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6TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Public Perspective

June, 1996 / July, 1996

SECTION: Vol. 7, No. 4; Pg. 40

LENGTH: 4433 words

HEADLINE: New Forms of Political Participation;
Acts of Democracy: Reconceptualizing Politics, Participation, and Competence

BYLINE: by Richard P. Hiskes; Richard P. Hiskes is associate professor of
Political Science at the University of Connecticut

BODY:

Since Lincoln stood at Gettysburg, democracy has often been characterized in terms of prepositions -- government "of, by and for" the people. Lincoln's legendary eloquence can be misleading however, since at its heart democracy's specialness can only be captured by honoring its verbs. What both citizens and their governments actually do -- or refrain from doing -- is what sets democratic politics apart from all other forms. Lincoln of course knew this, and so in his short, most famous speech, he makes it clear that what the world will "note and long remember," indeed, what "consecrates" the killing field on which he stood, are not the words uttered in remembrance. but rather, the "unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced."

The Work of Democracy

In the United States today, democracy is full of talk. On television and radio, over the internet, even occasionally in the streets, political discussions spew out volumes of words, most of them far more forgettable than the few spoken by Lincoln. What of democracy's talk today -- are the words uttered in 1990s' democratic discourse worth remembering? Do they capture the meaning of democracy in an even remotely similar fashion as those spoken in 1863? Or was Lincoln's true eloquence embodied in his recognition, partially hidden by his modesty, that words and talk are not the essence of democracy?

The latter is an important question in any evaluation of the state of democracy in our time. Its significance presses in on us even as the talk increases. Indeed, the vast expansion of communications technologies such as the Internet and satellites makes the question ever more salient. Never before have the possibilities for democratic discussion existed to the degree they do now. And never before has democracy emerged seemingly victorious in so many societies as in recent years. One cannot help but presume some correlation between democracy's advance and that of communications technologies. And yet, Lincoln's admonition still echoes -- amidst all the shouting, faxing, e-mailing, and chatting -- is anyone here doing the work of democracy?

A growth industry of commentary, both academic and popular, is mushrooming around the general topic of the present state of democracy. Titles such as Democracy's Discontent, Democracy On Trial, and Making Democracy Work, bespeak an unease with the present condition of democratic forms in the United States and elsewhere. While acknowledging the dramatic democratic changes occurring in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, these books explore the present

state of democratic discourse and action, judging it to be disconcertingly "anxious," "disempowered," "faltering," even a "frayed fabric." n2 Perhaps in light of the cold war's end, democracy's malaise can partly be chalked up to the spoilage of victory; still, Fukuyama's "end of history" was not supposed to be this depressing. Liberal democracy's apparent triumph over communism seems diminished by its gloomy inward gaze.

n1 Michael Sandel, *Democracy's Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1996); Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Democracy On Trial*, (New York: Basic, 1995); Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

n2 See in addition to the above, Robert D. Putnam, "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America," *PS: Political Science & Politics* XXVIII:664-83; December 1995.

Sandel, Elshtain, and Putnam agree that the source of democracy's morale problem does not lie in its formal political institutions; nor, therefore, do its solutions, a point of particular interest for Putnam in his evaluation of emerging democratic systems. Rather, the work of democracy is languishing within the civic life of society upon which political institutions are constructed. Elshtain mourns (p. 5) the "evacuation of civic spaces;" Putnam (1995, p. 667) wonders "why are more Americans bowling alone?" Sandel (p. 6) observes that liberalism "lacks the civic resources to sustain self-government."

What all three authors focus on is the level of civil society that democracy requires for its politics and institutions to thrive. All three revert to Tocqueville for their characterizations of what civil society represents. Tocqueville perhaps was most economical in his characterization of civic life as encompassing "the habits of the heart." Elshtain (p.5) elaborates by referring to the "many forms of community and association that dot the landscape of a democratic culture, from families to churches to neighborhood groups to trade unions to self-help movements to volunteer assistance to the needy." Though admitting that political parties once also "were a robust part of this picture," Elshtain finds no other political institutions in sight. Civil society is not in the Constitution; it is however, behind it, and from it all other democratic institutions find their impetus and justification.

In both Tocqueville's and Elshtain's characterizations of democratic civil life, notice what is lacking in their images of citizen interaction. First, the behavior is conceived of as habitual -- that is, instinctual rather than rationally goal-directed or pursuant to well defined and reflected upon interests. These are people simply "being" with other people, in families, churches, and on the street. Second, these habits are of "the heart," not of the pocketbook or even necessarily of the mind. They call attention to commitments -- for Sandel, to "encumbrances" -- of a sort mostly entered into willingly, out of a sense of need rather than of calculation or gain. Finally, none of the associations that emerge from such motivations are predominantly characterized by talking or being heard, but by acting, by being engaged in common work or play (Putnam's bowling leagues) that requires communication surely, but is not primarily about communicating.

If these theorists are correct -- and I believe they are -- in their belief that the explanation behind democracy's presently sorry state is the loss of our civic culture, many issues arise that need to be considered by political

scientists and other professionals which they have long since stopped addressing. These questions go to the heart of how we conceptualize the realm of behavior that we claim to study, theorize about, conduct opinion polls on, etc. Indeed the very definition of politics is at issue, as is the perhaps broader concept of the "public realm," and its relationship to (and distinction from) private or civil life. Beyond questioning the definition of the realm of politics, exploring the present state of democratic civil life also leads us to review the present meanings of two other concepts of democratic politics: what passes for or counts as political participation -- that is, the "work" of democracy; and secondly, within that definition, how do we measure citizen competency in performing that work?

"The Personal is Political," but Uncivil

The feminist rallying cry of the sixties is heard today on a score of political fronts, some of which have little or no relationship with that earlier movement. But even before the phrase "the personal is political," was first uttered, it had signified an area of public negotiation within the democratic politics of the United States. As a nation made up of immigrant groups, US citizens have throughout its history felt the opposing tugs of identification coming from their ethnic or cultural associations on the one hand, and their nation as a whole on the other. Neighborhoods with singular identities turned cities into mosaics of diversity, while politics became the art of distilling common areas of agreement and compromise about issues that transcended or were otherwise outside one's literal and figurative "neighborhood."

Today, the boundaries separating identity from politics are virtually erased, and the consequences for democracy have been dire. Though the possible causes of this loss of distinction are numerous, a few likely culprits are worth noting. Robert Putnam lays the blame for what he calls the loss of "social capital" that facilitates civil association largely at television's door, noting that the period of its inculcation into most American homes corresponds with the period when citizens increasingly became strangers to each other. His accusation sounds a bit pat, but if broadened a bit to include communications technology generally, the impact on the "trust, norms, and networks" that constitute social capital is easier to identify. (I will return to communications technologies in the next section)

From a still broader perspective, modern technologies of many types and the risks they embody feed into present tendencies within the public realm to politicize identity and make presumptive claims on the polity on that basis. For example, consider medical risks now identifiable through advances in modern medicine that are limited to specific groups of potential victims. Whether we consider "acceptable" diseases such as Tay Sachs disease among eastern European Jewish populations or sickle cell anemia among blacks, or vaguely "blameworthy" illnesses like AIDS in gay populations or lung cancer among smokers, the risks of modern life help to make "identity politics" the order of the day. Within what Elshtain calls the resulting "politics of displacement," talk and rights are both everywhere and cheap.

n3 For a broad discussion of the impact of modern risk on the philosophy and practice of liberal politics, see my *Democracy, Risk, and Community: Technology and the Evolution of Liberal Meanings*, forthcoming.

When democratic politics, with its concepts of rights, liberty and equality, crosses into the private realm of civil association, what results may be a boon to lawyers, but to few others. When family life, club membership, work relationships, even entertainment options excessively become matters of litigation, legislation, and campaign rhetoric, something necessary to the healthy functioning of democracy has been lost. Democracy, as Tocqueville insisted, requires associations that are not political but yet still function as sources of meaning and social engagement. Such social organisms are not within the public realm; the relationships upon which they are constructed are not based upon rights but on shared conviction and interest. Yet, they undergird the public realm and keep the power of governmental coercion at bay; they are therefore essential for the protection of individual liberty and the overall well-being of democracy.

In our lifetime, the public realm and its dialect of "rights talk" has overwhelmed all other human relationships, while the realm of civil discourse and association has shriveled. Blame is difficult to assign for such an emergent and pervasive phenomenon that conflates the public and private, but there is sufficient responsibility to cover all points on the ideological spectrum. On the right is President Reagan opining before a joint session of Congress that "private values must be at the heart of public policies."⁴ On the left are the myriad defenders of individual rights and their formal organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union. As a less obviously political example, Elshtain echoes Putnam in faulting the blight of exhibitionism known as television talk shows that exploit the loss of the private space within democratic politics. When the private realm disappears, what becomes of individual self-identity is found only in whatever gains "publicity," regardless of its level of venality.

⁴ Quoted in New York Times, 5 February 1986, p. A-20.

There are many ways to construe what losing the public/private distinction means for democratic life, but one that is particularly evocative focuses on the status of rights as the currency of contemporary discourse. It is a commonplace today to note that many of the so-called rights declaimed in public speech are nowhere to be found in the Constitution. Such is the distinction between true rights and "rights talk." Real rights have as their focus whatever is necessary for the treatment of all individuals as equals, though not in the sense of guaranteeing every person the same outcomes, wealth, etc. Rights, as Ronald Dworkin famously concluded, ensure each person not "equal treatment," but a level of respect that comes from "being treated as an equal." Such treatment and respect are public acts, and are limited in their scope.

"Rights talk," on the other hand, as identified by legal scholar Mary Ann Glendon, denotes the (lazy) wish that private needs should be granted as a matter of political obligation and public policy. Claiming equal treatment in the family, at work, in church life, in entertainment opportunities is certainly an essential part of the democratic life, but not of democratic government. These are areas of the private domain, to be negotiated as a matter of what is considered "good" by the participants, and are not properly guaranteed by government action. Why not? Because government is incapable of providing such goods. They are nevertheless essential to the meaning of democracy. They represent the work, not the talk of democracy; and as such, they belong to the civil realm. This realm is only partially described as that within which the power of government is circumscribed; it is more accurate to say that this is the realm where citizens jointly, freely, and through their relations with

each other, lay the foundations for democracy as a way of life, not merely as a set of institutions and processes. In this realm is where the hard work of democracy is done, and it requires more than talk and more than our disengaged viewing of the carnivals of celebrity known as contemporary democratic politics.

Civil Politics and Participatory Democratic Acts

What then should count as a democratic act, or, to put the question specifically to political scientists like myself: what should be noted, measured, or theorized about as evidence of participation in democratic politics? Clearly, if we follow Tocqueville and his contemporary interlocutors, the definition of participation expands far beyond the usual elements of running for office, voting, or supporting candidates.

Democracy construed as a way of life presumes that all interactions between citizens, whether at home, in their associations, at work, or at play, take on a political significance that either broadens or diminishes the prospects for democratic life. Those interactions, as such, are neither fully public nor private. They are clearly not private in the sense of solitary since they involve others; yet they do not necessarily -- or in some cases easily -- invoke the language of the public sphere with its emphasis upon rights. Yet they represent the discourse of a culture and a society, and because they do they are constitutive of both public and private realms. These interactions of our life invoke and rely upon the elements of our public discourse, as political theorist Sheldon Wolin summarizes them, our "vocabulary, ideologies, symbols, images, memories, and myths that have come to form the ways we think and talk" about our life together. n5

n5 Sheldon Wolin, *The Presence of the Past: Essays on the State and the Constitution*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. 9.

The quasi-public character of such interactions, which should form such a large part of our contemporary life, does not entitle or require them to become the focus of either government or law. To the contrary, since neither government nor law has the capacity ever fully to bring democracy to this realm of life, attempts to do so most often, as Elstain enumerates and Tocqueville foresaw, result in a loss rather than a gain to democratic liberty and equality. Democratic negotiations of civil relations are the duty of citizens alone, and the tools they bring to the table, ranging from love or mutual respect to shame or moral censure, are examples of how real democratic discourse differs from rights talk or chat on the internet.

For some democratic theorists, democracy is defined by the idea of communication, or, as in the case of Benjamin Barber, by the model of a conversation. n6 For many of these theorists, the opportunities for communication offered by the new technologies of the internet and cable communications, or by the resuscitation of older techniques like talk radio, represent brave new worlds of democratic possibility. I do not share their enthusiasms; nor, I contend, would Tocqueville or other classic apostles of free democratic discourse such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau or John Stuart Mill.

n6 Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984); especially part II.

Communicative interactions that occur on the internet, talk radio, on televised talk shows, over fax lines, and the like, are unique products of this century -- in some cases, of the past decade. They occupy a space between public life and solitary disengagement, and because they do they appear as good examples of civil society. Though I might dispute even this, I will limit myself to the less sweeping claim that they are examples of democratic civil life. Such communications are certainly part of our contemporary discourse, as understood by Wolin, but they are not particularly democratic elements, for two reasons manifested by their essential features.

First, such interactions embrace a paradox of being both public yet isolating, interactive but untraceable, identity affirming (in Elshtain's sense) yet nevertheless in many cases anonymous. Electronic communication is not public in the sense of being face-to-face discourse, though it is often "in your face." It is never truly civic speech; and often esignedly so -- not even civil. The lack of civility in much of what passes for contemporary discourse is a second element that marks it as non-democratic in nature.

As Rousseau, Mill, and Tocqueville understood, democracy requires that citizens engage each other as citizens -- as sharers of a discourse -- in each others' presence. For Rousseau this requirement included even -- specially -- the most public act of legislation, since he believed the democratic right to give laws to oneself could never be delegated away. Mill, Tocqueville, the authors of The Federalist Papers, and most eighteenth and nineteenth-century believers in democracy were somewhat less demanding, since they allowed for representation in the matter of making laws. But they all agreed with Rousseau that delegation has its limits; specifically, it cannot extend to the normal interactions of everyday democratic life. Citizens must face each other; anonymity is not allowable in a democracy - for either public officials or citizens. Their reasoning is simple really: democracy is work that requires open accountability and public responsibility from all those who partake of it. On these grounds Mill went so far as to deny the efficacy of the secret ballot, and insisted that all votes be publicly recorded. Excessive secrecy in government or in citizenship, he reasoned, is a danger that threatens democracy as a whole. As evidence, they noted that the chief threats to democracy -- corruption, tyranny, bigotry, the loss of equal respect that constitutes discrimination of all kinds -- all of these thrive best in secret; the light of open scrutiny and public discussion threatens them as much as it secures democracy's future.

Chat on the internet, calls on the radio, appearances on television talk shows under fake names, none of these presume the openness and therefore the accountability of democratic citizenship. Thus, it is no wonder that they also so often depart the norms of democratic civility or even common courtesy. The technologies make anonymity possible, and in so doing push discourse to the extreme ends of the ideological spectrum and to extremist stands on particular issues.

Perhaps it is too much to blame the technologies themselves for the often demeaning and unenlightening nature of much political discussion today, since they are only the "messengers." Nevertheless, in their possibilities for abuse, new communications technologies are not, at the very least, the great hopes for democracy's future development, and the proof of this is the sheer amount of abusive extremism they enable. Tocqueville noted, albeit somewhat ambivalently, that in democracies, "extremes are softened or blunted." For Tocqueville, that moderation is a cause both of democracy's weakness in achieving "greatness" in

matters of culture, and of its greatest strength -- its superior ability in delivering justice. For good or ill, in other words, democracy thrives when its discourse seeks the commonality and civility of the middle range. One needs only to "log on" to the chat lines or "channel surf" across the talk shows to realize that this mid-range is not the preferred option to either the providers or users of the new technologies.

This is not to say, however, that the new technologies are incapable of serving the true cause of democracy. They are, as mere instruments, themselves neutral. They can be put into democracy's service, but only to the extent that they incorporate the requisites of human interaction within the civil realm of a truly democratic common life. That is, to the extent that new communication technologies manifest the openness, connectedness, face-to-face character and accountability of authentic democratic discourse, they can serve democracy's interest. Judging by current uses, this appears more difficult than one might think or hope.

Still, some instances of the new technologies' use provide reasons for hope. Specifically, the 1996 National Issues Convention in Austin, Texas, employed television and other communications technologies in ways meant to emulate the face-to-face discussions required for democracy to thrive. n8 In the final analysis of course, democracy's fate never was or will be a matter of this or that technology. Its future is always a matter of its citizens' ability and willingness to assume the responsibility and accountability of the democratic civil realm. Technology itself can only at best augment that degree of "competence;" it can never replace it, and at technology's worst, citizens' competency can diminish through its use.

n7 For an excellent treatment of both the limitations and possibilities of this new experiment in democratic discourse, see Catherine Flavin and Regina Dougherty (1996), "Science and Citizenship at the NIC," The Public Perspective 7:46-49; April/May.

Competency, Civility, Democracy

If what I have said so far has merit concerning the importance of the civil spaces between the private and public realms of a democratic society, the question of how competent citizens are in handling the responsibilities of democracy leads us to considerations most traditional literature on the subject tends either to ignore or miss. If the real work of democracy takes place in the associative engagement of civil society, as Tocqueville, Rousseau, and Mill insisted, then the competence of citizens to perform cannot be measured solely in terms of how they vote, if they vote, if they understand political issues, if their preferences are rational, transitive, and so on. These are questions for the strictly public realm, and as important as they might (or might not) be, the evaluation of democracy's present condition does not depend on their answers.

In their appreciation of how important a healthy civil realm is for democracy, Putnam, Elstain, and Sandel effectively reopen the question of citizen competency on different grounds. Competent citizens are not those who merely vote often and wisely, or who know who to call to further their interests. Rather, truly competent citizens appreciate the need for healthy "habits of the heart," and pursue the civility and engaged discourse that democracy makes available to all citizens. Under this definition the criteria of citizen competency are different indeed, but, as these works make clear, are

no easier to satisfy.

Competent citizens are scarcer today than previously, Elshtain, Putnam, and Sandel fear, but this is proven not by observing citizens' apparent inability to measure up to rational models of decision making or by totaling the votes on election day. Today, citizens are failing to meet the standards of the democratic civil realm -- they are disengaged, homebound, absent on bowling night. They are talking to each other perhaps across the wires, cables, and radio waves, but they are not "acting" in the sense of performing in each others' presence the essential roles of democratic participants. These roles are not necessarily those that political scientists, pollsters and pundits are likely to observe, honor, or measure. They are roles that require no special expertise, but a willingness to speak and act as joint participants in the play of democracy. This is the work not getting done; it is the work of democracy that is being shirked.

Communication and other modern technologies are not really to blame for this as much as are our expectations for them and our growing reliance upon them. In the United States especially, there exists a long, mostly dishonorable history of waiting for the "technological fix" to eradicate whatever problems we encounter. But democracy is not the product of technological inventiveness, nor is it automatically enhanced when innovations make it easier to live one's life more in the presence of glowing screens than of other people.

Democracy need not engender Luddism either: it simply denlands, as it always has and will regardless of whatever technological turns we take, that citizens remain engaged in each others' lives. In a very real, though somewhat ironic sense, that is a more difficult task today because of our new, "helpful" devices of communication rather than in spite of them. In a democracy, computer literacy is not related to political literacy in any essential way, and competent, engaged, participating citizens need, perhaps more than anything else, simply to get out more, taking an evening to perform in democracy's civic theater.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 21, 1996

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

National Arts and Humanities Month
October 1993

The moral strength of our great nation is rooted in our rich cultural traditions and in a profound appreciation for the diversity of the people, values, and beliefs that make us Americans. For more than 200 years, the quality of our civic life has flowed not only from our industrial, agricultural, and technological ingenuity, but also from the creative vision of our artists and the wisdom of our humanists.

Through the arts and humanities we gain a deeper understanding of ourselves as individuals and as a society. The arts and humanities remind us that whatever our differences, we share a common heritage that binds us together as a nation.

Music, painting, sculpture, architecture, dance, theater, film, and the folk arts all awaken our minds and our senses. They allow us to express our emotions, impressions, and attitudes about the human condition and the human experience.

History, literature, and philosophy allow us to explore and understand ourselves and others through collective reflection and learning.

The arts and humanities enable Americans from every walk of life to respond to both their individuality and their shared experiences in ways that make the human spirit soar.

We are a nation called to artistic and intellectual responsibility at a critical time in the history of the world. Our major authors are read in every language, our films are shown in every capital, and our music never lacks listeners. Our traditions of free inquiry and expression help to shape political attitudes and cultural values around the globe.

As we become an increasingly diverse society, the arts and humanities will help us deepen our understanding of one another, honor our differences, and celebrate our shared experiences and values as Americans.

English, math, science, history, civic, geography and foreign language.

And just last month, Education Secretary Richard Riley accepted guidelines for school districts to set new standards for high school graduation that would require student to have a working knowledge of dance, music, theater, and the visual arts, and to develop some proficiency in at least one art form.

If we plan wisely today, our children will enjoy a life-long connection to the arts, to our collective spirit, and to the never-ending process of learning.

Throughout our history, the arts have mattered. And our dedication to the arts today will shape our civilization tomorrow.

With our continued efforts, and with enhanced public and private partnerships, we can maintain our great artistic institutions - our museums, theaters, opera companies, dance companies, and performing arts centers - and we can also encourage emerging artists and organizations who bring energy and fresh ideas to our artistic traditions

I assure you of the ongoing commitment and support of this administration.

Your participation in the ART-21 conference is an historic first step in making sure that the arts continue to blossom and flourish freely across our great nation.

Thank you so much for giving your time and energy to such an important cause - and one that holds so much promise for our citizens and our nation.

4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company
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June 21, 1995, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 19; Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 659 words

HEADLINE: Arts for Our Sake

BYLINE: By Hillary Rodham Clinton; Hillary Rodham Clinton is honorary chairwoman of the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities. This article is based on her remarks at the Metropolitan Museum of Art earlier this month.

BODY:

This is an ominous time for those of us who care deeply about the arts in America. A misguided, misinformed effort to eliminate public support for the arts not only threatens irrevocable damage to our cultural institutions but also to our sense of ourselves and what we stand for as a people.

One of the great successes of the arts in America is that they are not the preserve of any "cultural elite." Through museums, libraries, schools, dance companies and concerts, the arts are truly part of the public domain, accessible to all and capable of encouraging every person's artistic expression and sensibility.

The National Endowment for the Arts, in partnership with individuals, corporations, foundations and other patrons of the arts, has helped transform whole communities by bringing the arts and artists to millions who otherwise might never have had the opportunity to explore firsthand our shared artistic heritage.

The President has shown that we can balance the budget over the next 10 years without undermining our commitment to the arts. The N.E.A. budget accounts for less than 0.02 percent of the Federal budget. Eliminating this small but vital agency would have grave consequences for local economies. Federal support for the arts helps attract tourists, stimulate business, expand the tax base and improve the quality of life -- a huge return on a small investment.

Despite a 30-year bipartisan commitment to the arts, there are those who argue that public support is a luxury we can no longer afford. They mistakenly suggest that the arts are enjoyed only by a small, wealthy minority. But if public support for the arts disappears, those most affected will not be the richest Americans but the millions of citizens who rely on the N.E.A. to bring the arts to their local schools and communities.

I find it ironic that those who talk the loudest about America's loss of civility, character and values (particularly those arising from Western civilization) are often the first to recommend obliterating the agencies responsible for promoting arts programs that make Sophocles, Shakespeare, Mozart and O'Keefe available to our children.

They fail to appreciate what every generation of Americans has intuitively known -- that the artistic imagination is critical to our civilization and our

The New York Times, June 21, 1995

democracy. They forget the prescient words of John Adams: "I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study mathematics and philosophy . . . in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music."

The power of the arts is not simply to provide pleasant esthetics but to help move us forward as a democracy. Human expression, as conveyed through the arts, enables us to understand better the complexities of life and gives us a bridge to the world preceding and surrounding us. Most important, exposure to our cultural traditions enriches the lives of our children.

Too often, we see 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.

Clearly our nation faces difficult choices. But as the rhetoric heats up over the role of government in our society, 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.

GRAPHIC: Drawing.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 21, 1995

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 26, 1996

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS AT ARTS AND HUMANITIES FOR
AT-RISK YOUTH EVENT
THE WHITE HOUSE**

Thank you all. Thank you very much. Thank you and welcome to the White House. And I want to start by thanking the Chicago Children's Choir because we were, Richard and the rest of us, in the Blue Room getting ready for the program. I'm going to ask them to sing again in the middle and the end of the program because I really appreciate their being here.

I want to thank so many people, but let me start with Sheldon Hackney, and Jane Alexander and Diane Frankel who, through thick and through thin, have remained tireless in their efforts to promote our nation's rich cultural and artistic legacy. And the good news is that a day after there was an agreement on the 1996 budget, we still can say that the United States supports the arts, and the humanities and our museums. And we're just so grateful for the constancy of effort that many of you brought to this struggle in encouraging members of Congress and others to understand that our country needed to have the kind of commitment represented by these agencies. So, I want to thank all of you for making that possible.

On behalf of the President, let me also convey our very deep appreciation to the members of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities. Under the leadership of John Brademas, you have devoted considerable time and attention over the past year to helping children discover their creative potential through art, words, and ideas. And I would like to ask all the members of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, starting with Mr. Brademas, to please stand so that we can recognize and thank all of you for your work.

I would also like to take this opportunity to commend the countless artists, teachers, museum professionals and community leaders across our country who are offering our children positive alternatives, often amidst violence, and destruction, and despair. These men and women, many of whom are in this room representing thousands and thousands of others across our country, believe in the promise of every child, and in the power of the arts and humanities to transform children's lives. Your dedication and expertise have given and will continue to give

thousands and thousands of children new hope and confidence in their own future. And I am very grateful that those of you who could be here were able to join us today.

You know, every day, through the media, particularly television, we hear so many negative stories about America's children. We hear about children floundering in a sea of confusion, frustration, anger, and violence. We hear about children growing up in environments that are so impoverished -- economically and spiritually -- that they cannot resist the lure of drugs, gangs, and other forms of destructive behavior.

But there are so many more positive stories to tell. There are so many young people and children, who despite the odds, are going forward with optimism and confidence in their own lives.

I was in a school in Philadelphia a few weeks ago, and a young boy in seventh grade said, "You know, Mrs. Clinton, all we hear about are the bad kids; nobody really pays attention to us, and we're trying real hard to do the best we can." He said, "It must be like when an airplane crashes; everybody pays attention, and people forget about the thousands that land safely everyday." And I told him that I would do my part, as each of you is doing, to make sure that the positive stories get told. That we know that in every corner of America there are examples of children -- who might otherwise have been written off --- discovering joy, and fulfillment, and discipline and confidence. And often the way they are doing that is through artistic and intellectual expression.

The study that the President's Committee is releasing today, called "Coming Up Taller," offers compelling evidence that the arts and humanities provide young people with creative, productive, and safe outlets for their energy.

My husband often says, "Children need something to say yes to." And what better to say yes to than music, dance, painting, poetry, writing, drama, history, photography and other forms of creative expression.

The Committee's study -- which was funded entirely by private sources -- cites numerous instances of children whose school work, social habits, and outlooks on life have improved with exposure to arts and humanities programs.

I couldn't possibly relate every story. I hope you will read the report with the care it deserves. But for example, let me just mention a few:

-- One teenager, at risk of dropping out of high school, became involved with an artists-in-training program sponsored by the Opera Theatre of St. Louis. Now she has a full scholarship to

college and is in her second year studying voice.

-- A sixth-grader growing up in a low-income area of Philadelphia joined *The People's Light and Theater Company*, which works with students after school on a year-round basis. The students wrote, improvised and performed plays, including works of Shakespeare. Today, the girl is one of the top students in the 12th grade and is hoping to become a lawyer. I'll have to talk to her about that decision. Her 19 classmates in the program will all graduate from high school this spring.

-- A four-year-old boy came to pre-school every day but never talked. One day, as part of an early childhood arts program, the boy drew a picture in class, and began to tell his classmates the story behind his picture. Since then, his development has flourished through arts projects.

Each of these cases illustrates the benefits that come when children are engaged in activities that teach new skills, build strong interpersonal relationships, emphasize excellence, and provide a stable, safe environment that enhances learning and growth.

The President is extremely proud that his Administration -- through the National Endowment for the Arts, and its partnerships with the Department of Justice, the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Corporation for National Service -- as well as the ongoing work of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Institute of Museum Services, has consistently supported creative alternatives for young people.

Clearly our nation today faces great challenges and difficult choices when it comes to how we allocate federal resources. But I hope that, as we establish priorities for a new millennium, Americans will appreciate that the very small amount of public support given to the arts and humanities is a down payment on our future. It is not only an investment in our young people -- it is an investment in the values we claim to honor and the cultural traditions in which our democracy has flourished for more than 200 years.

If we care about civility, character, and our democratic freedoms, then we ought to support the federal agencies and institutions whose mission it is to make American culture available to all children, not just those whose parents can introduce them, but every child in whom that spark can be lit if they are given the chance.

Now this is National Poetry Month, and there is probably no better way to express what we all feel and what brings us together here than to quote some of the eloquent words from Rita

Dove, our National Poet Laureate from 1993 to 1995. As Ms. Dove reminds us:

"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 to 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."

Well that is what we are about the business of doing, engendering hope and self-esteem and trying to redefine a better, more optimistic and confident future. Indeed, when we hear the extraordinary voices of the Chicago Children's Choir, or the words of the two young people who will talk to us today -- or when we learn from Bill Strickland about his experiences as a student and teacher in children's art programs -- we know that our rich cultural traditions are alive and well and safely guarded for the future.

Thank all of you for your resilience in the face of some opposition and misunderstanding, for continuing to believe in America's children, and for understanding the roles that our arts and culture play in our individual and collective lives.

We are so honored today to have one of our finest actors and citizens with us. Certainly those of us who have followed his career have appreciated so much of what he has brought to the screen, the way he has moved us, the way he has provoked us, but recently he has, through a particular movie, reminded us of how important the work teaching of young people is when it comes to the arts. I was asked recently what my favorite movie of the year was, and I said "Mr. Holland's Opus." Not only because it started in the 1960's, when I was in high school, so I sat there looking at those white socks and tennis shoes the girls were wearing, seeing the scenes in the hallways, living through all that I can recall, but also remembering what it was like when I was in high school and even the smallest school, in the poorest state - like my husband's school in Hot Springs, Arkansas - had a band, had an orchestra, had art classes, had drama classes, put on plays. And now I look around, and just as we saw in the movie, those are considered frills. They're being cut out. No one wants to go to the trouble or spend the relatively meager resources needed to give children a chance to flower in ways that will give them the positive direction that some many of them need. I'm really grateful for that movie, but I'm even more grateful for the support and the career of Mr. Richard Dreyfuss. Please join me in welcoming him here today. Thank you.

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES
"COMING UP TALLER" REPORT ON AT-RISK YOUTH
THE WHITE HOUSE
APRIL 26, 1996**

It is a pleasure to have all of you at the White House for an occasion that gives us so much to celebrate.

Let me first thank Sheldon Hackney, Jane Alexander and Diane Frankel who, through thick and thin, have remained tireless in their efforts to promote our nation's rich cultural legacy.

On behalf of the President, let me also convey deep appreciation to the members of the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, who have devoted considerable time and attention over the past year to helping children discover their creative potential through art, words, and ideas. I ask each of you to please stand so that we may recognize your efforts.

Finally, I'd like to take this opportunity to commend the countless artists, teachers, museum professionals and community leaders across our country who are offering our children positive alternatives to lives of despair and destruction. These men and women believe in the promise of every child -- and in the power of the arts and humanities to transform children's lives. Their dedication and expertise have given thousands of children new hope and confidence in their own futures. I'm delighted that some of these fine artists and educators are with us today.

Every day, through the media and television, we hear bad news stories about America's children. We hear about children floundering in a sea of confusion, frustration, anger, and violence. We hear about children growing up in environments that are so impoverished -- economically and spiritually -- that they cannot resist the lure of drugs, gangs, and other forms of destructive behavior.

Today, it gives me great pleasure to talk about a good news story -- a story being seen and heard across the country that reminds us of the progress we can make if we are willing to invest our children with the attention and nurturing they need and deserve.

What we are witnessing in every corner of America are examples of children -- children who might otherwise have been written off -- discovering joy, fulfillment, discipline and self-confidence through their own artistic and intellectual expression.

The study that the President's Committee is releasing today

-- called "Coming Up Taller" -- offers compelling evidence that the arts and humanities provide young people with creative, productive, and safe outlets that can save their lives and enrich their souls.

Children, my husband often says, need "something to say yes to." Children can say yes to music, dance, painting, poetry, writing, drama, history, photography and other forms of creative expression. Programs in the arts and humanities give children reasons to believe in themselves. They give children ways to understand each other and the world in which they live. They give children channels to cope with the challenges of their lives.

The Committee's study -- which, by the way, was funded entirely through private sources -- cites numerous instances of children whose school work, social habits, and outlooks on life have improved with exposure to arts and humanities programs.

It would take far too long for me to relate every story, but let me mention a few:

-- One teenager, at risk of dropping out of high school, became involved with an artists-in-training program sponsored by the Opera Theatre of St. Louis. Now she has a full scholarship to college and is in her second year studying voice.

-- A sixth-grader growing up in a low-income area of Philadelphia joined *The People's Light and Theater Company*, which works with students after school on a year-round basis. The students wrote, improvised and performed plays, including works of Shakespeare. Today, the girl is one of the top students in the 12th grade and is hoping to become a lawyer. Her 19 classmates in the program will all graduate from high school this spring.

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Each of these cases illustrates the benefits that come when children are engaged in activities that teach new skills, build strong interpersonal relationships, emphasize excellence, and provide a stable, safe environment that enhances learning and growth.

The President is extremely proud that his Administration -- through the National Endowment for the Arts and its partnerships with the Department of Justice, the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Corporation for National Service, as well as the ongoing work of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the

Institute of Museum Services -- has consistently supported creative alternatives for young people whose lives offer few opportunities for artistic and intellectual stimulation.

Clearly our nation today faces great challenges and difficult choices when it comes to how to allocate federal resources. But I hope that, as we establish our priorities for a new millennium, Americans will appreciate that the very small amount of public support given to the arts and humanities is a downpayment on our future. It is not only an investment in our young people -- it is an investment in the values we claim to honor and the cultural traditions in which our democracy has flourished for more than 200 years.

If we care about civility, character, and our democratic freedoms, then we ought to support the federal agencies and institutions whose mission is to make American culture available to the children who will be our nation's future workers and citizens.

In closing, and because this is National Poetry Month, let me pass on some eloquent words from Rita Dove, our national Poet Laureate from 1993 to 1995:

"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 to 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."

Indeed, when we hear the extraordinary voices of the Chicago Children's Choir, or the words of the two young people who will talk to us today -- or when we learn from Bill Strickland about his experiences as a student and teacher in children's art programs -- we know that our rich cultural traditions are alive and well and safely guarded for the future.

Thank you for helping us celebrate the resilience of America's children, and the important role that American culture plays in our individual and collective lives.

Now, I have the pleasure of introducing a man we all admire as one of our nation's finest actors and citizens -- a man known most recently for being one of the best teachers ever to appear on the Hollywood screen -- Mr. Richard Dreyfuss.

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HEADLINE: ON THEATER / THE CLINTOS--FIRST FAMILY OF BROADWAY

BYLINE: Jan Stuart

BODY:

IT WAS A LOUSY weekend - gray, windy and rainswept - the kind of March weather that reminds us we're not quite out of the woods. And yet, the Broadway community had ample cause for dancing in the streets. Chelsea Clinton was in town to celebrate her 17th birthday with a day at the theater, slowing traffic and delaying curtain times with a showstopping entourage of parents, friends and Secret Service agents.

The League of American Theatres and Producers couldn't have finagled better advertising, even if it were able to afford it. To heck with the Tony Awards telecast - this amounted to a presidential seal of approval. Among them, the group would be bestowing an executive kiss on three shows in just one day. And the icing on the cake, for those of us who care about such things, was that the first family actually displayed impeccable taste: In the afternoon the whole group went to "Rent"; then Chelsea and her mates slinked off to "Bring in 'Da Noise, Bring in 'Da Funk" in the evening while Mom and Dad headed for "Chicago." Just as it should be.

With consummate timing, the Clintons were putting their money and publicity muscle where their mouths were. It had been barely a week since a presidential commission had announced that the country needed to be putting more bucks behind our foundering arts, a finding to which the president lent an instant thumbs-up and that Hillary Clinton passionately seconded when she got up to accept her Grammy award. What better show of support than to follow up with an all-out sweep of America's theater capital, including two shows that were nurtured in the nonprofit arena that is hurting the most?

A president who blows a sax and a first lady with a Grammy: Why had it taken so long for them to give the high-five to the arts? The question is rhetorical, really. After all, the man did need to get re-elected. Gays would be brandishing pink triangles in the military before the folks who hatched the Contract With America and the balanced budget amendment would allow arts spending to get within miles of the campaign playing field.

For once, we're glad President Clinton waited on something. Now that he is securely reinstalled and his popularity only seems to flourish with every new assault on his integrity, he has an opportunity to repair some of the damage that has been inflicted on the National Endowment for the Arts by the Capitol Hill-billies of the legislature. The Clintons - the president, his best-selling

wife and a teenage daughter with very cool taste in musicals - could be the best thing to happen to the arts since the Camelot regime of the Kennedys, not to mention the original Broadway production of "Camelot."

It has been decades since the first couple of the White House had a kid with theatergoing potential and the inclination to nurture it. Beyond any potential political benefits, what is especially moving about the Chelsea Clinton visit is that it is an official celebration of the family theater-outing. When Chelsea accompanies her parents to that show for people who hate the word "musical" and then blows out her birthday candles at The 21' Club, she helps us hark back to those days when our own parents took us to the theater for our birthdays.

Not every family can afford to do it in such high style as the Clintons, nor does it finally really matter. A stockbroker friend of mine who grew up in Brooklyn in a family of very modest means recalls that theater was such an essential part of his upbringing that his parents would annually book a hotel suite in Manhattan and take them on a marathon of shows for five days. He is, not accidentally, truly one of the most literate and humane Wall Street hounds I know. And when my parents took me to "Fiddler on the Roof" for my 12th birthday (or "Sweet Charity" for my 13th or "Company" for my 14th-going-on-24th), I could care less that we were perched in the second-to-the-last row of the rear mezzanine and that instead of The 21' Club it was Monte's on Macdougall Street.

In scraping the money together for those sojourns, our parents demonstrated an insight and sense of priorities that I fear may be slipping from our hands. They gave our families something to sink their teeth into and share besides touchdown strategies and CDROMs: ideas and rhythms and human emotions that stretched and enhanced our immediate sphere of experience. That's why I don't mind terribly if Bill and Hillary and Chelsea hold up curtain times and spend too much money for a Caesar salad after the show.

What I do mind are the parents who will never be inconvenienced in city traffic by a presidential cortege, because it would never occur to them in a million years to take their kids to a play. I am troubled by otherwise intelligent moms and dads who live within an hour's train ride of Broadway or within a local stop of their community playhouse but never seem to notice the thousands of theater posters at their LIRR stations, because they're buried in the prime-time listings or the Presidents' Day sale ads or the playoff scores. I don't care to hear from the ones who complain that theater would bust their wallet and who then proceed to double their investment at the multiplex cinema with overpriced buckets of popcorn and giant Cokes.

I hope to be around for the day when Chelsea takes her kids to a show for their birthdays. May they be blessed with the good taste of their mother - and the great good sense of their grandparents.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: March 9, 1997

THE CLINTONS' CHOICE

Art in the White House

Bill and Hillary's first date included a stop at a Rothko show. Two decades later, they live amid an outstanding art collection built over 200 years. On a private tour of the works the couple chose for the family residence, the first lady spoke exuberantly about

the role of art in their lives—and the nation's

BY MARY LYNN KOTZ

WHEN BILL AND HILLARY CLINTON moved into the White House, they asked for easels. And more easels.

They set them up in the Map Room and had the curatorial staff bring in all the paintings from the White House basement. One by one, on the dozen or so easels, they looked at the American Impressionists, 19th-century landscapes, Cézanne and Glackens still lifes, Robert Henri's portrait of a gypsy girl, and many other paintings in the White House collection that hadn't seen the light of day in years.

In an exclusive interview with *ARTnews*, Mrs. Clinton spoke with great feeling about the 450-work White House art collection. "When we first got here, my husband and I looked through the book on the collection [William Kloss's *A Nation's Pride: Art in the White House*] and tried to find everything in it," explains Mrs. Clinton. "What we couldn't find on the walls, we brought in here to study. I think we've pulled out every painting that's been in storage," she continues. "We've tried to find a place for everything, but the only one I despair of is Whistler's *Nocturne* (ca. 1870-77). There doesn't seem to be a wall where it gets enough light."


COURTESY OF THE WHITE HOUSE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

"I like it because of the composition and the emotion," says Hillary Rodham Clinton of George P. A. Healy's 1859 study of John Tyler. "And of course my husband likes it because Tyler is crumpling up the newspapers!"



THE WHITE HOUSE

The first lady with one of her favorites—Mary Cassatt's *Young Mother and Two Children*, 1908.

Seated on a red brocade sofa in the newly redecorated Map Room, the first lady is both relaxed and animated talking about art. Many of her favorites in the White House collection are paintings by women, or those that feature women as subjects, such as Lilla Cabot Perry's *Boy Fishing* (1929) in the West Sitting Hall and Mary Cassatt's *Young Mother and Two Children* (1908). The president, she says, responds more to paintings that have historic meaning for him, such as William Tolman Carlton's *Watch Meeting—Dec. 31st, 1862—Waiting for the Hour* (1863), a scene of slaves gathered around a table studying a large pocket watch on the eve of the Emancipation Proclamation's enactment. "Look at them," President Clinton exclaims to visitors at every opportunity, "just waiting for that moment of freedom."

The president's favorite White House painting, which he has hung prominently in the Oval Office, is *The Avenue in*

terms for the Civil War. On another wall hangs Theobald Chartran's *The Signing of the Peace Protocol Between Spain and the United States, August 12, 1898* (1899). It commemorates the agreement signed by President McKinley in the Treaty Room that ended the Spanish-American War.

Mrs. Clinton says that her husband is also particularly fond of *Morning on the Seine, Good Weather* (1897) by Claude Monet in the West Sitting Hall. "It is such a peaceful, beautiful scene. He'll just sit and look at it as he talks on the phone. And," she adds, "I think the fact that it was given to the White House in memory of President Kennedy has extra meaning for him." During the Johnson Administration, the painting, a gift of the Kennedy family, was given a place of honor on the State Floor. During the Nixon Administration, however, it was sent down to the ground floor, to hang in relative obscurity in the dim light of the Vermeil Room, where

it stayed for nearly 20 years until Barbara Bush brought it upstairs to prominence in the family quarters.

Moved by the Clintons to more visible positions on the State Floor were the portraits of Franklin D. Roosevelt by Frank Salisbury and Harry Truman by Greta Kempton. Each president places more prominently the portraits that are personally or politically attractive to him. And the White House collection, which has grown through 43 administrations, offers plenty to choose from. The art is cared for by the Office of the Curator, established by Jacqueline Kennedy, who also began the White House Historical Association.

"So many touches to the house, so much of the art was either brought to the White House or inspired by the Kennedys," reflects Mrs. Clinton. Mrs. Kennedy's primary project was to restore the White House to its early-19th-century grandeur by inviting donations of art and furnishings. The collection, therefore, became a repository for 19th-century art.

The curators and Mrs. Clinton, though, are painfully aware that the 21st century approaches, the "youngest" painting is a 1952 John Marin oil, *The Circus No. 1*, which Mrs. Clinton has placed in her office in the West Wing, but there is nothing from the 1930s or '40s.

"We would love to have some modern American artists represented," says Mrs. Clinton. "We're really the beneficiary of other people's generosity. We would be honored to have in the White House paintings by 20th-century artists such as Georgia O'Keeffe or Thomas Hart Benton, for example. So if there's anyone out there reading this who would like to make a contribution..." she laughs.

Mrs. Clinton's Chicago childhood, along with her undergraduate education at Wellesley College from 1965 to '69, gave her a lot of exposure to modern art. "The most overwhelming experience I ever had with a piece of modern art



Claude Monet's *Morning on the Seine, Good Weather*, 1897, which the president always stares at when he's on the phone in the West Sitting Hall.

the Rain (1917), one of Childe Hassam's patriotic American flag paintings. "Our first real excitement was hanging the Hassam in the Oval Office," says Mrs. Clinton. This president's taste for history can be seen in the other works of art he chose for that space: Rembrandt Peale's *George Washington* (1823), the *City of Washington from Beyond the Navy Yard* (1833) by George Cooke, and *The Three Tetons* (1895) by Thomas Moran. The sculpture includes a Frederic Remond bronze, *The Bronco Buster* (1895), and a small early-20th-century cast of Rodin's 1880 *The Thinker*, on loan to the president from Mr. and Mrs. B. Gerald Cantor.

In the old Treaty Room, his private study, the president hangs *The Peacemakers* by George P.A. Healy, an 1868 painting of Abraham Lincoln with Generals Sherman and Grant, and Admiral Porter meeting to discuss peace

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THE PRESIDENT RESPONDS *most readily to the historical subjects in-the collection, while the first lady is drawn to paintings by or with women*

was when I was a sophomore in high school and saw Picasso's *Guernica* for the first time," she recalls. "That was a stunning experience! I saw it in the context of a discussion about values, and war, and the role that art and artists can play in heightening your sensibilities to the human experience." At Wellesley, she continues, "I had several friends who were art majors, and we spent a lot of time in Wellesley's Jewett Arts Center and museums in Boston. There's that wonderful Gauguin in Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, *Where Do We Come From? Who Are We? Where Are We Going?* That was a perfect piece of art for someone in college. We'd sit in front of it, waiting for it to tell us the answers! There was also a big yellow piece by Jules Olitski, *Julius and Friends* (1967). I loved that painting, and I named the first car I owned—which was a yellow car—for it, 'Julius,'" she says.

It was abstract art, she reports, that kicked off her romance with Bill Clinton at Yale University Law School. "On our first date—which was not really a date—we stood in line to register for classes, and after we finished we went out for a Coke," she says. "We started talking, went for a long walk—and we ended up in front of the Yale University Art Gallery. It was closed. But my husband had been there a week or two before, and he wanted to show me the Mark Rothko exhibition inside and a Henry Moore exhibition in the sculpture yard. He found a worker, who said it had to be closed because of a labor dispute. And so my husband said, 'Well, if we pick up the garbage, will you let us in?'" The future president and first lady proceeded to pick up all the trash that had accumulated—and then had a leisurely private viewing of the Rothko and Moore exhibitions.

Last spring, when the president spoke at the Andrew W. Mellon Dinner at the National Gallery in Washington, he recalled, "I first came here as a young student at Georgetown. Later when I was a governor and came [to Washington] for stuffy old meetings, on occasion I would sneak away from wherever we were convening and come here—and think I would never do anything remotely as important as paint

some of the things that hang on these walls."

The Clintons still try to work in museum visits when they can. Last year, when asked by her husband and daughter what she'd like for Mother's Day, Mrs. Clinton replied, "To see the Barnes Collection." Her wish granted, the first family had an impromptu tour of "Great French Paintings from the Barnes Foundation" at the National Gallery of Art. During their D-Day commemoration trip to Europe last June, the Louvre was held open until 2:30 A.M. for their visit, arranged by Ambassador Pamela Harriman, and architect I. M. Pei took them on a private tour.

As of this writing, the Clintons are still waiting for an opportune moment—"after hours, so we won't disturb the flow of people going through"—to see "Willem de Kooning: Paintings" at the National Gallery. "We will go," she says. "I love that de Kooning painting upstairs," she adds, referring to *Untitled XXXIX*. "The colors are in perfect harmony with the decor in the second-floor center hall."

The painting came to the White House as a result of a conversation between the first lady and her designer from Little Rock, Kaki Hockersmith, who redecorated the family quarters, the Lincoln Sitting Room, and the Treaty Room. "We talked about the policy against works of art by living artists," Mrs. Clinton recalls. "It's a very sensible policy, but it did seem a shame that we

didn't have any art by a modern master that we could display." Finding that the policy does not exclude a living artist from loaning works directly to the president to display in the family quarters, Hockersmith made inquiries through a collector friend, Rita Pynoos. Pynoos and Hockersmith then went to the de Kooning warehouse in New York to look at the stored paintings. Lisa de Kooning, the artist's daughter, offered to lend *Untitled XXXIX* (1983).

The *Mosquito Net* (1912), by John Singer Sargent, is another favorite of the Clintons, and it is regarded by art historians as one of the painter's finest works. "There's another Sargent I love in the National Gallery—the young woman dressed in white, leaning on the couch like this. . . ." Mrs. Clinton assumed the pose of Sargent's model in *Nonchalant*



The president's favorite White House painting is Childe Hassam's *Avenue in the Rain*, 1917.

BARBARA KROENITZ/WHITE HOUSE



Willem de Kooning's 1983 painting *Untitled XXXIX*, on loan from the artist's family, hangs upstairs in the Clintons' private residence.

(1911). "Sargent usually did full frontal portraiture, but he also painted those [reclining pose] pieces, which I think are really well done." Sargent's White House lady is also reclining. The portrait of a sensuous, mysterious woman in white, veiled in a mosquito net, hangs in the Green Room, in view of the 19th-century presidents on the wall.

Mrs. Clinton remarks that she and the president both think that the George P. A. Healy study of *John Tyler* (1859), in the Blue Room, is a "magnificent portrait. I like it because of the composition and the emotion," says the first lady. "And of course my husband likes it because Tyler is crumpling up the newspapers!"

"It's wonderful to live with the art that's been collected over the years. I'm just grateful to everybody who has lived in this house," exclaims Mrs. Clinton, noting that she likes the way the Bushes arranged the family quarters, and also referring to the contributions of previous first ladies who worked to preserve and enhance the executive mansion. "One of my favorite paintings is the Mary Cassatt, of the young mother and child. I've seen pictures of it forever, but I never knew where it was. And [here] you find it on the second floor of the White House!"

When Lady Bird Johnson, who had accepted the painting as a gift to the White House in 1965, came to visit Mrs. Clinton recently, she stepped out of the second-floor elevator and exclaimed, "Ah, there it is!" Mrs. Clinton told Mrs. Johnson how much she appreciated the painting and the two spent a moment discussing Mary Cassatt.

From the easels in the Map Room, Mrs. Clinton found her favorites of the early 20th century and placed them in the private family quarters. High on the list is Thomas Eakins's *Ruth* (1903)—a stunning portrait of a pensive, preadolescent child in a white dress, wearing a pink ribbon in her hair—which hangs in the second-floor corridor.

When the Clintons moved in on January 20, 1993, they

brought art from their own collection, which had been with them in the Governor's Mansion in Arkansas—"our idiosyncratic little collection of stuff that we have accumulated over the years," laughs Mrs. Clinton, "a pot-pourri of pieces. We have paintings from friends of ours—and a Will Barnett lithograph, Thomas McKnight's *Constitution*, and a Picasso plate.

"We've never collected, as such," she explains, "but we have acquired things that we've bought or received as gifts—or given each other as gifts over the years. I gave my husband for Christmas a life-size portrait of Chelsea when she was four. That would be his favorite thing!" That portrait, by Arkansas painter Ovita Goolsby, is in the family sitting room upstairs. Works by Arkansans Barry Thomas and Doris Mapes, and Maryland painter Greg Mort are also in their collection.

Mrs. Clinton has also introduced American crafts from all over the country into the White House. These works, selected by Michael Monroe of the Smithsonian, are currently on display.

"We've tried to elevate the role and visibility of American artisans," says Mrs. Clinton, "because there is some very fine work being done. We look at some of the things that were given to the White House as gifts or were purchased during the 19th century—and they were crafts of their time," she continues, "so I think it's important that we appreciate the artistry of crafts of our time."

Using the White House as a "bully pulpit" to focus on the arts is a goal of the Clintons. Mrs. Clinton believes that the attention paid to all the arts from the White House can stimulate a rekindling of support throughout the country. The president's appointment of actress Jane Alexander as head of the National Endowment for the Arts was hailed as the first appointment of an artist to that position. Alexander



COURTESY OF THE WHITE HOUSE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

For his study, Clinton chose Theobald Chartran's *The Signing of the Peace Protocol between Spain and the United States, August 12, 1898, 1899.*

MRS. CLINTON SAYS THAT *Picasso's Guernica*, which she first saw as a sophomore in high-school, had a lot to do with pointing her toward social activism

der's indefatigable cross-country cheerleading for local support of the arts is encouraged and applauded by the Clintons. Last October, Mr. Clinton awarded a National Medal of Arts for visual art to Robert Rauschenberg, and both Clintons spoke at the White House ceremony, where a special medal was also given to collectors Walter and Leonore Annenberg for their contributions to art and education.

"We've tried to use the White House more publicly to support art and artists this past year," says Mrs. Clinton. "Everything from the Arts and Humanities dinner, which we hosted, to awarding the American Academy of Rome's prizes, to celebrating [as host head of state] the Praemium Imperiale—the Japanese arts prizes that are equivalent to the Nobel Prizes of the arts."

Despite the Clintons' honoring the arts and artists, some arts organizations and artists are disappointed that administration support has not taken the form of more dollars for arts funding. The National Endowment's \$170.2 million budget has not increased appreciably in a dozen years—nowhere near the rate of inflation. In rebuttal, the White House points out that the endowment budget survived, while 100 other programs didn't. That budget, however, was cut by 5 percent by the Senate and 2 percent by the House last summer. "We don't have enough money to do a lot of what we want to do in many of the areas including the arts, but we can use the White House as a showcase and as a motivator to encourage people to become more supportive of the arts," Mrs. Clinton contends.

Arts support for Mrs. Clinton comes very personally—in the role of arts in education. "When the Education legislation—Goals 2000—was passed by the Congress and signed into law by President Clinton in March 1994, six original goals were met, and then two were added. One of them had to do with adding arts to the curriculum—and that's something we feel very strongly about," she says. "Even when my husband was a governor and doing accreditation standards for schools in our state, we required that students take a semester of art before they graduated. We really believe that if you don't have some exposure to art or to art appreciation—it can be either active or scholarly interest—you're really not as well educated as you need to be. And through the new education legislation [by the year 2000, all students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter, including English, mathematics, science, foreign languages, civics and government, arts, history, and geography, the bill states] we want to promote that. I think we've really seen a cutback in art courses for children just at the time when we need it most. Through the legislative effort that the president has accomplished, we will be able to elevate the role of the

arts again and provide more funding for training people to be arts instructors and to have more traveling scholars or artists in residence—the kinds of things that could make a difference in a child's life."

And she points out the difference art has made in her life. *Guernica* had a lot to do with pointing her toward social activism. "I am still very moved by visual arts that have some social content," she reflects. She talks about the effect of the artist Matushka—photographed nude with a searing scar



John Singer Sargent's *Mosquito Net*, 1912, regarded by art historians as one of his finest works, hangs in the Green Room.

where her breast had been—on raising awareness about the epidemic of breast cancer.

After her time as a White House tour guide, the president's wife, relaxed and congenial in the Map Room—Franklin Roosevelt's top-secret communications center during World War II and a place Mrs. Clinton likes for holding small meetings—says, "This is fun. We should talk some more." Then, on her way to her next appointment, she turns to Betty Monkman, associate curator of the collection. "What happened to *Boys Crabbing*?" she asks, referring to William Ranney's delicate 1855 painting of a morning on the New Jersey shore, with four boys on a pier fishing for crabs. The painting had hung over the mantel, before being replaced by President Roosevelt's wartime maps.

"That one is in storage," Monkman replies.

"I want to bring that back out because I like it so much," says the first lady.

Mary Lynn Kotz, a contributing editor of ARTnews, is author of *Rauschenberg Art and Life*.

Court Hears Arguments On NEA 'Decency' Rules

By JOAN BISKUPIC
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court yesterday heard arguments on whether the government may invoke "decency" standards when choosing which artists receive federal grants.

At its broadest, the controversy raises the provocative issue of whether, when the government pays for a private piece of art or cultural program, it can favor certain points of view. A lower federal appeals court said such an approach—in this case involving open-ended standards of "decency" and respect for American "values"—violates the First Amendment guarantee of free speech.

But during arguments, many justices suggested by their questions that they may never actually reach the constitutionality of the 1990 law forcing the National Endowment for the Arts to use "artistic excellence and merit" as the criteria for awarding public money, taking into consideration "general standards of decency and respect for the diverse beliefs and values of the American public."

Some justices pointed up procedural difficulties in the case brought by four performance artists that might prevent a majority from ruling on the merits of the dispute. Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist particularly questioned whether the artists could broadly say that under no circumstances is the decency standard constitutional, and he and others questioned whether their rights had been violated, because some of the challengers had been awarded grants in recent years.

Other justices asked whether the NEA's interpretation of the law is as broad as the 9th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals found when it struck down the statute.

Solicitor General Seth P. Waxman, representing the NEA, said the decency standard is only a guideline for the agency as it pays for "artistic excellence." He said the language was a compromise in Congress not intended to be overly restrictive. The language stemmed from controversy over some earlier NEA-funded exhibits, particularly Robert Mapplethorpe's homoerotic photographs and a photograph by Andres Serrano's of a crucifix immersed in the artist's urine.

Waxman contended the NEA fulfilled the statute by broadening the membership on its advisory panels to

include people with a wide range of cultural perspectives and diverse values. He called the decency criteria "innocuous."

But Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, while concerned about whether the artists even had a case, nonetheless chided Waxman for trying to argue that the statute was essentially meaningless. He suggested it was a "wink, wink, nudge, nudge approach" to curtailing grant money for controversial artworks.

Karen Finley, a performance artist who covers her nude body with chocolate, and the other artists who have challenged the decency standard, say it discriminates against nontraditional artworks and "chills" free expression.

David Cole, their lawyer, told the justices the decency criteria unconstitutionally suppresses particular points of view. He said the standard favors projects "respectful of American beliefs" and disfavors those challenging public sensibilities.

Cole relied heavily on a 1995 court ruling that struck down the University of Virginia's policy of giving financial support to student publications but denying a subsidy to a student-run religious magazine. The court said the policy discriminated on the basis of the magazine's content and violated the First Amendment.

But some justices said that ruling might not apply because while all student publications were supposed to get funds, in the NEA case, only a fraction of the applicants can win grants. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor observed the government has limited funds and may be able to dish them out on numerous criteria, including decency.

The NEA, which since 1965 has given out public money to creative talent, has been under attack not only from the arts world but from conservatives in Congress who question why government should even give taxpayer money to private arts. A ruling in *National Endowment for the Arts v. Finley* is likely by the time the court recesses in late June.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

For specifics about key cases of this Supreme Court term, click on the above symbol on the front page of The Post's Web site at www.washingtonpost.com

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1, 1998

Five Freeman Convicted by Federal Jury

Associated Press

BILLINGS, Mont., March 31—A federal court jury today convicted five Montana Freeman of criminal charges in the first trial resulting from the 81-day standoff between the anti-government militants and the FBI in 1996.

However, the jury acquitted Edwin Clark, onetime owner of the foreclosed farm that formed most of the Freeman stronghold in rural eastern Montana. Clark's lawyer had argued he was desperate to save the farm and was swept up in events.

Four of the Freeman were convicted of being accessories after the fact to the armed holdup of an ABC television news crew attempting to film a story on the Freeman.

They were Steven Hance, 48, and his sons, John, 21, and James, 25, all of Charlotte, N.C.; and Jon Barry Nelson, 42, of Marion, Kan. All three Hances were also convicted of being fugitives in possession of firearms.

Elwin Ward was found not guilty of being an accessory to crimes committed by other members of the Freeman but was convicted of submitting a false claim to the Internal Revenue Service.

Ward tried to pay a \$143,000 federal tax bill with a bogus Freeman warrant for twice that amount and requested a refund of the excess.

Clark had been charged with bank fraud for trying to deposit a \$100 million Freeman warrant in a bank in Jordan and as an accessory to the other crimes, but he was acquitted on all charges.

Clark has been in jail since the standoff ended June 13, 1996.

The jury began deliberations Monday afternoon after hearing two weeks of testimony and arguments about six secondary members of the Freeman.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1, 1998

Heated Hearing Over the Fate Of an Agency

By ERIC SCHMITT

WASHINGTON, March 31 — A senior House Republican accused the White House today of manipulating a Government review to insure the survival of the beleaguered Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The lawmaker, Representative Harold Rogers of Kentucky, heads a House Appropriations panel that controls the immigration service's financing and supports a Federal advisory panel's recommendation to disband the immigration service and assign its duties to other Federal departments.

A White House-led review this year rejected that idea and hired a consulting firm, Booz-Allen & Hamilton, to help revamp the agency.

The Commissioner of the immigration service, Doris M. Meissner, presented Mr. Rogers's panel today with the results of that effort: a reorganization plan that would separate the agency's service and law-enforcement functions, but keep the agency intact.

Mr. Rogers and other Republicans immediately denounced the plan as a "papered-over reorganization attempt."

The rancorous two-hour hearing saw Mrs. Meissner's first testimony before Congress since the advisory panel made its recommendations last fall, and heralded what is likely to be several confrontations between the Republican-led Congress and the Clinton Administration over the fate of the immigration service.

Senior Republicans say the immigration service is collapsing under the weight of its conflicting missions: service and enforcement. Immigrants applying to become citizens have to wait up to two years in large cities, while Government officials express alarm at the boldness of immigrant-smugglers, particularly in the country's interior.

Under the Administration's plan, the agency would scrap its long-standing organization by geographic districts and regions and would create separate field offices that would deal with enforcement or services.

The proposal has drawn opposition from many of the agency's field directors, who, predictably, view the plan as impinging on their authority.

Mrs. Meissner said the plan, which would take three years to carry out, "untangles I.N.S.'s overlapping and frequently confusing organizational structure and replaces it with two clear chains of command."

Mr. Rogers said the consultant was directed by the Administration "to consider keeping the I.N.S. intact" and never seriously considered the proposal to divide the agency.

The deputy assistant to the President for domestic policy, Elena Kagan, disputed that, saying: "We took the commission's report and recommendations very seriously. We did decide the commission had recommended a solution that was not the best solution."

Even though many senior Republicans, and some Democrats, express frustration with the immigration service, most do not go as far as Mr. Rogers in seeking to abolish the agency.

Hearing Case on Art Grants, Court Reflects on 'Decency'

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

WASHINGTON, March 31 — A Supreme Court argument today over whether Congress can restrict Federal arts grants to works that reflect "general standards of decency" took an unexpected turn today as the Justices spent as much time puzzling over the meaning of the 1990 restriction as debating its constitutionality.

The tenor of the argument raised the prospect that rather than deciding an important question of the permissible limits on Government-sponsored speech, the Court might rule instead that the issue is too abstract and that the lawsuit that has barred enforcement of the decency provision since 1992 should not have been brought in the first place.

The successful challenge was brought by Karen Finley and three other performance artists whose request for grants from the National Endowment for the Arts had been denied in an earlier phase of the public debate over arts spending.

The artists, who were joined in their lawsuit by a nonprofit organization, the National Association of Artists' Organizations, have no grant applications pending, and in any event the endowment has eliminated most grants to individual artists.

The case before the Court is an

What if Congress 'just says no crucifixes in urine'?

appeal by the Clinton Administration of a 1996 Federal appeals court ruling that the decency proviso violated the First Amendment. The measure requires that in making grants, the endowment take into consideration "general standards of decency and respect for the diverse beliefs and values of the American public."

In its 1996 ruling, the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, in San Francisco, said the measure's language was vague, posed a danger of "arbitrary and discriminatory application" and invited the refusal of grants on the basis of contentious political or social messages.

Solicitor General Seth P. Waxman told the Justices today that in the Administration's view, the "rather innocuous" 1990 provision does not make decency an explicit condition for the awarding of particular grants. He said the Congressional requirement was met, during the 18 months the measure was in effect before Ms. Finley and her co-plaintiffs obtained a Federal District Court injunction, by increasing the diversity of the grant-making panels and reading the provision's language to the panels' members.

The national endowment itself considered this process sufficient to insure that decency would be an inherent consideration in any award without running afoul of the First Amendment, Mr. Waxman said.

But David D. Cole, representing the artists, said that interpretation was implausible, given the language of the 1990 provision and the context in which it was adopted. He said Congress intended to confine Government spending to art that demonstrated "conformity to accepted

standards of morality," and he urged the Justices to view the measure as requiring grantmakers to make their selections based on viewpoint.

Mr. Cole, a Georgetown University law professor serving as a volunteer lawyer for the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York, which organized the lawsuit, told the Justices that under the Court's precedents, the Government "cannot engage in viewpoint bias when subsidizing private speakers."

An unusual aspect of the argument, on which several Justices commented, was that the Government was arguing for an interpretation of the measure that would give it little practical effect, while the plaintiffs, seeking to invalidate it, were the ones arguing that it had teeth.

Mr. Waxman's effort to cast the measure as having little effect ran into an objection from Justice John Paul Stevens. "You are going to have a hard time persuading me that the statute is basically meaningless, which is what you're arguing," Justice Stevens said.

Justice Stevens referred to one of the contentious cases that led to the 1990 provision, a photograph by Andres Serrano, who had received a grant from the endowment. The photograph was of a crucifix immersed in the artist's urine.

"Are you trying to persuade us that even after the statute was passed, Andres Serrano would have the same chance" of receiving a Federal arts grant? Justice Stevens asked Mr. Waxman with evident skepticism that did not appear to fade despite Mr. Waxman's assurance that Mr. Serrano would fare equally well today.

The other case that led Congress to adopt the 1990 language involved an exhibit of homoerotic photographs by Robert Mapplethorpe.

"The Government doesn't have to buy Mapplethorpe, so it doesn't have to fund Mapplethorpe," Justice Antonin Scalia said to Mr. Waxman, asking why Congress could not simply have barred money for any projects by the artist.

"To single out one particular person would raise many constitutional concerns," Mr. Waxman replied.

"What if Congress doesn't name names but just says no crucifixes in urine?" Justice Scalia said.

Justice Anthony M. Kennedy observed that while not naming names, Congress tried to accomplish the same result by means of "wink, wink, nudge, nudge."

The hard questions for the Solicitor General were only a prelude to the obstacle course the Justices required Mr. Cole to run in his defense of the lower court's judgment in the case, *National Endowment for the Arts v. Finley*, No. 97-371. Some of the Court's more liberal members appeared troubled by his position.

"The problem in my mind is that I can easily think of instances where it is obviously appropriate or lawful to take decency into account," Justice Stephen G. Breyer said.

Justice Breyer asked whether the Constitution required the endowment to make a grant for otherwise deserving art that nonetheless contained a racist message.

Mr. Cole replied that it was "unconstitutional for the Government to set up a funding program to fund private speech broadly and to exclude particular speech because of disapproval of the viewpoint."

New Reports Show Little Reason Not to Be Optimistic on Economy

WASHINGTON, March 31 (Bloomberg News) — Consumer confidence fell in March, but only slightly from a level that was the highest in 29 years, a business research group reported today.

The group, the Conference Board, said its consumer confidence index fell to 134.3 points in March from 137.4 in February. Meanwhile, the National Association of Purchasing Management reported that its monthly index of manufacturing activity in the Chicago region, seen as a bellwether for the economy, unexpectedly rose to 59.5 points in March from 57.8 in February.

Taken together, the numbers indicate that the economy remains on a roll, analysts said.

"These numbers are still remarkable," said Kathleen Stephansen, economist at Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette Securities. "The expectation is that income will continue and buying plans will hold up."

With inflation nearly absent, the Federal Reserve's policy makers, as expected, held interest rates steady today at a meeting of the Open Market Committee, which has not changed borrowing costs for more than a year.

Adding to the evidence that prices are not threatening to accelerate, the Chicago purchasing managers reported that the index of prices paid by factories for materials fell to 48.7 in March from 55.5 in February, indicating that more companies reported price declines than increases.

A separate Conference Board index measuring consumer expectations for the next six months fell to 108.6 in March from a revised 114.5 in February. Still, March's overall index was almost 16 points higher than it was in March 1997. February's index reading was the highest since June 1969.

"There are no signs of any significant downturn in optimism," said Lynn Franco, a Conference Board economist.

Consumers are flush with cash given steady income growth, big tax refunds and a resilient stock market. Personal income rose six-tenths of 1 percent in February after a six-tenths of 1 percent increase a month earlier, the Commerce Department said last week.

As confidence rises, so does retailer activity. Apparel stores like Gap, Talbots and Limited, which introduced their lines of spring clothing in February, have shown significant sales strength. Sales at discount stores like Wal-Mart also rose more than expected in February.

House, by Narrow Margin, Votes Money for Military

By ERIC SCHMITT

WASHINGTON, March 31 — The House today narrowly approved \$2.9 billion for emergency military spending and aid to disaster victims, but the White House said President Clinton would veto the bill because money to pay for it would come from cutting some of the Administration's prized domestic programs.

The vote was 212 to 208 — surprisingly close given lawmakers' usual support for troops in the field and constituents hurt by natural disasters. Seventeen Republicans — moderates opposed to the domestic cuts and conservatives against American military involvement in Bosnia — voted with 190 Democrats and one independent against the legislation. Seven Democrats joined 205 Republicans in support of the bill.

The slim margin undercuts House Republicans' bargaining leverage going into what is expected to be a contentious conference committee with the Senate late next month when lawmakers return from their spring recess.

"No one can dispute the fact this is a difficult bill, start to finish," Representative Robert L. Livingston, a Louisiana Republican who heads the House Appropriations Committee, told reporters after the vote.

The House legislation provides \$2.3 billion for military spending, primarily \$487 million for troops in Bosnia and \$1.3 billion for troops in the Persian Gulf, and \$575 million for disaster relief.

Senators completed work last week on an emergency spending bill, but it is vastly different from the House legislation approved today. The Senate was more generous — approving \$5 billion for disaster aid and military operations in Bosnia and the Persian Gulf — and senators did not cut domestic spending to pay for it.

The Senate, by a vote of 84 to 16, had also attached \$18 billion in new financing for the International Monetary Fund to refill the fund's treasury, which has been strained by the Asian financial crisis.

COMPANIONS TO A SPENDING BILL

A Senate measure that started out as a spending bill to pay for unforeseen military emergencies has acquired some additional expenses. Page A20.

House Republican leaders have separated the I.M.F. monies and \$505 million in dues that the United States owes the United Nations in a separate spending bill, which will not come up for a vote until late April, if at all, a spokeswoman for Representative Dick Armey of Texas, the House Republican leader, said today.

Moreover, House Republicans have vowed to attach an anti-abortion provision to the I.M.F. financing, which has drawn a veto threat from Mr. Clinton.

Today Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen and Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin issued a public appeal for Congressional support, saying the nation's economy and national security were at stake.

Pentagon officials have warned lawmakers for weeks that military readiness could suffer if Congress did not assure them by mid-April that the emergency financing was on the way.

The military does not budget for unforeseen missions, so when they happen the Pentagon borrows from other accounts to pay for troop deployments. Pentagon officials say these accounts will dry up in the next few months if Congress does not refill them.

Pentagon officials are concerned that the House and Senate might not reconcile their competing emergency spending bills in time, so Mr. Cohen has ordered the armed services to consider deferring maintenance on equipment, temporarily closing non-essential operations and temporarily laying off thousands of civilian employees.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff met today for 45 minutes to discuss the problem, and senior Defense Department officials will meet next week to review their options.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1, 1998

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HEADLINE: Civil society, social capital, and development: Dissection of a complex discourse

BYLINE: Hyden, Goran

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This article tries to understand the ongoing intellectual discourse on civil society and related concepts in political science, other social science disciplines as well as among policy-makers and practitioners. It suggests that there are four prominent philosophical lineages going back to the nineteenth century from which most of the contemporary debate draws its inspiration. Thus, there are at least four major schools or approaches to the study of civil society, social capital and development that compete for recognition. The article also draws attention to the need for analyzing these issues, not only at the national but also the associational and global levels. The interaction between these three levels has become increasingly important in the light of the globalization of many conservation and development issues. Finally, the author identifies the principal challenges facing students interested in doing research in this area, focusing, among other things, on the varying implications for civil society that different regime types have.

Introduction

The 1990s have witnessed a marked reorientation of both academic and political discourse on development. For thirty or so years, the development debate focused on the state or on the economic forces underlying a country's aspiration to make progress. This was as true for the modernization theorists of the 1960s as it was for subsequent generations of neo-marxist and neoliberal thinkers in the 1970s and 1980s. The intellectual trend in the 1990s is new in that it focuses on what is referred to generically as "political culture." This orientation differs from earlier structuralist theories in that it attributes a distinct role to human agency. At the same time, it differs from the neoliberal "rational choice" theory in that it acknowledges that human choice is mediated by institutions.

More specifically, development discourse in recent years has come to focus on the relationship between democracy and development. An increasingly common premise is that "democracy is good for development"; that it may be a causal factor of development. It is in this perspective that the concepts of "social capital" and "civil society" have come to acquire relevance. The former refers to the normative values and beliefs that citizens in their everyday dealings share; what Tocqueville referred to as "habits of the heart and the mind." These habits provide reasons and design criteria for all sorts of rules. It is hard

to imagine that constitutional arrangements, laws, and regulations would work without being embedded in, and reflecting particular values and norms upheld by groups and communities making up a given society. "Civil society," therefore, is viewed as the forum in which habits of the heart and the mind are nurtured and developed. In this sense, both social capital and civil society are analytical categories in their own right, independent of democracy. Yet, it is assumed that investments in both social capital and civil society are necessary to achieve democracy and, by implication, development.

It appears as if analysts have arrived at this view of development from two different directions. One is the perception-based on a broad range of experiences that a "top-down" approach to development does not work. For a long time, the basic premise was that the state is a rational instrument of controlling and promoting change. The state is indispensable to achieve growth and redistribution in desired directions. By the 1980s, however, confidence in the state's ability to be such a powerful instrument had been replaced by disillusionment. From both a leftist and a rightist perspective, the state was viewed as an instrument of exploitation, preempting popular or individual initiative. As the pendulum swings in the opposite direction, analysts now maintain that developmental wisdom is lodged not in government bureaucracies but in local communities and institutions. Indigenous knowledge and popular participation are examples of concepts that have come to occupy increasing prominence in the debate.

The other direction from which analysts of social capital and civil society have come is the problem of political apathy or lack of organization. Democracy requires organization, organization requires an interest in public affairs. During the 1980s, many people in countries around the world adopted a cynical and distrustful attitude towards politics. Politicians suffered from lack of credibility in democracies and autocracies alike. Robert Putnam's study of the evolution of civic values in Italy is an example of studies in this genre (Putnam 1993). Contrasting what Edward Banfield (1958) had identified as the "amoral familism" of southern Italy with the rich associational life of Emilia Romagna and other regions of northern Italy, Putnam concludes that the general difference in the historical development of these two parts of the same country must be attributed to a difference in the presence of social capital and the strength of civil society. Thus, civil society is more than just society. It is that part of society that connects individual citizens with the public realm and the state. Put in other words, civil society is the political side of society.

The literature on social capital and civil society is not new. According to Sabetti (n.d.), the notion of social capital can be traced all the way back to the nineteenth century and the democratic currents of the Italian Risorgimento movement, which conceptualized *valor sociale* (roughly translatable as social capital) as the educative feature of the growth and practice of self-governing institutions. Civil society can also be traced back to the period when modern ideas of democracy were beginning to take root. In order to fully understand and appreciate the current arguments about civil society, it is important to first take a look at its philosophical origins. Following such a historical review, I shall examine the contemporary debate about civil society, suggesting that it takes its lead from the principal philosophical strands on the issue. The second part of this article is divided into two sections, one dealing with the question of where analysts locate their investigation when examining civil society, the other with the challenges that analysts and practitioners alike face in operationalizing the concept.

Philosophical Origins of the Contemporary Debate

The emergence of a concept of civil society is historically connected with the rise of capitalism and the evolution of a modern state in the Weberian sense of rational-legal structures of governance. Thus, it seems clear that civil society cannot be viewed in isolation from either market or state. For example, a totalitarian society in which the market is rendered inoperative leaves no space for the growth of civil society. Similarly, in societies where the state lacks the qualities mentioned by Weber, civil society may exist, but its development is seriously hampered. The rule of law, implicit in the notion of a rational-legal structure of authority, is particularly important for the emergence of civil society. It is in such circumstances that civil society is most likely to serve as a constructive oppositional sphere, facilitating the inclusion of interests into the public realm.

Civil society is currently part of a global development discourse, but its origin is, of course, in the European philosophical tradition. Many thinkers contributed to the evolution of the concept in philosophical and political discourse, and any choice of founding fathers is always fraught with difficulty. Yet, for the purpose of this article it is possible to distinguish four names that have been particularly significant for identifying the parameters of the debate on the concept. Their contributions vary along two principal parameters. The first concerns the question whether civil society is primarily an economic or a sociological phenomenon: whether the focus is on the extent to which economic activity is privately controlled or the role associations play as intermediaries between individual and state. The second concerns the relationship between the state and civil society: whether civil society is essentially autonomous of the state or state and civil society are organically linked. Taking a more careful look at the philosophical pioneers of the debate about civil society, we find that each of the four positions listed above has a master advocate, as indicated in figure one. The following discussion of each philosopher is admittedly very brief and unable to do justice to the full breadth of his thinking. All the same, major strands in their thinking reflect the positions identified here.

Locke's position, reminiscent of Hobbes's, is that the state arises from society and is needed to restrain conflict between individuals. At the same time, however, Locke emphasizes the need to limit state sovereignty in order to preserve individual freedoms derived from natural law. There must be a social contract between rulers and ruled that respects the natural rights of individuals but also allows the state to protect civil society from destructive conflict. Natural rights are not absolute and must be regulated to enable civil society to prosper. A constitutional arrangement, that is respected by both state and civil society, is the cornerstone of liberal democracy. Locke's position might be called social-liberal in that it recognizes the need to balance the interests among different groups in society.

This is quite different from Thomas Paine's argument that societies become civil as commerce and manufacturing expand through division of labor. Writing in the tradition of the Scottish Enlightenment (David Hume and Adam Smith), Paine's position is particularly anti-statist. As the state expands to provide order and reduce conflict, it may threaten the very liberties that cause civil society to flourish. In his libertarian view, civil society flourishes when individuals are able to freely exercise their natural rights. It is the market rather than the state that provides the best opportunity for the growth of civil society,

because the limits of individual capacity to satisfy natural desires can only be transcended by commercial exchanges. Paine's focus on natural rights prevents him from recognizing that the state, even in its minimalist version, may be used by one segment of society to the detriment of another.

Tocqueville was alarmed not only by the prospect of a powerful state but also by the tyranny of the majority, and treated associations as the strongest bulwark against this. Reflecting on the lessons of the French Revolution, he is particularly afraid of an unmediated popular will, because it could lead to revolution. To prevent such outcomes, an active civil society made up of self-governing associations is necessary. Such a civil society educates the citizenry and scrutinizes state actions. It facilitates distribution of power and provides mechanisms for direct citizen participation in public affairs. Without taking such a promarket stand as Paine, Tocqueville nevertheless adopts a voluntarist view of civil society, that is, it is capable of protecting and promoting the interest of individuals regardless of their socio-economic position.

Hegel breaks with the tradition of civil society as a natural phenomenon and, instead, regards it as the product of historical processes. He recognizes that division of labor creates stratification within civil society and increases conflict between these strata. Civil society, in his account, is made up of the various associations, corporations, and estates that exist among the strata, and the form and nature of the state is the result of the way civil society is represented. Civil society thus stands between individuals and a legislature, which mediates their interests with the state. The conflicts that these processes engender within civil society will lead to its destruction in the absence of a strong state. In Hegel's "organic" perspective, the state exists to protect common interests as the state defines them by intervening in the activities of civil society. Marx picks up on the theme of the destructive influence of the capitalist economic system and arrives at the conclusion that civil society is equated with the bourgeoisie. Antonio Gramsci, the foremost Marxist analyst of civil society, bypasses the economic determinism of Marx by arguing that associations are the mechanisms for exercising control in society. By transferring the focus from the state to civil society as the key arena of conflict, Gramsci comes to the conclusion that the control that the dominant class has over society can be overturned through the development of counter-hegemonic associations that represent alternative norms.

A few general observations on these four philosophical positions may be helpful before trying to demonstrate their links to the contemporary debate. The first is that those writing in the tradition of either Paine or Hegel are essentially trying to retain a political economy perspective: civil society cannot be viewed in isolation from economic forces. In contrast, those following in the footsteps of either Locke or Tocqueville, believe in the autonomy of noneconomic forces. Constitutional arrangements reflect such factors as prevailing norms or the institutional set-up in civil society that, in turn, is viewed as independent of division of labor, technology, and capital. Another observation is that discourse on civil society in Europe has been much more influenced by the Lockean and Hegelian traditions. The organic relations of state to civil society have rarely been questioned in the European debate, even with regard to developing countries (that is, Medard 1991, Bayart 1992, Berg-Schlosser and Rytlewski 1993). The U.S. debate on the same subject, on the other hand, has been much more influenced by the writings of Paine and Tocqueville. It has stressed the importance of the market and the active role

of associations. As I shall discuss, these differences are evident in the contemporary debate. For example, the Europeans have a more instrumentalist orientation towards civil society. Its only *raison d'être* is its ability to reform the state. U. S. thinkers have a more fundamentalist view of civil society. It is good in and of itself because it is in civil society that democratic norms are lodged.

(Chart Omitted)

Captioned as: FIGURE

Contemporary Debates about Civil Society

The contemporary debate about civil society is conducted not only among a small group of philosophers in Europe or North America but also among academics and activists alike all over the world. Although this growing breadth has brought new dimensions to the debate, the latter reveals that much of the same differences as existed among the early writers on the subject continue today. While being a meeting-ground of the political right and left, the current discourse on civil society is reflective of points of contention that can be traced back to the four philosophical schools identified above. Thus, I propose here that the contemporary debate is being conducted by four different schools, as illustrated in figure 2.

The Associational School

Perhaps the most dominant, at least among U.S. scholars, is the group of authors who emphasize the importance of autonomous and active associations. Examples of writers who reflect this largely Tocquevillean position are Stepan (1985) and Diamond (1994). More specifically, civil society is defined here as the realm of organized social life standing between individuals and political institutions of representation. For instance, according to Diamond (1994, 6), civil society acts to strengthen democracy by: 1) containing the power of the state through public scrutiny; 2) stimulating political participation by citizens; 3) developing such democratic norms as tolerance and compromise; 4) creating ways of articulating, aggregating, and representing interests outside of political parties, especially at the local level; 5) mitigating conflict through cross-cutting, or overlapping, interest; 6) recruiting and training political leaders; 7) questioning and reforming existing democratic institutions and procedures; and 8) disseminating information. Although the argument of this associational approach to civil society accepts that the development of civil society is not sufficient for the consolidation of democracy, its advocates have a generally high expectation of the role that civil society can play in achieving democracy. A critical function of civil society is to promote the principle of citizenship (Sztompka 1991 and Calhoun 1993). This point is also reflected in the writings of Robert Putnam (1993) who sees the social capital invested in associational life as the foundation for the emergence of a civic culture. The authors belonging to the associational school are generally optimistic about the opportunity for civil society to make a difference to democracy and development.

Many nongovernmental organizations, whose development agenda in recent years has come to incorporate democratization goals, also operate on this assumption. Whether expressed in terms of popular participation or human rights (or both), this agenda presupposes an active civil society and thus an expectation that

the NGOs themselves can make a difference to the conditions under which a developmental philosophy is being implemented. While the fear of mass politics seems distant in the contemporary debate, the arguments carry a distinct affinity with Tocqueville's view of civil society: active citizen participation is needed for the organization and functioning of development activities; communication of information and ideas is needed to encourage participation and guard against abuses of state power.

The associational school can be criticized on at least two principal grounds. First, it is based on a rather simplistic version of pluralism: groups organize to pursue a shared interest and are countered by other groups that mobilize to pursue an opposing interest; policy emerges from the balance of power among groups. The fuller pluralism argument developed by Truman (1951), Dahl (1961), and others, which recognized that resources are distributed unequally in society, but which also asserted that multiple, overlapping interests of individuals would mitigate the impact of inequalities and reduce conflict over policy, occupies a relatively insignificant place in the contemporary debate. The second line of criticism leveled against this school, therefore, is its tendency not to explicitly acknowledge that an associational focus makes its advocates blind to the risks of elite pluralism, i.e., a society in which resource-rich interests dominate.

The Regime School

The second approach in the ongoing debate draws its inspiration largely from Locke. This school focuses on the nature of the regime and how rules can be made more democratic. It recognizes that the consolidation of democracy may require changes in both state and civil society. The "regime" school, therefore, tends to be concerned specifically with the constitutional issue of how state-society relations can be organized to promote democracy. A constitution by itself, no matter how ingeniously designed, no matter what admirable formal arrangements of checks and balances, will not limit authoritarian rule. To be effective, constitutions must relate to the realities of society. They must intertwine state and civil society in ways that permit the effective articulation and aggregation of societal interests. Like the American Federalists, advocates of this position do not treat the state and civil society as standing apart. They are concerned with instituting constitutional and legal mechanisms that limit the risks of abuse of political power.

Students of regime transitions are particularly prominent within this school. O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986) have set the tone for much of this writing by evaluating the Latin American experiences of transition from authoritarian to democratic rule in the early 1980s. The specific challenges of regime transition in Africa have been discussed by Bratton and Van de Walle (1994). Some of the literature on governance also falls into this category. Hyden (1992), for example, discusses the challenges facing African countries in terms of managing regimes, defined as the "rules of the political game." The difference between the regime and the associational schools is that the former concentrates on the framework within which civil society can grow, while the latter focuses on its content. One does not preclude the other, as many organizations working in this field recognize. For example, many human rights organizations tend to spend their efforts on shaping and monitoring adherence to the law of the land without denying the importance of the strength of associational life for democracy. A regime orientation is also naturally prevalent among the many constitutional bodies that have been set up to facilitate the transition to democracy. In

several countries, e.g., Eritrea, Ethiopia, South Africa, and Uganda in Africa, government-appointed constitutional commissions made a special effort to involve civil society in constitution-making by holding special hearings and inviting submissions from societal groups. In all these cases, there is a recognition that while containing state power is important, constitutionalizing relations among groups in civil society may often be equally important. Civil society is not automatically democratic. Many groups may use the relative freedom of civil society to pursue anti-democratic objectives. To the extent that state and civil society are viewed as linked to each other, citizens' rights must be balanced by citizen obligations. Furthermore, not all groups in civil society are ready to accept the existence of others. Justice and tolerance, therefore, are principles that civil society must learn to accept.

(Chart Omitted)

Captioned as: FIGURE 2

The Neo-Liberal School

The associational and the regime schools both share a relatively optimistic view of civil society and its ability to make a difference to development. By largely ignoring the role of social structures, they assume a lot of scope for human agency. In this respect, they differ from the remaining two schools, which take a more cautious view of what civil society can achieve on its own. The "neoliberal" school, which draws its inspiration especially from Paine, particularly emphasizes the importance of structural reform to enable the strengthening of private property.

The historical relationship between capitalism and democracy is well known and has been explored in many different ways ever since Max Weber's time. The issue became especially important again in the 1980s when development analysts realized that using "social engineering" for the state was a failure. The many experiments, based on Keynesian ideas in Europe and Latin America and on Leninist ideas in eastern Europe and Africa, had proved untenable—more costly than beneficial to society. "Structural adjustment," as this policy of economic liberalization and financial stabilization has been called in the past decade and a half, while not explicitly introduced to foster democracy, is seen by many as an important corollary to the ongoing political reform efforts. All the same, this aspect of structural adjustment has received generally less attention than the social costs perceived as associated with this approach. One reason may be that the relationship between market and democracy, in spite of having been examined by many, is by no means decisively clear, at least when data from the regions outside western Europe and North America are included (Przeworski 1990). For example, in the 1980s economic reforms were initially most successful in countries like South Korea, Chile, Indonesia, and Mexico, all of which at that time had authoritarian forms of government. One often cited reason for their success is that these governments did not have to cope with the inflationary demands of strong pressure groups in society. A weak civil society, therefore, was a boon rather than a bane.

More recently, some economists argue that economic freedoms are good for economic growth and, therefore, by implication in the neoliberal view, for development. The clearest lesson from the collapse of communism is precisely that. To prosper, an economy must be allowed to order itself spontaneously according to the principles of competition and voluntary exchange. The

invisible hand, in other words, works better than the visible boot (Economist 1994). On top of that can be added the importance of security of private property, which analysts believe is more easily obtained in a liberal economy. It is not surprising that this antistatist view was very pronounced among dissidents under communist rule in Eastern Europe.

Neoliberals believe that a liberal economy creates the conditions under which a civil society of associations autonomous from the state can flourish, but an interesting twist to their argument is the notion that economic freedoms alone may be worth little unless supported by political ones. For example, Mancur Olson (1983), drawing on the historical experience of Europe, argues forcefully that democracy is far more conducive to long-term economic growth than dictatorship, even of an apparently benevolent kind.

The Post-Marxist School

Apart from Gramsci, Marxists used to have little to say on the subject of civil society. They were more interested in seizing state power and doing so without accepting a pluralist arrangement. It is mainly in recent years that people on the political left have accepted the significance of civil society. They have done so by transcending orthodox Marxist canons, hence "post-Marxism." Like its neoliberal counterpart, this school recognizes the importance of social structures formed by the dominant economy. In contrast, however, it has a more sanguine view of the influence of structural reforms. Such reforms might be feasible, but their effect is to reinforce social stratification and thus enhance elite interests. The point made by this school is that the ability to organize and participate is related to socioeconomic status, so that policy-making is usually the province of a select minority with sufficient resources. Lindblom (1977), for example, reminds us of Hegel, Marx, and Gramsci when he speaks of government as two separate spheres of authority with business occupying a privileged position in politics because of the necessity for the production of material needs and its ability to socialize individuals more thoroughly in its norms. Authors like Bayart (1992) and Fatton (1993) echo this position when they analyze civil society in terms of the power and domination exercised by specific social classes. In general, such writers are skeptical of ongoing economic and political reform processes. For them the democratic transitions represent only minor adjustments rather than radical changes. Fundamental relations of power and privilege remain solidified. Rueschemeyer, Stephens and Stephens (1992), for example, examine how the capitalist mode of production transforms society and the regimes that result from different power relationships between classes. They emphasize the important role that the working class has historically played in consolidating democracy, but they also point to the important influence of transnational power structures in the contemporary global setting. In general, these authors maintain that only the emergence of strong social movements capable of challenging existing power structures provides hope for a more fundamental change. Although their role in certain parts of the developing world, notably Latin America (see Escobar and Alvarez 1992), should not be underestimated, paradoxically, such movements, e.g., feminist and ecologic, have been more evident in post-materialist industrial societies than in developing and democratizing societies elsewhere.

Summary

In concluding this review of how the contemporary debate relates to the philosophers pioneering the civil society concept, it may be worth emphasizing

that inherent in the four schools identified above are also two distinct roles that civil society tends to play in the context of democratization and development. The first is that it helps mobilize resources in ways that the state alone is unable to do. Development benefits from the freedoms that civil society provides because people can take initiatives they would not otherwise do. The second role is that of socializing individuals in a democratic direction. Civil society associations look at the power structure from the bottom up, and, as a result, they tend to instill a participatory philosophy in which checks on abuses of power feature prominently. A vibrant civil society is a necessary, although not sufficient, condition for democracy. To fully appreciate the challenges of building social capital through civil society, one must also examine the various levels at which the relationship between civil society, social capital, and development can be analyzed.

Levels of Analyzing Civil Society

The discussion so far has confirmed that civil society means different things to different people. All the same, there is a tendency for most analysts to define civil society as the realm of organized social life standing between the individual and the state. The consequence of this outlook is that civil society tends to be analyzed primarily in the context of a single country. The latter becomes the most common level of analysis. There are, however, at least two other levels of analysis that, in the contemporary context of building social capital and strengthening democracy, become important. One is the associational level. To fully appreciate the task of building social capital, it is important to know what is going on within civil society associations. How democratic are they? What norms or values do they foster? How do they relate to other associations? The second is the global or transnational level. Many of the organizations that actively engage in advocating certain issues operate across national boundaries. They interpret issues in a global context and are interested in fostering civic values that apply to the global arena. For example, many of the strongest development NGOs are international. What are the implications of this globalization of civil society? I shall explore some of the specific issues that arise at each of these three different levels of analysis.

The Country Level

The task of building social capital is always mediated by existing social structures. It is not possible to induce individuals to cooperate or respect one another without first paying attention to the institutions that make up society. Neither pure self-interest nor altruism alone explains why social capital forms and why civil society flourishes. One issue that has attracted attention in the development literature is how far traditional institutions can form the basis for the growth of civil society. In their extensive review of the role of local organizations in development, Esman and Uphoff (1984) found that they often play a positive role. For example, the Naam movement in Burkina Faso grew out of existing institutions among the Mossi people. Traditional ways of organizing may also serve as a model for new associations, as Dirven (1993) shows with reference to rural trade unions in Bolivia. Korten (1990) also adheres to this position when he argues that new institutions should be made compatible with existing traditions and norms as much as possible. This cluster of authors all take the position that civil society cannot be created from the top down. It has to grow organically from below. Lodging development efforts in existing institutions while at the same time adapting them to new tasks and working to make them more democratic seems to be the preferred approach.

There are others, however, who maintain that traditional structures are hindrances to the evolution of a strong civil society. While indigenous organizations do not have to be controlled by elites, Julie Fisher (1994), for example, found that new organizations emerging from below are least likely to be dominated by the already powerful. One of the best concrete examples of how civil society associations can be fostered to overcome traditional patterns of noncooperation is Uphoff's 1992 study of the Gal Oya irrigation project in Sri Lanka. Building on the lowest common denominator-the property they held in common-a group of outside facilitators (a combination of Cornell researchers and government staff from the Agrarian Research and Training Institute) gradually managed to make farmers cooperate to improve the irrigation system so that water distribution dramatically improved and productivity on the land rose. In this case, building social capital involved circumventing traditional norms and authority, which became possible by institutionalizing new, initially informal, relations among the farmers.

A second issue that tends to be prominent in the literature analyzing civil society at the country level is how far associations should adopt a confrontational approach, or not, towards the state. This issue has arisen particularly in the literature on human rights advocacy organizations. Because this type of association is concerned foremost with the defence of individual liberties against the state, they almost inevitably get into a confrontational relation with the authorities. There is no scope for compromise on these issues; either an individual enjoys or does not enjoy these rights. Activist organizations like Amnesty International and various branches of Human Rights Watch uphold the principles of civil and political rights of individuals at any price (Cohen, Hyden and Nagan 1993).

Others, however, suggest that taking an uncompromising approach towards the state undercuts the overall objective of building social capital and strengthening civil society. This position is more common among developmentalist organizations for which the scope for bargaining with the authorities over policy issues is also greater. Although this position is sometimes criticized as cowardly, it has been common with NGOs working in developing and democratizing countries because it has prevented them from being banned. At stake here, therefore, is the question of what to do when the associational space is limited and civil society threatened. The most common answer has been that it is better to move slowly and try to enlarge available space without invoking the rage of those in power. As Hadenius and Ugglä (1997) argue, however, such a position is also fraught with its own risks. Entering into a relationship that allows the state to influence associational priorities may undercut their autonomy. Civil society leaders, furthermore, may become tempted to join the ranks of "men of the state." What this debate underscores is that civil society associations are likely to have very different perceptions of strategy and tactics in their relation to the state.

A third issue of importance in the context of building civil society at the country level has been the question of how the state can be made to loosen its grip on society. Two major strategies have been discussed. The first is associated with breaking state monopoly over resource mobilization and allocation. Strengthening the market economy has been one way of delegating authority to individuals and organizations outside the state realm. This is a conspicuous component of the strategy of the World Bank and other donors in their effort to promote more democratic forms of governance. Although this effort has been couched more often in the terms of limiting "rent-seeking" by

state officials, its implications also affect civil society.

The other strategy involves decentralization of developmental responsibilities to local self-governing institutions. Elinor Ostrom (1990) has been a particularly consistent advocate of the need for building autonomous organizations at the local level. This strategy, however, also requires a corollary devolution of political authority to local government institutions so that these autonomous grassroots organizations, many of which are quite limited in geographical scope, have a chance of influencing public policy-making. The importance of a decentralized government structure that provides opportunity for local communities to make decisions about resource allocation, management, and distribution on their own has also been stressed by Brautigam (1992) and Fox (1994). As the latter argues: pluralist politics must be learned, and sub-national governments make the best school. Decentralization, however, is not a panacea. If local traditional patrons, for example, are able to control the state apparatus at its lower levels-as they do in many parts of the world-they may actually constitute a strong impediment to the emergence of civil society associations. Decentralization sometimes becomes just another means of strengthening the central government by way of patronage. Instead of being fostered, civil society in this scenario is being choked.

The Associational Level

The analysis at this level has largely centered on two questions: what institutions make up civil society and what qualities must associations possess in order to foster the process of democratization. The answers provided in response to the first question can be divided between a minimalist and a maximalist position. The minimalist argument tends to limit the inclusion of civil society associations to those that are explicitly political or civic in the sense of fostering the norms of democracy (Harbeson, Rothchild and Chazan 1994). In this perspective, there is a tendency to exclude those organizations that are engaged in economic or productive activities. Some make a distinction, once made by Aristotle, between human activities of "work" (techne) and "interaction" (praxis), suggesting a communicative metaphor of the public sphere juxtaposed against an instrumentalist reading of manipulative work-processes. The latter is not congenial to the development of democratic norms or the evolution of civil society. Hannah Arendt, Juergen Habermas, and Simone Weil have argued that politics is a vibrant and unique human activity. Their critique of modern society aims at freeing the subject from the unnatural technical domination that they resolutely associate with work. Taken to a practical level, this suggests that explicitly political or civic associations possess an autonomous capacity to shape the political sphere that other organizations lack.

The maximalist position, on the other hand, makes no distinction between political and other types of organization. Here the spectrum ranges from small, exclusively local organizations in neighborhoods to organizations with a national orientation and membership. The groups in question may organize anything from activities mainly of a social or cultural nature, e.g., drama groups and sports clubs, to profitmaking or service provision, e.g., producer associations, trade unions, and private hospitals. Anything that takes place outside the state realm counts as part of civil society and contributes to building social capital. In this context, the writings of Robert Putnam (1993) are of particular interest. He does indeed show that groups that have little directly to do with politics are instrumental all the same in fostering civic norms and thus build social capital. In his attempt to explain the

developmental differences between northern and southern Italy, he arrives at the conclusion that organizations like choral groups may have played an important role in building trust and, thus, cooperation.

The second question focuses on the qualities of civil society associations. The point here is that not all these associations necessarily do promote internal democracy. Civil society associations may be places for egotistical pursuits (Calhoun 1993). They may also be places in which authoritarian values are nurtured. In short, civil society can undercut democracy if its associations pursue values that go against tolerance and respect for others. For example, in many societies currently undergoing democratization, the objectives are threatened by anti-democratic organizations. Russia, where fascist tendencies have cropped up in the post-Soviet period, is a case in point. Many women argue that civil society associations remain sexist and thus hamper participation by women in public affairs. Yet others focus on the racial or ethnic exclusivity of some of these organizations, maintaining that they must be more inclusive in order to promote democracy. Although it is possible, in line with the maximalist position above, to argue that any association regardless of its internal characteristics is part of civil society, the tendency is to assume that these associations must have some distinct qualities in order to qualify as civil or civic. There is a definite normative choice made by analysts in favor of those criteria that are typically associated with democracy.

Analysts have identified several criteria that they consider important for understanding which associations qualify to be part of civil society. One is autonomy. A civil society association should be independent of the state in terms of decisional competence, recruitment of leaders, and control of important economic and managerial resources. It is no coincidence that authoritarian regimes have tried to curb the activities of civil society by circumscribing the autonomy of its associations (Hadenius and Ugglä 1997). A second criteria is that these associations should be democratically structured internally. They should be microcosms of civil society itself, so that members are socialized to have values compatible with democracy. The more horizontal the decision-making structure in the organization, the more likely it will foster democratic values. Organizations with a very hierarchical constitution or those dominated by patron-client relations would be less likely to contribute toward a democratic civil society. Yet another criterion that is important for fostering a democratic organizational culture is accountability. There must be procedural mechanisms for members to hold leaders accountable for their decisions and actions. Procedures, however, are not always enough. Action speaks louder than words, and elected leaders must be ready to respect the principle of accountability and voluntarily accept its significance in the context of fostering a stronger civil society. A fourth criterion is open recruitment. This is particularly important for the purpose of social or national integration. Associations that are exclusive and closed tend to be less democratically inclined. They become particularly problematic in societies characterized by cultural pluralism, i.e., places where many ethnic, racial, or religious groups live together in the same nation-state. Organizations that do not transcend these boundaries usually have the effect of polarizing civil society and turning politics into a zero-sum game. Multiple affiliation through open recruitment enables individuals to be members of more than one association. Multiple or cross-cutting memberships encourage individuals to seek out common ground in ways that foster tolerance and respect of others. In this manner, open recruitment promotes a democratic culture, one that also strengthens civil society (Offe 1996).

This last point is particularly important because there is a tendency to look at nongovernmental organizations in developing countries almost exclusively in managerial terms: how their role as implementors of projects and programs can be strengthened. For example, the primary emphasis is on enhancing efficiency or creating networks and other forms of linkages. While these matters are not unimportant, much of the debate on the role of NGOs is too instrumental and overlooks the inherent potential for democratization that is embedded in these organizations. They are not merely resource mobilizers or providers. They are also, at least potentially, serving an important role as socializing agents. If they are democratically constituted, they are likely to make a significant contribution to the formation of a vibrant, but also tolerant civil society, one that fosters democracy rather than autocracy.

In short, one can argue that civil society is no better than the sum of its associations. The latter make it what it is. Little social capital of value for democracy will be built unless the associations that make up civil society respect and adhere to democratic values in their own internal governance. Values and norms institutionalized at the microorganizational level are likely to be the strongest bulwark against attacks by the enemies of democracy. We know from the historical experience of many countries that cooperative societies, trade unions, and grassroots movements have served as the vanguard of building democracy. It is in such associational contexts that the social capital needed for democracy is being formed.

The Global Level

One of the most interesting developments in recent years has been the rapid growth of independent organizations that operate on a transnational basis. The building of social capital to strengthen civic and democratic norms no longer takes place at the national level only. There are two aspects of this globalization of the norms of democracy that are particularly important here. The first relates to the universalization of specific policy issues and the evolution of organizations serving as global advocates. Greenpeace and Amnesty International are cases in point in the fields of environmental conservation and human rights respectively. The other concerns the growing role of donor agencies in pushing the democratic agenda in developing countries. In the 1990s, both bilateral and multilateral donors have increasingly stated that development aid will be tied to the readiness of developing country governments to accept democratic norms of governance. On this agenda, the notion of building social capital through strengthening civil society has been very prominent. The consequence of this globalization of the discourse on civil society is that pressures to democratize no longer come only from within a given country but also from outside. The lobbyists for democracy are not only national but also international. This development has interesting implications for the analysis of civil society.

Important in the context of this article is that the transnational activist organizations are viewed not merely as agencies seeking to change state policies or create conditions in the international system that enhance or diminish interstate cooperation (Wapner 1995). These organizations also work across societies, i.e., they help shape norms at the level of society as much as at that of the state. Accepting a definition of civil society that presupposes that it is the arena of social engagement which exists above the individual yet below the state (Keane 1988; Cohen and Arato 1992), it is, as suggested above, a complex network of economic, social, and cultural practices based on

friendship, family, the market and voluntary affiliation. This concept increasingly makes sense not only at the national but also international level thanks to the interpenetration, the intermeshing of symbolic meaning systems, and the proliferation of transnational collective endeavors. For example, market forces shape the way vast numbers of people in countries around the world think and act on specific public issues. Voluntary associations or social movements based on religion, e.g., Christian-based communities in Latin America, represent significant attempts to politicize various public arenas and bring about change. Women organized into movements or other fora on an international scale, as, for example, most recently in the context of the huge NGO Forum associated with the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995, are other cases in point. There is now in existence a special global alliance for citizen participation, whose aim is to strengthen global civil society (Darcy de Oliveira and Tandon 1994). We can see, therefore, that civil society is no longer just that slice of associational life that exists between the individual and the state at the country level but also across national boundaries (Walzer 1995). When transnational activists direct their efforts beyond the state, they are politicizing global civil society. These efforts involve identifying and manipulating instruments of power for shaping collective life. In short, it is too limiting to think of NGOs in world affairs merely as transnational interest groups. Their political relevance goes beyond this by forging new alliances across national boundaries, reconceptualizing public issues, and empowering local communities. They are building social capital through long-distance relations, thereby helping to promote what amounts to a "global civil society."

The other aspect of this process is that played by bilateral and multilateral donors who, by insisting on democratic conditionalities for dispensing their aid-often through international NGOs-help foster the evolution of a new form of global governance that encroaches on the previously sacred notion of state sovereignty. By contracting funds to these NGOs, donors strengthen their power vis-A-vis national governments, particularly in developing countries, and help provide the political space that enables these organizations to influence not only individual governments, but also civil society in these countries. In fact, it can be argued that the influence of most international NGOs in developing countries tends to be more at the level of civil society than of the state. For example, we know that many such NGOs have had a marked influence on how people in these countries view development in new ways that have yet to be adopted by governments. In fields such as public health and environmental conservation, these donor-funded NGOs have helped shape the character of public opinion and public life.

The prominence of the donors, however, is itself problematic in that many of the beneficiaries of their financial support tend to lose their autonomy. Donors are not rooted in domestic conditions in these countries, and, therefore, their ability to sustain collective activities is often limited. Associational life in many of these places tends to be so dependent on donor funding that civil society is very fragile. Thus, there is sometimes a conflict between the ambition to foster civil society at the global and the national level. The international NGOs tend to focus on the global level at the expense of their potential contribution in fostering associational life at the national level. There is a limit to how far democracy in developing countries can be built with the assistance of international actors, be they NGOs or donors (Bratton 1994 and Barkan 1996). This is an issue that needs to be fully recognized and further studied.

Regimes and Civil Society

The evolution of civil society has always been a long and contradictory process. Trying to build it is essentially a political task and, as such, subject to constant contestation by those for whom an open and accountable associational life is a threat. Yet, there are more and stronger social forces geared up to fulfill this task than ever before. The past two decades have witnessed remarkable progress for democracy. Since 1972, the number of democratic political systems has more than doubled, from 44 to 107. Three out of five of the world's 187 countries today have adopted a democratic government (Chull Shin 1994, 136). With the collapse of communism, moreover, democracy has reached every region of the world for the first time in history. And, as Huntington (1992, 58) has noted, it has become "the only legitimate and viable alternative to an authoritarian regime of any kind." Civil society has been both a cause and a consequence of this process. In many places around the world, the rise of civil society has contributed to the emergence of democratic government. In others, its rise has been facilitated by the introduction of a democratically elected government. It has provided the political space in which new forms of social capital are being built. We must recognize, therefore, that the challenges of building civil society are bound to vary from place to place.

In understanding what these different challenges are, it is necessary to interpret civil society as a sphere that evolves largely in response to the inability or failure of the state to meet needs or demands of its citizens (Dryzek 1996). States differ in their degree of inclusiveness. They also differ in terms of openness. Thus, we find that the place of civil society tends to be determined accordingly, as suggested in the figure shown above.

Each of these scenarios carries different challenges for civil society. In a neoliberal regime, where the state makes no extra effort to include all groups, civil society becomes an alternative arena for inclusion. People seek their remedies in civil society. The burden of inclusion, therefore, falls more on civil society than on the state. In the corporatist system, especially where it involves an extensive welfare system, the state carries the main burden of including groups in society. As a result, civil society is often starved of opportunities to build social capital or promote development. Wherever benign/authoritarian systems prevail, states again tend to act so as to preempt voluntary associations from arising and challenging public authority. In these places, therefore, civil society is constrained because the state puts legal barriers on its ability to act. The neo-patrimonial regimes, finally, constitute the most serious challenge to civil society because not only do they legally inhibit civil society associations but the state itself tends to be controlled by a small elite group. Each of these scenarios deserves a closer examination.

Neoliberal Regimes

The neoliberal system is characterized by its strong reliance on the market for allocation of resources. It assumes that the invisible hand of the market mechanism not only lowers transaction costs for providing public and private goods but also provides equal opportunities for individuals to secure such goods. There is an optimistic view of capitalism, where little or no account is taken of "market failures," notably the persistence of the system to produce differential benefits. Although government's role in the economy is not totally ignored, the state is not expected to do more than what is minimally necessary to keep citizens happy. The state, therefore, abdicates much of its role as an

agency for inclusion into a democratic society. In the neoliberal perspective, such a role is seen as superfluous. The task of satisfying popular needs and demands and of performing the role of bringing different interests into the political sphere falls on civil society.

(Chart Omitted)

Captioned as: FIGURE 3

Because of the tendency of the state to be exclusivist, civil society is not only asked to fill a vacuum but also becomes an oppositional sphere. Its associations are critical because they are locked out of direct influence at the state level. Their vitality typically stems from a deep sense of deprivation. Downsizing the government bureaucracy and limiting the influence of the state, which have been such prominent objectives of governments all over the world in recent years, tend to produce a more impatient civil society. This causes it to exercise influence in new ways. South Africa is a case in point. Much of the opposition to apartheid was conducted by domestic groups in opposition to the regime. These groups, notably the many civic associations that formed in the black townships, changed the terms of the political debate and the public agenda not so much by their ability to exercise direct leverage over the white minority as by framing the political discourse in new ways. We also know that spontaneous action by civil society through social movements often leads to the emergence of new forms of political protest, e.g., sit-ins (Tarrow 1994). Nowadays some of this opposition to the failure of the state to assimilate interests is quite often taken to a global level. Pressures are brought to bear on national governments by civil society associations acting together at the supra-national level. The recent summits organized by the United Nations on such issues as environment and development, women, and children have provided separate fora for nongovernmental organizations which have used these opportunities to pressure official government delegates to act in certain ways.

Neoliberal regimes do tend to encourage the growth of civil society by both design and default. Such regimes are typically designed to be open, and economic competition certainly encourages pluralism. At the same time, however, civil society under such regimes also tends to grow as a result of the inadequacy of the state to recognize and incorporate all interests into its policies. Civil society takes on the role of providing opportunities for inclusion and, as such, provides a political "safety-valve," at least as long as the state recognizes the principles of a free civil society. The generation of social capital is centered largely in civil society. We do know, however, that an oppositional civil society is sometimes viewed as a threat by state officials. Their inclination to curb its freedom has been manifested in several countries, which, in recent years, have turned to neoliberal policies, but where democratic principles may not be fully institutionalized.

Neo-Corp or at it Regimes

This type of regime comes in different shades, but the general principle behind this system is that of integration of interests at the state level. To be sure, this does not apply to all interests, but participation in state structures is offered at least to the main and more influential interest groups in society. Corporatism was initially associated with fascist dictatorship, notably in Italy and Germany during the period between the two World Wars, but it re-emerged in a new fashion after 1945 in a democratic version, hence the

idea of "neo-corporatism." Its prominence can be largely attributed to the simultaneous growth of the welfare state, i.e., the provision of benefits from state-administered schemes. To manage this kind of economic system, it became necessary for the state to incorporate into its decision-making structures those groups in society that could make it succeed or fail. Trade unions and employers' federations became particularly critical.

Although no attempt is typically made to curb the freedom of these organizations, their role in civil society is diminished by their inclination to focus on the structures provided by the state. Some of the most important agents of civil society are coopted by the state and thus unlikely to act as independently as they otherwise would. As the experiences of many Western European countries (Schmitter and Lehbruch 1979) indicate, this type of cooptation has many positive effects, notably that of stabilizing the management of the economy. It also elicits a fairer distribution of resources among the principal interest groups. Even though the party in power may be politically closer to one of these interest groups, its role in a neo-corporatist system is that of serving as mediator and ensuring that contending forces are balanced.

The effect of this neo-corporatist arrangement has been to starve civil society of opportunities to serve as a democratic force. Political action has focused on organized parties and has been directed to the state. It is no coincidence that, to the extent that civil society has generated its own forces, they have been in the form of social movements drawing attention to post-materialist issues such as ecology and gender (Offe 1996). Ongoing efforts by governments in Western Europe to downsize government and reduce the payment of welfare benefits have yet to generate their own oppositional forces in civil society. The tendency continues to be that of using political parties to oppose such policies. There is little evidence that civil society is generating alternative structures and policy options.

The challenge of state incorporation has also been a major issue in Latin American politics. The particular focus there has been on labor: how to recast state-labor relations in ways that secure of political stability. Although the process of creating a welfare state in countries like Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay was never completed, patterns similar to those in Western Europe were at one time present in Latin American politics. As Collier and Collier (1991) argue, efforts to incorporate the interest of labor into the state realm in Latin American countries followed very different paths and were never wholly successful in stabilizing politics. For these reasons, civil society has continued to retain its role as an alternative arena of political inclusion. Although freedom of association and speech has been banned for certain times in these countries, civil society has never lost its attraction. It has served as the political base for trade unions as well as new social movements (Nelson 1989). Its role in generating social capital for development is very much acknowledged.

Benign-Authoritarian Regimes

Some readers may have problems with this term, but it refers here to those systems where the state plays a self-appointed role as arbiter in politics, and voluntary associations are either totally banned or under severe legal and/or political restrictions. The benign nature of the state is implied in the assumption that it does fulfill certain functions that are appreciated by groups in society. For example, a benign state is one that promotes economic

development and ensures that its fruits are shared even by those not in power. Countries that have experienced this kind of system in recent decades can be found in East and Southeast Asia as well as the Middle East.

Governments in these countries have typically taken a critical view of democratization. Civil society is still very weak and attempts by associations not controlled by the state to exercise influence are often met with brutal force as the Tiananmen Square incident in China in 1989 and more recent parallel events in Indonesia and Myanmar (Burma) confirm. Government leaders usually take a confident, and sometimes arrogant, attitude toward those in opposition, arguing that the economic success that these countries have experienced in recent decades can be attributed to a benign and authoritarian state. These leaders do not see themselves in a retreatist position, but argue instead that it is the catalytic role played by such a state that is the explanation of their countries' development success. It is certainly true that these successes have been achieved largely in opposition to current mainstream economic thinking as represented by the international finance institutions. Civil society has played a very minor role in paving the way for economic and social development in these countries. Their trade-based strategies have relied largely on state initiatives and regulation.

Most Asian leaders would agree that economic reform must precede political reform. Singapore's former Premier, Lee Quan Yew (1993), for instance, has expressed his reservations about the desirability of applying Western democratic principles to Asia. He believes that discipline is much more important for development than democracy, that social capital comes not from greater political openness as much as it does from adherence to customary indigenous values, whether Buddhist or Confucian. Strengthening civil society, therefore, is not a top priority in government circles in most Asian countries. This is clear, for example, from the final declaration of the Asian human rights conference, held in Bangkok a few years ago, in which government representatives attested to the high premium they place on sovereignty and noninterference in domestic affairs (Alagappa 1994, 8). The same position is also widely embraced by governments in the Muslim world, where religious dogma is often invoked to prevent the growth of civil society associations.

Even though government leaders are skeptical about the growth of civil society in these countries, there is a small but growing constituency for strengthening civil society and democracy. Despite being labeled "a threat from the left" by the Indonesian government and a "threat from the right" by the Chinese government, the principles of democratic governance have become part of the contemporary political discourse in these countries. It is also worth noting that the meeting of Asian non-governmental organizations, which preceded the regional inter-governmental human rights meeting in Bangkok mentioned above, endorsed the significance of civil and political rights. Their starting point was the citizen, not the government; civil society, not the state. The existence and work of these organizations and individuals, despite grave danger to their lives, families, and property refute, at least in part, the position taken by the governing elites that democracy, civil society, and human rights are Western concepts with no resonance in Asian political culture. Nonetheless, it is clear that, relatively speaking, civil society remains weak in Asia and the Middle East and that efforts by Western countries to exercise pressures on governments in these regions to strengthen civil society or adopt democratic principles are not likely to bear fruit in the short to medium terms. In the long run, such reforms may materialize, particularly during a crisis of authority caused by

the effects of continued economic growth, industrialization, higher levels of education, and the accompanying growth of a middle class, all of which are likely to sharpen the public's political consciousness and increase its awareness of the importance of popular sovereignty.

The former communist countries are examples of the failure of state incorporation that, at least in many respects, fit the description of benign-authoritarian regimes. In fact, by virtue of its total ban on associations other than those linked to the state (through the ruling party), it is an extreme illustration of the failure of this type of system. Because civil society was prohibited, those in opposition eventually had to go underground. Solidarity in Poland and Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia are the best known of such organized efforts. Although the system eventually collapsed under its own weight rather than the strength of civil society, the withering away of central planning and direction paved the way for economic reform that, in turn, opened the doors for civil society associations to grow in importance (Sztompka 1991, Bernhard 1993). It may be too early to pronounce the victory of civil society in these countries, but it appears to stand a better chance of growing in the former communist countries-despite a lack of tradition of building social capital through voluntary associations-than in the Asian and Middle Eastern countries discussed above.

Neo-Patrimonialist Regimes

Neo-patrimonialism is now a generally recognized concept for describing political regimes in sub-Saharan Africa (Medard 1982, Callaghy 1984, Bratton and van de Walle 1994). Drawing on Max Weber, patrimonialism can be characterized as a system of rule in which all governmental authority and the corresponding economic rights tend to be treated as privately appropriated economic advantages and where governmental powers and the associated advantages are treated as private rights. Historically speaking, this is a form of rule that existed in all regions of the world. Kings and chiefs alike saw no difference between the public and private realms. Taxes, or tributes as they were typically called in earlier days, were retained by the ruler as part of his household income even though it was collected by titular officials. Remnants of this system are retained in the titles of British government officials. By reining in the powers of the kings and constitutionalizing relations between different groups or actors in society, a separate public realm was eventually established. It was in this space that the modern state arose and civil society was built.

Neo-patrimonialism exists in contemporary societies where the impact of the modern state has been felt, but where prevailing social norms make no such distinction between private and public realms. It is particularly common in sub-Saharan Africa, where the influence of the modern state was conveyed through colonial rule for some sixty to seventy years. Here modern bureaucratic norms coexist with patrimonial ones. Public policy is mediated by the struggle between these rivaling sets of norms. In seeking legitimacy, the neo-patrimonialist state usually refers to public norms and universal principles, yet these provide only a facade behind which patrimonialist values can be pursued. That is why governance in neo-patrimonialist regimes appears corrupt to the Western observer, yet is not experienced as such by those for whom patrimonialism is customary.

Neo-patrimonial regimes pose particular problems for building social capital through civil society. To start with, they are typically unfree, even if they

may rhetorically accept principles of democratic governance. This divergence between rhetoric and reality means that political action tends to be arbitrary and unpredictable. Rule of law is not upheld and the result is that neither investors in physical capital nor those in social capital are ready to take any risks. Second, neo-patrimonial regimes are exclusivist in their treatment of groups in society. The state as an institution does not assimilate interests with a view to pursuing a particular development strategy. Instead, cooptation takes place on a personal and often simple bilateral basis, the ruler providing benefits to followers in return for their support. These actions are investments in social capital of sorts but they aim not at developing society but at keeping the existing power structure intact (Mamdani 1996). Although this structure may be rooted in a broad cross-section of ethnic or religious communities, it does not permit autonomous action by any one such community. The initiative must come from the member representing it at the political apex. Because power relations are personalized, there is little room for civil society to serve as an alternative to the state. The former is imbued by the same neopatrimonialist values and corrodes, therefore, the fundamental principles under which the relations between state and civil society can be defined.

This type of regime in sub-Saharan Africa initially grew under the auspices of one-party rule. The monopoly that rulers enjoyed in such systems provided the condition under which neo-patrimonialism could be institutionalized. Many have expected that with efforts to democratize rule in these countries in recent years, and especially with the pressures being exercised on their governments by international donors, neo-patrimonialism would give way. Experience so far, however, shows that it has been very difficult to dislodge the system. Competitive elections have not changed patrimonialist behavior. In some cases, it seems they may have reinforced it. Thus, in one country after another, plus ça change, c'est la même chose. Pressures by bilateral donors to make governments comply with democratic conditionalities have been largely ineffective, as experience from Cameroon, Kenya, and Zambia indicates.

Although civil society exists under constant threat in this type of regime, it does survive, thanks to the presence of small groups of committed activists in these countries who wish to see an end to neo-patrimonialism. Their activities are usually funded and supported from outside. This means that these associations are quite extensively dependent on external funding. Yet, in the absence of distinct state and civil society realms, this support is not only a vital lifeline but also a means of buying time on the assumption that more congenial conditions for the creation of social capital through a vibrant civil society can be established. It must be noted, however, that because both state and civil society are so externally oriented, neither serves the assimilationist role that state or civil society serves in the other regions. The political systems in sub-Saharan Africa are not likely to achieve any of the objectives of democratic governance as long as both state and civil society live off external funds for their core activities. In this respect, the political challenge of development is particularly tough in that region of the world.

Conclusions

This article has not reported new research findings as much as it has tried to clarify the ongoing discourse on civil society, particularly as it relates to development. There is currently no shortage of scholarly material being produced on this subject. Moreover, civil society is a topical subject among development practitioners. The idea of taking stock of this discourse, I believe, has a

value in itself.

Civil society continues to have different meanings to different people. By becoming a concept in use also outside the old democracies of western Europe and North America, its sense has become even broader. Nonetheless, it seems that most of the contemporary discourse on the subject can be traced back to perspectives provided by the "founding fathers" of the concept. The four schools that were identified above provide their own unique perspectives on civil society. Although they are not mutually exclusive, there is a tendency for each school to carry out its own discourse. They may not be as far apart as the schools and sects that Almond (1990) identified in political science some years ago, but the idea that members of each school are seated at separate tables seems applicable to this discourse on civil society.

An interesting development in the study of civil society is the trend towards looking at it beyond the country level. There is a growing interest in looking at the character of civil society associations themselves so as to understand their dynamics and their role in building social capital and thus contribute to development. Increasingly, there is also interest in the emergence of what some analysts call global civil society, the idea here being that non-governmental organizations are no longer confined to individual countries but operate across national boundaries, influencing not only inter-governmental organizations or national governments but also helping to set the political agenda. In the future, there seem to be strong reasons to study civil society not only at one level but also to examine the interaction of phenomena going on at different levels. This is important to be able capture the fact that civil society is both an arena in which associations compete for influence and, in its interaction with the state or intergovernmental organizations, an agent in its own right.

Civil society is both a means and an end. It is there to keep the state in check and influence policy. But, as a potential reservoir of civic values, it must be kept alive to provide room for those ideas and interests that are not being incorporated by the state (Dryzek 1996). Civil society is needed, therefore, to cater for those whose place at the state table is not reserved. As such, it encourages people to act autonomously to achieve their goals, thereby contributing to the creation of social capital. Although we still do not know exactly how civil society contributes to development, there is enough evidence in the material already published to indicate that it does so. What we need to recognize, however, in order to understand this contribution better is how different regimes create different conditions for the role that civil society plays. The way state-civil society relations are organized effectively shapes this role. By treating regime as a causal variable, our understanding of civil society can be enhanced.

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TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

It is my special pleasure to transmit herewith the Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Arts for the fiscal year 1994.

Over the course of its history, the National Endowment for the Arts has awarded grants for arts projects that reach into every community in the Nation. The agency's mission is public service through the arts, and it fulfills this mandate through support of artistic excellence, our cultural heritage and traditions, individual creativity, education, and public and private partnerships for the arts. Perhaps most importantly, the Arts Endowment encourages arts organizations to reach out to the American people, to bring in new audiences for the performing, literary, and visual arts.

The results over the past 30 years can be measured by the increased presence of the arts in the lives of our fellow citizens. More children have contact with working artists in the classroom, at children's museums and festivals, and in the curricula. More older Americans now have access to museums, concert halls, and other venues. The arts reach into the smallest and most isolated communities, and in our inner cities, arts programs are often a haven for the most disadvantaged, a place where our youth can rediscover the power of imagination, creativity, and hope.

We can measure this progress as well in our re-designed communities, in the buildings and sculpture that grace our cities and towns, and in the vitality of the local economy whenever the arts arrive. The National Endowment for the Arts works the way a Government agency should work -- in partnership with the private sector, in cooperation with State and local

government, and in service to all Americans. We enjoy a rich and diverse culture in the United States, open to every citizen, and supported by the Federal Government for our common good and benefit.

William J. Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE,

March 28, 1996.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

NATIONAL ARTS AND HUMANITIES MONTH

October 1995

The month of October is the time we traditionally set aside to contemplate the place of the arts and humanities in our national experience. They are our map and our compass; they tell us who we are and where we come from -- and, most important, they show us who we can become.

Too often we define our nation in terms of technological genius and our prodigious capacities for production and marketing. We forget that America was born of the human mind and spirit. The individuals who founded our nation were students of history and philosophy, thinkers as well as doers. The Constitution they devised for us, the blueprint for a form of government the world had never known, was fashioned from their knowledge of the past and their vision for the future.

The arts, too, have an invaluable place in our lives. In a nation as diverse as ours, the arts remind us of the common values that bind us together as one people. They challenge us with new ideas and summon us to become more than we are. Through song, painting, sculpture, prose, poetry, and every other artistic endeavor, Americans rejoice in our rich cultural heritage and share the beauty and complexity of the world around us.

America has flourished for over 200 years because of our willingness to cultivate the human spirit. In these challenging times, when some are questioning the value of public support for the arts and humanities, we must remember that these pursuits are not a luxury that we can live without -- they are a vital part of our national character, the motivating force that makes us who we are.

As we observe National Arts and Humanities Month this year, let us reflect on what the arts and humanities have meant to us as a people, and let us rededicate ourselves to preserving and nurturing them for the generations yet to come.

Ries Clinton

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

It is my special pleasure to transmit herewith the Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Arts for the fiscal year 1993.

The National Endowment for the Arts has awarded over 100,000 grants since 1965 for arts projects that touch every community in the Nation. Through its grants to individual artists, the agency has helped to launch and sustain the voice and grace of a generation -- such as the brilliance of Rita Dove, now the U.S. Poet Laureate, or the daring of dancer Arthur Mitchell. Through its grants to art organizations, it has helped invigorate community arts centers and museums, preserve our folk heritage, and advance the performing, literary, and visual arts.

Since its inception, the Arts Endowment has believed that all children should have an education in the arts. Over the past few years, the agency has worked hard to include the arts in our national education reform movement. Today, the arts are helping to lead the way in renewing American schools.

I have seen first-hand the success story of this small agency. In my home State of Arkansas, the National Endowment for the Arts worked in partnership with the State arts agency and the private sector to bring artists into our schools, to help cities revive downtown centers, and to support opera and jazz, literature and music. All across the United States, the Endowment invests in our cultural institutions and artists. People in communities small and large in every State have greater opportunities to participate and enjoy the arts. We all benefit from this increased arts presence, and yet the cost is just 65 cents per American. The payback in economic terms has always been several-fold. The payback in human benefit is incalculable.

William D. Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE,

April 6, 1995.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I am pleased to present to you the Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), the Federal agency charged with fostering scholarship and imparting knowledge in the humanities. Its work supports an impressive range of humanities projects.

These projects can reach an audience as general as the 28 million who watched the documentary *Baseball*, or as specialized as the 50 scholars who this past fall examined current research on Dante. Small local historical societies have received NEH support, as have some of the Nation's largest cultural institutions. Students from kindergarten through graduate school, professors and teachers, and the general public in all parts of the Nation have been touched by the Endowment's activities.

As we approach the 21st century, the world is growing smaller and its problems seemingly bigger. Societies are becoming more complex and fractious. The knowledge and wisdom, the insight and perspective, imparted by history, philosophy, literature, and other humanities disciplines enable us to meet the challenges of contemporary life.

William G. Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE,

February 9, 1995.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 16, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE 1994 PRAEMIUM IMPERIALE ARTS AWARD CEREMONY

The East Room

4:00 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Sejima, thank you for your fine words and for giving us the history of the Japan Art Association and its relationship to President Grant in his visit to Japan.

I had a sense of the great tradition of the Imperial Family when the Emperor and Empress were here a couple of nights ago with the First Lady and I, and the Emperor was taken upstairs to my office. And we were talking about American history, and I said, "This desk I use in my office was President Grant's Cabinet table." He said, "Yes, I know. My great-grandfather welcomed him to Japan." I had a desk, he had a family experience. (Laughter and applause.)

There are many very distinguished Americans here, including our great former Ambassador to Japan, Senator Mike Mansfield and Maestro Rostropovich, who was just here to play for the Emperor and Empress. I thank you all for coming. I welcome the members of the diplomatic community and other distinguished citizens of the world. I would like to, in particular, recognize the representatives here of the panel of international advisors of the Japan Art Association, a group of truly distinguished citizens of the world. The Mayor of Paris, Jacques Chirac, who hosted us recently. Welcome, sir. The former Prime Minister of Italy, Amintore Fanfani; the former Prime Minister of Japan, Yasuhiro Nakasone. And the former Prime Minister of Great Britain, Sir Edward Heath. Welcome to you all. (Applause.) And Mr. David Rockefeller, our representative. David, thank you. (Applause.)

We have all been enriched by the work of the Japan Art Association, but especially by creating this award for artists who would not otherwise be recognized internationally for their outstanding work. Katherine Anne Porter, once wrote that, "Art outlives governments, creeds, societies, even civilizations." "Art," she wrote, "is what we find again when the ruins are cleared away."

Indeed, in this very room we have an example of art that survived even the burning of the White House. This wonderful Gilbert Stuart portrait of George Washington, which was rescued by the then-First Lady, Dolley Madison when the White House was burned during the War of 1812. So it endured, and it's just like it was then; but all the walls here are new, just as all the people here are. If we cultivate art, nurture it and preserve it, then not only art endures, but a part of all of us endures as well.

The Praemium Imperiale Prizes were established to mark the second century of work of the Japan Art Association, recognizing international excellence in painting, sculpture, architecture, music, theatre and film. All the winners are artists of unique accomplishment. The recommendations for the prize recipients are made for the Japan Art Association by the Distinguished Committee of International Advisors, whom I have just recognized. I thank those

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who are here and those who are not able to come, including the former West German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt.

Yesterday, the names of the five award winners were announced. In October, they will be honored in ceremonies in Tokyo, but we wanted to salute them here. And four of the five honorees are with us today.

For painting, this year's winner is the French artist, Zao Wou-Ki.

Where is he? Please stand up. (Applause.)

Born in China, educated there and in France, his style brings together East and West in a synthesis of drawing, calligraphy and traditional Chinese painting that is nothing less than lyrical.

For sculpture, the winner is an American: Richard Serra. (Applause.) A Californian who literally broke the mold and shattered ideas about what sculpture is, his work radiates emotional power on a grand scale and has been an inspiration to an entire new generation of artists.

The winner for architecture is Charles Correa of India -- (applause) -- who has done work of truly historic significance, showing sensitivity and planning communities in poor countries, for genuinely civilized living. His pioneering work has sought to improve the quality of housing for the urban poor, as well as providing a more humane way to live.

For music, the winner is the French composer, Henri Dutilleux. (Applause.) His distinctive compositions put into beautiful music the notion of diversity within unity, producing from novel arrays of instruments what the composer himself has so aptly called "the joy of sound."

Finally, in the category of theatre and film, the winner goes to someone who could not be with us today -- the wonderful British actor and director, Sir John Gielgud. His career so far has spanned a mere eight decades, reaching new heights in roles as different as Hamlet on the stage and the butler in service to a tipsy millionaire in the movie, "Arthur." He sends his regrets that he could not be with us today, and he has our best wishes.

We give our congratulations to all these winners for many more decades of creative energy. We thank them for stirring our imaginations and our souls. The world is better for their efforts. For all of that, we say thank you.

END

4:05 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 5, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT NATIONAL MEDAL OF ARTS CEREMONY

The South La'm

1:15 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. It's an eery feeling being introduced by your wife. (Laughter.) You never know what's going to be said. (Laughter.) You're steeling yourself for the discipline not to show any adverse reaction. (Laughter.) We're having a good time today, Hillary and I are. We love this day; we look forward to it. And we thank all of you for coming. We thank especially Senator Pell and Senator Simpson. Thank you for coming. We're glad to see you. (Applause.)

We thank the members of the administration who are here. I see Secretary Riley, and Deputy Secretary Kunin of Education; and Roger Johnson, the Director of the General Services Administration. There may be others here. I thank all of you for being here. I want to say a special word of thanks for the service of Jane Alexander and Sheldon Hackney for the great job that they have done. (Applause.)

I thank my good friend, John Brademas, the Chairman of the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities; and Diane Frankel, the Director of the Institute for Museum Services. And I thank all the members of the Arts and Humanities Council who are here for their willingness to serve.

It's a great honor for me to be able to present today the National Medal of Arts and the Charles Frankel Prize in the Humanities to a distinguished group of Americans who have lived their lives as builders -- bringing people enlightenment, bringing people enjoyment, advancing the cause of human knowledge and human understanding and the joy in life. Before I do that, I think I ought to say, we've had a couple of pieces of good news this morning at the White House, which at least are not inconsistent with what so many of these people have given their lives to.

The President of Mexico called me this morning and told me that, after all the difficulties this country had faced in recent months, that he was making an early repayment of \$700 million of the money they borrowed from the United States to keep their economy going. And I think that's a good thing. (Applause.)

You know, when you loan money, you never know whether it's a good thing or not until it's too late to do anything about it (Laughter.) Some of you have been in that position. But they're our friends, they're our allies, they're our partners for the future. They're fighting for their democracy and they're fighting for the quality of their country's economy. They hit a rough spot in the road, and they borrowed less money than we authorized them to, and they're paying it back more quickly. And we're going to have a brighter future as a result of it, and a safer, more secure future, and a better partnership. And that's a good thing.

And perhaps even more importantly, I learned early this morning that in five days from now, if we can just get a couple of things done, the parties in Bosnia have agreed to a complete cease-

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fire of all military hostilities. (Applause.) They have, furthermore, agreed to come for what are called "proximity peace talks" -- I'll tell you about that in a minute; that's a government language word -- to the United States to actually talk about hammering out a final peace agreement in later October. So this is a good day for the cause of peace and prosperity in the world and in the United States.

Proximity peace talks means that they'll all come to the same country, to the same town, to the same place, but they'll let us talk to them, and they won't talk to each other until -- (Laughter) -- but that's better than it's been. (Laughter.) And sooner or later, we'll all find out we have more in common than we do dividing us. And that's the lesson that we hope the American people keep in mind as we go through the next months and years as well. (Applause.)

I think it's fair to say that no President has ever enjoyed these award ceremonies more than I have because every year I get a chance to recognize the lifetime achievements of people who have been heroes to me in various ways -- men and women who, unbeknownst to them, have been my teachers, my role models, my inspiration, because, as President, I am no different than any other American who enjoys literature or music or art and architecture. And I have benefitted, as so many of you have, for the work of the people we recognize today.

These awards call attention to the lives of 17 individuals and one organization who have worked to enrich the lives of millions and millions of Americans, millions of people around the world, and have made this country a stronger, better, richer place. They are genuine examples of the American ideal and their work as a whole is a national treasure.

The arts and humanities have energized the American Dream in so many ways. The soul of our country has literally been shaped by the vision of our artists and the creativity of those whom we honor here today. And many others in the past have helped America to become and to remain the freest, most democratic nation in the world. Through the arts and humanities, we assert both our oneness and our diversity. And in celebrating this ideal, we move forward together.

Human creativity is clearly the most powerful force on Earth. And these awardees have exercised that power to the fullest. They have woven for us a wonderful mosaic of music and dance, art and literature to comfort and inspire a troubled world.

The importance of this work is more important now, perhaps, than ever before as our country and our world go through a period of unprecedented change -- changes that are both bringing us together and ripping up the bonds that have united us in the past. In a nation as diverse as ours, our arts and our humanities are bridges to help us reach out to one another and understand one another better. Projects like the NEH's national conversation are truly helping us to accomplish this.

In the face of those who would divide us, we must remain steadfast in supporting the arts and humanities as a way of coming together while we celebrate our diversity. Our support for them is not the preservation of some extravagant cultural elite, it's the preservation of our cultural tradition for all Americans and especially for those who, unlike me and so many of us, are not part of anybody's elite, and they need their country to make sure they have access to the great heritage of America as well. (Applause.)

For the last 30 years, the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities have made the arts and humanities accessible to millions of our fellow citizens from

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schoolchildren to people in our inner cities to citizens in our most isolated rural communities -- many of whom would never have experienced these gifts had they not been offered so freely by our nation's artists and scholars and by their nation's government.

For a very small contribution, both the NEA and the NEH have made vital contributions to the life of this nation. Each of the awardees we recognize here today has been a pioneer. Sometimes they've made us laugh; sometimes they've helped us cry. Sometimes they've challenged us to see the error of our ways. Sometimes they've helped us to celebrate the strength of our goodness. But always they have lifted us to higher ground.

I am honored to confer upon this wonderful group of Americans the National Medal of the Arts and the Charles Frankel Prize. First, the Medal of the Arts winners. Licia Albanese -- the beginning of her career came as something of a surprise. When the lead soprano in the Milan production of Madame Butterfly fell ill during the performance, this young singer was called upon to finish the opera. Her performance that evening brought the house down. And a career that spanned more than 30 years was launched.

She went on to leading roles in operas all around the world, always creating characters memorable not only for the arias they sang, but for their intense vitality. She had the rare ability to combine her great talent as a singer with equal talent as an actress. It was once said that Licia Albanese had the two qualities which all great artists have -- simplicity and sincerity. Most recently, she and her late husband founded the Puccini Foundation, and she has worked tirelessly for the benefit of opera and its survival as an art form.

Please welcome our first honoree, Licia Albanese.
(Applause.)

Gwendolyn Brooks began writing poetry when she was only 11. And at the age of 13, her first poem was published. More than 75 others followed, while she was still a teenager. For four decades, Gwendolyn Brooks has drawn on the black experience to create poetry that speaks to all of us in a frank and familiar way. She served as the poetry consultant to the Library of Congress, and today is the Poet Laureate of Illinois. In 1949, she was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for poetry. She has kept alive the culture of her roots through the cultivation of her words.

Gwendolyn Brooks. (Applause.)

Each painter, performer or thinker here today has in one way or another served to create a legacy in the halls of American art. Their contributions shall be forever remembered in their fields and beyond. But their work might never have seen the light of day were it not for generous, committed, and visionary citizens like two of those whom we honor -- Iris and Bernie Cantor.

They have helped literally countless young artists to succeed. They've introduced countless young people to the joys of art. The grants and gifts bestowed by the Cantor family have built and filled the galleries and museums across our nation. From the Rodin sculptures given to New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, to the grants for exhibitions at institutions such as our own Arkansas Art Center, to the sculpture exhibit here at the White House, the Cantor's love for art has known no bounds.

They've done much to keep the arts alive in America, and we owe them our thanks. Bernie could not be with us here today. But Hillary and I are delighted that our good friend, Iris Cantor, is here to accept the award on behalf of both of them. Iris and Bernie Cantor. (Applause.)

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It's a special honor for me today to honor another husband and wife team that has shown that a commitment to the issues facing the world around us can be just as important a part of their lives and our lives as a commitment to the art one creates. Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee met in 1946, performing in a Broadway version of *Jeb Turner*. I want to say that again. They met in 1946, while performing in a Broadway version of *Jeb Turner* -- (laughter) -- a play in which she was violating the child labor laws at the time. (Laughter and applause.) They were married a year later. And they have performed individually and together now for almost 50 years.

While the stage and screen have kept them busy with such projects as "*A Raisin in the Sun*," "*The Jackie Robinson Story*," and "*Do The Right Thing*," they have continued to fight for others' struggle for equality.

Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee have helped groups such as the NAACP, the Urban League, the AIDS projects, like Housing Works. In 1986 they produced a PBS tribute entitled, "*Martin Luther King: The Dream and the Drum*." Their vision and their talent shine as brightly today as they did on that first day when they met on Broadway so long ago, and our country is very much a better place because of their life and their work. (Applause.)

Having written no fewer than 100 pieces of music by the time he graduated from high school, David Diamond was well on his way to becoming one of America's most accomplished and disciplined composers very early in his youth. His dedicated and commitment throughout his distinguished career has made him a master at the craft of creating music.

He's a proud adherent to the classical tradition, and has made outstanding contributions to the field for more than 60 years now. An inspiration both to those within his field as well as those who simply enjoy the music he creates, David Diamond truly exemplifies the spirit of American creativity. Mr. Diamond. (Applause.)

Born in Germany, James Ingo Freed came to the United States as a nine-year-old refugee in 1939. After earning his architectural degree in 1953, he joined the offices of I.M. Pei and Partners. Widely published and respected within the world of architecture, he has been the recipient of many major awards, and most recently, he has been justifiably celebrated for his creation of the magnificent, for most of us, overwhelming United States Holocaust Memorial Museum -- an extraordinary structure that houses many painful memories, but ultimately inspires its visitors to strive for a better future.

We're honoring him today for that monumental achievement, but also for his lifelong dedication to his craft which continues in this city at this moment as the Federal Triangle Building comes up and moves toward completion. Let's give him a warm welcome. James Ingo Freed. (Applause.)

Our next awardee obviously needs no introduction. He was cited by the Guinness Book of Records as the most honored entertainer in the world. (Laughter.) Maybe we ought not to do this. (Laughter.) Bob Hope has more than 1,000 awards and citations for his humanitarian and professional success. He's been honored more than -- I think, five times by the Motion Picture Academy, including receiving an honorary Oscar and the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award. But I know something that some of you probably don't know. He would far rather go down in history as a great golfer. (Laughter.) This morning when I saw him I said -- Bob said, well, how's your golf game? I said, it's pretty good; but it's too

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rainy today, we can't play. He said, that's too bad, I'll miss taking your money. (Laughter.)

Unfortunately, that's not as funny as you think it is. (Laughter.) Known the world over for his wonderful wit and sense of humor, Bob Hope has brought laughter and pleasure and a happier outlook on life to generations of American citizens, and especially to our troops in uniform all around the world.

He began entertaining American servicemen and women even before World War II, and he's done it in every conflict since. In 1971, Bob Hope took his commitment to the people of America one step further by applying for a visa to Laos to help negotiate the release of our prisoners there. When he wasn't performing across oceans, Bob Hope was making films and making people laugh here in America. I can honestly say that those films are still making all the members of my family laugh every time they're shown on the television here.

But even with his busy career, Bob Hope never lost sight of the truly important things in life -- helping people in need. He's helped raise more than \$1 billion for hospitals, for the disabled, the Boy Scouts, and numerous other health and human service causes. His annual golf tournament every year, which he still plays in, directs and manages, is an example of a man whose commitment to doing this kind of work truly is a lifetime endeavor.

He is perhaps the finest example of a successful American entertainer whose greatest performance is in what he does off stage every day. I am so delighted that Bob Hope and his wonderful wife, Delores, are both here today. And I'd like to ask Bob now to come up and receive his award. Mr. Bob Hope. (Applause.)

MR. HOPE: I just want to say a couple of words. (Laughter.) But last year during our golf tournament, I called the President and I said, do you think you could get out here and play with us during our tournament. And he said, I don't know. And I got a hold of Mr. Bush, George Bush; and I got a hold of President Ford. And the four of us played, and we raised \$1,400,000 for the hospital out there. (Applause.)

And I just wanted to thank him right now in person. That's it, that's it. (Laughter and applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: American art is not limited to portraits or landscapes or still lifes. The broad range of subjects reflects the diversity of American experience. Roy Lichtenstein is one of the pioneers who challenged convention and opened our eyes to new styles of expression. In the early '60s, he was one of just a small group to experiment with popular icons as subject material. I hope that doesn't make a comeback. (Laughter.)

His works are well known, and have appeared in numerous exhibitions all around this country. In addition, Roy was one of several artists commissioned to work on the New York State Pavilion for the 1964 World Fair. I hope that the pioneering spirit exemplified by Roy Lichtenstein will always, always live in the artists of America. It's been a real honor for Hillary and for me to get to know Roy and his wife and his work. And we're very grateful for it, and glad to honor him here today. Roy Lichtenstein. (Applause.)

For nearly four decades, Arthur Mitchell has been a pivotal figure of American dance. The protege of the great George Balanchine, he was the first African-American dancer to become a principal artist in the New York City Ballet. After leaving the company in 1966, he went on to a career on Broadway and as an artistic director. But always, always, there was the call of his home, Harlem.

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Following the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968, the next year Arthur Mitchell realized a dream by returning to Harlem as the founder of the Dance Theater of Harlem. It is now recognized as one of the world's premiere dance troupes. His dedication to young people and to dance are truly legendary. We are honored by his presence here today, and by the lifetime of creativity, achievement he has demonstrated, and most of all, that he found a way to go back to his roots and lift people up with their God-given talents. Mr. Arthur Mitchell. (Applause.)

Speaking of roots, this next awardee is one from mine. Bill Monroe is heralded as the Father of Bluegrass Music, a title that is a fitting tribute to his truly innovative and inventive style. Bluegrass is known for its free improvisation, and, in its way, it embodies the essence of the American spirit. Bill's own roots stem from rural Kentucky.

When he was just 10 years old, he began to play the guitar and the mandolin. Along with his two older brothers, Charlie and Birch, he made music on the front porch of their family home. Later, Bill Monroe and his Blue Grass Boys established themselves as more than just a string band by blending different vocal harmonies with instrumental solos. And over the years, the band continued to gain recognition for its novel combination of instruments.

Bill Monroe was inducted into the Country Music Hall of Fame in 1970 and joined the International Bluegrass Music Association's Hall of Honor in 1991. For people who follow and love that music, Bill Monroe is truly an American legend. He's added so much through his lifetime career to the rich heritage of this great nation's music. Mr. Bill Monroe. (Applause.)

He said, "I'm younger than Bob Hope, but I'd still like to say a thing or two." (Laughter.)

MR. MONROE: Bob Hope is a great man. I'm glad that he's here. But what I wanted to tell you folks, I have played for the last four Presidents of the United States -- President Carter, President Reagan, President Bush, President Clinton here. And they all tell me that the music I originated belongs to America. And I'm really proud of that. It's a great honor. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. God bless you.

Now, it is a great honor for me to present the award we give every year to an arts organization. As the largest and most comprehensive arts and education program in the entire nation, Urban Gateways has been cited as a model by the National Endowment for the Arts. In 1994 alone, Urban Gateways reached over 1 million people and over 11,000 programs established in Chicago area schools.

Armed with the belief that exposure to the arts is crucial to personal development, the program helps bridge the gap between Chicago's vast cultural wealth and the huge number of children from disadvantaged communities. At a time when so many of our children are being lost to the horrors of drugs and violence, Urban Gateways has assumed responsibility for our young people's youth. The organization gives them guidance and an important outlet for their creative energies.

Here today to accept the award is Urban Gateways' Executive Director Sandra Furey. She has led Urban Gateways to the front lines in the campaign to keep the arts alive and the minds of our children, and in so doing, to keep our children alive and well and strong for the future of this great nation. Let's give her a big hand. (Applause.)

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And now it is my honor to introduce the winners of the 1995 Charles Frankel prize. The first winner, Bill Ferris, leads the sort of life I'd like to lead if I had another one to live. I mean, he lives in the deep South. He writes funny, wonderful books. And he's still trying to find out if Elvis is alive. (Applause.) He's probably done more than anyone else to bring national recognition and understanding to the field of Southern studies. As many of you know, he seriously was one of the organizers of the recent, highly-successful "Elvis" conference at the University of Mississippi at Oxford.

Since 1979, he has directed the Center for the Study of Southern Culture at Old Miss, where he's built southern studies curriculum into the most extensive in the nation. He was a consultant to the movie "The Color Purple," and for nearly a decade until 1994, as the blues doctor, he hosted "Highway 61," a weekly blues music program that airs on Mississippi public radio. His scholarship covers the fields of folklore, American literature, music and photography.

I want to thank him for bringing the culture and music of my homeland to all Americans. A remarkable person, Mr. Bill Ferris. (Applause.)

Too often, television overlooks the lives and poignant stories of ordinary Americans who may not show up on the evening news, but whose extraordinary lives keep our country going. Charles Kuralt recognized this problem nearly 30 years ago. In 1967, he asked his boss to let him wander around the country for three months, and the critically-acclaimed show, "On the Road," was born.

Through his travels, Charles Kuralt brought hundreds of courageous Americans into the living rooms of our country. And in so doing, he helped raise issues of social concern, such as funding for education, the problems of poverty, the plight of small businesses. But understanding the needs of others comes naturally to Charles Kuralt. His father, Wallace, was a North Carolina social worker, who worked all his life on programs that provided day care, substance abuse counseling, and planned parenthood services. That spirit is alive and well in his son today.

The numerous awards and 13 Emmys Charles Kuralt holds are but a small reward for what he has given to all the rest of us. It's unfortunate that he was unable to attend today. We send him our wishes for a very speedy recovery from surgery that he had earlier this week, and we're glad that here to receive his award is his daughter, Lisa Kuralt White. (Applause.)

David Macaulay has written several books detailing the insides of complicated machines. He can even explain "the way things work." (Laughter.) We could use him around here in the next couple of weeks. (Laughter.) He has devoted his professional life to the investigation of architecture and mechanics. His books have helped children and adults alike to understand the world's rich history of construction and architecture.

Using detailed illustrations, his books help to unfold the mysteries of both man and machine. David Macaulay's works serve as a bridge between humankind's earliest attempts at building and the most modern techniques of today. His painstaking efforts have made knowledge and investigation more accessible to the rest of us who could never have understood them on our own but who's lives were richer and more enlightened and who's citizenship more informed as a result of his work.

Mr. David Macaulay. (Applause.)

All of us know that history well-written and well-learned can be a great teacher. It can demonstrate what we are capable of at our best and what we may do wrong at our worst. In his

remarkable body of work, David McCullough has shown us the true character of many of our country's most heroic figures and many of its most important events and eras.

From his wonderfully successful and enlightening biography on President Truman, to his look at the building of the Brooklyn Bridge, to his work as the voice of the highly regarded PBS series, "The American Experience," David McCullough has given us a window into the lives of outstanding Americans and important events. His work emphasizes the value of history and our place in it. Along with his research, he spends many hours working for the preservation of historic sites, of public libraries and of other institutions across America which enable us to preserve and learn about our roots. We should never forget what David McCullough has asked us to remember. And we should never forget his incredible contribution in helping us to preserve that memory.

Mr. David McCullough. (Applause.)

Bernice Johnson Reagon is perhaps best known as guiding spirit and resonant alto voice of Sweet Honey in the Rock, the famous a capella quintet she founded in 1973. Singing an eclectic blend of gospel, jazz, folk and rhythm and blues, the group has carried its message of world peace, women's rights and racial harmony on tour throughout our nation and throughout the world. If that were all she had done, Professor Reagon would be worthy of this award. But her creative energy is truly unlimited.

For nearly 35 years, she's helped to preserve, celebrate and illuminate the rich heritage of African American music as a civil right activist, as a singer-composer, an author, an historian, a museum curator. Since 1993, she's been Distinguished Professor of History at American University here in Washington. Her latest contribution to public understanding of African American music is the 26-part radio document, "Wade in the Water: African American Sacred Music Traditions," which aired beginning in 1994 on National Public Radio stations nationwide. She is a messenger of peace, and I am deeply honored that she is with us today.

Sweet Honey in the Rock, for those of you who haven't heard it, is a truly inspiring experience, but the work of her life is even more inspiring. (Applause.)

Let me thank again all the honorees and congratulate them. Thank all of you for coming. Let me thank all the distinguished saxophonists who came here to be with us today -- for their work. (Applause.) Thank you all for your contributions and your devotion to the American way of life.

God bless you all. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

1:52 P.M. EDT

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March 1, 1992, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: TRIBUNE BOOKS; Pg. 3; ZONE: C; Nonfiction

LENGTH: 1364 words

HEADLINE: 'No' to ethnocentrism

Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. extols a united, democratic America

BYLINE: Reviewed by Jim Sleeper, an editorial writer for New York Newsday and author of "The Closest of Strangers: Liberalism and the Politics of Race in New York."

BODY:

The Disuniting of America:
Reflections on a Multicultural Society
By Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.
Norton, 160 pages, \$14.95

If you are a black, Hispanic or Asian American of a certain age - or a second- or third-generation American white who isn't Anglo-Saxon and Protestant - you probably don't have to dredge your childhood memories too deeply to find powerfully conflicting feelings about what it meant to become a "real" American.

On the one hand, if you're honest, you may recall shame at a parent's heavily accented English or awkward manners, or at your own squirming to escape schoolyard and workplace stereotypes - some crude, some subtle - of your racial or ethnic group. I remember being asked to stand, along with the other Jewish child in my fourth grade class in a Protestant New England town, as a well-meaning teacher explained that although we two wouldn't be celebrating Christmas, we should be respected, for we were members of a long-suffering people that had included Jesus Christ Himself. Whether or not my classmates detected the logical flaw in Miss Smith's solicitous remarks - if Jesus had been one of us, why weren't we celebrating His birthday? - I certainly got something less than respect at recess that day.

On the other hand, if you're lucky, you may recall a moment of exhilaration when you "made it" - starred at a party or in an athletic event or classroom discussion or landed a job that meant a step up into a larger world. At that moment, it may have seemed that the whole country had become yours. Perhaps you told yourself that there was something special about America that had made possible your transmutation of racial or ethnic unease into boundless aspiration and - by some larger social measure - real and rightful success.

That "something" is what historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. means to defend against a new ethnocentrism that he calls "the cult of ethnicity." The latter, he warns in "The Disuniting of America," inflates the kind of shameful memories mentioned above and casts the transcendent memories - the exhilarating, "breakthrough" moments - as mirages.

Chicago Tribune, March 1, 1992

Is the American dream really a lie, a structure of greed and power built atop the ruins of cultures that were despised and suppressed? Native Americans, blacks and those Hispanics who did not come here of their own volition could be forgiven for answering "yes." Yet Schlesinger reminds us that most of them persist in answering "no."

While he acknowledges that the European culture that shaped American life "has done terrible things," Schlesinger argues, in a brief but devastating tour of world history, that the "sins of the West are no worse than the sins of Asia or of the Middle East or Africa."

More than that, the "crucial difference" between the West and the rest is that "the crimes of the West have produced their own antidotes. They have provoked great movements to end slavery, to raise the status of women, to abolish torture, to combat racism, to defend freedom of inquiry and expression, to advance personal liberty and human rights. Whatever the particular crimes of Europe, that continent is also the source - the unique source - of those liberating ideas . . . that constitute our most precious legacy and to which most of the world today aspires."

Contrast Salman Rushdie's fate in the Muslim world with his reception here, Schlesinger advises; think of Chinese student rebels carrying a model of the Statue of Liberty in Tiananmen Square. "Today," he says, "it is the Western democratic tradition that attracts and empowers people of all continents, creeds, and colors."

We haven't always lived up to our legacy, Schlesinger admits, but it remains the only hope, even to those most bitter about its many betrayals. Fantasies of compensatory racial and ethnic destinies are the mirage; faith in a transnational America, however elusive, is what's real.

Schlesinger's hope for America was first evoked, he tells us, by Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, an immigrant Frenchman who, in 1759, marvelled at the mixing of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans and Swedes into a "new man . . . who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. The American . . . acts upon new principles. . . ."

Ralph Waldo Emerson broadened the mix; he envisioned that in this "asylum of all nations, the energy of . . . all the European tribes (and) of the Africans, & of the Polynesians will construct a new race . . . as vigorous as the new Europe that came out of the smelting pot of the Dark Ages. . . ." John Quincy Adams told a German thinking of moving here that newcomers "must cast off the European skin, never to resume it. They must look forward to their posterity rather than backward to their ancestors."

But what are those "new principles" that guide the American "new man"? No one really knows, and that is the country's genius as well as its peril. "Imagine, my dear friend, if you can," Alexis de Tocqueville wrote back to France, "a society . . . having different languages, beliefs, opinions: in a word, a society without roots, without memories, without prejudices, without routines, without common ideas, without a national character, yet a hundred times happier than our own."

Chicago Tribune, March 1, 1992

"What alchemy," Schlesinger asks, "could make this miscellany into a single society? Civic participation, Tocqueville argued in 'Democracy in America,' was the great educator and the great unifier. . . . Immigrants, Tocqueville said, become Americans through the exercise of the political rights and civic responsibilities bestowed on them by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution."

Schlesinger acknowledges the brutal, racist exception to this vision, yet he also manages to demolish the ethnocentric claim that the democratic vision is merely a "hegemonic" white imposition upon people of color. Most works in the American literary canon, he argues, are "deeply subversive in their impact on orthodoxies . . . Emerson, Jefferson, Melville, Whitman, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Lincoln, Twain . . . Faulkner, O'Neill. Lackeys for the ruling class? Apologists for the privileged and the powerful? Agents of American imperialism? Come on!"

Women and people of color who are similarly "subversive" in the democratic breadth of their work - rather than racially or sexually pietistic and withdrawn - are finding their places in this canon, which evolves with America itself. Schlesinger celebrates their inclusion, and he warns white Americans to be more welcoming of new voices if they want them to extend the American vision rather than curdle it.

But, he wryly adds, "hegemonic" imposition and other concepts that ethnocentrists use to describe Eurocentric oppression are themselves based on methods of critical analysis unique to the West; even such Afrocentric writers as Frantz Fanon and Leopold Senghor are "intellectual children of the West they repudiate." For better or worse, there is no going back - something most American blacks who visit Africa quickly conclude.

Schlesinger's buoyant, conversational tone is infectious. But his argument does beg, or at least mute, some key questions:

Isn't the "cult of ethnicity" an inevitable response to a frightening debasement of American culture not by people of color but by the mass media and putative elites? Can we really fault black parents, or Chinese immigrant parents, who don't want their children to join popular American culture? Don't blacks, whose own culture has been brutally mishandled, have the right and the need to demand a "paradigm shift" more profound than anything contemplated in most talk about inclusion?

Still, all of us are faced with a daunting Catch-22: While ethnocentrism, as Schlesinger notes, undermines the creedal consensus and coalitions we need in order to advance social justice, only very convincing evidence that a vigorous advance is underway will dispel the ethnocentrists' counsels of retreat. How do we get moving again? That paradox challenges the American experiment to the core.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. argues for a consensual vision of America.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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October 26, 1997, Sunday, ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: CURRENTS & BOOKS; Page B06

LENGTH: 1202 words

HEADLINE: CULTURE WATCH / PUBLIC ARTS ESTABLISHMENT HITS THE AMERICAN CANVAS

BYLINE: Casey Nelson Blake. Casey Nelson Blake teaches American history at Washington University. He is currently writing a book on the politics of public art in postwar America.

BODY:

ONE OF THE COUNTRY'S longest-running culture wars intensified again recently, when the National Endowment for the Arts issued its controversial "American Canvas" report. A sort of state-of-public-arts address, "American Canvas" suggested, among other things, that the country's arts leadership is grievously out of touch with the interests of ordinary Americans, a complaint usually summed up in the loaded term, "elitist." The NEA's insistence that the arts community accept some responsibility for its political predicament has already spurred protests from artists and administrators who feel long harassed by NEA nemesis Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and his allies.

Yet the flap over "American Canvas" really concerns far more than the perceived cultural attitudes of a handful of arts administrators.

The agony of the NEA is not an isolated phenomenon. We live at a time when all American public institutions are under attack from advocates of an unregulated free market. Public education, housing, transportation, health care, parks and funding for the arts, humanities and broadcasting have lost their legitimacy in the minds of many and await devastating budget cuts or outright elimination.

What lies in the balance is not just the fate of one or another bureaucracy, but the very idea of a common life shared by Americans of different backgrounds. The NEA is not the only, or even the most significant, victim of the assault on public culture. But its particular history makes it especially vulnerable to attack. The endowment was created by political liberals and aesthetic modernists who believed in the early 1960s that the expert authority of cultural professionals could elevate the artistic standards of the nation, raise popular morale during the Cold War and demonstrate the artistic freedom of the West in its struggle with the Communist bloc. This liberal-modernist project finds itself at sea in a post-liberal, post-Cold War era in which liberalism, modernism, the authority of experts and even the idea of a national culture can count on few defenders.

For at least eight years, the NEA has been the target of a conservative campaign that is eerily reminiscent of the New Left's critique of professional and academic expertise in the 1960s. Conservatives now savage the "elitism" of cultural professionals at places like the NEA, National Endowment for the

Newsday (New York, NY), October 26, 1997

Humanities and the Smithsonian to clear the way for the free exercise of power: either the economic power of the market or the political power of "normal Americans," as House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) has called them.

Liberals and leftists have been blind-sided by the conservative assault. On the one hand, they secretly fear that the conservatives are right when they claim to represent the values of the majority. On the other, they, too, have deep reservations about the aesthetic and political ambitions that motivated the NEA's founding in the 1960s. Liberal defenders of the agency are evidently squeamish about the endowment's original aspirations to artistic professionalism and national uplift. Instead, they make their case for federal funding on economic or therapeutic grounds - arguing that federal support for the arts stimulates local economies and improves the "self-esteem" of children and the dispossessed.

For their part, leftists within the academy have proved remarkably unenthusiastic in their defense of the endowment. A half-century ago, such people would have aspired to run an organization such as the NEA or any of its New Deal forerunners. By contrast, many radical academics today are content to denounce its role in promoting an ideal of public culture that, in their view, marginalizes ethnic and gender differences in the name of national consensus. Virtually all the parties to the NEA debate display a deep pessimism about how professional judgments about art and culture might contribute to a lively, cosmopolitan public culture for the nation.

The NEA's panel system was originally devised to separate government financing from artistic control by placing funding decisions in the hands of artists, critics and scholars. Those panels now draw the fire of conservatives and leftists suspicious of the power of "cultural elites." But such critics have yet to consider how to reconstruct the professions so as to make their judgments understandable to outsiders and open to democratic debate. The suspicion that "elitism" lies behind all judgments of artistic merit drives the retreat from a federal commitment to fostering a rich, contentious public culture for a diverse citizenry.

It's far easier to embrace politics in its most naked, partisan forms than it is to consider how professional authority and national institutions may contribute to a democratic civic culture. The quicker, more effective strategy is for conservative businessmen to use their financial clout to threaten "another Enola Gay" ie., a concerted campaign like the one that shut down the Smithsonian's controversial 1995 exhibition on the decision to drop the atomic bomb. Representatives of the textile industry recently deployed this threat in response to a script for a planned Smithsonian exhibition on the history of sweatshops. Without such bullying tactics, conservatives would have to do the hard work of designing exhibition policies promoting multiple perspectives on the past. Of course, curators and arts administrators haven't helped matters by failing to make their own selection criteria accessible to the public.

Meanwhile, artists and activists on the left have embraced multicultural "community arts projects" in urban neighborhoods, instead of creating forums and public projects that engage conservatives in a reconsideration of the nation's visual language and imagery. What's missing in all the white-hot rhetoric surrounding the NEA is the desire to re-establish the legitimate authority of cultural institutions as public amenities responsive to a democratic citizenry.

Newsday (New York, NY), October 26, 1997

In its moment of crisis, the endowment's most reliable constituencies turn out to be groups that were present at its founding: wealthy patrons of opera, symphonies and other institutions of elite culture, as well as a handful of Hollywood moguls and celebrities. These are hardly forces demanding a more innovative conception of the endowment's mission. And they can hardly be counted on to make a case for the democratic promise of public cultural institutions.

If the NEA does limp along into the 21st Century, it may find itself caught between its political debts to such mugwumpish groups and the watchful eye of the far-right wing of the Republican party. The result could well be an endowment committed above all else to subsidizing the safe and respectable institutions of "high" culture the very institutions that are most likely to survive on elite patronage if the NEA were abolished tomorrow. That's not good news for the Endowment and other public institutions in need of broader political support. And it's not good news for a country in need of creative thinking about how to sustain a diverse, democratic and demanding public culture for all its citizens.

GRAPHIC: 1) Photo -Casey Nelson Blake 2) Illustration by Van Howel -A Picture of two people being pulled down off of the arts elite

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The Ledger (Lakeland, FL)

January 13, 1995, Friday

SECTION: News ;Pg. 10A

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HEADLINE: GETTING TO KNOW US

SORRY, BUT THERE'S NO QUICK WAY TO BUILD A CIVIC SOCIETY</FD:Headline>

BYLINE: BILL BISHOP

BODY:

Fewer people in this country belong to civic clubs (Lions, Elks, B&PWs). Fewer people attend public meetings, vote and read newspapers. Fewer people belong to unions and sports clubs. In the past 25 years, most civic organizations have lost members, steadily and inexorably.

The result, according to an article written by Harvard University's Robert Putnam to be published in the Journal of Democracy, is that society is running rough. People who don't meet their neighbors face-to-face, tend to distrust each other or their public institutions.

There has been a long ton of explanations for why Americans appear so angry with public institutions. Putnam's theory makes the most sense.

Communities that are successful have traditions of self-help. They have good volunteer fire departments, strong clubs, a variety of active churches. Society works horizontally (neighbors talking with neighbors), not vertically (leaders passing orders to followers). Poor communities are isolated, alone, desultory. They have pitiful clubs.

Putnam finds four culprits for this decline in civic life: the movement of women into the workplace; the replacement of small institutions (the corner grocery) with large (Wal-Mart); television; and rootlessness, the movement of people from one community to another.

Maybe there are other causes (big government, high divorce rates). But let's say that Putnam is right. What do we do? How does a community regain a civic life that it is losing?

First, there are no good answers. There are only answers that are more helpful than others.

Washington Post columnist George Will, on the less helpful side, enlists Putnam's thesis on the side of the Republican ascendancy and the primary role of the family in "character formation." But Putnam, in the article cited by Will, specifically rejects this kind of easy connection. "We must not romanticize small-town, middle-class civic life in the America of the 1950s," Putnam warns.

Business consultant Peter Drucker, in early writings, suggested that private enterprise should serve as a community for its employees. Last year, in an

The Ledger (Lakeland, FL) January 13, 1995, Friday

article in The Atlantic, Drucker admitted that American business has failed in this regard and calls for a "separate and new social sector."

A more common approach is a call for citizens to shape up. There is a small growth industry of consultants who organize forums, host town meetings and conduct polls and focus groups in the hope of jump-starting public discussions of issues. The message (as stated in a recently drafted Civic Declaration) is that "rather than rail against politics, Americans need to act like citizens."

That sounds fine, but the history of telling people to act better, know more, and behave more responsibly doesn't hold much hope for success. People don't become good citizens because of exhortation. And this group misses Putnam's point: People don't meet because they are civic minded; they are civic minded because they meet.

"Citizens flourish in an environment that supports worthwhile citizenship activities," writes sociologist Michael Schudson. People don't wake up one morning and decide to become good citizens. They become good when face-to-face contact is a part of everyday life.

City planner Jane Jacobs was convinced 34 years ago that a strong civic culture was a natural part of a thriving urban neighborhood. People met on the street. They talked on stoops, formed relationships at the local grocery, discussed issues with neighbors. Because of these common connections, people looked out for each other, on the street and in clubs and associations.

Jacobs warned in 1961 that urban renewal -- and the move to the suburbs -- would spend the "civic capital" of cities. She was right. Inner cities have become dead zones of office buildings just as suburbs are now dead zones of green lawns and large garages. Civic life is not surviving in either.

What Jacobs said three decades ago is still true today. Civic life has to be built in. It can't be added on, something that people do because they feel they ought to. It's got to be natural.

There are places that have purposefully built civic societies. Tupelo, Miss., for example, began 60 years ago to form small clubs. They didn't meet to discuss the great issues of the day. The early members of Tupelo's Rural Community Development Councils learned about farming techniques. They cleaned churchyards, began Scout troops. They took care of local business and, most importantly, they made civic life a part of Tupelo's heritage.

Today, the organizations begun by farmers learning about egg production in the 1930s have evolved to build the nation's largest rural hospital, a symphony orchestra and a bank of volunteers with more volunteers than jobs. Tupelo is a civic town, naturally. People join because that's the way things are done in Tupelo.

Rebuilding civic life will take time, attention and "an environment that supports worthwhile citizenship activities." It required two generations of work in Tupelo, and that was before television and two-worker families. Today it will take longer to build civic towns, places where people don't have to think before they join.

The Ledger (Lakeland, FL) January 13, 1995, Friday

Bill Bishop is associate editor of the Lexington (Ky.) Herald Leader.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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**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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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 15, 1995

**Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
at Sculpture Garden Opening**

MRS. CLINTON: Good morning. Good morning. Oh please be seated. We're so pleased to have you on this glorious day here at the White House. It is always a pleasure to have guests and particularly those who have come from other parts of the country to be in Washington. And today it is especially a pleasure to have so many friends and lovers of art as we celebrate the second exhibition of contemporary American sculpture in the First Lady's Garden.

At a time of great debate about the role of art in society, I am particularly pleased that we can showcase American Art and artists at the White House. The president and I have always believed that art is not a marginal part of our culture nor a luxury that should only be accessible to those who can afford it. Art evokes our emotions and provokes our ideas. It enlarges our understanding of the world around us. It tells us who we are and what we can be and it ought to be experienced and shared by all Americans.

The twelve pieces assembled for this exhibition represent American sculpture since 1965. Like the sculptures in the first exhibit which some of you saw while they were on display in the fall, these sculptures embody the rich diversity of American artistic tradition and reflect the power of creative expression in our culture. I hope that you and the tens of thousands of visitors and guests who pass through here over the next few months will feel the same sensations of joy, excitement, inspiration, and intrigue, and challenge as I do looking at these particular sculptures.

I often come here at twilight after I try to do my daily exercise and sit and look at these sculptures as I did at the first ones that were here and find myself constantly being motivated and enjoying greatly the gifts that all of you have helped make possible. I hope that in seeing this exhibit all Americans will be reminded of the vital role that art plays in strengthening the democratic ideals upon which our nation is founded.

As some of you know, the idea for this exhibition was inspired in part by First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis. My all too brief friendship with her left a lasting impression on me as it did on so many others. It is a fitting tribute to her and

the extraordinary contribution she made to the White House to keep alive her appreciation of the arts through this ongoing exhibition of contemporary American sculpture.

Many people have helped us realize this dream. And I am so pleased that today we are able to again thank some of you who have worked hard over the last years to take an idea and translate it into reality. Once again, I want to thank the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Foundation for their extraordinary support of this exhibition and for sculpture in general. Thank you. Iris, stand up. I also want to thank the Committee for the Preservation of the White House and the White House Historical Association some of whose members I see in the audience and I'd like to ask all the members of these important organizations to please stand and be recognized.

I owe a special debt of thanks to J. Carter Brown who has helped to shepherd this idea and to Rex Scouten, curator of the White House, both of whom have been extraordinarily helpful. I am so personally pleased to welcome back George Newburt, the director of the Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery and Sculpture Garden at the University of Nebraska who curated the first exhibit and got us off to such a great start when we began with sculptures from the midwest.

Today it is a special honor and pleasure for me to thank the curator of this exhibit, someone whom I have known for a long time, admired and appreciated, and had nothing to do with his selection. The Association of Art Museum Directors, in its wisdom, chose Townsend Wolfe, the director and chief curator of the Arkansas Arts Center in Little Rock, to be the curator of this exhibit and we are very excited about that, Townsend. Thank you so much.

I would also like to thank Betsy Braun, the director of the National Museum of American Art, and Larry Rieger for their efforts to save and preserve our nation's outdoor sculptures through the Save Outdoor Sculpture Program which they have helped to implement.

The twelve sculptures behind me are from the southeast and they focus on American Sculpture from 1965. I am very grateful to the institutions which have lent their sculptures to this exhibit. It is not an easy decision to make.

I know that there are many of you here in this audience who are devoted benefactors and enjoy greatly the works in the institutions who are participating and we are so pleased that you would be willing to do this.

I'm also delighted that we have some of the artists with us who created these sculptures and, in fact, I think we have eight

of the eleven living artists with us and we thank them for adding beauty to our daily surroundings, for preventing us from becoming complacent about the lives we lead and the world we live in, and I would like all the artists who are with us to please stand for a moment.

This is a very exciting time for us in our country as we confront very challenging decisions about the kind of people we are, the kind of society we wish to have, the country that we will live in as we move into the 21st century and I am grateful that so many of you here for this ceremony are people who have supported the arts in your local communities and throughout the country. It is a major contribution that you make, not only to the arts but to the quality of our life together. And I would like now to invite you to again walk through the garden and then join me in the Blue Room upstairs for a reception, then in the State Dining Room. Thank you all very much. (Applause)

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**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TALKING POINTS FOR "HONORING NATIVE AMERICA" EXHIBIT
THE WHITE HOUSE SCULPTURE GARDEN
NOVEMBER 5, 1997**

- Welcome to the White House and to the Jacqueline Kennedy Garden. I would like to begin this afternoon of honoring Native American artists by calling on Phillip Minthorne [Mint-Horn] to deliver a blessing in Nez-Perce [Nez-Purse] language.
- Thank you. I could not imagine a better way of opening "Honoring Native America" -- the first showing of Native American sculpture in our nation's capital. This exhibition is the sixth in a series of shows presenting 20th century American sculpture at the White House. Each exhibition has been drawn from museum collections around the nation; each has reflected a different region of the United States.
- Though the art we celebrate today comes from a long way away, it seems to be at home here. These works of sculpture are so vibrant and alive they feel almost as if they grew up in this space.
- We are honored by the presence of so many tribal leaders. You have come to help us recognize the living tradition as well as the individual statements of these artists. I hope these works will serve as an important reminder to the thousands of people who pass through the White House every day of the irreplaceable contributions of Native Americans.
- Of the 12 artists whose works you see, 10 are here today. The two who are no longer with us -- Allan Houser and Willard Stone - are powerfully present in their sculptures and through the family members who represent them.
- Each work is unique. Yet each reflects the heritage of a visual arts tradition and other more contemporary influences, which are translated into clay, wood, stone, and metal.
- Each sculpture stands on its own. Yet each tells a story of how traditions are passed from one generation to the next. Not only does this exhibit feature a piece by Allan Houser, it also features works by his son, Bob Haozous [Hah-Seuss], and a former student, Doug Hyde.

- Nora Naranjo [Nar-Hahn-Oh] Morse's work is represented here. I just came from an exhibit which displayed her mother's pottery at the National Museum of Women in the Arts. And Nora's niece, Roxanne Swentzell, made the remarkable clay piece exhibited in the East Entrance area. There is something uniquely American about how stories of continuity are constantly refreshed by new vision.
- Each piece here deserves our attention and respect. The works in this exhibit, by the artists I mentioned and the others who are represented -- R.E. Bartow [Bar-Toe], Susie Bevins-Ericsen, John Hoover, Truman Loew, George Morrison, and Doug Coffin -- are all works of tradition, of imagination, healing and love. As the White House looks ahead to a new millennium, we will continue to host a series of events that celebrate creativity. This exhibition and your presence at the White House truly express our millennium themes: to honor the past and imagine the future.
- I want to thank the Heard Museum of Phoenix, Arizona, its director Martin Sullivan, and its curator of Fine Art, Margaret Archuleta. [Are-Chah-Let-Ah] They and the museums and other leaders in Oklahoma, Santa Fe and Alaska made this exhibition possible, along with the generosity of the Mobil Corporation and its chairman, Lou Noto. The beautiful installation of these pieces was assisted by the National Park Service and the National Gallery of Art.
- Now I invite you to join me for a receiving line and a reception upstairs.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Lissa to Patti et al re: Invitation to HRC to speak at the University of Michigan [partial] (1 page)	08/12/1997	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Bobbie Greene
OA/Box Number: 14741

FOLDER TITLE:

Arts/Civil Society [1]

2012-0872-S
rc921

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

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.

[imagination - -) ^{role} democracy
- creative future -]

" the arts of
citizenship

millennium }

David Schoen

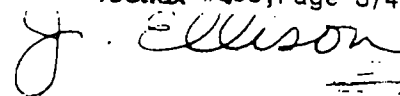
[001]

P6/(b)(6)

Ann Lewis
A week in
the city
has done for
women

62640

Robin Lewis
Wm 9/10



LEE C. ELLISON
PRESIDENT

THE U:

2074 FLEMING ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106-1540
(313) 763-1271 FAX (313) 763-1829

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.] ☆

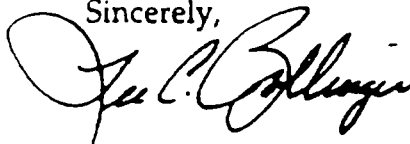
The "Arts of Citizenship" program is oriented toward that goal of public-academic collaboration. It will bring to our campus artists, humanists, intellectuals, and cultural advocates who have made important contributions to public culture and political conversation through their artistic and intellectual 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,



Lee C. Bollinger



THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT FOR RESEARCH

200 FLEMING BUILDING, 500 THOMPSON STREET
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106-1301
PHONE 313-763-7100 FAX 313-763-7101

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:

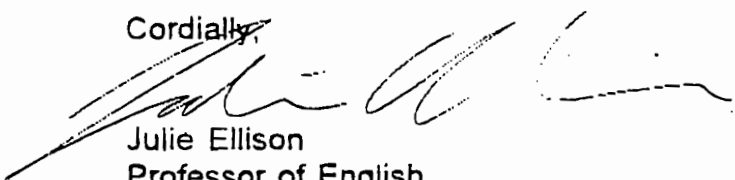
I am sorry that I was not able to reach you by phone this afternoon. In order to provide you with some supporting documentation, I am sending you an array of materials about YoHA--the University of Michigan's 1997-98 "Year of Humanities and Arts." We think that this program can provide a national model 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. There 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

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Prime Minister's Policy Unit

12 February 1998

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
Old Executive Office Building
NW Washington DC 20501

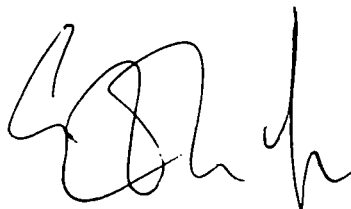
Dear Melanne,

Many thanks for all your hospitality last week. We all enjoyed the trip immensely.

I've enclosed a copy of the first chapter from a book of mine which is published in the US this summer. I thought it might interest the First Lady since it covers many of the issues that she has talked and written about so persuasively in the past.

Don't let the bastards get you down!

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Geoff Mulgan', with a stylized, cursive script.

GEOFF MULGAN

TITLE: Connexity
SUBTITLE: How to Live in a Connected World
AUTHOR: Geoff Mulgan

Available for the first time in the U.S, June 1998
\$14.95

International bestseller heralds a new era of global interdependence with advice—and cautions—for business and government.

“The fundamental theme of Geoff Mulgan’s endlessly fascinating book is the conflict between the facts of connexity, of connectedness, a product of the revolution in communication and technology, and the ideology of freedom.... *Connexity* is a supremely adult book and it will be read long after much of today’s fashionable literature on politics has been forgotten. It is indeed a long time since so interesting a political book has appeared.”

—Vernon Bogdanor, *International Affairs*

“Geoff Mulgan skillfully probes the major problem of our era: the tension between ever-expanding connectivity and ever-growing demands for individual autonomy. His keen analysis, wide knowledge base, intuition for future trends, and steady moral compass reveal why this youthful policy maker has already become a legend in Britain.”

—Howard Gardner, Professor, Harvard University, Graduate School of Education

“Mulgan is an unusually perceptive and prescient rising star. Cutting across traditional categories and disciplines, his insights and powerful suggestions are already heeded by CEOs, heads of state, and many others. To read Mulgan is to read the future.”

—Amitai Etzioni, author of *The New Golden Rule*

“One figure more than any other in Tony Blair’s entourage stands out as the shaper of what is most revolutionary in the New Labour project....the figure is Geoff Mulgan... Mulgan writes about sport, religion, youth, the Constitution, social security, unemployment, taxation policy, and education. However, the range of themes is less important than the way in which they are presented, within a framework which contains them in, and above all connects them to, an analysis of the world and the way it is moving.”

—John Lloyd, *Times Literary Supplement*

“Boldly attempts to rethink the nature of political, economic, and moral structures... at its best Mulgan’s brand of intellectual fundamentalism can be stimulating as well as provocative...Mulgan’s argument is that societies are passing from dependence on tradition and hierarchy through the independence of liberal individualism to interdependence...If you feel we spend too little time asking what capitalism is really for....connect with this book.”

—John Plender, *Financial Times*

“A rewarding meditation... his study of shifting social attachment offers rare stimulation.”

—*Daily Telegraph*

Geoff Mulgan is the founder and director of Demos, an independent think tank based in London. He is a visiting professor at University College London and a member of the Prime Minister’s Policy Unit.

Harvard Business School Press
Boston, MA 02163
www.hbsp.harvard.edu

Connexity: how to live in a connected world

By Geoff Mulgan

(published by Harvard Business Review Press, June 1998)

Introductory essay:

In classical tragedies the hero's downfall is often rooted in his finest qualities. What he does best leads him inexorably to disaster. The argument of this book is that today we may face just such a tragedy. What brings out the best in us is freedom. Freedom allows us to realise our potential, to live life to the full, to imagine and create, and the growth of freedom to live our lives as we think fit, has been the greatest achievement of modern times.

Our problem is that freedom to behave as we would wish, without regard for our effects on others, runs directly counter to the other striking fact of the contemporary world: our growing dependence on other people. The world may never have been freer, but it has also never been so interdependent and interconnected. Only a small proportion of the world's population could now be self-sufficient. The rest of us depend on complex systems to deliver us water, food, justice, energy and health. Far more than its counterpart of a century ago, the modern business depends on distant capital markets, distant consumer markets, distant systems of law enforcement and education. And just as we depend on others, so do our own actions affect others as never before. If we drive a car the emissions affect the living standards of millions of strangers, however marginally. The messages we communicate can influence, irritate or upset strangers we will never meet. Our choices over what clothes to buy determine whether someone on the other side of the world retains or loses their job. Poor regions of the West depend on investment from Korea or Japan to bring them jobs, just as poor regions of Africa depend on technology from North America to cure new strains of disease. The decisions that firms take can bring prosperity to far off places, but they can also lead to the destruction of traditional ways of life, and of environmental habitats.

This dawning sense of the connectedness of the world has come more than anything from the environment. The old assumption that the natural environment has an infinite capacity to absorb our waste and pollution is now obsolete. We now know that humanity walks heavily on nature, and that the price of an economic system

driven by consumer freedoms is now being paid in the form of worse air, dirtier water and poisoned land. Today we face a future in which as a result of industrial progress global temperatures may rise over 2 degrees centigrade in the next century; in which, as a consequence, sea levels could rise by over a meter flooding much of Bangladesh, China, the Netherlands and England; and in which the chronic water shortages which already affect nearly half of the world's population could become even more commonplace. These are all startling symptoms of interdependence, and they mean that it is no longer realistic to think of the world as made up of discrete individuals, nations, mountain ranges and forests. Instead it is more like a web of physical connections, made up of rivers that provide water for many different nation-states, winds that carry acid rain, ocean currents that carry toxic wastes and radiation.

These natural connections are matched by the ones that people have made. The world economy has recently gone through another wave of integration, just as it did at the turn of the last century, and global trade has now been joined by global direct investments and the global diffusion of technologies. An ever larger proportion of the world's workforce now depends on distant markets and sources of capital and know-how, and would suffer acutely if these were suddenly cut off. Tying the world together are the communications systems that first spread in the nineteenth century with the radio and telegraph, and now are increasing in scale and scope with the satellite and the Internet, the mobile phone and the navigation system. These too are founded around ideologies of freedom - of free expression and free speech. All are breaking down the barriers, and the friction, that stand in the way of making exchanges. The theory of 'gaia' showed that we could think of the biosphere as a single organism. Now, the 'infosphere' too has some of the properties of a single, integrated system.

The best word for describing this new situation is an old English one: 'connexity'. It is more accurate than the word 'interdependence', which refers to the symptom not the cause, and it is richer in meaning than the word 'globalisation', which drains the idea of its moral content. The word serves both as a description of the world around us, and as a shorthand for the challenge we now face. Etymologically it links us back to the roots of the word 'connect', which derives from the Latin 'connectere', to tie or join together. It is a reminder that the starting-point for understanding the world today is not the size of its GDP or the destructive power of its weapons systems but the fact that it

is so much more joined together than before. It may still look as if it is made up of separate and sovereign individuals, firms, nations or cities, but the deeper reality is one of multiple connections.

This connectedness will dominate the lives of our children and grandchildren. The connections spreading around us are only a foretaste of what is to come. Even today, more than a century after its invention, less than half of the world's population has access to a telephone and little more than one per cent of all households use the Internet. Soon, the combination of a rapid rise in the world's population, continuing advances in technology and sharply falling communication costs, will make the world a far more interconnected place than it is today.

In this book I ask a simple question: are the achievement of freedom and the growth of interdependence compatible, or are we doomed to a classical tragedy in which our love of freedom destroys our capacity to be interdependent?

The optimistic answer sees freedom and interdependence as like twins, or like two organisms co-evolving in tandem rather than in tension. It emphasises just how closely freedom and interdependence have been linked in the formation of the modern world. It argues that freedom to trade and travel makes people aware of their common interests, that it locks them into benign bonds that help them respect differences, and that abjure the use of force. The optimists point also to the explosion of new knowledge coming from science: the rise of new fields like microrobotics and nanotechnology, the rapid advances in older fields like biotechnology and neuroscience, as more scientific work is done each year than in the five centuries preceding this one. Technologies, they promise, can solve the problems of the environment, guarantee secure supplies of water and food, and help us to learn how to live together.

But the optimistic accounts, which remain the conventional wisdom across most of the Western world, and certainly amongst its more prosperous elites, skate over the profound tension between freedom and interdependence. To be meaningful, freedom entails being able to leave the family or the community, to act against its interests. Freedom has to mean the chance to behave in antisocial ways, and that naturally brings with it tensions of a kind that are felt in every home, every relationship, every firm, every association. Everyone knows from their own experience that within any relationship we feel both the desire to

opt out and the pull of habit and duty, the temptation to follow our own desires and the knowledge that our own well-being depends on the well-being of others.

This tension is inherent in every area of life. But there are special reasons why it is coming to a head now, at the turn of the millennium. One is the difficulty of adapting to a more fragile global ecology without major changes in industrial and personal lifestyles involving sacrifices, particularly by the prosperous nations that have become most accustomed to their liberties and luxuries. Another is that new communications technologies like the Internet thin our sense of obligation to others, enabling us to hide behind pseudonyms, or surround ourselves with more fleeting transactions that demand less in terms of understanding and intimacy. In politics the tension is rising because one of the most common reactions to a more connected world is retreat into the simpler, bounded identities of fundamentalist religion and nationalist politics, and into ideologies that deny the claim that interdependence brings any new obligations in its wake. In business the tension is rising because as firms become more powerful they seem ever less willing to accept the responsibilities that come with that power, concentrating instead on serving their shareholders and maximising short-term profits to the exclusion of any other goals. In our culture, attachment to the value of autonomy is developing faster than any matching cultures of interdependence which would demand new habits of self-restraint. The clearest sign of all of the heightening tension between freedom and interdependence is that in much of the world today the most pressing problems on the public agenda are not poverty or material shortage (although these remain acute for large minorities even in the richest countries), but rather the disorders of freedom: the troubles that result directly from having too many freedoms that are abused rather than constructively used.

There are simple examples of this, like the fact that people with sufficient spending power tend to overeat, to eat too much salt, fat and sugar and to use drugs, whether alcohol, barbiturates or opiates, in ways that fail to make them happy. Freedom of choice all too often ends with compulsive and self-destructive behaviour. But these are just the simplest cases. Others, like personal relationships, are more complex. For many, particularly women, the right to break away from an unhappy marriage was a great advance, but freedom in family life leaves huge costs in its wake. Today, in the UK and the USA, nearly half of all marriages end in divorce. Millions of children suffer from the deficit of parental

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attention that tends to result if parents value their own careers and pleasures more than their responsibilities to their children. Much the same could be said of the relationship between employers and employees. There never has been a golden age of mutual trust and loyalty, but in a fluid and open global market the pressures seem to make employers more casual in their treatment of their staff and employees less willing to make any commitments back: both see their relationship as short-term and instrumental.

Then there are the direct costs of an excessively individualistic society. It costs more if everyone travels in a private car and is willing to spend long spells in traffic jams; more if everyone wishes to live alone, or to live in a house large enough to accommodate the children of a previous marriage at weekends; more if people have to protect themselves against actions of others which in another society might be prevented by mutual moral suasion. In each of these cases, we are paying the costs that arise from the advance of a narrow and stunted idea of freedom.

Such problems remind us that societies rest on more than freedom. They also depend on order. By 'order' I do not mean primarily the physical power of armies and police forces, although without these we can rarely sleep safely at night. I mean something more pervasive: the presence of things we can rely on, frameworks within which life can be lived, like the rules that preserve safe streets and independent media, and that guarantee against poverty in old age.

Today it is hard to focus honestly on the question of order. Attitudes have been so strongly shaped by the centuries-long battles to win freedoms from kings and the church, and to liberate the powerless from oppressive orders, that it is hard to acknowledge that what was once the solution may now have become the problem. We have grown so used to struggling against authority that it is not easy to acknowledge that any institutions - whether they are firms or families, sports teams or nations - need some basis of authority if they are not always to take the line of least resistance, but rather to act for the long-term.

Coming to terms with this is particularly hard for liberalism, which has become the world's dominant ideology at the very moment when its standard formulations are no longer adequate to the world it has helped to bring about. John Stuart Mill declared that only harm to others justifies the restraint of freedom. This has never been an easy idea to turn into practice, since it begs the

questions of what counts as harm, and who is to decide what counts as harm. But in an age when decisions are so much more intimately interconnected, it becomes virtually useless as a guide for action. Liberal ideas provide a defence against bullying and power, but in practice freedoms rest on order as much as on individual liberties.

For people brought up in a liberal culture the question of order inevitably appears to look backward: it is about returning to a traditional hierarchy in which everyone knew their place. But the question really looks forward: it is about how to create the conditions for a fuller freedom, in radically new conditions, how to achieve what the Japanese call 'kakumei', the renewing of rules and order.

It matters whether or not our society produces orders, because without them we stand to lose many things, like the sense of continuity with the past, or the cultivation of everyday moral habits and trustworthiness that make life so much easier. Those regions of the world where order is decomposing - like parts of West Africa and central Asia, and many urban neighbourhoods across the Western world - are prone to levels of violence, hunger and fear that make any sort of life a perpetual struggle. But these are just the extreme examples. Everywhere, psychological stability and fulfilment depend on the existence of a reliable social order. If the world around us is disordered, we have to devote more psychic energy to coping with it, and are left with less to devote to our own goals.

Not that order is always a good thing. Schopenhauer put the reasons well in his famous parable likening human society to a community of porcupines. In the winter, he wrote, they huddled together to keep warm, but the closer they came to each other the more they pricked each other with their quills. The porcupines then drew apart until they could find an appropriate balance between warmth and pain. The point is a simple one. We need the warmth of human connectedness, but the warmth often comes with the pains of intimacies and emotions, and of being trapped in unhappy situations, and that is why we need a balance between individuality and commonality, what pulls us apart and what brings us together. Any discussion of order needs to respect that balance. No one wants a world so ordered that there is no room to breathe, create, or differ. History has already provided enough examples of orders that destroyed the human spirit, orders that

George Orwell summed up with his image of a boot stamping on a human face for ever.

But with some important exceptions this is not our primary threat today. The problems that most trouble electorates and that most tax the abilities of governments - problems that range from crime to unemployment, family breakdown to ill-health, political distrust to lack of care for the elderly - all stem more from a narrowly defined freedom than from its absence.

How should we think about solving these problems, and how could we bring freedom and interdependence into harmony? To understand the world and act on it, we need workable concepts. Alchemists cannot mend nuclear power stations and astrologers cannot guide rockets to the moon. Today's attempts to steer the world are being systematically skewed by the use of outdated concepts that dominate economic and political thought - ideas that made sense and contributed to progress in an earlier period but have now become barriers. Nearly all of these concepts share two common features: they define social units in terms of their separateness rather than their connections, and they think in terms of untrammelled powers and sovereignty. So, for example, ideas based on nationalism, national sovereignty or exclusive identities of religion or ethnicity all divide the world between us and them. From the legitimate view that we need to belong to, and take pride in, larger entities, they draw the illegitimate conclusion that one identity can demand an exclusive attachment. In this way an idea that suited an age of clear-cut territorial boundaries is transposed into an environment in which it no longer makes sense. The same weakness infuses liberal politics which imagines the individual as a self-sufficient entity, not formed by society, and owing nothing to it, but rather heroic in his or her isolation, and defined by a series of claims that can be made on society. This is the flaw, too, of orthodox economics which is founded on the sovereignty of the individual as consumer, and the firm as trader - again, treating the separate boxes as primary. Business often mirrors this delusion. Many of the manuals of business ethics, for example, assume that the responsibilities of the business extend no further than the integrity of its own transactions.

Taken at face value, such ideas point to the sort of pathological individualism that David Hume once summed up by his chilling comment that it is rational 'to prefer the destruction of the world to the scratching of my finger'. None of these concepts belongs to a world of interconnectedness. Because they treat the outside

world as residual, they have no clear sense of limits. Because they pretend that it is possible for the individual, or the nation to exercise an unbounded sovereignty, they inevitably lead to failure, disillusion and damage. Their advocates remain articulate and vocal, but in important respects they have become prisoners of the past.

The result is an odd symmetry between the personal and the institutional world. Very few institutions today act with full competence, by which I mean being both fully aware of the world around them and fully able to act in response to its opportunities and threats. Instead most sense themselves to be inadequate and prone to underachievement. No governments now stand as unambiguous models for others to copy, and the companies that are praised as models one year all too often stumble the next. The big institutions that appear all-powerful from the outside look out on to a world that is hard to comprehend and that appears to be changing at a bewildering speed. Individuals too, perhaps more than ever, behave as if incompetent to perform the tasks they face. If in the past the roles of being a parent, a citizen or an employee were relatively predictable, today they entail much more choice, and much more negotiation of a mass of conflicting information and values. How to be in a relationship, or carry out a job, how to manage others, care for children or be a good friend: all of these are difficult challenges and on each there is now a mountain of advice, much of it contradictory. Together these contribute to the sense of being 'in over our heads', unable to match our capacities and our tasks, in a world where no one is quite in control.

The personal and institutional dimensions of the inadequacy of the present social order reinforce each other. The failure of the social order amplifies our sense of impotence, and many people's behaviour in reaction, seeking solace in drink or drugs, or cutting themselves off from public life, leaves governments feeling powerless and unloved.

What should be the responses? For many individuals the simplest one is to turn inwards, to focus on an insulated sphere of intimate life, and block out the complications. 'Cultivating your garden', both literally and metaphorically, is one way of coping with a climate change over which you have no power. The same is true of anyone who digs deeply into a particular interest: a profession, a discipline, an art form, or simply having fun. For many institutions too there is a similar response: faced with complexity it is easier to focus on a simple mission, or a few measurable

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outputs and to disregard everything else. Businesses certainly find it easier to focus ruthlessly on the bottom line when times are tough. These responses make sense, literally. But added together they exacerbate the problems of a world that is failing to produce sufficient order. The same is true of another common response, fatalism: if your world is uncertain and subject to distant forces, then it may be almost rational not to prepare for the future, not to save money or master knowledge that may anyway soon be obsolete. But while fatalism might make sense for the individual, it becomes a sort of madness if aggregated to the level of a whole society.

During the course of this book I make the case for a very different response to a more connected, and fast-changing world. Our primary responsibility today is to find ways to live with interdependence, not to deny it. For governments, that means a sharp change of direction. In a world where governments no longer exercise much direct sovereignty either over their defences or over their economies, the best service they can perform for their citizens is to help them to be stronger, more responsible, more capable of making decisions and understanding the world in which they live. Narrowly this means providing them with skills to make them employable: the habits of being disciplined and flexible, creative and adaptive, able to speak many languages and work with many different technologies. More broadly it means helping them to look after themselves and to care for others, cultivating life skills and emotional intelligence rather than just the analytical intelligence that older educational systems valued so highly. But there is also a moral dimension, in that a more connected world brings with it a moral duty to consider the effects we have on others, and a need for moral fluency that goes beyond simply learning codes of right and wrong by rote. For moral as well as practical reasons we even have to think in a different way, understanding the world as made up of complex systems rather than linear relationships, ecologies rather than machines.

To the extent that we can change mentalities in these ways some of the tensions between freedom and interdependence can be contained. After all, free parents automatically try to do the best for their children. Good neighbours naturally do what they can to help their community, and for most people maturity involves learning that true freedom involves us in a web of mutual obligations. But the Western tradition has lost its sense of the balance between part and whole. It has focused solely on the interests and sovereignty of individuals, standing apart and above

the systems in which they live, and for men in particular it has fostered a myth of robust separateness. By contrast, a more realistic ideal of strength would define it not so much in terms of self-sufficiency, but rather in terms of the capacity to internalise interdependence, and to cultivate fulfilling relationships based on commitment. A more useful ideal of freedom would tie it to the achievement of well-being and shared goals, rather than the absence of restraints.

Societies are better placed to cultivate mentalities than modern liberalism admits. But the focus on mentalities, however, only takes us so far. Only saints and geniuses can fully internalise the state of the world, and, as the English philosopher Henry Sidgwick put it, take the point of view of the universe. The prevalence of empowered and responsible individuals is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for squaring freedom with interdependence in an environment made up of many connections. The corollary of the imperative to take care of mentalities is that we need to reshape our institutions and systems to better fit a connected world, not because they can create love or virtue, but rather because they can make the climate warm or cold.

A first step is to question institutions not just about their efficiency and accountability but also about their external effects. Do firms, for example, make their employees better able to function as parents or citizens or do they leave them exhausted and paranoid? Do schools help children to make judgements and decisions or only to pass exams? Do welfare systems produce confident outward-going people, or dependants who are passive and depressed? Do rituals, like marriage vows, treat women as submissive subordinates or give new meaning to reciprocal obligations?

Such questions take us to the fine grain of social connections and the mentalities they foster. We know for example that the best predictor of antisocial and criminal behaviour is a lack of healthy bonds within families and social institutions. We know that the quality of secure attachments, from early childhood onwards, is critical in providing the capacity to play a full and generous role in the life of a community. We know that children find it easier to act morally if they receive consistent messages from families, schools and the media. Translating this knowledge into practical policies is rarely easy. States have often lost the authority to shape cultures and mentalities. If they lack integrity themselves then they are in no position to place moral demands on others. Nor are the

methods available for shaping cultures and behaviour simple. Although there are many examples of successes - like the campaigns against drunk driving or unsafe sex, or the programmes that inculcated democratic values in post-war Germany or post-1989 Eastern Europe - there are also plenty of examples of failure. Some of the attempts by well-meaning professionals to intervene in family life have been disastrous.

But there is much that governments can do to make it easier for people to act as responsible citizens. Governments that keep the streets safe, that guarantee a baseline of economic security and that preserve personal privacy are more likely to encourage generous behaviour than those that do not. Governments that act early to prevent social exclusion through crime and unemployment, and that enforce laws that are seen to be fair, make it much more likely that people will be committed and engaged in the lives of their community than ones that are corrupt, short-sighted and mean spirited. Governments that make it easier for their citizens to save for themselves, to help their children to learn, to recycle their household waste, or to act as volunteers and mentors, inevitably shape the feel, the psychology of their society for the better.

Anyone who doubts the importance of cultivating mentalities should take note of the failure of both of the twentieth century's dominant political systems to grasp the point. It is a great paradox that both communism and capitalism have corroded the mentalities on which they depend. Communism needs people to be generous, altruistic, honest and virtuous but instead makes them suspicious, secretive, selfish, more inclined to hoard than to share. Capitalism needs people who are willing to work hard for the sake of it, who will bring up children without material reward, who will respect others and trade honestly. Yet instead capitalism all too often makes people instrumental, selfish, shortsighted, hedonistic, and so undermines the very qualities it needs in order to thrive. The advocates of the virtues of the free market and the planned society tend to take mental frameworks for granted. But unless someone - whether governments or civic organisations, religions or parents - can cultivate the mentalities needed for a system to function, it will atrophy into mutual distrust.

In this book I make the case for a simple, but powerful idea, that underpins both the culture and the institutions of a connected world. Reciprocity, the idea of give and take, of the golden mean, is the most important idea for a developed democratic society, and

it should underpin our social morality. It is an idea that goes with the grain of more educated, assertive societies that are less tied to tradition and deference. It is an idea that makes it possible to draw on the commitment, sense of membership and intimacy that clubs can offer in areas as diverse as health, learning, and savings, in place of the impersonality of the state and the mass market.

For governments, the principle of reciprocity demands a different way of governing. Instead of depending on blueprints and plans, and top-down command and control, more complex and highly educated societies work best when leaders provide a framework of predictability, but leave more space for people to organise themselves in flatter, more reciprocal structures. Instead of edicts and commands, governments need to learn how to use new tools, like covenants and citizen contracts, bidding mechanisms that encourage partnerships, disaggregated tax systems that make a more direct link between taxes and the services they finance, and programmes aimed at achieving cultural change rather than social engineering. Beyond the state, since many of the older institutions which used to help societies to cohere, like churches, large firms and trade unions, are in decline, our challenge is to develop new forms of connection, and new shared institutions that draw on our innate sociability and our instinctive dispositions to act ethically. In business, for example, we need to encourage models of organisation that reconnect ownership and responsibility. Contemporary capitalism all too often detaches business decisions from having to consider the ultimate consequences of their decisions. Means have become divorced from ends. Capital markets separate owners from any knowledge or responsibility for the uses made of their capital; buyers are detached from any awareness of where products come from; currency traders gamble with other people's money without any personal responsibility for their actions. The principle of reciprocity, by contrast, demands that wherever possible we should reconnect responsibility and power, means and ends, and restore business to its place within society rather than apart from it.

What does all of this imply for politics? There can be no doubting the continuing importance of politics since it is through politics that laws are made, that common moralities are upheld, that typically half of all wealth is spent, and that patronage and largesse are given to everything from inventions to charities. It is through politics that the benefits of capitalism, of technology and knowledge, have been widely distributed. If you look around the world, the presence of stable and effective government is a much

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better predictor of prosperity than the presence of natural resources, skills, the strength of the family or even the presence of an entrepreneurial culture.

Yet politics is now held in lower esteem than it has been for a very long time. Most of the world's population is now governed by states that call themselves democracies, and that have adopted the principles of equality, liberty and the rule of law. Politics stands at the top of societies where previously there might have been dictators, monarchs or religious leaders. Yet for all that there is remarkably little confidence in politics, particularly in the countries that have been democracies for longest. Politics looks bypassed by the powers of a global economy, communications systems, and science. It seems locked into heavy-handed, bureaucratic forms of government, and where once it seemed the best means of asserting human freedom from nature, today politics just as often feels like a force of nature weighing down on the individual. Its mechanisms, the parliaments, parties, manifestos and professional politicians, hark back to an earlier time and define themselves by concepts that have become, as Ivan Illich put it, 'plastic words' drained of meaning.

However, these are not good reasons for dancing on the grave of politics, but rather for thinking much harder about how to revive it as the least worst means we have for making collective decisions. In societies made up of well-informed and confident citizens, politics can no longer be organised with the tools that suited a more deferential, hierarchical age. Today, with ubiquitous and instant communications, there is no longer such a need to rely on full-time representatives, meeting in permanent parliaments in capital cities. Instead, democracy can become more of a permanent conversation, using a plethora of new tools such as deliberative forums, advisory 'juries' of citizens, and chambers chosen by lot, as well as technologies that allow for much more intensive communication between decision-makers and those on the receiving end of decisions. Tools of this kind tackle head-on the tendency of existing forms of politics to encourage infantilism - where leaders retain monopoly of power and knowledge, leaving citizens simultaneously dependent and resentful. The most effective solutions make politics more reciprocal, turning it into a continuing dialogue of discussion, explanation and decision, drawing on the distributed intelligence of the society, rather than depending solely on an elite.

Fortunately the principle of reciprocity is in tune with much of what is happening across the world. A more connected culture does indeed become more attuned to difference, more at ease with discussion, more open. Even in international affairs, which might be expected to be the last redoubt of secretive, hard forms of power, the most successful orders are turning out to be those based on mutual transparency, trust-building and common responsibility, rather than might. In the economy, the harbingers of the future are those businesses that combine a clear ethos with multiple reciprocal connections, and that share ownership amongst the employees who are the true source of their value.

The life of man, according to Thomas Hobbes, was solitary before it became nasty, brutish and short. Today it is anything but solitary. We will soon share the planet with as many as ten billion others as the world's population grows faster than ever before. Our lives are tied up with others, and the cumulation of events such as the accidents at Chernobyl, two world wars, and the simultaneous experience of moments like the first moon landing has reinforced the fact. Within a lifetime or two, if the technological futurists are to be believed, there may even be direct connections between people's minds, transcending the idea of separate selves and subjects. At the moment, some of the features of connexity may appear to be relevant only for a privileged minority, and it is true that the thickest connections are experienced only by about a billion people, in North America and Europe, Japan and the tiger economies of East Asia, and in the middle classes of China, India and Latin America. For the rest, more basic needs remain paramount. But even the poorest people on earth share the same climate as the richest, and, looking ahead, few are likely to long remain insulated from the pace of change in technology and culture. In any event, it will be in the poorer areas of the world that an already densely packed planet is set to double its population during the course of the next century.

This new reality defines the greatest political and ethical challenge of our times. The facts of connexity do not automatically make people more tolerant, responsible, or understanding, but they do constitute a new environment that demands a creative response. This book can only offer a few suggestions about what that response might be. But the central argument is straightforward. Just as in our own lives we hopefully make the transition from dependence on family, through independence in our teens and twenties, to chosen interdependence with partners, children and friends, so do societies go through a similar transition. Traditional

agrarian societies have some of the properties of childhood, in that they place people in dependence on authorities, both temporal and spiritual. Modern societies are at a stage which may be the equivalent of adolescence, since they value above everything else the freedom to make yourself, to escape and to satisfy your desires. The emerging societies that take stock of connexity, by contrast, are becoming adult through accepting that they live in a web of mutual interdependence. From the differentiation that has marked the great flowering of freedom and creativity, they are evolving towards a higher integration.

What is the alternative? The tragedy would be if our fixation on a narrow idea of freedom blinded us to how freedom could develop into something more. Then, as in the classical tragedies, our finest qualities really would bring about our downfall. Fortunately, unlike the Greeks, we no longer believe in destiny. Life is too indeterminate for that, and we are still able to make our own history rather than being condemned to become its victims.

Summary biography

Geoff Mulgan is a member of the British Prime Minister's Policy Unit. He is the founder and director of Demos, recently described by the Economist as the UK's most influential think-tank. He has previously been a lecturer in communications, a fellow of the British Film Institute, senior adviser to Gordon Brown MP (now Chancellor of the Exchequer) and a consultant on telecommunications. He is visiting professor at University College London, a trustee of the Photographers Gallery, Crime Concern and Political Quarterly. He has been a presenter for BBC TV and radio, and a columnist for the *The Guardian* and *The Independent*. His recent books include: *Life after Politics* (ed) (1997), *Politics in an antipolitical age* (1994), *Communication and Control: networks and the new economies of communication* (1990) and *The Question of Quality* (1990).