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(Judge/ARD) June 15, 1987 6:30 p.m. Barbara

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEDAL OF ARTS LUNCHEON THURSDAY, JUNE 18, 1987

Thank you, all of you, for being with us today, on this third annual conferring of the National Medal of Arts. Thanks also to the National Council on the Arts for its work and for providing us with a fine list of nominees, and to our Committee on the Arts and Humanities and its chairman, Andrew Heiskell, for their help in furthering our cultural life. Finally, let me thank the Congress, in particular Senator Edward Kennedy, who is graciously hosting the reception this evening, for joining with us in supporting the arts and in celebrating the achievements of our best artists and their supporters.

We honor today seven artists and the patrons of the arts.

We do this in the bicentennial year of our Constitution. The

Constitution is the framework of our liberty and the guarantor of
our rights. Its drafting two centuries ago was one of the few

truly revolutionary acts in the annuls of human government. As
the great Constitutional historian, Herbert J. Storing, has
written, the founding generation considered the Constitution
unique because it was the product of deliberation not an edict
by one all-powerful man. "It was," he wrote, "widely, fully, and
vigorously debated in the country at large; and it was adopted by
[all things considered] a remarkably open and representative
procedure." For the first time, that is, the people gave powers
to the government -- not the other way around.

1987 1987

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The Constitution presumed the "People's" rights, and then created structures of government to preserve and guarantee them. It is the product of human imagination and experience -- and, as with all great works of art, it has stood up to the judgments of time.

For the Founders, government existed to preserve, protect, and defend the Unalienable rights of man. The document they produced was not just a work of policy or procedure, it showed the depth of their own learning and grasp of culture -- without either they could not have produced the Constitution. It should come as no surprise, then, that the Founders viewed the arts as essential elements of the new American nation. George Washington declared in 178 that both "arts and sciences are essential to the prosperity of the State and to the ornament and happiness of human life." And John Adams spoke of his duty to study "politics that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy, geography, natural history and naval architecture, navigation, commerce and agriculture, in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, Our third President, Thomas Jefferson, was himself an artist as well as a politician.

Why do we, as a free people, honor the arts? The answer is both simple and profound. The arts and the humanities teach us who we are and what we can be. They lie at the very core of the culture of which we are a part, and they provide the foundation from which we may reach out to other cultures, so that the great heritage that is ours may be enriched by -- as well as itself

enrich -- other enduring traditions. We honor the arts not because we want monuments to our own civilization, but because we are a free people -- and the arts are among the finest products and the cultural guarantors of freedom's light. As a poet wrote in this context, "Light forms in the word, cold and passionate as the dawn."

The National Medal of Arts is to recognize those among us who make this possible. So now, Nancy, who does such a fine job as Honorary Chairman of our Committee on the Arts and Humanities, will now announce the honorees.

[Mrs. Reagan announces the honorees and their accomplishments]

Thank you, Nancy, and thank you, all of you. Our honorees today have truly been leaders in writing the history of American freedom.

Well, thank you all once again and God bless you.

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(Judge/ARD) June 16, 1987 6:00 p.m. Barbara

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that, unlike any governing system before it, the Constitution was

"widely, fully, and vigorously debated in the country at large;
and... adopted by... open and representative procedure." Here in

America, that is, the people gave powers to the government -- not
the other way around.

Yes, here in America, government existed from the very first moment to preserve, protect, and defend the unalienable rights of man. The Constitution was not just a statement of policy or

procedure. It showed the depth of the Founders' own learning and grasp of culture, without which they could not have produced the Constitution. It should come as no surprise, then, that the Founders viewed the arts as essential elements of the new American nation. George Washington declared in 1781 that both "arts and sciences [are] essential to the prosperity of the State and to the ornament and happiness of human life.... Thomas Jefferson was himself an artist as well as a politician. And John Adams spoke of his duty to study "politics and war, that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy..., geography, natural history and naval architecture, navigation, commerce and agriculture, in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, architecture ... " Today it is John Adams' grandchildren's great, great grandchildren who have that right.

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DOCUMENT NO. 16 JUN 1987 CC: CF

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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(Judge/ARD) June 15, 1987 6:30 p.m.

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Well, thank you all once again and God bless you.

de

Barbara

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 17, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

CLARK S. JUDGE (S) SPEECHWRITER

TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Medal of Arts Luncheon

Attached are your cards for the Medal of Arts Luncheon. On page 4, a sentence was added that reads, "Let us resolve that our schools will teach our children the same respect and appreciation for the arts and humanities that the Founders had." This was inserted per the National Endowment for the Arts, who requested a line specifically referring to education.

Thank you.

MEDAL OF ARTS LUNCHEON

THANK YOU, ALL OF YOU, FOR BEING WITH US TODAY, ON THIS THIRD ANNUAL CONFERRING OF THE NATIONAL MEDAL OF ARTS. THANKS ALSO TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE ARTS FOR ITS WORK AND FOR PROVIDING US WITH A FINE LIST OF NOMINEES, AND TO OUR COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES AND ITS CHAIRMAN, ANDREW HEISKELL, FOR THEIR HELP IN FURTHERING OUR CULTURAL LIFE. FINALLY, LET ME THANK THE CONGRESS, IN PARTICULAR SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY, WHO IS GRACIOUSLY HOSTING THE RECEPTION THIS EVENING, FOR JOINING WITH US IN SUPPORTING THE ARTS AND IN CELEBRATING THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF OUR BEST ARTISTS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS.

WE HONOR TODAY SEVEN ARTISTS AND FOUR PATRONS OF THE ARTS. WE DO THIS IN THE BICENTENNIAL YEAR OF OUR CONSTITUTION.

THE CONSTITUTION IS THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR LIBERTY AND THE GUARANTOR OF OUR RIGHTS.

ITS DRAFTING TWO CENTURIES AGO WAS ONE OF THE FEW TRULY REVOLUTIONARY ACTS IN THE ANNALS OF HUMAN GOVERNMENT.

THE GREAT CONSTITUTIONAL PHILOSOPHER, HERBERT J. STORING, HAS WRITTEN THAT, UNLIKE ANY GOVERNING SYSTEM BEFORE IT, THE CONSTITUTION WAS "WIDELY, FULLY, AND VIGOROUSLY DEBATED IN THE COUNTRY AT LARGE; AND... ADOPTED BY... OPEN AND REPRESENTATIVE PROCEDURE." HERE IN AMERICA, THAT IS, THE PEOPLE GAVE POWERS TO THE GOVERNMENT -- NOT THE OTHER WAY AROUND.

YES, HERE IN AMERICA, GOVERNMENT EXISTED FROM THE VERY FIRST MOMENT TO PRESERVE, PROTECT, AND DEFEND THE UNALIENABLE RIGHTS OF MAN.

THE CONSTITUTION WAS NOT JUST A STATEMENT OF POLICY OR PROCEDURE. IT SHOWED THE DEPTH OF THE FOUNDERS' OWN LEARNING AND GRASP OF CULTURE, WITHOUT WHICH THEY COULD NOT HAVE PRODUCED THE CONSTITUTION. IT SHOULD COME AS NO SURPRISE, THEN, THAT THE FOUNDERS VIFWED THE ARTS AS ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE NEW AMERICAN NATION. GEORGE WASHINGTON DECLARED IN 1781 THAT BOTH "ARTS AND SCIENCES ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE STATE AND TO THE ORNAMENT AND HAPPINESS OF HUMAN LIFE...." THOMAS JEFFERSON WAS HIMSFIF AN ARTIST AS WELL AS A POLITICIAN. AND JOHN ADAMS SPOKE OF HIS DUTY TO STUDY "POLITICS AND WAR, THAT MY SONS MAY HAVE LIBERTY TO STUDY MATHEMATICS AND PHILOSOPHY..., GEOGRAPHY, NATURAL HISTORY AND NAVAL ARCHITECTURE, NAVIGATION, COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE, IN ORDER TO GIVE THEIR CHILDREN A RIGHT TO STUDY PAINTING, POETRY, MUSIC, ARCHITECTURE...."

TODAY IT IS JOHN ADAMS' GRANDCHILDREN'S GREAT, GREAT GRANDCHILDREN WHO HAVE THAT RIGHT. LET US RESOLVE THAT OUR SCHOOLS WILL TEACH OUR CHILDREN THE SAME RESPECT AND APPRECIATION FOR THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES THAT THE FOUNDERS HAD.

WHY DO WE, AS A FREE PEOPLE, HONOR
THE ARTS? THE ANSWER IS BOTH SIMPLE AND
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WE HONOR THE ARTS NOT BECAUSE WE WANT
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AMONG OUR NATION'S FINEST CREATIONS AND THE
REFLECTION OF FREEDOM'S LIGHT.

THE NATIONAL MEDAL OF ARTS IS TO RECOGNIZE THOSE AMONG US WHO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE. SO NOW, NANCY, WHO DOES SUCH A FINE JOB AS HONORARY CHAIRMAN OF OUR COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES, WILL ANNOUNCE THE HONOREES.

(MRS. REAGAN ANNOUNCES THE HONOREES

AND THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS)

THANK YOU, NANCY, AND THANK YOU,

ALL OF YOU. OUR HONOREES TODAY HAVE TRULY
BEEN LEADERS IN WRITING THE HISTORY OF

AMERICAN FREEDOM.

SO, THANK YOU ALL ONCE AGAIN AND GOD BLESS YOU.

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REMARKS BY FRANK HODSOLL CHAIRMAN

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

NEW JERSEY GRANTMAKERS
SPRING MEETING

NEWARK NEW JERSEY
MAY 18, 1987

Thank you very much, Jeff Kesper, for that kind introduction. Let me return the compliment by commending you for the outstanding job you're doing as Executive Director of the New Jersey State Council on the Arts. Let me also salute Margaret Hager Hart, who serves with such distinction as Chairman of the Council, and who has done so much on behalf of the Newark Museum, the Waterloo Foundation for the Arts, and other New Jersey cultural and civic causes.

As Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, I'm delighted to be here in Newark for the Spring Meeting of New Jersey Grantmakers. I'm most grateful to Jane Donnelly, Administrator of the Frank & Lydia Bergen Foundation, for inviting me to come, and to Sam Lipman -- one of this morning's outstanding panelists, Artistic Director of the Waterloo Music Festival and School, and one of our most valued members of the National Council on the Arts -- for encouraging my participation. I share your appreciation of the Bergen Foundation and First Fidelity Bank, for hosting today's meeting and luncheon.

Let me begin by saluting all of you for having the vision to establish New Jersey Grantmakers. Every state should have its own "Grantmakers" organization, to provide leadership and high visibility for the volunteers who make so much in our society possible.

Just glancing over the list of those invited to today's session, I'm struck by the breadth and distinction of New Jersey's private resources. I count over 20 Fortune 500

companies, including some of America's foremost industrial giants. I also see a number of smaller corporations and local foundations, spread across 13 of the state's 21 counties. It is a list that resounds with private and local commitment to building a better New Jersey, in the best American tradition.

You of the New Jersey Grantmakers represent those who provide the basic support for the arts in this country. Without you and hundreds of others, the Endowment's programs -- and those of the New Jersey State Council on the Arts -- would be of little avail. Let me single out in particular the Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation, AT&T, and the Fund for New Jersey (whose Executive Director, Robert Corman, has chaired New Jersey Grantmakers for three years).

The increasing amounts of private support for New Jersey's cultural life have not occurred in a vacuum. Your extraordinary Governor, Tom Kean, has repeatedly included the arts as one of the most important areas of his Administration's concern. He understands, in his own words, that the "arts teach us all a reverence for the human spirit, for the unique abilities and talent that live in every person, in every field. They teach us better than anything else to cherish the creative ability that only human beings have. And so they teach us that every single human being should be appreciated; they teach us to revere human life."

Governor Kean has also committed the State, in partnership with all of you, to increased support of the arts in New Jersey.

He has provided the impetus for state appropriations for the arts to more than quintuple. This year nearly 13 million attendances are anticipated by arts organizations and projects assisted by the New Jersey State Council on the Arts, versus less than 5 million in 1984. Your Arts Council is also, in our view, one of the nation's most adventuresome, most energetic, and best-run. In all of this, Governor Kean has had many key allies in the state legislature. Assemblywoman Maureen Ogden, a member of the State Arts Council, particularly comes to mind.

You have many treasures here in New Jersey. There are theaters such as the Papermill Playhouse in Millburn, the George Street Playhouse, the Crossroads Theater in New Brunswick, the McCarter Theatre in Princeton, the South Jersey Regional Theater in Summers Point, and the Whole Theater Company in Montclair. There are dance companies such as the New Jersey Ballet Company in West Orange, the Princeton Ballet, the Garden State Ballet, and the Newark Dance Theater. In music, there are the New Jersey Symphony Orchestra, the New Jersey Chamber Music Society, the Unity Institute in Montclair, Mostly Music in Westfield, the YM-YWHA of Metropolitan New Jersey in West Orange, and Pro Arte Double Chorale in Paramus. There is the very fine Waterloo Music Festival, sponsored by the Waterloo Foundation for the Arts in Stanhope. There are the Newark Museum, the Montclair Art Museum, Atlantic County's Noyes Museum, the Art Museum at Princeton University, and the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum

at Rutgers. There are media organizations like Newark Public Radio, an Endowment Challenge grantee for the second time, and Newark Mediaworks.

Your Arts Council has also made great progress in reaching ethnic minorities within the state. We at the Endowment are delighted to be a partner in your effort to open up the arts to all New Jersey citizens. Many of the organizations I've already mentioned are rooted in minority or inner city cultures; others — and there are many — include the African-American Cultural Education Touring Program of the Carter G. Woodson Foundation here in Newark, the Newark Community School of the Arts, and the New School for the Arts in Montclair. Many of you in this room have launched leadership initiatives in this area, often in partnership with the State Council. I'd like to warmly commend you on this score.

No survey of New Jersey's arts community would be complete without emphasizing the importance of your institutions of higher education. I've already mentioned Princeton and Rutgers in connection with their art museums, but both of these great universities also provide resources and leadership in many other areas of the arts. Other New Jersey colleges and universities important to the arts, often as presenters, include Stockton State College in Pomona, William Paterson College in Wayne, and Somerset County College. Recently a student from Drew University spent several months working as an intern in my office at the Endowment.

We've talked so far of New Jersey's institutions in the arts. But, we must also talk of New Jersey's artists who -- in the best tradition of Philip Freneau, Walt Whitman and William Carlos Williams -- are making the Garden State a major center of artistic vitality. New Jersey's poets include Stephen Dunn, Amiri Baraka, Ted Weiss, Maria Gillan, Toi Derricote [TOY DERRICOT], Miguel Algarin [MIGELL ALGAREEN], Joyce Carol Oates and Alicia Ostriker [ALEASHA AHSTRICKER]. Your musicians include Jerome Hinds, the great opera singer who has done so much to build the New Jersey State Council on the Arts, composer Milton Babbitt, and jazz great Dizzy Gillespie. Celeste Holm, one of America's foremost actresses and a member of our National Council on the Arts, has a home here, as do directors Harold Scott, Olympia Dukakis, and Lee Richardson. There are new artist colonies in Jersey City, Hoboken, Weehawken, Paterson, and here in Newark. Sculptor George Segal and painter Richard Anuszkiewicz both live here.

You have much to support in New Jersey, and it is in the national interest that you do so. But why do you and we and all of us who care about the arts do this? Today's meeting is focussed on the "reasons why". Let me add to that discussion, for our reasons for supporting art should be based on first principles, even while our arguments for the arts might be tailored to specific audiences. Sam Lipman, Milton Rhodes, Alberta Arthurs, Scott McVay, and Al Felzenberg have all this morning contributed greatly to this question. I don't know how much I can add, but let me try.

Perhaps the most commonly advanced argument for supporting the arts is that they do much to enhance the "quality of life" -- and so they do. No one doubts that New Jersey is a better state, or America a better nation, because of the arts. Clearly, any community is a more attractive place to live and work in if the arts flourish there; and clearly our lives are richer and fuller when the arts are part of them. "Quality of life", therefore, is a perfectly good argument for supporting the arts, if not a particularly profound one.

There are also dozens of economic impact studies showing that the arts positively benefit local economies, and that arts expenditures generate multiple returns — in ripple-effect spending, tourist dollars, jobs, tax revenues, et cetera. Governor Kean points out that here in New Jersey, one dollar spent on the arts brings four additional dollars into the state's economy. The participation of so many leading corporations in New Jersey Grantmakers indicates their conviction that the arts are good business, and good for business. The economic argument for arts support is a powerful one for state and local government as well as for business and industry.

From a cultural perspective, however, the economic argument is not really satisfactory. There is a far more profound justification for supporting the arts. I refer here to what Sam Lipman calls the enduring "values of culture and civilization". The arts and the humanities are of crucial and permament importance to us -- to all of us, as individuals and as members of American society --

because they teach us who we are, and what we can be. They lie at the very core of Western Civilization, of which we are a part, and they provide the foundation from which we may reach out to other cultures and civilizations, so that the great heritage that is ours may be enriched and augmented by the achievements of other enduring traditions.

At the heart of our appeal for wider and deeper partnership in supporting the arts, therefore, is a quest not only for greater appreciation of art, but also for an understanding of a reality beyond the flux of present-day events, an appreciation of the past which illuminates our present, a comprehension of what it is in the present which enables us to face the future with hope, and with a deeper perception of what we are and what our world This is why the arts and the humanities should be at the core of what is taught in our schools, of what our children read, and of the way in which we see our society and our country. It is why both the Endowment and the New Jersey State Council on the Arts give such high priority to encouraging serious and sequential arts curricula as a basic part of public and private school education. In this connection, I'm delighted to note Congresswoman Ogden's sponsorship and the New Jersey Legislature's recent enactment of an Act creating a Literacy in the Arts Task Force.

If Americans are to apprehend and reach for the highest standards, they must be introduced to the historical continuum of genius that underlies the best in art and in artistic innovation. They must have some sense of the vocabularies of the

highest achievements of civilization -- of the past as well as of the present. Winston Churchill said: "Without tradition, art is a flock of sheep without a shepherd. Without innovation, it is a corpse."

Why should the arts be supported? Listen to Proust:

"Only through art can we get outside of ourselves and know another's view of the universe which is not the same as ours and see landscapes which would otherwise have remained unknown to us like the landscapes of the moon. Thanks to art, instead of seeing a single world, our own, we see it multiply until we have before us as many worlds as there are original artists. . . . And many centuries after their core, whether we call it Rembrandt or Vermeer, is extinguished, they continue to send us their special rays."

Or Katherine Ann Porter:

". . . the arts do live continuously, and they live literally by faith; their names and their shapes and their uses and their basic meanings survive unchanged in all that matters through times of interruption, diminishment, neglect; they outlive governments and creeds and societies, even the very civilizations that produced them. They cannot be destroyed altogether because they represent the substance of faith and the only reality. They are what we find again when the ruins are cleared away."

Or Andre Malraux:

"Humanism does not consist in saying 'No animal could have done what we have done,' but in declaring: 'We have refused to do what the beast within us willed to do, and we wish to rediscover Man wherever we discover that which seeks to crush him to the dust. . .' [A] man becomes truly Man only when in quest of what is most exalted in him; yet there is beauty in the thought that this animal who knows that he must die can wrest from the disdainful splendor of the nebulae the music of the spheres and broadcast it across the years to come. . . In that house of shadows where Rembrandt still plies his brush, all the illustrious Shades, from

the artists of the caverns onwards, follow each movement of the trembling hand that is drafting for them a new lease of survival -- or of sleep.

"And that hand whose waverings in the gloom are watched by ages immemorial is vibrant with one of the loftiest of the secret yet compelling testimonies to the power and the glory of being Man."

Or John F. Kennedy:

"Genius can speak at any time, and the entire world will hear it and listen. Behind the storm of daily conflict and crisis, the dramatic confrontations, the tumult of political struggle; the poet, the artist, the musician continues the quiet work of centuries, building bridges of experience between peoples, reminding man of the universality of his feelings and desires and despairs, and reminding him that the forces that unite are deeper than those that divide.

"Thus, art and the encouragement of art is political in the most profound sense, not as a weapon in the struggle, but as an instrument of understanding of the futility of struggle between those who share man's faith. Aeschylus and Plato are remembered today long after the triumphs of imperial Athens are gone. Dante outlived the ambitions of 13th century Florence. Goethe stands serenely above the politics of Germany, and I am certain that after the dust of centuries has passed over our cities, we too will be remembered not for victories or defeats in battle or politics, but for our contribution to the human spirit. . "

You -- New Jersey's grantmakers -- are in some respects the guardians of those contributions. Your own enlightenment can provide more than cash. You can provide a beacon for others. You can show the way. By supporting the best in the cities and towns of New Jersey, you make your places better, for yourselves and your neighbors. By informing your neighbors of the importance of the arts to our civilization, you can create a community in St. Augustine's sense -- that is "an association of reasonable beings united in the peaceful sharing of the things

they cherish." This is the way its was in Athens under
Pericles, in Renaissance Florence under the Medicis, and in
Elizabethan London. It is just as true here today in New Jersey.

This is the great challenge for you, and for the vigorous and creative private sector you represent. The spirit of New Jersey's future is on your hands; it is you who must support the weaving of the threads of civilization into the fabric of tomorrow.

In closing, I am put in mind of the words with which the late Professor Donald Stauffer of Princeton concluded his lovely book of criticism on the poetry of William Butler Yeats:

"The world has been acknowledged: The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity. Night closes round, and the swan drifts upon a darkening flood. Yet light forms in the word, cold and passionate as the dawn. A bird's sleepy cry is lost among the deepening shades, but the ear catches the exultant voice of a golden nightingale, singing of what is past or passing or to come."

Let us see if we cannot, together, help our fellow citizens to awaken to this light, to discover this passion, and to hear the nightingale's "exultant voice" -- not only in words, but in all of art.

Thank you.

THE ARTS AND SCIENCES, OF NATIONAL INTEREST

... The Arts and Sciences essential to the prosperity of the State and to the ornament and happiness of human life have a primary claim to the encouragement of every lover of his Country and mankind.

To Joseph Willard, March 22, 1781

Writings Vol. 21 p. 352

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

. . . I shall with Zeal embrace every oppertunity of seconding their laudable views and manifesting the exalted sense I have of the institution.

To Joseph Willard, March 22, 1781

Writings Vol. 21 p. 351

INFLUENCE OF LEARNING

. . . I am not a little flattered by being considered by the Patrons of literature as one in their number. Fully apprised of the influence which sound learning has on religion and manners, on government liberty, and laws, I shall only lament my want of abilities to make it still more extensive.

To the President and Faculty of the University of the State of Pennsylvania, [April 20, 1789]

Writings Vol. 30 p. 289

IMPORTANCE OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE ARTS

... there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of Science and Literature.

First Annual Address, January 8, 1790 Writings Vol. 30 p. 493 ΟF

WASHINGTON

Political, Social, Moral, and Religious.

Collected and Arranged By

JOHN FREDERICK SCHROEDER, D.D.

A citizen of the United States

"First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

THE MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION MOUNT VERNON, VIRGINIA

11. There is a popular feeling that an army in time of peace is not maintained and administered to be used for war, and that the army exists merely for show. . . . This impression has led a usually practical and hard-headed people like the Americans to the most absurd military policy. An Army is for war. If there were no possibility of war . . . and we could be guaranteed a continuous peace, we should disband the army; but we have not yet arrived at this happy condition.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT Address at Columbus, Ohio, Apr. 2, 1908; Problems, p. 82

12. I am not one of those who believe that a great standing army is the means of maintaining peace, because if you build up a great profession those who form parts of it want to exercise their profession.

WOODROW WILSON

Speech at Pittsburgh, Pa., Jan. 29, 1916; Public Papers, IV, 33

13. I tell you, fellow citizens, that the war was won by the American spirit. . . You know what one of our American wits said, that it took only half as long to train an American army as any other, because you had only to train them to go one way.

WOODROW WILSON

Speech at Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 6, 1919; Ibid., VI, 12

14. I believe in a small army, but the best in the world, with a mindfulness for preparedness which will avoid the unutterable cost of our previous neglect.

Warren G. Harding At Marion, Ohio, July 22, 1920; Speeches of Warren G. Harding, p. 33

15. No nation ever had an army large enough to guarantee it against attack in time of peace, or insure it victory in time of war.

Calvin Coolidge An address, 1925

See also Defense, Discipline, Duty 3, Military Matters, Navy, Neutrality 2, People (The) 7, Preparedness, Republics 16, Soldiers, Union 8, 22, War 44

Arts, The

1. The science of government, it is my duty to study, more than all the other sciences; the arts of legislation and administration and negotiation, ought to take place of, indeed to exclude, in a manner, all other arts. I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study mathematics and philosophy, geography, natural history and naval architecture, navigation,

16 ASSASSINATION

commerce and agriculture, in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, architecture, statuary, tapestry and porcelain.

JOHN ADAMS

1780; Family, p. 67

2. Every time an artist dies part of the vision of mankind passes with him.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt 1941; As FDR Said, p. 161

See also Culture, Education, Public Opinion 1, War 16

Assassination

1. If it is [God's] will that I must die by the hand of an assassin, I must be resigned. I must do my duty as I see it, and leave the rest with God.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Statement in Washington, D.C., 1864; War Years, III, 559

2. If I am killed, I can die but once; but to live in constant dread of it, is to die over and over again.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Washington, D.C., 1864; Abraham Lincoln (Morse), II, 345

3. Men may talk about beheading and about usurpation, but when I am beheaded I want the American people to be witnesses. I do not want it, by innuendoes and indirect remarks in high places, to be suggested to men who have assassination brooding in their bosoms. . . .

ANDREW JOHNSON

Speech in Washington, D.C., Feb. 22, 1866; Document, p. 6

4. I'd rather have a bullet inside of me than to be living in constant dread of one.

BENJAMIN HARRISON

Upon dismissing the White House detectives, 1889;

As I Knew Them, p. 149

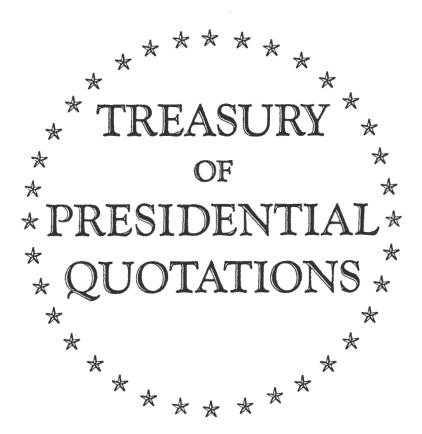
5. No man will ever be restrained from becoming President by any fear as to his personal safety. If the risk to the President's life became great, it would mean that the office would more and more come to be filled by men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

First Annual Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1901;

Works (Mem. Ed.), XVII, 99

6. One of the noblest sentences ever uttered was uttered by Mr. Garfield before he became President. . . . He said this beautiful thing: "My fellow citizens, the President is dead, but the Government lives and God Omnipo-



Compiled and edited by CAROLINE THOMAS HARNSBERGER

FOLLETT PUBLISHING COMPANY CHICAGO

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

FRANK HODSOLL, CHAIRMAN



JUN 9 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. CLARK JUDGE

SPEECHWRITER TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM

FRANK HODSOLL AK.

SUBJECT

SUGGESTED REMARKS FOR PRESIDENT'S AND FIRST LADY'S PRESENTATION

OF NATIONAL MEDALS OF ART (JUNE 18, 1987, WHITE HOUSE LUNCH)

Linda Faulkner's office has informed us that you will be working on the President's and First Lady's remarks for the June 18 White House lunch annual presentation of the National Medals of Arts. As in the past, we are attaching some suggestions for this purpose (as well as copies of the 1985 and 1986 ceremonies).

Our thematic idea was for the President to interweave the Bicentennial of the Constitution with the basic importance of the arts to any civilization. The best Presidential statement that I have seen of the civilization argument was made by John Kennedy. However, it occurs to me that you may not wish to use a lengthy Kennedy quote, and therefore I'm taking the liberty of including a copy of my May 1987 New Jersey Grantmakers speech which includes a number of quotes on pages 8-10.

As you can see, the themes of 1985 and 1986 were, respectively, "Freedom" and "Artistic Diversity/Arts Education".

Please let us know if we can be of any further help to you. Needless to say, we don't pretend to be Presidential speech writers, and the attached is to stimulate ideas. The point that we would most like the President to make involves the importance of the arts to civilization.

cc: Linda Faulkner Barbara Hayward

Enclosures 5

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Barbara

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE:	06/15/87	ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:			1:00 p.m.	Tuesday	06/16
SUBJECT:	PRESIDENTIA	L REMARKS:		OF ARTS LUNCH 6:30 p.m. dr		-	
	ACTION FYI					ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT				FITZWATER			
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DONA	ATELLI			COURTEMANCHE FAULKNER			-
Please provide any comments/recommendations to Tony Dolan by 1:00 p.m. on Tuesday, June 16th, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.							

(Judge/ARD) June 15, 1987 6:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEDAL OF ARTS LUNCHEON THURSDAY, JUNE 18, 1987

Thank you, all of you, for being with us today, on this third annual conferring of the National Medal of Arts. Thanks also to the National Council on the Arts for its work and for providing us with a fine list of nominees, and to our Committee on the Arts and Humanities and its chairman, Andrew Heiskell, for their help in furthering our cultural life. Finally, let me thank the Congress, in particular Senator Edward Kennedy, who is graciously hosting the reception this evening, for joining with us in supporting the arts and in celebrating the achievements of our best artists and their supporters.

We honor today seven artists and three patrons of the arts.

Which is

We do this in the bicentennial year of our Constitution, The

In the special way the original work of

Constitution is the framework of our liberty and the guarantor of

American art: Borld in its concept, brilliant in its

our rights. Its drafting two centuries ago was one of the few

execution, finallys in its relevance to our liver

truly revolutionary acts in the annuls of human government. As

the great Constitutional historian, Herbert J. Storing, has

written, the founding generation considered the Constitution

unique because it was the product of deliberation, not an edict

by one all-powerful man. "It was," he wrote, "widely, fully, and

vigorously debated in the country at large; and it was adopted by

{all things considered} a remarkably open and representative

procedure." For the first time, that is, the people gave powers

to the government -- not the other way around.

The Constitution presumed the "People's" rights, and then ereated structures of government to preserve and guarantee them.

It is the product of human imagination and experience—and, as with all great works of art, it has stood up to the judgments of time.

Bmerchs For the Founders, government existed to preserve, protect, and defend the inalienable rights of man. The document they produced was not just a work of policy or procedure, it showed.
A liberator of the human spirit. A liberator of the human spirit. either they could not have produced the Constitution. It should come as no surprise, then, that the Founders viewed the arts as essential elements of the new American nation. George Washington declared in 1788 that both "arts and sciences are essential to the prosperity of the State and to the ornament and happiness of human life." And John Adams spoke of his duty to study "politics and war, that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy, geography, natural history and naval architecture, navigation, commerce and agriculture, in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, architecture...." Our third President, Thomas Jefferson, was himself an artist as well as a politician.

Why do we, as a free people, honor the arts? The answer is both simple and profound. The arts and the humanities teach us who we are and what we can be. They lie at the very core of the culture of which we are a part, and they provide the foundation from which we may reach out to other cultures, so that the great heritage that is ours may be enriched by -- as well as itself

enrich -- other enduring traditions. We honor the arts not because we want monuments to our own civilization, but because we are a free people -- and the arts are among the finest products and the cultural guarantors of freedom's light. As a poet wrote in this context, "Light forms in the word, cold and passionate as the dawn."

The National Medal of Arts is to recognize those among us who make this possible. So now, Nancy, who does such a fine job as Honorary Chairman of our Committee on the Arts and Humanities, will now announce the honorees.

[Mrs. Reagan announces the honorees and their accomplishments]

Thank you, Nancy, and thank you, all of you. Our honorees today have truly been leaders in writing the history of American freedom.

Well, thank you all once again and God bless you.

1 Introduction

The Constitution of the United States was viewed by the founding generation as distinctive, even unique, in the extent to which it was the product of deliberation. Most previous foundings seemed to have been the result of chance or the edict of one all-powerful man. But the United States Constitution was framed by a numerous and diverse body of statesmen, sitting for over three months; it was widely, fully, and vigorously debated in the country at large; and it was adopted by (all things considered) a remarkably open and representative procedure. Viewed in this light, those who opposed the Constitution must be seen as playing an indispensable if subordinate part in the founding process. They contributed to the dialogue of the American founding. To take only the most obvious case, the Constitution that came out of the deliberations of 1787 and 1788 was not the same Constitution that went in; for it was accepted subject to the understanding that it would be amended immediately to provide for a bill of rights. Moreover, the founding of a nation does not end with the making of a constitution. The Constitution did settle many questions, and it established a lasting structure of rules and principles—we do not adopt the current cant that fundamental law is shapeless stuff to be formed at will by future generations. But it did not settle everything; it did not finish the task of making the American polity. The political life of the community continues to be a dialogue, in which the Anti-Federalist concerns and principles still play an important part.

The Anti-Federalists are entitled, then, to be counted among the Founding Fathers, in what is admittedly a somewhat paradoxical sense, and to share in the honor and the study devoted to the founding. In general, however, they have not enjoyed such a position. Champions of a negative and losing cause, they have found only a cramped place in the shadow of the great constitutional accomplishment of 1787. They have often been presented as narrow-minded local politicians, unwilling to face the utter inadequacy of the Articles of Confederation or incapable of seeing beyond the boundaries of their own states or localities. They have been described as men without principle, willing to use any argument to drag down the Constitution, yet willing, many of them, when the Constitution was adopted, to change their colors and become enthusiastic Federalists. It is true that with the rise of the Beardian critique of the Constitution and its framers, the Anti-Federalists have been viewed with a more friendly eye. Merrill Jensen

What the Anti-Federalists Were *For*

Herbert J. Storing

With the Editorial Assistance of Murray Dry

The University of Chicago Press

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common man. It is only natural that the mercurial propensities of the kind of life he found in a Gallic people would appeal to him much more than the saturnine, mercantile English temperament. It is not hard to predict where Jefferson's feelings would lie when later in his own country the people were to split up into pro-French and pro-English sympathizers. Every aspect of his nature predisposed him to France; and now, with a genuine revolution coming on, in which the authoritarianism he so hated would be abolished, his love for France increased the more. It was only later, when Napoleon's power threatened the United States at New Orleans, that he became more realistic and wrote that America

Washington's appointment of Jefferson as America's first Secretary of State followed Jefferson's return from France. His fundamental beliefs regarding man and his relations to the state were never so accentuated as in the Cabinet where he clashed often with Hamilton. In his famous assertion, "Your people, Sir, your people is a great Beast," Hamilton succinctly stated his philosophy; in his sharp realism, he was in part correct. Jefferson's whole philosophy was the sovereignty and essential regnancy of man; he, in the idealism of his thought, was in part correct. But since the United States has become a nation closer to Hamilton's concept than to Jefferson's, it is in order to inquire into the reasons.

might have to "marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

They are many, and belong rather in the study of economics and sociology than in biography and psychology. Even a superficial glance, however, shows that people in the main are materialistic rather than idealistic. Jefferson's native unselfishness in desiring to realize an ideal society for the young American nation misled him into taking inadequate account of the inability of people to appreciate his philosophy as readily as Hamilton's. If they could be led to some mercantilistic pasture where the harvest of materialism could quickly be gathered, they would hardly mind Hamilton's nomenclature, "great Beast."

Jefferson studied government and the rise and fall of peoples more profoundly than any other statesman of his time with the exception of John Adams. He thought the issues out, but Adams, although a less attractive personality, saw the picture more realistically, if not more clearly, than Jefferson.

Thomas Jefferson was the greatest artist-scholastic ever to ap-

pear at the helm of a nation. His gentle conception of life was a natural outgrowth of his loving nature. But the artist-scholar is in the minority in an aggressive world.

Jefferson resigned from President Washington's Administration in 1793 and devoted his efforts to building up the Democratic-Republican Party, which he called, simply, Republican. The excesses of the French Revolution had made the term "democratic" odious in the world and politicians did not wish to risk the liability of having that word as part of their official designation.

In 1796, when he received the second largest number of votes in the Electoral College, Jefferson became the Vice-President. It was obvious that with the expansion of the West, and the Adams-Hamilton feud, frontiersmen were coming into their own; and that Jefferson, the frontier planter and champion of the individual, would be the next President.

The defects of the Electoral College were exposed for the first time in the 1800 election and had to be corrected at once by a Constitutional amendment. Not having anticipated the growth of political parties, the framers of the Constitution could not foresee that, when the Presidential electors met to cast ballots for President, they would do so along party lines. Since each elector had to vote for two men (the one receiving the highest number of votes becoming the President, the one receiving the second-highest, the Vice-President), we now realize that a Federalist would vote for two Federalist men, a Republican for two Republican men; it was almost inevitable that two candidates would receive the same number of votes.

When, therefore, the two Republicans in the 1800 election—Jefferson and Burr—had an equal number of votes, the contest was sent, as the Constitution provides, into the House of Representatives. There, to the credit of Alexander Hamilton's true statesmanship, the election went to Jefferson, to whose whole philosophy of society he was so antagonistic. But Hamilton knew what could be expected of the egoistic Burr, and subsequent events proved him to be eminently correct. In the 1804 election, when the elec-

⁸ Burr later killed Hamilton in a duel. In 1807 Burr was tried for treason and acquitted; but his political life was done, tragedy stalked him, and he died forsaken.

con-Intercourse Act, forbidding trade only with England and rance until such time as they decided to treat American shipping with respect. France purported to comply—purported only—ad the result was that the embargo was directed just against reland, hastening the useless War of 1812. Jefferson, like Wash-on, declined a third term, and retired for good to Monticello; necessor Madison had to deal with the inevitable war.

The ferson's talents and temperament fitted him for the management of domestic affairs, and all the high achievements of his attachments as a spect of his abilities. No other American an advantage was so interested in the agriculture of his country. While traveling in Europe he always looked for some new staple that the American planter might adopt to rotate his crops. It was the American planter might adopt to rotate his crops. It was the special planter distillusionment that the United States did not travain an agrarian economy, and that so many of his glorious plans for her had therefore to be discarded.

his appointment of the able Swiss Gallatin as Secretary of the consistently reduced the national debt, even at expense of the national defense; it was below sixty millions he left office. West Point Military Academy was nevertheless bashed during his first term.

Of course, no biographical vignette can tell the whole story of Jefferson. His interests seem to have covered everything metaphysics and such physical recreation as we today call he was as talented as Leonardo da Vinei. The historian calls him the most civilized man ever called to the Presidence. To discuss his Notes on Virginia alone would take countpages. Some idea of the universality of his concerns is gained from Mr. David Bruce's delightful account of him:

note of the mockingbird than by the grandest European art. held the same opinion as did John Adams of the necessity for icans of his generation to devote their attention to utilitarian in order that their descendants might cultivate artistic his mind turned with ease from a discussion of Greek to the invention of the swivel chair and the leather buggy he was the inventor of a plow which won him a prize from rench National Institute of Agriculture; the principle of its

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MAXIM E. ARMBRUSTER

The Presidents of the United States

and Their Administrations from Washington to Reagan

Seventh Revised Edition

Horizon Press New York

(Judge) June 15, 1987 4:30 p.m. Barbara

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MEDAL OF ARTS LUNCHEON THURSDAY, JUNE 18, 1987

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[Mrs. Reagan announces the honorees and their accomplishments] Thank you, Nancy, and thank you, all of you. Our honorees today have truly been leaders in writing the history of American freedom. You know, from Washington Irving, Mark Twain, and John Finley Dooley to the present, humor has been an American art Our humor has thrived on freedom -- in contrast to the Soviet Union, for example, where every year, every comedian must clear every line of every joke with the Department of Jokes. thought that was a joke when I first heard it, but it's not. with the new spirit of openness in the Soviet Union, there is a new story making the rounds. You may have heard I collect stories that I can confirm that the Soviet people tell one another in private. In this one, Gorbachev is telling a comrade how much he likes humor and that, like Reagan, he collects jokes. "How many do you have?" the comrade asks. Gorbachev says, "Oh, about three prison camps full."

Well, thank you all once again and God bless you.