

Defense Secretary Backs Renaming No. 2 Officer

By The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8 — Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen has recommended the reappointment of the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Joseph W. Ralston, a Pentagon spokesman said today. General Ralston withdrew last year as a candidate for the chairman's job because of an adulterous affair in the 1980's.

If endorsed by President Clinton and confirmed by the Senate, the reappointment would give General Ralston a second two-year term as Vice Chairman, the nation's second ranking uniformed military officer after the chairman.

General Ralston, a four-star officer in the Air Force, had been the leading candidate to become Chairman last year, but his candidacy stirred a furor on Capitol Hill after the Air Force's discharge of First Lieut. Kelly Flinn.

Lieutenant Flinn, the first woman in the nation to pilot a B-52 bomber, was forced out of the Air Force because she had an affair with a married man and disobeyed an order to break it off. General Ralston's candidacy, and Mr. Cohen's strong support of it, prompted accusations that a double standard was at work.

The Pentagon's spokesman, Kenneth H. Bacon, said Mr. Cohen believed General Ralston's performance as Vice Chairman since February 1996 merited a reappointment once his term expires at the end of next month. The new Chairman, Gen. Henry H. Shelton of the Army, also supported the appointment.

F.A.A. Orders Inspection Of Newer Boeing 737's

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8 (Reuters) — The Federal Aviation Administration today ordered immediate checks of some Boeing 737 aircraft as a precaution after a mysterious crash last month in Indonesia.

Operators of newer models were directed to check the leading edge of each horizontal stabilizer for missing fasteners and to verify that hinge bolts were properly installed.

The F.A.A. said investigators reported 26 fasteners and a bolt might have been missing from the right stabilizer of a 737 before it plunged into an Indonesian river on Dec. 19. All 104 people on board were killed.

The order affects 211 Boeing 737-300, 400 and 500 series aircraft delivered after Sept. 20, 1995. The checks must be made within 24 hours or five flights, the agency said.

The SilkAir crash was unusual because the plane was only 10 months old, and the accident occurred in fine weather while the plane was flying from Jakarta to Singapore. The pilots were experienced, and ground control received no distress call.

The missing parts raise the possibility that the plane lost the use of a key stabilizer.

President Names 15 for Nation's Top Civilian Honor

By NEIL A. LEWIS

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8 — President Clinton today announced that he would award the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, to an eclectic group of 15 notables, including Brooke Astor, the New York philanthropist; Sol M. Linowitz, the international lawyer who has served in a variety of special diplomatic posts; Prof. Robert Coles, the Harvard psychiatrist and author, and Albert Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, who died last year.

The medals, to be bestowed at a White House ceremony next Thursday, honor Americans who have made a special contribution to the nation's welfare and allow a President to make a statement about his own view of merit. Last year, for example, Mr. Clinton gave the award to Bob Dole, whom he had just defeated in the Presidential election.

Mr. Linowitz has moved easily between the public and private sectors, serving as chairman of Xerox and dipping into Government to lead the negotiations on the Panama Canal treaties, serve as representative to the Organization of American States and become special Ambassador for the Middle East.

Mrs. Astor, as head of the Vincent Astor Foundation, has supported a variety of projects, like outdoor living spaces in public

housing or the revitalization of the New York Public Library.

Dr. Coles, professor of social ethics at Harvard, has explored in award-winning books the psychology of children, showing their resilience and courage in crisis situations.

Mr. Shanker, who died last February, headed the United Federation of Teachers in New York and before serving as the leader of the nationwide teachers organization. "He became a staunch proponent of teacher certification and higher standards for students," the White House said in a statement.

Others honored are:

Arnold Aronson, founder of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a leading civil rights organization.

Justin Dart Jr., considered the father of the Americans with Disabilities Act, Mr. Dart worked as a businessman for 40 years from a wheelchair.

James Farmer, the civil rights leader who founded the Congress of Racial Equality and became a catalyst of the civil rights movement.

Frances Hesselbein, a former leader of the Girl Scouts of America and an expert supporter of nonprofit organizations.

Fred Korematsu, who challenged the United States Government's policy of interning Jap-

anese-Americans during World War II, losing a 1944 Supreme Court case. Mr. Korematsu's claim was vindicated decades later by Congress and more recent court rulings as the nation mounted an effort to redress Japanese-Americans wronged at the time.

Wilma Mankiller, who grew up in poverty and became the first woman to be elected as the leader of an Indian tribe. The former Cherokee Nation leader has worked to reduce infant mortality among Indians.

Margaret Murie, a lifetime environmentalist and longtime member of the governing council of the Wilderness Society.

Mario G. Obledo, a co-founder of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund and the National Hispanic Bar Association.

Elliot L. Richardson, who has served in four Cabinet posts and as Ambassador to Britain and is renowned for resigning as Attorney General during the Watergate scandals.

David Rockefeller, who through the various Rockefeller Foundations, has financed a multitude of projects in fields ranging from the arts and literacy to food distribution and international family planning efforts.

Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., who commanded naval forces in Vietnam and fought discrimination in the military against minorities and women.

Federal Court Dismisses Bias Suit Against Hertz

DETROIT, Jan. 8 (AP) — A Federal judge has dismissed a Government lawsuit against the leading car rental company, the Hertz Corporation, on behalf of two mentally retarded workers who lost their jobs.

Judge John Feikens of Federal District Court here ruled on Tuesday that he found nothing discriminatory in Hertz's 1994 dismissal of a job coaching service after two of the service's coaches were seen hugging while on Hertz property.

The Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission contended that Hertz, a subsidiary of the Ford Motor Company, effectively terminated the handicapped workers when it dismissed the coaching service that supported them. It said the dismissal violated the Americans with Disabilities Act.

The commission was seeking unspecified back pay, compensatory and punitive damages and reinstatement for the handicapped workers, Kenneth Miller, 56, and Donald Klem, 39.

The New York Times

FRIDAY, JANUARY 9, 1998

Raising Money Uptown, Clinton Creates a Tie-Up

Manhattan Stop Draws Big Names and Gifts

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

Portions of uptown Manhattan were barricaded yesterday while President Clinton trolled for money in exclusive haunts on the Upper West Side and Park Avenue.

The President addressed about 60 people at a private luncheon in a \$4 million apartment in the Dakota on Central Park West, raising about \$250,000. He spent the afternoon holed up at the Carlyle Hotel on the Upper East Side, then went to a dinner in a Park Avenue home, where he was expected to raise an additional \$600,000. Tickets cost \$5,000 a person for the lunch and \$30,000 a couple for dinner.

The President's events, closed to the public and to cameras, were part of his tireless effort to help pull the Democratic National Committee out of the debt into which it plunged during his 1996 re-election campaign. With Mr. Clinton's help, the party erased \$4 million of its debt in November and December, leaving it \$13.2 million in the red.

The President has returned to the New York well several times. "He's worth it," Lauren Bacall purred to a reporter after the President spoke at the Dakota, explaining why Democrats keep giving him money. Mr. Clinton came over, lifted her hand to his lips and kissed it. "Terrific," she

The President strolls, as others are stopped in their tracks.

said to him. He beamed.

His audience was studded with Hollywood faces. They included Leonardo DiCaprio, Uma Thurman, Ethan Hawke, Kevin Spacey and Christie Brinkley. The event's hosts were Jane Rosenthal, president of TriBeCa Productions, and her husband, Craig M. Hatkoff.

After a lunch of buffalo chili and vegetable tarts, the crowd gathered in the living room. Mr. Clinton, standing in front of an unlighted fireplace, spoke of his feelings at visiting the apartment building where John Lennon was shot in 1980.

"I'm a very schmaltzy person and I get all choked up when I come here," he said. "I keep imagining whether I'm standing in a place where John Lennon was, and all that." His listeners, many of them standing with their arms folded, shuffled uncomfortably in the dim light of the drizzly afternoon.

A large blue tarpaulin hung over the archway of the building, an attempt by the police to shield Mr. Clinton's black limousine from view. The Dakota has its own extensive security, but Mr. Clinton's presence increased it severalfold, with scores of city police officers, suited against

the rain in yellow slickers, guarding barricades that blocked off West 72d Street and several other streets along Central Park West.

Many New Yorkers seethed as they were barred from their appointed rounds. Several were trapped in the lobbies of nearby apartment buildings and could not leave while Mr. Clinton was inside.

On the Upper East Side, Robert Davis, a messenger, was unable to deliver packages for more than an hour on a stretch of Madison Avenue that was closed for Mr. Clinton's visit. "Who cares about the President?" he shouted. "People have a job to do."

But Cheryl Seelos, a teacher from San Diego who was visiting her daughter on West 72d Street, was less angry. "It's inconvenient," she said, "but I'd rather be inconvenienced than have something happen."

Upstairs at the Dakota, Mr. Clinton was giving his guests a 23-minute history lesson, taking them from the Industrial Revolution through the cold war and casting an eye on several contemporary issues, including child care, Social Security and the gap between the rich and the poor.

"A lot of Americans, a lot of you in this room, over the last five years have told me that you're very glad you've done well in life but you're very concerned about the increasing inequality of wealth in America," he said.

"What can a country do if it has great inequality, and you don't believe in punishing the successful?" he asked. He said the 1993 tax increase for upper-income people was one answer, but that it was "a one-time deal." The only other option, he said, was to make sure everyone had education and training "so they're on the cutting edge of change."

Mr. Clinton's speech was free of partisan attacks and any direct mention of money; his conclusion contained only one vague reference. "Why should you be here, and why are you doing this?" he asked. "Because we believe that Government is not the enemy, but it has to be an agent of change."

The President left the Carlyle about 6:30 P.M. and walked one block to the home of Alan and Susan Patricof, where he ate dinner sitting next to Martha Stewart. He spoke for about 20 minutes, making no mention of money except to state his support for campaign finance reform.

For his stroll, agents had blocked off East 76th Street and asked residents to stay away from their windows. But one woman, Buenabatur Meaurio, 40, a part-time baby sitter with her young charge, stood in her doorway. The President stopped to chat and she pulled him close and kissed him.

"I can't believe that I could hug and kiss him," she exclaimed as he moved on. "I did with the Argentine President, but not with the President of the United States."

The New York Times

FRIDAY, JANUARY 9, 1998

An American Honor Roll

15 to Be Awarded Presidential Medals of Freedom

Associated Press

President Clinton will award the nation's highest civilian honor to 15 Americans, including the first female Indian chief, a disability rights activist and a man who held four Cabinet posts.

Clinton plans to present the Presidential Medals of Freedom during a ceremony on Thursday, the White House announced yesterday.

Among the recipients is Wilma Mankiller, who was twice elected to head the Cherokee Nation. Mankiller worked to reduce infant mortality, improve health and education and promote business among Cherokees.

Another honoree is Elliot Richardson, who held four Cabinet positions—attorney general and secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Defense and Commerce—under Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford.

Clinton bestowed posthumous honors on Albert Shanker, who led the American Federation of Teachers for more than 20 years. Shanker died of cancer in February 1997 at age 68.

Other medal recipients are:

■ Justin Dart Jr., who has advocated the rights of the disabled for more than 40 years. His work resulted in the Americans With Disabilities Act, which requires that public facilities be adapted to accommodate disabled people.

■ Adm. Elmo "Bud" Zumwalt Jr., former chief of naval operations, who issued directives to end discrimination in the Navy. Zumwalt is now an advocate for compensation for the health problems of Vietnam veterans.

■ David Rockefeller, former chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank who has funded projects in the arts, literacy, international family planning and treatment of Alzheimer's disease. Rockefel-

ler is a founder of the International Executive Service Corps, a volunteer program that offers the expertise of U.S. executives to developing nations.

■ Sol Linowitz, a partner in the service corps and a lawyer-businessman, is a former U.S. representative to the Organization of American States. He served as ambassador-at-large for Middle East negotiations under President Jimmy Carter.

■ James Farmer, a civil rights activist who founded the Congress of Racial Equality, an organization that helped spur the civil rights movement.

■ Arnold Aronson, founder of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an umbrella lobbying organization for civil rights groups.

■ Brooke Astor, a philanthropist who financed the revitalization of the New York Public Library.

■ Frances Hesselbein, an expert on not-for-profit corporations who led a revitalization of the Girl Scouts of America from 1976 to 1990.

■ Fred Korematsu, whose legal challenges to civilian exclusion orders during World War II helped spur the redress movement for Japanese Americans.

■ Robert Coles, an adviser to President John F. Kennedy on racial issues and a psychologist who has researched children's experiences with racism.

■ Margaret Murie, an environmental activist whose work with the Wilderness Society led to the passage of legislation protecting Alaskan lands.

■ Mario Obledo, a longtime Latino rights advocate and a founder of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JANUARY 9, 1998

At Fund-Raiser, Clinton Pitches Education Standards

By John F. Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Jan. 8—Standing in the living room of one of Manhattan's most exclusive addresses, President Clinton warned entertainment celebrities and other Democratic contributors today about the problems of failing inner-city schools.

At a private home in the Upper West Side's Dakota apartment building, Clinton told people who paid \$5,000 per plate for a luncheon of buffalo chili and sea bass that people often tell him at fund-raisers they are glad they "have done well in life" but support Democrats because they are "very concerned about the increasing inequality of wealth in America."

On that note, Clinton said he was alarmed by a report this week about the performance of urban public schools, historically the nation's most powerful engine of equal opportunity. The report, published in Education Week magazine, showed that only about 40 percent of fourth- and eighth-graders in urban schools attained what educators consider a "basic" proficiency, while two-thirds of students in suburban and rural schools met this standard.

Clinton said the study is more evidence of why national education standards are needed. "You can say, 'Well, what do you expect? The kids there are poorer,'" Clinton said of the weak test scores. "They may be poorer, but we spend more money on average" in urban schools. "We cannot pretend, if we have a truly progressive vision of the future, that we can ever achieve what we want to achieve unless we hold our children—all of our children—without regard to their race, their income or their background, to high standards of learning."

Conservatives have resisted funding Clinton's standards program, warning that it may lead to an expanded federal government role in what traditionally has been a local responsibility.

Clinton's pitch for a more progressive education policy came on a day devoted to fund-raising—\$250,000 at lunch at the home of Craig Hatkoff and \$600,000 at dinner at the home of Susan and Alan Patricof.

The luncheon was a star-studded event. In the audience were actresses Uma Thurman and Lauren Bacall and actors Leonardo DiCaprio and Kevin Spacey, as well as director Barry Levinson and model Christie Brinkley. Clinton kissed the hand of Bacall, who said

people give money to Clinton because "he's worth it."

Among those partaking of red snapper and angel food cake at the dinner fund-raiser was food and home maven Martha Stewart. After his remarks, Clinton took several questions from the guests, who contributed a minimum of \$30,000 per couple. Clinton said he hopes the visit of Pope John Paul II will allow for improved relations with Cuba. On the Middle East, he said progress toward peace "really depends upon whether the recent change in Israel, political change [the resignation of Foreign Minister David Levy], is seen as a spur to action or a break in action."

Last year, in the midst of the Democratic fund-raising controversy, Clinton pledged to give greater media access to his fund-raisers. But today's coverage was restricted. Two newspaper reporters were allowed in briefly, serving as "pool" correspondents for other news organizations, but no camera crews or other reporters were allowed.

White House press secretary Michael McCurry acknowledged that Clinton's policy on which events to open fully is "arbitrary." But he noted that Republican National Committee fund-raisers are completely closed to reporters.

On Friday, Clinton will visit Texas. Since his New York visit was dedicated solely to fund-raising, the DNC will pay a share of Clinton's travel costs, although the reimbursement is only a fraction of the operating cost of Air Force One.

The Dakota was the residence of musician John Lennon, and it was outside this building where he was murdered in 1981. Clinton, who said he has been at the Dakota before, told the crowd: "I'm a very schmaltzy person, so I get all choked up when I come here. I keep imagining whether I'm standing someplace where John Lennon was."

Before leaving for New York, Clinton met at the White House with Democratic congressional leaders, several of whom later endorsed Clinton's position that it is unwise to consider tax cuts with a projected budget surplus so long as the money is merely forecast.

"I think there's a real consensus that we shouldn't talk about spending a surplus that we hope for until it's actually produced," House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) said. "We should be cautious and realistic and responsible in the way we deal with that issue."

FRIDAY, JANUARY 9, 1998
The Washington Post

FINAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 17, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: PHIL CAPLAN *Phil*

SUBJECT: Medal of Freedom

Attached is the current list of candidates that we intend to recommend to the President for the Medal of Freedom. We're trying to keep it at 20 people in order that the President can pare it down to 10-12. Generally, we don't give him more than 16-18 recommendations, but this year we have given him some "either/or" possibilities.

Note that there are some changes since the last time we met. Please review the list and let me know if you feel strongly that someone should be added or removed. But remember, it's a zero-sum game at this point -- any name added must be accompanied by a subtraction as we really need to keep the list at 20. Although we could remove an entire category (e.g. business) and replace it with other names.

Please let me know your thoughts by October 21 -- I hope to get a final memo to the POTUS late next week.

DISTRIBUTION:

Erskine Bowles
John Podesta
Sylvia Mathews
Rahm Emanuel
Ann Lewis
Paul Begala
Sid Blumenthal
Michael Waldman
Maria Echaveste
Melanne Verveer
Jake Siewert
Mike McCurry
Elena Kagan
Todd Stern
Jennifer Palmeiri
Capricia Marshall

MEDAL OF FREEDOM (as of 10/16)

Misc. prominent Americans

Katharine Graham, 80, WF

(Others considered: *Charlie Peters*)

Carl Sagan posthumous

Frances Hesselbein, WF, 79 took over Girl Scouts and saved organization, non-profit management guru

Toni Morrison, 66, BF - Nobel Prize for literature in '93, Princeton

(Others considered: *Maya Angelou*, BF, 69)

Brook Astor, WF, 95 - philanthropy (**POTUS interest**)

Race/Civil Rights

Arnie Aronson, 86, JM - founded Leadership Conf on Civil Rights;

and

James Farmer, 87, BM - founded CORE; civil rights giant, Asst Secy HEW during Nixon; teaches at Mary Washington College (can they travel?)

(Others considered: *Louis Martin*, posthumous; *Daisy Bates*, BF)

Education/Children

Al Shanker posthumous

Robert Coles, 67, WM - Duke and Harvard prof; Pulitzer Prize, MacArthur Foundation winner; author; social development of children; social ethics, ethic of service

Dr. Spock, 95, WM

(Others considered: *Bill Hendricks*, Toys for Tots founder)

Military

Adm Crowe, 72, WM - JCS, Ambassador, '92, Persian Gulf War; NSC recommendation

or

Adm Zumwalt, 76 WM - commander US forces in Vietnam; lost son to cancer (Agent Orange), CNO, force against discrimination in military

Statesman

Elliot Richardson, 77, WM - numerous Cab offices, (**POTUS interest**)

(Others considered: *Max Kampelman*)

Hispanic

Mario Obledo, HM, 65, attorney, immediate past Chair of Bd of Dir of National Rainbow Coalition [JJ OK] former CA HEW Secy, co-founder Hispanic Bar Assoc, Chair of California Coalition of Hispanic Organizations, former Pres of LULAC, Echaveste endorsement

(Others considered; *Bishop Augustin Roman*, Miami Catholic Bishop, founded Cuban exile organization; *Ernie Cortez*, Texas activist.

Historian

Arthur Schlesinger, 79, WM - Kennedy staff, prominent Presidential historian, founded ADA
or

Daniel Boorstin, WM 82 - former Librarian of Congress, prom historian, Rhodes Scholar
or

C. Vann Woodward, WM 78 - most prominent Southern historian, Pulitzer, teaches at Yale,
author, NACCP consultant in 50's

Environmentalist

Margaret "Mardy" Murie, 95, WF - wilderness conservation, last link b/w Muir, first female
grd of univ of Alaska, very ill, lives in Jackson Hole (can she travel?)

(Other considered: *John Sawhill* WM 61)

Business

David Kearns, 66, WM - Bush UnderSecy of Ed; former CEO Xerox; education, CEO of New
American Schools Development Corp;

or

Sol Linowitz, 83, JM - founded and chaired Int'l Exec Service Corps, CEO of Xerox; Panama
Canal treaty negotiator, OAS Ambassador; lawyer

or

David Rockefeller, 82, WM - founded and chaired Int'l Exec Service Corps, Chase National
Bank, Head of council of Foreign Relations; philanthropy; MoMA; Tri-Lateral Commission

Others considered (probably won't be forwarded to POTUS):

Jimmy Carter & Rosalynn Carter (2 separate medals)

Religious

Alexander Schindler, JM, 71 - longtime of Union of Hebrew Cong; leader of Reform
movement, first Reform Jew to be elected to Conf of Pres of Major Jewish Org, WWI
decorated vet - Purple Heart and Bronze Star

Rev. Msgr. George Higgins, WM, 81 (the "Labor priest"), longtime lecturer at Catholic
Univ., leading Catholic thinker on social justice issues, advisor to unions...UFCW, UAW

Schedule Proposal

10/6/97

____ ACCEPT

____ REGRET

____ PENDING

TO: Stephanie Streett
Assistant to the President and Director of Scheduling

FROM: Phil Caplan 

REQUEST: For the President to make the annual Medal of Freedom presentation.

PURPOSE: The Medal of Freedom is the highest award the President can make. Traditionally, he presents 8-12 Medals together in one East Room ceremony. This is an annual event.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: Each year since he has been President.

DATE AND TIME: November or December (must be in 1997)

BRIEFING TIME: 15 minutes.

DURATION: 30 minutes - 1 hour.

LOCATION: White House - East Room.

PARTICIPANTS: 8-12 Medal of Freedom winners and their families and friends; East Room audience of invited guests connected to the Medal winners.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: TBD.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes -- prepared by Speechwriting.

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open.

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Yes.

VICE PRESIDENT'S
ATTENDANCE: Helpful but not required.

MRS. GORE'S
ATTENDANCE: Not required.

RECOMMENDED BY: Annual event

CONTACT: Phil Caplan, x62702

Schedule Proposal

10/6/97

☐ ACCEPT

☐ REGRET

☐ PENDING

TO: Stephanie Streett
Assistant to the President and Director of Scheduling

FROM: Phil Caplan *PC*

REQUEST: For the President to make the annual Medal of Freedom presentation.

PURPOSE: The Medal of Freedom is the highest award the President can make. Traditionally, he presents 8-12 Medals together in one East Room ceremony. This is an annual event.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: Each year since he has been President.

DATE AND TIME: November or December (must be in 1997)

BRIEFING TIME: 15 minutes.

DURATION: 30 minutes - 1 hour.

LOCATION: White House - East Room.

PARTICIPANTS: 8-12 Medal of Freedom winners and their families and friends; East Room audience of invited guests connected to the Medal winners.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: TBD.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes -- prepared by Speechwriting.

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open.

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Yes.

VICE PRESIDENT'S
ATTENDANCE: Helpful but not required.

MRS. GORE'S
ATTENDANCE: Not required.

RECOMMENDED BY: Annual event

CONTACT: Phil Caplan, x62702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 17, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: PHIL CAPLAN *PC*

SUBJECT: Medal of Freedom

Attached is the current list of candidates that we intend to recommend to the President for the Medal of Freedom. We're trying to keep it at 20 people in order that the President can pare it down to 10-12. Generally, we don't give him more than 16-18 recommendations, but this year we have given him some "either/or" possibilities.

Note that there are some changes since the last time we met. Please review the list and let me know if you feel strongly that someone should be added or removed. But remember, it's a zero-sum game at this point -- any name added must be accompanied by a subtraction as we really need to keep the list at 20. Although we could remove an entire category (e.g. business) and replace it with other names.

Please let me know your thoughts by October 21 -- I hope to get a final memo to the POTUS late next week.

DISTRIBUTION:

Erskine Bowles
John Podesta
Sylvia Mathews
Rahm Emanuel
Ann Lewis
Paul Begala
Sid Blumenthal
Michael Waldman
Maria Echaveste
Melanne Verveer
Jake Siewert
Mike McCurry
Elena Kagan
Todd Stern
Jennifer Palmeiri
Capricia Marshall

MEDAL OF FREEDOM (as of 10/16)

Misc. prominent Americans

Katharine Graham, 80, WF

(Others considered: *Charlie Peters*)

Carl Sagan posthumous

Frances Hesselbein, WF, 79 took over Girl Scouts and saved organization, non-profit management guru

Toni Morrison, 66, BF - Nobel Prize for literature in '93, Princeton

(Others considered: *Maya Angelou*, BF, 69)

Brook Astor, WF, 95 - philanthropy (**POTUS interest**)

Race/Civil Rights

Arnie Aronson, 86, JM - founded Leadership Conf on Civil Rights;
and

James Farmer, 87, BM - founded CORE; civil rights giant, Asst Secy HEW during Nixon; teaches at Mary Washington College (can they travel?)

(Others considered: *Louis Martin*, posthumous; *Daisy Bates*, BF)

Education/Children

Al Shanker posthumous

Robert Coles, 67, WM - Duke and Harvard prof; Pulitzer Prize, MacArthur Foundation winner; author; social development of children; social ethics, ethic of service

Dr. Spock, 95, WM

(Others considered: *Bill Hendricks*, Toys for Tots founder)

Military

Adm Crowe, 72, WM - JCS, Ambassador, '92, Persian Gulf War; NSC recommendation
or

Adm Zumwalt, 76 WM - commander US forces in Vietnam; lost son to cancer (Agent Orange), CNO, force against discrimination in military

Statesman

Elliot Richardson, 77, WM - numerous Cab offices, (**POTUS interest**)

(Others considered: *Max Kampelman*)

Hispanic

Mario Obledo, HM, 65, attorney, immediate past Chair of Bd of Dir of National Rainbow Coalition [JJ OK] former CA HEW Secy, co-founder Hispanic Bar Assoc, Chair of California Coalition of Hispanic Organizations, former Pres of LULAC, Echaveste endorsement

(Others considered: *Bishop Augustin Roman*, Miami Catholic Bishop, founded Cuban exile organization; *Ernie Cortez*, Texas activist.

Historian

Arthur Schlesinger, 79, WM - Kennedy staff, prominent Presidential historian, founded ADA
or

Daniel Boorstin, WM 82 - former Librarian of Congress, prom historian, Rhodes Scholar
or

C. Vann Woodward, WM 78 - most prominent Southern historian, Pulitzer, teaches at Yale, author, NACCP consultant in 50's

Environmentalist

Margaret "Mardy" Murie, 95, WF - wilderness conservation, last link b/w Muir, first female grd of univ of Alaska, very ill, lives in Jackson Hole (can she travel?)

(Other considered: *John Sawhill* WM 61)

Business

David Kearns, 66, WM - Bush UnderSecy of Ed; former CEO Xerox; education, CEO of New American Schools Development Corp;

or

Sol Linowitz, 83, JM - founded and chaired Int'l Exec Service Corps, CEO of Xerox; Panama Canal treaty negotiator, OAS Ambassador; lawyer

or

David Rockefeller, 82, WM - founded and chaired Int'l Exec Service Corps, Chase National Bank, Head of council of Foreign Relations; philanthropy; MoMA; Tri-Lateral Commission

Others considered (probably won't be forwarded to POTUS):

Jimmy Carter & Rosalynn Carter (2 separate medals)

Religious

Alexander Schindler, JM, 71 - longtime of Union of Hebrew Cong; leader of Reform movement, first Reform Jew to be elected to Conf of Pres of Major Jewish Org, WWI decorated vet - Purple Heart and Bronze Star

Rev. Msgr. George Higgins, WM, 81 (the "Labor priest"), longtime lecturer at Catholic Univ., leading Catholic thinker on social justice issues, advisor to unions...UFCW, UAW

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 5, 1998

'98 OCT 5 PM 2:35

MEMORANDUM FOR PHIL CAPLAN, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND STAFF SECRETARY

FROM: BOB J. NASH, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL



SUBJECT: MEDAL OF FREEDOM

Enclosed are short descriptions of people we may want to consider as recommendations for the Medal of Freedom. There is a possibility I may need to be out of the office tomorrow, but if not, I plan to come to the meeting 11:30am.

BJN:lkd

Maya Angelou

Born April 4, 1928, in Saint Louis, Missouri

Maya Angelou has published five volumes of her autobiography, the first of which, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, was nominated for a National Book Award in 1974 and aired as a television movie in 1979. An artist of wide-ranging talents, she was nominated for a Tony award for acting and a Pulitzer for poetry. She was the first black woman director in Hollywood and has written, produced, directed, and starred in productions for stage, film, and television. In 1981, she accepted a lifetime appointment as Reynolds Professor of American Studies at Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

I was a mute for five years. I wasn't cute and I didn't speak. I don't know what would have happened to me had I been in an integrated school. In another society, I'm sure I would have been ruled out. But my grandma told me all the time, "Sister, Mama don't care what these people say about you being a moron, being a idiot. Mama don't care. Mama know, Sister, when you and the good Lord get ready, you're gonna be a preacher."

Recently, I gave the principal speech to the National Council of Christians and Jews.

Love affords wonder. And it is only love that gives one the liberty, the courage to go inside and see who am I really.

The larger society said that I belonged to an unwelcome tribe. My feeling was, "Unwelcome to you, but my people don't say that." Which is one of the reasons black women have survived, and done better than that, thrived.

But some of us don't, and we don't know who we've lost. It's impossible to say what we've lost when we cut off one group. We are all diminished when one group is diminished. Can you imagine if this country were not so afflicted with racism? Can you imagine what it would be like if the vitality, humor, and resilience of the black American were infused throughout this country?

It seems to me that real sexism is a newly delivered message. Black women and black men know that we were stolen and sold together on the African continent. We lay spoon fashion in the filthy hatches of slave ships together. We stood upon the auction block together, were sold again together, took the lash together. There's no question of superiority. We have survived somehow together.

One of the unfortunate results of living a legendary life and dying a legendary death is that when the person is written about, more often than not he is made larger than life. The human qualities of humor, being wrong, sometimes gauche, losing, forgetting, these wonderful qualities we all have are never mentioned. The legend is taken out of the possession of the people. Every word uttered was memorable. Well, that's not true.

I don't tell everything I know but what I do tell is the truth. There's a world of difference between truth and facts. Facts can obscure the truth. You can tell so many facts that you fill the stage but haven't got one iota of the truth.

I have no modesty, none. It's a waste of time. It's a learned affectation stuck on from without. If life slams the modest person against the wall, he or she will drop that modesty

quicker than a stripper will drop her G-string. What I hope I have and what I pray for is humility. Humility comes from within.

Humility says there were people before me who found the path: I'm a road builder. For those who are yet to come, I seem to be finding the path and they will be road builders. That keeps one humble. Love keeps one humble.

Being humble doesn't mean one has to be a mat. In fact, just the opposite. What it means is, I will make myself so fine that I will be of use to you, make myself useful, do what I can do, and be an instrument of God. I do believe that anybody who can't be used is useless.

I believe all the tools that have been given to me that I recognized, I have developed. They may have been given to me as crowbars and I've tried to turn them into levers.

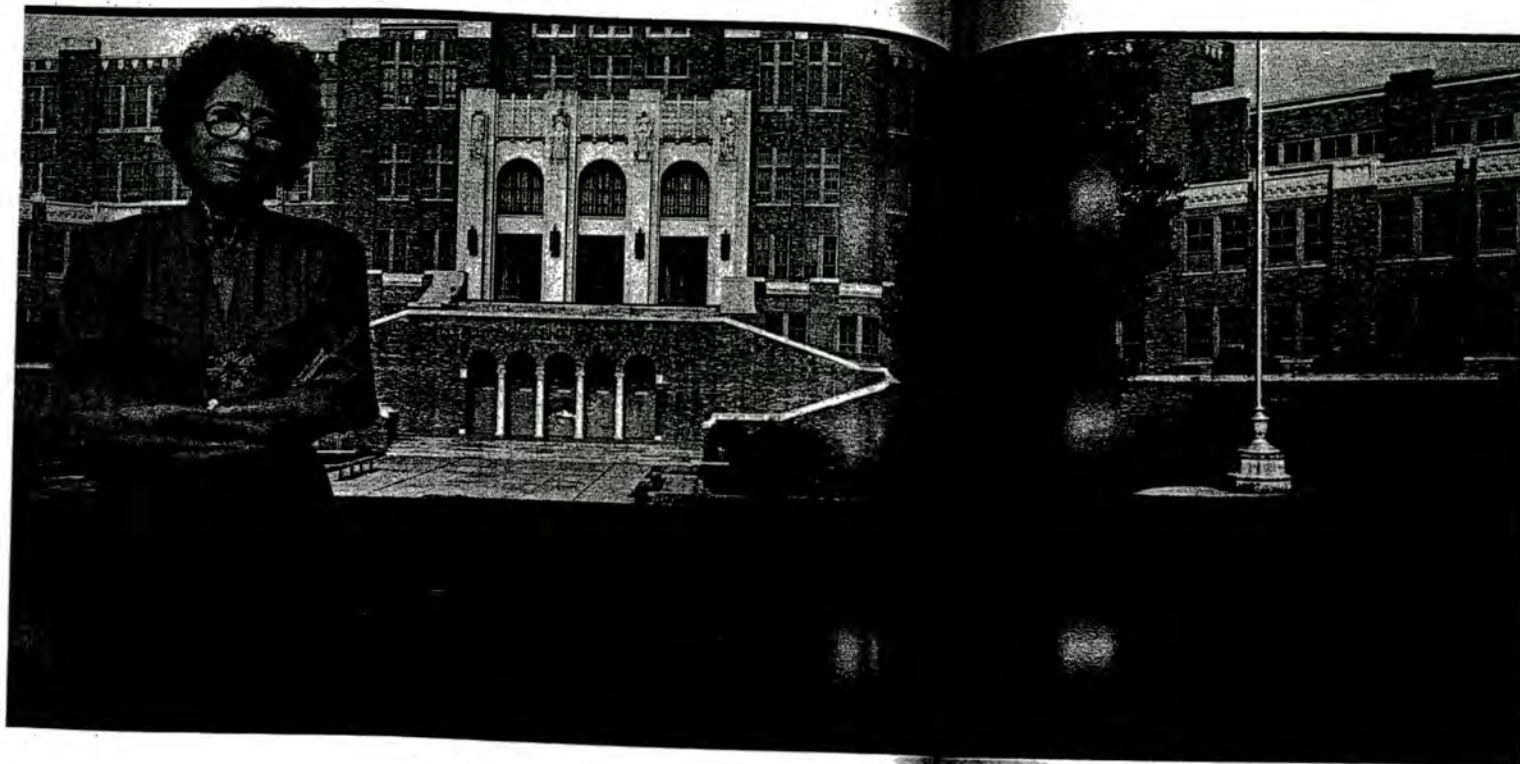
Strictly speaking, one cannot legislate love, but what one can do is legislate fairness and justice. If legislation does not prohibit our living side by side, sooner or later your child will fall on the pavement and I'll be the one to pick her up. Or one of my children will not be able to get into the house and you'll have to say, "Stay here until your mom comes home." Legislation affords us the chance to see if we might love each other.

It is imperative that young people be told that we have come a long way, otherwise they are likely to become cynical. A cynical young person is almost the saddest sight to see, because it means that he or she has gone from knowing nothing to believing in nothing. Young people must not get to the point of saying, "You mean to tell me we had Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers? You mean to tell me we had the Kennedys, we had Fannie Lou Hamer and Mary McLeod Bethune? You mean to tell me we had all these men and women and we have made no progress? Then what the hell—there is no progress to be made. It can't be made."

So it must be simultaneous—how far we have come and how far we have to go.

I'm convinced that I'm a child of God. That's wonderful, exhilarating, liberating, full of promise. But the burden which goes along with that is, I'm convinced that everybody is a child of God. The brutes and bigots, the batterers and the bastards are also children of God. And that's where the onerous burden comes in for me, as a practicing Christian, to try to keep that in mind and not grit my teeth until they break off into little stubs.

I weep a lot. I thank God I laugh a lot, too. The main thing in one's own private world is to try to laugh as much as you cry.



Daisy Bates

Born November 11, 1914, in Huttig, Arkansas

as a beautiful woman, dark, mixed Negro. I found out early in my life that happened to her. When I was 14, she was raped and murdered by three white men. Before my father went to his best friend's house and said, "I need a place to stay." My father never came back. When I was told, "You might as well stay here, he'll take you." I was proud that I was trusted. I told my father I would take care of the center-cut pork chops, if he would give me a dollar. I was the only person in

the neighborhood at that time, but a little white girl came in and he served her, gave her a nice center-cut pork chop. Then a woman walked up and he served her. I asked again and he said, "Niggers have to wait until all the whites have been served." Then he gave me a handful of bad meat and told me to go on, that I had no money.

I was so mad and hurt. When my daddy came home, I told him the story. I wanted to go back there and make that butcher give me the kind of meat I wanted. He said, "It's not so bad." I asked him, "Daddy, are you afraid?" I never saw him so angry. He said, "Haven't you heard what I've been trying to tell you? I could be killed and nothing would be done about it." Killed over a pork chop. And more than

that, he said that Mother and I would be the next victims. I can remember what my daddy said on his dying day. "Daisy," he said, "you're consumed with hatred for white people." He said, "If you're gonna hate, make it count for something. Hate segregation in the South."

When we took on segregation in the Little Rock schools I don't think we had any big idea that we were gonna win it then. But they were gonna know they had had a fight!

The phone rang constantly with threats. They broke the windows with rocks. They burned crosses in the yard all the time. Huge ones. And they set the house on fire. One night a man was going to throw a Molotov cocktail. I shot over his

head with my .38 and he ducked and dropped it. Another night the police caught some people with guns and ammunition enough to blow the whole town away. Dynamite, everything. I was asked to stay with friends someplace else. I said, "Why should I? This is my home. I live here, I'm gonna stay here."

I didn't want anybody killed in the process. The whole movement would have been lost and all that suffering that the children had gone through would have been lost.

The kids were so courageous. They were ready to go and they wanted to go. The whites didn't want them and it made them want to go more. One of the reasons President Eisenhower was so long making up his mind was because he didn't want to be embarrassed sending in federal troops if the kids would not go in.

I think the high point was when the troops came in and Minnie Jean Brown [one of the Little Rock Nine] smiled and said, "For the first time in my life I feel like an American citizen."

I was fighting from my understanding of the past. There were blacks that didn't understand what was happening to them. This disturbed me an awful lot. There were not enough people who wanted to change, not enough of them to fight for change.

I was independent. I didn't have a boss I had to please. I thought I was strong putting out thirty thousand papers all over the state.

We brought to the public the conditions of the system in the South. Heretofore when something happened to a Negro and it was difficult to get the facts, reporters went to the white people and took their word for everything. But this time they had to come to me, here. They got the message.

We were in court in 1956 and I wanted to go to the rest room outside the judge's chambers. I was in a hurry and I didn't see the Whites Only sign. A charwoman, a white woman, was down on her knees cleaning up vomit. She said, "Nigger, you're in the wrong place." I went on in and used the rest room. When I came around she was still there on her knees. I was so angry with her I could have pushed her head down in the bucket. But I realized she was as much a victim as I was. I felt sorry for her.

I don't think I was courageous. I think I was determined.

I've gotten awards and plaques, I think they are saying, "You are doing what I'd like to do but I can't do it because I gotta eat, I gotta feed my kids."

Changes have been made. The people who were quiet are now speaking out. But I realize that you cannot erase in thirty years what it took two hundred years to establish.

Daisy Bates, along with her husband L. C. Bates, established a weekly newspaper, The Arkansas State Press, in the early 1940s.

Elected president of the Arkansas NAACP, she led the historic fight of the Little Rock Nine to desegregate Central High School in 1957. Her book, The Long Shadow of Little Rock, was published in 1962.

Unita Blackwell

Born March 18, 1933, in Lula, Mississippi

The first black woman mayor in Mississippi, Unita Blackwell was elected mayor of Mayersville in 1976. She was one of the key organizers of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which challenged the seating of the all-white delegation from that state to the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in 1964. She was the national president of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association from 1976 to 1983. In 1983 she received a master's degree in regional planning from the University of Massachusetts. She is the past chair of the Black Women Mayor's Caucus and is currently serving as president of the National Conference of Black Mayors.

This very place where I am now the mayor, the people used to arrest me every day and harass me every day. They turned cars upside down, burned crosses in my yard, threw homemade bombs at us.

It wasn't just a song for us, "We Shall Overcome." It was our strength. When I see people heading up organizations and doing all these things, it didn't come about overnight and it didn't come without pain.

I think that a lot of people might have missed the emotional violence, looking at the physical violence during the civil rights movement. The emotional violence was fear and not knowing what's going to happen and when they were coming at you. I experienced the emotional violence every day.

I was involved in the voter registration drives, trying to get people down to the courthouse. If you did that, you took your own life in hand. You knew that you might die or if you happened to live that you would be beaten like Fannie Lou Hamer was beaten, till her body was just hard as a rock.

We wanted to bring people out of the bondage that they were under, the feeling that they were hopeless and helpless. And that was not as easy as said, when the courthouse was surrounded with pickup trucks, with guns, with white people and anger.

I said, "Nothin' from nothin' leaves nothin'. We don't have nothin', so we ain't losing nothin' and our life don't mean nothin' if we continue this way with no freedom." I was determined to have my rights as a citizen in this United States.

I'm one of the people who has filed a lawsuit against almost every agency and operation of white people in the state of Mississippi. We had to. I drove out of my house and I was arrested every day, during one time, every day straight for thirty days. It may be seventy-five times I've been in jail. They wouldn't tell the black people when we were in jail, because then the Klan could get to us in jail. That's how a lot of people were beaten up and killed.

In 1964 my whole sleep habits changed. I never sleep through the night, because that's when the Klan came at us. We'd take turns, watching, walking, looking. You come talking about you're going to call the police? You couldn't trust nobody because the police was the Klans. The police was burning the cross in my yard.

I called the FBI in Jackson. You can't hold no long conversations with people getting ready to kill you, you see. "Well, how many crosses is it?" he asked. "How tall is the cross?" I wasn't about to get up off the floor to find out how tall the

cross was. And then this FBI man told me how to preserve the cross. Asked me did I have a gunny sack. Gave me a description of what a gunny sack was...

Have you ever been in a condition where there is no place you can call for help?

We were denied and disenfranchised in Mississippi, so we formed our own party, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party. We had sixty-four blacks and four whites to go to Atlantic City.

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer testified before the credentials committee. She was my friend and mentor. She helped me understand why white people treated us so bad. She'd say, "Honey, they're just sick, their minds are sick. We're just going to have to get up and get registered to vote so that they can go home and lay down, 'cause they're some sick people." She was the conscience of all of us. She'd have you laughing all the time. In the midst of chaos, we could laugh.

We had no idea that we were changing the whole political future of America. Here was a bunch of people that had never been anywhere, not politically astute people, sophisticated or anything. We were going because we didn't have shoes for our children and decent houses to stay in and just the everyday life that we wanted.

Going to Atlantic City and coming back, we had incidents. When we were coming back, the Klan set up a roadblock. A very petite little woman from Hattiesburg came out with a knife like a razor and laid it around the [white] driver's neck and told him if he stopped she would pull it. We went straight through.

In 1986, we had a convention of the national Conference of Black Mayors in Atlantic City. There we were, black mayors, in limousines and fancy stuff with the police escort in front of us, heading to the place where we were denied the right to be seated twenty some years ago.

I visit countries. I worked on the normalization process between the United States and China as the people-to-people person. I've been to China fifteen times, Hong Kong thirty-six times, I've been to Switzerland, Rumania, India, Central America, and a lot of places. I still come home. I never left Mississippi.

I am the law. I am over the slave owners that used to be over me. I am their mayor. I'm the judge. So it has changed. It's not that subtle thing that we have overcome yet. But that physical outward thing or that mental thing that they're going to get you is not there anymore.

Gwendolyn Brooks

Born June 7, 1917, in Topeka, Kansas

My first four poems were published at the age of eleven. When I was fifteen, I began writing to people like James Weldon Johnson. He was very kind and sent back my manuscripts with marginal notes, little assistances. He thought I was talented and hoped that I would keep writing. My parents were delighted with all of this attention. There was an enthusiasm that meant so much. But I would have gone on writing. I didn't care what any of them said.

In writing poetry you're interested in condensation so you don't try to put all of a particular impression or inspiration on a single page. You distill. Poetry is life distilled.

I have written poems about my response to some of the things that were happening. When Emmett Till was murdered, I couldn't have any rest until I wrote about that. I couldn't rest until I had done something, done my kind of something, because my own son was fourteen at the same time Emmett Till was murdered at the age of fourteen.

Much of *Maud Martha* is autobiographical. I didn't want to write about somebody who turned out to be a star 'cause most people don't turn out to be stars. And yet their lives are just as sweet and just as rich as any others and often they are richer and sweeter.

My poem, "Ballad of Pearl May Lee," examines the whole thing from the viewpoint of the dark-complexioned black woman. It expresses the way a lot of women of my complexion feel. They have been neglected in favor of light-complexioned black women.

When I read it on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley, a young black fellow in the audience said, "I hear you, Sister." I love that. "I hear you, Sister."

I have to come to that paper excited. They always say, "You read your poem so beautifully. How does that happen?" I say, "When you're writing a poem, you're not sitting there all cold and dull and dim. You're all excited." I try to read poetry to give an impression of how I felt when I was writing it.

"It is the morning of our love." It seemed like a beautiful, simple way to start a love poem, but it was a mistake. I tell poets that when a line just floats into your head, don't pay attention 'cause it probably has floated into somebody else's head. Sure enough I found it in another poem. So now I don't use that and the poem begins, "In a package of minutes, there is this 'we,'" which is a line I struggled over. So I don't expect to see it anywhere.

I can't think of any time that I would choose to have grown up in rather than this time. Fascinating things have happened, would-be revolutions of various kinds.

There was a gang in Chicago called the Blackstone Rangers. About five thousand young blacks were in it. So powerful were they that in 1967 when a television station wanted to come into the neighborhood and make a documentary on my life, we had to get permission from the Blackstone Rangers. I started a workshop for those who were interested in writing.

The young people that I met in the late sixties—when resentment was reasonable—educated me. They gave me books to read. We talked and talked. They just absorbed me, adopted me. We went lots of places together.

We would just walk into a tavern and [poet] Haki Madhubuti would say, "Look, folks, we're gonna lay some poetry on you." And he would recite a poem. And if I could read a poem like "We real cool," very short, I could avoid having drinks thrown at me. I mean, that's enlarging a point a bit, but after all, these people were not there to listen to poetry.

I go to lots of prisons to recite poetry. What I usually do now is have the prisoners read also. They always have manuscripts. There's anger and there's a lot of love poetry being written and there's a sensitivity to what's going on politically.

I'm writing a book about Winnie Mandela. Most of my friends are against us going to South Africa. I have no intention of going to South Africa ever to be an honorary white.

There are so many blacks who are denying all blackness. They think they can twinkle their fingers at blackness and it'll just go away and they'll be loved by whites and accepted.

When I meet these young people who talk about being raised in white neighborhoods, who've seen virtually no blacks and don't want to see any, I just encourage them to keep talking because strange things begin to come out, one of which is this yearning toward black validation.

Malcolm X, who said he was not going to turn the other cheek, expressed the kind of sentiments I hold with. Here was a man—big, strong, courageous. And he wasn't endlessly pushing to integrate with whites. He believed black people should love black people and value them above all others.

I don't like the idea of the black race being diluted out of existence. I like the idea of all of us being here.

Gwendolyn Brooks won the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry in 1950 for her book, Annie Allen. She was the first black writer to win the prestigious award. Considered "the Bard of Bronzeville," she was also poet laureate of Illinois for sixteen years and poetry consultant to the Library of Congress. Among her best-known works are A Street in Bronzeville (1945) and In the Mecca (1968), poetry collections, and Maud Martha (1953), a novel. Her autobiography, Report from Part One, was published in 1973. She lives in Chicago, her home since childhood.

Johnnetta Betsch Cole

Born October 19, 1936, in Jacksonville, Florida

Johnnetta Cole is the first black woman president of Spelman College, the Atlanta institution whose proud tradition of educating women leaders dates from 1881. She holds advanced degrees in anthropology from Northwestern University and was director of Latin American and Caribbean Studies at Hunter College in New York City. She has published books in the fields of anthropology and women's studies.

I grew up in a middle, upper-middle-class family. My great-grandfather was the founder of the first insurance company in the state of Florida. We lived in this wonderful house, which sat in a wonderful location facing a gorgeous park. Idyllic stuff—palm trees, swimming pool, and swings. With one problem. That pool was for white folks only and those swings were not for me.

How do you explain that to a kid without creating the kind of anger and hostility which could boomerang? How do you do that without challenging the existence of a God, of a moral system, of a democratic process? I think one of the most extraordinary untold stories is the story of black parenting. What do you tell your kid—"Don't worry, it'll go away quickly"?

When we talk about feelings of solidarity, of kinship, of sisterhood, I think what we're really talking about is shared experiences. . . .

Everybody knows about "the kitchen" because when we were little girls sitting between those knees that served like locks, when they came with that brush or comb, you got ready because they would inevitably get to "the kitchen," the nape of the neck, and you knew it was going to hurt.

But why call it "the kitchen"? Why not call it "the pantry"? I think, because the kitchen has been the most difficult place for us all our lives. When black women came home to their own kitchen after working in Miss Ann's, there was that inevitable double shift. When the black man came home, there was the notion that he ought to rest. The sister went to the kitchen to start again.

If we think that our daughters ought not to have to come home from a job and exclusively be the ones to do the second shift, washing the dishes, changing the clothes, and cleaning the house, then we'd better tell our sons that now. And they'd better learn to do that now. And if we think that our daughters ought to be in Congress next to our sons, we'd better let our sons know that now, so they get prepared to have women as colleagues.

Black women ain't been put on no pedestals. Nine out of every ten black women worked in the fields alongside black men. But every time we have this image of slavery, there she is, either setting the table for master or getting in his bed. This myth of black women profiting at the expense of black men is the oldest rap around. It's been unbelievably important to keep it going, to divide black men from black women. I spent two years in Liberia during the sixties. There I was in a country for the first time in my life where I was in the majority, a land of black folk. And it was important that I

saw inequality. It was important to see descendants of slaves who came to the U.S. and in the late 1840s went back to Liberia, to see them being Mr. Charlie and Miss Ann to those black folk who—what?—didn't have the privilege of coming to America as slaves? That relationship of inequality was not color-coded.

I had a friend who also served as my interpreter who taught me, very vividly, the power of language. If he wanted something from me he would call me "Mother," and he would use the Kissi word. If he was absolutely disgusted because for the ninety-ninth time I had made some *faux pas* culturally, he would just look at me, suck his teeth, and say, "My child." But there was a third way that sent chills through my body and he knew it. When he was angry he would call me "Missy." He was saying, you are acting like a white American woman.

If folk can learn to be racist, then they can learn to be antiracist. If being a sexist ain't genetic, then, dad gum, people can learn about gender equality.

I learned how to be the president of this college by watching black women more than by reading some manual.

I like the notion of being an intellectual, but there are all these women who were not an Ida B. Wells or Anna J. Cooper, but who were nevertheless intellectuals, political and academic leaders. What else can you call somebody who takes scruffy kids off the streets into the colored branch of the library and helps them love ideas? That's an intellectual.

At the same time that I want this image of "sheroes," black sheroes, we've got to be careful, because if we focus too much on all of those who have made it, then we forget those who never could.

Black women who were in the day-to-day struggle learned that we were to take the notes and not chair the meetings, that we were to form the picket lines but not speak to the press. It's a bitter experience when the assumption is that it's for all of us, and then you find out it's for some of us. It's been a bitter experience for millions of black women who assumed that the women's movement was for all of us and then we found out, one more time, for some of us. . . .

Where are the women in black studies? Where are the black folks in women's studies? Black women get shut out of both.

Systems of inequality tell you what you can and cannot do. Elaborate structures have to be built to convince you, because you know you can do it. You just did it.



Marva Nettles Collins

Born August 31, 1936, in Monroeville, Alabama

I grew up in a very nurtured background. I never had to worry about money, clothing, and things. My dad and I were very close friends. I could ask him questions and we would sit and talk until the wee hours of the morning.

When my dad would see black women walking to work in the mornings, I used to hear him give off a litany of words, saying he would die before he let his family work in the kitchens of white folks.

If you went to college in Alabama, you were a celebrity. The minister had you stand in church and all the people would give you a quarter or fifty cents, what they could. You didn't get into trouble because in your mind's eye you could see all those people caring about you, depending on you.

This school is all about service. Every child has to tutor five other children in their neighborhood. It's part of our motto: Entrance to learn, exit to serve.

We have a saying here that each of us checks our ego at the door in the morning when we come in. There is no place here for majestic egos.

We teach our children here. When they give us sloppy work, we ask them, "Would you give this to God?" And if they say, "No," we say, "We don't want it either." If it's sloppy, it goes in the garbage pail. "I love you very much, but this is where it goes. Now, do it over."

I've always said that with my own children. I disagree with you right now but I love you all the time.

I get a real kick out of a real tough kid because I know that I'm going to break him. We had a white kid last year that was seventeen and his mother landed up here from South Carolina. Eric was very hostile. He had been put down, he couldn't read, and one day he called me a jungle bunny. I said, "Sweetheart, when you learn to read, write, and spell jungle bunny, Mrs. Collins will take offense to it. Right now I love you." And he had to learn how to read, write, and spell those words.

I've seen brilliant kids labeled "learning disabled" because a teacher didn't know what to do with them. The question that always lurks in my mind is, What would I do if this was my child?

We talk about violence in the classroom, but no one ever mentions a teacher grabbing a kid. That's part of this discipline problem. You just don't grab a kid unless you have

established some rapport with him first. I can grab them, but I love them first.

Schools are bad all over this country. You can actually get through high school in America by knowing how to make T for true and F for false and check marks. . . .

I don't know whether we in this country have become anesthetized or we're suffering from senility.

We are going to have to try to have our own high school because our children have problems when they leave here. They learn to shut up, they learn to fake it. Here they are free, free to disagree with me.

In here the children correct us. They'll say, "Mrs. Collins, that's wrong, you made a mistake." And I'll say, "You are so bright, I want to be just like you when I grow up."

I can never teach your children everything they need to know. But I can teach them to be curious and discontent.

Every child in this school has the greatest respect in the world. I never have to raise my voice and scream because I am what I want them to be.

I don't want to be wealthy. I don't need that kind of power. Power is when I walk into this school and these little kids' eyes hold wonder like a cup.

I think what everybody calls a miracle is just common sense, really. You can look at the attitudes when people come in. That's why they call it a miracle. These are black kids and they're not supposed to know the things they know and achieve the way they are achieving.

I think it is very interesting that teachers from monied systems all over the world come into this very spartan facility to learn our methodology. I cannot change the world, but I do not have to conform.

What I do concerns me, not what people think. There is a line one of my children told a white kid once. We had taken them to a play and the white kid called one of them a nigger. The little nine-year-old looked and said, "No wise man will insult me and no fool can." I've always remembered that. I learn from children too. . . .

Our kids change their parents. These kids are going to be the new order emerging in our society.

Marva Collins founded Westside Preparatory School in Chicago in 1975 to educate the young children of Chicago's mean streets. Using pension funds from fourteen years of teaching in public schools, she built a schoolroom in her home. That school, which now occupies two buildings, has grown from eighteen students to 250 and from skepticism to success, partly with the help of proceeds from the 1981 television movie, The Marva Collins Story.

Ruby Dee

Born October 27, 1927, in Cleveland, Ohio

Ruby Dee's luminous performances on stage, in film, and on television have made her one of the most recognized actresses in America. From her first major Broadway role in Anna Lucasta in 1946, she developed into a versatile performer whose extensive credits include productions of A Raisin in the Sun, Purlie Victorious, Taming of the Shrew, Boesman and Lena, Buck and the Preacher, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, and Checkmates. She has worked with her husband, actor-author Ossie Davis, on numerous projects, notably the 1981 television series With Ossie and Ruby. Her most recent collection of poetry, My One Good Nerve, was published in 1986.

You just try to do everything that comes up. Get up an hour earlier, stay up an hour later, make the time. Then you look back and say, "Well, that was a neat piece of juggling there—school, marriage, babies, career." The enthusiasms took me through the action, not the measuring of it or the reasonableness.

I like the idea of people striving to be better and to make the world better. The world has improved mostly through people who are unorthodox, who do unorthodox things. They're always shaking up the establishment. When we saw such people, we appreciated them and did what we could to support them.

That's what being young is all about. You have the courage and the daring to think that you can make a difference. You're not prone to measure your energies in time. You're not likely to live by equations.

Marriage is a process, we've discovered. The wedding is the event. It takes a long time to be really married. One marries many times at many levels within a marriage. If you have more marriages than you have divorces within the marriage, you're lucky and you stick it out.

We just did what we had to. And to feel the consequences . . . well, they just were. Life for an actor is tough anyway, so how can you tell what's contributing to it? What's contributing to the toughness in our life?

I absolutely love acting, when I'm acting. I absolutely love writing, when I'm writing. I tend to write things that are not serious better than I do things that are serious. That surprised me about myself.

We did a series on PBS [*With Ossie and Ruby*] that was really very satisfying, good work that we were proud of. We worked with a lot of authors that we admired. We traveled on tour, exploring, talking about authors, and introducing people to those who put the "black experience" in perspective and made us look at ourselves outside of the great problem of racism and white folks.

Practically every woman I read I fall in love with. I appreciate women like Alice Walker, Margaret Walker, Toni Morrison, Rosa Guy, Toni Cade Bambara. They put me in context as a person. They did a lot for me. I've always studied literature in school—French, Spanish, and English literature. I wasn't really aware of the astonishing work of black people until I got out of college.

We're doing a mad dance just trying to find out how to exist in this world. Racism just blinds us to the real problems that face us all. It's easier and more dramatic to say, "Oh, white folks are terrible and men are dogs and there's a lot of unfairness." And I say, "So this is life." But I get angry, too.

Racism, feelings of superiority, it's a sickness. I truly believe that racism is taking second place to classism. Classism and greed are making insignificant all other kinds of isms.

I see great progress in the growth of white America. I like to look at that part of it. I like to see that we're growing closer together as people. I think maybe there's growth in the undertow.

I don't call myself an optimist. I dare not judge the world because the fools have written it this way or drawn it or treated it so, or that people come on the scene and think that the world begins and ends at this time with me and with them.



Althea Gibson

Born August 25, 1927, in Silver, South Carolina

When I was younger I just stayed away from home. All I did was maybe ride the subways back and forth and walk various sections of New York. They called me a wayward child. When I did come home, I knew what to expect when my father came home. Not a spankin', a whippin'.

My parents were doing their best to raise me, but I just didn't let 'em. When I was given a ticker-tape parade after winning Wimbledon in fifty-seven, you could see no prouder parents of any child in life than my mother and father.

I learned paddle tennis with a friend of mine on 143rd Street. She and I were competitors. The young boys who played on another court up the block heard about me and challenged me. And I accepted. I played it all—basketball, shuffleboard, badminton, volleyball. I just loved to play.

Buddy Walker was the first to help me. After seeing me play paddle tennis in forty-two or forty-three, he gave me my first tennis racket and introduced me to the Cosmopolitan Tennis Club up on Convent Avenue. The teaching pro at the club was Fred Johnson. He lost his left arm in the war, and believe it or not, he was the one who taught me the service toss and racket preparation. With one arm.

I played and practiced most of my life in Harlem on boards, on wood. Fastest court surface in the world. Balls come at you like bullets. That helped me when I played on other fast surfaces like grass at Wimbledon.

I knew that I was an unusual, talented girl through the grace of God. I didn't need to prove that to myself. I only wanted to prove it to my opponents.

I first played at Wimbledon in 1951. My very first match was scheduled for the famed Centre Court. I made a vow to myself: Althea, you're not going to look around. You're not going to listen to any calls or remarks. All you are going to do is watch the tennis ball. I did that. I didn't acknowledge the referees' calls; whatever they said, okay fine. I won the first set six-love. Then I looked around at the nineteen- to twenty-thousand spectators as if to say, "How do you like that?" But then after that I lost the second set six-love because I lost my concentration.

After being the black champion of the American Tennis Association for ten consecutive years I felt I was ready. After fifty-six nobody could beat me. . . .

I had the best serve in women's tennis. I had the best overhead in women's tennis. And I had the most killing volley in women's tennis.

You got to know your opponent. You got to know their strengths, their weaknesses, see how they move, what balls they don't like. Once I know this, they only see the ball at their weak points, not their strengths.

I was ruthless on the tennis court. Win at any cost. I became an attacker. If your first serve ain't good, I'll knock it down your throat. It just so happened that I had the talent to win at another level instead of being the meanie on the tennis court.

Before the singles finals at Wimbledon they came into the locker room to show us how to curtsy to the Queen when we were introduced on Centre Court—which I did, I thought, very gracefully. Upon winning the championship, she came down on Centre Court to present me with the trophy. That was quite an honor.

Althea Gibson was the first black American to play tennis at the U.S. Open (1950) and Wimbledon, England (1951). With her triumph in the women's singles and doubles at the prestigious English tournament in 1957, she became the first black tennis player to win that championship. Later that year she added the U.S. women's singles title at Forest Hills, and in 1958 she repeated the same round of victories. Her autobiography, I Always Wanted to Be Somebody, was published in 1958. She joined the Ladies' Professional Golf Association in 1963 and, in 1988, she was appointed special consultant to the New Jersey Governor's Council of Physical Fitness in Sports.



Clara McBride Hale

Born April 1, 1905, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

My mother always had a house full of children. She had four children and all the neighbors' children came to our house.

You couldn't tell that my mother was not white. See, my grandmother, they said she was a beautiful woman. She was a slave and the master gave her my mother. They had some mulattoes that they called "free issues." That's what happened with my mother. She had all the features of the master and she was as fair.

But she was a fair woman, I mean, not only in color. She knew what was happening and she taught this. She kept saying, "I want you to hold your head up and be proud of yourself. We were brought over and we were enslaved all this time, but it's over now. You're supposed to be free, but you aren't free. Remember that."

My husband and I had dreams of what we were going to do with our children. We dreamed that they'd grow up and be what they want to be and have a good life. My first child was Nathan, Nathan Hale. Oh, I was really an American. I wanted them to know.

My husband died when my daughter Lorraine was five and Nathan was six. There was no way under the sun that they would give you any other job except domestic jobs. And that meant being away all day from these poor little children who had nobody.

So I decided to take in other people's children. They were coming for five days and going home Saturday and Sunday. But they got so they didn't want to go home. They wanted to stay with me altogether. So the parents would give me an extra dollar, and that meant I kept them all the time. My daughter said she was at least eleven years old before she realized that these were not her sisters and brothers.

So I raised forty. Every one of them went to college, every one of them graduated, and they have lovely jobs. They're some of the nicest people. Anything they wanted to do, I backed them up. I have singers, dancers, preachers, and things like that. They're schoolteachers, lawyers, doctors, anything else. No big name or anything, but they're happy.

In 1969, I decided I wouldn't take care of no more children. Then my daughter sent me a girl with an addict baby. Inside of two months I had twenty-two babies living in a five-room apartment. My decision to stop didn't mean anything. It seems as though God wanted them. He kept sending them, and He kept opening a way for me to make it. It's been over six hundred addicted babies.

We hold them and rock them. They love you to tell them how great they are, how good they are. Somehow, even at a young age, they understand that. They're happy and they turn out well.

Being black does not stop you. You can sit out in the world and say, "Well, white people kept me back, and I can't do this." Not so. You can have anything you want if you make up your mind and you want it. You don't have to crack nobody across the head, don't have to steal or anything. Don't have to be smart like the men up high stealing all the money. We're good people and we try.

I'm not going to retire again. Until I die, I'm going to keep doing. My people need me. They need somebody that's not taking from them and is giving them something.

We're going to open a place for children with AIDS because there's no cure and these children will die. People shun them and it's not their fault. I want them to live a good life while they can and know someone loves them.

It's back to being very bad for black people now. But I'll live through that, too. If I don't, I have a daughter that will carry on. I have grandchildren and great-grandchildren. They have the same feeling. When I'm gone, somebody else will take it up and do it. This is how we've lived all these years.

I'm hoping that one day there will be no Hale House, that we won't need anybody to look after these children, that the drugs will be gone.

I'm not an American hero. I'm a person that loves children.

Mother Hale opened the doors of Hale House in a Harlem brownstone in 1973 to provide a life-saving environment for the babies of young drug-addicted mothers. Hundreds of children have returned to health and to their rehabilitated parents after living and being loved in this unique program, which is administered by her daughter, Dr. Lorraine Hale. In 1985, President Ronald Reagan cited Mother Hale as an "American hero."



Lena Horne

Born June 30, 1917, in Brooklyn, New York

My grandmother [my father's mother] said, "Don't let anybody see you cry. Hold your head up very straight, look at people, and answer them or question them distinctly." And then her woman's thing would come out because she'd say, "Don't be as weak as your mother." Well, that was the fight that strengthened me, because I would take up for my mother.

I wanted to be a teacher. I got sidetracked through my mother into show business. My grandmother couldn't bear it that my mother was on the stage. In those days, we were freaks, and my mother was a freak. There was no respect for her. My mother had this crazy idea about me being a star. She didn't understand anything. Her mother had raised her to be a little princess.

My grandmother took me to her meetings from the time I was little until I was fifteen. She was in the Urban League, the NAACP, and the Ethical Culture Society. I was surrounded by adult activities. I'm glad because if I hadn't had that from her, then the other side of my life, which was more bleak, might have finished me.

My father was a gambler and a racketeer. Because he knew how loathsome life was, he taught me a lot. He gave me all the street knowledge I needed to survive.

My father used to have these old sayings like, "Don't trust no bush that quivers." He paid off the cops and was allowed to run his rackets. He used to say, "Don't whine, pay the bill," if you owe it.

Out there in Hollywood, I was completely isolated. I went through some funny times because they didn't know what black people were like. Me and the shoeshine boy were the only two black people out there at the studio, most every day.

My father had scared them to death. I think that was the first time a black man had ever come into Louis B. Mayer's office and said, "I don't want my daughter in this mess." There was all this kind of crap that, in our business, particularly, is sexual. He was so articulate and so beautiful, they just said, "Well, don't worry." And they didn't know what to do with me.

I was unique in that I was a kind of black that white people could accept. I was their daydream. I had the worst kind of acceptance because it was never for how great I was or what I contributed. It was because of the way I looked.

I made a couple of stands out there at MGM and I was encouraged on the surface. But the very people that I had admired and written to for advice to turn down these parts, were sending their sisters or their cousins.

It took me many years to be able to sing, because I wasn't a natural singer. I could carry a tune, but that was about it.

My own people didn't see me as a performer because they were busy trying to make a living and feed themselves. Until I got to Café Society in the forties, I didn't even have a black audience and then it was mixed.

I was always battling the system to try to get to be with my people. Finally, I wouldn't work for places that kept us out. I couldn't get a place to live, so I fought for housing. The mere fact of living had to be fought, because I was black and I never lost sight of that.

Until I struck this man in a nightclub in Hollywood [for his racist insult], I never knew that anybody knew anything about me. I got telegrams from black people saying, "How wonderful, we didn't know." I just automatically thought that black people knew that if you were black, you were going to catch hell. They thought because I was me that I wasn't catching hell.

It was a damn fight everywhere I was, every place I worked, in New York, in Hollywood, all over the world.

When I was sent South early, I lived with people who existed on leavings from white people's tables. Then, in the sixties, when I went South, when I went back and found people that had taken care of me when I was a little girl, I found that I was a part of something bigger than myself.

The impact of them killing Medgar Evers hit me so hard because I saw him and his wife doing, God, this fantastic work in that place. It brought me back to life. Then I belonged, finally. I think I earned my way back, but it was a rough process. Mississippi, it killed me, but it woke me up. And I cried for the first time in many years.

As an artist I had been very rigid and cold. When I sang in Mississippi, in a church there, my heart just broke. When I was with my own people, I began to be a better artist and performer. I turned my prejudice loose.

Don't be afraid to feel as angry or as loving as you can, because when you feel nothing, it's just death.

I'm glad I lived through the sixties, because that's the first time and the last time I saw a commingling of whites and blacks with an attitude that started out to be very right and very healthy. And then, of course, it was over. But I saw it and that did me a lot of good.

I never thought I'd live this long to see this kind of ruin, decimation. My own people are so disillusioned, desperate, and angry. Angrier than in the sixties, I think, except they have no place to put this anger.

Singer, actress, and legendary beauty, Lena Horne began her career at sixteen as a chorus girl at the Cotton Club in Harlem. Almost fifty years later she starred in a retrospective, Lena Horne: The Lady and Her Music, the longest-running one-woman show in Broadway history. She performed in the 1940s' film classics, Cabin in the Sky and Stormy Weather, and in the Broadway musical Jamaica. In 1984 she was honored by the Kennedy Center for lifetime achievement in the performing arts, and in 1987 she received the Pied Piper Award from the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers.

Jean Blackwell Hutson

Born September 7, 1914, in Summerfield, Florida

I was born three months premature. My father was about to knock up this little wooden box to bury me in, so he told me. He could hardly hit the nails, he was crying so hard. Then I started yelling and I've been talking ever since.

In 1936, I received a telegram to come here to work at the old 135th Street branch library. I was substituting for the librarian of the Schomburg Collection, which was on the top floor, while she was out on maternity leave. In my freshness I got into trouble with Mr. Schomburg.

His books had been catalogued by the Dewey Decimal System, but he had ignored that and he kept the books in his rarest collection arranged by the height of their spine and their hue. So one night I stayed and arranged these books by the decimal system so that everybody else could locate them from the card catalogue. When he came in the next day, he couldn't find anything. He forbade me to come back into the place. We had had an amiable relationship until then.

He was a very cordial, loquacious, arty person to know. He often said that he was inspired by bad teaching. He and some other dark-skinned boys in his native Puerto Rico had asked why they didn't study Negro history and they were told that Negroes had no history. I think that's when he started collecting every evidence he could find on Negroes.

Schomburg had a different concept of our history. His collection included nonbook materials, because he found many African art objects more revealing of African history than books. Schomburg's library was one that incorporated the idea of Negroes in the other parts of the world as well as the United States, whereas the other collections all started with slavery, as if this was the beginning. This collection was purchased by the New York Public Library in 1926, and it became the center of all sorts of meetings.

During the Harlem Renaissance people came from the Caribbean as well as from the South and brought together all this inspiration and protest. Léopold Sédar Senghor, the African scholar [and long-time president of Senegal], feels that art and literature are the precursors of political activity. He said that the Harlem Renaissance inspired the political independence movements of Africa. Every last one of them first had the writing and the musical expression before the political explosion.

After I left the Schomburg Collection I became the guinea pig to go and work in other branch libraries where, supposedly, no Negroes could work. I learned that customers really didn't care what color handed them the books, unless you didn't find what they wanted. Then they might look at

you and call you a nigger. But they didn't care that much.

I was at the Harlem Library and that was when Langston [Hughes] and Ralph [Ellison] and the boys used to come and sit in the library and talk. That's where I first knew John Henrik Clark and I met Richard Wright that way.

It took me ten years to return as curator of the Schomburg. When the Schomburg Collection was transferred from the branch libraries to the research libraries [in 1972 and renamed the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture], I remember one man said that the branch libraries loved people and the research libraries loved books.

I cleaned out a storehouse of uncatalogued materials, four closets of stuff. We got all that material catalogued. Some of it was fabulous. There was a WPA [Works Progress Administration] art project on Negroes in the history of New York.

Kwame Nkrumah [then the president of Ghana] sent a very eloquent letter for W.E.B. Du Bois's ninetieth birthday in which he paid tribute to what the Schomburg had meant to him. That was where he got a chance to read his own history. He wanted this kind of library for his young people.

That was how I went to work at the Africana collection at the University of Ghana in the 1964-65 semester. It was really a very liberating experience for me. I remember feeling ashamed of being fifty years old, an old lady. But being in Africa meant that I was respected and sought after. I really was surprised how at home I felt and liberated. And then I realized that it was my first experience being accepted as a person without regard to race.

One of the most rewarding experiences I had was opening up the Africana collection. It was very good, but it was limited to people who lived and stayed on the African continent. One day I just couldn't stand it. I went in and had a three-hour session with the head librarian, an Englishman who had worked all his life on the African continent. He finally conceded that those of us who lived abroad were still Africans, that we were still making our contribution to the continent and still had a place in the African collection. I was proud that I left that collection with historical and geographical boundaries greatly extended.

One of the main things the Schomburg does is supply the ammunition for change. It is a part of the public library, open to everybody, everywhere. You don't have to be registered at the university to have access to the materials. You don't have to pay an admission fee to come in, and the catalogue is available all around the world. That has been and continues to be the opportunity that the Schomburg offers.

For thirty-two years, Jean Blackwell Hutson guided the development of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the world's most comprehensive collection of materials documenting the history and culture of peoples of African descent. From curator in 1948 to chief until 1980, she worked to acquire, catalogue, and exhibit materials under the auspices of the New York Public Library. She lectured on history at the City College of New York for over a decade and retired in 1984.

Toni Morrison

Born February 18, 1931, in Lorain, Ohio

Toni Morrison is one of America's most celebrated and successful novelists. She was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction in 1988 for her fifth novel, Beloved, and received the National Book Critics Award for Song of Solomon in 1978. She was an editor at Random House for two decades and was the Albert Schweitzer Professor of Humanities at the State University of New York at Albany before assuming the Robert Goheen Professorship in the Humanities Council at Princeton in 1989.

I remember myself as surrounded by extraordinary adults who were smarter than me. I was better educated, but I always thought that they had true wisdom and I had merely book learning. It was only when I began to write that I was able to marry those two things: wisdom and education.

Being a black woman novelist is a novel position. When I turned in the manuscript of *The Bluest Eye* in 1968, there was a lot of interest in certain kinds of black expression. But I had written something separate from the harangue and the confusion. The company that published my first book didn't have any sense of my being a person who could write a second one. They weren't buying a writer, they were buying that one book because it was black—not because they thought it was any good.

You can't evolve good criticism until you have good books. I was in publishing and felt that white editors didn't always give black writers the respect of serious and rigorous editing that they deserved. And it was hard to get the balanced attention of the critics and reviewers because they wanted to talk about anything but political implications. Then they started talking about the political implications and they never talked about the artistic strategies. They didn't give you two legs to walk on, always one.

Now the reading of black fiction is becoming systematically analyzed. There is the emergence of theories of criticism that address the art and its culture.

If you're going to hold someone down you're going to have to hold onto the other end of the chain. You are confined by your own system of repression.

My job is to not become anybody's creature, not the publisher's, not the critical establishment's, not the media's, not anybody's. I'm not doing anyone justice, not the women's movement, not the black movement, not novels, not anyone, if I toe the line. I want to write better. Think better. I don't know how not to want that. And better for me may not be in step with what is current and prevailing.

When I first began to write, I was a little breathless, because I wasn't sure that a particular expression or sensibility would be there tomorrow. And one can panic under those

circumstances. Then you learn that, yes, you may forget the perfect sentence you thought of in a traffic jam, it may not come back. And then you realize it doesn't matter because a better one will come.

I never played it safe in a book. I never tried to play to the gallery. For me, it was this extraordinary exploration. You have to be willing to think the unthinkable.

I always think I'm at some archaeological site and I find this shard, a little piece of pottery and then I have to invent the rest. But first I have to go to the place, move the dirt, find why I am there. What's interesting here, why are you frightened, what is it that keeps nagging you? Then you see something, it may be a color, an image, a voice, and you build from it.

When the Pulitzer was awarded, the response in many quarters—white, black, male, female, young and old—was “we.” “We did it!” It had a sense of hallelujah about it. But it's foolish to surrender to that because it interferes with work. I'd begin to think of myself in my sleep as Toni Morrison comma Pulitzer Prize, and never get anything done.

Writing wonderful books is not going to make me a wonderful person. I alone can improve myself and make myself more like the person I would like to grow to be.

I hate ideological whiteness. I hate when people come into my presence and become white. I'd just been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters and a man whom I used to read in anthologies came up to me and said, “Hello, welcome to the Academy.” Then his third sentence was about his splendid black housekeeper. This little code saying, “I like black people or I know one,” is humiliating for me—and should have been for him.

In the beginning, people asked me a lot of questions about whether I consider myself a black writer or a woman writer. I was fighting shy of labels that had quite other meanings. Obviously, any artist wants to feel that there is something in her work that all peoples of the world are receptive to. On the other hand, I did not want to be erased. I didn't want my blackness to be erased, I didn't want my femininity to be erased. I wanted it to be very clear that “universal” is not for me a buzzword for not political or not ethnic.

Constance Baker Motley

Born September 14, 1921, in New Haven, Connecticut

I grew up in New Haven in a community where people worked. Our house was like a halfway house for people coming from Nevis, an island in the Caribbean where my parents—and Alexander Hamilton—were born. Everybody we knew worked at Yale washing dishes or waiting on tables or whatever. Nevisians believed in helping each other. There was no sitting around doing nothing.

We always lived in an integrated neighborhood and I always went to integrated schools. There were very few blacks in New Haven at that time so we didn't encounter a great deal of hostility from the whites. In fact, many were patronizing. They did things for blacks. That was the thing to do.

It was 1940, and I had finished high school and wasn't in college. A very successful businessman who had built a community center for blacks was very concerned about getting black people to use it more. When he had a meeting to hear from people in the community, I said I thought the reason blacks were not participating was because they were not on the board of directors. To many black adults that was an insensitive thing to say. They viewed me as a young person who just didn't know how to act.

The next day I got a call from the black director of the community center to go see this businessman, Clarence Blakeslee. He said he would be glad to pay for my college education. He asked me what I wanted to be. I said I wanted to be a lawyer. He didn't believe that women could make it in law, but he figured that if I had that ambition who was he to say no. So he said, "Just let me know when you're ready to go."

I finished college [Fisk and New York University] in two and a half years and Columbia Law School in 1946. Yes, he was able to see me finish.

You can't invent events. They just happen. But you have to be prepared to deal with them when they happen.

When I was in my senior year at Columbia I got a job as a clerk with Thurgood Marshall, who was then the head of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. For me that was a stroke of luck because I got in on the ground floor of the civil rights legal revolution.

I got a chance to actually try cases, argue cases in the Courts of Appeal and the United States Supreme Court. You know, the average lawyer never even sees the Supreme Court, let alone gets to argue a case there.

I was a part of a civil rights movement, involved in spectacular legal victories which we are not going to duplicate in

this century. In the next century, there may be some other movement equally spectacular in terms of legal decisions, but the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 to '64 are exceptional in terms of their constitutional significance. In one case after the other, segregation was stricken as unconstitutional. This resulted in a revolution in this country—a social revolution.

Birmingham in 1954 and '55, that was a scary place. Now it has emerged and they have a black mayor. I never thought I would live long enough to see that much change.

I think the Meredith case was the most frightening, because we had no protection. James Meredith [in 1962 the first black to attend the University of Mississippi] believed that he was going to be shot and killed in the black community by some black paid to kill him.

When you see black people on television brushing their teeth with Colgate like everybody else, that says much more than any civil rights activist or orator. When whites turn on television and see black people the same as white people, subconsciously they are accepting this tremendous change which has come into society.

The suggestion that women should be equal and have a job that a man might have touches people in a very sensitive way. It is not as readily accepted as the idea of equality for blacks; I think there is much more trouble with that. That's a really deep revolution.

Had I been economically successful, that would have been a problem for my husband. But I wasn't any threat because I wasn't making any money. When I was working for the NAACP, in the very early days, I'd have to borrow lunch money from him.

I don't know any of my classmates at Columbia who have been particularly successful. Financially, I guess some have. But they don't see their names in law books. I do. I feel good about that.

The demand of people going into the legal profession today is to be well prepared educationally. Two law clerks that I had had PhDs, then they went to law school. That's the kind of competition you're talking about.

The idea of getting greater political power is something which young blacks are concentrating on. Someday there'll be a black governor in Georgia and all the other southern states where they have large black populations. Something which we think is impossible now is not impossible in another decade.

When President Lyndon Johnson appointed Constance Baker Motley to the United States District Court in 1966, she became the first black woman to be a federal judge. One of the courtroom tacticians of the civil rights movement, she worked for twenty years with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. She was the only woman elected to the New York Senate in 1964, and has been the only woman Manhattan borough president (1965-66). Beginning in 1982, she served four years as Chief Judge of the Southern District of New York, and in 1986 she assumed senior judge status.

Leontyne Price

Born February 10, 1927, in Laurel, Mississippi

When Leontyne Price debuted at the Metropolitan Opera House in 1961, she received a rapturous forty-two-minute ovation for her performance as Leonora in Il Trovatore. The seventh black person to make a Metropolitan debut, she was the first to achieve worldwide status as "prima donna assoluta." During her career of almost a quarter-century, she received major honors, including eighteen Grammy Awards and the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

My mother is responsible for having delivered more babies than any midwife in the history of Jones County, Mississippi. To this date, she is my greatest inspiration.

The way I was taught, being black was a plus, always. Being a human being, being in America, and being black, all three were the greatest things that could happen to you. The combination was unbeatable.

I received a toy piano for Christmas at the age of five or six. I had an awful lot of attention, I was center stage from the time I received that toy piano. I felt a musical sense of direction. I had the disease then, I could tell, because you really have to be a monster very early.

I think we performers are monsters. We are a totally different, far-out race of people. I totally and completely admit, with no qualms at all, my egomania, my selfishness, coupled with a really magnificent voice.

In some of my operatic roles—maybe the strength of my portrayal of Aida—I reveal the wonderful thing that it is to be a black princess.

My mother took me to see Marian Anderson. When I saw this wonderful woman come from the wings in this white satin dress, I knew instantly: one of these days, I'm going to come out of the wings. I don't know what color the dress is going to be but I'm going to be center stage, right there, where I saw her. The light dawned. It was a magic moment.

My proudest moment, operatically speaking, was my debut at the Metropolitan. It was my first real victory, my first unqualified acceptance as an American, as a human being, as a black, as an artist, the whole thing.

I was the first black diva that was going to hang on. My being prepared is the reason I didn't go away. That is really the substance of my pioneering. Marian [Anderson] had opened the door. I kept it from closing again.

I sang seven roles my first season at the Metropolitan Opera, I was that prepared. My first invitation to the Metropolitan I refused, because I was not.

Art is the only thing you cannot punch a button for. You must do it the old-fashioned way. Stay up and really burn the midnight oil. There are no compromises.

Accomplishments have no color.

The Prices and the Chisolms have been friends all our lives. Those two families helped to bridge the gap in Laurel. My aunt was in the Chisolms' domestic service for fifty years. My parents were married on their estate. After I graduated

with a teacher's degree from Central State College in Ohio, they were my sponsors for my New York studies at Juilliard.

Nobody ever thought of a career, nobody had that much money to gamble on it, which is the reason that some young people even now don't go into the classical field unless they have a sponsor. It's too difficult, too dangerous.

My father never understood it but he thought it was the most glorious thing he had ever heard in his life, that his baby girl would have this ability to understand all this stuff.

I don't love anything more than hearing my own voice. It's a personal adoration.

Listening to my recordings is like filling your pores with inspiration, and where better to get it from than yourself, because that substance is a combination of everyone who contributed something, your mama, your papa, the community, your teachers, everybody and everything. Applause is the fulfillment. From Mississippi to the Met. That's the pinnacle. That forty-two minute ovation was like having climbed the mountain. . . .

Once you get on stage, everything is right. I feel the most beautiful, complete, fulfilled. I think that's why, in the case of noncompromising career women, parts of our personal lives don't work out. One person can't give you the feeling that thousands of people give you.

I have never given all of myself, even vocally, to anyone. I was taught to sing on your interest, not your capital.

I do like being in competition with me.

I never thought any institution was more important than myself. I think that happens, for example, in Hollywood. You let the institution take you over and you are vulnerable, which means that when they get ready, they can discard you.

I wasn't uncomfortable singing at the inaugural ceremony for my friend William Winter, the governor of Mississippi, because I thought I belonged there. It was as much my capital as his.

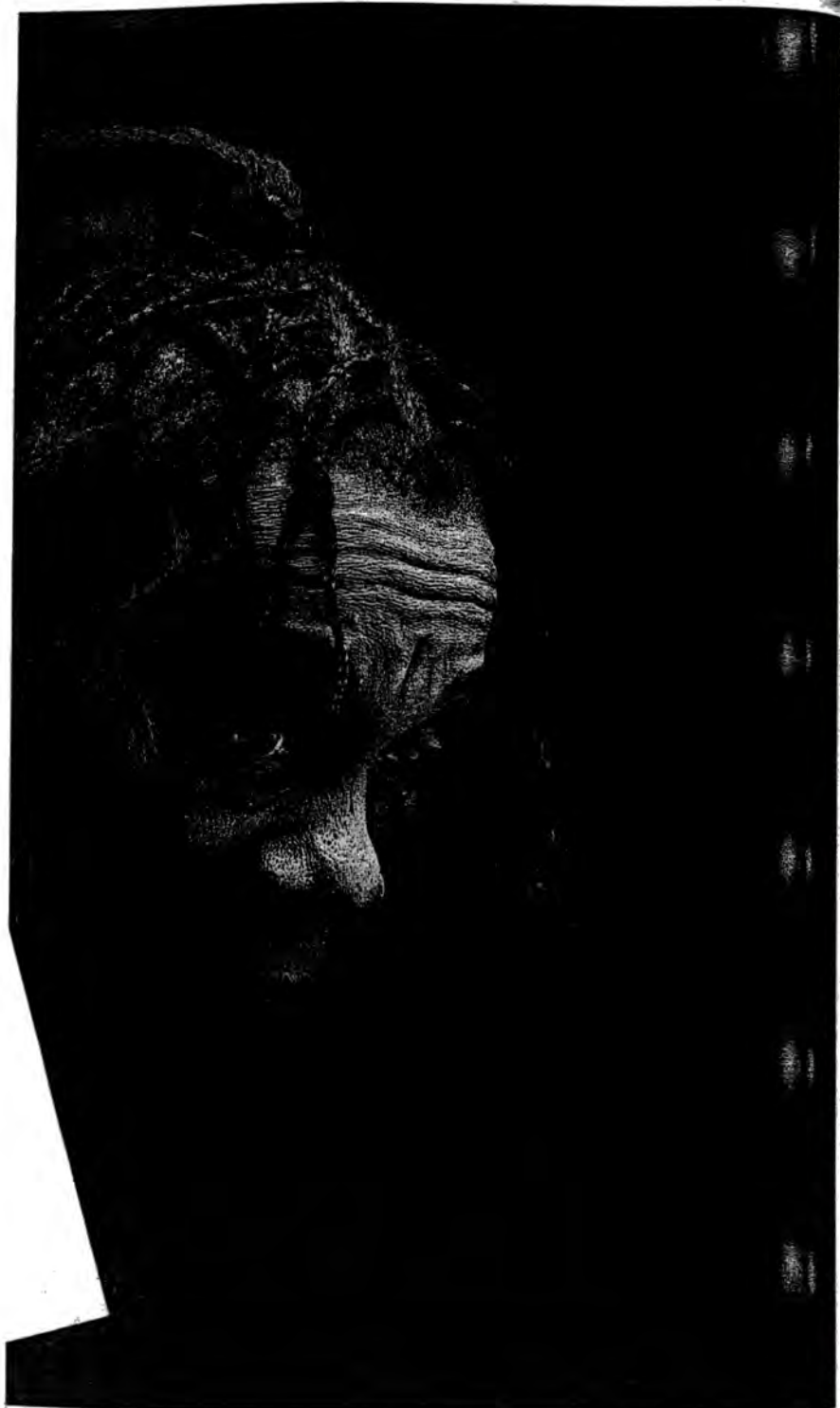
We should not have a tin cup out for something as important as the arts in this country, the richest in the world. Creative artists are always begging, but always being used when it's time to show us at our best.

You should always know when you're shifting gears in life. You should leave your era, it should never leave you.

Now I'm doing recitals, orchestra things, master classes. If somebody thinks I can still sing, I've got a wheelchair in the wings. But I have not retired. From pressure I have retired, but I'm not ever going to retire from anything else.

Beah Richards

Born July 12, 1926, in Vicksburg, Mississippi



In my family the word *black* was always a beautiful word. It was a word that my father and mother used. When everybody was saying "Negro" and "colored," my family would use the term *black*. Many of the children used to fight over the word. What was it about the word *black* that made it such a trap for many people and such a wonderful trip for us?

Everybody in Vicksburg told me that I was going to be an actor. We didn't even have a theater, and if they had one, I couldn't go to it.

I came to New York in 1950 and I was there five years before I did my first Broadway show, which was *Take a Giant Step*, off-Broadway. I played the eighty-four-year-old grandmother with no makeup. When the show was over, I could walk right past people and they never knew. . . .

When people look only at the surface and that satisfies them and they think from that surface they see, that is to be truly blind. There is no blindness like that.

In 1962, when I came to do *The Amen Corner* by James Baldwin, the director, Frank Silvera, told me, "Don't act, just be." That's when I became an actor. I ran into this philosophy of being. I was a liberated person after that. I think before I was a reactor. Now I am an actor, I can take the initiative.

If you go inside where all people are and where the essence of their being is, you are not going to find anything to hang your prejudices on.

Race, what is that? Race is a competition, somebody winning and somebody losing. That's what we have translated it to be. But it is more like a family. If you can use my heart, my liver, or my eye, then we are more a family than a competition. Blood doesn't run in races! Come on!

The first play I wrote was called *All's Well that Ends*. It was about segregation. I did that because people put words in your mouth that have nothing to do with your life, your hopes, and aspirations. They were writing about "the Negro" and I was not "the Negro." I was a black person.

I came along at a period when black writers were just being heard from. Most of the plays prior to the fifties were written about black people. In the fifties there were works by black people. You know, looking at something and letting it come out of you are two different things.

There are a lot of movies out there that I would hate to be paid to do, some real demeaning, real woman-denigrating stuff. It is up to women to change their roles. They are going to have to write the stuff and do it. And they will.

The time has come for a perception of compassion in this world. What is this orgy of hate we are going into and where is it going to lead us? If hate had been the motivating thing in my life, I would be dead.

I decided I wouldn't bring a child into this world for anything. I adore them but it's the repetitive suffering quality of life that I wouldn't want to see anybody go through. I can't stand to see children suffer.

We had great hope that education was really going to do it. But education was an indoctrination. Both class and race survived education, and neither should. What is education then? If it doesn't help a human being to recognize that humanity is humanity, what is it for? So you can make a bigger salary than other people?

If there is any equality now, it has been our struggle that put it there. Because they said, "All people are created equal." They said "all" and meant "some." They meant "white." All means all, sweetheart.

Beah Richards is an actress, poet, and playwright of special sensitivity. She was nominated for an Oscar for her portrayal of the passionately peacemaking mother in the film Guess Who's Coming to Dinner! Among her numerous credits for stage, television, and film are featured roles in James Baldwin's The Amen Corner, Ossie Davis's Purlie Victorious, and Lillian Hellman's The Little Foxes. In 1988, she won an Emmy award for her performance in Frank's Place. She lives in California.

EDDIE ROBINSON

There are very few men who have graced this earth who achieve legend status. Those who do become synonymous with their chosen field. They often become larger than life, not so much for what they've accomplished, but for how they did it.

When sports historians mention the name of Grambling College football coach, Eddie Robinson, they will mention his 358 career wins—more than any other college football coach in history. They'll talk about his two undefeated teams and about the 1971 season, when 43 former Grambling players were in National Football League (NFL) training camps (still an NFL record). They will also count off the game's great players who got their start at Grambling—Willie Davis, James Harris, Doug Williams, Willie Brown, Charlie Joiner. It would take a full four quarters to get through the entire list.

What really makes Robinson a legend, however, is the way he has lived his life. He is a classic example of the American dream. Rising from humble beginnings, he has twice been to the White House to meet with U.S. Presidents and he has received a host of awards. Yet his personal "report card" is based not on how many games he wins, but on how many young people he can touch.

"At times I feel my life doesn't belong to Eddie Robinson," he says, "it belongs to the kids. If they feel I'm a good person, then I want to be the best person I can be. If they look up to me as a good coach, I'm going to work as hard as I can to be the best coach in the world. I can't let them down. Our youth is what

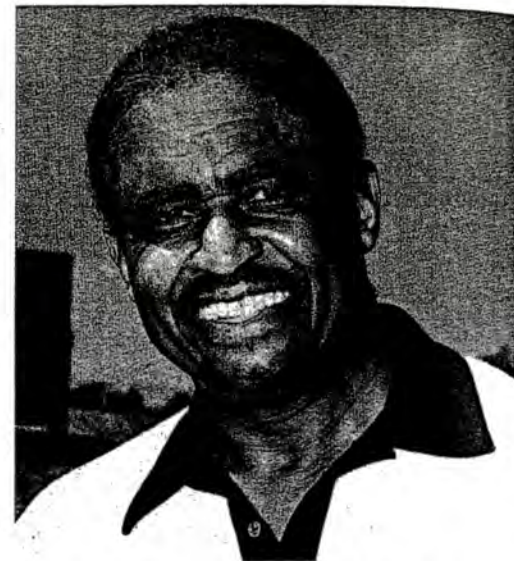
America is all about."

Robinson was born in Jackson, Louisiana and raised in Baton Rouge. He developed his love for football and coaching as a third grader. "I went to a clinic put on by Julius Kraft, who coached the local high school team," he says. "While most of the kids were concentrating on the players, my eyes and thoughts were on the coach. I liked the way he talked to the team, the way he made us all laugh, and most of all, the way everyone respected him. I decided right then to become a coach."

"At times I feel my life doesn't belong to Eddie Robinson, it belongs to the kids."

After spending his high school years playing for Kraft, Robinson played quarterback at now defunct Leland College in Baker, Louisiana, further whetting his appetite for coaching. After graduating and marrying his long-time sweetheart, Doris, Robinson took a 25 cents-an-hour job at a feed mill in Baton Rouge until a call went out for a football coach. The first call came from Louisiana Negro Normal, which is now Grambling State college. Nearly 50 years later he is still at Grambling.

"I have to be the happiest man in the world," Robinson says, "for nearly 50 years I've been making a living doing exactly what I love. Football is my way of giving something back. The game and this country have been good to me, so I want to give back."



"I hear people complain all the time about what is wrong with America. Not me: I'm proud to be an American. America is the greatest country in the world. I've had ups and downs, but I try and stay positive."

"We've had a good thing going at Grambling. We played in Tokyo and Hawaii, and before as many as 64,000 fans. People respect what we're doing here. I think my greatest thrill in sports was to see Doug Williams play so well in the 1988 Super Bowl. People always said quarterbacks from Black schools couldn't make it big in the NFL. We all know better."

"I'd like to keep coaching as long as I'm able. But when the curtain goes down on my career, I want people to say I gave to society and football all I had. I always wanted to be the best."

Maya Angelou

Born April 4, 1928, in Saint Louis, Missouri

Maya Angelou has published five volumes of her autobiography, the first of which, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, was nominated for a National Book Award in 1974 and aired as a television movie in 1979. An artist of wide-ranging talents, she was nominated for a Tony award for acting and a Pulitzer for poetry. She was the first black woman director in Hollywood and has written, produced, directed, and starred in productions for stage, film, and television. In 1981, she accepted a lifetime appointment as Reynolds Professor of American Studies at Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

I was a mute for five years. I wasn't cute and I didn't speak. I don't know what would have happened to me had I been in an integrated school. In another society, I'm sure I would have been ruled out. But my grandma told me all the time, "Sister, Mama don't care what these people say about you being a moron, being a idiot. Mama don't care. Mama know, Sister, when you and the good Lord get ready, you're gonna be a preacher."

Recently, I gave the principal speech to the National Council of Christians and Jews.

Love affords wonder. And it is only love that gives one the liberty, the courage to go inside and see who am I really.

The larger society said that I belonged to an unwelcome tribe. My feeling was, "Unwelcome to you, but my people don't say that." Which is one of the reasons black women have survived, and done better than that, thrived.

But some of us don't, and we don't know who we've lost. It's impossible to say what we've lost when we cut off one group. We are all diminished when one group is diminished. Can you imagine if this country were not so afflicted with racism? Can you imagine what it would be like if the vitality, humor, and resilience of the black American were infused throughout this country?

It seems to me that real sexism is a newly delivered message. Black women and black men know that we were stolen and sold together on the African continent. We lay spoon fashion in the filthy hatches of slave ships together. We stood upon the auction block together, were sold again together, took the lash together. There's no question of superiority. We have survived somehow together.

One of the unfortunate results of living a legendary life and dying a legendary death is that when the person is written about, more often than not he is made larger than life. The human qualities of humor, being wrong, sometimes gauche, losing, forgetting, these wonderful qualities we all have are never mentioned. The legend is taken out of the possession of the people. Every word uttered was memorable. Well, that's not true.

I don't tell everything I know but what I do tell is the truth. There's a world of difference between truth and facts. Facts can obscure the truth. You can tell so many facts that you fill the stage but haven't got one iota of the truth.

I have no modesty, none. It's a waste of time. It's a learned affectation stuck on from without. If life slams the modest person against the wall, he or she will drop that modesty

quicker than a stripper will drop her G-string. What I hope I have and what I pray for is humility. Humility comes from within.

Humility says there were people before me who found the path. I'm a road builder. For those who are yet to come, I seem to be finding the path and they will be road builders. That keeps one humble. Love keeps one humble.

Being humble doesn't mean one has to be a mat. In fact, just the opposite. What it means is, I will make myself so fine that I will be of use to you, make myself useful, do what I can do, and be an instrument of God. I do believe that anybody who can't be used is useless.

I believe all the tools that have been given to me that I recognized, I have developed. They may have been given to me as crowbars and I've tried to turn them into levers.

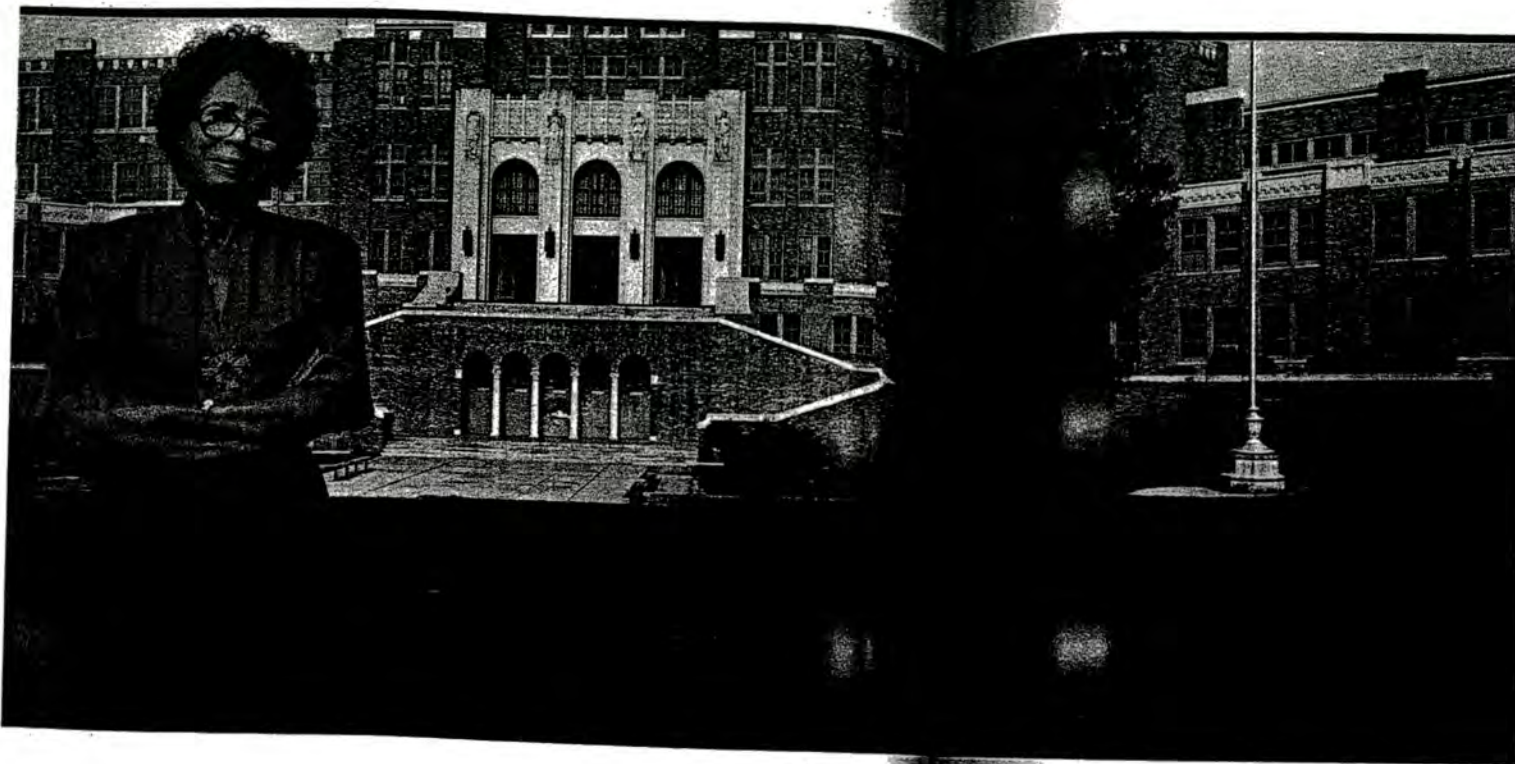
Strictly speaking, one cannot legislate love, but what one can do is legislate fairness and justice. If legislation does not prohibit our living side by side, sooner or later your child will fall on the pavement and I'll be the one to pick her up. Or one of my children will not be able to get into the house and you'll have to say, "Stay here until your mom comes home." Legislation affords us the chance to see if we might love each other.

It's imperative that young people be told that we have come a long way, otherwise they are likely to become cynical. A cynical young person is almost the saddest sight to see, because it means that he or she has gone from knowing nothing to believing in nothing. Young people must not get to the point of saying, "You mean to tell me we had Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers? You mean to tell me we had the Kennedys, we had Fannie Lou Hamer and Mary McLeod Bethune? You mean to tell me we had all these men and women and we have made no progress? Then what the hell—there is no progress to be made. It can't be made."

So it must be simultaneous—how far we have come and how far we have to go.

I'm convinced that I'm a child of God. That's wonderful, exhilarating, liberating, full of promise. But the burden which goes along with that is, I'm convinced that everybody is a child of God. The brutes and bigots, the batterers and the bastards are also children of God. And that's where the onerous burden comes in for me, as a practicing Christian, to try to keep that in mind and not grit my teeth until they break off into little stubs.

I weep a lot. I thank God I laugh a lot, too. The main thing in one's own private world is to try to laugh as much as you cry.



Daisy Bates

Born November 11, 1914, in Huttig, Arkansas

...a beautiful woman, dark, mixed Negro. I found out early in my life that happened to her. When I was 14, she was raped and murdered by three white men. Before my father went to his best friend's house and said, "I need some pork chops. I was proud that I was trusted. I told them I'd give them a dollar. I was the only person in

there at that time, but a little white girl came in and he served her, gave her a nice center-cut pork chop. Then a woman walked up and he served her. I asked again and he said, "Niggers have to wait until all the whites have been served." Then he gave me a handful of bad meat and told me to go on, that I had no money.

I was so mad and hurt. When my daddy came home, I told him the story. I wanted to go back there and make that butcher give me the kind of meat I wanted. He said, "It's not so bad." I asked him, "Daddy, are you afraid?" I never saw him so angry. He said, "Haven't you heard what I've been trying to tell you? I could be killed and nothing would be done about it." Killed over a pork chop. And more than

that, he said that Mother and I would be the next victims. I can remember what my daddy said on his dying day. "Daisy," he said, "you're consumed with hatred for white people." He said, "If you're gonna hate, make it count for something. Hate segregation in the South."

When we took on segregation in the Little Rock schools I don't think we had any big idea that we were gonna win it then. But they were gonna know they had had a fight!

The phone rang constantly with threats. They broke the windows with rocks. They burned crosses in the yard all the time. Huge ones. And they set the house on fire. One night a man was going to throw a Molotov cocktail. I shot over his

head with my .38 and he ducked and dropped it. Another night the police caught some people with guns and ammunition enough to blow the whole town away. Dynamite, everything. I was asked to stay with friends someplace else. I said, "Why should I? This is my home. I live here, I'm gonna stay here."

I didn't want anybody killed in the process. The whole movement would have been lost and all that suffering that the children had gone through would have been lost.

The kids were so courageous. They were ready to go and they wanted to go. The whites didn't want them and it made them want to go more. One of the reasons President Eisenhower was so long making up his mind was because he didn't want to be embarrassed sending in federal troops if the kids would not go in.

I think the high point was when the troops came in and Minnie Jean Brown [one of the Little Rock Nine] smiled and said, "For the first time in my life I feel like an American citizen."

I was fighting from my understanding of the past. There were blacks that didn't understand what was happening to them. This disturbed me an awful lot. There were not enough people who wanted to change, not enough of them to fight for change.

I was independent. I didn't have a boss I had to please. I thought I was strong putting out thirty thousand papers all over the state.

We brought to the public the conditions of the system in the South. Heretofore when something happened to a Negro and it was difficult to get the facts, reporters went to the white people and took their word for everything. But this time they had to come to me, here. They got the message.

We were in court in 1956 and I wanted to go to the rest room outside the judge's chambers. I was in a hurry and I didn't see the Whites Only sign. A charwoman, a white woman, was down on her knees cleaning up vomit. She said, "Nigger, you're in the wrong place." I went on in and used the rest room. When I came around she was still there on her knees. I was so angry with her I could have pushed her head down in the bucket. But I realized she was as much a victim as I was. I felt sorry for her.

I don't think I was courageous. I think I was determined.

I've gotten awards and plaques, I think they are saying, "You are doing what I'd like to do but I can't do it because I gotta eat, I gotta feed my kids."

Changes have been made. The people who were quiet are now speaking out. But I realize that you cannot erase in thirty years what it took two hundred years to establish.

Daisy Bates, along with her husband L. C. Bates, established a weekly newspaper, The Arkansas State Press, in the early 1940s. Elected president of the Arkansas NAACP, she led the historic fight of the Little Rock Nine to desegregate Central High School in 1957. Her book, The Long Shadow of Little Rock, was published in 1962.

Unita Blackwell

Born March 18, 1933, in Lula, Mississippi

The first black woman mayor in Mississippi, Unita Blackwell was elected mayor of Mayersville in 1976. She was one of the key organizers of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which challenged the seating of the all-white delegation from that state to the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in 1964. She was the national president of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association from 1976 to 1983. In 1983 she received a master's degree in regional planning from the University of Massachusetts. She is the past chair of the Black Women Mayor's Caucus and is currently serving as president of the National Conference of Black Mayors.

This very place where I am now the mayor, the people used to arrest me every day and harass me every day. They turned cars upside down, burned crosses in my yard, threw homemade bombs at us.

It wasn't just a song for us, "We Shall Overcome." It was our strength. When I see people heading up organizations and doing all these things, it didn't come about overnight and it didn't come without pain.

I think that a lot of people might have missed the emotional violence, looking at the physical violence during the civil rights movement. The emotional violence was fear and not knowing what's going to happen and when they were coming at you. I experienced the emotional violence every day.

I was involved in the voter registration drives, trying to get people down to the courthouse. If you did that, you took your own life in hand. You knew that you might die or if you happened to live that you would be beaten like Fannie Lou Hamer was beaten, till her body was just hard as a rock.

We wanted to bring people out of the bondage that they were under, the feeling that they were hopeless and helpless. And that was not as easy as said, when the courthouse was surrounded with pickup trucks, with guns, with white people and anger.

I said, "Nothin' from nothin' leaves nothin'. We don't have nothin', so we ain't losing nothin' and our life don't mean nothin' if we continue this way with no freedom." I was determined to have my rights as a citizen in this United States.

I'm one of the people who has filed a lawsuit against almost every agency and operation of white people in the state of Mississippi. We had to. I drove out of my house and I was arrested every day, during one time, every day straight for thirty days. It may be seventy-five times I've been in jail. They wouldn't tell the black people when we were in jail, because then the Klan could get to us in jail. That's how a lot of people were beaten up and killed.

In 1964 my whole sleep habits changed. I never sleep through the night, because that's when the Klan came at us. We'd take turns, watching, walking, looking. You come talking about you're going to call the police? You couldn't trust nobody because the police was the Klans. The police was burning the cross in my yard.

I called the FBI in Jackson. You can't hold no long conversations with people getting ready to kill you, you see. "Well, how many crosses is it?" he asked. "How tall is the cross?" I wasn't about to get up off the floor to find out how tall the

cross was. And then this FBI man told me how to preserve the cross. Asked me did I have a gunny sack. Gave me a description of what a gunny sack was . . .

Have you ever been in a condition where there is no place you can call for help?

We were denied and disenfranchised in Mississippi, so we formed our own party, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party. We had sixty-four blacks and four whites to go to Atlantic City.

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer testified before the credentials committee. She was my friend and mentor. She helped me understand why white people treated us so bad. She'd say, "Honey, they're just sick, their minds are sick. We're just going to have to get up and get registered to vote so that they can go home and lay down, 'cause they're some sick people." She was the conscience of all of us. She'd have you laughing all the time. In the midst of chaos, we could laugh.

We had no idea that we were changing the whole political future of America. Here was a bunch of people that had never been anywhere, not politically astute people, sophisticated or anything. We were going because we didn't have shoes for our children and decent houses to stay in and just the everyday life that we wanted.

Going to Atlantic City and coming back, we had incidents. When we were coming back, the Klan set up a roadblock. A very petite little woman from Hattiesburg came out with a knife like a razor and laid it around the [white] driver's neck and told him if he stopped she would pull it. We went straight through.

In 1986, we had a convention of the national Conference of Black Mayors in Atlantic City. There we were, black mayors, in limousines and fancy stuff with the police escort in front of us, heading to the place where we were denied the right to be seated twenty some years ago.

I visit countries. I worked on the normalization process between the United States and China as the people-to-people person. I've been to China fifteen times, Hong Kong thirty-six times, I've been to Switzerland, Rumania, India, Central America, and a lot of places. I still come home. I never left Mississippi.

I am the law. I am over the slave owners that used to be over me. I am their mayor. I'm the judge. So it has changed. It's not that subtle thing that we have overcome yet. But that physical outward thing or that mental thing that they're going to get you is not there anymore.

Gwendolyn Brooks

Born June 7, 1917, in Topeka, Kansas

My first four poems were published at the age of eleven. When I was fifteen, I began writing to people like James Weldon Johnson. He was very kind and sent back my manuscripts with marginal notes, little assistances. He thought I was talented and hoped that I would keep writing. My parents were delighted with all of this attention. There was an enthusiasm that meant so much. But I would have gone on writing. I didn't care what any of them said.

In writing poetry you're interested in condensation so you don't try to put all of a particular impression or inspiration on a single page. You distill. Poetry is life distilled.

I have written poems about my response to some of the things that were happening. When Emmett Till was murdered, I couldn't have any rest until I wrote about that. I couldn't rest until I had done something, done my kind of something, because my own son was fourteen at the same time Emmett Till was murdered at the age of fourteen.

Much of *Maud Martha* is autobiographical. I didn't want to write about somebody who turned out to be a star 'cause most people don't turn out to be stars. And yet their lives are just as sweet and just as rich as any others and often they are richer and sweeter.

My poem, "Ballad of Pearl May Lee," examines the whole thing from the viewpoint of the dark-complexioned black woman. It expresses the way a lot of women of my complexion feel. They have been neglected in favor of light-complexioned black women.

When I read it on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley, a young black fellow in the audience said, "I hear you, Sister." I love that. "I hear you, Sister."

I have to come to that paper excited. They always say, "You read your poem so beautifully. How does that happen?" I say, "When you're writing a poem, you're not sitting there all cold and dull and dim. You're all excited." I try to read poetry to give an impression of how I felt when I was writing it.

"It is the morning of our love." It seemed like a beautiful, simple way to start a love poem, but it was a mistake. I tell poets that when a line just floats into your head, don't pay attention 'cause it probably has floated into somebody else's head. Sure enough I found it in another poem. So now I don't use that and the poem begins, "In a package of minutes, there is this 'we,' " which is a line I struggled over. So I don't expect to see it anywhere.

I can't think of any time that I would choose to have grown up in rather than this time. Fascinating things have happened, would-be revolutions of various kinds.

There was a gang in Chicago called the Blackstone Rangers. About five thousand young blacks were in it. So powerful were they that in 1967 when a television station wanted to come into the neighborhood and make a documentary on my life, we had to get permission from the Blackstone Rangers. I started a workshop for those who were interested in writing.

The young people that I met in the late sixties—when resentment was reasonable—educated me. They gave me books to read. We talked and talked. They just absorbed me, adopted me. We went lots of places together.

We would just walk into a tavern and [poet] Haki Madhubuti would say, "Look, folks, we're gonna lay some poetry on you." And he would recite a poem. And if I could read a poem like "We real cool," very short, I could avoid having drinks thrown at me. I mean, that's enlarging a point a bit, but after all, these people were not there to listen to poetry.

I go to lots of prisons to recite poetry. What I usually do now is have the prisoners read also. They always have manuscripts. There's anger and there's a lot of love poetry being written and there's a sensitivity to what's going on politically.

I'm writing a book about Winnie Mandela. Most of my friends are against us going to South Africa. I have no intention of going to South Africa ever to be an honorary white.

There are so many blacks who are denying all blackness. They think they can twinkle their fingers at blackness and it'll just go away and they'll be loved by whites and accepted.

When I meet these young people who talk about being raised in white neighborhoods, who've seen virtually no blacks and don't want to see any, I just encourage them to keep talking because strange things begin to come out, one of which is this yearning toward black validation.

Malcolm X, who said he was not going to turn the other cheek, expressed the kind of sentiments I hold with. Here was a man—big, strong, courageous. And he wasn't endlessly pushing to integrate with whites. He believed black people should love black people and value them above all others.

I don't like the idea of the black race being diluted out of existence. I like the idea of all of us being here.

Gwendolyn Brooks won the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry in 1950 for her book, Annie Allen. She was the first black writer to win the prestigious award. Considered "the Bard of Bronzeville," she was also poet laureate of Illinois for sixteen years and poetry consultant to the Library of Congress. Among her best-known works are A Street in Bronzeville (1945) and In the Mecca (1968), poetry collections, and Maud Martha (1953), a novel. Her autobiography, Report from Part One, was published in 1973. She lives in Chicago, her home since childhood.

Johnnetta Betsch Cole

Born October 19, 1936, in Jacksonville, Florida

Johnnetta Cole is the first black woman president of Spelman College, the Atlanta institution whose proud tradition of educating women leaders dates from 1881. She holds advanced degrees in anthropology from Northwestern University and was director of Latin American and Caribbean Studies at Hunter College in New York City. She has published books in the fields of anthropology and women's studies.

I grew up in a middle, upper-middle-class family. My great-grandfather was the founder of the first insurance company in the state of Florida. We lived in this wonderful house, which sat in a wonderful location facing a gorgeous park. Idyllic stuff—palm trees, swimming pool, and swings. With one problem. That pool was for white folks only and those swings were not for me.

How do you explain that to a kid without creating the kind of anger and hostility which could boomerang? How do you do that without challenging the existence of a God, of a moral system, of a democratic process? I think one of the most extraordinary untold stories is the story of black parenting. What do you tell your kid—"Don't worry, it'll go away quickly"?

When we talk about feelings of solidarity, of kinship, of sisterhood, I think what we're really talking about is shared experiences. . . .

Everybody knows about "the kitchen" because when we were little girls sitting between those knees that served like locks, when they came with that brush or comb, you got ready because they would inevitably get to "the kitchen," the nape of the neck, and you knew it was going to hurt.

But why call it "the kitchen"? Why not call it "the pantry"? I think, because the kitchen has been the most difficult place for us all our lives. When black women came home to their own kitchen after working in Miss Ann's, there was that inevitable double shift. When the black man came home, there was the notion that he ought to rest. The sister went to the kitchen to start again.

If we think that our daughters ought not to have to come home from a job and exclusively be the ones to do the second shift, washing the dishes, changing the clothes, and cleaning the house, then we'd better tell our sons that now. And they'd better learn to do that now. And if we think that our daughters ought to be in Congress next to our sons, we'd better let our sons know that now, so they get prepared to have women as colleagues.

Black women ain't been put on no pedestals. Nine out of every ten black women worked in the fields alongside black men. But every time we have this image of slavery, there she is, either setting the table for master or getting in his bed. This myth of black women profiting at the expense of black men is the oldest rap around. It's been unbelievably important to keep it going, to divide black men from black women. I spent two years in Liberia during the sixties. There I was in a country for the first time in my life where I was in the majority, a land of black folk. And it was important that I

saw inequality. It was important to see descendants of slaves who came to the U.S. and in the late 1840s went back to Liberia, to see them being Mr. Charlie and Miss Ann to those black folk who—what?—didn't have the privilege of coming to America as slaves? That relationship of inequality was not color-coded.

I had a friend who also served as my interpreter who taught me, very vividly, the power of language. If he wanted something from me he would call me "Mother," and he would use the Kissi word. If he was absolutely disgusted because for the ninety-ninth time I had made some *faux pas* culturally, he would just look at me, suck his teeth, and say, "My child." But there was a third way that sent chills through my body and he knew it. When he was angry he would call me "Missy." He was saying, you are acting like a white American woman.

If folk can learn to be racist, then they can learn to be antiracist. If being a sexist ain't genetic, then, dad gum, people can learn about gender equality.

I learned how to be the president of this college by watching black women more than by reading some manual.

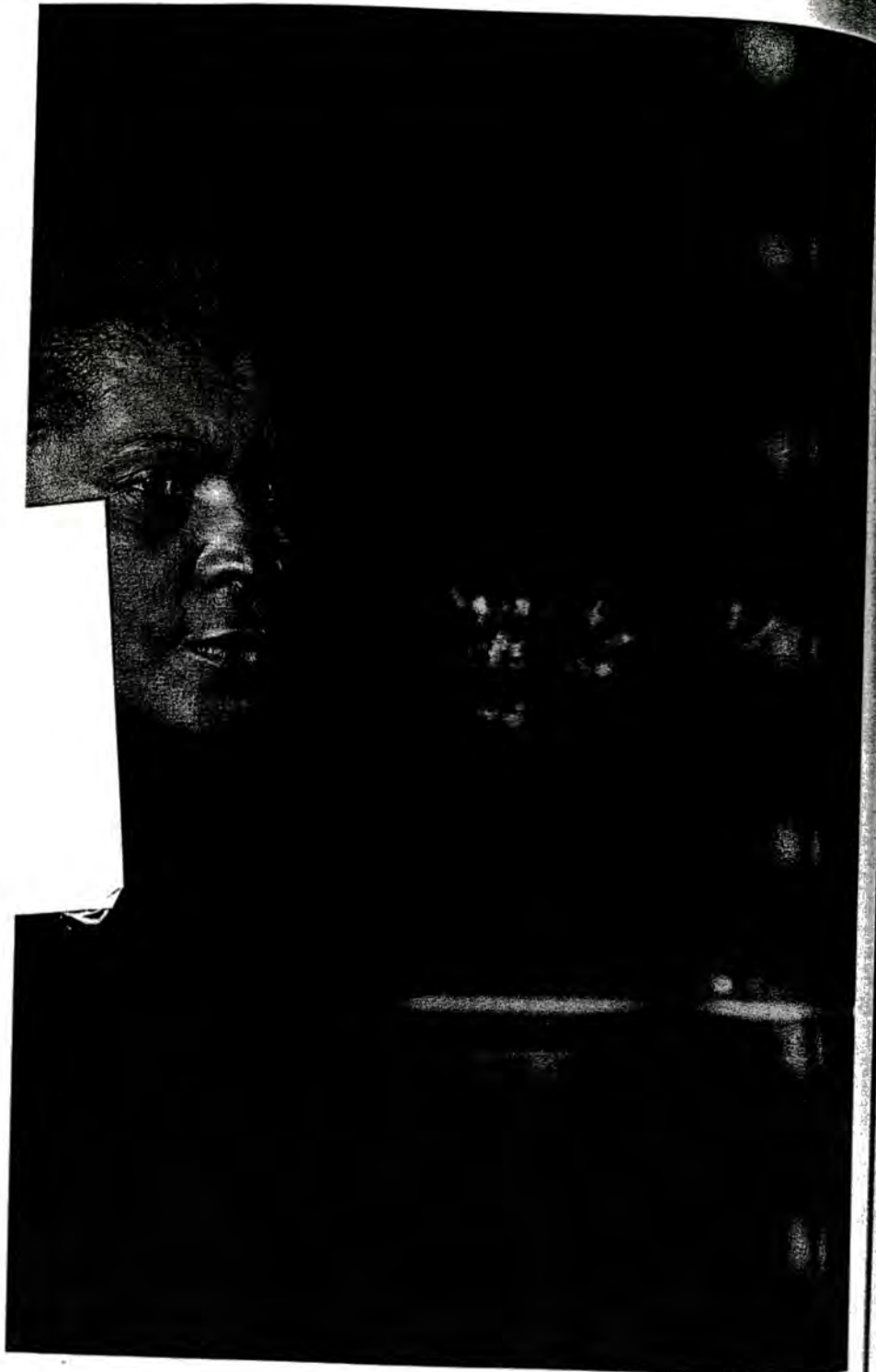
I like the notion of being an intellectual, but there are all these women who were not an Ida B. Wells or Anna J. Cooper, but who were nevertheless intellectuals, political and academic leaders. What else can you call somebody who takes scruffy kids off the streets into the colored branch of the library and helps them love ideas? That's an intellectual.

At the same time that I want this image of "sheroes," black sheroes, we've got to be careful, because if we focus too much on all of those who have made it, then we forget those who never could.

Black women who were in the day-to-day struggle learned that we were to take the notes and not chair the meetings, that we were to form the picket lines but not speak to the press. It's a bitter experience when the assumption is that it's for all of us, and then you find out it's for some of us. It's been a bitter experience for millions of black women who assumed that the women's movement was for all of us and then we found out, one more time, for some of us. . . .

Where are the women in black studies? Where are the black folks in women's studies? Black women get shut out of both.

Systems of inequality tell you what you can and cannot do. Elaborate structures have to be built to convince you, because you know you can do it. You just did it.



Marva Nettles Collins

Born August 31, 1936, in Monroeville, Alabama

I grew up in a very nurtured background. I never had to worry about money, clothing, and things. My dad and I were very close friends. I could ask him questions and we would sit and talk until the wee hours of the morning.

When my dad would see black women walking to work in the mornings, I used to hear him give off a litany of words, saying he would die before he let his family work in the kitchens of white folks.

If you went to college in Alabama, you were a celebrity. The minister had you stand in church and all the people would give you a quarter or fifty cents, what they could. You didn't get into trouble because in your mind's eye you could see all those people caring about you, depending on you.

This school is all about service. Every child has to tutor five other children in their neighborhood. It's part of our motto: Entrance to learn, exit to serve.

We have a saying here that each of us checks our ego at the door in the morning when we come in. There is no place here for majestic egos.

We teach our children here. When they give us sloppy work, we ask them, "Would you give this to God?" And if they say, "No," we say, "We don't want it either." If it's sloppy, it goes in the garbage pail. "I love you very much, but this is where it goes. Now, do it over."

I've always said that with my own children. I disagree with you right now but I love you all the time.

I get a real kick out of a real tough kid because I know that I'm going to break him. We had a white kid last year that was seventeen and his mother landed up here from South Carolina. Eric was very hostile. He had been put down, he couldn't read, and one day he called me a jungle bunny. I said, "Sweetheart, when you learn to read, write, and spell jungle bunny, Mrs. Collins will take offense to it. Right now I love you." And he had to learn how to read, write, and spell those words.

I've seen brilliant kids labeled "learning disabled" because a teacher didn't know what to do with them. The question that always lurks in my mind is, What would I do if this was my child?

We talk about violence in the classroom, but no one ever mentions a teacher grabbing a kid. That's part of this discipline problem. You just don't grab a kid unless you have

established some rapport with him first. I can grab them, but I love them first.

Schools are bad all over this country. You can actually get through high school in America by knowing how to make T for true and F for false and check marks. . . .

I don't know whether we in this country have become anesthetized or we're suffering from senility.

We are going to have to try to have our own high school because our children have problems when they leave here. They learn to shut up, they learn to fake it. Here they are free, free to disagree with me.

In here the children correct us. They'll say, "Mrs. Collins, that's wrong, you made a mistake." And I'll say, "You are so bright, I want to be just like you when I grow up."

I can never teach your children everything they need to know. But I can teach them to be curious and discontent.

Every child in this school has the greatest respect in the world. I never have to raise my voice and scream because I am what I want them to be.

I don't want to be wealthy. I don't need that kind of power. Power is when I walk into this school and these little kids' eyes hold wonder like a cup.

I think what everybody calls a miracle is just common sense, really. You can look at the attitudes when people come in. That's why they call it a miracle. These are black kids and they're not supposed to know the things they know and achieve the way they are achieving.

I think it is very interesting that teachers from monied systems all over the world come into this very spartan facility to learn our methodology. I cannot change the world, but I do not have to conform.

What I do concerns me, not what people think. There is a line one of my children told a white kid once. We had taken them to a play and the white kid called one of them a nigger. The little nine-year-old looked and said, "No wise man will insult me and no fool can." I've always remembered that. I learn from children too. . . .

Our kids change their parents. These kids are going to be the new order emerging in our society.

Marva Collins founded Westside Preparatory School in Chicago in 1975 to educate the young children of Chicago's mean streets. Using pension funds from fourteen years of teaching in public schools, she built a schoolroom in her home. That school, which now occupies two buildings, has grown from eighteen students to 250 and from skepticism to success, partly with the help of proceeds from the 1981 television movie, The Marva Collins Story.

Ruby Dee

Born October 27, 1927, in Cleveland, Ohio

Ruby Dee's luminous performances on stage, in film, and on television have made her one of the most recognized actresses in America. From her first major Broadway role in Anna Lucasta in 1946, she developed into a versatile performer whose extensive credits include productions of A Raisin in the Sun, Purlie Victorious, Taming of the Shrew, Boesman and Lena, Buck and the Preacher, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, and Checkmates. She has worked with her husband, actor-author Ossie Davis, on numerous projects, notably the 1981 television series With Ossie and Ruby. Her most recent collection of poetry, My One Good Nerve, was published in 1986.

You just try to do everything that comes up. Get up an hour earlier, stay up an hour later, make the time. Then you look back and say, "Well, that was a neat piece of juggling there—school, marriage, babies, career." The enthusiasms took me through the action, not the measuring of it or the reasonableness.

I like the idea of people striving to be better and to make the world better. The world has improved mostly through people who are unorthodox, who do unorthodox things. They're always shaking up the establishment. When we saw such people, we appreciated them and did what we could to support them.

That's what being young is all about. You have the courage and the daring to think that you can make a difference. You're not prone to measure your energies in time. You're not likely to live by equations.

Marriage is a process, we've discovered. The wedding is the event. It takes a long time to be really married. One marries many times at many levels within a marriage. If you have more marriages than you have divorces within the marriage, you're lucky and you stick it out.

We just did what we had to. And to feel the consequences . . . well, they just were. Life for an actor is tough anyway, so how can you tell what's contributing to it? What's contributing to the toughness in our life?

I absolutely love acting, when I'm acting. I absolutely love writing, when I'm writing. I tend to write things that are not serious better than I do things that are serious. That surprised me about myself.

We did a series on PBS [*With Ossie and Ruby*] that was really very satisfying, good work that we were proud of. We worked with a lot of authors that we admired. We traveled on tour, exploring, talking about authors, and introducing people to those who put the "black experience" in perspective and made us look at ourselves outside of the great problem of racism and white folks.

Practically every woman I read I fall in love with. I appreciate women like Alice Walker, Margaret Walker, Toni Morrison, Rosa Guy, Toni Cade Bambara. They put me in context as a person. They did a lot for me. I've always studied literature in school—French, Spanish, and English literature. I wasn't really aware of the astonishing work of black people until I got out of college.

We're doing a mad dance just trying to find out how to exist in this world. Racism just blinds us to the real problems that face us all. It's easier and more dramatic to say, "Oh, white folks are terrible and men are dogs and there's a lot of unfairness." And I say, "So this is life." But I get angry, too.

Racism, feelings of superiority, it's a sickness. I truly believe that racism is taking second place to classism. Classism and greed are making insignificant all other kinds of isms.

I see great progress in the growth of white America. I like to look at that part of it. I like to see that we're growing closer together as people. I think maybe there's growth in the undertow.

I don't call myself an optimist. I dare not judge the world because the fools have written it this way or drawn it or treated it so, or that people come on the scene and think that the world begins and ends at this time with me and with them.



Althea Gibson

Born August 25, 1927, in Silver, South Carolina

When I was younger I just stayed away from home. All I did was maybe ride the subways back and forth and walk various sections of New York. They called me a wayward child. When I did come home, I knew what to expect when my father came home. Not a spankin', a whippin'.

My parents were doing their best to raise me, but I just didn't let 'em. When I was given a ticker-tape parade after winning Wimbledon in fifty-seven, you could see no prouder parents of any child in life than my mother and father.

I learned paddle tennis with a friend of mine on 143rd Street. She and I were competitors. The young boys who played on another court up the block heard about me and challenged me. And I accepted. I played it all—basketball, shuffleboard, badminton, volleyball. I just loved to play.

Buddy Walker was the first to help me. After seeing me play paddle tennis in forty-two or forty-three, he gave me my first tennis racket and introduced me to the Cosmopolitan Tennis Club up on Convent Avenue. The teaching pro at the club was Fred Johnson. He lost his left arm in the war, and believe it or not, he was the one who taught me the service toss and racket preparation. With one arm.

I played and practiced most of my life in Harlem on boards, on wood. Fastest court surface in the world. Balls come at you like bullets. That helped me when I played on other fast surfaces like grass at Wimbledon.

I knew that I was an unusual, talented girl through the grace of God. I didn't need to prove that to myself. I only wanted to prove it to my opponents.

I first played at Wimbledon in 1951. My very first match was scheduled for the famed Centre Court. I made a vow to myself: Althea, you're not going to look around. You're not going to listen to any calls or remarks. All you are going to do is watch the tennis ball. I did that. I didn't acknowledge the referees' calls; whatever they said, okay fine. I won the first set six-love. Then I looked around at the nineteen- to twenty-thousand spectators as if to say, "How do you like that?" But then after that I lost the second set six-love because I lost my concentration.

After being the black champion of the American Tennis Association for ten consecutive years I felt I was ready. After fifty-six nobody could beat me. . . .

I had the best serve in women's tennis. I had the best overhead in women's tennis. And I had the most killing volley in women's tennis.

You got to know your opponent. You got to know their strengths, their weaknesses, see how they move, what balls they don't like. Once I know this, they only see the ball at their weak points, not their strengths.

I was ruthless on the tennis court. Win at any cost. I became an attacker. If your first serve ain't good, I'll knock it down your throat. It just so happened that I had the talent to win at another level instead of being the meanie on the tennis court.

Before the singles finals at Wimbledon they came into the locker room to show us how to curtsy to the Queen when we were introduced on Centre Court—which I did, I thought, very gracefully. Upon winning the championship, she came down on Centre Court to present me with the trophy. That was quite an honor.

Althea Gibson was the first black American to play tennis at the U.S. Open (1950) and Wimbledon, England (1951). With her triumph in the women's singles and doubles at the prestigious English tournament in 1957, she became the first black tennis player to win that championship. Later that year she added the U.S. women's singles title at Forest Hills, and in 1958 she repeated the same round of victories. Her autobiography, I Always Wanted to Be Somebody, was published in 1958. She joined the Ladies' Professional Golf Association in 1963 and, in 1988, she was appointed special consultant to the New Jersey Governor's Council of Physical Fitness in Sports.



Clara McBride Hale

Born April 1, 1905, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

My mother always had a house full of children. She had four children and all the neighbors' children came to our house.

You couldn't tell that my mother was not white. See, my grandmother, they said she was a beautiful woman. She was a slave and the master gave her my mother. They had some mulattoes that they called "free issues." That's what happened with my mother. She had all the features of the master and she was as fair.

But she was a fair woman, I mean, not only in color. She knew what was happening and she taught this. She kept saying, "I want you to hold your head up and be proud of yourself. We were brought over and we were enslaved all this time, but it's over now. You're supposed to be free, but you aren't free. Remember that."

My husband and I had dreams of what we were going to do with our children. We dreamed that they'd grow up and be what they want to be and have a good life. My first child was Nathan, Nathan Hale. Oh, I was really an American. I wanted them to know.

My husband died when my daughter Lorraine was five and Nathan was six. There was no way under the sun that they would give you any other job except domestic jobs. And that meant being away all day from these poor little children who had nobody.

So I decided to take in other people's children. They were coming for five days and going home Saturday and Sunday. But they got so they didn't want to go home. They wanted to stay with me altogether. So the parents would give me an extra dollar, and that meant I kept them all the time. My daughter said she was at least eleven years old before she realized that these were not her sisters and brothers.

So I raised forty. Every one of them went to college, every one of them graduated, and they have lovely jobs. They're some of the nicest people. Anything they wanted to do, I backed them up. I have singers, dancers, preachers, and things like that. They're schoolteachers, lawyers, doctors, anything else. No big name or anything, but they're happy.

In 1969, I decided I wouldn't take care of no more children. Then my daughter sent me a girl with an addict baby. Inside of two months I had twenty-two babies living in a five-room apartment. My decision to stop didn't mean anything. It seems as though God wanted them. He kept sending them, and He kept opening a way for me to make it. It's been over six hundred addicted babies.

We hold them and rock them. They love you to tell them how great they are, how good they are. Somehow, even at a young age, they understand that. They're happy and they turn out well.

Being black does not stop you. You can sit out in the world and say, "Well, white people kept me back, and I can't do this." Not so. You can have anything you want if you make up your mind and you want it. You don't have to crack nobody across the head, don't have to steal or anything. Don't have to be smart like the men up high stealing all the money. We're good people and we try.

I'm not going to retire again. Until I die, I'm going to keep doing. My people need me. They need somebody that's not taking from them and is giving them something.

We're going to open a place for children with AIDS because there's no cure and these children will die. People shun them and it's not their fault. I want them to live a good life while they can and know someone loves them.

It's back to being very bad for black people now. But I'll live through that, too. If I don't, I have a daughter that will carry on. I have grandchildren and great-grandchildren. They have the same feeling. When I'm gone, somebody else will take it up and do it. This is how we've lived all these years.

I'm hoping that one day there will be no Hale House, that we won't need anybody to look after these children, that the drugs will be gone.

I'm not an American hero. I'm a person that loves children.

Mother Hale opened the doors of Hale House in a Harlem brownstone in 1973 to provide a life-saving environment for the babies of young drug-addicted mothers. Hundreds of children have returned to health and to their rehabilitated parents after living and being loved in this unique program, which is administered by her daughter, Dr. Lorraine Hale. In 1985, President Ronald Reagan cited Mother Hale as an "American hero."



Lena Horne

Born June 30, 1917, in Brooklyn, New York

My grandmother [my father's mother] said, "Don't let anybody see you cry. Hold your head up very straight, look at people, and answer them or question them distinctly." And then her woman's thing would come out because she'd say, "Don't be as weak as your mother." Well, that was the fight that strengthened me, because I would take up for my mother.

I wanted to be a teacher. I got sidetracked through my mother into show business. My grandmother couldn't bear it that my mother was on the stage. In those days, we were freaks, and my mother was a freak. There was no respect for her. My mother had this crazy idea about me being a star. She didn't understand anything. *Her* mother had raised her to be a little princess.

My grandmother took me to her meetings from the time I was little until I was fifteen. She was in the Urban League, the NAACP, and the Ethical Culture Society. I was surrounded by adult activities. I'm glad because if I hadn't had that from her, then the other side of my life, which was more bleak, might have finished me.

My father was a gambler and a racketeer. Because he knew how loathsome life was, he taught me a lot. He gave me all the street knowledge I needed to survive.

My father used to have these old sayings like, "Don't trust no bush that quivers." He paid off the cops and was allowed to run his rackets. He used to say, "Don't whine, pay the bill," if you owe it.

Out there in Hollywood, I was completely isolated. I went through some funny times because they didn't know what black people were like. Me and the shoeshine boy were the only two black people out there at the studio, most every day.

My father had scared them to death. I think that was the first time a black man had ever come into Louis B. Mayer's office and said, "I don't want my daughter in this mess." There was all this kind of crap that, in our business, particularly, is sexual. He was so articulate and so beautiful, they just said, "Well, don't worry." And they didn't know what to do with me.

I was unique in that I was a kind of black that white people could accept. I was their daydream. I had the worst kind of acceptance because it was never for how great I was or what I contributed. It was because of the way I looked.

I made a couple of stands out there at MGM and I was encouraged on the surface. But the very people that I had admired and written to for advice to turn down these parts, were sending their sisters or their cousins.

It took me many years to be able to sing, because I wasn't a natural singer. I could carry a tune, but that was about it.

My own people didn't see me as a performer because they were busy trying to make a living and feed themselves. Until I got to Café Society in the forties, I didn't even have a black audience and then it was mixed.

I was always battling the system to try to get to be with my people. Finally, I wouldn't work for places that kept us out. I couldn't get a place to live, so I fought for housing. The mere fact of living had to be fought, because I was black and I never lost sight of that.

Until I struck this man in a nightclub in Hollywood [for his racist insult], I never knew that anybody knew anything about me. I got telegrams from black people saying, "How wonderful, we didn't know." I just automatically thought that black people knew that if you were black, you were going to catch hell. They thought because I was me that I wasn't catching hell.

It was a damn fight everywhere I was, every place I worked, in New York, in Hollywood, all over the world.

When I was sent South early, I lived with people who existed on leavings from white people's tables. Then, in the sixties, when I went South, when I went back and found people that had taken care of me when I was a little girl, I found that I was a part of something bigger than myself.

The impact of them killing Medgar Evers hit me so hard because I saw him and his wife doing, God, this fantastic work in that place. It brought me back to life. Then I belonged, finally. I think I earned my way back, but it was a rough process. Mississippi, it killed me, but it woke me up. And I cried for the first time in many years.

As an artist I had been very rigid and cold. When I sang in Mississippi, in a church there, my heart just broke. When I was with my own people, I began to be a better artist and performer. I turned my prejudice loose.

Don't be afraid to feel as angry or as loving as you can, because when you feel nothing, it's just death.

I'm glad I lived through the sixties, because that's the first time and the last time I saw a commingling of whites and blacks with an attitude that started out to be very right and very healthy. And then, of course, it was over. But I saw it and that did me a lot of good.

I never thought I'd live this long to see this kind of ruin, decimation. My own people are so disillusioned, desperate, and angry. Angrier than in the sixties, I think, except they have no place to put this anger.

Singer, actress, and legendary beauty, Lena Horne began her career at sixteen as a chorus girl at the Cotton Club in Harlem. Almost fifty years later she starred in a retrospective, Lena Horne: The Lady and Her Music, the longest-running one-woman show in Broadway history. She performed in the 1940s' film classics, Cabin in the Sky and Stormy Weather, and in the Broadway musical Jamaica. In 1984 she was honored by the Kennedy Center for lifetime achievement in the performing arts, and in 1987 she received the Pied Piper Award from the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers.

Jean Blackwell Hutson

Born September 7, 1914, in Summerfield, Florida

I was born three months premature. My father was about to knock up this little wooden box to bury me in, so he told me. He could hardly hit the nails, he was crying so hard. Then I started yelling and I've been talking ever since.

In 1936, I received a telegram to come here to work at the old 135th Street branch library. I was substituting for the librarian of the Schomburg Collection, which was on the top floor, while she was out on maternity leave. In my freshness I got into trouble with Mr. Schomburg.

His books had been catalogued by the Dewey Decimal System, but he had ignored that and he kept the books in his rarest collection arranged by the height of their spine and their hue. So one night I stayed and arranged these books by the decimal system so that everybody else could locate them from the card catalogue. When he came in the next day, he couldn't find anything. He forbade me to come back into the place. We had had an amiable relationship until then.

He was a very cordial, loquacious, arty person to know. He often said that he was inspired by bad teaching. He and some other dark-skinned boys in his native Puerto Rico had asked why they didn't study Negro history and they were told that Negroes had no history. I think that's when he started collecting every evidence he could find on Negroes.

Schomburg had a different concept of our history. His collection included nonbook materials, because he found many African art objects more revealing of African history than books. Schomburg's library was one that incorporated the idea of Negroes in the other parts of the world as well as the United States, whereas the other collections all started with slavery, as if this was the beginning. This collection was purchased by the New York Public Library in 1926, and it became the center of all sorts of meetings.

During the Harlem Renaissance people came from the Caribbean as well as from the South and brought together all this inspiration and protest. Léopold Sédar Senghor, the African scholar [and long-time president of Senegal], feels that art and literature are the precursors of political activity. He said that the Harlem Renaissance inspired the political independence movements of Africa. Every last one of them first had the writing and the musical expression before the political explosion.

After I left the Schomburg Collection I became the guinea pig to go and work in other branch libraries where, supposedly, no Negroes could work. I learned that customers really didn't care what color handed them the books, unless you didn't find what they wanted. Then they might look at

you and call you a nigger. But they didn't care that much.

I was at the Harlem Library and that was when Langston [Hughes] and Ralph [Ellison] and the boys used to come and sit in the library and talk. That's where I first knew John Henrik Clark and I met Richard Wright that way.

It took me ten years to return as curator of the Schomburg. When the Schomburg Collection was transferred from the branch libraries to the research libraries [in 1972 and renamed the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture], I remember one man said that the branch libraries loved people and the research libraries loved books.

I cleaned out a storehouse of uncatalogued materials, four closets of stuff. We got all that material catalogued. Some of it was fabulous. There was a WPA [Works Progress Administration] art project on Negroes in the history of New York.

Kwame Nkrumah [then the president of Ghana] sent a very eloquent letter for W.E.B. Du Bois's ninetieth birthday in which he paid tribute to what the Schomburg had meant to him. That was where he got a chance to read his own history. He wanted this kind of library for his young people.

That was how I went to work at the Africana collection at the University of Ghana in the 1964-65 semester. It was really a very liberating experience for me. I remember feeling ashamed of being fifty years old, an old lady. But being in Africa meant that I was respected and sought after. I really was surprised how at home I felt and liberated. And then I realized that it was my first experience being accepted as a person without regard to race.

One of the most rewarding experiences I had was opening up the Africana collection. It was very good, but it was limited to people who lived and stayed on the African continent. One day I just couldn't stand it. I went in and had a three-hour session with the head librarian, an Englishman who had worked all his life on the African continent. He finally conceded that those of us who lived abroad were still Africans, that we were still making our contribution to the continent and still had a place in the African collection. I was proud that I left that collection with historical and geographical boundaries greatly extended.

One of the main things the Schomburg does is supply the ammunition for change. It is a part of the public library, open to everybody, everywhere. You don't have to be registered at the university to have access to the materials. You don't have to pay an admission fee to come in, and the catalogue is available all around the world. That has been and continues to be the opportunity that the Schomburg offers.

For thirty-two years, Jean Blackwell Hutson guided the development of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the world's most comprehensive collection of materials documenting the history and culture of peoples of African descent. From curator in 1948 to chief until 1980, she worked to acquire, catalogue, and exhibit materials under the auspices of the New York Public Library. She lectured on history at the City College of New York for over a decade and retired in 1984.

Toni Morrison

Born February 18, 1931, in Lorain, Ohio

Toni Morrison is one of America's most celebrated and successful novelists. She was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction in 1988 for her fifth novel, Beloved, and received the National Book Critics Award for Song of Solomon in 1978. She was an editor at Random House for two decades and was the Albert Schweitzer Professor of Humanities at the State University of New York at Albany before assuming the Robert Goheen Professorship in the Humanities Council at Princeton in 1989.

I remember myself as surrounded by extraordinary adults who were smarter than me. I was better educated, but I always thought that they had true wisdom and I had merely book learning. It was only when I began to write that I was able to marry those two things: wisdom and education.

Being a black woman novelist is a novel position. When I turned in the manuscript of *The Bluest Eye* in 1968, there was a lot of interest in certain kinds of black expression. But I had written something separate from the harangue and the confusion. The company that published my first book didn't have any sense of my being a person who could write a second one. They weren't buying a writer, they were buying that one book because it was black—not because they thought it was any good.

You can't evolve good criticism until you have good books. I was in publishing and felt that white editors didn't always give black writers the respect of serious and rigorous editing that they deserved. And it was hard to get the balanced attention of the critics and reviewers because they wanted to talk about anything but political implications. Then they started talking about the political implications and they never talked about the artistic strategies. They didn't give you two legs to walk on, always one.

Now the reading of black fiction is becoming systematically analyzed. There is the emergence of theories of criticism that address the art and its culture.

If you're going to hold someone down you're going to have to hold onto the other end of the chain. You are confined by your own system of repression.

My job is to not become anybody's creature, not the publisher's, not the critical establishment's, not the media's, not anybody's. I'm not doing anyone justice, not the women's movement, not the black movement, not novels, not anyone, if I toe the line. I want to write better. Think better. I don't know how not to want that. And better for me may not be in step with what is current and prevailing.

When I first began to write, I was a little breathless, because I wasn't sure that a particular expression or sensibility would be there tomorrow. And one can panic under those

circumstances. Then you learn that, yes, you may forget the perfect sentence you thought of in a traffic jam, it may not come back. And then you realize it doesn't matter because a better one will come.

I never played it safe in a book. I never tried to play to the gallery. For me, it was this extraordinary exploration. You have to be willing to think the unthinkable.

I always think I'm at some archaeological site and I find this shard, a little piece of pottery and then I have to invent the rest. But first I have to go to the place, move the dirt, find why I am there. What's interesting here, why are you frightened, what is it that keeps nagging you? Then you see something, it may be a color, an image, a voice, and you build from it.

When the Pulitzer was awarded, the response in many quarters—white, black, male, female, young and old—was “we.” “We did it!” It had a sense of hallelujah about it. But it's foolish to surrender to that because it interferes with work. I'd begin to think of myself in my sleep as Toni Morrison comma Pulitzer Prize, and never get anything done.

Writing wonderful books is not going to make me a wonderful person. I alone can improve myself and make myself more like the person I would like to grow to be.

I hate ideological whiteness. I hate when people come into my presence and become white. I'd just been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters and a man whom I used to read in anthologies came up to me and said, “Hello, welcome to the Academy.” Then his third sentence was about his splendid black housekeeper. This little code saying, “I like black people or I know one,” is humiliating for me—and should have been for him.

In the beginning, people asked me a lot of questions about whether I consider myself a black writer or a woman writer. I was fighting shy of labels that had quite other meanings. Obviously, any artist wants to feel that there is something in her work that all peoples of the world are receptive to. On the other hand, I did not want to be erased. I didn't want my blackness to be erased, I didn't want my femininity to be erased. I wanted it to be very clear that “universal” is not for me a buzzword for not political or not ethnic.

Constance Baker Motley

Born September 14, 1921, in New Haven, Connecticut

I grew up in New Haven in a community where people worked. Our house was like a halfway house for people coming from Nevis, an island in the Caribbean where my parents—and Alexander Hamilton—were born. Everybody we knew worked at Yale washing dishes or waiting on tables or whatever. Nevisians believed in helping each other. There was no sitting around doing nothing.

We always lived in an integrated neighborhood and I always went to integrated schools. There were very few blacks in New Haven at that time so we didn't encounter a great deal of hostility from the whites. In fact, many were patronizing. They did things for blacks. That was the thing to do.

It was 1940, and I had finished high school and wasn't in college. A very successful businessman who had built a community center for blacks was very concerned about getting black people to use it more. When he had a meeting to hear from people in the community, I said I thought the reason blacks were not participating was because they were not on the board of directors. To many black adults that was an insensitive thing to say. They viewed me as a young person who just didn't know how to act.

The next day I got a call from the black director of the community center to go see this businessman, Clarence Blakeslee. He said he would be glad to pay for my college education. He asked me what I wanted to be. I said I wanted to be a lawyer. He didn't believe that women could make it in law, but he figured that if I had that ambition who was he to say no. So he said, "Just let me know when you're ready to go."

I finished college [Fisk and New York University] in two and a half years and Columbia Law School in 1946. Yes, he was able to see me finish.

You can't invent events. They just happen. But you have to be prepared to deal with them when they happen.

When I was in my senior year at Columbia I got a job as a clerk with Thurgood Marshall, who was then the head of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. For me that was a stroke of luck because I got in on the ground floor of the civil rights legal revolution.

I got a chance to actually try cases, argue cases in the Courts of Appeal and the United States Supreme Court. You know, the average lawyer never even sees the Supreme Court, let alone gets to argue a case there.

I was a part of a civil rights movement, involved in spectacular legal victories which we are not going to duplicate in

this century. In the next century, there may be some other movement equally spectacular in terms of legal decisions, but the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 to '64 are exceptional in terms of their constitutional significance. In one case after the other, segregation was stricken as unconstitutional. This resulted in a revolution in this country—a social revolution.

Birmingham in 1954 and '55, that was a scary place. Now it has emerged and they have a black mayor. I never thought I would live long enough to see that much change.

I think the Meredith case was the most frightening, because we had no protection. James Meredith [in 1962 the first black to attend the University of Mississippi] believed that he was going to be shot and killed in the black community by some black paid to kill him.

When you see black people on television brushing their teeth with Colgate like everybody else, that says much more than any civil rights activist or orator. When whites turn on television and see black people the same as white people, subconsciously they are accepting this tremendous change which has come into society.

The suggestion that women should be equal and have a job that a man might have touches people in a very sensitive way. It is not as readily accepted as the idea of equality for blacks; I think there is much more trouble with that. That's a really deep revolution.

Had I been economically successful, that would have been a problem for my husband. But I wasn't any threat because I wasn't making any money. When I was working for the NAACP, in the very early days, I'd have to borrow lunch money from him.

I don't know any of my classmates at Columbia who have been particularly successful. Financially, I guess some have. But they don't see their names in law books. I do. I feel good about that.

The demand of people going into the legal profession today is to be well prepared educationally. Two law clerks that I had had PhDs, then they went to law school. That's the kind of competition you're talking about.

The idea of getting greater political power is something which young blacks are concentrating on. Someday there'll be a black governor in Georgia and all the other southern states where they have large black populations. Something which we think is impossible now is not impossible in another decade.

When President Lyndon Johnson appointed Constance Baker Motley to the United States District Court in 1966, she became the first black woman to be a federal judge. One of the courtroom tacticians of the civil rights movement, she worked for twenty years with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. She was the only woman elected to the New York Senate in 1964, and has been the only woman Manhattan borough president (1965-66). Beginning in 1982, she served four years as Chief Judge of the Southern District of New York, and in 1986 she assumed senior judge status.

Leontyne Price

Born February 10, 1927, in Laurel, Mississippi

When Leontyne Price debuted at the Metropolitan Opera House in 1961, she received a rapturous forty-two-minute ovation for her performance as Leonora in Il Trovatore. The seventh black person to make a Metropolitan debut, she was the first to achieve worldwide status as "prima donna assoluta." During her career of almost a quarter-century, she received major honors, including eighteen Grammy Awards and the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

My mother is responsible for having delivered more babies than any midwife in the history of Jones County, Mississippi. To this date, she is my greatest inspiration.

The way I was taught, being black was a plus, always. Being a human being, being in America, and being black, all three were the greatest things that could happen to you. The combination was unbeatable.

I received a toy piano for Christmas at the age of five or six. I had an awful lot of attention, I was center stage from the time I received that toy piano. I felt a musical sense of direction. I had the disease then, I could tell, because you really have to be a monster very early.

I think we performers are monsters. We are a totally different, far-out race of people. I totally and completely admit, with no qualms at all, my egomania, my selfishness, coupled with a really magnificent voice.

In some of my operatic roles—maybe the strength of my portrayal of Aida—I reveal the wonderful thing that it is to be a black princess.

My mother took me to see Marian Anderson. When I saw this wonderful woman come from the wings in this white satin dress, I knew instantly: one of these days, I'm going to come out of the wings. I don't know what color the dress is going to be but I'm going to be center stage, right there, where I saw her. The light dawned. It was a magic moment.

My proudest moment, operatically speaking, was my debut at the Metropolitan. It was my first real victory, my first unqualified acceptance as an American, as a human being, as a black, as an artist, the whole thing.

I was the first black diva that was going to hang on. My being prepared is the reason I didn't go away. That is really the substance of my pioneering. Marian [Anderson] had opened the door. I kept it from closing again.

I sang seven roles my first season at the Metropolitan Opera, I was that prepared. My first invitation to the Metropolitan I refused, because I was not.

Art is the only thing you cannot punch a button for. You must do it the old-fashioned way. Stay up and really burn the midnight oil. There are no compromises.

Accomplishments have no color.

The Prices and the Chisolms have been friends all our lives. Those two families helped to bridge the gap in Laurel. My aunt was in the Chisolms' domestic service for fifty years. My parents were married on their estate. After I graduated

with a teacher's degree from Central State College in Ohio, they were my sponsors for my New York studies at Juilliard.

Nobody ever thought of a career, nobody had that much money to gamble on it, which is the reason that some young people even now don't go into the classical field unless they have a sponsor. It's too difficult, too dangerous.

My father never understood it but he thought it was the most glorious thing he had ever heard in his life, that his baby girl would have this ability to understand all this stuff.

I don't love anything more than hearing my own voice. It's a personal adoration.

Listening to my recordings is like filling your pores with inspiration, and where better to get it from than yourself, because that substance is a combination of everyone who contributed something, your mama, your papa, the community, your teachers, everybody and everything. Applause is the fulfillment. From Mississippi to the Met. That's the pinnacle. That forty-two minute ovation was like having climbed the mountain. . . .

Once you get on stage, everything is right. I feel the most beautiful, complete, fulfilled. I think that's why, in the case of noncompromising career women, parts of our personal lives don't work out. One person can't give you the feeling that thousands of people give you.

I have never given all of myself, even vocally, to anyone. I was taught to sing on your interest, not your capital.

I do like being in competition with me.

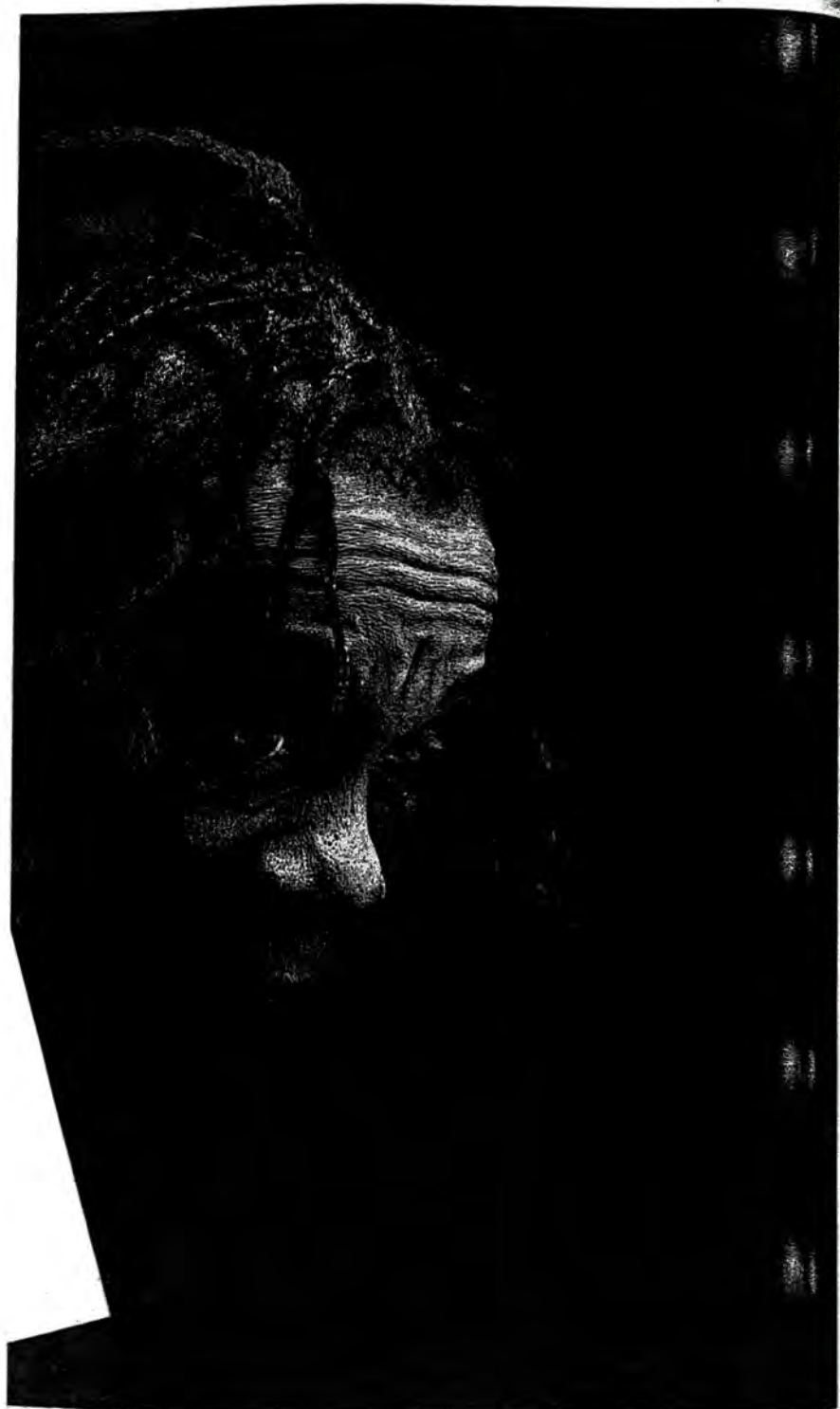
I never thought any institution was more important than myself. I think that happens, for example, in Hollywood. You let the institution take you over and you are vulnerable, which means that when they get ready, they can discard you.

I wasn't uncomfortable singing at the inaugural ceremony for my friend William Winter, the governor of Mississippi, because I thought I belonged there. It was as much my capital as his.

We should not have a tin cup out for something as important as the arts in this country, the richest in the world. Creative artists are always begging, but always being used when it's time to show us at our best.

You should always know when you're shifting gears in life. You should leave your era, it should never leave you.

Now I'm doing recitals, orchestra things, master classes. If somebody thinks I can still sing, I've got a wheelchair in the wings. But I have not retired. From pressure I have retired, but I'm not ever going to retire from anything else.



Beah Richards

Born July 12, 1926, in Vicksburg, Mississippi

In my family the word *black* was always a beautiful word. It was a word that my father and mother used. When everybody was saying "Negro" and "colored," my family would use the term *black*. Many of the children used to fight over the word. What was it about the word *black* that made it such a trap for many people and such a wonderful trip for us?

Everybody in Vicksburg told me that I was going to be an actor. We didn't even have a theater, and if they had one, I couldn't go to it.

I came to New York in 1950 and I was there five years before I did my first Broadway show, which was *Take a Giant Step*, off-Broadway. I played the eighty-four-year-old grandmother with no makeup. When the show was over, I could walk right past people and they never knew. . . .

When people look only at the surface and that satisfies them and they think from that surface they see, that is to be truly blind. There is no blindness like that.

In 1962, when I came to do *The Amen Corner* by James Baldwin, the director, Frank Silvera, told me, "Don't act, just be." That's when I became an actor. I ran into this philosophy of being. I was a liberated person after that. I think before I was a reactor. Now I am an actor, I can take the initiative.

If you go inside where all people are and where the essence of their being is, you are not going to find anything to hang your prejudices on.

Race, what is that? Race is a competition, somebody winning and somebody losing. That's what we have translated it to be. But it is more like a family. If you can use my heart, my liver, or my eye, then we are more a family than a competition. Blood doesn't run in races! Come on!

The first play I wrote was called *All's Well that Ends*. It was about segregation. I did that because people put words in your mouth that have nothing to do with your life, your hopes, and aspirations. They were writing about "the Negro" and I was not "the Negro." I was a black person.

I came along at a period when black writers were just being heard from. Most of the plays prior to the fifties were written about black people. In the fifties there were works by black people. You know, looking at something and letting it come out of you are two different things.

There are a lot of movies out there that I would hate to be paid to do, some real demeaning, real woman-denigrating stuff. It is up to women to change their roles. They are going to have to write the stuff and do it. And they will.

The time has come for a perception of compassion in this world. What is this orgy of hate we are going into and where is it going to lead us? If hate had been the motivating thing in my life, I would be dead.

I decided I wouldn't bring a child into this world for anything. I adore them but it's the repetitive suffering quality of life that I wouldn't want to see anybody go through. I can't stand to see children suffer.

We had great hope that education was really going to do it. But education was an indoctrination. Both class and race survived education, and neither should. What is education then? If it doesn't help a human being to recognize that humanity is humanity, what is it for? So you can make a bigger salary than other people?

If there is any equality now, it has been our struggle that put it there. Because they said, "All people are created equal." They said "all" and meant "some." They meant "white." All means all, sweetheart.

Beah Richards is an actress, poet, and playwright of special sensitivity. She was nominated for an Oscar for her portrayal of the passionately peacemaking mother in the film Guess Who's Coming to Dinner! Among her numerous credits for stage, television, and film are featured roles in James Baldwin's The Amen Corner, Ossie Davis's Purlie Victorious, and Lillian Hellman's The Little Foxes. In 1988, she won an Emmy award for her performance in Frank's Place. She lives in California.

EDDIE ROBINSON

There are very few men who have graced this earth who achieve legend status. Those who do become synonymous with their chosen field. They often become larger than life, not so much for what they've accomplished, but for how they did it.

When sports historians mention the name of Grambling College football coach, Eddie Robinson, they will mention his 358 career wins—more than any other college football coach in history. They'll talk about his two undefeated teams and about the 1971 season, when 43 former Grambling players were in National Football League (NFL) training camps (still an NFL record). They will also count off the game's great players who got their start at Grambling—Willie Davis, James Harris, Doug Williams, Willie Brown, Charlie Joiner. It would take a full four quarters to get through the entire list.

What really makes Robinson a legend, however, is the way he has lived his life. He is a classic example of the American dream. Rising from humble beginnings, he has twice been to the White House to meet with U.S. Presidents and he has received a host of awards. Yet his personal "report card" is based not on how many games he wins, but on how many young people he can touch.

"At times I feel my life doesn't belong to Eddie Robinson," he says, "it belongs to the kids. If they feel I'm a good person, then I want to be the best person I can be. If they look up to me as a good coach, I'm going to work as hard as I can to be the best coach in the world. I can't let them down. Our youth is what

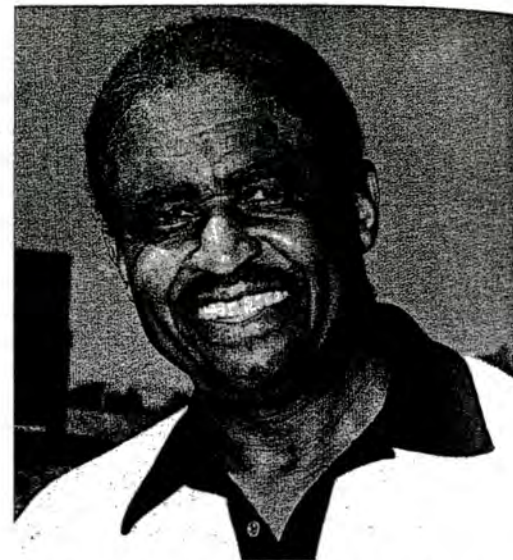
America is all about."

Robinson was born in Jackson, Louisiana and raised in Baton Rouge. He developed his love for football and coaching as a third grader. "I went to a clinic put on by Julius Kraft, who coached the local high school team," he says. "While most of the kids were concentrating on the players, my eyes and thoughts were on the coach. I liked the way he talked to the team, the way he made us all laugh, and most of all, the way everyone respected him. I decided right then to become a coach."

"At times I feel my life doesn't belong to Eddie Robinson, it belongs to the kids."

After spending his high school years playing for Kraft, Robinson played quarterback at now defunct Leland College in Baker, Louisiana, further whetting his appetite for coaching. After graduating and marrying his long-time sweetheart, Doris, Robinson took a 25 cents-an-hour job at a feed mill in Baton Rouge until a call went out for a football coach. The first call came from Louisiana Negro Normal, which is now Grambling State college. Nearly 50 years later he is still at Grambling.

"I have to be the happiest man in the world," Robinson says, "for nearly 50 years I've been making a living doing exactly what I love. Football is my way of giving something back. The game and this country have been good to me, so I want to give back."



"I hear people complain all the time about what is wrong with America. Not me: I'm proud to be an American. America is the greatest country in the world. I've had ups and downs, but I try and stay positive."

"We've had a good thing going at Grambling. We played in Tokyo and Hawaii, and before as many as 64,000 fans. People respect what we're doing here. I think my greatest thrill in sports was to see Doug Williams play so well in the 1988 Super Bowl. People always said quarterbacks from Black schools couldn't make it big in the NFL. We all know better."

"I'd like to keep coaching as long as I'm able. But when the curtain goes down on my career, I want people to say I gave to society and football all I had. I always wanted to be the best."

MEDAL OF FREEDOM
as of 9/29

Archibald
COX

Misc. prominent Americans

Katharine Graham, 80, WF, Wash Post publisher

Al Shanker posthumous

Carl Sagan posthumous - astronomer for the masses

Bill Hendricks, Toys for Tots founder, *filmmaker* -

Race/Civil Rights

Arnie Aronson, 86, JM - civil rights; founded Leadership Conf on Civil Rights; strong Vernon Jordan support
and

James Farmer, 87, BM - founded CORE; civil rights giant, Asst Secy HEW during Nixon; teaches at Mary Washington College (can they travel?)

(Others considered: *Louis Martin*, posthumous - asst to JFK, godfather of black politics, founded NNewspapers Publishers Assn; Joint Center for Political and Econ studies
Daisy Bates, BF, - civil rights activist, organized Central High 9, driving force behind LR's integration effort)

Children/Service

Robert Coles, 67, WM - Duke and Harvard prof; Pulitzer Prize, MacArthur Foundation winner; author; social development of children; social ethics, ethic of service

Military

Adm Crowe, 72, WM - JCS, Ambassador, '92, Persian Gulf War; NSC recommendation
or

Adm Zumwalt, 76 WM - commander US forces in Vietnam; lost son to cancer (Agent Orange), CNO, force against discrimination in military, ran for Senate against Sen. Harry Byrd and lost

Statesman

Elliot Richardson, 77, WM - numerous Cab offices,
(Others considered: *Max Kampelman*)

Historian

Arthur Schlesinger, 79, WM - Kennedy staff, prominent Presidential historian, founded ADA
or

Daniel Boorstin, WM 82 - former Librarian of Congress, prom historian, Frankel Prize in '89 from Bush, Rhodes Scholar
or

C. Vann Woodward, WM 78 - most prominent Southern historian, Pulitzer, teaches at Yale, author, NACCP consultant in 50's

Education

African American

Vernon Jordan, BM

or

Toni Morrison, 66 BF - literature, best selling author, Nobel Prize for literature in '93, Princeton prof

(Others considered: *Maya Angelou*, BF, 69 - prom AA poet)

Hispanic

Mario Obledo, HM, 65, attorney, immediate past Chair of Bd of Dir of National Rainbow Coalition [need JJ OK], former CA HEW Secy, co-founder Hispanic Bar Assoc, Chair of California Coalition of Hispanic Organizations, former Pres of LULAC

(Others considered; *Bishop Augustin Roman*, Miami Catholic Bishop, founded Cuban exile organization; *Ernie Cortez*, Texas activist.

ask Maria

Environmentalist

Margaret Mardy Murie, 95, WF - wilderness conservation, last link b/w Muir, first female grd of univ of Alaska, very ill, lives in Jackson Hole (can she travel?)

(Other considered: *John Sawhill* WM 61 - pres of NYU, NYC financial, head of Fedl Energy Adm during oil crisis, Dep DOE in '79, head of Nature Conservancy

Business

David Kearns, 66, WM - Bush UnderSecy of Ed; former CEO Xerox; education, CEO of New American Schools Development Corp;

or

Sol Linowitz, 83, JM - founded and chaired Int'l Exec Service Corps, CEO of Xerox; Panama Canal treaty negotiator, OAS Ambassador; lawyer

or

David Rockefeller, 82, WM - founded and chaired Int'l Exec Service Corps, Chase National Bank, Head of council of Foreign Relations; philanthropy; MoMA; Tri-Lateral Commission

Others considered:

Jimmy Carter & Rosalynn Carter (2 separate medals)

Religious

Alexander Schindler, JM, 71 - longtime of Union of Hebrew Cong; leader of Reform movement, first Reform Jew to be elected to Conf of Pres of Major Jewish Org, WWI decorated vet - Purple Heart and Bronze Star

Msgr Higgins (Labor priest)

(Frances Hesselbein)

⑤ May Frances
Bany

- ① Margaret travel?
- ② ask Maria - Hispanic regional consideration
- ③ Hesselbein - book on?
- ④ Hadnack - come off?

1 **Arnie Aronson**, 86, JM - civil rights; founded Leadership Conf on Civil Rights; strong Vernon Jordan support

2 **James Farmer**, 87, BM - founded CORE; civil rights giant, Asst Secy HEW during Nixon; teaches at Mary Washington College

2dy **Louis Martin**, posthumous - asst to JFK, godfather of black politics, founded NNewspapers Publishers Assn; Joint Center for Political and Econ studies

3 **Daisy Bates**, BF, - civil rights activist, organized Central High 9, driving force behind LR's integration effort,

Jimmy Carter

Rosalynn Carter

Robert Coles, 67, WM - Duke and Harvard prof; Pulitzer Prize, MacArthur Foundation winner; author; social development of children; social ethics, ethic of service

Adm Crowe, 72, WM - JCS, Ambassador, '92, Persian Gulf War

Adm Zumwalt, 76 WM - commander US forces in Vietnam; lost son to cancer (Agent Orange), CNO, force against discrimination in military, ran for Senate against Sen. Harry Byrd and lost

Katharine Graham, 80, WF

David Kearns, 66, WM - Bush UnderSecy of Ed; former CEO Xerox; education, CEO of New American Schools Development Corp;

Al Shanker posthumous

Sol Linowitz, 83, JM - founded and chaired Int'l Exec Service Corps, CEO of Xerox; Panama Canal treaty negotiator, OAS Ambassador; lawyer

David Rockefeller, 82, WM - founded and chaired Int'l Exec Service Corps, Chase National Bank, Head of council of Foreign Relations; philanthropy; MoMA; Tri-Lateral Commission

Max Kampelman

Elliot Richardson, 77, WM - numerous Cab offices,

Arthur Schlesinger, 79, WM - Kennedy staff, prominent Presidential historian, founded ADA

Daniel Boorstin, WM 82 - former Librarian of Congress, prom historian, Frankel Prize in '89 from Bush, Rhodes Scholar

C. Vann Woodward, WM 78 - most prominent Southern historian, Pulitzer, teaches at Yale, author, NACCP consultant in 50's

Carl Sagan posthumous - astronomer for the masses

Maya Angelou, BF, 69 - prom AA poet, Wake Forest

Toni Morrison, 66 BF - literature, best selling author, Nobel Prize for literature in '93, Princeton prof

Margaret Mardy Murie, 95, WF - wilderness conservation, last link b/w Muir, first female grad of univ of Alaska, very ill, lives in Jackson Hole

John Sawhill WM 61 - Belle Sawhill's husband, pres of NYU, NYC financial, head of Fedl Energy ADM during oil crisis, Dep DOE in '79, head of Nature Conservancy, director of Tri-Lateral Comm

Bishop Augustin Roman, HM, 69 - Miami Catholic Bishop, Cuban refugee advocate, born in Cuba, helped to mediate riots in '87, opposed our Haitian refugee policy, founded Cuban exile organization with chapter in 20 countries

Mario Obledo (Maria Echaveste)

Ernesto Cortez - San Antonio activist

Alexander Schindler, JM, 71 - longtime of Union of Hebrew Cong; leader of Reform movement, first Reform Jew to be elected to Conf of Pres of Major Jewish Org, WWI decorated vet (Purple Heart and Bronze Star)

Msgr Higgins (Labor priest)

In reserve:

Mary Fisher, 49, WF - GOP, AIDS activist, 92 and 96 Convention Speaker

More research:

Frances Hesselbein, 79, WF - Girls Scouts, minority membership, management reform in non-profits - *more research*

Msgr Higgins - *from Maria*

Mario Obledo - *from Maria*

Bishop Roman - *Melanne*

✓ **Margaret Murie** (check with Katie)

✓ **Elliot Richardson** (check with Ruff)

Max Kampelman

- more research

Ernesto Cortez - us

Arnie Aronson, 86, JM - civil rights; founded Leadership Conf on Civil Rights; strong Vernon Jordan support

James Farmer, 87, BM - founded CORE; civil rights giant, Asst Secy HEW during Nixon; teaches at Mary Washington College

~~**Louis Martin**, posthumous - asst to JFK, godfather of black politics, founded NNNewspapers Publishers Assn; Joint Center for Political and Econ studies~~

~~**Daisy Bates**, BF, - civil rights activist, organized Central High 9, driving force behind LR's integration effort,~~

Jimmy Carter

Rosalynn Carter

Robert Coles, 67, WM - Duke and Harvard prof; Pulitzer Prize, MacArthur Foundation winner; author; social development of children; social ethics, ethic of service

Adm Crowe, 72, WM - JCS, Ambassador, '92, Persian Gulf War

Adm Zumwalt, 76 WM - commander US forces in Vietnam; lost son to cancer (Agent Orange), CNO, force against discrimination in military, ran for Senate against Sen. Harry Byrd and lost

Katharine Graham, 80, WF

David Kearns, 66, WM - Bush UnderSecy of Ed; former CEO Xerox; education, CEO of New American Schools Development Corp;

Al Shanker posthumous

Sol Linowitz, 83, JM - founded and chaired Int'l Exec Service Corps, CEO of Xerox; Panama Canal treaty negotiator, OAS Ambassador; lawyer

David Rockefeller, 82, WM - founded and chaired Int'l Exec Service Corps, Chase National Bank, Head of council of Foreign Relations; philanthropy; MoMA; Tri-Lateral Commission

Max Kampelman

Elliot Richardson, 77, WM - numerous Cab offices,

Arthur Schlesinger, 79, WM - Kennedy staff, prominent Presidential historian, founded ADA

Daniel Boorstin, WM 82 - former Librarian of Congress, prom historian, Frankel Prize in '89 from Bush, Rhodes Scholar

C. Vann Woodward, WM 78 - most prominent Southern historian, Pulitzer, teaches at Yale, author, NACCP consultant in 50's

Carl Sagan posthumous - astronomer for the masses

Maya Angelou, BF, 69 - prom AA poet, Wake Forest

Toni Morrison, 66 BF - literature, best selling author, Nobel Prize for literature in '93, Princeton prof

Margaret Mardy Murie, 95, WF - wilderness conservation, last link b/w Muir, first female grad of univ of Alaska, very ill, lives in Jackson Hole

John Sawhill WM 61 - Belle Sawhill's husband, pres of NYU, NYC financial, head of Fedl Energy ADM during oil crisis, Dep DOE in '79, head of Nature Conservancy, director of Tri-Lateral Comm

Bishop Augustin Roman, HM, 69 - Miami Catholic Bishop, Cuban refugee advocate, born in Cuba, helped to mediate riots in '87, opposed our Haitian refugee policy, founded Cuban exile organization with chapter in 20 countries

Mario Obledo (Maria Echaveste)

Alexander Schindler, JM, 71 - longtime of Union of Hebrew Cong; leader of Reform movement, first Reform Jew to be elected to Conf of Pres of Major Jewish Org, WWI decorated vet (Purple Heart and Bronze Star)

Msgr Higgins (Labor priest)

In reserve:

Mary Fisher, 49, WF - GOP, AIDS activist, 92 and 96 Convention Speaker

More research:

Frances Hesselbein, 79, WF - Girls Scouts, minority membership, management reform in non-profits

Msgr Higgins

Mario Obledo

Bishop Roman

Margaret Murie (check with Katie)

Elliot Richardson (check with Ruff)

Max Kampelman

Vernon Jordan
Bill Hendricks, Toys for Tots

* **Arnie Aronson**, 86, JM - civil rights; founded Leadership Conf on Civil Rights; strong Vernon Jordan support

+ **Jimmy Carter/Rosalynn Carter** - do Gotr - 2 medals

+ **Robert Coles**, 67, WM - Duke and Harvard prof; Pulitzer Prize, MacArthur Foundation winner; author; social development of children; social ethics, ethic of service

+ **Adm Crowe**, 72, WM - JCS, Ambassador, '92, Persian Gulf War

* **James Farmer**, 87, BM - founded CORE; civil rights giant, Asst Secy HEW during Nixon; teaches at Mary Washington College

+ **Katharine Graham**, 80, WF - County leader in D.C. women's issues,

+ **David Kearns**, 66, WM - Bush UnderSecy of Ed; former CEO Xerox; education, CEO of New American Schools Development Corp; *GOP*

+ **Sol Linowitz**, 83, JM - founded and chaired Int'l Exec Service Corps, CEO of Xerox; Panama Canal treaty negotiator, OAS Ambassador; lawyer

David Rockefeller, 82, WM - founded and chaired Int'l Exec Service Corps, Chase National Bank, Head of council of Foreign Relations; philanthropy; MoMA; Tri-Lateral Commission

+ **Louis Martin**, posthumous - asst to JFK, godfather of black politics, founded NNewspapers Publishers Assn; Joint Center for Political and Econ studies

+ **Arthur Schlesinger**, 79, WM - Kennedy staff, prominent Presidential historian, founded ADA

+ **Carl Sagan** posthumous - astronomer for the masses

all 70s 2 posthum

* *Gordon 595*
very app.
Al Shanker posthumous

Adm Zumwalt, 76 WM - commander US forces in Vietnam; lost son to cancer (Agent Orange), CNO, force against discrimination in military, ran for Senate against Sen. Harry Byrd and lost

Mr. Max Kampelman - Arms, or
(→ Gail Shali - farewell ceremony - Medal of Freedom)

~~Daniel Aron~~ - author, teacher, Founder of Library of America Press, teaches at NW, founder of American Studies movement

+ ~~Maya Angelou~~, BF, 69 - prom AA poet, Wake Forest

+ ~~Daisy Bates~~, BF, - civil rights activist, organized Central High 9, driving force behind LR's integration effort,

~~Derek Bok~~ WM, 67 - former Pres of Harvard, higher ed expert, prof emeritus,

Karlson likes
~~Daniel Boorstin~~, WM 82 - former Librarian of Congress, prom historian, Frankel Prize in '89 from Bush, Rhodes Scholar

- high for next year - bracketed for Schlesinger
~~Gwendolyn Brooks~~, 80, BF - writer, poet, Pulitzer, Guggenheim fellow, Natl Medal of Arts from Clinton, first Black to win Pulitzer Prize in 1950, Poetry Consultant to Lib of Congress

~~Herbert Brownell~~, Eisenhower's AG - dead, NOT RECOMMENDED (good on integration bad on other stuff - Red.. Scare)

~~Dorothy Chandler~~, WF, dead - Times Mirror, LA Times, mother of Otis Chandler, early feminist, National Medal of Arts from Reagan

(
~~Julia Child~~, 84, WF - Galston loves, "joyous...pinch of Clinton", 8 books, PBS, panache, joined OSS (pre-CIA) in WWII

(
~~David Bryant Davis~~, 67? - *late Pulitzer, not distorted chronicle of history & slavery. written on Schlessen (slavery)*

~~Ann Druyan~~, 48, WF - Sagan's widow, co-wrote with him

(
~~Mary Fisher~~, 49, WF - GOP, AIDS activist, 92 and 96 Convention Speaker

~~LaDonna Harris~~, 66 NAF - Native American, Americans for Indian Opportunity, women's movement, a founder of NWPC in '68, civil rights, ran for VP on Citizens Party Ticket in '80, UNM prof

~~Rita Hauser~~, 62, WF - GOP, intl lawyer, Pres of Hauser Foundation, campaigned for Nixon, UN Nixon, Palestinian rights - NOT RECOMMENDED *- Galston concurs*

rescue
(
~~Frances Hesselbein~~, 79, WF - Girls Scouts, minority membership, management reform in non-profits *- education gap? - in rescue*

~~Herma Hill Kay~~, 62, WF - NOT RECOMMENDED (*wrapped up Prop 209-Bd of Regents- big AfAction supporter*), Dean of Boalt, with Justice Ginsburg, seminal legal text on gender disc

~~Jill Ker-Conway~~, WF, 62 - Smith College President 75-85, Prof at MIT, women's history *98*

~~Juanita Kreps~~ ^{RF} HB, 76 - Secy of Commerce under Carter, VP Emeritus of Duke, economics scholar

^{Galsdon like} ~~Ed Levi~~, 86, WF - longtime Pres of U of Chicago, Ford's AG, champion of Freedom of expression on campus, highly respected

~~Wilma Mankiller~~ - former Chief of Cherokee tribe, first woman chief, wrapped in current controversy of tribe ^{Wkd for '98}

~~Martin Marty~~ - receiving Humanites Medal from Clinton later this month

~~Mary McGory~~ - NOT RECOMMENDED

~~Toni Morrison~~, 66 BF - literature, best selling author, Nobel Prize for literature in '93, Princeton prof ^{Agave}

~~Margaret Mardy Murie~~, 95, WF - wilderness conservation, last link b/w Muir, first female grd of univ of Alaska, very ill, lives in Jackson Hole ^{- check with Katie}

~~Cruz Reynoso~~, HM, 66 - former CA Sup Ct, voted off Court with Rose Bird, UCLA Law prof, civil rights activist, CA Rural Legal Assistance, first Hispanic on CA Sup Ct ^{- Maria Obedo}

^{Galsdon} ~~Elliot Richardson~~, 77, WM - numerous Cab offices, ^{- (PO - Board)}

~~Bishop Augustin Roman~~, HM, 69 - Miami Catholic Bishop, Cuban refugee advocate, born in Cuba, helped to mediate riots in '87, opposed our Haitian refugee policy, founded Cuban exile organization with chapter in 20 countries ^{check with - judge - convey orally} ^{MADIV, Pol, Kahn in CA} ^{marcio - diff of opinion}

~~John Sawhill~~ WM 61 - Belle Sawhill's husband, pres of NYU, NYC financial, head of Fedl Energy ADM during oil crisis, Dep DOE in '79, head of Nature Conservancy, director of Tri-Lateral Comm ^{- last year - rise - maybe cashed it May 4 Marin}

~~Alexander Schindler~~, JM, 71 - longtime of Union of Hebrew Cong; leader of Reform movement, first Reform Jew to be elected to Conf of Pres of Major Jewish Org, WWI decorated vet (Purple Heart and Bronze Star) ^{Monsignor Higgins - Labor Priest - Samuel Cahille}

~~Chesterfield Smith~~ - founding partner of Holland Knight, pres of ABA in 73-74

~~Gloria Steinem~~, WF, 63 - feminist leader, founder of MS., author, founded NWPC with Shirley Chisolm, Bella Abzug et al

~~Barbara Tuchman~~ - posthumous most distinguished female historian,

~~Mona Van Duyn~~, 76, F - poet, first female Poet Laureate, Pulitzer in '91

Gokulnagar appanah

*Woodward
Borstein
Schlesinger*

C. Vann Woodward, WM 78 - most prominent Southern historian, Pulitzer, teaches at Yale, author, NACCP consultant

~~**Muhammed Yunus**, 54 - founder and manager of Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, microcredit pioneer~~

Medal of Freedom Possibilities

^u
A List

Name	Age	Recommender	Area of Contributions
Aronson, Arnie	86	POTUS interest	civil rights
Carter, Jimmy	72	various	President, the Carter Center
Carter, Rosalynn	69	various	the Carter Center, mental health
Coles, Robert	67	McCurry	early childhood development specialist
Crowe, Admiral William	72	Berger	military, international negotiations
Farmer, James	87	various	civil rights, education
Graham, Katharine	80	Verveer	journalism, freedom of the press
Kearns, David	66	Verveer	education, business
Linowitz, Sol	83	various	international service corps
Martin, Louis	d.		civil rights
Rockefeller, David	82	various	philanthropy, int'l service corps, arts
Sagan, Carl	d.	various	education, science, fiction
Schlesinger, Arthur	79	POTUS interest	history, ADA
Shanker, Albert	d.	Dorskind	integration, teachers' unions
Zumwalt, Admiral E. R.	76		military

Dud Halbursten

Princess Di

Muhammad Ali

Betty Shabazz

Galtman

Hispanics:

~~Pedro Rodriguez - Hosp. worker~~

Ernesto Cortez - San Antonio
activist - Soich

JAP

early
60's

Additional Medal of Freedom Possibilities

"B" List

Names	Age	Recommender	Area of Contributions
Aaron, Daniel		Mathews	
Angelou, Maya	69	Dorskind	literature, African American studies
Bates, Daisy		POTUS	re the Central High episode in Little Rock
Bok, Derek	67	Mathews	higher education; former Harvard Pres.
Boorstin, Daniel	82	Mathews	historian; former Librarian of Congress
Brooks, Gwendolyn	80	Mathews	poetry; former poetry consultant to Lib. of
Brownell, Herbert	<i>de</i>	POTUS	maybe also re the Central High episode
Chandler, Dorothy	d.	Waldman(?)	journalism (editor, L.A. Times)
Child, Julia	84	Dorskind	cooking, television
Davis, David Bryant		Mathews	<i>not a psychiatrist + educator</i>
Druyan, Ann	48	Lewis	science, fiction (Sagan's widow)
Fisher, Mary	49	Dorskind	AIDS activism
Harris, LaDonna	66	Dorskind	American Indians & women's rights
Hauser, Rita	62	Lewis	international law, Middle Eastern affairs
Hesselbein, Frances	79	Mathews	non-profit management, Girl Scouts
Kay, Herma Hill	62	Dorskind	Law school dean, sex-discrimination, law
Ker-Conway, Jill	62	Lewis	women's studies
Kreps, Juanita	76	Dorskind	economics
Levi, Ed	86 <i>and</i>		education, former Attorney General - <i>Ford</i>
Mankiller, Wilma	52	Lewis	American Indians & women's rights
Marty, Martin	69	Verveer (?)	religion, education
McGrory, Mary	78	Kagan	journalism, political science
Morrison, Toni	66	Kagan	literature, education, African Am. studies
Murie, Mardy (Margaret)	95	Verveer	environmental advocacy & studies
Reynoso, Cruz	66	Echaveste (?)	CA Supreme Court (former justice)
Richardson, Elliott	77	POTUS	public servant -- multiple cabinet appts.
Roman, Bishop Augustin A.	69	S. Valdez	Cuban refugee aid
Sawhill, John C.	61	Stern	conservation, education, public service
Schindler, Alexander	71	Lewis	Jewish reform movement
Smith, Chesterfield	80	Verveer	law, charity, public service
Steinem, Gloria	63	Dorskind	literature, women's studies
Tuchman, Barbara	d.	Kagan	history, arts

Vân Duyn, Mona 76
Woodward, C. Vann 78
Yunnus, Muhammad (Bangladesh) 54

Dorskind
Kagan
Stern

poetry
history, sociology
microcredit, developing countries

PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM
PRESENTED BY
President Clinton

- - -

PARKS, Rosa L. Civil rights pioneer, advocate for justice and equality	
FULBRIGHT, J. William Public Servant, former U.S. Senator and Member, U.S. House of Representatives from Arkansas, longtime Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, founder of the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Program	05/05/93
ASHE, Arthur, Jr. (POSTHUMOUSLY) Athlete, former Professional Tennis Player, Philanthropist, Author	06/20/93
POWELL, General Colin L., USA (WITH DISTINCTION) Military Officer, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff during Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm, Persian Gulf, former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	09/30/93
RAYE, Martha Entertainer, Humanitarian	11/15/93
BRENNAN, William J., Jr. Public Servant, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court	11/30/93
DOUGLAS, Marjory Stoneman Conservationist, led early crusade to preserve and restore the Florida Everglades	11/30/93
MARSHALL, Thurgood (POSTHUMOUSLY) Public Servant, Attorney, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Solicitor General of the United States, United States Circuit Judge, first African American to sit on the Supreme Court	11/30/93
RAUH, Joseph L., Jr. (POSTHUMOUSLY) Lawyer, Civil Rights and Labor activist, former counsel, United Auto Workers, general counsel, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	11/30/93
WISDOM, John Minor Public Servant, former United States Circuit Judge, Fifth Circuit	11/30/93
BLOCK, Herbert Political Cartoonist	08/08/94
CHAVEZ, Cesar E. (POSTHUMOUSLY) Union Leader, United Farm Workers of America	08/08/94
FLEMMING, Arthur Public Servant, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights	08/08/94
GRANT, James Executive Director of UNICEF	08/08/94
HEIGHT, Dorothy Irene Civil Rights, Womens Rights Advocate	08/08/94
JORDAN, Barbara Public Servant, Educator, former Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Texas	08/08/94
KIRKLAND, Joseph Lane Labor Leader, President AFL-CIO	08/08/94
MICHEL, Robert H. Public Servant, Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Illinois, Republican Leader	08/08/94

SHRIVER, Robert Sargent Public Servant, former Director of the Peace Corps	08/08/94
CHARREN, Peggy Founder of Action for Children's Television	09/29/95
COLEMAN, William Thaddeus, Jr. Public servant, former Sec. of Transportation, Chairman of the Board, NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, lifetime of service for equal opportunity for all citizens	09/29/95
COONEY, Joan Ganz Creator of Children's Television Workshop, creator of SESAME STREET	09/29/95
FRANKLIN, John Hope Historian, has chronicled the history of African Americans in the South	09/29/95
HIGGINBOTHAM, A. Leon, Jr. Judge, academic, civil rights attorney	09/29/95
JOHNSON, Frank M., Jr. District Court, Appeals Court Judge, dismantled segregation, protected the rights of mentally ill and imprisoned	09/29/95
KOOP, C. Everett Physican, former Surgeon General of the U.S.	09/29/95
NELSON, Gaylord A. Public Servant, former Wisconsin State Legislator, Governor & United States Senator, advocate for the environment, creator of Earth Day	09/29/95
REUTHER, Walter P. (POSTHUMOUSLY) Labor activist, United Auto Workers president for 25 years	09/29/95
ROUSE, James W. Urban planner, designer of Columbia, Maryland, Boston's Faneuil Hall, Baltimore's Inner Harbor	09/29/95
VELASQUEZ, William C. (POSTHUMOUSLY) Founder of Southwest Voter Registration Education Project	09/29/95
WASSERMAN, Lew R. Philanthropist, advocate for the blind and visually impaired	09/29/95
BERNARDIN, Joseph Cardinal Archbishop of Chicago Diocese, champion of racial equality and arms control	09/09/96
BRADY, James Scott Former Press Secretary for Pres. Reagan, wounded in assasination attempt, gun control advocate	09/09/96
FULLER, Millard D. Founder and President of Habitat for Humanity, nonprofit provider of low cost housing	09/09/96
HAMBURG, David Alan Physician, scientist, educator, child development specialist, former President of Carnegie Foundation	09/09/96
JOHNSON, John H. Founder and CEO of Johnson Publishing, founder of EBONY and JET magazines	09/09/96
LANG, Eugene M. Philanthropist, founder of "I Have a Dream Foundation", financial assistance to underprivileged youth for education	09/09/96
NOWAK-JEZIORANSKI, Jan Member of the Polish underground during WWII, former director of Radio Free Europe's Polish Service, former National Director of Polish-American Congress	09/09/96

PANTOJA, Antonia	09/09/96
Educator, philanthropist, advocate of community restoration and development, founder of ASPIRA	
SAGAN, Ginetta	09/09/96
Human rights advocate, Amnesty International, and Aurora Foundation	
UDALL, Morris	09/09/96
Public Servant, former Congressman of 30 years, environmental advocate and lawmaker	
PERRY, William J.	01/14/97
Public servant, Secretary of Defense	
DOLE, Robert J.	01/17/97
Soldier, Statesman, US Senator and longest serving Republican Leader	

TOTAL: 46

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 3, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: PHIL CAPLAN
JIM DORSKIND

SUBJECT: Presidential Medal of Freedom

In advance of tomorrow's meeting (Thursday at 11:00 am in the Roosevelt Room), we thought it would be helpful for you to see some lists. The "A" list is the product of a couple of meetings and constitutes the active list of candidates to be recommended to the President. The "B" list is a compilation of suggested names who may (or may not) make it on to the "A" list. *We could use additional suggestions of women and Hispanic names.*

The purpose of Thursday's meeting is to arrive at a better "A" list. We will go quickly through both lists, adding or subtracting names as appropriate. If necessary, we'll have another short meeting early next week to follow up on any assignments taken away from the meeting tomorrow. Our goal is to get a memo to the President in very short order with approximately 15 names -- he will then choose approximately 10.

DISTRIBUTION:

Erskine Bowles
John Podesta
Sylvia Mathews
Rahm Emanuel
Ann Lewis
Paul Begala
Sid Blumenthal
Michael Waldman
Maria Echaveste
Melanne Verveer
Jake Siewert
Mike McCurry
Elena Kagan
Todd Stern

Medal of Freedom Possibilities

Name	Age	Recommender	Area of Contributions
Aronson, Arnie <i>JM</i>	86	POTUS interest	civil rights
Carter, Jimmy <i>WM</i>	72	various	President, the Carter Center
Carter, Rosalynn <i>WF</i>	69	various	the Carter Center, mental health
Coles, Robert <i>WM?</i>	67	McCurry	<i>Child Psychiatrist</i>
Crowe, Admiral William <i>WM</i>	72	Berger	military, international negotiations
Farmer, James <i>BM</i>	87	various	civil rights, education
Graham, Katharine WM <i>WF</i>	80	Verveer	journalism, freedom of the press
Kearns, David <i>WM</i>	66	Verveer	education, business
Linowitz, Sol <i>WM</i>	83	various	international service corps
Martin, Louis <i>Af. Am. born M BM?</i>	d.		civil rights
Rockefeller, David <i>WM</i>	82	various	philanthropy, int'l service corps, arts
Sagan, Carl <i>WM</i>	d.	various	education, science, fiction
Schlesinger, Arthur <i>WM</i>	79	POTUS interest	history, ADA
Shanker, Albert <i>WM</i>	d.	Dorskind	integration, teachers' unions
Zumwalt, Admiral E. R. <i>WM</i>	76		military

→ Martin - Father was Cuban born. *Worked for Chicago Defender. Attended Fisk. Edited Michigan Chronicle (Black paper).*

→ Kearns - Former head of Xerox. No mention of being an Af. Am.

→ Coles - No mention of being an Af. Am. or working w/ Af. Am. orgs.

→ Aronson - Program director of National Jewish Community Relations Council.

Medal of Freedom Possibilities

Name		Age	Recommender	Area of Contributions
Aronson, Arnie	WM	86	POTUS interest	civil rights
Carter, Jimmy	WM	72	various	President, the Carter Center
Carter, Rosalynn	WF	69	various	the Carter Center, mental health
Coles, Robert	WM	67	McCurry	education, science
Crowe, Admiral William	WM	72	Berger	military, international negotiations
Farmer, James	WM	87	various	civil rights, education
Graham, Katharine	WM	80	Verveer	journalism, freedom of the press
Kearns, David	WM	66	Verveer	education, business
Linowitz, Sol	WM	83	various	international service corps
Martin, Louis	WM	d.		civil rights
Rockefeller, David	WM	82	various	philanthropy, int'l service corps, arts
Sagan, Carl	WM	d.	various	education, science, fiction
Schlesinger, Arthur	WM	79	POTUS interest	history, ADA
Shanker, Albert	WM	d.	Dorskind	integration, teachers' unions
Zumwalt, Admiral E. R.	WM	76		military

~~Muhammad Ali~~

~~Walter Cronkite~~

~~David Halberstam~~

- Hispanic
- women

Additional Medal of Freedom Possibilities

<u>Names</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Recommender</u>	<u>Area of Contributions</u>
Aaron, Daniel		Mathews	
Angelou, Maya	69	Dorskind	literature, African American studies
Bates, Daisy		POTUS	re the Central High episode in Little Rock
Bok, Derek		Mathews	
Boorstin, Daniel		Mathews	
Brooks, Gwendolyn		Mathews	
Brownell, Herbert		POTUS	maybe also re the Central High episode
Chandler, Dorothy	d.	Waldman(?)	journalism (editor, L.A. Times)
Child, Julia	84	Dorskind	cooking, television
Davis, David Bryant		Mathews	
Druyan, Ann	48	Lewis	science, fiction (Sagan's widow)
Fisher, Mary	49	Dorskind	AIDS activism
Harris, LaDonna	66	Dorskind	American Indians & women's rights
Hauser, Rita	62	Lewis	international law, Middle Eastern affairs
Hesselbein, Frances	79	Mathews	non-profit management, Girl Scouts
Kay, Herma Hill	62	Dorskind	Law school dean, sex-discrimination, law
Ker-Conway, Jill	62	Lewis	women's studies
Kreps, Juanita	76	Dorskind	economics
Levi, Ed	86 or d.		education, former Attorney General
Mankiller, Wilma	52	Lewis	American Indians & women's rights
Marty, Martin	69	Verveer (?)	religion, education
McGrory, Mary	78	Kagan	journalism, political science
Morrison, Toni	66	Kagan	literature, education, African Am. studies
Murie, Mardy (Margaret)	93	Verveer	environmental advocacy & studies
Reynoso, Cruz	66	Echaveste (?)	CA Supreme Court (former justice)
Richardson, Elliott		POTUS	
Roman, Bishop Augustin A.	69	S. Valdez	Cuban refugee aid
Sawhill, John C.	61	Stern	conservation, education, public service
Schindler, Alexander	71	Lewis	Jewish reform movement
Smith, Chesterfield	80	Verveer	law, charity, public service
Steinem, Gloria	63	Dorskind	literature, women's studies
Tuchman, Barbara	d.	Kagan	history, arts

Van Duyn, Mona	76	Dorskind	poetry
Welty, Eudora		Mathews	
Woodward, C. Vann	78	Kagan	history, sociology
Yunnus, Muhammad (Bangladesh)	54	Stern	microcredit, developing countries

Walter Cronkite

David Hallerstein

~~C. Grant~~

Geo Soros



Sylvia M. Mathews
09/02/97 09:15:07 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Phillip Caplan/WHO/EOP
cc:
bcc:
Subject: Re: Medal of Freedom II

If you would call Bill that would be great.
Phillip Caplan

Phillip Caplan

09/02/97 03:16:30 PM

Record Type: Record

To: John Podesta/WHO/EOP, Sylvia M. Mathews/WHO/EOP
cc: June G. Turner/WHO/EOP, Sara M. Latham/WHO/EOP
Subject: Medal of Freedom II

Todd has turned the MoF process over to me. My goal is to have two more meetings and then get a memo to POTUS. The first meeting is Thursday at 11:00; you both have been invited. I'm assuming there will be a few assignments coming out of Thursday's meeting; we'll then schedule one more meeting to come to closure on a list of recommendations to present to POTUS.

Sylvia -- following up on the last meeting, Todd's notes say you were going to call Bill Galston for suggestions. Have you done so? Would you like me to? Let me know.

Hopefully I'll see one or both of you on Thursday.

Phil

August 6, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM DORSKIND

FROM: LIZ PERRY
SUBJECT: 1997 PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM NEXT STEPS

As you requested, here is information on the next steps participants in the July 25 Medal of Freedom meeting offered to take:

- Sylvia Mathews was to call Bill Galston for nominee ideas; she also wanted to review the Bunting Fellows list for names.
- Elena Kagen was to find a name affiliated with the Chicago Lyric Opera. *Lyric Opera
Kraus*
- Ann Lewis was to follow up with some names of conservative potential nominees.
- Melanne Verveer was to make some calls regarding Augustín Román, the Roman Catholic Miami Bishop. *(Susanna Valdez)*
- Also, you were to direct Melissa and my efforts to do preliminary research on those names put forward during the July 25 meeting, as you and we have done.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 3, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: PHIL CAPLAN
JIM DORSKIND

SUBJECT: Presidential Medal of Freedom

In advance of tomorrow's meeting (Thursday at 11:00 am in the Roosevelt Room), we thought it would be helpful for you to see some lists. The "A" list is the product of a couple of meetings and constitutes the active list of candidates to be recommended to the President. The "B" list is a compilation of suggested names who may (or may not) make it on to the "A" list. *We could use additional suggestions of women and Hispanic names.*

The purpose of Thursday's meeting is to arrive at a better "A" list. We will go quickly through both lists, adding or subtracting names as appropriate. If necessary, we'll have another short meeting early next week to follow up on any assignments taken away from the meeting tomorrow. Our goal is to get a memo to the President in very short order with approximately 15 names -- he will then choose approximately 10.

DISTRIBUTION:

Ersine Bowles
John Podesta
Sylvia Mathews
Rahm Emanuel
Ann Lewis
Paul Begala
Sid Blumenthal
Michael Waldman
Maria Echaveste
Melanne Verveer
Jake Siewert
Mike McCurry
Elena Kagan
Todd Stern

"A" list

Medal of Freedom Possibilities

Name	Age	Recommender	Area of Contributions
Aronson, Arnie	86	POTUS interest	civil rights
Carter, Jimmy	72	various	President, the Carter Center
Carter, Rosalynn	69	various	the Carter Center, mental health
Coles, Robert	67	McCurry	early childhood development specialist
Crowe, Admiral William	72	Berger	military, international negotiations
Farmer, James	87	various	civil rights, education
Graham, Katharine	80	Verveer	journalism, freedom of the press
Kearns, David	66	Verveer	education, business
Linowitz, Sol	83	various	international service corps
Martin, Louis	d.		civil rights
Rockefeller, David	82	various	philanthropy, int'l service corps, arts
Sagan, Carl	d.	various	education, science, fiction
Schlesinger, Arthur	79	POTUS interest	history, ADA
Shanker, Albert	d.	Dorskind	integration, teachers' unions
Zumwalt, Admiral E. R.	76		military

Additional Medal of Freedom Possibilities

<u>Names</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Recommender</u>	<u>Area of Contributions</u>
Aaron, Daniel		Mathews	
Angelou, Maya	69	Dorskind	literature, African American studies
Bates, Daisy		POTUS	re the Central High episode in Little Rock
Bok, Derek	67	Mathews	higher education; former Harvard Pres.
Boorstin, Daniel	82	Mathews	historian; former Librarian of Congress
Brooks, Gwendolyn	80	Mathews	poetry; former poetry consultant to Lib. of
Brownell, Herbert		POTUS	maybe also re the Central High episode
Chandler, Dorothy	d.	Waldman(?)	journalism (editor, L.A. Times)
Child, Julia	84	Dorskind	cooking, television
Davis, David Bryant		Mathews	
Druyan, Ann	48	Lewis	science, fiction (Sagan's widow)
Fisher, Mary	49	Dorskind	AIDS activism
Harris, LaDonna	66	Dorskind	American Indians & women's rights
Hauser, Rita	62	Lewis	international law, Middle Eastern affairs
Hesselbein, Frances	79	Mathews	non-profit management, Girl Scouts
Kay, Herma Hill	62	Dorskind	Law school dean, sex-discrimination, law
Ker-Conway, Jill	62	Lewis	women's studies
Kreps, Juanita	76	Dorskind	economics
Levi, Ed	86 or d.		education, former Attorney General
Mankiller, Wilma	52	Lewis	American Indians & women's rights
Marty, Martin	69	Verveer (?)	religion, education
McGrory, Mary	78	Kagan	journalism, political science
Morrison, Toni	66	Kagan	literature, education, African Am. studies
Murie, Mardy (Margaret)	95	Verveer	environmental advocacy & studies
Reynoso, Cruz	66	Echaveste (?)	CA Supreme Court (former justice)
Richardson, Elliott	77	POTUS	public servant -- multiple cabinet appts.
Roman, Bishop Augustin A.	69	S. Valdez	Cuban refugee aid
Sawhill, John C.	61	Stern	conservation, education, public service
Schindler, Alexander	71	Lewis	Jewish reform movement
Smith, Chesterfield	80	Verveer	law, charity, public service
Steinem, Gloria	63	Dorskind	literature, women's studies
Tuchman, Barbara	d.	Kagan	history, arts

Van Duyn, Mona	76	Dorskind	poetry
Woodward, C. Vann	78	Kagan	history, sociology
Yunnus, Muhammad (Bangladesh)	54	Stern	microcredit, developing countries

PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM
PRESENTED BY
President Clinton

- - -

PARKS, Rosa L. Civil rights pioneer, advocate for justice and equality	
FULBRIGHT, J. William Public Servant, former U.S. Senator and Member, U.S. House of Representatives from Arkansas, longtime Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, founder of the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Program	05/05/93
ASHE, Arthur, Jr. (POSTHUMOUSLY) Athlete, former Professional Tennis Player, Philanthropist, Author	06/20/93
POWELL, General Colin L., USA (WITH DISTINCTION) Military Officer, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff during Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm, Persian Gulf, former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	09/30/93
RAYE, Martha Entertainer, Humanitarian	11/15/93
BRENNAN, William J., Jr. Public Servant, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court	11/30/93
DOUGLAS, Marjory Stoneman Conservationist, led early crusade to preserve and restore the Florida Everglades	11/30/93
MARSHALL, Thurgood (POSTHUMOUSLY) Public Servant, Attorney, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Solicitor General of the United States, United States Circuit Judge, first African American to sit on the Supreme Court	11/30/93
RAUH, Joseph L., Jr. (POSTHUMOUSLY) Lawyer, Civil Rights and Labor activist, former counsel, United Auto Workers, general counsel, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	11/30/93
WISDOM, John Minor Public Servant, former United States Circuit Judge, Fifth Circuit	11/30/93
BLOCK, Herbert Political Cartoonist	08/08/94
CHAVEZ, Cesar E. (POSTHUMOUSLY) Union Leader, United Farm Workers of America	08/08/94
FLEMMING, Arthur Public Servant, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights	08/08/94
GRANT, James Executive Director of UNICEF	08/08/94
HEIGHT, Dorothy Irene Civil Rights, Womens Rights Advocate	08/08/94
JORDAN, Barbara Public Servant, Educator, former Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Texas	08/08/94
KIRKLAND, Joseph Lane Labor Leader, President AFL-CIO	08/08/94
MICHEL, Robert H. Public Servant, Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Illinois, Republican Leader	08/08/94

SHRIVER, Robert Sargent	08/08/94
Public Servant, former Director of the Peace Corps	
CHARREN, Peggy	09/29/95
Founder of Action for Children's Television	
COLEMAN, William Thaddeus, Jr.	09/29/95
Public servant, former Sec. of Transportation, Chairman of the Board, NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, lifetime of service for equal opportunity for all citizens	
COONEY, Joan Ganz	09/29/95
Creator of Children's Television Workshop, creator of SESAME STREET	
FRANKLIN, John Hope	09/29/95
Historian, has chronicled the history of African Americans in the South	
HIGGINBOTHAM, A. Leon, Jr.	09/29/95
Judge, academic, civil rights attorney	
JOHNSON, Frank M., Jr.	09/29/95
District Court, Appeals Court Judge, dismantled segregation, protected the rights of mentally ill and imprisoned	
KOOP, C. Everett	09/29/95
Physician, former Surgeon General of the U.S.	
NELSON, Gaylord A.	09/29/95
Public Servant, former Wisconsin State Legislator, Governor & United States Senator, advocate for the environment, creator of Earth Day	
REUTHER, Walter P. (POSTHUMOUSLY)	09/29/95
Labor activist, United Auto Workers president for 25 years	
ROUSE, James W.	09/29/95
Urban planner, designer of Columbia, Maryland, Boston's Faneuil Hall, Baltimore's Inner Harbor	
VELASQUEZ, William C. (POSTHUMOUSLY)	09/29/95
Founder of Southwest Voter Registration Education Project	
WASSERMAN, Lew R.	09/29/95
Philanthropist, advocate for the blind and visually impaired	
BERNARDIN, Joseph Cardinal	09/09/96
Archbishop of Chicago Diocese, champion of racial equality and arms control	
BRADY, James Scott	09/09/96
Former Press Secretary for Pres. Reagan, wounded in assassination attempt, gun control advocate	
FULLER, Millard D.	09/09/96
Founder and President of Habitat for Humanity, nonprofit provider of low cost housing	
HAMBURG, David Alan	09/09/96
Physician, scientist, educator, child development specialist, former President of Carnegie Foundation	
JOHNSON, John H.	09/09/96
Founder and CEO of Johnson Publishing, founder of EBONY and JET magazines	
LANG, Eugene M.	09/09/96
Philanthropist, founder of "I Have a Dream Foundation", financial assistance to underprivileged youth for education	
NOWAK-JEZIORANSKI, Jan	09/09/96
Member of the Polish underground during WWII, former director of Radio Free Europe's Polish Service, former National Director of Polish-American Congress	

PANTOJA, Antonia	09/09/96
Educator, philanthropist, advocate of community restoration and development, founder of ASPIRA	
SAGAN, Ginetta	09/09/96
Human rights advocate, Amnesty International, and Aurora Foundation	
UDALL, Morris	09/09/96
Public Servant, former Congressman of 30 years, environmental advocate and lawmaker	
PERRY, William J.	01/14/97
Public servant, Secretary of Defense	
DOLE, Robert J.	01/17/97
Soldier, Statesman, US Senator and longest serving Republican Leader	

TOTAL: 46

"A" List

Medal of Freedom Possibilities

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Recommender</u>	<u>Area of Contributions</u>
Aronson, Arnie	86	POTUS interest	civil rights
Carter, Jimmy	72	various	President, the Carter Center
Carter, Rosalynn	69	various	the Carter Center, mental health
Coles, Robert	67	McCurry	early childhood development specialist
Crowe, Admiral William	72	Berger	military, international negotiations
Farmer, James	87	various	civil rights, education
Graham, Katharine	80	Verveer	journalism, freedom of the press
Kearns, David	66	Verveer	education, business
Linowitz, Sol	83	various	international service corps
Martin, Louis	d.		civil rights
Rockefeller, David	82	various	philanthropy, int'l service corps, arts
Sagan, Carl	d.	various	education, science, fiction
Schlesinger, Arthur	79	POTUS interest	history, ADA
Shanker, Albert	d.	Dorskind	integration, teachers' unions
Zumwalt, Admiral E. R.	76		military

"B" List

Additional Medal of Freedom Possibilities

<u>Names</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Recommender</u>	<u>Area of Contributions</u>
Aaron, Daniel		Mathews	
Angelou, Maya	69	Dorskind	literature, African American studies
Bates, Daisy		POTUS	re the Central High episode in Little Rock
Bok, Derek	67	Mathews	higher education; former Harvard Pres.
Boorstin, Daniel	82	Mathews	historian; former Librarian of Congress
Brooks, Gwendolyn	80	Mathews	poetry; former poetry consultant to Lib. of
Brownell, Herbert		POTUS	maybe also re the Central High episode
Chandler, Dorothy	d.	Waldman(?)	journalism (editor, L.A. Times)
Child, Julia	84	Dorskind	cooking, television
Davis, David Bryant		Mathews	
Druyan, Ann	48	Lewis	science, fiction (Sagan's widow)
Fisher, Mary	49	Dorskind	AIDS activism
Harris, LaDonna	66	Dorskind	American Indians & women's rights
Hauser, Rita	62	Lewis	international law, Middle Eastern affairs
Hesselbein, Frances	79	Mathews	non-profit management, Girl Scouts
Kay, Herma Hill	62	Dorskind	Law school dean, sex-discrimination, law
Ker-Conway, Jill	62	Lewis	women's studies
Kreps, Juanita	76	Dorskind	economics
Levi, Ed	86 or d.		education, former Attorney General
Mankiller, Wilma	52	Lewis	American Indians & women's rights
Marty, Martin	69	Verveer (?)	religion, education
McGrory, Mary	78	Kagan	journalism, political science
Morrison, Toni	66	Kagan	literature, education, African Am. studies
Murie, Mardy (Margaret)	95	Verveer	environmental advocacy & studies
Reynoso, Cruz	66	Echaveste (?)	CA Supreme Court (former justice)
Richardson, Elliott	77	POTUS	public servant -- multiple cabinet appts.
Roman, Bishop Augustin A.	69	S. Valdez	Cuban refugee aid
Sawhill, John C.	61	Stern	conservation, education, public service
Schindler, Alexander	71	Lewis	Jewish reform movement
Smith, Chesterfield	80	Verveer	law, charity, public service
Steinem, Gloria	63	Dorskind	literature, women's studies
Tuchman, Barbara	d.	Kagan	history, arts

Van Duyn, Mona	76	Dorskind	poetry
Woodward, C. Vann	78	Kagan	history, sociology
Yunnus, Muhammad (Bangladesh)	54	Stern	microcredit, developing countries

PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM
PRESENTED BY
President Clinton

- - -

PARKS, Rosa L. Civil rights pioneer, advocate for justice and equality	
FULBRIGHT, J. William Public Servant, former U.S. Senator and Member, U.S. House of Representatives from Arkansas, longtime Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, founder of the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Program	05/05/93
ASHE, Arthur, Jr. (POSTHUMOUSLY) Athlete, former Professional Tennis Player, Philanthropist, Author	06/20/93
POWELL, General Colin L., USA (WITH DISTINCTION) Military Officer, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff during Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm, Persian Gulf, former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	09/30/93
RAYE, Martha Entertainer, Humanitarian	11/15/93
BRENNAN, William J., Jr. Public Servant, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court	11/30/93
DOUGLAS, Marjory Stoneman Conservationist, led early crusade to preserve and restore the Florida Everglades	11/30/93
MARSHALL, Thurgood (POSTHUMOUSLY) Public Servant, Attorney, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Solicitor General of the United States, United States Circuit Judge, first African American to sit on the Supreme Court	11/30/93
RAUH, Joseph L., Jr. (POSTHUMOUSLY) Lawyer, Civil Rights and Labor activist, former counsel, United Auto Workers, general counsel, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	11/30/93
WISDOM, John Minor Public Servant, former United States Circuit Judge, Fifth Circuit	11/30/93
BLOCK, Herbert Political Cartoonist	08/08/94
CHAVEZ, Cesar E. (POSTHUMOUSLY) Union Leader, United Farm Workers of America	08/08/94
FLEMMING, Arthur Public Servant, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights	08/08/94
GRANT, James Executive Director of UNICEF	08/08/94
HEIGHT, Dorothy Irene Civil Rights, Womens Rights Advocate	08/08/94
JORDAN, Barbara Public Servant, Educator, former Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Texas	08/08/94
KIRKLAND, Joseph Lane Labor Leader, President AFL-CIO	08/08/94
MICHEL, Robert H. Public Servant, Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Illinois, Republican Leader	08/08/94

SHRIVER, Robert Sargent	08/08/94
Public Servant, former Director of the Peace Corps	
CHARREN, Peggy	09/29/95
Founder of Action for Children's Television	
COLEMAN, William Thaddeus, Jr.	09/29/95
Public servant, former Sec. of Transportation, Chairman of the Board, NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, lifetime of service for equal opportunity for all citizens	
COONEY, Joan Ganz	09/29/95
Creator of Children's Television Workshop, creator of SESAME STREET	
FRANKLIN, John Hope	09/29/95
Historian, has chronicled the history of African Americans in the South	
HIGGINBOTHAM, A. Leon, Jr.	09/29/95
Judge, academic, civil rights attorney	
JOHNSON, Frank M., Jr.	09/29/95
District Court, Appeals Court Judge, dismantled segregation, protected the rights of mentally ill and imprisoned	
KOOP, C. Everett	09/29/95
Physican, former Surgeon General of the U.S.	
NELSON, Gaylord A.	09/29/95
Public Servant, former Wisconsin State Legislator, Governor & United States Senator, advocate for the environment, creator of Earth Day	
REUTHER, Walter P. (POSTHUMOUSLY)	09/29/95
Labor activist, United Auto Workers president for 25 years	
ROUSE, James W.	09/29/95
Urban planner, designer of Columbia, Maryland, Boston's Faneuil Hall, Baltimore's Inner Harbor	
VELASQUEZ, William C. (POSTHUMOUSLY)	09/29/95
Founder of Southwest Voter Registration Education Project	
WASSERMAN, Lew R.	09/29/95
Philanthropist, advocate for the blind and visually impaired	
BERNARDIN, Joseph Cardinal	09/09/96
Archbishop of Chicago Diocese, champion of racial equality and arms control	
BRADY, James Scott	09/09/96
Former Press Secretary for Pres. Reagan, wounded in assasination attempt, gun control advocate	
FULLER, Millard D.	09/09/96
Founder and President of Habitat for Humanity, nonprofit provider of low cost housing	
HAMBURG, David Alan	09/09/96
Physician, scientist, educator, child development specialist, former President of Carnegie Foundation	
JOHNSON, John H.	09/09/96
Founder and CEO of Johnson Publishing, founder of EBONY and JET magazines	
LANG, Eugene M.	09/09/96
Philanthropist, founder of "I Have a Dream Foundation", financial assistance to underprivileged youth for education	
NOWAK-JEZIORANSKI, Jan	09/09/96
Member of the Polish underground during WWII, former director of Radio Free Europe's Polish Service, former National Director of Polish-American Congress	

PANTOJA, Antonia	09/09/96
Educator, philanthropist, advocate of community restoration and development, founder of ASPIRA	
SAGAN, Ginetta	09/09/96
Human rights advocate, Amnesty International, and Aurora Foundation	
UDALL, Morris	09/09/96
Public Servant, former Congressman of 30 years, environmental advocate and lawmaker	
PERRY, William J.	01/14/97
Public servant, Secretary of Defense	
DOLE, Robert J.	01/17/97
Soldier, Statesman, US Senator and longest serving Republican Leader	

TOTAL: 46

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 3, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: PHIL CAPLAN 
JIM DORSKIND

SUBJECT: Presidential Medal of Freedom

In advance of tomorrow's meeting (Thursday at 11:00 am in the Roosevelt Room), we thought it would be helpful for you to see some lists. The "A" list is the product of a couple of meetings and constitutes the active list of candidates to be recommended to the President. The "B" list is a compilation of suggested names who may (or may not) make it on to the "A" list. *We could use additional suggestions of women and Hispanic names.*

The purpose of Thursday's meeting is to arrive at a better "A" list. We will go quickly through both lists, adding or subtracting names as appropriate. If necessary, we'll have another short meeting early next week to follow up on any assignments taken away from the meeting tomorrow. Our goal is to get a memo to the President in very short order with approximately 15 names -- he will then choose approximately 10.

DISTRIBUTION:

Ersine Bowles
John Podesta
Sylvia Mathews
Rahm Emanuel
Ann Lewis
Paul Begala
Sid Blumenthal
Michael Waldman
Maria Echaveste
Melanne Verveer
Jake Siewert
Mike McCurry
Elena Kagan
Todd Stern

"A" List

Medal of Freedom Possibilities

Name	Age	Recommender	Area of Contributions
Aronson, Arnie	86	POTUS interest	civil rights
Carter, Jimmy	72	various	President, the Carter Center
Carter, Rosalynn	69	various	the Carter Center, mental health
Coles, Robert	67	McCurry	early childhood development specialist
Crowe, Admiral William	72	Berger	military, international negotiations
Farmer, James	87	various	civil rights, education
Graham, Katharine	80	Verveer	journalism, freedom of the press
Kearns, David	66	Verveer	education, business
Linowitz, Sol	83	various	international service corps
Martin, Louis	d.		civil rights
Rockefeller, David	82	various	philanthropy, int'l service corps, arts
Sagan, Carl	d.	various	education, science, fiction
Schlesinger, Arthur	79	POTUS interest	history, ADA
Shanker, Albert	d.	Dorskind	integration, teachers' unions
Zumwalt, Admiral E. R.	76		military

Additional Medal of Freedom Possibilities

<u>Names</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Recommender</u>	<u>Area of Contributions</u>
Aaron, Daniel		Mathews	
Angelou, Maya	69	Dorskind	literature, African American studies
Bates, Daisy		POTUS	re the Central High episode in Little Rock
Bok, Derek	67	Mathews	higher education; former Harvard Pres.
Boorstin, Daniel	82	Mathews	historian; former Librarian of Congress
Brooks, Gwendolyn	80	Mathews	poetry; former poetry consultant to Lib. of
Brownell, Herbert		POTUS	maybe also re the Central High episode
Chandler, Dorothy	d.	Waldman(?)	journalism (editor, L.A. Times)
Child, Julia	84	Dorskind	cooking, television
Davis, David Bryant		Mathews	
Druyan, Ann	48	Lewis	science, fiction (Sagan's widow)
Fisher, Mary	49	Dorskind	AIDS activism
Harris, LaDonna	66	Dorskind	American Indians & women's rights
Hauser, Rita	62	Lewis	international law, Middle Eastern affairs
Hesselbein, Frances	79	Mathews	non-profit management, Girl Scouts
Kay, Herma Hill	62	Dorskind	Law school dean, sex-discrimination, law
Ker-Conway, Jill	62	Lewis	women's studies
Kreps, Juanita	76	Dorskind	economics
Levi, Ed	86 or d.		education, former Attorney General
Mankiller, Wilma	52	Lewis	American Indians & women's rights
Marty, Martin	69	Verveer (?)	religion, education
McGrory, Mary	78	Kagan	journalism, political science
Morrison, Toni	66	Kagan	literature, education, African Am. studies
Murie, Mardy (Margaret)	95	Verveer	environmental advocacy & studies
Reynoso, Cruz	66	Echaveste (?)	CA Supreme Court (former justice)
Richardson, Elliott	77	POTUS	public servant – multiple cabinet appts.
Roman, Bishop Augustin A.	69	S. Valdez	Cuban refugee aid
Sawhill, John C.	61	Stern	conservation, education, public service
Schindler, Alexander	71	Lewis	Jewish reform movement
Smith, Chesterfield	80	Verveer	law, charity, public service
Steinem, Gloria	63	Dorskind	literature, women's studies
Tuchman, Barbara	d.	Kagan	history, arts

Van Duyn, Mona	76	Dorskind	poetry
Woodward, C. Vann	78	Kagan	history, sociology
Yunnus, Muhammad (Bangladesh)	54	Stern	microcredit, developing countries

PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM
PRESENTED BY
President Clinton

- - -

PARKS, Rosa L.	
Civil rights pioneer, advocate for justice and equality	
FULBRIGHT, J. William	05/05/93
Public Servant, former U.S. Senator and Member, U.S. House of Representatives from Arkansas, longtime Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, founder of the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Program	
ASHE, Arthur, Jr. (POSTHUMOUSLY)	06/20/93
Athlete, former Professional Tennis Player, Philanthropist, Author	
POWELL, General Colin L., USA (WITH DISTINCTION)	09/30/93
Military Officer, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff during Operations Desert Shield/Desert Storm, Persian Gulf, former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs	
RAYE, Martha	11/15/93
Entertainer, Humanitarian	
BRENNAN, William J., Jr.	11/30/93
Public Servant, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court	
DOUGLAS, Marjory Stoneman	11/30/93
Conservationist, led early crusade to preserve and restore the Florida Everglades	
MARSHALL, Thurgood (POSTHUMOUSLY)	11/30/93
Public Servant, Attorney, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Solicitor General of the United States, United States Circuit Judge, first African American to sit on the Supreme Court	
RAUH, Joseph L., Jr. (POSTHUMOUSLY)	11/30/93
Lawyer, Civil Rights and Labor activist, former counsel, United Auto Workers, general counsel, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	
WISDOM, John Minor	11/30/93
Public Servant, former United States Circuit Judge, Fifth Circuit	
BLOCK, Herbert	08/08/94
Political Cartoonist	
CHAVEZ, Cesar E. (POSTHUMOUSLY)	08/08/94
Union Leader, United Farm Workers of America	
FLEMMING, Arthur	08/08/94
Public Servant, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights	
GRANT, James	08/08/94
Executive Director of UNICEF	
HEIGHT, Dorothy Irene	08/08/94
Civil Rights, Womens Rights Advocate	
JORDAN, Barbara	08/08/94
Public Servant, Educator, former Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Texas	
KIRKLAND, Joseph Lane	08/08/94
Labor Leader, President AFL-CIO	
MICHEL, Robert H.	08/08/94
Public Servant, Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Illinois, Republican Leader	

SHRIVER, Robert Sargent Public Servant, former Director of the Peace Corps	08/08/94
CHARREN, Peggy Founder of Action for Children's Television	09/29/95
COLEMAN, William Thaddeus, Jr. Public servant, former Sec. of Transportation, Chairman of the Board, NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, lifetime of service for equal opportunity for all citizens	09/29/95
COONEY, Joan Ganz Creator of Children's Television Workshop, creator of SESAME STREET	09/29/95
FRANKLIN, John Hope Historian, has chronicled the history of African Americans in the South	09/29/95
HIGGINBOTHAM, A. Leon, Jr. Judge, academic, civil rights attorney	09/29/95
JOHNSON, Frank M., Jr. District Court, Appeals Court Judge, dismantled segregation, protected the rights of mentally ill and imprisoned	09/29/95
KOOP, C. Everett Physican, former Surgeon General of the U.S.	09/29/95
NELSON, Gaylord A. Public Servant, former Wisconsin State Legislator, Governor & United States Senator, advocate for the environment, creator of Earth Day	09/29/95
REUTHER, Walter P. (POSTHUMOUSLY) Labor activist, United Auto Workers president for 25 years	09/29/95
ROUSE, James W. Urban planner, designer of Columbia, Maryland, Boston's Faneuil Hall, Baltimore's Inner Harbor	09/29/95
VELASQUEZ, William C. (POSTHUMOUSLY) Founder of Southwest Voter Registration Education Project	09/29/95
WASSERMAN, Lew R. Philanthropist, advocate for the blind and visually impaired	09/29/95
BERNARDIN, Joseph Cardinal Archbishop of Chicago Diocese, champion of racial equality and arms control	09/09/96
BRADY, James Scott Former Press Secretary for Pres. Reagan, wounded in assassination attempt, gun control advocate	09/09/96
FULLER, Millard D. Founder and President of Habitat for Humanity, nonprofit provider of low cost housing	09/09/96
HAMBURG, David Alan Physician, scientist, educator, child development specialist, former President of Carnegie Foundation	09/09/96
JOHNSON, John H. Founder and CEO of Johnson Publishing, founder of EBONY and JET magazines	09/09/96
LANG, Eugene M. Philanthropist, founder of "I Have a Dream Foundation", financial assistance to underprivileged youth for education	09/09/96
NOWAK-JEZIORANSKI, Jan Member of the Polish underground during WWII, former director of Radio Free Europe's Polish Service, former National Director of Polish-American Congress	09/09/96

PANTOJA, Antonia	09/09/96
Educator, philanthropist, advocate of community restoration and development, founder of ASPIRA	
SAGAN, Ginetta	09/09/96
Human rights advocate, Amnesty International, and Aurora Foundation	
UDALL, Morris	09/09/96
Public Servant, former Congressman of 30 years, environmental advocate and lawmaker	
PERRY, William J.	01/14/97
Public servant, Secretary of Defense	
DOLE, Robert J.	01/17/97
Soldier, Statesman, US Senator and longest serving Republican Leader	

TOTAL: 46



James A. Dorskind

09/02/97 03:29:21 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Carolyn E. Cleveland/WHO/EOP
cc: Phillip Caplan/WHO/EOP
Subject: Medal of Freedom

Wouldn't miss it!

JD

----- Forwarded by James A. Dorskind/WHO/EOP on 09/02/97 03:28 PM -----

Phillip Caplan

09/02/97 02:33:51 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc: Sean P. Maloney/WHO/EOP, James A. Dorskind/WHO/EOP
Subject: Medal of Freedom

Please come to a meeting on Thursday, September 4 at 11:00 am in the Roosevelt Room to discuss candidates for the Medal of Freedom. I will distribute paper tomorrow in advance of the meeting.

Please RSVP to Carol Cleveland in my office if you can make it. Thanks.

Message Sent To: _____

Ann F. Lewis/WHO/EOP
Ruby Shamir/WHO/EOP
Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP
Katharine Button/WHO/EOP
Sylvia M. Mathews/WHO/EOP
June G. Turner/WHO/EOP
John Podesta/WHO/EOP
Sara M. Latham/WHO/EOP
Sidney Blumenthal/WHO/EOP
Paul E. Begala/WHO/EOP
Rahm I. Emanuel/WHO/EOP
Michelle Crisci/WHO/EOP
Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP
Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP
Marjorie Tarmey/WHO/EOP
Jake Siewert/OPD/EOP
Michael D. McCurry/WHO/EOP
Todd Stern/WHO/EOP

Phillip Caplan

09/02/97 02:33:51 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
cc: Sean P. Maloney/WHO/EOP, James A. Dorskind/WHO/EOP
Subject: Medal of Freedom

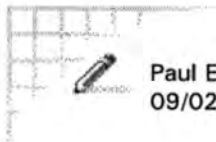
Please come to a meeting on Thursday, September 4 at 11:00 am in the Roosevelt Room to discuss candidates for the Medal of Freedom. I will distribute paper tomorrow in advance of the meeting.

Please RSVP to Carol Cleveland in my office if you can make it. Thanks.

Message Sent To:

Ann F. Lewis/WHO/EOP
Ruby Shamir/WHO/EOP
Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP
Katharine Button/WHO/EOP
Sylvia M. Mathews/WHO/EOP
June G. Turner/WHO/EOP
John Podesta/WHO/EOP
Sara M. Latham/WHO/EOP
Sidney Blumenthal/WHO/EOP
Paul E. Begala/WHO/EOP
Rahm I. Emanuel/WHO/EOP
Michelle Crisci/WHO/EOP
Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP
Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP
Marjorie Tarmey/WHO/EOP
Jake Siewert/OPD/EOP
Michael D. McCurry/WHO/EOP
Todd Stern/WHO/EOP

Yeo



Paul E. Begala
09/02/97 05:48:56 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Phillip Caplan/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: Medal of Freedom 

Phil,

I'm there. Thanks,
Paul