell plutonium. Based on "energy payback time," tokamak reactor capital cost would be ten times that of a fission power plant of the same power. The cost of decommissioning a tokamak plant, while very substantial has never been considered.

The electric power industry rejects tokamak and generally, the tritium-based fusion power reactor, as "unacceptable for public use." The utilities have encouraged, since 1978, alternate, nonradioactive (non-tritium based) fuels reactors. Such reactors have 100 times lower neutron radiation and are also called "aneutronic." These are mostly helium-3 based fuels. As the DOE had rejected all proposals in the direction of nonradioactive helium-3 and other aneutronic fuels, Electric Power Research Institute, the research arm of the utility companies, phased out their fusion division in 1983.

A 12 PAGE REPORT FOLLOWS



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/19

TO: *Melanne Jerveer*

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary



Fyi





CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING
1992 ANNUAL REPORT



Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/19/93

TO: MACK MCLARTY
MARK GEARAN
BOB RUBIN

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

93 MAY 19 P4:52

May 19, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALAN S. BLINDER *AB*
SUBJECT: State Unemployment Rates in March, Labor
Department Release, Tuesday, May 18

Yesterday the Labor Department released State and metropolitan area employment and unemployment data for March. The attached map shows ranges of unemployment rates by State. (Also attached is a listing of unemployment rates by State--ranked from lowest to highest.)

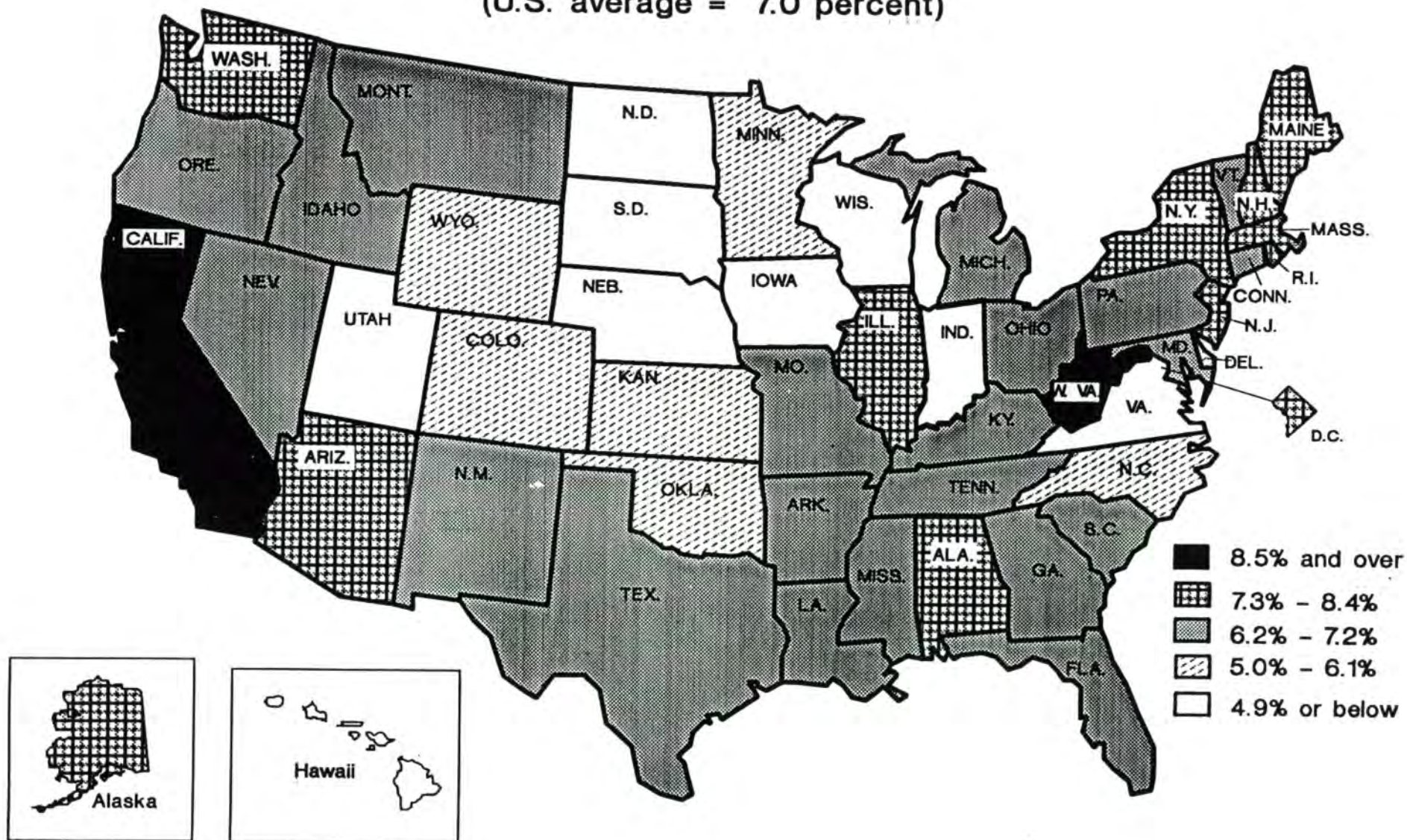
- o The highest unemployment rates were in California, West Virginia, and the Northeast.
- o The lowest unemployment rates were found primarily in the Midwest, but Virginia and North Carolina also showed relatively low rates.

Monthly estimates of State unemployment rates can be volatile because of small sample sizes. The second chart shows changes in unemployment rates by State over the past 12 months--ranked from largest decline (Michigan) to largest increase (New Jersey). Despite the national recovery, unemployment rates are actually higher than they were a year ago in 17 States and the District of Columbia.

Attachments

Unemployment rates by state, seasonally adjusted, March 1993

(U.S. average = 7.0 percent)



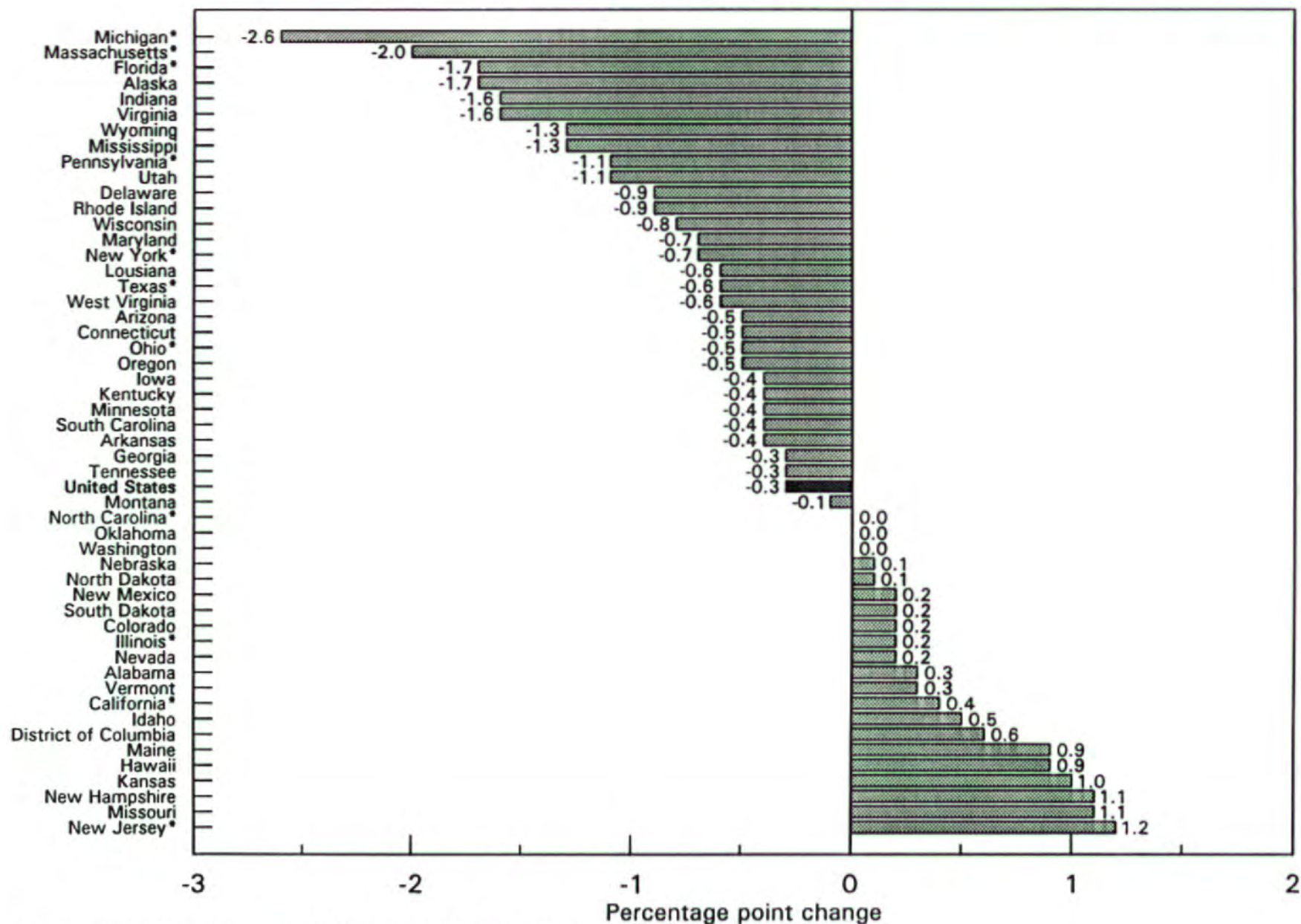
Unemployment Rates by State, Seasonally Adjusted

March 1993

Nebraska	3.0	Pennsylvania	*	6.6
South Dakota	3.4	Michigan	*	6.7
Utah	3.6	Missouri		6.7
Wisconsin	4.2	Texas	*	6.7
Iowa	4.4	Mississippi		6.9
Indiana	4.7	Nevada		6.9
Hawaii	4.8	Vermont		6.9
North Dakota	4.8	Connecticut		7.0
Virginia	4.8	Idaho		7.0
Kansas	5.0	New Mexico		7.0
Delaware	5.1	New York	*	7.0
Minnesota	5.1	Oregon		7.1
Wyoming	5.2	Louisiana		7.2
North Carolina	*	Arizona		7.3
Colorado	5.8	Alaska		7.5
Oklahoma	6.0	Washington		7.5
Maryland	6.2	Alabama		7.8
South Carolina	6.2	Illinois	*	8.1
Tennessee	6.2	Rhode Island		8.1
Arkansas	6.3	Maine		8.2
Kentucky	6.4	District of Columbia		8.4
Massachusetts	*	New Hampshire		8.4
Montana	6.5	California	*	8.6
Ohio	*	New Jersey	*	9.1
Florida	*	West Virginia		11.2
Georgia	6.6			
		United States		7.0

For the 11 largest states (indicated by *), unemployment rates are for April 1993.

Change in Unemployment Rate by State: March 1992 - March 1993



Note: For 11 largest states (*), change is from April 1992 to April 1993.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

John Dwyer

can you take care
of this.

Thanks

John Podesta



MEYER, SUOZZI, ENGLISH & KLEIN, P.C.

COUNSELORS AT LAW

1505 KELLUM PLACE

MINEOLA, NEW YORK 11501

516-741-6565

212-227-5511

FACSIMILE: 516-741-6706

BERNARD S. MEYER
JOSEPH A. SUOZZI
JOHN F. ENGLISH (1960-1987)
BASIL A. PATERSON
JEFFREY G. STARK
JOHN V. N. KLEIN
HAROLD ICKES
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PATRICIA GALTERI
DONNALYNN DARLING
ARTHUR O. PITTS

*MEMBER NJ BAR ONLY
REGISTERED LOBBYIST IN NY STATE

6 May 1993

Honorable John Podesta
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Re: World Taekwondo Championships
(Madison Square Garden, August 1993)

Dear John:

I am reliably (I hope) informed that you handle these kinds of matters. If my information is incorrect, please direct me to the right person.

Enclosed is a copy of Bill Schechter's self-explanatory 28 April letter to me requesting a short message from the President and his photograph to be included in the official program for the World Taekwondo Championships to be held at Madison Square Garden this August.

Contestants and spectators from 125 countries and across the United States are expected.

According to Bill's letter, at one time the President practiced taekwondo.

For your information, enclosed is a message from President Bush for the 1992 Championships and a brochure about the 1993 event.

I have known Bill Schechter for many years and vouch for his integrity and professionalism.

If this is doable, please communicate directly with William Schechter, 340 East 57th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10022 (212-751-4532).

Honorable John Podesta
6 May 1993
Page 2

If you need to contact me, call 516-741-6565.

Sincerely,

(Handwritten signature)

Harold Ickes

HI:je
encls.
cc: William Schechter (w/o encls.)
c:\wh\podesta.56

WILLIAM SCHECHTER

I N C O R P O R A T E D

April 28, 1993

Harold Ickes, Esq.
16 West 77th Street
Apartment 8E
New York, NY 10024

Dear Harold:

Thank you for yours of March 22 and its gracious implications.

I wonder if you can be helpful, or at least advise me on which way to turn. I'm providing marketing services for the World Taekwondo Championships, which will fill Madison Square Garden over three days this coming August and which will be aired by ABC-TV nationwide. Contestants, officials and fans will come from about 125 countries and every corner of the U.S. for the event.

Accordingly, I'm helping assemble the official program, which will bear messages from Mayor Dinkins, Governor Cuomo and Senators Moynihan and D'Amato.

A lead-off message from President Clinton would be most welcome and, as you'll see in the enclosed brochure, especially appropriate since he practiced taekwondo during his Governorship. (I also enclose a copy of President Bush's greetings for the sport's U.S. Open championships last year.)

Whom should I contact, and are there any "secret passwords" to help effect this message? We'll also need a picture, of course.

It was good to see you at the RFK retrospective at Columbia last month, and I hope all is going well in your practice.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely,

Encl.
cc: John Kim



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



I am delighted to send warm greetings to all those gathered in Colorado Springs for the 1st U.S. Open Taekwondo Championships.

My special greetings to all of the foreign athletes, coaches and officials who have travelled so far to take part in this challenging competition.

This martial art form is more than a demonstration of grace and physical strength. Its students not only become more physically and mentally fit but also grow in integrity, respect, self-discipline, and self-motivation. I commend these outstanding athletes and students of Taekwondo, as well as the many sponsors and organizers who have helped make this important event possible.

Barbara joins me in sending best wishes for a most enjoyable championship. Good Luck to all of you.

George Bush



THE WORLD TAEKWONDO FEDERATION

635 YUKSAMDONG, KANGNAMKU
SEOUL, KOREA (135)
CABLE ADDRESS: WORLD TAEKWONDO

TELEPHONE: 82.2.566-2505
82.2.557-5446
TELEX: K28870 WTFED
FACSIMILE: 82.2.553-4728

January 8, 1992

M E S S A G E

Distinguished guests, officials and contestants, ladies and gentlemen!

On behalf of the World Taekwondo Federation, I extend my warm welcome and congratulations to you on the occasion of the 1st U.S. Open Taekwondo Championships.

It is a well known fact that Taekwondo as a sport has gained worldwide popularity specially through its exposure as a demonstration sport in the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games. Due to this popularity it will be once again staged as a demonstration sport in the Barcelona Olympic Games to be held this year.

I take this opportunity to invite all Taekwondo enthusiasts to unite together to maintain within our sport the ideals and practices that, in accordance with the ideals of the Olympic Movement, are the basis of greatness for Taekwondo as a future Olympic sport.

Finally, I appreciate all the efforts made by the Organizing Committee in preparation of the Championships and extend my best wishes to the participating contestants for their success in the competitions.



Sincerely,

Un Yong KIM
President

Recognized by the International Olympic Committee
Affiliated with the General Association of International Sports Federations.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1993

Dear Mr. Speaker:

The goal of H.R. 820, the National Competitiveness Act of 1993, is to ensure that the United States is the foremost advanced manufacturing nation in the world. This is a goal and a commitment I share. H.R. 820's vision of a new public-private partnership to build our nation's technology base, create jobs, and improve America's competitiveness is also my vision. I am proud to be your partner in making this vision a reality.

At the heart of my economic plan is the fundamental premise that the private sector is the engine of economic growth and that through innovative partnerships with private industry the federal government can jumpstart that powerful engine and get it running smoothly again. Increased cooperation between industry and government, particularly in the area of civilian technology development, is essential to that effort.

To compete effectively in a global economy our nation must invest in our technology base and in programs that forge strong links between the private sector and the government to strengthen that technology base. H.R. 820 will create those links, help us to build our technology base, and create jobs and opportunities for all Americans. It will thus implement key elements of my economic plan and my campaign to invest in America's future.

H.R. 820 is a wise investment in our nation's future. I urge the House to pass this legislation without further amendments.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Bill Clinton".

The Honorable Thomas S. Foley
Speaker
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

**ISES**

International Sports & Entertainment Strategies

TIMOTHY G. SMITH
Managing Director

May 14, 1993

Via Fax/MailMr. John Podesta
Assistant to the President
Staff Secretary
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Podesta:

Thank you very much for your assistance in obtaining the Presidential message for the American Festival Japan '94 on such short notice.

I know it was a small matter compared to your other priorities, but to the Festival Organizers, I can assure you it was very significant. The Announcement News Conference went very well as a result of your help.

Thanks again and I look forward to seeing you sometime in the near future.

Sincerely,

Timothy G. Smith
Managing DirectorTGS:pw
1084b.204cc: Mr. Paul Richards
Ms. Marie Kirk
John Reilly, Esq.
Mr. Peter Kyros, Jr.

PS: Paul Richards and Marie Kirk could not have been more helpful or impressive. You are much better organized than we were!

Marie
good work
maybe we'll all
get invited
to Japan!
John

Chen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/18

NOTE FOR: *Carol Rosen*

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you for your:

Information ☒
Action ☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc: *Trey Schroeder*

*Wkt sent
to Carol Rosen*



C. Pasco -
I don't think
David's letter
needs reply
from PC -
MS



May 8, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Dear Bill,

I just got back from Fayetteville. My trip was my first on my new job. It is very exciting to see these Physicians faces when they see a real way to solve their medical records documentation problems as well as cut their costs of doing their paperwork. I think this particular product is one of those, "being at the right place at the right time." I'm going to give it all I have.

Anyway on my trip I met a Doctor Dorman from Springdale, Arkansas. He was very interested in you and your knowledge of Yugoslavia. He asked if you had read, "Black Lamb and Grey Falcon".

I said that I thought you probably had read it. He went out and bought it for you that night and gave it to me to send to you. Dr. Dorman said please don't send troops into that country until you have read this book and understand the difficulty of fighting in that place.

Dr. Dorman was an interesting man. I asked him a lot of questions. One of them was about what did his clinic do about Preventive Medicine. He brought me a handout that he gave his patients. I thought these items might help a little bit.

Well, I have been following you constantly. You have been doing very well at keeping your kool and not overreacting. I am very proud of you. Take your time on this Bosnia thing. It seems as though the Serbs don't want any of our stuff. I hope not anyway.

Be sure and keep communicating with the public. They care about people and the death that is going on over there. They just don't understand how bad it is, and they are worried about themselves.

One of the commentators made a good point the other day on the news. He said it is our business when lawlessness is going on around the world. He said that basic law of wrong and right should be honored all over the world and that when it is recklessly ignored that it is everyone's job to make sure it is corrected. Left unchecked and it will spread.

You must get the citizens to understand this...

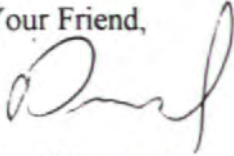
Well, I have not heard from Carolyn about her job interview. I know it went well. She will get the job and be up there where she belongs. She will do a great job and make a real difference. You two need to see each other now and then.

Handwritten note:
To President Bill Clinton
Ch. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

The kids are doing great and are about to experience a great thing. This trip to Greece is going to be a blast for them. Dad and his sister are also going. I will be able to see where Dad was born and meet some long lost family members. If you want me to give the Greek Prime Minister anything just let me know. I hope we may stop by to see you on the day we leave for Greece. I think it is going to be June 12th.

Well, I am praying for you everyday and I **know** you will succeed. Call if you need **anything. You are a GREAT AMERICAN..... Tell Hillary and Chelsea hello.**

Your Friend,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'David', with a stylized flourish at the end.

David Leopoulos

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

DORMAN CLINIC
PREVENTIVE HEALTH
DORMAN CLINIC

Chion

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/18

NOTE FOR:

George S

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information

☐

Action

☒

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

MARCIA HALL

**The MacNeil/Lehrer
NEWSHOUR**

CHARLAYNE HUNTER-GAULT
NATIONAL CORRESPONDENT

GS
advise
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-17-93

May 12, 1993

Dear Mr. President,

I hope you will
do the interview for my
new half-hour program,
"Rights & Wrongs..." The
one I've been relentlessly
bugging George about.
Please, please, please?

Warmest,

Charlayne
(Hunter-Gault)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 16, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR HOWARD G. PASTER
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
R. PAUL RICHARD,

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL CITATIONS

Per your request, we have researched the issue of Presidential Citations. Citations, commendations and certificates of appreciation are issued by the President on his own initiative. In nearly all instances, Presidential Citations recognize and honor groups or individuals of national significance rather than local groups, however worthy. Past recipients have included the Harlem Globetrotters, the Navajo Code Talkers, and most recently, the coach and members of the University of Arkansas Track Team for an unprecedented 18 national championships. While there are no hard and fast guidelines, citations are rarely awarded, and then only under circumstances that warrant national attention.

However, in situations such as that submitted by Congressman Bilbray, the Office of Presidential Letter and Messages can prepare a message to be read or printed in the program for an event. Messages are normally not prepared for fundraising events, purely local events, events that occur more than once a year, or partisan political events.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/17/93

NOTE FOR:

THE VICE PRESIDENT
SECRETARY HENRY CISNEROS
SECRETARY RON BROWN
SECRETARY MIKE ESPY
BOB RUBIN
CAROL RASCO
BILL GALSTON

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☒ X

Action ☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

MARKET X

BY PAUL PRYDE

does not facilitate the wholesale restructuring of the former defense industries. Tax and other incentives should be offered to workers and managers to encourage them to create and enter new companies, rather than remain in the current bureaucratically encrusted settings.

*** Focus on consortia of defense suppliers.** Instead of expecting giant firms to create new industries such as the manufacture of rail cars, it makes more sense to encourage smaller, more nimble suppliers to band together. Many of these firms are already "dual use" suppliers who have learned over the years to sell in both commercial and military settings.

*** Focus on the creation of industrial growth, particularly in new industries.** Incentives should be made available to firms that can absorb defense workers (like electronics or medical equipment) if they demonstrate they can perform this task successfully. No conversion funds should be used, directly or indirectly, for companies who then squander public resources on stock buy backs or dividends.

These prescriptions make infinitely good sense — economically, socially and, in the long run, politically. Public efforts to aid "conversion" to the post-Cold War economy — whether underwritten by the new Administration in Washington, or by the state — should be devised to meet the real needs of communities and people.

Joel Kotkin and David Friedman are the authors of *The Los Angeles Riots: Causes Myths and Solutions*, published by the Progressive Policy Institute.

In the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots, almost everybody acknowledges the importance of creating new jobs, business opportunities and wealth for the residents of America's cities.

The question is how to do it. The answer is a word we African-Americans have been hesitant even to consider: markets.

The irony here is that the black struggle for equality has been shaped by two important (though rarely explicit) market-based principles.

The first is that all Americans are entitled to fair treatment in the marketplace. In labor, housing or product markets, blacks should be accorded the same treatment as their white counterparts. Black dollars should be able to buy the same housing as white dollars. Black Ivy League graduates should be treated just like white Ivy League graduates in the competition for jobs. Black consumers should be treated just like white consumers in restaurants, hotels and theaters.

The second principle is that it is the responsibility of government to ensure that markets function fairly. Thus, government is obligated to outlaw racial covenants in housing markets, require employers to hire on a non-discriminatory basis and penalize businesses that refuse to serve black customers.

That the two principles have worked well for the black middle class is beyond dispute. Discrimination still exists, of course, but its effect has been greatly moderated. Well-educated,

African-American married couples, for example, have almost reached parity with their white counterparts, thanks primarily to the enshrinement of these twin (still imperfectly observed) notions.

So why hasn't the market worked for the black poor? Maybe it's because the black middle class — which, after all, sets the policy agenda for black America — doesn't believe the market can work for poor people. Indeed, despite rhetoric acknowledging that the problems of the poor

can only be solved through the creation of private jobs and wealth, we continue to act on the assumption that markets are the cause of poverty, and that compassionate government is the cure.

Our agenda has proceeded from the belief, not always articulated, that the way to handle the unemployment, disinvestment and poverty caused by market malfunctions (including racial discrimination) is to replace the market rather than to repair—or create—it.

Can we make the market work for the discouraged, isolated and frequently embittered "underclass"? The answer is an unqualified "yes," though it will require us to rethink some of the approaches that have achieved the status of received wisdom.

Here are ten heretical proposals, which would do more for the black poor than the holy writ they would replace.

1: Spend wisely, not simply more, to combat poverty. In spite of

Can we make the market work for the discouraged, isolated and frequently embittered "underclass"?

huge increases in social spending over the last 30 years, the problems of the inner-city have grown more intractable. The problem, according to an increasing amount of evidence, is government itself.

As David Osborne and Ted Gaebler make clear in *Reinventing Government*, the large, bureaucratic organizations that we have made responsible for solving the country's social problems only do static tasks well. They perform poorly dynamic tasks—jobs that are complex, change rapidly or involve custom-tailored solutions.

Certainly, some public programs need more money, but money spent on the problems of the inner-city will be money wasted unless government learns to spend it better.

2. Recognize the limitations of affirmative action. Eliminating racial discrimination, wherever it exists, is an important and worthwhile goal. However, affirmative action is not a particularly useful strategy for the battle against black poverty and unemployment.

At one time, African-Americans were routinely denied employment on the basis of race alone. Blacks with advanced degrees from Ivy League colleges were consigned to menial jobs. Today, however, most jobless inner-city residents are unemployed not because of overt racial bias, but because of policies and forces that eliminate jobs that are available.

For example, in 1950, 60 percent of the good-paying jobs in America required little or no skills beyond the willingness to work hard and show up on time. In today's knowledge economy these jobs are gone. Efforts to end racial discrimination in employment are powerless against such trends.

3. Give people who live in the inner-city the job of rebuilding it. Renovating buildings in inner-city

communities could provide badly needed work for black workers and construction firms.

However, the Davis-Bacon Act, and other laws requiring that workers on federally financed construction jobs be paid the "prevailing wage," will prevent them from getting it. There are two reasons. The first is that prevailing wage laws make projects most likely to be built by black workers and firms infeasible. The second is that prevailing wage laws also prevent non-union black contractors from competing successfully with large, union contractors.

Davis-Bacon was enacted in 1931 to prevent southern blacks from competing with northern white construction workers. If it doesn't make sense to get rid of it, it should at least be waived for work in high unemployment areas.

4. Make welfare recipients producers, not just consumers. One of the major flaws of the American welfare system is that it encourages consumption and discourages production. It rewards spending and penalizes thrift.

Indeed, the welfare recipient who manages, through sacrifice and frugality, to put a few dollars aside, for, say, her daughter's college education, may find that she has broken the law. The savings can represent an illegal "asset" which, at the very least, mandates a reduction in her welfare check and which could end her welfare eligibility or even send her to jail. In short, welfare rules, intended to curb costs by preventing abuse may instead increase these costs by penalizing the very behavior needed to escape poverty.

Michael Sherraden makes just this point in *Assets and the Poor*. The absence of assets, he argues, keeps people from thinking beyond the short term and inhibits productive behavior. How might we do it differently? Self-employment is one answer.

Under several demonstration programs, welfare and unemployment

compensation recipients have successfully started "micro-businesses" in fields ranging from furniture restoration to property management. For example, a study of 150 participants in a self-employment program run by the Hawaii Entrepreneurship Training and Development Institute found that 66 percent started businesses and 52 percent were still in business after one year.

5. Use privatization to create black businesses. Because of rising costs and inefficiency, states and localities are beginning to introduce competition into the delivery of public services, entering into contracts under which private firms furnish services once provided exclusively by public agencies. This trend offers important opportunities in poor communities.

Take transportation. In Washington, D.C. and a number of other cities low ridership and high costs have made serving poor neighborhoods a money-losing proposition. One way to solve this problem would be to contract out the operation of these routes to private firms. By using smaller, less expensive busses and employing new work rules these firms could reduce costs and operate profitably the same routes that public authorities want to abandon.

Throughout the country, blacks are well-represented among public agency managers, administrators, technicians and line workers. Privatization creates the opportunity for them to build businesses that improve the quality of local services while creating jobs for inner-city residents and wealth for themselves.

6. Make school choice an engine for economic empowerment. A properly-designed public school choice program would not just improve education. As in East Harlem's District 4, it would also encourage teachers and administrators to form schools and other enterprises that would generate

economic activity in the inner-city.

It could work this way. Allow a group of entrepreneurial teachers to form a school with, say, a capacity for 80 children, 15 children per teacher. In 1989, the average per-pupil cost in big city schools was about \$5,000. The teachers are given funding equal to that amount or, \$480,000 per year.

Even if each teacher were paid \$50,000 a year, 60 percent more than the average pay of public school teachers, the school would still have over \$230,000 a year to hire inner-city residents as teachers' aides, to lease space from local property owners and to buy supplies and equipment from local vendors.

In short, choice would not only improve education, thus giving people trapped in the inner-city both economic and geographic mobility; it could also strengthen the inner-city economy by stimulating the formation and expansion of schools and other education-based businesses.

7 Steer private investment to inner-city firms. If entrepreneurs are to create service, manufacturing and retail businesses within the inner-city, they need capital.

One way of solving this problem is for the federal government to allow a deduction for investments in small businesses located in enterprise zones. Taxes on the profits should also be deferred.

These two incentives would increase the return on successful investments and reduce the loss on unsuccessful ones, thus enabling firms in enterprise zones to obtain capital. As a result, inner-cities would become more attractive places to start or expand a business.

A venture fund designed to finance young bio-technology firms is one of the reasons that Worcester, Massachusetts is attracting the bio-tech industry. Allowing investors to deduct investments in enterprise zone firms

would help inner-city areas become, like Worcester, successful "incubators" of young, job-creating firms.

8 Make inner-city lending profitable for banks. The Community Reinvestment Act requires banks to be more aggressive in meeting the needs of credit-starved communities. It is a good start, but it is not enough. Inner-city businesses still experience great difficulty securing credit for expansion and growth. The reason, of course, is that banks find making these loans too risky or costly to be profitable.

To overcome this problem, we can do two things. First, we should create an insurance program to guarantee "portfolios" of inner-city loans. Modeled on Michigan's highly successful Capital Access Program, such an effort would be less expensive and involve less paperwork than SBA's current 90 percent guarantee program and would be an incentive for banks to make a large number of loans. Second, we need to create a secondary market allowing banks to sell their inner-city loans—a Fannie Mae for community development credit. A portfolio insurance program would decrease the risk of inner-city lending; a secondary market would increase its liquidity and profitability.

9 Make it attractive for firms, wherever located, to hire and train inner-city workers. Privatization, choice, investment incentives and easier credit will increase the number of job-creating enterprises in the inner-city. However, everybody who lives in the central city cannot work there. In addition to creating inner-city jobs, we also need to make hiring inner-city residents attractive to suburban employers.

One way to do this is to create special purpose "employee leasing" firms that would hire, train, and provide support services (e.g. day care) to inner-city residents working for both subur-

ban and central city employers. By allowing employers to avoid some of the costs and risks generally associated with inner-city workers, employee leasing organizations would make hiring such workers more attractive.

Wage tax credits, transfer payments, training subsidies and other job-related entitlements could be used by employees and employers to finance the costs of employee leasing companies.

10 Make workers owners not just employees. A number of studies have shown that worker-owned companies tend to perform better than firms whose ownership is narrowly held. Certainly, broadened ownership is critical to eliminating the hostility, alienation and despair that threaten to make our inner-cities unlivable and our youth unemployable.

Thus, beyond encouraging businesses to locate and hire in the inner-city, we need to induce them to share ownership with their workers.

This can be done by allowing loans to Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOPs) sponsored by inner-city companies to be fully tax-exempt which would make these loans more attractive and increase employee ownership of inner-city firms.

The proposals described here are designed to create a spiral of prosperity in the inner-city. There is already evidence that they work separately; together they would reinforce one another and work even better. Here's what should happen.

Expanded privatization and school choice, in addition to improving services and education in the inner-city, will create new entrepreneurs and businesses. Allowing investors to write off investments in small companies should enable these new entrepreneurs to obtain the capital they need to build their firms and to create jobs.

Portfolio insurance and increased

liquidity will make banks more willing to extend credit to them. Increased interest in inner-city investment and lending should also create a need for lending and investment intermediaries.

Minority-owned and oriented banks and venture capital companies, as well as community-based development corporations, will find their services in greater demand. The availability of capital will also attract outside entrepreneurs who need money to start or expand manufacturing, service and technology companies.

More small businesses will mean more jobs. Employee leasing organizations will encourage both these firms (and their suburban counterparts) to hire and train local residents.

Increased jobs and businesses will also mean an increased need for produc-

tion, office and storage space in the inner-city. Abandoned warehouse and industrial areas will be converted into safe, secure inner-city business parks.

More space demand, in turn, will enable banks to extend credit for the acquisition and rehabilitation of inner-city property, creating even more jobs and income. It will also create a need for more mortgage companies, real estate management firms and insurance agents. With employment, economic activity and wealth on the rise, retail and personal services businesses will expand, thus creating even more jobs, more economic activity and even stronger economic institutions.

Malfunctioning or poorly organized markets impose a terrible cost on residents of the

inner-city. When people experience no return for legal effort, they cease to exert it. It may not be right, but it is certainly rational.

A successful market economy in the inner-city would restore and reinforce the link between individual effort and reward. People who work hard could get ahead. Young people could see, once again, the relationship between school and success. The culture of failure, and the crime and violence that accompany it would be replaced by this culture of achievement. All this can happen if we make markets that work so well for the rest of America work for the inner-city.

Paul Pryde is a consultant and co-author of Black Entrepreneurship in America.

COMMON GRIDLOCK

BY CURTIS GANS

Perhaps you received the same mailing: Congress "up for grabs to the highest bidders;" Congress "For Sale;" Special interests "corrupting the U.S. Congress;" Flood of special interest money "prevents Congress from solving pressing problems."

Those words and many similar ones have been brought to your mailbox courtesy of Common Cause; the self-appointed, self-anointed "citizens" lobby which is again seeking to scare the public and bludgeon Congress into passing its version of campaign finance reform. And for the fourth Congress in a row, the prospects for passage of the Common Cause program are dim and the danger to the political system, were its program to pass, dire.

Once a source of identifying a problem, Common Cause has become the problem—the principle obstacle to any constructive campaign finance reform which does not undermine the political system it seeks to improve.

At one point, about 22 years ago, Common Cause, under the leadership of John Gardner, could claim (and deserve)

some credit for putting the issue of campaign finance on the American agenda and for helping to achieve, in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, three important positive public policy innovations — systematic public disclosure of campaign contributions and expenditures, partial public

financing of Presidential primaries and full public financing of Presidential general elections, and the establishment of a Federal Election Commission.

But in the ensuing years, Common Cause has become the increasingly shrill hawker of a decreasingly defensible set of approaches to improving the political system.

There will be neither meaningful nor appropriate campaign finance reform until Common Cause is removed from the center of debate on the issue. Its analysis of the problems of the American political system is too narrow, its approaches to remedy are like-

ly to do more harm than good, its tactics are counterproductive to progress and its rhetoric helps undermine the very system it seeks to improve.

A few words about each of these:

Once a source of identifying a problem, Common Cause has become the problem—the principle obstacle to constructive campaign finance reform.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/17/93

NOTE FOR: PHIL LADER

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN



KC
To Phil Lader
Fgs - Bill

Address by President Václav Havel

at George Washington University

Washington, D.C.

The United States of America

To Bill Clinton
Václav Havel
April 22, 1993

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I remember a time when some of my friends and acquaintances used to go out of their way to avoid meeting me in the street. Though I certainly did not intend it to be so, they saw me, in a way, as a voice of their conscience. They knew that if they stopped and talked with me, they would feel compelled to apologize for not openly defying the regime too, or to explain to me why they could not do it, or to defend themselves by claiming that dissent was pointless anyway. Conversations like this were usually quite an ordeal for both sides, and thus it was better to stay away from them altogether.

Another reason for their behavior was the fear that the police were following me, and that just talking to me would cause them complications. It was easier not to go near me, thus they would avoid both an unpleasant conversation and the potential persecution that could follow. In short, I was, for those friends, an inconvenience. And inconveniences are best avoided.

For long decades, the chief nightmare of the democratic world was communism. Today — three years after it began to collapse like an avalanche — it would seem as though another nightmare has replaced it: post-communism. There were many, not just in the West, but in the East as well, who had been looking forward to the fall of communism for years, and who had hoped that its collapse would mean that history had at last come to its senses. Today, these same people are seriously worried about the consequences of that fall. Some of them may even feel a little nostalgic for a world that was, after all, slightly more transparent and understandable than the present one.

I do not share sentiments of that kind. I think we must not understand post-communism merely as something that makes life difficult for the rest of the world. I certainly did not understand communism that way. I saw it chiefly as a challenge, a challenge to thought and to action. To an even greater extent, post-communism represents just that kind of challenge.

Anyone who understands a given historical phenomenon merely as an inconvenience will ultimately see many other things the same way: the warnings of ecologists, public opinion, the vagaries of voters, public morality. It is an easy, and therefore seductive way of seeing the world and history. But it is extremely dangerous because we tend to remain aloof from things that inconvenience us and get in our way, just as some of my acquaintances avoided me during the communist era. Any position based on the feeling that the world, or history, is merely an accumulation of inconveniences inevitably leads to a turning away from reality, and ultimately, to resigning oneself to it. It leads to appeasement, even to collaboration. The consequences of such a position may even be suicidal.

What in fact do we mean by post-communism? Essentially, it is a term for the state of affairs in all the countries that have rid themselves of communism. But it is a dangerous simplification to put all these countries in one basket. While it is true that they are all faced with essentially the same task — that is, to rid themselves of the disastrous legacy of communism, to repair the damage it caused, and to create, or renew, democracy — at the same time, and for many reasons, there are great differences between them.

I will not go into all the problems encountered by post-communist countries; experts are no doubt already writing books on the subject. I will mention only some of the root causes of the phenomena that are arousing the greatest concern in the democratic West, phenomena such as nationalism, xenophobia, and the poor moral and intellectual climate which — to a greater or lesser extent — go along with the creation of the new political and economic system.

The first of these causes I see in the fact that communism was far from being simply the dictatorship of one group of people over another. It was a genuinely totalitarian system, that is, it penetrated every aspect of life and deformed everything it touched, including all the natural ways people had evolved of living together. It profoundly affected all forms of human behavior. For years, a specific structure of values and models of behavior was deliberately created in the consciousness of society. It was a perverted structure, one that went against all the natural tendencies of life, but society nevertheless internalized it, or rather was forced to internalize it.

When communist power and its ideology collapsed, this structure collapsed along with it. But people could not simply absorb and internalize a new structure immediately, one corresponding to the elementary principles of civic society and democracy. The human mind and human habits cannot be transformed overnight; to build a new system of living values and to identify with them simply takes time.

In a situation where one thing has collapsed and something new does not yet exist, many people feel empty and frustrated. This state is fertile ground for phenomena like the hunt for scapegoats, for radicalism of all kinds, and for the need to hide behind the anonymity of a group, be it socially or ethnically based. It encourages hatred of the world, self-affirmation at all costs, the feeling that everything is now permitted and the unparalleled flourishing of selfishness that goes

along with it. It gives rise to the search for a common and easily identifiable enemy, to political extremism, to the most primitive cult of consumerism, to a carpetbagging morality, stimulated by the historically unprecedented restructuring of property relations, and so on and so on. Thanks to its former democratic traditions and to its unique intellectual and spiritual climate, the Czech Republic, the westernmost of the post-communist countries, is relatively well off in this regard, compared with some of the other countries in the region. Nevertheless we too are going through the same great transformation that all the post-communist countries are, and we can therefore talk about it on the basis of inside knowledge.

Another factor that must be considered in any analysis of post-communist phenomena is the intrinsic tendency of communism to make everything the same. The greatest enemy of communism was always individuality, variety, difference — in a word, freedom. From Berlin to Vladivostok, the streets and buildings were decorated with the same red stars. Everywhere the same kind of celebratory parades were staged. Analogical state administrations were set up, along with the whole system of central direction for social and economic life. This great shroud of uniformity, stifling all national, intellectual, spiritual, social, cultural or religious variety, covered over any differences and created the monstrous illusion that we were all the same. The fall of communism destroyed this shroud of sameness, and the world was caught napping by an outburst of the many unanticipated differences concealed beneath it, each of which — after such a long time in the shadows — felt a natural need to draw attention to itself, to emphasize its uniqueness and its difference from others. This is the reason for the eruption of so many different kinds of oldfashioned patriotism, revivalist messianism, conservatism, and expressions of hatred towards all those who appeared to be betraying their roots or identifying with different ones.

The desire to renew and emphasize one's identity, one's uniqueness, is also behind the emergence of many new states. Nations that have never had

countries of their own feel an understandable need to experience independence. It is no fault of theirs that the opportunity has come up decades or even centuries after it came to other nations.

This is related to yet another matter: for a long time, communism brought history, and with it all natural development, to a halt. While the Western democracies have had decades to create a civil society, to build internationally integrated structures, and to learn the arts of peaceful international co-existence and cooperation, the countries ruled by communism could not go through this creative process. National and cultural differences were driven into the subterranean areas of social life, where they were kept on ice and thus prevented from developing freely, from taking on modern forms in the fresh air, from creating, over time, the free space of unity in variety.

At the same time many of the nations suppressed by communism had not even enjoyed freedom before its advent, and thus had not had a chance to resolve many of the basic questions of their existence as countries. Consequently thousands of unsolved problems have now suddenly burst forth into the light of day, problems left unsolved by history, problems we had wrongly supposed were long forgotten. It is truly astonishing to discover how, after decades of falsified history and ideological manipulation and massaging, nothing has been forgotten. Nations are now remembering their ancient achievements and their ancient suffering, their ancient suppressors and their allies, their ancient statehood, and their former borders, their traditional animosities and affinities — in short, they are suddenly recalling a history that, until recently, had been carefully concealed or misrepresented.

Thus in many parts of the so-called post-communist world, it is not just the regional order (sometimes referred to as the Yalta order) that is being corrected. There are also attempts to correct certain shortcomings in the Versailles order, and

even to go further back into history and exploit the greatest freedom some of them have ever had to make complete amends. It is an impossible desire, of course, but understandable nevertheless.

If we wish to understand the problems of the post-communist world, or some of them at least, then we must continually remind ourselves of something else. It is easy to deny the latent problems, ambitions, and particularities of nations. It is easy to make everything the same by force, to destroy the complex and fragile social, cultural and economic relationships and institutions built up over centuries, and to enforce a single, primitive model of central control in the spirit of a proud utopianism. It is as easy to do that as it is to smash a piece of antique, inlaid furniture with a single blow from a hammer. But it is infinitely more difficult to restore it all, or to create it directly.

The fall of the communist empire is an event on the same scale of historical importance as the fall of the Roman Empire. And it has similar consequences, both good and extremely disturbing. It means a significant change in the countenance of today's world. The change is painful and will take a long time. To build a new world on the ruins of communism might be as long and complex a task as the creation of a Christian Europe — after the great migrations — once was.

What are we to do if we do not wish to understand post-communism simply as a new inconvenience that would be better avoided by sticking our heads in the sand and minding our own business?

I think the most important thing is not just to take account of external and more or less measurable phenomena like the gross national product, the progress

of privatization, the stability of the political system and the measurable degree to which human rights are observed. All of these things are important, of course, but something more is necessary. There must be an effort to understand the deep events taking place in the womb of post-communist societies, to take note of their historical meaning and think about their global implications. It must be understood that these are not the curious woes of a distant and circumscribed part of the world, but events that concern everyone, and all of our present-day civilization. The temptation must be resisted to adopt a disparaging and slightly astonished attitude, one based on a subconscious feeling of superiority on the part of observers who are better off. Just as Czechs should not sneer at the problems of Tadzhikistan, so no one should sneer at the problems of the Czech Republic. Any point of departure, therefore, should involve deep insight and a deep sense of co-responsibility. It is only against this background of understanding that meaningful ways of assistance can be sought.

It seems to me that the challenge offered by the post-communist world is merely the current form of a broader and more profound challenge to discover a new type of self-understanding for man, and a new type of politics that should flow from that understanding. As we all know, today's planetary civilization is in serious danger. Modern man thinks of himself as the lord of creation and not just a part of it, and his vanity is rapidly destroying his hope of survival. Because he is not grounded in a humble respect for the order of Being, modern man allows himself to be driven by his particular interests. He is no longer capable of governing his behavior in a way that takes account of the general interest. We are rationally capable of describing, in vivid detail, all the dangers that threaten the world: the deepening gulf between the rich and the poor parts of the world, the population explosion, the potential for dramatic confrontations between different racial and cultural groups, the arming of whom no one seems able to stop, the nuclear threat, the plundering of natural resources, the destruction of the natural variety of species, the creation of holes in the ozone layer, and the unstoppable global warming. What is unsettling is

that the more we know about such dangers, the less able we seem to deal with them.

I see only one way out of this crisis: man must come to a new understanding of himself, his limitations, and his place in the world. He should grasp his responsibility in a new way, and reestablish a relationship with the things that transcend him. We must rehabilitate our human subjecthood, and liberate ourselves from the captivity of a purely rational perception of the world. Through this subjecthood and the individual conscience that goes with it, we must discover a new relationship to our neighbors, and to the universe and its metaphysical order, which is the source of the moral order.

We live in a world in which our destinies are tied to each other more closely than they ever have been before. It is a world with a single planetary civilization, yet it contains many cultures that, with increasing vigor and singlemindedness resist cultural unification, reject mutual understanding, and exist in what amounts to latent confrontation. It is a deeply dangerous state of affairs and it must be changed. The first step in this direction can be nothing less than a broad-based attempt by these cultures to understand each other, and to understand each other's right to existence. Only then can a kind of world-wide pluralistic metaculture, a self-preservational minimum on which everyone can agree, begin to form. It is only in the context of such a metaculture that a new sense of political responsibility — global responsibility — can come into being. And it is only with this newly born sense of responsibility that the instruments can be created that will allow humanity to confront all the dangers it has created for itself.

The new political self-understanding I am talking about clearly means a definitive departure from the understanding of the world that considers history, foreign cultures, foreign nations, and ultimately all those warning about our future, as a mere agglomeration of annoying inconveniences that disturb our tranquillity.

A quiet life on the peak of a volcano is just as illusory as the notion I talked about at the beginning: that by avoiding an encounter with a dissident in the street, we can avoid the problem of communism and the question of how to deal with it.

Ultimately, I understand post-communism as one of many challenges to contemporary man — regardless of what part of the world he lives in — to awaken to his global responsibilities, and to awaken to them before it is too late.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Friends,

This morning I had the honor of taking part in the opening of the Museum of the Holocaust.

On this occasion, as I have so often before, I asked myself how could this have happened? How could people in the twentieth century, aware of the theory of relativity, of quantum mechanics, who have penetrated to the heart of the atom and are exploring the reaches of outer space, have committed acts of horror so awful that to call them bestial would be to do an incredible disservice to all those creatures who happen not to be human. How could they have permitted it to happen?

In the context of what I have been talking about here, one aspect of a possible answer occurs to me. It was a failure of democracy, the politics of appeasement, giving way to evil: what in my country we call the spirit of Munich. The inability of Europe and the world to recognize the emerging evil in time and stop it

from growing to such monstrous proportions is merely another form of what I have called here an understanding of the world as an agglomeration of inconvenience. The issue here is the absence of a wider sense of responsibility for the world.

Czechs remember well a statement made by a democratic statesman shortly before he signed the Munich Agreement, the real beginning of all the horrors of the Second World War. He was appalled, he said then, that his country was digging trenches and trying on gas masks „because of a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing“. It is a classic example of how suicidal it is to try and avoid difficulties. This politician regarded Nazism as a problem that would go away if he stuck his head in the sand, or as it were crossed over to the other side of the street.

And so the chosen people were chosen by history to bear the brunt for all of us. The meaning of their sacrifice is to warn us against indifference to things we foolishly believe do not concern us.

In today's world, everything concerns everyone. Communism also concerned everyone. And it is also a matter of concern to everyone whether or not, and in what way, we manage to build a new zone of democracy, freedom, and prosperity on its ruins.

Every intellectual and material investment in the post-communist world that is not haphazard but based on a deep understanding of what is happening here, will repay the whole world many times over.

And not only that: it will also be one more step on the thorny journey of the human race towards a new understanding of its responsibility for its own destiny.

Thank you for your attention.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/17/93

NOTE FOR: GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Address by President Václav Havel

at George Washington University

Washington, D.C.

The United States of America

To Bill Clinton
Václav Havel
April 22, 1993

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I remember a time when some of my friends and acquaintances used to go out of their way to avoid meeting me in the street. Though I certainly did not intend it to be so, they saw me, in a way, as a voice of their conscience. They knew that if they stopped and talked with me, they would feel compelled to apologize for not openly defying the regime too, or to explain to me why they could not do it, or to defend themselves by claiming that dissent was pointless anyway. Conversations like this were usually quite an ordeal for both sides, and thus it was better to stay away from them altogether.

Another reason for their behavior was the fear that the police were following me, and that just talking to me would cause them complications. It was easier not to go near me, thus they would avoid both an unpleasant conversation and the potential persecution that could follow. In short, I was, for those friends, an inconvenience. And inconveniences are best avoided.

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I do not share sentiments of that kind. I think we must not understand post-communism merely as something that makes life difficult for the rest of the world. I certainly did not understand communism that way. I saw it chiefly as a challenge, a challenge to thought and to action. To an even greater extent, post-communism represents just that kind of challenge.

Anyone who understands a given historical phenomenon merely as an inconvenience will ultimately see many other things the same way: the warnings of ecologists, public opinion, the vagaries of voters, public morality. It is an easy, and therefore seductive way of seeing the world and history. But it is extremely dangerous because we tend to remain aloof from things that inconvenience us and get in our way, just as some of my acquaintances avoided me during the communist era. Any position based on the feeling that the world, or history, is merely an accumulation of inconveniences inevitably leads to a turning away from reality, and ultimately, to resigning oneself to it. It leads to appeasement, even to collaboration. The consequences of such a position may even be suicidal.

What in fact do we mean by post-communism? Essentially, it is a term for the state of affairs in all the countries that have rid themselves of communism. But it is a dangerous simplification to put all these countries in one basket. While it is true that they are all faced with essentially the same task — that is, to rid themselves of the disastrous legacy of communism, to repair the damage it caused, and to create, or renew, democracy — at the same time, and for many reasons, there are great differences between them.

I will not go into all the problems encountered by post-communist countries; experts are no doubt already writing books on the subject. I will mention only some of the root causes of the phenomena that are arousing the greatest concern in the democratic West, phenomena such as nationalism, xenophobia, and the poor moral and intellectual climate which — to a greater or lesser extent — go along with the creation of the new political and economic system.

The first of these causes I see in the fact that communism was far from being simply the dictatorship of one group of people over another. It was a genuinely totalitarian system, that is, it penetrated every aspect of life and deformed everything it touched, including all the natural ways people had evolved of living together. It profoundly affected all forms of human behavior. For years, a specific structure of values and models of behavior was deliberately created in the consciousness of society. It was a perverted structure, one that went against all the natural tendencies of life, but society nevertheless internalized it, or rather was forced to internalize it.

When communist power and its ideology collapsed, this structure collapsed along with it. But people could not simply absorb and internalize a new structure immediately, one corresponding to the elementary principles of civic society and democracy. The human mind and human habits cannot be transformed overnight; to build a new system of living values and to identify with them simply takes time.

In a situation where one thing has collapsed and something new does not yet exist, many people feel empty and frustrated. This state is fertile ground for phenomena like the hunt for scapegoats, for radicalism of all kinds, and for the need to hide behind the anonymity of a group, be it socially or ethnically based. It encourages hatred of the world, self-affirmation at all costs, the feeling that everything is now permitted and the unparalleled flourishing of selfishness that goes

along with it. It gives rise to the search for a common and easily identifiable enemy, to political extremism, to the most primitive cult of consumerism, to a carpetbagging morality, stimulated by the historically unprecedented restructuring of property relations, and so on and so on. Thanks to its former democratic traditions and to its unique intellectual and spiritual climate, the Czech Republic, the westernmost of the post-communist countries, is relatively well off in this regard, compared with some of the other countries in the region. Nevertheless we too are going through the same great transformation that all the post-communist countries are, and we can therefore talk about it on the basis of inside knowledge.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/17/93

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for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

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JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN



KC

To Henry Cisneros
Fyl -
Bre

Address by President Václav Havel

at George Washington University

Washington, D.C.

The United States of America

To Bill Clinton
Václav
Havel

April 22, 1993

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Ladies and Gentlemen,

I remember a time when some of my friends and acquaintances used to go out of their way to avoid meeting me in the street. Though I certainly did not intend it to be so, they saw me, in a way, as a voice of their conscience. They knew that if they stopped and talked with me, they would feel compelled to apologize for not openly defying the regime too, or to explain to me why they could not do it, or to defend themselves by claiming that dissent was pointless anyway. Conversations like this were usually quite an ordeal for both sides, and thus it was better to stay away from them altogether.

Another reason for their behavior was the fear that the police were following me, and that just talking to me would cause them complications. It was easier not to go near me, thus they would avoid both an unpleasant conversation and the potential persecution that could follow. In short, I was, for those friends, an inconvenience. And inconveniences are best avoided.

For long decades, the chief nightmare of the democratic world was communism. Today — three years after it began to collapse like an avalanche — it would seem as though another nightmare has replaced it: post-communism. There were many, not just in the West, but in the East as well, who had been looking forward to the fall of communism for years, and who had hoped that its collapse would mean that history had at last come to its senses. Today, these same people are seriously worried about the consequences of that fall. Some of them may even feel a little nostalgic for a world that was, after all, slightly more transparent and understandable than the present one.

I do not share sentiments of that kind. I think we must not understand post-communism merely as something that makes life difficult for the rest of the world. I certainly did not understand communism that way. I saw it chiefly as a challenge, a challenge to thought and to action. To an even greater extent, post-communism represents just that kind of challenge.

Anyone who understands a given historical phenomenon merely as an inconvenience will ultimately see many other things the same way: the warnings of ecologists, public opinion, the vagaries of voters, public morality. It is an easy, and therefore seductive way of seeing the world and history. But it is extremely dangerous because we tend to remain aloof from things that inconvenience us and get in our way, just as some of my acquaintances avoided me during the communist era. Any position based on the feeling that the world, or history, is merely an accumulation of inconveniences inevitably leads to a turning away from reality, and ultimately, to resigning oneself to it. It leads to appeasement, even to collaboration. The consequences of such a position may even be suicidal.

What in fact do we mean by post-communism? Essentially, it is a term for the state of affairs in all the countries that have rid themselves of communism. But it is a dangerous simplification to put all these countries in one basket. While it is true that they are all faced with essentially the same task — that is, to rid themselves of the disastrous legacy of communism, to repair the damage it caused, and to create, or renew, democracy — at the same time, and for many reasons, there are great differences between them.

I will not go into all the problems encountered by post-communist countries; experts are no doubt already writing books on the subject. I will mention only some of the root causes of the phenomena that are arousing the greatest concern in the democratic West, phenomena such as nationalism, xenophobia, and the poor moral and intellectual climate which — to a greater or lesser extent — go along with the creation of the new political and economic system.

The first of these causes I see in the fact that communism was far from being simply the dictatorship of one group of people over another. It was a genuinely totalitarian system, that is, it penetrated every aspect of life and deformed everything it touched, including all the natural ways people had evolved of living together. It profoundly affected all forms of human behavior. For years, a specific structure of values and models of behavior was deliberately created in the consciousness of society. It was a perverted structure, one that went against all the natural tendencies of life, but society nevertheless internalized it, or rather was forced to internalize it.

When communist power and its ideology collapsed, this structure collapsed along with it. But people could not simply absorb and internalize a new structure immediately, one corresponding to the elementary principles of civic society and democracy. The human mind and human habits cannot be transformed overnight; to build a new system of living values and to identify with them simply takes time.

In a situation where one thing has collapsed and something new does not yet exist, many people feel empty and frustrated. This state is fertile ground for phenomena like the hunt for scapegoats, for radicalism of all kinds, and for the need to hide behind the anonymity of a group, be it socially or ethnically based. It encourages hatred of the world, self-affirmation at all costs, the feeling that everything is now permitted and the unparalleled flourishing of selfishness that goes

along with it. It gives rise to the search for a common and easily identifiable enemy, to political extremism, to the most primitive cult of consumerism, to a carpetbagging morality, stimulated by the historically unprecedented restructuring of property relations, and so on and so on. Thanks to its former democratic traditions and to its unique intellectual and spiritual climate, the Czech Republic, the westernmost of the post-communist countries, is relatively well off in this regard, compared with some of the other countries in the region. Nevertheless we too are going through the same great transformation that all the post-communist countries are, and we can therefore talk about it on the basis of inside knowledge.

Another factor that must be considered in any analysis of post-communist phenomena is the intrinsic tendency of communism to make everything the same. The greatest enemy of communism was always individuality, variety, difference — in a word, freedom. From Berlin to Vladivostok, the streets and buildings were decorated with the same red stars. Everywhere the same kind of celebratory parades were staged. Analogical state administrations were set up, along with the whole system of central direction for social and economic life. This great shroud of uniformity, stifling all national, intellectual, spiritual, social, cultural or religious variety, covered over any differences and created the monstrous illusion that we were all the same. The fall of communism destroyed this shroud of sameness, and the world was caught napping by an outburst of the many unanticipated differences concealed beneath it, each of which — after such a long time in the shadows — felt a natural need to draw attention to itself, to emphasize its uniqueness and its difference from others. This is the reason for the eruption of so many different kinds of oldfashioned patriotism, revivalist messianism, conservatism, and expressions of hatred towards all those who appeared to be betraying their roots or identifying with different ones.

The desire to renew and emphasize one's identity, one's uniqueness, is also behind the emergence of many new states. Nations that have never had

countries of their own feel an understandable need to experience independence. It is no fault of theirs that the opportunity has come up decades or even centuries after it came to other nations.

This is related to yet another matter: for a long time, communism brought history, and with it all natural development, to a halt. While the Western democracies have had decades to create a civil society, to build internationally integrated structures, and to learn the arts of peaceful international co-existence and cooperation, the countries ruled by communism could not go through this creative process. National and cultural differences were driven into the subterranean areas of social life, where they were kept on ice and thus prevented from developing freely, from taking on modern forms in the fresh air, from creating, over time, the free space of unity in variety.

At the same time many of the nations suppressed by communism had not even enjoyed freedom before its advent, and thus had not had a chance to resolve many of the basic questions of their existence as countries. Consequently thousands of unsolved problems have now suddenly burst forth into the light of day, problems left unsolved by history, problems we had wrongly supposed were long forgotten. It is truly astonishing to discover how, after decades of falsified history and ideological manipulation and massaging, nothing has been forgotten. Nations are now remembering their ancient achievements and their ancient suffering, their ancient suppressors and their allies, their ancient statehood, and their former borders, their traditional animosities and affinities — in short, they are suddenly recalling a history that, until recently, had been carefully concealed or misrepresented.

Thus in many parts of the so-called post-communist world, it is not just the regional order (sometimes referred to as the Yalta order) that is being corrected. There are also attempts to correct certain shortcomings in the Versailles order, and

even to go further back into history and exploit the greatest freedom some of them have ever had to make complete amends. It is an impossible desire, of course, but understandable nevertheless.

If we wish to understand the problems of the post-communist world, or some of them at least, then we must continually remind ourselves of something else. It is easy to deny the latent problems, ambitions, and particularities of nations. It is easy to make everything the same by force, to destroy the complex and fragile social, cultural and economic relationships and institutions built up over centuries, and to enforce a single, primitive model of central control in the spirit of a proud utopianism. It is as easy to do that as it is to smash a piece of antique, inlaid furniture with a single blow from a hammer. But it is infinitely more difficult to restore it all, or to create it directly.

The fall of the communist empire is an event on the same scale of historical importance as the fall of the Roman Empire. And it has similar consequences, both good and extremely disturbing. It means a significant change in the countenance of today's world. The change is painful and will take a long time. To build a new world on the ruins of communism might be as long and complex a task as the creation of a Christian Europe — after the great migrations — once was.

What are we to do if we do not wish to understand post-communism simply as a new inconvenience that would be better avoided by sticking our heads in the sand and minding our own business?

I think the most important thing is not just to take account of external and more or less measurable phenomena like the gross national product, the progress

of privatization, the stability of the political system and the measurable degree to which human rights are observed. All of these things are important, of course, but something more is necessary. There must be an effort to understand the deep events taking place in the womb of post-communist societies, to take note of their historical meaning and think about their global implications. It must be understood that these are not the curious woes of a distant and circumscribed part of the world, but events that concern everyone, and all of our present-day civilization. The temptation must be resisted to adopt a disparaging and slightly astonished attitude, one based on a subconscious feeling of superiority on the part of observers who are better off. Just as Czechs should not sneer at the problems of Tadzhikistan, so no one should sneer at the problems of the Czech Republic. Any point of departure, therefore, should involve deep insight and a deep sense of co-responsibility. It is only against this background of understanding that meaningful ways of assistance can be sought.

It seems to me that the challenge offered by the post-communist world is merely the current form of a broader and more profound challenge to discover a new type of self-understanding for man, and a new type of politics that should flow from that understanding. As we all know, today's planetary civilization is in serious danger. Modern man thinks of himself as the lord of creation and not just a part of it, and his vanity is rapidly destroying his hope of survival. Because he is not grounded in a humble respect for the order of Being, modern man allows himself to be driven by his particular interests. He is no longer capable of governing his behavior in a way that takes account of the general interest. We are rationally capable of describing, in vivid detail, all the dangers that threaten the world: the deepening gulf between the rich and the poor parts of the world, the population explosion, the potential for dramatic confrontations between different racial and cultural groups, the arming of whom no one seems able to stop, the nuclear threat, the plundering of natural resources, the destruction of the natural variety of species, the creation of holes in the ozone layer, and the unstoppable global warming. What is unsettling is

that the more we know about such dangers, the less able we seem to deal with them.

I see only one way out of this crisis: man must come to a new understanding of himself, his limitations, and his place in the world. He should grasp his responsibility in a new way, and reestablish a relationship with the things that transcend him. We must rehabilitate our human subjecthood, and liberate ourselves from the captivity of a purely rational perception of the world. Through this subjecthood and the individual conscience that goes with it, we must discover a new relationship to our neighbors, and to the universe and its metaphysical order, which is the source of the moral order.

We live in a world in which our destinies are tied to each other more closely than they ever have been before. It is a world with a single planetary civilization, yet it contains many cultures that, with increasing vigor and singlemindedness resist cultural unification, reject mutual understanding, and exist in what amounts to latent confrontation. It is a deeply dangerous state of affairs and it must be changed. The first step in this direction can be nothing less than a broad-based attempt by these cultures to understand each other, and to understand each other's right to existence. Only then can a kind of world-wide pluralistic metaculture, a self-preservational minimum on which everyone can agree, begin to form. It is only in the context of such a metaculture that a new sense of political responsibility — global responsibility — can come into being. And it is only with this newly born sense of responsibility that the instruments can be created that will allow humanity to confront all the dangers it has created for itself.

The new political self-understanding I am talking about clearly means a definitive departure from the understanding of the world that considers history, foreign cultures, foreign nations, and ultimately all those warning about our future, as a mere agglomeration of annoying inconveniences that disturb our tranquillity.

A quiet life on the peak of a volcano is just as illusory as the notion I talked about at the beginning: that by avoiding an encounter with a dissident in the street, we can avoid the problem of communism and the question of how to deal with it.

Ultimately, I understand post-communism as one of many challenges to contemporary man — regardless of what part of the world he lives in — to awaken to his global responsibilities, and to awaken to them before it is too late.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Friends,

This morning I had the honor of taking part in the opening of the Museum of the Holocaust.

On this occasion, as I have so often before, I asked myself how could this have happened? How could people in the twentieth century, aware of the theory of relativity, of quantum mechanics, who have penetrated to the heart of the atom and are exploring the reaches of outer space, have committed acts of horror so awful that to call them bestial would be to do an incredible disservice to all those creatures who happen not to be human. How could they have permitted it to happen?

In the context of what I have been talking about here, one aspect of a possible answer occurs to me. It was a failure of democracy, the politics of appeasement, giving way to evil: what in my country we call the spirit of Munich. The inability of Europe and the world to recognize the emerging evil in time and stop it

from growing to such monstrous proportions is merely another form of what I have called here an understanding of the world as an agglomeration of inconvenience. The issue here is the absence of a wider sense of responsibility for the world.

Czechs remember well a statement made by a democratic statesman shortly before he signed the Munich Agreement, the real beginning of all the horrors of the Second World War. He was appalled, he said then, that his country was digging trenches and trying on gas masks „because of a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing“. It is a classic example of how suicidal it is to try and avoid difficulties. This politician regarded Nazism as a problem that would go away if he stuck his head in the sand, or as it were crossed over to the other side of the street.

And so the chosen people were chosen by history to bear the brunt for all of us. The meaning of their sacrifice is to warn us against indifference to things we foolishly believe do not concern us.

In today's world, everything concerns everyone. Communism also concerned everyone. And it is also a matter of concern to everyone whether or not, and in what way, we manage to build a new zone of democracy, freedom, and prosperity on its ruins.

Every intellectual and material investment in the post-communist world that is not haphazard but based on a deep understanding of what is happening here, will repay the whole world many times over.

And not only that: it will also be one more step on the thorny journey of the human race towards a new understanding of its responsibility for its own destiny.

Thank you for your attention.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/17/93

NOTE FOR: MARCIA HALE

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

April 30, 1993

5 17 93

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARCIA HALE

RE: SCHEDULING

*Good. This is very
following
of
good
good*

SUMMARY

I know you feel increasingly frustrated with your schedule. I would like to try to solve this problem. Realistically, you will never be happy with your schedule, and I know that -- the demands for your time are overwhelming and cannot ever be satisfied. However, I think I can do a better job, if we can come to some agreement on what is wrong, and agree on some ways to fix it.

I have waited to write this memo until I could complete an analysis of your first 100 days -- which is attached. I think you may find it interesting.

I would like to address what I see as the problems in two separate categories -- strategic and mechanical. Furthermore, I will propose a schedule for the next 100 days and set some goals for the rest of the year.

STRATEGIC

We began your Administration with the goal of addressing, during the first 100 days, four major issues -- the economy, health care reform, political reform, and a national service program.

We were very focused during the beginning of the administration and your attention to the economic program produced remarkable results. We need to reaffirm what your focus will be for the next 100 days and plan your schedule around that focus.

Your travel outside of DC is the most powerful tool we have to communicate with the country. In an earlier memo, you agreed to travel at least every 10 days. I would like to confirm these dates with you and propose that we block time for a series of 2 or 3 day trips planned around a specific theme -- similar to your first trip after the introduction of the economic plan.

When you are here, I think we attempt to do too much -- week by week. In scheduling a message event every day, we are over-extending everyone -- especially you. Additionally, the press has become bored with our events, consequently, our best events are receiving less coverage than they should.

I think it would be more productive if we planned message events three days a week instead every day. To the extent possible all three of these events should be on a related subject. Not everyone agrees with me on this, and if the decision is to do one everyday, that's fine, but I think the outside world intervenes on a regular basis and we spend an enormous amount of time developing message events that get lost because world events (Bosnia, for example) intervene. It is just as productive for you to do a radio call-in show -- such as calling Imus in NYC -- as it is to plan a White House event.

I think that almost everything you do between now and when you leave for Tokyo has to relate in some way to the economy or health care. In trying to change our health care system you are attempting a reform as fundamental as the changes FDR brought about during the 1930's. We should treat it that way and plan your schedule accordingly.

After you give your health care speech to a Joint Session of Congress no American citizen should be able to escape the issue of health care on any given day. We must impart a sense of urgency about the issue. The country believes you can reform the system. They know this is a huge undertaking. We need to stress that unless you succeed there will be no second chance for health care reform. The special interest will have succeeded and we will have lost an historic opportunity.

In the next several months you will make 3-4 major speeches. Among those will be the joint session on health care, the West Point commencement, a speech on or near Memorial Day... We should decide on the theme of these speeches now in order to make them exceptional with maximum press coverage.

THE PRESS

I know you feel frustrated by the impression that you do not like the press. Forget the reality of the situation -- your personal feelings one way or the other -- the perception exists and it will do us no good if it gets worse. The campaign did a masterful job of going around the establishment press during the campaign -- and for good reason. During the campaign a new avenue was developed to speak directly to the American people and it worked. I think this should continue, but, I think you should consider trying to turn the focus again.

For the last twelve years the press in this town has been toyed with -- and instant analysis has been rewarded. During the Reagan administration the press, and the pictures they produced, became the priority. Additionally, one's measure of success as a journalist became whether or not you were on a talk show. The talk shows have turned into theatre and sometimes screaming matches. They exemplify Washington conventional wisdom at its worst.

I think you could do your legislative agenda an enormous amount of good if you would consider meeting, on a regular basis, with a few journalists that you respect. Over a period of time you might be able to affect the news reporting in this town by encouraging pieces which are based on factual conversations about complicated public policy issues and ideas. One of the reasons the press has become so cynical is that for the last twelve years they have not had a President who would (or could) have these discussions with them. This coupled with regularly scheduled news conferences could help change the dynamic.

The health care issue is fundamentally a print story. While there are wonderful pictures to help us carry the message of health care reform the story is basically too complicated to be handled by TV alone. The print press will be crucial to our explanation of what your plan is and how it will affect the average American. The columnists and editorial boards will influence the TV coverage of this proposal. We need the TV coverage to put a face on this public policy but fundamentally the newspapers will define your plan and its fairness.

OTHER EVENTS

I have been working with Rahm to find dates for you to help others around the country. We are targeting states and races for next years' mid-term elections. I have given dates to several Senators for fundraisers and am working on dates for other elected officials. As political director of the DCCC during last years' redistricting, I know the districts of the House Members (Dems and Repubs) as well as anyone. Many Democratic House Members are very vulnerable this cycle and I will take this into account as we plan your trips.

Ann Stock and I are working on dates for those friends, supporters, and organizations that need to be invited to the White House for receptions or dinners over the next year.

I am attempting to schedule you to do something related to the defense community at least every two weeks. I am receiving recommendations for these events from a variety of sources -- Secretary Aspin, Admiral Crowe, Tony Lake and others.

MECHANICAL

I am frustrated by the way your schedule is decided upon and discussed with you. I have a couple of suggestions which I think are worth your considering.

First, I have some suggestions to make your routine meetings work more productively for you.

I think you should consider cutting back the daily CIA/NSC briefings to a routine of a daily CIA briefing (15 minutes) and doing a NSC briefing 2-3 times a week.

I think that a series of 15 minute meetings with staff just does not work for you. If I have learned anything during the last three months, it is that there is no such thing as a short meeting with the President of the United States.

I think your meetings with Carol Rasco and Bob Rubin would be more productive if they were scheduled twice a week for 30 minutes instead of every day for 15 minutes. The two of them are the most respectful of your time, if they do not need the full thirty minutes, they will tell me. Giving them thirty minutes is more realistic and does not chop up your day so much.

The weekly congressional leadership meeting should become a regularly scheduled meeting every Tuesday at 9:30 am. I think you should consider meeting with Howard twice a week.

Previous administrations have scheduled monthly meetings with the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense and the NSC advisor. In addition, monthly meetings were held with the Secretary of Treasury, the OMB Director, and the economic advisor. I have had requests for both of these meetings and need your guidance on whether you want to do them.

I think you should have two regularly scheduled political meetings each week. You should see Rahm, Stan, James, George, Mandy... once a week for an hour. This could be done every Monday and it should include a discussion of political and communications strategy for the near and long term. I think you should meet for 30 minutes on Friday with the above mentioned people and myself to discuss the week ahead and your schedule.

Nancy and I need to be able to protect your phone and office time. Other staff members see phone and office time on your schedule and regard it as an opportunity to see you. I believe Mack and I have worked out a system to protect this time without becoming too inflexible.

As far as the rest of your schedule is concerned, I need to be more protective of what gets on it. It is part of my job to be the bad guy -- to say no -- and to protect your time. But I need to know that I am on firm ground when I regret an event, or tell a staff member that their meeting is not possible. Once you agree to a meeting, it is very difficult to tell someone that it will not fit into your schedule. If you could add the phrase "check with Marcia" it would be enormously helpful.

Roy and I talked this week about the Vice President helping with some of the important meetings requested of you which you just don't have the time to do -- especially those requested by the NSC.

I believe the last memo the NSC sent to you requesting meetings with world leaders lacked perspective. Several of the meetings requested of you could be handled by the Vice President concluding with a brief meeting with you.

Our meetings in the morning are very helpful to me in getting sign-off on particular questions or events but they do not allow for any discussion of the best use of your time in a strategic sense. I think you would feel far more comfortable with your schedule if once a week I discussed the week ahead with you and answered your questions concerning your daily schedule and what is planned for any out of town trips.

In the last two weeks, I have seen you only twice to discuss your schedule, and then only briefly. Because of that, you had no advance knowledge of your trip to Boston or New Orleans. I understand why you were upset when you saw no reference to the DLC in New Orleans. However, had I briefed you about the trip last Thursday, as I was prepared to do, I could have explained the trip and you would not have been alarmed when you read the schedule late Thursday night.

CONCLUSION

Better communication would give you a schedule, I think, much more to your liking -- and it would be politically more productive. I would like to suggest the following as a way to get more information to you.

In the future, I will send to you via a decision memo only those requests that I believe you should accept. I will attach to this decision memo a list of the other events or requests which I do not believe -- for whatever reason -- you can accommodate and that I intend to regret -- unless you indicate otherwise. This will save you time and will leave the morning meetings to more important decisions.

Each Wednesday several of us meet to discuss the "week ahead" -- this meeting includes a discussion of your schedule. The participants meet again on Thursday with a larger group of staff members to discuss with them the plans for the following week, and how each department relates to the next weeks' schedule. In the future, as I mentioned earlier, I would like to discuss with you on Friday the plans for the next week and receive your input and a sign-off.

I know you think that your schedule does not reflect your priorities. I will do anything in my power to change this problem. I also believe you are over-scheduled. You are being asked to do too much. I will also do anything I can to change this. I think I only need to talk with you on a regular basis to accomplish both of these goals. Please let me know what you think. Thanks.

cc: Mack

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/17/93

NOTE FOR: MACK MCLARTY

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☐

Action ☒

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-17-93

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 16, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a memo from Tony Lake recommending that you sign a permit and Executive Order allowing the Canadian National Railway Company to build, operate and maintain a cross-border tunnel under the St. Clair river between Sarnia, Ontario and Port Huron, Michigan.

The site of this tunnel has been the subject of political controversy, with Rep. Barbara-Rose Collins and Detroit city officials leading the charge to have it routed through Detroit. The Governor, House Majority Whip David Bonior and many others support the Port Huron site.

Legislative Affairs agrees with Tony and the State Department that you should sign the attached permit and Executive Order for the Port Huron tunnel and is eager to get it done promptly for Bonior's sake.

There are a number of lengthy attachments to Tony's memo that I have not included. If you'd like to see them, I'll send them right up.

TJS
Todd Stern

March

I signed this but, I think
case should be given to
university see Rep Collins ~~in~~
Heidenreich on position - Malus
Howard take care of Louie in Michigan
B

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 14, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5.17.93

93 MAY 14 PM: 13

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE EXECUTIVE CLERK *SK*
FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *✓*
SUBJECT: Permit for a U.S.-Canadian Cross-Border Railroad
Tunnel and Related Amendment to Executive Order

Purposes

1) To sign a permit for the Canadian National Railway Company (CN) to construct, operate and maintain a cross-border railroad tunnel under the St. Clair River between Port Huron, Michigan, and Sarnia, Ontario; and 2) to amend Executive Order 11423 to enable the Secretary of State to approve similar permits in the future.

Background

As part of a program to upgrade its main link between eastern Canada and Chicago, the Canadian National Railway (CN) applied for a Presidential permit to build, operate and maintain a new tunnel at Port Huron/Sarnia. The tunnel, which will not involve any U.S. or Canadian government funds, will replace an existing one that cannot accommodate modern railway equipment.

Presidents have the authority to regulate physical connections between any foreign country and the United States. In addition to seeking a Presidential permit, CN had to apply pursuant to the River and Harbor Act for a separate permit from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The Corps found that CN's proposed tunnel met the River and Harbor Act's legal requirements with regard to the economy and the environment, and issued its permit.

The State Department, on its part, found that the tunnel project would have no significant effect on the quality of the human environment. It also concluded that issuing the permit is consistent with the national interest in facilitating efficient trade with Canada. No objections to the project were raised by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) or the Departments of Defense, Interior, Transportation, Justice and Treasury.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

As you know, the tunnel project is the subject of political controversy within the State of Michigan. Representative Barbara-Rose Collins and officials in the City of Detroit would like CN to invest in an alternative route through Detroit. However, the Governor of Michigan, House Majority Whip David Bonier and other Michigan groups support the proposed CN project. Representative Collins has also questioned the procedures for reviewing the project by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the State Department, and asked for a delay until the Public Works Committee could evaluate the project. The two agencies have assured us that the project was properly and thoroughly reviewed. We see no reason to delay action on the permit.

The State Department has also asked that you sign an amendment to Executive Order 11423 so that future tunnel permits can be approved by the Secretary of State. The existing order gives the Secretary authority to issue permits for all other transborder connections with foreign countries. The amendment will correct the oversight with respect to tunnels.

The tunnel permit will be printed in the Federal Register.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the permit at Tab A and the Executive Order at Tab B.

Attachments

Tab A	Permit
Tab B	Amendment to Executive Order 11423
Tab C	State Department Memorandum
Tab D	Presidential Issuance of Permits
Tab E	Concerns Raised in Public Comments
Tab F	Army Corps of Engineers Statement of Findings
Tab G	Army Corps of Engineers Permit
Tab H	Department of State Environmental Assessment
Tab I	Finding of No Significant Impact

PERMIT
AUTHORIZING
THE CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAY COMPANY,
GRAND TRUNK CORPORATION AND ANY SUBSIDIARIES
TO CONSTRUCT, OPERATE, AND MAINTAIN
A REPLACEMENT INTERNATIONAL RAILWAY TUNNEL
AT THE INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, I hereby grant permission to Permittees, the Canadian National Railway Company, a Canadian Corporation with its principal offices in Montreal, Quebec, and its wholly-owned U.S. subsidiary, the Grand Trunk Corporation, a Delaware corporation with its principal offices in Detroit, Michigan, and any jointly owned subsidiaries, to construct, operate, and maintain an international railway tunnel across the international boundary between the United States and Canada, between Port Huron, Michigan, and Sarnia, Ontario, Canada, under the St. Clair River.

I have reviewed the application of the Permittees and find that the issuance of a Permit would serve the national interest. The Department of State, Department of Defense, Department of Interior, Department of Justice, Department of Transportation, Department of the Treasury, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency have raised no objection to issuance of the Permit. Pursuant to the Rivers and Harbors Appropriations Act of 1899, 33 U.S.C. §403, the Corps of Engineers has also determined that the issuance of a Permit is appropriate and consistent with the public interest.

The term "facilities" as used in this permit means the rail tunnel and any land, structures, installations or equipment appurtenant thereto.

The term "United States facilities" as used in this permit means that part of the facilities in the United States.

As stated in Permittees' application of May 3, 1992, for a permit, including their accompanying submission of a feasibility study entitled "St. Clair, Initial Environmental Evaluation/Environmental Study Report," dated February 1992, and subsequent exchange of information, the United States facilities of the rail tunnel will consist of the following major components:

-- A new tunnel bored beneath the St. Clair River, and deepening the existing open cuts on the Port Huron, Michigan, approach to develop portals for construction of the tunnel.

-- The summit-to-international boundary length of the project within the United States is 5,853 feet (of a total summit-summit length of 12,726 feet). The length of the new tunnel, U.S. portal to international boundary, is approximately 2,749 feet (of a total portal-portal length of 6,136 feet).

-- The new tunnel is located approximately on a tangent with an 89 foot offset north of the existing tunnel. A horizontal curve in the Sarnia, Ontario, portal narrows the difference in tunnel centerlines to 55 feet at the exit of the Sarnia, Ontario, portal. The vertical alignment is based on a maximum grade of 2.1 percent. The tunnel will have a downgrade of 1.8 percent from the Sarnia portal and 2.1 percent from the Port Huron portal with 0.35 percent grade under the river. The tunnel will have a minimum of 15 feet of cover over the crown under the river portion of the project. The interior diameter of the finished tunnel will be approximately 27 feet, 6 inches.

-- The tunnel will be used for rail transport of freight and passengers.

This permit is subject to the following conditions:

Article 1. The United States facilities and operations herein described shall be subject to all the conditions, provisions, and requirements of this permit or any amendment thereof. This permit may be terminated at the will of the President of the United States of America, the Secretary of State of the United States of America or the Secretary's delegate or may be amended by the President, the Secretary of State or the Secretary's delegate at will or upon proper application therefor. Permittees shall make no substantial change in the location of the United States facilities or in the operation authorized by this permit until such changes shall have been approved by the President of the United States of America, or the Secretary of State of the United States of America or the Secretary's delegate.

Article 2. The construction, operation, and maintenance of the facilities shall be in all material respects as described in Permittees' application of May 8, 1992, and documentation submitted in support thereof.

Article 3. The construction, operation, and maintenance of the United States facilities shall be subject to inspection and approval by the representatives of any Federal or State agency concerned. The Permittees shall allow duly authorized officers and employees of such agencies free and unrestricted access to said facilities as is necessary for the performance of their official duties.

Article 4. Permittees shall comply with all applicable Federal and State laws and regulations regarding the construction, operation, and maintenance of the United States facilities.

Article 5. Upon termination, revocation, or surrender of this permit, and unless otherwise agreed by the President of the United States of America or the Secretary of State of the United States of America or the Secretary's delegate, the United States facilities in the immediate vicinity of the international boundary line shall be filled in by and at the expense of the Permittees within such time as the President or the Secretary of State or the Secretary's delegate may specify, and upon failure of the Permittees to remove this portion of the United States facilities as ordered, the President or Secretary of State or the Secretary's delegate may direct that possession of such facilities be taken and that they be removed at the expense of the Permittees; and the Permittees shall have no claim for damages by reason of such possession or removal.

Article 6. This permit is subject to the limitations, terms, and conditions contained in any order issued by any competent agency of the United States Government or of the State of Michigan with respect to the United States facilities. This permit shall continue in force and effect so long as the Permittees shall continue the operations hereby authorized in accordance with such limitations, terms, and conditions.

Article 7. When, in the opinion of the President of the United States of America, the national security of the United States demands it, due notice being given by the Secretary of State of the United States of America or the Secretary's delegate, the United States shall have the right to enter upon and take possession of any of the United States facilities or parts thereof; to retain possession, management, and control thereof for such length of time as may appear to the President to be necessary to accomplish said purposes; and thereafter to restore possession and control to the Permittees. In the event that the United States shall exercise such right, it shall pay to the Permittees just and fair compensation for the use of such United States facilities upon the basis of reasonable profit in normal conditions as existed at the time of entering and taking over the same, less the reasonable value of any improvements that may have been made by the United States.

Article 8. Any transfer of ownership or control of the United States facilities or any part thereof shall be immediately notified to the Department of State in writing. This permit shall remain in force, subject to all the conditions, provisions, and requirements of this permit or any amendments thereof.

Article 9. (1) The Permittees shall maintain the United States facilities and every part thereof in a condition of good repair for their safe operations.

(2) The Permittees shall save harmless the United States from any claimed or adjudged liability arising out of the construction, operation, or maintenance of the facilities.

Article 10. The Permittees shall acquire such right-of-way grants, easements, permits and other authorizations as may become necessary and appropriate.

Article 11. The Permittees shall file with the appropriate agencies of the United States Government such statements or reports under oath with respect to the United States facilities, and/or Permittees' activities and operations in connection therewith, as are now, or as may hereafter be required under any laws or regulations of the Government of the United States or its agencies.

In Witness Whereof, I, William J. Clinton, President of the United States of America, have hereunto set my hand this
day of , 1993 in the City of
Washington, District of Columbia.

William J. Clinton

EXECUTIVE ORDER

- - - - -

AMENDING EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11423

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 301 of title 3, United States Code, and in order to amend Executive Order No. 11423 of August 16, 1968, to provide for the issuance of permits for the full range of facilities that may be constructed and maintained on the borders of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Section 1(a) of Executive Order No. 11423 is amended to read: "Except with respect to facilities covered by Executive Order Nos. 10485 and 10530, the Secretary of State is hereby designated and empowered to receive all applications for permits for the construction, connection, operation, or maintenance, at the borders of the United States, of:

(i) pipelines, conveyor belts, and similar facilities for the exportation or importation of petroleum, petroleum products, coal, minerals, or other products to or from a foreign country; (ii) facilities for the exportation or importation of water or sewage to or from a foreign country; (iii) facilities for the transportation of persons or things, or both, to or from a foreign country; (iv) bridges, to the extent that congressional authorization is not required; and (v) similar facilities above or below ground."

Sec. 2. Section 1(b) of Executive Order No. 11423 of August 16, 1968, is amended by deleting the text "subsection (a)(iii) or (iv)" and by inserting "subsection (a) (iii), (iv) or (v)" in lieu thereof.

Sec. 1. All permits heretofore issued with respect to matters described in section 1 of Executive Order No. 11423, and in force at the time of issuance of this order, and all permits issued hereunder, shall remain in effect in accordance with their terms unless and until modified, amended, suspended, or revoked by the appropriate authority.

William T. Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE,



9310279

3424

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 13, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR
ANTHONY LAKE
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Presidential Permit for a U.S.-Canadian
Cross-Border Railroad Tunnel

This transmits for the President's signature a permit (Tab A) for the Canadian National Railway Company (CN) to construct, operate, and maintain a railroad tunnel on the United States border with Canada under the St. Clair River between Sarnia, Ontario and Port Huron, Michigan. A proposed Executive Order to broaden the Secretary of State's existing cross-border permit authority under Executive Order 11423 of August 16, 1968, which would enable the Secretary to approve similar permits in the future, is also attached (Tab B) for the President's signature. The Department recommends that the President sign the permit and the proposed Executive Order.

Background

As part of a program to upgrade its main link between eastern Canada and Chicago, Canadian National Railway (CN) and three of its U.S. subsidiaries applied for a Presidential permit to build, operate and maintain a tunnel, replacing one which cannot accommodate modern railway equipment. No government funds, Canadian or U.S., will be used for the project.

Presidents have the authority to regulate physical connections between any foreign country and the United States (Tab C). No objection has been raised by the Departments of Defense, Interior, Transportation, Justice, and Treasury, FEMA or the NSC staff. The Governor of Michigan, House Majority Whip David Bonior, and various individuals and organizations support the CN project. The City of Detroit, however, wants CN to invest in an alternative route through Detroit. Representative Barbara-Rose Collins has asked the President to hold the decision in abeyance until the Public Works Committee can fully evaluate it. The President replied that he would let her know if further information was needed (Tab D).

Detroit officials believe the proposed tunnel will bypass its important regional manufacturing and economic center. Also, Detroit wants to expand its intermodal transportation services in competition with Chicago. On the other hand, CN

wants to expedite and facilitate transit between eastern Canada and Chicago. CN also maintains that a route through Detroit is more costly because of increased distance, sub-standard tracks and slow speeds required through that area. CN chose Port Huron over Detroit after it reviewed the option with city officials and other concerned railroads. (For a discussion on the public comments, see Tab E.)

In response to an application from CN for a separate permit pursuant to the River and Harbor Act (33 USC 401 et seq.), the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers concluded that the benefits of CN's proposal "overwhelmingly" outweigh any detriment to the environment and economy and found no factors "which would have the potential for [creating] a significant impact on the quality of the human environment" (Tab F). Following a nine month review, the Corps issued a permit on January 29, 1993 (Tab G). The State of Michigan Department of Natural Resources has likewise certified that "no adverse impacts to coastal resources are anticipated." The Canadian Coast Guard and Canadian Department of Transportation have also approved the requisite permits for the Canadian Government, based on corresponding Canadian environmental standards.

The Department of State has assessed the proposed tunnel under its National Environmental Policy Act regulations (22 CFR 161) and likewise determined that it would not have a "significant effect on the quality of the human environment" within the U.S. and that issuance of a permit is consistent with the national interest in efficient trade between the U.S. and Canada (Tab H). The Department has prepared a "Finding of No Significant Impact" (Tab I) for publication in the Federal Register upon approval of the permit by the President.

Approval of this permit would not foreclose the approval of future permits to develop other routes as additional projects are developed and alternative funding (public or private) is found for that purpose. Arguments and counter arguments submitted by both sides raise numerous questions about the feasibility and benefits of alternative sites. The Department can only assume that the decision to invest \$150 million represents a carefully considered review of the alternatives. None of the parties dispute that CN's site is on a more direct route or that the tunnel would benefit Detroit, the State of Michigan and the rest of the nation. The Department therefore believes that the project would be in the national interest in facilitating trade and promoting common economic interests with Canada and recommends granting the requested permit to build, operate and maintain the tunnel crossing the border at Port Huron.



Marc Grossman
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

- Tab A - Permit for Signature.
- Tab B - Amendment to Executive Order 11423 for Signature.
- Tab C - Presidential Issuance of Permits.
- Tab D - Letters from Representative Collins and Reply.
- Tab E - Concerns Raised in Public Comments.
- Tab F - Army Corps of Engineers Statement of Findings.
- Tab G - Army Corps of Engineers Permit.
- Tab H - Department of State Environmental Assessment.
- Tab I - Finding of No Significant Impact

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/17/93

NOTE FOR: MACK MCLARTY

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☐

Action ☒

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-15-93

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 14, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TD*

SUBJECT: DOE Proposal to Freeze Contractor Salaries

Handwritten: Have a different
rule than before
written on
another copy
of this

The attached is a memo from Hazel O'Leary proposing that DOE freeze contractor salaries for one year -- similar to the freeze on federal employees. DOE calculates that such freeze would save \$1.48 billion over the next five years.

OMB supports the idea.

DOE's Acting General Counsel has concluded that the Department has the legal authority to implement a freeze under its contracts. Note that he does not say that such authority is rock solid. He says, in a written opinion, that "our chances of prevailing in any litigation challenging this action would be in the 80 to 85%."

The contracts in question condition annual salary increases on DOE approval, but also set out criteria that are supposed to inform such approval decisions. The question in any lawsuit challenging DOE's action would presumably be whether, in freezing salaries this year, DOE followed the specified criteria.



The Secretary of Energy

Washington, DC 20585

May 6, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT 03 MAY 14 P6:29
FROM Hazel R. O'Leary
SUBJECT: Potential \$1.48 Billion Budget Reduction

- I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT: The Congress and the public are looking for more budget cuts to offset our investment package. We can reduce the Department of Energy (DOE) budget by \$1.48 billion over the next five years. The FY 1994 savings of \$245 million can be offered to partially offset the Department's \$460 million investment package. I continue to look for other offsets and will share that information with Director Panetta.

We will accomplish these savings by freezing contractor salaries for one year, which is similar to the proposed freeze on federal employees. No union employees will be impacted by this proposal because of labor agreements in effect. We can do this because of our flexible contracts for management of government-owned, contractor-operated facilities. Although this can be accomplished within the existing authority of the Secretary of Energy, I wanted you to have the opportunity to participate in this decision as part of your commitment to manage government more effectively and spend tax payer dollars efficiently.

- II. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS: Contract employees constitute 85% of the Department's workforce. Freezing salary scales will not stop promotions, but will freeze pay for one fiscal year. Our survey shows our contractors' salaries are currently competitive in the marketplace. The practice of freezing pay or restricting automatic adjustments in slow economic time is very prevalent in the private sector. Furthermore, it is consistent with the Administration's proposal for freezing Federal employee pay next fiscal year. Our analysis shows a first year savings of \$184 million, representing cost-of-living and merit increases not paid. The \$184 million is arrived at as follows:

- o The payroll for beginning FY 1993 is \$5.2 billion.
- o The average annual increase in FY 1994 is expected to equal 4.7%.
- o 4.7% of October 1, 1993, payroll is \$245 million.
- o The full \$245 million will not be paid in FY 1994 due to the staggered schedule of actual increases to employees,

e.g., some employees receive increases in October (12 months) and some in August (two months). Therefore, in FY 1994 only 75% of the budgeted increases, or \$184 million, is expected to be real savings.

The gross effect of the FY 1994 savings in the following four years is \$980 million (4 x 245), plus an additional \$50-60 million in additional compounding savings. By freezing salaries for one year, the effect is to reduce the base from which future salaries will be increased (\$1.2 billion over five years).

There will be an additional savings of \$287 million because the reduced level of pay has a corresponding effect of reducing benefits costs. The total savings over five years is thus \$1.48 billion representing real dollars not paid.

We believe there will be limited or no public opposition, and many Members of Congress will be pleased with this action. However, we have to expect some members, with a large number of contract employees in their districts or States, will complain directly to the Secretary and attempt to stop this action. Certainly some contractors may complain, but we do not expect significant problems.

III. RECOMMENDATION: We recommend notifying our contractors and appropriate Hill offices and initiating a public announcement of the cutback. The 1994 reduction could be used to fund the Department's stimulus and investment programs, such as the Alternate Fuel Vehicles Program. There could be significant public affairs benefits from this announcement. Our staffs can work together to develop an appropriate event.

IV. DECISION:

☐ Approve ☐ Approve as Amended ☐ Reject ☐ No Action

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 15, 1993

THE PRESIDENT
5.15.93

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN

SUBJECT: DOE Contractor Freeze Proposal

This is a follow-up to my cover memo of May 14 on Secretary O'Leary's proposal to freeze contractor salaries for one year.

As I indicated in that memo, I have some concern that the legal opinion of DOE counsel (concluding that DOE has the contractual authority to institute such a freeze) is less than rock solid -- 80-85% chance that we'd prevail in court if challenged by disgruntled contractors or employees who might, for example, allege that the freeze was politically motivated, rather than based on a fair evaluation of the criteria set forth in the contracts.

I discussed this with George late yesterday and he agreed that the freeze would be best treated as a DOE initiative, with the consequence that, should there prove to be any legal infirmity, it would be DOE's responsibility, not the White House's.

Handwritten notes:
Mark
I think I disagree
w/ Todd - we should approach
Hazel - if we can get it's
bec. of previous Admin. contracts
Shirley - think a deal with
let other Dept - consider
letting go of contractor
B.
Don't want to release
release -

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
5.15.93

93 MAY 15 All: 42

May 14, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

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The Secretary of Energy

Washington, DC 20585

May 6, 1993

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IV. DECISION:

☒ Approve ☐ Approve as Amended ☐ Reject ☐ No Action

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/17/93

NOTE FOR: MACK MCLARTY

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☒ X

Action ☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 14, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5.15.93

93 MAY 14 P7:42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL

SUBJECT: WEEKLY REPORT

For your information, I have attached my weekly report to the political staff.

Hand
in notes

May 14, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR POLITICAL STAFF

FROM: RAHM

SUBJECT: WEEKLY REPORT

I. SPECIAL ELECTIONS:

Wisconsin: I have been in touch with Brady Williamson, the Barca campaign's attorney, regarding the Wisconsin recount. He is very confident that the recount will confirm Barca's victory. Half of the questionable ballots have been counted, and Barca has only lost approximately 50 votes. This means he still retains a 690 vote advantage. Unless something dramatic happens, Barca will be officially declared the winner.

Los Angeles: This morning, James, David, Emerson, Tom, and I met with Bill Knapp from the Woo campaign to review their strategy. Bill is handling the media for the campaign.

We are trying to get them to focus on a strategy that will maximize minority turn-out while simultaneously persuading Jewish liberal constituents to vote for Woo. James emphasized that Woo should push Riordan's connection to the religious right in the Republican Party. The Moral Majority/Christian Right have been helping his campaign.

James thought we should frame the campaign in terms of a "going backwards or moving ahead and facing our problems" message.

II. PRESIDENTIAL TRIPS:

This week's trips have worked in presenting the President out among the people campaigning for his Economic Plan. It has also been successful in hitting on the theme of defending the national interest against special interests.

This coming week, we will be hitting the road again to campaign on the economy, with the emphasis on the national interest vs. the special interest. We will highlight how the economic plan balances the attack on both the two deficits -- budget and investment.

In addition to the trips, we have scheduled a CEO-Labor Luncheon for Wednesday. The purpose of this lunch is to have the President get a first-hand report from business and labor leaders on the economy.

✓
Gory
I have recommended that every Wednesday the President have lunch with CEO's from a particular industry (i.e. high-tech, automotive, agriculture.) This would demonstrate that the President is paying close attention to the economy and is in close contact with those people who make the economy tick, so to speak. In addition, these luncheons could serve as the President's own signature event.

If the radio address was Reagan's signature event, I think the CEO lunch (a picture of the President involved in the economy and business) can become the signature of the Clinton Administration.

I have sent a copy of my recommendation to George, Marcia, and Alexis. The Office of Public Liaison will become responsible for the lunch.

III. CRIME:

During the 1993 election cycle, we have a number of gubernatorial races (VA and NJ) and mayoral elections (NY and LA). Crime will play a big role in each of these elections.

The crime issue is of major concern in the country. Currently, the Democratic Party and this administration has a 15% advantage over the GOP on the issue, despite the historic characterization of Democrats as soft on crime. We should capitalize on this advantage. The crime initiative can round out our image on the liberal elite agenda.

I do not think the issue is a panacea, but it serves the administration, the party, and its '93 candidates well if we pursue the issue with vigor.

I have been pushing this issue and I hope to convene a meeting with Howard, Mark, George, and Marcia to resolve timing.

IV. OLD GROWTH FOREST:

I have met with a number of people, and have been called by a number of Congressmen, all of who express the same concern. The Board feels that what the scientists are talking about is too small. The number they are discussing as viable is about 2 vs 1.5. We risk Mike Draper walking from the agreement.

V. INTERIOR LUNCH:

On Tuesday, I was the guest speaker at the Department of Interior's "brown bag lunch" series. In short, I talked about the importance of pursuing a Western strategy when looking ahead to '96.

Many of the issues that involve/concern the Rocky Mountain States and the West Coast are issues that fall on Interior's plate, such as grazing, mining, and forest management. In my remarks, I stressed the importance of weaving together environmental and economic efforts, and the importance of Interior integrating its efforts with the WH's economic efforts. In essence, what Interior does will greatly affect '96, and therefore the Department is a surrogate for the campaign.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-15-93

DATE:

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

Bony

for signing
we need to discuss
probably up this week
I get back

02:11

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

3362

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 14, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5.15.93

93 MAY 14 P5:16

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: President Assad's Response to Your Letter

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: BETTY CURRIE
RE: BC MEMOS
DATE: MAY 13, 1993

93 MAY 14 P6:00

CC:NHernreich
JDPodesta

Date From

5-12-93 DR. AND MRS. SANDERSON

Sends a poster of the Inauguration to the First Family.

(sent to Gift Unit)

5-7-93 BRERETON C. JONES - Gov. of Kentucky

Encloses leather engraving of Arkansas Capitol which was handmade by James C. Beckett. It was given to Gov. Jones by one of the state representatives, the Honorable Mark Farrow.

(Engraving sent to Gift Unit)

5-10-93 THOMAS H. HUDSON

Sends regrets that the crowds in New Orleans prohibited him from saying hello. He and Danelle wish you the best.

5-5-93 DON BUCKNELL-POGUE

Thanks for note and picture. Letter of support because they believe in you and Mrs. Clinton.

Both would like to help wherever they can.

5-5-93 DON A. TILTON

Letter of recommendations for Marion Berry for consideration as Director of Soil Conservation Service.

MARK
see next page
fyi
John
5.17.93

4-8-93 BILL LICAMELE

Thought you were great at the Correspondent's Dinner. They both await the 25th at the White House.

Encloses Curriculum Vitae for Harold Koplewicz who is interested in Administrator of SAMHSA.

Encloses personalized Hoya key chain.

3-19-93 SHELDON D. BEYCHOK

ck

He is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Jewish Democratic Council (they supported you). He writes to voice his "objection" of the appointment of Faye Williams as liaison for the Department of Energy to the White House. Gives reasons for his objection and states that, "the appointment of Fay Williams is an outrage and an insult to the Jewish Community of Louisiana."

Copy of letter sent to Sen. Breaux and Sen. Johnston.

5-6-93 DOV RONEN

Thanks for your handwritten note. He offers two points of clarification and one concrete suggestion.

1. Self-rule is quest to be free from being ruled by perceived "other." Freedom achieved by gaining freedom from that "other."

2. End of Cold War has unleashed pent up aspirations for self-rule and reinvigorated new ones. Lists groups not to be ruled by their perceived "others."

Suggestion: Appoint a commission or study groups to examine (a) whether these propositions can be substantiated, (b) what might optional institutionalization of self-rule entail, and (c) useful for U.S. to formulate and adopt principle of self rule as basis of future world order and guiding norm of her foreign policy.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/17/93

NOTE FOR: MACK MCLARTY

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☐

Action ☒

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
5.15.93
33 MAY 15 11:37

May 15, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Susan Brophy *SB*
SUBJECT: Weekly Congressional Report (May 10-14)

I. SUMMARY

The Administration's economic plan passed a sizeable hurdle after approval by the Ways and Means Committee on a 24-14 party-line vote. All relevant House committees met the reconciliation target date of May 14. The committee reports now go back to the Budget Committee which expects to have the legislation to the Rules Committee on Wednesday, May 19. The vote for final passage of the House reconciliation bill is Thursday, May 27.

The Senate Finance Committee will begin reconciliation mark-up on June 8, following Memorial Day recess. Chairman Moynihan moved the date up a week at the urging of the Administration.

II. DISCUSSION

Senate - The Senate passed the conference report on Motor Voter on Tuesday, May 11 by a vote of 62-36, after a cloture vote of 63-37. Republicans voting for cloture were: Cohen, Domenici, Durenberger, Hatfield, Jeffords and Specter. The bill signing is scheduled for Thursday, May 20.

On May 13, the Senate passed the RTC funding bill by a 61-35 vote. This was a bipartisan effort, with substantial assistance from Senators D'Amato and Dole. Thirty-six Democrats and 25 Republicans supported the bill, 19 Democrats and 16 Republicans opposed. The bill set funding levels at \$18.3 billion for the RTC, \$8.5 billion for the Savings Association Insurance Fund (SAIF), the fund scheduled to take over responsibility for protecting deposits after the RTC is shut down, and authorizes an additional \$7.5 billion for SAIF.

Next week the Senate is scheduled to take up Campaign Finance Reform legislation. The Rules Committee is holding a hearing on Wednesday, May 19, which Ross Perot is tentatively scheduled to attend. The bill is expected to go to the floor later in the week. Republican amendments are expected on PACs, spending limits and public financing.

The Senate Judiciary Committee is scheduled to hold confirmation hearings on Philip Heymann, Webb Hubbell and Drew Days. The full Senate is also expected to take up many confirmations, including Roberta Achtenberg to be Assistant Secretary of HUD for Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity.

House - The House had light floor action this week as most of the activity took place in the committees.

The House considered many bills on suspension, among them a religious freedom measure designed to prevent states from infringing on certain religious practices. The bill effectively overturns a 1990 Supreme Court decision that allowed states to enact laws that incidentally prohibit religious practices as long as the state had a valid purpose.

The House also began consideration of a bill to foster U.S. technology competitiveness in global marketplaces. The bill would authorize \$541 million for FY 94 and \$1 billion for FY 95 for grants and loans to businesses to develop new manufacturing technologies. Final passage is expected next Wednesday, May 18.

Next week the House will also consider an \$1.8 billion supplemental spending bill that includes money for U.S. peacekeeping operations in Somalia and covers funding shortfalls in a number of programs, including: Pell Grants, the SBA, a vaccine compensation program, White House staff and technology.

M E M O R A N D U M

93 MAY 18 P5:27

To: JOHN PODESTA, DAVID WATKINS CC: M. SCOTT
From: Nancy Hernreich
Date: May 18, 1993
Re: NEW EMPLOYEE FOR PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE

I have hired Laura Lancaster for a position in Personal Correspondence at a beginning salary of \$25,000. She will begin on Monday, May 24, 1993.

Doug Fehrer has asked me to let you know so you can confirm her employment with him. She stopped by today to fill out the initial forms so she is ready to start work on Monday.

Doug —
Please process
John Podesta
5-18-93