

ART PRESS

Arts

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Cover story

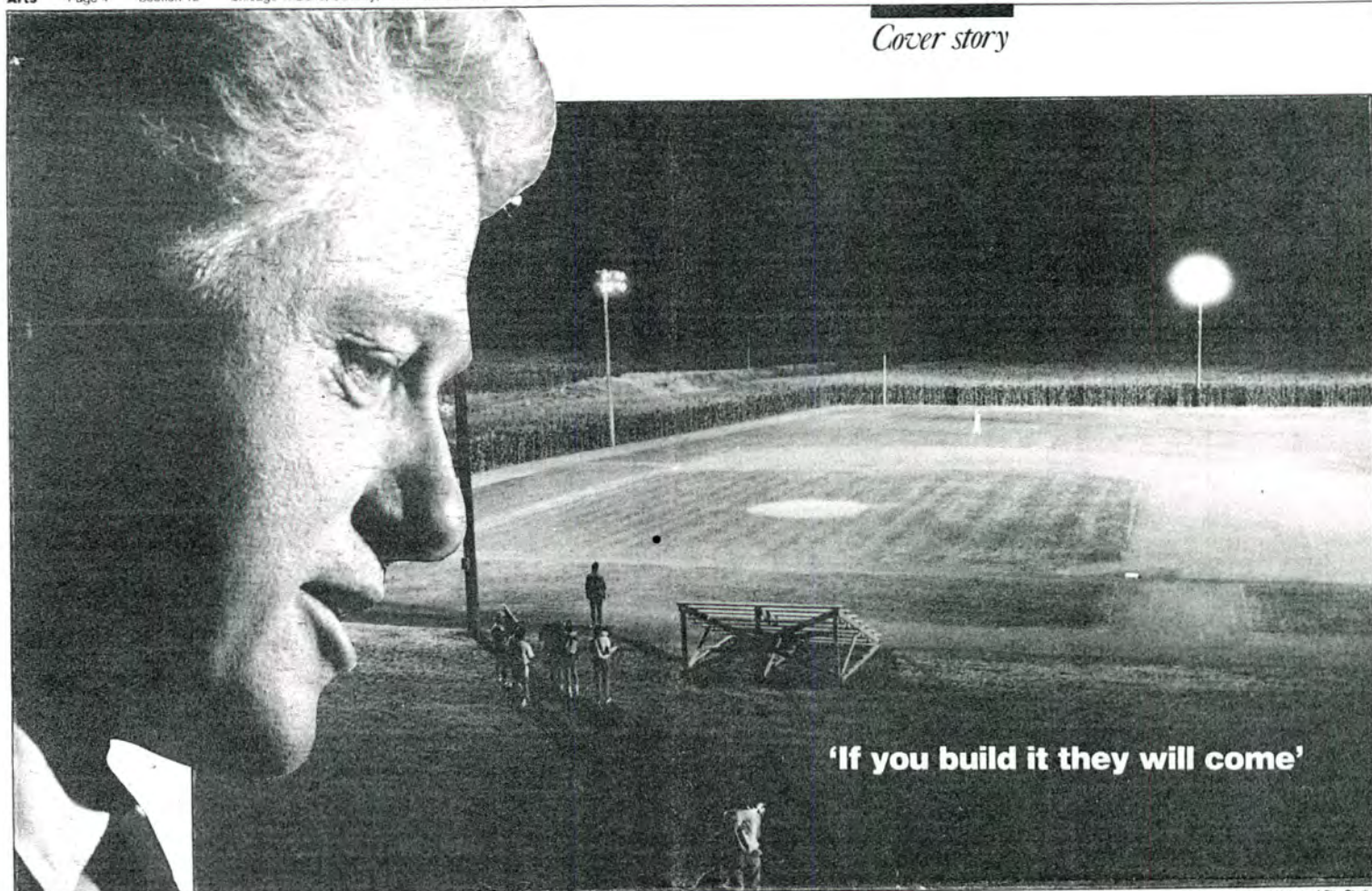


Photo courtesy of Universal City Studios

Bill Clinton (in a photo montage) looks over the baseball diamond in "Field of Dreams," one of his favorite movies.

Here comes a baby-boomer!

Clinton and the arts: Where to now?

By Clifford Terry
Entertainment writer

Elvis is alive, for the next four years at least.

As historians will note and long remember, the night after the California primary, Bill Clinton surprised and (a) tickled (b) disgusted a national television audience when he donned shades and played "Heartbreak Hotel" on the sax on "The Arsenio Hall Show" (prompting the host to crack, "It's good to see a Democrat blowing something other than the election").

What's more, the candidate for president of the United States, when pressed whether he voted for the old or young Elvis on the postage stamp, remarked that he had led a "national crusade" for the latter, adding self-deprecatingly, "You know, when he got old, he got fat like me. No, it has to be the young Elvis. That's when he had all this energy and real raw, new, fresh power."

Marketing observers have, indeed, predicted a forthcoming boom in Elvis memorabilia, replacing Jimmy Carter's peanuts and Ronald Reagan's jelly beans in the national psyche. But there will be more to the Clinton White House than repeated video showings of "Jailhouse Rock" and "Viva Las

Vegas." When it comes to the arts, the official home of the first baby boomer president promises to be neither a cultural Camelot nor (despite Eastern-effete sniffings) a down-home Dogpatch.

Much of the talk, predictably, has centered around the National Endowment for the Arts, which has been battered over the last three years for its decisions to fund art labeled obscene by conservatives and the religious right.

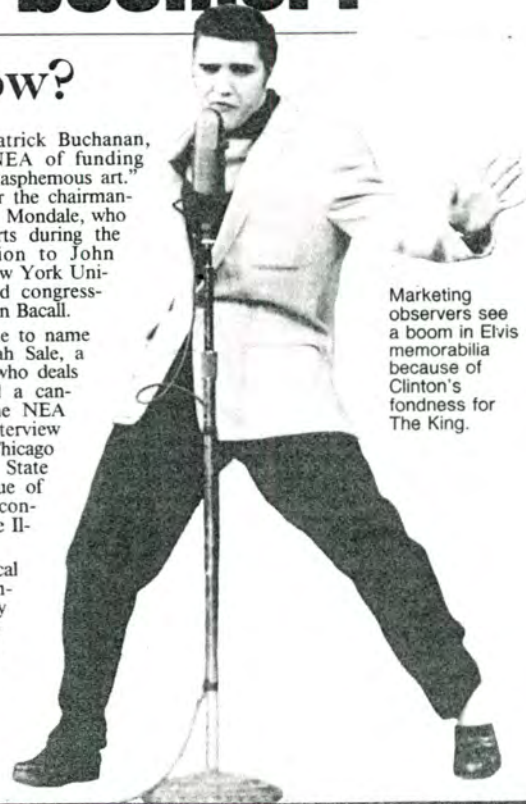
"I think that instead of dollars specifically, they'll be more concerned with NEA policy, which will be a hands-off kind of thing," says Mitch Locin, a Tribune reporter who covered the Clinton campaign. "At a Broadway fundraiser last June, there was a lot of talk about 1st Amendment stuff. Some have said that it's become a dead issue, but with the whole thing about gays in the military, I can see someone like Jesse Helms and Pat Robertson putting it all together into a 'look at what they're doing to our institutions' kind of thing."

There has been speculation as to Clinton's choice to replace outgoing, controversial acting chairman Anne-Imelda Radice, who took over after John Frohnmayer was forced to resign by the George Bush White House after a strong showing in the New Hamp-

shire primary by Patrick Buchanan, who accused the NEA of funding "pornographic and blasphemous art." Names tossed out for the chairmanship range from Joan Mondale, who was active in the arts during the Carter administration to John Brademas, former New York University president and congressman, to actress Lauren Bacall.

"It will take a while to name a chairman," Deborah Sale, a top Clinton adviser who deals with arts issues and a candidate herself for the NEA spot, said in an interview two weeks ago in Chicago after addressing the State Arts Advocacy League of America's national conference, hosted by the Illinois Arts Alliance.

"I do think political sophistication is important. Nancy Hanks [who was appointed by Nixon] was a brilliant chairman, in part because she really established a strong support network on



Marketing observers see a boom in Elvis memorabilia because of Clinton's fondness for The King.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Presidential culture

The rise and fall of arts at the top

By Michael Kilian

WASHINGTON—If the White House is considered the apogee of American achievement, it is not a place where culture has always found a happy home.

Until modern times—i.e., the Kennedy administration—it has been more or less the rule that presidential politics and what we would call highbrow culture were an inimical mix.

Our early presidents, especially the Virginians, were all considered cultured men, of course—favoring music, art (if only portraiture) and the intellectual amusements of their time. But they were aristocrats.

With the rise of Andrew Jackson, populism and the extension of the vote (without property and other restrictions) to the general mass of free, white males, "culture" became a dirty word.

In 1828, the voters gave the bum's rush to the "kingly" John Quincy Adams, a stuffy, intellectual chess player whose patrician wife, Louisa, was an accomplished harpist, and happily put in his place the vulgar frontier Indian fighter Jackson.

Twelve years later, the conservative federalist interests that Adams represented got their revenge by ousting Jackson's protegee, Martin Van Buren—a foppish, luxury-loving dilettante fond of Italian art and Blue Room concert recitals—and replacing him with a frontier hero of their own: William Henry Harrison.

And so it went. Sarah Childress Polk, all-powerful wife of President James K. Polk, banned dancing from the White House altogether and promoted hymn singing instead. One of her favorites was "How Tedious and Tasteless."

Abraham Lincoln, who had the commonest roots but greatest intellect of all our presidents, had a deep affection for the theater (especially comedies).

James Garfield could write in Latin and Greek simultaneously with left and right hand.

The beautiful and shockingly young Frances Folsom Cleveland (the Jackie Kennedy of her time) was a devotee of poetry and painting and filled the White House with pansies and roses, but husband Grover indulged in these "womanly" fancies mostly for her sake.

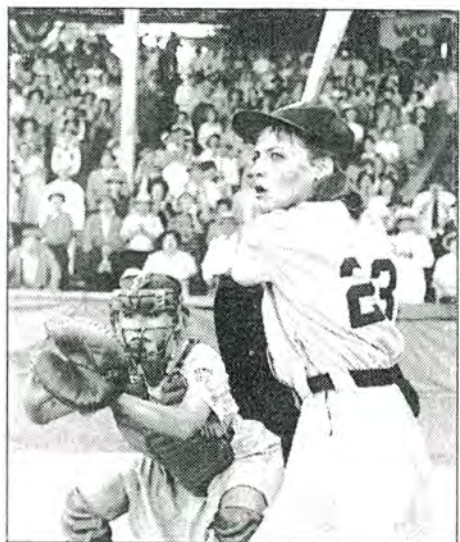
"It wasn't really until Kennedy that American presidents took an active interest in maintaining and fostering the arts," said George Stevens, founder of Washington's American Film Institute, a prime mover in the establishment of the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts who is expected to play a major cultural role in the Washington of Bill and Hillary Clinton.

The seeds for a national performing arts center and federal endowments for arts and humanities were planted back in the Eisenhower era, but it was the legendary, grand, 1961 white-tie state dinner at which the Kennedys had famed cellist Pablo Casals provide entertainment that put the White House on the nation's cultural map.

"I don't think he [Kennedy] could

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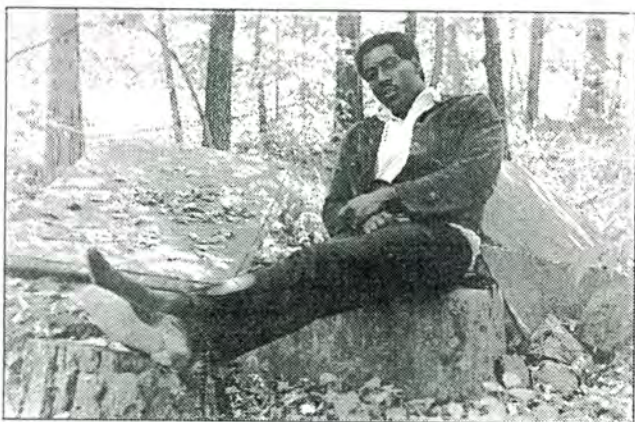
"A League of Their Own"



"Evening Shade"



James Brown



Otis Redding



A glimpse into Clinton's tastes

Earlier this year we invited the presidential and vice presidential candidates to answer a series of questions that explored some serious and not-so-serious matters related to the Arts. (This was after Ross Perot withdrew from the race and before he re-entered the campaign.)

The only candidate to answer the questions was Bill Clinton. Here are the president-elect's answers.

Which entertainer do you remember most vividly from your youth? Elvis Presley. Early on, his music was so full of energy, he made music come alive for my generation. I still know the lyrics to most of his songs.

What book (other than the Bible) most influenced you? "One Hundred Years of Solitude" by Gabriel Garcia Marquez has such a range of human

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Meryl Streep



Stan Getz



"Will Rogers Follies"



Marilyn Horne

Capitol Hill as well as in the executive branch, and convinced people of the rightness of the peer-group process (in awarding NEA grants). It's been too much of a political football the last three years. The White House definitely can set the tone."

Some persons have said that, unlike Bush, Clinton will take a stand on NEA controversies but, because of the economy and other commitments including foreign-policy crises and European Community trade wars, the arts will not be a priority with the new administration.

"Somebody pointed out to me today that the arts and cultural enterprise represents 6 percent of our GNP," said Sale, who is also chief of staff to New York Lt. Gov. Stan Lundine. "So I really don't think we can brush culture to the back burner. Actually, it is very relevant to our economic health. You know, we are a big exporter of cultural

products. Our balance of payments is very good in that arena, and we can probably do more economically with stronger support and advocacy for our cultural products. Those may be performances or movies or all sorts of ventures. I think we have to quit compartmentalizing and begin to integrate the arts to the wider fabric of the country.

"For instance, we are talking about rebuilding the infrastructure. Clearly, good design is important to that overall rebuilding effort. I think that when we look at the health of our education system, the arts should not be an add-on. They should be an integral part, because they do so much to unlock the imagination and creative talent of young children and help them learn many other things beyond the arts subjects themselves.

"We should be getting into the neighborhoods, too. One of the things I

felt that Joan Mondale did at the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities was that she really did make it legitimate to be an artist in your own town, your own neighborhood, your own community. You didn't any longer feel you had to move to one of the great cities to practice your art."

As for the personal cultural tastes of the Clintons themselves, it has been established that they are voracious and (the word of the day) *eclectic* readers. He went through a couple of mysteries a week even during the campaign and, on a flight from Chicago to New Orleans last summer, told reporters that he was taking on the novels of Walter Mosley ("A Red Death," "Devil in a Blue Dress"), whose protagonist is a black detective in Los Angeles.

"He just reads everything, including a lot of serious material," says Sale, a

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Clinton

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longtime friend of both Clintons. "Lester Thurow's book on the economy ['Head to Head: The Coming Economic Battle Among Japan, Europe and America'] was something he read during the campaign. He also reads any mystery that anyone recommends to him. He just finished Jonathan Kellerman's 'Private Eyes.'"

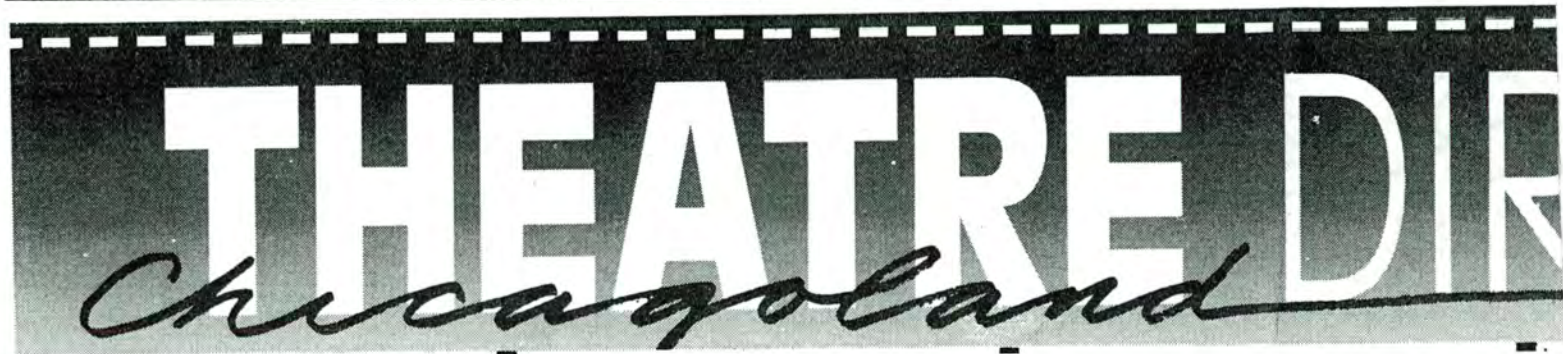
"I know Hillary reads a lot,"

says Betsy Ebeling, a friend from grade-school days in Park Ridge. "We exchange authors' names. She does a lot of non-fiction reading—primarily in the areas of children and law. Last summer she introduced me to 'The Measure of Our Success: A Letter to My Children and Yours' by Marian Wright Edelman, who heads the Children's Defense Fund. And in return I gave her 'There Are No Children Here,' Alex Kotlowitz's book about the Henry Horner homes. She

and I also have a passion for mysteries that goes way back to the time we probably were in 6th grade and discovered Daphne Du Maurier and 'Rebecca.'"

In response to a Tribune questionnaire the candidate filled out after the convention (see accompanying article), he listed his favorite musicians as Elvis, Judy Collins (his daughter is named after Collins' version of "Chelsea Morning"),

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Clinton

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Otis Redding, Ray Charles, Stan Getz, Kenny G. and the Temptations. In interviews, he has increased the list to include the Four Tops, Dave Brubeck, Dolly Parton and Michael Bolton and has said that his favorite Beatle was Paul. Last spring he told Rolling Stone that he was "sad" when James Brown was sent to jail and that he was on Brown's mailing list. He added that Madonna was "just not part of my deal," and that if he were in high school he'd probably be into rap rather than heavy metal. ("I didn't like it when Hendrix started it, I don't like it now and I haven't liked it in-between.") During his campaign stops, his music would feature the Fleetwood Mac song "Don't Stop Thinking About Tomorrow," as well as the Doobie Brothers' "Takin' It to the Streets."

"He'll see a high school band playing somewhere, and he'll occasionally wade into them and take up a borrowed saxophone and wail away with

it," says Locin. "In Wisconsin, toward the end of the campaign, a farmer wanted to sing 'Danny Boy,' and Clinton borrowed a sax. He's usually a fairly good player, but this didn't sound very good. So his aides went around saying, 'Well, it's an *alto* sax. He usually plays *tenor*.' I mean, they were even applying spin control to *that*."

All three Clintons play the piano (Hillary has been quoted as saying, "None of us is what you'd call good"), Bill has sung in his church (Baptist) and considers Pentecostal music to be "awesome." He also appreciates black gospel and rhythm and blues. "Unlike almost all white politicians of any generation," a Time writer ventured, "Clinton gets the beat consistently right."

Bill seems to be the film addict in the family. "I don't know how much Hillary goes to the movies, but Bill's idea of fun is two in an evening," says Betsy Ebeling. "I know he likes action movies. One time when they visited us here, he said he had gone to a double feature the night before and the state troopers had gone

with him."

Adds Sale: "He sees a lot of movies with his daughter, who's 12, and frankly, there are things he doesn't see because they may not be the greatest thing for *her* to see. Someone once asked him who would play him in the movie about his life, and he thought about it and said, 'Nick Nolte.'"

Variety has reported there is hope that new movie-making money will become available under a Clinton investment tax credit program in which as much as 10 percent of a film's production budget could be written off. But some Hollywood veterans remember that Jack Kennedy promised to be a friend of the industry and turned out to be anything but.

The Clintons are not heavy TV watchers but do enjoy "Designing Women" (on which Clinton's brother, Roger, is a production assistant) and "Evening Shade" (Hillary suggested the title), both produced by their Arkansas friends, Harry Thomason and Linda Bloodworth-

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Thomason.

The theater critic in the family is Hillary—her review of the Broadway musical, “The Secret Garden,” now appears in the ads (“Simply magical!”)—and the dancer in the family is Chelsea, who for years has danced in “The Nutcracker” in Little Rock.

Clinton often has said that Marilyn Horne is his favorite classical artist, but the couple’s interest in opera and symphony seems to be quite limited, although Sale says: “There’s a pretty good small city symphony in Little Rock and he’s interested in it—you know, the music it plays and it as an institution.”

“Little Rock has a real active cultural life,” says Ebeling. “They have a beautiful art center, and the night we were there at a dinner, Bill brought in a children’s chorus and there were some other people from around the state. They do a lot of that. Their taste in painting is more traditional than modern, but they don’t collect it. I mean, they haven’t had a *home* in years.

There has been speculation that Hillary, unlike Jackie Kennedy, is not really interested in promoting the arts, that her concerns are more with such matters as policy toward children and the family and who it is that’s sitting around the Cabinet table. Some guess that the person who will be point person for culture will be Mary Elizabeth “Tipper”

Gore—who, of course, is best known for founding the Parents Music Resource Center and leading the fight to put warning stickers on albums with explicit lyrics.

“On the campaign trail, Clinton and everyone defended the labeling,” says Locin. “I think her concern is real representative of parents right now. They don’t want government restriction, but they like this approach because they’re worried about what’s being fed their kids on TV or in the movies or on albums.”

As for vice president-elect Al Gore, Tribune reporter George Curry, who covered the campaign, says: “Anyone hanging around Sen. Gore’s office is likely to hear country and western favorites or rock ‘n’ roll tunes. Gore is a big fan of

Kathy Mattea, whose hits include ‘Time Passes By,’ ‘Untasted Honey’ and ‘Walk the Way the Wind Blows.’ He also likes George Strait, whose numbers include many references to his ex-wives such as, ‘All My Ex’s Live in Texas.’ But Gore is no country bumpkin. He likes soul singer James Brown and has even been known to slide across the floor imitating him.”

Whatever the tastes—eclectic or otherwise—of Bill and Hillary and Al and Tipper, one Washington observer speculates, “There won’t be much involvement in culture beyond the norm. There will be an atmosphere not *fostering* artistic creativity but valuing it and allowing it freedom. I mean, there isn’t going to be a great revolution.”

Tastes

Continued from page 5

emotions and touches every fiber of society.

What movie would you recommend everyone see? “Field of Dreams,” because of its message: If you build it, they will come.

Name the movie you saw most recently. “Sister Act” and “League of Their Own.”

Name your favorite movies: “Field of Dreams” and “High Noon.”

Your favorite actors: none listed

Favorite actresses: Meryl Streep

Favorite television show: “Evening Shade”

Favorite late-night talk show: Arsenio

Favorite musical artists: I liked a lot of musicians, but especially Judy Collins. Other favorites are Otis Redding, Ray Charles, Elvis, Stan Getz, Kenny G. and the Temptations. When I was a child, I listened to my dad's great collection of old jazz, Benny Goodman, the Dorsey brothers and the Glenn Miller band. Marilyn Horne is my favorite classical artist.

What kind of music (classical, country, jazz, rap, rock 'n' roll, etc.) do you most enjoy? I like old rock and roll, church music and jazz.

What play or musical did you attend most recently? "Will Rogers Follies."

Just for your own pleasure, how often do you: watch a movie, go to a concert or a museum or the theater. And how often do you read a book? Hillary and I enjoy the movies and watch them as often as we can get away. Unfortunately, campaigning is not conducive to attending the theater, movies, museums or concerts.

I can and do read on the campaign trail—in the car, on the plane, whenever I can. I like mysteries and thrillers, especially, and read about 70 books each year of all different kinds. It is also required that I read many newspapers, magazines and briefings every day to keep up with my work.

What nonfiction and fiction books have you read most recently? Fiction: "Strike Three, You're Dead," by Richard Rosen; non-fiction: "Reinventing Government," by David Osborne.

What book would you most enjoy spending an evening with? "Prince of Tides," by Pat Conroy

Have you or your wife served on the boards of any arts institutions (museums, dance organizations, etc)? Hillary currently serves on the board of the Children's Television Workshop.

Do you or your spouse have any experience in the arts (performing in a band or a college drama club, for exam-

ple)? I play the saxophone and was a member of the band in high school. I even attended band camp. In 1988, I played with the Tonight Show band, and this year on "The Arsenio Hall Show."

Which is the greater problem in movies today, sex or violence? Why? It's hard to say whether sex or violence is the "greater problem" in movies today—both are serious matters of concern, especially to parents whose young children may have access to movies inappropriate for them.

Do you agree with Time-Warner's decision to pull from store shelves the rapper Ice-T's "Body Count" album, which contains lyrics about killing police and having sex with Tipper Gore's nieces? Why? No. Ice-T's recording should not be pulled from store shelves. It's an issue of free speech, which the First Amendment protects.

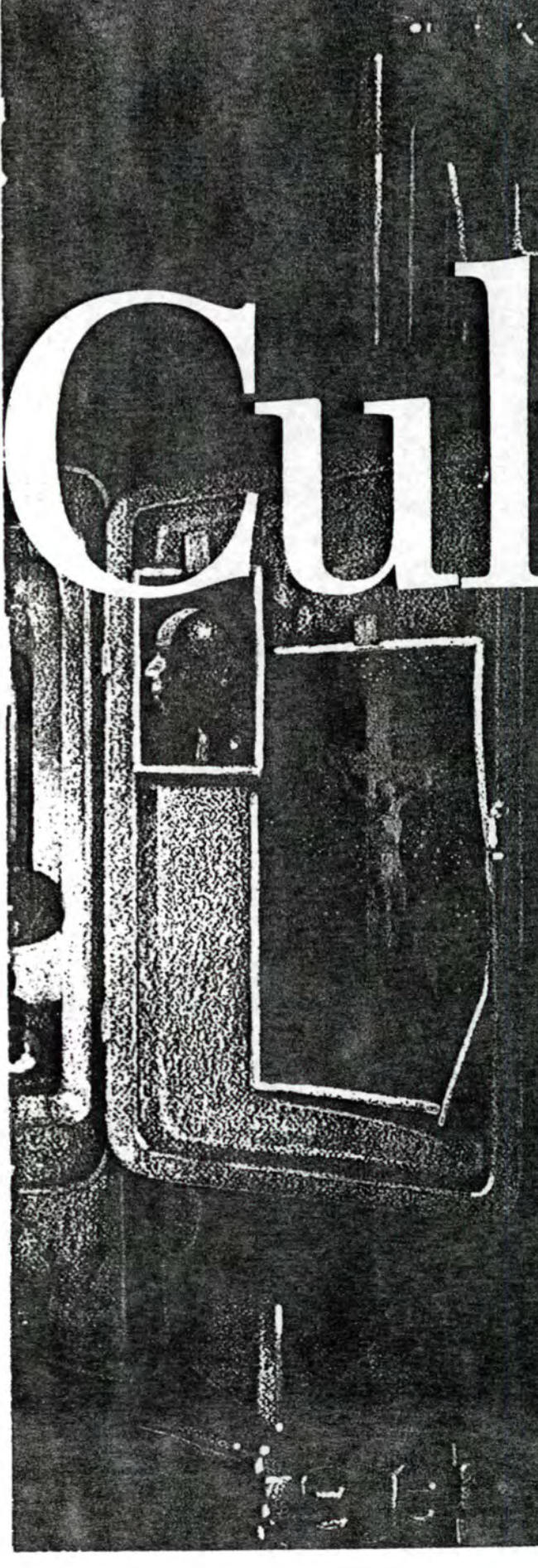
Do you agree or disagree with Vice President Dan Quayle's criticism of the moral values of the television character Murphy Brown for having a child out of wedlock? Why? Vice President Quayle's criticism of Murphy Brown added nothing substantive to the debate over the future of the American family. Americans don't need lectures on morals—they need jobs, health care, and affordable housing. It is ironic that the Vice President felt compelled to criticize a woman who, instead of choosing to abort her pregnancy, carried the child to term.

Do you favor restricting the content of art funded by American taxpayers through the National Endowment for the Arts? As President, I will defend freedom of speech and artistic expression by opposing censorship or "content restrictions" on grants made by the N.E.A.

What is your position on federal funding of the arts? I will continue federal funding for the arts and promote the full diversity of American culture.

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

COVER STORY



Pulling the Fuse on Culture

The conservatives' all-out assault on federal funding is unenlightened, uneconomic and undemocratic

By ROBERT HUGHES

DEMOCRATIC NATIONS," WROTE THE EVER prescient Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America*, long ago in 1840, "will habitually prefer the useful to the beautiful, and they will require that the beautiful should be useful." What would Tocqueville have thought of today's assaults on the fabric of America's public culture?

The Republican leadership in Congress means to sever all links between American government and American culture. It wants the Federal Government to give no support at all to music, theater, ballet, opera, film, intelligent television, literature, history, archaeology, museum work, architectural conservation and the visual arts. It intends to abolish federal funding for the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. And it wants to do it tomorrow.

This plan isn't economic. Even its proponents have largely given up on the absurd fiction that canceling America's meager \$620 million worth of cultural programs will do anything to reduce the present budget deficit of \$180 billion. Not when a Senate committee last month approved a pork load for the military of \$7 billion more than the Pentagon asked for.

Fiscal discipline? In fact, the project is cultural defoliation—an attempt to destroy “liberal” habitat. If there was any doubt about its momentum, the young velociraptors in Congress—freshman ideologues, mostly, squeaking with Newtish zeal—buried it three weeks ago. These boys and girls aren’t even cultural Neanderthals. They’re Jurassic. On culture, the limbic forebrain can hold one sound bite at a time, courtesy of Rush Limbaugh or George Will. PBS? “Elitist welfare for the rich.” The NEA? “State-subsidized porn.” The NEH? “P.c. revisionist history.” By a vote of 230 to 194, driven by a rump of dozens of junior members, the House voted to “zero out” all funding for the NEA by October 1997 and phase out the agency in two years. The NEH and CPB are also in peril.

This blitzkrieg reached the Senate last week. The Appropriations Committee sided with the House, voting to cut next year’s NEA budget 40%. But there are still plenty of Republican voters (and not a few legislators) who would like to see their local symphony orchestra, town theater or children’s art-education program survive, and know that the prospects of their survival are bound up with continuing, if modest, support from the NEA. Though the NEH and CPB will prove much harder to kill, the prospects of the NEA’s survival in the long run are dim.

Will this axman’s folly put America alone among the nations of the world? Well, not exactly. Little of Haiti’s national budget goes to culture. Zaire does not support a national theater, and cultural grants in Rwanda, even for victim art, may be assumed to be fairly small. No documentaries infected by liberal bias get aired on Tehran state television. Saddam Hussein’s boys are not straining to underwrite feminist histories of, say, the Marsh Arabs of the Euphrates.

Clearly the American public culture imagined by Newt Gingrich and his fellow ideologues in and out of Congress, including their insatiable Fundamentalist Christian right wing, will not seem strange everywhere in the world.

But in the more civilized parts it will. And to many Americans—who are by no means the “cultural elite” that conservative rhetoric invokes with such shrill banality—it already does. Of course, the defunding of the endowments isn’t going to kill off the arts in America. Painters, dancers, actors are tough as weeds and can grow in cracks in the concrete. There was great art, drama, writing and scholarship in America before 1965,

WHICH OF THE PROPOSALS IN CONGRESS FOR FUNDING THE ARTS DO YOU FAVOR?

Cutting federal funding of the NEA 5% a year for the next five years

37%

Continuing federal funding of the NEA at current levels

30%

Eliminating all federal funding of the NEA within two years

21%

From a poll of 1,000 adults
American taken by ABC/News on July 19-20,
by YouGov/ABC/News. Sampling error
± 3.5%.

Congress is now full of indignant wannabe reformers

when the endowments were founded. Dedicated people create ingenious strategies of survival for themselves. But why should they have to? By what meanness, through what smug Philistinism—and, above all, on what actual evidence—do our Jacks-in-office decree that the arts and humanities are beneath the interest of the American people and unworthy of their collective support?

To conservative rhetors in Congress, whatever is not blandly or angrily populist is elitist. In their resort to this weasel word, the patriotically correct on the right are as bad as the politically correct on the residual left—worse, in fact, because they have more power. How all these folk would hate Thomas Jefferson if he walked back in with his idea that democracy was meant to foster a “natural aristocracy” of talent and intelligence. Naked elitism!



Twyla Tharp



Performance
artist Karen
Finley

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

The chance of getting enough money for the NEA to become truly effective is now very slim, and the punitive funding cuts have weakened it so far that it may not be worth keeping alive

"As far as I'm concerned, there's nothing public about [PBS]," Gingrich crowed to a roomful of like-minded enthusiasts in Washington's Capitol Hill Club last February. "It's an elitist enterprise. Rush Limbaugh is public broadcasting." Yeah, and so is Howard Stern—and Jenny Jones is Ken Burns, and Tom Clancy is Toni Morrison. The fact is that no system with as broad and loyal an audience base as PBS repeatedly garners can be called elitist. A national poll conducted for PBS by Opinion Research Corp. indicates that fully 84% of Americans want to see PBS funding maintained or increased and that 82% of them—79% Republican—feel PBS programming content is "neither too conservative nor too liberal."

But Newt and his -oids resent PBS's small measure of independence from "market forces"—from corporate and hence, ultimately, political control. More important still, the Republicans want a carcass they can toss to their extreme right. The Christian Coalition and other Fundamentalists, such as the Rev. Donald Wildmon's religious hit squad, the American Family Association, believe PBS is a factory of pinko, homosexual, you-name-it agit-prop and want to see it abolished for love of censorship.

Some lefties they have there on PBS: William F. Buckley Jr., Ben Wattenberg and that far-famed enemy of capitalism Louis Rukeyser. Like Pat Robertson's views on "creation science," this belief hinges on ignoring the fossil evidence. Sure, PBS has run programs exposing business fraud, supporting homosexual and other minority claims to rights, satirizing religion (however mildly) and questioning some government practices. Sometimes it has been guilty of "imbalance," but at least it hasn't completely succumbed to the emasculating belief that every assertion in a given program should be at once neutralized by its opposite. Compared with public television anywhere else, from England's BBC to state broadcasting outfits in France, Germany, Italy or Australia, PBS has been cautiously middle of the road in its political alignments, and its major source of funding, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, has been

Hypocrisy reigns. The right complains (with reason) about the dumbing-down of American education and then wants to kill one of the essential means of its spread and improvement, the National Endowment for the Humanities. It laments the depravity of network and cable TV, especially in the stew of commercial gunk it serves up to children, then wants to cut all federal funding for PBS, the only source of decent educational programming for children and of intelligent documentaries for grownups.

ERIC GORMAN, GAYMA LINDSON, DONNA ANN MCDOUGAL, DAVID HEALD, PAULA COOPER, GALLERY

who know next to nothing about American culture



Guggenheim
Museum

dominated by conservatives ever since it was created in 1967 by the Johnson Administration.

The conservatives' thrust against PBS, therefore, seems to be faltering. On this Gingrich is too extreme for his own troops. The Speaker of the House, when he speaks on cultural affairs, is truly a wonder. Here he is, prating and preening like a parrot on a stump about the need to renew American civilization. This is the guy who hates the '60s but reincarnates them in his 40-acres-and-a-laptop Utopianism; who thinks kitsch "futurologists" like Alvin and Heidi Toffler are gurus and that a fund-raising cultist like Arianna Huffington is an intellectual. He filled his cable-TV sermons about "Renewing American Civilization" with brazen plugs for corporations that contributed to his funding operation, GOPAC. He wants to destroy the nation-

al endowments while promoting tax breaks for developers on Mars. There are times when "American civilization" should be defended against its renewers, and this is one of them.

To put matters in perspective, one must first remember the comparative triviality of the sums involved—the shallowness of modern America's official commitments to culture.

The U.S. government currently spends less than five-hundredths of 1% of its national budget on all forms of cultural subsidy—the equivalent of maybe five cups of diner coffee per citizen per year. In fiscal 1995 the NEH got \$172 million, the NEA got \$162.4 million, and the CPB got \$285.6 million. Still, these modest sums exert large leverage on private and corporate patronage through "matching grants" (to qualify, the recipient must raise as much as \$3 from the private sources for every federal dollar) and by the vitally important role played by the NEA and the NEH as *Good Housekeeping* seals of approval on projects.

Besides, culture is business. Serious business. The splendid offerings of New York City, from the Metropolitan Museum of Art to the New York City Ballet, generate more than \$2 billion a year in tourist revenue. Not-for-profit arts, local and national, support 1.3 million jobs, yield \$37 billion a year in economic activity and return \$3.4 billion a year to the federal treasury through tax—some 20 times the budget of the NEA. It is ludicrous to pretend that the NEA is a drain on the American purse.

Over the past quarter-century, NEA seed money has been a boon and a blessing to America's myriad cultural outlets. It is easy to think of scores, and possible to find hundreds, of museum exhibitions, dance and drama projects, concerts and arts-

Ken Burns' *Civil War*

Mark Twain:
a rich trove
of archives

Right-wing critics sneer that the NEH is a pork

education programs of real cultural value that would not have had private underwriting without the spur of public money. Corporations need reassurance and are reluctant to disgorge without it.

Some Republicans argue that since corporate and foundation support for the arts outweighs federal support—\$16 to \$1—the NEA and NEH would not be missed. This is an illusion. Some American businesses, like Philip Morris, have been very generous in their support of the arts. But this generosity depends on their public relations needs. (If there were no lung cancer or emphysema, the arts would get much less.) Increasingly, these needs are defined as social rather than artistic. Hence the shift, in private philanthropy, to race- and gender-based programs, meant to make art what theatrical director Robert Brustein calls "a conduit for social justice" rather than art as art. As the newsletter *Corporate Philanthropy Report* recently noted, "We no longer 'support' the arts. We use the arts in innovative ways to support the social causes chosen by our company."

That's exactly what Republican critics accuse the NEA and the NEH of doing. Moreover, if the flat-tax enthusiasts in the G.O.P. have their way, private and corporate arts subsidies—especially gifts to museums—will vanish as tax-deduction inducements evaporate. This will destroy the mechanism that made American museum collections great. There is no sign that anyone in Congress has thought this through. And why? Because frankly, my dear, we don't give a damn.

America's federal stinginess with the arts and humanities does it immense discredit. By contrast, every candidate in the last French election, from the socialist Lionel Jospin to the conservative victor Jacques Chirac, agreed that fully 1% of France's state

budget should be set aside for culture. This will cost each taxpayer about \$50 a year and is wholly uncontroversial. Nobody complains in Germany either, though federal cultural subsidies cost each taxpayer \$38 and city ones even more: Berlin, for instance, will spend 1.1 billion marks (\$800 million) in fiscal 1995, 2.6% of its total municipal budget, on art and culture—\$225 for each of its 3.5 million residents. Berliners like this. They are proud of it.

Many people do feel they have a right to expect their government to spend some of their tax money in preserving and amplifying their culture and their history, even if this effort works with less than 75% efficiency—which would still be better than the rate of the Pentagon's extravaganza. Some would argue that this is one of the criteria of political enlightenment. Why not in America?

Why not, indeed? Because in America, the arts have always had to prove how moral they are. Ever since the Puritans got to Massachu-

COMPARING COMMITMENTS	
Public expenditures on the arts and museums, in dollars per person	
Sweden	\$45.6
Germany	\$39.4
France	\$35.1
Netherlands	\$33.6
Canada	\$28.5
Britain	\$16.1
U.S.	\$1.3

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Until the conservative line changed, the NEH was seen as a beacon of history, scholarship and education. Now even former chairmen William Bennett and Lynne Cheney have turned on it

treachery to the most sacred of trusts."

Intelligent appreciation of the arts and the humanities was part of the democratic promise. Learning, no less surely than the Kentucky rifle, supported freedom. The case for federal interest in fostering it was plainly put by James Madison 200 years ago. Americans, he said, owed it to themselves "and to the cause of free government, to prove by their establishments ... that their political institutions are as favorable to the intellectual and moral improvement of Man as they are conformable to his individual and social rights."

Other Americans, whether ordinary, shortsighted materialists or mere yahoos, have often opposed this noble idea. Hence tax-financed culture has always seemed a "soft spot" in government budgets.

liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study ... navigation, commerce and agriculture, in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, architecture ..." Their son John Quincy Adams amplified that in his *First Message to Congress*. For government to refrain, he wrote, from "promoting the improvement of agriculture, commerce, manufacture, the cultivation and encouragement of the mechanical and of the elegant arts, the advancement of literature ... would be

Rare books at Yale's Beinecke Library



Pulitzer prizewinners

barrel for lefty p.c. historians, but they are wrong

setts in the 17th century, American culture has had an iconophobic streak: prelates and politicians felt that though God (like them) spoke through the Word, the visual and performing arts were in some sense the devil's work, best left alone by a virtuous polity. This has combined with America's extreme loathing of tax—for American independence began with a tax revolt, when the tea chests were tossed into Boston Harbor in 1773. Put them together, and you get to hear House majority leader Dick Armey proclaiming, without a shred of evidence, that federal arts subsidy "offends the Constitution of the U.S."—without, of course, suggesting which clause or amendment it offends.

There is no such clause, because America's Founding Fathers had no doubt about the necessity of the arts in a democracy. They were radicals and revolutionists who believed that the arts should be available to the many, not the privileged few (as in 18th century Europe, where they were left to the elite "private sector," to whose corporate equivalents the C.O.P. wants to return them today). "I must study politics and war," wrote John Adams to his wife Abigail, "that my sons may have

In 1814, after the British burned the Congressional Library and Jefferson offered to sell Congress his own books as a replacement, angry voices in Congress denounced the idea: it was immoral to spend federal money on "philosophical nonsense" collected by a notorious freethinker, on volumes that were "worthless, in languages which many cannot read, and most ought not." Wisely, Congress voted over its seated bigots and populist lowbrows, as it should today. It bought the books, for \$23,950. This, as historian David McCullough pointed out to the House Appropriations Subcommittee last February, "may be seen as the beginning of federal involvement in the arts and humanities, to the everlasting benefit of the country."

When the American history painter John Trumbull was paid \$32,000 for the four scenes of the American Revolution, including the *Declaration of Independence* (1818), that adorn the rotunda of the Capitol in Washington, a loud outcry arose against their cost. But does anyone alive today think it was wrong to spend public money on jump-starting the Library of Congress with Jefferson's 6,500 books or creating America's first monumental paintings of its own history? Was Franklin Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration, which gave jobs to numerous good American artists in the Depression years, a bad idea? American government has supported the American arts—spottily, inconsistently, but always with some general sense of obligation to a larger sense of polity—almost from its beginning. The claim that the NEA and the NEH, founded in 1965, had no historical precedents in America is simply a lie.

Who begrudges the \$1 million a year in federal funds for the upkeep of the Lincoln Memorial, with its huge, Zeus-like figure of the dead President by Daniel Chester French? Yet from there to Maya Lin's Vietnam Memorial—a focus of intense collective feeling and reverence today, but bitterly denounced by many a flag-wagging conservative as "a black gash of shame"—there has scarcely been a significant American public sculpture com-

memorating things Americans care about that hasn't excited fierce opposition, usually in the name of patriotism and values.

Trying to find common public images in the midst of the pandemic discord of American democracy has never been an easy task. Sometimes, as now, it has seemed all but hopeless. One recalls the morose words of John Trumbull in 1793, lamenting how "the whole American people" had become "violent partisans... the whole country seemed to be changed into one vast arena... on which the two parties, forgetting their national character, were wasting their time, their thoughts, their energy... In such a state of things, what hope remained for the arts? None."

This atmosphere passed, but 200 years later a similar dementia prevails. Its obsessive objects this time are not the Terror in France and the war between France and England, as they were in 1793. They are moral—or, to be more exact, they are about the rhetoric of morality.

Our present "culture wars" do not exist in liberal democracies on the other sides of the Atlantic or the Pacific. The intolerance of these clashes is aggravated by the deep anguish that descended on America after it won the cold war and found itself no better off. The Manichaean universe, divided between right (us) and wrong (Soviets), dissolved. The apocalyptic scenario, so frightening and yet so consoling, fizzled. But the mind-set it fostered remains, particularly since America is the only country in the Western world with a strong, and vengeful, current of Fundamentalist apocalyptic religion. With the death of communism, new Antichrists and minor devils have to be found inside America. The two p.c.s—patriotic correctness and

Gay life on *Tales of the City*

A Frontline documentary

There are times when "American civilization needs to

political correctness—have mutually fostered this search, creating an atmosphere of inflamed accusation; scholarship and the arts then become scapegoats, grotesquely politicized culture-war stereotypes.

Thus Congress—and the nation—is now full of indignant wannabe reformers who know next to nothing about American culture but want to get tough on it. They have no idea that there is a vast, complex and valuable tract of images between Norman Rockwell's Thanksgiving turkey and Andres Serrano's photo of a crucifix in urine. Years of adroit propaganda by the religious right have convinced many of them that a vote for preserving the NEA in any form is a vote for sodomy, blasphemy and child abuse. This has become a matter of indurated faith, resistant to any insert of mere fact.

For these zealots, modern American art is summed up in the image of Robert Mapplethorpe, that slick and vastly overrated photographer, conservative in every sense except the sexual, who is now seen as a hybrid of welfare queen and Caligula, living off the NEA on your tax dollar and mine while sticking bullwhips up his bum. In fact, Mapplethorpe neither got nor asked for one cent from the NEA to make the photos that caused the offense; a museum did that, for a show of his work. And he died a multimillionaire because of the ranting queer hatred of Jesse Helms, Pat Buchanan and the religious right—not to mention the tribal loyalty of art-world homosexuals, many of whom would have you think that any criticism of his work amounts to homophobia.

Of the tens of thousands of grants that the NEA has made in its 30-year history, perhaps a dozen have excited serious controversy and only two—to the Mapplethorpe show and Ser-

The children's classic
Sesame Street

rano—have brought it to the verge of abolition. Significantly, neither case involved a direct grant by the NEA to the artist. Serrano got his \$15,000 of public money as an award from the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art, which the NEA had given a grant to distribute as it thought fit. All the same, it is obvious from this debacle that the NEA should not have set itself up as the Lady Bountiful of the so-called cutting edge, as it did in the '80s. Government is almost by definition a poor patron of the avant-garde. Artists who call themselves sociopolitical subversives, and then ask for state handouts, are either fools or hypocrites. But at the same time, it is, and plausibly should be, a legitimate function of government patronage to encourage promising forms of artistic expression that are not familiar enough to find their way in the marketplace. This is a thin rope to walk; the NEA fell off it and broke a leg. But you don't kill the endowment over that, any more than you abolish the U.S. Navy because of Tailhook.

The key is reform, without which the NEA probably won't survive at all. Its critics charge it with spending too much on grants to individual artists, but this is untrue—in fact, such grants account for only 4% of its budget. It's more important for the NEA to get rid of all its bogus democratic criteria, the therapeutic fustian of "self-esteem" and "empowerment" through art for this locality or that minority. Leave that to state arts councils (if they still want it, which they shouldn't either); in art

NEA
funding

Funding in constant
1966 dollars



CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

Conservatives lament the depravity of network and much cable TV, especially for children—and then want to cut off federal funding for PBS, the only regular source of decent programs for kids

Since it was founded in 1965, the NEH has awarded \$2.9 billion in some 51,000 fellowships and grants, and its Challenge Grants program, in place since 1977, has generated more than \$1.3 billion in nonfederal aid for American libraries, museums, universities and colleges. Its net of activities reaches very wide. It funds the study and publication of essential archives, like the papers of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Frederick Douglass, Ulysses S. Grant, Mark Twain and Dwight Eisenhower. (Twenty-eight volumes of Washington's papers alone have appeared so far.) It has given more than \$1 million to a projected 21-volume documentary history of the ratification of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. It sponsored Ken Burns' TV series on the Civil War, as well as the definitive edition of the Thomas Alva Edison papers and the first complete printed version of the journals kept by Lewis and Clark on their epic trek across the West. It funds local history centers, educational programs at all levels and the unending task of preserving millions of old documents and brittle newspapers, both physically and on microfilm. And much more, including the great Library of America series of American literary classics, co-sponsored by the NEH and the Ford Foundation.

In 1991 a study by the American Council of Learned Societies found that the NEH provided 64% of the research funding

be defended from its renewers, and this is one of them

there should be no such entitlements. The NEA should be more elitist—rigorously so, in fact—and should hand out more money to fewer projects. It should wholeheartedly embrace the dreaded Q word: quality.

To do that effectively, however, it needs to have its budget increased, not cut. Give it one-quarter the cost of a B-2 each year—\$550 million. Let it then compile a target list of the 500 or so performing-arts institutions, along with the instruments of historic preservation (museums, heritage and restoration groups, and so on) that matter most in American culture, across the whole social and geographical spectrum, and see what they (minimally) need.

America leads the world in dance, for instance, and yet an innovative genius like choreographer Twyla Tharp lacks the money to maintain a permanent company. This is a national embarrassment. Such people shouldn't have to go begging in corporate boardrooms. But in America, artists are always on probation.

Yet the chance of getting enough money for the NEA to become truly effective is now very slim; and the punitive funding cuts it has suffered have weakened it so far that in the end, it may not be worth keeping alive. Meanwhile, the NEH seems to have become confused with the NEA in the public mind—as though the National Endowment for the Humanities had suffered the same tursis as the National Endowment for the Arts. In fact, its record has been excellent. Losing the NEA would be a disgrace; but the loss of the NEH as well would be a cultural tragedy for all Americans.

available to American scholars in the humanities (the runner-up was the Guggenheim Foundation, at 18%). Right-wing critics sneer that this is a pork barrel for obscurantist, lefty p.c. historians, but they are wrong. Books published with NEH support include such recent achievements in history and biography as James McPherson's *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (Pulitzer Prize, 1988); Laurel Ulrich's *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (Pulitzer Prize, 1990); John Demos' *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (nominated for a National Book Award, 1994); Eric Foner's classic study, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*; Richard Slotkin's brilliant explorations of the myth of the American frontier, and scores of others.

Until the G.O.P. frenzy turned on it recently, the NEH was rightly seen as an exemplary agency. Thus the conservative columnist George Will, writing about the NEH-sponsored Jefferson Lecture given by Gertrude Himmelfarb in 1991, endorsed the NEH as "the best part of the government." But then the party line changed. By last January, Will was baying for the agency's total abolition—"If Republicans merely trim rather than terminate [NEA, NEH and CPB], they ... will prove that the Republican 'revolution' is not even serious reform."

Also in January, two former chairmen of the NEH appeared before a House Interior Appropriations Subcommittee hearing, testifying that their old agency had become an incubator of decadence and should be abolished. William Bennett, chairman from 1981 to 1985, opined that since American culture had not improved since 1965, and since it had been "Marxized, feminized, deconstructed and politicized" partly on NEH dollars, one could "make a plausible case that the endowments have had a deleterious effect on our culture."

Plausible? Only if you believed that post hoc was propter

hoc. At the hearing and afterward in the op-ed pages of the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, Lynne Cheney, Bennett's successor as NEH chairman, went into a perfect rap-ture of denunciation, like some goodwife of Salem divining a devil's teat in every rival's wart. The NEH, it seemed, once had its uses, but they stopped when she left. Now it was a pit of deconstruction and misery, rad-feminism and woe, a p.c. hell where tenured profs did nothing but denounce Shakespeare, Dante, Yeats and Matthew Arnold as "icons of the decadent civilization of the West." KILL MY OLD AGENCY, PLEASE, one of her headlines begged.

All this infection must have happened very quickly, within two years in fact—almost Ebola-speed. For Cheney's animus against the NEH contradicted everything she said and wrote about it, both when she was running the agency and immediately after she quit as chairman at the end of 1992. In a parting memo to the NEH staff on that occasion, Cheney overflowed with praise for the endowment for "funding the best of traditional scholarship on time-honored subjects as well as the best of newer approaches on newer topics." She lauded the staff: "No federal agency to my mind has so many capable professionals, so thoroughly dedicated to the idea of excellence." She praised its grant procedures without reserve. And so on, for 4½ single-spaced pages.

In the 2½ years since Cheney wrote this summing-up, there

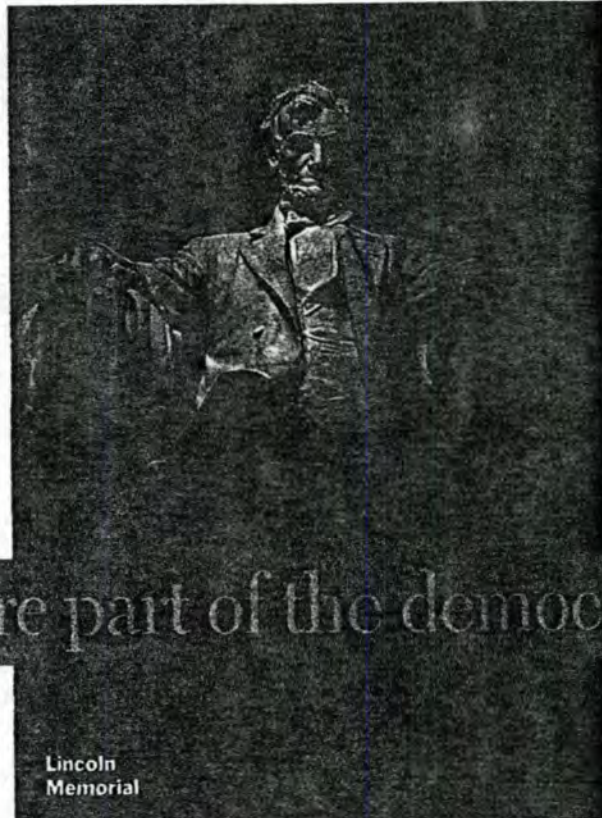
plagued it. Their approach is bracing and invites continuous argument and engagement. One of their virtues is that they include the study of cultures and states outside Europe and North America, including Africa, China, South America and Japan; and that they ask students to think seriously about civil rights, union history and other issues of race, gender and class in America—issues without which America's past and present cannot possibly be understood.

The standards certainly have their flaws of emphasis: no mention of Aztec human sacrifice to balance the brutalities of Cortés, for instance; a downplaying of Japanese barbarities in World War II; a perceptible bias in the treatment of the cold war; and maybe 20 other lapses out of some 2,600 topics. Too much pluribus, not enough unum, in historian Kenneth Jack-

son's words. Still, nothing that couldn't be fixed with further discussion and editorial goodwill, as a number of historians and educators, including principled conservatives like Diane Ravitch, have pointed out.

But Cheney and her supporters took the blemishes as a pretext to denounce the standards as hopelessly p.c., anti-Western, anti-American, anti-white, pessimistic and skewed, and called not only for their cancelation but for the abolition of the NEH as well.

"The standards deserve full and critical discussion as a partial prescription for our educational ills," wrote Douglas Greenberg, president of the



Lincoln
Memorial

The arts were part of the democratic promise

have been—according to the NEH's present chairman, Sheldon Hackney—no significant changes in the NEH's policies, criteria or grant system, and most of its senior staff remains in place. What has changed, though, are Cheney's ambitions for fame and influence. She is building her credibility for a post in a future Republican Administration. And if revisionism, hypocrisy and opportunism help, so be it.

Thus the foofaraw and froth blowing over the NEH-sponsored American History Standards, of whose content, Cheney claims, she was quite unaware when she was running the agency. These history standards are a special focus of conservative ire and are greatly misrepresented by Cheney and her allies. Co-sponsored by the NEH in 1992, they were written by a team of teachers and professors whom Cheney impaneled under the directorship of UCLA historian Gary Nash. Their aim was to provide a curriculum guide to American and world history for teachers of U.S. elementary and secondary students in grades K through 12. They are not a textbook. They lay out themes, areas of historical inquiry, ways for students to engage a subject. Their use is voluntary: they are a blueprint, not a rigid template, and they are not mandated by the Federal Government.

Properly used, they will lift school history teaching far above the names-and-dates mediocrity that has always

Chicago Historical Society, last January. "They do not deserve to be caricatured for narrowly partisan reasons." But they were, unrecognizably, and the caricaturists seemed not to care

that the eventual losers would be American schoolchildren.

"The question is," said NEH chairman Hackney in a speech in San Francisco last April, "who are the real élitists? Isn't it insultingly élitist to assume that ordinary Americans are not interested in the humanities? Isn't it the ultimate arrogance to believe that 'culture' should be the private property of those who can pay for it? The NEH is, in fact, our best guarantee that our cultural heritage will be available to all Americans, regardless of how much money they make or where they live."

The conservatives' agenda, if it goes through, is going to depress the quality of cultural and educational life for everyone in America, young and old, white, black, brown, male or female. This is one of the most ill-conceived, profoundly anti-democratic ideas ever to get loose in Congress. Private philanthropy will never be able to restore what seems about to be taken away. Some will not notice it; others won't care; given the shortness of American social memory, perhaps the next generation won't know what happened. Partial lobotomies work that way. They favor *Beavis and Butt-head*. Is that the business of American government?

LOS ANGELES TIMES / Sunday, July 28, 1991

Divining the Shifting Sands at the NEA

Once a bully pulpit, the council overseeing the National Endowment for the Arts exerted little leadership in the agency's struggle to survive.

By ALLAN PARACHINI

Just after 9 a.m. Friday, Washington time, in a drab meeting room notorious for acoustics that are marginal and air conditioning that is worse, National Endowment for the Arts Chairman John E. Frohnmayer will gavel to order the 109th meeting of what he likes to call "the greatest deliberative body on arts policy in the world."

Every three months since the NEA was founded in 1965, the 26—or thereabouts—members of the National Council on the Arts have gathered to play the role of advisers to the federal government's most visible arts enterprise. At one time or another, the council has been serenaded by African-American fishermen trying to preserve a unique North Carolina sea chantey genre and confronted by a mob of angry AIDS protesters screaming, "We're here! We're queer! Got used to it!"

And in between these diversions, council

members—who receive \$135 in pay and \$131 in expenses for each day they spend in Washington—have voted to recommend approval of 92,066 grants and reject 265,319. In the process, the council has voted to spend more than \$2.49 billion. No grant can be given or rejected by the NEA until the council issues its recommendation.

The council is probably no more or less obscure than the dozens of federal advisory committees associated with agencies from the National Endowment for the Humanities to the Food and Drug Administration and the National Science Foundation. But even though it does not fully marshal its potential influence, the arts council is designed to be one of the most potentially powerful forces in the United States arts and culture.

This situation has become more critical within the last two weeks in the aftermath of unprecedented action in a Senate committee to reject a nomination by President Bush for the council governing the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee voted down the nomination of New York University professor Carol Iannone to the humanities board on grounds her qualifications were profoundly lackluster. The action may signal new sensitivity in Congress to the strong role in policy advice that both the humanities and arts councils are supposed to play—but now don't. Counting council seats currently occupied by members whose terms have technically lapsed, there are six vacancies on the arts council.

There is no record of any National Council on the Arts nominee ever being

turned down. However, the Iannone affair briefly focused attention on Louise McClure, 63, who was confirmed by the Senate to the arts panel just weeks ago. McClure, observers familiar with the Senate process have noted within the last week has credentials that are, comparatively, far thinner than Iannone's.

Between 1936 and 1950, McClure gave private piano and voice lessons in a small town in Idaho.

For 11 years, she was on an advisory board to the Boise Philharmonic. She received a bachelor's degree in music in 1950 from a small college. She was a church choir director in Payette, Idaho, in the 1950s and 1960s. It is not the résumé of a nationally prominent figure in the arts—in any con-

text. Iannone, by contrast, held a doctorate, had taught at four colleges and universities and had at least modest scholarly journal publication credits.

But McClure is married to retired Republican-Idaho Sen. James McClure and, because of sensitivities in the Senate to the feelings of colleagues and former colleagues, was assured of confirmation from the moment she was named by Bush.

For the last two years, in particular, the council has often appeared to look on helplessly as the NEA struggled to survive political assaults from conservative reli-

gious groups and politicians. Those disputes were fueled by stubborn controversies over the subject matter of NEA-supported projects. Most observers agree that the council did not exert strong leadership.

At times, the council appears to falter under the weight of paper. Wendy Liners, a New York City arts organization trustee, journalist and arts advocate, recalled recently that when she joined the council in 1988, she was overwhelmed by the workload and even measured the pile of documents she had to read before one of her first meetings. It was four feet high.

Liners said that as a result, the arts council's deliberations on crucial issues is often secondary—and second rate. "I don't think it's terribly high," she said of the quality of the debate. "I don't think the present press of [grant review] business allows for a level of deliberative discourse in which we can take [up] a thorny issue of [freedom of] expression . . . or the role of large institutions versus the avant-garde. That discourse [shouldn't be] about whether someone's fanny is in a photograph."

Like the humanities endowment, the NEA was established during the Great Society years of President Lyndon Johnson. In those days, the council included actors Helen Hayes, Gregory Peck and Charlton Heston, authors John Steinbeck and Ralph Ellison, dancer/choreographer Agnes de Mille, conductor Leonard Bernstein and violinist Isaac Stern. It became a bully pulpit for the arts, and the agency advised had the close attention of three Presidents—Johnson, Richard Nixon and Jimmy Carter. Their White House staff included informal presidential arts advisers. The situation gave the NEA and the council a vital role in shaping the nation's cultural landscape.

Then 12 years ago, all of that changed. Ronald Reagan was elected President and despite being a former actor, Reagan first tried to strike the NEA from the federal budget. Reagan called in Heston to chair

commission to study the agency, expecting a recommendation to eliminate it. But Heston instead produced an emphatic recommendation to save the endowment.

In many respects, however, the damage had been done. The Reagan Administration backed off from the proposal to abolish the NEA, but Budget Director David Stockman proposed a 50% cut. While Congress did not go along, the NEA's actual appropriation that year—fiscal 1982—declined for the first time in the agency's history, to \$143 million. For the rest of the Reagan years, the figure remained essentially flat, creating a situation in which the NEA suffered huge losses to inflation, devastating the purchasing power of its grants. Frohnmayer testified last year that the arts endowment would need more than \$300 million a year just to return to the same program strength it had a decade ago. (The current year NEA budget is \$175 million).

No one in the White House staffs of Reagan or President Bush has acted as an arts advocate. And the National Council, which once was truly star-studded, now includes just two internationally acclaimed, full-time working artists—painter Helen Frankenthaler and poet Donald Hall. Frankenthaler's term expired last year and she continues to serve only because Bush has not yet appointed a replacement.

The council also includes choreographer Arthur Mitchell, founder of the Dance Theatre of Harlem. But Mitchell, 62, is today more of an arts administrator and fundraiser than creative artist. It also includes jazz musician and composer David Baker, but Baker is also a college music professor.

Frohnmayer takes sharp issue with the contention that only two council members are legitimately classified as working artists. He winks 10 by including anyone who ever created art professionally, along with two museum directors and Mel Harris, president of the television group at Paramount Pictures Corp. However, Harris has the worst attendance record on the council and has not attended a meeting since February, 1990. (Paramount sources said that Harris had cardiac bypass surgery 18 months ago that impaired his ability to travel for a while and that turmoil at Paramount in the last few months has preoccupied him.)

Maintaining attendance throughout meetings has been a chronic problem in the last two years or so. Repeatedly, Frohnmayer and individual council

members have admonished one another not to leave before the conclusion of business at the meetings—but the applications have had limited effect. Council meetings usually last two days, but by the end of the second day, the panel has often lost its quorum.

While a quorum is not legally necessary for the council to vote on grants, the issue has created difficulties—starting in May of 1990 when the council voted on controversial grant rejections to four performance artists that later became the subject of ongoing litigation. In the lawsuit by the so-called “NEA 4,” one of the issues in dispute is over the fact that by the time all of the grants had been voted down, less than half the council members were even in the room.

There were such attendance problems even in the council's salad days. Many of the stars named to the body seldom appeared. Some never showed up. The situation often made the council's process chaotic. Today's council, close observers say, is more stable than in the early days. But it is far less exciting, bombastic and galvanizing, too. From 1965 even into the 1980s, old hands recall, council meetings had an artsy flavor.

Singer and actor Theodore Bikel, who served on the council from 1978 to 1982, for instance, recalls that when he didn't understand a grant in the NEA's design program, he would seek advice on how to vote from the architect I. M. Pei. And when Pei needed help with dance, Bikel said, he could lean across the table to Jerome Robbins. Bikel himself, he recalled, sometimes compared notes on music grants with the pianist Van Cliburn.

“It is a very sad state of affairs,” Bikel said, “to have patrons packing the council in greater numbers. They should be on the council, but to have mostly private sector or management people is not good for the arts. The smell of greasepaint in my nostrils is something that no non-actor can know.”

Livingston Biddle, who held the NEA chairman's job under Presi-

dent Jimmy Carter, recalled a synergy that developed between the arts endowment and Joan Mondale, wife of Vice President Walter Mondale. Joan Mondale became Carter's de facto arts adviser and Biddle recalled, elevated arts issues to a high level of White House prominence.

In the Bush Administration, noted Biddle and other observers, there not only is no Joan Mondale counterpart, but also Frohnmayer himself is not close to Bush and, worse still, has been involved in a long-running conflict with White House conservatives led by Chief of Staff John H. Sununu. The NEA chairman is an outsider, at best, leaving arts issues with little clout.

“The fact that the Reagan years passed without a committed leader for the arts within the President's immediate group of advisers and the fact that there does not seem [to be such a person] with President Bush is certainly in part responsible for the fact that [the arts issue] doesn't have No. 1 priority,” Biddle said.

Whoever happens to be NEA chairman—Frohnmayer is the agency's fifth—ultimately decides whether to actually give an artist, an orchestra, an opera company or a novelist grant money. However, the chairman is prohibited by law from taking any action until the council has officially advised him. Moreover, in a little-noticed change in the NEA's enabling legislation passed last fall, Frohnmayer is also barred from overriding a grant veto by the council. Recommendations to award grants are only advisory to Frohnmayer, who can still turn them down if he wishes.

Yet in its deliberations since last August, when grant-review portions of national council meetings were opened to the public for the first time, no council member has ever voted to disagree with the recommendation of NEA evaluation panels to approve or reject a single grant. Unanimously—usually with either no or only perfunctory discussion—the council has accepted every grant recommendation brought to it.

“I am very anxious to give the council more time to be a deliberative body,” Frohnmayer said. And as to the council's muteness on the issues over which it has the greatest power: “It's a matter of getting

comfortable with the public forum. I don't have any evidence that anybody's particularly held back, but my sense is that, after a while, people [will] just forget that the press and the public is there and speak their minds."

Much of the council's time is spent either in *pro forma* reviews of changes in the program guidelines for the NEA's various artistic divisions or reviewing

grant applications. Because the council lacks both the power to make enforceable policy recommendations for the agency and—apparently—the collective will to act in a strong advocacy role, most of its discussions have a warmed-over, anti-climactic flavor.

In May, for instance, when the council reviewed decisions by the legislatures of more than a dozen states to emasculate the budgets of their own arts councils—a trend that has substantially diminished the financial influence of the NEA—council members engaged in a high level of hand-wringing, but little else. "The underlying [question] is, 'What is this doing to the society?' It is exceptionally short-sighted of state legislatures," Frohnmayer told the council. "The arts [should be seen] as a way to help keep society together."

But though the states' budget crisis was discussed for more than half an hour, in the end, council members produced no insights on how to cope with—or even confront—the problem and failed even to pass a resolution urging action by Frohnmayer and the NEA staff. Later in the meeting, Roger Mandie, deputy director of the National Gallery of Art and one of the council's emerging, perceptive voices, told his colleagues: "I worry about the council continuing to be a chowder and marching society."

When Biddle was chairman, the National Council on the Arts established a system of subcommittees—on policy, budget and similar issues. But the practice fell out of use after President Carter left office. Last year, a special commission set up by Congress to investigate the NEA in the wake of its political troubles of 1989 and 1990 recommended a return to a committee system.

But the reform has been stalled, even though Frohnmayer has established two minor subcommittees. Frohnmayer said he hopes to introduce a committee structure and the council will experiment later this week with informal subcommittees to review some grants in individual programs.

If the NEA was a private foundation, its board would rank second among the nation's 25 largest philanthropic organizations in terms of the representation of women on its board—42%—and fifth in its inclusion of people of color—six of the 24 people eligible to attend Friday's meeting. The council's average age: 54. No member is younger than 43 or older than 69. Overwhelmingly, they are drawn from the East and West coasts, with other parts of the country comparatively underrepresented.

The minority group members include three black men, a Latina, a Latino and an Asian-American woman. The NEA's enabling legislation says the council should consist of members with "established records of distinguished service or achieved eminence in the arts," mixing nationally prominent artists, patrons, museum professionals and civic leaders. Yet a third of its members are in the patron category and just two are full-time museum officials. There is no representative on the council of any arts-related labor organization, a situation that has precipitated objections from the AFL-CIO.

And despite two years of struggle against often-homophobic motivated political assault in Congress, there is no member of the National Council on the Arts who is openly gay. Yet while the council is composed in toto of people appointed by either Reagan or Bush, it is not entirely politically monolithic. Of council members whose affiliations are indicated in documents on file with the Senate committee that confirmed them, 13 are Republicans, but five are Democrats.

Even though the Bush White House has shown little inclination toward arts issues, it has quietly become evident that Bush appointments to the council have begun a process that may alter the council's

role. Three recent Bush appointees—Peter Hero, director of the Community Foundation of Santa Clara County in San Jose; Pittsburgh ceramist-arts educator Bill Strickland, and Mandle—have joined an ineffectively small group of council members capable of articulate, strong advocacy on a variety of issues.

They join five Reagan appointees—Luers, Mitchell, New York State Sen. Roy Goodman, Brooklyn Academy of Music director Harvey Lichtenstein and former Joffrey Ballet dancer and administrator Sally Brayley Bliss—in forming a still untested nucleus for change in the council's role.

Frohnmayer declined to rate the council's performance but it is clear that its track record as a forum for crucial arts issues has, to some extent, disappointed him. To help improve the quality of debate, Frohnmayer said, the NEA has retained consultants to help devise ways to make the council more effective. The consultants will start observing the council's deliberations Friday and Saturday.

Like the council members themselves, Frohnmayer—who as chairman is a voting member—said he was concerned that the minutiae of reviewing grant applications bogs the council down. "The collection of fine minds and exemplary talents and great experience that the council represents ought to be spent thinking about how the climate for the arts [can be improved]," he said, adding that he hoped to develop more issue-oriented white papers for council review as a way to guide debate.

"What the national council should do is provide leadership in educating the public and Congress and making sure [the integrity of the grant-review] process is upheld," said Charlotte Murphy, executive director of the National Assn. of Artists Organizations and a prominent spokeswoman for grass roots and avant garde organizations. "They should not be censors and they should not rubber-stamp politically motivated grant denials."

"As a group, they do not represent the breadth of artistic quality in America. They don't have a significant number of working artists or people of color and, given the overly homophobic [flavor] of the past two years, it would be good if they had someone who was 'out' on the council.

"Until the council really represents the best in American art and arts professionals dominate, they won't be able to significantly help the endowment through what continues to be a rocky period." □

Allen Parrhini is a Times staff writer.

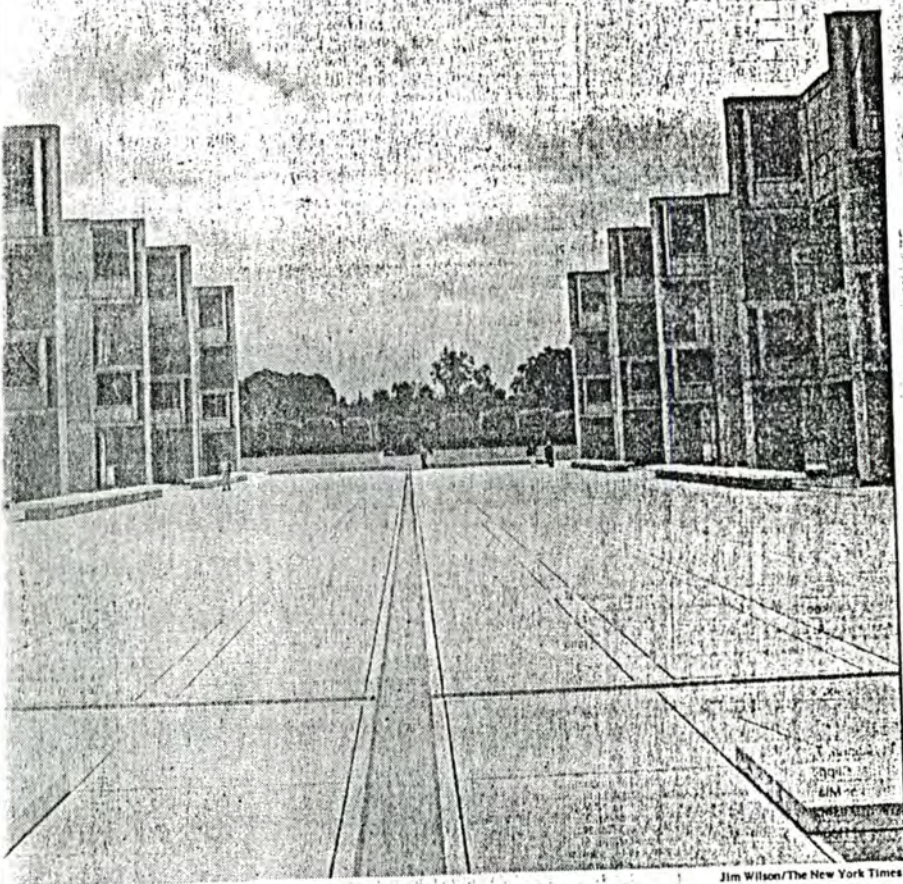


NEA chairman John E. Frohnmyer: Considered a White House outsider.

The Arts

The New York Times

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1992



Jim Wilson/The New York Times

Salk Institute in La Jolla, Calif., which needs more space for offices and other facilities, is planning to add a new addition in a grove of 67 eucalyptus trees, rear. The plan has upset architects.

Art and Science Politely Disagree

In an Architectural Jewel's Fate

HERBERT MUSCHAMP

Ground-breaking was held on a plot of land that many call sacred: a grove of 67 eucalyptus trees in La Jolla, Calif. It is so special about this place? If, the grove is nothing much to just some dirt and trees and pathways through the empty around them. But walking through this porous barrier prepares us to be stunned by what lies ahead.

Salk Institute for Biological Studies, designed by Louis I. Kahn in 1959 and 1965, has probably earned more effusive praise — and more awestruck silence — than any American building of this century. Kahn's two laboratory buildings,

of poured concrete fitted with panels of weathered teak, are as ruggedly handsome as the coastal terrain from which they rise. The courtyard between them, a radiant void overlooking the ocean, sculptures form out of light and space.

But for the last two years, this serene site has been a zone of contention. The Salk Institute, which needs more space for offices and other facilities, is planning to build a new addition in the eucalyptus grove: 400 feet long, set perpendicular to Kahn's labs. It would ruin the most sublime landscape ever created by an American architect.

A group of about 135 architects, critics and scholars gathered at the Urban Center in New York two weeks ago to meet with Jonas Salk, the institute's founding director. At the

meeting, which was sponsored by the Architectural League, Dr. Salk presented a slightly modified version of the plan, by the San Francisco firm Anshen & Allen, and listened as members of the audience voiced their opposition to it. The speakers included the architect's widow, Esther Kahn; the historians Vincent Scully and Kenneth Frampton, and the architects Anne Tyng, Bart Voorstanger, Susana Torre and Carlos Enrique Vallhonrat.

The dynamics of this meeting were complex. Architects seldom criticize one another's work publicly. To do so goes against a deeply ingrained professional code, and it can expose them to nasty speculation about their

U.S. Panel On Arts May Be Revived

By WILLIAM H. HONAN

As plans take shape for revamping Federal support of the arts under the Clinton Administration, some of those on the transition team or close to it say President-elect Bill Clinton may revive the dormant Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities and name its chairman even before selecting a new head for the National Endowment for the Arts.

Theodore W. Striggles, a former executive director of the New York Council on the Arts who has advised the Clinton campaign on arts policy, said on Friday that while it was obvious that economy-related and cabinet-level jobs must be filled first, the relatively prompt appointment of a new Federal council chairman "could solve two problems at once."

He was alluding to the fact that the arts endowment must have its life extended by Congress next year. The issue is unlikely to bring about the end of the endowment, but it is almost guaranteed to renew debate on whether Congress should impose content restrictions on federally financed projects. Even if the new President names a chairman for the endowment as soon as February, there is little chance that the appointee could pass a routine security clearance as well as Congressional confirmation in time to guide the debate on reauthorization.

'Would Not Have Been Bloodied'

"It might be best," Mr. Striggles said, "for the new President to first appoint a chairman of the Federal council, which he can do by executive order, and then have that person guide the debate. Furthermore, when the new endowment chairman takes over, his hands would not have been bloodied by the reauthorization battle."

George Stephanopoulos, Mr. Clinton's assistant director for communications, said last week from Little Rock, Ark., that the transition team would establish "cluster groups" within 10 days and that one of them would begin to deal with the arts and humanities. He acknowledged that Deborah Sale "or someone like that" would head the arts-cluster group.

Ms. Sale, who represented Mr. Clinton at the annual meeting of the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies in Chicago on Saturday, has been a friend of Mr. Clinton's since their high school days in Little Rock. Before joining the Clinton campaign staff as a senior adviser, she was the campaign manager and chief of staff to Lieut. Gov. Stan Lundine of New York. She is married to Mr. Striggles. Although Ms. Sale has been men-

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monologue spoken to silent, her husband interrogators by the title character, a native of Little Tall Island, Me., who is suspected of killing an old, rich off-island woman she had looked after for many years.

Sixty-six-year-old Dolores Claiborne is salty-tongued, hardheaded, outspoken, honest, generous, self-sacrificing and ultimately loving. "I'm just an old woman with a foul temper and a fouler mouth," she reports of herself, "but that's what happens, more often than not, when you've had a foul life."

She insists that she didn't kill her employer, Vera Donovan. "We was used to each other in the way I s'pose two old bats can get used to hangin' upside down next to each other in the same cave, even though they're a long way from what you'd call the best of friends." But she admits right away that she did kill her husband, Joe St. George, some 25 years earlier, and thereby hangs her tale, which she

As Dolores tells it, her husband, Joe, was a mean, sniveling, lying man who would physically abuse her and

Beyond 'Did she or didn't she?' to 'Why wouldn't she and shouldn't she?'

then boast about it to his shiftless friends. One night, he hit her in the back with a length of stovepipe, and when she was finally able to stand again she took a cream pitcher off the dinner table, grabbed a hatchet from the wood box, smashed Joe on the side of his head with the pitcher and promised him that if he ever hit her

she decided to move to the mainland with the children. But when she went to the bank to withdraw the money she had been laying aside to send the children to college, she discovered that Joe had secretly transferred her savings to his own account. This enraged Dolores. She made up her mind that the only way to save her family was to murder Joe.

We thoroughly sympathize with Dolores, particularly because of the dramatic skill with which Mr. King builds up her courageous good-heartedness on the one hand and Joe's unredeemed evil on the other. In fact we sympathize so completely that the novel is thrown subtly out of kilter. By the end, it is no longer a conflict between one good woman and one bad man but an uneven battle of the sexes in general.

On one side there is Joe and the male-dominated community. Joe's only good point is the smooth forehead he possessed in his youth that

le of wits that Dolores wages with Vera Donovan over Vera's willful incontinence until you eventually realize that it is novel's seriocomic way of saying that only women have the power of being able to deal with the grossest facts of life. Dolores and Vera each possess a third eye, which can see things men do not.

As Dolores's crisis mounts there occurs the same total eclipse of the sun that figured so prominently in "Gerald's Game." Dolores even envisions the little girl in the striped dress who in that novel was molested by her father during the eclipse, as if Mr. King were saying that the blotting out of the sun was caused by the universal suffering of the female sex. So pervasive is Mr. King's message that you pause to think that the novel's title, "Dolores Claiborne," could very well mean that this woman was not made from Adam's rib but like Adam himself "of the dust of the ground."

All of which makes Dolores's story

Dolores Claiborne

By Stephen King

Illustrated. 305 pages. Viking Penguin. \$23.50.

moving in its way. And makes you sympathize with her concluding credo: "I've lived my life as best I could by my own lights. I never shirked a job, nor cried off from the things I had to do, even when those things were terrible. Vera was right when she said that sometimes a woman has to be a bitch to survive, but bein' a bitch is hard work, I'll tell the world it is, 'n' I was so tired."

But Dolores's story would have been so much more appealing if the men had been human beings, too, with human histories to explain their deviations into evil. But for the time being at least, Mr. King is still writing horror stories about the contest between good people and monsters.

The Inside

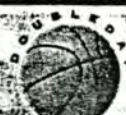


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Federal Council on the Arts, Long Dormant, May Be Revived

Continued From Page C11

tioned as a possible future chairwoman of the arts endowment, some close to the Clinton organization said they believed that she would be even more highly placed in the new administration.

After 'Joan of Arts'

They also said they were attracted to the idea of reviving the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities as a means of broadening the base of the arts throughout the Federal Government. The Federal council was used for this purpose during the Jimmy Carter Administration by Joan Mondale, the wife of Vice President Walter Mondale, who was frequently referred to as "Joan of Arts."

Others on the transition team or close to it, who spoke only on the condition of anonymity, said Mr. Clinton's arts policy would focus on arts education and making the arts more generally available to the population, a stand likely to rekindle the populism-versus-elitism debate that hounded the cultural leaders of the Carter Administration.

The policy of the Clinton Adminis-

tration toward National Endowment for the Arts grants, which are often heatedly debated, is likely to be carefully measured. Although no one close to the President-elect was willing to discuss the subject in detail, Bruce Reed, a top campaign aide who was named a deputy of the transition team on Friday, stated in April during the New York primary that a Clinton Administration "would never allow outside pressure to infringe the basic freedom of artists."

'One of the Toughest Issues'

But Mr. Reed conceded that finding a way to protect the rights of both artists and a public that finds some art deeply offensive is "one of the toughest issues we face today."

The implication of Mr. Reed's statements is that although the Clinton Administration would go far to show itself as a friend of artists, it would not approve Federal grants to support exhibitions of the most provocative work of artists like Andres Serrano and Robert Mapplethorpe, which proved incendiary in 1989.

Mrs. Mondale casts a long shadow among the President-elect's most highly regarded arts advisers. Two of them — Beverly Lindsey and Ms. Sale — worked for her during the

Carter years and say they were influenced by her activities.

Mrs. Lindsey was the executive director of the Arkansas Arts Council from 1987 to 1990 and remains close to Mr. Clinton. Her husband, Bruce Lindsey, served as a chief traveling adviser to Mr. Clinton in the Presidential campaign.

From Active to Nearly Moribund

The Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities was created in 1965 to coordinate the activities of the arts and humanities endowments with those of other Federal programs. Livingston Biddle, who helped

Speculation on how the arts will be treated in the Clinton years.

write the legislation that created the Federal Council and was appointed the chairman of the arts endowment by President Jimmy Carter, suggested to Mrs. Mondale that she could make effective use of the council.

At first, Mrs. Mondale worked with the Department of Transportation to convert rarely used railroad stations into small cultural centers. Eventually, and largely as a result of Mrs. Mondale's efforts, the Department of Labor became the largest employer of artists in the nation.

The Federal council became nearly moribund during the Reagan and Bush Administrations, but the idea of supporting artists and arts projects by means other than direct financial awards by arts agencies was picked up in Arkansas, among other places.

Mrs. Lindsey said Governor Clinton's expansion of an annual blues festival in Helena, Ark., which was supported by the state arts council,

The Delta Cultural Center, based in a restored Union Pacific railroad depot in Helena, receives a trickle of financial assistance from the state arts council and the National Endowment for the Arts, but 95 percent of its money comes from a state grant to its parent agency, the Department of Arkansas Heritage.

From a Real Estate Tax

Another example of Mr. Clinton's interest in seeking means outside arts grant-making agencies to support artists and arts projects, Ms. Lindsey said, is the Arkansas Natural and Cultural Resources Council, a state grant-making body Governor Clinton pressed for in 1987.

The council, supported by a tax of \$1.10 per \$1,000 on all real estate transactions in the state, was originally used to finance environmental protection and historic preservation projects, but soon began awarding grants for arts projects.

"Governor Clinton knew that in bad economic times, when we couldn't get more money for the arts council, this was a way we could fund the arts," Ms. Lindsey said.

"I hate to put words in anyone's mouth, but this is the sort of thing the Governor will be looking at: cooperative projects between agencies instead of just one agency."

Asked about the prospect of reviv-

ing the Federal council, Ms. Sale responded, "It would certainly not be inconsistent with the sort of work Bill Clinton has been doing here in Arkansas."

A List of Potential Candidates

In addition to Ms. Sale and Mrs. Lindsey, the list of possible replacements for Anne Imelda Radice, the acting arts endowment chairwoman, includes Dr. Mary Schmidt Campbell, the dean of the Tisch School of the Arts at New York University; Adele Chatfield-Taylor, the president of the American Academy in Rome and a former head of the design-arts program for the National Endowment for the Arts; Claudine Brown, a deputy assistant secretary at the Smithsonian Institution; Cynthia Mayeda, the chairwoman of the Dayton Hudson Foundation; Anne Hawley, the director of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston; Lloyd Richards, a former dean of the Yale School of Drama; John Brademas, a former president of New York University, and Luis R. Cancel, the commissioner of the New York City Department of Cultural Affairs.

Prominently mentioned as a possible successor to Lynne V. Cheney, the chairwoman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, is Varten Gregorian, the president of Brown University.

Entertainment Events

Music

METROPOLITAN OPERA, Rossini's "Semiramide," 7:30.
ALICIA DE LARROCHA, pianist, Carnegie Hall, 8.

JULLIARD ORCHESTRA, James DePreist, conductor; Juliette Kang, violinist, Avery Fisher Hall, 8.

EMANUEL AX, YEFIM BRONFMAN AND NADJA SALERNO-SONNENBERG, pianists and violinist, 92d Street Y, at Lexington Avenue, 8.

ANSSI KARTTUNEN, cellist, Merkin Concert Hall, 129 West 67th Street, 8:30.

WASHINGTON SQUARE CONTEMPORARY MUSIC SOCIETY, Weill Recital Hall, 8.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY ORCHESTRA,

Bache Miller Theater, Broadway at 116th Street, Morningside Heights, 8.

BRUNO PELTRE, pianist, St. Paul's Chapel, Columbia University, Broadway at 116th Street, Morningside Heights, 8.

MUSIC BY MICHAEL ROBINSON, works for computer-controlled synthesizers, St. Peter's Lutheran Church, Lexington Avenue at 54th Street, 8.

BART FELLER, flutist, Christ and St. Stephen's Church, 120 West 69th Street, 8.

AN DIE MUSIK, chamber group, Merkin Concert Hall, 129 West 67th Street, 8:30.

Dance

ALLYSON GREEN, ISHMAEL HOUSTON-JONES AND JOHN MARINELLI, Judson Church, 55 Washington Square South, 8.

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RED SOULADE

The NEA: Hazardous to your health

Except for some small grants to several "performance artists," little has been heard about the National Endowment for the Arts in recent years. Under President Bush, NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer's administration funded such aesthetic expeditions into weirdness as Robert Mapplethorpe's "homoerotic" and sado-masochistic photography and stage performances in which nude ladies smeared themselves with chocolate sauce and bean sprouts to protest society's treatment of women. But in the past year or so, the NEA's incumbent chairwoman, Jane Alexander, has succeeded in keeping her once-beleaguered agency out of the news.

Now it's back in the news, with new details reported this week by The Washington Times' Rod Dreher about a performance funded by the NEA under Miss Alexander that puts Mapplethorpe and bean sprouts in the shade. This one, performed at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis with the help of an NEA grant of \$104,500 matching grant in 1993, consisted of "artist" Ron Athey, who, as Mr. Dreher's story reports, "To make a statement about AIDS . . . pierced his body with needles and cut designs into the back of another man. Mr. Athey reportedly blotted the man's blood with paper towels, which he then sent over the audience on a clothesline. According to a local newspaper account, members of the audience panicked trying to avoid being dripped on by the blood-soaked paper towels." Mr. Athey is HIV-positive.

This little adventure has now come to the attention of the gentlemen in the U.S. Senate who are responsible for overseeing the funding of the NEA — namely, Sens. Robert Byrd and Don Nickles of the Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies — and the gentlemen sent a quite stern letter to Miss Alexander asking most politely just what the hell she thinks she's doing providing taxpayers' money to support stuff that is not only artistic garbage but also actually dangerous to public health and the health of the audience itself.

Miss Alexander, for her part, was conveniently out of town, though an NEA spokeswoman said the newspaper account of Mr. Athey's performance was "erroneous." Miss Alexander herself had previously replied to a similar inquiry from Rep. Phil Crane to say that in fact the whole business has been exaggerated and that the original newspaper accounts of the incident in the Minneapolis Star Tribune were inaccurate.

"There was absolutely no risk to the audience, the performers, or the crew members," she assured Mr. Crane. "The Walker Art Center took all health precautions necessary and the Minnesota Health Department concurred. There was no blood dripping from towels as erroneously reported in the Minneapolis Star Tribune three weeks after the event took place."

Well, what a relief. Not only is the art funded by taxpayers now inspected by local health departments to make sure those who view it don't catch lethal diseases but also, Miss Alexander blathers, "Walker officials recognized the mature theme of the performance and advised viewer discretion in all press materials and calendars which advertised the performance." After the health department assures

the audience it's not going to die because of the government-funded performance it has just watched, the vice squad and local churches can perhaps rate the art as to whether it's fit for minors and those whose stomachs are so weak that they may not be able to endure what their money has subsidized without vomiting. And this is the administration that wants government health care and the regulation of tobacco products!

But the story's not over. A few days after Miss Alexander's letter, Mary Abbe, the Minneapolis Star Tribune art critic who originally broke the story of Mr. Athey's repulsive and (literally) sick performance, weighed in with a refutation of — Miss Alexander.

Her article of March 24, Miss Abbe insisted in a letter to the NEA chairwoman, was not "erroneously reported" or a "false report," as Miss Alexander had tried to pretend. Walker Art Center officials, Miss Abbe insisted further, "do not deny that Mr. Athey cut an abstract design into the flesh of another man, blotted the man's blood on paper towels, attached the towels to a revolving clothesline and suspended the blood-stained towels over the audience."

"Nor do they dispute the fact that Mr. Athey, who is HIV-positive, pierced his arm with hypodermic needles and drew blood when he and his assistants pierced his scalp with acupuncture needles. . . .

"In the end, Walker Art Center must defend its decision to stage a performance involving human blood-letting and mutilation — or 'ritual scarification' and 'erotic torture' as the institution describes it. The NEA must defend its decision to endorse that program."

And so it must. Sen. Nickles, in an interview with The Washington Times, said, "Congress does control the purse strings, and we can place restrictions."

Well, maybe it can and maybe it can't. When the NEA controversy first broke under the Bush administration, efforts were made in Congress to impose "content restrictions" on the NEA. Those restrictions were highly controversial in Congress and the arts world, and in the end only milkish restrictions were adopted. Neither the tougher ones nor the milkish ones worked, and even if they had worked in stopping funding of obscene, blasphemous or (now) physically dangerous art, it's not clear they would be upheld by the courts.

Mr. Athey's performance, however, points to what needs to be done with the NEA. It's clear that whatever administration is in power and whoever runs the NEA, the funding of sick art will continue. It will continue quite simply because the sickness is in the American arts elite and in a government agency unable to say no to it. And if the artist can't say no to the sickness and the agency can't say no to the artist, then the American people need to say no to the NEA. It has been nice to pretend that maybe something could be done to stop the nonsense in a way that preserved a federal role in the preservation and promotion of this nation's cultural legacy. Time to give up and acknowledge that the nonsense and the federal role are entwined in a Gordian knot. Our cultural legacy will have to survive on its own — or fail to survive, having been bled to death by "ritual scarification." It's time to cut the knot and get rid of the National Endowment for the Arts.

HOUSE STANDARDS

Ethics panel clears Leach of violations

Colleagues rule that the Iowan did nothing wrong in connection with a teaching chair at a college.

By JANE NORMAN

OF THE REGISTER'S WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington, D.C. — The House ethics committee has cleared Rep. Jim Leach, R-Ia., of any violations of House standards in connection with an endowed teaching chair at Wartburg College in Waverly, Ia.

"We view Mr. Leach's activities vis-a-vis the establishment of the college chair to be fully consistent with applicable ethical standards," said a letter signed by Rep. Jim McDermott, D-Wash., the chairman of the committee, and Rep. Fred Grandy, R-Ia., the panel's senior Republican.

Earlier this week, Rep. Henry Gonzalez, D-Texas, chairman of the House Banking Committee, wrote a letter to the panel questioning whether Leach should have allowed the chair in banking and monetary economics to be named in his honor. Leach is the senior Republican on the banking committee.

Iowa banks and bankers contributed about \$1 million for the chair, giving \$25,000 to \$35,000 each.

Leach donated \$10,250 of his own money but did no fund-raising himself. He has said he has never seen a list of the contributors.

Greenspan Attends

Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve, attended a ceremony at Wartburg earlier this year celebrating the endowment. Greenspan was invited by the college but came because of the Leach connection.

Common Cause, a campaign finance watchdog group, has said endowed chairs offer special interests a way to ingratiate themselves with

lawmakers. Leach has denied any effect on his work or votes on the committee.

Gonzalez called the issue of fund-raising for endowed chairs "the latest example of a practice that calls into question the integrity of the House." There is "at least an appearance of impropriety" when lobbyists and others with an interest in legislation raise money for an endeavor linked with a member, he said.

Gonzalez and Leach have been at odds ever since Leach began aggressively moving on an investigation of the Whitewater affair involving President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton. Gonzalez strongly resisted hearings that Leach wanted held in the Banking Committee that would have touched on Whitewater.

The letter from McDermott and Grandy, written the day after Gonzalez filed his complaint, said activities surrounding the endowed chair "do not indicate a violation of any law, rule or regulation within the purview of the committee."

Generally Free

Members generally are free to permit use of their names by academic institutions or charitable organizations that are seeking contributions from any source, as long as it does not appear that the House is providing an endorsement, and contributions are not made for the purpose of influencing an official act, McDermott and Grandy said.

"Nothing of the kind is suggested in the materials you submitted," said McDermott and Grandy, referring to news articles that Gonzalez cited in making his complaint.

McDermott and Grandy also noted that while Leach did not take part in fund-raising, he would have been free to do so provided no official resources were used, no official House correspondence took place and no "direct personal benefit" to Leach occurred.

While Eric Tabor, head of the Iowa Democratic Party, has been critical of Leach for lending his name to the endowed chair, one of the state's top Democrats declined Thursday to criticize Leach.

"I don't ascribe any bad motives to Jim Leach," said Sen. Tom Harkin, D-Ia., who said he saw Leach's involvement as "innocent support for education on his part."

Leach also issued a statement on a separate issue dealing with his personal financial disclosure forms. An Associated Press story had raised questions about whether Leach properly disclosed his total income on the forms, required of all House members.

Leach said all his income was disclosed, but there was some confusion because stock in three family businesses is held by him as an individual and as part of a trust for the benefit of his children.

Bloody AIDS performance imperils NEA funding

By Rod Dreher
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Two key senators have told National Endowment for the Arts Chairman Jane Alexander that the agency's funding is "in serious jeopardy" because of NEA backing for a bloody stage performance that left audience members fearing HIV infection.

The threat came in a letter to Miss Alexander from Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert C. Byrd, West Virginia Democrat. He pierced his body with needles and cut designs into the back of another man. Mr. Athey reportedly blotted the man's blood with paper towels, which he then sent over the audience on a clothesline. According to a local newspaper account, members of the audience panicked trying to avoid being dripped on by the blood-soaked paper towels.

The Walker Art Center received a \$104,500 matching NEA grant in 1993 to fund more than 100 performances in its upcoming season.

ART

From page A1

artistic merit. They also want to know what steps are being taken to prevent such "unacceptable" performances paid for in whole or in part by the government.

"Without the benefit of your response that safeguards will be instituted immediately to ensure that such grossly improper activities are not undertaken in the future, NEA funding for FY 1995 is in serious jeopardy," the lawmakers wrote.

Miss Alexander was traveling yesterday and could not be reached for comment. NEA spokeswoman Cherie Simon called newspaper accounts of the Athey performance "erroneous."

"I think it's truly unfortunate when one performance in front of a hundred people is allowed to totally overshadow the extraordinary programs this endowment is making possible around the country," she added.

In an interview yesterday, Mr. Nickles agreed that a minuscule number of artists and a relatively small amount of money are at issue but said "that's no reason to subsidize a performance like Ron Athey's."

"Congress does control the purse strings, and we can place restrictions," he said.

Congress last fall approved a 1994 budget of \$170 million for the NEA after turning back attempts by conservatives to trim or even

crat, and Sen. Don Nickles, Oklahoma Republican. It comes as the Senate prepares to debate the Interior appropriations bill for fiscal 1995, beginning Oct. 1, which includes funding for the arts agency.

Mr. Byrd, who also is chairman of the Senate subcommittee overseeing NEA funding, and Mr. Nickles, the ranking Republican on the panel, complained about a March 5 stage performance at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis.

To make a statement about AIDS, HIV-positive artist Ron

The Athey performance was included in that number.

"The public should be able to expect to attend a publicly funded performance without being exposed to HIV-infected blood," the letter said. It is not clear whether Mr. Athey's assistant was HIV-positive.

The senators asked Miss Alexander to explain how this use of NEA funds passes the agency's own test of artistic excellence and

see ART, page A7

eliminate funding for the independent federal agency, which has provided 100,000 grants since it was founded in 1965 to support symphonies, museums, dance companies and folk art.

The NEA chairman sent a letter to all members of Congress on Wednesday addressing concerns over the Athey performance. She said there was "absolutely no risk to the audience, the performers or the crew backstage" posed by the bloody event. She denied that blood dripped from paper towels hoisted over the audience.

Miss Alexander said some patrons who attended the performance had written to the Minneapolis Star Tribune, which broke the story, complaining that the newspaper had "trivialized what was a moving performance on a very disturbing and important contemporary subject."

"These people are taxpayers too," Miss Alexander wrote.

The Star Tribune's entertainment editor, John Habich, said the paper merely reported what it was told by some audience members who witnessed the performance.

That the Athey performance has raised the ire of a prominent Democratic senator with great influence over the NEA budget should give Miss Alexander cause to worry, said one top Senate aide deeply involved in the issue of arts funding.

"Byrd has said on the floor in the past if they keep it up, there won't be any NEA at all. They're obviously trying his patience on this," the aide said.

TUESDAY, JUNE 21, 1994 The Washington Times

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Jane Alexander left a successful acting career to head the NEA and quickly became a lightning rod for attacks on the agency.

Let's Support Our Artists

BY DOTSON RADER

I NEVER DOUBTED THAT I'm under attack," said Jane Alexander, the chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). "We're part of a very large discussion that's ongoing among certain forces in America—political, philosophical and cultural. So I never doubted that we would be under fire. But I was surprised by the intensity of the attack, the distortions and false accusations, the questioning of the endowment's commitment to American values, the questioning of even my own deeply held Christian values. I resent it, I resent it terribly, because I grew up a Christian and I'm very spiritual, very religious."

Jane Alexander, 55, is one of America's consummate actresses. She has appeared in 40 films and more than 100 plays. She has been nominated six times for the Tony Award and five times for the Emmy Award; she also received Academy Award nominations for her work in *The Great White Hope*, *All the President's Men*, *Kramer vs. Kramer* and *Testament*.

The last two years have been difficult for her, both personally and professionally. In March of 1993 she was informed by the New York District Attorney that, over the years, her business manager had mismanaged her money and that she and her husband had lost what they spent a lifetime earning. They were left with punishing tax liabilities.

The following August, when her appointment as head of the NEA was announced by President Clinton, it was hailed by the arts community. Quickly, however, she became a lightning rod for attacks on the agency. The NEA has made more than 100,000 grants in its 29-year existence. During those years, just 11 of the grants have been singled out by detractors, who point to nudity, political content or other sen-

"I can never forget that the National Endowment for the Arts helped my own career," said Jane Alexander. "I felt it was time for me to try to give back something of what I'd received."

sitive subject matter in some works to assail the agency and the arts. And though the attacks now sometimes center on Alexander personally, the one grant in question this year actually was made by an appointee of the Bush Administration before she took office.

Given the continuing controversy over the NEA and her own personal misfortune, I hoped to learn how she

"I waited on tables, did the normal things actors do to try to survive," Alexander said. With determination, she made a graph of her auditions and callbacks: If the graph went up over two years, she decided, she would stick it out. Time went by—and the graph just kept going up.



COVER PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER GREGOIRE

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PRESERVATION

was able to confront and overcome such difficulties.

Jane Alexander and I first talked in her suite of offices in the Old Post Office Building in Washington, D.C., then continued over wine in a bistro. She was elegantly dressed in a long, beige silk dress and wore no jewelry except for a wedding band and small gold earrings. She spoke in a high, somewhat tremulous voice, her accent and inflections patrician, her diction trained and precise. She was polite and without a hint of vulgarity or self-promotion.



The daughter of Thomas and Ruth Quigley, she grew up in Brookline, Mass. "My dad came from a comfortable Catholic background in Nebraska," she said, "so I have the West as part of my heritage. My grandfather was Buffalo Bill's personal doctor. My father went to Harvard Medical School, then stayed on in Boston, where he was the doctor for the Harvard football team and the Boston Red Sox. He was one of the founders of modern sports medicine."

"In the summer—1929, 1930," she added, "he was part of the University Players on Cape Cod, with Henry Fonda, Josh Logan, Margaret Sullivan, Mildred Natwick. So he had theater in his blood, but he opted for medicine. Certainly, some of my love of the arts comes from him."

"My mother was a nurse and grew up in the poorest part of Irish South Boston. She was loved so much."

As a child, Alexander was encouraged to visit the art museum. When she was 6, her father took her to see the ballet *Coppelia*. She never forgot the experience. "I was introduced to art, and from that moment on it never left me," she said. She soon turned to theater, acting in school plays.

In 1957, Alexander enrolled as a math major at Sarah Lawrence College, stayed two years, then transferred to the University of Edinburgh. In Scotland, she promptly joined the university's drama club and played leads in three dramas in her first year. "At

Edinburgh," she recalled, "I got a great deal of positive response from the community and the critics. I said, 'Oh, this is it!' I felt validated as an actress."

"I ski-bummed for a whole winter when I got back from Scotland," she said. "Then a girlfriend called me up. She said, 'You're not going to be an actress on the slopes of Vermont. Get down to New York. I've got a job for



Clockwise from above left: Jane Alexander with James Earl Jones in the film version of *The Great White Hope*, 1970; with Dustin Hoffman in *Kramer vs. Kramer*, 1979; visiting the Wheeling Symphony in Wheeling, W.Va., last summer; speaking at the White House in April 1994.



you as a Girl Friday in an agent's office. I'm leaving. You can have it—\$40 a week.' I learned the ropes very quickly. I immediately got acting work—understudies, workshops, summer theater. I left the agency and continued to act, but I needed to supplement the money I was making. So I demonstrated Polaroid cameras, waited on tables, did the normal things ac-

tors do to try to survive." She paused, sipping her white wine.

What motivated her to keep trying?

"Kim Stanley, in a way," she said after thinking a moment. "She was the person I loved to watch most on the stage. I had read somewhere that, when she was a young actress, Kim Stanley made a graph. It had to do with how many interviews and auditions and callbacks she would get. By the end of two years, the graph had to show a definite upward curve. There could be downs, but overall it had to go up. If it

Alexander received death threats for her role as the white lover of a black man in "The Great White Hope." She said, "Art can be very disturbing, but it is liberating. It allows people to experience their humanity in a way nothing else can... even if it sometimes offends or even frightens us."



did, she'd stick it out. So I made a graph, and it just kept going up."

Jane Alexander got her big break and became a star in 1967 at the Arena Stage in Washington, in a production partly financed by the NEA. The play was *The Great White Hope*, based on the life of Jack Johnson, the first black heavyweight champion. She played the boxer's white lover, opposite James Earl Jones.

The play moved to Broadway and was a huge hit, getting rave reviews and numerous awards, including a Tony Award for Alexander. But the play also touched her with controversy for the first time. She received hate mail and death threats from people outraged that she would take a romantic role opposite a black man.

"Art can be very disturbing to people," she said. "But art is liberating. It allows people to experience their humanity in a way nothing else can. I don't

think there's anything that's human which is alien to an artist, even if it sometimes offends or even frightens us."

In 1962, Jane married the actor/director Robert Alexander and took his last name. With him she had a son, Jace, now 30, a film and television director. The marriage ended in divorce in 1969. For 19 years, she has been married to the producer/director Ed Sherin. From that marriage, she has three stepchildren—Tony, Geoffrey and Jonathan. She also has a grandson, Evan.

I asked about her husband, who is

the producer of NBC's *Law & Order*. "Oh, he's gorgeous!" she answered. "He's got wonderful ideas and a very big, generous soul with regard to other people. He's a terrific father who's wonderful with our sons."

Given the success of her career and a marriage she loves, why would she take on a task as difficult and, to a degree, as thankless as being chairman of the NEA? Though the position pays \$123,100 a year, I didn't think it was for the money.

"Money?" she said with an incredulous look. "Money never meant that much to me. I took this job because I felt the endowment was being unfairly perceived, that hostile critics and the media were distorting what it did. I knew what the endowment did, because I had performed in regional theaters—it made those not-for-profit theaters possible in those communities. It made possible 13,000 art teachers in schools across the country. It provided seed money for the performing arts, for music, writing, painting, sculpture and folk crafts all across the nation, in every district, in villages and cities."

"And I can never forget that the endowment helped my own career," she continued, "and I am eternally grateful for that. It would be very hard to find somebody in my profession—theater—who hasn't been helped by the endowment in one way or another. I felt it was time for me to try to give back something of what I'd received."

Why was it important, I asked her, to have an artist running the agency, rather than a bureaucrat?

"It is important, I think," she replied, "because, as an artist, I understand the

continued

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creative process. Many people think that an artist just sits down and creates something. But it takes years of work for both the technical expertise and the ideas to come together to make art possible. I really understand what artists go through—I bring skills that someone who is not an artist can't bring. There are two parts to the creative endeavor: making something, then disseminating it. Here, at this agency, we must do both."

The NEA's budget for the 1995 fiscal year is \$167.7 million—not much in a \$1.5 trillion federal budget. The government spends more on military bands than on the endowment. Still, I asked, why is the NEA necessary, why can't the arts make it on their own?

She sighed. She'd heard the question many times.

"Why can't the not-for-profit arts make it on their own?" she repeated. "Let's just take the performing arts, for example. The performing arts—dance, theater, music and so on—are performed live before an audience that, by the nature of the space they perform in, has to be limited. It always has been. Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* usually is performed today for the same number of people who saw each performance 400 years ago.

"Maybe people then paid 2 cents to go see the production and support Mr. Shakespeare and his company. But the queen also commissioned the plays, so we're talking early government subsidies right there. Governments, kings and queens and the church, historically, have always subsidized the arts. Most of the great old-master paintings in museums in the world today were supported by the church. So, in a sense, people taxed themselves, in their offerings to the church, to support artists.

"Without government and private subsidies, performing-arts organizations today would have to charge maybe \$200 to \$300 a ticket to break even. And that would shut out most of the public.

"There are a lot of things the government supports that one or another group doesn't like," she went on, with energy. "Some city people don't know why they should be taxed to subsidize wheat farmers when they don't live in a rural state. Why should childless people be taxed for public schools? Why should nonmotorists be taxed for highways, or middle-class people to pay for health care for the poor? Or people be taxed to support the arts? Because it is in the good of the whole nation. The arts are vital to the life of this country."

She looked at me, laughed, then exclaimed, "So there!"

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PRESERVATION

Clinton Administration Appoints Interim Officials to Run Government

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Clinton administration plans to rely on hundreds of temporary senior government officials to help run federal agencies and departments for up to four months until the Democrats can settle on a permanent ruling class.

Using a law that allows appointments of up to 120 days without Senate confirmation or the established hiring rules for lesser-ranking officials, the administration has named or identified acting administrators at agencies and departments, and temporary deputies and untitled workers throughout government.

One administration official said as many as 500 such appointments are likely over the next month in an effort to keep the government running until Clinton nominees are found, nominated and confirmed.

There appears to be no policy or pattern to the appointments. At some agencies, the highest career official remaining when the Republicans walked out has been appointed. In others, the Clinton team left in place the "acting" heads named by the Bush team. And in some places, Clinton campaign workers and others were given temporary slots simply to give them work for a few weeks until permanent jobs are found or to fill in gaping needs.

White House officials said the ethics pledges demanded of Clinton appointees are not being sought from the temporary officials and that they are not being vetted, philosophically or ethically, the way permanent Clinton nominees would be.

The case of the new acting administrator at the General Services Administration illustrates the potential problems of establishing an interim government.

The day after Clinton's inaugu-

ration last week, Robert Lee Jones, a career GSA official, was named acting head of the GSA, the agency that is involved in most of the government's major office leasing, building and equipment supply operations.

Jones acknowledged in an interview that he underwent a "lengthy" investigation, was found to have engaged in unethical practices, was formally disciplined and ordered to serve a suspension. Jones refused to talk about the substance of the charges, but Democratic sources and agency employees said they included misuse of government vehicles.

Jones said the charges were "baseless" and brought because of a personal vendetta. When he appealed his cases to the General Accounting Office, which rules in these matters, he was cleared, he said.

But a GAO spokesman said the GAO report dealt only with Jones's suspension, not with the finding that he had misused government property. The report overturned the five-day suspension Jones re-

ceived because, under the law, senior executive service employees can be suspended 30 days or more, not less.

Sources said the Bush administration had removed Jones from the GSA in the 1989 transition. Jones said, "I had no problems with them, but we did disagree on a lot of things and I served just until the Bush team took over."

A GSA spokesman said he did not know why the Clinton transition team had opted for Jones, who has most recently been detailed to Capitol Hill, instead of following the statutory line of power and naming the agency's chief financial officer as acting administrator.

"I was chosen by the Clinton transition," Jones said. "I am just holding the fort until they get someone nominated. . . . It is happening all over government." A spokesman for the inspector general said the Clinton team had not asked if any complaints against Jones had been investigated and another source at the IG's office

said the Clinton team had not asked for Jones's personnel files.

Despite Jones's position as a "hold-the-fort" appointee, he said the business of construction, leasing and other contract negotiations continues at GSA.

A senior GSA official said that whatever the facts of Jones's particular case, naming such a controversial figure to head the agency "sends a bad signal . . . and the Clinton people are so swamped, they are not aware of it."

Either because they do not know, or do not want to say, White House officials this week declined over three days of questioning to disclose how many 120-day appointments are being made, on what basis and with what vetting or instructions. A Clinton official said she was unaware of Jones's appointment.

Officials also could not say under what legal basis the temporary agency heads are taking actions.

In a dispute with the Clinton transition team in its final days, the

Bush administration said that the Justice Department had issued a ruling that only an official at the presidential appointment level, confirmed by the Senate, could take actions such as authorizing spending and signing contracts. The Justice Department, according to Bush officials, had advised that pending court cases and earlier decisions suggested that the actions taken by someone other than such an official could be overturned in court.

The creation of a temporary layer of government is not rare in a change of government from one party to the other but Reagan administration officials, such as Pendleton James, Reagan's personnel director, said most of their temporary officials had been vetted before the Republican president took office.

That process appears to be occurring at some agencies, although the Clinton aides being installed are not necessarily the ones who will head the agencies.

The Washington Post

1/29/93

Clinton Considers Curbs on Social Security Cost-of-Living Raises

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Clinton is considering limiting cost-of-living increases for the nation's 41 million Social Security recipients, a White House spokesman said yesterday, provoking sharp criticism from senior citizens groups and a key Democratic senator.

Such limits could save the federal government billions of dollars a year, but would tighten the belts of senior citizens, many of whom rely on their Social Security checks, which average \$653 a month, to make ends meet.

"It's one of the issues that's being discussed," White House Communications Director George Stephanopoulos said yesterday. "We haven't made any final decision yet."

And Alice M. Rivlin, deputy Office of Management and Budget director, told a meeting at the National Academy of Social Insurance that a change in Social Security benefits "is not ruled out in any kind of a shared-sacrifice deficit reduction package."

"There are lots of ways of doing it," she said. "I'm not saying it's going to happen, but it certainly is being talked about."

Their comments were the latest efforts by Clinton aides to keep the administration's options open without revealing the contents of the budget package they plan to submit to Congress next month.

Yet by refusing to rule out any measure that might trim the federal budget deficit, the administration has raised worries among groups that would be hardest hit by possible tax increases or spending cuts.

Stephanopoulos would not discuss any specific proposal, but said, "we'll make sure that any plan that we have is both fair and solves the goals of putting growth in the economy and achieving deficit reduction."

Social Security, one of the most politically sacred programs, has not been altered in a major way in a decade.

But yesterday was the second time Clinton and his aides have hinted at

possible changes in the \$302.2 billion program.

Last month, in an interview with the Wall Street Journal, Clinton said he

"I'm not saying it's going to happen, but it certainly is being talked about."

— Alice M. Rivlin,
deputy OMB director

would consider accelerating an existing plan for increasing the retirement age to 67 from 65.

Clinton aides also have said they are considering taxing a bigger portion of Social Security benefits, half of which are currently exempt from taxes.

During a Sept. 1 campaign speech in Macon, Ga., Clinton declared: "We don't need to tamper with Social Security . . . We're not going to fool with

Social Security. It's solid. It's secure. It's sound. And I'm going to keep it that way."

Senate Finance Committee Chairman Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) said any plan to limit cost-of-living adjustments for Social Security benefits "is unacceptable," according to the Associated Press.

Horace Deets, executive director of the American Association of Retired Persons, said freezing or reducing cost-of-living adjustments for Social Security and federal and military retirees "is the wrong remedy to reduce the budget," the AP said.

"Cost-of-living adjustments are designed to help beneficiaries keep up with inflation," Deets was quoted as saying. "Freezing COLAs for even one year would result in nearly half a million more individuals of all ages falling below the poverty level."

Social Security recipients have received an automatic cost-of-living adjustment, or COLA, every year since 1975.

The government could save about

\$10 billion in 1994 if Clinton were to eliminate the next cost-of-living adjustment, which the Social Security Administration estimates will be 3.2 percent.

The adjustments, made in early January, are based on the consumer price inflation. The average benefit of \$653 a month reflects a recent change for 3 percent inflation in 1992.

Budget savings would grow bigger in later years because future adjustments would be made on a lower base.

Many leading members of Congress vehemently oppose changes in Social Security because the country's senior citizens represent such a large and powerful voting bloc.

Many also argue that the Social Security is an insurance program and should be kept separate from the rest of the budget.

Though the Congressional Budget Office expects the federal government to run a \$310 billion budget deficit during this fiscal year, the Social Security program will run a surplus of \$53 billion.

file NEA

The Arts

A year in the life

As pressures mount, the honeymoon ends for NEA chairwoman

By Stephan Salisbury
KNIGHT-RIDDER/TRIBUNE

Jane Alexander, prize-winning-actress-turned-tub-thumping-arts-czar, has weathered her first year as chairwoman of the National Endowment for the Arts, albeit a little more weary, chastened, harried, frustrated and angry.

Since her Senate confirmation in October of last year, she has traveled to 44 states, logged thousands of miles, seen hundreds of productions, visited classrooms and boardrooms and arts organizations, slogged through offices on Capitol Hill—all to spread the good news about art in America and the endowment's role in making it.

For sheer energy and aplomb, she gets high marks. Everyone who comes in contact with her leaves with the feeling that Jane Alexander, the first artist to head the nation's premier arts agency, truly cares about culture and the endowment.

On the heels of good intentions, alas, comes reality.

In the wake of another round of controversial grant rejections by the agency in August, unrelenting attacks by conservatives, another congressionally ordered budget reduction and self-imposed program cuts, some artists, arts administrators and advocates are won-



Tribune photo by Ernie Cox Jr.

Jane Alexander, the first artist to head the NEA, truly cares about culture and the endowment.

dering if a swell heart, a good ear and stage presence are enough to guide this troubled agency through frothy political waters.

"I remember how hopeful everyone felt last year when she came in," says Helen Brunner, executive director of the Washington, D.C.-based National As-

sociation of Artists' Organizations. "You look at the landscape now and it's battered with the bodies of artists and arts organizations. There was a brief moment where the new administration had an opportunity to deal with things on their own terms. And they lost it. They lost it all or gave it away. Now they're right back in the gutter with the political right."

Robert Garfias, a professor of anthropology at the University of California at Irvine and a member of the endowment's largest advisory body, the National Council on the Arts, is concerned about the endowment's direction under ongoing conservative attacks.

"It's a holy war and it's not going to go away," Garfias says. "So maybe we need to sit down and discuss whether we need an endowment now.... Maybe we have to go through that simple purification and lose some of these things before we see how much we need them."

One arts administrator who asked not to be identified cited the fear factor. "We've had two chairs terrified by the White House—John Frohnmayer and Anne Radice—and now we have a chair terrified by Congress. Everybody is just scared, rather than staking out a position and going with it. Do I see that changing? I don't think so."

But Alexander says she's unafraid of Congress. "They're human beings trying to do their job," she says. "I need to educate them. That's what I have to do constantly. I have to sit down and I need to say artists are not to be feared. Art is not to be feared. I try to do that on a daily basis."

Alexander also has been constantly on the road—she will hit all 50 states by the end of the year—trying to put a human face on the endowment.

"I'm fighting for this agency on a daily basis," she says. "I'm fighting for artists and arts organizations in America."

A number of decisions made in the past three months, however, have alarmed cultural officials, artists and some members of the national council concerned about where the endowment is headed in its fight.

In August, the council rejected recommended fellowships for three photographers—Merry Alpern, Barbara DeGenevieve and Andres Serrano. The action distressed many—on the council and off—who charged that political considerations, not artistic judgments, drove the rejections. Alpern and DeGenevieve explore various sexual themes in their work, and Serrano has been a target of religious and political conservatives since 1989, when his photograph of a crucifix immersed in urine, "Piss Christ," appeared in an exhibition that received endowment funding. Reaction to that photograph marked the opening salvo in the five-year war waged against the NEA by conservatives.

Serrano's August rejection proved particularly troubling to the arts world. For one thing, members of the national council, who are supposed to deliberate in public session, privately viewed work by Serrano that was not even submitted with his application. This work was assembled by the endowment staff for the express purpose of displaying it to the council,

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

members say.

After the private viewing, council member George C. White, founder of the Eugene O'Neill Theater Center near New Haven, Conn., moved to reject the \$20,000 Serrano fellowship, one of 14 recommended by a peer panel.

Alexander remained silent.

At the time of the discussion, the House and Senate were determining the endowment's budget. Over the summer, the agency had been criticized for providing about \$150 in indirect support for Ron Athey, an HIV-positive performance artist. Athey cut ritual designs in the back of a non-HIV-positive colleague during a performance at the NEA-supported Walker Art Center in Minneapolis.

Alexander defended Athey in the summer, calling his performance moving and important.

Senators were unimpressed, and in their own bloodletting, sliced five percent out of the endowment's budget, with most of the cuts coming from theater, visual arts and presenting and commissioning programs.

Serrano believes he fell victim to this process.

"I feel I've been singled out and blacklisted," he says. "If that's the case, I think they should just write me a letter and tell me I should never apply for a grant again. Why be devious about it?"

Alexander, citing legal considerations, declined to discuss the Serrano application.

"Look at me, I'm an artist," she says. "I've been through all kinds of controversial stuff. Do you think I'd try to submarine a fellow artist?"

Serrano's application contained photographs from two new series, one of church interiors and portraits of nuns and priests, another of images from New York City morgues.

"The morgue was strong stuff, but I think that if that work had been submitted by any other artist it wouldn't have received the scrutiny that it did," Serrano says. "So I have to think there's a blacklist."

No one at the endowment improperly suggested that Serrano be denied a grant, council members say. But the subject of potential congressional wrath came up during a private dinner the night before the vote.

One council member, requesting anonymity, says that rejecting Serrano protected Alexander and the agency from conservative criticism.

"We all voted our conscience," the council member says, noting, "Jane was going to have to turn it down anyway. So we did it as a council."

Serrano, Alpern and De-Genevieve formally asked Alexander to resubmit their applications at the November council meeting; Alexander denied the request two weeks ago.

"I'm dealing with 16,000 artists a year who are rejected for one reason or another," Alexander says. "We can't open these things all the time to revisitation."

The August council meeting was notable for one other thing—something that didn't happen. The council did not

have an opportunity to review a slew of "re-grant" programs.

In these programs, the endowment distributes chunks of money to other organizations around the country that, in turn, distribute the funds to artists or organizations.

Late in the summer, however, senior endowment officials decided that such re-grant programs needed closer scrutiny—in part because of budget constraints, in part because of the endowment's inability to control them, according to sources within the agency.

'Artists are not to be feared. Art is not to be feared.'

NEA chairwomen Jane Alexander, speaking to Congress

Then, two weeks ago, the endowment announced it was axing most of the programs in order to make ends meet. Council members were caught by surprise. There had been no discussion. No advice. No consent.

"It's ironic," says a New York City arts official long involved with the endowment. "They've done more to dismantle the agency than the previous administration."

Alexander says she had deliberately decided to target the budget cuts in order to preserve funding in other programs. She says the NEA was talking with private organizations in an effort to find alternative funding sources for some of the terminated film programs.

And she says she will expand national media arts fellowships

to pick up some of the slack for film and video artists who were hard hit by the re-grant cuts. She denied that those cuts were aimed at programs that had produced controversial work in the past.

"The truth is, if you wanted to find difficult art, you can find it in any program at any time," she says. "You never know where it's going to come from. You never know when you're going to be stepping on somebody's toes and at some point they're going to go, 'ouch!'"

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

file

Reshuffling the NEA

IN THE YEARS after the National Endowment for the Arts got in trouble over the infamous Mapplethorpe and Serrano photo exhibits, two prescriptions were heard with contrapuntal regularity. The first was that the NEA ought to farm more of its decision-making work out to the state and local arts agencies, the "real people" in touch with community values, and thus break the deadlock of the (it was said) elitist, ingrown, backbiting peer panels. The second piece of advice, of course, was just the opposite: The NEA should get a grip, centralize, take its decision-making apparatus firmly in hand and increase the chairman's accountability by eliminating the messy system of grants and subgrants. No one ever proved the case that either of these steps would be satisfactory, maybe because neither would have necessarily had any effect on the decisions that produced Serrano and Mapplethorpe.

Now that NEA Chairman Jane Alexander has gone a few steps down the second route, announcing the elimination for money-saving purposes of several programs that made "subgrants" to their own artists, NEA-watchers on all sides of the issues are assiduously trying to trace the likely

political effect. But despite the agonized response of defunded and likely to be defunded artists, there's no reason the politics of this should cut either way. Just as the Robert Mapplethorpe and Andres Serrano photo displays grew out of ordinary grants to museums assembling exhibits of completed works they liked—not out of any funding of these men's work in progress—so with this year's micro-flap, the \$150 that went to a theater festival featuring the razor-wielding Ron Athey. Mr. Athey never got a "regrant" or a "subgrant" at all; he just appeared at a festival that had gotten some NEA money for operating costs.

No change in the patterns of in-house book-keeping will keep opponents of the NEA from finding pennies here and there devoted to art that will set somebody's teeth on edge. About all the cutting of programs may do is tighten the procedures and eliminate some outlays in an agency that, for the above inexorable reasons, keeps getting little bits chopped out of its budget by Congress. The NEA is in fact, by all indications, engaging in financial management. There are worse things for an endowment chair to do.

Two Compete to Head Federal Arts Agency

By WILLIAM H. HONAN

After weeks of discreet campaigning, the actress Jane Alexander and President Clinton's campaign aide Deborah Sale have emerged as the chief contenders to head the National Endowment for the Arts, say many arts administrators and Congressional staff members with connections in the White House.

President Clinton, who is expected to announce his choice shortly, is not commenting on the matter, and he may, of course, name a dark horse to the post. But the decision has been stalled, those close to the Administration say, by a sharp division within the White House that involves personal loyalty to Ms. Sale and differing opinions on who would be most effective at the job: a well-known actress or a politically skilled administrator.

The endowment chairmanship has been a hot seat in recent years, drawing fire from both those who think the agency's grants have fostered indecency and blasphemy and those who believe them to have been too restrictive. Despite that, however, and despite the fact that the agency's \$174 million annual budget is minuscule by Federal standards, the position's visibility and prestige in the arts world has made it a much sought-after prize.

Ms. Alexander, who is portraying a bank executive in Wendy Wasser-

stein's Broadway play "The Sisters Rosensweig," has never held an administrative or governmental position. But her roles over a 30-year career on the stage and in television and films has kept the 53-year-old actress consistently in the public eye.

In contrast, Ms. Sale, 44, is virtually unknown to the general public but has had wide administrative and political experience beginning with her post as the executive director of the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities during the Jimmy Carter Administration.

She was also a trusted senior adviser in Mr. Clinton's Presidential campaign; she has known the President since her college days when she met him through the National Student Association. While a student at Rhodes College in Memphis, Tenn., Ms. Sale was a classmate and close friend of Bruce Lindsey, who is now the White House personnel director. And Mr. Clinton was a good friend of her father, who was postmaster of Piggott, Ark., and prominent in local politics. All of this makes her an O.F.O.B. — an Old Friend of Bill's — in good standing.

Ms. Alexander's supporters argue that her identity as an artist would inspire a long-demoralized constituency of artists and arts lovers and would have the added value of making her relatively immune to attack

by conservative members of Congress and religious organizations criticizing the arts endowment for supporting art they deem sexually offensive or blasphemous.

Who Could Run an Agency

Richard L. Feigen, the New York City art dealer, who is managing a letter-writing campaign in behalf of Ms. Alexander, said her lack of administrative experience was unimportant. Her deputies can run the agency, he said. "What's important is her national stature and the fact that she carries the portfolios of the art makers," he added.

On Friday, Mr. Feigen said he had sent four letters in favor of Ms. Alexander's appointment bearing the names of nearly 30 prominent artists, including Norman Mailer, Itzhak Perlman and Peter Martins, to the White House, but has not yet received a reply.

Ms. Alexander has also marshaled political support from two members of the United States Senate whom she met in the course of crisscrossing the country in her acting career. Senators Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island, and David L. Boren, Democrat of Oklahoma, are working behind the scenes in behalf of Ms. Alexander.

Declining to Discuss Rivalry

Letters have also been written in support of Ms. Sale, who is the chief of staff to New York Lieut. Gov. Stan N. Lundine.

Among those endorsing her are Joan Mondale, the wife of Vice President Walter Mondale who was frequently referred to as Joan of Arts, and Charmaine Jefferson, the executive director of Dance Theater of Harlem. All letter writers have been instructed to send copies of their communications to Ruth Hargraves, a Washington lobbyist and friend of Ms. Sale's, who sees to it that the copies make their way to Mr. Lindsey's desk.

Ms. Sale, like Ms. Alexander, declined to discuss her rivalry in specific terms, but said that traditionally "persons with star power" have been used by the arts endowment as members of the advisory National Council on the Arts rather than as the head of the Federal agency. "The chairman's job is to run the nuts and bolts, and to provide leadership," Ms. Sale said.

Perils of Overcampaigning

Ms. Sale's supporters stress her political sophistication as an essential qualification for occupying one of the hottest seats in the Federal bureaucracy. During the Presidential campaign, they said, Ms. Sale traveled with Mr. Clinton for nearly a year, helping to determine at each stop who were the politically powerful people to be dealt with and what were the issues likely to arise.

In an interview on Friday, Ms. Alexander mentioned her work on the boards of the NYZS/Wildlife Conservation Society, which runs the New York City zoos, the Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, the American Council for the Arts and the National Stroke Association as having given her experience in public affairs.

And she said she had a broad familiarity with arts institutions around the country, a result of her work with such regional theaters as the Mark Taper Forum in Los Angeles, the Indiana Repertory in Indianapolis and the Spoleto Festival U.S.A. in Charleston, S.C.

Both groups of supporters, as well as Ms. Alexander and Ms. Sale, expressed their awareness that too much overt campaigning can be harmful to their cause. They also acknowledged that at the last minute President Clinton might well surprise

Jane Alexander, known to fans; Deborah Sale, known to politicians.

everyone by naming an unknown, as President George Bush did in 1989 when he chose John E. Frohnmayer for the post. Anne-Imelda Radice, who became the acting head of the endowment after Mr. Frohnmayer was dismissed by President Bush in February 1992, resigned at the close of the Bush Administration.

Chairman for the Other Endowment

Congressional staff members and others close to the Administration also said that the President had settled on Sheldon Hackney, the president of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, as the chairman for the National Endowment for the Humanities. He would be replacing Lynne V. Cheney, who resigned at the end of the Bush Administration.

They said, however, that Mr. Clinton was waiting until he could simultaneously name his choices to head the National Endowment for the Arts, the Institute of Museum Services and the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities to balance the appointment of a white male with the appointment of one or more women or minorities.

Mr. Hackney, 59, is a noted scholar of the Southern United States. His book "Populism to Progressivism in Alabama" (1969) won the Albert J. Beveridge Prize for the best book on American history published that year.



THE BLADE

PAGES OF OPINION

Toledo, Ohio

Wednesday, February 17, 1993

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No room at the top

WHEN President Clinton determined that his cabinet should contain more women and greater ethnic diversity, Americans long under-represented were at last brought into the highest reaches of government.

As usual, where there are winners, there also are losers. The big loser in the Clinton administration: regional diversity.

There are no members of the cabinet from Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and Pennsylvania. That is quite some pay-back after each of

in the Midwest.

Among those who could have contended for the top jobs are former Michigan Gov. James Blanchard, former Ohio Gov. Richard Celeste, and former Ohio Attorney General Anthony Celebrezze. One source cited by Jack Torry of The Blade's Washington bureau said that Mr. Blanchard was dropped from consideration as transportation secretary when Mr. Clinton decided that he needed a Hispanic. Later, Federico Pena was named to the job.

It is beyond belief that the midwestern states could not produce a candidate who met the twin criteria of regional and ethnic diversity, criteria that are not mutually exclusive. A more likely scenario is that Mr. Clinton's transition team simply did not look hard enough.

Northwest Ohioans can empathize particularly with the shortchanging of the Midwest, having experienced it for decades within the state of Ohio. No representatives in the highest reaches of government, little government interest in regional problems. These are not new complaints to us; we've been letting Columbus hear them for years.

Ignoring Ohio is a bipartisan predilection in Washington. Hard as it is to believe, only two cabinet members have come from Ohio since the Nixon years.

Democrats in Ohio are putting a brave and partisan spin on the latest snubbing, saying that this and other midwestern states will be represented in the lower administrative posts. But lower isn't good enough. The Midwest should not have to settle for second-tier jobs. It is simply not acceptable for Mr. Clinton to ditch the Midwest as if it were just another expendable campaign promise.

*Ohio should not have to settle
for second-tier administration
jobs; this state has had only
two cabinet members since the
Nixon years*

these states voted for Mr. Clinton last November. It might have been better had they voted for former President Bush. That's what Texas and South Carolina did, and those states are now represented in the cabinet.

Selecting the top members of an administration requires a delicate balancing act. Ability must matter most. And the cabinet should be inclusive and representative. But in the past, women and minorities have been largely ignored. The white male club of Washington's political elite remained a no-go area.

That has changed, whether for reasons of political opportunism or correctness, or a genuine desire to make the cabinet reflect the make-up of the country. As a result, contenders for top posts have been left twiddling their thumbs

North left out in cold when cabinet filled

BY JACK TORRY
BLADE WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON — President Clinton's new cabinet includes an attorney general from Florida, a treasury secretary from Texas, and an education secretary from South Carolina. All are states won by former President Bush last November.

The cabinet does not include anybody from Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and Pennsylvania. All are states won by Mr. Clinton last November.

Passed over for a cabinet seat were such prominent Democrats as former Ohio Gov. Richard Celeste, and former Michigan Gov. James Blanchard. Former Ohio Attorney General Anthony Celebrezze, Jr., was briefly mentioned as a possibility to head the Justice Department. Ohio Democratic Party Chairman Eugene Branstetter is under consideration for a subcabinet post.

Democrats from Ohio and Michigan are not complaining yet. But they clearly are aware that the industrial Midwest so crucial to Mr. Clinton's election victory was left out in the cold when the cabinet was selected.

"I have noted the same thing," says House Energy and Commerce

Committee Chairman John Dingell (D., Detroit). "In good times, I may be critical. [But] I have high expectations that the President will be aware of this shortcoming and will take strong measures to correct it."

Rep. Marcy Kaptor (D., Toledo), says that she has yet to "see any heavyweight appointments from the urban and agricultural North. That bothers me." Other Democrats are now joking about it. Jerry Austin, a Columbus Democratic consultant, explains it by saying, "That's because we don't have people [in Ohio] whose names are Zee and Kiembe."

Democrats insist that as the new administration fills vacancies in subcabinet posts, people from the Midwest will receive prominent jobs. They note that Mr. Branstetter is under consideration for a senior post at the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and that state Sen. Robert Boggs (D., Jefferson) has been mentioned for a job at the U.S. Department of Transportation.

"The Midwest was an important part of his winning coalition," says James Rarola, former chairman of the Ohio Democratic Party. "I think we'll get a fair deal."

Turn to Page 16, Col. 1 & 2

STAFF
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SECTION A, PAGE 16

North left

Continued from Page 1

Mr. Branstetter, who succeeded Mr. Ruvo as chairman of the state party, says he is aware that "people are saying, 'Ohio delivered for Clinton.' But that doesn't entitle people to anything. That's not to say Ohio does not have its share of quality people. I expect that Ohio will have its share of people in this administration."

Democrats with Ohio backgrounds already have been named to prominent posts in the White House. George Stephanopoulos, who lived in Cleveland in the late 1970s and served as an aide to former Rep. Edward Feighan (D., O.), is now director of communications for the White House.

David Wilhelm, a Democratic consultant in Chicago who once ran for Congress in southern Ohio, has been elevated to chairman of the Democratic Party. His chief of staff, Kent Markus, served in a similar post last year with Ohio Attorney General Lee Fisher.

Melanie Verveer, a legislative aide to Representative Kaptor in the early 1990s, now is deputy chief of staff for First Lady Hillary Clinton. Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala was born in Cleveland.

But Mr. Stephanopoulos has not lived in Ohio for more than a decade, while Mr. Verveer last year

was a prominent Washington lobbyist for People for the American Way, a civil rights organization. Mr. Shalala earned her reputation as chancellor at the University of Wisconsin and chairman of the Children's Defense Fund in Washington.

Ironically, Republicans in Ohio and Michigan complained that they were ignored for cabinet posts by both Mr. Bush and former President Reagan. Not since William Saxbe was attorney general in 1974 under President Nixon has an Ohioan served in the cabinet.

"There were precious few Republicans from Ohio who were given anything at all during the 12 years of Reagan and Bush," says James Bronman, former chairman of the Lucas County Republican Party, "so we're all well-acquainted with getting shut out."

Ohio's complaint of being short-changed was generally countered by the fact that throughout the 1980s, there was a dearth of qualified Republicans in both Michigan and Ohio to be appointed to high office.

But that was not the case when Mr. Clinton assembled his cabinet. Democrats controlled the governor's offices in Michigan and Ohio from 1993 through 1990, as well as all four U.S. Senate seats. In addition, Mr. Celebrezze served as state attorney general during that span, and his successor, Mr. Fisher, was an energetic supporter of Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Celeste was mentioned as a candidate for secretary of labor.

Mr. Blanchard, however, who directed Mr. Clinton's campaign in Michigan, was believed to have been the leading candidate to become transportation secretary.

According to one high-level source, Mr. Clinton dropped Mr. Blanchard when he concluded the cabinet needed a Hispanic. Instead of Mr. Blanchard, Mr. Clinton named former Denver Mayor Federico Pena as transportation secretary. Noting Mr. Clinton's interest in picking more women and blacks for the cabinet, Mr. Austin says "there's a reduction" in the number of white males in the cabinet and "all the people you're talking about are white males."

Choosing cabinet officers from a particular state does not guarantee electoral success in that state. Mr. Bush's administration was filled with Republicans from Illinois, including Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, Agriculture Secretary Edward Madigan, and one-time White House Chief of Staff Samuel S. Henshaw. Yet last November, Mr. Clinton handily defeated Mr. Bush in Illinois.

Democrats in both Midwest states are confident that jobs soon will be filled by people from Ohio and Michigan. "They didn't get into the front seats," says Pete O'Grady, a former chairman of the Ohio Democratic Party. "But down the line, you'll see the flavor develop."

Gergen/NEA

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LEVEL 1 - 27 OF 27 STORIES
Copyright 1990 U.S. News & World Report
U.S. News & World Report

July 30, 1990

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Vol. 109, No. 5; Pg. 80

LENGTH: 720 words

HEADLINE: Who should pay for porn?

BYLINE: By David Gergen, Editor at Large

BODY:

As Congress prepares to vote on new funding for the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), leading artistic figures are angrily protesting any and all restrictions on federal moneys. A recent rejection of four grants, they claim, means that America is retreating into a dark age of censorship and Stalinist-style art.

What rubbish. Amidst all the pieties coming from people who know better, there has been very little talk about exactly what the four "artists" in np
U.S. News & World Report, July 30, 1990

would do with their cash. Let the protesters call off their press conferences and hold a town meeting in Main Street America where they explain why taxpayers should pay to support these four: question

* Karen Finley, Nyack, N.Y., whose avant-garde performances include an act in which she coats her nude body with chocolate and bean sprouts representing sperm. She also openly rubs canned yams across her vagina. Outspoken in her denunciations of her rejection by the NEA, Ms. Finley makes clear that her work is intended to advance her aggressive feminism.

* John Fleck of L.A., whose work includes a scene in which he urinates on a picture of Jesus in a toilet bowl.

* Holly Hughes of New York, a playwright who wants to advance lesbianism and whose performance on stage includes a scene in which she places her hand up her vagina, saying that she saw "Jesus between Mother's hips." Apparently fixated by the subject, Ms. Hughes moved to New York a decade ago, where, she said, she wanted to "arrange a giant quartz-and-steel vagina in Federal Plaza that would topple the military."

* Tim Miller of Santa Monica, Calif., a man who has been described by the NEA's theater-program director as "always political. As a member of the gay np
U.S. News & World Report, July 30, 1990

community, his work presents this vantage of the world to encourage education, understanding and eventual acceptance."

Their buddies are free to call this art. They are free to hold public exhibits. No one is trying to shut them down, because this country has a robust

tradition of allowing freedom of expression. Censorship simply isn't an issue here.

What is at issue is that some artists apparently believe they can have it both ways: They want to engage in wanton destruction of a nation's values, and they expect that same nation to pay their bills. Grow up, friends. No society, even one as tolerant as this one has usually been, is willingly going to pay for its own demise. The American people are rightly concerned about moral decay in our public life, from the thievery at savings and loans to the suppression of prayers in school. To argue that in the name of freedom they must send in money for snot perverts the idea of freedom itself. Taxpayers have rights, too, although they are often neglected.

The protesters answer that art has always pushed on the perimeters of social convention and that only by seeing in new ways will we advance. That's a fair point. But works of decadence and blasphemy have been around a long time; we don't need a new round to learn old lessons. If we can't draw a line here, np
U.S. News & World Report, July 30, 1990

where
can we? Who will say no to the next applicant to the NEA who wants to attack blacks or Jews or gays? Andrew Dice Clay, anyone?

If artists insist upon a wholesale denial of any standards, they will wind up wrecking the very institution they claim to need. The controversy over the NEA has already prompted some congressmen to believe the quickest solution is also the best: Off with its head. But that's wrong, too. The NEA has played a highly constructive role in the past quarter-century, and it deserves to be fully funded for the next five years. Its thousands of grants, all but a handful above controversy, have helped us spawn a flowering of the arts across the country. Since the mid-1960s, the number of major dance companies has reportedly jumped from 37 to 240; opera companies, from 27 to 125; orchestras, from 58 to 165. The NEA has been a wonderful catalyst for this explosion.

In its laudable desire to maintain standards of decency, Congress should leave in place its current rules against funding obscene works but should avoid imposing new restrictions that would handcuff the NEA. By rejecting the four controversial grants this summer, the NEA has shown a sufficient sensibility that it should now be allowed to run its own show. It knows where to draw the line..np
U.S. News & World Report, July 30, 1990

GRAPHIC: Picture, No caption

LEVEL 1 - 19 OF 27 STORIES
Copyright 1992 The Washington Post
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April 19, 1992, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: BOOK WORLD; PAGE X14; LETTERS

LENGTH: 1192 words

HEADLINE: LETTERS

SERIES: Occasional

BODY:

Yes, But Is It Art?

IT WAS disappointing that Jonathan Yardley's review of my book, *Girls Lean Back Everywhere: The Law of Obscenity and the Assault on Genius* (Book World, March 15), turned out to be less a dispassionate critique of my book than a passionate diatribe. Yardley calls me a First Amendment "absolutist" and attributes to that malaise my book's "enlarg[ing] the definition of 'art' from the sublime to the ridiculous," so that "it embraces not merely James Joyce and Theodore Dreiser but also 2 Live Crew and Karen Finley." In the process, he continues, I "ridiculously" and "unpersuasively" attempt to extend both constitutional protection and government funding to "the obscene."

In so signifying that the work of Finley, a critically acclaimed performance artist, and the rap music group 2 Live Crew is obscene, Yardley goes even further in the direction of calumny than Rowland Evans, Robert Novak, David Gergen and the Washington Times went in attacking Finley and her work. As Yardley surely knows, when police and prosecutors in Dade County, Fla., accused 2 Live Crew of performing "obscene" songs, the defendants were swiftly acquitted by a sensible jury's determination that the songs were in fact and law not obscene because of their artistic merit.

In the case of Karen Finley, to my knowledge, no one previously ever had suggested that her work was obscene; and the fact that the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, qualified critics, successive National Endowment for the Arts artist peer-review panels and NEA Chairman John E. Frohnmayer, among others, recognized the serious artistic value of Finley's work should have dispelled all suspicion along that line that may have entered Yardley's mind.

It should be evident, therefore, that when I say (as I do in my book) that the performances of 2 Live Crew and Karen Finley are artistic, are constitutionally protected and are not obscene, there is nothing ridiculous in my position; nor should it be unpersuasive to a reasonable reader. It is, I think, Yardley who shows signs of being unpersuasive and, if not ridiculous, at least a bit unreasonable. EDWARD de GRAZIA New York Wanted: Writers

IN HIS review of *Alien Ink: The FBI's War on Freedom of Expression*, by Natalie Robins (Book World, March 22), Alan Wolfe erred.

J. Edgar Hoover did not come "from exactly the same conservative, Catholic,

Washington circles as Patrick Buchanan." He was neither a Catholic nor was he from the same Chevy Chase and Georgetown circles as Buchanan. Hoover was of Scottish Presbyterian ancestry and I am unaware of any conversion to Catholicism. Further, I gather that plenty of conservatives in this area would argue that he should likewise not be so described.

So, the undersigned self-appointed Catholic clerical inquisitor must ask a few questions. Why was it necessary to go to a New York sociologist for the review? Did this Catholic connection of Hoover perhaps come from his delight in being in the company of his favorite Catholic family, the Kennedys? Would the religious consideration have made any difference if Buchanan were Presbyterian, Methodist, Jewish, or an atheist for that matter? JOHN J. HURLEY Silver Spring
The Washington Post, April 19, 1992

ALAN WOLFE shared Alicn Ink author Natalie Robins's amazement that the FBI found Lionel Trilling's novel The Middle of the Journey worthy of being read "assiduously" in order to learn about "espionage."

In fact, one of the major characters is based on Whittaker Chambers, and this was long before the Hiss case became current. In addition, Trilling describes a young liberal couple, all too representative of liberal opinion concerning the Soviet Union at that time in New York City and Washington.

It's too bad that many others did not emulate the FBI and read Trilling during that period. Of course, the FBI should not have taken time off from chasing Reds in order to venture into literary criticism. ROBERT HELLER
Washington

IT WOULD require a Swift to do justice to Alan Wolfe's fatuous conclusion that the FBI did no real harm in its close scrutiny of American authors. One wonders how he knows that "no writer worthy of the name stopped writing because the FBI was reading." Obviously, if a writer gave up in the face of FBI attention, we have no way of knowing whether he was worthy or not.

Established writers like Sinclair Lewis, Dashiell Hammett or Lillian Hellman were merely enraged by FBI snooping. But Hoover's agents did not stop at bad.
The Washington Post, April 19, 1992

reviews. For part-time or struggling writers, the prospects were grim. The FBI took great and sanctimonious pleasure in ruining nonconformists. In regular "interviews," teams of agents made employers and neighbors well aware a man or woman was in the FBI's bad books, and left it to patriotic Americans to do the right thing. My own father, not a writer, got this treatment and never kept any worthwhile job from 1943 until his death in 1979.

Also egregious is Wolfe's ruling that "not all the writers portrayed by Robins are as innocent as she portrays them." Wolfe misses the point that no writer was "guilty." Even if they were card-carrying Communists, the FBI had no business keeping tabs on them. That's what the First Amendment is about. MILTON E. CARRISON New York

Alan Wolfe replies: My apologies to the Rev. Hurley. Hoover was not Catholic, and it was sloppy as well as irrelevant of me to say otherwise. Yet am I

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oversensitive in detecting a slight hint of anti-Semitism in his comment about "New York sociologists?"

I can assure Robert Heller that I have read Lionel Trilling's novel and still remain surprised that the FBI took the book so literally..np

The Washington Post, April 19, 1992

Milton Garrison

surely must know that the word "innocent" has more than a legal meaning. Writers who joined an organization financed by one of history's nastiest dictators, and who later denied or obfuscated their involvement, lost their innocence some time ago. Queries

FOR a study of the bombing of Hiroshima and its legacy, I would appreciate hearing from anyone with documents, letters, diaries, papers or journalists' notes on the decision-making involved in arranging the surrender of Japan and the use of the atomic bomb during World War II. GAR ALPEROVITZ 2317 Ashmead Place, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009

I AM seeking anecdotes and memories of Eleanor Roosevelt to be published under the aegis of the Washington Committee of the Eleanor Roosevelt Center at Val-Kil, her home at Hyde Park, which is now a conference center. PAGE HUIDEKOPER WILSON c/o The Women's National Democratic Club 1526 New Hampshire Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

FOR a biography of Pamela Churchill Harriman, I would appreciate hearing from anyone who has personal recollections, letters, memorabilia or photographs. SALLY BEDELL SMITH P.O. Box 201 5223 Wisconsin Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20015.np
The Washington Post, April 19, 1992

Book World welcomes letters from its readers. Letters must be typed. They should be signed and include the writer's address and daytime telephone number. Because of space limitations, those selected for publication are subject to abridgment. Address letters to Book World, The Washington Post, Washington, D.C. 20071.

TYPE: LETTER

Politicizing of humanities grants alleged

By John Milne
GLOBE STAFF

Under the direction of Republican appointee Lynne V. Cheney, political considerations have become a deciding factor in research funding decisions at the leading federal agency that supports work in the humanities, according to researchers, lawmakers and former staff members.

In a significant percentage of cases, they said, Cheney and her staff at the National Endowment for the Humanities weed out proposals they consider too liberal, too feminist or too full of what conservatives deride as "political correctness."

With this strategy Cheney has been able to avoid the political storm that burst over her companion agency, the National Endowment for the Arts. Its chairman, John E. Frohnmayer, resigned last March amid conservatives' complaints that the agency was spending taxpayers' money on projects they considered antireligious or prohomosexual.

"There's been a slow process at the NEH of granting the far right ideological veto power," said Rep. Chester G. Atkins, a Concord Democrat who sits on the

RESEARCH, Page 10

Agency's humanities aid is politically skewed, critics say

RESEARCH

Continued from Page 1

House Appropriations subcommittee that oversees its budget. It is a departure, he said, from the endowment's "history of being isolated from political considerations and supporting scholarship, whether it is scholarship from the left, right or center."

Cheney, through an aide, denied any effort to politicize grant-making. "With all due respect to the congressman, he's wrong," said Claire del Real, communications policy director. She said the complaints come from discontented academics who lost in the agency's competitive process, in which just one application in five receives funding.

But former NEH staff members who have gone on to other jobs acknowledge that as many as one in 10 applications may be "flagged," for political content, "and that's too many," one said.

Top staff members are making decisions that are "tactical instead of intellectual," one said.

Cheney, said another, has "run this agency with a clear policy point of view. It's the policy of the administration that was elected. That is

not corruption, but it is bad policy."

As a result, there is a widespread perception among academics that the endowment has a bias against certain types of research.

The director of research at a Massachusetts university told the head of the women's studies department recently that a feminist research proposal would "never fly" before the NEH, and helped the professor seek other funding. The official asked that the school's name not be used for fear of retaliation.

The conservative trend may become more pronounced on Friday as eight scholars join the 26-member National Council on the Humanities, which advises Cheney on grant-making and reviews applications. Most are conservatives who will further tilt the council, critics contend.

The endowment's policies are critical because it funds most research in languages, literature, history, philosophy and related disciplines. Last year the endowment provided \$160 million for 2,171 projects nationwide, and 164 Massachusetts programs received \$11.7 million. Last week, the Senate passed a 1993 appropriation of more than \$181 million for NEH.

"It's hard for somebody on the

outside to appreciate, but the endowment is the most important funder in the humanities and is likely to get more important as corporate support is cut back," said Stanley M. Katz, president of the National Council of Learned Societies.

When it gets an application, the endowment uses peer reviewers, experienced scholars in particular fields, to grade the proposal from "excellent" to "poor." Cheney and the council then review the grades and make a final decision.

Applicants are given the comments of the reviewers, but their names and staff memos are secret. "We never discuss grantees who have been turned down, out of respect to their feelings," said del Real.

Critics said that a conservative is assigned to each panel of reviewers, and in a competitive environment, one negative can blackball an application.

The pattern of rejection was pointed to by several academics as evidence of bias.

A summer teachers' workshop on how women are treated in different cultures was proposed by a Northeastern University anthropologist, Christine Gailey, and was

turned down with one reviewer's curt "not for us." Gailey said, "Four reviewers had graded me 'excellent,' and their comments were insightful and helpful. One had one line: 'Not for us.' I thought that was disturbing and ominous. How do you revise something in the light of 'not for us?'"

At a meeting of feminist scholars earlier this year, at least a dozen reported receiving similar rejections, said one participant, Lynn Perry, a professor of literature at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Gailey said: "If the intent is to make the application pool change significantly, it's succeeded. ... I'm not a fool."

A public television series illustrating different approaches to the 500th anniversary of Columbus' voyage was given planning funds but then denied money for production.

When the panel of historians planning the series appealed, Cheney told them at a meeting in September 1990 that the project was "European-bashing and Columbus-bashing" and would offend Hispanic-Americans and Italian-Americans, said Nancy L. Roelker of Brown University, a member of the panel.

After a report of this confronta-

tion was printed in the Chronicle of Higher Education, Roelker said she was contacted by dozens of scholars who had similar experiences.

The endowment did fund \$19 million in other Columbus quinquennial projects.

A travel grant involving Shakespearean studies was rejected because it had a feminist tinge, a Dartmouth College English professor said. An endowment staff member, the professor said, noted privately that it "had been marked because it was political."

A series of seminars examining the great books of the Western world at Boston College was rejected because one of five reviewers thought some of the critics invited to participate were liberals, said Rev. Joseph A. Appleyard, head of the BC honors program. The four other reviewers ranked his plan "excellent," he said.

Cheney said earlier this year that two of the researchers Father Appleyard had invited had received NEH grants and that the criticism "is just simply inaccurate."

Defending the endowment's record, Del Real listed hundreds of 1991 grants that were approved, including a travel grant on Renais-

sance feminism; a travel grant to study Afro-American medicine at Harvard; and the publication of the Latin American poet Pablo Neruda.

But many academics are also upset that Cheney and the council have any role in decisions of merit, suggesting that they should stick to budgetary questions and leave the academic decisions to peer reviewers.

One council member, Dean Edwin Delattre of Boston University, said some applications are rejected because of their approach. "If a particular piece presents a political ideology," he said, "that's not scholarship in the humanities."

Stephanie Quinn, director of research at Chicago's DePaul University and a former NEH staff member, said the debate on ideology prevents the agency from taking a lead in scholarly inquiry.

"At the endowment," Quinn said, "there's a role for a national voice encouraging debate on academic and intellectual matters that is rigorous and critical at a substantive intellectual level. It would seem, for the most part, in the last several years that the political correctness debate has taken place instead. And that's a shame."

USA TODAY • THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1995

A brighter Blue Room

Hillary Clinton puts her signature on makeover

By Katy Kelly
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton, architect of an ambitious plan to redesign the nation's health-care system, has been working days and sometimes nights changing the look of the Blue Room in the White House.

Refurbishing the elegant oval room was an inherited task, assigned by The Committee for the Preservation of the White House to the 1992 election winner. The room officially reopens Friday. Last done in 1972, this was not a frivolous face lift. "The wear and tear on the rug and the drapes and the fading of the paper was getting more and more obvious," Clinton says.

Like most Washington projects, decisions were made by committee and subcommittee, but Clinton had her own line item veto. The room is seen by 1.2 million visitors a year and two decades will likely pass before it's done again. The White House Endowment Fund picks up the \$358,358.80 tab, including \$112,000 for fabric and \$61,560 for painting and archi-



By Matt Mendelsohn, USA TODAY

TANGLED UP IN BLUE: Hillary Rodham Clinton spent two years redoing the Blue Room. The result: "I am really pleased with it."

tectural gilding.

But some of the best things in the Blue Room were free. Or, at least, paid for during past administrations. Many of the better pieces came directly from White House storage.

The first lady says she was anxious during the redo.

"I mean, it's one thing to decorate your own house, but to have any involvement in help-

ing to take care of the White House is an enormous opportunity," she says. "But you have the responsibility, too."

Now that the paper is hung and the parquet polished, Clinton can look at the room somewhat objectively. "I am really pleased with it. It is exactly what I wanted."

► White House projects, 6D

WHITE HOUSE BEAUTIFUL

Hillary up to the true blue makeover

By Katy Kelly
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton has been in a blue frame of mind for two years. Specifically, sapphire blue with gold accents.

The Blue Room makeover meant the first lady and the Committee for the Preservation of the White House "spent a lot of time looking at blues, holding blues up to the light, looking at blues in the dark," the first lady says, laughing.

She speaks from experience, having wandered downstairs at odd hours to find out how night light affected various shades. "I had a lot of input" in the project, she says. "I was very interested in this."

The final choice was an intense sapphire for the drapes and upholstery. (The Blue Room walls haven't been blue since 1961. It is now papered with a pale gold, bordered with elaborate blue swags.)

"We thought about making the walls blue but ... we were afraid blue walls would make the room too dark at night."

It is, as it always has been, a very formal room. The white enameled woodwork has been buffed to a porcelain patina. The crown molding is studded with hand-gilded acanthus leaves, which complement Monroe-era chairs.

"We spent a lot of time ... researching the wallpaper and

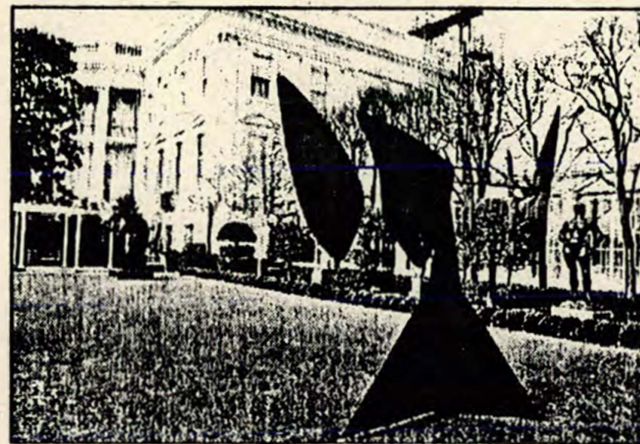
In the garden, sculpture in full glory

How does the first lady's garden grow? It has been snowed under for a while. But when Hillary Rodham Clinton peers out on it she is pleased indeed.

"It's a favorite space of mine," she says. "I have lunched out there, (held) meetings ... receptions ... cocktails before dinner. When I try to do my exercise (outside) — which is not as frequent as it should be — lots of times ... I end up walking around the garden."

The garden, originally created by Jacqueline Kennedy, is bordered by 12 sculptures, all by American artists.

The art was the first lady's idea. Her goal is "to display sculpture from different parts of the country."



By Matt Mendelsohn, USA TODAY

MIDWESTERN SCULPTURE: 'Five Rudders' by Alexander Calder, front; 'Standing Woman' by Gaston Lachaise, right

The first grouping was borrowed from Midwest collections. Among the works are

Standing Woman, a striking big-bottomed nude by Gaston Lachaise, and Five Rudders

by Alexander Calder. "It was one of those things that I held my breath on," she says. "It could have been a total bust (if) the quality of the pieces chosen not been so high."

While waiting for the next exhibit, due this spring, Clinton is keeping her eyes on the ground.

"The Dutch named a tulip for me," she says. "It's beautiful. It's a pink and white striped tulip."

Bulbs were planted in the garden. "I'm waiting for them to come up," she says. Staffers are under orders: "If you see any signs of them ... let me know."

Does the president have a tulip? "Not named after him, no," she laughs. "I will give him one of my tulips."

The finest of U.S. crafts lend notes of elegance

In June 1993, Hillary Rodham Clinton launched the White House Collection of American Crafts, asking U.S. artists to contribute a piece of their art. In choosing the artists, "we worked with Michael Monroe of the Renwick Gallery (of the National Museum of American Art)," Clinton says.

Contributors range from "established artists like Dale Chihuly and young American artists who are not yet established but who we think you'll hear of in years to come," says the first lady. The Clintons have a small personal collection "we care about a lot."

These are not the cute lop-eared-bunnies-wearing-hats sort of crafts. They are museum-quality art and are displayed throughout the house. A coffee-table book featuring the complete collection is due out in May (Harry N. Abrams, Inc., \$35). The first lady is writing the introduction.

The White House Collection of American Crafts will be on exhibit at the National Museum of American Art in Washington, D.C. from April 28 through Sept. 4, 1995.



By John Bigelow Taylor for the National Museum of American Art
CRAFTS: 'Cerulean Blue Macchia With Chartreuse Lip Wrap,' by Dale Chihuly

the design and the borders and the swag," Clinton says.

Clinton and the committee sweated the details. "Right until the very end we were having these long discussions about exactly how the swag drapery border would be hung. ... The workmen were in the room and we were still debating about how it should be turned out. ... It turned out great and I'm so relieved. You can imag-

ine the responsibility."

The end result: "This is a room I would adore having in my own house," she says. "Now, I really feel very comfortable in (the Red, Green and Blue) rooms."

Put-up-your-feet comfortable? "We do like to come down here. We've entertained personally in both the Red Room and the Green Room and had desserts in both. We've

had family meals," she says.

Such grandeur doesn't always appeal to a young teen. "I think it was a little hard for (Chelsea). I mean, she was not at all keen about the idea of living in a museum," her mom says, adding, "We've redone our private quarters to suit ourselves and take advantage of our furniture."

"One thing we did, which made a big difference (to Chelsea),

was to move the kitchen table and chairs into a little upstairs serving kitchen so that we don't eat our meals in the formal upstairs dining room except on special occasions. We try to have dinner together every night we can. We sit around and she tells us about her day and we talk about our day. It's just real casual, very laid back, very family oriented," she says.

Upstairs is "as laid back as you can be with ceilings this high and beautifully shaped rooms that you know were inhabited by the Lincolns, the Jeffersons and the Roosevelts. ... You're always aware of how extraordinarily significant this place is," she says.

The first lady throws herself into a mini-tour of significant sights. Upstairs, in the official receiving rooms, the first lady

shows off tangible pieces of history, including a "sugar bowl owned by the Fillmores" and a jeweled Indonesian dagger. "Bill and I ... get all these wonderful gifts that will eventually go to (National) Archives, but we like to display some of them," she says, pulling the wavy knife from its sheath and holding it mid-air.

"Isn't that something?" she asks. Indeed it is.

file

Who's Behind the Culture War?

**Contemporary Assaults on Freedom of
Expression**

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THE · NATHAN · CUMMINGS · FOUNDATION

• Charles R. Halpern
President

May 16, 1994

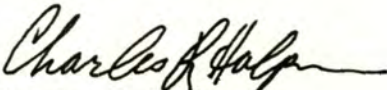
Dear Colleague:

The Arts Program of the Nathan Cummings Foundation has been concerned with the recent emergence of efforts to suppress artistic speech and freedom of expression.

In an effort better to understand the complex forces at play in these contemporary art controversies, which are part of a much larger cultural debate, the Foundation has commissioned award-winning journalist Mark Schapiro to research the enclosed report, *Who's Behind the Culture War? Contemporary Assaults on Freedom of Expression*.

We are pleased to share his work with you and hope you find it informative.

Sincerely,


Charles R. Halpern

Who's Behind the Culture War?

Contemporary Assaults on Freedom of Expression

by Mark Schapiro

Additional research by Steven Gardiner of the Coalition for Human Dignity.

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INTRODUCTION

The contemporary assault on the arts and freedom of expression arises primarily from a movement battling what it considers to be a profoundly meaningful war against moral decay in our society. It draws force from religious conviction; from long-standing anti-intellectual traditions in the United States; from class conflicts that counterpose 'elitist' support for the arts against the perceived interests of 'average' Americans; from the interests of those who perceive themselves as 'besieged' by social pressures beyond their control (economic recession, immigration, pornography, the 'hedonism' of Hollywood contributing to discord in the family). During the debate over reauthorization of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting in 1992, Senator Robert Dole conjured a class component to these conflicts in his characterization of the typical member of PBS as someone who "has a wine cellar in their basement," and had "just returned from a trip to Europe."

The struggle has its roots in both politics and aesthetics—meaning the definitions of behavior and imagery that are considered publicly acceptable and worthy of government encouragement—giving rise to what is now commonly referred to as the "culture war." It is fueled at the national level by organizations of politically-motivated religious activists, utilizing the depiction of blasphemy, sex, and violence in the arts as a powerful and lucrative stimulus for recruitment and funds; and at the grass-roots, by a network of religiously-motivated activists generally politicized by the abortion debate and now drawn into activist politics by their visceral reactions to government funding of art they find offensive, and thus unacceptable as a recipient of tax dollars. The religious basis to these objections—rooted in concern over the effects of sexual and violent imagery in the media and the arts on the nation's children—has become a primary organizing principle. Many new converts are drawn to the moral vision offered as a solution to society's ills.

The recruitment ground for such religiously-based political activism is quite fertile, as demonstrated by a dramatic shift over the past thirty years in Americans' religious loyalties. Mainstream (non-explicitly political) Protestant denominations (Episcopal, Presbyterian, etc.) have lost an estimated 25% of their membership over the last 25 years; from an estimated 30-40% of the U.S. population in 1960, their membership has plunged to below 20% today, according to surveys conducted by Lyman Kellstedt, a professor of Political Science at Wheaton College. During the same period, according to Kellstedt, the membership in evangelical churches—those most likely to drive the debate over cultural values in the public arena—has remained steady at an estimated 26% of the population; given the over 40% rise in the U.S. population, this proportionate holding pattern represents a dramatic rise in sheer numbers of those involved in the evangelical movement. Evangelicals are also by far the most active and avid churchgoers

of all denominations, according to Kellstedt's research. These numbers illustrate the rich vein of church-affiliated potential activists who have helped propel the debate over public support for the arts into an unprecedentedly high profile. (Evangelicals, the heart of the loose amalgam of religiously motivated political groups that have come to be known as the 'Religious Right', include an array of denominations, including Baptists, Free Methodists, Pentecostals, Evangelical Presbyterians, Adventists and non-church based Protestants—who often worship through televangelists and are the fastest growing sector of the Evangelical movement).

When art is used as a wedge issue in this political struggle, the aesthetic conflict becomes clear—a deeply felt disagreement over the very purpose of art. As James Davison Hunter, Professor of Sociology and Religious Studies at the University of Virginia, observes in his book, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*, "For the orthodox and their conservative allies, artistic creativity is concerned to reflect a higher reality. For their opponents, art is concerned with the creation of reality itself." For the latter, the search for truth is an ever-unfolding process by each individual; for the former, the truths, already found, reside in the religious doctrine of Jesus Christ. The idea that the individual creates himself—whether through art or countless other forms of self-expression—is at the philosophical core of the dispute over what constitutes an 'acceptable' form of expression, for those who care to distinguish in the first place.

One encounters this conflicting vision of the individual's relationship to art and society most directly in the objections by groups like Citizens for Excellence in Education to new textbooks, such as *Pumsy: In Pursuit of Excellence; Developing Understanding of the Self and Others*. These objections revolve around the book's emphasis upon a child's individual self-definition, and not finding that definition within a Christian context—or, as the social scientist James Wilson is quoted by Heritage Foundation Fellow William Bennett, the embracing of "an ethos that values self-expression over self-control." Such attacks reveal the polar opposite perspectives on either side of the cultural divide—and the aesthetic and philosophical base at the root of their use as organizing tools.

This struggle over defining America's cultural values has begun to manifest itself in every sector of American public life, from school curricula to national arts policy. William Bennett, the former National Drug Control Policy Director, now a Fellow for Cultural Policy Studies at the Heritage Foundation, has launched a campaign to focus specifically on the "cultural indicators" of America's decline. In doing so, he makes the cultural component to the political battle explicit: 'culture' and 'values', in all of their various artistic and lifestyle connotations, are ascribed a high degree of responsibility for a litany of America's social problems—crime, the decline of 'family values', declining educational standards, etc.—though it could be persuasively argued

that cultural expressions are as much a symptom as a cause of such problems. Of course, Bennett's rise-to-arms over our cultural decline is often a code word for objecting to behavior that veers from the norm—homosexuality being the most popular example.

While the "culture war" has its strong Washington component—focused around attacks on the NEA, gay rights and other 'family values' standard bearers—it is fed by well-organized grass-roots campaigns. An illustrative example of how local battles can rapidly become national in scope occurred at a community meeting in Colorado Springs sponsored by Colorado for Family Values—the primary sponsor of Amendment 2, which prohibits municipalities or the state from protecting homosexuals from discrimination. At the meeting last winter, fifty or so 'concerned local citizens' listened as Amber Jorgensen, the Chairwoman of CFV, brandished a copy of the book, *Children of the Rainbow*, and admonished her listeners to "keep an eye out for this book!" Denouncing its "promotion of the gay lifestyle," she asked the attendees to write letters to state and national representatives protesting its inclusion in school curricula. As a model for action, she cited the current controversy over the book in New York. Multiplied by dozens of such meetings around the country, this particular gathering demonstrated how the emotionally-charged issue of what different viewpoints children should be exposed to is emerging as a rallying cry for those who would limit the range of expression in other areas as well.

Indeed, the New York City School Board elections in May 1993 provided a stark example of how such local battles can, with a high degree of organization, quickly become national loci for action: here in New York, the Christian Coalition and the Traditional Values Coalition were highly active in organizing coalitions of religious activists, Hispanic, Black and Jewish religious communities to support Christian candidates for school boards. Though the election itself was not considered a resounding success for the religious movement—they succeeded in several already conservative districts, but were blocked from citywide victory—such an operation is illustrative of how concerted effort by a number of groups can ride such hot-button issues as sex education, condom distribution and 'multicultural' curriculum issues to the polls. More recently, the Christian Coalition provided logistical and material support to former civil rights activist Roy Innis, who attempted to drive the cultural agenda of the Religious Right into the New York mayoral race. Clearly, such a campaign can be galvanized quickly, on the ground or in the mails, utilizing the high-voltage imagery associated with sexuality and human body as rallying points for debate over cultural values.

William Bennett and his presumed rival for the 1996 Republican presidential nomination Pat Buchanan are attempting to do just that—hitching their political aspirations to an assault on cultural values, competing in their

different styles over the same terrain. While Bennett utilizes statistical analyses purporting to correlate social problems to declining commitment to traditional American values, Pat Buchanan's new group, The American Cause—funded through a direct mail drive to funders of his 1992 presidential campaign—launches a direct assault on the cultural industries themselves. He advocates a sort of right-wing version of feminist 'take-back-the-night' strategy, demanding that conservatives reclaim the channels of communication from the 'liberal establishment'. At a two-day, "Winning the Culture War" conference held in Washington in May 1993, Buchanan equated the ongoing "Culture War" to the Cold War—a long haul struggle that demands vigilance and relentless counter assaults against those deemed harmful to American interests. Buchanan calls for conservatives to challenge the 'cultural elite' where it counts: in the fields of writing and arts, attempting to redefine the content of the cultural industries with an "alternative culture." Speakers at the conference demanded that conservatives start writing and producing television shows, newspapers and artwork to "take back America." James Cooper, editor of American Arts Quarterly, demanded consumer boycotts of corporations that support such artists as Annie Sprinkle and exhibitions of the shows of the late Mapplethorpe. Buchanan, who will be taking his campaign on the road, is clearly attempting to re-ignite his political career by putting art and culture at the frontline of an expected bid for the presidency in 1996.

TIES THAT BLIND

Buchanan, Bennett, and others who have taken to exploiting the cultural divide for political reasons are on the secular side of the debate that has made political use of the Serrano and Mapplethorpe controversies—which were the first real test of the waters of culture as a prime motivating issue. They are essentially secular politicians, who have had the ground laid down for them on this issue by the Religious Right. Important ties between the secular and religious right are sustained through two organizations: the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation and the Council for National Policy.

The Council for National Policy, founded in 1984 by Timothy LaHaye (known for denouncing nude figures in Renaissance art as "the forerunner of the modern humanist's demand for pornography") and billionaire Nelson Bunker Hunt, has evolved into a forum for bringing wealthy funders together with conservative activists to discuss projects of mutual interest. Highly secretive, it considers itself a conservative alternative to the establishment Council on Foreign Relations. Major funding comes from Nelson Bunker Hunt and members of the Coors family; membership costs \$2,000, and a position on the group's Board of Governors can be purchased with a \$5,000 donation. These board members then elect an Executive Committee, which has included leading lights of the secular and religious

right—The Reverends Pat Robertson and Donald Wildmon have served along with secular conservative leaders such as Oliver North, Joseph Coors, Paul Weyrich, Richard DeVos, Richard Viguerie, and Phyllis Schlafly. The Council's aim is to coordinate the activities of the various groups represented by their membership.

The Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, founded by new-right impresario Paul Weyrich as a "public charity," is a far more active lobbying force than the CNP, bringing its considerable resources to bear on issues from abortion to gay rights in Congress. According to the Institute for First Amendment Studies, its estimated \$6 to \$7 million annual budget comes from such stalwarts of right-wing funding as members of the Coors family; the De Moss foundation; Michael and Helen Valerio of Papa Gino's Italian restaurants; California millionaire Howard Ahmanson and his Fieldstead Foundation; and the DeVos Foundation, funded by Richard and Helen DeVos of the Amway Corporation. The Bradley Foundation has also been a major funder. The Foundation's most advanced work to date has been in the area of high-technology communications to unite the varying branches of the secular and religious right.

Free Congress is now the key force behind one of the most significant developments in the use of high technology for spreading the conservative ideology and tactical political advice on questions of culture, as well as economics: the budding new television system, National Empowerment Television. NET provides an interactive satellite television service for its participating organizations—which include Eagle Forum, Concerned Women for America, the Christian Coalition and Family Research Council (all described later in this report), as well as the National Right to Life Committee and National Association of Evangelicals (the coordinating body for evangelical churches). The service is accessible to participating groups for whom it serves as a sort of cross-fertilization service, a means to share information and mobilize members around issues from the confirmation battle over Lani Guinier to opposition to the refunding of the National Endowment for the Arts. Through its leadership, NET provides a critical bridge between the secular and religious right. Paul Weyrich, the President of NET, also serves on the faculty of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition Leadership Schools, which organize workshops on the nuts and bolts of political activism across the country; William Bennett is Chairman; and Ralph Reed, Executive Director of the Christian Coalition, is a Director. The Christian Coalition has used the NET system for nationwide teleconferenced meetings between its national headquarters in Virginia and state and local affiliates. In addition to providing teleconference services, NET produces four television shows of its own beamed to members: on economic, cultural, black and student issues. The potential of the system to galvanize public opinion around specific issues has already been demonstrated: former President Bush reportedly fired his head of the National Endowment for the

Arts John Frohnmayer after an NET call for action resulted in a flood of irate mail and phone calls objecting to the NEA's funding of "obscene art."

In December, 1993, NET was dramatically expanded into a full-blown twenty-four hour television service, distributed by satellite and cable, that offers weekly programs reflecting the religious and secular right's agenda on political, economic, cultural and social issues. The service, produced in Washington, DC, features some of the 'stars' of the right, such as Rep. Newt Gingrich doing a show on national politics, "The Progress Report;" Burton Pines, formerly with the Heritage Foundation, hosting "Capitol Watch;" a phone-in show with Free Congress Foundation head Paul Weyrich; and "Youngblood," a show aimed at young people to "challenge the cynicism of MTV." Other programs, according to the NET Program guide, focus specifically on the cultural agenda: "Entertaining Right" will critique all forms of popular entertainment—including television, films, comic books, and art—from a traditional values perspective; "Spin Doctor" will analyze major stories aired on the networks and attempt to put a counter-spin on stories that neglect their point of view; "E Pluribus Unum" will attempt to demonstrate the "shared cultural values" among Americans that transcend race, class, and gender (a sort of conservative version of multiculturalism). The service will be the first nationwide television system to admit to an explicit political agenda (made possible by the FCC's repeal of the "fairness doctrine" during the Reagan Administration). To launch this program, NET has engaged in large-scale fundraising to meet its \$10 million annual first year budget; the William Brady Foundation, for example, gave the Free Congress Foundation a \$1 million grant in the summer of 1993 to fund the expansion of the television network. The system will also be accepting advertising; several mainstream companies, such as Braun, Phillips CD-1 and Time-Life Music have already agreed to become sponsors. With its ability to reach millions of people in their living rooms, NET could become the most powerful tool yet in intensifying the controversies that circulate around questions of cultural, social, and political policy.

LOCAL ART ATTACKS

The overall climate of increasing dissent over federal government arts policies has succeeded in raising the temperature around artistic and related cultural issues, making attacks on art one disagrees with seem more acceptable, from whatever point of view, religious or secular, right or left. People for the American Way reports an unprecedented number of local attacks on artistic expression across the country—more than 200 reported incidents in 43 states and the District of Columbia. Challenges achieved some measure of success in 63% of incidents documented. The group estimates that twenty percent of those attacks stem directly from the orchestrated involvement of national groups; the remainder are the response of parents

or citizens outraged at what they consider to be offensive political or sexual content (though in some cases national Religious Right groups subsequently get involved after initial protests by local churches or citizens—as occurred in Cobb County, Georgia). These incidents range from small exhibits in municipal buildings to large scale attacks on museums like the Whitney. As illustrated below, these attacks can come from the left as well as from the right, as well as from those with no immediately identifiable political allegiance.

For example, earlier this year, a traveling exhibit sponsored by the Indochina Arts Project in Boston featuring the works of twenty American and Vietnamese artists expressing the two perspectives on the Vietnam War, was denounced before arriving at museums in San Jose and Minneapolis by the local Vietnamese community for its alleged "pro-Communist" bias. After the protests, those two museums refused to mount the show, though it had previously traveled to nine major cities without incident. The organizer of the exhibit, himself a Vietnam veteran, may now be experiencing the after effects of this unintended publicity, finding that museums across the country are refusing to mount a subsequent, non-War related, exhibition of Vietnamese artists, fearing another round of adverse publicity. Another example of free expression clashing with unprompted local sensibilities: in Watsonville, California—a heavily Hispanic, agricultural town in northern California—there was great controversy last year over a photo display at City Hall including portraits of the victims of the civil war in El Salvador, when 26 city government employees objected to the photos as "un-American." Though the city refused to take down the exhibit, it did promise to initiate closer review of future city-sponsored art projects—a response quite common among beleaguered municipal arts agencies, which implies the future possibility of self-censorship before potentially controversial artworks are ever shown.

From the left, the feminist writings of Catharine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin have inspired a slew of attacks based on imagery that is deemed insensitive to women, or politically objectionable. This was certainly the case last year in Santa Cruz (hardly the heart of American conservatism) when feminist activists objected to a work of performance art at a local festival that they deemed would promote violence against women. That work continued to play to sold-out crowds despite an attempt by local feminists to organize pull-outs by local sponsors of the performance festival. This incident echoes a similar case at the University of Michigan, when feminist supporters of Catharine MacKinnon refused to permit a work conveying imagery of prostitution at a public forum.

Recently, some MacKinnon-inspired anti-pornography activists have developed a unique spin on the First Amendment, asserting that art they find offensive is not protected as "free speech" because it falls under the statutes

prohibiting "sexual harassment." Since the beginning of the year, numerous art exhibits have been singled out by women and men as creating a "hostile work environment," thus falling under the sexual harassment guidelines of federal and local Equal Employment Opportunity statutes. These efforts likened "visual" with actual physical harassment, and succeeded in having removed from display such works as Goya's "Naked Maja," which a Pennsylvania college professor complained inspired sexual fantasies among her male students; a tapestry of images drawn from Norse mythology that included a naked sea goddess in a municipal building in Seattle; and a series of woodcuts that included a naked Aphrodite, hanging in the lobby of the City Hall of Menlo Park, California. All of these works were removed from public view after challenges were submitted alleging that they constituted "sexual harassment."

Another example of what is perceived as 'censorship' inspired by 'progressive' ideals was raised during the confirmation hearings of Sheldon Hackney, the new Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. The strong policy against racial harassment that Hackney initiated at the University of Pennsylvania, and which led to sanctions against a student for calling a group of black women 'water buffalo', came back to haunt him. During the hearings, we witnessed a strange pirouette among Religious Right groups, who postured themselves as the advocates of "free speech" arrayed against the oppressive forces of "political correctness" on campus.

ART ATTACKS FROM THE 'RIGHT'

In none of the above examples (there are numerous others) was there evident involvement of the nationally organized Religious Right—which nevertheless bears primary responsibility for pushing the issue of public arts to the forefront. Overall, it has been their efforts to monitor federal, state and local arts programs that have thrust the previously non-controversial federal arts bureaucracy into the center of political debate, and in the process changed the atmosphere for funding on the national and local level—as occurred last August in Cobb County, Georgia.

When the Cobb County Commission of Cobb County, Georgia responded to a local production of Terrence McNally's play "Lips Together, Teeth Apart," which includes positive portrayals of modern gay life, by voting to rescind all arts funding in the county, it was a foreboding example of the power that conservative local communities can exert over arts projects that contain the merest scent of controversy. The County Commission's first attempt was to establish 'family values' criteria for any municipal arts funding. The impossibility of defending such criteria legally led the legislators to simply eliminate the \$110,000 county arts budget entirely—which will end school arts and other popular programs as well as funding for the local theatre which

first produced the play—but is a position that is difficult to legally challenge. While the basis of such efforts are rooted in conservative attitudes and values on the local level—and in fears spurred by the unfamiliar and threatening—a network of groups and individuals are playing a key role in fueling the local fires. In this case, state chapters of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition and Donald Wildmon's American Family Association supported the local protests against "Lips Together" by alerting their membership and conducting their own letter-writing campaigns against the arts programs.

When a national group gets involved in an art-related issue, as it did in Cobb County, it can wield enormous power by the combination of media and popular pressure. In Orlando, Florida, for example, last year an art exhibit touching on AIDS-related themes was attacked first by the state chapter of Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, then by the national Coalition, and subsequently became a target in the newsletters of Focus on the Family, the Family Research Council and Jerry Falwell's Liberty Foundation. The massive letter-writing campaign from the combined membership of these groups was enough to pressure the Florida Secretary of State into issuing a warning that he will review more closely all subsequent art projects supported with state funds (an echo of the previously cited example in Watsonville).

The Rev. Donald Wildmon's American Family Association state chapters have also been active in protesting local art exhibits across the country. Most recently, an AFA local in Ohio protested a campus exhibit featuring the works of two alumnus of Ohio State University in Lancaster for its homo-erotic and blasphemous images. The protests prompted the administration to hold a public forum on issues raised by the exhibit—which was inconclusive, but may be illustrative of one means of releasing the hot emotions that surface around such exhibits.

What right does the government have to fund art that many individuals in a community may find offensive? Is it 'censorship' to deny public funds to such projects? These questions have suddenly been charged with political vibration, radiating from the local to the national level, and fueled by mass mailings, the sophisticated use of mass media and targeted lobbying campaigns—as demonstrated in July 1993, when the House of Representatives cut \$8.7 million from the next year's National Endowment for the Arts budget (half of that cut was later restored by the Senate Appropriations Committee). Moves by such lobbying groups as the Christian Action Network, which held its equivalent of a 'degenerate art' show in the halls of Congress this summer—displaying the works of photographer Joel Peter Witkin and video excerpts from the Gay and Lesbian Film Festival, both of which received partial funding from the NEA—have pushed the question of federal arts support once again to the fore, after a seeming lull following the Mapplethorpe controversy.

The anti-NEA lobbying effort, led by the Christian Action Network, and supported by writings in the Washington Times and the newsletter of the Family Research Council, demonstrates how powerful the use of controversial art images can still be, three years after the Mapplethorpe controversy, in arguing against funding the NEA. The CAN, a self-appointed voice for the Religious Right agenda in Washington DC, is made up of former Jerry Falwell Moral Majority activists, supported by a membership of approximately 60,000. The Network hand-delivered a letter to every freshman Congressman delineating its arguments for a complete defunding of the NEA. In the letter, Martin Mawyer, President of the CAN, explicitly cited two shows at the Whitney Museum of Art during the summer of 1993: *Abject Art: Repulsion and Desire in American Art* and *The Subject of Rape*. Mawyer wrote that those two shows, with their emphasis on sexual, excretory and other imagery drawn from the human physiognomy, illustrated the use of NEA funds for "the grotesque, the exploitative, the blasphemous"—simplified concepts that are difficult to defend in home Congressional districts. Though neither show received direct NEA support, a \$20,000 NEA grant to the museum's Independent Fellowship Program, whose fellows organized the show, was used to tar the entire agency's grant-giving priorities—another among numerous instances in which any relationship whatsoever between an arts institution and the NEA may be quickly conflated into a relationship between the agency and controversial art.

The Network also singled out the Whitney Museum's 1993 Biennial Exhibition for criticism—the vomit pile on the floor, et al—and the renowned photographer Joel Peter Witkin, recipient of several NEA fellowships, describing some of his more lurid photographs in detail. "Either the federal government will fund the arts, the good along with the disgusting, or it will fund neither," argued Mawyer. "In a day and age when we are attempting to control the deficit, we believe the NEA should go." During the House floor debate, Rep. Dornan and other anti-NEA congressmen cited Mawyer's examples directly from his letter. Prior to the NEA vote, lobbyists from the American Family Association, Family Research Council, Christian Coalition and Concerned Women of America were pushing for a vote in favor of the Crane amendment to abolish the agency altogether; though defeated, the measure picked up 105 votes, up 20 from last year. Though there appears to be little real threat on Capitol Hill to the actual existence of the NEA, the House vote indicates that the agency is still quite vulnerable to arguments that mix economics with aesthetics.

In Washington, the economic argument against the NEA carries at least equal, if not greater, weight than fire-and-brimstone moralism. The Heritage Foundation has long played an important intellectual function in the battle against public support of the arts: with grants from the Bradley Foundation, it supports the work of William Bennett and, until recently, Laurence Jarvik, a

prolific writer who issued numerous tracts and articles calling for the privatization of PBS and defunding of the NEA. Earlier this year, Jarvik created the Center for the Study of Popular Culture, now independent from Heritage, from which he launches his mini-think tank style studies and opinions. Jarvik does not consider himself motivated by the Christian agenda; rather, he argues that the free market should be allowed to run its course with the arts and television. PBS, he asserts, is redundant with commercial cable television; the government, he says, has no role supporting artists, who should be allowed to rise or fall with the market. It is this argument that, in the long run, may ultimately hold sway in Congress; his influence over anti-NEA members of Congress is considerable. Jarvik's proposal to eliminate the NEA's Peer Panel Review grant approval process, and to send 70% of the NEA's funds to be administered by the states, was incorporated directly into a bill by Representative Armev that was defeated in the House in July.

Nevertheless, outside of the Beltway, it is the cultural divide—and not economics per se—that fuels the fires of debate over free expression in the arts. In the next section of this report, I shall describe the key groups of the Religious Right involved in this debate; explore their tactics, funding and growing media empires that deliver their message to growing numbers of the American public; and attempt to reveal the effect of concentrated religious political power on one community in particular, Colorado Springs, Colorado—where their success in obtaining some considerable measure of power gives us a glimpse into what may be in store on a larger level for questions of freedom of expression. All of the groups mentioned here cooperate closely; through periodic meetings such as Pat Robertson's Religious Roundtable and Leadership Council, and through the Council for National Policy; through interactive 'meetings' on National Empowerment Television; and, more informally, through fax, newsletters and phone.

There is, in fact, a loosely defined division of labor among the major Religious Right groups. As the Rev. Lou Sheldon, President of the Traditional Values Coalition in Anaheim, told me: "'Don' (Wildmon) has got pornography; 'Randy' (Terry) has got abortion; 'Phyllis' (Schlafly) and Beverly LaHaye's Concerned Women for America have religious liberties; 'Jim' (Dobson, head of Focus on the Family) has family values; the Christian Coalition does candidates; and I've got the homosexuals."

All of this adds up to a fiercely organized, and well-funded, political movement, revolving around questions of what is and is not a legitimate recipient of government support—or, in the case of gay rights, government protection. At its base are profound cultural differences, reflecting very real cleavages in American society. Though the 'culture war' can hardly be said to be orchestrated by any single source, the groups that follow have played a critical role in helping to define the parameters of debate over what forms of

expression are acceptable in the public domain—and in channeling sentiment against certain particularly controversial artworks into a larger political struggle. Their attempts to define for all of America what is and is not acceptable challenge notions of tolerance and diversity that have long been at the core of publicly-supported arts programs.

THE POLITICS AND THE AESTHETICS: KEY PLAYERS ON THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

*Think Like Jesus...Fight Like David...Lead Like
Moses...Run Like Lincoln.*

—Christian Coalition motto

*Current expressions of human dignity, morality
and social order are possible only because of our
Christian heritage.*

—from Focus on the Family Community Impact Curriculum

- **CHRISTIAN COALITION—Virginia Beach, Virginia. Leader: Pat Robertson.**

The *political* end of the Religious Right movement is, of course, centered around Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, headquartered in Leesburg, Virginia. As has been well-reported elsewhere, since Robertson's 1988 presidential campaign, the Coalition has refocused its efforts to local and state races—the most successful example of late being in San Diego county. According to People for the American Way, forty percent of the more than 500 candidates who ran for local, state and national office in 1992 with Christian Coalition backing or affiliation won—a remarkable record for an organization that, at least technically, exists outside either political party (and, realistically, exists almost wholly within the Republican Party).

Each of the 250,000 dues-paying members of the Coalition belong to one of the group's 550 county chapters organized in 49 states—a level of political organization that gives the group enormous leverage on a local level, the advance troops of the Religious Right's determination to "go local." By the end of 1993, Robertson has declared his aim to have over 1,000 local chapters, full-time staff in twenty states and 50,000 trained precinct leaders with 25,000 church liaison leaders to provide local leadership. The Coalition spent an estimated \$13 million on political campaigns last year. Its aim now is take control of the Republican Party apparatus state-by-state—a goal already accomplished in Iowa, Louisiana, South Carolina and Washington, while

major battles between Christian Coalition-affiliated and traditional Republicans are underway in at least nine other states. In explaining the Coalition's 'stealth' strategy, the group's chief strategist, Ralph Reed, invokes the vocabulary of spiritual warfare: "It comes down to whether you want to be the British army in the Revolutionary War or the Viet Cong. History tells us which tactic was more effective." At the vanguard of their grassroots guerrilla war, the Coalition is sponsoring two-day political seminars, dubbed 'Leadership Schools', in thirty three states this year to teach the mechanics of running a campaign and influencing local policy to its precinct captains and church leaders. This decentralized power structure can have dramatic effects. In Oregon, for example, the Oregon Citizens Alliance operates as a de facto chapter of the Christian Coalition, acting as a non-profit 501 (c)(3), and effectively running the 'No Special Rights Committee', which sponsored the anti-gay rights initiative last year.

In addition to creating what is essentially a nationwide political machine, Pat Robertson has immense visibility through his growing media empire, which also provides him with financial self-sufficiency. The Family Channel, where he appears as host of the '700 Club', reaches an estimated 54 million homes and generated \$13 million in profits last year. Through the Christian Broadcasting Network—less a network now than a financial holding company—Robertson oversees Regent University in Virginia (a liberal arts college with a \$200 million annual operating budget, offering courses in law, communications and theology), program production for the Family Channel and other religious broadcasters, a radio network, and a lucrative Conference Center and resort in Virginia Beach. CBN brought in an estimated \$106 million last year—three-quarters of that total coming from donations. Robertson himself is undoubtedly one of the highest paid religious leaders in the country: according to a filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission in 1992, his salary was \$372,000 that year; his brother and partner, Tim, received \$497,000. Overall, the Family Channel is now valued at \$500 million; and the Christian Broadcast Network pulls in over \$100 million a year in revenues—approximately three-quarters of that through donations. Robertson's is by far the largest in an already-thriving evangelical media network, which includes approximately 1,300 religious radio stations and over 200 local religious television stations.

Robertson's media enterprise is part pure business, part ecumenical: earlier this year, he started a new cable channel, The Game Channel, an interactive all-game show; last year he purchased the television production company, MTM Enterprises, which produces, among other network shows, *Designing Women*; while his participation in the Free Congress Foundation-sponsored National Empowerment Television enables Christian Coalition chapters around the country to conduct live interactive meetings with the Virginia Beach headquarters.

This vast reach in sophisticated television media gives Robertson a powerful platform for his views. In 1989, for example, he used the '700 Club' to launch attacks on the NEA. After showing examples of "blasphemous and offensive art" funded with government money, his switchboard and mailboxes were flooded with the responses of outraged citizens, providing the popular support for his call to cut off all support to the NEA. That effort has not abated: In the fall of 1991, Robertson used the spectre of "vile" NEA-funded art as the focal point of a fund-raising drive for the Christian Coalition; and has repeatedly displayed examples of "unChristian" art, asking national television viewers to write letters to cut off funding for the NEA. His tactic is explicitly political, telling his followers to inform Congressmen or local officials that, "If you support pornography, you're not getting my vote"—the message that he delivered in over 300 newspaper ads that ran in every state, as well as on radio and tv stations. At a meeting last year of the National Campaign for Freedom of Expression, numerous Washington-based arts administrators complained that this tactic does work: that by introducing simply worded bills denouncing pornography, his supporters force up-down votes on bills that, though unlikely to survive even the simplest court challenge, could be used as fodder against them in campaigns. In this fashion, Robertson's effort helped lay the groundwork for the Congressional floor fight over Jesse Helms' "decency" language for the NEA.

Over the last two years, the Christian Coalition has been softening its cultural call-to-arms in an attempt to broaden its political base, expanding the notion of 'family values' to include tax, crime and health policies that help families in explicit, non-symbolic, ways. In the summer 1993 issue of the conservative policy journal Policy Review, a political journal published by the Heritage Foundation, Ralph Reed, Executive Director of the Coalition, admitted that the movement's stress on cultural issues was primarily tactical. "The issues of abortion and gay rights have been important in attracting activists and building coalitions," wrote Reed, "When tactics become ends in themselves, however, social movements falter." The Coalition is currently targeting its lobbying in Congress and through local chapters on more traditional issues that "speak to the concern of average voters"—including increased tax exemptions for families with children; health care; a return to basics in the schools; and increased crime prevention. The Coalition's call to abolish the National Endowment for the Arts now stresses the agency's 'waste and abuse' of government resources as much as its support for 'un-Christian' art.

The various elements to Robertson's political, media and evangelical empire appear to operate seamlessly, in tandem. Several aspects of his complicated financial affairs, however, threaten to derail the smooth functioning of these various enterprises. The Securities and Exchange Commission is currently investigating Robertson's creation of a corporate shell, International Family Entertainment, Inc., which he used to purchase the Family Channel from the

Christian Broadcast Network—a move mandated by the IRS' determination in 1989 that the Family Channel could no longer operate under the non-profit protection of the CBN. Robertson and his brother bought 6 million shares in Family Channel, through IFE, for pennies a share—while the company's value has leapt from \$250 million to \$500 million in just three years. The SEC is questioning whether Robertson paid a fair price (essentially to himself) when he purchased the Family Channel from CBN. The tangled financial affairs of CBN have already led to its ouster from the Virginia Beach Better Business Bureau, which last year placed the Network on its list of charities that failed to meet the bureau's basic standards of accountability for non-profit organizations. In addition, the IRS continues to audit the Christian Coalition's 501 (c)(4) status, investigating whether it has violated IRS standards regulating the political activities of non-profits—by distributing voter guides, targeting specific races for Christian Coalition-sponsored "voter education," and other explicitly political activities—as alleged by the Democratic National Committee. One curious fact noted in the DNC complaint: one of the largest donors to the Christian Coalition was the Republican Senatorial Committee, which gave \$64,000 to the Coalition in 1990; and a \$31,000 donation that the Coalition gave to the Virginia Republican Party in 1991.

Robertson's varied sources of financial support make it extremely difficult to target one particular source over another. For example, the Coalition's \$13 million budget does not include money spent and raised by the state chapters—including fifteen statewide groups with full-time staff. Though his media enterprises continue to be extremely profitable, Robertson still relies on the rubber-chicken circuit for the cash to support his political aspirations. At one dinner-and-breakfast weekend last September to raise funds for the Christian Coalition's activities during the presidential election, he raised over \$100,000 from donors who gave from \$1,000 to \$20,000 each—including a cross-section of doctors, dentists, lawyers, car dealers and others.

- **AMERICAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION—Tupelo, Mississippi**
Leader: Don Wildmon

The American Family Association provided the initial spark igniting the controversy over NEA funding of the arts, when a local member in Virginia alerted Wildmon of the Andres Serrano exhibit at a local museum. Wildmon publicized the case in his newsletter, AFA Journal, took out full-page newspaper ads and initiated a massive letter-writing campaign aimed at Congress. The group has been the most direct in its attacks on specific art exhibits and network, cable and public television shows (PBS has been a favored target, with over a dozen specific programs, including Masterpiece Theatre and POV, criticized for excessive sex, violence or "anti-Christian bias" over the past year). Wildmon's latest target is the new ABC television show,

NYPD Blue—which he denounced in a series of newspaper ads last June for "steamy sex scenes," foul language and excessive violence.

The AFA message is delivered primarily through the million readers of its newsletter; in addition, an affiliate, the American Family Association Law Center, has four full-time lawyers working to push Wildmon's agenda in the courts. According to AFA's 1992 990 forms, the group pulled in \$7.1 million last year, primarily from donations. While Wildmon claims AFA chapters in all of the fifty states, his 990 lists groups with which he has any relations at all in only twenty-one states. And while he claims 450,000 members nationwide, independent estimates (such as TV Guide) have put his membership as low as 89,000. AFA's claim to have 640 chapters nationwide has also been shown to be grossly exaggerated: at a recent national chapter meeting attended undercover by a reporter for Mother Jones, only 40 chapter leaders showed up; of those chapters, many had as few as five members; and the remaining "chapters" were officially deemed "inactive." Yet by his well-organized calls for consumer boycotts of sponsors's products (distributed through his newsletter and picked up by the media), Wildmon has succeeded in cowing many mainstream corporate sponsors into withdrawing support from shows deemed overly violent or sexually-explicit. Whatever the true numbers, Wildmon's agitations certainly helped lay the groundwork for the network's recent agreement to label "excessively violent" television shows aired during prime time.

A team of Wildmon's lawyers—affiliated with his legal arm, the American Family Association Law Center—have been involved in a potentially precedent-setting case in Sacramento, California, challenging the use of the 'Impressions' textbook, which they claim violates the separation between church and state because several of the stories refer to witchcraft. Partly as a result of pressure from Wildmon, along with Focus on the Family, the publisher, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, has decided to forego printing another edition of the book (which features the writing of such well-known covenant members as AA Milne, Martin Luther King, Jr., Dr. Seuss and C.S. Lewis). Wildmon, a Reverend, is at the furthest extreme of Christian fundamentalism, having served on the Steering Committee of the Coalition on Revival, based in Mountain View, California, which advocates a return to a theocratic state, governed by a literal interpretation of the Bible—calling for, among other things, the Christianization of public schools and other public agencies. Wildmon's rise from small-time preacher to big-time national spokesman provides an example of how issues related to the arts—with their vivid pictorial content—can be used to propel an individual to national prominence.

- **CONCERNED WOMEN FOR AMERICA—Washington, DC
Leader-Beverly LaHaye.**

With an estimated membership of 565,000 nationwide, CWA considers itself the Christian alternative to the National Organization for Women. The group claims a budget of \$10 million a year, 25 full-time staff and 2,500 local Prayer/Action chapters, a far flung base of "kitchen table lobbyists." Initially formed to oppose passage of the ERA, the group's agenda has broadened considerably through the 1980's to include the gamut of Christian right issues: abortion, abstinence education, opposition to gay rights, and opposition to government-funded arts programs. Their newsletters, sent to over a half million readers, helped initiate the massive letter-writing campaign that led to the ouster of former NEA-Chairman John Frohnmayr. LaHaye herself campaigned extensively for the anti-gay initiatives in Oregon and Colorado.

The group's state newsletters regularly offer political advice on how to organize precinct caucuses, elect delegates and pass party resolutions—key facets of the Religious Right's effort to take over the Republican Party apparatus. The group's primary voice is LaHaye ("our Joan of Arc," according to Lou Sheldon), who broadcasts a daily half-hour radio program over 28 Christian radio stations nationwide. CWA also produces a monthly magazine, *Family Voice*, with 250,000 readers; and videos, such as 'Halloween: Trick or Treat?', aimed at parents in an attempt to link that classic of American holidays to satanism.

Like many Religious Right organizations, CWA is actually two organizations, set up to comply with IRS regulations on lobbying: Concerned Women for America Education and Legal Defense Foundation is a 501 (c)(3), and is the sponsor of the group's legal arm and producer of curricula, videos and publications; Concerned Women for America, Inc. is a 501(c)(4), which permits it to engage in unlimited "non-partisan" lobbying on bills or ballot measures—which it does extensively on issues relating to abortion, pornography, gay rights and the arts.

The group is organized in true Leninist style like a political-religious SWAT squad. The basic unit of the CWA is a "prayer chain"—a group of seven individuals under the direction of a prayer leader who agree to pray on common subjects. Seven such 'chains' form a chapter, each chapter consisting of a maximum of fifty members. The chapter leaders are in turn under the direction of a regional director, who reports to the national office.

"Prayer," in this case, has broader implications than a paean to the Supreme Being. Action directives come down from the national headquarters in the form of "Special Messages" from President LaHaye—who in this fashion is able to rapidly mobilize chapters and prayer chains to action with avalanches of letters and phone calls to legislators and other public officials. For example,

when an important "pro-family" issue—i.e. abortion rights, NEA funding—comes before Congress, CWA activates its "535 Program" (435 Representatives and 100 Senators). The program targets both home offices and Capitol Hill with letters and phone calls. During a crucial vote—the nomination hearings for Clarence Thomas for example—this can unleash tens of thousands of letters onto Capitol Hill in a matter of days.

In addition, CWA's legal arm has filed numerous suits against the use of various textbooks: for example, the group sued the state of Alabama to have all traces of "secular humanism" removed from the state's textbooks; in 1986, a CWA attorney won a precedent-setting case, in which a young student was awarded \$50,521 for having her civil rights violated by being forced to read a textbook, in defiance of her parent's wishes, which included a fantasy short story about a trip to Mars and promoted "anti-Christian occultism." In California and Florida, the group has also been highly active in protesting against adult book stores and topless bars. CWA is also one of the leaders in the national campaign to defund or restrict the NEA, rousing its membership with periodic editorials against the promotion of "smut, child pornography, homosexual 'art', and pictures that blaspheme the Lord." CWA lobbyists were working the corridors up to the last minute during the House vote on the NEA in July 1993.

- **TRADITIONAL VALUES COALITION—Anaheim, California**
Leader: Rev. Lou Sheldon

From his offices in Anaheim and Washington, DC, Lou Sheldon has emerged as a high-profile spokesman for Religious Right positions opposing gay rights and the use of 'anti-Christian' curricula in the schools. The TVC consulted with both the Colorado and Oregon initiative campaigns—Beverly Sheldon, a Board member of TVC (no relation to 'Lou') is also a board member of Colorado for Family Values, which led the Amendment 2 campaign in Colorado. After his success in convincing California Governor Pete Wilson to veto a statewide gay rights bill last summer, Sheldon was dubbed by USA Today, "One of the most powerful men in California." This is a moniker that Sheldon revels in; for it is his strident position on gay rights and the arts that have propelled him from his status as a small time Presbyterian preacher in the San Fernando Valley to his big-time status as one of the chief spokesmen of the Religious Right.

Before founding the Traditional Values Coalition, Sheldon was a close aide to Pat Robertson, helping to create the Christian Broadcast Network. He formed the TVC in 1985, based on a grouping of four churches in Orange County. In 1989, he leapt into the anti-NEA campaign, establishing a platform which helped launch him from the relative obscurity of his Orange County base. At the height of the NEA battle in 1989, Sheldon was a critical force in creating

Taxpayers for Accountability in Government, an umbrella group of far right organizations which pushed Congress to eliminate funding for the NEA. Members of the group include Concerned Women for America, Eagle Forum and Citizens for Excellence in Education.

Most recently, the TVC filed a lawsuit in Santa Monica objecting to an exhibit of photos by Andres Serrano, alleging that they violate religious freedoms. "If you can't have prayer in schools," he says, "you can't have state funded art denigrating a religion either." Sheldon's group has also been regularly monitoring grants to gay and lesbian groups by the California Arts Council, and lobbied unsuccessfully several years ago to have the Council's funding cut off.

For the moment, Sheldon's other main focus has been battling to establish a more Christian-oriented school curriculum in California and elsewhere. He boasts of having whittled down homosexual references in California health textbooks from "sixteen to one, and we're trying to get that one out." Other Sheldon accomplishments on the textbook front include a successful campaign to delete all references to evolution as "scientific fact" from state science texts, and helping to spur the legislature's passage of a bill requiring abstinence education in the schools. In New York, he helped recruit a group of Orthodox Jewish rabbis—led by Yehuda Levi in Brooklyn—to create an alliance of Christians and Jews to battle the 'Children of the Rainbow', and to support the Christian-supported coalition in the school board race.

An interesting aspect to Sheldon's campaign is his drawing in of Jewish and Black groups. He couches his campaign against gay rights in civil rights terms, asserting that civil rights protections are appropriate for blacks and other minorities, but not for those who "choose" a "lifestyle"—i.e. homosexuality. He has worked closely with a Southern Baptist association, the Coalition for the Restoration of the Black Family, and led a march of black clergymen in Washington in support of Clarence Thomas. Drawing directly from the vocabulary of the civil rights movement, he comments, "People with overt values and beliefs have been sitting in the back of the bus for too long. Now that we've moved to the front of the bus, and in some cases into the drivers seat, they're screaming McCarthyism."

Having started small in Orange County, Sheldon now cooperates closely with other major players on the Religious Right—including Eagle Forum, Focus on the Family, American Family Association, and the Christian Coalition. He says that the TVC represents 25,000 churches across the country, but that figure may be grossly exaggerated: i.e. anyone he talks with at a church is then marked down as a "representative" of that church.

Last year, his operating budget was \$1.1 million. While he claims funding from 15,000 small donors—churches and individuals—significant support for

his operations also comes from a group of four Southern California businessmen who have helped fuel the resurgence of the Religious Right in California—which has fielded candidates at every level in the state, and effectively taken control of the state Republican Party. These four men are:

- HOWARD AHMANSON, who inherited a fortune from his father, founder of Home Savings & Loan, the largest thrift in the country (also a major funder of the Free Congress Foundation).

- ROBERT HURTT, owner of the Container Supply Company, which produces decorative tins and containers for numerous retailers, including Almond Roca.

- EDWARD ATSINGER, whose Salem Communications owns eighteen Christian radio stations across the country.

- ROLAND HINZ, President of Hi-Torque Publications, which publishes motocross and dirt bike magazines.

During the 1992 election, these four men donated over \$1.5 million to conservative PACs' Religious Right candidates and the Traditional Values Coalition. Their aim is the full Christian right agenda: ban abortions, counter the gains of gay-rights activists, halt the sale of sex-oriented magazines from newsstands, issue state-vouchers to send children to private and parochial schools—issues for which Sheldon has emerged as their leading spokesman. To give the movement a voice in the state legislature, Ahmanson and Hurtt single-handedly created the Capitol Resources Institute, which has emerged as one of the strongest lobbying outfits for promoting the Christian Right agenda in Sacramento. Ahmanson also contributed \$62,500 to the Western Center for Law and Religious Freedom—which, among other legal actions, helped the Kern County school district defend its banning of the book, *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, by Gabriel Garcia Marquez, on the grounds of "profanity" and "vulgarity."

The peripatetic Sheldon is currently involved in launching a campaign in California to exempt non-profit institutions from any gay-rights provisions—a measure inspired by the recent controversy over homosexual participation in the Boy Scouts. He has also created alliances in Arizona (Arizonans for Traditional Values) and Minnesota (Traditional Values of Minnesota) to place anti-gay rights initiatives on the ballots in those states.

- **EAGLE FORUM—Alton Illinois & Washington DC
Leader-Phyllis Schlafly.**

In addition to her strident anti-abortion campaigning, Phyllis Schlafly has

been a vocal opponent of government-supported arts programs; last March, at a regional National Endowment for the Arts hearing in California, she called for a total cutoff in all funds to the NEA. Working with sympathetic congressmen, her group helps develop legislation attempting to restrict all government arts programs to non-offensive art, threatening those who do not support these efforts with the statement, "We will alert our members that you are on record as supporting tax-sponsored pornography."

While Eagle Forum is active on the same issues as CWA, it does not have an elaborate political organization; rather, with a budget of around \$1.5 million, and 80,000 members, it functions more like an elaborate support group for relaying Schlafly opinions. Schlafly, like CWA, divides her operation into two parts: Eagle Forum, which is a 501(c)(3); and Eagle Forum and Legal Defense Fund, which operates as a lobbying organization under the protections of 501(c)(4). The distinction is hardly significant, since, according to 990 forms recently obtained from the IRS, both outfits operate out of the same office, and share Schlafly as President. Eagle Forum itself continues to be particularly active on issues related to the NEA, which it has dubbed the U.S. Ministry of Culture. One fund-raising mailer that went out last year included a mock IRS tax form with checkoff boxes for "Sexually explicit and perverted" art, including funds for performances by Annie Sprinkle and her "Sluts and Goddesses of Transformation Salon and funds for Holly Hughes' performances about lesbian desire," and for, "Blasphemous art including Queer City, which includes an association of Jesus Christ with unmentionable acts."

- **FOCUS ON THE FAMILY—Colorado Springs, Colorado**
Leader-Dr. James Dobson

Focus on the Family is one of the largest, and most sophisticated, of the Religious Right groups, with over 1,000 employees working at its new, \$24 million, 47-acre, compound in the outskirts of Colorado Springs (funded with a seed grant of \$4 million from the El Pomar Foundation to support its move from Southern California). The group has emerged as a kind of mother hen, and ideological center for 'family-based' policies, to the 45 other Christian fundamentalist groups that have established their headquarters in Colorado Springs over the past five years—making this town a sort of ground zero for the movement.

An extremely well-developed direct mail operation nets the group an estimated \$75 million a year. Much of these funds come from sales of books by Dobson on everything from keeping a Christian family together, to discipline, to how to treat your child's drug problem—several of these books have sold as many as six million copies. They also publish half a dozen

magazines with a total circulation of 2.8 million, covering the range of demographic groups—teenage girls and boys, mothers, fathers, physicians, teachers and conservative political activists. In addition, FOF has a children's video production staff, develops Christian-based school curriculum, and is now active in proposing family-oriented tax and employment policies to corporations and the government. The sense one has walking through the group's headquarters is of a smoothly functioning business operation. Officials claim that they eschew the fanatical rhetoric associated with Christian Right leaders in favor of what they present as more scholarly reports and analysis. The group's actions, however, often belie this sober tone. The controversy over 2 Live Crew, for example, was born here, when Focus workers sent out a mass mailing alerting "pro-family activists" nationwide to the band's "obscene lyrics." After a pressure campaign, the letter reached the desk of the Dade County Sheriff, who arrested the two band members and a record-store owner on obscenity charges.

The group's primary voice is Dr. Dobson, trained as a child psychologist, who is heard on a half-hour daily radio broadcast on nearly 3,000 Christian radio stations worldwide (including Central and South America and territories of the former Soviet Union). The radio show, as well as an operation that drops approximately a million pieces of mail a month, generates 8,000 letters and 2,000 phone calls a day to the Colorado Springs headquarters—often in the form of what the staff like to call "pain mail," expressing an individual's anguish with a certain problem, and asking for guidance. An entire floor is devoted to nothing but telephone operators, who respond to requests for information on the 1-800-1-FAMILY line, and lodge each new name and address into the computer. Every person on the list then receives a customized 'pastoral' letter from Dr. Dobson each month, at the end of which is a low-key fundraising pitch.

An example of how Focus services its many constituents was provided during a recent visit I made to the headquarters of the group—whose staff of researchers, writers and counselors provide a good deal of the philosophical underpinning for the movement advocating greater 'family values' in public life. On a vast floor filled with tiny cubicles, I spoke with one of the numerous "senior correspondents" assigned to do nothing but answer the mail that floods in each day. In this case, he spoke of the last letter he worked on: a request by a candidate for a local school board in Nebraska asking for assistance in defining her proper platform on such questions as sex education, drug education, AIDS, etc. Each 'correspondent' at Focus on the Family is armed with a book two feet thick with statements by the head of the group, Dr. Dobson, on a range of issues—from drugs to negligent fathers to AIDS—and the responses to all letters are drawn from this body of work. Thus, he responded: sex education should be limited as much as possible to abstinence education; no condoms in the schools; opposition to such curricula as 'Children of the Rainbow', which advocate 'un-Christian' points of view.

Though members of the group resist being grouped in with the rest of the Religious Right, they have a well-developed political program, known as Community Impact Seminars, that helps local groups develop strategies for political organizing. Traveling around the country, FOF organizers draw together church groups, anti-abortion activists and other local political figures for "seminars," in which they lay out strategies for organizing churches into political entities. They give advice on how to influence school boards, how to get Christian-oriented candidates into local races, how to get supporters into precinct caucuses.

At a meeting last winter in Colorado Springs, 600 residents attended the session where the ground was laid for a slate of Christian candidates for the next local elections. A strong message from the session was that a popular majority rarely exists for a full-blown religious candidate, and therefore to downplay church or Religious Right connections during the campaign. Candidates were advised not to use religious rationales for their positions, but rather to frame their positions in a more public-policy vocabulary: i.e., not to denounce sex education in the schools because the Bible opposes pre-marital sex, but because it could lead to AIDS or other sexually-transmitted diseases. When organizing a group around a single issue—whether the arts, or school curricula or whatever the hot-button issue of the moment—attendees were advised to describe it as "...500 outraged and concerned citizens, not 500 church congregants."

Another political arm of the group is a network of Family Policy Councils, which now exist in thirty states. These Councils, started by Focus but financially independent to avoid IRS regulations against non-profit politicking, are intended to help like-minded groups around the country to work together, rather than at cross-purposes, as can often be the case on such highly charged issues as abortion. As the chief strategist for these Councils explained in Colorado Springs, "Let's say five or six groups in a state are fighting abortion. They differ over five percent of the argument: should there be exceptions, for example, in the case of rape? These are slight variations they will die for. What we do is get them to stop fighting, shooting ourselves in the foot, and get them to work together." The FOF consultants to the locally-based Councils also give advice on such questions as how to organize a Voter Guide; getting acquainted with the legal issues surrounding the closure of abortion clinics; and how to follow family-related issues in a state.

Focus on the Family threw the full weight of its multi-media empire into the NEA battle of 1989. Though the focus of debate has changed, their influence on related issues can still be far-flung: in Newport, Oregon last year, FOF material was used to protest a performance by an African storyteller and dancer in the local schools. People for the American Way identifies Focus as a key group, along with the American Family Association, leading the attack

on school reading materials—including such classics as *Huckleberry Finn*, *Lord of the Flies*, *The Catcher in the Rye* and *The Grapes of Wrath*—on the grounds of being "un-Christian." In a recent pastoral letter to his membership, Dobson predicted the next round of fights with the incoming Clinton administration: new legislation preventing discrimination against gays; condom distribution in the schools; and a new Chairman of the NEA who will approve a flood of obscene and sacrilegious books and art. When the right issue arises, the political structure is clearly in place to sustain a fight on these and other issues. Often, the first sign of an impending struggle is signaled in the group's newsletter, *Citizen*, which covers federal and state politics, and is capable of setting off alarm bells to the highly motivated core of member-activists. The public policy division of Focus spends from \$1-\$5 million a year on lobbying and "educating" voters.

Allied, but no longer directly affiliated with Focus, is the Family Research Council—run by former Reagan domestic policy adviser Gary Bauer. Dobson took over the Council in 1988 to act as a Washington voice for Focus' pro-family agenda. In 1992, the two organizations severed their relations to permit the FRC to lobby without imperiling Focus' non-profit status. Dobson continues to serve on the Council's Board of Directors, however, and there is a great deal of cross-fertilization between the two groups. FRC has emerged as one of the leading 'pro-family' lobbying groups in DC, advocating the gamut of issues, from tax breaks for families to defunding of the NEA.

COLORADO SPRINGS: 'GROUND ZERO' OF THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

The great irony of Colorado Springs' new status as 'ground zero for the religious movement is that the transformation began as a purely economic move: in 1987, the city's Economic Development Corporation issued a study proposing new strategies to wean the city off what was an already faltering reliance on defense contracts. Its solution: to stimulate the economy by offering inducements—the picturesque locale, tax abatements, low wage rates—to non-profit groups to use the city as headquarters. As it happened, the Executive Vice President of the Development Corporation was an evangelical Christian; the groups she successfully sought out have been overwhelmingly Christian. Thirty evangelical groups have shifted their headquarters to Colorado Springs over the past five years.

Now, the city of 280,000, nestled in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, has the greatest per capita concentration of evangelical and fundamentalist Christian groups and ministries in the country. The city supports six Christian radio stations (by comparison, Denver, five times the size, has two). Their contribution to the local economy is substantial: the local ministries employ 2,200 people (though many moved here from outside), and pump an

estimated \$300 million a year into the local economy. Among the national groups listed in this report, the Eagle Forum, Concerned Women for America and the Christian Coalition have established chapters in the city; and the Traditional Values Coalition works closely with Colorado For Family Values via a woman who serves on the board of both organizations.

The profusion of religious groups in the city has made it a hotbed of religiously-based activism. They have had a tangible effect on the city's political culture—both literally, as it relates to efforts to challenge the Republican establishment (various Religious Right figures edged out more establishment party candidates during the primary season last year), and as it relates to freedom of expression. In the past two years, for example, there has been a measurable increase in the intrusion of religious challenges to curricula in the schools: two elementary schools have cancelled the use of the textbook *Pumsy* after complaints by local chapters of the Eagle Forum and Citizens for Excellence in Education. At a local high school, administrators responded to local pressures from Christian parents to forbid biology teachers from discussing sex. At another elementary school, a teacher was pressured into not using songs about witches or black cats—considered superstitious and paganistic—during Halloween. As teachers, administrators and local officials attempt to preempt criticisms, self-censorship begins to appear around such seemingly innocuous questions as Halloween: that most American (via Mexico) of holidays was redubbed a "Harvest Festival" at many of the city's schools due to fears by administrators that it could be criticized as a 'paganistic' celebration.

Commercial vendors have also felt the new Christian presence in the city, as, according to the Citizens Project monitoring group, there has been a dramatic increase in reported incidents of telephoned harassment from callers identifying themselves with various of the different Christian organizations. The head of the Rocky Mountain Men's Center received veiled threats over the phone after being accused of doing "the devil's work;" he has since relocated outside of the city. A women clothing store owner was harassed by men offended by what she sells, how she dresses, what she displays in the window. The group Colorado for Family Values (based in Colorado Springs and sponsor of Amendment 2) has launched boycotts against businesses that offer sensitivity training for their employees on how to deal with homosexuality in the workplace, deeming them unfair harassment of employees who disapprove of gays and lesbians.

The city, according to leading Republican and former City Councilwoman, Mary McNally, is "becoming increasingly polarized" from influence of the ministries. In an attempt to takeover the local power structure, they have begun, characteristically, at the grass-roots: openings on various boards and commissions are routinely announced on the Christian radio stations. Focus on the Family, for example, has a representative on the Colorado Springs

Human Relations Commission, and members of Colorado for Family Values serve on several school district boards. Several Christian-backed candidates made strong runs against local Republican-establishment figures in the last election, spurring many local party members to make a call for "greater tolerance" in the city's public life.

The question of diversity and tolerance has become a major issue in municipal politics—from Democrats and Republicans alike. In an effort to rehabilitate the city's image and heal some of the widening divisions, the Colorado Springs Chamber of Commerce has sponsored a series of "Diversity" panels featuring speakers from all points of view on questions pertaining to gay rights, school curricula and the very presence of the evangelical groups in the city. A group of concerned citizens have established the Citizens Project, which publishes a newsletter, Freedom Watch, monitoring the local activities of the Religious Right, and attempting to draw together the diverse population of the city to block the forces of intolerance. The Citizens Project, which now has a membership of 5,000, has been particularly effective in recruiting elements of the business community and religious figures who disagree with the evangelical approach to work in concert with more traditionally 'liberal' residents to promote a more diverse vision of the city.

Focus on the Family attempts to position itself above the power struggle. "To turn this into a 'Christian' county would be a disaster," says Paul Hetrick from Focus' Public Policy division. "But to hold up Christian ideals is what we're talking about." The group's actions belie this supposed distance from the political fray. Focus supplied over \$8,000 in 'in-kind' contributions to the Amendment 2 campaign; their religious curricula surfaces in many of the schools where secular parents have complained of Biblical intrusions into the classroom; and they took pride in helping to orchestrate the local campaign against the city's libraries purchasing a copy of Madonna's book *Sex*.

Overall, say many longtime Colorado Springs residents, the arrival in force of so many fiercely committed evangelicals to their city—which has long had a reputation of mixing political conservatism (with a strong military contingent) with social tolerance—has divided it as never before. In the end, Colorado Springs provides a glimpse into what are considered 'acceptable' forms of expression in a city where the Religious Right obtains economic and political power—a goal that is enunciated, in one form or another, by all the groups discussed here.

THE MONEY

Direct mail and televangelist appeals on radio and television have always

been a key source of financing for the Religious Right groups involved in arts-related issues. Though none of these organizations identify the 'arts' as a singular concern, homosexual images, for example, will draw the attention of those concerned with family values. During the height of the NEA controversy in 1991, every group listed here used some of the most vivid "homosexual" and "blasphemous" images tied to NEA grants to raise millions of dollars. The direct-mail business, of course, is a trendy enterprise: Just as soon as an issue is hot enough to generate contributions, it fades and another issue is thrown onto the burner. In an informal review of more recent mailings, the issue has faded considerably—with the exception of the Christian Action Network and Family Research Council—and been replaced wholeheartedly by gay rights and gays in the military.

However, foundation funding for most of the groups remains a steady source of support. To give a sense of the breadth of financial resources coming from the philanthropic community, what follows is a partial list of foundation funders (assembled from IRS forms, foundation reports and documents provided by Skipp Porteous of the Institute for First Amendment Studies). The list is incomplete, but should give a sense of foundation involvement in support of two of the organizations that advocate restrictions on publicly-supported forms of expression:

FOCUS ON THE FAMILY (1990-1992):

- Prince Foundation (Michigan): \$500,500
- Murdock Charitable Trust (Washington): \$14,500
- Merillat Foundation (Michigan): \$30,000
- Stewardship Foundation (Washington): \$75,000
- Community Hospital Foundation (Texas): \$30,000

The following have given FOF at least \$5,000 over the last two years:

- BJM Foundation (Ohio)
- Simmons-Balser Foundation (Georgia)
- George Bock Charitable Trust (Illinois)
- Elisha-Bolton Foundation (Ohio)
- P A Brown Family Trust (California)
- Caddock Foundation (California)
- Cass Bank and Trust Co (Missouri)
- Container Supply Company (California)
- Chilton Foundation (Texas)
- DeWitt Family Trust (Michigan)
- Dodge Jones Foundation (Texas)
- Communities Foundation (Texas)
- David & Mary Crowley Trust (Texas)
- Christian Heritage Foundation (Texas)

- Eagle Foundation (Michigan)
- EBS Foundation (Tennessee)
- David Geffen Foundation (California) *
- KW Grader Foundation (Florida)
- Herschend Family Foundation (Missouri)
- Agnes Klingensmith Foundation (Washington)
- Merillat Foundation (Michigan)
- Roy Michell Foundation (Michigan)
- John & Reva Miller Foundation (Michigan)
- Laird Norton Trust (Washington)
- Larson Foundation (Minnesota)
- Life Expressions, Co (Maryland)
- National Christian Charitable Foundation (Georgia)
- PCA Foundation (Georgia)
- RWH Foundation (California)
- Ware Foundation (Florida)
- George & Mabel Slocum Foundation (Michigan)

FAMILY RESEARCH COUNCIL:

- Prince Foundation (Michigan): \$500,000
- Eagle Forum Education and Legal Defense Fund (1990-1991):
- Olin Foundation (New York): \$50,000
- Lennon (Fred) Foundation (Ohio): \$21,000
- DeMoss (Arthur) Foundation (Pennsylvania): \$14,500
- Eagle Forum 1991):
- Communities Foundation of Texas (Texas): \$10,000

**This grant, according to Robert Broquett, Program Director of the Geffen Foundation, was given as a memorandum at the personal request of the family of a deceased Geffen Records employee.*

CONCLUSIONS

The history of art over the past one hundred fifty years reveals innumerable instances in which artists have come buck-up against social sensitivities and conventions—and paid the price, either in financial terms, exhibition possibilities or general social disapproval. It is often these works, of course, that have advanced artistic sensibilities and even the definition of art itself: from the Impressionists to Surrealists to Pop artists to the photographs of Robert Mapplethorpe, the question of what is acceptable terrain for the artist has been addressed head-on, boundaries successfully transgressed and definitions expanded. Certainly much of the art discussed in this report qualifies as aspiring to just that. Social controversy in the arts is not new.

What is unprecedented about the Religious Right's recent assaults on artistic expression in this country, however, is the use of the arts as a wedge issue to build mailing lists, and to recruit funds and supporters as part of a far larger agenda to assert 'Judeo-Christian' values over the political domain. That agenda extends over a range of issues, from abortion to religion in schools to opposition to gay rights and promotion of 'family values' in the arts. The artworks that have become lightning rods for controversy over the past several years are in many ways symbols of these hot-button issues that have become the dividing lines of the culture war.

Today, the 'culture war' seems to occupy the great political vacuum left by the end of the Cold War, and in many ways has *become* the new Cold War, fought now between adversaries within our own borders. And, just as the Cold War created wedge issues easily manipulated in a political context—appeasement vs. confrontation being the simplest example—the 'culture war' lays down its own fault lines along which political battles are fought. Thus, it may be no accident that those in Congress who once trumpeted loudest during the Cold War were, after the Soviet bloc's demise, the same ones who rapidly shifted their sights toward government-sponsored art—a substitute flag-waving canard in defense of the 'American Way'. This point is made strongly by Marvin Liebman, a major conservative organizer and theorist from the 1950's through the 1980's, who, in the process of accepting his own homosexuality, has now grown alienated from the movement he helped create. "I worry," he wrote in a letter outing himself to the *National Review* and quoted in his book, *Coming Out Conservative*, "that the right wing, having won the cold war and, for all intents and purposes, the battle over economic policy, will return to the fever swamps...of gay bashing, racism and anti-semitism."

In the realm of the arts, the battle over what constitutes 'acceptable' public imagery serves as a sort of code masking the divisions in American society: gay vs. straight, religious vs. secular, the "middle class" vs. the "elite." The differing values reflected on either side of the cultural divide have given rise to cleavages in the country's political fabric and sense of national identity unrivaled since the Civil War, according to the sociologist James Davison Hunter, author of *Culture Wars*. These divisions translate into disputes over artistic values; the Religious Right has succeeded in using controversial art, complete with inflammatory images, as a means of forcing political choices over what are essentially aesthetic questions.

As illustrated in this report, assaults on the arts can come from the left as well as from the right; the two extremes meet in their desire to limit the range of expression on socially controversial topics. Just as the radical right agenda is to constrain subject matter challenging reigning concepts of sexuality and religion, radical feminists demand similar constraints on expression dealing, particularly, with female sexuality. Though coming from wholly different

points of view, and with differing intents, both extremes end up in the same place: demanding that the government end its support for art that they find objectionable—an attempt in both cases to respond to social discord by limiting the artistic vocabulary with which it is expressed, an easy way out. If nothing else, the current trend in academia toward 'post-structural' analyses of every medium—in which works are analyzed as much for their indications of political, gender or racial bias as for their artistic content—has succeeded in intensifying and giving a certain philosophical veneer to critiques of 'the message' of publicly-funded art. Local arts administrators are now faced with a panorama of potential minefields which they enter at their own risk in curating everything from major museum exhibits to minor shows in the foyers of public libraries or municipal buildings. The danger, of course, is in establishing political litmus tests for vetting the appropriateness of art supported with public funds.

Still, legitimate questions lie underneath the inflammatory rhetoric that must be answered by those supporting more free-ranging public arts programs. Does the government have a responsibility to fund art with public money, even when a significant percentage of that public finds it offensive? If so, why? And, do those recipients of public support bear a certain responsibility to that public for the content of their art? Is it 'censorship' to demand public accountability among publicly-supported artists?

During Congressional debate over Senator Jesse Helms' 'decency language' regulating NEA grant-making, these questions came quickly to the fore, challenging the basic assumptions that were central to the formation of the NEA. The major assumption—at the core of the current debate—is that the government has a role to play in supporting a thriving and contentiously creative arts scene, without attempting, as enunciated in the NEA's mission statement, to "impose a single aesthetic standard or attempt to direct artistic content." But Representative Henry Hyde, a prime sponsor of the Helms language in the House, argued strenuously, as did Helms and other of his supporters, that, "Censorship and refusal to subsidize are two very different things." On the other hand, opponents of the language like the late Rep. Ted Weiss, asserted, "It is folly to argue that if federal funds are used for a project, that project must be acceptable to all taxpayers."

The Supreme Court, according to Kathleen Sullivan, a constitutional law scholar at Stanford Law School, has dealt with this issue directly, holding that the First Amendment does not distinguish between speech or expression supported by public or private funds. In the words of Sullivan, "The First Amendment has never been held to disappear just because the taxpayers are paying the tab." In the real world of the artistic marketplace, not receiving money because of the political, sexual or religious content of works very often means those works will simply never get made.

For advocates of unrestricted free expression, however, the waters have become quite muddy. Claiming protection under the increasingly beleaguered First Amendment is increasingly difficult, for there are those among the groups mentioned here who offer a position that poses a challenge to advocates of free expression. There is little public objection, for example, to the television networks agreement last summer to label television shows that feature excessive violence, thereby theoretically enabling parents to monitor more closely what their children are watching—a position long advocated by the Children's Defense Fund (hardly in the camp of the Religious Right) as well as Focus on the Family and the American Family Association. Where the Religious Right differs, of course, is in lowering the threshold of regulated creative expression—extending it to sexual and religious imagery, and to the visual and plastic arts in addition to the mass media. It must be added, though, as Robert Hughes points out in *Culture of Complaint*, that much of the Helms language—particularly that prohibiting artworks that denigrate "adherents of a particular religion," or that which, "debases or reviles a class of citizens on the basis of race, creed, sex, handicap, age or national origin"—would be indistinguishable from some of the progressive-inspired guidelines on campuses to protect students from racist, sexist or other targeted behavior and speech. The initiatives may come from different sides of the political spectrum, but the impulses are essentially the same: that the state (or school administration) has a role in either regulating, or not funding, creative works deemed offensive or threatening. The muddy waters begin to flood the dikes here: Where does 'censorship' begin and proper government regulation end? At the very least, as the rhetoric on both sides reaches a fevered pitch, the distinction must be made between ratings—which can be useful in permitting parents to protect their children from certain images—and actual censorship or limiting of publicly funded art. There may be areas of agreement here which can go some way toward ameliorating the tensions that flare across both sides of the debate.

How does the public relate to 'public' art? A survey by the National Cultural Alliance in February 1993 revealed an interesting discrepancy between the numbers of Americans who support the *idea* of arts and humanities in the country and in their communities—81% of the respondents said they feel they are "essential to a healthy society"—and those for whom it plays a significant role in their lives, 31%. These numbers indicate considerable room to maneuver for those calling for greater public support for the arts, though it suggests that such calls for support be placed in a specific context, illustrating the benefits to the public of lively and provocative arts programs. The National Cultural Alliance attempts to stress just this point; the central theme of its recently launched media campaign is that regardless of whether or not one likes a particular piece of work, arts programs have the potential to benefit everyone. In developing a strategy for defending the publicly-supported arts, such points are unlikely to alter the beliefs of those allied with the Religious Right, but could make a start toward ensuring that the next

time a protest is waged on the scale of Mapplethorpe, the ranks of defenders are broadened beyond those already in the arts community.

In addition to existing for its own sake—which it must do—there is also a literal social function to publicly supported art, which is often lost in the arguments that fire across the lines of conviction on both sides. The European Community, for example, has a policy in which at least one artist is included on each of its many boards, governing everything from trade policy to public works—a direct acknowledgment of the important role that artists of every sort play in the larger society. Identifying contributions by artists to the aesthetic, economic and educational life of their communities—as the National Cultural Alliance is trying to do—can be the first step toward building a broader political constituency supporting publicly-funded arts programs, and (hopefully) moving the debate beyond the meaning of a scary image or two.

Ironically, the very nature of the recent controversies over publicly-financed art demonstrates how at least some artists, long desirous of tearing down art museum walls and producing art that reflects more street-level concerns, may be finally succeeding, only too well, in hitting upon themes that resonate powerfully with public. Art is now out of the museums and in the news pages—a testimony to its potential power to challenge paradigms and cultural assumptions.

Jane Alexander, the new Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, recognized this tension during her confirmation hearings in September when she stated, "I cannot promise that under my chairmanship that arts will be free of controversy. The very essence of art, after all, is to hold the mirror up to nature; the arts reflect the diversity and variety of the human experience...as such, the artist often taps into the very issues of society that are most sensitive." Art, that thing hanging on the wall or poised in a plaza, is now at the center of the national debate over cultural values—which, perhaps, is where it belongs after all.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Mark Schapiro is an investigative journalist now based in New York. Formerly, he worked as a Senior Editor at Mother Jones; and as founding editor of "InterNation," a consortium of European and American magazines, based in Paris and sponsored by The Nation, which produced investigative stories on international topics. Prior to that, he worked as a staff writer and television producer for the Center for Investigative Reporting in San Francisco and Washington, D.C. His stories have appeared in numerous publications, including The New York Times, The Nation, Mother Jones, Outside, Condé Nast Traveler, The New Republic, Art News, Village Voice, Worth, The Washington Monthly, and Elle. He has also developed television stories for ABC News, CNN, CBS' 60 Minutes and British ITN. His work has received the H.L. Mencken Freedom of the Press Award, a National Magazine Award (shared) and three Best Censored Story awards.

Georgetown University HOYA

Fashion Designers Fight Breast Cancer

Campaign Kicks Off in Lombardi

By Karalee A. Ziemba
HOYA Staff Writer

Some of the world's leading fashion designers stepped off the runway and up to the podium Tuesday at Georgetown's Vincent T. Lombardi Cancer Research Center in support of breast cancer research.

The campaign, "Fashion Targets Breast Cancer," is a partnership between the Council of Fashion Designers of America and U.S. retail stores. The partnership hopes to sell 400,000 limited edition t-shirts, which will go on sale in October, National Breast Cancer Month.

Stan Herman, president of the council, said, "This is an industry-wide initiative conceived to bring the extraordinary forces of designers, retailers and consumers together in a united effort to raise funds for research."

The "Fashion Targets Breast Cancer" initiative is chaired by Ralph Lauren and co-chaired by designers Oscar de la Renta, Louis Dell'Olío and Donna Karan. The campaign officially began Monday at a White House reception given by First Lady Hillary Clinton.

According to Fern Mallis, executive director of the council, the program began in 1993 as a result of the chairs' discussions about the role of the fashion industry in the fight against breast cancer.

Karan highlighted the link between the fashion industry and the fight against breast cancer. "Fashion is all about creating an image — but the truth is, how a woman feels about herself sensually and spiritually comes from inside. Fashion just helps the outside."

"The 'Fashion Targets Breast Cancer' initiative gives the fashion industry a chance to help women on the inside — and it's that kind of activity that makes me feel very proud to co-chair this worthwhile endeavor," she said.

De la Renta, whose wife died of breast cancer in 1983, said he had special interest in finding a cure. "It's so difficult to convey what this disease means to a woman...[my wife] felt she wasn't an entire woman anymore," he said.

The t-shirt, which sells for \$15, focuses on an eye-catching logo that parallels the campaign's slogan, "Help us Target Breast Cancer." The logo features concentric circles of alternating shades of blue with a white center.

The advertising campaign, which will include advertisements in many U.S. magazines, includes such supermodels as Naomi Campbell, Cindy Crawford, Linda Evangelista, Kate Moss, Jamie Rishar, Claudia Schiffer, Shalom and Christy Turlington.

Five dollars from the sale of each shirt will go directly to the



Raquel Aceves/The HOYA

Louis Dell'Olío, Ralph Lauren, Donna Karan and Oscar de la Renta were at the Lombardi Cancer Center Tuesday.

Nina Hyde Center for Breast Cancer Research, a part of the Lombardi Cancer Research Center.

Hyde was a fashion editor of The Washington Post who died of breast cancer in 1990. The Nina Hyde Center was established in 1989 with initial support from Ralph Lauren and Washington Post editor Katharine Graham.

"The Nina Hyde Center brings hope to people — more than hope, it offers the promise of discovery," said Marc Lippmann, director of the Lombardi Cancer Center.

He said the cure for breast cancer is near, but that a lack of funds stands in the way. "The amount of money these people need to bring about changes is pathetically small" in relation to other causes on which Americans spend their money, he said.

Lauren was a close friend of Hyde. He said, "She called my son [then a Georgetown student] every day, even when she was sick, just to see how he was."

"Breast cancer is not just a women's issue — it affects all of us, the brothers, fathers, husbands, children and friends of the women who are dealing with this dreaded disease. We all must take a stand now to support this important cause," Lauren said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Schneider Named To Arts Committee

*Professor Chosen as Vice Chair
Georgetown Univ. HOYA*

By Winnie Wang
HOYA Staff Writer

President Bill Clinton named Cynthia Schneider, associate professor of fine arts, vice chair of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

Schneider, author of the National Gallery of Art exhibition catalog *Rembrandt's Landscapes: Prints and Drawings*, said she is interested in proposing an initiative that would establish a more effective use of design and art in federal government buildings.

Schneider said she is also in favor of supporting programs that involve inner-city youth. "They are able to see their ideas and efforts immediately in their respective creations and get feedback and support through exhibitions," she said.

Schneider added she supports the idea of promoting national recognition at the White House for young people involved in the arts and humanities, similar to those programs established for athletes.

The President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities was created by an Executive Order in 1982. A White House press release said the committee is "charged with advancing public understanding of the arts and the humanities and establishing new partnerships between the private sector and federal agencies to address critical issues in cultural life."

"How we imagine our future . . . will have as big an impact on what we ultimately become in the world," Clinton said in the press release.

Clinton has named John Brademas, president emeritus of New York University, as chair of the committee and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton as the honorary chair. Peggy Cooper Cafritz, former chairman of the D.C. Commission on the Arts and Humanities, and Terry Semel, chairman of Warner Brothers, are co-vice chairs with Schneider.

Brademas said in a meeting the committee is endorsing the

See SCHNEIDER, p. 3

Clinton Names Schneider To Presidential Arts Committee

SCHNEIDER, from p. 1

partnership between the National Endowment of the Arts and the Department of Education "to demonstrate how the arts fit into the National Education Goals approved in the Goals 2000 legislation Congress passed this year."

The committee wants to pay particular attention to the youth "to use the power of the arts and ideas . . . to offer young people creative alternatives to destructive urges," Brademas said.

Clinton asked the committee to prepare a "State of the Culture" report to determine what programs are working

and thus provide a basis for action, Schneider said.

Among the 44 other appointees were the heads of federal agencies with cultural programs, the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and business corporations.

The first formal meeting of the committee was on Sept. 21 at the White House.

"The practical experience of the business people along with the idealism and optimism of the artists will create an effective combination to further promote the attractiveness of the arts to potential sponsors," Schneider said.



Sean Redmond/The HOYA

Fine Arts professor Cynthia Schneider is vice chair of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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HEADLINE: Clinton Arts Dinner Whetted Appetites Still Unsatisfied

BYLINE: By PAUL GOLDBERGER

BODY:

On Oct. 7 last year, before an enthusiastic crowd of 600 on the White House lawn, President Clinton presented 12 people with the National Medal for the Arts, commenting on how the work of each recipient had touched his life.

That night the recipients, who included William Styron, Robert Rauschenberg, Arthur Miller, Paul Taylor and Billy Wilder, were honored at a formal dinner and at a concert that was so spirited it brought forth comparisons to the legendary evening in 1961 when President John F. Kennedy and his wife had Pablo Casals perform in the East Room. Coming just after the smooth and rapid confirmation of the actress Jane Alexander as the chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, that October day seemed to many people in the arts to be all but the dawn of a second golden age.

Now, nearly half a year later, the mood among people in the arts is mixed and strangely cautious, and there is a feeling among many of them that the high expectations for the Clinton Administration in the arts have yet to be realized. Oct. 7 notwithstanding, movie stars and Hollywood executives have been more conspicuous at the White House than practitioners of high culture. Unlike previous Presidencies, Mr. Clinton's has no White House official specifically charged with coordinating arts policy; Melanne Verveer, Hillary Rodham Clinton's deputy chief of staff, has emerged as the prime arts operative, but she has many other duties. The likelihood of the arts getting major attention in a White House preoccupied both with major policy initiatives like the Clinton health plan and with the Whitewater inquiry is small indeed.

At a time when so much political pressure points to budget cutting, the Administration has proposed no new money for the arts endowment despite the fact that, as Ms. Alexander pointed out in a recent interview, inflation combined with minimal increases means that it has lost 46 percent of its purchasing power since 1979. The current budget is \$170.2 million, and the White House has requested the same amount for the next fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1.

By comparison with the many Federal agencies where budget cuts are the rule, this is soft treatment. But it is hardly the kind of encouragement arts advocates had expected from this Administration. The overall budget for the National Endowment for the Arts has not changed noticeably in 12 years, and the total amount the endowment has to support all arts programs remains smaller than the tiny sliver of the Defense Department budget that supports military bands, which is \$189.1 million. (Money for bands is down \$2 million in the budget the President has proposed for next year, but even with this cut military bands would still get \$17 million more than the arts endowment.)

"I know that the President has to talk about saving money, but this record is atrocious," said Harvey Lichtenstein, the president of the Brooklyn Academy of Music. "Another \$25 million or \$50 million would be an extraordinary shot in the arm, and it would make Clinton a hero."

The President is anything but a hero to arts organizations as they find money every bit as tight as it was in the last Administration. Some are responding to the squeeze in innovative ways. The Baltimore Museum of Art just offered cabdrivers a free box lunch to encourage them to direct tourists the museum's way, and a Boston performance art group called Mobius promised that anyone contributing at least \$10 would get a call from a member of the group to tell the contributor a joke. But the day-to-day life of many arts groups is fraught with black humor about survival.

The Record So Far: Mostly Intangibles

So far, the President's main accomplishment in the arts has not been intangible areas of policy or money but in intangibles: in creating an aura of support, a sense that after the culturally bleak Reagan and Bush years, the arts are viewed with sympathy by the White House. While the long delay in appointing Ms. Alexander to head the endowment (she was not named until July 1993) caused considerable grumbling about where the arts stood on the totem pole of Clinton appointments, few people quarreled with the choice once it was made. Ms. Alexander brought to the job the independent stature of a well-known figure in the arts, and more than a little of her luster has rubbed off on the endowment, an agency whose standing with the public was badly bruised by the obscenity debates.

Ms. Alexander has been tireless in politicking with Congress, even inviting Senator Jesse Helms, the endowment's most visible critic, to a February meeting of the National Council on the Arts, the endowment's board of overseers. (He accepted but did not make it, saying he was kept away by last-minute legislative pressures.)

"There has been a visible uplift since she came in," said Representative Sidney R. Yates, an Illinois Democrat and the House's senior arts advocate. "We were almost totally on the defensive before, but she has captivated many of the members of Congress. She is a breath of fresh air."

Ms. Alexander's networking goes beyond Capitol Hill; she has traveled the country, meeting with local arts groups, state legislatures, mayors and artists themselves, trying to make the case that the money the endowment offers, however modest, stimulates other sources of support, raises spirits and helps communities. Her role as a kind of upscale Johnny Appleseed of the arts has, for the moment at least, effectively transcended the arguments about obscenity that all but paralyzed the arts agency during most of the Bush years.

Ms. Alexander's ability to relegate those issues to the sidelines is probably her clearest accomplishment. She is an ideal figure to speak for the arts, since she is an artist herself. Yet she is not so huge a star as to have her celebrity overshadow the substance of her arguments. Neither a Barbra Streisand nor a bureaucrat, she has managed to draw more good notices than any endowment head since the agency's first chairwoman, Nancy Hanks.

"If we can maintain an advocacy role, which hasn't happened in 12 years, then people will begin to understand the value of the arts," Ms. Alexander said in a conversation in her sprawling office in the renovated Old Post Office Building on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington. "They will see what the arts can do to revitalize towns, to help children, to help us maintain our competitive edge in business. People say that artists should make money on their own. I say tell that to a choreographer who makes \$5,000 or \$6,000 a year, whose work has no commercial potential but which enriches lives."

Leaving the Arts To Jane Alexander

Ms. Alexander's message has not gone much beyond the notion that the arts are a good thing. If she were a preacher, she would be of the God-loves-you variety, not the fire-and-brimstone school. Her vision of culture is of a force to lift the spirit, and many people in the arts question whether she or the Administration she serves is prepared to fight tougher battles on behalf of the arts.

"Who really believes that Bill Clinton would rise above politics if Mapplethorpe came to Washington on his watch?" said Leon Wieseltier, the literary editor of The New Republic. "Remember how they built Salman Rushdie up, then cut him down. Clinton is just lucky that he was elected President after Jesse Helms retired as an art critic."

Ms. Alexander's staff, understandably, thinks otherwise. "She doesn't shy away from difficult issues," said Alexander D. Crary, a Capitol Hill veteran who oversaw arts policy for Senator Claiborne Pell for years and is now the arts endowment's chief of staff. "She's got a wonderful, natural ability to be persuasive and she holds to her convictions."

And the White House, for the moment, seems satisfied: so much so that it has

more or less left arts policy in the hands of Ms. Alexander and Mr. Crary.

"The White House thinks Jane Alexander is doing just fine," said one Administration official. "She is doing exactly what they want her to. She is out there working her tail off, and there is a real perception of change in the Government's attitude toward the arts. If the right does try to pull something, then all that Jane has been doing is insurance in the bank."

Ms. Alexander's most ambitious program so far is a conference called Art 21 that she is arranging next month in Chicago. Intended to explore issues like the artist and society, arts education and expanding resources for the arts, the conference will feature, among other speakers, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Henry G. Cisneros. Neither President Clinton nor his wife, whose presence endowment officials had been hoping for, will be on the program.

Arts groups have been generally supportive of Ms. Alexander, though they haven't hesitated to gripe about how issues like health care and requirements on lobbying disclosure can affect arts institutions.

"It's like the issue of nonprofit postal rates: they're not specifically targeting the arts, but the arts get caught," said Judith Golub, the executive director of the American Arts Alliance, an umbrella organization for service groups like the American Symphony Orchestra League and Opera America. "We're small businesses and individual artists, and where do we fit into the health care debate? Jane Alexander is a great ambassador for the arts, but we still feel that the White House is not fully sympathetic to these other concerns that we have."

An Administration official, conceding that service organizations have been "the one area where I hear gripes," attributed complaints less to policy differences than to "jealousy that something's happening in the arts and they're not controlling it."

The Popular Arts Are Clinton's Area

How about the President? His decision not to make time in his schedule for the endowment's conference in April, Ms. Alexander's biggest show yet, seems to underscore that he prefers to make supportive comments about the arts but not to get heavily involved himself.

"The Clintons take the right position on the big issues for art," said a New York museum director who insisted that his name not be used. "But their tendency is still to think about culture always in terms of the most popular forms of art. They see it as a populist part of their political life."

It's no secret that the President's favorite cultural activity seems to be showing movies at the White House, and his most frequent cultural guests have been from the worlds of Hollywood and pop music. The Clintons are more believers in high art

than they are consumers of it themselves; they do not frequent the Presidential box at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington and have not been seen much at events that might be called high culture.

"I'm unhappy that he has yet to come to the opera," said Martin Feinstein, the Washington Opera director, who recalled that President Jimmy Carter not only went to Kennedy Center events but also requested the texts of plays or opera librettos in advance to prepare.

Yet this Administration has managed, more than any since the Kennedy era, to project an aura of approval for high art, despite the absence of any real initiatives. At the Oct. 7 celebration the President's interests in literature and music were apparent, and his off-the-cuff remarks had an enthusiasm no speechwriter could create. His sense of engagement was intense with the evening's full range of performers, from Leontyne Price and Robert Merrill, who sang spontaneously during dinner in the State Dining Room, to the poet laureate, Rita Dove, who read from her work, to the young classical musicians who performed in the East Room.

The program that night ended with a few remarks from Isaac Stern, who had helped organize the concert portion. He saluted the President, then closed with a gentle warning that "the joyousness that we shared in the dining room, the sense of identification with the power of creativity" not be taken for granted, and that the arts needed tangible support as well as celebration.

"What I was saying that night is that the arts have to be a continuing effort, a fight for the minds and the freedom of our children, and not just a social adornment," Mr. Stern said recently. "I have a feeling that while it is not the No. 1 priority for the White House, they know this and are prepared to back it."

On Decency And the Courts

Arts advocates are dismayed by the Clinton Administration's decision to allow the Justice Department to pursue an appeal of a court decision overturning the so-called decency provision, which requires the National Endowment for the Arts to take standards of decency into account when awarding its grants.

The provision was passed by Congress in 1989 in response to complaints by the far right that the work of certain artists supported by the endowment, like Karen Finley, John Fleck, Holly Hughes and Tim Miller, was obscene. It was deemed unconstitutional and vague in 1992 by Federal District Court in California. The appeal was filed in Pasadena in June 1993 in the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

"Why are they doing this when they could have just left it alone?" said Martin Feinstein, the director of the Washington Opera. "Appealing this decision makes no sense whatsoever." He said that letting the lower court decision stand would have

sent a signal of clear support for freedom of expression, while appealing it seemed to many people in the arts to be a capitulation to the concerns of the far right.

Privately, Administration officials concede that the appeal, which was made in the early days of Mr. Clinton's presidency, slipped through the Justice Department without being noticed in the White House, and they say they had no intention of sending a message of sympathy to the opponents of the endowment. The vehemence of the original appeal, they say, was muted by a more moderate second brief that more accurately reflects the Administration's views and reaffirms freedom of expression. Nonetheless, the appeal itself was allowed to stand.

GRAPHIC: Photo: Jane Alexander, chairwoman of the National Endowment for the Arts, joined a theater group in Gibson, Miss., in a December visit. She has been tireless in politicking with Congress and around the nation. (Virginia Crosby) (pg. C20)

Graph: "Dollars for the Arts"

The budget for the National Endowment for the Arts, which has not changed appreciably in the last 12 years, is smaller than the Department of Defense's budget for its 102 military bands. Graph tracks annual budgets for the N.E.A. and Military bands since 1989. (Sources: Office of the Comptroller, Department of Defense; House of Representatives)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: March 23, 1994

INTERVIEW WITH PAUL GOLDBERGER

1. Have you had conversations with the President about his view for the country's culture, about the direction he wants you to take the National Endowment for the Arts?

RESPONSE:

- o personal charge from President and First Lady to make the arts a part of every American's life
- o President and his team were outstanding in preparing for confirmation hearings
- o President has included arts education as part of GOALS 2000
- o President shares view that the arts are a tool for making America better -- for building community, for curing social ills
- o in State of the Union, President said we must give children "something to say 'yes' to," and the arts are that something
- o President has articulated the above themes and relegated how to best accomplish them to the Chairman

2. While the President has voiced his support for the arts, do you think his budget request actually reflected that support?

RESPONSE:

- o yes, absolutely. President asked for a flat budget for the Endowment at a time when hundreds of other programs are slated for elimination or reductions
- o reasonably heartened by budget request
- o President recognized -- correctly -- that a significant increase for the Endowment was not going anywhere in Congress this year

-more-

Paul Goldberger
Page Two

3. By all reports the President is a man who appreciates the value of culture in a society, yet there is this sense that he is keeping a respectable distance from the Arts Endowment. Would you agree?

RESPONSE:

- o agree that President appreciates the arts (regular theater/museum goer -- went to Barnes Collection at National Gallery last year -- musician, daughter a dancer)
- o anyone who heard the President at last Fall's National Medal of Arts ceremony knows the President is a passionate advocate for the arts ("The arts teach us in ways that nothing else can about the vastness and the depth of human experience. They are our great equalizers. We inherit them, and we can all participate in them.")
- o disagree that Clinton is keeping a distance from the Endowment. Matter of priority.
- o President Kennedy was perhaps one of the White House's most ardent arts supporters, yet it was not until October 1963 in his remarks at Amherst College did he really address the arts in great detail.

4. The Clinton Justice Department has appealed the lower court ruling that the so-called "decency clause" is unconstitutional. I know the matter is still in the courts, but can you say whether or not you were surprised that an appeal was pursued by this Administration?

RESPONSE:

- o was not Chairman when that decision was made, so can't say one way or another
- o Justice Department's role is to defend laws passed by the Congress; comfortable with the Administration's position on the matter

-more-

Paul Goldberger
Page Three

5. The Senate was due today to vote on a balanced budget amendment. Do you fear for the Endowment's existence should an amendment like that become law?

RESPONSE:

- o every poll indicates broad support from the American people for public funding of the arts.
- o eliminating the Arts Endowment would not go a long way toward balancing the federal budget
- o if the Endowment had to compete for resources with other major departments and programs, survival could be a matter of concern

6. Let's turn to your Chairmanship, what are your priorities? What do you hope to accomplish?

RESPONSE:

- o attempting to fulfill President's mandate, to make the arts a part of every American's life
- o show the American people what a treasure the Arts Endowment is -- traveling to 50 states
- o find opportunities for the arts to address some of society's challenges -- children at risk, urban blight, fractured communities
- o make the arts a basic part of K-12 education for every child in America
- o explore partnerships with other federal agencies and the private sector to expand resources for the arts
- o demonstrate the tremendous power the arts have to stimulate economies
- o convening ART 21: Art Reaches into the 21st Century in Chicago April 14-16

--Arts in Technology
--Lifelong Learning in the Arts
--the Artist in Society
--Expanding Resources in the Arts

#

Before we go, I just can't resist saying this. Just before I came out here, I learned today that a great American writer and a friend of Hillary's and mine's, Tony Morrison was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature today. (Applause.) I hope that in the years and struggles ahead we will work hard together to keep the arts and humanities alive and flourishing -- not just here in the nation's capital or in the cultural capitals of this great land, but in every community and in every neighborhood.

Remember, all the people we honor today were once in an ordinary community in an ordinary neighborhood living only with the imagination they had that brought them to this day and this honor. We have to find that imagination and fire it in the children all over America.

Thank you all and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

2:55 P.M. EDT

Strong advocates

Role W.H. demonstrate Value in our society

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From October 7th, 1993 Remarks - 6 -

at WH Presidential Arts Medal Ceremony

Historian Laurel T. Ulrich has introduced both scholarly and public audiences to the lives of ordinary people in New England's past. Her recent book "A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary," won the 1991 Pulitzer Prize for History, among other honors.

Now that I have become President, perhaps I can say this with greater authority than would otherwise be the case -- we often times tend to see our history too much through the lives and works of the famous and not enough through the remarkable lives of the people who are not famous. She has made a truly significant contribution to our understanding of our roots. And for that we thank her. (Applause.)

(Award is presented.)

And now I have one last special honor, and that is to present to Congressman Sidney Yates the Presidential Citizens Medal for his exemplary deeds of service in the area of arts and humanities. The last time Congressman Yates was here for an occasion at the White House, it happened to be on the day he and his wife were celebrating their 58th wedding anniversary. And today, we honor him for that many years, and more, of dedication to our common cause. Congressman Yates, please come forward. (Applause.)

(Medal is awarded.)

Again, let me thank the honorees for being here today, thank all of you in the audience who have come to support them and to support the arts.

Before we go, I just can't resist saying this. Just before I came out here, I learned today that a great American writer and a friend of Hillary's and mine's, Tony Morrison was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature today. (Applause.) I hope that in the years and struggles ahead we will work hard together to keep the arts and humanities alive and flourishing -- not just here in the nation's capital or in the cultural capitals of this great land, but in every community and in every neighborhood.

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END

2:55 P.M. EDT

LEARNING

Teachers Debate Role of Arts

Leaders in the arts point to a link between creativity and academic success

By Laurel Shaper Walters

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON



PROUD ARTIST: Stefani Marchi, at Eliot Elementary School in Needham, Mass., holds up a drawing.

EDUCATION in the arts is the neglected stepchild of the effort to reform American schools.

Since they are often viewed as "frills," public-school arts programs constantly live under the threat of the budget ax. Yet signs of renewed support for music, art, and theater instruction are emerging. Largely in response to a concerted campaign by artists and arts educators, politicians are growing more vocal in their support of the arts.

"It's my hope that the year 1993 will be hailed as the beginning of a cultural renaissance in this nation because of the new focus on the arts and on the central role of arts education," says Rep. Bob Clement (D) of Tennessee, who proudly points out that he represents Nashville — "the country-music capital of America."

Shortly after taking office, Education Secretary Richard Riley put

out a statement heralding the place of arts education. "As we work to improve the quality of education for all children, the arts must be recognized as a vital part of our effort," he said.

When the six national education goals were drafted in 1989, arts educators were outraged that there was no mention of the importance of the arts in schools. Goal No. 3 lists five academic subjects in which students should be performing at a high level by the year 2000. Arts education is not included.

"Attempts were made to make

amends for that as pressure was put on appropriate agencies and national leadership," says John Mahlmann, executive director of the Music Educators National Conference, a professional organization that is part of the campaign for arts education.

In a nod toward arts advocates, the arts are being included in the current push for voluntary national standards. During the past year, arts educators have banded together to draft curriculum standards outlining what students should be learning in the arts nationwide. The standards are expected to be ready next year.

Stacey Wilner, a music teacher in Tennessee, expects the standards to increase the quality of arts education. "It will lend credence to what we are doing," she says.

But drafting national standards for arts instruction isn't proving easy. Some experts warn that standards cannot and should not be applied to the arts.

Standards hard to set

"The fit between standards and learning in the arts is only partial,"

says Elliot Eisner, a professor of education and art at Stanford University in Stanford, Calif. "They can be applied for some aspects of learning in the arts, but, I would argue, not for the ones that are most important and most central."

Professor Eisner cautions against going too far with standards in the arts and "saddling teachers with scores of standards likely to fragment their teaching and take the heart out of art."

Although he sees some progress being made in arts education, Eisner says "we shouldn't by any means become complacent. We've got a long way to go."

He identifies several things that need to be done to make the arts "more than marginal in American schools."

For example, university requirements need to be changed so that the arts are an expected part of the general academic curriculum for college-bound students. "That sets a value that influences what programs are provided in high schools, and also in middle schools and elementary schools for that matter," Eisner says.

Currently, 42 states require



CLASS PROJECT: (From l. to r.) Narvin Chrim, Vanessa Martinez, Principal Elizabeth Bryant, and Jessica Navarro at the Bartlett School in Lowell, Mass.

schools to teach the arts and 30 states require students to take art courses. Yet these requirements are often so vague that students can fulfill them by taking a foreign language. In 1987, most high school graduates had taken one and a half classes in the arts, according to the National Center on Education Statistics.

A 1989 study by the National Arts Education Research Center at the University of Illinois shows that the amount of classroom time devoted to the arts has declined since 1962.

Last year, a nationwide survey by the National Association of Elementary School Principals found that half of the principals had made cuts in music and arts programs at their schools.

The campaign for preserving arts education in public schools has shifted in recent years. Many advocates now argue that instruction in the arts cultivates creativity, discipline, and teamwork — skills that today's students must have to succeed after school.

"The true essence of learning is being creative," Ms. Wilner says. "Without that, we're just giving them information to spit back out at us. Until we teach students how to be creative on their own, we really haven't done our job as educators."

sis achieve higher SAT scores, on average.

Yet some experts discount such theories and few arts advocates hang their arguments on this notion.

"I think transfer of learning is probably more limited than we would like to believe," Eisner says. "I wouldn't, in any case, want to build my church of justification on the basis of what art activities do for helping kids learn how to spell or compute."

"The primary reason that you have music in schools is not to improve SAT scores and math," agrees Mr. Mahlmann. He views the arts as "legitimate curricular areas in and of themselves."

President Clinton is renewing hope among arts educators. "I feel somewhat optimistic," Wilner says. "The current administration appears to be more supportive."

The Clinton team hasn't announced any new initiatives in arts education. But in a recent interview deputy education secretary Madeleine Kunin emphasized Clinton's support for arts education. "What you're seeing in this administration," she says, "is a real enthusiasm for the arts. We applaud the inclusion of the arts in the curriculum and see it as a very important component. The arts should be part of the school-reform agenda."

An Evolving Theory

Professor Howard Gardner evaluates the

BOSTON

IT'S been a whirlwind of a decade for Howard Gardner, an education professor at the Harvard Graduate School of Education and father of the theory of multiple intelligences.

His 1983 book, "Frames of Mind," challenges the traditional notion of intelligence and argues that seven distinct intelligences exist. These include the widely accepted linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligences, which most standardized tests measure. But Professor Gardner also lists musical, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal intelligences.

During the past decade, this concept has been applied in classrooms across the United States and has inspired several educational experiments.

A 10th-anniversary edition of "Frames of Mind" is being published along with "Multiple Intelligences: The Theory in Practice," which culls previously published and original essays on the educational applications of multiple-intelligence theory.

Gardner spoke with the Monitor about the evolution of his ideas and their practical uses.

When you introduced the theory of multiple intelligences did you expect it to be so well-received by the education community?

When I wrote the book, I really thought I was writing it for psychologists. And I thought I was proposing a new conception of intelligence to replace the current conceptions.... The work on education was almost an afterthought. There are a couple of chapters at the end of "Frames of Mind" where I talk about

educational applications of something I knew I had prepared for the inter-

How do you think it probably changed the general increase in time.

But I think that I was putting scholarly background to something I know: Kids are other. They learn ways, and to the same and call every my who doesn't retain prototype there's a difference knowing something and having some words.... I think t

Has your theory changed?

I've made changes to the theory. People intelligences? The talk in my writing intelligences, such as

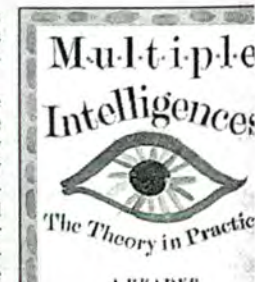
What do you think about the future of the theory?

I think there is a very early age world of human subjects in the way they have a sixth sense from and where t

Taking Gardner's Idea

HOWARD GARDNER is an academic, and his books bear the stamp of academia.

"Multiple Intelligences: The Theory in Practice" includes the typically lengthy bibliography and cross references to scholarly research. Yet this is a book firmly grounded in educational experiments based on Professor Gardner's theory of seven different kinds of intelligence. These practical assessments offer many



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Motivating students

Many arts educators contend that cutting art courses increases dropout rates and lowers student motivation. "There are many different ways of learning or different means of intelligence, and the arts is where some students excel," Wilner says. "For some students, the arts are the only thing that keeps them in school. It's the only reason they graduate."

Some studies even suggest that arts instruction improves student performance in other subjects. For example, research by the College Entrance Examination Board indicates that students who study mu-

sic achieve higher SAT scores, on average.

Yet some experts discount such theories and few arts advocates hang their arguments on this notion.

"I think transfer of learning is probably more limited than we would like to believe," Eisner says. "I wouldn't, in any case, want to build my church of justification on the basis of what art activities do for helping kids learn how to spell or compute."

"The primary reason that you have music in schools is not to improve SAT scores and math," agrees Mr. Mahlmann. He views the arts as "legitimate curricular areas in and of themselves."

President Clinton is renewing hope among arts educators. "I feel somewhat optimistic," Wilner says. "The current administration appears to be more supportive."

The Clinton team hasn't announced any new initiatives in arts education. But in a recent interview deputy education secretary Madeleine Kunin emphasized Clinton's support for arts education. "What you're seeing in this administration," she says, "is a real enthusiasm for the arts. We applaud the inclusion of the arts in the curriculum and see it as a very important component. The arts should be part of the school-reform agenda."

Ms. Kunin says the federal government can help "legitimize the role of arts in education."

"The most effective thing we can do is provide models of low-cost arts education initiatives that work," she says.

Yet there are no such plans on the table yet. And Kunin does not expect the level of federal funding for education to increase.

"The primary responsibility of education is at the state and local level rather than at the federal level," points out Congressman Clement. "The battleground, in my opinion, will be in the school districts around the country."

and father of the theory of multiple intelligences.

His 1983 book, "Frames of Mind," challenges the traditional notion of intelligence and argues that seven distinct intelligences exist. These include the widely accepted linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligences, which most standardized tests measure. But Professor Gardner also lists musical, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal intelligences.

During the past decade, this concept has been applied in classrooms across the United States and has inspired several educational experiments.

A 10th-anniversary edition of "Frames of Mind" is being published along with "Multiple Intelligences: The Theory in Practice," which culls previously published and original essays on the educational applications of multiple-intelligence theory.

Gardner spoke with the Monitor about the evolution of his ideas and their practical uses.

When you introduced the theory of multiple intelligences did you expect it to be so well-received by the education community?

When I wrote the book, I really thought I was writing it for psychologists. And I thought I was proposing a new conception of intelligence to replace the current conceptions.... The work on education was almost an afterthought. There are a couple of chapters at the end of "Frames of Mind" where I talk about

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Taking Gardner's I

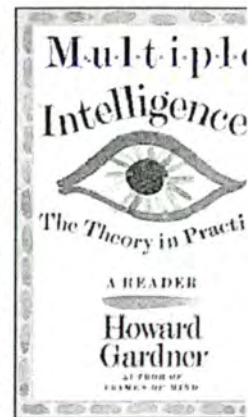
HOWARD GARDNER is an academic, and his books bear the stamp of academia.

"Multiple Intelligences: The Theory in Practice" includes the typically lengthy bibliography and cross references to scholarly research. Yet this is a book firmly grounded in educational experiments based on Professor Gardner's theory of seven different kinds of intelligence. These practical assessments offer many insights into the modern classroom.

Gardner criticizes the concept of "uniform schooling" and promotes a more individual approach to education. "Serious consideration of a wide range of human intelligences leads to a new view of education that I have termed 'individual-centered education,'" he writes.

In Indianapolis, a group of teachers created a school based on multiple-intelligence theory. The Key School is now in its sixth year.

"One of its founding principles



MULTIPLE INTELLIGENCE THE THEORY IN PRACTICE
By Howard Gardner
Basic Books, 304 pp., \$

is the conviction that each should have his or her m intelligences ("MI") stim each day," Gardner writes arts play an important role



HIEROGLYPHS: Bartlett sixth-grader Jessica Navarro works on a project about Egypt. Educators say the arts need to have more place in curricula.

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Journal

FRANK RICH

Trail Of Lies

As early as Tuesday the United States Senate may vote to maim American cultural institutions from the Old Globe Theater in San Diego to the Art Institute of Chicago to Kennedy Center in Washington. And it has all happened because of a firestorm accidentally ignited by two middle-aged friends — Dennis Yelkin, a hair stylist, and Jim Berenson, a flight attendant — who went to a performance in a tiny cabaret theater in Minneapolis four months ago.

How did a visit to a show by two arts-loving suburbanites evolve into a crisis imperiling the National Endowment for the Arts? The story would be a farce if the stakes weren't so high — and if the threat to the N.E.A. were not another example of how the religious right poisons the civic atmosphere.

The performance Mr. Yelkin and Mr. Berenson saw, an adults-only fringe event sponsored by the Walker Art Center, was given by the now notorious Ron Athey, who uses ritual tattooing as part of his autobiographical art. But at the time Mr. Athey's show was not notorious; it only became so after surfacing in The Minneapolis Star Tribune three weeks later.

In that front-page article, Mr. Yelkin and Mr. Berenson are the only two audience members quoted by name. Their description of the Athey event suggested that a panicked crowd fled from overhead towels allegedly soaked with a performer's H.I.V.-positive blood. The story also reported that \$150 in N.E.A. funds had been spent on the show.

Soon the Christian Action Network was recycling the account in a "Declaration of War" asking its faithful

A witch hunt targets the arts.

for money to prevent the N.E.A. chairwoman, Jane Alexander, from seeking a \$50 billion budget for "dripping blood on the audience." (The N.E.A.'s actual budget is a mere \$49.83 billion short of that figure.) Before long The Washington Times imported this hysteria to the capital, running a dozen pieces, among them a crude satirical fantasy of Ms. Alexander's being kidnapped by North Korea's Kim Jong Il.

The noise reached the prim Senator Robert Byrd, all-powerful Democrat who is chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and he has now responded by supporting unprecedented cuts of 40 percent to specific N.E.A. programs. A typical example: Theater grants would be reduced from \$8.3 million to \$5.2 million — thereby making the entire Federal largesse to American drama, much of it spent on programs for children, less than half the budget of a single Broadway musical like "Beauty and the Beast."

How did things reach this pass? By one long trail of lies. Last week both Mr. Yelkin and Mr. Berenson, furious at their exploitation by N.E.A. opponents, told me that their words were taken out of context in the original Star Tribune article; both called the Athey performance "valid," if shocking, art. Other witnesses have said that there was no panic, no dripping blood and no health hazard that night in Minneapolis. For that matter, the \$104,500 Walker Art Center grant from which came the infamous \$150 was not even approved by Ms. Alexander but by her conservative predecessor, Anne-Imelda Radice, who had been installed by George Bush to placate the religious right.

Now dozens of cultural institutions — including the Wheeling Symphony in Senator Byrd's own West Virginia — stand to be penalized because of a cunning fear campaign designed to make voting against the N.E.A. synonymous with voting against AIDS-infected blood. Whatever happens in Congress, the hysteria will enrich the Christian Action Network, its political patrons and their fight against abortion rights, homosexuals and the separation of church and state.

Senators who threaten to vote against the N.E.A. say they are safeguarding either the public health or the taxpayers' dollars. Don't believe them. There was no health threat, and why would the same politicians who slept through the grand larceny of the S. & L. scandal be so concerned about \$150 — or the rest of a tiny N.E.A. budget that is less than the Government spends each year on military bands? And if protecting public morality is the issue, why not cut the defense budget for the outrages of Tailhook?

The N.E.A., about to be punished for a crime it didn't commit, is simply an easy, politically cost-free whipping boy for the far right as it seeks to raise money and support for its larger agenda. Since the N.E.A.'s most powerful Washington allies are at this moment so busy with their own larger agenda, especially health care, the arts need all the friends they can get — and now. □

The Agency Congress Loves to Hate

Why Nothing Ever Changes

By RICHARD L. BERKE

SIX years ago, his voice cracking with emotion, Jack F. Kemp pulled out of the 1988 race for the Republican Presidential nomination. But the Federal Election Commission lingered over Mr. Kemp's ill-fated bid until last month, when it finally slapped his multi-million dollar campaign with a \$120,000 fine for numerous election law transgressions.

This was hailed by commissioners as a success story: they noted that their Presidential inquiries often take even longer and end up settling for even smaller fines.

Since it was created by the Congress as an outgrowth of the Watergate reforms of the 1970's, the Federal Election Commission has been ridiculed by Democrats and Republicans as a sluggish, even incompetent, agency that cannot do anything right — or at least on time. The three Democrats and three Republicans, afraid of voting against a politician in their own party, often end up in deadlock. Many candidates feel they can flout election laws with no, or only the mildest, penalties.

But for all the attacks on the commission from lawmakers, and the indignant talk about cleaning up politics, the politicians themselves deserve much of the blame. The commission offers a case study of how Washington defeats itself: Politicians know the commission's flaws better than anyone, but for their own preservation they have curbed its influence even further. "It is an agency we love to hate because it regulates us, and in an area where each of us becomes

The Federal Election Commission is a case study in failed reform.

a raging paranoid," said Representative Al Swift, a Washington Democrat whose subcommittee monitors the commission.

That is why, Mr. Swift said, his House colleagues cut the commission's budget request for 1995 to \$24 million — \$3 million less than the Administration proposed and \$8 million less than the commission said it needed to operate. The amendment was sponsored by Representative Bob Livingston, a Louisiana Republican and one of the commission's most outspoken critics. (The Senate passed a slightly more generous measure; the versions await resolution in a conference committee.)

'A Double Standard'

"They're a worthless, toothless organization," said Mr. Livingston, neglecting to mention that Congress designed it to be weak in the first place and to emphasize negotiation over prosecution. "Crooks can disobey the law with the full knowledge that the F.E.C. will never get around to them. Are we just going to perpetuate the bad job and give them more money and reward them?"

The commissioners argue that Congress wants it both ways, denouncing the commission in the name of campaign reform while being careful not to give it enough money to do its job. "Unfortunately, in this arena when you do your job you run the risk that you are going to irritate somebody," said Trevor Potter, a Republican who is commission chairman this year. "And they may be people who have authority over your budget."

Fred Wertheimer, the president of Common Cause, which lobbies for election reform, was more direct: "It is a double standard pure and simple to strengthen law enforcement for everyone else and weaken it for members of Congress."

The agency is so strapped that it recently purged 166 pending cases from its docket. If a campaign finance bill passes this year, the commission would need even more money to fulfill new responsibilities.

Even as the agency is trying to protect its resources, Mr. Potter, a lawyer who handled election cases in private practice, is pushing the commission to move more swiftly and to impose higher fines. "One reason I came to the commission," he said, "was that I was concerned it was becoming an irrelevancy in the campaign finance world." Mr. Potter, the newest member, arrived in 1992.

Despite some successes, the 38-year-old chairman has nettled many of his publicity-shy colleagues, who have been on the commission longer. "I don't want to take anything away from the chairman," said Danny Lee McDonald, a Democrat who is the commission's vice chairman, "but I'm not aware of anything he's advocated that some of us have not been on the record for for 12 years."

Ellen S. Miller, executive director of the Center for Responsive Politics, which has



Trevor Potter

Paul Hasefros/The New York Times

assigned a full-time monitor to the commission, said, "Trevor Potter's aggressiveness has created an enormous tension within the agency between those who want to aggressively enforce the mandate and those who want to go on with business as usual."

Mr. Potter's efforts have not played particularly well on Capitol Hill either. When he tried to enforce a 15-year-old prohibition on candidates using campaign funds to cover personal expenses, some lawmakers accused the commission of being too meddlesome. Mr. Livingston, for one, complained that instead of delving into personal use questions, the commission should "exercise the powers that they have properly."

The Clinton Factor

Criticized for his efforts to raise huge sums from wealthy donors and his initial reluctance to disclose the names of donors to his legal defense fund, President Clinton has also come under fire for talking up reform but resisting it in practice.

Reformers were disappointed earlier this month when Mr. Clinton passed up an opportunity to reshape the commission by reappointing Mr. McDonald and Lee Ann Elliott, a Republican, to their third six-year terms. Both had been attacked by public interest groups as too beholden to the leaders of their parties and sometimes skittish about pursuing election law violators.

Mrs. Elliott has little patience with her detractors. "Their premise is that everybody who takes a campaign contribution is selling a vote," she said. "Their criticism hurts the political process and is detrimental to democracy." Mrs. Elliott finds little fault with Congress or with the commission. She calls it "just a user-friendly agency."