

Studies and documents on cultural policies

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A study of
cultural
policy in the
United States

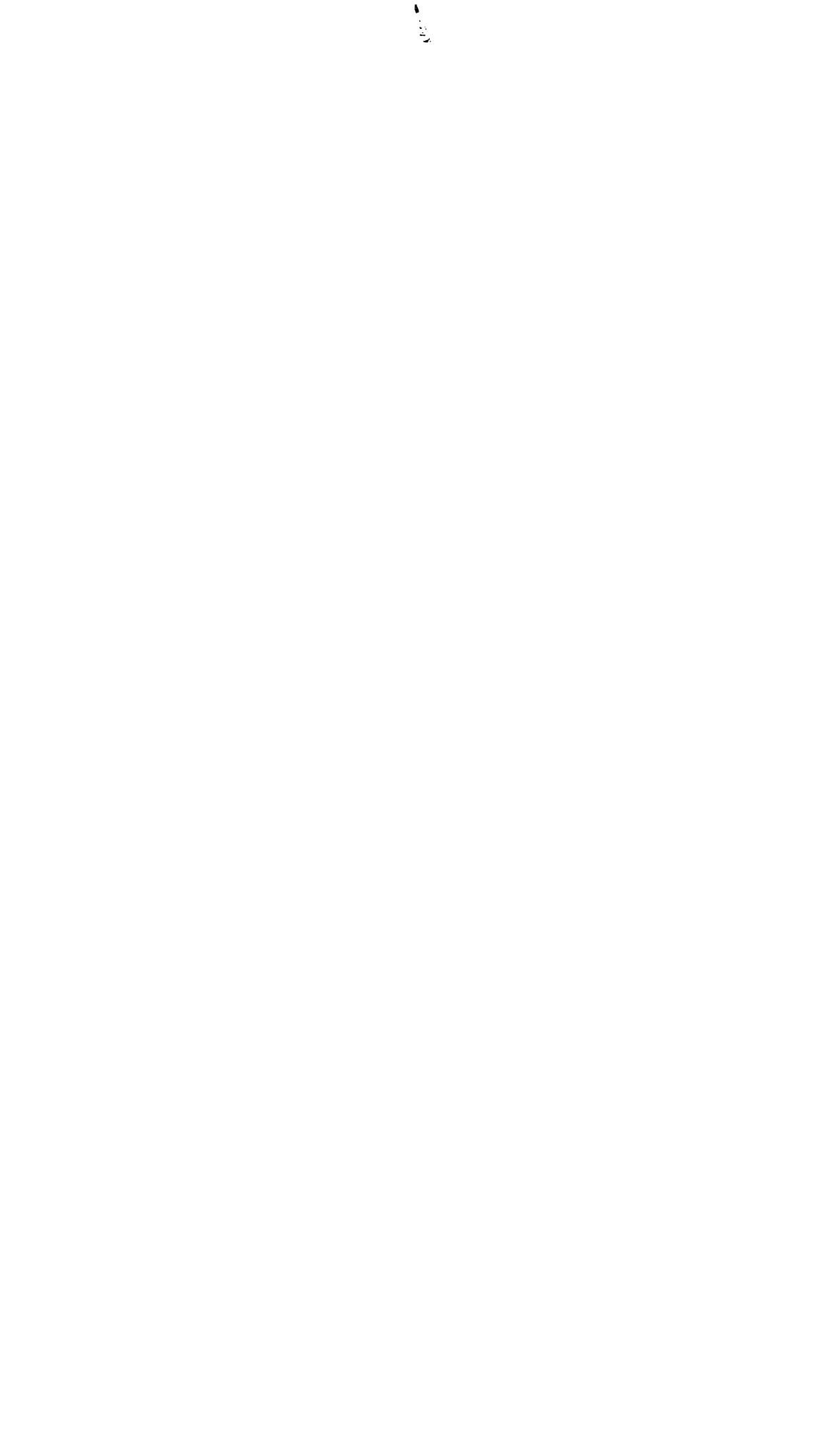
by Charles C. Mark

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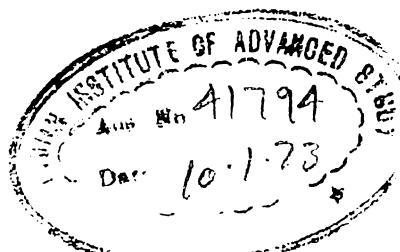
by Charles C. Mark

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Preface

The publication of this series has been undertaken as part of the programme adopted by the General Conference of Unesco at its fifteenth session for the study of cultural policies.

In this context 'cultural policy' is taken to mean a body of operational principles, administrative and budgetary practices and procedures which provide a basis for cultural action by the State. Obviously, there cannot be *one* cultural policy suited to all countries; each Member State determines its own cultural policy according to the cultural values, aims and choices it sets for itself.

It has been largely recognized that there is a need for exchanges of information and experience between countries as well as for cross-national investigations on specific themes, research into concepts and methods, etc.

The aim of this series, therefore, is to contribute to the dissemination of information by presenting both the findings of such studies and various national surveys illustrating problems, experiments and achievements in individual countries chosen as representative of differing socio-economic systems, regional areas and levels of development. To achieve a measure of comparability, an attempt has been made to follow, as far as possible, a fairly similar pattern and method of approach.

This survey has been prepared for Unesco by Mr. Charles C. Mark, Director of the Office of State and Community Operations, National Endowment for the Arts. The opinions expressed by him are his own, and do not necessarily reflect the views of Unesco.

Contents

9	Cultural policy within the federal framework
14	A background of traditional culture
19	Artistic creation and the training of cultural agents
29	The channels of cultural action
39	Administrative and financial structure
42	Reflections, conclusions and prognosis

Cultural policy within the federal framework

The report prepared as a result of the Round-Table Meeting on Cultural Policies, held in Monaco by Unesco, lays a groundwork for a definition of cultural policy: '(1) that "cultural policy" should be taken to mean the sum total of the conscious and deliberate usages, action or lack of action in a society, aimed at meeting certain cultural needs through the utilization of all the physical and human resources available to that society at a given time; (2) that certain criteria for cultural development should be defined, and that culture should be linked to the fulfilment of personality and to economic and social development.'

Contrasting this definition with the opening statement of the United States paper prepared for the Monaco meeting, 'The United States has no official cultural position, either public or private', leaves room for considerable negotiation and examination. The key to further discussion leading toward compatibility is the phrase 'action or lack of action in a society'. This is simply a statement of fact affecting a federation form government. It is not possible for the United States to adopt officially a policy to govern any social enterprise without enormous effort involving almost the modification of the Constitution. The national government is a restricted one, restricted by consent of the individual states to such powers as the states grant to it. The responsibility for cultural development was not one of the powers that the Founding Fathers saw fit to entrust to Congress or the President.

Lack of action does become, then, a kind of cultural policy. It is negative space, or free space, in language the sculptor uses. While in other issues this lack of ability to adopt a direct position is a handicap, in cultural policy it seems an advantage. By refusing the central government the right to set policy, the states and private sectors are forced to adopt concepts suitable to their aims, resulting in a pluralistic approach. Diversity in cultural policy is one of the touchstones of the United States position. The states, cities, private groups, and individuals are free to develop separate and unique positions independent of

Washington. Once developed, these attitudes cannot be officially encouraged or discouraged by any other sector of the society. No 'official' art can develop artificially, government control for propaganda or political purposes is simply impossible because no ideology exists to perpetuate. The only official philosophy is that everyone is free to have his own philosophy.

Yet, the federal government has an arts programme. An agency called the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities exists and carries out a programme through grants and studies. How is this agency compatible with a cultural policy of no action? First of all, the legislation creating the National Foundation forbids federal interference with any individual or institution in the carrying out of any project. The federal establishment may contribute funds to a project, production, or study, under conditions mutually acceptable to the grantee and the federal agency, but once under way the grantee is free to act freely within the agreement. Secondly, it is part of the governing legislation that the federal share may not exceed 50 per cent of the total cost of any project involving an artistic institution.

However, 20 per cent of the total funds available to the agency in any year may be used for projects without regard to the 50 per cent of cost provision. This latter rule is designed to allow certain beneficial studies to be carried out totally at federal expense, but also to assist grantees whose financial resources are extremely limited.

At first blush, it is easy to conclude that in the United States financial assistance for *ad hoc* projects is the extent of federal assistance. This would be an understandable but erroneous assumption. As will be illustrated in detail later, the over-all national viewpoint of the problems affecting cultural growth is too important to be given over to merely acting as a treasure chest for the arts. The states, local authorities, or private institutions do not have a sufficient vantage point to view the national cultural needs. In many cases jurisdictional limits prohibit these sectors from any action should they see a large need. Yet, without absolute authority what can the national government do about cultural progress? Again, the advantages of limitation seem to outweigh the disadvantages. Simply because it is necessary to utilize fact gathering, persuasion, consensus, and the strong argument of financial support in order to enlist the co-operation of local and private support, solutions tend to receive solid execution and a permanent commitment. Hardly any important projects can be carried out without the necessity for persuading another social sector to co-operate, but once committed, the base of support tends to be more permanent and enthusiastic.

Many illustrations of this limitation and advantage will be found farther on in this paper, but the following project clearly shows the problems and advantages. In this case in point, the federal authorities became persuaded that classic drama was badly taught in the secondary schools and that should these classics be well presented certain broader educational advantages would be achieved. The objectives of the federal arts programme were three: (a) to prove to the education establishment that quality theatre had an important contribution to make to secondary education, (b) the development of future audiences for quality theatre, and (c) providing artistic and employment opportunities for trained and experienced theatre artists.

The first entity requiring persuasion was the United States Office of Education. Endorsement of the project educationally and major financial support was necessary. After enlisting the co-operation of this other federal agency, the locations for the project needed to be selected. In one city, a local non-profit repertory theatre was persuaded to expand its operation and move to another facility in order to carry out the project. In all three of the cities in the project, local school funds and curricula changes were necessary and the

school authorities were persuaded to co-operate and commit funds. Finally, the state cultural authority was persuaded to give token financial support. In all, a federal agency, a private local institution, a local public authority, and a state agency, in addition to the originating federal agency, all became deeply involved in an important project which began as an idea at the federal level. If it had been accomplished directly by federal fiat it is doubtful that the success would have been as complete or far-reaching.

The federal role is a restricted one. In the basic legislation Congress recognizes that culture is the prerogative of local, private, and individual initiative and that the federal role is to assist and encourage. Still, in the three years since the national foundation has been established, the role has been modified to become a working partnership, often with the federal establishment providing leadership and guidance while local public and private resources provide the bulk of the funds and administrative services. In concept, the United States most resembles the system employed by Czechoslovakia, but with less budget control and less formal organization. The more financially important role of private foundation will be discussed later, though this federal method and deductibility from income tax for charitable gifts are definite facets of cultural policy.

Is this a cultural policy? Yes. It is the conscious usages, actions and lack of actions, aimed at meeting cultural needs through utilization of all the physical and human resources available to the society. Some might argue that a more deliberate policy could result in less waste of time, money, and energy. It might even be claimed that cultural awareness domestically and internationally is obscured by the array of cultural concepts and levels, each vying for adherents and importance. However, granting that confusion and slow progress is often the price of free debate, culture can only truly reflect the total attitude of a society and Americans are more concerned with the exercise of free and diverse choices than with progress.

The United States cultural policy at this time is the deliberate encouragement of multiple cultural forces in keeping with the pluralistic traditions of the nation, restricting the federal contribution to that of a minor financial role, and a major role as imaginative leader and partner, and the central focus of national cultural needs.

Since the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities is a relatively new agency, and since much of the material discussed here relates to it, a description of its structure, funding, and stated objectives seems in order.

The Act creating the foundation was passed in September 1965. This legislation created two related but separate agencies: the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The power of the endowments rests with the chairmen, who also serve as chairmen of separate advisory bodies known as the National Council on the Arts and the National Council on the Humanities. Each council is composed of private citizens appointed by the President of the United States and, in the case of the arts, includes prominent artists, educators, and patrons. The endowments have separate staffs responsible to their respective chairman, and certain legal and administrative personnel are shared. All substantial applications for grants must be reviewed by the councils before the chairman can take action, though legally he is not bound by the recommendations of the council. Chairmen report directly and only to the President.

Under the present authority neither endowment can receive an annual appropriation from Congress larger than \$9 million. In the case of arts, whenever a grant to an institution is involved, 50 per cent is the limit of federal financial participation. Also, \$2.5 million of the arts share is earmarked for a state partnership programme. In actual fact, the total foundation appropriation for any past year has not exceeded \$12 million.

Two provisions of this legislation act as an encouragement of a multiple and diverse

cultural policy. The first is the state partnership programme mentioned above. Each year a special appropriation is designated for matching grants to official state agencies. When the law was passed, barely five states had administrative machinery and funds for a state programme in the arts, notably New York and Puerto Rico. With the encouragement of federal funds and a helpful federal attitude, every state and four of the five territories managed to establish state arts councils within the first year. After three years, all of the states except two have passed state laws establishing arts councils and almost all have permanent administrations. Each state submits an application annually which describes its intended programme and, assuming the proposal is reasonable, receives an equal share of the special appropriation. The endowment also enters into special additional agreements with the states, or group of states, through their arts councils for special programmes aimed at cultural improvement. The important purpose of this programme is the development of independent and strong sub-national agencies dedicated to the development and distribution of cultural resources. The measure of success is the ability of the individual state arts council to attract state tax funds for programme purposes, and thereby act as a cultural catalyst.

The other legal provision makes a substantial sum available to both endowments provided private gifts are given to the agencies. In one fiscal year the endowment for the arts received more than \$2 million in unrestricted gifts from individual corporations and foundations. This amount was first of all entirely deductible for income tax purposes on the part of the donors, but it was also matched by the special appropriation funds made available under the law. Thus, \$4 million was added to the programme budget of the arts agency. The law has now been amended to allow restricted gifts for specific purposes, a change which makes the provision even more attractive to donors. Again, here is a conscious effort to encourage the participation of non-governmental authorities in an arts programme.

This then is the general structure of the foundation and its funding power, both real and potential. Since 1967, the arts endowment has publicly stated its general objectives and viewed its programmes against these goals. They are not significantly different from the stated policy positions of France or the United Kingdom, but they were developed independently. They are: (a) to increase opportunities for appreciation and enjoyment of the arts through wider distribution of our artistic resources throughout the nation; (b) to sustain and encourage individual performing and creative artists; (c) to help sustain and develop existing independent institutions of the arts; (d) to carry out special projects of research and undertake special experiments in arts education; (e) to increase local participation in artistic programmes through co-operation with the states; (f) to open new national opportunities in all aspects of the arts where such do not exist; and (g) to support projects of an international nature which will benefit artists and educators in the United States.

Before leaving the discussion of general policy, one major drawback of the United States position should be noted. This is the difficulty encountered with this type of policy of evaluating both progress made in terms of the above objectives and in terms of needs and trends. It is also extremely difficult to develop long-range plans under this system. Since there is no deliberate controlling force, there can be no single evaluation of its work. Certain kinds of negative evaluations can be made—the problem did not diminish because of this action—but positive evaluation is difficult because massive action is never brought to bear. However, countries with forceful ideological cultural policies seem to evaluate negatively also. These countries tend to emphasize those projects which are not working out, but leave the others alone, assuming them to be successful.

Long-range plans are hindered by a lack of long-range funding for the most part. If a reasonably simple method for pooling local and national, private and public future resources could be developed, then planning to meet needs could be more effective. Perhaps, as the present economic crisis in the arts becomes more acute in the future, some form of national artistic economic council will seem feasible. In the meantime, it is necessary to expend energy in hand-tailoring each separate long-term project and persuading each sector of society of its potential benefit.

A background of traditional culture

When Ulysses S. Grant was President of the United States he was widely quoted as saying: 'I only know two tunes. One is "Yankee Doodle" and the other one isn't.' Any discussion of cultural policy in the United States must first come to grips with the popularity of anti-intellectualism and anti-culture throughout our history that is implied by that presidential quote.

The discussion in the following paragraphs is an attempt to generalize about the main stream of cultural life in the United States. To be sure, theatres were built and used before the revolutionary war, concerts were a monthly event in many cities, travelling opera and theatre companies found eager audiences all over the American continent. However, these events and circumstances were almost entirely reflections of an American need to become part of European civilization, to express inner appetites by feasting on the riches of an inherited culture. It should also be pointed out that pockets of real creativity were active from colonial times forward among subculture groups. The Moravians maintained a rich musical tradition in the forests of Pennsylvania and North Carolina, for instance. When events in Europe forced political exile on special groups as did the French Revolution and the German insurrection of 1848, the United States received a cultural injection as these people carried on traditions of culture as part of their new life. However, the main stream of American civilization before the twentieth century did not value the arts, particularly American manifestations of the arts. Only a small percentage of the population showed concern for artistic quality and permanence. The majority made new art as they pioneered a new country and it was decades before these novel expressions were allowed stature.

Three points must be borne in mind in order to view American cultural history properly. Most important is the fact that the United States was entirely a nation of immigrants imported from other cultures. The only indigenous culture was that of the Indians who were driven from their land and destroyed as a people. American folk culture as it

developed with time (and it did develop) is a synthesis of European, African, and to a much less extent, Asian culture.

The second point relates to the importation of other cultures and the predominant motivation of the early settlers. Essentially, we were a nation of farmers until the mid-nineteenth century, a nation which colonized and exploited itself. Our cities were trading and supply centres for the trek west to new lands. People came from small, soil-poor farms of Europe directly to the endless rich prairies where they could own as much land as they could cultivate and protect. These were hardy, frugal, hard-working yeomen willing to struggle against man and nature, but cultivated music, dance, or painting were not part of their lives. They brought their peasant culture with them and practised it in the settlements they built to resemble 'home'. Europeans are often astounded today to find that there are whole areas of some states where English is not the common language, but rather German, Norwegian, Italian or Basque.

The third factor influencing cultural growth in the United States was the Protestant religions. Beginning with the Puritans whose beliefs allowed for only service to God and one's occupation, the other developing sects added fine variants aimed at repressing instincts toward the arts. All of the arts were expressly forbidden by the Puritans, including bright colours for clothing. As late as the 1870s, the leaders of the Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian religions were debating the appropriateness of family recreation, not to mention theatre, dancing, or popular entertainments. In 1872, the Methodist Episcopal Convention passed by majority vote a list of 'amusements', including every form of art, that were forbidden to all Methodists.

With these three conditions against American culture, how is it that the arts managed to survive at all? Fortunately, the new continent poured forth riches beyond anyone's dreams and wealth meant travel. Sons were sent back to England to be educated, wives went to France on shopping trips. European merchants, craftsmen, and finally artists found opportunities here by serving the wealthy. One German architect designed and built over fifty of the most gracious plantation mansions in the south, training slaves at each place to be carpenters, woodcarvers and joiners. And taste began to breed taste.

However, the Industrial Revolution is responsible for the most influential and most debatable cultural movement. A period of 57 years, between 1860 and 1917, saw the founding of most of the United States quality institutions of the arts. The Metropolitan Opera, the Metropolitan Museum, the New York and St. Louis orchestras, were among the earliest, but by the time of the First World War most of the famous schools and institutions were established.

This was, however, imported culture. It was an attempt to ape the capitals of Europe, not to develop an American cultural life. Considerable evidence points to the fact that many of the wealthy who established, attended, and carefully guarded these institutions from any infusion of the lower classes did not really enjoy the experience of art.

However, at the time when the industrial barons were buying culture packaged in Europe, other social changes were taking place. The country was turning from an agricultural society into an urban one. New waves of immigrants were arriving from Europe, this time to stay in the cities and find places for their lives. Whole sections of large cities became foreign to native Americans and some remain so today. In addition, rural people joined the urban migration and began fighting for the factory jobs. It was this phenomenon that struck at the village and family-oriented Protestant religions. Thousands were attending the low-priced and continuous vaudeville shows and the leading clergy was forced to choose between retracting their position on entertainment or watching the American family disintegrate as the younger generation preferred the orchestra seat to the church

pew. This was a major debate in the nation from 1880 until 1915, by which time entertainment was so widely accepted that the few remaining 'village' preachers were ignored.

As one leading clergyman after another crossed over the box-office threshold, the vaudeville entrepreneurs made every effort to hold their endorsement by providing elevating and polite acts in their theatres. It was during this period that American taste and humour was developed and distilled. This was also the period when the sexless, non-controversial content of Hollywood films was perfected. Vaudeville added films to the acts presented in the early 1920s. Since the theatre-owners prided themselves on the 'family entertainment' motif of their attractions, the Hollywood film-makers produced films aimed at these major markets.

Meanwhile, indigenous culture was growing untended and unappreciated. Theatrical and musical performances abounded from the early seventeenth century and were attended by rebellious Protestants, European-oriented Americans, and members of minority religions, but native creative talent and ideas were not valued as comparable to any work or artist of European origin. Church opposition kept many talented people from embracing the artist's life, although literature and painting were not always included on lists of forbidden pastimes, and American authors and painters sometimes found sympathetic acceptance at home so long as they followed European traditions. However, through the nineteenth century, from Benjamin West to Mary Cassatt and Henry James, Europe had the climate that claimed our most original and talented artists.

What are the uniquely American contributions to world culture? Only when the contributions had been envied around the world did Americans recognize them and begin to believe that our culture could produce its own art. Three distinct art forms became labelled as distinctly American in the early twentieth century: jazz, a unique form of dancing, and the musical comedy. All three came out of conditions of suppression. All three evolved from a folk subculture that was expressed freely, but held unacceptable by the main stream of American society until long after it was applauded wildly in other countries.

Jazz, as is widely known, was born of a European mother and an African father. Slaves and freed Negros picked up European instruments and melodies and added rhythms and musical organization as they felt it. From the funeral processions and brothels of the south, it spread north and east until the world danced to the blues. It influenced European composers and then serious American composers began legitimizing its sounds.

A jazz dancer tapped his feet to complex rhythms and the enthusiastic approval of audiences all over Europe, including Queen Victoria, about 1850. At that time no respectable American gentleman would have admitted having seen Juba (William Henry Lane) or anyone who danced in his style. Isadora Duncan, fifty years later, was practically driven from the country for ideas about free movement and rhythm. These roots led to so-called modern dance which existed as an underground culture until forty years ago, and only recently attracted a stable audience.

Musical theatre began in America before the revolutionary war, and evolved steadily from the first professional all-American musical, *The Archers*, first performed in 1796. One reason for an almost preoccupation with combining plays with music was the opposition of local governments (church inspired) to 'straight' theatre. It was assumed that music had a certain moral tone and no play could be really bad if it had songs connected with it. Minstrel shows, showboats, travelling troupes, and even circuses found musical plays a popular part of their repertory with the rural and frontiersmen audiences. Partly due to the tradition established in the east in the eighteenth century, but also probably because Americans have an inexplicable love for gay melodies, the musical grew and flourished and became the standard of the world.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, when the United States came to realize its relative strength among nations, its people at the same time realized that a traditional American culture did in fact exist, or was rapidly developing. The years of the 1920s saw an enormous burst of artistic energy from American artists. As evidence, Americans had been winning Nobel Prizes in science and peace since the beginning of the award in 1901 (Peace Prize, 1906; Physics, 1907; etc.); but not until Sinclair Lewis won the Literature Prize in 1930 had an American artist received such world acclaim. Since then, five Americans and one author who was born and educated in the United States (T. S. Eliot) have been honoured.

The point of this capsulized social history of the arts in America is that to speak of cultural policy as an extension of traditional culture is a difficult undertaking in this country. Many countries have undergone periods of cultural encouragement and discouragement in the course of their history. They have seen their folk art evolve from the first primitive tribes to settle in their regions at the dawn of time. Other nations have seen their cities become established as centres of culture and commerce and remain such centres century after century. And they have proudly acclaimed their mature artists as they emerged from mature artistic institutions and societies. All these events and circumstances are not applicable to the United States.

Our history began with the cultures of many countries severed from the traditional roots. Art was officially discouraged by the powerful and almost universal fundamentalist religions. The nation was scattered in wilderness for its first hundred years. Cities of sophistication in the eighteenth century became ordinary towns as the centre of national life moved west. (Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia, were once extremely national cultural capitals.) New Orleans lost its excitement to St. Louis; St. Louis lost its place to Chicago as the railroad replaced the riverboat. No repertory theatre to date has managed to hold together for 25 years, only two orchestras can boast of 100 years of existence.

Indigenous American culture did not clearly become definable until the twentieth century when our composers, playwrights and authors began to find the unique American beat in their work. It came from the Indian ceremonies and the restlessness of the pioneer families, but its expression as an instinctively understood interpretation had to wait until the land was conquered.

All this not only affects the scope of a cultural policy, but also affects the ability to evaluate and effectively plan long-term programmes even if a defined political philosophy made such planning possible. Instead, as stated in the report on the Monaco meeting, 'Cultural needs are evolving more quickly; new needs are appearing, and public taste changes . . . One must, therefore, avoid choosing a framework which may become too narrow and preserve the possibility of a flexible adaptation of resources to the requirements of a rapidly evolving cultural scene.'¹ This must be the American position.

The events sketched lightly here are generally the cultural heritage for which contemporary cultural leaders of the United States must account as policies and programmes progress. By all signs, we are well into a most incredible artistic naissance. The historical maturity has caught up with the experiences of the world situation. The economic strength of the nation is capable of sustaining any artistic effort, and our international commitments demand an ever deeper involvement with other countries in all enterprises, including intellectual and artistic. In addition, far in advance of other nations, we have encountered the extreme effects of the Industrial Revolution, the imminent realization that man is or

1. Round-Table Meeting on Cultural Policies, *Final Report*, Paris, Unesco, 1968, p. 10.

may be mechanically obsolete. It is already glaringly evident that we cannot control some of the situations into which our technology has placed us. This is a time in our history that cries for the humanistic influence in our lives. We seem to be moving toward a full realization of the importance of culture as a counterweight to technocracy. But it is only a beginning, as ensuing chapters illustrate.

Artistic creation and the training of cultural agents

The aesthetic element in everyday life

This most important ingredient in the culture of every society is perhaps the least controlled by aesthetic considerations in the United States. Progress is made at all levels of government, but it is slow, slogging progress against the traditional and entrenched forces of economic determinism. Influence and control are found at all levels, but by far the most effective are local forces.

The local effort

Almost all towns and cities have planning bodies given powers by the municipal government. These powers vary from advisory to complete control of the aesthetic content of new projects. Almost all cities control the type and size and use of structures in every area of the city, though this is largely for economic reasons. However, aesthetic control has been added in many cities. Regulations enforced purely for aesthetic betterment are difficult to find as general policy, except in the 'new towns'. However, local protest action has been surprisingly successful very often. The people of San Francisco halted freeway construction through protest when a valuable park area was threatened. Protest has frequently halted the destruction of particular buildings, the 'down-zoning' of a neighbourhood, or the beginning of a renewal programme, but this type of action is emotional and is defeated in the long run by the preponderance of citizen apathy.

A few communities (Baltimore, Binghamton, etc.) have established city commissions charged with approving the design of all buildings before construction permits will be issued. Persons involved with these regulatory bodies report that a surprising number of other cities seek information from them with the intent of following their lead.

The state scene

The states seem to be bypassed in this type of enterprise since most programmes are funded either at the local or federal level—hence control.

Perhaps, with the emergence of state arts councils, increased state control of the aesthetics of environment will be evidenced. In Puerto Rico, where the Institute of Culture (the State Arts Council) has been an influential agency for more than ten years, no building can be destroyed or constructed without express permission from the institute. Further, to encourage the restoration of historic areas, the institute will pay architects' fees, grant tax relief for ten years, and provide certain historic building materials at cost to persons undertaking restorations.

Several states are pressing for legislation requiring that 1 per cent of public building construction costs be spent for fine arts decoration.

Mention should also be made of the fact that states are generally deeply involved in the improvement and creation of excellent recreation areas.

The federal effort

Billions of federal dollars are spent annually on the construction of public buildings and federally-financed urban renewal projects. To date, aesthetics have been of little concern. This is not a matter of intent, but rather due to an absence of any cultural policy governing the aesthetic aspect. To be sure, many exceptions can be found to this position, but generally housing projects have been drab and the major requirements of urban renewal have concerned the organization of structures rather than their appearance.

Although 1 per cent of construction costs for federal buildings may be used for fine arts decoration, often this is the first item cut from overspent projects. Occasionally, special efforts are made to encourage outstanding architects to design new projects; often local control resists federal guidance toward a better environment.

Nevertheless, the future looks much brighter than the past, though it is difficult to point to specific events or laws which ensure progress. Local developers, citizens groups, and federal officials are all becoming more aware of the benefits of beauty in daily living. Projects are debated widely, positions taken and defended. The appetite is beginning to grow with the eating.

High hopes are forming for the carefully planned project of the National Endowment for the Arts called a National Institute of Architecture, Planning and Design. This would be a national centre for research, development and the promotion of good design for every long-lived article of daily living. An essential part of the institute would be the involvement of those persons responsible for the designing and purchase of equipment for highway systems, parks, and public urban areas. Efforts would be made to work with the manufacturers of such equipment, city engineers, and, of course, architects. Research into the use of new materials and techniques would be a major part of the operation. Plans call for the institute to begin operation in 1970.

Public assistance to artistic creation

The public posture toward the arts has been changing rapidly for some time, as has been pointed out previously. Sporadic interest has been converted to permanent programmes, and all the debates over the fitness of public support are dying in the face of economic crisis and obvious citizen support. President Johnson has declared that no government can

call great art into being, but it can create a climate in which great art can flourish. This is essentially the touchstone of present programmes—encouragement, stimulation, emergency assistance, and slowly developed informational campaigns. The following paragraphs describe some of the more important ways that government, local and federal, is attempting to create and sustain a climate conducive to the arts.

Legal assistance

A study of the legal rights and problems of artists is at present under way. Revision of the United States Copyright Act has been before Congress for more than four years, but action has been delayed by disagreement between interested parties. The legal study attempts to bolster the artists' case. Under the present law the performing artist receives no royalties on recording when they are played for broadcast or on 'jukeboxes'. This study, sponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts, examines methods of protecting these rights. (At the moment, an agreement between the recording companies and the musicians' union requires a small percentage of the retail price of the record to be placed in a trust fund. This fund must be used to employ musicians to play free concerts. The amount available annually varies between \$5 million and \$7 million.) Other aspects of the study consider the feasibility of a *droit de suite*, reproduction of paintings for resale, the extension of tax deductions to secondary equipment such as books, the taxation problems of inventories, etc.

A realistic appraisal of the chances for dramatic improvement of the artist's legal position is not a hopeful one. These are matters requiring constant study and unceasing effort in order to bring about eventual change. However, the creation of the National Endowment for the Arts provides an agency which works persistently for improvement.

Social assistance

This type of programme has not been attempted in the United States since the 1930s and little voice is heard for its revival. A small amount of government aid is carried out through grants from the National Endowment for the Arts to the Author's League Emergency Fund, but generally the popular view is that the improvement of the artists' economic position as an artist will meet his social needs. Also, artists employed by artistic institutions are automatically covered by universal retirement, disability, and medical programmes funded by the federal government. Most creative artists (composers, painters, etc.) earn the majority of their income from teaching, and by this effort qualify for social benefits.

Tax relief

The United States is probably the leading country in the world in allowing deductions from income taxes for voluntary gifts to charitable and educational enterprises. Up to 30 per cent of adjusted gross income can be deducted from individual tax returns and 5 per cent from corporate returns. The tax cost to the government of these deductions has been estimated at between \$30 million and \$35 million given by taxpayers to support the performing arts alone. This is only a very small proportion of the billions of dollars given annually to all charitable causes such as hospitals, churches, educational institutions, but still a significant amount for culture.

Individual artists cannot receive such gifts from taxpayers, but they benefit indirectly through recipient non-profit corporations and even more through private foundation grants.

There are at present 23,000 foundations functioning in the United States. Under a study grant from the National Endowment for the Arts it was determined that only about 1,500 foundations made grants to the arts and out of that number about 1,000 gave significant amounts. In total, annual giving to the arts from foundations averages about \$60 million.

About 85 per cent of all contributions to culture come from private individual, foundation or corporate sources. Although all cultural leaders are concerned about the low level of this support, there seems to be very little sentiment for shifting more of the responsibility to government.

Artists are given direct tax relief by tax laws which permit the spreading of royalty income over several years. Other means involve the formation of corporations and payment of capital gains taxes instead of personal income taxes.

Prizes, commissions and other forms of public assistance

The National Endowment for the Arts offers grants and awards to individual artists under various programmes. Over the first three years since establishment, \$2.5 million was given to individuals out of \$20 million. Although some of these grants could be construed to be commissions in that the grant is for a specific work to be created by the artist, none of the works become the property of the government. These grants and awards are viewed as direct assistance to the artist to provide him with the free time necessary for the best conditions for creation. In the case of the performing arts, a performance of the work is required as part of the grant, but no conditions other than professional standards are attached. Artists are selected by a representative group of their peers. Panel selections are reviewed by the National Council on the Arts, but in almost every case the panel decisions are upheld.

Some of the state art councils have begun programmes of support of the individual artist through indirect grants, and on rare occasions community arts councils have ventured into this type of programme.

Also, many endowment programmes are designed to aid the individual indirectly through an institutionalized framework. For instance, the endowment funded a Co-ordinating Council of Literary Magazines which in turn made awards to talented young writers.

Public buildings

In other governmental agencies, local and federal, specific commissions are given for works of art as part of public buildings. These are sometimes the result of competitions, but often the commission is a matter left solely in the hands of the designing architect.

As stated before, 1 per cent of the cost of federal public buildings may be used for fine arts. Some cities, notably Philadelphia, have similar laws, and the practice is spreading. In 1967, the National Endowment for the Arts challenged three unspecified cities to match up to \$50,000 for a major work of sculpture in a public place. As a result, Grand Rapids, Michigan, will have a Calder piece; Seattle, Washington, has commissioned a Noguchi; and Houston, Texas, is in the process of raising funds for a piece to adorn the new civic plaza. For this project, a special panel was organized to review proposals.

Exhibitions

In the United States most museums are private or municipally owned and therefore federally sponsored exhibitions are a rarity. However, state and local public art museums

are rapidly moving toward expanding their impact upon their constituents by new mobile programmes.

One method is the artmobile, a truck-trailer construction that tastefully displays works and can move to any location. These vehicles are humidified, have electrical generators, and are accompanied by curators.

Another innovation is the store-front museum. Space is rented in locations where residents seldom frequent the museum proper, and changing exhibitions are mounted. A curator-lecturer is on hand to offer information and explain the exhibition.

A third method is the packaged exhibition which is sent, sometimes with its own mounting structures to schools, churches, banks, etc.

One state, Georgia, has an elaborate plan for buying contemporary works by Georgia artists and circulating them to schools, etc., from regional museums developed for the programme.

The National Endowment has two recent programmes affecting exhibitions. One involves encouraging major museums through grants to make long-term loans of surplus works to less fortunate museums in other parts of the country. The other project provides matching grants to smaller museums for the purchase of contemporary works.

Most of the state arts councils use a substantial portion of their federal matching grant for travelling exhibitions.

On rare occasions the National Endowment will contribute to the cost of a very special exhibition at the local level.

Performance of musical works

The National Endowment for the Arts has a programme whereby any professional orchestra electing to commission a work by an American composer may receive a grant equal to the amount provided by the orchestra. In addition, the composer is reimbursed for his actual expenses for having the instrumental parts copied for the orchestra. However, the orchestra must agree to perform the work for the public at least once.

Arranging the *première* of works is not a problem in the United States. Orchestras are eager to have the honour of a world *première*. The problem is to have the work performed for a second time. One music critic half seriously proposed the formation of a second performance fund. The endowment project described above is aimed at assisting the composer and only incidentally to expose concert audiences to contemporary music. Far more effective as an audience-builder is a project which subsidizes the entrepreneurs of regular concert series to add contemporary concerts.

Some state councils have programmes which provide composers-in-residence to orchestras and schools. This helps.

Hire-purchase of works of art

This is commonly done by local museums, both private and public, as a method of encouraging individual patronage among middle-income people. Usually the monthly rental can be deducted from the sale price if the work is purchased.

Experimentation

In the public sector, support for experimentation and research is almost wholly a federal matter. Occasionally, a state or local arts council will sponsor *avant-garde* or 'multi-media' productions, but by and large broad experimentation is federal territory. For example,

for two years the National Endowment for the Arts has given substantial grants to the wildly experimental theatre-cafés known as 'off-off Broadway', while the state arts councils have not supported the ventures in any significant way.

Research in new materials, new techniques, the application of technology to art have all been funded by the federal agency. In total, about 5 per cent of the federal arts budget is invested in research and special education projects. This percentage does not include projects in public media such as radio, television, and audio recording, most of which are highly experimental.

Perhaps the most promising of the endowment's efforts in experimental support is the massive Westbeth project. In a technical sense, Westbeth is a low-income housing project aimed at artists who desire working/living space at nominal rents. Nearly 400 units will be provided in this New York building for all types of artists; but in addition there will be rehearsal halls, film laboratories, a theatre, etc., which will hopefully challenge the artists to experiment. Though this project involved federal arts funds and private foundation money in its development stages, it is now financed wholly (\$9.5 million) from regular federal housing funds.

Many of the grants and awards to individual artists are used for highly experimental work, though no requirement demands such use. Very few established 'institutionalized' artists participate in these programmes.

Private assistance to artistic creation

Except for the new Federal Arts Endowment Program, the private sector has been the mainstay of assistance to the artists. In terms of funds expended it is still beyond comparison as the leader in this area. The division or balance which is difficult to explain is the extent to which private sources are available for the routine maintenance of artistic institutions and the extent of support for new or progressive programmes. The picture varies from foundation to foundation and corporation to corporation, but it would be safe to say that the vast majority of private funds spent in the arts is used to pay the previous month's operating bills.

A very tiny amount of the federal arts dollar is used to pay such operating deficits. So, if the discussion is concerned with who pays the regular piper, the answer is simply and definitely the private sector. To a larger extent each year, the term private funds means a large number of small individual gifts. One city found that 80 per cent of its contributors to a theatre-building campaign gave under \$200, but these gifts totalled only 20 per cent of the amount raised. This 20 per cent has come to mean the difference between success and failure, however.

All aspects considered, the vast majority of operational support for the arts in the United States still comes from voluntary gifts from individuals. Increasingly, the next largest group of supporters is the corporation and corporate foundation. Lastly, the private foundations, particularly the local ones, help with annual deficits.

The following paragraphs will not be concerned with the continuing maintenance of artistic activities—the routine subsidy of the arts usually carried on by the government in other countries. Instead, we will discuss the special additional projects sponsored by private resources. In these enterprises, the private foundations hold a slight lead over all other sectors.

Corporate support

The United States has no more industrial workers today than at the height of the greatest unemployment in its history in 1932. Yet, corporate profits continue to set profit records year after year. This means that corporations have been able to increase production without raising corresponding costs for labour. To most enlightened corporations the enormous wealth that is accruing must have broader social purposes than the economic health of its thousands of stockholders. For an increasing number, this broader responsibility includes patronage of the arts.

Such personages as David Rockefeller and the former Secretary of the Treasury, C. Douglas Dillon, have pointed out the increasing need in the arts for corporate support. As a result of their urging, in fact, a quality committee of over 100 national corporate leaders has been formed and named the Business Committee on the Arts. The last occasion for corporate leadership to focus on an acute national problem was the crisis in education in the 1950s. That effort increased business support of education by 400 per cent.

This is not to say that generous support is just around the corner or that the past has been a completely blank horizon. In the past, many corporations have carried out independent arts programmes and supported community efforts in the arts. The Johnson Corporation bought 300 paintings by living artists and sent the exhibit around the world before giving the collection to the federal government for one of the museums in Washington. Another corporation commissioned a symphony to commemorate the anniversary of its founding. A large sundries firm gives over \$ 600,000 per year for educational television programmes.

Corporations have been particularly generous toward building projects and are often the largest contributors to cultural centre construction. Many firms have taken their place as regular supporters of annual deficits. In St. Louis, corporations provide nearly 40 per cent of the annual deficits of the local institution of the arts.

On the negative side, the situation nationally is not consistent. Although shining examples can be pointed out, the national corporate percentage of giving to the arts stands at about 3.5 per cent of their annual philanthropic efforts.

A current trend to combine annual fund-raising efforts at the local level will improve this average. Local federated campaigns in St. Louis, Cincinnati, St. Paul and other cities have managed to increase giving and increase the number of corporations willing to support the arts. While this type of organized volunteer fund-raising campaign is uniquely American, the concept of pooling corporate funds for special support projects in the arts should appeal to some other capitalist countries.

Without doubt, the above new self-generating efforts of the corporations, and the ability of the National Endowment for the Arts to receive and match corporate gifts to the arts will improve the picture in the future.

Labour unions

This is virgin territory for the arts. Two National Endowment for the Arts projects are currently under way to encourage labour participation and support. One project involves 'blue-collar' education through lectures on specific concerts and plays, and tickets to attend these events are subsidized by the unions and the government. The other project involves simply paying the salary of a professional arts organizer to stimulate union-sponsored projects and encourage arts groups to work with the labour groups. Both projects are working out successfully.

On their own, only a few unions have bestirred themselves. Self-betterment programmes have been a regular part of the needle-trade unions and have included arts projects. The electrical workers union in New York has begun a cultural programme as it wrestles with its short work-week problems. The musicians' union has carried out a stringed instrument programme for several years.

The future is speculative for increased labour involvement in the arts.

Foundations

Much has been said already about the importance of foundations to the arts in the United States. The only facts which need to be added are the problems of foundation philosophy. First, foundations tend to fund new programmes for a short term only. The thought is that their capital should be kept relatively free to experiment with newer proposals. This contributes to the precariousness of existence of arts organizations, especially those without endowment or regular public support. However, gradually, as the economic crisis deepens, foundations are tending toward deficit or endowment support and longer term commitments.

The other problem surrounding foundation giving is the human one of independent action. Foundation directors and trustees tend to want to exercise control over projects and will often refuse to share in a large project initiated by another source. They sometimes embark on ill-advised projects because they have been fearful of advice which might show their intentions. These tendencies are beginning to disappear also as the demands for support are forcing more careful thought upon everyone.

Training

The training of the artist for a professional career has not become a problem of acute proportions in the United States to date. It is true that in some fields, notably opera, the number of trained singers outnumber the domestic demand, but these singers find employment in other countries. (It is estimated that as many as 600 American opera singers are employed in Europe.) However, our orchestra conductors seem to believe there is actually a shortage of qualified players and that the shortage of string players is almost a national disaster. Our dancers are well-trained for the most part, though the salaries are so low that the turnover of personnel is extremely high. Male dancers are almost never unemployed. A great number of actors are graduated from our colleges and specialized schools and although employment opportunities are less than adequate for the supply, directors complain that really talented and well-trained actors are difficult to find. Painters and sculptors seem to disappear into the society after graduation. Many of them teach, some do commercial work, and some try to become full-time painters. In the free market of the present art world each painter must decide his own life course. Poets, composers, and writers also scurry around to find teaching, commercial writing, or an unrelated job as their basic income-producing occupation.

The problem in the United States is not the training available to aspiring artists, or the overabundance of trained artists, but the low income of the professional. Young people are simply not attracted to a field where the average income is at, or only slightly above the national poverty level average. It is more desirable to work at any other occupation and pour one's amateur soul into the arts.

This system gives the United States probably the most expert amateurs the world has ever known. The difference between training amateurs and professionals is not clearly defined at the academic level, nor is it likely to be in the near future. At the present time,

there is neither public nor private effort of any magnitude to assist the professional academies of the arts which are suffering acute economic problems.

In short, almost all of the total public and private effort at the present time is toward assisting existing artistic institutions and artists who are already trained and active.

Training of 'arts administrators'. Until very recently this problem has been one which everyone talks about, but which has received little concerted and solid effort toward solution. Now, a new concept which combines research into the non-artistic aspects of the arts with training and close communication with the practising professional administrators seems to be the most promising action. This more sophisticated approach would take form as a centre for arts administration at a large metropolitan university as a permanent part of the fine arts and business administration faculties. Mid-career training for practising administrators would be another aspect of the programme as well as publishing and a library. Curricula development would evolve slowly from research and experimental teaching. It is hoped that principles will be distilled and eventually will be universal enough to be used for general basic training of cultural executives. Apprenticeships are planned for these students as part of the training.

The reasoning behind this concept is that arts administration is a profession without a cogent history or significant body of knowledge and requires considerable research before training can be more than superficial. Many plans have been developed in the past and some have actually been carried out, but the fallacious assumption that the professional opinion of a limited number of administrators was a sufficient base for education doomed such attempts to defeat. The arts have evolved too rapidly as social instruments to be understood by any small group of individuals. The future development is unknown.

Therefore, by active constant communication with practising administrators, problems and solutions will be discussed. For those problems without solutions research will be undertaken and the results disseminated to the practitioners. Short courses for mid-career training in particular aspects of administration will uncover and develop other principles and techniques. While these two functions are active, other fields of management and social enterprises will be examined to find procedures and techniques which can be modified and adapted to arts administration. By 1970 it is planned that sufficient knowledge will be isolated and discovered so that the first formal education of neophyte administrators can begin. Gradually, over several years the communication, research and training aspects will mutually reinforce each other to the point where basic education can become somewhat standardized.

It should also be mentioned that this experimental centre will be equally the responsibility, within the university, of both the fine arts and business administration faculties. However, the centre will have a separate staff, funding from many sources including private foundations and corporations, and accept contract research from any institution in the arts.

Training of other artistically-related personnel. One of the professions neglected to the point of serious concern is that of conservator of art works. Preserving and restoring paintings entails a kind of painstaking effort which fails to challenge young Americans and though the income level has been driven quite high by the shortage of qualified people, few apprentices are in training.

One solution to this problem has been the creation of regional laboratories serving several museums at once, but there are not even sufficient numbers of people to establish an adequate network to cover the nation.

Museum specialists in promotion and education are also in short supply. However,

several colleges are beginning training courses for these professions and several foundations, including the National Endowment for the Humanities, are offering fellowships for training.

Librarians are well trained in the United States and funds are available for scholarships and training facilities.

The channels of cultural action

The following paragraphs discuss the health and problems of the new as well as the traditional means of transmitting culture in the United States. To say that fermentation is under way at present, that new activities are so widespread that no source can adequately describe all that is happening, is to say that the world is changing rapidly. The attempt here will be only to describe in general terms some of the changes taking place and some of the new projects. Next year, or even next month, some experimental projects will have become routine practice, others forgotten, and new enthusiasms will have replaced those of today. All that can be said of the present moment is that nothing is static and no one is complacent. No one is satisfied with the *status quo* and little agreement about specific improvements exists.

Schools

General agreement does exist about the fact that the schools have failed to instil aesthetic and humanistic values while educating the citizenry. Social, economic, and scientific values abound, but only the last five years have seen a realization that aesthetics and humanism are the lacking keys to a mature society.

First, the political structure of schools in the United States must be understood. Schools are a matter of local concern. Some 30,000 separate school districts exist and the vast majority of these are autonomous. Some states have taken major responsibility for education, and all states have a measure of control. This varies from state to state. Texas and California have strong state systems, while the middle-western states such as Wisconsin and Minnesota have strong local control. For the past twenty years the trend has been toward more state control.

For the past ten years the federal role has been growing, not because of an enlightened philosophy, or because political thought has changed, but because tax revenues at the local level are strained almost to their limit. School costs are the major expense in local budgets and federal income is the most flexible source available. The traditional separation of federal government from education began to disintegrate in the face of dwindling local revenues and increasing federal income.

First, federal aid was offered in the form of grants for school construction, but with the ascendancy of *sputnik* the Defense Education Act set a precedent of federal assistance to actual teaching. This was a cautious beginning with careful prescriptions restricting national help to research and development projects. One section of this Act made funds available for research in new media that might aid teaching and learning. It was under this provision and its liberal application that the arts began to receive financial recognition from the United States Office of Education. Film, music, theatre and the visual arts were recognized as new media possibilities and some interesting research grants were awarded. Even the science educators were sympathetic to arts education and added their influence to proposals for arts education reform.

The 'new math' and the 'new science' concepts of teaching were perfected in the three years after the dawn of the satellite age and enough momentum was generated to revise foreign-language teaching and begin to look at the arts. An important seminar on music education was held under the sponsorship of the President's Council on Science and Technology which resulted in recommendations for sweeping reform. However, about this time Congress objected to so liberal an interpretation of new educational media research and the arts education reform movement lost its funds for continuation.

But the shell of apathy had been cracked, and could not be repaired. General education at all levels inexorably moved toward reform under federal guidance. Most experts agreed that massive general assistance was one need and reform was the other task which was essential to national progress.

By April of 1965 it was also accepted by Congressional leaders that the schools required financial help in general if the quality of education was to be improved and Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Under the five titles of this law the arts and humanities were specifically cited and the initial appropriation for all purposes was planned at \$1,300 million. The break-through accomplished with this legislation was the willingness of Congress, for the first time, to bypass state educational authorities and create a power link between the local school boards and the federal education agency. (Subsequent amendments returning final authority to the states is considered a grave step backwards by liberal educators.) The question remained whether local school boards would apply for projects involving the arts, or would they think only in terms of 'basic' improvements.

Under Title I, which is aimed at improving schools in poverty areas and receives the lion's share of the funds (\$1,000 million) the arts were included with a fair amount of regularity. Orchestra concerts, theatre and dance performances, and visits to museums were the usual type of project. Title II deals with the building of library resources, but it is specifically stated in the guide-lines governing the programme that tapes and phonograph records are purchasable. Title V provides assistance to state education administrative services. Under this title many states took the opportunity to fund the employment of state music, art or theatre supervisors.

Titles III and IV are the programmes which present the greatest opportunities to those interested in arts education. Funds for Title III amounted to \$150 million. In the first eighteen months of operation 1,300 separate projects were funded under Title III and 266

involved at least one art form. Since the purpose of the title is to assist exemplary and innovative education projects, many arts projects were extremely *avant-garde* considering the usual conservative nature of the local educational establishment. Successful projects are theoretically to be funded from local revenues at the termination of federal assistance. Thus, arts education received its biggest boost in recent years and continues to be prodded forward by dollars dangled from Washington.

Title IV provides funds for research and experimentation and has also benefited the arts. Regional Educational Laboratories were established throughout the country and given the assignment of developing curricula and methods improvements. Two of these laboratories have mounted massive long-term projects in arts education. One of these projects, the Aesthetic Education Program, has attracted private foundation support and is involving the entire school population of a city of 75,000 population in an intense experiment. The results of this could well influence the entire nation.

Lessons learned from the math and science reforms are not unheeded. Much attention is being given to the retraining of teachers and the infusion of new knowledge into the colleges which educate future teachers. Also, the professional artist is being involved in the development of new methods. However, it should be pointed out that influence and persuasion are the only tools available to the federal government in education. These new concepts will only be generally accepted when the benefits are dramatic enough to persuade the experienced educational establishments that they must catch up to the times. These new methods not only need to be improvements, but they must overwhelmingly appear to be improvements, especially to parents.

It should also be noted that although the arts are receiving attention and benefit from these reforms and new revenues, by far the vast majority of the attention is focused on the so-called 'basic' subjects like science and reading.

Other federal legislation affecting higher education, vocational training, continuing (adult) education, and teacher re-education, has recently been enacted, but the effectiveness of these programmes will not be evaluated for some time. In general, it is safe to say that for the first time in history the place of aesthetic education in our schools has become a subject for public debate. Some progress is already evident, although the vast majority of our children still receive their arts education from class-room teachers who have no special arts training. The extent to which the debate and study and experimentation will mean future substantial progress remains for time and circumstances to tell.

Before leaving the discussion of schools one more word should be said about the nature and function of education as it is reflected in cultural progress. Education is not creative. It is reflective. The schools are the repository of the best accomplishments of man and they distil these accomplishments and ideas and pass them on to succeeding generations. Scholarship is the touchstone of education, and not the creative act. When educators confuse their role and attempt to add or substitute the creative process to the important one of preservation the result must be a pastiche of mediocrity which mixes inventiveness with academic thought.

Education should not be confused with training. Training the artist to join his colleagues is a different function from educating the general student in the arts. As the traditional apprenticeship system became replaced by formal training schools, because of economics and certain efficiencies, so the university is gradually replacing the artist academies. Independent schools exclusively training artists in a particular art form are gradually being absorbed into the universities. This is an improvement because more funds are available for training, the student receives certain advantages from the broader educational base of the university, and the art students are not completely isolated from students in other

disciplines. This aspect of education is not in danger of mediocrity as long as these schools maintain their present autonomy within the larger hierarchy of the multi-university.

The developing danger is the attempt of many universities to combine artists' training with general education. When a school attempts to employ professional opera, theatre or instrumental performers both as teachers, lecturers, and functioning artists, the result is inevitably that none of the functions is properly carried out. On the other hand, a few schools, notably the University of Michigan, have annual contracts with quality performing groups to play a short season on campus and while in residence give lecture-demonstrations and other tangential services. This is a different matter and a system that benefits artists and students. One can only hope these attempts to use one individual to serve two functions are a phenomena of the moment.

Similarly, these many amateur and informal education enterprises should not be viewed as vital forces for cultural progress. They are important evidence of cultural interest, and in some ways of cultural dissemination, but very little creative pioneering or development is present.

Informal art training

This type of activity is so prevalent throughout the country that there is danger the nation will sink under the weight of art works produced by amateurs. This is certainly the result of affluence, growing leisure time, and a felt need for personal expression. Over 1,200 community orchestras exist, 30,000 amateur theatre groups have annual seasons, amateur painters are said to number between 10 and 15 million, and there are so many million ceramists, weavers, lapidists, and other craftsmen that no estimates are attempted.

Books

It has become axiomatic among publishers that no publishable novel remains unpublished; and yet the number of readers seems to remain unincreased in proportion to the population. One can only assume that perhaps 10 per cent (20 million) of the population reads intensely while a larger percentage reads occasionally.

Many universities operate their own publishing houses. These seldom show any profit and are, in effect, subsidized presses.

Television

As the whole world knows, United States television is a profit-making enterprise. Its primary purpose is to sell commodities to the populace and therefore programmes are designed to attract the greatest number of people and repel the least number. Since average intelligence and average educational attainment is less than cultural leaders would wish for, television frustrates them. It is not that television is as it is that disturbs dedicated people, but rather that it is not what it could be as an influence. Some experts believe that programme content is almost irrelevant, that large numbers of people will watch any type of programme. Therefore, 'good' programmes would be popular if no choice were given to the viewer. Other experts believe the mass audience would forgo television if simple entertainment were replaced by substantive programming. In the foreseeable future, neither theory stands much chance of being tested.

The important issue at the moment is the availability of a viable alternative, and this is developing rapidly. Not everybody is aware that there are 140 public television stations

now operating, that the majority of Americans can receive these stations which broadcast only educational and cultural programmes. Recent legislation provides federal funds and guidance for a quasi-public corporation to weld these educational television (ETV) stations into a 'fourth network'. The reasons for this network are the need for more funds for production of programmes of high quality and better national transmission. The 'fourth alternative' should begin operation within two years.

Cinema

Like television, the 'movies' has always been a highly commercial enterprise in the United States. However, in recent years the mass audience has moved from the silver screen to the glowing tube in their living-rooms and the profitable films have turned out to be the so-called 'art' films. The appetite grew with the eating. The demand rose for more artistic films and with the production of these more mature films came the intense interest of the intellectual community. Courses in film study and/or appreciation appeared in over 150 universities, underground film-makers surfaced and received standing ovations. The movie establishment became concerned about recruiting young talented people who understood the new wave.

Under the leadership of the National Endowment for the Arts, an American Film Institute was established in 1967. Federal funds, private foundation grants, and commercial film corporation gifts were combined to create a \$ 5.2 million launching fund. The institute is concerned with training young people for the profession, working with colleges on film-study courses, archival responsibilities, and promotion of the film arts. Providing production funds for unusual feature films by young producers and directors is a subsidiary function.

Theatre and theatre decentralization

For the past twenty years the United States has seen a trend toward the establishment of professional resident theatre companies in cities across the country. No organized plan was in operation; civic pride and love of theatre seemed to be the motivating factors. By 1968, fifty resident companies were established in as many cities. While the repertoire of these theatres has tended toward the 'safe' plays—high-calibre Broadway and standard classics—a theatre tradition has gradually been established where none existed before. In the last three years, a trend has developed among some of these companies to try controversial or new plays. Some of these plays have now seen Broadway productions and the country is beginning to look away from Broadway for the exciting new ideas.

The second new development is the off-Broadway and off-off-Broadway movements. Smaller productions in tiny theatres began to develop in the 1950s as an overt attempt to combat the commercial restrictions of New York professional theatre. However, as productions began to multiply and popularity developed, this group of theatres became institutionalized and evolved into a slightly more liberal form of commercial enterprise. Off-off-Broadway companies then emerged. These are even smaller companies in smaller theatres, more socially concerned, more aesthetically *avant-garde*. They have replaced off-Broadway as the focus for experimental drama. The National Endowment has made two series of grants to these theatres to encourage their serious purpose.

The last emerging theatre force is the 'theatre-in-the-street' movement. These are theatres entirely concerned with the social aspects of theatre and the cultural development of poverty-level people. They do standard modern and classic plays, original dramas, and improvisational works wherever they can get an audience. They operate from mobile

truck theatres, perform on street corners, in churches, schools, and open fields. Budgets are precarious and support comes largely from public and private grants. The leaders are fiercely dedicated people with definite political and social philosophies. The actual impact of these theatres upon their audiences either socially or politically has not been tested, but their continued existence testifies that some positive reaction must be present to inspire them.

Opera

The present state of opera is complex and rife with problems. A large and dedicated audience exists, but the exorbitant costs of production and transportation have stymied development.

Only one opera company, the Metropolitan Opera of New York, has a full season annually and its personnel under full-time contracts. Two other companies, in San Francisco and Chicago, are approaching the plateau of full professional employment, but many obstacles remain. Two attempts have been launched to establish national touring companies and both have failed because pre-touring production and rehearsal costs could not be recaptured by box-office income. This was despite 80-85 per cent capacity audiences on tour. It is simply a matter of high costs which cannot be offset by reasonable ticket prices because of the limited capacities of available facilities in most cities.

A new experiment is currently under way. The National Endowment for the Arts has been sponsoring for the past two years a 'truck and bus' opera company as a subsidiary operation of the San Francisco Opera. Using two pianos or an orchestra of twenty-five pieces and adaptable scenery, this group can perform at reasonable fees in the smaller cities and limited facilities wherever these are located. Hopefully, this chamber concept, which is successful to date, can be expanded and multiplied. It benefits the communities where enthusiastic audiences reside, and it benefits the young singers and musicians by giving them valuable experience. On tour, the company also engages in lecture-demonstrations and other educational programmes in the schools.

Within the next two years, it is likely that the National Endowment for the Arts will organize an Institute for Opera similar to the previously described American Film Institute—a large pool of funds used for general support of all aspects of the art form.

Symphony orchestras

The acute financial crisis in the arts is nowhere more acute than among the twenty-eight major orchestras (those with budgets exceeding \$ 500,000) of the United States. Despite the \$ 82 million in grants to these and to over forty somewhat less professional orchestras to establish endowment funds, rising costs continue to plague the managements. Some experts believe the symphonic orchestra is living beyond its years, others maintain we need to redefine the role of music in the community. At any rate, it is time for a thorough study of the situation.

Note on the performing arts

Because of the great interest in professional performances in all areas of the country, and because of the need on the part of performing arts organizations to play longer seasons for economic reasons, the National Endowment for the Arts has launched several programmes which subsidize touring activities. All of these require local matching

subsidization and in many programmes, particularly in dance, lecture-demonstrations and master classes are an adjunct to performance.

Cultural centres

An estimated 200 cultural centres have been built since 1950. In some cases, progress has resulted when new and exciting resident companies have been formed to justify the expenditure and create a more worthwhile local arts life. In total, the facilities constructed to date have not been sufficient to replace obsolete theatres and concert halls, or meet the rising demand for comfortable and modern places for performance and instruction. A study completed by the National Endowment for the Arts estimated that a total of \$7,500 million is needed to equip the nation with all the facilities necessary to give the arts first-quality platforms from which to work.

Federally, a national culture centre is under construction, but to date it is without a programmatic concept and will probably primarily serve the capital's population as a local performance centre.

Arrangements for support and control are manifold. Cultural centres exist (Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York, for example) which boast of federal, state, city, and private contributions toward construction costs. Other places boast that no public funds at all were involved in building a new facility. Puerto Rico has a regular programme of financial aid to small towns wishing to build cultural centres. Pennsylvania is considering offering architectural consultative help to cities planning centres. The Garden State Arts Center was financed by the state of New Jersey from tolls collected from motorists on an expressway. Huntsville, Alabama, is paying for its cultural centre by means of a municipal liquor tax. A city jail was given over for an arts centre by the city of Tacoma, Washington, while the United States Department of the Interior is contributing land and facilities in Ithaca, New York, for a huge recreational and cultural park. These examples are somewhat unique, with the usual pattern revolving around proportionate funding by local public and private resources.

If plurality offers many routes to successful fund raising, it also produces many definitions of the concept 'cultural centre'.

For purposes here, the definition in part suggested by Associated Councils of the Arts, Inc., the national association of arts councils and arts centres, is appropriate and serviceable. A cultural centre is an area-wide facility or facilities under single management which provides rehearsal, performance, and/or exhibit space for two or more professional arts organizations with regular residence at the centre available to the arts organizations.

Such a definition embraces the vast majority of centres, though it proscribes two very important types. The first is the growing number of university based arts centres. In many places, the college or university provides all or nearly all of the cultural life of the community. The arts centre at the school is used for public performance by students and faculty, and frequently, as the performance hall for professional touring attractions which are attended by both the school and community people. Several hundred such arts centres would fall into this category and be included on the basic list of 300 if the words 'professional arts organizations' were to be eliminated from the above definition.

The other centre precluded is the settlement-house or school type of facility. Often a private welfare agency began a programme in music, theatre, dance, and/or the visual arts for purposes other than aesthetic and found the results of far greater importance than imagined. Many of our most talented and respected artists began their training at a neighbourhood settlement-house. Some artists continue working from these facilities, as is the

case of choreographers Alwin Nicollas and Murray Louis at the Henry Street Settlement House in New York. In other cases, the arts programme became so successful that the agency gave up all other programmes and became an arts school. This is the history of the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia. Other settlement-houses continue to combine the arts with other programmes such as sports and education. Hull House in Chicago and the St. James Community Centre in Harlem would be examples of such professionally strong agencies. However, the reason for exclusion of these facilities from the cultural centre definition is that these are primarily teaching programmes with a social-work philosophy as a base. They serve as cultural centres for their neighbourhood in the finest sense of the word, but they are usually not artistically motivated enough to qualify. They are really a cultural movement in themselves. A few are included in the basic listing of centres, but adding all of these important facilities would increase the total by another fifty locations.

Museums also often fall into this second category of partial cultural centres. Of the 350 art museums in the United States, perhaps half of them have continuing programmes in one of the art forms in addition to the visual arts. Usually such programmes do not involve resident groups, but rather take the form of a regular series of performances by touring professional artists. In some places, such as the Walker Art Institute in Minneapolis, or the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond, theatre, dance, and opera have become a regular part of their programmes. Museums are generally excluded here, though they are important culture centres in their communities, because the museum has a different primary role. Even though the other arts are given equal status in their programmes, experience has shown that policy decisions almost always favour the visual arts. This is the proper attitude since painting and sculpture are the *raison d'être* of the institution.

Removing universities, museums, and settlement-houses from consideration leaves approximately 300 cultural centres which are conceived as serving the community with a varied diet of productions and exhibitions. Answering the question of why a community contributes funds voluntarily, or taxes itself to build such facilities is not a simple task. Many answers appear reasonable after some thought, but none of these seem quite to capture the truth of the phenomena.

It has been stated that Americans have an edifice complex. Social problems are often mistakenly attacked with building projects. To some extent, this sort of superficial thinking is present in the arts. However, such ideas seldom get the buildings built. The demonstrated need for facilities or better facilities is more often the motivating factor, particularly where the element of competition with other cities enters the scene. Once one city's facilities are outmoded by the new cultural palace of a city of smaller size, an appraisal takes place. The edifice complex is invoked, but the funds for building are raised on the evidence that indeed the local symphony, or opera, or theatre has been neglected and truly cannot continue to serve and grow in its present home.

Two factors enter here to determine need. One is the growing interest in the arts since 1945. The other, though superficial, is comfort brought by affluence and mass communication. During the 1930s, movie theatres often were air-conditioned in order to lure people from their hot, uncomfortable homes. (The particular film was of secondary importance.) After 1945, air conditioning became commonplace in many homes, particularly among the people who attend concerts and plays. When the convenience of television, high fidelity recordings, and 'good music' stations were added, home entertainment became extremely attractive. It soon became evident that even the most ardent art lover demanded at least equal comfort in his public cultural life.

Comfort is not the major motivation, however, for cultural centres. The building boom

seems to be part of a larger general desire of people to become more deeply involved with the arts. This general phenomena has been growing in the United States for a number of years, and the cultural centre is but one expression of a heightened interest in humanistic accomplishments which has come upon the people for complex reasons.

It has been explained by sociologists and psychologists as a phenomena of increased education, of urbanization, of reaction to a fractionalized technological environment, and though these causes are undoubtedly present, the underlying cause seems much more groping and tentative. Actions are taken, but the meaning of action seems unexplainable. The arts centre movement perhaps is like a young man who is filled with love for a young lady and expresses himself awkwardly by buying her a present. The next step in this new love and friendship is a permanent commitment, a marriage, a stable relationship involving security, a lifetime of mutual growth. The United States is past the stage of a flirtation with the arts, it is in the serious courtship stage, and perhaps is moving toward the realization of a complete, unique and vital marriage. We are a young country.

In more practical terms, we have learned several things about arts centres. For instance, they serve to focus the arts activities in the community. They give the arts an identity of place. When an arts centre is built and operating, often a remarkable change takes place in the general community. The lighted windows, the cars in the parking lot give ocular proof that many people enjoy the arts, that possibly art is interesting and even important. Barriers and prejudices are reduced by popularity.

Mention was made earlier of the obsolescence of many cultural facilities through simple neglect. Mention should also be made of the new technological tools of the arts which can only be installed in a small number of permanent locations because of costs. Rear-screen projections and other cinematic techniques, stereophonic sound and overamplification, new lighting effects, are examples of these new tools which are demanded more and more by artists and audiences.

The role of the arts centre in the United States is to act as a focal point for the arts in a local setting. Art takes place first in the mind of the creator, and then becomes public through the talent and skill of the artist bringing the concept out of the mind. The arts centre is where art happens; the arts centre is where art is preserved and then re-created in other times. Centres without places for young artists to congregate and without training programmes as part of the programme concept soon become mausoleums. On the other hand, centres devoted exclusively to young artists tend to be like over-organized playgrounds where supervisors insist on group activity despite the wishes of the individual child, but where discipline and a standard of excellence are absent. An ideal centre is a bridge between the old and the new ideas and issues, it should preserve and create, exhibit boldly and give sanctuary to the artists' work, and offer stability to the public all at the same time.

The discussion about cultural centres could go on and on filling pages with speculation and opinion, and books with theory. The hard facts, however, are that not enough time has passed in order to arrive at any deep conclusions. Very few specialized centres have been built, such as youth centres; ethnic arts centres (except Negro) are only beginning to emerge (an Armenian centre in New York). The range of concepts seems endless, the administrative and financial arrangements seem constantly inventive.

It is accurate, I believe, to say that arts centres focus community attention on the arts. If the building is well designed and comfortable, the events taking place inside are more memorable and increase the popularity of the arts. Arts centres which combine the presentation of the best works from the past with the most arresting works of the present, and also allow within the general programme for the training and development of young artists,

can have a catalytic effect on cultural enrichment. All these opinions can be voiced now, and held until time proves them valid or false. But when speculation gives way to fact, we are faced merely with statistical evidence which simply shows that building is taking place at an unprecedented rate, and that little or nothing is being done to guide or evaluate this phenomenon.

A survey of 221 cities conducted by *Arts Management Newsletter* in the summer of 1967, concluded that 'more new buildings for the arts have been completed in the past five years than in any other period in history'. Some form of arts construction activity has been experienced in 141 cities since 1962; 70 cities have completed 100 new arts structures, while 71 cities have buildings under way. Of the completed structures, 36 are museums, 34 are theatres, 23 are arts centres, and 7 are concert halls. Some of these centres are combined with commercial trade and convention facilities. This is a comparatively new trend based on the new conviction that conventioners demand cultural attractions as well as sports and light entertainment to occupy leisure time away from home.

The location of the city and its population seems to have little impact on the ambition of cultural projects. Atlanta, Georgia, is building a \$13 million centre, Cincinnati is spending \$400,000 on a contemporary arts centre and \$5 million on a university-connected performing and teaching facility. Waterloo, Iowa, under 100,000 population, built a \$700,000 centre with a 350-seat theatre, a 150-seat recital hall, exhibition galleries, classrooms, and an outdoor concert stage. Colleges building centres strictly for community-college arts activities include Millikin University, Akron University, Ohio, Washburn, in Topeka, Kansas, and the University of Idaho, in Moscow, Idaho.

If arts centres are only a manifestation of the unexplained but growing appreciation for the arts in this country, like a young man giving his new love a special present, if only this is true, it is a healthy trend. If these centres become the home for strong creative programmes, as some are beginning to be, it is healthier. Time will tell, but it seems a fair judgement to say at this time that the building of cultural centres is favourable to a climate in which the arts can progress.

Libraries

There is virtually no town of 5,000 population which does not have an adequate general library. In addition, most states have a state library system to augment and co-ordinate local efforts. These are maintained at local public expense.

Sites and monuments

With the passage last year of the Historic Sites and Monuments Act, Congress has added its official policy position to an already impressive list of commitments. Private foundations and societies have been restoring and preserving sites for nearly a century. Individual states have acted to preserve their unique heritage. It is now possible to drive from coast to coast and never be more than 100 miles from some historic landmark, site, or unusual natural phenomenon. Federal action will add to the number of preservations, but it will also improve the level of maintenance and the educational appeal of many sites.

Administrative and financial structure

The federal level

Most of the organizational and financial structure has been previously described, except for the co-ordinative function of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, a function which is in its infancy but holds great potential.

Within the law creating the foundation there is required a third council called the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities. It has nine members designated in the law by position: the Chairman of the National Council on the Arts; the Chairman of the National Council on the Humanities; the United States Commissioner of Education; the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution; the Director of the National Science Foundation; the Librarian of Congress; the Director of the National Gallery of Art; the Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts; and a person representing the State Department (Foreign Ministry).

This council is charged with a number of co-ordinative functions, among them to 'promote coordination between the programs and activities of the Foundation and related programs and activities of other Federal agencies'. To begin with, the federal council contented itself with exchanges of reports, but soon became recognized as the logical organization to carry out special studies.

The first such study undertaken at the request of President Johnson is now completed. This is a broad study of the present state of United States museums and recommendations for solution. With the involvement of the National Science Foundation, which has a science museum programme, the Smithsonian Institution, which operates many museum services, and the United States Office of Education which also has a museum programme, the foundation has been able to secure a united federal viewpoint on an important issue. Other national issues such as arts education and the training of arts administrators can also be most effectively co-ordinated through this body.

Co-operation is also in effect with the State Department which operates the overseas arts exchange programme. This is a comparatively minor programme (\$1.2 million in

1968-69) that is troublesome to administer. The National Endowment for the Arts is currently providing assistance to young recitalists desiring concert experience by making grants for overseas tours under State Department auspices.

A third area of co-operation is with the Office of Education. Within this office is an advisory programme on the arts and humanities which is in constant communication with the foundation. Plans are well under way actually to transfer appropriated funds from the Office of Education to the foundation for research in arts education. It is generally agreed that the staff of the foundation and the experts available to it can more expertly handle this specialized education area than can the traditional discipline-oriented teaching establishment.

Very little has been said about the sister Endowment for the Humanities. Most of the discussion has been about cultural actions, an area which is of secondary importance to humanistic scholars. However, the National Endowment for the Humanities is intimately involved in making grants to bring progress to the nation's scholarship. Obviously, the foundation for cultural progress is the solid scholarship of humanists. On a daily basis the arts and humanities go their separate ways, but the realization is clear that long-term progress requires close co-operation.

Preservation: safeguarding the cultural heritage

As discussed earlier, federal involvement in this area is very recent in the actual sense of an organized programme. The Department of the Interior has for many years been responsible for programmes of preserving and maintaining our most important sites and monuments under the National Park Service. Every state has a Historical Society and these vary in quality and authority. The Endowment for the Humanities is launching a programme of support for state historical societies on a regular basis. Many cities and counties also have preservation bodies. It is likely that the creation of the Council on Historic Preservation will begin to co-ordinate these many activities at the national level.

The cinema and book sectors: the role of the federal government

Except for the establishment of the American Film Institute under the inspiration of the Arts Endowment as discussed earlier, the central government is not involved in films as a matter of cultural policy. Non-profit book publishing is accomplished through the university presses, but this is a minor sector of the publishing industry. The Endowment for the Arts does subsidize the publication of an annual anthology of young writers as a means of encouraging talent.

The status of radio and television

These enormously important public media operate with the consent of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) which licenses all broadcasting stations. Stations must apply for renewal of their licences periodically and specifically catalogue the time they have given to public service. Though in theory each station must prove it is operating in the public interest in order to continue, it is extremely rare that the FCC ever rescinds a licence. On the other hand, it is impressive to see the large amount of time the responsible broadcasters devote to national issues and events without remuneration. There is little chance that television and radio will ever come under the control of the cultural agency.

Adult education and the organization of leisure-time activities

These are divided between the elaborate university extension systems, which may be public or private, local or state, and the recreation departments which almost always are public and local. Cultural activities have little to do with these programmes. Adult education is primarily a force for vocational betterment, and recreation programmes are usually directed toward hobbies and athletics. Recreation departments, which are present in almost every city of any size, have been recently attempting more ambitious programmes in the arts, but since their responsibilities are for mass participation and the professional leaders are trained as athletic and/or handicraft specialists, cultural leaders have little faith that effective programmes will result. However, the increasing citizen interest in quality programmes in the arts is causing serious concern among recreation personnel and some enlightened action will undoubtedly take place in the near future.

Sport

Sport is not considered related to culture in any way in the United States. Americans relate sport to physical health and mental relaxation.

Geographical decentralization

Not only geographic but social decentralization is a high priority for federal and state cultural agencies. Almost 50 per cent of the federal arts funds and more than 50 per cent of state funds are spent for the redistribution of cultural resources. Unlike many countries with their cultural advantages highly concentrated in very few cities, the United States has the problem to a lesser degree. The problem is generally a regional one rather than national. The major obstacle is the obvious one of adequate funds. The institutions and individual artists are willing to travel, the communities are anxious to attend performances and exhibitions, and sufficient talent is available.

The major effort at decentralization has been the State Arts Council programme. Nearly \$5 million is now spent annually on the arts out of state revenues as a result of federal stimulation. Nearly 700 projects in the arts are now executed each year with these funds in all the states. This excludes an additional \$2 million for the administrative costs of the state agencies. With time, this programme can grow to become the touchstone of national cultural progress. Co-operation between states within a region is now under way with the encouragement of the National Endowment. Annual regional workshops of state arts councils are sponsored by the Endowment, and other state agencies such as education are encouraged to attend. The Endowment is now designing special programmes which are co-ordinated by state arts councils.

Further, many of the state councils believe that their future strength is directly linked to the degree of organization found at the local level. These states have launched programmes to organize community arts councils and in some cases are subsidizing the establishment of them. California employs one person to organize and guide these local councils.

These are recent developments and far from a plateau of stability. More state legislatures need to be convinced of the importance of decentralization, the artistic communities in each art form need to be better organized at the national level in order to co-ordinate efforts to share exhibitions and productions. The beginning is promising and the initial success demonstrates appropriateness of the decentralization concept, but much remains to be done.

Reflections, conclusions and prognosis

To this point the discussion has been almost entirely in the areas of fact, historical evidence, and opinion based on experience and reasonable conclusion. Reflection and commentary, two areas of thought which are personal, have been left until the end. Not to include such elements would be like visiting a city and using only a guide-book for reference, without trying to talk with the people. To ask the question : 'What do you do?' is important if one is to understand something of the underlying motives. But not to ask: 'What do you think?' is to miss the essence of the motivation.

The United States cultural policy is diverse, many-faceted, and laborious to operate. Responsibility is vested in various sectors of society, and co-ordination is not concentrated at any single place. In this basic concept, the United States is not unlike many other nations; it is unique only in the degree of its divergence and its conscious attention to the diffusion of responsibility.

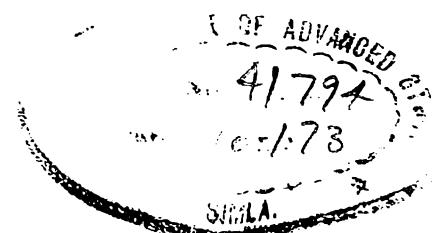
Should the central government so choose, the tax-exempt foundations and the income-tax deductibility of charitable gifts could be eliminated as elements for change. The federal revenue thus gained could be generally distributed as it was under these private auspices and undoubtedly greater efficiency would result. Congress does not choose to rescind these laws because such action would rob the people of their individual enthusiasms for worthwhile causes. In the areas of welfare, health, and later in education, the concern of private citizen groups accelerated the action and influenced the attitude of Congress. Traditionally, in the United States, human enterprises remain the prerogative of the people until private resources become inadequate, or the problems too complicated to be administered by fractionalized local groups. Therefore, the future of the arts in the United States depends in large measure on the ability of all sectors to generate support and interest in the problems inhibiting our cultural growth. The federal programme is only a part of this task.

And there is no doubt in the minds of knowledgeable people that the future of the arts is important to the future well-being of the nation. The United States is perhaps the first nation to wrestle with the problems of post-industrialization. The machine, we found, did not deliver civilization, but only gave us the leisure-time to search for civilization. At the same time, the machine alienated the artist, first by glorifying its own perfect sterile products as an achievement far superior to the work of the craftsman, and then by creating an economy in which the machine-worker was rewarded far more than the disciplined individual artist. Only recently has the obvious fact that the artist is unique and valuable in a mechanical world become accepted by some leaders of the private and public sectors.

Several years ago the president of a major symphony orchestra who was negotiating a musicians' strike said: 'My employees at the plant produce goods forty hours a week. How can these musicians expect equal pay when they only produce their goods four hours a week?' After careful education, this same man was later to defend the musicians against similar attacks and call them 'the teachers of our heritage'. A new view of the artist is beginning to become prevalent among the citizen-leader group. The application of industrial standards to the artist is no longer the dominant philosophy. It is a slow evolutionary process which is still far from creating any substantial change, but it is happening because for the first time the nation is seriously questioning what the machine has wrought. Once this questioning has begun, it cannot be stopped. As a leading financier said recently: 'If the industrial society has toppled human values, then all the king's engineers and physicists cannot put Humpty-Dumpty together again. We must find other experts.'

Lastly, it would be a mistake to interpret United States cultural policy simply as the rise of federal support in replacement of failing private resources. The entrance of Federal interest in the cultural scene in 1965 was of paramount importance because that action decisively thrust culture into the centre of American life. It was the final step of an evolutionary process. It was done with the support of business, science, and labour as these elements reflected their growing concern for increased leisure-time. However, the presence of a federal agency does not mean a subsequent relaxation on the part of other public and private sectors. As it was explained earlier, the states were prompted by the federal programme to establish arts councils. Private individual corporation and foundation contributions have increased because of the focus provided by federal action. The federal funds expended during the first three years by the National Endowment for the Arts have amounted to \$ 22.9 million, but \$ 31.4 million in state and private funds were generated to carry out the projects largely initiated at the federal level. In short, the federal action has come to be as it was intended, a stimulating force for cultural development.

The forces put in motion, the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, the programmes of the United States Office of Education, the state arts councils, the new interest of private support resources, all will continue to have an impact in the future. As these positive elements mature with the years, their influence will grow while at the same time, because of the diversity, allowing the artist and artistic institutions the freedom necessary to create a culture which truly reflects the values of the society.





Library

IAS, Shimla



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