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Arts & Humanities 9-21-94

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- 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]

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- 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]

**NATIONAL ARTS AND HUMANITIES MONTH
OCTOBER 1993
PROCLAMATION**

DRAFT

The moral strength of our great nation is rooted in rich cultural traditions and a profound appreciation of the diverse values and beliefs that together make us Americans. For more than 200 years, the quality of our civic life has flowed not only from our industrial, agricultural and technological wizardry, but from our ability to unleash the power of our creative genius in the arts and to fathom our wisdom and knowledge through the humanities.

It is through the arts and humanities that we gain a deeper understanding of who we are, where we come from, and the common heritage that binds us as a civilization.

Music, painting, sculpture, architecture, dance, theater and film awaken our senses and allow us to share different emotions, experiences and attitudes.

History, literature and philosophy foster a spirit of community through collective discourse, reflection and learning that lead to mutual awareness and respect.

It is the power rising from the visionary expression and urgent humanity of Americans from every walk of life that releases our spirit and endows us with a cultural selfhood.

We are a nation of immense artistic and intellectual might. Our major authors are avidly read in every language of the world, our movies are shown in every capital of the world, and the world cannot get enough of our music. Our traditions of social inquiry and free-ranging thought shape political attitudes and cultural mores around the globe.

As we evolve into a more complex multicultural society, the arts and humanities will help us deepen our understanding of each other, honor our differences and celebrate our shared experiences as Americans.

The month of October has been designated National Arts and Humanities Month and I urge all Americans to join with me in celebrating the special role the arts and humanities play in fortifying our unique heritage.

National Arts and Humanities Month is a time when we recognize the contributions of artists, scholars, museums, theaters, libraries, schools, foundations, government agencies and other energetic organizations and individuals who work to

keep the arts and humanities in our lives. In the month of October, let us reflect on the breadth of artistic and humanistic endeavors that blossom freely across our nation. And let us rejoice in the expression and meaning they give to our ideas, hopes and dreams as American citizens.

On this occasion, I proclaim my unwavering respect and pledge my continuing support for the arts and humanities as essential ingredients to our American way of life. I look forward to celebrating National Arts and Humanities Month this October at The White House and with you in your communities throughout the United States.

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C:\LISS
draft 8/18/94

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
NATIONAL ARTS AND HUMANITIES MONTH
A PROCLAMATION -- 1994**

Nothing is more important to presevering our sense of community and preparing for our future than our artistic and humanistic traditions. In a world too often strained by hatred and incivility, the arts and humanities empower us to celebrate our individual identities while holding fast to the values that unite us as a nation.

While we have no official American culture, or even a consensus on what defines it, we have a powerful tradition of artistic expression and intellectual inquiry that honors every American equally. Through art, music, literature, history, and philosophy, we preserve and pass along, from generation to generation, our most cherished images, ideas, and beliefs.

For more than two centuries, the arts and humanities have helped Americans transcend political, religious, racial, and ethnic divisions by offering a potent vehicle for public discourse. When we read each other's books, discuss each other's ideas, and feel each other's emotions through dance, painting, and song, we experience the richness and texture of each other's lives. In so doing, we gain a greater appreciation of the breadth of human thought and experience. And we gain a more profound sense of our common purpose as Americans.

But if the arts are essential to appreciating and preserving our culture, they are also essential to our growth and renewal. For it is only by deepening our understanding, training our imaginations, and enlarging our capacities to see and to feel that we can envision a better future for ourselves, our communities, and our nation.

In the new and complicated century that awaits us, we will depend even more on our artists and humanists to help us discover the roots of our deepest loyalties and gain a vision of our most inviting possibilities.

The month of October has been designated National Arts and Humanities Month and I urge all Americans to celebrate the artistic and intellectual freedoms we enjoy and to reflect on the profound role they play in refreshing and renewing our great nation.

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draft 8/18/94

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NATIONAL ARTS AND HUMANITIES MONTH
A PROCLAMATION -- 1994

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Throughout our history, ^{shared inspired / week} the arts and humanities have helped Americans transcend political, religious, racial, and ethnic divisions by offering a ~~unique~~ vehicle for public discourse. When we read each other's books, discuss each other's ideas, and feel each other's emotions through dance, painting, and song, we experience the richness and texture of each other's lives. In so doing, we gain a greater appreciation of the breadth of human thought and experience. And we gain a more profound sense of our common purpose as Americans.

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SH Revision, 8/24/94

President William Jefferson Clinton
National Arts and Humanities Month
A Proclamation --1994

In a world too often beset by anxiety and threatened by hatred and incivility, the arts and humanities enable us to celebrate our individual identities while reminding us of the principles and commitments that unite us as a nation. Nothing is more important to individual fulfillment or to the preservation of our sense of common purpose than our cultural heritage.

American culture, of course, is too rich and too diverse for there ever to be an official version of it, but we nevertheless have a powerful tradition of artistic expression and intellectual inquiry of which every American should be proud. Through art, music, literature, history, and philosophy, we preserve and pass along from one generation to the next our sense of ourselves as contained in our most cherished images, ideas, and beliefs.

For more than two centuries, the humanities and the arts have helped Americans transcend political, religious, racial, and ethnic divisions by engaging them in the common task of interpreting and expressing the meaning of the human experience. When we read each other's books, listen to each other's stories, discuss each other's ideas, and feel each other's emotions through dance, painting and music, we experience the richness and the texture of each other's lives. In so doing, we gain a greater appreciation for the breadth of human thought and experience, and we gain a more profound sense of our common purpose as Americans.

The arts and humanities are essential not only to appreciating and preserving our culture but to our growth and renewal as a nation. It is only by deepening our understanding, training our imaginations, and enlarging our capacities to see and to feel that we can envision a better future for ourselves, our communities, and our nation.

In the new and complicated century that awaits us, we will depend even more on our humanists and artists to help us discover the roots of our deepest beliefs and gain a vision of our most inviting possibilities.

The month of October is designated National Arts and Humanities Month, and I urge all Americans to celebrate the artistic and intellectual freedoms we enjoy and to reflect on the profound role they play in refreshing and renewing our great nation each and every day.

draft 8/18/94

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
NATIONAL ARTS AND HUMANITIES MONTH
A PROCLAMATION -- 1994

~~CONTRIBUTING VITALLY~~ ~~ON NATIONAL STRONG~~
~~Nothing is more important to strengthening the American~~
~~spirit than~~ our artistic and humanistic traditions. In a world
too often strained by hatred and incivility, the arts and
humanities empower us to celebrate our individual identities
while holding fast to the values that unite us as a nation.

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~~CREATIVE~~
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Americans transcend political, religious, racial, and ethnic
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doing, we gain a greater appreciation of the breadth of human
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common purpose as Americans.

~~NURTURING~~
But if the arts are essential to appreciating and preserving
our culture, they are also essential to our growth and renewal.
For it is only by deepening our understanding, ~~training~~ our
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draft 8/18/94

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The month of October has been designated National Arts and Humanities Month and I urge all Americans to celebrate the artistic and intellectual freedoms we enjoy and to value their role in renewing our culture and our nation.

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NEA - Jane Alexander

8/11/94

Part of c.b. life

Perception that we fund elitist

saddlemaking in Wyoming

kid leaving violin

master blues in Mississippi

Popularize

Thunberg so concerned abt "dominant feudalism" of N

that infusing the country w/ arts

NEH - Hackney 8/11/94 notes from speech

We are part of the whole; we must feel like we are part
of the whole

[freedom, social justice depend on tolerance, understanding, & understanding]

- what it means to be human

human thought, human experience

- what we think determines what we do

Arts esp. important now - cynical climate

not just abt govt but abt institutions

New world order is still cooling

⊗ A new consensus not yet fully developed to replace
Cultural consensus of 1950s.

Political divisions / race, religion, ethnicity

* Incivility

* RENEWAL

pay too much attn to our diff - not enough to our similarities
group id's are real factors & are hard -

→ Our dilemma is that our legal rights
are for individuals, but our politics
are for groups

⊗ we don't have an official aesthetic.

Responsibility to discuss, express

ARTS & HUM NOTES (2)

Pluralism - Amer id is diff from the id of
any single group

Shared History,
Search for our shared humanity
Lincoln: a new birth of freedom

A + H reveal specifics - grain + texture of culture
Unless we take to heart how ppl live
How they feel we have no hope
of living together

Personal Renewal - can't renew ourselves
collectively - must renew
ourselves indiv
A+H let us exp. how ppl have
felt & will feel + think
in the future
85% indiv. refreshment + renewal
- trains the imagination
- can't move into a great future
unless we can imagine

OUTLINE / A+H 194

Season of renewal - search for our shared humanity

Time when the world is full of change

Responsibility to find our common bond

Executive Order 12308—Presidential Task Force on the Arts and Humanities

June 5, 1981

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution of the United States of America, and to establish in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App. I), an advisory committee on arts and humanities of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Establishment. (a) There is hereby established the Presidential Task Force on the Arts and Humanities. The Task Force shall be composed of no more than 36 members appointed by the President. No more than one member shall be a full-time Federal officer or employee. The remaining members shall not represent Executive agencies.

(b) The President shall designate three Cochairmen and one Vice Chairman from among the members of the Task Force.

Sec. 2. Functions. (a) The Task Force shall advise the President with respect to:

(1) methods to increase private support for the arts and humanities;

(2) ways in which Federal decisions regarding arts and humanities projects can rely more on the judgments of nongovernmental professionals, private sector groups, and individuals; and

(3) potential improvements in the management, organization and structure of (i) the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities (including the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities) and (ii) other Federal arts and humanities programs.

(b) The Task Force shall report its findings and recommendations to the President, the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, and the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Sec. 3. Administration. (a) The heads of Executive agencies shall, to the extent permitted by law, provide the Task Force with such information with respect to arts and humanities issues as may be necessary for the effective performance of its functions.

(b) Members of the Task Force shall receive no compensation for their work on the Task Force. However, while engaged in the work of the Task Force, members may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law for persons serving intermittently in the government service (5 U.S.C. 5701-5707).

(c) The National Endowment for the Humanities shall, to the extent permitted by law and subject to the availability of funds, provide the Task Force with such administrative services, funds, facilities, staff and other support services as may be necessary for the effective performance of its functions.

Sec. 4. General Provisions. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other Executive order, the responsibilities of the President under the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended, except that of reporting annually to the Congress, which are applicable to the advisory committee established by this Order, shall be performed by the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, in accordance with the guidelines and procedures established by the Administrator of General Services.

(b) The Task Force shall terminate on September 30, 1981, unless sooner extended.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
June 5, 1981.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:56 p.m., June 5, 1981]

derprivileged occupants. And David Menotti has a remarkable record—mediated difficult conflicts between the EPA, industry, and environmental groups.

Time won't permit me to detail all of their accomplishments, but let me just say that we're very proud to have all of you working with us. And for the people of this country, I offer you a hearty thank you and a well done. And now, I shall turn it over to you.

Mr. Devine. Thank you. Mr. President, I'm proud as your chief bureaucrat, the director of your civil service, to honor 25 outstanding government executives who express the true degree of patriotism by proving their commitment to the country every day as they've carried out their assignments for the public over their long periods of service.

As you mentioned, the decade of the eighties presents new challenges, and we very much need the support of all our civil servants. As you said in your acceptance speech—and probably the only time a politician has done this in an acceptance speech—you asked for the ideas and the efforts of Federal employees to help you make government work. Through the 98-year history of the civil service, you haven't been let down. And these 25 have responded

ed in an extraordinary way to show that their support is with you and the country as we make these changes.

So, Mr. President, I'd like to present to you these 25 truly outstanding civil servants.

Note: The President spoke at 11:40 a.m. at the ceremony in the Rose Garden at the White House. Donald J. Devine, Director of the Office of Personnel Management, read the names of the recipients, who received a framed certificate signed by the President, a gold lapel pin, and a check for approximately \$20,000.

The rank of Distinguished Executive is the most prestigious recognition that can be given to a member of the Senior Executive Service. The 1981 award recipients are: Alan G. Forssell, Henry H. Harris, Donald P. Hearth, Jimmie D. Hill, George O. Hipps, Jr., Clyde E. Jeffcoat, Peter M. Kimm, Lester P. Lamm, R. Kenneth Lobb, John W. Lyons, David G. Mathiasen, Harold A. McGuffin, David E. Menotti, Robert L. Morgan, Frederick T. Rall, Jr., Glenn Allan Rudd, Joseph H. Sherick, Richard G. Smith, William L. Smith, Earl R. Städtman, Henning E. G. von Gierke, William C. Watson, Jr., Harvey J. Wilcox, Walter C. Williams, and A. Thomas Young.

Remarks at a White House Luncheon for Members of the Presidential Task Force on the Arts and Humanities October 14, 1981

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, I've just received notification here—if suddenly in the midst of my remarks or anything else that's going on here, you see some individuals getting up and leaving, don't think that they're against the arts and humanities. [Laughter] They are Congressmen going to the House, because there is a vote up there coming shortly. All those who are against my side in the vote stay here. [Laughter]

Well, I want to welcome all of you here today to the White House on behalf of the American people, and I want to thank you for the important work that you've under-

taken in these past few months. You're here because of your love for art, culture, and learning. You care deeply about things of the mind and spirit. Indeed, many of you are cultural leaders and you have proven what I have just said already, in the activities that you have undertaken on your own.

When Nancy inaugurated the Young Artists in Performance at the White House program here in this room, she quoted a line from Henry James: "It is art that *makes* life, makes interest, makes importance, . . . and I know of no substitute whatever for the force and beauty of its process." Well, those

words can truly be applied to art, to the humanities, and their scholarly pursuit. As you know, our tradition of arts and scholarship in America is like most of our traditions—a pluralistic one. There are many wellsprings of support here for works of creativity and culture. I like to believe that's why artists and scholars continue to flock to our shores from other countries. Today we're seen as a great center of Western culture, a place where the artist and the scholar can find enrichment and excitement.

And I would like now to call on Dr. Hanna Gray, president of the University of Chicago, to present a report on your work.

Dr. Gray.

Dr. Gray. Thank you. Mr. President, Mrs. Reagan, members of the Task Force, distinguished guests:

It is with a very deep sense of appreciation that we are presenting to you, Mr. President, the report of your Task Force on the Arts and Humanities. We are, above all, grateful for the concern you have shown for the health and the vigor of our nation's cultural life.

You provided us with a stimulating occasion to consider the opportunities and the obligations which all of us share to sustain and to strengthen this country's commitment to the arts and to the humanities. The hallmark of that commitment lies in a devotion to the essential freedoms of thought and expression.

A society that recognizes the enduring significance of the arts and the humanities to the quality and to the future of our civilization will set high value also on diversity and on independence of initiative. This conviction asserts a confidence in the power and possibilities of scholarship and of education at their best, a dedication to the values and to the varieties of the creative and performing arts at their most vital. It rests on a regard for the cultivation of inherited tradition and also for encouraging the risk-taking that gives rise to new forms of learning and artistic accomplishment.

It is a difficult task, the task of leadership, to balance so many pressing needs and complex goals, to assess the claims of the future against those of the present, to stimulate the distinctive and cooperative roles

of the public and the private sectors. In that context, we know that you will give consideration to those activities which over the generations will shape the capacities and the potential of an educated and creative people. We hope very much that the work of our task force will be of some use as you direct that process.

And in saying that, I know that I speak not only for the members of the Task Force, for the staff which has served the Task Force so ably, but also for the two Cochairmen who were not able to be present today—for Ambassador Terra who had to be absent today, and for Chuck Heston who has, however, written a statement.

And perhaps I could close with that. His statement says, "I regret that the film I'm shooting in British Columbia keeps me from joining you to second the convictions I know Hanna will express. I've been preaching the independence and perseverance of the artist all summer. Now I'm trying to practice it." [Laughter] "My thoughts are very much with you. I am grateful for your trust in us." Signed, Chuck Heston.

Mr. President, we thank you again. This is our report.

[At this point, Dr. Gray presented the President with the report of the Task Force.]

The President. Well thank you, Dr. Gray, very much. And now I think I'd like to conclude by pointing out that we hope your work will be very much a part of that era of national renewal I spoke of last January, an era we hope to make a reality in the next few years.

The challenge before us is to find ways once again to unleash the independent spirit of the people in their communities. And that energy will accomplish far, far more than just government programs alone ever could. It was in this context that I asked William (Bill) Verity, the chairman of Armco Steel, to chair a new Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives. Bill, since you so graciously accepted—I caught him in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean on a boat; I'd never done that before—won't you stand please and—[applause]. But then he told me he'd never been called on a boat

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before—[laughter]—so it was a first for both of us.

But the Task Force is going to be comprised of 35 leaders from corporations, foundations, and voluntary and religious organizations. And I'm delighted that he's here with us today, for the thrust of our new efforts in the arts and humanities is very much in the spirit of our overall private sector initiative. We hope in this area, as in others, to assure pump priming and seed money in partnership with private giving.

Now, we've done some talking recently about how our economic problems are the result of too much government intrusion into the economy. The danger of too much government was very much on the mind of the men who framed our Constitution, constructed our government, and built this public housing—[laughter]—and if you think about it, their fear of government has a special meaning for our century. It's important for us to continue to resist the intrusions of government. As John Updike has said so well, "I would rather chance my personal vision of truth striking home here and there in the chaos of publication, than attempt to filter it through a few sets of official, honorably public-spirited scruples." [Laughter]

Fostering arts and scholarship, not stifling it, not filtering it, has been the goal of the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities. It has also been the goal of your work on the Task Force to act as a catalyst, to encourage the arts and humanities, to find for them new outlets and more generous sources of support. Unlike many other countries, American support for the arts and humanities comes primarily from the private sector—\$3 billion in 1980. The Endowments, which began in 1965, account for only 10 percent of the donations to art and scholarship. Nonetheless, they have served an important role in catalyzing additional private support, assisting excellence in arts and letters, and helping to assure the availability of art and scholarship.

Our primary goal in the arts and humanities is to strengthen that public and private partnership. We hope to encourage a vari-

ety of private support and involvement and to ensure responsiveness of Federal programs to the real needs. To assure an effective dialog between government and the private sector, we will explore with the Congress the expansion of our Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities to include private membership.

I would like to announce now my nomination of Frank Hodson as our proposed Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts. Frank, as many of you know, is now Deputy to Jim Baker on our White House staff. He's worked with you on the Task Force, and I've charged him to encourage additional private support for the arts in States and communities across the land, to assure that Federal programs are responsive to needs. Frank, why don't you stand up so they can see you?

He ran out a little while ago and I thought he was running out on the job, but it turns out he just had a telephone call and he's back. [Laughter] Telephone calls take on a new meaning since we've been in this job back here. [Laughter] I got one, as you all know—it was widely heralded in the press—at 4:30 in the morning. [Laughter] And everyone hailed it as that they were reluctant to wake me up. What did they think they were doing at 4:30 in the morning? [Laughter]

The arts and humanities have always been something of great personal importance to Nancy and to me. Nations are more often than not remembered for their art and thought. As I stated at the time of establishing the Task Force, our cultural institutions are an essential national resource. They must be kept strong.

So, I thank you all once again for being here, and I thank you all for this report. And I will read it. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:10 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. The three Cochairmen of the Task Force are Dr. Hanna H. Gray (Chairman for the Humanities), Charlton Heston (Chairman for the Arts), and Ambassador at Large for Cultural Affairs Daniel J. Terra (Chairman for the Federal Government).

strength of the American economy, the Congress, by House Joint Resolution 225, has designated the week beginning on June 5, 1983, as "Management Week in America" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of that week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning June 5, 1983, as Management Week in America and call upon the American people to ob-

serve that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 17th day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and seventh.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:44 p.m., May 17, 1983]

Nomination of Robert H. Morris To Be Deputy Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency May 17, 1983

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert H. Morris to be Deputy Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency. This is a new position.

Mr. Morris is currently serving as Assistant Director for Enterprise Development of the Minority Business Development Agency at the Department of Commerce. Previously he was chairman and principal owner of the Johnson Bronze Co. in 1970-1981;

president and chairman of the OIC Corp., Wadsworth, Ohio, in 1967-1970; managing director of Crane Ltd., London, England, in 1963-1966; operating vice president of Microdot, Inc., New York City, in 1961-1962; and president of Acco Products, Chicago, Ill., in 1959-1960.

He graduated from the University of Illinois (B.S., 1941). He is married, has three children, and resides in Bethesda, Md. He was born March 31, 1919.

Remarks at the Awards Presentation Ceremony for the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities May 17, 1983

The President. Well, it's a great pleasure for Nancy and me to welcome to the White House you who both create and support the arts.

The human need to create and enjoy art is as profound as the urge to speak. In fact, it's through our art that we best understand ourselves and can be understood by those who come after us.

The American way of supporting the arts is so different from that in many other countries. Our arts do not derive from national academies. Their support doesn't

come from royal courts or ministers of culture. Ours is a much broader cultural base. It reflects the kaleidoscope of individuality, diverse land, ethnic population, and civic pride that are America. And they also reflect the great American volunteer tradition.

At the Federal level, we support the work of the National Endowment for the Arts to stimulate excellence and make art more available to more of our people. But the Endowment also encourages private support. We owe a great deal of thanks to

the members of the National Council of the Arts, many of whom are here today, for their help in these areas.

While the purpose of this gathering is to honor six of our leading artists and six art patrons, it's also an appropriate forum to call for a renewed commitment to private giving. Last year I appointed this Committee to help in this effort, and Nancy agreed to serve as the honorary chairman. Under the able leadership of Andrew Heiskell, I am glad to report that the Committee has accomplished a great deal. We hope that through events like this we can inspire others to join our cause and in doing so lift the spirits and enrich the lives of all our people.

The arts must be supported not only for themselves but for the joy they bring to Americans everywhere. So, I urge all of you here today to contact your friends, associates, and neighbors—to commit yourselves with corporations, foundations, and community groups—to the private giving that we need to assure that art continues to play an integral part in our national life.

You know I've never been very good, myself, at fundraising. And I've told some of my friends on occasion that—that that's why I got in government, because we don't ask for it, we just take it. *[Laughter]*

The story that illustrates this is one of a man who became the chairman of his small-town charity. And, looking at the records, he went to a citizen of the town who had a 6-figure income and who had never contributed to the town charity. And he called his attention to this fact and said that the record showed that, "You have this income that you've never contributed." And he said, "Do your records also show that my brother was wounded in the war, permanently disabled and never able to work again? Do they show that my sister was widowed with several children, and there was no insurance, there was no means of subsistence?" And kind of abashed, the chairman said, "Well, no, the records don't show that." "Well," he said, "I don't give anything to them; why should I give something to you?" *[Laughter]* Well, fortunately, there are none such in this room.

And now I would like to call on Nancy to announce the honorees.

Mrs. Reagan. First, we would like to recognize the Texaco Philanthropic Foundation, represented today by John McKinley. For 42 years, Texaco has sponsored the Metropolitan Opera's Saturday afternoon radio broadcasts, the longest continuous sponsorship in the history of radio. These broadcasts have brought opera, and Texaco, into countless American homes. The Texaco Foundation celebrated the Metropolitan Opera's 100th anniversary by pledging an additional \$5 million toward the Met's endowment drive. This is symbolic of the giving of corporate foundations.

Frederica Von Stade is one of this country's great young opera stars. Born in New Jersey, she worked as a secretary and salesperson to pay for her singing lessons. She made a sensational debut at the Met in 1970, and she has since appeared all over the world. I might add, we were lucky enough to have her sing at the White House last year.

Although James Michener is primarily known as a successful writer, he's also an arts patron, having contributed millions of dollars to help younger writers. Discovering that many talented students couldn't afford the University of Iowa Writers' Workshop, he established an endowment providing fellowships each year. He's also a founder of the National Poetry Series, which sponsors a yearly competition for poets. Mr. Michener sets an example for all those who've achieved success in the arts by aiding young and aspiring artists of the future.

Czeslaw Milosz is one of the world's great poets and thinkers. Born in Poland and a leader of the avant-garde poetry movement in the 1930's, Mr. Milosz is an opponent of oppression. He was a member of the Resistance during World War II and after the war resigned from Poland's diplomatic service to protest Communist repression. Mr. Milosz, now an American citizen, teaches at the University of California at Berkeley. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1980.

And next we commend Philip Morris, represented today by George Weissman, chairman of the board. With its overall giving increasing fivefold during the 1970's Philip Morris is a pioneering supporter of

the visual arts. Philip Morris' support of the arts includes the Corcoran Gallery here in Washington, the current Vatican exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum, and the traveling exhibition, "Two Centuries of Black American Arts."

Frank Stella is a painter and sculptor whose work is represented in major museums the world over. He was only 24 when he astonished the art world in 1960 with severe striped paintings that seemed to mock the Abstract Expressionist movement that then dominated the American art scene. His shaped canvases of the 1970's are now replaced by monumental aluminum wall sculptures. We salute in Frank Stella an artist who has not yet made his final statement.

And next we honor the Cleveland Foundation, represented here by Stan Pace, who's also president of TRW. The Cleveland Foundation is our oldest and third largest community foundation. Recognizing in 1977 the need to develop a long-range plan for Cleveland's performing arts, the Cleveland Foundation formed a committee of community leaders and raised over \$11 million. The Cleveland Foundation is a fine example of a foundation binding a community to its arts.

Philip Johnson is a world renowned architect. He grew up in Cleveland and is currently engaged in designing the new Cleveland Playhouse. His mark, however, is everywhere. His annex of the Museum of Modern Art and the Seagram Building in New York, the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, his own Glass House, are all extraordinary. A major pioneer of the international style, Philip Johnson is now an advocate of what is known as Post-Modernism.

And next we honor Elma Lewis, the founder of the Elma Lewis School of Fine Arts and the National Center of Afro-American Artists in Boston. Miss Lewis has devoted most of her adult life to training aspiring young black people for careers in dance, opera, and theater. The recipient of more than 17 honorary degrees, she represents the spirit of the volunteer and over the years has helped hundreds from minority communities participate in the arts.

Luis Valdez of California created El Teatro Campesino to dramatize the plight

of California farmworkers. It has since received numerous awards, including an Obie and three Los Angeles Drama Critics Awards. And his 1978 "Zoot Suit" was the first play by a Chicano playwright and director to be presented on Broadway. Because he's traveling today, his award will be accepted by Andy Heiskell.

Next we recognize the Dayton Hudson Foundation of Minneapolis, represented by William Andres, chairman of the board. Dayton Hudson is a household word—in philanthropy—world, too, I guess. Forty percent of its giving is devoted to the arts, not just in Minnesota but across the country—from the Arizona Opera Company to the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra. Dayton Hudson is an advocate of the Five Percent Principle, which urges corporations to dedicate at least 5 percent of their pretax profits to philanthropy.

Finally, we honor Pinchas Zukerman, renowned violinist and conductor. Born in Tel Aviv, Mr. Zukerman entered New York's Juilliard School in 1961. Six years later, he embarked on a brilliant worldwide career. In 1982 he received his third Grammy Award. His versatility has enriched American music, and his artistry as a soloist and as music director of the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra have delighted audiences everywhere.

The President. Thank you, Nancy.

Mrs. Reagan. That's all right.

The President. That's all right? [Laughter] That's all the pay a First Lady gets. [Laughter]

And thank you all for being here today. I would also like to thank Andrew Heiskell and the other members of the Committee for their leadership. You're an inspiration to all of us, and you represent the very best in our society.

Your contributions benefit not only our citizens today but also our children and our children's children. I hope this luncheon will be the first of a series recognizing artists and scholars and their supporters.

I've asked Frank Hodsoll as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts to explore the possibility of establishing a medal to recognize the Nation's best in this area. We'll continue doing everything we

can to encouraging growing private support for the arts. And with your help we'll demonstrate the commitment and appreciation of our people and our government for artistic excellence.

And let me just say one last word about this whole element of voluntarism, which so many of you here exemplify today. It's been amazing to me that in this time of economic hardship and need throughout the country—yes, the need was greater, but obviously the resources must have been less. But records have been broken all over.

The spread of volunteer efforts all over this country is just inspiring—and one little example I have to tell you. The other day there was a little awards ceremony in the Rose Garden. I was giving some awards to Peace Corps volunteers. And one of them was a nun, very tiny, quite elderly, who'd come back from Ghana, where she has a hospital and a canteen there, and where they're battling the disease and the hunger in that area.

And as I was handing her her certificate, everyone there was surprised to see her lean up and whisper something to me, and

also surprised when I leaned down and whispered something back. And my own people, when I got back in the office, couldn't wait. "What—," "What happened—," "What was she saying out there?" "What happened?" And I said, "Well, she whispered to me, was there anything I could do to help them get some flour, because in their canteen they were very short of flour—and the great hunger in the area—and they couldn't help with that." And I said, I leaned down and told her, "I'd see what we could do."

We made one phone call. And before the afternoon was over, 3,000 pounds of flour were on their way to that canteen in Ghana. And it's been that way all through the days that we've been here and inspiring this. So, I know that Nancy and I both feel very grateful to you all for what you're doing, and congratulate all of those winners and all of those donors.

It's little enough to receive a certificate. You have our heartfelt thanks as well.

Note: The President spoke at 1:15 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

The President's News Conference May 17, 1983

Arms Control

The President. Good evening. I have a statement. I'm gratified that a bipartisan consensus on arms control is emerging from the recommendations of the Scowcroft commission. Their report combined into one package three of our top priority goals—modernization, deterrence, and arms control. And I'm integrating their arms control recommendations into our START proposals. I will also support their proposal to develop a small, single-warhead missile for more stable deterrence in the future.

Many in the Congress have shared their thinking on arms control with us. Close cooperation can show the Soviets that we Americans stand united, ready to negotiate in good faith until we succeed in reducing the level of nuclear weapons on both sides.

Working together and exploring initiatives such as a proposed mutual build-down of strategic nuclear forces, we can keep America strong and achieve arms reductions that strengthen the peace and benefit all mankind. I congratulate both Appropriations Committees for their bipartisan approval of the MX Peacekeeper missile, recommended by the Scowcroft commission. I look forward to prompt approval of this vital program by the full House and Senate. It'll be one of the most important arms control votes of the 98th Congress.

The Scowcroft commission demonstrated it could take on a complex issue and achieve bipartisan agreement. The question now is whether the Congress can also reach a consensus with a resolution and unity to strengthen our national security, reduce the

As a sign of our national gratitude and concern, I also urge my fellow citizens to display our country's flag at half-staff at their homes and other appropriate places during this period.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 20th day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-four, and of the Independence of the

United States of America the two hundred and eighth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:59 p.m., May 21, 1984]

Note: The text of the proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 21.

Proclamation 5196—National Arts With the Handicapped Week, 1984

May 20, 1984

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Art flows from and nourishes the human spirit. Through art, we learn to understand ourselves and our potential. For disabled people, the creative experience—whether as artists, audiences, educators, or students—is an essential part of leading a full and productive life. It is an important means for the disabled to be integrated into the mainstream of educational and cultural programs as well.

Therefore, it is critical that our cultural institutions, educators, and communities strive to assure that disabled people can participate fully in the arts. The National Committee Arts with the Handicapped, an educational affiliate of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, is dedicated to extending opportunities for such participation. It conducts education programs in all fifty States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Funded by both the public and private sectors, the Committee is celebrating its tenth anniversary this year. To mark this achievement, the Committee is sponsoring a very special arts festival during the week of May 20, 1984, in Washington, District of Columbia.

In recognition of the importance of the

arts in enriching the lives of disabled persons and in celebration of the work of the National Committee Arts with the Handicapped, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 220, has designated the week of May 20, 1984, as "National Arts with the Handicapped Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue an appropriate proclamation.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of May 20, 1984, through May 26, 1984, as National Arts with the Handicapped Week. I encourage the people of the United States to observe the week with appropriate ceremonies, programs and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 20th day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eighth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3 p.m., May 21, 1984]

Note: The text of the proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 21.

Proclamation 5568—National Arts Week, 1986
November 7, 1986

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Wherever Americans are, there are the arts. The arts are central to human expression. The arts enlighten us and please us. America has long loved the arts, and we study, practice, appreciate, and patronize them in our theatres, museums, galleries, schools, and communities.

We also generously support the arts and desire to make them as widely available as possible. A typically American consortium—informal and effective—of individuals, corporations, foundations, and taxpayers provides financial support to artists to augment revenues raised directly from patrons.

It is most fitting that we take time to celebrate the arts of our Nation, to honor our artists, and to express our appreciation to everyone who patronizes the arts. And as we celebrate the arts, we celebrate and give thanks for our freedom, the only atmosphere in which artists can truly create and in which art is truly the expression of the soul.

Let us join together during National Arts Week to celebrate the arts of our Nation

and in pledging to continue this magnificent partnership of artist and patron so as to enrich the soul and the heart of our people forever.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 304, has designated the week of November 16 through November 22, 1986, as "National Arts Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of November 16 through November 22, 1986, as National Arts Week. I encourage the people of the United States to observe the week with appropriate ceremonies, programs, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventh day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eleventh.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:02 a.m., November 10, 1986]

Statement on Signing the Bill Establishing the Dwight D. Eisenhower Centennial Commission
November 7, 1986

I am pleased to approve H.R. 4302, which establishes the Dwight David Eisenhower Centennial Commission. The Commission will encourage, plan, and coordinate observances of the centennial of President Eisenhower's birth, which will occur on October 14, 1990.

In order to avoid significant concerns

under both the Incompatibility and Appointments Clauses of the Constitution, I am construing the functions of this Commission to be solely advisory.

Note: H.R. 4302, approved November 7, was assigned Public Law No. 99-624.

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eight time since the December 1979 invasion that the General Assembly has decisively called upon the Soviet Union to pull its forces out of Afghanistan. And let there be no mistake about it: The withdrawal of Soviet forces is the key to resolving the Afghan crisis. Other issues that have been raised to divert attention from this fact only extend the combat and prolong the suffering of the Afghan people.

General Secretary Gorbachev has publicly stated a Soviet readiness to withdraw. Both in April and September of 1987, I asked the Soviet Union to set a date this year when that withdrawal would begin. I also stated that when the Soviet Union showed convincingly that it was ready for a genuine political settlement the United States would be helpful. After all, the Soviet presence in Afghanistan is a major impediment to improved U.S.-Soviet relations, and we would like to remove it. The Soviets should want to do so, as well.

Unfortunately, the Soviet answer on a date for rapid withdrawal has been silence. Instead we've seen the Kabul regime announce a phantom cease-fire and propose a transitional government, one that would leave this discredited and doomed group in

control. These gambits have been rejected by the only voice that really counts: that of the Afghan people, speaking through their resistance representatives. Any proposal unacceptable to the resistance is destined to fail.

And as the resistance continues the fight, we and other responsible governments will stand by it. The support that the United States has been providing the resistance will be strengthened, rather than diminished, so that it can continue to fight effectively for freedom. The just struggle against foreign tyranny can count upon worldwide support, both political and material.

The goal of the United States remains a genuinely independent Afghanistan, free from external interference, an Afghanistan whose people choose the type of government they wish, an Afghanistan to which the four million refugees from Soviet aggression may return in safety and, yes, in honor.

On behalf of the American people, I salute Chairman Khalis, his delegation, and the people of Afghanistan themselves. You are a nation of heroes. God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 10:16 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

Leaders and

as already made During the past fighting inside d their weapons, The result has defeats for the s many divisions

s delegation are ing the Novem- Assembly vote, nce again, called thdrawal of all stan. This is the

Proclamation 5741—National Arts Week, 1987 November 12, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

The arts lie at the heart of our Nation and of the heritage we cherish. The freedom we enjoy allows our arts to breathe the spirit of liberty and to ennoble, inspire, and nourish us. During National Arts Week, when we celebrate the arts and thank the artists, patrons, and audiences who give them life, we salute a precious dimension of America.

From our early days as a Nation, countless public-minded citizens have considered support of culture and the arts their joy and their responsibility. Their efforts have

brought about an American partnership among individuals, corporations, foundations, and taxpayers that sustains the arts and makes them accessible throughout our land.

Across America the arts are flourishing. Everywhere, individual artists are at work, and symphony orchestras, museums, theaters, dance and opera companies, and folk arts groups are busy in cities and towns alike. As we express our gratitude to these Americans we also renew our commitment to the partnership that supports them and brings their work, and that of the rest of the world, to American audiences—and we reaffirm our devotion to the life of the

mind and the soul.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 154, has designated the period of November 15 through November 22, 1987, as "National Arts Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the period of November 15 through November 22, 1987, as National Arts Week. I encourage the people of the United States to observe this period with

appropriate ceremonies, programs, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 12th day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:30 a.m., November 13, 1987]

Appointment of Marion C. Blakey as Special Assistant to the President and Director of Public Affairs

November 12, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of Marion C. Blakey to be Special Assistant to the President and Director of Public Affairs. She would succeed Thomas F. Gibson III.

Since 1985 Ms. Blakey has been a Director of Public Affairs and Special Assistant to the Secretary at the U.S. Department of Education. From 1982 to 1984, she was Director of Public Affairs at the National Endowment for the Humanities. Previously

Ms. Blakey served as Director of that agency's youth programs and in its Office of Planning and Policy Assessment.

Ms. Blakey holds a bachelor's degree from Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia (1970), where she majored in international affairs. She attended the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies for graduate work in Middle East affairs. Ms. Blakey is married, has one child, and resides in Washington, DC.

Statement on Trade Sanctions Against Brazil

November 13, 1987

I am today announcing my intention to raise tariffs on Brazilian exports to the United States and to prohibit imports from Brazil of certain computer products in response to the maintenance by Brazil of unfair trade practices in the area of computer products.

Brazil's national informatics policies, in place since the 1970's, severely restrict foreign participation in Brazil's computer and computer-related market. The United States has unsuccessfully raised its concerns with Brazil in bilateral and multilateral consultations since 1983. In September 1985 I

initiated an investigation of these practices under section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974 and in October 1986 determined that Brazil's informatics policies were unreasonable and a burden and restriction on U.S. commerce. I suspended parts of this investigation after Brazil made commitments to implement its informatics law in a more flexible, reasonable, and just manner.

Recent developments in Brazil make it clear that these commitments are not being kept. In particular, the Brazilian Government has rejected efforts by an American software company to license its product in

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future for ourselves, and for the world, and to find the means to create it. In the century to come, as in the past, we will depend upon our humanists and our artists to show us the places where lie both our deepest loyalites and our most inviting possibilities.

draft 8/17/94

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
A PROCLAMATION
NATIONAL ARTS AND HUMANITIES MONTH
1994**

Nothing is more essential to a renewal of the American spirit than our artistic and humanistic traditions. From generation to generation, we pass along our ideas, values, and beliefs through the rich culture that we share.

While we have no official American culture, nor even a consensus on what defines our culture, we have a powerful tradition of intellectual inquiry and artistic expression that helps us discover our shared humanity.

A civilized society cannot evolve if its people do not have the opportunity to deepen their knowledge, train their imaginations, and convey attitudes and emotions. Throughout our history, the arts and humanities have enriched our civic discourse and enabled us to experience the texture of each other's lives.

Today, in an increasingly diverse and divided world, the arts and humanities give us the power to honor our individual identities while also celebrating our sameness as Americans. They allow us to engage each other in ways that evoke feelings of belonging and of common purpose.

greater responsibility to engage, participate, and restore our sense of community.

do more to ensure that we appreciate our similarities rather than dwell on our differences

incivility.....

The Federation of State Humanities Councils dedicates this book to members of Congress, with appreciation for their support for the work of the humanities councils.

Introduction

THIS IS A NEWLY DIFFICULT TIME for American society. One of the greatest of our troubles is the loss of stability in our communities. People are feeling less good about themselves, insecure in their own identities and in their own future prospects; and they are becoming more intolerant and more hostile toward others. Anyone who has tried to conduct a public meeting these days recognizes the growing disrespect for orderly self-government. Reasoned debate, the ideal of our democracy, too often gives way to shouting matches between special groups and special interests who have never stopped to listen to each other. In many ways we have lost the balance between the common good and the narrow concerns of individuals that is essential to our social health.

The work of the state humanities councils directly addresses this problem.

The basic thrust of humanistic activity is educational: almost all council programs involve the knowledge of history, the appreciation of literature, or the grasp of ethical and social philosophy. For the individual, these programs are designed to deepen knowledge, stimulate imagination, educate feelings. Ideally, they foster the increased sense of understanding and of self-worth that is one of the intrinsic benefits of humanistic education.

But because the work of the councils typically brings people together, it also entails a benefit beyond the personal: our work builds community.

A sense of community depends on a sense of history. All over the country, in venues large and small, council-sponsored talks, exhibits, films, workshops, and conferences are bringing people together to study local history and tradition. In Tucson, Arizona; Clay County, Alabama; Port Penn, Delaware; Woodford County, Kentucky; Warner, New Hampshire; and dozens of other places, citizens are thus acquiring new bases for community pride and community cooperation.

Council activities dedicated to the understanding of special groups further promote tolerance and appreciation. The examples in the pages that follow include projects devoted to the Hispanics of the Pacific Northwest, black business-persons in Detroit, Japanese workers in Missouri, the native Omaha culture of Nebraska, and the Acadian fami-

lies of Maine. Many other council projects focus on an informed consideration of cultural diversity itself.

From understanding diversity, it is but a step to resolving community issues; the councils are aided immeasurably in this task by the premise that governs each council's activities and makes the councils unique among the many agencies devoted to building community: the humanities must be central to each occasion. Bringing historical study, or the reading of a relevant work of literature, or reasoned ethical analysis to bear on a community issue raises the level of argument, moving it beyond narrow, immediate and local grounds. Suggesting a measured, informed consideration, it promotes civility. It turns dispute into discussion. In this way councils are helping citizens in Massachusetts to address issues of school curricula, and residents of Nevada to deal with the issue of water use.

The councils' typical reports on these projects are particularly encouraging. "The conference...not only informed, but also aroused participants' sympathy for others' points of view" (Nevada). "While the problems have not been solved, at least people are talking to one another in new and positive ways" (Utah). "Over several days, more than 1,700 people heard a fruitful exchange between two groups that seldom learn from each other so publicly. From this program sprang further interest in bringing diverse groups together to explore community in meaningful local terms" (Oregon).

It is natural that yet other council projects go beyond immediate issues to thinking about our common future, as demonstrated in Connecticut, Kansas, Mississippi, Arkansas, Hawaii, Texas and New Jersey.

At a time when social discord and misunderstanding are spreading, we badly need more of the informed and civil discourse among citizens that is necessary to democracy. The pages that follow offer a sampling of the state humanities councils' current work in this area. We hope the reader will agree that this work is more valuable than ever.

*Charles Muscatine, Chair
Federation of State Humanities Councils
Member, California Council for the Humanities*

broadly educational, conveying the illumination and personal enrichment of the humanities in public programs of reading, lectures, discussions, films and exhibits.

Latterly, however, the councils have been adapting their work to new public demands, demonstrating the power of public humanities programs to build community, to address civic problems, and to help communities plan for the future. We present here some moving evidence of what the councils are doing to bring to the general public a sense of the civility that American culture needs and deserves.

Although this is largely a new emphasis, based on newly urgent national needs, it is deeply responsive to the intention of Congress when it created the National Endowment for the Humanities, which provides the councils with much of their support. Congress, in the original legislation, was concerned with the role of the humanities in fostering "an orderly continuation of free society." It acknowledged that "the humanities reflect the high place accorded by the American people to the nation's rich cultural heritage and to fostering

mutual respect for the diverse beliefs and values of all persons and groups." It defines the term "humanities" partly as "the study and application of the humanities to the human environment, with particular attention [among other things] to the current conditions of national life."

This initiative is no less responsive to the views of our new President, who regards the condition of our civic life gravely enough to have in his inaugural address deplored the "deep divisions among our people," issued the challenge of "reconnecting our torn communities," and invoked the "faith that our nation can summon from its myriad diversity the deepest measure of unity."

We hope that this report will show how closely the work of the state humanities councils responds to the current conditions of national life. The councils are better equipped than any other agency to articulate the civic purpose of the humanities and to fortify civic life through the humanities. They stand ready to answer to the responsibility that this position entails.

*Charles Muscatine, Chair
Federation of State Humanities Councils
Member, California Council for the Humanities*

Introduction

THE WORK OF the state humanities councils described in this report demonstrates the unique power of the public humanities to address a serious problem confronting our nation.

America, everyone agrees, is diverse and becoming more so. The simple idea of America as a "melting pot" is giving way to something more complex and difficult: the idea of a permanently "multicultural" society. But while we are all newly, sometimes proudly, and often painfully aware of our ethnic and cultural differences, we have made little progress in understanding each other and valuing the richness that our differences give us, much less celebrating how much humanity we share, how much we are the same.

This problem, not unique to our own country, has been called by Václav Havel, President of the Czech Republic, "the need for civility." By "civility" Havel means not just norms of decent public behavior toward each other, but also something deeper, that web of understanding and feeling which binds people into a civilized society. It is in

knowing each other, appreciating our differences, and celebrating our sameness, our sharing, that we become a civilization.

The pervading antipathies and violence of our public life, our lack of civility, is a measure of how much work we need to do to be able to reconceive, together, what it means to be Americans. To this end, there is no more powerful means than the public humanities: the study of American culture, and of all its constituent cultures, in a broad context of citizen groups, enabled by the authority and gravity of humanistic knowledge to listen to each other, and to learn together about each other, about our common American heritage, and about our common humanity, without prejudice or animosity.

The state humanities councils have a crucial position in this enterprise. They are solidly rooted in the academic humanities: their administrators and volunteer board members are largely recruited from among citizens who have humanistic interests and training. At the same time, they have twenty years of experience in bringing the humanities—history, philosophy, literature—to a wide and diverse public. Characteristically, their work is

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PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Suite 526
Washington, DC 20506
Tel.: 202-682-5409 Fax: 202-682-5668

June 30, 1994

*Inclusion
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Reversal
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Arts/Hum can be a healer*

MEMORANDUM

TO: MELANNE VERVEER

FROM: ELLEN McCULLOCH-LOVELL *EmL*

SUBJECT: White House Cultural Message

While politics divides us, the arts and humanities unify us. When the Administration highlights and celebrates the best in American culture, it carries out one of its main campaign themes: to bring us together; to unify a diverse and often divided country. The arts are uplifting, they celebrate, and express human aspirations and spirit. They can promote understanding, appreciation and tolerance of others' cultures and ideas.

The presence of the President and the First Lady and the use of the White House as a venue are some of the most powerful ways the Administration can convey its message about the arts and the humanities.

The Clintons are personally interested, attend cultural events, and the White House has hosted many wonderful events, such as the Christmas crafts, the WETA series, the National Medal for the Arts and the Frankel Prize, the Federal Design Awards and others. The White House also invites outstanding artists and scholars to dinners as guests and performers. They are more supportive of cultural life than any first family since the Kennedys.

This memo is to prompt our thinking about how the First Family could get more credit for this high level of activity and to have a more coherent message.

There is uncertainty and complaining in the cultural sector that the Clintons are not interested in the arts, that last October's National Medals was a great start but there has been little support since, that there is no "Clinton cultural policy." When I speak to groups and present what the

President and First Lady have done and said about the arts and humanities, describe his wonderful appointments in this area, and the inter-agency efforts under way, the response is very positive. People say they do not know all of this.

The diverse arts and humanities communities are important to the country in many ways, and important supporters of the President. They are articulate spokespeople, they rally others to causes, they lend their talents to events and they raise a lot of money.

The President's speech to the ART 21 Conference was close to a defining policy speech and contained statements about access, education, cultural diversity and community building that should be repeated in other speeches and talking points.

I would not advise trying to define one "cultural policy" for the United States, but this speech comes close to defining a set of cultural goals that apply to the whole country.

We can put all of what is happening into a more coherent package and communicate better throughout this sector. The tools are:

White House Events: receptions, ceremonies for arts and humanities, and performances at White House dinners.

Appearances: scheduling the President and Mrs. Clinton at events here and at cultural sites across the country.

Speeches: about cultural matters, or mentoring the arts and humanities.

Live from the White House: televised performances.

Statements: made by Cabinet members and other Administration spokespeople or issued for groups to use at their events and conferences.

Newsletters: making sure quotes from speeches and statements are printed, or put on-line so members of groups know about them.

Press Office: will the White House Press Office publicize some of these activities and statements to selected cultural reporters or trade press? Should NEA, NEH, IMS and the President's Committee take on more of this?

Policy: can we package initiatives of the federal agencies with cultural programs into a more comprehensive "policy" to articulate to the field? Can we describe and publicize all the interagency work (especially when we have cooperative agreements) more effectively?

Image: What kind of "cultural image" do we want to project? My guess is that the Clinton's want to be associated with: The best in American art (and scholarship); celebrating the diversity of American culture; highlighting "old masters" and "new talent"; showcasing promising young artist with their mentors.

Message: One of America's great strengths is the richness and diversity of its culture. America has absorbed many traditions; they help us understand each other and unify us. We export them to the world.

Many upcoming White House cultural events offer the opportunity to deliver a message, coordinate an image, and publicize the message in the press and in the field.

They are:

	IMS reception
9/21	Heritage Awards on the Hill
9/21	President's Committee meeting and reception
10/4	National Medal of Arts - Arts & Humanities Kick-off

possible:

- Stevie Wonder Concert
- Charles Ansbacher 4-part PBS series
- White House crafts collection tour

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	Fax Number (Partial] (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting
OA/Box Number: 8169

FOLDER TITLE:

Arts & Humanities 9-21-94

2012-1004-S

ms522

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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.

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]

2-page fax

①

[001]

Liss:

Here's an attempt to rearrange your ideas into an order that might work. Hope it's helpful. D.

Today, in an increasingly diverse and divided world, the arts and the humanities offer us the power to celebrate our individual identities while holding fast to the things that bind us together and make us one nation.

While we have no official American culture, nor even a consensus on what defines it, we have a powerful tradition of intellectual inquiry and artistic expression. Through art and literature, history and philosophy, we preserve and pass along, from generation to generation, our most cherished images, ideas, values and beliefs.

Reading, seeing, and talking together within this tradition, we engage each other at our best. We listen to each other's stories, experience sympathetically the texture of each others' lives, enable ourselves to converse with respect and understanding, to honor each other's unique experiences, and to find the bases, as Americans, of our belonging to each other and to a common purpose.

But if the arts and humanities are essential to appreciating and preserving our rich culture, they are also essential to our growth and our renewal. By deepening our understanding and training our imaginations, by enlarging our capacities to see and to feel, the arts and humanities enable us to envision a better

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

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002. schedule	Phone Nos. (Partial) (1 page)	8/17/1994	P6/b(6)

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SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
DATE: WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1994
FINAL

[002]

Lead Advance for Kids Speak Out Event:

Kirk Hanlin
1-800-528-7528

WHCA# 4108
home

P6/b(6)

Scheduling Desk:

Julie Hopper
202-456-7561
202-456-2317

office
fax
home
WHCA #4096

P6/b(6)

1-800-528-7528

PREV RON

The White House

9:40 am

DEPART The White House South Portico
EN ROUTE Capitol Hill
[Drive Time: 15 minutes]
Travelling w/HRC:
- Maggie Williams
- Kelly Craighead
- Neel Lattimore or Karen Finney
- Melanne Vermeer
- WH Photographer

9:55 am

ARRIVE Russell Bldg
Constitution and Delaware Ave.

NOTE: Kirk Hanlin will meet HRC curbside.

Curbside Greeters: **-Werner Brandt, Senate Sergeant at Arms**
-Jim Weill; General Counsel CDF

9:55 am

PROCEED to hold
Annex Room #322

HOLDING ROOM GREETERS:

- Congressional Members**
- Sec. Lloyd Bentsen**
- Arthur Flemming**

10:00 am-

11:15 am

KIDS SPEAK OUT EVENT

Room 325, Russell Bldg -- Senate Caucus Room
HRC's Holding Room: Annex Room #322
Phone: 202/224-5099
No Fax
OPEN PRESS

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1994
PAGE 2

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 100 expected to attend
[See briefing book for further info]

Congressional Members Expected to Attend:

- Sen. Christopher Dodd [D-CT]
- Sen. Donald Riegle [D-MI]
- Sen. Edward Kennedy [D-MA]
- Cong. Cynthia McKinney [D-GA]
- Cong. Vic Fazio [D-CA]

FORMAT:

- Congressional Members and Sec. Bentsen proceed to seats
- Sen. Christopher Dodd (from toast lectern) announces HRC into the room. HRC proceeds to bench with Cong. Members and kids.
- Sen. Christopher Dodd gives overview and welcoming remarks and intros Sec. Lloyd Bentsen for brief remarks. (NOTE: Sec. Bentsen must depart after he gives remarks)
- Sen. Dodd asks children to begin giving testimonials, and turns to HRC to moderate program
- Five Children will give their stories or read their letters. Congressional members will also tell their personal stories.
Sequence: Children will alternate with members.
 - ** Asha Thume, Age 11, (TX)
 - ** Sen. Donald Riegle speaks
 - ** Jessica Wright, Age 7, (SC)
 - ** Sen. Edward Kennedy speaks
 - ** Ian Cook, Age 12, (LA)
 - ** Cong. Vic Fazio speaks
 - ** Jenifer Bush, Age 7, (FL)
 - ** Cong. Cynthia McKinney speaks
 - ** Rakia Reeves, Age 10, (GA)
- Following the last speaker, Sen. Christopher Dodd returns to lectern and intros HRC
- HRC gives remarks from toast lectern

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1994
PAGE 3

-- Upon conclusion of remarks, HRC to meet and greet with kids and exits room

Staff Contact: Julia Moffett 456-5609
Event Contact: Melanie Modlin 543-4357
or Barb Grochala 628-8787

11:20 am

DEPART Capitol Hill
EN ROUTE The White House
[Drive Time: 10 minutes]

11:30 am

ARRIVE The White House South Portico

11:30 am-

11:45 am

PVT MTG w/Maggie Williams & Patti Solis
Residence

11:45 am-

12:00 pm

PVT MTG w/Maggie Williams
Residence

12:00 pm-

12:30 pm

LUNCH

12:50 pm-

1:10 pm

PRIVATE MEETING
Oval Office
CLOSED PRESS

Staff Contact: Harold Ickes

1:30 pm-

3:00 pm

OFFICE/PHONE TIME

3:00 pm-

3:30 pm

PRIVATE MEETING
Map Room
CLOSED PRESS

3:30 pm-

4:15 pm

PRIVATE MEETING
Map Room
CLOSED PRESS

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1994
PAGE 4

4:30 pm-

5:00 pm

OFFICE/PHONE TIME

RON

The White House

WEATHER FORECAST FOR WASHINGTON, DC:

- Mostly cloudy becoming cloudy by late afternoon with isolated rainshowers and thunderstorms. Low 64 to 69. High 78 to 83.

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS VIA SATELLITE VIDEO TO ART-21 CONFERENCE**

DRAFT

Welcome to "Art-21: Art Reaches into the 21st Century."

I'm sorry I can't join you in Chicago for what is truly an historic event -- the first national conference on the arts.

Let me start by thanking Jane Alexander, who organized this conference, for her extraordinary energy and vision as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts.

For more than six months, Jane has been traveling virtually non-stop across the country -- from North to South, from East to West, from big cities to rural hamlets -- to highlight how the arts are incorporated into our everyday lives and into our communities. She has an artist's eye, an artist's sensibilities, and an engaging spirit that has already made her a strong and clear voice for the arts in the Clinton Administration.

Under Jane's leadership -- and I assure you she has left a very positive mark on Capitol Hill, as well as with state legislators and mayors she has met across this country -- the NEA is once again being viewed as a vibrant force for the arts.

You are gathered at this conference because you know the power of the arts in our lives. You know that the moral fabric of our nation depends on the arts to enrich our cultural awareness and to further our appreciation for the diversity of experiences that unite us as Americans.

The work you do over the next few days is extremely important. Your deliberations will begin an ongoing dialogue about the role of the arts in the 21st century.

As you know only too well, budgetary pressures at the federal, state, and local levels in recent years have denied our cultural institutions the public support they deserve. I wish I could tell you today that our deficit was so low, so small, that funding throughout the government was going to increase dramatically this year. Unfortunately, the reality is that, although we are making great progress and our economy is on the upswing, we must still work hard to reduce the deficit even more. And nearly every federal agency is feeling the pinch.

draft 8/16/94

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
A PROCLAMATION
NATIONAL ARTS AND HUMANITIES MONTH
OCTOBER 1994

Nothing is more central to the American spirit of freedom than our artistic and humanistic traditions. From generation to generation, we pass along our values, ideas, and beliefs through the rich culture that we share.

The arts and humanities train our imaginations and reveal the texture and feeling of our lives. Being free to express what we think and feel gives us a sense of belonging, of community, of common purpose. And through sharing our history and experiences we derive a vision of our shared humanity.

arts empower us to express our feelings and imagination.
The humanities empower

The arts and humanities

in a time of renewal, we must call

we renew our values and beliefs through a shared search for our common culture.

draft 8/17/94

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
A PROCLAMATION
NATIONAL ARTS AND HUMANITIES MONTH
1994

Nothing is more essential to the American spirit of freedom than our artistic and humanistic traditions. From generation to generation, we pass along our ideas, values, and beliefs through the rich culture that we share.

While we have no official American culture, nor even a consensus on what defines our culture, we have a powerful tradition of intellectual inquiry and artistic expression that helps us discover our shared humanity.

order, civility....?

Through the power of our imaginations and the depth of our feelings we convey not only our individual identities, but also our common roots as Americans. The arts and humanities open our minds and our hearts and teach us that, while we are different from one another, we are at once the same.

Sadly, the threads that bind our culture today are becoming frayed. Freedom, justice, tolerance, and order are no longer
xxxxxx.

greater responsibility to discuss, express....

do more to ensure that we appreciate our similarities rather than dwell on our differences

incivility.....

tested as our society becomes more complex.

No matter how diverse our society becomes, each of us has a responsibility to convey

Through the arts and humanities we can learn to appreciate our similarities along with our differences. We can learn that we all are part of the same whole, instead of succumbing to political, religious, racial and ethnic divisions.

The good news is that, even with the budget constraints we face, we made a commitment to maintain the NEA's funding in the current budget cycle. Hopefully we can do more in years to come.

What we can do now is renew our commitment to strengthening the arts as a vital force in American life.

To that end, we are re-invigorating the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities. We are confident that through its new leadership, which comes from the public, corporate and non-profit sectors, it will further enhance financial support for our cultural life.

I don't view the arts as an isolated cause. The arts are a fundamental part of our history and our culture. And in this Administration, support of the arts is part of a broader social agenda that speaks to our very essence as Americans.

As we become an increasingly diverse society -- and an increasingly complex society -- the arts can help us understand each other, honor our differences, and appreciate the experiences and beliefs we share as Americans.

Each of us is born into a society that passes along its values through its culture. And that's why the National Endowment for the Arts was established three decades ago: To enliven creative expression and, in so doing, to foster a collective sense of community and to make the arts more accessible to Americans of all walks of life.

Since 1965, the National Endowment for the Arts has awarded over 100,000 grants for arts projects that touch every community in the nation. Through its grants, the agency has helped communicate the creative expressions of an entire generation to a broader public. The arts endowment also has helped energize community arts centers, preserve our folk heritage, and advance the arts of design, literature, theater, opera, music, and the visual and media arts.

Still, that's not enough. We want to do more to ensure that every American has the opportunity to fully develop his or her creative spirit -- and to make sure that every American's life is enlivened by the emotions, expressions, and attitudes that the arts convey.

That's why exposure to the arts must be a part of every child's schooling. Whether a youngster grows up in a ghetto, on a farm, in a city or a suburb, the arts are a vehicle for self-expression and for building self-esteem. The arts enable children from all backgrounds to develop their individuality and to contribute positively to the larger mosaic of American culture.

As part of our Goals 2000 legislation, the arts will become a core subject in the school curriculum, along with English, math, science, history, civics, geography, and foreign languages.

And just last month, Education Secretary Richard Riley accepted guidelines for school districts to set new standards for high school graduation that would require students to have a working knowledge of dance, music, theater, and the visual arts, and to develop some proficiency in at least one artistic 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 your 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 for giving your time and energy to a such an important cause -- and one that holds so much promise for our citizens and our nation.

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Can we identify those values and commitments we need to share if we are to be a successful society? Is a belief in the Constitution and our political system enough to hold us together without violent friction between members of different groups? To what extent can any inclusive national identity enlist our loyalties if it does not squarely face the issue of social justice? If equal opportunity is to be part of the American ideal, shouldn't we talk about the extent to which it does not exist and how to bridge the gap between ideal and reality?

There is not one of our considerable number of social ills that would not be considerably improved if each of us felt a sense of responsibility for the whole. I was in Savannah, Georgia, not long ago visiting some NEH-funded projects, and I learned about an oral history project that is reclaiming the past of a residential community called Cuyler-Brownsville. One of the people interviewed remembered his childhood in that neighborhood. His memory was that it was the kind of place where "everybody's momma could whip everybody's kid." I can't think of a better definition of community or of civic virtue than that. Everyone looks out for everyone else, feels responsible for everyone else. It would be utopian to aspire to the same level of community spirit on a national level, of course, but some analogous sense of identification with the whole is needed.

Two things are required if each of us is to be willing to subordinate our individual self-interests on occasion to the good of the whole: we must feel a part of the whole, and we must see in that whole some moral purpose that is greater than the individual. Our problem is our inadequate awareness of what might be called the sacred order that underlies the social order and is the source of legitimate authority in the social order.

At an earlier defining moment in the nation's history, on the eve of the outbreak of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln, speaking between his election and his inauguration in Philadelphia in Independence Hall where the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution had been drafted, found the meaning of America in its mission of being the exemplar for the world of the ideals of human freedom and equality set forth in those great documents.

On that occasion, Lincoln said, "I have often inquired of myself, what great principle or idea it was that kept this [Union] so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother land; but hope to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance." It was not only about slavery but about slavery as a violation of the principles of democracy and the sanctity of the Union because with the Union rested the world's hope for democracy.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

FACSIMILE MESSAGE LEAD PAGE

DATE 9/5/94 TIME _____
PAGES 27 (INCLUDING THIS PAGE)

FROM:NAME Martha Chowling

OFFICE _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY, STATE _____

TELEPHONE NO. (202) 606-8355FAX NO. (202) 606-8588TO:NAME Allison Nusscaine

OFFICE _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY, STATE _____

TELEPHONE NO. () _____

FAX NO. () 456-5709

MESSAGE:

Here is some preliminary stuff - 4 distinct documents -

1. ^{Gen'l} FACTS About NEH & the humanities
2. Hackney press club speech Re Nat'l Conversation
3. Hackney speech at Vanderbilt University
4. Components and Mission of Nat'l Conversation.

①

FACTS

National Endowment
for the Humanities

A Federal Agency

1100 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

202/606-8449

THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) is an independent federal agency that supports research, education, preservation projects and public programs in the humanities.

What Are the Humanities?

The act that established the National Endowment for the Humanities says "The term 'humanities' includes, but is not limited to, the study of the following: language, both modern and classical; linguistics; literature; history; jurisprudence; philosophy; archaeology; comparative religion; ethics; the history, criticism and theory of the arts; those aspects of social sciences which have humanistic content and employ humanistic methods; and the study and application of the humanities to the human environment with particular attention to reflecting our diverse heritage, traditions, and history and to the relevance of the humanities to the current conditions of national life."

The Endowment's Mission

Created by Congress under the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, NEH provides grants to individuals and institutions for projects in the humanities. Grants support research and educational opportunities for humanities professors, independent scholars, and elementary and secondary school teachers; the writing and publishing of scholarly texts; translations of important works in the humanities; and museum exhibitions, television and radio programs, and other public programs that offer examination of ideas and themes in the humanities.

How NEH Is Administered

The Endowment is directed by a chairman, who is appointed by the President and confirmed by the U.S. Senate for a term of four years. Advising the chairman is a National Council of 26 distinguished private citizens, also presidentially appointed and confirmed by the U.S. Senate, who serve staggered six-year terms.

Sheldon Hackney is the chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. He was sworn into office on August 4, 1993.

Competition and the Review Process

NEH grants are awarded on a competitive basis. In the most recently completed fiscal year, the Endowment funded about one out of every five applications received. Funding decisions are made on the basis of the application's merit and the significance of the project.

NEH Facts
Page 2

Each application is assessed by knowledgeable persons outside the Endowment who are asked for their judgments about the quality and significance of the proposed projects. About 1,200 scholars, professionals in the humanities and other experts serve on approximately 250 panels throughout the course of a year. Panelists represent a diversity of disciplinary, institutional, regional and cultural backgrounds. In some programs the judgment of panelists is supplemented by individual reviews from specialists who have extensive knowledge of the specific area or technical aspects of the application under review.

The advice of evaluators is assembled by the staff of the Endowment, who comment on matters of fact or on significant issues that would otherwise be missing from the review. These materials are then presented to the National Council on the Humanities, which meets four times a year to advise the chairman. The chairman takes into account the advice provided by the review process and, by law, makes the final decision about funding.

The Endowment's Programs

NEH awards grants through six divisions -- Education Programs, Fellowships and Seminars, Preservation and Access, Public Programs, Research Programs and State Programs.

From its creation in 1965 through the end of Fiscal Year 1993, the Endowment awarded approximately \$2.6 billion for nearly 50,000 fellowships and grants. Some of these grants have required one-to-one matching funds from private-sector donors and have been matched by more than \$293 million in nonfederal contributions. Grants made by the NEH Challenge Grants Program, requiring \$3 or \$4 in matching funds for each federal dollar, have generated nearly \$1 billion in nonfederal support for America's libraries, colleges, museums and other eligible humanities institutions since the program began in 1977.

Jefferson Lecture and Charles Frankel Prize

In 1972 NEH established the Jefferson Lecture in the Humanities, the highest honor the federal government bestows for distinguished intellectual and public achievement in the humanities. The 23rd Jefferson Lecturer will be poet and novelist Gwendolyn Brooks. She will deliver her lecture on May 4, 1994, in Washington, D.C., and on May 11, 1994, in Chicago.

In 1988 NEH established the Charles Frankel Prize to recognize persons for outstanding contributions to the public's understanding of the humanities. The 1993 winners of the award are Ricardo E. Alegria, John Hope Franklin, Hanna Holborn Gray, Andrew Heiskell and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich.

#

NEH-AT-A-GLANCE

- o Budget: FY 1995 (request) = \$177.491 million (same as FY 1994)
 - Budget buying power peaked in FY 1979, down 42% since then; FY 1995 request approximates the \$54.3 million appropriation for FY 1974.
 - NEH budget is only 7.5% of the National Science Foundation (\$2.349 billion)
- o Administrative budget: \$21.639 million
 - \$662 thousand increase over FY 1994--largely for items beyond our control:
 - \$330 thousand - pay raises
 - \$69 thousand - rent increase
 - \$50 thousand - more panels
 - NEA admin. budget is \$3.6 million higher than NEH
 - NEA admin percent = 14.8%; NEH admin. percent = 12.2%
- o NEH historical figures since FY 1966:
 - 180 thousand applications
 - 50 thousand grants
 - \$2.8 billion total appropriations
(\$2.6 billion program funds; \$250 million administration funds)
 - gifts generated by NEH: \$1.3 billion - \$1 billion Challenge; \$300 million regular matching
- o NEH staffing: 262 FTE in FY 1995
 - reduction of 9 FTE since end of FY 1992 (would have been 11 but OMB added 2 for PCAH)
 - total reduction of 34 FTE--11.5 percent--since FY 1979

NEH-AT-A-GLANCE page 2

-- NEH staff versus federal government-wide stats:

- * minority: NEH 34%; gov't-wide 26%
- * African American: NEH 29%; gov't-wide 16%
- * women: NEH 66%; gov't-wide 49%

- o Admin. budget has more than doubled since FY 1979 but largely beyond our control:

-- rent from \$495 thousand to \$2.1 million (up 326 percent)

-- pay from \$5.1 million to \$11.8 million--for fewer people

-- personnel benefits from \$528 thousand to \$2.9 million -
again for fewer people

- o Applications

-- about 9,000 per year (last 2 years were NEH record totals)

-- approve about 1,800-1,900 yearly

-- FY 1993 funding success ratio equaled 19.7%--sixth year of decline in a row

-- approved applications only receive about 38% of funds requested

-- (State humanities councils overall regrant approval rate in 1993 was 79%, up from 73% in 1988--while we're going down, they're going up)

-- Chairman overturns of Council minimal: only about .1% since Mr. Hackney became Chairman

FY 1994 to date: only 7 overturn out of almost 6,000 applications--all approvals of Council rejections

Council/Chairman agree almost 99.9% of the time.

NEH-AT-A-GLANCE page 3

- o Emergency Grants up in FY 1993 because of disaster relief, but still only 110 grants for \$1.4 million; Chairman has authority to award about \$13 million

Panels

- about 200 panels per year with about 1,100 panelists (only 33 panelists served more than once in FY 1993)
- Good geographic distribution of panelists: from all 50 states and D.C. in FY 1993
- Panelists receive only \$200 honorarium, plus air fare and per diem
- We also use over 5,000 reviewers annually--and they're free
- NEH computerized panelist "Rolodex"--PRISM--contains 20,000 prospective panelists and reviewers

- o Preservation

- budget up 412% since FY 1988 (State increase is second at 32.4%)
- brittle book microfilming is on track: In 1989 we estimated filming by FY 1993 of 583 thousand volumes; we did 574 thousand volumes.

- o Libraries

- Libraries receive support throughout all NEH divisions, not just in the Libraries and Archives program in the Public Programs division.
 - * In FY 1993, projects relating to or involving libraries totalled 140 grants and \$20.7 million.
 - * 53 of these grants totalling \$9.9 million were awarded directly to libraries.
 - * In the last three calendar years, the state humanities councils made over 1,800 awards to libraries totalling nearly \$2.3 million.

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NEH PROGRAMS THAT BENEFIT YOUNG PEOPLE

- o In FY 1993, the Endowment awarded 309 grants totalling \$18.3 million for programs that will benefit elementary and secondary education and support humanities programs for young people on television and in museums, libraries, and theaters.
- o NEH support for programs that will benefit school-aged young people in grades K-12 included:
 - \$8.0 million awarded in the Elementary and Secondary Education program for study opportunities for teachers, including summer institutes, masterwork study projects, and school-college collaboratives.
 - \$2.1 million awarded in the Foreign Language Education program for summer institutes and curricular projects.
 - \$449,592 in Teacher-Scholar grants that support an academic year of independent study in the humanities for outstanding teachers selected in a national competition.
 - \$5.1 million awarded in the Summer Seminars for Teachers program that will support 4-6 weeks of collegial study focused on significant humanities texts and directed by accomplished scholars.
 - \$146,000 awarded to outstanding high school students by the Younger Scholar program that will support 9-week research and writing projects during the summer.
 - \$523,613 awarded in the Public Programs division for television, museum, library, and theater programs designed especially for young audiences.
 - \$1.1 million in Challenge Grants to support the long-term needs of institutions that provide education programs for teachers and students or that provide public programs for the young.
 - \$450,633 in Emergency Grants to elementary and secondary schools in Florida and Hawaii to repair damage to library collections and facilities caused by the recent hurricanes.

NEH PROGRAMS THAT BENEFIT YOUNG PEOPLE cont'd

- \$395,933 in the State Programs division for Exemplary Awards that will support teacher institutes sponsored by the state humanities councils. (Many more regrant projects for teachers, not shown here, were supported by the councils from their NEH base awards.)

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. draft	Personal (2 pages)	8/11/1994	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting
OA/Box Number: 8169

FOLDER TITLE:

Arts & Humanities 9-21-94

2012-1004-S

ms522

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]
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- 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]

(2)

"Beyond the Culture Wars"
by Sheldon Hackney
Chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities
National Press Club
November 10, 1993

What we think about ourselves, what we see as admirable behavior, what we think it means to be human, what we recognize as the human condition, what we learn from human experience and human thought, what we accept as the purpose of life, what we define as a just society, what we decide we owe to each other, what we understand as the way the world works are not simply matters of idle curiosity but fundamental determinants of our existence. The humanities matter. They are important to everyone.

They are so important that the federal government needs to foster their development and insure their broad availability. That is the genius of the vision of Senator Claiborne Pell and Senator Jacob Javits and Senator Edward Kennedy and President Lyndon Johnson and the other founders of the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1965, and it has been the inspiration of the nurturers of that vision in the succeeding twenty-eight years. What we think determines what we do, and what we think (even about the values we hold dear) will be enormously improved if it is informed by knowledge and disciplined thought by the study of History and Philosophy and Literature and Religion.

That is what Maya Angelou had in mind in her inaugural poem last January when she rephrased George Santayana: "History, despite its wrenching pain, / Cannot be unlived, but if faced / With courage, need not be lived again." The same theme was struck by President Clinton in his dedication of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in April. After enumerating some of the evil forces loose in the world that threaten civilization with brutality just as the Nazis once did, the President exhorted us all to be vigilant against the falsifiers of history, "With them we must all compete for the interpretation and the preservation of history, of what we know and how we should behave."

I begin with these powerful sentiments because I believe that I am joining a distinguished tradition at the NEH at a particularly critical juncture in the nation's history when the benefits of the humanities are especially important. Let me explain.

Last week (November 3, 1993) Mark Shields in his newspaper column reminded us of the current cynicism of the American public, or more precisely the lack of confidence that the public has in the national government to handle our domestic problems adequately. One can think of a lot of reasons for the public to

be in an anxious mood these days, but as Mr. Shields points out, the decline in public confidence began more than two decades ago, sometime in the 1960s.

My own understanding of this worrisome phenomenon is helped by realizing that it is not simply the national government that has slipped in the estimation of the American public, but that public confidence in all American institutions has declined. I used to take a smidgeon of perverse pleasure as a university president in the fact that universities ranked higher in the public's estimation than our chief tormentors, the Congress and the press, but the grim truth is that levels of confidence in the institutions of American life rise and fall together, and the secular trend line for more than the last two decades has been down.

Just before the election (October 31, 1993 in the Washington Post), Kevin Phillips wrote about voter hostility towards elites of all kinds, about popular opposition to NAFTA as being a matter of suspicious locals versus arrogant globals who are out of touch with mainstream America, and about ethnic and racial tensions throughout the country. The off-year elections confirmed this diagnosis of anger and volatility in the public mood.

Why the cynicism? Why the insecurity? Why the alienation? The short answer is that the new geopolitical forces of the still evolving "new world order," and the newly visible economic forces of the global marketplace are battering a society whose bonds of social cohesion have been loosening for a quarter of a century or more. This is not the place to try to explain in detail the fundamental economic, demographic and social forces that have an atomizing effect on society, but they are real and they have been acting over a long period of time. In addition, the basic confidence and optimism thought to be embedded in American national character were dealt severe blows in the early 1970s by the loss of the war in Vietnam, the disgrace of the presidency in the Watergate scandal, and the economic shock of the Arab oil embargo which was perhaps the first painful message that our economy was vulnerable to developments and decisions in the world economy over which we had no control.

Into this condition of attenuated solidarity, "the politics of difference" have introduced another lever of fragmentation. During the turbulent decade of the 1960s, almost all the values and verities of middle-class life were challenged by the counterculture, leaving the domain of values a contested territory. The cultural consensus of the 1950s was destroyed in the process, and we have not yet fully developed a new consensus.

In addition, the successful civil rights movement provided a paradigm of progress through protest. Movements on behalf of other groups that had been excluded from full participation in

American life (women, gays and lesbians, the handicapped, native Americans, Latinos, and to some extent Asian Americans) adopted that paradigm.

Then, the collapse of the Soviet system, while lifting our spirits in hopes for the spread of human freedom, has also unleashed pent up ancient animosities. Around the globe we see conflict and violence sowing misery along the fault lines of race, religion, language and ethnicity -- just the sorts of divisions being brought to our attention by the politics of difference and by the increasing cultural diversity of our population. As the insecurities of a rapidly changing world are luring Americans and others into clutching and reasserting their parochial identities, Americans must wonder if Bosnia and Azerbaijan are previews of our future.

Several weeks ago (October 17, 1993) The New York Times published a feature article by William Grimes entitled "Have a #!&\$! Day" about the rising tide of incivility engulfing the country. From Howard Stern to Beavis and Butthead, we are assaulted daily by countless acts of public rudeness. Among the cultural roots of this phenomenon, Mr. Grimes focuses on cultural diversity. "New Yorkers have never been terribly civil," he quotes a professor of the humanities at Cooper Union as saying, "but it never had an ideological edge, which it now has." Mr. Grimes goes on to quote the same professor approvingly in his critique of the "new tribalism": "If we have fundamentally different values and assumptions, there's no reason to believe we can transcend them in the political arena. . . . Multiculturalism argues that persuasion is irrelevant."

Small wonder that reasonable voices have lately been saying that we have been paying too much attention to our differences and not enough attention to the things that hold us together. From the other direction, however, we continue to hear assertions of what Charles Taylor refers to as "the politics of recognition," the notion that there are still disadvantaged groups in America whose members will never feel equal or really part of America until their group is recognized in some way as being legitimate and equal. There is truth in both of these positions.

We find ourselves caught in a dilemma. All of our legal rights are universal in nature and apply equally to all citizens as individuals. Yet, we know that racial, ethnic, gender and religious discrimination exists, and that group identities are real factors in our lives. Ethnic politics has been a staple on the American political scene for more than a hundred years and is still very much present in our system. The dilemma is that our legal rights are for individuals, but our politics are for groups.

That this is more than an academic argument is clear if one recalls the hand-to-hand combat of school board battles involving such issues as bilingual education or Afrocentric curricula, the dispute over the literary canon at the college level, or the court decisions seeking to remedy past patterns of discrimination in voting rights cases by requiring redistricting or changes in the form of local government so as to guarantee the minority community representation on the legislative body. In each of these cases, and others you can probably think of, public authorities are being asked to confer some sort of official status on a particular cultural group. Large parts of the public sense that this form of particularism is a problem in a system based on universal values of individual rights. Simply saying that everyone must respect everyone else's ethnic identity therefore does not solve the problem.

Yet, a solution must be found if we are to recapture a confident sense of shared values that will let us then deal with divisive public policy issues with a common goal in mind. What is needed in our country is nothing short of a national conversation about this difficult and troubling dilemma. All of our people - left, right and center - have a responsibility to examine and discuss what unites us as a country, about what we share as common American values in a nation comprised of so many divergent groups and beliefs. For too long, we have let that which divides us capture the headlines. Current public debate is little more than posturing. Bombarded by slogans and epithets, points and counterpoints, our thoughts are polarized in the rapid-fire exchange of sound bites. In this kind of argument, one is either right or wrong, for them or against them, a winner or a loser.

Real answers are the casualties of such drive-by debates. In this kind of discussion, there is no room for complexity and ambiguity. There is no room in the middle. Only the opposite poles are given voice. This may be good entertainment, but it is a disservice to the American people. It only reinforces lines of division and does not build toward agreement. I want to change the rules of engagement for this national conversation.

This is to be a national conversation open to all Americans, a conversation in which all voices need to be heard and in which we must grapple seriously with the meaning of American pluralism. It is a conversation that is desperately needed, and I believe the National Endowment for the Humanities can stimulate and facilitate the discussion. The NEH will not bring answers, but we will bring questions.

To be sure, the NEH has other important tasks. As the single most important source of support for the humanities in American life, receiving approximately 9,000 applications per year and dispensing \$150 million in about 2,000 grants, we have a major role to play in assisting in the creation of new knowledge, translating knowledge in the humanities into educational

experiences both formal and informal, and in extending the reach of humanities programs to embrace many more Americans so that they may benefit from the transforming power of the humanities in their everyday lives.

We will continue to support individual scholars both in the academy and outside; we will continue to bring high school and college teachers together on university campuses for summer seminars that refresh and reinvigorate them; we will continue to support programs in museums and libraries and archives where our cultural heritage is preserved, used for public programs, and made available for study; we will continue to fund excellent programs through the mass media, such as Ken Burns' documentary on the Civil War and Henry Hampton's series on the Great Depression; and we will work with renewed enthusiasm with state humanities councils to enlist more Americans in humanities activities, be it reading and discussion groups or chautauqua or communities recording and telling their own story, connecting individuals and groups with the broader context of human experience so that they become the subjects of history rather than its objects.

With some of our time and energy, however, and a little bit of our money, we will conduct a national conversation. I have been pleased to discover that numerous programs sponsored by state humanities councils have already started people talking to each other about who we are as a nation and what holds us together. The projects have taken many forms: small town residents and farmers gathering under chautauqua tents in North Dakota or Wyoming exploring American democracy and the ideas of Thomas Jefferson; citizens in Florida meeting to explore "The Search for the Common Good," Californians reading and discussing serious essays on the topic of "Longing for Community: Dream or Nightmare"; or hundreds of Iowans meeting to explore religious pluralism in a program called "Faith and Politics: American Pluralism, Can We Live Together?"

I am encouraging the Federation of State Humanities Councils and the individual state councils to intensify their pursuit of the theme and to explore it in programs of their own devising. I will set aside a modest but significant amount of money for an Endowment-wide initiative that can respond to competitive proposals from around the country -- from state councils, from libraries, museums and archives, from schools, colleges and universities, from centers and institutes.

I am also delightfully aware that a number of scholars from various disciplines and many different points of view have been thinking and writing about the subject of this national conversation over the past two or three years. The MacArthur Foundation has agreed to be an early partner in this enterprise by bringing together a group of these already engaged scholars to

talk to each other. Out of that small discussion, and others that are already going on at the local level, we will gain some insights into different aspects of the subject, into how to phrase the questions productively, into what sorts of materials stimulate the most fruitful discussions, and into the range of possible answers. I imagine that, after some experience, we will be able to conduct this conversation through mass media formats. This is an exciting undertaking for the NEH and for the country.

My own notion of the meaning of American pluralism is still evolving, and in any case is certainly not prescriptive, yet it might help for me to sketch some elements of it here. My answer has as its preface a belief that there is an American identity that is different from the identities of any one of the ethnic groups that comprise the American population, that is inclusive of all of them, and that is available to everyone who is American. It is an identity that has been shaped by the buffeting and melding of individuals and groups in North America over the last three hundred years.

I believe that the most important thing that we share as Americans is a belief in our political system, in the values that are enshrined in the Constitution, and in the open democratic system for determining who makes and enforces the laws, and that the laws should be consistent with those principles.

Further, in the land of opportunity, we believe in equal economic opportunity for individuals. We know that we do not provide perfect equality of opportunity, but it is an ideal that we hold dear, and we have historically provided enough opportunity to keep individual hope alive and to maintain faith in the ideal.

We also have a history that belongs to all Americans, whenever their ancestors happened to have migrated to these shores. That history is a proud one, but it has some dark spots, and we must come to terms with those imperfections as well as the glories. I am a white southern male, but I claim as part of my own story the experiences of Italians and Irish and Jews coming into America through Ellis Island in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and the experiences of African Americans who lived in the South with my ancestors and saw it from their own point of view, or more recently the experiences of South Asians and Latinos. My story should be theirs as well, and we all possess together the national story, the resultant of many different vectors, the story of our being able to find solutions, to rise to historical challenges, and find ways to transform particular interests into the national interest.

Beyond these fundamental building blocks, there are certain precepts that might help us as we go through the discussion of what it means to be American. The traditional way of handling

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Remarks at Vanderbilt University
by Sheldon Hackney
Chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities
Nashville, Tennessee
March 30, 1994

Why does it matter who we think we are, either individually or collectively? What difference does it make what image of America is shared by its citizens? The idea of America, though always more rooted in aspiration than reality, has pulled this experiment in democracy forward from the first toward its dream of "liberty and justice for all." That dream, the same one Martin Luther King Jr. spoke so eloquently about at the Lincoln Memorial during the March on Washington in 1963, has powered one of the noble stories of America, the story of the expansion of the promise of American life to embrace increasing proportions of its citizens. The idea is tutor to the act.

Archibald MacLeish, in an essay published in 1949 as a warning against the mounting hysteria of anti-communism, wrote, "The soul of a people is the image it cherishes of itself; the aspect in which it sees itself against its past; the attributes to which its future conduct must respond. To destroy that image is to destroy, in a very real sense, the identity of the nation, for to destroy the image is to destroy the means by which the nation recognizes what it is and what it has to do. But the image a people holds of itself is created not by words alone or myths but by its actions. Unless the actions are appropriate to the image, the image is blurred. If the actions deny the image, the image is destroyed. ... A people who have been real to themselves because they were for something cannot continue to be real to themselves when they find they are merely against something."

The question I raise today is not so much about actions that are inconsistent with our image of ourselves as about what we are going to be for now that we don't have "the evil empire" to be against? Do we have a clear and an adequate image of ourselves in the post-cold-war world, given all the threats to political stability and human welfare both foreign and domestic, given the dangerous fragmentation of a world in which the closeness imposed by modern communications and the global economy has reemphasized the differences within the human family? What is the United States going to be for in the 21st century? What picture of an ideal America is going to inform our struggles with current problems? What notion of shared commitment, mutual obligations, civic virtues, will help us come together to solve common problems?

Writing a few days ago in *The New York Times* (March 27, 1994), Henry Louis Gates Jr. of Harvard University put the challenge of Minister Louis Farrakhan and his hate-mongering disciple, Khalid Abdul Muhammad, in perspective by quoting Rabbi Yaacov Perrin's eulogy for Dr. Baruch Goldstein, the man who massacred worshipping

Palestinian Muslims in Hebron: "One million Arabs are not worth a Jewish fingernail."

"But we have heard this voice before," Gates writes. "It is the voice of messianic hatred. We hear it from the Balkans to the Bantustans; we hear it from Hezbollah and from Kach. We hear it in the streets of Bensonhurst. And, of course, we hear it from some who profess to be addressing the misery of black America." Professor Gates goes on to connect these and other examples of murderous utopianism to the weaknesses of liberalism and to less lethal forms of what he calls identity politics.

"There has been much talk about the politics of identity," Gates writes, "a politics that has a collective identity at its core. One is to assert oneself in the political arena as a woman, a homosexual, a Jew, a person of color. ... The politics of identity starts with the assertion of a collective allegiance. It says: This is who we are, make room for us, accommodate our special needs, confer recognition upon what is distinctive about us. It is about the priority of difference, and while it is not, by itself, undesirable, it is, by itself, dangerously inadequate."

Glancing around our nation now does not give one much reassurance. Not only does Khalid Abdul Muhammad of the Nation of Islam travel from campus to campus spewing bigotry and leaving divisive squabbles in his wake; but a few weeks ago the National Conference of Christians and Jews released the results of a survey of race relations commissioned by them and done by Lou Harris. The results revealed, perhaps unsurprisingly, that among Anglo-Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans, disturbingly high percentages of each group held negative stereotypes of each of the other groups. So much for the myth of "the new majority," the idea that people of color are united against Euro-Americans. No wonder the village square these days is full of sound and fury.

As effective as the politics of difference have been in bringing previously excluded groups into the mainstream of American life (one might, in fact, say because the politics of difference have been so effective in giving formerly silent groups access to the national public address system), rancorous debates are increasingly occupying our attention.

Take for example the angry debates in state legislatures around bills to make English the official language of the state, an act that is primarily symbolic and is emotionally resisted for that very same reason (19 states have such laws; Maryland just turned down an "official English" bill). The growing debate over immigration policy will be no less clamorous. From South Central Los Angeles to Crown Heights, from Libertyville to the recent assassination on the Brooklyn Bridge, tensions among racial and ethnic groups in the United States are in volatile condition.

That this is more than academic is clear if one recalls the hand-to-hand combat within school boards involving such issues as bilingual education and Afrocentric curricula, the dispute over the literary canon at the college level, or the court decisions seeking to remedy past patterns of discrimination in voting rights cases by requiring redistricting or changes in the form of local government so as to guarantee the minority community representation in the legislative body. In most of these cases, and others you can probably think of, public authorities are being asked to confer some sort of official status on a particular cultural group. Large parts of the public sense that this form of particularism is a problem in a system based on universal values of individual rights. Simply saying that everyone must respect everyone else's ethnic identity therefore does not solve the problem.

Furthermore, how is one to embrace cultural equality when one is aware of so many practices one does not admire: polygamy, genital mutilation, the subordination of women in various other ways, the rejection of life-saving science, authoritarian social structures, ethnocentric and racist beliefs, etc. On what occasions and in what circumstances should the practices of cultural minorities give way to the general society's rules, regulations and expectations? At the same time, how can an inclusive American identity be defined so as not to obliterate the particular cultural identities that make America's diversity so enriching? These are complex matters that require careful thought.

America, of course, has always been diverse and its diversity has always been problematic, which is the reason for our motto, "E Pluribus Unum." We take pride in the fact that our nation rests upon a commitment to individual equality and democracy rather than upon ethnicity, but we worry about cohesion, and we bounce back and forth along the continuum between the assimilation implied by the "melting pot" myth and the persistence of pre-American cultural identities assumed by the metaphor of the national quilt or the mosaic.

What is our image of the America of the 21st century? What kind of America do we wish to be? Is America to become, as Arjun Appadurai worries (*Public Culture*, Spring, 1993), a collection of exiled groups whose members have loyalties only to their own group or perhaps to the homeland rather than to the United States? Are we to be a nation of exiles rather than a nation of immigrants? Should our image be of an undifferentiated America of "melting pot" individuals without any hyphenated identity? Can it be an America of shared values and commitments that nonetheless retains the modulation of cultural differences, an America in which we are all American AND something else? Can we define what Henry Louis Gates calls "humanism," which starts not with a particular identity "but with the capacity to identify with. It asks what we have in common with others, while acknowledging the diversity among ourselves. It is about the promise of shared humanity."

Can we identify those values and commitments we need to share if we are to be a successful society? Is a belief in the Constitution and our political system enough to hold us together without violent friction between members of different groups? To what extent can any inclusive national identity enlist our loyalties if it does not squarely face the issue of social justice? If equal opportunity is to be part of the American ideal, shouldn't we talk about the extent to which it does not exist and how to bridge the gap between ideal and reality?

There is not one of our considerable number of social ills that would not be considerably improved if each of us felt a sense of responsibility for the whole. I was in Savannah, Georgia, not long ago visiting some NEH-funded projects, and I learned about an oral history project that is reclaiming the past of a residential community called Cuyler-Brownsville. One of the people interviewed remembered his childhood in that neighborhood. His memory was that it was the kind of place where "everybody's momma could whip everybody's kid." I can't think of a better definition of community or of civic virtue than that. Everyone looks out for everyone else, feels responsible for everyone else. It would be utopian to aspire to the same level of community spirit on a national level, of course, but some analogous sense of identification with the whole is needed.

Two things are required if each of us is to be willing to subordinate our individual self-interests on occasion to the good of the whole: we must feel a part of the whole, and we must see in that whole some moral purpose that is greater than the individual. Our problem is our inadequate awareness of what might be called the sacred order that underlies the social order and is the source of legitimate authority in the social order.

At an earlier defining moment in the nation's history, on the eve of the outbreak of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln, speaking between his election and his inauguration in Philadelphia in Independence Hall where the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution had been drafted, found the meaning of America in its mission of being the exemplar for the world of the ideals of human freedom and equality set forth in those great documents.

On that occasion, Lincoln said, "I have often inquired of myself, what great principle or idea it was that kept this [Union] so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the mother land; but hope to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance." It was not only about slavery but about slavery as a violation of the principles of democracy and the sanctity of the Union because with the Union rested the world's hope for democracy.

The Civil War thus became a test of whether democracy, with its promise of liberty and equality, could survive, whether the last best hope on earth could endure. Returning to this theme two and a half brutal years later at the dedication of the military cemetery in Gettysburg, Lincoln declared that defending the Union was worth the sacrifices exacted by that terrible struggle because the sacrifices made possible "a new birth of freedom."

The challenge of our time is to revitalize our civic life in order to realize a new birth of freedom. All of our people--left, right and center--have a responsibility to examine and discuss what unites us as a country, about what we share as common American values in a nation comprised of so many divergent groups and beliefs. For too long, we have let what divides us capture the headlines and sound bites, polarizing us rather than bringing us together.

The conversation that I envision will not be easy. Cornel West, for instance, writes that "confused citizens now oscillate between tragic resignation and vigorous attempts to hold at bay their feelings of impotence and powerlessness. Public life seems barren and vacuous. And gallant efforts to reconstruct public-mindedness in a Balkanized society of proliferating identities and constituencies seem farfetched, if not futile. Even the very art of public conversation--the precious activity of communicating with fellow citizens in a spirit of mutual respect and civility--appears to fade amid the backdrop of name-calling and finger-pointing in flat sound bites."

Despite the difficulties, the conversation must proceed. The objectives are too important to abandon. What I envision is a national conversation open to all Americans, a conversation in which all voices need to be heard and in which we must struggle seriously to define the meaning of American pluralism. It is a conversation that is desperately needed, and the National Endowment for the Humanities is in the process of encouraging that conversation through a special program of grants, through a film intended for national broadcast on television but which will also be repackaged for use in the nation's classrooms, through the ongoing activities of the state humanities councils, and through creative partnerships with organizations throughout the country that can help to stimulate and facilitate the discussion among citizens from all walks of life.

This will be a risky enterprise, because the NEH comes only with questions--not answers. The outcome is therefore unpredictable, contingent as it is on the course of the discussion and on what we learn from each other as we talk.

However large the challenge, I believe we must reconstruct public-mindedness in America. Without a sense of shared values, individuals are not willing to subordinate personal self-interest

to the common good. Our first step out of the moral nihilism of our public and private lives is to define our common identity and to find in it a moral purpose that is worthy of our loyalty.

Fortunately, there is some evidence of the continuing power of the idea of America that has moved generations of our people to sacrifice in order to build a better life not just for themselves and people like themselves but for others, has called forth the best in Americans in national crises, that has enlarged our sense of ourselves so that we more nearly approximate the universal ideals set forth in our founding document. When the American Jewish Committee wanted to rally public support against the sort of intolerance being preached by the Nation of Islam, it called upon familiar rhetoric that reveals a particular conception of America and its civic values.

"We are Americans, whose diversity of faith, ethnicity and race unites us in a common campaign against bigotry," read the copy of the advertisement that ran in *The New York Times* (February 28, 1994) over an impressive and diverse array of leaders.

"We are Americans, who know the rights and dignity of all of us are jeopardized when those of any of us are challenged.

"We are Americans, who reject the ugly slanders of the hatemongers seeking to lift up some Americans by reviling others.

"We are Americans, born or drawn to this land, children of immigrants, refugees, natives and slaves, whose work together honors the history of the civil rights struggle and makes it live, for all Americans.

"In recent weeks, leaders of the Nation of Islam have gained wide attention for their verbal attacks on whites, women, Jews, Catholics, Arabs, gays, and African Americans who criticize their persistently divisive message.

"We, the undersigned, believe the best response we can give to those who teach hate is to join our voices, as we have so often joined forces, in a better message--of faith in each other, of shared devotion to American's highest ideals of freedom and equality.

"'We must learn to live together as brothers,' the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said, 'or we will all perish together as fools. That is the challenge of the hour.'

"Together, we strive to meet that challenge. For with all our differences, we are indeed united, as Americans."

A NATIONAL CONVERSATION

AMERICAN PLURALISM AND IDENTITY

MISSION STATEMENT

The National Endowment for the Humanities seeks to engage Americans in a conversation, informed by the humanities, about the nature of American pluralism and identity. Through a broad variety of formats--television and radio programs, town meetings, museum exhibitions, and discussion programs--Americans will talk about such questions as: What do Americans have in common? What values do we share? What does it mean to be an American? NEH seeks to create a public space where conversation can flourish.

GOALS

1. To increase significantly the number of Americans who participate in the humanities and who are aware of the value and significance of the humanities.
2. To encourage conversations among and between different ethnic, racial and cultural groups about American pluralism and identity.
3. To establish public spaces, sustained opportunities for Americans to engage in civil conversations about questions at the heart of our democratic society.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

NATIONAL CONVERSATION ON AMERICAN PLURALISM AND IDENTITY

All Americans participate in defining America, a nation always in the process of becoming. NEH Chairman Sheldon Hackney has called for a national conversation in which Americans "examine and discuss what unites us as a country, what we share as common American values in a nation comprised of so many divergent groups and beliefs...This is to be a national conversation open to all Americans, a conversation in which all voices need to be heard and in which we must grapple seriously with the meaning of American pluralism and American identity."

This conversation will take many forms, though it will feature face-to-face conversations. Films, museum exhibitions, seminars, classroom study units are effective approaches. The Endowment will fund many projects directly but hopes to encourage as well conversations in every state, city, town, and village. Schools, libraries, community groups, unions, businesses, service organizations, fraternal groups, senior citizen centers, and all kinds of other groups could initiate their own conversations.

A primary goal of this initiative is to engage all Americans in conversations in public settings. However, NEH will emphasize as well formal education and scholarly activities. These projects will be encouraged and supported by the Endowment as well as by state humanities councils, along with many organizations, groups, individuals, and other funding agencies.

The National Conversation on pluralism and American identity will occur primarily in 1995 and 1996. The principal focus in 1994 has and will continue to be on planning. Outlined below are the activities currently being considered.

An NEH Special Initiative

The National Endowment for the Humanities invites applications on American pluralism from scholars, educators, public agencies, and institutions for research, teacher seminars, conferences, public lectures, museum exhibitions, library programs, television and radio productions, and any other innovative formats and venues appropriate to the subject.

Applications should be submitted at the regular program deadlines in the Endowment's six divisions. Proposals will be evaluated according to the established review criteria. Guidelines are available from the NEH Public Information Office.

Special Competition for Public Programs

The Endowment invites proposals for innovative projects that engage Americans in conversations about American pluralism, identity, and values. The conversations may occur within a single community or use new electronic technologies to connect people in separate or remote locations. The Endowment seeks proposals that involve collaborations and partnerships among institutions and communities, that engage diverse audiences, that involve a series of conversations rather than one or two meetings, and that encourage multiple perspectives on the questions of American identity.

Application guidelines are available from the Division of Public Programs.

State Humanities Councils

Humanities Councils in each state and U.S. territory have as their primary purpose fostering public understanding and appreciation of the humanities. The councils have been extraordinarily successful in engaging people in all parts of the nation in humanities programs. Each council defines its own goals, procedures, and funding priorities, though they generally support a variety of programs for the general public. Many councils are already supporting projects that fit a broad interpretation of the conversation on American pluralism and many will be developing or expanding existing programs as part of this NEH initiative.

Telecommunications

A Documentary Film for National Broadcast

A 60-minute documentary film on the nature of American pluralism, intended for broadcast nationally in early 1995, will examine American pluralism, place it in historical context, and inspire and define the National Conversation. The film will be re-edited to produce a 20-minute version for schools, libraries, and community organizations. The Endowment has awarded planning grants for the development of detailed treatments to four filmmakers. The applications for production grants will be reviewed this fall.

Live Television Productions

Live television programs for broadcast nationally or locally could be produced by a public or cable television station. Formats are undetermined, but they could include panels, symposia, interviews, debates, or, alternatively, the Fred Friendly format.

Community Outreach

On the evening of the broadcast of the documentary, cultural, educational, and community organizations will be encouraged to organize events in conjunction with or as a follow-up to the documentary; e.g., civic discussion groups in museums, libraries, schools, or public television stations; live productions immediately following the national broadcast with local community activists, scholars, teachers, and/or civic leaders. There could also be discussion (or reaction) groups in community centers, senior citizen centers, and union halls or country clubs. An imaginative public television producer--or independent producer--could make a fascinating program--live or "completely produced"--based upon those activities.

Radio

Radio is primarily local, though preliminary conversations with NPR and APR have indicated that there is considerable interest.

Possible formats include interview shows, call-ins, dramatic productions, and, yes, even lectures.

Electronic Town Meetings

The Endowment will encourage electronic town meetings, working closely with groups and television stations with experience in this field.

Reading and Discussion Programs

Developed originally in Vermont during the late 1970s and then launched nationally by a major grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, reading and discussion programs in public libraries have become enormously popular in every state and have engaged several million people. The American Library Association has received an NEH planning grant to develop theme packages and book and video lists on American pluralism. Separate packages will be developed for adults, youth, and

recently literate groups. In addition, Spanish language versions will be produced.

Newspapers

The Endowment will encourage, perhaps through grants, the writing and printing of articles for daily and weekly newspapers.

Seminars and Institutes for High School and College Teachers

NEH-sponsored summer institutes and seminars for high school and college teachers offer teachers the time and opportunity to explore scholarly topics relevant to their students with distinguished scholars in the humanities. The educational impact of these programs is substantial since the intellectual invigoration and increased knowledge has an impact immediately within the classroom and continues throughout the teacher's career. A special competition for institutes or seminars on American pluralism would be offered, with review conducted under the normal NEH procedures.

These could be designed for a state, region, or city and could be supported either singly or as part of a series.

Youth (High School and College)

A particularly promising group for the Conversation is youth, high school and college but perhaps elementary students as well. Conversations could be held in classrooms or in other locations outside of school hours. The format could be simple, perhaps using the Kit described below, or it could involve television, radio, or other means of electronic communication.

Essay contests or debates sponsored by national, regional, or local groups will be attempted as well.

The Conversation Kit

The NEH, with the help of the MacArthur Foundation, is developing a Kit which will provide the information necessary for a group to conduct its own conversation on American pluralism. The Kit will include questions, texts (or conversation starters), book and film lists, an audiotape, suggestions about how to conduct a conversation, lists of resources, and other tips. This Kit could be used by libraries, community organizations, service clubs, senior citizen centers or labor unions.

The Kit could be targeted to geographical areas or groups, such as senior citizens, youth, newly literate adults, labor unions, churches, hospitals, or service clubs. Conversations could also be conducted in and by corporations, or labor unions.

City or Regional Collaborative Events

Coalitions offer exciting possibilities for local planning and local funding, with state council or NEH endorsement. A consortium of cultural, educational, and community organizations could organize a series of activities throughout a metropolitan area. Local and community foundations might join such efforts as collaborators or funders.

American Pluralism Bookshelf

Several years ago, in commemoration of the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, the Endowment offered \$500 to rural libraries in matching funds for the purchase of a designated list of books on the Constitution and the founding period. The Endowment intends to identify a list of books on pluralism and American identity and to seek a funding source to place these books in libraries and community organizations throughout the nation.

cultural differences has been to think about a public sphere and a private sphere. In the public sphere only universalistic rules are legitimate and only individual rights are legally protected. In the private sphere, we can give voice and form to our birthright identities without being any less American. This distinction still goes a long way in sorting out the conflicts between the universal and the particular.

Indeed, if there is no distinction between the public and the private, all values would be up for political adjudication, and that is not a system I find very attractive. One of the factors causing the current sense of urgency about this subject is the feeling that the public or political sphere has been encroaching on the private sphere. "Let your culture be your politics", the cultural radicals of the 1960s chanted. "All politics are personal, and all personal relationships are political", assert some contemporary activists. Where in all of this are the ordinary virtues that we ought to be able to expect from each other? Perhaps they can emerge from the conversation.

It helps also to realize that all ethnic groups have permeable boundaries, and that the meaning of any particular identity will change over time. What it felt like to be a white Southerner in 1865 is different from what it felt like in 1950 and it is different again today. What it means to be a Jew in America is different today from what it was in 1940. History has a way of changing who we think we are.

The subject is elusive, but it is very important. If the conversation works well, we will stake out some common ground, and by doing that we will make it possible to celebrate more fully the variations among us that play against each other and reinforce each other to produce a dynamic national identity. As President Clinton said in a different context at the dedication of the Holocaust Memorial Museum, "We must find in our diversity our common humanity. We must reaffirm that common humanity, even in the darkest and deepest of our own disagreements."

In that spirit, I am looking forward to this conversation among the American people. In that spirit, I challenge you to help focus the attention of the American people on this quest for the meaning of E Pluribus Unum.