

Neither bill—nor the two together—provides the bricks and mortar needed so desperately to repair the tottering foundations of our great American musical heritage. But they do provide a start. Their enactment by this Congress could mean that in this area, at least, we are not operating in the awful twilight of too little and too late to preserve our national character and world leadership.

Neither of these bills, Mr. Chairman, goes far enough. The Federal Advisory Council provided for in H.R. 4172 is not on the Cabinet level, as it should be. And I was delighted, Mr. Chairman, to hear an expression from you this morning that you favored the ultimate Cabinet level position. And the approach of H.R. 4174 to grants in aid is excessively modest. Its enactment, however, would be an affirmative adjunct to the Federal Arts Council.

What, other than its physical safety, is more important to the survival of a nation than its culture? Why is it that America stands alone among the major powers in persistently ignoring this fact of life? We ignored it here at home even while our Marshall plan dollars were being used by beneficiary nations to nurture their own national arts. We continue to ignore it today when it has been demonstrated that our best ambassadors abroad have been from the thinning ranks of those who speak in the universal language of music.

It is to be assumed that the first task of the Advisory Council on the Arts would be to survey our needs and to report on them. This assessment of our dereliction should—like the news of the first sputnik—rattle every window in the Nation. That will be good medicine, indeed. We need to have our nerves jangled and our consciences troubled. We need to do something, Mr. Chairman, and do it now.

For some years now, the American Federation of Musicians has been studying in depth the troubles of our symphony orchestras. We have a mass of information on this topic—all of it is distressingly gloomy. It demonstrates conclusively that serious music is doomed in the United States unless the Federal and State Governments help.

Rather than quote our findings, let me instead point to the recent survey of the Education and Public Welfare Division of the Library of Congress. Forty-seven of the 50 States responded to the question of how much aid is given to the arts. The summary, printed in the February 2 Congressional Record, is shocking. In all of the 47 States only \$202,825 was devoted to music. Only six States made any contribution whatever specifically to music.

As H.R. 4174 presently is written, it contemplates matching Federal funds for grants to the arts made by the several States with a maximum grant of \$100,000 annually to any State. We musicians feel that this is totally inadequate for music, to say nothing of the other performing arts. Yet, availability of even limited matching funds should stimulate investigation by the States and local communities into this serious condition of the arts. As some of you gentlemen who have fought so long and so valiantly for legislative action in this field know, the word "subsidy" engenders fear that Government dollars foreshadow Government control. This is a strawman that history belies in this country and all other countries outside the Iron Curtain.

"Subsidy," in some minds, conjures visions of a move toward something un-American. Nothing could be further from fact. The Homestead Act did much to settle these United States; land grants to the