

LISA 3/25/98

- [arts / democracy
millennium -
great advocate for public
funding of art + h -
→ public funding -
its importance - / advocate
→ and this is why -
→ government supports
democracy -
→ address the millennium -
- why
as engine of culture -
integral of sustainability /
strength of democracy -
not marginal / luxury -
really do make up fabric
of culture / society
plurality -
have part
imagine future -

→ imagination - freedom
want to have ~~freedom~~
to ~~create~~ ^{imagine} future -
how can you create ??

if can imagine it - stretch
it - ideas -
experiment
→ Pop culture version - explore

not what we want { static hierarchical
apocalyptic version
the future - but
basis of power - how
to change -

diversity } celebrating it -
TODUS -
A + H -

understanding differences
in order to find common
ground
stone in -

→ places like version
★ Manchester Guild / Pillsbury
Bill Stuchland

magnet school Duke Ellington
School
Relaxation

how to express

showing culture is not
undulating,

I wish everyone who
doesn't want to find the
who I talked w/ the

① Red - finger

② listened to self - poetry

a + h - not discriminating -

③ watched became not folks

④ joined funded - project of
children to

delusion of society -

why scared of the?

more has been

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- sensible.

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Shengor -

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School program —
art stuff

vehicle / for learn + expression

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See the arts —
public school ★ ★
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- ① Michigan contribution
- ② Lee Bolger — 1st answers
Speech — affirmations
actions

③ → Public funding
why

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Hawkins / Bask —
at an election
— presenting themes

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bigger the one of us —

→ fabric of democracy —

→ strengthening it —

— civil society

culture of engine
backbone

demeanor —

└ (dad)

— what you need →

{ 3 legs of stool —

Public
private

what else
new projects

(> excess
at 2)

→ public funds
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why so dangerous?

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→ create a movement
why people against it??

— places unless
— Her

at
risk
1968

① Marches
Good

② Chugo School

③ White House

④ Parents report - 196
Chula at
risk -

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humanities -

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vision for
kids??

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future
Bill
Strickland



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To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

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Subject: 1998-4-8 remarks at Mellon dinner

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 8, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AT ANDREW MELLON DINNER

National Gallery of Art
Washington, D.C.

9:15 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Mr. Laughlin. Mr. Powell, Mr. Smith, members of the Board of Trustees, members of Congress and our administration, members of the Mellon family, ladies and gentlemen. It's a great honor for Hillary and me to be here tonight to honor this great legacy of Andrew Mellon, and to honor all of you who do so much to carry on that legacy.

I first came to the National Gallery over 30 years ago when I was a college student at Georgetown. Over the years I've come back as often as I could. When I came here from time to time as governor of my home state, I confess that on occasion I sneaked out of the meetings of the Governors Association and came to the National Gallery, where there was less noise and more light. (Laughter.) Hillary and I have been privileged to be visit here in the last few years, to tour the Vermeer and Picasso exhibitions, among others.

It's hard to believe now that the National Gallery is 61 years old, founded when our country was in the grip of the Great Depression and the world was slipping inexorably toward World War II.

But Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon knew that our nation's work lay even then not simply in our monetary strength or our military power, but in the value of our ideas, the creativity of our spirit, the power of our common culture. So he and a group of passionate men and women gave this great gift to the nation, and established a tradition of partnership that endures down to the very day.

There is no question that Paul Mellon carries on this tradition. His generosity has helped to invigorate and sustain our entire nation's cultural and artistic institutions. Having already won the National Medal of Arts in 1985, last fall he was awarded the National Medal for the Humanities, which Robert Smith kindly accepted for him.

So tonight I want to thank him again, and all the members of his family who have participated in giving other Americans, who could never have afforded these things on their own, access to this wonderful world.

When President Roosevelt dedicated the National Gallery, he said, "The dedication of this gallery to a living past and to a greater and more richly living future is the measure of the earnestness of our intention that the freedom of the human spirit shall go on."

Today, at the dawn of a new century and a new millennium, it falls to us to continue in that great tradition. Hillary and I have launched the White House Millennium Program to encourage all Americans to honor our living past with all its treasures, and to imagine our even more richly living future, with the creations and the discoveries yet to come.

I hope that all of you will find ways to join us in your homes, wherever you're from, in the coming months and years as we celebrate and commemorate the new millennium. But most of all, tonight, I just want to thank you on behalf of a grateful nation for your dedication and your commitment to our common cultural and artistic life.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

9:24 P.M. EDT

Message Sent To: _____

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1. Public/private partnerships bringing art into the heart of urban areas to revitalize. Encouraging community art to help beautify abandoned spaces which encourages kids to feel ownership over the space in which they live.
2. Studies have shown that involvement in worthwhile civic activities encourages people to be good citizens - nurtures the spirit and allows them to feel a part of a larger whole.
3. Fareed Zakaria makes the point that government shapes society ^{→ example}, not the other way around. If that is the case, shouldn't government lead by example in setting up a framework in which arts are prioritized? Does she think this?
4. The connection between state and civil society - which is more dependant on the other - what's their connection and how do they influence one another. I think this needs to be established at some point in the speech.
5. In his book, *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*, Francis Fukuyama argues that the art of association is good not only for democracy (Tocqueville) but for capitalism as well. Fukuyama makes the argument that in a society where people trust individuals outside of their families, "social capital" is generated, which is as useful as financial capital to a society's economic well-being. "Social capital is critical to prosperity and to what has come to be called competitiveness," he says. She probably isn't going to want to make the argument that art is good for the economy, but one could link the connection between art as a unifier and universalizer (is that a word?) of the human experience and its strength in bringing people together in a society, which helps make the society function better in the big picture. The "most important consequences," he writes, "may not be felt in the economy so much as in social and political life," Civil society breeds sociability, community and citizenship, and bolsters liberal democratic government. Trust
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6. The arts are civil society's foundation, they are the key to its creativity, its diversity, its imagination and as a result its spontaneousness and liberty. Just as democracy depends on civil society for its liberal spiritedness, civil society depends on the arts. A government that supports the arts and the humanities is not engaging in philanthropy, but assuring the conditions of its own flourishing. Our support of the arts is not for the sake of the arts but for the sake of democracy.
7. I thought this quote was great, not really for her to use but to speak to some of the movements in American history and the arts and how they have impacted us as a society and play an integral part in the way we define our history and ourselves as Americans. "The Southern novel did not fragment America: it helped define an American perspective. The Hudson River School of painting represented an emerging American taste in the nineteenth century, just as New England transcendentalism helped create an American philosophical perspective. Jewish culture in New York helps tie the city together even as it gives special expression to particular identity. African-American music and theater have offered American blacks a unique avenue for particularistic

How
art for
Shapiro
a
people

cultural expression and at the same time stamped our national culture with much of its common identity. Jazz, tap, and blues at once define American and define the special contribution of African-Americans to America.” Art has a way of providing a voice for those whose voice was muted in the past, and through this voice their experiences or expressions are universalized and shaped into an inclusive common culture.

8. **IMAGINATION** as the tie in between democracy and the arts and the millennium (Honoring our past. Imagining our future) Connecting the role of imagination in democracy “It is the faculty by which we stretch ourselves to include others, expand the compass of our interests to discover common ground, and overcome the limits of our parochial selves to become fit subjects to live in democratic communities.” Connecting the role of imagination in the arts, “the artist needs critical imagination to ward off convention and defend creation. Ideally, in serving imagination, the arts serve democracy and democratic citizenship; and ideally, in supporting the arts, democracy serves itself -- event where the arts it supports defy convention, outrage taste and flaunt democratic mores. It is only a mature democracy that fully appreciates these linkages...It has been a mark of America’s maturity as a free society that it has sustained a supportive arts policy without becoming either proprietary or censorious.” In a 1995 speech delivered at the Met HRC said in response to those who oppose public funding of the arts, “they fail to appreciate what every generation of Americans have intuitively known, that our artistic imagination is critical to our civilization and our democracy.” She also said on June 15, 1994, “Where there is imagination, there is always hope. Where there is potential for creative expression, there is always the possibility for human progress.”

Barle

9. Common themes that run throughout BC and HRC public statements on the arts:

- The arts encourage us to celebrate individual identities while reminding us of all that we have in common. By sharing in one another’s expression, we learn to understand the universal commonality of human experience. “In so doing we gain a greater appreciation and understanding of the breadth of human thought and emotion. And we gain a more profound sense of our common purpose as Americans. But if the arts and humanities are essential to appreciating and preserving our culture, they are also essential to our growth and renewal as a people. For it is only by deepening our understanding, unleashing our imaginations, and enlarging our capacities to see and to feel that we can envision a better future for ourselves, our communities, and our nation.”
- Art as public domain -- for and by the community. They speak out against those who say “Public support for the arts is a luxury we can no longer afford”, by insisting that it is a necessity for “the continuing strength and vitality of our community of culture in this country.”
- Our “moral strength” as Americans is in our appreciation of our rich cultural traditions and our appreciation of our diversity.

- NEA -- Public/private partnership. Makes art accessible to all sectors of our country.
- **CHILDREN.** In HRC's June 21, 1995 op-ed in the NYT she writes, "Too often, we seen children who, instead of discovering the joys of painting, music, sculpting or writing, express themselves through acts of frustration and even violence. The arts offer an alternative to the more disturbing elements of our popular culture, and a safe haven that allows children to explore their creative potential, transporting them beyond the bounds of their difficult circumstances. Their exposure to the roots and diverse richness of human civilization will enhance their understanding of their own heritage and the world in which they live...I hope we will remember that public support for the arts is a down payment on our future. It is an investment in the values we claim to honor and in the cultural traditions in which democracy has flourished for 218 years. Now is no time to turn our backs on that legacy or its promise."

Themes of Ann Arbor:

*expression of democracy -
on demand -*

start out with images of impact of art on our lives; art shows; poetry readings; scientific discoveries; cultural heritage; music; dance; children drawing; greatest artists; murals; etc; jazz;

when we look back at the history of civilization, and the defining events, ideas, and movements; we rely on the paintings, sculptures, books and writing of the men and women of those times;

It's not a luxury -- not marginal: but an integral force in sustaining and enriching democracy; creative thinking/the arts the spark behind every invention; every movement forward; trailblazers; change our very notion of progress; we can imagine what's possible; freedom that is at heart of our democratic system has unleashed the creative spirit of America.

1) Art -- expression of our diversity; reflection of multiculturalism; appreciation for other's culture; vehicle for learning; engine of culture; pluralism; expands the marketplace of idea; dialogue; creative expression; Bridge between cultures; races; neighborhoods; must be able to understand differences in order to find our common bonds; can bring us together across barriers that separate us; (*race mixer*)

2) for children -- a particularly strong impact on their lives; the arts help them discover their creative potential through art, words, ideas; positive alternatives to violence, destruction, despair; (President's Committee's "Coming Up Taller" report -- compelling evidence that arts and humanities provide young people with creative, productive, safe outlets for their energy; kids who have been written off -- discovering the joy, fulfillment, discipline, self confidence through own artistic and intellectual expression;

Rita Dove: If children are unable to voice what they mean, no one will know how they feel. If they can't imagine a different world, they are stumbling through a darkness made all the more sinister by its lack of reference points. For a young person growing up in America's alienated and disparate neighborhoods, there can be no greater empowerment than to dare to speak from the heart -- and then discover that one is not alone in one's feelings. Once hope and self esteem have been engendered, the work of redefining the future can begin."

Favorite movie: M. Holland's Opus; remembering when poorest schools had art, and orchestras, and drama classes; now no longer; what a loss;

2) integral force/engine for sustaining democracy, enriching civil society; 3 legs of the stool; all have a role to play; -- and all benefit; enriches/strengthens civic bonds, i.e. community projects; town and gown (U of Michigan); also challenges democracy; pushes the boundaries;

2) Can't be allowed to be experience of the elite; importance of public funding for the arts and humanities; what are people scared of? When she was growing up, art, music, dance part of school; now not so; it's been cut as "marginal" -- huge disservice to kids, and to the nation;

3) concrete applications of arts: transform lives i.e. at risk kids; (Strickland -- Pittsburgh; Manchester Guild: started kids out in pottery; now a major arts center; it gives kids the confidence of expression; their self esteem grows; their grades improve; School for the arts in Chicago; poetry classes in Anacostia, DC; freeing up expression -- and helping to solve problems;

examples HRC gives in "At Risk" kids event at White House; children thrive when engaged in activities that teach new skills, build on interpersonal relationships; safe, stable, supportive atmosphere;

4) the arts as catalyst for bringing communities together; U of Michigan model of that role; university academics working with contractors to envision site enhancements of a bridge/community project; state humanities council gave grant for students to work on site with U of M teachers and students, local high school, to use bridge site and surrounding neighborhood as place of curricular experimentation in teaching; summer workshop -- to produce new kinds of writing programs; students doing historical fictions of Ann Arbor; a lot of civic excitement; s;

4) practical applications; through the National Endowment for Arts and Humanities collaborations between the Justice Department, HUD, HHS, Corporation for National Service.

5) HRC examples; her reflections as she travels around the world; the rich expressions of a nation; a culture; a people's dreams; expressions of universal yearnings;

5) U of Michigan: model -- microcosm of how the arts broaden experience;

4) enter millennium: must be able to imagine the future; people must be able to set their minds free; free to imagine through the arts; to imagine, and the build a new future; a new nation; children, particularly -- helping them discover their creative potential through art, words, and ideas;

5) so many of our images of the future today are apocalyptic; static; hierarchical; scary; impersonal; star wars; terminator movies; disembodied; it's not the future any of us wants; must be able to imagine a positive, brighter future;

8) time to make priorities for the 21st century; where to put energy, commitment, funds; investing in the arts is downpayment of the future; not only for children, but in the values we claim to honor, and the cultural traditions in which outdemocracy has flourished for more than 200 years.

6) millennium lectures; honoring the past; (so must preserve our local traditions history, folk creations; "What my grandmother Taught me" -- but also to imagining the future; history; the arts; science; tied to imagination; they are bigger than any of us; only when we can express

what we feel, believe, and gain hope in ourselves, can the work of redefining the future begin. A better, more optimistic, confident future. As we prepare for a new century, arts and culture even more essential to the endurance, survival of our democratic values of tolerance pluralism, freedom;

7) if we care about civility; character; democratic freedoms; then we ought to support federal agencies and institutions whose mission it is to make American culture available to all children; government must play leading role; but it must come from all of us; we are all the beneficiaries;

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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THE KANSAS CITY STAR

January 30, 1998 Friday METROPOLITAN EDITION

SECTION: METROPOLITAN; Pg. C1; BARBARA SHELLY

LENGTH: 662 words

HEADLINE: Learning the art of citizenship

BYLINE: BARBARA SHELLY

BODY:

They came from Mexico, Singapore and the nations that used to make up the Soviet Union. In all, 66 persons became citizens of the United States last week at a ceremony at the federal courthouse in Kansas City, Kan.

Behind each beaming face - everybody beams on these occasions - lie some common themes. Everyone struggled. They wondered whether they were doing the right thing. People helped them out. They got lucky.

Among those 66 new citizens were Kwan and Ling Wu, immigrants from China.

Their story has all the familiar elements. They struggled to choose between their homeland and their new land. They had help. And they were lucky - luck in this case being the intersection where talent and opportunity cross paths.

The story of Kwan Wu, who previously used the name Xin Kun Wu, is not unfamiliar to many in Kansas City.

He is the artist selected in 1991 by federal judges to design and sculpt the 14-foot bronze sculpture in front of the federal courthouse in Kansas City. The sculpture was created as a frame for a plaque inscribed with the Bill of Rights.

At the time, Wu had been in this country just more than two years. An informal arrangement to act as a visiting professor at the University of Kansas had evolved into a wish to remain.

Wu's reasons were many. China's crushing of the democracy movement at Tiananmen Square was a big one. He and his wife had one child, all they would be permitted in their homeland. He liked the freedom of an artist's life here - he didn't need official permission to design a sculpture.

Ling Wu - who also is an artist - and their son, Lon, joined him in 1990. They applied for permanent residency.

Now they have it. And unlike most newly naturalized citizens, Kwan and Ling Wu were toasted at punch-and-cookie receptions in two

THE KANSAS CITY STAR, January 30, 1998, Friday

U.S. courthouses.

The first was after their ceremony in Kansas City, Kan. The second was Wednesday in Kansas City, in the offices of U.S. Judge Scott O. Wright.

Wright loves naturalization ceremonies. "It's by far the most pleasurable thing we do in this business," he said.

He dearly wanted to preside over the rites for the Wus. But they live in Olathe, and Wright doesn't handle affairs in Kansas.

As noted above, every new citizen has gotten help along the way.

Two of the persons who helped Kwan Wu were Wright and his wife, Shirley, who was one of Wu's first sculpturing students.

It was Shirley Wright who recommended that the judges consider Wu to create the Bill of Rights sculpture. A committee of lawyers raised money for the project.

The Bill of Rights sculpture opened up other opportunities. Wu designed a sculpture of Phog Allen for KU, and another for the Negro Leagues Baseball Museum in Kansas City's 18th and Vine district.

Kwan and Ling Wu attended the reception Wednesday with 5-year-old Lee and 3-year-old Cindy - the son and daughter they wouldn't have been allowed to have in China.

As friends and court employees crowded into the room, Wu's English, which is good, faltered a bit.

"I feel I am part of the country now," he said. "Before, I didn't feel the same. I still feel like a guest."

As a U.S. citizen, Wu, 46, can practice art without interference and follow any religion he chooses. An army will not arrest him, as it did some of his former students in the Tiananmen Square rebellion.

If he chooses, he can bear arms.

A guest no longer, he can claim all the privileges on the plaque he encased in bronze.

To leave a comment for Barbara Shelly, call (816) 889-7827 and enter 1017, or send e-mail to bshelly@kcstar.com

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TO: Patti

Melanne

Ellen

Pam

FROM: Lissa

RE: Invitation to HRC to speak at the University of Michigan

DATE: August 12, 1997

Enclosed is a copy of an invitation from the president of the University of Michigan for their "Arts of Citizenship" lecture series during the coming academic year. Another copy was sent directly to HRC, but I don't know if it's found its way to scheduling yet. This is something she wants to do and should do, particularly given her role in the millennium stuff. The lead guy on the faculty who is coordinating the whole thing is a very old and close friend of mine so I'd be happy to help out in any way I can.

[university -) democracy
creative future -]

"the arts of
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David Schrey

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Ann Lewis
A woman in
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Robin Lewis
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PRESIDENT

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3074 FLEMING ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106-1540
TEL 734-6270 FAX 734-6272

July 15, 1997

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

It is my great pleasure to invite you to visit the University of Michigan during the coming academic year as the keynote speaker of our "Arts of Citizenship" series for the University's Year of the Arts and Humanities.

"YoHA" is a campus-wide initiative aimed at fostering research, teaching, and practice in the arts and humanities across the University. Two aspects of the project may be of special interest to you. First, YoHA seeks to encourage institutional support and policy innovation for the arts and humanities of a sort usually reserved for the natural and social sciences. YoHA was inaugurated this year with a symposium on arts and cultural policy that brought National Endowment for the Humanities Director Sheldon Hackney and other leading cultural policy-makers to Ann Arbor. Secondly, the Year of the Humanities and Arts is meant to build bridges between the University and the general public, offering programs that put academics and artists in dialogue with the larger civic culture.] ☆

The "Arts of Citizenship" program is oriented toward that goal of public-academic collaboration. It will bring to our campus artists, humanists, intellectuals, and cultural advocates who have made important contributions to public culture and political conversation through their artistic and intellectual work. The program is intended to explore the role of the humanities and arts in sustaining a democratic public culture – and the role of a vibrant civic culture in renewing the arts and humanities. Some events in the year-long series will feature academic discussion of public affairs; others will feature public art, poetry, video work, and other performances, accompanied by conversations with the artist.]

Given your advocacy of public support for the arts and humanities, we believe that your visit would make a perfect keynote to the "Arts of Citizenship" program and the U-M's Year of the Arts and Humanities. The organizers of YoHA envision your giving an address on the role of the arts and humanities in civic culture, but the University community would be responsive to whatever focus or format you preferred. We would, of course, accommodate your scheduling requirements.

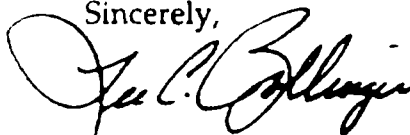
Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton

July 15, 1997

Page Two

It would be a great pleasure to welcome you to the University of Michigan and to hear your ideas about the arts and humanities in American public life. I hope that you will be able to visit and participate in our conversation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Lee C. Bollinger". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "L" and "B".

Lee C. Bollinger



THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT FOR RESEARCH
850 FLEMING BUILDING, 500 THOMPSON STREET
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106-1111
TEL: 734-763-1111 FAX: 734-763-1111

FAX to Melanne

19 December 1997

Patty Celise Doyle
Director of Scheduling
First Lady of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington DC 20500

Dear Ms. Doyle:

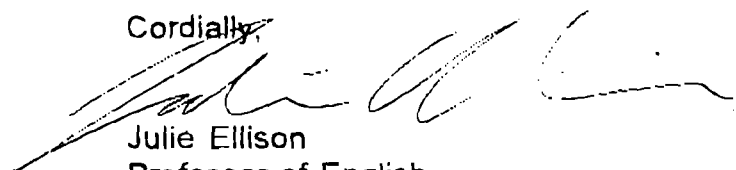
I am sorry that I was not able to reach you by phone this afternoon. In order to provide you with some supporting documentation, I am sending you an array of materials about YoHA--the University of Michigan's 1997-98 "Year of Humanities and Arts." We think that this program can provide a national model for integrated, cost-effective cultural program development, especially that involving collaborations between universities and their neighboring communities. The enclosed posters and flyers should provide you with the full context for the invitation to the First Lady from University of Michigan President, Lee C. Bollinger.

As you know from President Bollinger's letter of invitation, this year is the "Year of Humanities and Arts"--or YoHA--at the University of Michigan. The YoHA "Arts of Citizenship" initiative, directed by Professor David M. Scobey, is comprised of several ambitious town/gown programs aimed at putting the arts and humanities at the center of civic life. These programs involve integrating local history and public art into a bridge reconstruction project, working with public school teachers on a "Students on Site" curriculum, and sponsoring public forums on public culture through our "Talking Bridges" lecture series, designed to appeal to both academic and community audiences.

We very much hope that Hillary Rodham Clinton can speak in Ann Arbor as the keynote speaker of the "Arts of Citizenship" initiative. YoHA has been undertaken very much in the spirit of the White House Millennium Project, and perhaps this would be the focus of the First Lady's speech. Regardless of when she speaks, we would simply define her speech as the definitive "Arts of Citizenship" event.

We are happy to accommodate the First Lady's schedule in any way we can. The University is on vacation from February 27 through March 8, and classes end for the year on April 21. Within these constraints, we are quite flexible. Perhaps the next step might be for you to contact President Bollinger's office to propose a couple of tentative dates. Please feel free to contact me if you have additional questions.

Cordially,



Julie Ellison
Professor of English
Associate Vice President for Research
YoHA Director

Enc.

Cc: President Lee C. Bollinger; Walter L. Harrison, Vice President for University Relations; Frederick C. Neidhardt, Interim Vice President for Research; Professor David M. Scobey

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES
WASHINGTON, DC
DECEMBER 2, 1994**

TALKING POINTS

* It's a privilege to welcome all of you back to Washington and to hear about the progress you have made in just a few short months.

* There is much concern today about the future of federal funding for our country's vibrant cultural life. I hope all Americans will stop and think about what our nation would be like if monuments, museums, theaters, libraries, and other cultural institutions weren't available to us.

* The Clinton Administration remains committed to the NEA, NEH, IMS, and other federal cultural agencies. As the President said this fall, government only provides a small measure of support for the humanities and arts -- but it is a crucial measure. Without that support, fewer of our cultural institutions and organizations would survive or thrive, and fewer children would know the enrichment that comes from cultural activities.

* I know you have been hard at work advancing your ambitious agenda. Harvey (Golub) and Irene (Hirano) are working with Commerce to encourage cultural tourism. Cynthia (Schneider) and Roger (Johnson) are looking at ways to improve excellence in federal design. Bill (Ivey) and Quince (Jones) will be offering ideas about how to use the media to widen people's appreciation of our cultural life. And David (Gardner) and his group are examining the important question of how to stimulate more private philanthropy.

* Of particular interest to me is how your work will affect the lives of our children. As I said a few months ago when I met you at the White House, this committee has tremendous potential to provide hopeful and productive outlets for young Americans. Peggy and Rich, I hope you can share some of your ideas about how we can use the arts and humanities to give our children opportunities for intellectual and creative expression that generate self-esteem, hopefulness, and excitement about the future.

[Peggy Cooper Cafritz and Rich Gurin will report for about 2 minutes each. If there is time afterward, Dr. Brademas will invite questions and comments from committee members to you].

###

know that because we value our diverse cultural traditions and we take pride in celebrating America's creative and intellectual genius that we will be prepared to make effectively the arguments that will need to be made, as to the tradition of community, the institutions represented, and more importantly all of our institutions throughout the country need to continue to have the support of the federal government.

MORE

**** filed by:RB--(--) on 12/02/94 at 17:32EST ****
**** printed by:WHPR(103) on 12/03/94 at 09:31EST ****

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON,
REMARKS TO THE PRESIDENT'S
COMMITTEE ON ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES
OLD POST OFFICE, WASHINGTON DC.

APPROX: 11:30 AM EST
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1994

TRANSCRIPT BY: FEDERAL NEWS SERVICE
620 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20045

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(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you. I want to tell all of the committee members how
pleased I am to see you here, and I have been receiving reports about the
exciting and in many ways ground-breaking work you are already doing, by
looking at the issues that we all believe need to be addressed. I'm also very
conscious -- as the chairman just referred -- to the questions that are in all
of our minds about the future of federal funding for our country's vibrant and
vigorous cultural life.

Obviously none of us can predict what will happen on this front and I know
that if we could we could be making predictions that we hoped would come true,
but I believe that as Americans understand what it means to them to have their
local monuments, their museums, their theatres, their libraries, they will
understand -- as we do -- that all of our artistic and cultural institutions
are an integral part of what we call America, and a part that we must work
very hard always --

not only to preserve and nurture -- but to grow because of the impact that
they make on our lives.

Over the past 12 years, this committee, in a bipartisan way, has
consistently supported the arts and humanities, and I know that together we
will work to continue that vigorous support. Throughout their histories, the
NEA, the NEH, the IMS, and the other federal cultural agencies have enjoyed
bipartisan deeply rooted support that extends into every community in our
country.

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES
WASHINGTON, DC
DECEMBER 2, 1994**

TALKING POINTS

* It's wonderful to be with you again after our seeing you at the White House in September. And I'm particularly excited to see the momentum you have generated in finding new ways that the arts and humanities can help expand opportunities for children, strengthen our economy, and add new dimensions to our individual lives.

* At the same time, I've heard many of you express concern about the future of federal funding for our country's vibrant cultural life. Obviously none of us can predict what will happen -- on any front, including this one -- in the new political environment we find ourselves in. But I sincerely hope that in the months ahead all Americans will stop and think about what our nation would be like if monuments, museums, theaters, libraries, and other cultural institutions weren't available to us.

* Over the past 12 years, this committee has vigorously supported the arts and humanities, and I hope we will work hard together to continue that support. Throughout their histories, the NEA, NEH, IMS, and other federal cultural agencies have enjoyed bi-partisan support on Capitol Hill. And we all know why. As a nation, we have always valued our diverse cultural traditions and taken pride in celebrating America's creative and intellectual genius. We have always relied on our artists and humanists to strengthen the foundations of our democratic way of life. And we have abided by the notion that all of our people should have access to our cultural institutions.

* As the President said to you earlier this fall, government only provides a small measure of support for the humanities and arts -- but that small investment reaps enormous rewards in human terms. Without government support, fewer of our cultural institutions and organizations would survive or thrive. Fewer children would know the enrichment that comes from cultural activities. And the democratic ideals we have defended and upheld for two centuries years would be put in jeopardy.

* I know you have been hard at work advancing your ambitious agenda. Harvey (Golub) and Irene (Hirano) are working with Commerce to encourage cultural tourism, which contributes so much to our economic vitality. Cynthia (Schneider) and Roger (Johnson) are looking at ways to improve excellence in federal design. Bill (Ivey) and Quincy (Jones) will be offering ideas about how to use the media to widen people's appreciation of our cultural life.

And David (Gardner) and Terry (Semel) and their group are examining the important question of how to stimulate more private philanthropy.

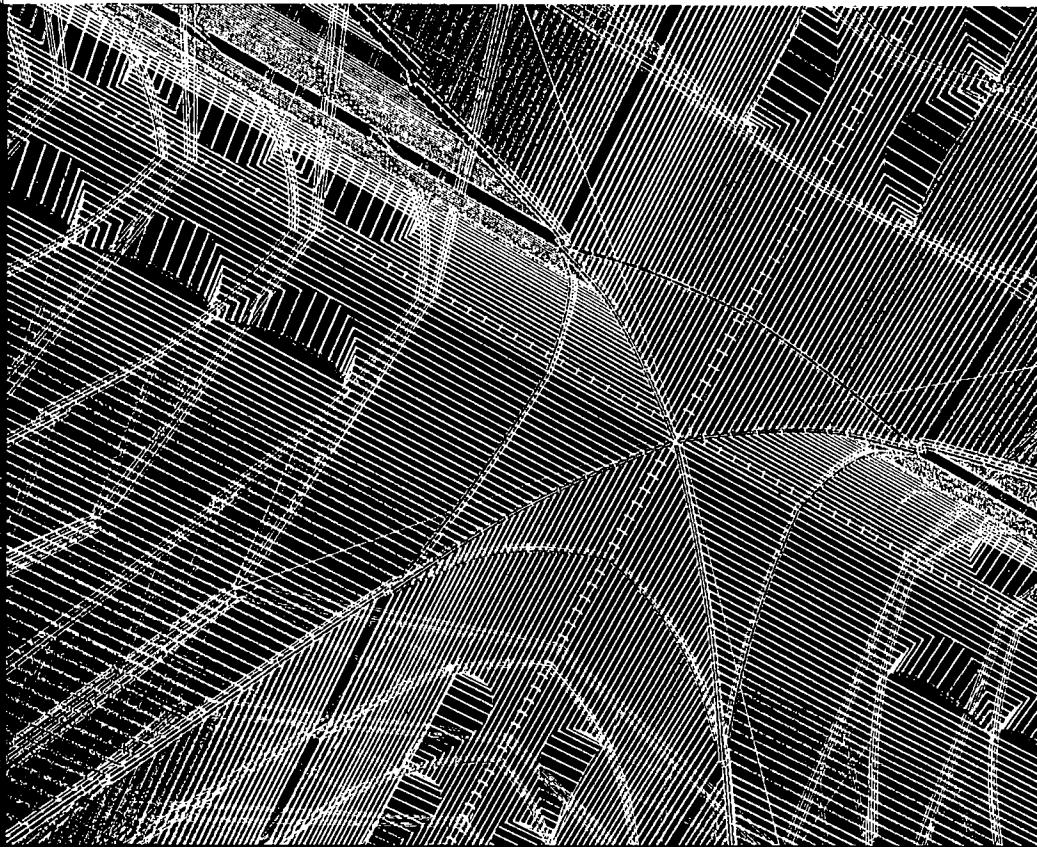
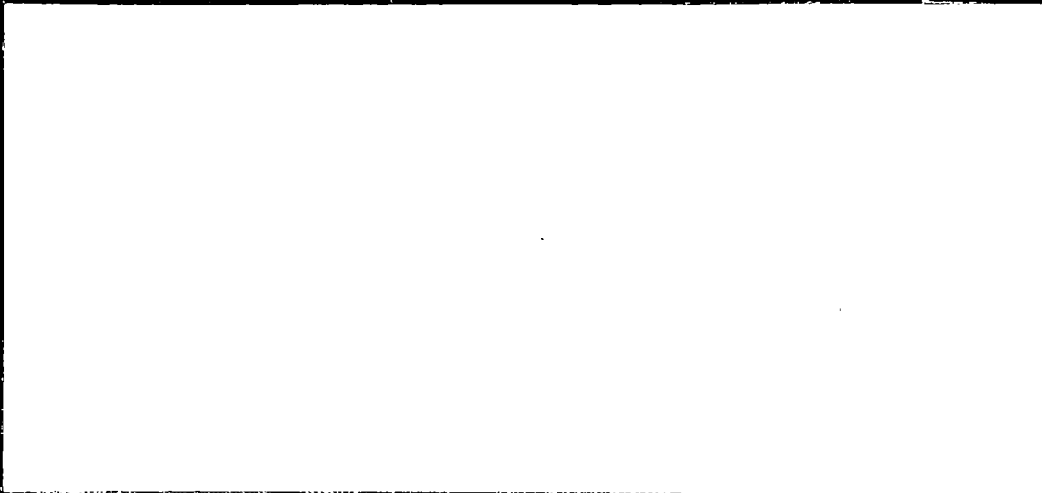
* As you know, of particular interest to me is how your work will affect the lives of our children. As I said a few months ago when I met you at the White House, this committee has tremendous potential to provide hopeful and productive outlets for young Americans -- indeed to change their lives. Peggy and Rich, I hope you can share some of your ideas about how we can use the arts and humanities to give our children opportunities for intellectual and creative expression that generate self-esteem, hopefulness, and excitement about the future.

[Peggy Cooper Cafritz and Rich Gurin will report for about 2 minutes each. If there is time afterward, Dr. Brademas will invite questions and comments from committee members to you].

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Creative America

WORKING PAPERS



**President's Committee
on the Arts and the Humanities**



**SERVING DEMOCRACY BY SERVING
THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES**

(Traditional Perspectives, Unique Modern Conditions)

BY BENJAMIN R. BARBER



Washington, D.C. 1997

*An essay prepared for Creative America,
a report by the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities
describing the system of support for cultural life in the United States today*

The relationship of the arts and the humanities to a free democratic society -- its diversity and pluralism, its manifold liberties, its openness and flexibility -- is complex and often problematic. The arts can flourish in democracy but have often developed with remarkable vibrancy as part of a culture of dissent or rebellion in autocratic societies. Democracy needs the arts (and the humanities which they anchor), for they constitute a crucial element in civil society's cultural infrastructure. Yet the democratic impulse has sometimes found itself at odds with artists and felt threatened by the avant garde or anti-majoritarian or the aristocratic in culture.

Ultimately, democracy perhaps needs the arts more than the arts need democracy -- although there is an obvious and vital symbiosis between the two in a well-functioning free society. For a free society gains its liberty and its democratic vitality from civil society, and the arts and humanities invest civil society with its creativity, its diverseness and its liberating spontaneity. What complicates the relationship is the market, with which civil society is sometimes conflated. The market offers free and private space to art and culture and thus insulates it from official governmental direction and censorship. But because market space is commercial space it draws the arts into commerce and exchange and can imperil artistic autonomy from a different quarter.

Historically, the relationship between the arts (which I will take here as paradigmatic of the larger phrase "arts and humanities") and society has taken

a number of different forms: some of those forms have seen the arts as mimetically reflecting society's norms and mores or even cheerleading for its official conventions and ideologies; others segregate the arts from society or give it a romantic rebellious character. Among the possible perspectives are:

THE CLASSICAL
THE ROMANTIC
THE REALIST (DISSENT VERSION)
THE REALIST (OFFICIAL VERSION)
THE AESTHETIC (LIBERAL)
THE ARISTOCRATIC (HIGH ART)
THE DEMOCRATIC (POP ART)
THE COMMERCIAL

THE CLASSICAL perspective treats the arts as a way of seeing (theoria or spectatorship) that, because it competes with religion, philosophy and political philosophy, either reinforces or rivals their visions of the social and the political. The tragic poets saw themselves as allies of the new democracy, for example, while the comedic writers of later Athens were critics of philosophical aristocracy (Aristophanes ridiculing Socrates in *The Clouds*). Aristocratic philosophy saw itself engaged in the same competition and so, Plato felt constrained to ban the poets from his aristocratic *Republic*, protesting that "artists craft phantoms" at a third remove from reality and are likely to corrupt justice in a well-ordered commonwealth.

Crucial to this perspective is the insistence on the absolute interactivity of art and politics. For better or worse, the two are regarded as being engaged in a single enterprise: that of fashioning a common vision for a people to feel,

think and live by. In the Athenian world, art had explicit public functions and was, for example, well represented in religious and civic festivals such as the Olympiad -- the forerunner of today's more narrowly construed athletic competitions. The great tragic trilogies of Aeschylus and Sophocles were written for these festivals, and were regarded less as mere entertainments and more as reflections on the civic and spiritual life of the Athenian polis.

The neo-classicism of the Enlightenment reflected the same intertwining of aesthetics, politics and truth. It supposed the three to be bound up together in much the same fashion. Keats' certainty that "truth's beauty and beauty's truth" and Shelley's wish that poetry might be the world's true legislator were nothing if not Athenian in their unitary aspirations.

THE ROMANTIC perspective lies at the other end of the art/society spectrum, although it also posits art as a profound form of power. It treats it, however, as an expression of inner vision -- a journey to the interior of the soul -- that is necessarily at odds with the norms of conventional society and its officialdom, whether they are democratic or autocratic. As a function of radical individual imagination, especially as it emerged immediately before and after the French Revolution, romantic art implacably opposed the ordinary and mundane. Because its sense of justice was personal and individual, it rarely could make common cause with social movements, even when they were conducted in justice's good name. Society could appreciate the products of the romantic imagination, but got no quarter from romantic artists who saw

themselves not as society's true teachers but its eternal rebels – its outlaws and outcasts.

A revolutionary democratic society may be assisted at its birth by romantic culture, but almost as soon as it becomes institutionalized and constitutionalized finds itself the target of its erstwhile romantic allies. Byron may have hoped to liberate Greece and put into practice Shelley's dream of poetry as the true Legislator of the world, but romanticism has succeeded as society's conscience and prod rather than as its constitution.

Eric Bentley referred to artists, approvingly, as "desperate characters," while John Cage has defined art as "criminal action." In the romantic vision, the artist is an outlaw of the mundane who pushes against limits, revolts against convention, and makes war on reality itself. "The weapon of poetry," wrote Ortega y Gasset with only a hint of hyperbole, "turns against natural things and wounds and murders them." Romantic artists are thus often viewed by society as self-lacerating madmen; they in turn treat social reality as a form of conventional madness (see the charming inversions of the film *King of Hearts*). No wonder that such artists may feel homeless in the mundane world, and see their journey (Eliot's words) as one of "continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality."

THE REALIST perspective (in its **dissent version**) has much in common with romanticism, but is outer- rather than inner-directed: rooted in a

sociological concern with justice in the real world and concerned with the individual as a member of communities of class, race and gender. It is thus fixed on reforming the world and its actual constitutions even if that means the refashioning of human souls. In writers like Ibsen, Zola, Shaw and Brecht the world's injustices are uncovered and revealed. Art's program here is liberation, not just of the unfettered imagination but of individuals as social beings. Nora's plight in Ibsen's *A Doll's House* models realism's concern with coercion and freedom and its quest for a way out. Like romantic art, realist art has a hand in democracy's generation. Unlike romanticism, however, it is less skeptical of the social products of its imagination – which leads it sometimes into imprudent alliances with states putatively founded on social justice, realism in its official version.

THE REALIST perspective in the **official version** – realism after the revolution, as it were – portrays culture as a critic of corrupt, autocratic societies but as a friend of democratic or socialist government or national socialist governments. Indeed, it is their handmaiden since, when successful, such governments supposedly incorporate the ideals in the name of which the revolution has been made and liberation won. The stubborn rebel may here become the mindless cheerleader. A visionary realist like Gorki thus becomes a supporter of the Soviet State after the Bolshevik revolution just as a realist critic of bourgeois society like Brecht becomes a cultural apparatchik of the East German State after the Communist accession to power there.

If justice and liberation are the true aims of art, the realist argument insists, then a "just" state legislating for a supposedly liberated society can presume to call upon artists to legitimate and communicate its ideals and order. Socialist as well as national socialist realism made exactly these claims. Even genuine democracies have enlisted artists in their cause. Democratic artists like Whitman, Frost and Langston Hughes, even as they protested the unjust and thus "un-American" features of the United States, have written "patriotically" about America as a potential land of liberty.

THE AESTHETIC perspective assumes the traditional liberal separation of private and public that insulates art from official society. It has no truck with officialdom, whether democratic or tyrannical. It assumes that art has private, aesthetic ends that are neither for or against democracy (or any other regime form) but simply irrelevant to it. Art is what artists do. It is to be prized for its integral aesthetic standards and its universal effect rather than judged on its relationship to the politically particular. "My art," said Nabakov, "bears no messages. I am not a postman." Irving Howe, often regarded as a moralist, nonetheless wrote: "There are kinds of beauty before which the moral imagination ought to withdraw." Even the realist Brecht decided, towards the end of his life, that art finally could have no other justification than itself, than *Spass* or simple fun (entertainment). In this liberal view, the only responsibility democracy has for art is to guarantee it private space in which it can flourish. The only thing art demands from democracy in turn is to be left

alone. True liberals are unlikely to think state subsidies for the arts are any more legitimate or desirable than state censorship. A high wall between the two that guarantees art security from the democratic "tyranny of opinion" (Tocqueville) and guarantees society security from political and propagandistic interventions by politicized artists is, from the liberal perspective, the only prudent policy. When at the end of his life Joseph Papp of the New York Shakespeare Festival decided he could no longer accept funding from the National Endowment for the Arts and preserve his aesthetic liberty, he was adopting a classical liberal posture.

THE ARISTOCRATIC perspective (defending **high art**) takes art to have an aristocratic function in a democratic society: to preserve the finer things in a vulgar world, to represent the taste of the cultivated minority in a mediocre majoritarian arena. Here beauty and truth are thought to represent independently grounded standards that can be used to mark off and judge the practices of a democratic culture (there is thus an element of neo-classicism here, since the high art perspective is not indifferent to the society by which it feels compromised and demeaned). Journals like *The New Criterion* have purveyed this aristocratic perspective with verve and Allan Bloom made it the keystone to his arch critique of democratic culture in his *The Closing of the American Mind*.

The art for art's sake complaint against government subsidized art is less the liberal fear of censorship as it is the aristocratic fear of a levelling

mediocrity. To yield to a democratic government's well-intended cultural ministrations is to acquiesce in what Tocqueville called the powerful "empire of opinion" that can only corrupt a pure cultural vision. The aristocrat eschews government "meddling" in the arts not out of respect for the liberal wall between private and public but out of disdain for a (by definition) "debased" democratic public realm.

THE DEMOCRATIC or **popular art** perspective is in some ways the mirror image of the aristocratic perspective. It takes art to be an expression of the dominant popular culture, and thus privileges as art those forms of popular expression that best reflect the majority's tastes. Art is not something distinct from or "above" society but society's aesthetic expression. It represents not some elite's abstract standards but whatever artists -- understood broadly as anyone who is engaged in self-expression and communication -- do. There is no distinction here to be made between pop art and high art other than the "pretensions" of those who purvey the latter.

In concrete terms, this perspective appeals to the "artist in everyone," and leads to "democratic" arts policies aimed at arts education and programs of fair distribution that spread the cultural wealth -- art and art subsidies -- to every part of the country rather than leaving them to a narrow coterie of so-called "elite" institutions. Its egalitarianism (depending on your point of view) both popularizes and vulgarizes art. Some claim that it also relativizes art by equating one "taste culture" (Herbert Gans) with another and, in the post-

modernist fashion, declaring all aesthetic visions and all cultural texts equal.

In a popular arts perspective, government intervention is a natural outgrowth of art's public and popular character.

THE COMMERCIAL perspective treats art as a commodity no different than any other commercial product of the free market. To the degree democracy is reduced to free market philosophy, the commercial perspective may appear as an economistic version of the democratic perspective. It measures art by its capacity to attract consumers and pay for itself in the market's hard currencies. In doing so, it blurs distinctions between art and entertainment, between culture and commodity, and between self-expression and consumption. It treats popular (pop) art as conventional: fully embedded in the market. The commercial perspective can be understood as one particular dimension of the democratic perspective, but because it has serious consequences for policy (the commodification of art), it requires its own category and has policy entailments that may differ from those of the pop art perspective. Government, from this viewpoint, may wish to offset the constraining effects of markets and try to guarantee diversity against the market's uniformity, for example.

* * *

Historically, few societies have represented only one of these ideal types, least of all, the United States. In practice, they overlap and intersect.

Most polities are characterized by some variable and evolving combination, often in contradictory ways. In America, there has been some movement historically from liberal and aristocratic perspectives (in the nineteenth century), through romantic and realist/dissent perspectives (from the twenties through the sixties in this century), to a rough dialectic of aristocratic, democratic pop art and commercial perspectives in recent years. However, it would not be hard to demonstrate that aspects of nearly all of the perspectives noted above can be detected today in American struggles over arts policy and discussions of censorship, funding and arts education. Is there a state council for the arts where aristocratic advocates of pure art do not confront democratic advocates of art for everyone? where zealous supporters of culture's necessarily subversive (romantic) role are not arrayed against patriotic boosters of an official art sanctioned by and supportive of conventional cultural norms? Indeed, these ongoing arguments are themselves an expression of the pluralistic character of the "culture of culture" in the United States.

Like other observers and critics, I have my own generic views about the relationship between art and politics generally, and the arts and humanities and American society as it exists today. I suspect in general that art and culture are a good deal more resilient than most worriers allow. Absent subsidy, absent even democracy, and in the presence of the conformist pressures of either political autocracy or majoritarian mass opinion, the arts survive. For they are rooted in indelible human genius and an irrepressible

need for authentic self-expression and communication that surface under almost every imaginable condition, including the Gulag and the extermination camps of Nazi Germany. They are as difficult to root out and destroy as the human spirit itself.

At the same time, there are important and quite distinctive practical consequences that flow from the several perspectives portrayed above. The ultimate survivability of art is not an adequate reason to avoid addressing tough questions of arts policy in a democracy. Perhaps most importantly, the common linkage of democracy and the arts to a robust civil society demands careful attention. Democracy is not just a matter of formal governing institutions and a constitutional framework of popular sovereignty. A free press and a ready sense of rights are necessary but hardly sufficient conditions for democratic practice. As Dewey noted, democracy is as much a way of life as a form of government, and its success rests on the existence and heartiness of the civic domain – understood as distinct both from the government and the private commercial domain.

Civil society is constituted by free voluntary institutions that are also public in nature. Foundations, civic associations, charities, schools, religious institutions and the free media are all part of this domain – along with the arts. Indeed, the arts are civil society's driving engine, the key to its creativity, its diversity, its imagination and hence its spontaneousness and liberty. As democracy depends on civil society for its liberal spiritedness, so civil society

depends on the arts. And in this manner, democracy ultimately rests on the arts' commitment to free creativity, liberal diversity and unfettered imagination. A government that supports the arts and the humanities is not engaging in philanthropic activity but assuring the conditions of its own flourishing. This is perhaps the most important single argument in favor of a democratic government playing some role in the arts: not in the name of the needs of the arts, but in the name of the needs of democracy.

Under normal circumstances, however much a democratic way of life depends on the creativity and critical imagination generated by the arts and however much it is enhanced when it rests on a robust civic infrastructure nourished by the arts, the arts can survive without democratic support -- indeed, without a democratic constitution. Our circumstances today are not entirely normal, however. Under the adverse conditions of pervasive mass commerce, and as a consequence of our growing ambivalence about diversity and pluralism in what some fear is a hyper-pluralistic society, the arts may both be at risk and be necessary in unprecedented ways. Consequently, there may be some specific arguments in favor of a modest government presence in arts education and an argument for incentives and subsidies for creation and performance beyond the general relationship posited above between democracy, civil society and the arts. In particular, there are two conditions that have altered the landscape today and offer special justification for government intervention. The first is an ever more overweening commercial

environment, the second an ever more diversified and (some fear) fragmented society. Let me briefly address each of these crucial issues and how they may impact on arts policy.

COMMERCE: Art may have more to fear from the uncoerced and largely invisible constraints of commercialization nowadays than it does from a too pushy or censorious government. Artists in turn, although they certainly have the "right" to isolate themselves from society and pursue their muse free from interference, may discover that by assuming responsibilities for arts education and civic engagement, they contribute to a climate that is as tolerant and pluralistic as liberal philosophy says it ought to be. Artists as artists are responsible only to their art; but artists are also citizens, and as citizens they have a particular responsibility to contribute to and nourish an arts-supportive civil society. In doing so they serve both democracy and themselves, their fellow citizens and their art.

Advocates of "privatizing," suspicious of government meddling in the arts, may think that they are supporting a liberal domain of the private when they call for laissez-faire. But in an era when civil society has been collapsed into the commercial market sector, privatization may turn out to mean commercialization and the arts will not be "left alone" but subjected to the harsh interventionist dynamics of commerce. Under such conditions, neither high art, rebellious art nor even ordinary amateur art (community theater for

example) are likely to thrive. The market pushes towards uniformity of taste, a levelling of standards, and the commodification of art product in ways that will satisfy almost no one -- whatever perspective they represent. Magazines trump books, newspapers trump magazines, tabloids trump newspapers, television trumps tabloids, MTV trumps television -- until not even popular culture in its full diversity can survive, let alone the more fragile arts found on the margins of the conventional.

Not just high art and rebellious art, but popular culture too needs the incentives and balancing support of government and arts council subsidy in a market that, while "free" in theory, is in practice often monopolistic in ownership and conformist in taste. "Public" television has offered a place on the broadcast spectra where "other" tastes -- some "high," some "popular," but in any case not necessarily likely to flourish in a pure market environment -- can have a chance to educate, cultivate and entertain audiences. I can think of no good reason why so modest a presence, had for so modest a cost, should be seen as either a harbinger of government-sponsored taste or a usurpation of an otherwise quite nearly sovereign set of commercial market mechanisms.

DIVERSITY: Ours is not only a democratic market society in which commerce plays an usually powerful role in conditioning other features of the social landscape; it is also a pluralistic society that in recent decades has become so diversified and differentiated that historians like Arthur Schlesinger,

Jr. have begun to worry about the disintegration of our cultural fabric (see *The Disuniting of Democracy*, for example). The arts have a special role to play in this domain because they have the capacity simultaneously to offer expression to the particular identities of communities and groups (including those that feel excluded from the dominant community's space) and to capture commonalities and universalities that tie communities and groups together into a national whole. The Southern novel did not fragment America: it helped define an American perspective. The Hudson River School of painting represented an emerging American taste in the nineteenth century, just as New England transcendentalism helped create an American philosophical perspective. Jewish culture in New York helps tie the city together even as it gives special expression to particular identity. African-American music and theater have offered American blacks a unique avenue for particularistic cultural expression (see most recently *Bring in Da Noise, Bring in Da Funk!*) and at the same time stamped our national culture with much of its common identity. Jazz, tap, and blues (and the broader popular music culture that finds its roots in them) at once define America and define the special contribution of African-Americans to America.

Thus, perhaps uniquely, the arts have the power to give voice to and hence to empower and recognize the marginalized and the minorities, and at the same moment to constitute from them an inclusive common culture from which none are excluded. This is their special contribution to an era in which

hyper-diversity has become a problem, and a special reason to consider offering unintrusive support to them from independent government bodies such as arts and humanities councils even though under more normal circumstances such support might seem unnecessary, superfluous or perhaps even undesirable.

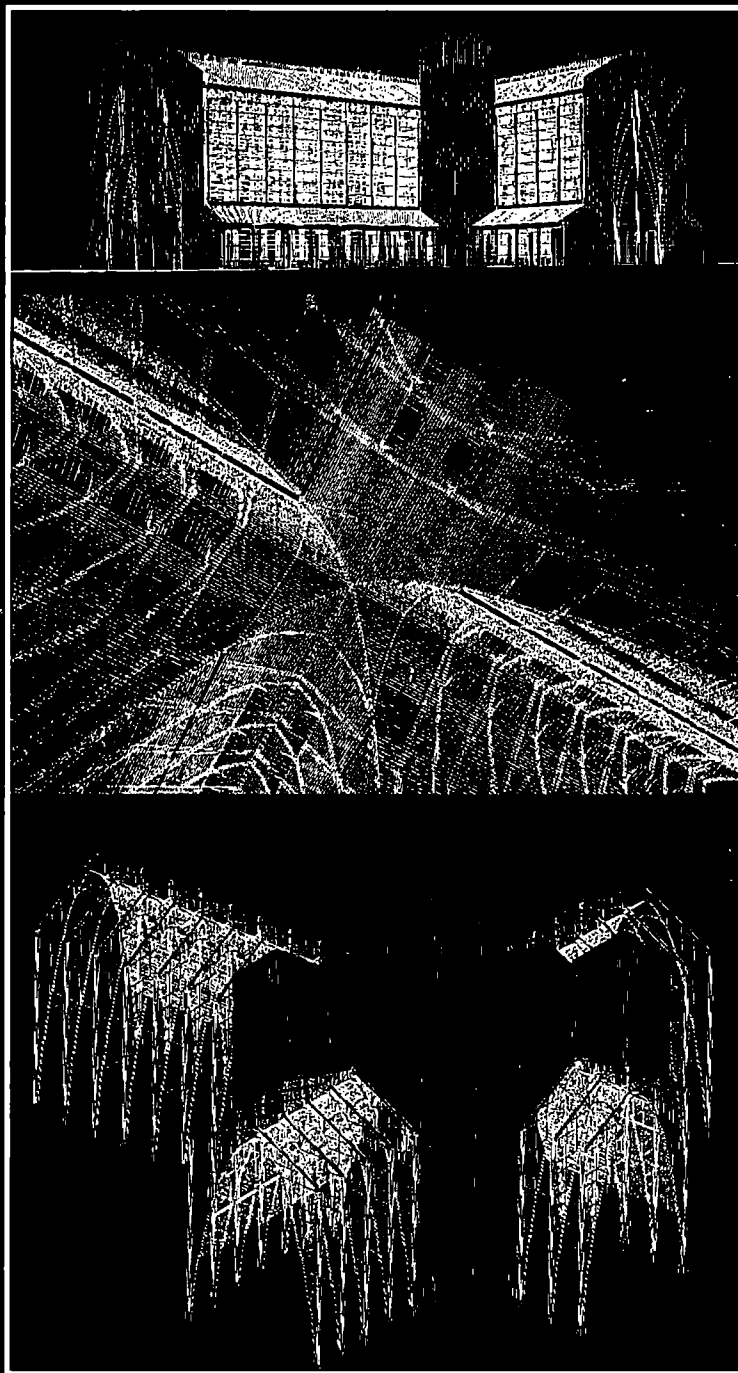
Finally, let me recall that art and democracy share a dependency on one extraordinary human gift, imagination. Imagination is their common link to civil society. If imagination flourishes in the arts, democracy is benefitted. If it flourishes in democracy, the arts and the civil society the arts help ground also benefit. Imagination is the key to diversity, to civic compassion, and to commonality. It is the faculty by which we stretch ourselves to include others, expand the compass of our interests to discover common ground, and overcome the limits of our parochial selves to become fit subjects to live in democratic communities. The democratic citizen needs critical imagination to ward off tyranny and defend liberty. The artist needs critical imagination to ward off convention and defend creation. Ideally, in serving imagination, the arts serve democracy and democratic citizenship; and ideally, in supporting the arts, democracy serves itself -- even where the arts it supports defy convention, outrage taste and flaunt democratic mores. It is only a mature democracy that fully appreciates these linkages. Ironically, youthful democracies that most need the arts to grow and mature are least likely to support them. It has been

a mark of America's maturity as a free society that it has sustained a supportive arts policy without becoming either proprietary or censorious.

To be sure, art will not perish even in the absence of active support and understanding from a democratic people and their government. Nor will democracy wilt and die in the absence of a robust arts policy and a correspondingly vibrant arts community. But democracy, depending for its liberty on a free civil society, will do better as the arts do better, and the arts will do better as democratic citizens and their governing institutions choose to support them (if not always underwrite them) and refrain from censoring them. Finally, though both benefit by the other's good health, it is democracy that has most to gain by cultivating and supporting the arts and the artists who are their creators. Though they remain stubborn, independent, cranky, rebellious, sometimes ungrateful and always subversive, artists cultivate and manifest the liberty that lies at the very core of democracy's liberal soul.

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Benjamin R. Barber is Walt Whitman Professor of Political Science at Rutgers University and the Director of the Walt Whitman Center for the Culture and Politics of Democracy. Among his twelve books, which include most recently *Jihad vs. McWorld* and *An Aristocracy of Everyone*, are the novel *Marriage Voices* and the prize-winning television documentary (with Patrick Watson) *The Struggle for Democracy*. His libretto for *Home and the River*, a civil war opera with music by George Quincy received its premier concert reading in New York in June.



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President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities

1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20506

202/682-5409

