

English language because the Internet is basically English-language. That opens up a whole world for all the kids who have all kinds of crazy ideas about what actually happened here on 9/11 and everything else.

KOHUT: We have a large unreleased part of the survey that we've done in 44 countries, many of these countries are democratizing countries. What we find in the Muslim nations are very strong democratic aspirations, *very* strong democratic aspirations. In fact, in many ways the desire for equal treatment under the law, for multiparty systems, for all the things that we value, are stronger in Muslim countries than in Eastern Europe. That represents an opportunity for us, à la Japan.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Albert Maysles is my name. It was interesting that it wasn't until this woman just before me brought up this matter of how in Islamic countries they do a very good job of misinforming themselves, and that was a matter that wasn't brought up at all until she mentioned it. Right now, at this moment, there's a 41-hour television program going all over that part of the world proclaiming that Jews, "The Protocols of Zion" ... that the Jews want to take over the world. And all kinds of myths that are misinformative. Those countries don't have freedom of the press!

CARTER: We do, and we get Fox instead.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Rob Snyder, Rutgers, Newark. If there's going to be a long American cultural exchange with Islamic nations, surely the minds of the American people have to be prepared for that, too. And journalism is going to play an important role for better and for worse in that.

CARTER: Last remarks from the panelists building on what you just heard.

ROMANO: I'll use a moment of that to ask Richard Bulliet whether it is so that an exposure to classic Islamic literature and culture would be curative the way the questioner supposed. My understanding is that fundamentalism is a perfectly authentic version of Islam—terrorism may not be—but that there's nothing inauthentic about fundamentalism; it *is* Islam; it's one type and kind. That's a question for you. In a general sort of way, I think the question should broaden out to Western Europe, the exchange there. There's as much repair to be done there as anywhere, and the prospects are more hopeful, that what we share culturally, is all the greater.

MURAVCHIK: One point that we didn't touch on at all until you did a moment ago, Hodding, is the case of Japan. We haven't talked much—except Ambassador Finn did in her remarks—about what lies before us in attempting to implant a democracy in Iraq. There's a great deal of skepticism about our ability to do it, and justifiably so. But the challenge of doing that in Iraq is no greater than the challenge was of doing it in Japan. Indeed, the official State Department position going in was that it would be impossible to

do, and in fact we did it with really spectacular success.

BULLIET: In answer to John's question, there is as much range of possibility in Islam as there is in Christianity and Judaism with respect to views of the world, fundamentalism included. One point that you mentioned several times, the Internet, as somehow something that would be good—the Internet is one of the most important disseminators of Islamic jihadist doctrines. One of the illusions we have is that somehow Osama and his people are against the modern world. In fact, they use the tools of modernity with great skill.

CARTER: A subject you know perfectly better than I do, but I recollect those little cassette recorders in Iran making sure that everybody knew every word that was being said by Khomeini when he was not there.

KOHUT: There is strong support for nation building in Iraq; there was stronger support than we could've imagined given the attitudes of the American public in the 1990s for nation building in Afghanistan. The pictures are doing the job, and the American public is getting it that we just can't leave Iraq to fall apart and turn ugly again.

FINN: I'm going to go back to my main point, which is human investment, and the fact that diplomacy has to be a two-way street. One of the things that occurs to me is that—it's a sad fact—many of the greatest academic and intellectual resources, in terms of manuscripts, documents, books and research materials are in the United States. I was involved in a program with the Smithsonian before 9/11 because we wanted to start up a cultural exchange with Iran because Iranian scholars wanted to come here and study some of the fantastic miniature paintings we have in the Smithsonian collection. So I go back to human investment, and that means two-way exchange—sending Americans out, bringing people here.

Also, and this is a different point, we have to work more to educate ourselves and our kids about the world. When I was in Germany even, and other countries where I've served, we sent enormous numbers of young people to study in the United States, and it was like pulling teeth to get American kids to come even to a country where there would be a comparable standard of living. The study of foreign language is not emphasized in the United States. That's something we're really going to have to think about, because if we're going to exchange ideas with the world, we have to make that effort to understand other cultures. On this business about the tools of modernity: Yes, it's true, and you reminded me of an old Cold War argument that we should close the libraries because people could come into American libraries and read about communism, and think how dangerous that would be. I believe in openness, and I believe that it's very, very important to encourage the English language but also for us to learn the languages of these other countries. It's the world of ideas where the battle is, not the world of technology.

CARTER: On that note, I want to thank the five panelists.

Keynote Address

KEYNOTE ADDRESS:
TRISHA BROWN,
choreographer and artistic director,
Trisha Brown Dance Company

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS:
ANDRÁS SZÁNTÓ, *deputy director,*
National Arts Journalism Program
MICHAEL Z. WISE, *NAJP research fellow,*
and contributing editor, Architecture
NOREEN TOMASSI, *president and CEO*
Arts International

SZÁNTÓ: Yesterday we started telling a story about cultural diplomacy, and some of the big issues were put out on the table already about the political and cultural framework that surrounds this activity today. Now we zero in, we bore down into the details. Right after me, you will hear from Michael Wise, who sparked the fire for this conference. Michael is an NAJP research fellow who came to us more than a year ago with the idea of organizing this conference. This is also a very good time to acknowledge again our institutional partners who then joined us in this effort, Arts International and the Center for Arts and Culture. After Michael's overview of the day's themes, Noreen Tomassi, the president and CEO of Arts International, will introduce our keynote speaker, Trisha Brown.

WISE: In 1962, during the heyday of U.S. government-sponsored cultural diplomacy, Dave Brubeck and his wife, Iola, wrote a musical titled "The Real Ambassadors." It starred Louis Armstrong and Carmen McRae. Summing up the giddy rush of art and music that flowed across the Atlantic and beyond at the time, the lyrics went like this:

*The State Department has discovered jazz
It reaches folks like nothing we have.
Say that our prestige needs a tonic
Export the Philharmonic ...
We put 'Oklahoma!' in Japan
South Pacific we gave to Iran.
And when our neighbors called us armin
We sent out Woodj Herman ...
Gershwin gave the Muscovites a thrill
Bemstein was the darling of Brazil.
And just to sap internal mayhem
We dispatched Martha Graham.*

Of course, it was never so simple. But for decades, the U.S. Information Agency flooded much of the world with American orchestras, dance troupes, art exhibits and jazz performances. Once the communist threat waned after 1991; however, U.S. cultural initiatives abroad were cut back severely.

In 1999, the USIA itself was folded into the State Department. Whereas there were once over 30 people working within a U.S. government cultural division to send exhibits, presentations and performances abroad, today the State Department has a staff of seven assigned to this task. France, by contrast, employs 85 people

in 10 offices around the United States to promote French culture in this country alone. Whereas the State Department spends \$2 million annually to present U.S. culture abroad, Germany's Goethe Institut has been spending about \$7.5 million to showcase German cultural achievements in the United States. The once-proud network of American libraries and reading rooms overseas has now been sharply reduced, with some U.S. officials arguing that the age of the Internet has rendered them obsolete and that security concerns make it ill-advised to retain such facilities. Less than a quarter of those that remain are traditional lending libraries where readers can actually peruse current American periodicals or look at American literature. The rest are what the Department calls "information resource centers" and often consist of a single computer terminal.

But just as the American apparatus of cultural diplomacy has been largely dismantled, the United States faces an urgent task in confronting discontent around the globe. Resentment and distrust has grown most vociferously in Islamic societies, but these days the increasingly pressing question—"Why do they hate us?"—is being asked almost as frequently about attitudes toward the United States among the citizenries of our long-time European allies. There is anger and bitterness that local customs and identities are being swallowed up in an insurmountable wave of McDonald's, Ruggats and Britney Spears. This rising tide of anti-Americanism often does not take note of the wider range of American artistic accomplishments. Can strategic use of cultural initiatives help change this?

In the waning days of his administration, President Clinton held a White House conference on the same topic we consider here today. Standing beneath the chandeliers of the East Room, Clinton quipped about cultural diplomacy in December 2000: "You know, you send your artists to us; we send our musicians to you, and everybody feels better." But little came of the talk that day at the White House, and the world seems an infinitely more dangerous place than it did back then. Cultural diplomacy—best deployed in tandem with an openness to outside ideas, international collaboration and genuine exchange—has been seen over the years by many policy makers as a fuzzy, feel-good practice with little tangible benefit. However, the recognition that Washington has done a glaringly poor job of countering growing anti-American sentiment is putting cultural diplomacy in a new light.

In our opening session yesterday, former acting Assistant Secretary of State Helena Kane Finn eloquently argued that har-

nessing the power of the arts can actually be a cost-effective way to help insure U.S. national security. With commercial exports of American culture having given this country hegemonic influence over the viewing and listening habits of young people the world over, some, like the political scientist Joseph Nye, argue that these exports already exert a form of soft power, something that influences other societies by implicitly promoting American values like personal freedom, upward mobility and democratic openness. We began yesterday to explore whether these commercial exports present an adequate picture of American society and its values. Today we'll look at what else might be done. Although the organizers of this event do not deny the relevance of countless political and economic factors at play in international relations, today we hope to focus on the exchange of ideas, arts and other aspects of culture among nation-states and their peoples as a means of fostering mutual understanding.

After our keynote address we'll look at the history of cultural diplomacy—how it developed from its earliest days, how it was used by the United States during the Cold War, and how it has fared in the most recent decade. Next we'll hear from representatives of foreign governments that are particularly active in this area and look at whether there are lessons in their activities for American policy. Most other countries recognize that cultural relations are an essential third dimension in relations between states, along with politics and trade, and even when official ties between governments are strained or non-existent, culture can keep open channels of communication. This has been vividly illustrated with the acclaim accorded in the United States for Iranian cinema, which despite the severing of official relations between Washington and Tehran over two decades ago, has offered clear signals of ferment beneath Islamic fundamentalist rule.

A third panel will take a look at the prospects for cultural diplomacy in the Islamic world. The question of what role culture might play in post-war Iraq looms large. In the anarchic conditions that have reigned over the past few days, the picture looks bleak, with reports from Baghdad about the wholesale plundering of the National Museum of Iraq, looters hurling Mozart records and history books from the German Embassy, and still others ransacking the French Cultural Center. But when calm is restored, enormous potential remains. The relevance of foreign experience to this question was highlighted last September, when 32 Iraqi exiles drew up what they called "A Report on the Transition to Democracy in Iraq." The exiles urged the return to their country of institutions like the British Council and the Alliance Française to help educational reform, the publication of new textbooks, as well as the creation of free and uncensored media. These institutions are well-poised to offer more in terms of art and culture to Iraq and other Islamic nations struggling along the road to modernity and rule of law.

Finally we'll have a chance to examine some case studies of specific ways that cultural diplomacy has been practiced by U.S. ambassadors, a Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist and a leading film critic at the state, in contrast to the federal, level. As we've witnessed over the past three weeks, U.S. strength measured in military power is unparalleled. But while this may win fear and respect, it does not necessarily engender admiration and affection. For that we need, as Michael Ignatieff has observed, not to "subdue by force of arms," but to "inspire by force of example." The vitality and inge-

nuity of American artistic creation are a wellspring for this inspiration. It may not be easily quantifiable, in the words of the Brubeck musical, whether the Philharmonic can be a "tonic." And the dispatching of some modern-day Woody Herman when our enemies call us "vermin" may not on its own ensure national security, but surely culture offers us a potent way to export hope as well as fear.

TOMASSI: It is my job and my great pleasure this morning to introduce you to our keynote speaker, the choreographer Trisha Brown. Can there be anyone in this room at all who does not know who Trisha Brown is, her distinguished body of work, her long record of touring the world, her international fame, her immense contribution to American dance? If there is, go buy a ticket as soon as you possibly can, and be astonished by this great artist's work. I want to say simply this about Trisha: She's an artist, an artist of the very highest order. When I think of her work, two words immediately come to mind: astonishment and recognition. And that is what great art does for us. First, as with all great work, when we sit in that darkened theater, her work astonishes us. We think: Can that be possible? Can a body move that way? Have I ever seen so much in a gesture? Did I know that space could work that way, or that a human being could move through time and sound and silence in quite that way? When we see the work of a great artist, that moment of astonishment is fundamental to what we are seeing.

The other word that comes to mind when I think of Trisha's work is "recognition." Yesterday we talked a great deal about the artist's work in cultural diplomacy, the artist as a tool in a tool kit

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to show the world our values, or to show our common humanity. To, in a sense, say to the world, "We are like you; we are born, eat, drink, laugh, die, love our children." While this is a valuable role for the arts, in some ways CNN can do that as well for us. Is there a parent in the room who hasn't seen the pictures of a father leaning over his injured child in a hospital in Baghdad, who doesn't think as he watches that parent quietly reassure that child, smile for the child, take care of him, hold her hand, "I'm that person, we're exactly alike?" We get that sense of common humanity sometimes through the news.

But what great art like Trisha's can do for us is give us a moment of recognition that we are more than that. And that is why art is such an important part of cultural diplomacy, and why Trisha's work is so important to the world. It's not simply to say, "We're all human beings." It's to say, "We are human, and we are more than this." In this particularly difficult time in the world, that notion that art gives us, that we are more, that we can imagine ourselves in the world as something different, is key to why artists must be involved in crossing borders constantly, and must be

involved in remaking the world for us. So it is my very, very, very great pleasure to introduce Trisha Brown to you, an artist of the very highest order.

BROWN: I'm honored to be here. I made a promise to myself not long ago that I would reenter the world of art and peace advocacy. So when the invitation came, I didn't even look at it, I said, "Yes! I'll take it!" I thought to myself, "I'll sit in the back row and I will study how they do it." Then the schedule came in, I read it quietly at my house on a Sunday, and I said, "Keynote speaker!" And I had an anxiety attack. . . . I was going to try to come up with an oil/gas metaphor here, but I think I'm not going to go there with that.

Let me start by saying that many dance companies are fighting for their lives at this time. Mine is one of them. We looked at a long lease on a large space; we took it, 16,000 sq. ft. in 2001, and embarked on a huge renovation. The company was working temporarily in an old loft downtown while we waited for our new home. The plan was to divide the space into four studios, two for us, two for renters, and when the company was out of town, four for renters. This was a prudent notion about underwriting the rent for the space altogether. On 9/11, the Twin Towers were struck and then fell, followed by other buildings. Then Enron imploded, struck from within, and fell too, followed by the economy, and we have not recovered yet. Our renters withdrew, they are coming back slowly. Funding shrank, and the famed Trisha Brown cut back and cut back. I have tightened my belt so many times that soon I shall have garroted myself mid-torso, never to be able to enact another Martha Graham contraction. There's more. Against our usual 20 weeks of tour each year, we have eight confirmed weeks of work for our dancers, July '03 to June '04. That is 12 weeks of no tour income next year. I am told that if I made a choreography on ordinary people in a community and augmented that group with my professional dancers, I could get bookings. But damn! That is not what I do.

My subject here is international diplomacy through the arts in a country that just eschewed diplomacy. I like diplomacy. I like reason, discussion, negotiation and working it out. You have to, in dance, where there is not an exact equivalent in words for a physical idea. In fact, in new modern dance, where there are few codified techniques, the choreographer must find a way to get others to understand what they want, especially if the movement is complex and never been seen, done or thought of before. I do this through metaphor, instruction and numerous tries again and again until I get what I think I see—somewhere in the periphery of my vision—what I want them to do. The notion of cross-cultural communication of American values through art caught my attention while I was reading the materials that were sent to me in preparation for this conference. What are American values? They are certainly not just one thing. For example, a marketed preemptive war is cynical and anathema to the value system of my early training in the 10 Judeo-Christian commandments. I do try—and this is going to sound foolish—to be a good person. It's how I was raised. I try hard to be a good person. And you are right in that regard; those values do infuse my work.

My work now has no simple explanation because I work in three disciplines. Choreography, you know. My company returned last Thursday from a four-week tour of 14 cities in France. I

remained here to work on new work. I was nervous about them being there without me. It turns out that they were welcomed by sold-out houses everywhere that they went. It seems the French can make a differentiation between politics and artists. This afternoon I have rented a ballerina, Emily Coates. She is coming to my studio so that I can study the lexicon of ballet technique, because I have a commission at the Paris Opera Ballet in 2005. This year I had a commission from the Lyon Biennale to do a choreography, and from the Cannes Festival for another choreography. Yes, the French discovered me in the early '70s, held my head above water in the '80s, gave my company fabulous commissions for new work, combined with residencies where my dancers and I taught classes and lectured, as did many other colleagues from America. A true international artistic exchange ensued. France imported American indigenous modern dance, and in turn those French students learned their lesson, came of age and demanded that their government support their work at home in France, instead of all those Americans. That was soon followed by a demand that America invite them to our cities, which we did. Reciprocity was established. There are many foreign companies that are at BAM, American Dance Festival, Lincoln Center, The Joyce and other places, for sure. I focus on France because I have witnessed the result and impact of my work there, and they continue to support my company to this day. And it has been something like a 32-year love affair. What choreographer wouldn't fall in love with a country that calls her "the high priestess of postmodern dance"?

I also work in visual arts. My visual work was first presented at a show in France. There is an exhibition at the Fabric Workshop in Philadelphia right now. There is an exhibition in London at White Cube. There is an exhibition touring this country, started at the Addison Gallery, Phillips-Andover. It is now at the Tang Museum in Saratoga. It will go to Houston soon, and it comes to the New Museum in New York next October. It is a compilation of artifacts, notebooks, drawings, sculpture, evidence of collaborations that are displayed in an extremely vivacious way.

I also work in opera. I began directing opera in 1998, Monteverdi's "Orpheo." Then on to contemporary composers and most recently Schubert's song cycle at Lincoln Center, and it will be there again.

All of these things are circulating through the world. They represent this work, this aesthetic, my company and me as an artist. At the center of all of this is a company that is struggling to just hang in there. I mention that to you because it is a measure of what America thinks of its artists. We were vilified, trampled, called names, in the early '90s. And the National Endowment, which is the brain of policy making in America, was cut to pieces. Now comes this invitation to think about American artists going to other countries to conduct diplomacy and exhibit their values. But here at home, I don't think we're really quite there yet. I think maybe there's some inversion that should take place here. I guess I would close by saying I am an art-o-gogue. I am ga-ga about art. I have been throwing myself in it and at it since 1961. I love making it, seeing it, doing it, performing it, hearing it, looking at it. If I didn't have art in my life . . . I would hate to think of what I would be like. So I thank you very much for this opportunity. I am outed as an advocate of the arts and peace in this country and before this august assembly. I thank you very much for that opportunity.