

Canadian Conference
of the Arts



Conférence canadienne
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BLUEPRINT
FOR OUR
CULTURAL FUTURE

MAY, 1993

Canadian Conference
of the Arts



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In November of 1991, 150 artists, cultural workers and bureaucrats gathered in Ottawa to address the fundamental elements of a federal cultural policy. The objective of this exercise was to ensure the limited resources of the federal government be applied effectively and coherently in the cultural domain. By developing a coherent federal cultural policy, the various mechanisms of the Government of Canada could be orchestrated to work harmoniously and effectively to meet the challenges of cultural sustenance and development.

The delegates at this conference agreed on a statement of fundamental principles to serve as the foundation for construction of a coherent federal cultural policy. These principles reflect the general themes around which a broader policy framework could be articulated. The delegates and the Canadian Conference of the Arts hoped the federal government would elaborate on these principles and introduce a long-term federal cultural policy. This hope remains unfulfilled almost two years later.

The need for a coherent federal cultural policy has never appeared more evident. The rate and scope of changes affecting the arts and cultural industries is escalating on a major scale. New technologies promise to bring a 500 channel broadcast universe into our living rooms. Other new technologies are challenging the underpinnings of the Canadian magazine industry, as seen with the *Sports Illustrated* split-run edition. Governments at all levels are looking to cut costs and increase efficiencies, often resulting in lower levels of public sector support for the arts and cultural industries. These decreases come at a time when the cultural sector is still battling the ravages of recession and declining corporate support. International trade agreements are placing in jeopardy traditional legislative and regulatory protections for Canadian culture.

The arts and cultural industries are an important part of Canadian life and values. This truism can be proven in terms the labour force, where more than 425,000 Canadians earn their livelihood in the cultural sector; in terms of economic development where the sector represents almost 3 percent of the Gross Domestic Product; and in terms of nation building as a vehicle through which Canadians share their history, dreams and aspirations. It is for these reasons and others, that the CCA has undertaken to develop a *Blueprint for Our Cultural Future*.

The evolution of the Canadian economy to one that is information based and knowledge driven is at the core of the direction we have laid out in the *Blueprint*. It is our firm conviction that all government policy, not merely cultural policy, should reflect this unrefutable reality. Through the elements of policy we discuss in the *Blueprint*, we are offering a context that will sustain and develop cultural expression in Canada in the atmosphere of constant change that flows from this economic evolution. We are prepared to face and master the challenges of this new age. Through *Blueprint for Our Cultural Future*, we invite our political leadership and all Canadians to join us in this task.

Simone Auger
President
May, 1993

Blueprint for our Cultural Future

An outline by the Canadian Conference of the Arts



The *Blueprint* is organized around three main headings to parallel the construction of a stable structure around which the arts and cultural industries may prosper.

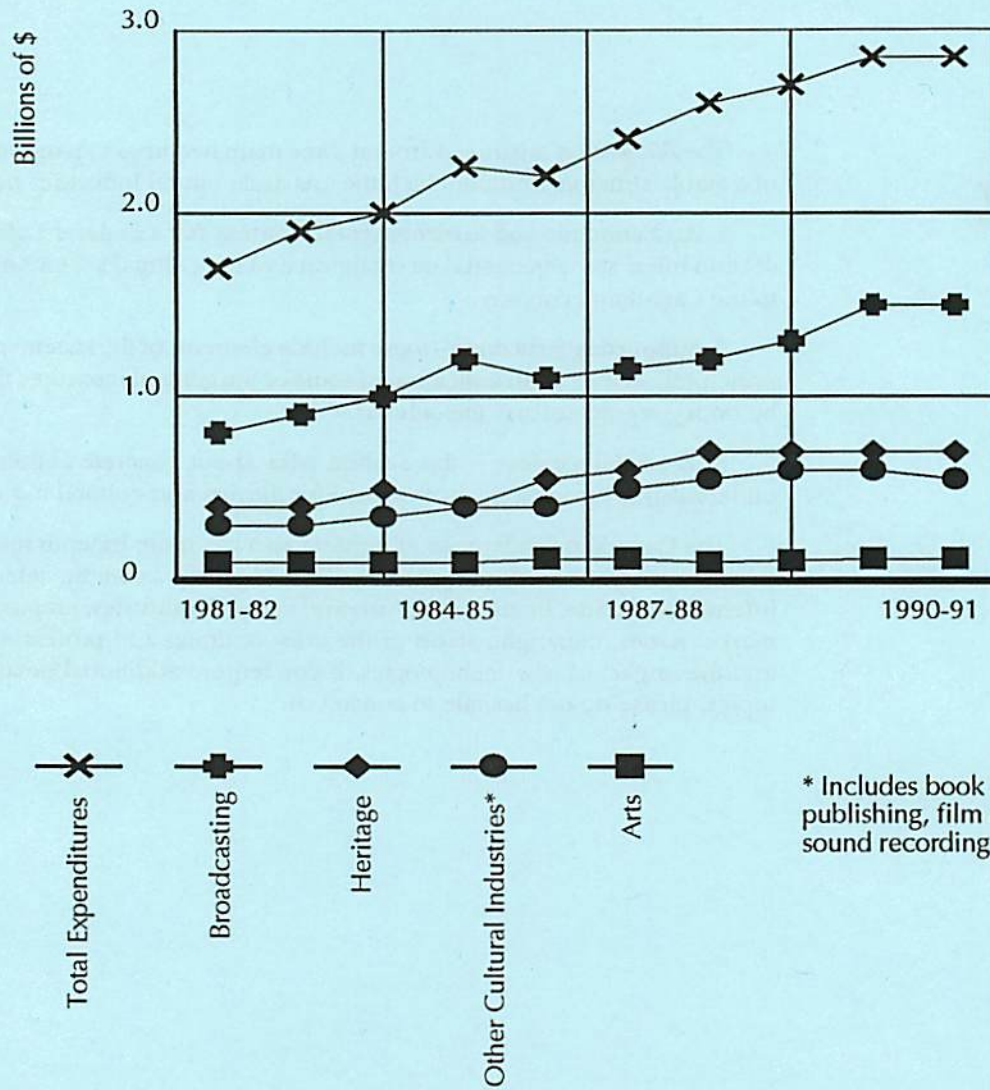
1. An Economic and Environmental Context for a Federal Cultural Policy – this section offers some general data on the size of the cultural sector and its contribution to the Canadian economy.

2. Supporting structures – these include elements of the statement of fundamental principles, as well as an indication of some of the general measures that must be taken by both government and the cultural sector.

3. Essential services -- this section talks about concrete actions which must be undertaken to ensure a lively existence for the arts and cultural industries in Canada.

The Canadian Conference of the Arts also has more indepth material on specific issues mentioned in this document. These include taxation, telecommunications, international trade, funding of the arts and cultural industries, employment and labour market issues, copyright, status of the artist, training and professional development and the impact of new technologies. If you require additional detail on any of these topics, please do not hesitate to contact us.

A. Federal Government Expenditures on Culture
by Major Cultural Sector, 1981-82 to 1990-91



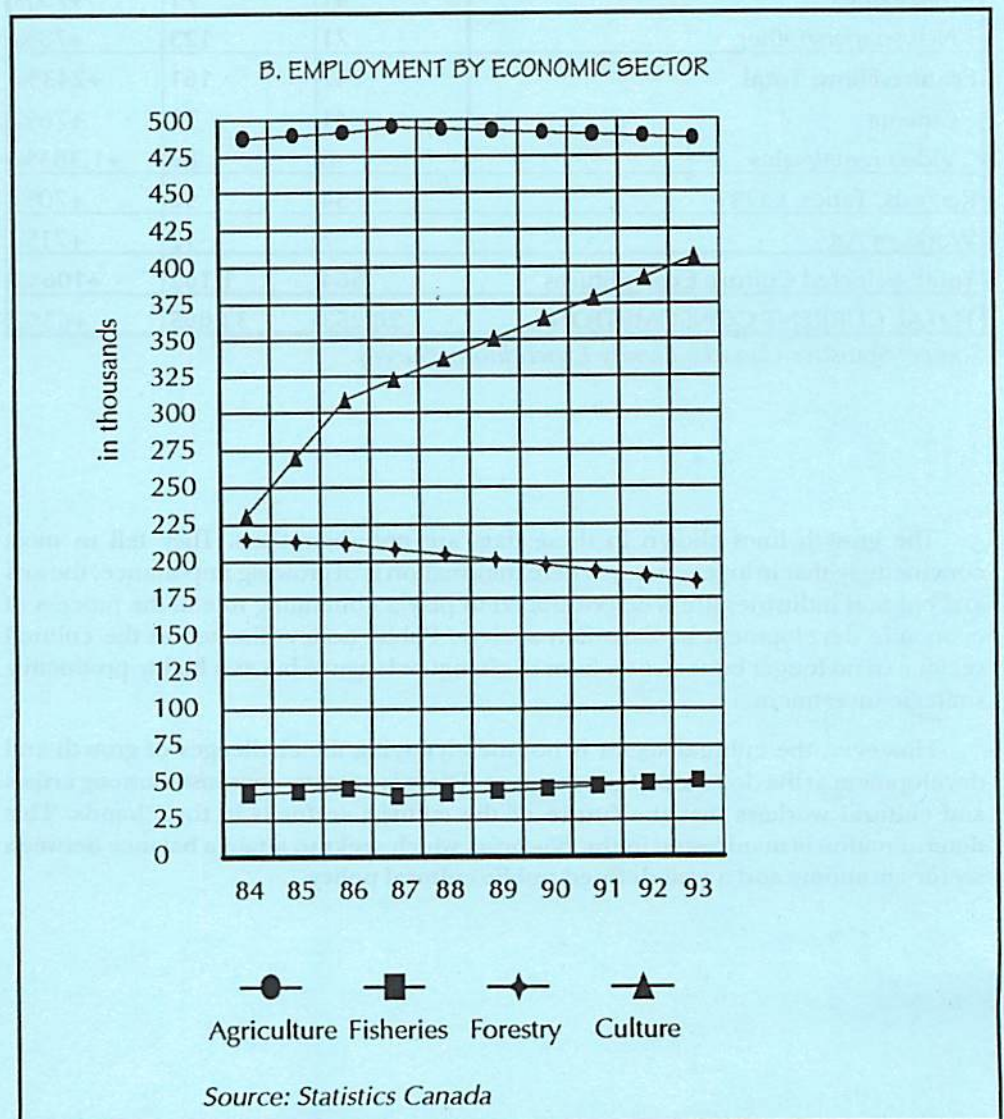
Source: Statistics Canada

1

An Economic and Environmental Context for a Federal Cultural Policy

The arts and cultural industries' role in the Canadian economy is increasingly important. The cultural labour force has grown at a rate of 122 percent over the last ten measured years, twice the rate of the Canadian labour market as a whole. This growth has been fuelled by an investment of public funds, but it has also been driven by a growing acuity within the sector for attracting revenues from the general public and the private sector. Graph A tracks the level of federal financing on four components of the cultural sector for the period of 1981-82 to 1990-91. Graph B charts employment by economic sector.

The trend is clear. The growth rate of the cultural sector labour market is considerably higher than the rate of spending increases by the federal government in this area. Therefore any coherent federal cultural policy must, at least, maintain current levels of investment to create a stable basis for further development in the arts and cultural industries. It must also be noted that in return for this federal investment in the cultural sector, the Treasury directly receives a return of \$650 million annually in tax revenues.



Government financial support is not the sole indicator of the worth of the sector. The arts and cultural industries are experiencing real levels of growth in audiences and revenue generation from the marketplace. Graph C gives some sense of this important rate of growth.

C. TRENDS IN ANNUAL FAMILY EXPENDITURES ON CULTURE			
Selected Items, 1982 and 1990 (current dollars)			
	1982	1990	% Change 1982-1990
Home Entertainment Equipment	189	323	+71%
Cable Television	56	176	+214%
Live Performances	27	65	+141%
Print Media: Total	184	333	+81%
Books	72	139	+93%
Magazines	41	71	+73%
Newspapers/Other	71	123	+73%
Feature Films: Total	47	161	+243%
Cinema	41	72	+76%
Video rental/sales	6	89	+1,383%
Records, Tapes, CD's	54	92	+70%
Works of Art	7	12	+71%
Total: Selected Culture Expenditures	564	1,162	+106%
TOTAL CURRENT CONSUMPTION	20,253	33,095	+63%

Source: Statistics Canada: Family Expenditures Survey.

The growth lines shown in these data are not aberrations. They tell us most convincingly that in an economy where information is of growing importance, the arts and cultural industries are well positioned to play a continuing role in the process of economic development in Canadian society. Public policy directed at the cultural sector can no longer be seen as a form of charity or largesse but as a highly productive strategic investment.

However, the cultural sector is not merely laying the challenges of growth and development at the doorstep of government. **There is a strong consensus among artists and cultural workers that the future of the cultural sector is in their hands.** This determination is manifested in the *Blueprint*, which seeks to attain a balance between sector autonomy and a well-defined public cultural policy.

2 Supporting Structures

As with any structure, a solid foundation is an important element. However, it is of little utility unless one builds a functioning structure on the foundation.

In the area of federal cultural policy, the same is true. While the *Fundamental Principles* developed by the cultural sector in November 1991 may serve as the foundation, there are several critical elements forming the supporting structure for a coherent federal cultural policy. Among these are:

Recognition that the arts and cultural industries are an important part of Canadian life, in both economic and nation building terms. The work of the artist and cultural worker is real work that makes a continuing and enduring contribution to the cultural and economic wealth of Canada.

Often, especially during difficult financial times, governments consider the arts and cultural industries as fills that can be cut or put on ice until better times arrive. This attitude is potentially catastrophic for the decades of cultural achievement we have realized in Canada. The data included in the section on the economic and environmental context is demonstrative of the impact the cultural sector has on national economic life.

Commitment to the sustenance and development of our national cultural institutions, and a preservation of the arm's length principles for agencies such as the Canada Council, Telefilm Canada and the National Film Board of Canada.

The development of Canada's cultural wealth can be linked directly to the exceptional achievements of our national cultural institutions, including the Canada Council, the National Film Board of Canada, the National Arts Centre of Canada, Telefilm Canada, the National Gallery of Canada, the Museum of Civilization, the Museum of Science and Technology, the National Library of Canada, National Archives of Canada and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

These institutions continue to play a pivotal role in developing our shared cultural expression, and provide all citizens of Canada access to our collective cultural treasures. One of the cornerstones of a coherent federal cultural policy must be an unswerving commitment to maintain and cultivate these important agents of cultural development. One particular aspect of this stability would be the introduction of multi-year financing for our national cultural institutions. Such a policy would do much to allow these institutions to plan more effectively and to exact the most from their resources.

The arm's length principle has allowed agencies to foster excellence without regard for political preference or interference. The preservation of the arm's length principle must figure prominently in any federal cultural policy.

Commitment to ensure that all instruments of government work toward the fulfilment of the objectives of a federal cultural policy, including taxation policy, international trade and labour market development programmes.

The true test of coherency in policy development is that all the instruments of government work in harmony, towards the same objectives, and in an orchestrated fashion. Unfortunately, under the current system of policy development and management, it is possible for an initiative taken by one part of government to be cancelled out by the actions of another part of the system. An example of this can be found in the federal government's decision to promote greater literacy in Canada, while in a separate policy thrust, the Department of Finance applied the GST to reading materials. The net result is a weakening of the government's ability to fully attain its objectives in the literacy drive.

A commitment by the federal government to a coherent cultural policy must ensure that various elements of government interrelate toward the fulfilment of the spirit and letter of a cultural policy.

Recognition that the cultural sector operates on the basis of a chain of creativity based with the individual artist or creator, flowing through producers, distributors, conservators and consumers. The chain of creativity is interdependent and must be preserved intact for cultural production to operate effectively.

An appreciation of the creative chain requires that the government's efforts in the cultural sector must ensure a balance among the various components of the chain. If all the energies and resources of the government are targeted at production with little regard for the individual artist or creator a serious imbalance is created which disrupts the functioning of the cultural sector. The same is true when government selects one area of cultural activity as priority over all others. The balance is essential and a coherent federal cultural policy would ensure that it is maintained.

The special role of the creator must figure prominently in government policies and practices. While certain parts of the cultural sector are better positioned to survive in the marketplace, creative artists such as writers, visual artists, composers, choreographers among others, often strive for many years to perfect a work before it is ready for public consumption. Creators constitute an important part of the **research and development arm** of the cultural sector and any coherent cultural policy must recognize their special needs and challenges to ensure the development of Canadian cultural expression.

The issue of distribution and audience development is one that the cultural sector and governments must address as an integral part of any long range strategy for survival.

One of the most difficult challenges for the arts and cultural industries is the question of audience development and market access for cultural materials. In a country as vast and sparsely populated as Canada, these issues are central to the ability of the cultural sector to sustain itself and grow. Particular important is the issue of fair distribution policies for the cultural industries, as well as the ability of Canadian artists to tour and make their offerings accessible to the widest possible audience base. A coherent federal cultural policy must address these questions forcefully, and in close consultation with the cultural sector and work diligently to find practical solutions to these problems.

An essential component of a coherent federal cultural policy must also address the important role of the museum and heritage communities in preserving, exhibiting and interpreting our cultural experience for the benefit of all Canadians. Dialogue between the federal government and this community must continue to ensure that this important dimension of cultural policy is crafted to meet the challenges and opportunities faced by the important communities.

Recognition of the changing realities within Canadian society. The federal government and the cultural sector must continue to ensure that the aboriginal peoples, the multicultural community, franco-phone communities outside of Quebec are included in a substantive manner in the execution of a coherent federal cultural policy. A responsible federal cultural policy will also afford sufficient latitude to ensure that Quebec can work to preserve and enhance its culture.

The traditional manner of dividing cultural policy issues among various communities of interest and specialty departments and agencies may be a trend that we can no longer afford to maintain. While this approach created the perception that the special needs of these groups were being served in a concentrated fashion, it also created an isolation of these groups from the larger cultural sector. An effective federal cultural policy must end this perception of isolation and become, in theory and in practice, an inclusive vehicle for cultural development.

Quebec's special needs -- to preserve and enhance its culture -- must also be accommodated as recommended by the cultural sector in that province.

Recognition that the cultural sector has a pre-eminent role in charting its own future and must be directly involved in the policy and programme formulation process.

The creation of a federal cultural policy recognizes the primary responsibility of the cultural sector for its own future, and creates a context through which this becomes more feasible.

A responsible federal cultural policy will include, among its first principles, the recognition that direct involvement of the cultural sector in developing, refining and revising policies and programmes is an inherent part of the ongoing commitment to cultural development.

For its part, the cultural sector must also assume considerable responsibility for long range operational planning and strategic thinking that are necessary to ensure its long term growth and development. It must come together in a strategic and productive alliances to meet the challenges of changing economic realities and the impact of technological changes, and to ensure continuing excellence in Canadian cultural activity and production.

3

Essential Services

The proof of a truly effective and coherent federal cultural policy and a responsible cultural sector does not reside in platitudes. There may be a financial deficit of enormous proportions in Canada today, but there is a surfeit of attractively-phrased, but empty, language which does little to advance the cause of the arts and cultural industries.

The ultimate test of a federal cultural policy is the ability to make things happen - concrete measures that give substance to the literary merits of a policy statement. Over the years, the Canadian Conference of the Arts has articulated a number of such measures to animate any policy development process. These are essential services for the cultural sector: some are in the government's domain, others are the exclusive charge of the cultural sector.

a) The Department of Communications must create a single focus for the arts, cultural industries and museums and heritage within its operations.

Under the Department of Communications' current structure, the arts, museums and heritage are separated structurally from the cultural industries, all of which are separate from the technological aspects of the department's mandate.

This division is difficult to understand given the interdependency of the arts and cultural industries and the impact of new technologies on the fundamental operations of each. The best example that the Department of Communications could give would be to create within its own operations a single responsibility centre for the cultural sector that would allow development of truly effective and coherent policies and programmes for the arts and cultural industries.

b) The Government of Canada must urgently undertake a comprehensive revision of the Copyright Act, and must assign sole responsibility for this legislation to the Department of Communications.

The Copyright Act is the bill of economic and moral rights for creators and copyright owners. It is the best tool that government provides to ensure that artists, creators and copyright owners can attract revenues from the use of their work in the marketplace. It lessens the dependency on increasing government funding. The cultural sector has been explicit in its demand for a comprehensive reform of the Copyright Act, calling for the introduction of a neighbouring right, a specially crafted performers' right, the creation of royalty on blank audio and video tape to compensate for home taping, and other measures to strengthen the economic and moral rights of creators and owners. The reform of the Copyright Act is imperative if Canada is to succeed in an information-based economy.

Because of the current shared jurisdiction of the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs and the Department of Communications, copyright reform is held hostage by a so-called "balance of interest" approach. This philosophy seeks to revise copyright in a manner that balances the interests of consumers and creators. It is a basic affront to the spirit and intent of copyright legislation.

A logical and essential aspect of a federal cultural policy must be a speedy reform of the Copyright Act as a bill of economic and moral rights for creators, and a single point of responsibility for this legislation vested in the Department of Communications.

c) An essential element of a coherent federal cultural policy must enable the Government of Canada to introduce tax based measures to enhance the cultural sector's ability to attract greater levels of individual and corporate investment or philanthropy. This will require introducing broad tax-based incentives for investment in the cultural industries and creating a Crown Foundation to attract donations to the non-profit element of the cultural sector.

The use of the taxation system to stimulate economic development is a well-practised art in Canada. Currently, the Government of Canada offers generous tax benefits to stimulate research and development in private industry and has created a Crown Foundation to attract donations for post secondary education institutions. In the face of a growing inability of government to increase direct funding, it is clear that the introduction of such incentives to attract private investment is essential.

d) The federal government must urgently begin to work with the arts and cultural industries to consider more effective regulatory measures to protect Canadian culture in the face of rapidly changing technologies and a complex international trade environment.

In recent months, the impact of new technologies and complex international trade agreements have been acutely felt by the Canadian cultural community. The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) has recently devoted a good deal of attention to the challenges of Direct Broadcast Satellites and new players in the broadcast arena that totally escape traditional regulatory practises used to safeguard and advance Canadian content. Due to gaps in the Broadcast Act and the proposed Telecommunications Act, an entire new sector of Canadian broadcasting can enter the game, free of any regulation. In addition, the Canadian music community, from composers to sound recording companies, is trying to fathom the impact of digitization of radio on their part of the cultural sector. Recently, we have seen the *Sports Illustrated* split-run edition render the protections we have developed for a Canadian magazine industry totally ineffective.

These are not the last examples of technology displacing traditional cultural safeguards. In coming months and years, we will continue to see similar developments that will threaten the security of Canadian content, or constrain the freedom of our government and our sector to act effectively. There is also a sense that some dimensions of international trade agreements, such as the North American Free Trade Act (NAFTA) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), may result in a further loss of control in the defence of Canadian culture. It is imperative that the Government of Canada urgently begin to work with the cultural sector to examine the issue of regulatory mechanisms and to find solutions which will guarantee a privileged position for our cultural materials in the face of changing technologies and international trade realities.

e) The Government of Canada must proclaim Bill C-7 with all haste and continue to examine other structural measures to enhance the socio-economic status of professional artists.

In June of 1992, Royal Assent was given to Bill C-7, the federal status of the artist legislation. This development was the culmination of ten years of hard work by the cultural sector and the government. It creates a sector sensitive model for labour relations management for those areas of the labour market within federal jurisdiction. The Bill did not encompass many of the elements of the **Canadian Artists' Code**, a broad programme of measures to advance the position of professional artists in Canada.

The Government of Canada must proclaim this entire bill with all haste and embark on the long term process of identifying other measures to strengthen the artistic profession in Canada. This process should involve all other appropriate departments and agencies of the federal government.

f) The cultural sector must move urgently to assemble a long term human resource strategy for the development of the arts and cultural industries, sector based training and professional development needs and opportunities, the impact of new technologies, and the diversification of new revenue sources.

There is much concern about the future of the cultural sector in the face of declining levels of government funding and the onslaught of new technologies that fundamentally change how the sector functions and accesses its audiences.

While government has an important role to play in cultural development, those who earn their livelihood directly from the arts and cultural industries must bear the greatest responsibility for the future of the cultural sector. New ideas must be generated and implemented to link talent to opportunities and to increase the efficient functioning of all parts of the sector. This work can be accomplished through real cooperation with organizations like the National Sectoral Council on Culture and the Canadian Conference of the Arts, as well as disciplinary and regional bodies. Initiatives such as the Training Initiative Programme, the creation of a talent pipeline to maximize potential benefits of a 500 channel broadcast universe, and the development of new and effective regulatory mechanisms to protect Canadian cultural interests must proceed without delay.

g) The cultural sector must proceed with a broad based public awareness programme to ensure that all Canadians, especially our political leadership, understand the value of a healthy and vibrant cultural life.

The issue of arts awareness is one that has preoccupied the cultural sector for many years. The general interpretation of an effective arts awareness campaign inevitably revolves around a **ParticipAction**- style initiative. However, in the current economic climate, the challenge for the cultural sector is to develop an approach that is less expensive than the **ParticipAction** model, but equally effective in promoting broad public awareness of the arts and cultural industries.

To develop audiences among our youth, arts and education is a key component of this initiative. For the general public, media briefings, and other forms of community outreach will have to be developed until such a time as a multi-faceted electronic awareness programme becomes financially feasible. We must do more than talk about it - we must act together!

h) The cultural sector must work with the federal government and its agencies to ensure that individual artists and our cultural industries participate in and benefit from opportunities on the broader international arena.

Canadian artists and cultural materials are among the most effective ambassadors for our country on the world stage. The Canadian cultural sector must continue to benefit from programmes and policies that encourage and facilitate the ability of artists and cultural industries to engage in the international discourse regarding the development of specific arts forms, the development of international cultural policy, and to perform, read or exhibit around the world. At a time when the global village is more and more a reality, the capacity for Canadian artists and cultural workers to be present in this arena is an important objective for the cultural sector and Canada as a whole.

The cultural sector must arrive at a high level of consensus and cooperation to ensure that the Canadian public and our political leadership understand the importance of the arts and cultural industries. These efforts must be directed at all levels of government and the general public. The forthcoming federal election campaign should be the focal point for initial efforts in this direction.

Fundamental Principles for a Federal Cultural Policy

These fundamental principles were developed from a national conference organized by the Canadian Conference of the Arts that took place on November 14 and 15, 1991 in Ottawa. More than 150 artists, cultural workers and bureaucrats from all provinces arrived at a consensus on the important aspects of this document.

The arts and cultural industries are intrinsic to a sense of nation, to the cultivation of a shared identity, to a prosperous economy. Therefore, the federal government must assume the pre-eminent role in the sustenance, development and promotion of all forms of cultural expression, and facilitate access of our artistic and cultural materials to all Canadians. This pre-eminent role must be fulfilled within an environment where all levels of government share the sense of value and responsibility for the arts and cultural industries in Canada. The pre-eminent role of the federal government must be reflected in the Constitution.

The federal commitment to leadership in cultural development must be fulfilled through: the sustenance and development of national cultural institutions such as the CBC, the Canada Council, the National Museums, the National Arts Centre, the National Film Board, Telefilm Canada and the CRTC; direct and indirect funding (grants, contributions and tax measures); legislation, policies and programmes; and cooperation with the provincial governments which reflect this commitment. This commitment must extend to the protection of cultural interests within the context of international trade agreements, and other considerations which result from the increased globalization of our economy and culture.

The artist is the wellspring of our cultural expression. As the corner stone of any cultural policy, the federal government must ensure that artists have access to: training; social benefits; economic and moral rights over their creations, including intellectual properties; and tools to allow them to earn a reasonable liveli-

hood from their profession.

Cultural expression flourishes best in an environment of freedom. Artists must be assured of freedom of expression and the right to pursue their artistic visions. Canadians in all regions must enjoy the right of access to ideas and expressions, free from censorship or other legal impediments; the freedom to learn about our cultural legacy as part of their fundamental education and life long learning opportunities; and the freedom to contribute to its development. All national cultural institutions must have the freedom to pursue their mandates free of political control and direction.

Cultural expression is produced by a continuum which begins with the artist; is produced and presented by cultural institutions and organizations; is shared with all Canadians through the cultural industries and other forms of distribution, including touring; and is preserved in our museums, libraries and other heritage institutions. Recognition of the interdependent nature of the elements of this continuum of creativity is an essential component of cultural policy.

The cultural riches of Canada, the most dynamic and enduring manifestation of sovereignty, are shaped and owned by all its citizens and are rooted in our cultural diversity. The heritage and cultures of our aboriginal peoples and of our immigrants, and the important influences of French and English traditions, all enrich this common legacy. The federal government must encourage and support policies and programmes that facilitate the continuing expression of cultural diversity, including aboriginal culture and the flourishing of minority official language communities across Canada.

In an age where communications technologies are dominant forces in the shaping of ideas and access to information, the cultural industries, including public and private broadcasting, sound recording, film and video production, new media, and book and magazine publishing, are essential instruments in providing access to our cultural wealth by the people of Canada and the world.

The federal government must affirm and expand a Canadian presence in these areas through policies and programmes which ensure an effective system of domestic and foreign distribution, and create a solid financial base for the continuing work of the Canadian cultural industries.

The federal government affirms its commitment to fair funding practices, which are demonstrated by: the commitment to the arm's length principle in dealings with national cultural agencies and with client groups; the use of peer assessment; and equitable regional access and distribution.

The continuing development of cultural policies and programmes must be the result of consultation with those most directly involved and affected. The federal government must recognize the right of artists, cultural workers and concerned Canadians to participate in the development and assessment of any existing or planned policy initiative which is targeted at the creative continuum.

These fundamental principles are totally interdependent and stand as the key stones of a federal cultural policy. They serve as an indivisible framework to ensure the sustenance and development of one of the most valuable national resources enjoyed by all Canadians: our cultural identity and heritage.

Canadian Conference
of the Arts



Conférence canadienne
des arts

June 22, 1993

Dear Member,

With the federal election campaign just around the corner, the CCA wants to ensure that candidates and party leaders consider cultural issues as they develop their election platforms and begin looking for votes. To this end, we have prepared a Blueprint for Our Cultural Future, which we are pleased to enclose with this letter.

The Blueprint is the latest attempt by the CCA to condense in one document the measures essential for a government to undertake on behalf of the cultural sector. It also identifies those measures that must be undertaken by the sector itself in order to ensure our long term survival and health. We encourage you to read the document, and to share it with your colleagues and others interested in cultural issues. Please feel free to make as many photocopies of the document as you need - no formal permission is required from the CCA. If, however, you are quoting from the document for a newsletter or other publication, we do ask that the CCA be acknowledged as the source of the work.

It is the hope of the CCA that artists and cultural workers will use the information in the Blueprint to question federal candidates on cultural issues when they knock on your doors and appear at all-candidates meetings. This election is important for the cultural sector. The next government must be prepared to act on the pressing issues which confront our sector. Your active participation during the campaign may ensure that enough politicians come to realize this.

CARFAC has this

If you or your organization plans to mount a major lobby campaign during the federal election, our Election Lobbying Manual may give you some assistance. The manual contains detailed issue information sheets, media lists and tips, a list of all candidates, riding maps and other useful information. The price is only \$12.00 which is the cost of photocopying and mailing. To order a copy of the manual please call (800) 463-3561 and we'll put one in the mail for you.

I hope that you find the Blueprint to be an informative and useful document. If you have any questions or comments do not hesitate to give us a call or drop a line. The cultural sector has a lot riding on the next election - if we all work hard we can make a difference.

Yours sincerely,

Keith Kelly
National Director

