

Chron 

copied  
Ann Lewis

8-4  
Phil -  
Any other copies  
for these?

E

\* cc: Ann Lewis  
Miss good idea  
could be commemorative event.

D.  
NO

Leslie Singer  
7 Shackelford Plaza  
Suite C  
Little Rock, Arkansas 72211

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for your letter. I'm sorry we didn't get a chance to see each other last month while I was back home. It was a good trip -- but much too brief!

Thanks also for your suggestion to commemorate next year the 30th anniversary of our first steps on the moon. I have forwarded a copy of your letter to Ann Lewis, my Director of Communications, so that she can look into the idea.

Hillary and I send our best to you and Connie.

Sincerely,

Bill



July 27, 1998

Dear Mr. President;

Connie and I missed seeing you during your trip to Little Rock. We hope you enjoyed being back home for a few days. We had breakfast with David and Barbara Pryor that weekend and Barbara said you looked very fit and healthy. Really glad to hear that.

On another note, Alan Shepard's recent passing made me realize that next July 20 will be the 30th anniversary of man's first steps on the moon. It would be the perfect time to honor, not only America's early space pioneers, but to recognize Russia's as well. This was, after all, one of the greatest technological programs of the 20th century. Many of these men are now in their late 70's-- and the time is now or never to say "thank you" to them and to the other key people who made it possible.

One of President Kennedy's great visionary legacies was his challenge to place an American on the moon before the 60's ended. It galvanized the imagination, drew the world's best scientific minds to our shores and reconfirmed our leadership and spirit. Perhaps as we mark the cusp of the 21st century, you can issue a similar challenge for a manned Mars landing. (The Mars Pathfinder landing last July 4th was the biggest internet event ever.) The first interplanetary landing in our civilization's history would remind people everywhere that we are ONE planet after all. I can't think of a more important message for the new millennium.

If you get a moment, please let me know what you think. All our love to you, Hillary and Chelsea.

The best,

Leslie Singer  
7 Shackleford Plaza  
Suite C  
Little Rock, Arkansas 72211

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*I'm  
interested*  
*AS* cc: Scheduling

August 4, 1998

*copied  
Scheduling*

Paul Newman  
c/o Murphy & Kress  
2401 Main Street  
Santa Monica, California 90405-3515

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter and kind invitation to visit Barretstown Castle while I'm in Ireland next month.

I have alerted my scheduling office to the possibility of such a visit -- someone on my staff will follow up with you. I look forward to seeing you again soon, if not in County Kildare.

Thanks for your good work.

Sincerely,

*RM*

*I hope I can  
do better*

PAUL NEWMAN

July 28, 1998

President & Mrs. William J. Clinton  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, DC

Dear President & Mrs. Clinton:

I understand you will be visiting Ireland in September, and I would personally like to extend an invitation for you to visit Barretstown Castle in County Kildare, home of The Barretstown Gang Camp. As you may know from Liz Robbins, Barretstown is the first European replica of the Hole In The Wall Gang Camp in Connecticut.

This year Barretstown will serve over 900 children and families from Ireland and 17 European countries, and, with enormous international support, the four-year old program is continuing to grow every year.

It is a truly magical site for a powerful and remarkable program that literally changes children's lives, and I would be honored if you would have time in your schedule to pay Barretstown a visit.

I have spoken to Senators George Mitchell and Chris Dodd about the possibility of using the facilities as a peace camp during the off season, perhaps Christmas and Easter.

I hope you enjoy your visit, and I want to congratulate you on your pivotal role in promoting peace and understanding in Ireland.

Best personal wishes,

PN/do

1. Ce:  
Symonin  
Louisa  
Diana &  
2. D. J. C. B.  
C. B.

Paul Newman  
c/o Murphy & Kress  
2401 Main Street  
Santa Monica, California 90405-  
3515

President & Mrs. William J. Clinton  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, DC

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 4, 1998

Mr. President:

We are having a reply prepared  
for your signature.

Phil Caplan

8/4/98

Phil -

Do you want copies to go  
to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Clerk Yes ☒

No ☐

C

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

'98 AUG 4 AM 11:54

August 5, 1998

The Honorable William J Clinton  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

It has been my greatest honor to have had the opportunity to serve you and this Administration. In November 1991, I teamed up with Capricia to organize Ohio for your campaign. At that time I could not imagine that the next seven years would, along with periodic returns to the classroom, bring me to Little Rock, the State of Maine, the Department of Justice and finally to the White House Counsel's Office. It has been exhilarating.

Mr. President, you have fought hard against incredible obstacles for the values that made this country great and I have been proud to join with you in your quest. I am now again returning to teaching law school and will be at Northwestern University Law School for the fall semester. I only hope that you will continue to call on me if I can be of any service and that you know that you will always have my deepest gratitude and allegiance.

With deepest regards,



William P. Marshall  
Associate Counsel  
To the President

8-4-98

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 22, 1998

MR. PRESIDENT:

After talking to Melanne, I'm sending this notebook on the National Medal of Arts to you again as a reminder.

You still have a few names to select in order to get up to 12 medal winners. You can pick names from either the first or second priority list, but you should be careful about doubling up on categories. You should call Melanne if you want to discuss the names further.

Also, don't forget that the National Council of Arts has recommended that you award Jane Alexander the Citizens Medal at the Medal of Arts ceremony. You did this for Rep. Sidney Yates and Sen. Claiborne Pell in 1993 and 1994. I've earmarked the short decision memo for you.

Phil Caplan

*Back to Melanne,  
per our discussion*

*BC*

*copied  
Verveer (copy  
note + notebook)  
COS - (copy note/  
copy of TOC notebook)  
RM - original note/  
copy of TOC notebook  
Chom - copy of  
all*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1998

7-10-98

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

**FROM:** Melanne Verveer

**RE:** National Council on the Arts Nominees for the 1998 National Medal of Arts

The National Council on the Arts has made its recommendations for the 1998 National Medal of Arts. Included in this binder are the first and second priority lists of recommendations generated by the Council. The names are listed alphabetically and biographies follow. The Council strongly recommends the artists and patrons on the first priority list. However, as you know, you may make substitutions from the nominees on the second list. The Council has also recommended that Jane Alexander be awarded the President's Citizens Medal at this year's ceremony.

The National Medal of Arts is the highest award the President can bestow on our nation's artists and art patrons. The Medal was established by the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965. It was created to honor "individuals or groups who are deserving of special recognition by reason of their outstanding contributions to the excellence, growth, support, and availability of the arts in the United States" (NFAH Act of 1965). The Act empowers the President to choose the recipients of the Medals on the basis of the recommendations made by the National Council on the Arts. No more than 12 Medals may be awarded per year.

Also included in this binder, for your information, is a list of previous National Medal of Arts recipients. The 1998 Medals will be awarded at a White House ceremony in the fall. The Frankel Humanities Awards will also be presented at that time.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

7-10 98

July 6, 1998

PRESIDENTIAL ACTION MEMORANDUM

FROM: Melanne Verveer

*Melanne*  
*I have a strong*  
*interest in 3 on both list*  
*Can I do next year?*  
*Call me*  
*ES*

Please choose a total of twelve recipients for the 1997 National Medal of the Arts from the following first and second priority lists of nominees generated by the National Council on the Arts. Biographies of each nominee follows under specified tabs.

First Priority Nominees

| <u>Tab #</u> | <u>Nominee</u>              | <u>Field</u>    | <u>Age</u> | <u>Residence</u> | <u>Birthplace</u> | <u>Approve</u>                      |
|--------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1            | Jacques D'Amboise           | Dance           | 62         | NY               | MA                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 2            | "Fats" Domino               | Music           | 70         | LA               | LA                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 3            | Ramblin' Jack Elliott       | Folk            | 67         | CA               | NY                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 4            | Frank O. Gehry              | Design          | 69         | CA               | Canada            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 5            | Bobbie Handman              | Arts Advocate   | 70         | NY               | PA                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 6            | Agnes Martin                | Visual Arts     | 85         | NM               | Canada            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 7            | Margaret McDermott          | Patron          | 86         | TX               | TX                | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 8            | Gregory Peck                | Media/Film      | 82         | CA               | CA                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 9            | Roberta Peters              | Opera           | 68         | NY               | NY                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 10           | Philip Roth                 | Literature      | 64         | NY               | NJ                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 11           | Steppenwolf Theatre Company | Theater         | N/A        | IL               | N/A               | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 12           | Gwen Verdon                 | Musical Theater | 73         | NY               | CA                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |

*see her*

7 10 9 8

**Second Priority Nominees**

| <u>Tab#</u> | <u>Nominee</u>                        | <u>Field</u>                   | <u>Age</u> | <u>Residence</u> | <u>Birthplace</u> | <u>Approve</u> |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 13          | Mikhail Baryshnikov                   | Dance                          | 50         | NY               | Latvia            | _____          |
| 14          | Jean Picker<br>Firstenberg            | Arts<br>Professional           | 62         | CA               | NY                | _____          |
| 15          | Harlem School of<br>the Arts          | Arts High<br>School            | n/a        | NY               | n/a               | _____          |
| 16          | Haystack Mountain<br>School of Crafts | Research and<br>Studio Program | n/a        | ME               | n/a               | _____          |
| 17          | Norman Lear                           | Media                          | 75         | CA               | CT                | _____          |
| 18          | Ming Cho Lee                          | Theater                        | 66         | NY               | China             | _____          |
| 19          | William Maxwell                       | Literature                     | 90         | NY               | NE                | _____          |
| 20          | Lydia Mendoza                         | Folk                           | 82         | TX               | TX                | _____          |
| 21          | Andre Previn                          | Music                          | 69         | NY/MA            | Germany           | _____          |
| 22          | Sara Lee Foundation                   | Patron                         | n/a        | IL               | n/a               | _____          |
| 23          | George Segal                          | Visual Arts                    | 73         | NJ               | NY                | _____          |
| 24          | Jennifer Tipton                       | Design                         | 60         | NY               | OH                | _____          |

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1998

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

**FROM: Melanne Verveer**

**RE: Nomination of Jane Alexander for the Presidential Citizens Medal**

During its June 1, 1998 meeting, the National Council on the Arts also recommended that former NEA Chairman Jane Alexander be given the Presidential Citizens Medal. As you know, the Medal is awarded at the discretion of the President to those "who have performed exemplary service for their country or fellow citizens."

The Council recommended former Chairman Alexander based on her exceptional leadership and strong advocacy in behalf of the arts. The Council noted that Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI) and Representative Sidney R. Yates (D-IL) were honored with this award in 1994 and 1993, respectively, based on their leadership in behalf of the arts and humanities. Each received the award during the regular National Medal of Arts ceremony.

\_\_\_\_\_ Award the Presidential Citizens Medal to Jane Alexander

## PREVIOUS NATIONAL MEDAL OF ARTS RECIPIENTS:

### 1997

Louise Bourgeois  
Betty Carter  
Agnes Gund  
Daniel Urban Kiley  
Angela Lansbury  
James Levine  
Tito Puente  
Jason Robards  
Edward Villella  
Doc Watson  
MacDowell Colony

Sculptor, Visual Artist  
Jazz Vocalist  
Arts Patron  
Landscape Architect  
Actor  
Music Director, Pianist  
Percussionist/Musician  
Actor  
Ballet Director/Dancer  
Bluegrass Guitarist/Vocalist  
Artist Colony/Organization

### 1996

Edward Albee  
Sarah Caldwell  
Harry Callahan  
Zelda Fichandler  
Eduardo "Lalo" Guerrero  
Lionel Hampton  
Bella Lewitzky  
Vera List  
Robert Redford  
Maurice Sendak  
Stephen Sondheim  
Boys Choir of Harlem

Playwright  
Opera Conductor  
Photographer  
Theater Director, Founder  
Composer, Musician  
Musician, Bandleader  
Dancer, Choreographer, Teacher  
Arts Patron  
Actor, Director, Producer  
Author, Illustrator, Designer  
Composer, Lyricist  
Choral Arts, Education

### 1995

Licia Albanese  
Gwendolyn Brooks  
B. Gerald and Iris Cantor  
Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee  
David Diamond  
James Ingo Freed  
Bob Hope  
Roy Lichtenstein  
Arthur Mitchell  
William S. Monroe  
Urban Gateways

Opera Singer  
Poet  
Patrons  
Actors  
Composer  
Architect  
Entertainer  
Painter/Sculptor  
Dancer/Choreographer  
Bluegrass Musician  
Arts Education

**1994**

Harry Belafonte  
Dave Brubeck  
Celia Cruz  
Dorothy DeLa  
Julie Harris  
Erick Hawkins  
Gene Kelly  
Pete Seeger  
Catherine Filene Shouse  
Wayne Thiebaud  
Richard Wilbur  
Young Audiences

Actor/Singer  
Musician/Composer  
Contralto  
Teacher  
Actor  
Choreographer  
Dancer/Choreographer/Actor  
Folklorist  
Arts Patron  
Painter  
Poet  
Arts Education

**1993**

Walter and Leonore Annenberg  
Cabell "Cab" Calloway  
Ray Charles  
Bess Lomax Hawes  
Stanley Kunitz  
Robert Merrill  
Arthur Miller  
Robert Rauschenberg  
Lloyd Richards  
William Styron  
Paul Taylor  
Billy Wilder

Arts Patrons  
Singer/Bandleader  
Singer/Musician  
Folklorist  
Poet/Editor/Educator  
Baritone  
Playwright  
Artist  
Theatrical Director  
Author  
Dancer/Choreographer  
Movie Director/Writer/Producer

**1992**

Marilyn Horne  
Allan Houser  
James Earl Jones  
Minnie Pearl  
Robert Saudek  
Earl Scruggs  
Robert Shaw  
Billy Taylor  
Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown  
Robert Wise  
AT&T  
Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund

Opera Singer  
Sculptor  
Actor  
Performer  
Television Producer/Museum Director  
Banjo Player  
Conductor/Choral Director  
Jazz Musician/Pianist  
Architects  
Film Director  
Corporate Arts Patron  
Corporate Arts Patron

1991

Maurice Abravanel  
Roy Acuff  
Pietro Belluschi  
J. Carter Brown  
Charles "Honi" Coles  
John O. Crosby  
Richard Diebenkorn  
R. Philip Hanes, Jr.  
Kitty Carlisle Hart  
Pearl Primus  
Isaac Stern  
Texaco Inc.

Music Director/Conductor  
Country Singer/Bandleader  
Architect  
Museum Director  
Tap Dancer  
Opera Director/Conductor/Administrator  
Painter  
Arts Patron  
Actress/Singer/Administrator/Dancer  
Choreographer/Anthropologist  
Violinist  
Corporate Arts Patron

1990

George Francis Abbott  
Hume Cronyn  
Jessica Tandy  
Merce Cunningham  
Jasper Johns  
Jacob Lawrence  
Riley "B.B." King  
David Lloyd Kreeger  
Harris and Carroll Sterling Masterson  
Ian McHarg  
Beverly Sills  
Southwestern Bell Corporation

Actor/Playwright/Producer/Director  
Actor/Director  
Actress  
Choreographer/Dance Company Director  
Painter/Sculptor  
Painter  
Blues Musician/Singer  
Arts Patron  
Arts Patrons  
Landscape Architect  
Opera Singer/Director  
Corporate Art Patron

1989

Leopold Adler  
Katherine Dunham  
Alfred Eisenstaedt  
Martin Friedman  
Leigh Gerdine  
John Birks "Dizzy" Gillespie  
Walker Kirtland Hancock  
Vladimir Horowitz (posthumous award)  
Czlaw Milosz  
Robert Motherwell  
John Updike  
Dayton Hudson Corporation

Preservationist/Civic Leader  
Dancer/Choreographer  
Photographer  
Museum Director  
Art Patron/Civic Leader  
Jazz Trumpeter  
Sculptor  
Pianist  
Writer  
Painter  
Writer  
Corporate Art Patron

1988

Saul Bellow  
Helen Hayes  
Gordon Parks  
I.M. Pei  
Jerome Robbins  
Rudolf Serkin  
Virgil Thomson  
Sydney J. Freedberg  
Roger L. Stevens  
(Mrs. Vincent) Brooke Astor  
Francis Goelet  
Obert C. Tanner

Writer  
Actress  
Photographer  
Architect  
Dancer/Choreographer  
Pianist  
Composer/Music Critic  
Art Historian/Curator  
Art Administrator  
Arts Patron  
Music Patron  
Arts. Patron

1987

Romare Bearden  
Ella Fitzgerald  
Howard Nemerov  
Alwin Nikolais  
Isamu Noguchi  
William Schuman  
Robert Penn Warren  
J.W. Fisher  
Dr. Armand Hammer  
Sydney and Frances Lewis

Painter  
Singer  
Writer/Scholar  
Dancer/Choreographer  
Sculptor  
Composer  
Poet  
Arts Patron  
Arts Patron  
Arts Patron

1986

Marian Anderson  
Frank Capra  
Aaron Copland  
Willem de Kooning  
Agnes de Mille  
Eva Le Gallienne  
Alan Lomax  
Lewis Mumford  
Eudora Welty  
Dominique de Menil  
Exxon Corporation  
Seymour H. Knox

Opera Singer  
Film Director  
Composer  
Painter  
Choreographer  
Actress/Author  
Folklorist/Scholar  
Philosopher/Literary Critic  
Writer  
Arts Patron  
Corporate Art Patron  
Arts Patron

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 4, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR SANDY BERGER

FROM: SEAN MALONEY 

SUBJECT: Congressional Gold Medal for Nelson Mandela

A quick follow-up. Last week, I called Treasury Exec. Sec. Neal Comstock to relay the President's desire to speed up Mandela's Congressional Gold Medal so the President can present it in September. Neal got back to me yesterday afternoon to say he's confident Treasury can get the medal ready by mid-September. He said they could also have a plaster cast available by then, in the event something unforeseen derailed the medal's completion.

I spoke with Glyn yesterday to suggest moving forward with a scheduling proposal in light of Neal's assurances.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

98 AUG 3 PM 5:02

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JULY 30, 1998

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. ALAN W. WEINBLATT

SUBJECT: ENCLOSURES A COPY OF THE MINNESOTA ADVISORY  
COMMITTEE TO THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION  
ON CIVIL RIGHTS REPORT, JUL '98

| ROUTE TO:<br>OFFICE/AGENCY | (STAFF NAME)   | ACTION<br>ACT CODE | DATE<br>YY/MM/DD | TYPE<br>RESP | C<br>D | COMPLETED<br>YY/MM/DD |
|----------------------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------|--------|-----------------------|
| TIM SAUNDERS               |                | ORG                | 98/07/30         |              | C      | 98/8/3                |
| <i>Phil Carlson</i>        | REFERRAL NOTE: | <i>A</i>           | <i>98/8/3</i>    |              |        | <i>1/1</i>            |
|                            | REFERRAL NOTE: |                    | <i>1/1</i>       |              |        | <i>1/1</i>            |
|                            | REFERRAL NOTE: |                    | <i>1/1</i>       |              |        | <i>1/1</i>            |
|                            | REFERRAL NOTE: |                    | <i>1/1</i>       |              |        | <i>1/1</i>            |
|                            | REFERRAL NOTE: |                    | <i>1/1</i>       |              |        | <i>1/1</i>            |

COMMENTS: *Not for the President's initial to the Congress*

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: \_\_\_\_\_

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*  
 \*ACTION CODES:                      \*DISPOSITION                      \*OUTGOING                      \*  
 \*                                              \*                                              \*CORRESPONDENCE:                      \*  
 \*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION              \*A-ANSWERED                      \*TYPE RESP=INITIALS                      \*  
 \*C-COMMENT/RECOM                      \*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL                      \*                      OF SIGNER                      \*  
 \*D-DRAFT RESPONSE                      \*C-COMPLETED                      \*                      CODE = A                      \*  
 \*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET              \*S-SUSPENDED                      \*COMPLETED = DATE OF                      \*  
 \*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC\*                      \*                                              \*                      OUTGOING                      \*  
 \*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY \*                      \*                                              \*                      \*                      \*  
 \*S-FOR-SIGNATURE                      \*                                              \*                      \*                      \*  
 \*X-INTERIM REPLY                      \*                                              \*                      \*                      \*  
 \*\*\*\*\*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE  
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590  
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING  
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS  
MANAGEMENT.

*Burke*  
*for reply.*  
*Coordinator*  
*John Winston*  
*plm*

*5*

50

# WEINBLATT & GAYLORD PLC

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Alan W. Weinblatt  
Kathleen A. Gaylord  
Katharina E. Liston  
Juan J. Martinez  
\* Gregory A. Abbott

Katherine A. Godden  
Legal Assistant

LICENSED IN TEXAS

July 10, 1998

#272665



JUL 24 1998  
Saunders

Honorable William Jefferson Clinton  
President of the United States  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Mr. President:

I had the opportunity to see your appearance on the round table forum on race relations in the United States broadcast on PBS last evening. Yesterday afternoon the Minnesota Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, of which I am Chair, released to the public and the media its report on affirmative action. I enclose, hopefully for your review, a copy of that report.

*encl* I am sending this to you because I believe that it closely mirrors the views that you expressed on the round table. I also call to your attention pages 1 and 2 of the report which sets forth the views of our two United States Senators which views are remarkably consistent.

The Minnesota Advisory Committee looks forward to your own report.

Respectfully,

Alan W. Weinblatt, Chair  
Minnesota Advisory Committee to the  
U.S. Civil Rights Commission

AWW:kag  
Enclosure

cc: Senator Paul Wellstone  
Senator Rod Grams  
Ruby Moy, Executive Director  
U.S. Civil Rights Commission

JUL 24 1998

# **Focus on Affirmative Action**

**Minnesota Advisory Committee  
to the United States Commission on Civil Rights**

**July 1998**

*A report of the Minnesota Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights prepared for the information and consideration of the Commission. This report will be considered by the Commission and the Commission will make public its reaction. Statements and observations in the report should be attributed to individual presenters or the Advisory Committee, not to the Commission.*

## Letter of Transmittal

Minnesota Advisory Committee to the  
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

**Members of the Commission**  
Mary Frances Berry, *Chairperson*  
Cruz Reynoso, *Vice Chairperson*  
Carl A. Anderson  
Robert P. George  
A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.  
Constance Horner  
Yvonne Y. Lee  
Russell G. Redenbaugh

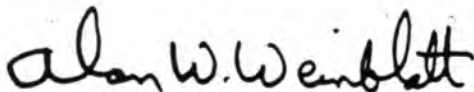
Ruby Moy, *Staff Director*

The Minnesota Advisory Committee submits this report, *Affirmative Action: Effective Civil Rights Tool or Divisive Social Policy*, as part of its responsibility to advise the Commission on civil rights issues within the State. The report was unanimously adopted by the Advisory Committee by a 12-0 vote. The Advisory Committee is indebted to the individual participants for their time and expertise and to the Midwestern Regional Office staff for the preparation of this report.

This report is a summary of a community forum held on affirmative action in Minneapolis, Minnesota, on June 19, 1997. The State's two United States Senators, Paul Wellstone (D) and Rod Grams (R), provided position statements, which are in the prologue. Participants at the community forum included individuals with diverse opinions on the subject from the business, religious, and academic communities. In addition, individuals from minority communities and constituencies contributed to the discussion.

The Advisory Committee understands the Commission has an active interest in affirmative action, and trusts the Commission and the public will find the material in this report informative.

Respectfully,



Alan W. Weinblatt, *Chairperson*  
Minnesota Advisory Committee

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August 4, 1998

NOTE TO THE FILE

FROM: Phil Caplan *Phil*

The President chose the following 12 nominees for the 1998 Medal of the Arts, which he conveyed orally to Melanne Verveer:

Jacques D'Amboise  
Fats Domino  
Ramblin Jack Elliot  
Frank Gehry  
Bobbie Handman  
Agnes Martin  
Gregory Peck  
Roberta Peters  
Philip Roth  
Sara Lee Corporation  
Steppenwolf Theatre Company  
Gwen Verdon

Jane Alexander for the Citizens Medal

8-4-98

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 22, 1998

~~8-4-98~~ Phil  
Copied  
Veruven (copy  
note + note book)  
COS - (copy note/  
copy of TOC notebook)  
RM - (original note/  
copy of TOC notebook)  
Chrom - copy of  
all

MR. PRESIDENT:

After talking to Melanne, I'm sending this notebook on the National Medal of Arts to you again as a reminder.

You still have a few names to select in order to get up to 12 medal winners. You can pick names from either the first or second priority list, but you should be careful about doubling up on categories. You should call Melanne if you want to discuss the names further.

Also, don't forget that the National Council of Arts has recommended that you award Jane Alexander the Citizens Medal at the Medal of Arts ceremony. You did this for Rep. Sidney Yates and Sen. Claiborne Pell in 1993 and 1994. I've earmarked the short decision memo for you.

Phil Caplan *Phil*

*Back to Melanne,  
per our discussion*

*RC*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1998

7-10 40

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

**FROM:** Melanne Verveer

**RE:** National Council on the Arts Nominees for the 1998 National Medal of Arts

The National Council on the Arts has made its recommendations for the 1998 National Medal of Arts. Included in this binder are the first and second priority lists of recommendations generated by the Council. The names are listed alphabetically and biographies follow. The Council strongly recommends the artists and patrons on the first priority list. However, as you know, you may make substitutions from the nominees on the second list. The Council has also recommended that Jane Alexander be awarded the President's Citizens Medal at this year's ceremony.

The National Medal of Arts is the highest award the President can bestow on our nation's artists and art patrons. The Medal was established by the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965. It was created to honor "individuals or groups who are deserving of special recognition by reason of their outstanding contributions to the excellence, growth, support, and availability of the arts in the United States" (NFAH Act of 1965). The Act empowers the President to choose the recipients of the Medals on the basis of the recommendations made by the National Council on the Arts. No more than 12 Medals may be awarded per year.

Also included in this binder, for your information, is a list of previous National Medal of Arts recipients. The 1998 Medals will be awarded at a White House ceremony in the fall. The Frankel Humanities Awards will also be presented at that time.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

7-10 98

July 6, 1998

PRESIDENTIAL ACTION MEMORANDUM

FROM: Melanne Verveer

*Melanne*  
*I have a strong*  
*interest in 3 on both list*  
*Can I do next year?*  
*Can we*  
*HS*

Please choose a total of twelve recipients for the 1997 National Medal of the Arts from the following first and second priority lists of nominees generated by the National Council on the Arts. Biographies of each nominee follows under specified tabs.

First Priority Nominees

| <u>Tab #</u> | <u>Nominee</u>              | <u>Field</u>    | <u>Age</u> | <u>Residence</u> | <u>Birthplace</u> | <u>Approve</u>                      |
|--------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1            | Jacques D'Amboise           | Dance           | 62         | NY               | MA                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 2            | "Fats" Domino               | Music           | 70         | LA               | LA                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 3            | Ramblin' Jack Elliott       | Folk            | 67         | CA               | NY                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 4            | Frank O. Gehry              | Design          | 69         | CA               | Canada            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 5            | Bobbie Handman              | Arts Advocate   | 70         | NY               | PA                | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 6            | Agnes Martin                | Visual Arts     | 85         | NM               | Canada            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 7            | Margaret McDermott          | Patron          | 86         | TX               | TX                | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 8            | Gregory Peck                | Media/Film      | 82         | CA               | CA                | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 9            | Roberta Peters              | Opera           | 68         | NY               | NY                | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 10           | Philip Roth                 | Literature      | 64         | NY               | NJ                | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 11           | Steppenwolf Theatre Company | Theater         | N/A        | IL               | N/A               | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 12           | Gwen Verdon                 | Musical Theater | 73         | NY               | CA                | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

*Save her*

*08*  
*77*  
*77*  
*7*

### Second Priority Nominees

| <u>Tab#</u> | <u>Nominee</u>                        | <u>Field</u>                   | <u>Age</u> | <u>Residence</u> | <u>Birthplace</u> | <u>Approve</u> |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 13          | Mikhail Baryshnikov                   | Dance                          | 50         | NY               | Latvia            | _____          |
| 14          | Jean Picker<br>Firstenberg            | Arts<br>Professional           | 62         | CA               | NY                | _____          |
| 15          | Harlem School of<br>the Arts          | Arts High<br>School            | n/a        | NY               | n/a               | _____          |
| 16          | Haystack Mountain<br>School of Crafts | Research and<br>Studio Program | n/a        | ME               | n/a               | _____          |
| 17          | Norman Lear                           | Media                          | 75         | CA               | CT                | _____          |
| 18          | Ming Cho Lee                          | Theater                        | 66         | NY               | China             | _____          |
| 19          | William Maxwell                       | Literature                     | 90         | NY               | NE                | _____          |
| 20          | Lydia Mendoza                         | Folk                           | 82         | TX               | TX                | _____          |
| 21          | Andre Previn                          | Music                          | 69         | NY/MA            | Germany           | _____          |
| 22          | Sara Lee Foundation                   | Patron                         | n/a        | IL               | n/a               | _____          |
| 23          | George Segal                          | Visual Arts                    | 73         | NJ               | NY                | _____          |
| 24          | Jennifer Tipton                       | Design                         | 60         | NY               | OH                | _____          |

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1998

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

**FROM: Melanne Verveer**

**RE: Nomination of Jane Alexander for the Presidential Citizens Medal**

During its June 1, 1998 meeting, the National Council on the Arts also recommended that former NEA Chairman Jane Alexander be given the Presidential Citizens Medal. As you know, the Medal is awarded at the discretion of the President to those "who have performed exemplary service for their country or fellow citizens."

The Council recommended former Chairman Alexander based on her exceptional leadership and strong advocacy in behalf of the arts. The Council noted that Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI) and Representative Sidney R. Yates (D-IL) were honored with this award in 1994 and 1993, respectively, based on their leadership in behalf of the arts and humanities. Each received the award during the regular National Medal of Arts ceremony.

\_\_\_\_\_ Award the Presidential Citizens Medal to Jane Alexander

## PREVIOUS NATIONAL MEDAL OF ARTS RECIPIENTS:

### 1997

Louise Bourgeois  
Betty Carter  
Agnes Gund  
Daniel Urban Kiley  
Angela Lansbury  
James Levine  
Tito Puente  
Jason Robards  
Edward Villella  
Doc Watson  
MacDowell Colony

Sculptor, Visual Artist  
Jazz Vocalist  
Arts Patron  
Landscape Architect  
Actor  
Music Director, Pianist  
Percussionist/Musician  
Actor  
Ballet Director/Dancer  
Bluegrass Guitarist/Vocalist  
Artist Colony/Organization

### 1996

Edward Albee  
Sarah Caldwell  
Harry Callahan  
Zelda Fichandler  
Eduardo "Lalo" Guerrero  
Lionel Hampton  
Bella Lewitzky  
Vera List  
Robert Redford  
Maurice Sendak  
Stephen Sondheim  
Boys Choir of Harlem

Playwright  
Opera Conductor  
Photographer  
Theater Director, Founder  
Composer, Musician  
Musician, Bandleader  
Dancer, Choreographer, Teacher  
Arts Patron  
Actor, Director, Producer  
Author, Illustrator, Designer  
Composer, Lyricist  
Choral Arts, Education

### 1995

Licia Albanese  
Gwendolyn Brooks  
B. Gerald and Iris Cantor  
Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee  
David Diamond  
James Ingo Freed  
Bob Hope  
Roy Lichtenstein  
Arthur Mitchell  
William S. Monroe  
Urban Gateways

Opera Singer  
Poet  
Patrons  
Actors  
Composer  
Architect  
Entertainer  
Painter/Sculptor  
Dancer/Choreographer  
Bluegrass Musician  
Arts Education

## 1994

Harry Belafonte  
Dave Brubeck  
Celia Cruz  
Dorothy DeLa  
Julie Harris  
Erick Hawkins  
Gene Kelly  
Pete Seeger  
Catherine Filene Shouse  
Wayne Thiebaud  
Richard Wilbur  
Young Audiences

Actor/Singer  
Musician/Composer  
Contralto  
Teacher  
Actor  
Choreographer  
Dancer/Choreographer/Actor  
Folklorist  
Arts Patron  
Painter  
Poet  
Arts Education

## 1993

Walter and Leonore Annenberg  
Cabell "Cab" Calloway  
Ray Charles  
Bess Lomax Hawes  
Stanley Kunitz  
Robert Merrill  
Arthur Miller  
Robert Rauschenberg  
Lloyd Richards  
William Styron  
Paul Taylor  
Billy Wilder

Arts Patrons  
Singer/Bandleader  
Singer/Musician  
Folklorist  
Poet/Editor/Educator  
Baritone  
Playwright  
Artist  
Theatrical Director  
Author  
Dancer/Choreographer  
Movie Director/Writer/Producer

## 1992

Marilyn Horne  
Allan Houser  
James Earl Jones  
Minnie Pearl  
Robert Saudek  
Earl Scruggs  
Robert Shaw  
Billy Taylor  
Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown  
Robert Wise  
AT&T  
Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund

Opera Singer  
Sculptor  
Actor  
Performer  
Television Producer/Museum Director  
Banjo Player  
Conductor/Choral Director  
Jazz Musician/Pianist  
Architects  
Film Director  
Corporate Arts Patron  
Corporate Arts Patron

1991

Maurice Abravanel  
Roy Acuff  
Pietro Belluschi  
J. Carter Brown  
Charles "Honi" Coles  
John O. Crosby  
Richard Diebenkorn  
R. Philip Hanes, Jr.  
Kitty Carlisle Hart  
Pearl Primus  
Isaac Stern  
Texaco Inc.

Music Director/Conductor  
Country Singer/Bandleader  
Architect  
Museum Director  
Tap Dancer  
Opera Director/Conductor/Administrator  
Painter  
Arts Patron  
Actress/Singer/Administrator/Dancer  
Choreographer/Anthropologist  
Violinist  
Corporate Arts Patron

1990

George Francis Abbott  
Hume Cronyn  
Jessica Tandy  
Merce Cunningham  
Jasper Johns  
Jacob Lawrence  
Riley "B.B." King  
David Lloyd Kreeger  
Harris and Carroll Sterling Masterson  
Ian McHarg  
Beverly Sills  
Southwestern Bell Corporation

Actor/Playwright/Producer/Director  
Actor/Director  
Actress  
Choreographer/Dance Company Director  
Painter/Sculptor  
Painter  
Blues Musician/Singer  
Arts Patron  
Arts Patrons  
Landscape Architect  
Opera Singer/Director  
Corporate Art Patron

1989

Leopold Adler  
Katherine Dunham  
Alfred Eisenstaedt  
Martin Friedman  
Leigh Gerdine  
John Birks "Dizzy" Gillespie  
Walker Kirtland Hancock  
Vladimir Horowitz (posthumous award)  
Czelaw Milosz  
Robert Motherwell  
John Updike  
Dayton Hudson Corporation

Preservationist/Civic Leader  
Dancer/Choreographer  
Photographer  
Museum Director  
Art Patron/Civic Leader  
Jazz Trumpeter  
Sculptor  
Pianist  
Writer  
Painter  
Writer  
Corporate Art Patron

1988

Saul Bellow  
Helen Hayes  
Gordon Parks  
I.M. Pei  
Jerome Robbins  
Rudolf Serkin  
Virgil Thomson  
Sydney J. Freedberg  
Roger L. Stevens  
(Mrs. Vincent) Brooke Astor  
Francis Goelet  
Obert C. Tanner

Writer  
Actress  
Photographer  
Architect  
Dancer/Choreographer  
Pianist  
Composer/Music Critic  
Art Historian/Curator  
Art Administrator  
Arts Patron  
Music Patron  
Arts. Patron

1987

Romare Bearden  
Ella Fitzgerald  
Howard Nemerov  
Alwin Nikolais  
Isamu Noguchi  
William Schuman  
Robert Penn Warren  
J.W. Fisher  
Dr. Armand Hammer  
Sydney and Frances Lewis

Painter  
Singer  
Writer/Scholar  
Dancer/Choreographer  
Sculptor  
Composer  
Poet  
Arts Patron  
Arts Patron  
Arts Patron

1986

Marian Anderson  
Frank Capra  
Aaron Copland  
Willem de Kooning  
Agnes de Mille  
Eva Le Gallienne  
Alan Lomax  
Lewis Mumford  
Eudora Welty  
Dominique de Menil  
Exxon Corporation  
Seymour H. Knox

Opera Singer  
Film Director  
Composer  
Painter  
Choreographer  
Actress/Author  
Folklorist/Scholar  
Philosopher/Literary Critic  
Writer  
Arts Patron  
Corporate Art Patron  
Arts Patron

8-4-98

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

'98 AUG 3 04:55

August 3, 1998

Copied  
Emanuel  
COS

MEMORANDUM TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF  
FROM RAHM EMANUEL  
SUBJECT WEEKLY REPORT

discuss  
dinner  
w/ expat  
too

**CRIME/DRUGS:** I am working with the *Wall Street Journal* on a political story concerning juvenile crime. The reporter, Mike Frisbee, has taken note of the many juvenile gun and violence announcements and events, which have occurred over the last two months. My office produced a chronology of events for him; I am going to sit down with him this week to discuss his piece further.

We have sent a letter from the President to the President of NBC asking NBC to discuss the possibility of an agreement with General McCaffrey concerning our drug campaign.

**Economy:** This week I worked with Gene and Senator Daschle's staff on scheduling a vote on the GI Bill. The objective now is to get the legislation down to the White House for a signing ceremony next Friday. The monthly unemployment numbers will be released next Friday and the President could make the announcement part of the signing ceremony.

I have also talked to Gene about looking into future executive actions the President can take on training facilities; i.e. what are the standards and methods of getting accredited?

good

**Health-Care:** One of the final actions concerning the Patient Bill of Rights is the implementation of the Medicaid Reforms. Chris Jennings is working on making these available for announcement in mid-August.

ag

**Environment:** Katie McGinty mentioned in Senior staff that the EPA plans on announcing the final regulation on the Right to Know Act pertaining to water standards. The regulation states that municipal water facilities must send consumers notices, along with their bills, notifying them of their water standards. I think this is something the President should announce in a radio address.

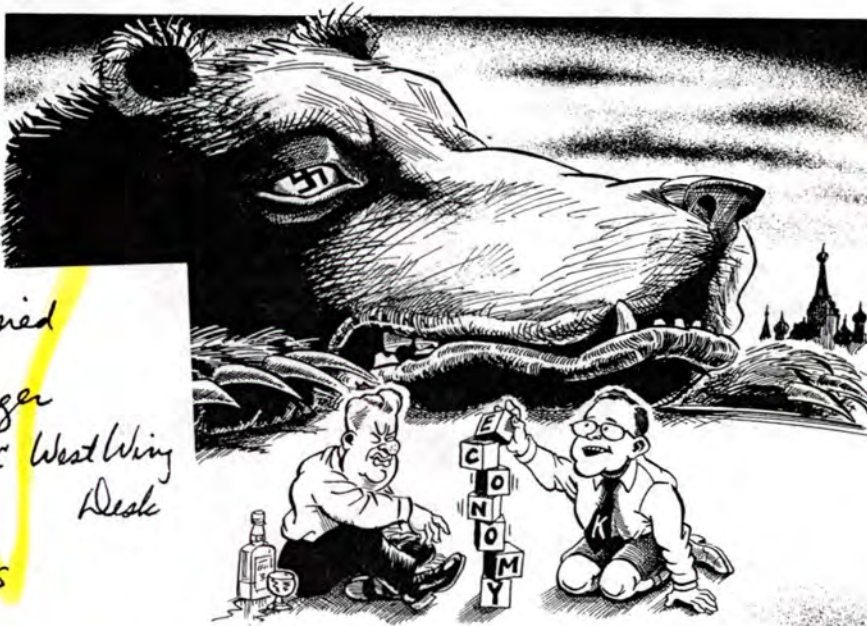
for

[If we do not have this ready, I would like to focus the radio address on new numbers coming from the Department of Transportation that show that because of the President's policies on drunk driving and .08, fatalities linked to drunk driving have gone down.]

# RUSSIA'S CRISIS

Sandy  
Fyl-B

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
8-4-98



Copied  
Renger  
NSC West Wing  
Desk  
COS

## Could it lead to fascism?

MOSCOW

**Yes, says its president, Boris Yeltsin, if things continue to go from bad to worse. Thanks partly to his own shortcomings, he could almost be right**

**E**VEN by Russian standards, it has been a frightening and sometimes bizarre few weeks. The rouble is on the edge of a precipice. Short-term interest rates, just 21% last autumn, shot up to 150% last month before coming down to 60%; they have again climbed back to 80%. If the rouble crashes, economic—and quite possibly political—catastrophe beckons. Instead of pottering around their weekend dachas and bathing in muddy pools (their usual summer pastimes), intelligent Muscovites are talking seriously—for the first time in five years—about a financial and political crisis that may be settled only by force of arms.

Foreign investors are close to panic. Russia's notorious tycoons, the so-called "oligarchs" who control fat swathes of the economy (and send much of their asset-stripped profits abroad rather than reinvest them at home), have been fighting among themselves and with Mr Yeltsin. Instead of propping up the status quo as they once did, they seem to be challenging it. Russia's four-month-old government, under an inexperienced 35-year-old, Sergei Kiriyenko, is fighting against a Duma, the

country's lower house of parliament, that is loth to enact the necessarily painful reforms that would hurt an already bitter and exhausted populace. Mr Kiriyenko's team is gasping for survival before it has barely got going. Things may start coming to a head next week when the Communist-dominated parliament holds its final session before the summer holiday. Either Mr Yeltsin or his parliamentary critics, or both, may decide that the time has come for a real battle for control of the country.

Spurring Mr Kiriyenko on is dread of an abrupt devaluation which could lead to a collapse of confidence in the economy, not only among foreign investors but among Russian citizens. This would spell doom for the banking system (on which much of Moscow's superficial prosperity is based), bring down the Kiriyenko government and, as one American diplomat put it, "signal the end of liberal Russia".

The stockmarket, which has slumped by more than 60% since the new year, would fall even faster and further. Import-dependent Russians, poor as most of them already are, would become still poorer. The

central bank would have to print money. Inflation, which has been more or less under control (at an annual rate of about 10% at last count), would rocket. Extra-parliamentary revolt, egged on by Russia's many angry nostalgists from the Soviet era and perhaps endorsed by surly generals, cannot be ruled out.

The only factor shoring up the rouble is the widespread assumption that the United States and other western governments will come up with a rescue package of at least \$15 billion by next month. That belief was strengthened this week, when the government said an agreement in principle with the IMF should be made within the next few days and President Bill Clinton said he would come to Moscow in September.

Against this nerve-racking backdrop, and the dire effects of falling oil prices, Mr Kiriyenko's government has been struggling to do the right things. A vital new tax code is grinding its way through a recalcitrant parliament. A new tax-collecting boss, Boris Fedorov, has been making creative mayhem by threatening to arrest the heads of Russia's largest companies if they do not pay their dues. On July 2nd it was announced that the assets of Russia's biggest company, the gas monopoly Gazprom, which provides the country with almost a quarter of its tax revenue but should pay still more, had been seized. A few hours later, a deal had apparently been done—and the confiscation order rescinded. Presumably, though the figures are already being disputed, a bit more money from Gazprom has been extracted.

But the government needs a lot more to bolster its credibility. For one thing, millions of workers, including teachers, coal miners and soldiers, have not been paid—sometimes for more than a year—despite Mr Yeltsin's promises that they would be. The breezy idea that these millions can survive on factory handouts, barter and moonlighting is misplaced. It is a mystery how many of them survive at all.

In fact, many do not. Beggary, penury, crime, alcoholism, stress, the horrible novelty of unemployment (now 9%, according to the International Labour Organisation) and a male life expectancy of 58 years all help to keep the anger bubbling. An array of provincial towns—the ancient city of Kostroma, near Moscow, and Petropavlovsk, capital of Kamchatka in the far east, to name but two—have been deprived of electricity or gas as a result of unpaid bills. Vladivostok has ground to a halt. If the taxmen get nastier, such austerity will

## RUSSIA'S CRISIS

sharpen. Imagine what that will be like when winter draws in.

Yet, at the same time, it is hard to see the government fulfilling its latest pledge to cut spending—while paying off all those arrears. However fine Mr Kiriyenko's intentions, the country is seething with resentment. It will seethe even more, if and when reforms begin to bite—especially if a recently enacted bankruptcy law begins to take effect. While misery is nothing new, there is an atmosphere of chaos and trepidation that gives hope to both extremes of the political spectrum.

Other strange happenings in the past few weeks have given politics an unusually febrile air. A few weeks ago, the country's head of statistics was arrested on bribery charges (presumably on suspicion of helping companies to pay less tax). Last week, the finance minister, fretting about the prospect of a rouble devaluation, was flatly contradicted by the central bank governor, who said that no such thing would happen. Then, with negotiations just starting with the IMF for an emergency "stabilisation fund" to rescue the rouble, the feebleness of the government was underlined when Mr Kiriyenko felt obliged to call in Anatoly Chubais as Russia's chief negotiator—even though he had been unceremoniously sacked when the new prime minister was appointed.

A few days ago, just to give the atmosphere a still more lurid flavour, Lev Rokhlin, perhaps Russia's most popular general and almost the only one to emerge from the war in Chechnya with any credit, was found murdered at his dacha outside Moscow. His wife was charged; naturally, a host of media reports are suggesting foul play on high. The general joined parliament on a broadly pro-government ticket but moved into open opposition after denouncing the scurvy treatment of the army. He then set up a political movement that was fiercely opposed to Mr Yeltsin and to proposed cuts, especially in the army. His funeral on July 7th turned into a rowdy anti-government demonstration by 10,000 people.

### Generals, advance

Other present and past soldiers, not least Alexander Lebed, a populist ex-general who came third in the last presidential election in 1996 and helped swing the result Mr Yeltsin's way by backing him in the run-off, are mouthing off ever more volubly against the government. Another plausible general, Andrei Nikolaev, a former head of Russia's Border Service, has set up his own political party, with a view, some say, to becoming president at the next-but-one election in 2004. Other less-salubrious (and less-serious) generals, such as Albert Makashov, bluntly demand the rule of an "iron fist". Lowlier ex-soldiers, like Alexander Barkashov, who says he has 70,000 adherents

(but may have only 12,000), are out-and-out fascists (though they prefer the label "national socialist"). The rumbustious meetings they hold across the country are getting noticed. Last week Mr Yeltsin warned grimly of a rising tide of fascism.

"Can the crisis end in a coup?" That was the main headline, on July 7th, in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (The Independent), an influential newspaper that often echoes the thoughts of Russia's most prominent oligarch, Boris Berezovsky, who controls it. It reported that a putsch, along the lines of the one that ousted Mikhail Gorbachev in August 1991, is already being prepared by senior members of the security forces. The *sloookhi*—a much used Russian word meaning rumours—are flying. It would certainly be unwise to assume, as many specialists on Russia have, that Russian soldiers are unkeen to get involved in politics. Many usually sober commentators in Moscow now argue that a change of regime, not just of government, is in the offing. People at the extremes of politics—Communists on the left, nationalists on the right—are starting to smell blood.

### Workers revolt

Strikes in key sectors may spread. Cargo on the Trans-Siberian railway is again being blocked. Coal miners in several areas have downed tools. Workers in oil- and gasfields are threatening to follow suit. Many teachers have stopped teaching. Defence workers in the far east, unpaid for a whole year, have given up. Are the army and police certain to obey the civilian powers, if it means physically repressing, perhaps even shooting such strikers? It is unlikely.

Russia has, of course, lived through a series of wrenching crises since the Soviet Union collapsed at the end of 1991. But in the ensuing action-packed six years, there were a number of steadying factors. For the first 18 months or so, Boris Yeltsin was buoyed by the popular hope that a prosperous new order would soon arise. Even his ruthless destruction in October 1993 of a reform-wary parliament that was still largely a Soviet creation seemed—in many Rus-

sian eyes—justified by the creation of a new constitutional order that was ratified by popular vote. The trauma of economic disruption, the destruction of savings by inflation, the erosion of the cradle-to-grave welfare net (skimpy as much of it always was), the insiderish unfairness of much of the privatisation of the state, all seemed (admittedly to a steadily dwindling constituency) worth the pain—so long as the final result was going to be prosperity.

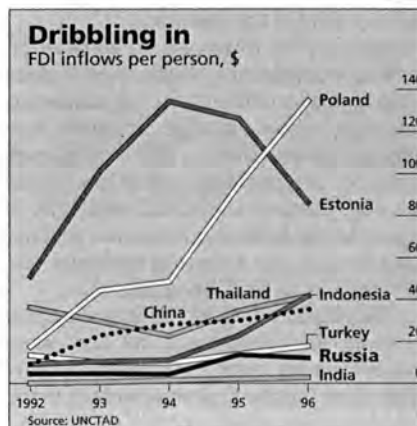
Another stabiliser was Viktor Chernomyrdin, prime minister for five years until his sacking in March. By avoiding most of the hardest choices and making compromises where he could, he helped keep the Communist-nationalist block in the Duma at bay. Anyone, including these "reds and browns", could buy into the "party of power" if he wanted a bit of clout or business. Most important, the oligarchs also had an interest in keeping things quiet: hence their bankrolling of Mr Yeltsin's reelection, with their media put at his (and usually the government's) disposal. The Duma huffed and puffed but, softened by bribes and threats, it invariably stepped back from confrontation. Regional governors, who make up the upper house of parliament and have been gaining power and economic independence, also generally cooperated with the Kremlin.

### Chaos looms?

Such calming factors may, however, be fading. Mr Chernomyrdin is gone, victim of the cabinet reshuffle that brought Mr Kiriyenko to power. There is a growing sense that Mr Yeltsin is a spent force. The oligarchs' support for him is more conditional, short-term and ambiguous. They are looking to a successor—and are divided over who that might be. In any case, the Yeltsin entourage is sending out ominously distinct signals that its man may, after all, run again—despite the constitution, which sets two four-year terms as the limit, and contrary to the president's own recent denials that he might stay on. His aides say, twistily, that Mr Yeltsin's first term does not count because it started under a Soviet (and therefore now invalid) constitution.

Whether he runs or not, Mr Yeltsin is yesterday's man. To be sure, during the current crisis he has backed Mr Kiriyenko solidly. His courage, canniness and occasional bursts of energy are still felt. But most of the time his mental powers are as weak as his physical ones. He probably still, from time to time, goes on binges. He is a sick man with erratic judgment. Even if he occasionally overrides the Duma with sensible decrees, he rarely puts his reputation on the line to force reforms through or lobbies the country or parliament assiduously enough to sell a policy that is unpopular. Although president, he does not lead.

As for the regional governors, they too





Mayor Luzhkov and General Lebed: strongmen in waiting?

have changed. Rather than co-operate with the big man at "the centre", as Moscow is known, many of them prefer to go their own ways, keeping tax revenues for themselves, dealing with companies, even countries, off their own bats, generally edging away from Kremlin control (sometimes, but by no means always, to the benefit of their people). Local voters have kicked out quite a few pro-Yeltsin governors. If a new order arose, democratic or not, the regional bosses would be likely to play their own part in shaping it.

#### What now?

The coming days will be critical to Mr Kiriyenko's—and democratic Russia's—survival. Not only does he depend on the IMF (and its chief paymaster, the United States) and countries such as Germany (which was owed some \$30.5 billion of the \$72.2 billion of outstanding loans at the end of last year). He also depends on the Duma to let him pass the bulk of the tax-and-reform package on or before parliament's final session on July 15th and 16th. The Duma never likes the IMF's suggestions. This time it might decide, after all, to face Mr Yeltsin and his government down, arguing that the pain of cuts would outweigh the immediate relief (in paid arrears, among other things) that a currency stabilisation might bring. In reality, the Duma's obstruction would be motivated largely by the gleeful prospect of disorder.

Then what? As economic chaos took hold, the Duma could—either on its own initiative or Mr Yeltsin's—hold a confidence vote in the Kiriyenko government. If it gets the thumbs down, the Duma might well be dissolved pending new elections. The opposition, which has shied away from such a prospect, might this time feel the moment is ripe for a contest. Or Mr Yeltsin could appoint a new government—more to the liking of reds and browns. Either way, the new regime would surely be

more hostile to reform than the current one. Tricky as it is to impeach a president, the two houses might at last have a go at sinking him.

There are still more drastic possibilities. The chaos of the currency collapse could pave the way for some kind of creeping coup, constitutional or otherwise. Mr Yeltsin (if he were still there) or a successor might, along with a new Duma, be forced to hand extraordinary powers to some would-be saviour—Mr Lebed, perhaps. It would not be hard to imagine such a figure closing down democracy in the interests of order and anti-corruption. The army might be called in to help run the show. Whether a Latin American-style strongman would point the economy the right way is doubtful. From his new power base in Krasnoyarsk, where he recently became governor, Mr Lebed last week noisily rejected Moscow's demands for economic co-operation.

Even if an economic collapse is staved off and Mr Yeltsin hangs on for another two years, the prospects for his succession look bleak. Assuming the constitutional court (and his own bodily constitution) lets him run again, he will surely lose. To whom? Not, probably, to his two scariest rivals. Despite the Duma election victory which Vladimir Zhirinovskiy chalked up (with 23% of the votes for the half of the Duma filled by party list) in 1993, his openly neo-fascist lot have peaked. Likewise, Gennady Zyuganov, the Communist leader, looks fated to lead the pack with the rock-solid constituency that should gain him one-fifth of votes in the first round of a presidential race—but still looks very likely to lose to virtually anyone in a run-off.

The most hopeful candidate would be Boris Nemtsov, still only 38, the government reformer most likely to impress vot-

ers (though his appeal has diminished with power). If Mr Yeltsin and enough of the oligarchs put their weight behind him, he would have a chance—but only a very slender one—of winning. Quite simply, most Russians are hostile to reform as they have known it.

The front-runners at present, then, are Mr Lebed and Yuri Luzhkov, the mayor of Moscow, who is one of Russia's most brazen crony-capitalists. It would be wrong to stick the label "fascist" on either man. Mr Lebed's ideology is resolutely vague. Both would be nationalistic (Mr Luzhkov, in particular, promising to make trouble for Ukraine, among other places). Neither is likely

to be a social or economic liberal, though Mr Lebed's views on economics swing around and Mr Luzhkov is, above all, a wheeler-dealer. Neither would care much for the finer points of democracy.

It has become something of a commonplace to say that Russia will never go back to what it was—to orthodox Soviet-style communism. True enough—though the chances of a Communist president

would be hugely enhanced if the party changed its name (as its cousins in Central Europe have done), disavowed much of its history, embraced a bit of free-market, and had the nous to put a youthful person like Poland's president, Alexander Kwasniewski, at its head. Fortunately for Russia's reformers, they have no such nous.

Far more likely, however, if things continue to go sour, is that Russia will swing the other way—not all the way to fascism but towards something nearly as bad, a kind of extreme nationalism: intensely prickly and pan-Slavic, anti-semitic, hostile to foreigners beyond and within its boundaries, eager to re-absorb the Slav heartlands of Ukraine and Belarus within the Russian fold, eager to make the Baltic trio of countries as weak and jumpy as possible.

This quasi-fascism would also, in economic terms, be protectionist, corporatist and loth to privatise any more of Russia's ailing industry or let people (certainly not foreigners) buy land. It would probably come to an arrangement with the mighty oligarchs, but their crony-capitalism would be tightly dependent on the whims of the political powers that be. The armed forces and the successors to the KGB would be raised again to a position of special eminence within the state. The press and television would be corralled. Russia would become an angry place—neither democratic, nor prosperous, nor kind to its neighbours. It is a nightmare scenario.

#### The next tsar

| Who do you want as president? | %  |
|-------------------------------|----|
| Zyuganov                      | 20 |
| Lebed                         | 12 |
| Luzhkov                       | 9  |
| Yavlinsky                     | 9  |
| Nemtsov                       | 5  |
| Yeltsin                       | 4  |
| Zhirinovskiy                  | 4  |
| Chernomyrdin                  | 4  |

Source: Public Opinion Foundation, June 28th, 1998



## Active Biotech

2

Research and development enables us to produce vaccines and pharmaceuticals that prevent and cure diseases, are precisely targeted, and have no side effects.

Group net sales 457 MSEK (293)

Operating profit 37 MSEK (26)

Profit before tax 39 MSEK (392).

**Active Biotech AB**

Stora Nygatan 61, S-211 37 Malmö

Tel: 46 40-35 07 00 Fax: 46 40-23 74 05

E-mail: [info@activebiotech.com](mailto:info@activebiotech.com)



## ATMI

5

ATMI provides products and services to manufacture semiconductor devices, including thin film materials and delivery systems marketed through ADCS, environmental equipment marketed through EcoSys, thin film deposition services marketed through Epitronics, and sub-atmospheric gas delivery systems marketed through NovaSource.



6

**Aker RGI** is an active, industrial holding company, and one of Norway's largest privately held industrial groups. The company's core investments are currently Oil and gas technology (63% ownership in Aker Maritime), Cement and building materials (33% ownership in Scancem) and Seafood (61% ownership in Norway Seafoods).

Aker RGI has also strategic ownership interests within the areas archive and storage systems, shipyards, distribution and real estate.

The Aker RGI group has 22 000 employees and a turnover of approximately NOK 25 billions. The company is listed on the Oslo Stock Exchange.



## Anadarko<sup>®</sup> Petroleum Corporation

11

**Anadarko Petroleum Corporation** (NYSE:APC) is one of the largest independent oil and gas exploration companies in the world with proved reserves of more than 800 million energy equivalent barrels at year-end 1997. Last year, Anadarko posted record level of net income and cash

flow as well as production volumes of crude oil, natural gas and natural gas liquids (NGLs).

Anadarko's success in its primary core domestic drilling and production operations in Kansas, Texas, Oklahoma and the Gulf of Mexico has served as the foundation for additional opportunities in Alaska, Algeria, Eritrea, Jordan, Peru, the North Atlantic Margin and Tunisia. The Company has more than replaced production volumes with new reserves for the last 17 years in a row-a record that is unmatched in the oil and gas business-and has done so at costs that are consistently below the industry average.



## ASSA ABLOY

14

**ASSA ABLOY** is the world's leading lock group. With an anticipated turnover exceeding 8 billion SEK in 1998. The company manufactures, markets and sells mechanical locks and accessories, industrial locks, electronic and electromechanical locks and hotel locks.

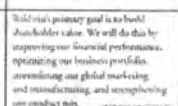
The Group is the market leader in Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark, Germany, France, the Czech Republic, Ru-

mania and the USA. The group is the global leader in hotel security through VingCard.

Securitas AB's shareholders received the Assa Group as a dividend in 1994, after which Abloy was acquired from Metra Oy Ab via a new issue. In this way Metra Oy Ab became the major shareholder in ASSA ABLOY.

Turnover 1997: 6 968 MSEK Resultant after financial items: 537 MSEK

Cash flow before tax: 841 MSEK Number of employees: ca 10 000



## BALDWIN

16

**Baldwin Technology Company, Inc.** is the leading international manufacturer of material handling, accessory and control equipment for the printing industry.

Baldwin offers its customers a broad range of products designed to enhance the productivity, quality and cost effectiveness of printing presses while addressing the environmental concerns and safety issues involved in the printing process. Baldwin sells its products both to printers to upgrade the quality and capability of existing presses and to printing press manufacturers to add to their own equipment.

Headquartered in Norwalk, Connecticut, Baldwin has product development, manufacturing, sales and service operations in America, Europe and Asia.



22

## BMW Group continues to develop dynamically

In 1997, **BMW Group** continued to develop positively as in the previous decades.

Some 1.2 million new BMW, Rover, MG, Mini and Land Rover vehicles were delivered to consumers;

an increase of 4 %. In addition, some 54,000 BMW motorcycles were registered worldwide; 7 % more than in the previous year.

Group sales of DM 60 billion and a further increase in earning power are clear evidence of the Company's successful long term business policy.



## BT&T

26

World-Wide Investments in **TIME**  
(Telecommunication - Information - Media - Entertainment)

**TIME** is the concept of the future industries in and around the world-wide information highways. It is and will remain one of the world's most high-growth and profitable business areas for the years

ahead. **BT&T** bearer shares are traded on the Swiss Stock Exchange (SWX) under securities number 280.481.

Market Capitalization as of 31.03.1998: CHF 438.75 million.

Yearly Performance since start of operations: 21 % p.a.

YTD performance as of 31.03.1998: 13 %

Further information on BT&T can be found on our website: [www.btt.com](http://www.btt.com)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

8-4-98  
98 JUL 31 4:38

JULY 31, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: Maria Echaveste *ME*  
Minyon Moore *mm*

RE: PIR/Religious Outreach

*Copied*  
*Echaveste*  
*Moore*  
*COS*

**Background:** We know that the faith community is critical to continuing the work of racial reconciliation. While the challenge is great, particularly in light of the growing diversity of religions in the United States, faith leaders at both the national and local level are obvious potential leaders of their communities on this issue. Many have done so, with varying degrees of effectiveness; much more seems possible.

The two regional faith forums held by the PIR have given us important insights into the challenges for the leaders of faith on this issue. The format developed - sharing information on the changing face of faith, identifying "Promising Practices," and breakout groups for carrying the work home - is a model for how local communities might begin to come together on this issue. Through the forums and the meetings we identified these key components:

- the importance of civil dialogue and how to use it as a beginning, not an end;
- the importance of identifying and sustaining new leadership;
- the need to educate people about systemic problems which contribute to racism and its effect on all of us;
- the value of an outside convener in bringing people together on this issue; and
- the importance of the inclusion of a speaker to remind participants of the faith they share which renounces racism.

In addition, we have held two White House/PIR meetings (chaired by Chris Edley) with civil rights and religious leaders to explore further the general points above, and to define additional steps building towards a broader, action-oriented engagement of faith communities at both the community and national levels.

Accordingly, we propose:

**Steering Committee:** that you establish a steering committee of distinguished faith leaders to carry on the work of the PIR among the faith community. It would be their task to enlist a foundation to convene an "implementation summit" at which a small group of 25-30 faith and other leaders would

write and commit to a practical work plan for both national and community-based action, and adopt a coalition mechanism for follow through. Because of the inherent challenge of selecting a steering committee which is acceptable across a broad spectrum, an alternative would be to ask a well-known friend in the faith community to choose the steering committee. In that way, whatever criticisms might arise would be at least one-step removed from the White House.

The meeting and the work plan would entail special efforts to reach those faith communities that have not traditionally been leaders in racial justice. Recognizing that national talk has at best limited value in resolving a community problem, the emphasis of the work plan would be local: how to involve schools, local government, interfaith councils, business, and all of the faith communities.

Critical to this plan is financial support for both the initial meeting and implementation and follow-up. Based on their historic work with the faith community, we believe either the Ford or Lilly Foundation could be interested in making a commitment to the effort. There may be others as well, including those in the profit-making sector. Your December book would then make reference to the faith sector's work plan, and to a comparable work plan we are pressing higher education leaders to develop for their own sector.

**Religious Leaders Breakfast:** On September 11 you are again scheduled to host a breakfast for religious leaders. While traditionally this has not been a message event, last year you spoke movingly about your Race Initiative and how, as a nation, we knew what we would look like but not what we would be like in the Year 2000. That opened the door to using this year's breakfast to:

- announce this steering committee
- call for a positive response from the non-profit or profit community, and
- encourage those in the room to answer the call to participate in the work plan

**Recommendations:** At a national level, you have provided the "spiritual" voice which Reverends Campolo and Forbes provided at the PIR faith forums. We have repeatedly been told how meaningful your willingness to speak out on racial justice has been, and our extensive consultations with faith leaders make clear that they would welcome a call to action and sense of focus from you. We recommend that you:

- ask the proposed steering committee, or others you might recommend, to seek private funding to convene the working plan meeting;
- use the September 11 religious leaders breakfast as an opportunity to focus on racial reconciliation, to announce the steering committee, and to challenge the group to actively participate in whatever work plan is developed;
- name a convener to select the Steering Committee.

We have attached a proposed list of Steering Committee members for your review.

**PROPOSED STEERING COMMITTEE:**

Dr. Joan Brown Campbell - General Secretary, National Council of Churches  
Sanford Cloud, Jr. - National Coalition for Community and Justice  
Dr. Robert Franklin - President, Interdenominational Theological Center  
Dr. Richard Land- Southern Baptist Convention  
Father Leo O'Donovan - President, Georgetown University

We recommend this steering committee because it provides a delicate balance: Dr. Franklin is President of the seminary training the largest number of African-American pastors; the National Coalition for Community and Justice just this year changed its name from the National Coalition of Christian and Jews to embrace Muslims and other growing faiths; the National Council of Churches represents the mainstream Protestant Churches but not the Catholics; Father O'Donovan, as a personal friend of yours, is well-positioned to reach out to the Catholic community; and Dr. Land has been a leader for racial reconciliation among a community for which that has not been an historic commitment.

**PROPOSED CONVENER:**

Sanford Cloud, Jr. - National Coalition for Community and Justice  
Father Leo O'Donovan

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-4-98

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Kathie F. Stern

- Letter from

Roundtable w/

Chief Environmentalists

- We should do follow  
up

- surely whoever stopped  
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Be

8-4-98

### Roundtable Participants

✓ Liang Congjie - Retired university professor and environmental activist. Founded Friends of Nature, China's best-known environmental group, in 1992. The organization focuses on education and research and has wide popular and government support. *True planting*

✓ Zhang Hongjun - Environmental lawyer and drafter of many of China's environmental laws. Currently serves as chief of staff to the Environment and Natural Resources Committee of the National People's Congress. Zhang has taught at New York University. *→ Sustainable concept. → would be*

① Liao Xiaoyi (Sherri Liao) - Founder of the Global Village Cultural Center, an organization that focuses on the role of women in protecting the environment. Global Village produces two weekly TV shows and publishes widely. Liao recently traveled to the U.S. to film a documentary on environmental issues. *→ Still Su. Gps → 160 → Danny Co. →*

✓ Dr. Ding Zongyi - Expert on the effects of pollution on children's health. Currently serves as chairman of the Chinese Children's Medical Society. Dr. Ding's study several years ago demonstrated that more than half the children in Beijing have high lead levels in their blood. *Netin '95 at WTA Conf - will be to Hainan China*

✓ Zhou Dadi - Expert on energy efficiency and climate change. Currently serves as Director of the Beijing Energy Conservation Center. Zhou is a leading member of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). *Xiaoqin*

✓ Kong Fanjian - Founder and President of Guilin's Liqueur Brewery. Once one of the biggest polluters in the area, Liqueur has enthusiastically worked to clean up its operations. Kong likes to talk about how he has made money while protecting the environment, and is a well-known personality in the Guilin region. *Should follow up w/ him - he gets it!!  
Attention for Energy Efficiency - Fong Co.*

✓ Lu Weili - male, Han nationality, born in 1942, college education. He is from Shandong Province. He is now the head of the Guilin Environment Protection Monitoring Station, a senior engineer. (1963 - 1968 Studying in Hunan University; 1968 - 1978, Technical staff in Shenyang Casting Factory, 1978 - 1979, Technical staff in Guilin Hydraulic piece factory; 1979 - 1984, Technical staff in Guilin Environment Protection Office; 1984 - Present Head of the Guilin Environment Protection Monitoring Station. *Thick air quality. Acid rain*

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## LUNCH WITH ENTREPRENEURS

### Issues

- Ask how they came to run their own businesses, including their former employment and educational experiences.
- Explore obstacles to running a private business, such as:
  - Sources of financing and the availability of bank loans;
  - Access to imported inputs and machinery;
  - Availability of labor and support in providing social benefits (health care, social security and housing); and
  - Recourse when customers do not pay or suppliers do not deliver on time.
- Solicit their perspectives on how the growth of entrepreneurship is affecting Chinese society in terms of widening opportunity, diversity and personal freedoms.

• XΔ/Deu

## REVIEW & OUTLOOK

## Bill in a China Shop

Watching President Clinton in China, we're reminded of the joke about the American who visited Spain under Franco. The Yank wanted to know what Spaniards thought about the dictator, so he asked a man in Madrid and was promptly taken in three different cars and a row boat to the middle of an isolated lake, where the Spaniard looked around to make sure no one was watching and whispered in the American's ear, "I like him."

...So we may break convention among the President's critics by saying we think Mr. Clinton has been doing well in China. Despite our own doubts about this President's credibility on many matters, there's no denying his gift of gab. And Mr. Clinton has been using it to showcase American political principles to a Chinese population that rarely hears them.

The fact that a national TV audience could see Mr. Clinton's human-rights exchange with Jiang Zemin redeemed, in our view, the welcoming ceremony in Tiananmen Square. Another national audience saw his sparring with students in Peking University, an example of easygoing, accessible political leadership that will not be lost on the Chinese.

much has been made in the TV coverage of Mr. Clinton's pointed criticism of the Tiananmen massacre of 1989. And we were happy to hear it. The President also did well to bring up the mistreatment of Tibet—a démarche that must have hit home given Mr. Jiang's defensiveness. But to our mind Mr. Clinton's more important contribution was his debate with President Jiang about the utility of freedom.

Like all authoritarians, China's Communist leadership defends its oppression with pleas for "stability." But Mr. Clinton deftly turned that argument on its head by noting that, "I believe stability in the 21st century will require high levels of freedom."

He expanded on that theme yesterday at Peking University, thinking freedom to the technologies of the information economy. "In the world we live in, this global information age, constant improvement and change is necessary to economic opportunity and to national strength. Therefore, the freest possible flow of information, ideas and opinion, and a greater respect for divergent political and religious convictions, will actually breed strength and stability going forward."

This lacks the eloquence and moral power of Ronald Reagan's similar effort at Moscow University in 1988, declaring freedom to be "the recognition

that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every individual life is infinitely precious." Yet Mr. Clinton is the President we have now, and his more prosaic words will strike a chord with the pragmatic streak that runs through Chinese culture.

"Stability" does resonate as a defense against democracy in China because it has so often been lacking in Chinese history. Lee Kuan Yew can still get away with this rationalization in Singapore. But Mr. Clinton was telling Chinese that freedom "is a concept which is indivisible." Economic prosperity cannot be sustained over time without greater political accountability and freedom.

This is a lesson that some American critics of China might also want to relearn, especially our friends on the right. Some conservatives argue that we should fear China as a rising threat because it is getting rich, but that strikes us as a contradiction. What the history of the past 50 years shows is that authoritarianism loses control as their people get richer. This has been true even in Asian cultures - South Korea, Taiwan - once thought to be natural Oriental despots.

It's possible China will be the exception, but even to get the economic gains of the past 20 years Beijing's Communists have been forced to abandon totalitarian political control. Either China will remain authoritarian and relatively poor, or it will grow rich but be forced to be more politically free along the way. This seems to us like the bet Mr. Clinton is making, and in general we support it. We do so given that the alternative of squeezing China like America contained the Soviet Union probably can't be sustained among our allies, and in any event would probably make China even more authoritarian and threatening to its neighbors.

No doubt Mr. Clinton would be a stronger advocate of U.S. principles with China if he weren't so compromised by the campaign scandals. Maybe, too, China's leaders granted his appearances a national audience because they had confidence he wouldn't be as bold as the Gipper. We also wish he'd meet with dissidents, and we hope he uses his visit to Hong Kong as a chance for an even more explicit defense of political freedom in Chinese history and culture.

But the Chinese are as aware as Americans are of Mr. Clinton's personal weaknesses. What the President has been showing them so far on this trip is the strength of American principles.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

TUESDAY, JUNE 30, 1998

# DAILY Report

7/2/98

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