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- 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]
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December 23, 1993

Ms. Melanne Verveer
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Melanne:

It occurred to me that you might find of interest the enclosed materials.

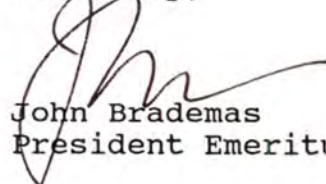
First, I'm sending you a news release and program of the conference on "The Clinton Administration, Congress and Europe" which I organized late last month and was held in the Chambers of the Spanish Senate. Henry Cisneros gave a splendid keynote address, and you can see the other participants from the United States. The conference was co-sponsored by the Cortes Generales of Spain and the King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center of New York University Foundation.

Second, I enclose a speech (and news release) I delivered in Barcelona in the Town Hall at the invitation of Mayor Pasqual Maragall.

Third, here is a speech I gave in Salzburg to open a Seminar on "The Economics of the Arts."

I'll hope to see you in the New Year, for which I send you my very best wishes.

Sincerely,


John Brademas
President Emeritus

JB:mso
Enclosures



THE KING JUAN CARLOS I OF SPAIN CENTER
OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY FOUNDATION

CASTELLANA, 31-30
28046 MADRID
SPAIN

**U.S., SPANISH POLITICAL LEADERS TO DISCUSS CLINTON FOREIGN POLICY
AT CONFERENCE IN SPANISH SENATE**

**FOUNDATION TO CREATE KING JUAN CARLOS I OF SPAIN CENTER
AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY ANNOUNCED**

For Immediate Release

Leaders from the governments of Spain and the United States will discuss the foreign policy of the Clinton Administration at a day-long conference to be held in the Palace of the Spanish Senate on Friday, November 26.

U.S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry G. Cisneros will address the connection between President Bill Clinton's domestic and foreign policies in a keynote speech on Friday morning.

Announcement of the conference, first of its kind, was made by Senate President Juan José Laborda Martín, who will welcome the participants at the opening session, and Dr. John Brademas, President Emeritus of New York University.

Following the conference sessions in the Senate, participants will be greeted by President Felix Pons Irazazabal of the Congress of Deputies at a dinner at the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum.

Conference participants from the United States will be, in addition to Secretary Cisneros, Senators Paul S. Sarbanes of Maryland (D) and Larry Pressler of South Dakota (R); Congressman Benjamin A. Gilman of New York (R); Tim Wirth, Counselor of the Department of State; Richard N. Gardner, Ambassador to Spain; and Stuart Eizenstat, Ambassador to the European Communities.

Following are the Spanish participants: Gustavo Suárez Pertierra, Minister of Education and Science; Senators Elena Flores Valencia (PSOE), Juan Antonio Gangioti Llaguno (PNV) and José Luis López Henares (PP); and Deputies Luis Martínez Noval, Rodrigo de Rato Figaredo (PP) and Miquel Roca i Junyent (CiU).

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Dr. Brademas, former President of New York University and for 22 years a Member of the U.S. Congress, will preside at the conference. He is author of a study of the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain.

The event will also mark the announcement of the establishment under Spanish law of the King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center of New York University Foundation, which is receiving funds to create a center, at the largest private university in the United States, for the study of Spain and the Spanish-speaking world.

His Majesty, King Juan Carlos I, is Honorary President of the Foundation and Dr. Brademas is President.

Funds being received by the Foundation will be used to renovate and equip a building in New York City's Greenwich Village as home for the King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center.

Founders of the Foundation include: Ambassador Manuel de Prado y Colón de Carvajal, Dr. L. Jay Oliva, Mr. Rodrigo Uria, Inmaculada de Habsburgo and Dr. Joaquín Romero Maura.

As of last month, the following persons and organizations have contributed to the Foundation: Ambassador de Prado, Banesto, Caja Madrid, Coca-Cola Spain, The Coca-Cola Foundation Endesa, Fundación Ramón Areces, Iberdrola, New York University, Tabacalera, Telefónica and "La Caixa".

Providing financial assistance for the November 26th conference are the NYNEX Corporation and Arthur Andersen.

In 1983 Dr. Brademas, as President of New York University, awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, to King Juan Carlos I and announced the establishment of a professorship, in the name of His Majesty, in Spanish culture and civilization.

New York University, with some 45,000 students and an annual operating budget exceeding \$1.4 billion, is one of the leading teaching and research universities in the United States.

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REMARKS OF DR. JOHN BRADEMAS
PRESIDENT EMERITUS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

SALZBURG SEMINAR
"THE ECONOMICS OF THE ARTS"

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1993
SALZBURG, AUSTRIA

I am honored to have been invited by my old friend, Olin Robison, to take part in this Salzburg Seminar on "The Economics of the Arts" and to join so many leaders of arts organizations from the United States and other countries. There, of course, could be no lovelier or more appropriate place to discuss this subject than Salzburg. Mozart must be smiling on our efforts!

Now the subject of our conversation this week is the economics of the arts but I hope you won't mind if what I say largely reflects my own experience in dealing with the politics of the arts.

I speak to you from several perspectives. I am the son of a Greek immigrant and an American schoolteacher who for nearly 50 years taught music and art to very young children.

After study at Harvard and Oxford Universities, I plunged into American politics and thirty-five years ago was elected to the first of several terms as a Member of Congress. There for twenty-two years I sat on the committee of the House of Representatives with primary responsibility for education legislation and for ten years chaired the subcommittee with jurisdiction over measures of our national government to support libraries and museums, the arts and humanities.

In 1981, after losing my seat in Congress in Ronald Reagan's landslide over Jimmy Carter--I am a Democrat!--I was elected president of New York University, the largest private university in the United States, with some 45,000 students and an annual budget of nearly \$1.5 billion.

NYU is a university with particular strength in the fine and performing arts and is, as you know, located in a city that is one of the great cultural centers of the world.

Since the spring of last year, I have been president emeritus of the University, an arrangement that enables me to continue to serve it and be active in several organizations that deal with subjects ranging from education, science, reform of Congress, U.S.

relations with Greece, Italy, Japan and Spain and the promotion of democratic political institutions in countries that do not enjoy them.

And I continue my interest in the arts, especially in public policy that affects the arts.

Indeed, earlier this year, I took part in conferences in St. Petersburg and Moscow on this subject, was with Bob Freeman of the Eastman School of Music last month in Rochester, New York, to debate government arts policy, and a few weeks ago at the White House watched President Clinton present medals to several outstanding American artists and writers.

So against this background I want to offer some comments about public policy for the arts which will in no way be exhaustive but I hope may be instructive.

I am well aware that the systems for support of the arts and culture generally vary widely among the many countries represented at this seminar. I certainly won't attempt to offer a review of comparative cultural policies--several scholars are now engaged in such work--but I'll focus on what I know best, the role of the government of the United States, the Federal government, in supporting the arts, and the impact of that support on arts patronage, public and private, and hope that at least some of what I say you may find useful in your respective societies.

Point number one. Although government in the United States assists the arts, government does not control them. Individual citizens and arts organizations, most of them voluntary, non-governmental and non-profit, do.

When it comes to financial assistance to the arts, the four major direct sources of support in the United States are individuals, business and industry, private foundations and government. I say "direct" because, as I shall note, there is considerable indirect support as well.

Certainly a fundamental question, at least in the United States, is whether the expenditure of public monies on the arts is even justified.

Here I offer you what I find a compelling rationale by a New York University Professor of Economics, William J. Baumol. Baumol observes that while productivity has risen dramatically in most sectors of the American economy, it has lagged in such professions as teaching, health care and the arts because all three "require a high level of personal input." Consequently, the costs of these activities just keep escalating.

Baumol calls this phenomenon "the cost disease of the personal services" because, unable inherently to boost their productivity, their costs go up in comparison with goods and services that can become more productive.

Baumol's list of what he describes as "the stagnant services" includes health care, education, legal services, postal services, police protection, the performing arts.

The senior United States Senator from my State of New York, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, not only an effective legislator but also a brilliant scholar, explained the Baumol effect this way: "Start with Mozart. In 1773 to produce a Mozart quartet required four persons, four stringed instruments, and say, 35 minutes. To produce a Mozart quartet today requires four persons, four stringed instruments, 35 minutes."

Moynihan's conclusion? "All these are public sector activities...[and, therefore,] migrate to the public sector. They must have public subsidy or they will disappear...."

We in the United States, with support from Presidents and members of Congress of both political parties, determined nearly a generation ago that we want public support of the arts.

The two chief agencies of the Federal government for supporting culture are the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Both agencies were created by Congress 28 years ago; I was one of the sponsors of the legislation.

Since established in 1965, the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities have provided direct financial assistance for the visual, literary, performing and media arts to both individual artists and arts organizations as well as for initiatives in the humanities. In 1992 the NEA invested over \$150 million in over 4,000 cultural organizations and creative artists throughout the United States.

The National Endowment for the Arts is in effect the national leader in a network of public funding agencies. By assisting state and local arts agencies and working with the private sector, the NEA leverages substantial support from the arts beyond its own grants.

An important feature in this respect is the concept of matching grants. With certain exceptions, for each Federal dollar granted by the National Endowment for the Arts, the recipient must provide three non-Federal dollars. This matching formula has proved highly effective in attracting private support for, and in stimulating public interest in, the arts in my country.

When the Endowment was created twenty-eight years ago, there were relatively few professional non-profit performing arts organizations in the United States. There were 58 orchestras, 22 professional theaters, 37 dance companies and 27 opera companies. Private support for the arts had been flat for a decade, at approximately \$250 million a year. Only seven states had arts agencies.

Today, however, there are in the U.S. 230 orchestras, 420 professional theaters, 37 dance companies and 120 opera companies. Private giving to the arts is estimated at nearly \$8 billion. And today every state in the nation has a public arts agency.

Through its grants to public arts agencies, state and local, the NEA has triggered additional financial support to arts organizations from those levels of government. All the 50 states, taken together, have matched NEA funds by a ratio of 6 to 1.

Here I must explain that the NEA makes decisions on grants to individual artists and arts organization through the use of grant advisory panels composed of persons knowledgeable about particular art forms.

The NEA also uses its funds to encourage particular projects, such as artists-in-the schools and touring dance companies.

Through such initiatives, NEA grants have come to be regarded by potential patrons, such as foundations and corporations, as a sign of quality and, therefore, the NEA unquestionably generates more support for the arts beyond its own funds.

The NEA encourages both excellence in the arts and access to them. Congress has insisted, for example, that NEA programs enable Americans from all regions of the country to have an opportunity to appreciate the arts.

To illustrate, the Arts Endowment has made several grants to the Mississippi Museum of Art in Jackson, Mississippi, with a population of just 200,000. These awards have made possible, in a poor, largely rural state, the creation of the first state-wide art museum branch network in the nation. Today because of NEA grants and other aid, more than 100,000 Mississippians, including some 45,000 school children, take part every year in a wide variety of programs offered by the state's art museums.

The National Endowment for the Humanities, by the way, is another very important source of support for culture and scholarship in the United States. The NEH supports, through grants to college and university-based scholars and to institutions of higher learning themselves, research, education and public programs

to advance and disseminate knowledge in disciplines that include history, philosophy, languages, linguistics, literature, archaeology, jurisprudence, ethics and comparative religion, and the history, theory and criticism of the arts.

I do not want to leave you with the impression that the use of Federal tax dollars for the arts is without debate. For the last few years, there's been a controversy concerning what type of art is appropriate or acceptable for government assistance. The most common criticism of art supported by the National Endowment for the Arts has been that it is "obscene." Indeed, in 1990, in response to these charges, a national Independent Commission, which was created by Congress and which with Leonard Garment I co-chaired, reviewed the grant-making procedures of the Endowment.

Our bipartisan Commission unanimously declared our opposition to specific legal restrictions on the content of works of art supported by the Endowment. We said, in effect, that although we might not personally approve of certain works of art, we were against government censorship. We said that artists must be free to express themselves.

We should not really be surprised that art is so potent a force. This is nothing new. After all, one of my Hellenic forebears explained in straightforward fashion how the political community of his day should deal with poets and playwrights. Aware of how troublesome and difficult artists could be, Plato in The Republic spelled out the way city-states should handle them:

If any such man comes before us, to show us his art, we shall kneel down before him as a rare and holy being. But we shall not permit him to stay. We shall anoint him with myrrh, and set a garland of wool upon his head. And we shall send him on his way, to another city.

Not only the United States but from everything I read, many other countries encounter difficulties in sorting out the relationship between their governments and the arts.

I take it that one of the reasons for our seminar in Salzburg this week is to discuss such problems and approaches to dealing with them.

Here let me speak briefly of two other initiatives, both of which I co-authored with Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, that have opened new doors to the arts in the United States.

One, the Museum Services Act, makes available through an Institute for Museum Services, modest but invaluable grants, up to \$75,000 each, for general operating support and conservation activities, to museums of every kind--art, history, science and technology--and to zoos and botanical gardens. In fiscal 1992, this small agency awarded nearly 1,000 grants totalling an estimated \$27 million, for a variety of purposes--to help museums pay for rent, salaries, maintenance and repairs; to meet the cost of conservation of collections; to encourage administrators to develop long terms plans for their collections.

A second measure is the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act, which provides indemnification by the Federal government to protect art and artifacts loaned by other countries for exhibit in American museums. This statute removes from the sponsoring museums the burden of expensive insurance premiums to protect against loss or damage. The level of indemnification is now up to \$300 million per exhibition, with an aggregate limit on all outstanding indemnities of \$3 billion. In case of loss or damage, the Federal government pays the bill.

Since its enactment in 1975, the indemnity program has made possible nearly 400 exhibits in American museums--including those celebrating Picasso and Braque, Tutankhamen and van Gogh, Velazquez and Alexander the Great--with almost no claims for loss or damage. Only last month I visited the Museum of Modern Art in New York to see the splendid Miro exhibition, which is protected by the Indemnity Act.

I've been discussing support for the arts from government but I have already observed that these government programs leverage additional patronage from the private sector, particularly business corporations and private foundations. Indeed, at the conference in St. Petersburg last spring, the leader of a major American business foundation, the Coca-Cola Foundation, described its grant to the Hermitage Museum while the Kress Foundation of New York has, I know, supported restoration projects in that great city. The Rockefeller Foundation, to cite another example, makes grants to individual artists and organizations and has sponsored art exhibitions that have toured the United States.

These comments lead me to another aspect of American life that bears directly on my subject, the tradition of philanthropy, which word, of course, derives from the Greek, meaning "love of mankind," and which the dictionary today defines as an active effort to promote human welfare.

The practice of private giving for the benefit of the public good springs from ancient religious and classical traditions. The Greeks and Romans emphasized giving for the well-being of the public at large.

Philanthropy in the United States is the product of these concepts, heavily influenced by the Protestant ethic and distinctly English tradition. Indeed, philanthropy in America is older than the nation itself. There are many examples during the colonial era of individuals' volunteering their own time and labor to serve the community.

Philanthropy was advanced through the creation of foundations -- entities established with an endowment of money the income of which is distributed for specified purposes such as health, education, culture. Early instances of the dedication of a portion of the great fortunes of American business to philanthropic purpose include the Carnegie Corporation, established in 1911, Rockefeller Foundation in 1913 and Ford Foundation in 1936.

In the United States today, the world of foundations is as diverse as that of higher education. Like American universities our foundations differ in size, origin and purpose. Some, such as those I have mentioned, have sprung from enormous private wealth. Others are created by business firms, still others by families.

The causes to which these entities devote their resources cover an equally broad terrain--from medical research to the promotion of peace and protection of the environment, from schools in America's urban ghettos to child nutrition in Third World countries.

My point here is that voluntary contributions of money and time are pervasive in American society. Nearly nine of every ten adults in the United States contribute in one way or another to some charitable cause or activity as do some half a million business firms and foundations. Last year in the United States, individuals, foundations and corporations contributed to all charitable purposes the sum of \$124 billion.

So the philanthropic ethic is particularly powerful, for a host of historical reasons, in the United States. I realize that this spirit of private giving is not deeply embedded in most societies. The Japanese, for example, have not, also for reasons of history, culture and religion, been notable donors to charitable causes. But I can assure you that within the last few years, the Japanese have become much more active philanthropically, certainly in supporting colleges and universities in the United States, including my own.

Now I am not so innocent as not to understand that for Japanese corporations, such generosity is good business. But that's true for business in the United States and in Europe, too!

Certainly one of my principal responsibilities as president of New York University was to raise funds from the private sector,

and I invested a good deal of my time and energy in pressing individual alumni, business corporations, private foundations, and others to contribute to our university. We were at one point raising well over \$2 million every week in such private funds.

This observation brings me to comment on the powerful link between the tax laws of a nation's government and encouraging contributions to charitable, non-profit institutions and activities, such as hospitals, universities, museums and libraries and, of course, the arts.

There are, to illustrate, several ways in which the tax laws of the United States government encourage the philanthropy.

The first and most direct way is tax exemption. We exempt from Federal income tax and most state and local taxes organizations that legitimately serve what law defines as the public interest. Non-profit arts organizations qualify for this exemption.

A second feature of U.S. tax laws that benefits culture is indirect--to allow deductions from income tax for taxpayers who make charitable contributions to such organizations as museums, dance, theater groups and musicals.

I know that some countries that do not have such provisions in their tax laws are now considering measures to stimulate contributions by individuals, business and industry to charitable purposes.

Indeed, I would like to propose today that with the 12 nations of the European Community having created a single market and with central and Eastern Europe advancing toward democracy and market based economies, the peoples of Europe might now add another dimension to their common home--philanthropy.

Has not the time come for members of the European Community jointly to shape policies to encourage individuals, corporations and foundations to contribute generously to institutions of learning, health and culture? The moment is here, I respectfully suggest, to explore prospects for developing a common European policy for philanthropy.

I can think of several items for an agenda for what I would call "A New Philanthropy for the New Europe." This agenda would include:

- pressing governments for more generous tax incentives for charitable giving;
- setting up indemnity arrangements to reduce the cost of insuring major art shows;

- sponsoring traveling exhibits of works of art, of library and archival material as well as performances by theater and dance troupes and musical groups;
- developing a network of shared information to make it easier to match up, Europe-wide, grant-seekers with potential funders.

The vision of Europe as a single market and economic superpower is becoming a reality. But if the European renaissance is to mean more than material well-being--if it is also to bring artistic and cultural and social advance--should there not be, focused on the emerging needs of the New Europe, a vital and vigorous philanthropic enterprise?

Today, as all of us are looking to a new era for the place of the arts in our several countries, what, as we look to public policy for the arts, are some of the directions we might take?

Here are just a few thoughts of mine:

First. We must make clear our determination to support quality. Excellence should be the hallmark of activities worthy of government assistance and, for that matter, private support. Mediocrity should not be our mission.

Second, access. The arts and other institutions of learning and culture must be open to all the peoples of our societies, no matter their cultural, ethnic and religious origins. Here I remind you of the words some 150 years ago of the English writer, William Makepeace Thackeray:

Genteel people, who can amuse themselves every day throughout the year, do not frequent the Louvre on Sunday. You can't see the pictures as well and are pushed and elbowed by all sorts of low-bred creatures....

This will not, I am confident, be the attitude of anyone at Salzburg this week!

Third, we should increase attention to arts education, that is, education about the arts and through the arts. Here we must ask what our schools can do to give children a greater sense of the importance, throughout their lives, of the arts.

Fourth, we must insist on respect for the freedom of the artist to create, and must be hostile, at a moment when formerly Communist countries are struggling to throw off government controls

and build free political institutions, to efforts of those who would censor what artists do and what people see and hear. I continue to be gratified by the unanimous bipartisan opposition of our Independent Commission on the National Arts Endowment to statutory restrictions on the content of art financed, even in part, by government funds.

And I recall in this regard some other words from the report of the Independent Commission:

Maintaining the principle of an open society requires all of us, at times, to put up with much we do not like but the bargain has proved in the long run a good one.

Fifth, too many of our leaders, both public and private, have lost sight of the enormous economic implications of the arts and other institutions of learning and culture. All these activities represent jobs, profits and economic growth. Last year, for example, the arts and other cultural activities in the greater New York City region generated nearly \$3.5 billion in wages, salaries and royalties. The arts and culture were responsible for over 100,000 jobs and their total economic impact generated nearly \$10 billion.

As the New York Times observed editorially, "The arts are clearly a major economic sector...their health should be treated with care."

Next point. Even as we in the United States have learned that crucial in their influence on the institutions of learning and culture is the tax policy of the Federal government, so too, I respectfully suggest, will you in your countries want carefully to examine the effect on the arts of taxes.

This observation brings me naturally to another point: You should encourage the ethic of philanthropy in your countries, especially through changes in your tax laws to stimulate contributions to the arts by individuals, business firms and private foundations.

One other suggestion, motivated by this Salzburg Seminar, is that all of us ought to encourage more systematic and imaginative exchanges of the finest products of the arts in our respective countries with other countries.

Finally, I believe it imperative that as champions of the arts, we should in our various societies vigorously voice our views to our political leaders. For as they make decisions about where to invest the nation's resources, we should make clear that the arts are not a frill, something to be supported if anything is

left over because nothing is ever left over. The arts should be supported in and of themselves.

I note in this regard that only last month the new Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, the brilliant and respected actress, Jane Alexander, announced her intention to create "a National Artists Task Force--a group of artists, patrons and administrators who will go out and speak on behalf of the arts and government support for the arts."

Said Jane Alexander, "We need to pull together as artists and arts organizations to educate and explain and to introduce more people to the arts...Task Force members would...speak...about how the arts create jobs, make the economy grow, improve the education of our children and give us the opportunity to come together as a community. Task Force members would talk about what the arts mean to them, about how the government--local state and federal--makes a real difference, and about how the arts in this country have grown tremendously over the past 28 years."

In sum, based on my own observations and experience, I believe that it is possible, with relatively modest investment of resources and without unwarranted involvement, for the institutions of government greatly to encourage the arts and all that they mean to human life. Certainly this has proved true in the United States.

I conclude these remarks by recalling some of the most eloquent testimony I heard in my twenty-two years of service in Congress. The witness before my committee was the distinguished American artist, Robert Motherwell, who was testifying in 1970 in support of legislation I had introduced to encourage education about the environment. This is what Motherwell said:

I am sure that scientists have or will testify to the relevant facts here and know them far better than I. I speak only as an artist. But to speak as an artist is no small thing. Most people ignorantly suppose that artists are the decorators of our human existence, the aesthetes to whom the cultivated may turn when the real business of the day is done. But actually what an artist is, is a person skilled in expressing human feeling...Far from being merely decorative, the artist's awareness...is one...of the few guardians of the inherent sanity and equilibrium of the human spirit that we have.

So you and I are all engaged in a profoundly important matter in Salzburg this week--working to insure that we nurture the talent of our creative artists so that art: beautiful, ugly; ordered, unruly; free-spirited, controlled...but indispensable, continues to nurture the creativity of our lives.

For "to speak as an artist is no small thing."

JOHN BRADEMAS

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FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

BRADEMAS CALLS FOR "A NEW PHILANTHROPY FOR THE NEW EUROPE."

Barcelona, Spain, Thursday, December 2, 1993.

"Is this not the time for the twelve nations of the European Community to develop a Europe-wide policy to encourage private sector contributions to education, health, the arts and other non-profit activities?", Dr. John Brademas, president emeritus of New York University, today asked leading figures in Catalan academic, business and political life.

In an address delivered in the medieval "Salo de Cent," or Town Hall, on "A New Philanthropy for the New Europe," Dr. Brademas, for eleven years (1981-1992) president of the nation's largest private university and for twenty-two years (1959-81) a Member of the U.S. Congress, was named by Mayor Pasqual Maragall as a "Friend of Barcelona." The honor is accorded to artists, scholars, writers and other who have made a contribution to the capital city of Catalonia.

Dr. Brademas is author of a pioneering study of the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Catalonia through the mid-1920s through the first year of the Spanish Civil War. His study, Anarcosindicalismo y revolucion en Espana, 1930-37, was published by Ariel in Barcelona in 1974.

Said Dr. Brademas: "The time has come for members of the European Community jointly to shape policies to encourage individuals, foundations and corporations to contribute generously to institutions of learning, culture and health."

The former NYU leader listed items for what he called "The New

Philanthropy for the New Europe."

This agenda would include:

- pressing governments for more generous tax incentives for charitable giving;
- setting up indemnity arrangements to reduce the cost of insuring major art shows;
- sponsoring traveling exhibits of works of art, of library and archival material as well as performances by theater and dance troupes and musical groups;
- developing a network of shared information to make it easier to match up, Europe-wide, grant-seekers with potential funders.

He add: "The vision of Europe as a single market and economic superpower is becoming a reality. But if the European renaissance is to mean more than material well-being--if it is also to bring artistic and cultural and social advance--should there not be, focused on the emerging needs of the New Europe, a vital and vigorous philanthropic enterprise?

Dr Brademas assigned particular importance to the effect of tax laws in stimulating private sector contributions.

On Sunday, December 5, Dr. Brademas will deliver the keynote address in Austria at a Salzburg Seminar on "The Economics of the Arts" to leaders from arts organizations from over 30 countries.

While in Congress, Dr. Brademas was a leading champion of legislation to support the arts and humanities, libraries and museums.

Last week former NYU president presided at a Madrid conference in the Senate of Spain on "The Clinton Administration, Congress and Europe," sponsored by the Cortes Generales of Spain and the King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center of New York University Foundation.

"A NEW PHILANTHROPY FOR THE NEW EUROPE"

ADDRESS OF DR. JOHN BRADEMAS
PRESIDENT EMERITUS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

ON THE OCCASION OF HIS BEING NAMED
A "FRIEND OF BARCELONA"

BY MAYOR PASQUAL MARGALL
SALO DE CENT OF THE CITY COUNCIL

BARCELONA, CATALONIA, SPAIN
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Your Excellency, Mayor Maragall, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I begin my address this evening with what I am sure are familiar words:

Veig alla el Pirineu amb ses neus somrosades
i al davant Catalunya tota estesa als seus peus,
i m'en vaig.

(I see the Pyrenees, the gilded peaks of snow,
and all of Catalonia, stretched out at their feet,
And I feel drawn.)

These, of course, are lines from the "Oda Nova a Barcelona" of the great poet and grandfather of the Mayor, Joan Maragall.

Allow me to say that I, too, am "drawn" to Catalonia, especially to this extraordinary city, Barcelona, and I am, therefore, deeply honored to have been invited by your distinguished Mayor, Pasqual Maragall, to speak in this magnificent medieval Salo de Cent of the City Council and to be awarded the title of "Friend of Barcelona."

For it was forty-two years ago that I first visited Barcelona, then as a student at Oxford University, and made friendships that have both continued and widened in the ensuing decades.

I recall, for example, meeting a young lawyer, then in the clandestine Catalan Socialist Party, who has with great distinction in several positions served his party, Catalonia and Spain--Joan Reventos Carner and I remember, too, a few years later, lunching with the monks at Montserrat, who wanted me to know their views on the Bishops of the Church of Spain.

My most intimate exposure to the history of this region, however, was in Amsterdam, during the early 1950s, in the archives of the International Institute of Social History, and in interviews with members of the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo en el Exilio in Paris, Bordeaux and Toulouse.

For while at Oxford, I wrote my doctoral dissertation, under the supervision of (now) Sir Raymond Carr, on the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Catalonia from the mid-1920s through the first year of the Spanish Civil War, the May Days of 1937.

I found fascinating my conversations with people like Felipe Alaiz, one of the founders of the Federacion Anarquista Iberica; as well as the anarchist historian, Jose Peirats, and Spain's first woman cabinet minister, Federica Montseny.

Some of you may know that my study was published in Barcelona by Ariel in 1974, the translation by a brilliant scholar and close friend, Joaquin Romero Maura, author of La Rosa del Fuego.

Five years after leaving Oxford, I was elected to the Congress of the United States, where I served for twenty-two years. While in the House of Representatives, I gave particular attention to writing legislation to provide support from the national government for schools, colleges and universities, libraries and museums and other institutions of learning and culture.

After having lost my seat in 1980, victim of Ronald Reagan's landslide victory over Jimmy Carter--I am a Democrat!--I was in 1981 elected president of New York University, located in the Greenwich Village area of lower Manhattan. NYU, as it is known, is the largest private university in the United States, with some 45,000 students and an annual operating budget approaching \$1.5 billion.

Since arriving in New York City a dozen years ago, I have continued my interest in Spain, Catalonia and Barcelona. Indeed, one of my first activities was to host, in cooperation with the University of Barcelona, a "Catalan Studies Week," featuring the history, literature and music of Catalonia and marked by the presence of Mayor Maragall.

Certainly the most dramatic symbol of the commitment of NYU to the study of Spain was the visit to our campus in December 1983, just ten years ago, of Their Majesties, King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sofia. At that time I was privileged to award His Majesty an honorary doctor of laws degree, the first conferred on him by a university in the United States, and announcing the creation of a chair in Spanish Culture and Civilization in the name of the King. Present on that occasion were Mayor Maragall and another friend, now Spain's distinguished Minister of Foreign Affairs, Javier Solana.

Under the King Juan Carlos I Professorship, an eminent figure has annually come to our campus to lecture. Holders of the chair have been Francisco Ayala, Jose Ferrater Mora, John Elliot, Jose Maria Maravall, Claudio Guillen and Raymond Carr.

From what I have already said, you will not be surprised to learn that the project for New York University to which I am now assigning my own highest priority is the establishment of the King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center. This Center will have three missions:

- * to support teaching and research on Spain and the Spanish-speaking world, including new attention to contemporary Spain;
- * to offer concerts, art exhibitions, films and lectures to bring the rich culture of Spain to the wider community;
- * and to be a place where leaders of Spanish business, government and the professions can meet their counterparts from the United States and other countries to discuss matters of mutual interest.

This effort is an essential component of our determination at New York University to direct the keenest attention to the study of the "New Europe." In this quest we are expanding on our already existing academic offerings.

Our Maison Francaise and Deutsches Haus, for example, complement our strong departments of French and German. Three years ago we dedicated a Casa Italiana Zerilli-Marimo and earlier this year, an Ireland House.

And as the first native-born American of Greek descent elected to the Congress of the United States, I cannot fail to add that last month marked the third anniversary of New York University's Onassis Center for Hellenic Studies, the preeminent center in the United States for the study of the entire range of Greek culture and civilization.

As I speak of the New Europe, I must here pay tribute to one of its architects. Not only do presidents and prime ministers contribute to improving the quality of life of the people they serve but so, too, do mayors!

There can be no doubt that one of the chief reasons for the rising popularity in Europe and elsewhere of Barcelona as a place to visit and in which to invest is your hardworking, imaginative and dedicated Lord Mayor, Pasqual Maragall.

I was, accordingly, not surprised to read in last month's issue of Actualidad Economica that in a poll of 500 top European executives, Barcelona was listed as the city that had most improved its image in recent years. Largely as a result of the investments in infrastructure and attention that accompanied the Olympic Games,

Barcelona is now regarded as one of the ten leading cities in Europe in which to locate business. Your Mayor and all of you as citizens of Barcelona can take pride in these achievements.

Indeed, in a recent report on Barcelona in the Financial Times, Mayor Maragall asserts that Europe's true roots, and best projection to the future, lie "not in the nations, not in the regions, but in the cities."

Let me note that I look forward to being with Mayor Maragall again next week in New York when he will receive the Gold Medal, annually awarded to an outstanding figure in Spanish life, by The Spanish Institute, whose able director, Inmaculada de Habsburgo, is known to many of you.

A TIME OF CHANGE

Now everyone in this hall realizes that we meet at a time of extraordinary change in the affairs of the world.

We have witnessed in recent years:

- * the collapse of the Soviet empire and beginnings of free and democratic political institutions and market economies in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.
- * the unification of Germany.
- * albeit fitful and uneven, advance toward a genuinely European Community.
- * concrete steps toward peace in the Middle East.
- * the end of apartheid and promise of multi-party democracy in the Union of South Africa.

Alongside these generally positive developments, however, have been others:

- * continued economic recession in Western Europe, Japan and, although diminishing, the United States.
- * corruption at the highest levels of business and government in countries like Italy and Japan.
- * the ongoing tragedy of war and human suffering, in Somalia, the former Soviet Union and, of course, former Yugoslavia.

The United States of America, now the world's only military superpower, seems unable to cope effectively with the strife in little Haiti even as the countries of Europe seem paralyzed, in the last decade of the 20th century, by the horrors of Serbian-Croatian-Muslim warfare in Bosnia and elsewhere.

Nor have I listed such challenges in the post-Cold War world as narcotics, environmental pollution, refugees, the prospect of a nuclear North Korea.

In my own country, we are wrestling with the demons of rising crime, a listless school system, racial conflict, AIDS, homelessness, high health care costs and slow economic growth.

You in Spain, in Catalonia, in Barcelona, will have your own catalogue of problems with which to cope as you seek to make your country and region and city vibrant crossroads of economic and cultural exchange in Europe and the world.

My thesis this evening is a straightforward one, and I speak from my experience as both a political leader and university president.

It is that in order to deal with the challenges we face, we require, in both our countries, all the knowledge, intelligence and imagination we can muster.

And this assertion leads me to a second, that we must--again in both Spain and the United States--strengthen our principal institutions for the creation and transmission of knowledge, our colleges and universities.

I come then, I trust logically, to the question of how to find and generate the financial resources essential to operate institutions of higher learning.

So I make bold to speak to you today about some of the methods of financing higher education in the United States, with particular attention to the place I know best, New York University.

I shall also, if you do not think it impertinent of me, discuss some strategies that leaders of education and culture in Catalonia and Spain more generally might wish to consider as you seek to stimulate increased support for universities, from both the private and public sectors.

I need not talk at length about state, or public, financing of education. You know that subject for better than I. But because private sector support for institutions of learning is not so widely spread or deeply rooted in Europe as in the United States, perhaps you may find some observations of mine on this matter useful.

And because Spain clearly belongs to the New Europe, I should like also to comment on the future of philanthropy generally in the European Community.

The Landscape of American Higher Education

Let me begin with a disclaimer. Although I pretend to know a little about anarcho-syndicalists in Catalonia, I am not an expert on Spanish universities. I do know something about the higher education system in the United States, which in certain respects is unique, with no real counterpart in Western Europe.

So I shall discuss what I know best and leave to you to decide whether what I say is relevant to Spain.

Of one fact, I am confident. In both our countries, in order to maintain our institutions and plan their future wisely, one ingredient is essential -- money.

As you know, higher education in the United States, unlike most Western European countries, is diverse and pluralistic, in nature, organization and sources of financial support.

There are over 3,500 colleges and universities in the United States and they come in all shapes and sizes. The universe of American higher education ranges from two-year community colleges to four-year liberal arts colleges, from technical institutes that focus on job training to the major research universities that produce fundamental discoveries and prepare the next generation of scholars and scientists.

Here I note that less than one-fifth of America's near 15 million post-secondary students are enrolled in a private college or university, like New York University, that is to say, an institution the leaders of which are not chosen by government.

I note, by way of contrast, that public institutions of higher learning are controlled by boards of trustees appointed or elected through a process in which, customarily, officials of the governments of the 50 states play some role.

The financing of American colleges and universities is as varied as their structures. Institutions of higher learning in the United States, both public and private, are supplied by a diversity of sources.

Among the sources are:

- tuition and fees paid by students and their parents;
- the Federal government, which provides funds chiefly for aid to students and for research and facilities;

- the governments of the 50 states, the tax dollars of which are the principal support of public colleges and universities;
- private philanthropic foundations;
- business and industry; and
- contributions from individuals, usually, but not always, graduates of the universities.

Now while both public and private institutions rely to some degree on each of these kinds of support, the proportions vary widely.

Most of the revenue for public colleges and universities comes directly from the governments of the 50 states. Most private institutions receive far less money from government sources and rely heavily on tuition charged to students.

Despite these differences, it is to an increasing degree true that all private universities in the United States are public and all public universities, private. Why do I say this?

As private colleges press for more aid from state and Federal governments and as public institutions aggressively seek private-sector donations from alumni, business and foundations, the distinction between public and private--at least in respect of financial support--is becoming blurred.

American Philanthropy

These comments lead me to another aspect of American life that bears directly on my subject: the tradition of philanthropy, which word, of course, derives from the Greek, meaning "love of mankind," and the dictionary today defines as an active effort to promote human welfare.

The practice of private giving for the public good springs from ancient religious and classical, especially Greek and Roman, traditions.

Philanthropy in the United States is the product of these concepts, heavily influenced by the Protestant ethic and distinctly English tradition. Indeed, philanthropy in America is older than the nation itself. There are many examples during the colonial era of individuals' volunteering their own time and labor to serve the community.

Philanthropy was advanced through the creation of foundations -- entities established with an endowment of money the income of which is distributed for specified purposes such as health, education, culture. Early instances of the dedication of a portion

of the great fortunes of American business to philanthropic purpose include the Carnegie Corporation, established in 1911, Rockefeller Foundation in 1913 and Ford Foundation in 1936.

In the United States today, the world of foundations is as diverse as that of higher education. Like universities, foundations differ in size, origin and purpose. Some, such as those I have mentioned, have sprung from enormous private wealth. Others are created by business firms, still others by families.

The causes to which these entities devote their resources cover an equally broad terrain -- from medical research to the promotion of peace and protection of the environment, from schools in America's urban ghettos to child nutrition in Third World countries.

I myself sit or have sat on the boards of a number of these institutions, including the Rockefeller Foundation, Texaco Foundation and the New York Stock Exchange Foundation. And I am involved in the activities of others, including a program to combat drug and alcohol abuse sponsored by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and a Commission on Science, Technology and Government financed by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

My point here is that voluntary contributions of money and time are pervasive in American society. Nearly nine of every ten adults in the United States contribute in one way or another to some charitable cause or activity, as do some half a million business firms and foundations. Last year in the United States, individuals, foundations and corporations contributed to all charitable purposes the sum of \$124 billion.

Appealing to Constituencies

I want now to tell you a little about how we who lead private universities in the United States seek to generate financial support from both private and public sources.

Here let me explain that the position of "president" in the American university system encompasses both ceremonial and substantive duties. An American university president is like a British university chancellor and vice chancellor rolled into one!

To reiterate, as head of a private university, I was not appointed by any governmental authority or elected by deans, professors or students. Rather, I was chosen by a board of trustees, about 50 in number, of men and women prominent in business and industry, the professions and the arts.

At both public and private institutions, an American university president acts as chief operating officer, overseeing all the academic, administrative and financial affairs of the university, as well as representing it on public occasions.

Without question, however, one of my major responsibilities as president was to raise money from private, that is to say, non-governmental, sources, for New York University. So I led an effort that produced over \$2 million every week. Indeed, during my eleven years as president, we raised, in private contributions for NYU, a total of over \$800 million.

In raising money, where should a university or any institution of learning or culture look?

Certainly, a prime source of support for American colleges and universities is business and industry. In fact, corporations in the United States last year contributed \$1.7 billion to higher education. Corporations are by comparison, I believe, relatively untapped in Western European countries.

In this connection, I recall a visit I made to Argentina in 1961, when I was a Member of Congress, to explore ways to strengthen Latin American universities. Soon after that trip, I had occasion to meet the then Prince Juan Carlos. I told the future King that I believed my recommendations for improving Latin American universities might also apply to Spain. My chief proposal was that Spanish universities become much more aggressive in asking business and industrial firms to endow professorships, particularly in fields important to the economic and social development of the regions of Spain in which the businesses were located.

A generation ago, I had in mind chairs in engineering and architecture, agronomy and biomedicine, public administration and business management. My thought was that corporations would be a fertile area for financial support for Spanish universities. Why? Because I felt then -- and still do -- that far-sighted business and industrial leaders are likely to be sensitive to the direct connections between, on the one hand, investment in teaching and research and, on the other, the skilled employees, new scientific discoveries and advanced technologies on which modern industry must rely.

I have earlier asserted that the philanthropic ethic is particularly powerful, for a host of historical reasons, in the United States. I realize that this spirit of private giving is not deeply embedded in most societies. The Japanese, for example, have not, also for reasons of history, culture and religion, been notable donors to charitable causes. But I can assure you that within the last few years, the Japanese have become much more active philanthropically, certainly in supporting colleges and universities in the United States, including my own.

Now I am not so innocent as not to understand that for Japanese corporations, such generosity is good business. But that's true for business in the United States and in Europe, too!

Other important sources of support for American universities are the private foundations I have earlier mentioned.

Of course, among the key constituencies of a university are its graduates. They are, after all, among the most direct beneficiaries of the teaching and research conducted on a campus. Alumni are also familiar with the institution and, one hopes, have fond memories of it. They usually look sympathetically on requests for support.

Universities in the United States have also been able to attract the loyalties of individual donors, some without any previous affiliation with the institution but who are impressed with a particular area of research and scholarship and desire to contribute to it.

To give you an idea of the relative contribution of these sectors, I use the example of New York University. Of all the private funds NYU raised last year, 52 percent came from individuals, 32 percent from foundations and 16 percent from corporations.

And let me here make note that a growing portion is coming from individuals, foundations and corporations, outside the United States.

I have already alluded to our new Casa Italiana, made possible by a gift from the Baroness Mariuccia Zerilli-Marimo in memory of her late husband, an Italian business leader. Our Onassis Center for Hellenic Studies was created by a grant from the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, based in Athens. And several Japanese financial institutions have donated funds for our Center for Japan-U.S. Business and Economic Studies. Certainly I have found that leaders of Spanish business and industry are willing to support institutions in the United States devoted to the study of Spain.

So geographic borders are not barriers to fundraising!

Now I have been speaking of the private side of the fundraising equation. Let me say a brief word about the role of the government in financing American higher education.

In the United States, support by the Federal government for higher education, both public and private, is now widely accepted. In the earliest days of our history, nearly all colleges and universities were private in nature as was were their sources of support. The evolution of major help from Federal tax dollars has been gradual but is now substantial.

The government of the United States today provides grants and loans to talented but financially needy college students and supports much of the scientific research conducted on American campuses.

Each of the 50 states also aids higher education. As I have said, state tax dollars subsidize chiefly public colleges and universities. But some progressive states, like my own New York State, also assist private institutions through aid to students, research and special projects.

In the United States, local and municipal governments do not play a major role in financing higher education.

Because actions of the Federal and state governments have such a direct and dramatic effect on our universities, those who lead these institutions spend a great deal of time and effort in building relationships with government officials, elected and appointed.

Suggestions for Spanish Institutions

Now having surveyed the fundraising terrain for colleges and universities in the United States, I modestly offer several suggestions to my friends here in Spain.

My first observation is this: You must make clear to potential supporters--political leaders and private benefactors both--that a healthy system of higher education is indispensable to the Spain of the 21st century.

And with respect, I believe that the case I make for support of American colleges and universities can be made for Spanish higher education as well.

It is that upon colleges and universities, whether in Spain or the United States, rests the future of our two nations. Why do I say this?

First, the enterprise of education lies at the heart of a vigorous, expanding economy. Universities will be a critical determinant of the economic health of both our countries in the remainder of this century and beyond.

Second, colleges and universities are vital to our national security. To shape a sound and effective foreign policy--and then carry it out--are simply not possible without leaders, experts, managers and diplomats, all prepared by universities.

And third, it must be obvious that without strong and creative universities, we cannot sustain a strong and creative intellectual, cultural and civic life.

But beyond the instrumental ends served by institutions of higher learning, there is another dimension to their contributions. Simply put, our societies have a responsibility to foster the advance of human knowledge as important in its own right.

In pressing the case for support of higher education, you should address in more personal fashion two groups in particular: those blessed by great affluence and the graduates of a university.

I remind you that most religions teach the special responsibility of the wealthy to return a portion of their income to charity. Certainly those students who have attended an institution of higher learning and presumably benefited from the experience have a moral obligation to ensure that future generations are accorded the same opportunity.

My second recommendation is this: Keep your fundraising focused. It does little good to raise money if it is then designated for projects you do not consider worthwhile or essential to the future of your institutions.

Another point: Assign a high priority in fundraising to unrestricted gifts, that is, those not earmarked for a particular purpose but to be expended at the discretion of the university. These donations give the institution invaluable flexibility to meet important needs or seize sudden opportunities.

A third suggestion: Actively court business and industry in support of your institutions. Educational progress and economic development are inextricably linked. I'm sure this maxim is true for Spain as well as the United States.

A fourth point: To generate resources, you must invest some. Successful cultivation of benefactors involves research, carefully crafted appeals and the capacity to follow through once a request for a gift has been made.

And have in mind the attractiveness of what we in American philanthropy call "naming gifts." To pay tribute to the donor of funds to endow a professorship or construct an academic building, we assign the name of the benefactor in perpetuity to the chair or structure. This practice is in the United States regarded as a very great honor and has on occasion been, to speak candidly, an avenue to prestige for persons of means who might otherwise not be well known by their fellow citizens.

My fifth piece of advice: Develop a network of alumni and friends who will themselves make contributions and help raise money from others.

Here I would remind you that students from other countries who study in Spain, particularly those from the United States, represent a group of potential donors you should not overlook.

A sixth recommendation: Polish the image of your institution and project it to wider audiences. Regularly cultivate the media, both print and television, to keep your message in the public eye.

In offering my final recommendation, I put on my second hat--that of a politician. Over two decades of service in Congress taught me a lesson that was reinforced in my years as a university president. To win support, university leaders must build relationships with elected political officials, both executive and legislative, and with civil servants responsible for education matters.

Once such relationships are established, academics can more effectively make their case before government and ensure that education obtains its fair share of the nation's resources.

You are more qualified than I to decide what messages and appeals should be sent through such pipelines of communication here in Spain.

Let me, however, make this specific suggestion: You should encourage the leaders of your government to take a careful look at your tax structure with a view toward providing incentives for individuals, foundations and corporations to make contributions to colleges and universities and other institutions of learning and culture.

The Tax Code as Incentive to Charity

I should like to linger on this subject for it is through the tax laws of a nation's government that the charitable ethic often finds most tangible and potent expression.

To illustrate, there are several ways in which the tax laws of the United States government assist charitable, non-profit institutions, including hospitals, libraries, museums, symphony orchestras, social welfare agencies -- and colleges and universities.

The first and most direct way is tax-exemption. We exempt from Federal income tax and most state and local taxes organizations that legitimately serve what law defines as the public interest. Colleges and universities, both public and private, qualify for this exemption.

Colleges and universities also benefit from their ability to sell tax-exempt bonds to help finance the construction of facilities or purchase of equipment. Because the income from such bonds is not subject to taxation, they are more attractive to investors.

A second feature of American tax laws that benefits education and culture is to allow deductions from income tax for taxpayers who make charitable contributions.

Only recently, I note, our Congress voted to increase the tax benefit from donations of works of art, books and manuscripts to museums, libraries and universities.

Still another feature of U.S. law allows tax credits for businesses that invest in research and development conducted by universities.

Also, if employers pay for the tuition of their employees who enroll in university courses, the employees are not required to pay taxes on such tuition benefits.

I should add that many major American corporations encourage contributions by their directors and employees to colleges and universities by offering to match, usually on a dollar-for-dollar basis, up to a certain limit, contributions to colleges and universities selected by the donors.

In Spain, however--so I am told--although corporate donors may deduct up to ten percent of their taxable income for gifts to charity, individuals are not permitted to deduct such contributions.

I was very pleased even this week to learn that the Council of Miisters has approved sending to the Cortes a "ley de Fundaciones y Mecenazgo" to stimulate greater private sector giving to charitable organizations and activities. It must be obvious from what I have said that I wish this effort well.

Federal Support of Learning and Culture

There are ways, other than the tax code, by which the government of the United States supports the life of the mind and imagination. Let me mention several, all of which I had a hand in creating when I served in Congress. Again, I offer these only by way of example.

I note, first, the Museum Services Act, which created the Institute of Museum Services. The Institute offers modest but invaluable grants for general operating support to museums of every kind--art, history, science and technology--and to zoos and botanical gardens.

A second instrument is the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act, which provides indemnification by the Federal government to protect art and artifacts loaned by other countries for exhibit in American museums. This statute removes from the sponsoring museums the burden of expensive insurance premiums to protect against loss or damage. The level of indemnification is now up to \$300 million per exhibition, with an aggregate limit on all outstanding indemnities of \$3 billion. In case of loss or damage, the Federal government pays the bill.

Since enacted in 1975, this indemnity program has made possible nearly 400 exhibits in American museums--including those celebrating Picasso and Braque, Tutankhamen and van Gogh, Velazquez

and Alexander the Great--with almost no claims for loss or damage. Only last month I visited the Museum of Modern Art in New York to see, the splendid Miro exhibition, which is protected by the Indemnity Act.

Two of the most important pillars of support for culture in the United States are the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Both agencies were created by Congress 28 years ago; I was one of the sponsors of the legislation.

An important feature of both Endowments is the concept of matching grants. In the arts, for example, for each Federal dollar granted by the National Endowment for the Arts, or the NEA, the recipient must provide three non-Federal dollars. This matching formula has proved highly effective in attracting private support for, and in stimulating public interest in, the arts.

One sign of the role of the Arts Endowment as a catalyst for the arts has been the expansion of arts agencies and councils at the state and local level. Before the creation of the NEA, only seven states had arts agencies; today all 50 states do. Taken together, these state arts agencies currently provide some \$300 million annually in state government tax monies for the arts. In addition, over 3,000 communities have their own local arts agencies, with a combined budget of more than \$250 million each year.

New Challenges for a New Europe

Now I have spoken of various ways in which American tax laws and other government incentives encourage private giving for education and the arts. And I have said that some of these ideas might be worthy of consideration in Spain.

Allow me to go a step further. Because of the importance of private as well as public support to the maintenance of a vibrant and civilized society, and because we meet at a time of great change on this continent, I propose that serious attention now be directed to philanthropy in the New Europe.

With the 12 nations of the European Community having created a single market and with Central and Eastern Europe advancing toward democracy and market-based economies, I respectfully suggest that the peoples of Europe might now consider another dimension of their common home: philanthropy.

Has not the time come for members of the European Community jointly to shape policies for encouraging individuals, foundations, and corporations to contribute generously to institutions of learning, culture and health?

Has not the time come for discussions of how to generate substantial private-sector support to serve the educational, cultural and social needs and aspirations of a united Europe of over 300 million people?

Now I realize that there already exists a strong philanthropic base in Europe, with private charitable foundations in a number of countries. Several European states have created tax incentives of one form or another to spur private giving. And, of course, every government in Europe subsidizes--directly or indirectly--cultural, educational and health-related organizations and activities.

But even as I acknowledge what is in place in individual member-states, I should like to argue that much more can be done at the Community level.

Surely, there are needs in education, culture and human welfare not adequately being met by government subvention and where added support from the private sector can be of immeasurable assistance.

And surely, too, this is a moment to explore the prospects for developing a common European policy for philanthropy.

In research and manufacturing, such cooperative ventures are already booming as governments and companies across the continent join forces on projects aimed at making Europe a more competitive with the United States and Japan. From aircraft to semi-conductors, from atom-smashers to high-definition television, such consortia abound. Why not extend the spirit of the Common Market to the realm of philanthropy?

I realize there have been modest steps in this direction. For example, a group of European foundation executives has created a transnational organization of major foundations in Western Europe, the European Foundation Center, to enhance communications among foundations. The EFC is also active in stimulating the voluntary sector in Central and Eastern Europe.

Of course, the prospects of developing all manner of private-sector initiatives in the formerly Communist world must excite the imaginations of us all. Earlier this year, in both St. Petersburg and Moscow, I participated in meetings where Americans exchanged views with Russians about ways of encouraging both private and public support of activities ranging from the arts to early childhood programs and protection of the environment.

Initiatives such as the EFC can help define a coherent role for the voluntary, non-profit, private sector in the new Europe. What might that role entail?

I can think of several items on an agenda for what I would call "the new philanthropy for the New Europe". This agenda would include:

- pressing governments for more generous tax incentives for charitable giving;
- setting up indemnity arrangements to reduce the cost of insuring major art shows;
- sponsoring traveling exhibits of works of art, of library and archival material as well as performances by theater and dance troupes and musical groups;
- developing a network of shared information to make it easier to match up, Europe-wide, grant-seekers with potential funders.

The vision of Europe as a single market and economic superpower is becoming a reality. But if the European renaissance is to mean more than material well-being--if it is also to bring artistic and cultural and social advance--should there not be, focused on the emerging needs of the New Europe, a vital and vigorous philanthropic enterprise?

* * * * *

Let me summarize what I have tried to say today.

First, I have spoken of that sector of the non-profit world I understand best--higher education--and how the financing of the American university depends directly and deeply on both public and private sources of support.

I then extracted from my own experience some rules for fundraising that may be of interest to you in Spain.

Finally, I respectfully suggested that in the building of the New Europe, careful consideration be given to the role of philanthropy and the development of a pan-European policy for it.

Let me conclude with words spoken at my university a decade ago by a distinguished visitor. Upon receiving the degree of doctor of laws, honoris causa, our guest spoke of the new challenges posed by society and the role of what he called the "humanistic vocation" in meeting those challenges. Said our eminent honoree:

For all of us, professors, students, citizens and rulers, the adaptation of...structures to a world in which universal values of freedom, equality and justice prevail must be a task of high priority. It is a mission that justifies any sacrifice, and must inspire our will and our imagination.

The speaker at New York University was, of course, His Majesty King Juan Carlos I, and his words in December 1983 eloquently invoke the spirit that draws us together today.

As Spain was mother to the first universities in the New World, may Spain--led by vibrant, vigorous Catalonia--now nurture learning, culture and philanthropy in the New Europe.

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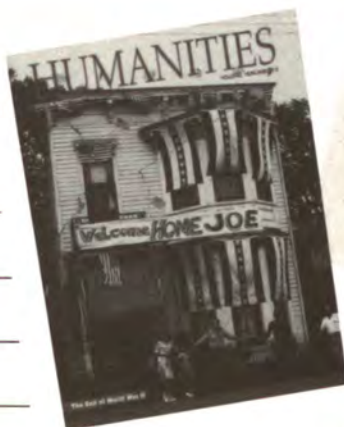
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HUMANITIES

MARCH/APRIL 1996

VOLUME 17/NUMBER 1

1996 JEFFERSON LECTURER
TONI MORRISON



update
6-13-96

ENTERTAINERS AT THE WHITE HOUSE
President Clinton's Administration

file arts

1993

1/31/93

Governor's Ball Dinner

Lauren Bacall

Carol Channing

Barbara Cook

Daisy Eagan

Savion Glover

Linda Lavin

Stephen Mancuso

Rita Moreno

James Naughton

Robert Tatad

WISEGUYS--James Carsuo

Gary Floyd

Ken Lundie

4/21/93

Holocaust Memorial Fund

Mandy Patinkin

6/5/93 PRESIDENT'S Georgetown Reunion

Chuck Berry

Lazy Boys

Starland Vocal Band

Drifters

The Chimes

The Gracenotes

The Spinners

6/8/93 Congressional Picnic

Riders In the Sky

6/18/93

40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE NEWPORT JAZZ FESTIVAL -

WETA In Performance at the White House Series

Bobby McFerrin - Vocals

Herbie Hancock - Piano

Wynton Marsalis Septet ✓

Rosemary Clooney and her Trio

Swing Jam

Dorothy Donegan

BEBOP JAM

Joe Williams

9/9/93 Concert and Reception

Mstislav Rostropovich ✓

Sarah Wolfensohn

10/7/93

Medal of Arts Dinner ✓

Isaac Stern

Rita Dove

St. Lawrence String Quartet

Chee-Yun

Camellia Johnson

11/23/93

Dinner for Korean President ✓

Jessye Norman

Marvin Laird - Piano

11/29/93

WETA In Performance at the White House

Bobby Short

Dixie Carter

Shirley Horn

Blossom Dearie

Len Cariou

①

12/1/93

DNC Dinner

Nancy LaMott

1994

3/17/94

Celebration of Ireland

ALTAN

Kevin Broesler's School of Dancing

Phil Coulter

Barbara Murphy Edwards

Dierdre O'Callahan

Sharon Shannon Band

4/11/94

Thomas Jefferson Dinner

Clay Jenkinson as Thomas Jefferson

4/19/95

Women's Bureau Event

Whim and Rhythm - Yale Women's Chorus

4/19/94

DNC Trustee Dinner

Bette Carter

5/25/94 **Senate Spouse's Luncheon**
Glenn Pearson - Pianist
Jon Nazdin - Doublebass

6/10/94 **Black Tie Dinner**
Awadagin Pratt, Pianist

6/13/94 **Emperor and Empress of Japan - State Dinner**
Mstislav Rostropovich
Lambert Orkis

6/20/94 **WETA In Performance at the White House**
Aretha Franklin
Lou Rawls
Les McCann
Eastern High School Choir

6/23/94 **Congressional Picnic**
Trisha Yearwood

6/29/94 **Diplomatic Reception**
THE FLOATING OPERA - Glenn Pearson

7/27/94 **World War II Rose Garden Ceremony**
Marine Band
Russian Red Star Army Band

7/27/94 **President Yeltsin of Russia - State Dinner**
Kathleen Battle - soprano ✓
Joseph Jaubert - piano
YALE RUSSIAN CHORUS - Reception

8/19/94 **PRESIDENT'S Birthday**
Crosby, Stills and Nash

9/10/94 **Celebration of BASEBALL**
Dodsworth Saxhorn Band

9/12/94 **AMERICORP National Service Event**
Sounds of Blackness

(2)

- 9/22/94 ASCAP Rhythm and Blues Event**
Michael Bolton
Lyle Lovett
Pointer Sisters
Ruth Brown
Anita Baker
Booker T and the MG's
Jon Hendricks
Ashford and Simpson
- 10/5/94 President Mandela of South Africa - State Dinner**
Whitney Houston
- 10/17/94 Arts and Humanities Awards Lawn Ceremony**
The Metronomes
- 10/17/94 Arts and Humanities Awards Black Tie Dinner**
Itzhak Perlman - violin ✓
Novah Perlman - pianist
- 11/30/94 President Kuchma of the Ukraine - State Dinner**
Nancy LaMott

1995

- 1/29/95 Governor's Dinner**
Mary Chapin Carpenter
- 2/9/95 Chancellor Kohl of Germany - Official Dinner**
Tony Bennett and the Ralph Sharon Trio
Washington Sangerbund German American Chorus - Reception
- 3/3/95 NPR Event**
Bette Midler
Edward James Olmos
Blythe Danner
Kathleen Turner
Martin Sheen
Roscoe Lee Brown
Lolita Davidovich
Robert Klein
Jason Robards
Charles Dutton
Jane Curtin
Taj Mahal
Kim Jordan

Tony Hendra
Buck Henry
Robert Krulwich
Michael Feinstein
Tom and Ray Magliozzi
Marc Shaiman
Eric Stern
Dawn Upshaw

- 3/15/95** **King Hassan of Morocco - State Dinner**
Modern Jazz Quartet
- 3/17/95** **Irish American Reception**
Barbara Murphy Edwards
Spirits of Gilbride
Joe Derrane
Felix Dolan
Eileen Ivers
Liam Harney
Gabriel Donohue
Frank Patterson, Eily O'Grady, Eanan Patterson
- 4/10/95** **Diplomatic Corp Reception**
Gene Donati Orchestra
- 4/20/95** **President Cardoso of Brazil - State Dinner**
Ramsey Lewis and Billy Taylor
- 5/17/95** **WETA IN PERFORMANCE "Women of Country"**
Kathy Mattea
Alison Krauss and Union Station
Suzy Bogguss
Chet Atkins
- 5/25/95** **Irish American Economic Reception**
Celtic Thunder
- 6/12/95** **Senate Spouses Luncheon**
Marvin Hamlisch
- 6/20/95** **Congressional Picnic**
DAVID SANBORN and the Manhattan School of Music Orchestra

(3)

7/18/95 **Press Party**
The Hubcaps

7/27/95 **President Kim of Korea - State Dinner**
Liza Minnelli

8/10/95 **President Clinton's Birthday Party and Western Send-Off**
Jimmy Buffett

9/27/95 **Heritage Awards**
The Blind Boys of Alabama

9/27/95 **Circle of Care Dinner**
Mandy Patinkin

9/29/95 **Medal of Freedom Ceremony**
The Ying Quartet

9/29/95 **Arkansas Lawn Concert Party**
Army Chorale and Army Blues

10/4/95 **Arts and Humanities Lawn Ceremony**
North Carolina School of the Arts Saxophone Quartet
New Century Saxophone Quartet
James Houlik

10/4/95 **Arts and Humanities Dinner**
Pinchas Zukerman ✓
Marc Neikrug

10/10/95 **Mexican State Dinner**
Limon Dance Company

12/18/96 **Governor's Black Tie Reception**
Vienna Boys Choir

1996

2/1/96 **France State Dinner**
Thomas Hampson
Craig Rutenberg

2/4/96 **Governor's Dinner**
Gary Morris
Gary Hooker

3/15/96 **St. Patrick's Day Reception**
Celtic Thunder
Marine Irish Serenade

4/2/96 **Italian State Dinner**
Bernadette Peters - vocals
Marvin Laird - piano

4/26/96 **Arts and Humanities Programs for Youth at Risk Reception**
Chicago Childrens Choir

4/30/96 **FDR Memorial Commission Black Tie Dinner**
Jane Alexander
Edward Herrmann
Barbara Carroll - vocals/piano
Frank Tate - Bass

5/6/96 **WETA In Performance at the White House** (4)
Linda Ronstadt
Aaron Neville

5/9/96 **GREEK STATE DINNER**
National Dance Institute "Celebration Team"
(coordinated by Jacques d'Amboise)

5/28/96 **HISPANIC RECEPTION**
Tish Hinojosa
Ruben Blades

6/13/96 **IRISH STATE DINNER**
Mary Chapin Carpenter
Mary Black

6/18/96 **PRESS PICNIC**
Kid Creole and the Coconuts

6/20/96 **Congressional Picnic**
Marine Band
Impromptu

6/21/96 **Senate Spouses Luncheon**
Weslia Whitfield

Carmen

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

NATIONAL ARTS AND HUMANITIES MONTH
October 1996

Each year we set aside the month of October to honor the arts and the humanities and to celebrate the cultural life of America. The arts are the fundamental expression of the human spirit; the humanities are a testament to our shared aspirations. Together, they restore and renew us, delight and instruct, console and entertain. They are our legacy, defining us as individuals, as families, as communities, and as a nation.

While we so often look to technological gains alone as the measure of our success, creativity is the real key to unlocking human potential. When we foster artistic excellence and critical inquiry, we expand our ability to achieve academically, intellectually, socially, and economically. While the arts challenge and develop our imagination, the humanities allow us to better understand ourselves and others through collective reflection and learning. The arts and humanities help to lay the groundwork for accomplishment. We have seen it in our schools, where test scores are up and drop-out rates are down as a result of arts education. We have seen it in our cities, where cultural districts are breathing new life into once-stagnant neighborhoods. And we have seen it in ourselves, each of us -- Americans of all backgrounds and ages -- as we share our experiences through songs, poems, folk arts, literature, history, and other expressions of the soul.

Defying definition and touching us in ways we cannot always explain, the arts and humanities reflect the depth and beauty of the human condition and exalt both our common bonds and our diversity. As we observe National Arts and Humanities Month, let us pay tribute to America's rich cultural heritage and honor our own unique cultural contributions to our society.

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Bill Clinton

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Clinton Presidential Records
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- Blair Brown (past Pres) actor
- Marlo Thomas, actor
- Brenda Boozar, opera singer
- Sharon O'Connell
- Richard Masur, actor
- Pres

3/5/97
Chelonne
for comment
ms

January 31, 1997

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

1. C. Miller
2. Stephen
Screen Actors Guild

Dear Mr. President,

On March 10 and 11th the Creative Coalition will send many of their board members to Washington for Arts Advocacy Day. Our group will include our President, Alec Baldwin and board members Marlo Thomas, William Baldwin, Griffin Dunne, Mercedes Ruehl, and others.

The Creative Coalition is non-profit organization of activists from the arts and entertainment community who feel a social responsibility to educate its members and the public on important social and political issues of the day. One of the greatest concerns of the coalition is the very existence of the National Endowment for the Arts. We would like twenty minutes of your time on March 10th to discuss the reality of funding cuts and the devastation it will bring to the arts and entertainment community. The future of our artistic culture is threatened by eliminating the vital grants that support youth programs, public school art classes, novice and established artists.

On March 11th our board members will meet with Members of the House and the Senate to discuss the vital importance of the NEA. So many of these artists were major supporters, working for you during both the campaigns. Now, they would like to talk to you about the funding that is the lifeline to their work.

(b)(6)

Hope to see you on the 10th!

Fondly,

Kathie

12:30 - 12:45

212 484-7434 Dooley



THE CREATIVE COALITION

National Office:
1100
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New York
NY 10036-6712
(212) 512-5515
(FAX) 512-5895

Alec Baldwin
President

Meir Z. Ribalow
Vice President

Susan Vore Liederman
Secretary

Ronald H. Shechtman
Treasurer

Sharon O'Connell
Executive Director

Sharon McCaffrey
Assistant Director

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Chairman of the Board

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Dan Greenburg

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Judith Halevi

Jynne Keyes

Geraldine Laybourne

Doug Marlette

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Bob Mitchell

Erangelina Morphos

Johnnie Planco

Christopher Reeve*

Amy Robinson

Mercedes Ruehl

Ron Silver*

Steve Sunshine

Debra Takakjian

Marlo Thomas

Michael Zaslow

*Past Presidents

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Christopher Reeve*

Amy Robinson

Nicole

3/5/97
Chelanne
for comment
not

January 31, 1997

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

1. *cc. Miller*
for
2. *Stephanie*

Dear Mr. President,

On March 10 and 11th the Creative Coalition will send many of their board members to Washington for Arts Advocacy Day. Our group will include our President, Alec Baldwin and board members Marlo Thomas, William Baldwin, Griffin Dunne, Mercedes Ruehle, and others.

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(b)(6)

[002]

Hope to see you on the 10th!

Fondly,

Kathie

Kathie Berlin - Creative Coalition board members come to Washington for Arts Advocacy Day on March 10 and 11. They would like 20 minutes with you on March 10 to discuss the reality of funding cuts and the devastation it will bring to the arts and entertainment community. They will meet with Members of the House and Senate on March 11.

to Sharon

cc. Shechtman

KATHIE BERLIN

Whoopi

January 30, 1997

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

On March 17, The Creative Coalition is honoring our friend Whoopi Goldberg with the Spotlight Award given in recognition of her efforts on behalf of the homeless, poverty, women and children. Whoopi is always asked to emcee everyone else's dinner, but we felt it was time for her to receive the accolades for the extraordinary work she does for others.

The dinner is March 17 and unfortunately half of the Irish in America are going to be at the White House for St. Patrick's Day; so I know you can't be there in person. But, I ask you to award her on tape. I know everyone asks you to do this, but Whoopi and the Creative Coalition have continually supported your initiatives and publicly worked on your behalf for the last five years. No one worked as tirelessly for you during the campaign as Whoopi Goldberg. I know what it would mean to her to have you recognize her achievement in the presence of her peers.

The Creative Coalition is a non-profit organization of members from the arts and entertainment community. The objective of the coalition is to educate its membership and the public on environmental issues, education, gun control, and many other important issues of the day.

On January 27 we hosted a discussion on campaign finance reform with panelists Ann McBride, President of Common Cause; Senator Russ Feingold (D-WI); Congressman Christopher Shays (R-CT); Becky Cain, Pres. of the League of Women Voters, and George Christie, Maine Citizen Leadership Fund. We had a very productive discussion about the roles of the candidates and the electorate in making reform a reality and your initiative to change campaign finance laws. They were all very positive on your commitment for reform.

You're a man of your word. You spoke for 20 minutes and the sun came out on Inauguration Day.

Many thanks for this.

Always,

Kathie

P.S.—Your friendly clip service is attaching a clip, I thought you would love to see it!

Page Six®

By RICHARD JOHNSON
with Jeane MacIntosh
and Sean Gannon

Morris less

NOT many people seem interested in the confessions of former Clinton political strategist **Dick Morris**. His controversial Random House memoir, "Behind the Oval Office," entered the USA Today chart at No. 91 — two notches lower than Random's nearly three year-old hit "Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil." The Morris book — for which editor in chief **Harry Evans** paid a reported \$2.5 million — is a dud at Barnes & Noble nationally, where it's in the cellar at No. 29. Locally, the Madison Avenue Bookshop says it sold about 75 copies and has 10 copies left with no plans to restock. The title's pathetic performance has apparently landed Evans in hot water with Random House owner **Si Newhouse**, who needs to approve deals his editors make for over \$1 million. Amazingly, our sources say, Newhouse wasn't consulted on the Morris windfall.

ONE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
3-10-97

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MARCH 7, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT
MARY MORRISON

SUBJECT: WEEKEND SCHEDULING ITEMS

1/2 added to memo

- FYI, Erskine's Budget Group is ready to meet with you about the budget at your convenience. They will be meeting in the COS's office Saturday from 11:30 - 12:30pm. Please let us know if this is something you would like us to set up for this weekend.

- Kathie Berlin requested that you meet with Board Members of Creative Coalition on Monday, March 10 to discuss funding cuts and the devastation it will cause to the Arts and Entertainment communities. They will be in town for Arts Advocacy Day. Melanne Verveer does not think this meeting is a priority. Next weeks' schedule is quite full and we would like to regret this request. Are you okay with this?

YES _____

NO ☒ _____

Let Berlin know

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 10, 1997

file -
Arts -
Creative
Coalition

MEETING WITH THE CREATIVE COALITION BOARD OF DIRECTORS

DATE: Tuesday, March 11, 1997
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 12:30-12:45pm
FROM: Melanne Verveer, Nicole Rabner

I. PURPOSE

To meet with members of the Board of Directors of the Creative Coalition on the importance of public support of the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities.

II. BACKGROUND

The Creative Coalition is a non-profit organization of activists from the arts and entertainment community, whose greatest concern is to keep alive and strong the National Endowment for the Arts. Members of the Creative Coalition's Board of Directors are in Washington for the annual "Arts Advocacy Day Conference," two days of events to underscore the importance of federal support for the arts, including visits to Members of Congress to urge increased funding for the NEA and NEH.

We expect that that the Coalition will thank you for your leadership, both in your State of the Union address and in your FY98 budget submission, and urge you to remain steadfast in the upcoming budget battle.

Appropriations Status

As you know, funding for the Endowments continues to be threatened by Republicans on the Hill. Cuts of nearly 40% enacted in the FY96 and FY97 budgets have already forced major reductions in staff and grant-giving to artists and institutions across the country. The current funding level is \$99.5 million for the NEA and \$110 million for the NEH. Your FY98 budget submission requests a funding level of \$136 million, the same amount contained in your FY97 proposal. This is considered a make or break year for the Endowments.

III. SCENARIO

Informal meeting.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed Press.

V. PARTICIPANTS

The President

Jane Alexander, Chair, the National Endowment for the Arts (t)

Alec Baldwin, President, Creative Coalition and Actor

Sharon O'Connell, Executive Director, Creative Coalition

Blair Brown, Past President and Current Board Member, Creative Coalition and Actor

Marlo Thomas, Board Member, Creative Coalition and Actor

Brenda Booser, Board Member, Creative Coalition and Opera Singer

Richard Masur, Board Member, Creative Coalition and Actor

VI. REMARKS

None required.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file crafts
collection -
Arts*

WHITE HOUSE COLLECTION OF AMERICAN CRAFTS
Tour Schedule

National Museum of American Art Washington, D.C.	April 28, 1995 - September 4, 1995
Memorial Art Gallery at the University of Rochester Rochester, New York	October 7, 1995 - November 19, 1995
American Craft Museum New York, New York	December 8, 1995 - March 4, 1996
Museum of Fine Arts Springfield, Massachusetts	April 4, 1996 - June 2, 1996
Los Angeles County Museum of Art Los Angeles, California	July 4, 1996 - September 29, 1996
Art Museum of Western Virginia Roanoke, Virginia	November 1, 1996 - January 12, 1997
Colby College Museum of Art Waterville, Maine	May 11, 1997 - July 13, 1997
Tampa Museum of Art Tampa, Florida	September 7, 1997 - November 16, 1997
Delaware Art Museum Wilmington, Delaware	December 19, 1997 - February 22, 1998
The Birmingham Museum Birmingham, Alabama	Spring 1998 * (extending the tour to include this venue)

*specific dates to be confirmed

J. Carter Brown

Director Emeritus, National Gallery of Art

file

Frane G. B.

Coverman

Fax to: Helene Verrier

Fax No. 456 6244

Fax From: Carter

Fax No. 347-2107

Date: 10.20.98

This Fax consists of 3 pages including cover sheet.

E.Y.I. . . . (!)

Per -

C.

THE COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS

ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS 17 MAY 1910

THE PENSION BUILDING
441 F STREET, N.W., SUITE 312
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001-2728

202-504-2200
202-504-2193 FAX

March 9, 1998

Dear Mr. Solomon:

I am grateful to you for your letter and the opportunity it gives me to clarify any misinterpretation that may have been attached to a remark that I made some four years ago, in an internal debate with one of the previous members of the Commission. (Coincidentally I bumped into him on the street this afternoon, and he had not remembered the conversation.)

Unlike transcripts of Congressional testimony, which go into the Congressional Record, or court reporting, we ask a stenographer to try to follow the proceedings fundamentally for our own internal use, as the official record of our actions is contained in our minutes, which are circulated to the members and voted on. I never look over these transcripts, as they are often full of inaccuracies and the official proceedings of the Commission are not what they represent. Already one error in the quote I believe involves the word "site" rather than "siting," which in the case of the great Iwo Jima Marine Memorial is brilliant, with that majestic pedestal and the commanding position it holds, shored up by the hill and treeline that separate it from the adjoining park. We were not at that time reviewing the design of the Iwo Jima Memorial. I have no hesitation in saying that if we had been, I would certainly have voted for it, as I have long found it overwhelming in its emotional impact and historical effectiveness.

Ironically, the meeting in which this remark occurred was attended by only a handful of people, and any negative or "defamatory" connotations ascribed to it or denigration of it in the minds of the public can only be laid at the door of those who have chosen to take it out of context and distribute it to the media.

You should know that by the word "kitsch" (it is at best a highly imprecise and wholly subjective concept) I was referring to the popular appeal of the sculpture, which is one of its great strengths. I must protest the allegation of intention to defame, as that is something to which only I can attest. I have long suffered criticism in certain quarters for being too populist in my tastes, but I confess to that sin, and have long cherished the Iwo Jima Memorial as one of the most successful and effective memorials of its kind I know anywhere in the world.

What particularly pains me is the thought that I should be in any way considered anti-Marine or insensitive to the Corps's significance or achievements. I have all my life been under the spell of the heroism and glamour of the Marine Corps, which I experienced as an impressionable youngster in World War II, and at home, with the involvement of my father. He was proud to serve both the Navy and the Marines as

Assistant Secretary of the Navy at the period that Secretary Forrestal was creating a department of defense, partially in hopes of reducing some of the exaggerated and unproductive inter-service rivalries of the day. Much of that period of my life was spent in exposure to the armed forces, an atmosphere that had so great an effect on my older brother that he left Harvard and went through the four years of the Naval Academy and had an impressive twenty-five-year career as a naval officer. I myself tried to enlist, and was turned down on medical grounds, the result of a bad knee that landed me in Bethesda Naval Hospital at one point, and which not long ago had me once again confined to a wheelchair and crutches.

My career at the Fine Arts Commission, appointed by all of the last six presidents, has been frequently involved with approving war memorials that have come before us: the Seabees's Memorial (by Felix deWeldon); the Viet Nam War Memorial; the Navy Memorial; the Korean War Memorial; the Women in Military Service to America Memorial; or the Black Patriots Memorial. More recently, I have championed a suitably significant memorial for all those valiant Americans who served our nation in World War II, which I consider America's finest hour and one of the turning points in world history. It is certainly not lost on me the indispensable role and unspeakable sacrifices made by the Marines in that war and in subsequent wars, and my heart goes out to them and their survivors.

As you know, in my professional opinion, and as the unanimous opinion of the Commission of Fine Arts membership after much due diligence, the great Iwo Jima Memorial, the tallest bronze sculpture in the world, stands proudly on its own, and depends in no way for its effect on the land over the hill and beyond the trees that separate it from the adjoining National Park Service land, which was never approved or allocated as part of the Iwo Jima site. I am sure that honest people can disagree on perceptions of this kind; but I think anyone would be hard put to it to find in the deepest recesses of my psyche anything but the warmest and most heartfelt admiration for the achievements and sacrifices of the United States Marine Corps.

Sincerely,



J. Carter Brown

The Honorable Gerald B. H. Solomon
United States House of Representatives
Room 2206 Rayburn Building
Washington, DC 20515

cc: General Charles Krulak
The Honorable Tim Hutchinson

FAX TO MILANNE VERVEER : OFFICE OF THE FIRST LADY
202-456-6244 12 PAGES

Sunday, In Transit

Dear Milanne,

Thanks for the phone call, and for giving me the opportunity to consider, for the first time who the key players in the American Poetry community actually might be! I doubt if anyone has ever tried to bring them together before. A White House that cares about American culture and advertises it by a Millennium Event "to honor the past and imagine the future" as you put it, is surely doing all of us a major service.

I've tried to pick out individuals appropriate to invite: major poets, past laureates of course, plus a few who may not be household names exactly but who are known, first-rate, and have the advantage of representing diversity — geographic, ethnic, etc. For example: Wally McRae, Cowboy Poet; Jim Harrison, western novelist, poet, environmentalist; Naomi Naguib Nye, Palestinian-American poet and novelist from Texas. And perhaps a couple of Nature Writers inspired by the American scene, like Peter Matthiessen or Barry Lopez. Novelist John Updike writes fine poetry, too. Peter Sacks, South African/American, too.

The list follows. Are you interested in people like Bill Moyers who promote poetry? (on TV) Morgan Entekun, who funds Grove Press poetry series — 3 volumes a year for young poets? He's publisher/editor, but Joan Bingham, his partner, chooses the books, I think.

I've starred the ones I think are important for April 22nd. You didn't say whether we needed 10 or 100 to select from —

Be in touch. We're very pleased —

Fondly,
Rose

P.S. Calvin Trillin A human!

USE STYRON'S SUGGESTIONS FOR APRIL 22nd
EVENT AT WHITE HOUSE, GUEST LIST, NON-PERFORMERS

BETS, including
past laureates and
prize-winners:

Richard Wilbur *
Anthony Hecht *
Mark Strand *
Stanley Kunitz *
Mona Van Duyn
William Merwin *
William Jay Smith
Galway Kinnell *
Gwendolyn Brooks *
Sharon Olds
Louise Glück
John Ashberry *
C.K. Williams *
Czesław Miłosz *
Frank Bidart
Molly Peacock *
Carolyn Forché *
Donald Hall
Gary Snyder *
Jorie Graham *
Peter Sacks
Rosanna Warren
Calvin Trillin
Jim Harrison
Wally McRae
Naomi Nourib Nye
John Updike
Adrienne Rich
James Wright
Kusiel Kamenyaka
J.O. McClaughry

CRITICS: Helen Vendler
Richard Howard

PRIZE-GIVERS TANNING, SHESTACK, et.

National Poetry Organs,
Publishers, Editors, et

~~Suggenheim Foundation~~
Joel Canarroc

Academy of American Poets

* Jonathan Galassi
* William Wadsworth
Lyn Chase

REN Michael Scammell II (?)

Poetry Society of America

* John Barr
* Elise Paschen

Falger Library

Fan Ogilvie

Lavinia Foundation

* Saskia Hamilton

Paris Review

* Dave Harris
George Plimpton

American Poetry Review

Stephen Berg

The New Yorker

Alice Quinn

Norton Anthology of Poetry
Mary Jo Salter

Norton Anthology of Black

Skip Gates Poet

Ecco Press

Stephen Graham
Dan Halperin

Melanne Verveer,
Deputy Asst. to the President,
The White House,
Washington DC.

7 June, 1996.

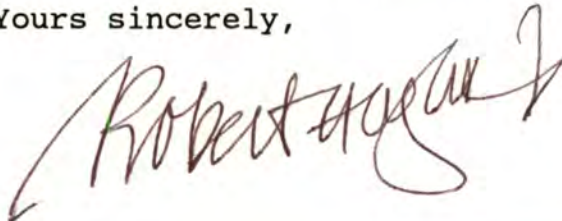
Dear Ms. Verveer,

Thank you for your letter and its enclosures. I have read them, and find nothing in them except banal and conventional utterances about the arts -- lip service without much conviction. Mrs Clinton's op-ed piece in the NYT misses what I believe to be the larger point. Government support of the arts has to be defended not because the arts have a role in the education of children, but because they are for all citizens, adults especially. To treat the arts as though they were merely a pedagogical or therapeutic device is a pious American habit which I do not share.

The idea that this President shows "leadership in the arts" is absurd. One had only to watch the glitzy parade of movie stars at his inauguration, or listen to the doggerel of Maya Angelou, to know the level of his taste. If he had the same conviction on Government arts support as, say, Mitterand or Chirac, or my own friend in Australia, our former Prime Minister Paul Keating, things might be different. But when Newt Gingrich, Jesse Helms, Pat Buchanan, Lynne Cheney and the rest of that squalid crew were baying for the abolition of the NEA, the NEH and PBS, we heard no rebuttal from the White House. A strong statement then would have been of the utmost value, but none came, no doubt for reasons of political expediency. Clinton has let us all down.

Alas, I am not going to be in Washington in the near future ; I am too busy finishing the book that accompanies my forthcoming 8-hour TV series on American art (BBC/PBS), American Visions, which will go to air early next year.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Robert Hughes". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.A long, sweeping handwritten flourish or signature in dark ink, starting from the bottom left and extending towards the right.