

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES
THE WHITE HOUSE
SEPTEMBER 21, 1994

My appointments today to the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities underscore the vital partnership between the government and the private citizens who do so much to support the arts and humanities in our country. Thank you all very much for agreeing to take on this important assignment.

I'd also like to thank the First Lady for agreeing to be your Honorary Chair. You could not have a more appreciative or informed friend.

I'm also pleased that Dr. John Brademas has agreed to serve as your Chairman. He was an original co-sponsor of the legislation that created the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities, and he wrote the bill that established the Institute of Museum Services. As President of New York University for 11 years, he was a champion of scholarship, learning, and our finest humanistic traditions.

I have charged the President's Committee with advancing public understanding of the arts and humanities -- so important to our democracy -- and to establish new partnerships with the private sector and with the federal agencies.

As a sign of the federal commitment to the arts and humanities, we have with us today Secretary Riley, Secretary Bentsen, Sheldon Hackney and Jane Alexander, who chair our two chief cultural endowments, and a number of other government officials.

I appointed this extraordinary group of Americans because as artists, scholars, writers and thinkers . . . as leaders in the corporate world and the philanthropic community . . . as activists recognized in their communities . . . they represent outstanding achievement and a profound commitment to the cultural life of our nation.

And I would like to say to each of you on the committee: You have important work to do.

A PROGRESS REPORT

By this time next year, I want you to deliver a report to me on the progress we're making in furthering American cultural life. For 200 years, the arts and humanities have helped Americans bridge differences, learn to appreciate one another, and build strong and vibrant institutions across our country.

You must help us explore ways that we can strengthen our cultural organizations, and equally important, further our appreciation of our scholars and artists. You can also help us improve our children's education by ensuring that the arts and the humanities are a part of every child's life -- every day in every classroom.

EXPAND PRIVATE PHILANTHROPY

While America has the most vibrant, innovative, and diverse cultural life of any country, the government provides a small but crucial percentage of support. The private sector has to do the rest. I want you to encourage foundations, corporations, and individuals to support our cultural life.

PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND UNDERSTANDING

Finally, we must not ignore the capacity of the arts and the humanities to help us share our democratic traditions with people around the world. Today we live in a global village. Thanks to phones, faxes, the Internet and CNN, we can see the power of our cultural traditions as they are exported to other countries. When people in foreign lands read our authors, watch our movies, hear our music, and learn from our ideas, they yearn for our democratic, free way of life.

Just think of Isaac Stern giving master classes in China. Or our Fulbright Scholars studying in cities around the globe. The arts and humanities are truly our greatest ambassadors in a very complicated, very challenging world.

INCREASE ACCESS TO CULTURAL INFORMATION

I hope you will work with other government agencies and the private sector to create a national information infrastructure that will enable a child in an inner city library, or sitting at a home computer in a rural area, to see the paintings and sculptures in our museums, to look at old films and photos, to read a musical score, to do research on Greek mythology, a Native American tribe, or read the Constitution.

CONCLUSION

Your task is a noble -- and much needed -- one. At a time when our society faces new and profound challenges, when we are losing too many of our children, and when so many Americans feel insecure in the face of change, the arts and humanities offer a foundation to strengthen our most cherished institutions and values. Thank you for dedicating yourselves to this important endeavor.

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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES
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SEPTEMBER 21, 1994

It's a pleasure to welcome all of you, Dr. Brademas, the vice-chairs, members of the President's Committee, and all of the distinguished guests who honor us by their presence here today.

This is a very important day for those of us who care deeply about American culture. It's an important day because this committee has so much potential to do good -- not only by supporting and nurturing our artistic and humanistic traditions, but also by helping to provide a hopeful, productive outlet for our children.

You need only look around you to see that too many children in America grow up without opportunities for creative expression. Without opportunities for intellectual stimulation. Without exposure to the diverse cultural traditions that contribute to our identity as Americans.

Instead of children discovering the joyful rewards of painting, or music, or writing, or testing a new idea, too many children today express themselves through acts of frustration. Acts of hopelessness. Acts of violence.

An erosion of values and a breakdown of our most cherished institutions has resulted in a fraying of the whole social fabric. We see it in a growing homicide rates among children who are only 12 to 14 years old. We see it in a hopelessness about the future. We see it in intolerance -- in a failure to accept, appreciate, and learn from people of different cultural backgrounds.

One reason for this is that many children -- including children who grow up with all the material comforts -- have no "safe havens" that offer kids the chance to explore their creative and intellectual potential.

The arts and humanities are the safe havens. In communities where programs exist, they are providing soul-saving and life-saving opportunities for young people. I'm delighted that, as one of its major endeavors, this Committee will do as much as possible to expand those opportunities -- in schools and elsewhere -- so that every child in America has the chance to channel his or her energy, curiosity, and imagination in positive, uplifting ways.

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FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES
THE WHITE HOUSE
SEPTEMBER 21, 1994

[Welcome to the White House]

Dr. Grady
[Acknowledgements: Vice-chairman Peggy Cooper Cafritz, arts
advocated and founder of the Duke Ellington School of the Arts;
Cynthia Perrin Schneider, professor of art history at Georgetown
University; Terry Semel, chairman and CEO of Warner Brothers]

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draft 9/20/94 2 p.m. LM

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I'm also pleased that Dr. John Brademas has agreed to serve as your Chairman, and I thank him for that. He was an original co-sponsor of the legislation that created the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities, and he wrote the bill that established the Institute of Museum Services. As President of New York University for 11 years, he was a champion of scholarship, learning, and our finest humanistic traditions.

I have charged the President's Committee with advancing public understanding of the arts and humanities -- so important to our democracy -- and to establish new partnerships with the private sector and with the federal agencies.

At a time when our society faces new and profound challenges, when we are losing too many of our children, and when so many Americans feel insecure in the face of change, the arts and humanities can help us strengthen our most cherished institutions and values as we move into the future.

I appointed this extraordinary group of Americans because -- as artists, scholars, writers and thinkers . . . as leaders in the corporate world . . . as activists recognized in their communities -- they represent outstanding achievement and a profound commitment to the cultural life of our nation.

And I would like to say to each of you on the committee: You have important work to do.

STATE OF OUR CULTURE REPORT A PROGRESS REPORT

By this time next year, I want you to deliver a report to me on the State of America's Culture. For 200 years, the arts and humanities have helped Americans bridge differences, learn to appreciate one another, and build strong and vibrant institutions across our country. Today and into the future we will continue to rely on the arts and humanities to help bring our nation

as the progress we're making in ~~our~~ cultural life.

together. That's why I want you to explore ways in which we can strengthen our cultural organizations, and equally important, further our appreciation of our ~~individual~~ scholars and artists. And I want you to examine ways we can improve our children's education and make the arts and the humanities a part of every child's life -- every day in every classroom.

EXPAND PRIVATE PHILANTHROPY

You must also help us expand private giving. While America has the most vibrant, innovative, and diverse cultural life of any country, the government provides a small but crucial percentage of support. The private sector has to do the rest. I want you to encourage foundations, corporations, and individuals to support our cultural life.

PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND UNDERSTANDING

Finally, we must not ignore the capacity of the arts and the humanities to help us share our democratic traditions with different peoples around the world. Today we live in a global village. Thanks to phones, faxes, the Internet and CNN, we can see the power of our cultural traditions as they are exported to other countries. When people in distant lands read our authors, watch our movies, hear our music, and learn from our ideas, they yearn for our democratic, free way of life.

Just think of Isaac Stern giving master classes in China. Or our Fulbright Scholars studying in cities around the globe. The arts and humanities are truly our greatest ambassadors in a very complicated, very challenging world.

And with Joe Duffey at USIA and Tim Wirth at the State Department, you can work within government and with the private sector to promote international cultural exchanges and understanding.

INCREASE ACCESS TO CULTURAL INFORMATION

Our Administration believes we have the capacity through the information superhighway to give all Americans access to a vast array of artistic and intellectual material. I hope you will work with other government agencies and the private sector to create a national information infrastructure that will enable a 12-year-old in an inner city library, or at a home computer in a rural region of our nation, to see the paintings and sculptures in our museums, to look at old films and photos, to read a musical score, to do research on Greek mythology, a Native American tribe, or read the Constitution.

Cut

The challenges are many $\frac{###}{2}$ but I can't think of
a more —



PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES
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Tel.: 202-682-5409 Fax: 202-682-5668

Suggested Talking Points for President and First Lady

Ceremony for President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities

September 21, 1994, 4:30 pm

We need to accomplish three things:

1. Have the President make supportive and inspirational statements about the arts and humanities and the importance of a vibrant cultural life to Americans.
2. Acknowledge the new Presidential appointees to the PCAH and the government members they serve with.
3. Give the Committee his "charge" for what he wants them to accomplish.

The following are thoughts and quotes to use on why government and the private sector must work together to support the humanities and the arts.

*Quotes from **The Humanities and the American Promise**, Report of the Colloquium on the Humanities and the American People, October 1987, by Robert D. Peterson*

"...the identity of the American people derives...from certain political principles that were adopted and articulated at the nation's founding. Whatever integrating forces there may be in American society, a persistent integrating force is this common creed. But a creed composed of principles of freedom, equality and self-government can only be appreciated and made relevant to modern realities by a reflective people....an appreciation of the thought and expression of American culture is an imperative of good citizenship in this democracy."

"For government to derive its authority from the will of the people, it is then committed to nurturing a reflective and informed public will."

"The spirit of democracy, whatever else it may be, is the volatile spirit that derives consent from the free expression and the critical reasoning of the people."

"A citizenry that is humanistically aware is a citizenry that is capable of confronting diversity, ambiguity, and conflict, overcoming prejudice and self-interest, enlarging its sympathies, tackling tough public issues, and envisioning possibilities beyond the limits of circumstance."

"[The humanities], are, taken together, the necessary resources of a reflective approach to life. The value of a reflective approach can be best appreciated by considering the alternative: a life unilluminated by imagination, uninformed by history, unguided by reasoning--in short, the "unexamined life" that Socrates described as not worth living. Where the humanities are vigorous, action follows from and is guided by reflection. It is their capacity to change, elevate, and improve both the common civic life and individual lives that make the cultivation of the humanities important to the American people."

"The humanities have both a personal and civic dimension. They bring meaning to the life of the individual and help define the self. They also make possible the shared reflection, communication, and participation upon which a democratic community depends. They are the basis of reasoned civic discourse; and they are centrally concerned with the relation between the individual and the community."

"'What keeps the humanities going,' the philosopher Charles Frankel once wrote, 'is that people really want to know, does man have free will; that people really respond to Hamlet's predicament and to his eloquence; that people really would like to get some sense of how the past held together and why it fell apart. All of these are permanent...impulses in any civilized society. And so we have the humanities just as we have sports and games and love and politics and other things for better and for worse....History, literature, philosophy, these are the disciplines that are everybody's business. You can live without it. But not to know whether there's a God or immortality, not to have any ideas on it, not to have a notion whatsoever, well, you might just as well be dead. You are dead."

Dr. Ernest Boyer, President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

"Ironically, while the arts are undervalued in many schools, dictators recognize the power of nonverbal symbols in shaping attitudes and values. Tyrants who seek to control the hearts and minds of men censor not only speech but music, dance and the visual arts. Hitler destroyed books, controlled speech, and outlawed the arts that did not fit his twisted view. Stalin exiled Russia's splendid poets and suppressed new forms of art.

Artists, moved by the world's events, can use their symbols powerfully to convey feelings and ideas. Thus when Picasso confronts the unspeakable agonies of war--the dismembered child, the scream of the bereft mother, the shattered home--and puts them on a huge canvas called "Guernica," he makes a stunning statement about destruction that words cannot convey."

Quotes from The Value of the Arts, by Elizabeth Murfee, published by the President's Committee on the Arts & Humanities.

"'A million sunsets will not spur on men towards civilization,' Alfred North Whitehead said. 'It requires Art to evoke into consciousness the finite perfections which lie ready for human achievement....Thus in its broadest sense, art is civilization.'

The arts give form to what is raw, spontaneous and disconnected and inarticulate, often in nonverbal forms, the most profound human questions and insights. They leave a legacy of mankind more revealing than any other human endeavor. The arts are, in the words of twentieth century composer Aaron Copland, 'our message of what it feels like to be alive in our time.' And they are, therefore, a compelling avenue to the understanding of other times and other peoples."

"A growing number of people are championing the place of the arts in education. James D. Wolfensohn, chairman of The Kennedy Center, believes that the arts "...must be at the heart of every child's learning experience if...they are to have a chance to dream and to create, to have beliefs, to carry a sense of cultural identity."

"The arts are prominently featured at the Duke Ellington High School in Washington, D.C., and the drop-out rate has been less than one percent over the past five years. Daily attendance has been 90 percent and the school has outperformed magnet and other selective schools in cumulative Grade Point Averages." (PCAH member Peggy Cooper-Cafritz founded the Duke Ellington School).

"John Adams said, 'Liberty cannot be preserved without a general knowledge among the people.' This nation's artistic and cultural expressions make possible the shared reflections, communication and participation upon which a democratic community depends.'"

"The motto engraved on the Great Seal of the United States, *E Pluribus Unum*--Out of Many, one--suggests the unique character of culture in America. It is both our goal and destiny.

From the beginning America has been a haven for peoples from many lands. This amalgam of diverse people would make the United States, in Whitman's phrase, 'a nation of nations.' Or, as Melville saw it, 'We are not a narrow tribe, no. We are not a nation, so much as a world.'

Today, changing demographic, social and linguistic processes are transforming this country once again. As disparate groups begin to look at themselves and each other in new ways, the arts play an important unifying role in this process.

'In America--particularly with our new immigration coming primarily from East Asia and Hispanic America,' said Librarian of Congress James Billington, 'we are in the process of becoming the first society to maintain a distinctive central culture, yet at the same time

internalize within us large elements of the populations of Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America. So we are, in a sense, becoming a pioneer world civilization.'

While the ferment of these pioneering changes can be--and often is--unsettling, this nation's artists are engaged in some of the most dynamic multicultural dialogue. This kind of interaction expressed uniquely through the arts, provides a means for understanding among different cultures. 'After all,' wrote Harvard University professor Henry Louis Gates, Jr., 'culture is always a conversation among different voices.' A citizenry that is culturally educated can be more capable of confronting diversity, ambiguity and conflict, enlarging its sympathies and envisioning possibilities beyond the limits of circumstance. 'Our society won't survive without the values of tolerance,' continued Gates, 'and cultural tolerance comes to nothing without cultural understanding.'"

"The arts have an unparalleled ability to cross the national boundaries imposed by language and contrasting cultures."

"In helping to establish a peaceful and stable world, it is vitally important for this nation to become knowledgeable about foreign cultures."

"In today's global environment, the needs of business for international expertise and exchanges are greater than ever. The arts can be especially helpful to business in cross-cultural situations."

"The creative genius of America is reflected in its music, films, books, records, movies, computer software and countless other works flowing directly from the imagination of the people. These works result from the nurturing of one of America's greatest resources, its creativity."

America is the world leader in the creation and distribution of intellectual property, of copyright products. The U.S. copyright industries are among the largest and fastest growing sectors of the economy. In fact, foreign sales by the core U.S. copyright industries exceeded \$22 billion in 1989--more than aircraft and aerospace exports, frequently cited as one of America's most successful export industries."

"The arts have a direct economic impact, particularly in terms of increased tourism and improved downtown development."

"As we strive for coherence and synthesis in our lives, the arts help us make much needed connections. 'They connect small questions to large ones, our neighborhood to the world, and our time to other times and places.'"

*"To see the World in a Grain of Sand,
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William Blake



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

Suggested Talking Points for President and First Lady

Ceremony for President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities

September 21, 1994, 4:30 pm

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**PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES**

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FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

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FAX NUMBER:

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TO:

Gabrielle Bushman

NAME

ORGANIZATION

ATTENTION:

FROM:

Ellen McWilloch-Forell

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COMMENTS:

The talking points for law.

Thank you

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Talking Points for the President
President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities Ceremony
September 21, 1994

When I decided to renew the President's Committee in 1993 (executive order 12869), it was because I realized that the federal, state and local governments together provide only a small percentage of support essential to our cultural life. These appointments underscore the vital partnership between the government and the private citizens who do so much to enrich and preserve the arts and humanities in our country. I am pleased that John Brademas, who has been a vigorous champion of learning and culture both in Congress and as a university president, has agreed to chair the Committee. At a time when our society faces new and profound challenges, when we are losing so many of our children, and when so many people feel insecure in the face of change, the arts and the humanities are fundamental to our lives as individuals and as a nation.

I have charged the President's Committee with advancing public understanding of the arts and humanities - so important to our democracy - and to establish new partnerships with the private sector and the federal agencies to address the urgent issues in cultural life.

The needs are so great, the benefits to society so large that I wanted to appoint an exemplary group of Americans to be new friends and advocates for the arts and humanities in America. You are artists, scholars, and writers who are outstanding practitioners in your disciplines; you are leaders in the corporate, entertainment and communications worlds; you are activists who have been recognized in your communities. Thank you for serving your country.

Hillary is going to be your Honorary Chairman - and you could not have a more appreciative or informed friend. And I also want to thank Dr. John Brademas for agreeing to be your Chairman. As the first native-born Greek elected to Congress, where he served with great distinction for 22 years, he understands the great cultural diversity of our country and how important an enlightened population is to our democracy. He was an original co-sponsor of the legislation that created the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities. He wrote the bill that established the Institute of Museum Services. He served as President of New York University for 11 years. He knows your field and its needs.

I also have appointed three talented individuals as your co-chairmen. Peggy Cooper Cafritz, the well-known DC arts advocate and founder of the Duke Ellington School of the Arts. Cynthia Perrin Schneider is a professor of art history at Georgetown University and has helped develop my arts and humanities policies. And Terry Semel, Chairman and Co-Chief Executive Officer of Warner Brothers, who brings his experience in the for-profit entertainment sector to the table. (Acknowledge Jane Alexander, Sheldon Hackney, Diane Frankel and any other cabinet secretaries or agency heads)

I wanted to appoint such an extraordinary group because you have important work to do. We know America has the most vibrant, innovative and diverse cultural life of any country. Our works of art and scholarships, our publishing and entertainment, are a huge export to other countries. But we also know cultural life is suffering. Our creators need to be valued and nurtured. Our museums and performing arts companies, our historical societies and research libraries are in a fragile economic state, at the same time we see disturbing trends in private giving. We need artists and scholars; we need to nurture young talent; we need strong cultural organizations to help us understand one another, to reach across cultures, to add to our economy, to enliven our education.

President calls for a State of the Culture Report

By this time next year, I want you to deliver to me a report on the State of America's Culture. I want you to look at all the ways the arts and humanities contribute to our country's life and tell me how we can go into the next century with that vitality intact. [more?]

Charging Committee to Reach At-risk Youth

You know that Hillary and I are deeply worried about the erosion of values and the increase in violence in our young people's lives. Murder rates of 12-14 year olds have increased; the youth arrest rate went up 50% last year. It is a tragedy. Many children, not only those in poverty, have no "safe havens" where they can get off the streets, have adult mentoring, learn, focus their energies or build a sense of identity in activities that are creative, rather than destructive. There are excellent existing programs in the arts and humanities all over the U.S. that provide soul-saving and life-saving programs for youth.

I want you to work with the two Endowments and the Institute of Museum Services, and with the Department of Education, the Justice Department, Health and Human Services, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development in their anti-violence efforts to see how we can prevent kids from getting into trouble in the first place. I want you to find out what effective programs there are in the arts and humanities that help turn kids lives around, and give them the discipline and joy of positive, rather than destructive, self-experience. Then I am asking you to get together with leaders in the private sector and figure out a way to create more of these programs.

Calls for New Philanthropy

Part of your mission is to expand private philanthropy. We all know the arts and the humanities depend on individual, corporate and foundation contributions for survival. Government funding is that crucial stimulus - but the private sector has to do the rest. I want you to reach out to the foundations and their trustees and make the case for funding cultural life. Let's show them how important it is despite all the other social needs to maintain or even increase their support for the arts and the humanities. Community foundations are the fastest growing foundations in America and I want you to establish a new partnership with them. Supporting cultural life should be a

part of being a corporate leader in America; you can create new leadership so that business is a partner in revitalizing community life through the arts and the humanities.

Calls for International Cultural Exchange (cultural diplomacy)

We now live in a global economy. Phones, faxes, the Internet and CNN mean that information is instantly available. That has had some startling results, not only in driving the economy, but in increasing other countries' yearnings for democracy. The arts and the humanities are noted for building minds without borders and minds that can cross borders. That is why "cultural diplomacy" is increasingly recognized as a key aspect in forging international understanding. Cultural exchanges are a rich source of global communication that offer a unique level of understanding among distant nations and culture.

Art, music, dance and design, for example, easily travel beyond the boundaries of language. Even theater, through language-based, resonates with the emotional life of a society. A troop of Balinese dancers performing in Los Angeles, a tea ceremony masterfully executed by Japanese geishas in Chicago, Jerome Hines singing *Boris Godunov* throughout Russia, Isaac Stern giving master classes in China - these are but a few examples of the arts' ability to cross borders. Art is the ultimate ambassador.

President's Committee member James Billington said, "The messy, unmeasurable power of ideas, ideals and cultural identities is often as strong a driving force in human affairs as the fists we fear and the food we crave." It is these intangibles found in a society's culture which more often than not determine the movement of history. A keen understanding of the traditions and aspirations of other cultures is often as necessary for sound foreign policy as the more traditional political, military and economic activities.

Ask the President's Committee to Increase Access to Information

Vice President Al Gore and Commerce Secretary Ron Brown are working hard to create the national information infrastructure, which has the promise of giving all Americans access to a vast array of information, entertainment and services. This Administration realizes that the arts and the humanities are going to provide much of the content for the NII. The Librarian of Congress and the National Endowment for the Humanities have envisioned a "national digital library." I am counting on you to work with the other Government agencies to develop the NII and with the private sector to put our cultural riches and scholarly data in digital form where they can reach and enlighten. With your help, we can be that ambitious.

The President's Committee, created by Executive Order in 1982, is charged with advancing public understanding of the arts and the humanities and establishing new partnerships between the private sector and federal agencies to address important issues in cultural life.

The Committee will hold its first formal meeting with the President and the First Lady on Wednesday, September 21 at the White House at 4:30 pm. The President will charge its members to support cultural programs that reach at-risk youth, expand private philanthropic assistance for the humanities and the arts, encourage international cultural exchanges and develop new private sector resources to aid cultural organizations.

Dr. John Brademas, who will serve as the Committee's Chairman, is President Emeritus of New York University and a former U.S. Representative in Congress from Indiana's third Congressional District (1959-81)

[lets discuss this point]



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

Suggested Talking Points for President and First Lady

Ceremony for President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities

September 21, 1994, 4:30 pm

We need to accomplish three things:

1. Have the President make supportive and inspirational statements about the arts and humanities and the importance of a vibrant cultural life to Americans.
2. Acknowledge the new Presidential appointees to the PCAH and the government members they serve with.
3. Give the Committee his "charge" for what he wants them to accomplish.

The following are thoughts and quotes to use on why government and the private sector must work together to support the humanities and the arts.

Quotes from The Humanities and the American Promise, Report of the Colloquium on the Humanities and the American People, October 1987, by Robert D. Peterson

"...the identity of the American people derives...from certain political principles that were adopted and articulated at the nation's founding. Whatever integrating forces there may be in American society, a persistent integrating force is this common creed. But a creed composed of principles of freedom, equality and self-government can only be appreciated and made relevant to modern realities by a reflective people....an appreciation of the thought and expression of American culture is an imperative of good citizenship in this democracy."

"For government to derive its authority from the will of the people, it is then committed to nurturing a reflective and informed public will."

"The spirit of democracy, whatever else it may be, is the volatile spirit that derives consent from the free expression and the critical reasoning of the people."

"A citizenry that is humanistically aware is a citizenry that is capable of confronting diversity, ambiguity, and conflict, overcoming prejudice and self-interest, enlarging its sympathies, tackling tough public issues, and envisioning possibilities beyond the limits of circumstance."

"[The humanities], are, taken together, the necessary resources of a reflective approach to life. The value of a reflective approach can be best appreciated by considering the alternative: a life unilluminated by imagination, uninformed by history, unguided by reasoning—in short, the "unexamined life" that Socrates described as not worth living. Where the humanities are vigorous, action follows from and is guided by reflection. It is their capacity to change, elevate, and improve both the common civic life and individual lives that make the cultivation of the humanities important to the American people."

"The humanities have both a personal and civic dimension. They bring meaning to the life of the individual and help define the self. They also make possible the shared reflection, communication, and participation upon which a democratic community depends. They are the basis of reasoned civic discourse; and they are centrally concerned with the relation between the individual and the community."

"'What keeps the humanities going,' the philosopher Charles Frankel once wrote, 'is that people really want to know, does man have free will; that people really respond to Hamlet's predicament and to his eloquence; that people really would like to get some sense of how the past held together and why it fell apart. All of these are permanent impulses in any civilized society. And so we have the humanities just as we have sports and games and love and politics and other things for better and for worse....History, literature, philosophy, these are the disciplines that are everybody's business. You can live without it. But not to know whether there's a God or immortality, not to have any ideas on it, not to have a notion whatsoever, well, you might just as well be dead. You are dead."

Dr. Ernest Boyer, President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

"Ironically, while the arts are undervalued in many schools, dictators recognize the power of nonverbal symbols in shaping attitudes and values. Tyrants who seek to control the hearts and minds of men censor not only speech but music, dance and the visual arts. Hitler destroyed books, controlled speech, and outlawed the arts that did not fit his twisted view. Stalin exiled Russia's splendid poets and suppressed new forms of art.

Artists, moved by the world's events, can use their symbols powerfully to convey feelings and ideas. Thus when Picasso confronts the unspeakable agonies of war—the dismembered child, the scream of the bereft mother, the shattered home—and puts them on a huge canvas called "Guernica," he makes a stunning statement about destruction that words cannot convey."

Quotes from The Value of the Arts, by Elizabeth Murfee, published by the President's Committee on the Arts & Humanities.

"A million sunsets will not spur on men towards civilization,' Alfred North Whitehead said. 'It requires Art to evoke into consciousness the finite perfections which lie ready for human achievement....Thus in its broadest sense, art is civilization.'

The arts give form to what is raw, spontaneous and disconnected and inarticulate, often in nonverbal forms, the most profound human questions and insights. They leave a legacy of mankind more revealing than any other human endeavor. The arts are, in the words of twentieth century composer Aaron Copland, 'our message of what it feels like to be alive in our time.' And they are, therefore, a compelling avenue to the understanding of other times and other peoples."

"A growing number of people are championing the place of the arts in education. James D. Wolfensohn, chairman of The Kennedy Center, believes that the arts "—must be at the heart of every child's learning experience if...they are to have a chance to dream and to create, to have beliefs, to carry a sense of cultural identity."

"The arts are prominently featured at the Duke Ellington High School in Washington, D.C., and the drop-out rate has been less than one percent over the past five years. Daily attendance has been 90 percent and the school has outperformed magnet and other selective schools in cumulative Grade Point Averages." (PCAH member Peggy Cooper-Cafritz founded the Duke Ellington School).

"John Adams said, 'Liberty cannot be preserved without a general knowledge among the people.' This nation's artistic and cultural expressions make possible the shared reflections, communication and participation upon which a democratic community depends."

"The motto engraved on the Great Seal of the United States, *E Pluribus Unum*—Out of Many, one—suggests the unique character of culture in America. It is both our goal and destiny.

From the beginning America has been a haven for peoples from many lands. This amalgam of diverse people would make the United States, in Whitman's phrase, 'a nation of nations.' Or, as Melville saw it, 'We are not a narrow tribe, no. We are not a nation, so much as a world.'

Today, changing demographic, social and linguistic processes are transforming this country once again. As disparate groups begin to look at themselves and each other in new ways, the arts play an important unifying role in this process.

'In America—particularly with our new immigration coming primarily from East Asia and Hispanic America,' said Librarian of Congress James Billington, 'we are in the process of becoming the first society to maintain a distinctive central culture, yet at the same time

internalize within us large elements of the populations of Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America. So we are, in a sense, becoming a pioneer world civilization."

While the ferment of these pioneering changes can be--and often is--unsettling, this nation's artists are engaged in some of the most dynamic multicultural dialogue. This kind of interaction expressed uniquely through the arts, provides a means for understanding among different cultures. "After all," wrote Harvard University professor Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "culture is always a conversation among different voices." A citizenry that is culturally educated can be more capable of confronting diversity, ambiguity and conflict, enlarging its sympathies and envisioning possibilities beyond the limits of circumstance. "Our society won't survive without the values of tolerance," continued Gates, "and cultural tolerance comes to nothing without cultural understanding."

"The arts have an unparalleled ability to cross the national boundaries imposed by language and contrasting cultures."

"In helping to establish a peaceful and stable world, it is vitally important for this nation to become knowledgeable about foreign cultures."

"In today's global environment, the needs of business for international expertise and exchanges are greater than ever. The arts can be especially helpful to business in cross-cultural situations."

"The creative genius of America is reflected in its music, films, books, records, movies, computer software and countless other works flowing directly from the imagination of the people. These works result from the nurturing of one of America's greatest resources, its creativity."

America is the world leader in the creation and distribution of intellectual property, of copyright products. The U.S. copyright industries are among the largest and fastest growing sectors of the economy. In fact, foreign sales by the core U.S. copyright industries exceeded \$22 billion in 1989--more than aircraft and aerospace exports, frequently cited as one of America's most successful export industries."

"The arts have a direct economic impact, particularly in terms of increased tourism and improved downtown development."

"As we strive for coherence and synthesis in our lives, the arts help us make much needed connections. They connect small questions to large ones, our neighborhood to the world, and our time to other times and places."

*"To see the World in a Grain of Sand,
And a Heaven in a Wild Flower."*

William Blake

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Suite 526
Washington, D.C. 20506
202/682-5409 Fax: 202/682-5668

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

DATE: 9/19/94 FAX NUMBER: 456-5709

TO: Gabrielle Bushman WH
NAME ORGANIZATION

ATTENTION: Gabrielle

FROM: Ellen McCulloch - Lovell

NUMBER OF PAGES TRANSMITTED (including cover sheet): 4

COMMENTS: Corrected copy of draft talking
points for 9/21/94

IF THERE ARE ANY PROBLEMS RECEIVING THIS TRANSMISSION, PLEASE CALL 202/682-5409

Edu-

**Talking Points for the President
President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities Ceremony
September 21, 1994**

When I decided to renew the President's Committee in 1993 (executive order 12869), it was because I realized that the federal, state and local governments together provide only a small percentage of support essential to our cultural life. My appointments today to the President's Committee underscore the vital partnership between the government and the private citizens who do so much to enrich and preserve the arts and humanities in our country. I am pleased that John Brademas, who has been a vigorous champion of learning and culture both in Congress and as a university president, has agreed to chair the Committee. At a time when our society faces new and profound challenges, when we are losing so many of our children, and when so many people feel insecure in the face of change, the arts and the humanities are fundamental to our lives as individuals and as a nation.

Can ...

I have charged the President's Committee with advancing public understanding of the arts and humanities - so important to our democracy - and to establish new partnerships with the private sector and the federal agencies to address the urgent issues in cultural life.

+ involvment w/ pri sector

The needs are so great, the benefits to society so large that I wanted to appoint an exemplary group of Americans to be new friends and advocates for the arts and humanities in America. You are artists, scholars, and writers who are outstanding practitioners in your disciplines; you are leaders in the corporate, entertainment and communications worlds; you are activists who have been recognized in your communities. Thank you for serving your country.

Hillary is going to be your Honorary Chairman - and you could not have a more appreciative or informed friend. And I also want to thank Dr. John Brademas for agreeing to be your Chairman. As the first native-born Greek elected to Congress, where he served with great distinction for 22 years, he understands the great cultural diversity of our country and how important an enlightened population is to our democracy. He was an original co-sponsor of the legislation that created the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities. He wrote the bill that established the Institute of Museum Services. He served as President of New York University for 11 years. He knows your field and its needs.

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works of art and scholarship, our publishing and entertainment industries, are a huge export to other countries. But we also know cultural life is suffering. Our creators need to be valued and nurtured. Our museums and performing arts companies, our historical societies and research libraries are in a fragile economic state, at the same time we see disturbing trends in private giving. We need artists and scholars; we need to nurture young talent; we need strong cultural organizations to help us understand one another, to reach across cultures, to add to our economy, to enliven our education.

President calls for a State of the Culture Report

By this time next year, I want you to deliver to me a report on the State of America's Culture. I want you to look at all the ways the arts and humanities contribute to our country's life and tell me how we can go into the next century with that vitality intact. [more?]

reminded

Charging Committee to Reach At-risk Youth

You know that Hillary and I are deeply worried about the erosion of values and the increase in violence in our young people's lives. Murder rates of 12-14 year olds have increased; the youth arrest rate went up 50% last year. It is a tragedy. Many children, not only those in poverty, have no "safe havens" where they can get off the streets, have adult mentoring, learn, focus their energies or build a sense of identity in activities that are creative, rather than destructive. There are excellent existing programs in the arts and humanities all over the U.S. that provide soul-saving and life-saving programs for youth.

I want you to work with the two Endowments and the Institute of Museum Services, and with the Department of Education, the Justice Department, Health and Human Services, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development in their anti-violence efforts to see how we can prevent kids from getting into trouble in the first place. I want you to find out what effective programs there are in the arts and humanities that help turn kids lives around, and give them the discipline and joy of positive, rather than destructive, self-experience. Then I am asking you to get together with leaders in the private sector and figure out a way to create more of these programs. They are so desperately needed.

Calls for New Philanthropy

Part of your mission is to expand private philanthropy. We all know the arts and the humanities depend on individual, corporate and foundation contributions for survival. Government funding is that crucial stimulus - but the private sector has to do the rest. I want you to reach out to the foundations and their trustees and make the case for funding cultural life. Let's show them how important it is despite all the other social needs to maintain or even increase their support for the arts and the humanities. Community foundations are the fastest growing foundations in America and I want you to establish a new partnership with them. Supporting cultural life should be a part of being a corporate leader in America; you can create new leadership so that business is a partner in revitalizing community life through the arts and the humanities.

*Immediate
challenges*

*Need for
Education
make Art-H
part of
everyday
life in
school*

all

Calls for International Cultural Exchange (cultural diplomacy)

We now live in a global economy. Phones, faxes, the Internet and CNN mean that information is instantly available. That has had some startling results, not only in driving the economy, but in increasing other countries' yearnings for democracy. The arts and the humanities are noted for building minds without borders and minds that can cross borders. That is why "cultural diplomacy" is increasingly recognized as a key aspect in forging international understanding. Cultural exchanges are a rich source of global communication that offer a unique level of understanding among distant nations and culture.

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The President's Committee can work within government and in the private sector to increase cultural exchange, a project I know will be enthusiastically embraced by many of you.

Ask the President's Committee to Increase Access to Information

Vice President Al Gore and Commerce Secretary Ron Brown are working hard to create the national information infrastructure, which has the promise of giving all Americans access to a vast array of information, entertainment and services. This Administration realizes that the arts and the humanities are going to provide much of the content for the NII. The Librarian of Congress and the National Endowment for the Humanities have envisioned a "national digital library." I am counting on you to work with the other Government agencies to develop the NII and with the private sector to put our cultural riches and scholarly data in digital form where they can reach and enlighten. I want some 12 year old in an inner-city library or at a computer at home in a rural area to be able to see the paintings and sculpture in our museums; to look at film archives; old photos, dance tapes; or a musical score; to do research on Greek mythology or a Native American tribe; to pursue the vast intellectual holdings of our libraries. With your help, we can have that ambitious a vision.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES
THE WHITE HOUSE
SEPTEMBER 21, 1994

[Welcome to the White House]

[Acknowledgements]

*Butler, Kelly,
Klein
Ark. vice chairs / Cal. Secretaries
members 6 Congress.*

This is a very important day for those of us who care deeply about American culture. It's an important day because this committee has so much potential to do good -- not only by supporting and nurturing our artistic and humanistic traditions, but also by helping to provide a moral and ethical compass for our children.

You need only look around you to see that too many children in America grow up without opportunities for creative expression. Without opportunities for intellectual stimulation. Without exposure to the diverse cultural traditions that contribute to our identity as Americans.

Instead of children discovering the joyful rewards of painting, or music, or writing, or testing a new idea, too many children today express themselves through acts of frustration. Acts of hopelessness. Acts of violence.

An erosion of values and a breakdown of our most cherished institutions has resulted in a fraying of the whole social fabric. We see it in a growing homicide rates among children who are only 12 to 14 years old. We see it hopelessness about the future. We see it in intolerance -- in a failure to accept, appreciate, and learn from people of different cultural backgrounds.

One reason for this is that many children -- including children who grow up with all the material comforts -- have no "safe havens" that offer kids the chance to explore their creative and intellectual potential.

The arts and humanities are the safe havens. In communities where programs exist, they are providing soul-saving and life-saving opportunities for young people. I hope this Committee will do as much as possible to expand those opportunities -- in schools and elsewhere -- so that every child in America has the chance to channel his or her energy, curiosity, and imagination in positive, uplifting ways.

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Talking Points for the President
President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities Ceremony
September 21, 1994

My appointments today to the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities underscore the vital partnership between the government and the private citizens who do so much to enrich and preserve the arts and humanities in our country.

Hillary is going to be your Honorary Chairman - and you could not have a more appreciative or informed friend. I want to thank Dr. John Brademas for agreeing to be your Chairman. He was an original co-sponsor of the legislation that created the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities, and he wrote the bill that established the Institute of Museum Services. As President of New York University for 11 years, he knows your field and its needs.

I have charged the President's Committee with advancing public understanding of the arts and humanities - so important to our democracy - and to establish new partnerships with the private sector and with the other federal agencies. I call on government members to be partners with the President's Committee to address the urgent issues in cultural life. At a time when our society faces new and profound challenges, when we are losing so many of our children, and when so many people feel insecure in the face of change, the arts and the humanities are fundamental to our lives as individuals and as a nation.

I wanted to appoint an exemplary group of Americans to be new friends and advocates for the arts and humanities in America. You are artists, scholars, and writers who are outstanding practitioners in your disciplines; you are leaders in the corporate, entertainment and communications worlds; you are activists who have been recognized in your communities. Thank you for serving your country.

I wanted to appoint such an extraordinary group because you have important work to do. We know America has the most vibrant, innovative and diverse cultural life of any country. In our system government provides a small but crucial percentage of the support essential for cultural life. We need to value our artists and scholars and to nurture our young talent. We need to help our cultural organizations meet the financial challenges ahead.

I know many of you are devoted, as I am, to improving our children's education. I want the arts, and the intellectual disciplines of the humanities, to be a part of every child's life, every day, in every classroom.

President calls for a State of the Culture Report

By this time next year, I want you to deliver to me a report on the State of America's Culture. I want you to look at all the possible ways the arts and humanities contribute to our country's life and tell me how we can go into the next century with that vitality intact. We need strong cultural organizations to help us understand one another, to reach across cultures, to add to our economy and enliven our education.

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You know that Hillary and I are deeply worried about the erosion of values and the increase in violence in our young people's lives. Murder rates of 12-14 year olds have increased; the youth arrest rate went up 50% last year. It is a tragedy. Many children, not only those in poverty, have no "safe havens" where they can get off the streets, learn and focus their energies on activities that are creative, rather than destructive. There are excellent existing programs in the arts and humanities all over the U.S. that provide soul-saving and life-saving programs for youth.

I want you to work with the Endowments and the Institute of Museum Services, and with the Departments of Education, Justice, Health and Human Services, and Housing and Urban Development, to see how we can prevent kids from getting into trouble in the first place. I want you to find out what effective programs there are in the arts and humanities that help turn kids lives around, and give them the discipline and joy of positive self-expression. Then I am asking you to get together with leaders in the private sector and figure out a way to create more of these programs. They are so desperately needed.

Calls for New Philanthropy

Part of your mission is to expand private philanthropy. We all know the arts and the humanities depend on individual, corporate and foundation contributions for survival. Government funding is that crucial stimulus - but the private sector has to do the rest. I want you to reach out to the foundations and their trustees and make the case for funding cultural life. Community foundations are the fastest growing foundations in America and I want you to establish a new partnership with them. Supporting cultural life should be a part of being a corporate leader in America; you are those leaders - you can convey that message.

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We now live in a global economy. Phones, faxes, the Internet and CNN mean that information is instantly available. That has had some startling results, not only in driving the economy, but in increasing other countries' yearnings for democracy. The arts and the humanities are noted for building minds without borders and minds that can cross borders.

President's Committee member James Billington, Librarian of Congress, said, "The messy, unmeasurable power of ideas, ideals and cultural identities is often as strong a driving force in human affairs as the fists we fear and the food we crave." A keen understanding of the traditions and aspirations of other cultures is often as necessary for sound foreign policy as the more traditional political, military and economic activities.

The arts and the humanities are great ambassadors: just think of Isaac Stern giving master classes in China, or Václav Havel meeting with writers in Czechoslovakia. With Joe Duffey at USIA on the President's Committee, and Tim Wirth from the State Department, you can work within government and with the private sector to increase international cultural exchange, a project I know will be embraced enthusiastically by many of you.

[This section being checked by Joe Duffey]

Ask the President's Committee to increase access to cultural information

This Administration is working hard to encourage the creation of the national information infrastructure, which has the promise of giving all Americans access to a vast array of information, entertainment and services. The information superhighway can educate and enlighten as well, especially if the cultural and scholarly riches of society are available. I want you to work with the other government agencies and private sector so that a 12 year old in an inner city library, or at a home computer out in the country somewhere, would be able to see the paintings and sculpture in our museums, look at films and old photos, or a musical score; could do research on Greek mythology or a Native American tribe.

[This only repeats, in the most general terms, what the United States Commerce Department released September 7, in its publication, *The Information Infrastructure: Reaching Society's Goals*, which was approved by the IITF]



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

September 20, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: Melanne Verveer, First Lady's Office
Lisa Muscatine, Speechwriting

FROM: Ellen McCulloch-Lovell *EML*

SUBJECT: Talking points for 9/21/94

Joe Duffey at USIA signed off enthusiastically on having the President ask the President's Committee to encourage cultural diplomacy, or cultural exchange.

Please let me know if the specific points change substantially--our agenda for 10 a.m. - 3:30 p.m. that day is largely shaped around these five subjects.

Do you want me to write the First Lady's greetings and opening remarks?

Last we heard today, the *New York Times* (Bill Grimes) wants to interview Dr. Brademas. Needless to say, he is putting a lot into this and has high expectations for the White House ceremony.

P.S. I suggest we invite Antonella to the White House ceremony.

Jimmy Kennedy 1902-1984 and Hugh Williams (Will Grosz)

- 1 Red sails in the sunset.
Title of song (1935)

John F. Kennedy 1917-1963

- 2 I just received the following wire from my generous Daddy [Joseph P. Kennedy]—'Dear Jack. Don't buy a single vote more than necessary. I'll be damned if I'm going to pay for a landslide.'
Speech in Washington, 1958, in J. F. Cutler *Honey Fitz* (1962) p. 306
- 3 When we got into office, the thing that surprised me most was to find that things were just as bad as we'd been saying they were.
Speech at White House, 27 May 1961, in *New York Times* 28 May 1961, p. 39
- 4 Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind.
Speech to United Nations General Assembly, 25 Sept. 1961, in *New York Times* 26 Sept. 1961, p. 14
- 5 The President described the dinner [for Nobel Prizewinners] as 'probably the greatest concentration of talent and genius in this house except for perhaps those times when Thomas Jefferson ate alone.'
New York Times 30 Apr. 1962, p. 1
- 6 Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was '*civis Romanus sum*'. Today, in the world of freedom the proudest boast is '*Ich bin ein Berliner*'. . . . All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin. And, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words, '*Ich bin ein Berliner*'.
Speech in West Berlin, 26 June 1963, in *New York Times* 27 June 1963, p. 12
- 7 When power leads man toward arrogance, poetry reminds him of his limitations. When power narrows the areas of man's concern, poetry reminds him of the richness and diversity of his existence. When power corrupts, poetry cleanses. For art establishes the basic human truths which must serve as the touchstone of our judgement.
Speech at Amherst College, Mass., 26 Oct. 1963, in *New York Times* 27 Oct. 1963, p. 87
- 8 In free society art is not a weapon. . . . Artists are not engineers of the soul.
Speech at Amherst College, Mass., 26 Oct. 1963, in *New York Times* 27 Oct. 1963, p. 87
- 9 It was involuntary. They sank my boat.
Reply when asked how he became a war hero, in Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. *A Thousand Days* (1965) ch. 4
- 10 We stand today on the edge of a new frontier—the frontier of the 1960s—a frontier of unknown opportunities and perils—a frontier of unfulfilled hopes and threats. Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom promised our nation a new political and economic framework. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal promised security and succor to those in need. But the New Frontier of which I speak is not a set of promises—it is a set of challenges.

It sums up not what I intend to offer the American people, but what I intend to ask of them.

Speech accepting Democratic nomination in Los Angeles, 15 July 1960, in *Vital Speeches* 1 Aug. 1960, p. 611

- 11 Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

Inaugural address, 20 Jan. 1961, in *Vital Speeches* 1 Feb. 1961, p. 226

- 12 If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

Inaugural address, 20 Jan. 1961, in *Vital Speeches* 1 Feb. 1961, p. 226

- 13 Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Inaugural address, 20 Jan. 1961, in *Vital Speeches* 1 Feb. 1961, p. 227

- 14 All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

Inaugural address, 20 Jan. 1961, in *Vital Speeches* 1 Feb. 1961, p. 227

- 15 Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need—not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, 'rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation'—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.

Inaugural address, 20 Jan. 1961, in *Vital Speeches* 1 Feb. 1961, p. 227

- 16 And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country. My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Inaugural address, 20 Jan. 1961, in *Vital Speeches* 1 Feb. 1961, p. 227. Cf. Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., speech at Keene, New Hampshire, 30 May 1884: 'We pause to . . . recall what our country has done for each of us and to ask ourselves what we can do for our country in return.'

- 17 I believe that this Nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the Moon and returning him safely to earth.

Supplementary State of the Union message to Congress, 25 May 1961, in *Vital Speeches* 15 June 1961, p. 518

- 18 Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.

Speech at White House, 13 Mar. 1962, in *Vital Speeches* 1 Apr. 1962, p. 356