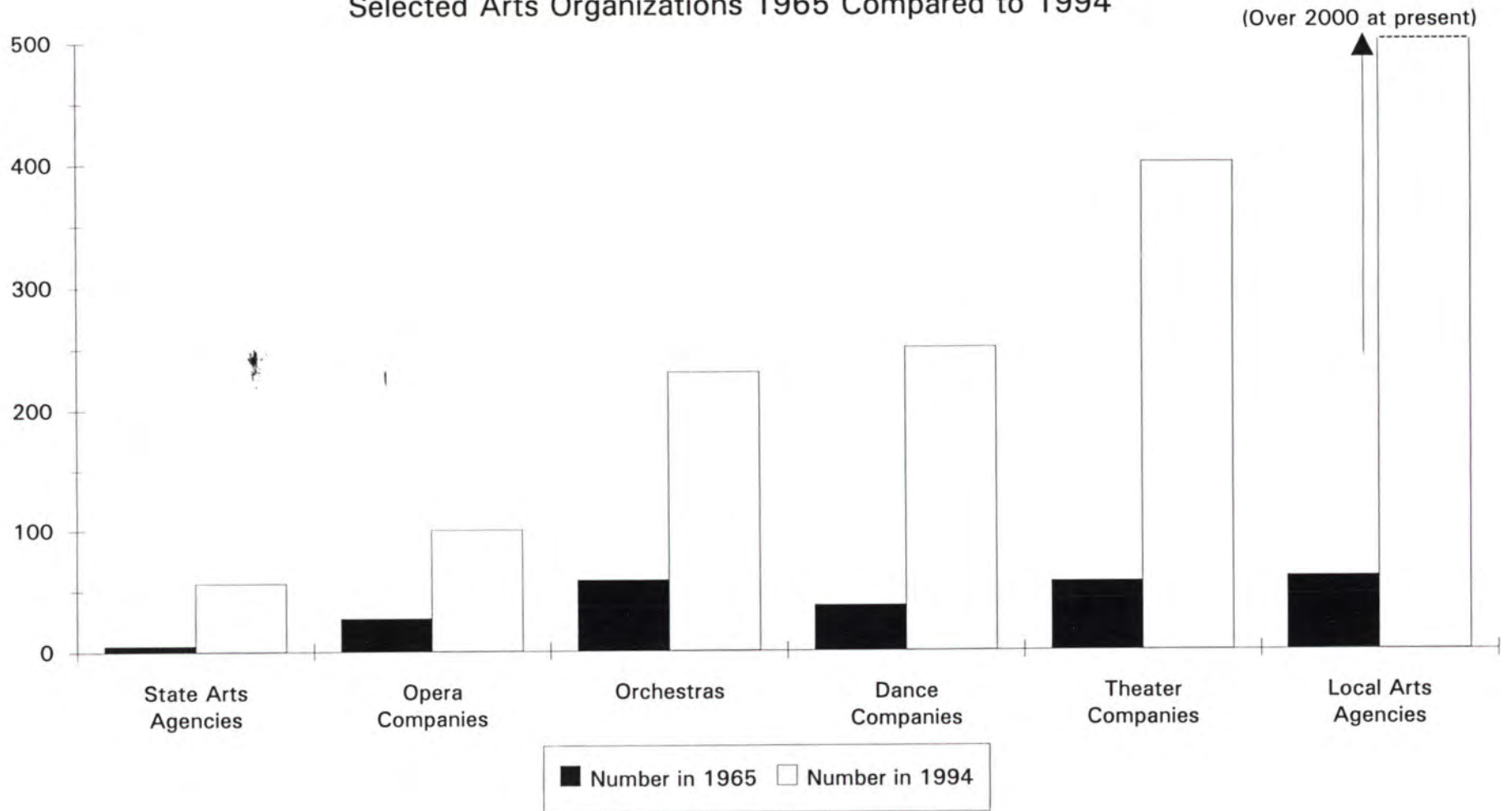


RED
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PRESERVATION

Background NEA
Arguments / Remind

Selected Arts Organizations 1965 Compared to 1994



Growth in the Arts since 1965

New opera companies have been founded in such communities as:

Augusta, GA
Grand Rapids, MI
Fargo, ND
Las Vegas, NV
Detroit, MI
Vienna, VA
Tucson, AZ
Whitewater, IN
Des Moines, IA
Chicago, IL
Cleveland, OH
Syracuse, NY
Houston, TX
Norfolk, VA
Anchorage, AK
Eugene, OR
Cooperstown, NY
Indianapolis, IN
Philadelphia, PA
Boston, MA
Knoxville, TN
Saint Louis, MO
Roanoke, VA
Winston-Salem, NC
Charleston, SC
Charlottesville, VA
Larkspur, CA
Salt Lake City, UT
Walnut Creek, CA
Pompano Beach, FL
Greensboro, NC
Baton Rouge, LA
Modesto, CA
Denver, CO
New York, NY
Brooklyn, NY
San Jose, CA
Costa Mesa, CA
Durham, NC
Los Angeles, CA
Buffalo, NY

Growth in the Arts since 1965

New dance companies were founded in such communities as:

Durham, NC
Los Angeles, CA
South Pasadena, CA
Phoenix, AZ
San Juan, PR
West Palm Beach, FL
New York, NY
Columbus, OH
Omaha, NE
Milwaukee, WI
St. Croix, VI
Denver, CO
Cleveland, OH
San Jose, CA
Fort Worth, TX
San Francisco, CA
Dallas, TX
Pittsburgh, PA
Oakland, CA
Washington, DC
Dayton, OH
Lake Worth, FL
Trenton, NJ
Eugene, OR
Rochester, NY
Hartford, CT
Boulder, CO
Houston, TX
Chicago, IL
Indianapolis, IN
San Diego, CA
Minneapolis, MN
San Rafael, CA
Philadelphia, PA
Santa Fe, NM
Fort Lee, NJ
Nashville, TN
Las Vegas, NV
Montclair, NJ
Charlotte, NC
Akron, OH
Portland, OR
Seattle, WA
Spring Valley, OH
Orlando, FL
Santa Cruz, CA

Growth in the Arts since 1965

New theater companies were founded in such communities as:

Jackson, MS	Whitesburg, KY	Cleveland, OH
Tucson, AZ	New York, NY	Santa Fe, NM
Fort Worth, TX	Worcester, MA	Newton Highlands, MA
Atlanta, GA	Syracuse, NY	Lexington, VA
Omaha, NE	Milford, NH	Iowa City, IA
Memphis, TN	Johnson City, TN	Nashville, TN
Chicago, IL	Richmond, VA	Santa Monica, CA
Madison, WI	Addison, TX	Skokie, IL
Tulsa, OK	Ithaca, NY	Bristol, PA
Mill Valley, CA	Little Rock, AR	Guthrie, OK
New Haven, CT	Cincinnati, OH	Manalapan, FL
Berkeley, CA	Sunnyvale, CA	Phoenix, AZ
Lansing, MI	Park Forest, IL	Stamford, CT
Seattle, WA	Troy, NY	White River Junction, VT
Milwaukee, WI	St. Paul, MN	Genesee Depot, WI
Salt Lake City, UT	Chapel Hill, NC	Chelsea, MI
Monmouth, ME	San Diego, CA	Sag Harbor, NY
Palo Alto, CA	Tempe, AZ	
Minneapolis, MN	Miami, FL	
Montgomery, AL	Horse Cave, KY	
Rochester, NY	Allentown, PA	
Princeton, NJ	West Liberty, OH	
St. Louis, MO	Silver Spring, MD	
Blue Lake, CA	Lenox, MA	
Rockford, IL	Bloomsburg, PA	
Sarasota, FL	Buffalo, NY	
Washington, DC	Tacoma, WA	
Indianapolis, IN	Cambridge, MA	
Kansas City, MO	Wilmington, DE	
Philadelphia, PA	Lowell, MA	
Concord, CA	Douglas, AK	
Pittsburgh, PA	Norfolk, VA	
Gainesville, FL	Sausalito, CA	
San Francisco, CA	Albany, NY	
Knoxville, TN	San Jose, CA	
New Brunswick, NJ	Bethlehem, PA	
Denver, CO	Boston, MA	
Oakland, CA	Austin, TX	
Malvern, PA	Santa Cruz, CA	
Portland, OR	Marietta, GA	

Growth in the Arts since 1965

New symphony orchestras have been founded in such communities as:

Anderson, IN
Little Rock, AR
Eugene, OR
Menasha, WI
Peoria, IL
Owensboro, KY
Bellevue, WI
Ashland, OR
Salisbury, NC
Meadville, PA
Bozeman, MT
Tampa, FL
Bloomington, IN
Melville, NY
Grand Rapids, MI
La Crosse, WI
Reno, NV
Greensburg, PA
Columbus, IN
Liberty, MO
Rochester, NY
McLean, VA
Yakima, WA
Hendersonville, NC
New York, NY
St. Paul, MN
Chicago, IL
Beachwood, OH
Minneapolis, MN
Moscow, ID
Kokomo, IN
Stamford, CT
Venice, FL
Eau Claire, WI
Boulder, CO
Littleton, MA
Manchester, NH
Longboat Key, FL
Binghamton, NY
Ithaca, NY

Frederick, MD
Macon, GA
Sioux Falls, SD
McAllen, TX
Denver, CO
Grand Junction, CO
Washington, DC
Delaware, OH
Port Charlotte, FL
Garland, TX
Santa Ana, CA
Forest Hill, MD
Rockville Center, NY
Schenectady, NY
Lehigh Valley, PA
Summit, NJ
Paducah, KY
Columbus, OH
Rochester, MN
Cleveland, OH
Glendale, CA
Wailuku, HI
Las Vegas, NV
San Francisco, CA
Bryan, TX
Cherry Hill, NJ
Woodbridge, VA
Salem, MA
Tuscaloosa, AL
Olympia, WA
Kansas City, MO
Hagerstown, MD
Gresham, OR
Westfield, NJ
Baltimore, MD
Bridgeton, NJ
Plano, TX
Tallahassee, FL
Lafayette, LA
San Diego, CA

Pandleton, OR
Williamsburg, VA
Myrtle Beach, SC
Warren, NJ
Miami Beach, FL
Oklahoma City, OK
Steamboat Springs, CO
Chambersburg, PA
Norfolk, VA
Holland, MI

Growth in the Arts since 1965

New local arts agencies were founded in such communities as:

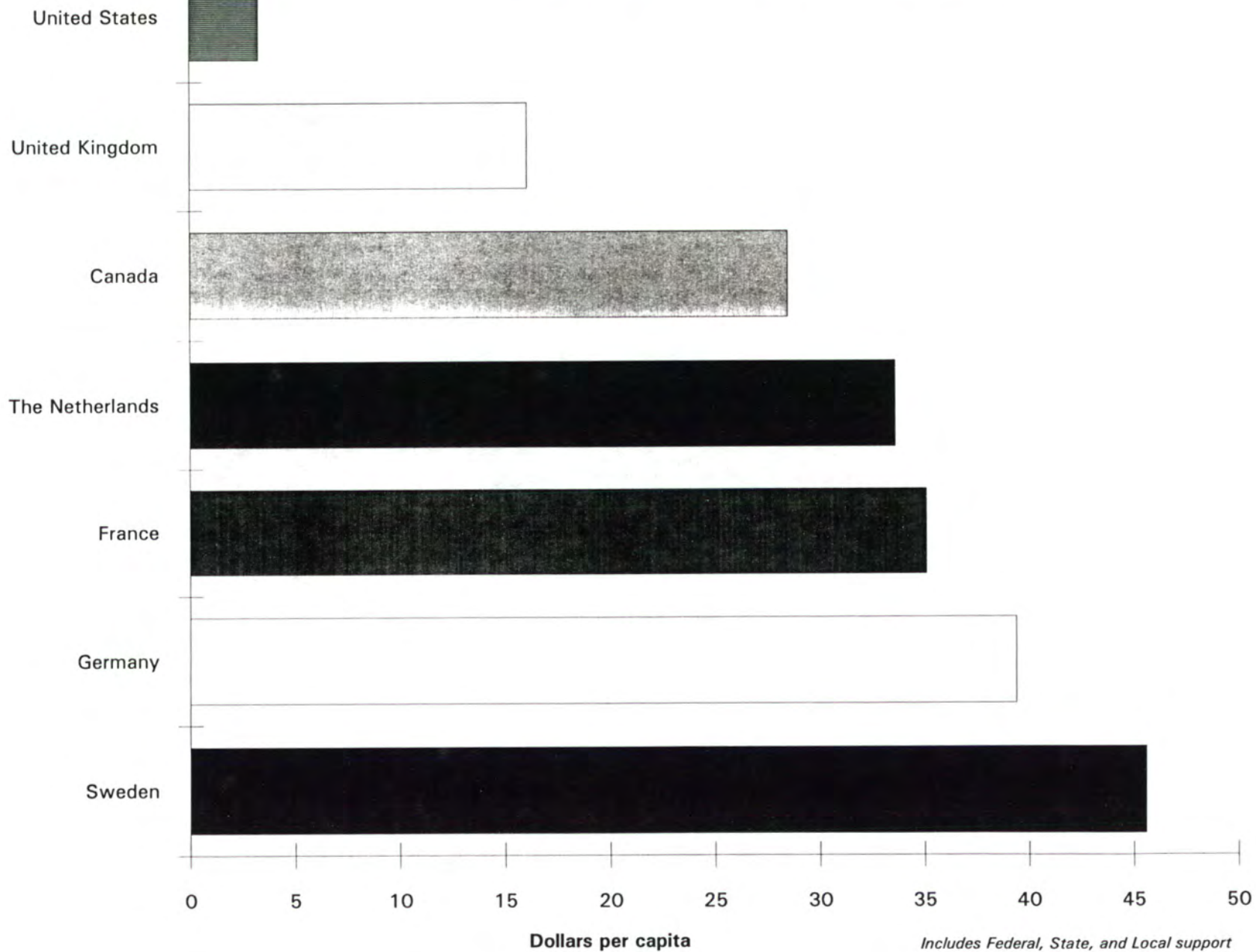
Fairbanks, AK	Washington, DC	South Bend, IN
Homer, AK	Georgetown, DE	Garden City, KS
Juneau, AK	Clearwater, FL	Goodland, KS
Alexander City, AL	Fort Lauderdale, FL	Lawrence, KS
Selma, AL	Gainesville, FL	Lawrence, KS
Lake Havasu City, AZ	Melbourne, FL	Lindsborg, KS
Phoenix, AZ	Miami, FL	Shawnee Mission, KS
Tucson, AZ	Pensacola, FL	WaKenney, KS
Aptos, CA	Sarasota, FL	Winfield, KS
Auburn, CA	Port Charlotte, FL	Bowling Green, KY
Belmont, CA	Albany, GA	Lexington, KY
Berkeley, CA	Athens, GA	Louisville, KY
Coloma, CA	Atlanta, GA	Paducah, KY
Crescent City, CA	Augusta, GA	Jennings, LA
Dana Point, CA	Brunswick, GA	Lafayette, LA
Davis, CA	Canton, GA	New Orleans, LA
Eureka, CA	Honolulu, HI	Ruston, LA
Mammoth Lakes, CA	Kamuela, HI	Boston, MA
Merced, CA	Amana, IA	Lexington, MA
Pasadena, CA	Bloomfield, IA	Pittsfield, MA
Redding, CA	Carroll, IA	Annapolis, MD
San Diego, CA	Des Moines, IA	Baltimore, MD
San Jose, CA	Forest City, IA	Centreville, MD
Santa Clarita, CA	Le Mars, IA	Gaithersburg, MD
Santa Cruz, CA	Muscatine, IA	Prince Frederick, MD
Santa Monica, CA	Okoboji, IA	Rockville, MD
Sierra City, CA	Sioux Center, IA	Towson, MD
Sonora, CA	Spencer, IA	Ann Arbor, MI
Sutter Creek, CA	Woodbine, IA	Freemont, MI
Aspen, CO	Grangeville, ID	Grand Rapids, MI
Aurora, CO	Kamiah, ID	Wyandotte, MI
Colorado Springs, CO	Salmon, ID	Duluth, MN
Denver, CO	Twin Falls, ID	Minneapolis, MN
Durango, CO	Weiser, ID	St. Paul, MN
Hollister, CO	Aurora, IL	Branson, MO
Montrose, CO	Carterville, IL	Nevada, MO
Sterling, CO	Chicago, IL	Sikeston, MO
Colchester, CT	Evanston, IL	St. Louis, MO
Danbury, CT	Highland Park, IL	Corinth, MS
Hamden, CT	Rock Island, IL	Meridian, MS
Hartford, CT	Bluffton, IN	Pascagoula, MS
Middletown, CT	Covington, IN	Port Gibson, MS
Naugatuck, CT	Evansville, IN	Beaufort, NC
Westport, CT	Jasper, IN	Boone, NC
Wilton, CT	Plymouth, IN	Cary, NC

Charlotte, NC
Franklin, NC
Hiddenite, NC
Jacksonville, NC
Lexington, NC
Marion, NC
Mocksville, NC
Oxford, NC
Plymouth, NC
Raleigh, NC
Salisbury, NC
Fargo, ND
Grand Forks, ND
Bassett, NE
Omaha, NE
Camden, NJ
Haddon Township, NJ
Jersey City, NJ
Newark, NJ
North Brunswick, NJ
Somerville, NJ
Albuquerque, NM
Artesia, NM
Las Cruces, NM
Santa Fe, NM
Las Vegas, NV
Reno, NV
Binghamton, NY
East Islip, NY
New York, NY
Rochester, NY
West Babylon, NY
White Plains, NY
Centerville, OH
Chagrin Falls, OH
Cincinnati, OH
Cleveland, OH
Columbus, OH
Dayton, OH
Delaware, OH
Middletown, OH
Portsmouth, OH
Springfield, OH
St. Martin, OH
Bartlesville, OK
Oklahoma City, OK
Newport, OR
Portland, OR
Roseburg, OR
Chambersburg, PA

Harrisburg, PA
Leeper, PA
Ridgeway, PA
Stroudsburg, PA
Newport, RI
Pawtucket, RI
Warwick, RI
Woonsocket, RI
Conway, SC
Florence, SC
Hampton, SC
Laurens, SC
McClellanville, SC
McCormick, SC
Orangeburg, SC
Seneca, SC
Sumter, SC
Rapid City, SD
Chattanooga, TN
Columbia, TN
Nashville, TN
Austin, TX
Corsicana, TX
Dallas, TX
Del Rio, TX
El Paso, TX
Houston, TX
Lake Jackson, TX
Marshall, TX
Midland, TX
Post, TX
Rockport, TX
San Antonio, TX
Stephenville, TX
Victoria, TX
Park City, UT
Pleasant Grove, UT
Salt Lake City, UT
Alexandria, VA
Arlington, VA
Blackstone, VA
Charlottesville, VA
Chesapeake, VA
Fork Union, VA
Newport News, VA
Roanoke, VA
Bennington, VT
Auburn, WA
Chehalis, WA
Redmond, WA

Seattle, WA
Spokane, WA
Tacoma, WA
La Crosse, WI
Wisconsin Rapids, WI
Berkeley Springs, WV
Lewisburg, WV
Parkersburg, WV

Direct public expenditure on the arts and museums



PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE ARTS IN AMERICA

In creating the National Endowment for the Arts in 1965, the Congress of the United States declared: *"The encouragement and support of national progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts, while primarily a matter for private and local initiative, are also appropriate matters of concern to the Federal Government."* As recent opinion polls have indicated, an overwhelming majority of the American people still agree.

National Cultural Alliance Survey (1993)

◆ **81 percent** of Americans agreed that "the arts and humanities contribute to the economic health and well-being of society."

◆ **90 percent** of Americans agreed that the arts and humanities help (1) build bridges of understanding between peoples of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds; and (2) bring them together in a community.

◆ **77 percent** of Americans agreed that the arts "provide an anchor or reference point in a world of turmoil."

On the importance of **introducing children to the arts:**

◆ **92 percent** of Americans agreed that the arts boosted overall intellectual development;

◆ **95 percent** of Americans agreed the arts provide children with a means of self-expression; and

◆ **92 percent** agreed they offered a sense of accomplishment.

Louis Harris Poll (1992)

◆ **60 percent** of Americans agreed that "the federal government should provide financial assistance to arts organizations, such as art museums, dance, opera, theater groups, and symphony orchestras."

◆ **56 percent** of Americans say they "would be willing to pay \$15 more in their own taxes per year to support federal government efforts in the arts."

◆ **84 percent** of Americans agree that "in the end, good art is a reflection of the life and times of a nation and a culture, including expressions which support as well as criticize existing values."

◆ **71 percent** of Americans say that "the arts are a positive experience in a troubled world."

#

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Reinventing the National Endowment for the Arts

National Endowment
for the Arts
The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington DC 20506-0001

The new guideline book and applications will be mailed to former applicants in late December 1995. If you have not received your copy by mid-January 1996, please call the Public Information Office at 202 682 5400.

For updates on the latest news from the Arts Endowment, please visit our new World Wide Web site at <http://arts.endow.gov> beginning on January 17, 1996.

The nonprofit arts in America are in an era of transition. At the National Endowment for the Arts we understand that change is accompanied by hard choices, formidable challenges and, ultimately, new opportunities. As of January 1996, our agency will do business differently.

While celebrating our 30th anniversary this year, we recognized the overwhelming success of the Endowment's mission to foster the excellence, diversity and vitality of the arts and to make them accessible to all Americans. The ability to fulfill our mission today becomes more challenging and more crucial than ever before.

Congressional legislation for Fiscal Year 1996 mandates a 40% cut in the agency's budget and necessitates a major reduction in our staff. Consequently, we must drastically reduce the number of grant applications and awards. Congressional legislation also has eliminated seasonal support to organizations and grants to most individual artists.

The Endowment staff, in consultation with the National Council on the Arts and the field, has examined how best to support the nonprofit arts with far fewer resources. The result is our new organizational structure and grantmaking process. While continuing to recognize excellence at institutions large and small, our new plan is designed to encourage all arts organizations to work more closely together and to share information and resources creatively. Discipline expertise has been maintained within the agency and throughout the review process in four broad themes and in public partnerships which replace our former 17 programs. Organizations now may submit one application for project support in one of the four themes.

Reinventing the Endowment will mean a difficult transition period for our applicants and our staff. I feel confident, however, that we will emerge from this process stronger and wiser. High on my agenda is an initiative to identify ways of systemically funding the nonprofit arts in America. If we are to ensure that the arts not only survive but flourish throughout America, our commitment and resolve must be matched by our creativity and vision.

December 1995



JIM JEFFORDS



UNITED STATES SENATOR • VERMONT

Statement for the Introduction of
Authorization of
the Arts, Humanities and Museum Amendments of 1995
May 25, 1995

Mr. President, with Senators Kassebaum, Kennedy, Pell, Simpson and Dodd I am introducing today the **Reauthorization of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965**. This bill provides authorization for the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the newly consolidated Institute for Museum and Library Services, and the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act, through the year 2000.

The subject of government sponsorship of the arts and humanities evokes great disagreement and spirited debate from thoughtful people. My colleagues here in the Senate are certainly no strangers to the controversies and discussions associated with the National Endowment for the Arts. I must say that throughout the process of drafting the bill this consideration has been on my mind. I worked in consultation with my Republican and Democratic colleagues on the Labor Committee in hopes of addressing concerns and incorporating constructive suggestions as to how to improve each of the agencies.

At each subcommittee hearing, we had opportunities to discuss fundamental issues related to the NEA, NEH and IMS with a host of individuals each with very different perspectives. Some spoke of the merits of the Endowments, others proposed significant change, still others advocated total elimination of the Endowments as we now know them. We had the opportunity to see the work of the IMS first hand. The hearing on the Institute for Museum Services was held at the Alexandria Black History Resource Center -- a Center that serves the community, is home to a wonderful collection of photographs and objects, supports education and lifelong learning initiatives, and is there for the enjoyment of all the people of Alexandria, and others who visit.

The exchanges at each of the hearings were enlightening, lively and I believe in the end, very productive. We were able to discuss ideas and concepts which challenged the way we have thought of these agencies. I believe we successfully broadened this

discussion from that of simply "all or nothing" -- elimination versus no change -- created an opportunity to improve.

We have sought to do something very different with this bill. We have made changes that will lead to substantial improvement in terms of how these agencies work and made it even more clear in the legislation as to the priority of who they serve. I learned a great deal from the hearings and feel certain that we have incorporated some of the valuable and thoughtful ideas that were shared during those discussions. There was room for improvement at the NEA and NEH. In addition, there is a clear and direct connection to learning between the IMS and libraries.

We have worked very hard on this bill, for very simple reasons, in my opinion. The National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities, libraries and museums make enormous contributions to vibrancy and greatness of our society. They enrich the fabric of this nation, they bring us together, enable us to better express ourselves and better understand each other and many times, through the arts and humanities we reach those who have been written off. Simply, the arts and humanities are an integral part of who we are as a nation. Encouraging curiosity, thought, learning, dialogue and understanding are endeavors that the federal government should have a role in supporting.

In fact, I believe the federal government should have a leadership role in fostering and preserving the unique cultural heritage of the nation. And to give credit where credit is due, the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Institute for Museum Services and libraries have made the arts and humanities more accessible to all people of our nation and have created innovative and exciting ways of learning to the lives of many, old and young.

My support of these agencies is based on what I have witnessed and learned over the years -- facts about what they really do and who they really serve. I have seen the many ways the Endowments' and the IMS' programs have touched people's lives. Their programs have reached children who, prior to their involvement with the arts or humanities had little interest in learning and less hope. Each of these agencies have enabled individuals to gain a better understanding of their neighbors and their communities through participation in community festivals and other outreach activities. They have brought the beauty and the magic of the nation's rich culture to even the smallest corners of the nation.

My own state of Vermont, while unique in so many ways, is part of a common phenomenon -- when the arts, humanities, museums and libraries are introduced to a community -- that community comes alive, its people come alive. There are examples of excellence in the arts and humanities in Vermont which deserve mention. "Book Discussions for General Audiences," which began from a small grant from the

**History measures a nation by the character of its achievement
as a civilization. (Arthur Schlesinger)**

- For more than 25 years the NEA has celebrated and nurtured America's cultural life -- our literature, music, folk art, dance, theater and much more.
- And it has made the arts available to millions of Americans who might otherwise not have experienced America's great cultural legacy -- whether we live in small towns, rural areas or an urban enclave. Because of the NEA, the arts in America are not solely the preserve of the wealthy.
- Through the NEA, relatively small amounts of our tax dollars leveraged much greater investments in the arts by the private sector.
- Public support for the arts has enhanced the quality of life in our communities, revitalized neighborhoods, stimulated the economy, fostered creativity in the schools and contributed to better understanding among people of different backgrounds.
- To protect the arts funded by the NEA from government control, funding decisions are made by experts and citizens knowledgeable in the arts on the basis of artistic excellence and merit.
- The government does not direct the content of public-funded art, just as the government does not direct the content of the books in our public libraries.
- Since 1967, the NEA has funded over 80,000 cultural projects. From time to time, a grant has been criticized. In a democracy, funding decisions cannot please all our citizens all the time.
- Despite its extraordinary record of achievement, the NEA is under attack. A well-organized group of self-appointed censors is waging a national campaign to smear its reputation. Their goal is to put an end to public support for the arts because all the art funded by the NEA does not conform to their narrow views. We must not let them succeed.

It is imperative that your voice be heard. You'll help more than just the arts -- and making the arts more available to all Americans -- you'll help preserve the basic principles of democracy. Support the NEA!

Endowment Ends Program Helping Individual Artists

By DIANA JEAN SCHEMO

The National Endowment for the Arts, wrestling with nearly \$3 million in budget cuts that followed Congressional rebukes over works it backed, has eliminated the system that allowed local nonprofit organizations to earmark \$1.3 million in Federal grants for individual artists.

The change, which endowment officials describe as a strictly budgetary response to a shrinking fiscal pie, has raised a furor among nonprofit arts agencies. They contend the endowment made the cuts in part to avoid the political fallout that has come from helping artists whose work is unconventional and sometimes controversial, and that it disproportionately hurts individual artists rather than institutions.

It comes after several stormy years for the agency. In this year's contretemps, conservative Congressmen denounced paying \$150 in public money to help Ron Athey, a performance artist who is H.I.V.-positive and whose work involves making actors bleed onstage. In the midst of that controversy, the National Council on the Arts, which oversees the endowment, refused to approve grants to three photographers Andres Serrano, Barbara de Genevieve and Merry Alpern, whose work appeared likely to further alienate conservatives. Mr. Serrano's 1989 photograph of a crucifix immersed in urine drew protests from conservatives when it was included in a show partly paid for by the endowment. Ms. de Genevieve's photos concentrate on women's bodies and how they age, while Ms. Alpern's photos peered into the goings-on in the bathroom of a strip club.

Jenny Dixon, executive director of the Lower Manhattan Cultural Council, said that while the arts endowment had no choice but to make do with Congressional budget cuts, the decision to do away with an entire category of financing that newer artists relied on so heavily "gets the N.E.A. off the hook" politically.

Jane Alexander, the actress whose appointment to head the agency was expected to pacify conservative critics, would not field questions about her decision but left comment to an agency spokeswoman. In a written statement, Ms. Alexander was quoted as saying: "We trust that these decisions, while difficult and necessary, will allow the Arts Endowment to work more effectively and efficiently, while continuing to serve the evolving programming needs of the arts community."

The agency also announced the remaining \$1.6 million in required cuts, which will affect programs in education, dance, museums, operas and other institutions.

Cherie Simon, a spokeswoman for the endowment, said the decision to eliminate regrants was unrelated

to political pressure. "There is a climate of change, and the agency has to make some very tough decisions," said Ms. Simon. "We cannot exhaust ourselves in the details of every decision made here. Everything can't come to a grinding halt with each decision."

Advocates at local arts groups said that regrants, the system of using private arts organizations to channel Federal money, was developed to reach artists who would never go to Washington for money and who could not match the sophisticated grantsmanship of large institutions. Individual artists can still receive endowment grants, but they must apply directly to the Federal agency.

"It's much more complicated process," Ms. Dixon said. "We have an artist in Brooklyn who doesn't even have money for materials. He gets the paper he paints on from garbage cans." Such an artist would not have the means even to apply to the Federal agency for a grant, Ms. Dixon said. "Every time an artist has to make a set of slides for the N.E.A. that costs him money."

Julius M. Low, the director of the National Alliance of Media Arts Centers, which was also hit hard by the recent announcement, said that taking the recognition of new film makers away from the specialized arts organizations and giving it to government judges alone would make it tougher for emerging artists to get a foothold in film making. "They're generalists," Mr. Low said of the judges, "so they aren't experienced in the film and video field and their ability to recognize new talent is limited."

The endowment's budget was cut 2.5 percent last year, declining some \$4.2 million to \$170.3 million. This year, with more pressure from conservatives, the budget was sliced by \$2.87 million, and now stands at \$167.4 million. In the latest round of attacks, Congressmen upset at the endowment's indirect payment to Mr. Athey, whose performance at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis involved carving patterns in an actor's back and blotting the blood with paper towels, sought a 5 percent cut in the endowment's budget, which the Senate reduced to 2 percent.

The change has also angered some private foundations that had been matching Federal money in grants to individual artists. Officials at the Rockefeller Foundation and the Warhol Foundation said they had not been warned that the endowment had made a final decision to eliminate regrants and they complained that doing away with funds that drew matching private grants did not make fiscal sense.

"I'm not in a position to say it was a deliberate attempt to cut back on grants to living artists," said Archibald Gilles, president of the Warhol Foundation, "but that was certainly

the thrust of the Congressional pressure last August, and it would seem the reaction of the N.E.A. was to go along with that pressure. That's very discouraging."

The National Association of Artists' Organizations, an umbrella group of nonprofit arts groups, said the endowment's elimination of \$250,000 in the Artists Projects Regional Initiative drew a \$250,000 matching grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and \$100,000 from the Warhol Foundation, along with some \$400,000 in grants from 29 states. In effect, the \$250,000 in taxpayer dollars generated \$1 million in arts programs, the organization said.

"Every politician from left to right has been preaching public and private cooperation," Mr. Gilles said. "Here's a beautiful example of that, and it quite arbitrarily and quite suddenly gets canceled."

Ms. Simon, the agency spokeswoman, said local arts agencies who

A budget cut for the arts also ends matching money provided privately.

took issue with the cuts were "special interest groups" eager only to preserve their piece of the budget.

Ms. Alexander has said she wanted to tighten accountability at the endowment. Ms. Simon said the decision to eliminate the intermediaries in the awarding of grants was strictly a financial decision, but she acknowledged that some of the intermediaries had criteria that did not agree with the endowment's standards.

Some of them, she said, have "no criteria of artistic excellence," adding "How can they have that policy when artistic excellence is our main criteria?"

Oddly, the endowment's policy change would not have interfered with the Federal help for Mr. Athey's performance, said Mag Partridge, a spokeswoman for the Walker. That \$150 was money the Walker receives to cover seasonal expenses, a category not affected by the endowment's recent action.

Justices Appear to Favor Employees on a Job-Discrimination Issue

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 2 — In an unusually lopsided Supreme Court argument today, the Justices signaled their strong disapproval of permitting employers to escape liability for discrimination by coming up with belated evidence that a former employee filing a discrimination suit deserved dismissal for other reasons.

Several courts have recently ruled that employers who find such evidence have a complete defense to that employee's complaint of discriminatory treatment under Federal civil rights law. Evidence in these cases typically includes a previously undiscovered infraction of work rules or an exaggeration on a long-ago employment application that would have justified dismissal had the employer known of it.

The validity of this defense, known as the after-acquired evidence doctrine, has become one of the most hotly debated areas of discrimination law.

But the Court made the question look easy today. The argument was not so much a debate between lawyers as a series of declarations by Justices across the Court's ideological spectrum that the doctrine undermines the basic premise of Federal civil rights law.

"This is a statute that says, 'Thou shalt not discriminate,' and you are turning that around," Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg said to R. Eddie Wayland, the lawyer for a Nashville publishing company that dismissed a 62-year-old secretary on the basis of an asserted staff reduction while at the same time hiring a 26-year-old.

After the secretary, Christine McKennon, filed a lawsuit under the Federal Age Discrimination in Employment Act, the employer discovered that she had taken home some confidential documents some months earlier in violation of company policy. On that basis, two lower Federal courts, accepting the employer's assertion that it would have fired Ms. McKennon had it known of the infraction, awarded judgment to the company.

Mr. Wayland's argument that an employee who could have been dismissed for a legitimate reason suffers no "tangible economic injury" by being dismissed for a discriminatory one was challenged by Justice Antonin Scalia.

Justice Scalia countered by offering himself as an example of a "thoroughly incompetent employee" whose employer learned of his incompetence only after firing him because of his age. "Why is that not an injury?" he asked, adding: "The more incompetent I've been, the less likely I am to get a later job, and the more I've been injured."

At another point, Justice Scalia commented that "it would be rather risky to bring such a suit" if any employee filing a discrimination complaint was subject to an extensive examination of his competence and conduct.

Justice Sandra Day O'Connor told Mr. Wayland, "I don't see how your rule implements the goal of the statute at all." The relevant inquiry, Justice O'Connor said, was what the employer knew and did on the date the discriminatory action occurred.

Mr. Wayland replied, "It is also a goal of the statute not to reward bad employees."

Mr. Wayland said employees who engage in misconduct had "no one to blame but themselves" when the misconduct causes them to forfeit an otherwise meritorious discrimination case.

The lawyer arguing the appeal for the employee in this case, Michael E. Terry, told the Court that if later evidence showed an employee to have merited dismissal for legitimate reasons, the correct approach was not to erase the employer's liability but to limit the worker's remedy.

Such an employee might forfeit the right to reinstatement and continued pay, Mr. Terry said, but not to back pay. He said that an employer who had been injured by an employee's misconduct could sue for civil damages or seek criminal prosecution.

tion.

There was considerable discussion among the Justices about how the back-pay eligibility should be calculated in such cases. But it was not clear whether the Court would address that issue in its eventual decision.

The Clinton Administration appeared on behalf of the employee, Ms. McKennon. Irving L. Gornstein, an assistant solicitor general, told the Justices that the critical issue in a discrimination case "is what actually motivated the employer at the time of the adverse action." Evidence

acquired later does not change the "historical fact" of a violation of the civil rights laws, he said.

The Administration's brief said that as use of the after-acquired evidence doctrine had spread, "employers now routinely embark upon extensive, post-discharge investigations" intended to uncover "some theoretically valid" justification for a discriminatory discharge.

The Equal Employment Advisory Council, an employers group, took strong exception in its brief to the Administration's assertion, saying

that it unfairly characterized the situation. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States filed a brief saying that 30 percent of all job applicants "materially misrepresent their credentials and qualifications" and that the after-acquired evidence doctrine gives employers a useful tool to combat the problem.

While this case, *McKennon v. Nashville Banner*, No. 93-1543, was brought under the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, the Court's decision will also apply to the basic Federal employment-discrimination law, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, on which the age discrimination act was modeled. Title VII bars discrimination on the basis of race, sex, religion and national origin.

Ms. McKennon's appeal came from the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, in Cincinnati, one of several courts to have adopted the after-acquired evidence doctrine as a complete bar to employer liability. Other Federal courts view later-acquired evidence as relevant only to the remedy.

The Supreme Court has been watching developments in this area for some time. Last year, it agreed to hear an appeal brought by a woman whose victory in a sex-discrimination case had been overturned because she had failed to reveal on her employment application a conviction for drunken driving. But the case was settled before the Supreme Court could decide it.

Moving Out Settles Lawsuit Over Rights

CHICAGO, Nov. 2 (AP) — A white couple have agreed to sell their home and move out within 60 days in order to settle a civil rights lawsuit accusing them of harassing their next-door neighbors with racial slurs and death threats.

The neighbors who filed the suit, which sought \$10 million in damages, are a Chicago police officer of black and Puerto Rican descent and his Puerto Rican wife.

"Close this chapter in your lives," Judge Ann Williams of Federal District Court told both families when the settlement was reached on Tuesday. "Get over it and move on."

The white couple, John and Marie Kraft, have lived in their Northwest Side home for two decades. The plaintiffs, Isidor and Minerva Ramos, moved next door in 1985.

The lawsuit said that a year later, the Krafts, their three children and a son-in-law began shouting racial insults and obscenities at the Ramos family. The harassment eventually escalated to death threats, the lawsuit contended.

The Krafts, who denied the accusations, have now agreed to move out only to avoid a costly legal battle, said their lawyer, Gregory Adamski. Jeremy Margolis, a lawyer for the Ramos family, said the Krafts' agreement "will forever remove this cancer from the community."

Don't overlook the special Technology Report every Wednesday in Business Day.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1994

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THE ARTS IN SOCIETY:

CIVILIZATION'S CULTURAL VOICE AND IDENTITY

[This is 462 words; the goal: <500 words.] TG rewrite; PK edit.]

If history tells us anything, it tells us that the United States, like all other nations, will be measured in the eyes of posterity not by its economic power nor by its military might... but by its character and achievement as a civilization.

-- Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.
Nancy Hanks Lecture
on the Arts and Public Policy

The arts both shape our civilization and reflect its character in so many ways that measuring their impact is like counting raindrops. The arts touch all of us. They give voice to our imaginations, stimulate the local and national economies, promote cross-cultural understanding, educate all of us as to the nature and potentials of humankind. The arts can resonate humanity's darkest moods and project our brightest aspirations.

Intrinsic Value

Art is central to our society. When we support creativity we bequeath our cultural estate so that our children and posterity may inherit or at least comprehend our social and moral values. The arts help give us an identity, both collective and individual. The United States government's support of cultural creativity underscores its commitment to the people's general welfare.

Economic Value

The arts have economic impact that is immediate and measurable. They contribute directly to the economic vitality of their communities (even as they enrich our lives culturally) and they exert powerful indirect influences on private investment. In a community's general inventory, arts facilities and activities are assets that attract industry, revitalize neighborhoods and contribute to local pride and spirit. Federal grants from the Arts Endowment not only boost a community's overall economy, they leverage financial investment and build public-private partnerships by requiring matching funds. For example, in FY ~~1989~~, ¹⁹⁹⁰ ~~\$119.1~~ ^{119.3} million in Endowment grants to arts organizations supported projects that cost ~~\$1.36~~ ^{1.47} billion. [~~LET'S GET UPDATED NUMBERS~~]

Integrative Value

The arts can build bridges between culturally diverse populations. They help develop understanding and mutual respect among groups by providing the concrete means to appreciate other cultures and traditions. The Endowment has strengthened its commitment in this area and actively seeks to assist diverse cultural groups in maintaining and developing their own art forms. The Endowment also promotes cross-cultural access to arts resources and works to help Americans understand artistic expressions other than those rooted in their own traditions.

Educational Value

More than any other subject area in primary and secondary schools, the arts teach creativity. They stimulate students to think broadly and to explore unknowns. They teach young people to see and hear as well as to read and write. The arts help students to make sense out of chaos and to view the world, both its challenges and problems, from different perspectives. The Arts Endowment is committed to working with federal, state and local entities to advance education in the arts and to employ the arts as a general educational tool.

Jane Alexander, Chairman
National Endowment for the Arts
"American Community: Connecting through the Arts"
The National Press Club, Washington, DC
October 11, 1994

Thank you. It's a pleasure to be able to speak to you today. I am celebrating my anniversary. A year ago today, I entered my office for the first time as the sixth Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts. My expectations then were that the job would be extremely challenging, relentless in its demands, and contentious in its efforts to serve a varied and volatile constituency, all of which proved to be true. What I didn't expect, however, was that I would fall in love. That I would encounter a staff that was knowledgeable, dedicated and enthusiastic, and that I would encounter a panoply of arts in America that would make my heart sing, and sometimes stop, in its emotional impact.

It was important to me to take to the road. The American people needed to know what the Endowment was doing for them in their districts, and I needed to know how the arts were faring everywhere. I've been to 43 states and about 80 cities, and will have been to all 50 states, and the jurisdictions of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam and the Northern Marianas by Christmas.

Last week I was in Kentucky in some of the small coal mining towns. I was reminded of another woman whose birthday we celebrate today and who preceded me to that part of the country many years ago. She was indefatigable in her travels. Eleanor Roosevelt would have been 110 years old today.

I had the great privilege of playing her in the mini-series "Eleanor and Franklin." Because she got to every part of America in the '30s and '40s, there was a famous cartoon of two miners deep in a shaft. One turns to the other as they look through the darkness and says, "Good God, I think it's Mrs. Roosevelt."

Well, I've not been quite as many places as Eleanor went, but I've gone up the road a "fur piece" as the old timers say, and I've something to report: The arts are flourishing everywhere; they are not fiscally stable, but they are flourishing -- in fact, exploding in the big cities, and emerging in the smallest of communities.

Let me give you some examples of what I've seen, of the varied nature of what's happening, from my most recent trip. I began my three day California odyssey at Fort Ord on Monterey Bay. Fort Ord is huge: the size of the city of San Francisco. The base closed forever 10 days ago, and the swords will be beaten into the plowshares of a new California State campus which will be known in the next century for its environmental studies, its cultural studies, and its language study program. Poised as it is on the Pacific Rim, and with access to the finest technology available from nearby Silicon Valley, the University will celebrate the connections between art and science; its performing and visual arts centers will be shared with all the artists in the extended Monterey community, and that's

where the Endowment comes in, as seed money for these centers and the artists who will use them. This visionary peek at the future will start to be a reality as early as next year.

In San Jose, the brand new museum of art, with a large boost from one of our Challenge grants which was matched in the community at 3-1, has created an innovative partnership with the Whitney Museum in New York to display the best of their American art on a continuing basis. We drove north. Oakland is one of the most racially, ethnically and culturally diverse cities in the country. At the Alice Arts Center, I was treated to a dance by a company of wheelchair artists interacting with dancers not disabled in a whirling, gliding blur of beauty. An a capella group, trained by Bobby McFerrin, serenaded us with jazz singing. And a trained group of museum docents, at the ripe old ages of 10 and 11, give tours to their peers. The Alice Arts Center connects the people of their neighborhood with their culture and with one another, and it's a joyful, jumpin' neighborhood.

In San Francisco, the Opera, second largest in the country after The Met in New York, was teaching kids in the schools with our Arts in Education initiatives, as was the ballet and the theatres. I visited the "Names Project" which houses the AIDS Quilt -- 28,000 panels, which represent the loss of 28,000 young men and women are stored here, folded carefully on shelf after shelf, each panel stitched lovingly by a friend or family with a name, a date, and an artistry which bespeaks a thousand words. Parts of the quilt travel the world daily, a lasting and living memorial to an epidemic we pray will soon end.

I also met with our Writers Corps -- a group of 20 who will address illiteracy and at risk youth in San Francisco as part of our partnership with AmeriCorps. The NEA was awarded the only arts-related grant from the National Service Corporation and will have writers as well in D.C. and the Bronx. The Writers Corps truly represents the face of America in its diversity of age, race and ethnicity.

On to Los Angeles, which is not a city but a state of mind. In fact, its population is composed of many different countries; there are more Cambodians in Long Beach, for example, than there are in Phnom Penh. Well, in South Central L.A., Lula Washington founded a wonderful dance company a number of years ago with NEA help. We were happy to help her again recently when her building was leveled in the earthquake. We convinced FEMA that what she was doing in the community was an essential service for the African American youth of her area of L.A., and that she needed federal assistance to rebuild. In fact, Lula's "Do Dance, Not Drugs" program was easy to prove an essential service to the community. It, quite simply, saves lives. You can't perform ballet, modern or African dances and do drugs. The body won't let you. And in dance, as in all performing arts, the body is the temple. It must be kept pure, it must be kept holy to execute the steps necessary, to recite the lines, or to play the violin or clarinet. The young man who picks up a clarinet or even a paintbrush or a pen is not likely to pick up a needle or a gun. He's got better things to do.

Moving on to Watts, I watched the traveling troupe called Cornerstone Theatre start their first rehearsal for a bilingual community production of a play based on Faust. Cornerstone builds bridges and defuses tensions by involving as many as possible in the show as participants and audience members. Months later, when it moves on to other locations in the U.S., Cornerstone leaves behind a permanent community-based theatre resources and a lot of good will.

I finished up in L.A. with a kickoff to Art and Humanities Month at the Japanese American Culture and Community Center -- a large, imposing structure with a serene Noguchi sculpture dominating the plaza. Inside was a fine exhibit of contemporary paintings and installations of downtown L.A. artists, many of them Asian American.

I needn't go on. I'm sure you get the point. The breadth and variation of what the NEA supports is truly remarkable. Each and every state, city and town has its own identity through its art, and that's not surprising, because art is all about people, and it is as diverse as the rainbow of all human experience.

If anyone wants to know why each taxpayer is asked to chip in the price of a cup of coffee -- about 65 cents -- every year to keep the NEA going, this is why: to keep alive identity, hope, heritage, joy, memory, wonder, excellence, and that indefinable something called soul.

All of these things we support are not handouts. They are the result of rigorous adjudication in a highly competitive process. Our mission at the Endowment is twofold:

One: to foster the excellence, diversity and vitality of the arts in the U.S.A.

and Two: to broaden public participation and appreciation of the arts for all citizens.

For every dollar we award, we leverage 11 to 26 dollars in any given community through other public and private monies, in matching funds and added investment in and around the organization we fund. That's an investment record most of Wall Street would envy, and indeed, we're sort of like venture capital for the arts. Nobody has the overview we have at the Federal level of what's happening in the arts in America, and nobody convenes panels like we do: drawing on 1100 people yearly who are geographically, racially, ethnically and aesthetically diverse to advise us on over 16,000 applications in 100 categories.

We've awarded over 100,000 grants in 29 years, and only a handful, less than 40, have caused some people some problems. I don't think other agencies in government could attest to such a success ratio. You've noticed that I've not said much about the controversial grants that have mired the agency in a well of negative perception these past five years. That's because in my travels I've discovered it's not much of an issue. The

media asks questions about it, but in the town meetings I've held in many places I've gone, it's unusual to receive more than one question about it. That's because Tucson, Arizona or Jackson, Mississippi are not terribly concerned with what happens in Minneapolis. Over all, our critics tend to be well organized, to disseminate misinformation and distortion about a few of our grantees, and the media feeds on it. We're an easy target after all: the arts are visible, and because they often tap into the very issues that society is grappling with, the arts can cause outrage, fear and anger. They're only doing their job -- they can also cause peace, contentment, and a feeling of the sublime. As I say, our success ratio is truly extraordinary, and I feel a little like the homesteader who gets shot at by the posse: "Hold your fire! We're the good guys!"

I concentrate on what I feel most of America is concentrating on -- the desire for the arts in their lives and the lives of their children. As I said, the arts are exploding all over the country. Since the Endowment was founded, the number of theatres, symphonies, opera and ballet companies has increased ten-fold. The small arts organizations and community arts centers cannot be counted, they are increasing so rapidly.

How are we to keep them alive? It is through the partnership of Federal, state and local monies together with corporation, foundation, local business and individual giving that institutions keep going. It is rare for nonprofit arts groups' earned income to be more than 60 percent of their budget; a theatre, after all, cannot charge \$125 a ticket regularly to make up the shortfall. It cannot replicate its performance like film, and it cannot expand its number of seats to keep up with inflation.

But public and private giving to the arts has declined in most areas of the U.S. the past 10 years. The NEA, in fact, has lost nearly half of its purchasing power since 1979. And what is threatened is the tremendous growth in the quality of arts organizations across the country. Our larger institutions, our national treasures: museums, symphony orchestras, dance, theatre and opera companies find themselves in debt, struggling from year to year, and downsizing their vision. Beethoven's Fifth is not Beethoven's Fifth when it's played by an orchestra of 50 rather than 90. "Driving Miss Daisy" is a lovely play of three characters and one set, but it is not "The Great White Hope" which James Earl Jones and I starred in 25 years ago, heading a cast of 63 and multiple sets, thanks to a substantial NEA grant. And you can't do "Aida" with a chorus of 10. Or visit a museum, when its doors must close two days a week. It is of paramount importance that we stabilize these national treasures of ours from Des Moines to Salt Lake, from Seattle to Miami, from Dallas to Boston. We are all losers when our great cultural institutions fail.

The other losers are the smaller arts organizations which cannot sustain themselves if there is no public money and when the private money goes to the bigger institutions. These small visual arts and performing arts groups are often community cultural centers; the link between neighbors, the home to kids after school and the elderly as well -- places like Alice

Arts Center in Oakland or the Manchester Craftsmen's Guild in Pittsburgh, which National Council Member, Bill Strickland, here with us today, founded and runs.

The Endowment's budget is \$167.4 million -- just cut another two percent by Congress, but the nonprofit arts industry generates \$3.4 billion back to the Federal treasury in taxes from all who work for and are associated with these organizations. And the nonprofit arts in this country are responsible for over one million jobs. And so, stabilization of our arts organizations and the concomitant commitment to the artists who work there and individually are priorities for those of us at the NEA.

Another priority is Arts Education. We have seen a decline in the past 20 years of arts in the schools. It's no accident, to my mind, that we now encounter a crisis of spirit among so many of our citizens, especially our young people. Communities today are often fragmented as are families, and schools continue to try to educate our youth as our grandparents were educated, as if every mind were alike, as if our brains were similarly shaped. Educators today seek no less than a revolution in our systems of teaching, and Congress's endorsement of Goals 2000: Educate America Act is a step on the road to recovery.

For the first time, the arts have been made a core subject in the curriculum along with math, science and history. The arts were one of the first to publish standards for our schools in the disciplines of dance, theatre, visual arts and music. They are rigorous standards for grade K-12, but we ask the best for our kids all the time -- we ask that they be the best they can be.

What do the arts give a child? We know that the arts in the curriculum daily make it easier to learn all subjects, increase test scores, engage the students and teachers more fully, and build skills, self-esteem, problem-solving and collaboration. But more than that, art identifies the unique contribution each of us makes as a member of the planet -- it asks us to express ourselves, our perception of the world we've come into and share.

When we teach a child to draw, we teach her to see. When we teach a child to sing or play an instrument, we teach her how to listen. When we teach a child to dance, we teach him about his body and about space. When we teach a child design, we are teaching the geometry of the world. When we teach a child to act, we are exploring the psychology of human emotions. When we teach children about the folk and traditional arts and the great masterpieces of the ages from all cultures, we are teaching them to find their place in the confluence of history and experience the pride that comes from recognizing and celebrating one's roots. When we learn to read and to write, we learn the metaphors by which we live.

Metaphor and symbols are the basic tools of the artist. What will be the metaphors for the new millennium? Much of our culture today is a pop culture of old metaphors promoted still through tv, games, videos, pop music and films. Nihilistic metaphors of death and

destruction, drugs and ecstasy, cops and robbers. Our kids beep along on their computer games which are still essentially based in these old ways of thinking. If a computer game rewards a player for beheading his opponent, what does that say about and to the larger metaphor of our society? What if the rewards were different? What if points were accumulated for completing the picture or discovering solutions to ecological problems? What if the game were not a competition but a collaboration? I was pleased to learn on my visit to Silicon Valley last week in California that there is a group of women who have just formed a new computer game company to create these kinds of games, new collaborative metaphors for the new millennium.

We will need imaginative and creative people for the new systems for the future, and an arts based education is the crucible for the new society. We also need to provide for the child in after school hours -- as a 10-year old boy said to me the other day in Fort Wayne, Indiana: "The Crime Bill has Midnight Basketball, but what about Midnight Arts?" I couldn't agree with him more, and in fact, our dialogues with the Department of Justice, Human Services, and other agencies, as well as with Members of Congress have resulted in components of the Crime Bill addressing the need for the arts in crime prevention.

The arts are a natural community builder. They are one of the few ways we come together as a group, outside of our places of worship and sporting events. For kids in the inner city, they are vital. They take the enormous energy of these young people and put it to work in positive ways. All across America, we sponsor kids acting, dancing, playing music, and so on. They are painting murals on walls everywhere. And you know what? Those murals are never touched by graffiti. The pride of ownership is great, and when you give someone something they don't want to lose, they won't trash it. This holds true as well for the community arts centers, which are never touched during riots.

The President has talked about a renewal of society, in our schools, in our values, and in our communities. The arts can play a major role in that renewal.

Where do we go from here? First, let the people of this country re-connect with Congress. Theater goers, museum visitors, book lovers, designers, dance aficionados, community arts activists, children and arts educators could let their representatives in the legislature know when something good has happened in their hometowns because of an NEA grant. They could thank their Congressman or woman rather than complain to them, or invite them to their arts centers and events and studios.

When one of our opponents in Congress calls for abolishment of this agency or even cutting our budget, he's robbing his own community after all, his own home state. As we lose more and more of our capacity to provide seed money for arts projects nationwide, what gets overshadowed are the people who cannot participate in the cultural life of their communities. Fewer children receive arts education. Theaters, museums, symphonies cut

back on outreach, on touring. It's not the people who can afford the arts who are hurt, it's the people who have so little to begin with. I have met those people and I will fight for them.

Young people like those who attend the Dilce Combs High School in the small mining town of Jeff, Kentucky, unemployment: 40 percent. These kids are lucky; they have one of the finest art teachers in existence, John Gorley, who is valued by his school and by his community. The single finest piece of sculpture I've seen this year was created by one of his classes in tribute to their fathers and uncles, and their common heritage of coal country. It's a life-sized depiction of the collapse of a mine shaft, and the men desperately trying to escape, the horror drawn on their faces, arms and legs crushed by the weight of earth tonnage, caught in the moment of their death. The timbers of the shaft frame the piece, which is painted entirely in coal black. It's a powerful work of art which hits you immediately in the solar plexus. It connected the young people who made it with each other, with their families, and with their community, and through their specific experience so truthfully created, to the world at large.

With more resources, we can do more for America. One of the initiatives we hope to undertake is support for projects which celebrate the millennium. We hope to fund several projects to mark the turn of the century, including: "The Arts in the 20th Century" project of educational and television programs that recognize, celebrate and preserve the extraordinary developments in all American art forms of the 20th century.

I would like to extend an invitation to the arts to all of you in the press. From time to time, a journalist will accompany me on my visits, and while we have just a few states left this year, I welcome the press in those states to join me. To see what I see. It will change your point of view. And for those of you in Washington, we plan on doing an arts tour of the District and to hold a town meeting here. Come with me. Listen to the voices insistent on making the connection. You will discover what the National Endowment for the Arts is really all about and what great promise the cultural life of our communities and our nation hold as we approach the new millennium.

Leaders of all political stripes have talked about the need to focus on values. The crisis of spirit isn't going to be solved without a culture of meaning. The recovery of our individual souls, our sense of belonging and community, our care for this world is a quest for new metaphors by which we might better live. Artists understand that yearning just as acutely as politicians, spiritual leaders and the most astute journalists. Audiences for the arts -- the people I've met -- feel it as well, and perhaps none express it more honestly than the children.

I was in Atlanta at the Woodruff Arts Center and was handed a brochure for their annual corporate campaign. Let me finish with this quote:

"The reason I want to keep this Arts Center going is for the babies. It wouldn't be fair if they didn't get to come here when they're my age."

So says Laquita Cook, a fourth grader. I agree with her. We want to keep the Arts Endowment going as well, for the audiences of tomorrow, for the child born this day who will begin first grade in the new millennium, for all the children of this diverse and wonderful United States of America.

Thank you.

**Jane Alexander, Chairman
National Endowment for the Arts
Remarks at the
National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies
Annual Conference
San Jose, CA
June 13, 1995**

Has it really been a year since we met in Fort Worth for the last NALAA convention? Time flies under the guillotine!

We have all had a hard year in the public arts business. And for you at the local level, it's been longer than a year. You have been working hard at local cultural development and have taken on the additional burden of local arts advocacy. You are the long-distance runners, and I admire your stamina and endurance, your successes and your optimism, and I draw hope and inspiration from you all.

Government at all levels is feeling the pinch of increased demand for services and decreased interest in paying for those services. At the federal level, the buzzword has been devolution. Let's get out of the business of providing for the general welfare and the common good. And as it's Chairman, I've become persona non grata as well. The other day I was in a store and a fella says to me, "Anyone ever tell you, you look like Jane Alexander?" I said, "Yep, they have." And he says, "Make you kind of mad, doesn't it?"

That doesn't bode well for the future of the National Endowment for the Arts. Well, these are tough times to be a federal agency of any kind with the possible exception of the Department of Defense. I have toyed with the notion of asking the Secretary of Defense take us into protective custody, for, after all, we are defending the general welfare of this country, which depends upon the quality of life in the United States. And a diminution of the arts would surely impact upon that quality of life and soul.

Let me try to outline briefly the current state of debate over the future of the Arts Endowment. First, there is the matter of rescission. As you know, the Congress approved a \$16 billion package of cuts in fiscal year 1995 government spending. The bill calls for a \$5 million cut to the National Endowment for the Arts. President Clinton indicated that he would veto that bill and sent it back to the Congress for reconsideration.

Next, there is the matter of reauthorization for the National Endowment for the Arts. As you may know, our original legislation must periodically be reauthorized by Congress in order for the agency to continue its existence. Late on May 25, Senator Jim Jeffords Chairman of the Education, Arts, Humanities Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, introduced a bill, S. 856, the Reauthorization of the Arts, Humanities and Museum Amendments of 1995. Along with Senator Jeffords, sponsors of the bill are Senators Nancy Kassebaum, Edward Kennedy, Claiborne Pell, Christopher Dodd, and Alan Simpson.

You might recognize some of those names as long-standing supporters of the arts, so I want to emphasize that this is the plan put forth by our friends. Senators Kassebaum, Dodd, and Simpson are our friends, in some part, because of your efforts to introduce them to the arts at the local level and to tell them about the impact of grants from the Endowment. In Kansas, in particular, the local arts agencies vigorously cultivated a relationship with Senator Kassebaum over the years, and that is an object lesson for us all. The lesson from Kansas is never give up.

Senator Jeffords' bill offers to authorize the Endowments for five years through the year 2000. The measure also creates the Institute for Museum and Library Services (which consolidates the IMS with the Library Services Act currently housed in the Department of Education) and authorizes this new agency for five years.

The bill would consolidate the current NEA structure into three program categories: Partnership grants, National Significance Grants and Direct Grants. Let me just outline briefly those three categories:

PARTNERSHIP GRANTS: 40 percent of program funds would be allocated for partnership grants to states, local, and regional groups to establish local arts activities with an emphasis on arts education and projects that reach rural and underserved communities. These grants would be matched at a 1:1 ratio. 70 percent of such funds would be designated for basic state grants. The legislation states that federal funds must be used to supplement, not supplant, non-federal funds. The other 30 percent is for grants to states, arts agencies, or other local or regional groups for arts education, advancement and expansion programs and projects.

NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE GRANTS: 40 percent of our funding would be allocated for national significance grants, and would be granted to organizations of demonstrated and substantial artistic and cultural importance. Priority would be given to programs or projects which increase access to quality arts programs and disseminate those programs widely. In general, matching requirements are increased to a 3:1 or 5:1 ratio, depending on the size of the organization's budget.

DIRECT GRANTS: 20 percent of NEA funding would be reserved for direct grants to groups or individuals in the full range of the artistic disciplines. In general, the match for direct grants would be 1:1.

The bill recommends tightening the advisory panels, reducing the size of the National Council on the Arts from 26 to 20 members, and request that the Council recommend to the Chair more applications for funding than money available. The Chair would then have to approve each application and determine the final funding amount. There are other recommendations regarding project support instead of seasonal support, caps on the number of grants an organization may receive, and provisions for dealing with obscenity. Finally, the Jeffords bill would authorize a cut of 2 percent per year for the next five years, so that our authorized funding levels would begin at \$158.8 million for FY 1996 and end at

Jane Alexander/NALAA Annual Convention

3

\$146.4 million for FY 2000.

That's where the bill stands now, and we hope that it will be debated and taken up by the full Senate. In May, a House of Representatives Committee reported out a reauthorization bill that would drastically cut the allowable budgets for the NEA and NEH as part of a three-year phase-out of our agencies by October 1, 1999. Furthermore, over the next three years, 80 percent of these funds would go to block grants for the states, and our administrative budget would be frozen at \$5 million. This would have the net effect of killing the Arts Endowment as we know it by October 1 of this year. We would limp along for three years, serving as little more than a conduit for funding state arts agencies. The millions the Arts Endowment invests directly and indirectly in local arts agencies each year would be gone in three years. Of course, we are hoping for some compromise between the Senate version, and the draconian measures passed by the House. The battle is a long way from over, but it will be a tough one.

Matters were not helped by the Senate and House budget plans released last month which sets goals for the overall federal budget. As you no doubt know, the plan is to balance the budget by cutting programs, departments and agencies, including the Department of Education. In the Senate version of the budget plan, the NEA and NEH would be cut in half. In the House version, we would simply be eliminated. Again, there is a long way to go on these measures, but the initial outlines of both plans swing like an axe through all sorts of programs which impact upon the quality of life in our country.

That's the long view. The short view is that change is upon us, and change is good. But we must fight first to ensure the continued survival of the Federal arts agency, compromise wisely on proposed changes, and embrace the future. Now is not the time for hand-wringing or to be stymied by the sheer complexity of the proposals or the feeling that we are on the wrong end of the steamroller. Where this will all sort out is anyone's guess at this point in time. We are fortunate to have great support in the White House, and President Clinton has indicated time and again his personal belief in the efficacy of Federal support for the arts. We are also lucky to have great allies among the members of NALAA, its board, and its leadership, particularly the indefatigable Bob Lynch. You have my heartfelt thanks.

I see many familiar faces out in the crowd today, people I have met in my travels as Chairman of the Arts Endowment. In a little more than a year-and-a-half, I have crisscrossed the country, getting to know you, discovering for myself the breadth and scope of the arts in America. I am blessed, in a way, by this national perspective. You can see clearly from this vantage point the interconnections that make possible art from San Jose to San Juan. We are all connected by a web.

Local arts agencies, state arts agencies, regional arts agencies, the Federal government, private foundations, businesses, corporations, individuals, schools and school districts,

Jane Alexander/NALAA Annual Convention

4

colleges, universities, community centers, partners in social services, artists, arts organizations, and the public are linked together in this web that has grown strong and broad over the past 30 years. We depend upon one another for financial support for the arts, for essential research, for ideas and inspiration, for information and dissemination. What effects one part of that web effects all others. If the center does not hold, the web falls apart. If the Federal government gets out of the business of arts funding, the ripples will be felt by all of you, whether or not you ever received a direct Endowment grant.

Miami, for instance, is building itself a cultural infrastructure from the bottom up. Ten years ago, Miami and South Florida had very little in the way of professional arts and culture. A skinny pamphlet listed about 110 cultural groups. Through the hard work of the arts council leadership and in partnership with the Arts Endowment Local Arts Agencies Program on planning grants, things have changed. Today, there are over 700 organizations, large and small, representing a broad cultural diversity. It's happening Pittsburgh, San Antonio, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Tacoma -- the arts are revitalizing downtown areas. And it's not just our major cities. The arts are making Main Streets from Abilene, Texas to Grand Rapids, Michigan vital and exciting towns. In rural areas, arts centers are the hub of communities. But you know the vitality the arts bring to your towns, and that's why you do what you do back home.

Some say that the private sector can and will do the job, and we in this room know that's not true. While the foundations, corporations and individuals who support the arts continue to be tremendously generous, many have acknowledged publicly that if Congress kills the federal goose, they cannot lay the golden egg. Lest you think I am speaking solely out of self-interest, hear what they have to say:

Christine DeVita, president of philanthropy at the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund, the country's largest private source of money for the arts, says "We are very limited in dollars and focus." They already receive 1,000 more applications than they can fund each year.

Catharine Stimpson, director of the MacArthur Foundation's fellowship program, says it is "dangerous wishful thinking" to believe that private funds can replace government grants. She says, "The assumptions are that the foundations are these endless wells. Can the foundations do it? No." James A. Joseph, president of the Council on Foundations, says that to fill all the gaps proposed in cultural funding, social welfare, and environmental programs would force them to spend their capital and "go out of business."

Marian Godfrey of the Pew Charitable Trust, which works with the NEA, the U.S. Information Agency, and the Rockefeller Trust to send artists to international exhibitions says, "It would be difficult or impossible to replace government funds." She predicts that the initiative would collapse without joint support. And Harold Williams, president of the J. Paul Getty Trust, estimates that foundations would have to raise an \$8 billion endowment in order to fill the \$400 million gap caused by elimination of the NEA, NEH and the

Jane Alexander/NALAA Annual Convention

5

Institute of Museum Services. In my travels to many cities large and small, I have also met with many community foundations and private sector contributions whose message is the same: You cannot expect us to make up the difference for what the government cannot or will not do.

The bottom line is that without the Endowment, the private sector might do less, not more, to support the arts. And I believe that it would only be a matter of time before state legislatures followed Congress's lead and diminished or killed state arts agencies. Even without this threat, the Endowment fills gaps that nobody else does. Block grants to the states are not the answer, for the states do not have the strength of partnership that the Endowment does. In a number of states, the Federal proportion has, at times, been greater than the state's proportion of state funds. While a grant from a state arts agency carries a good deal of clout, and in the aggregate, there are far more state grants than Federal grants, a state arts council grant does not carry the same cachet as a grant from the Arts Endowment, for there is no national recognition of excellence, the imprimatur that helps leverage other monies.

We must save the web. And you are the people to do it. In your communities, you are the builders and the stewards of local webs. For decades, you have worked to bring artists, arts organizations together with their communities. We wish we could do more to solidify those local webs, but you have proven to be master builders. Local arts councils play a vital role in promoting cultural equity in community of all sizes, especially from those with limited resources but an excess of talent and a hunger for good art. Local arts agencies in partnership with the Endowment and state arts agencies have helped support your efforts. But you deserve the lion's share of credit, and the lion's share of thanks.

First, let us pledge to become more connected with one another across the country, to talk more, to share information and ideas. One of the ways that local arts agencies can be more involved with their peers and their colleagues is to hook on to information networks such as ArtsWire or the Internet. Some local arts agencies have been at the forefront, getting in on the ground floor of the Web, the Internet and ArtsWire. I get a daily download of news and information that keeps me tapped into what is going on in California, New York, the member states of WESTAF, the Art Beyond Boundaries states of the high plains, and national service organizations. The key to survival in the information age is to stay on top of the latest information. In a few months, the Arts Endowment itself plans on launching a site on the World Wide Web, as a number of arts organizations, advocacy groups, and public arts agencies have already done.

Technology can be frightening, daunting, cold, and it will only work if we remember our humanity before the computer screen, if we remember that we are connected to other sentient human beings, telling one another the news, our stories, our dreams and hopes.

Stay connected the old-fashioned way, as well. NALAA, for example, relies on the good

Jane Alexander/NALAA Annual Convention

6

old fax machine, even if your fax machine is down at the local Kinko's. There's e-mail, the telephone, the U.S. mail. You know the stakes involved, and you know how to fight the good fight. You have been doing so with a flood of letters to your elected representatives, letting them know where you stand on the National Endowment for the Arts. Many of you have traveled to Washington to meet with your representatives, and many have met with them at home. Even more importantly, you have arranged meetings and local forums with the arts community and arts supporters at home. You have been savvy about having your leaders hear from people who have their ear and who are also strong supporters of the arts in their districts.

The themes of this year's NALAA conference resound and echo against the approaching future. Advocacy: we must be united and heard. There are 1.3 million people who make their living as artists -- more than agriculture, more than law -- let's get organized! Grantmaking: we must prepare for the changing nature of Federal funding, but we must not give up the Federal role. Literature: we must tell our stories, the great success and growth of the arts in America this past generation. Ours is a great and human story that can resonate throughout the country. Technology: we must become its masters lest it master us. One of the crucial ways to organize is to wire together, to share ideas and information, to construct the arts web.

I am, by nature, an optimist. On the other hand, I see the wisdom in Don Marquis' maxim that "An optimist is a guy that has never had much experience." Well, you and I have both optimism and experience. We have been on a wild ride this past year, and it's been up and down for over a decade. We have survived these challenges before, grown stronger, become more connected. Thus armed, we'll best this new challenge together.

Thank you.

DRAFT

Jane Alexander, Chairman
National Endowment for the Arts
Testimony before the
U.S. Senate Committee on
Labor and Human Resources
Washington, DC
January 24, 1995

Thank you Madame Chairman, Members of the Committee. I am pleased to be able to speak to you today about the National Endowment for the Arts.

Sixteen months ago, I left my acting career because I thought I might be able to contribute to the agency that had given so much to me as a young actor -- and to many others like me -- through its support of non-profit theaters throughout the country. Theaters that made possible the careers of our major playwrights, actors, directors and filmmakers today. The handful of theaters in 1965 has grown to 430 because of the National Endowment for the Arts.

give
something
back

Today the question before you is whether the agency should continue to exist. (I come not to bury the Endowment but to praise it.)?

When I came into office, I was disturbed by the image the public and some members of Congress had of the agency. I wanted to know just what the Endowment was funding and how people felt about it, so I journeyed to all 50 states and Puerto Rico and to over 130 towns and cities. I met with thousands of Americans at dozens of town meetings. I visited schools, arts institutions, festivals, media centers. What I learned is that people care very much about the art that is going on in their communities and were grateful for the NEA's involvement. The most prevalent question was how they could sustain or fund their arts organizations.

Art to
the
people

In the little town of Wamego, Kansas, I learned we had helped fund the restoration of the only extant murals from the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. They are now at Wamego's renovated Columbian Theatre, and the people there are so proud to have them.

In Detroit's inner city, I sat in on a class where an Endowment-supported artist taught drama to high school kids. They performed an adapted version of "A Midsummer Night's Dream," partly in street language, partly in iambic pentameter. These kids had never experienced Shakespeare before, but they were so rewarded by this experience that next year they'll do Shakespeare straight, because they think he writes better.

In Indianapolis I broke ground on the city's new Arts Garden an extraordinary piece of architecture which will serve as a resource center for the arts for anyone coming to visit the city; in Tennessee, I thrilled to Irish American fiddlers, Cajun Zydeco and Hawaiian dancers at the National Folk Festival.

Jane Alexander Testimony

2

All these varied projects are made possible through the National Endowment for the Arts. My journey allowed me to see America in the making and it made clear to me that art is not one thing, but many different and wonderful things. The Arts Endowment isn't a subsidy for the elite. It's for the folks I met from Tacoma to Canton to Council Bluffs -- ordinary people trying to make a better life -- people who understand that the arts improve their schools, renew the spirit of their communities, and that the Endowment speaks to the soul of who we are as individuals and as a nation.

There are many ways we serve this broad spectrum that is American culture. We support arts education, community development, arts in underserved areas. And yes, we support our big institutions -- our national cultural treasures -- that preserve and promote the best art and open their doors to young and old. We support individual artists who capture in paint or in words the essence of our time. I want to disabuse any notion that the arts are for a limited portion of Americans. The arts are for everyone.

I do not believe that the taxpayers I met in towns and cities large and small begrudge the 64 cents each year that the Endowment costs them. Sixty-four cents: the price of two postage stamps a year! Our small investment reaps enormous returns.

The Endowment, in fact, more than pays for itself. We operate sort of like venture capital for the arts. Our fiscal year 1995 appropriation is \$167.4 million. For every federal dollar we award, we leverage \$11 in other public and private monies -- that's a minimum of \$11 that arts organizations must raise to complete their projects and sustain their institutions. That's an investment record even Wall Street would envy.

The non-profit arts industry generates an estimated \$3.4 billion in federal tax receipts yearly -- from all those associated with the organizations we help support.

Over one million Americans make their living as artists or in arts-related activities.

The quality of life is improved in cities where arts institutions exist. Downtown areas are revitalized. The economic impact of the arts is palpable because businesses and tourists are attracted, as is the development of hotels, restaurants and transportation services. It's happening in big cities like Pittsburgh, Indianapolis and St. Louis and in smaller towns like Abilene, Texas.

Our basic mission is to fund the best art in the country. For thirty years, the Endowment has done that -- with very few exceptions. Forty of over 100,000 grants awarded have caused some people some problems -- that's .04 percent. Better than Ivory Soap. Again, a record some might envy.

But how do we improve that record? By and large, our advisory panel system works very

Jane Alexander Testimony

3

well. In the past few years, a lay person has been added to each of our 100 panels. We seek always to expand the search for panelists so that all geographical regions are addressed, in addition to ethnic and aesthetic diversity.

I have instituted a number of changes in the agency:

First, in response to budget reductions, I have eliminated all the Endowment's subgrant programs, except those that are made in conjunction with state and regional arts organizations. I did not think it was appropriate to continue funding third-party organizations which in some cases could not meet our panels' criteria and which had significant overhead costs.

Second, we have streamlined by clustering five of our discipline-based grant programs into two groups -- Music, Presenting and Opera-Musical Theater and Visual Arts and Museums -- in an effort to reduce our administrative overhead and respond to the National Performance Review.

Third, I have ensured that interim reports are filed before grantees draw down the full measure of their grant awards.

Fourth, I have tightened scope change procedures to ensure that all grantees' projects conform to the parameters of their applications.

Finally, I am working with the National Council on the Arts -- our board of directors -- to strengthen their participation in the grants review process.

I have undertaken these measures to give the taxpayers a better accounting of their contribution to the arts.

Even as we tighten our belts and make our reforms, we are encountering some people who say that the Federal government has no legitimate role in support of art.

All great nations support the arts, because they are vital to a society's well-being. Future generations will judge this era by our national commitment to culture. In creating the Endowment in 1965, the Congress wisely noted, "An advanced civilization must . . . give full value and support to scholarly and cultural activity in order to achieve a better understanding of the past, a better analysis of the present, and a better view of the future." The reason for a National Endowment for the Arts is that government believes that creativity, imagination and inquiry are essential to a strong and free society.

Some argue that the private sector would replace lost funds. In fact, corporate support for the arts has been in decline this past decade. Many high quality arts organizations, despite

Jane Alexander Testimony

4

the fact of greater levels of earned income, are running deficits. They work tirelessly at fundraising, exploring every possible option. Taking away the Federal "seed" money will not encourage private funding to grow, but just the opposite as private funders seek to address even broader social needs.

Another myth is that the states are better suited to support the arts. Endowment grants are a matter of national prestige. for ours is a national competition based on excellence and merit. The prestige of getting a grant from the Endowment is often critical in leveraging additional resources from the private sector. Our grants to the states encourage state legislatures to provide additional funding. By the way, the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies, which represents the state arts agencies, is on record as opposing any change in their current percentage share. *help up*

The Endowment is uniquely positioned to support projects that benefit the country as a whole and to help Americans share their diverse cultures with one another. We are a leader in arts education, international exchange, accessibility for those with disabilities, research, arts and technology. We provide the model for programs like folk arts apprenticeships, and our grants to individual artists provide national recognition that often sends their careers in motion. Our Literature Program, for example, has awarded fellowships to writers who have gone on to win in the past five years, 18 of the 20 National Book Awards, National Book Critics Circle Awards, and Pulitzer Prizes in fiction and poetry.

Only a strong Endowment can help other federal agencies use the arts for national purposes such as education reform, crime prevention, and economic development. The states realize that we have created a delicate balance in the partnership among local, state, regional and federal arts agencies. When one brick in the building is pulled, very often the whole structure will fall.

What would be lost if the Endowment ceased to exist?

The world would question our country's commitment to culture. Many state legislators would find it easy to shut down state arts agencies and cities may do the same with local arts agencies. Private funders might turn their attention and resources to other concerns. Many community arts organizations which don't have access to private funds would cease to exist. Arts education programs could wither on the vine. *what's so easy*

Some individual artists would never make it. One has to wonder whether Oscar Hijuelos would have won the Pulitzer Prize for his novel The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love were it not for his fellowship from the Endowment. Or if Rita Dove would now be U.S. Poet Laureate without the start she received from us and our support of the small presses in which she is published.

Jane Alexander Testimony

5

But if the Endowment were not reauthorized, the biggest losers would be the American people.

Madame Chairman and Members of the Committee, when I talk about my priorities for the Endowment in the coming year and beyond, I always begin with the children. I think of the children I have met in New Mexico, in North Dakota, in West Virginia whose imaginations have blossomed through the arts. These children are not the so-called elite. They are our best hope.

Arts education is a priority. The restoration of learning the arts in our schools is critical. Beyond the intrinsic value of arts education which defines who we are, where we have been, and where we'll go, countless studies that show that the arts make happier and better students. The latest study from the College Entrance Examination Board showed that those who studied the arts scored 31 to 50 points higher than the national average education than the national average for the math and verbal sections. Arts education that begins in pre-school like Head Start should not end upon graduation, but continue throughout life.

Another priority is increasing public-private partnerships to maximize the value of our investment, particularly partnerships with great national organizations like the YMCA.

Another goal is promoting good design in industry, in housing, in U.S. products to increase America's competitive edge.

We want to help arts organizations harness the power of the new technologies and provide access for all Americans to the cultural content of the NII.

And another basic goal of ours is to connect people with the culture in their communities.

In that regard, one of the most important and exciting projects we wish to pursue is what I call "The Millennium Project." As you know, the turn of the millennium in the year 2000 will be celebrated all over the world, and the U.S. should take the lead.

How do we celebrate the year 2000? More football games on TV? Two-thousand balloons for every household? A giant birthday cake in every town?

The way we acclaim the occasion is through a celebration of who we are, as a nation and as a union of states. In other words, through the arts and humanities.

The Millennium Project will award the best of the visual, literary and performing arts in each state and invite these artists to come to our Nation's Capital in 1999 and 2000 to perform and exhibit their work, so that all may see the best of art in America. We want to document and boast of the heritage of all of our states.

what
art
does
for
soul

**Jane Alexander, Chairman
National Endowment for the Arts
Testimony before the
U.S. Senate Appropriations Interior Subcommittee
Washington, DC
March 1, 1995**

Thank you Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee. I am pleased to be able to speak to you today about the National Endowment for the Arts. We request \$172.4 million for the agency for Fiscal Year 1996. This investment includes modest support for existing Endowment programs while making limited funding available for new national leadership initiatives.

An appropriation of \$172.4 million works out to about 66 cents per American per year, or about two cents more than our current investment of 64 cents. We want America to be the best in the arts. Recently, our counterparts in Australia sent me their new publication Creative Nation which outlines the directions of their arts endowment. The Australian government invests billions of dollars in the arts, particularly film, television and new technology. They are forward-looking, ready to meet the challenges of the 21st century, and realize a national investment in Australian culture is crucial to competing in the global economy. The result is that the Australian film industry is capturing a greater share of the world market, and they are poised to be world leaders in art and the new technologies. The lesson is simple: the arts are a smart investment.

The second leading balance of trade item for the United States of America is in the commercial arts: film, television, videos, and music. People all around the world are also reading our books. American dance is internationally renowned, and American-made jazz can be heard from nightclubs in Berlin to festivals in Sydney. Our art, our culture, our ideas are our greatest national resource, and our non-profit sector is the feeder system for the commercial sector.

But this worldwide ubiquity of American culture was not always so. When we as a people were preoccupied with becoming a nation, there was great and spirited debate over the need for a national culture -- that would be entirely and uniquely American. In the nascent days of this Republic, we looked to Europe for our art and culture. John Adams summarized the need for *time* to build an American culture. He wrote:

I must study Politicks and War that my son may have liberty to study Mathematicks and Philosophy. My sons ought to study Mathematicks and Philosophy. . . in order to give their Children a right to study Painting, Poetry, Musick, Architecture...

We are the grandchildren of John Adams. We have created, and are constantly remaking, an American culture. In Adams' day, we were struggling. English critic Sydney Smith wrote in 1815, "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book?" I have the answer for him 180 years later: the whole world reads American books. And our National Endowment for the Arts in these last five years alone has supported with

individual fellowships early in their careers 18 of the 22 major American book award winners.

Today, governments around the world realize that an investment in the arts is good for the national economy. Even the new and emerging nations realize that federal support for the arts is a way to stimulate the economy, provide for a national identity, and cultivate the conditions necessary for a creative flowering. If we want to be the best, we must continue to invest.

The national and international need for federal arts support becomes crystallized when you see how that investment affects the people right here in America. I have seen American art in 130 towns and all of the 50 states I've visited since becoming Chairman. I have seen how Endowment dollars leverage funds from the private sector to make the arts more a part of the daily lives of millions of Americans.

In New Mexico, I saw the Teen Center in Santa Fe bring in teenagers to do something constructive and creative with their free time. In Mississippi, I saw quilters from Port Gibson stitch their stories into quilts which they then in turn sell to the public, marrying art with commerce and making their lives a little bit better. In West Virginia, the arts are a bridge across generations, bringing together extended families in a mutual love for country fiddling or storytelling. In Seattle, the new museum has the finest collection of Asian art anywhere. In inner city New Orleans, Young Artists/Young Aspirations -- YA/YA for short -- uses the arts to provide a way out of despair and disenchantment for high school students, who as part of the deal for training in the visual arts must go to college. YA/YA recently won a contract to re-do the upholstery fabric at the United Nations in New York with their inventive prints. Their success all began with an Endowment grant.

These people are not the elite, and their ideas and love of art are not corrupt. I believe that art matters to the way we live now, here in America. Perhaps you read the story in the Washington Post a few weeks ago about the little rural theater company in a town called Broadway, Virginia. The director, Ralph Cohen, was in a Hardee's ordering dinner when the girl behind the counter noticed his t-shirt which said "Shenandoah Shakespeare Express." She told him she liked *Taming of the Shrew* the best, and then the worker at the drive-through window piped up and said, "No, *Midsummer Night's Dream* is the best!" In a fast-food restaurant in a small country town, there was a great critical debate over the merits of Shakespeare's plays. Those kids had seen the plays put on by the Shenandoah Express in their hometowns -- the only exposure they had to art, other than film and public television, perhaps a book. All because of the Arts Endowment and our small, but crucial, grant.

The Arts Endowment is here to serve the American people, and we are trying to do even more as Congress has asked us to do: through arts education and through community outreach. For smaller organizations, we can provide up to 50 percent of their yearly

budget. For our cultural treasures like the Pacific Northwest Ballet or the Oregon Shakespeare Festival, the federal government plays a role that cannot be matched at the state level.

I wanted to give you a small idea of the breadth of what I've seen and what we do, because too often this agency has been pigeonholed because of a controversial project. We have taken measures to be more accountable to you and to the American people.

In response to budget reductions, I have eliminated all the Endowment's subgrant programs, except those that are made in conjunction with state and regional arts organizations. I did not think it was appropriate to continue funding third-party organizations which in some cases could not meet our panels' criteria and which had significant overhead costs.

We have streamlined internally by clustering five of our discipline-based grant programs into two groups -- Music, Presenting and Opera-Musical Theater and Visual Arts and Museums -- in an effort to reduce our administrative overhead and respond to the National Performance Review.

We have diversified our advisory grantmaking panels and included one lay person on each. We have changed our guidelines so that instead of spreading our funds through the entire season of an organization, we can allocate the amount NEA invests in particular areas of seasonal support if we so wish. The National Council on the Arts -- our advisory board -- is very active, and we seek to give them more resources to make informed decisions.

But no matter what we do, you will hear criticisms of a project or two. We still hear criticisms of projects that are long over, that happened six or more years ago. Certain groups of critics make considerable money feeding off this sensationalism. Some of our critics have even called all art today "corrupt." This stuns me.

Is it corrupt when millions of children learn to paint, or write, or dance? Is it corrupt to enable music groups to perform in hospitals and senior care facilities and free concerts in the park? Is it corrupt to bring opera and folk music into millions of American homes through television and radio? Is the young woman at Hardee's in rural Virginia corrupted by Shakespeare?

I have been a professional artist, an actress for 35 years, and I know about the arc of time. Some art isn't immediately accepted. Back at the turn of the century, the avant garde photographers Alfred Steiglitz and Edward Steichen even scoffed at the sketches of Cezanne when they first saw them. It takes time for people to understand the significance of new art. And sometimes artists fail. Failures in art experimentation rarely survive the test of time. But it is only through failing that artists or scientists know success and how to create something meaningful and lasting.

It hurts to see the sensationalizing and politicizing of this agency. Are we so weak as a nation that we cannot support the very tenets on which our Constitution was founded? Tenets that were wrought from an abiding understanding of what persecution meant? That the very bedrock of a great nation was its tolerance -- of ideas, of inquiry, of imagination? A great nation supports and encourages the education of all its people. A great nation recognizes that the life of the spirit, of the human mind, is what endures through the passing on from generation to generation a heritage that says: this is who we are, this is who we were, and this is who we will be in days to come. That heritage is manifested through the arts, the humanities, and the sciences. That heritage is what we seek to keep alive at the Endowment for the Arts. We have funded over 100,000 grants, and we do our job well. I have been there to your states, I have seen what we have done. You probably have, too, but you may not realize that much of the arts you see are made possible through the Endowment.

We need to do more. That is why I request the modest increase in our budget for FY 1996. With this budget, we will invest in our communities, in economic vitality, in our children, in partnerships, and in our heritage.

And we look to the future as well. The end of the century and the beginning of the new millennium will provoke an extraordinary number of responses around the world. Australia already has plans for the new millennium. How will we in the U.S. mark the occasion?

The approaching 21st century inspires us to represent the past, intimate our future directions, and enable the American people to witness and experience our achievements as a nation these past 200 years. The Arts Endowment -- through our Millennium Project -- will facilitate a great national journey into the spirit of America. It will be conducted by our writers, playwrights, filmmakers, our architects and designers, our dancers, painters, folk artists, musicians and creative thinkers. The aim? To turn the occasion into a platform for a national audience wherever people gather in cities and suburbs, in malls, in small towns, in rural areas, and even bring to our Nation's Capital in the year 2000 the best art of all our 50 states. For this, we will need Congressional commitment, both spiritually and financially.

We want America to continue to produce the best art possible. Our ideals and culture are a model for the world. The National Endowment for the Arts Endowment will lead American culture into the next millennium for the world.

Thank you.



PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES
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Washington, DC 20506
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**REMARKS OF DR. JOHN BRADEMAS
PRESIDENT EMERITUS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
AND CHAIRMAN, PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES**

**THE GETTY CENTER FOR EDUCATION IN THE ARTS
FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE**

**NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART
EAST WING
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

7:30 p.m., THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1995

There are several reasons I am pleased to speak to you tonight. First, that we meet in one of the most impressive buildings in the Capital City of the nation, amidst one of the greatest collections of art in the world, is a privilege and we thank Rusty Powell for his hospitality.

Second, we are brought together under the banner of The Getty Trust. Few institutions in the country have done so much to focus attention on the importance of the study of art to understanding human experience and transmitting cultural values than Getty. For its leadership in insisting that art is indispensable to the education of every child, we owe much to the remarkable president and chief executive officer of The Getty Trust, Harold Williams, and the dedicated director of The Getty Center for Education in the Arts, Leilani Lattin Duke.

That present here tonight are representatives of forty-four private foundations and public agencies which in the last few years have given \$12 million to match Getty's support of programs to help teachers across the land do a better job of teaching the arts symbolizes the Getty commitment.

And here I must salute two other persons. More than any other Secretary of Education, he has encouraged inclusion of the arts in the curricula of America's schoolchildren--Dick Riley.

She, working with Secretary Riley, has carried the message across the land that the arts should be part of Goals 2000--the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, Jane Alexander.

But there is another, more personal, reason I was glad of the opportunity to address this group of leaders and patrons of the arts and the humanities from all over the United States.

As you've been told, I come to you wearing several hats.

Just thirty years ago, as a fourth-term Congressman from Indiana, I took part in writing the legislation that created the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities, and during my last ten years in the House of Representatives, I chaired the subcommittee with jurisdiction over both and co-authored other measures to support institutions of learning and culture. Then as now both political parties backed Federal support of our nation's cultural life. For example, I worked closely with Senator Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island, and Albert Quie, Republican of Minnesota, to produce the Institute of Museum Services and the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act.

Chairing the Senate Subcommittee in charge of reauthorizing the Endowments today is a distinguished former House colleague, Senator James Jeffords, Republican of Vermont, who said only days ago, "There has to be a national investment in the arts and the humanities. It's a small investment; but it is a precipitating investment." The Senator is right!

As most of you know, the IMS makes grants for general operating expenses to museums of every kind--art, history, science and technology--and to zoos and botanical gardens. The Indemnity Act enables museums in the United States to mount exhibitions of art or other artifacts borrowed from other countries without the burden of expensive insurance. Later this month, for example, an exhibition protected by the Indemnity program, "The Glory of Venice: Art in the 18th Century," will open here at the National Gallery.

In the summer of 1990, I was called back to public service as co-chairman, with my friend, Leonard Garment, of the Independent Commission established by Congress to review the National Endowment for the Arts.

Composed of six Democrats and six Republicans, appointed by President Bush and the Democratic and Republican leaders of Congress, the Commission unanimously agreed on recommendations for reforming and strengthening the NEA, most of which have since been implemented.

Last fall, as you know, President Clinton did me the honor of appointing me chairman of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

This Committee, established by President Reagan in 1981 to encourage more private sector support of the arts and the humanities and bolster public-private partnerships to assist them, is today composed of thirty-four private citizens, including, I'm very glad to say, Harold Williams, and eleven heads of Federal agencies with cultural programs among whom are the Chairmen of the NEA, Jane Alexander, and NEH, Sheldon Hackney; Director of the Institute of Museum Services, Diane Frankel; and, I'm also pleased to note, Director of the National Gallery of Art, Rusty Powell.

I believe that President Clinton decided to revitalize the President's Committee for a straightforward reason--his genuine appreciation of the central role that the arts and the humanities play in the United States in defining who we are as a people and as individual men and women.

Now what will the President's Committee try to accomplish?

Our goals are ambitious. They are:

- * To increase public understanding of the arts and the humanities and build grass roots support for them.

- * To identify new sources of funds for the arts and the humanities, especially from individuals, foundations and corporations.

- * To use public meetings and publications to address urgent issues in the nation's cultural life.

Here are a few more specific assignments the President has given us.

The President has charged the Committee to deliver to him a year from now a "report on the progress we're making in furthering America's cultural life."

The President has also urged us "to promote international cultural exchange and understanding" and to give attention to "what we are trying to do in our schools to improve our children's education" through the arts and the humanities. This particular concern is very much on the mind of the First Lady who, I am delighted to say, has agreed to serve as Honorary Chair of the President's Committee and who has pressed us to develop, through the arts and the humanities, creative alternatives to destructive behavior for at-risk youth.

Our Committee will also support the partnership of the NEA and Department of Education to encourage adoption of national standards..voluntary standards..in the arts in every state.

Another item on the Committee's agenda will be to consider the implications for the arts, humanities and museums of the National Information Infrastructure. Here I again tip my hat to Getty for the recent pioneering report of its Art History Information Program on how arts and educational institutions, libraries and museums prepare for the new technologies.

Central to the work of our Committee will be promoting more philanthropic support of the arts and the humanities. For example, we'll encourage new philanthropists and community foundations to be sure to include cultural activities and institutions on their giving agendas.

The President's Committee has a small staff and a modest budget but fortunately we have an outstanding executive director, who's with us tonight, Ellen McCulloch-Lovell.

As we are not a grant-making organization, we must find private funds for whatever activities we decide to undertake and clearly, we must forge partnerships with both private and public organizations at every level. I think you can see how our work meshes with your own.

Now I certainly could not speak to you tonight in Washington, D.C. without addressing the question on all of our minds: "What is the future of government support for the arts, the humanities and museums in the new Congress?"

The November elections brought a new majority to Congress, pledged to reduce the size of government and to cut taxes.

In recent weeks and days, we've heard that the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities, Institute of Museum Services, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Kennedy Center and even the National Gallery and the Smithsonian may be subjected either to severe budget cuts or elimination.

The warning signs appeared quickly. Some commentators wrote of savings to be made if the NEA, NEH and CPB were killed off; they described the arts and humanities agencies as "welfare-check writers for the intellectual classes" and as "beyond redemption."

Right after the election, the new Speaker-elect suggested "privatizing" the agencies and more recently, in a C-Span interview, Mr. Gingrich charged that the NEA had "become a plaything of pork. It's arts patronage for an elite group and it is funding for avant garde people who are explicitly not accepted by most of the taxpayers who are coerced into paying for it. The National Endowment for the Humanities." Speaker Gingrich added, "...has gone off the deep end on proposing changes that are destructive of American civilization."

To be fair to the Speaker, he then acknowledged that there are some cultural institutions that "do a good job...I'm for the Atlanta Ballet, I'm for the High Museum of Art or the Metropolitan.... But I'm against self-selected elites using your tax money and my tax money to pay off their friends..."

Yet as William F. Buckley, Jr. observed only yesterday, "The argument...by Newt Gingrich, that the arts program is a sandbox for the affluent cultural elite, doesn't quite home in.... [A]rt consumers are by no means all affluent..."

Mr. Buckley's assertion echoes Alfred North Whitehead's observation that art "is the least elitist activity in which we engage as a people. Art is accessible to everyone..."

Here I hope you will allow me a further observation. I know Newt Gingrich. We served together in the House of Representatives. The new Speaker is a highly intelligent, obviously energetic leader and although our views on many matters of public policy differ, I have been particularly impressed in the last several days by Speaker Gingrich's willingness, when he judges that he's made a mistake, to say so and change his mind. This capacity is the mark of a

thoughtful, self-confident person. We've seen Mr. Gingrich reverse his position on his book contract, on benefits for legal immigrants and on the appointment of the House Historian.

I remember as Majority Whip of the House how difficult it was to have to say, "Well, perhaps I was wrong. Let me take another look at that matter."

Mr. Speaker, if you can change your mind about the House Historian, you can change your mind about the arts and the humanities.

So I ask you, Mr. Speaker, to examine more closely the facts about the record of the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Institute of Museum Services.

For one of the fundamental facts about all three is that since the NEA and NEH were established nearly a generation ago and the IMS in 1976, support for them has never been a partisan issue.

Both Republicans and Democrats in Congress helped create them.

Every President, Republican and Democrat, since John F. Kennedy, has strongly supported the arts and the humanities and, indeed, the Endowments enjoyed their largest budget increases under President Nixon.

The Task Force appointed by President Reagan in 1981 reaffirmed the importance of both Endowments and urged their continuation. That Task Force was co-chaired by Charlton Heston, Hanna Gray and Daniel Terra and included other outstanding Americans, both Republicans and Democrats, such as Nancy Hanks, Daniel Boorstin and Beverly Sills. And remember that it was President Reagan's Task Force that urged the creation of what became the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

So the President's Committee I chair today is a successor to an initiative of a Republican President. The Committee's first chairman, appointed by President Reagan, was the distinguished American, Andrew Heiskell, whose 1988 *Report to the President* declared:

The complex system of public and private funding that sustains the arts and the humanities in the United States must be preserved.

Three decades ago, both Democrats and Republicans in Congress joined to write the legislation that established the Endowments.

And I remind you of President Nixon's words in 1968:

Through the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities we should seek to encourage and develop

individual artistic talent and new concepts in arts, just as we do in science and technology. I will support that institution as the instrumentality of the Federal government to nourish individual talent and contribute to the support of our museums, of the performing arts and a flourishing of all the arts....

And my predecessor as chairman of the President's Committee, by appointment of President Bush, Donald Hall, a prominent Kansas City, Missouri businessman, continued the tradition of bipartisan support.

My point here is in that championing the Endowments and the IMS, today's Committee is following the lead of the President's Committees of both Presidents Reagan and Bush.

So I would hope that Speaker Gingrich and his new House leadership team, as well as our friends in the Senate, would acknowledge this history of bipartisan support. And I hope, too, that he will examine more carefully the historical record of the contributions made by the two Endowments and the IMS to enriching the quality of life in every part of our country.

The NEH is now the major funder of the humanities in the United States. In a time when we long for greater civility and reason in our public debate, when we worry about the decline of citizen participation in our democracy, what better way to understand ourselves and our society than through the disciplines of the humanities? NEH promotes discussions, readings, interpretive exhibits and informative radio and television. It helps train scholars, yes; it also reaches millions of ordinary Americans. With the NEH's leadership, all kinds of valuable cultural material, such as the Dead Sea Scrolls Project or Cornell University's Making of America Project, is being prepared for the Information Highway. Without NEH, the papers of the Founding Fathers would never have been published. I myself recall that an NEH grant to New York University made possible summer institutes for high school teachers preparing to mark the Bicentennial of the American Constitution.

NEA brings thousands of performances, exhibits, public art and design, and classes to children and communities, large and small, all over America. It has placed 14,000 artists-in-residence in classrooms. The NEA's high standards of excellence and its equitable funding mean that people in inner cities and rural areas can share our cultural riches. Because of NEA many Americans, especially children, have seen a play or heard chamber music or attended a folk arts festival for the first time. Far from funding avant-garde art which few people understand, the NEA leads our national celebrations and commemorates our national life. An NEA grant to Maya Ying Lin led to the Vietnam War Memorial and we appreciate our national inheritance through NEA activities such as the National Heritage Awards and the Jazz Masters.

After all, among America's greatest contributions to the world are our culture and our ideas. Indeed, the genius, the ideals, of the American people are best reflected in the achievements of our culture.

Now I'm well aware that the case for the arts and humanities goes beyond the instrumental. I realize full well that their fundamental value lies in the intangibles, in qualities not confined to measures of economic impact.

And I'm aware, too, as Paul Goldberger wrote in yesterday's New York Times ("To Earn Subsidies, Must Art Be Useful? Must It Be Sweet?"), that art can be challenging, provocative, disturbing. This is nothing new.

Yet as members of the Independent Commission unanimously concluded in 1990, "Maintaining the principle of an open society requires all of us, at times, to put with much we do not like but the bargain has proved in the long run a good one."

Beyond these bed-rock reasons for supporting the three agencies, however, the record is clear that the modest investments they represent produce solid and substantial economic dividends.

For the arts, humanities and museums are vital to the economy of every state and every local community. Non-profit arts institutions alone generate \$36 billion in economic activity annually. They support 1.3 million jobs and generate \$3.4 billion in Federal tax revenues. Investment in the arts and the humanities is good business.

Support for these three Federal agencies is so small--only \$.64 per person--for each Endowment--yet it is indispensable seed money. Every Federal dollar leverages an average of \$11 more from private, state and local sectors.

Without Federal support, I think it imperative to observe, there is no serious prospect that private funds will fill the resulting gap or that state and local governments will be able to do so.

Now I have spoken to you tonight as a supporter of the Getty Trust, as a former President of New York University, and as Chairman of the President's Committee. Now I want to speak to you for myself, as a concerned citizen.

For all these reasons then, I hope that Republicans, Democrats and Independents across the nation, all those who believe in a vigorous and vibrant American culture, will join to press their Representatives and Senators in Congress to maintain the modest but significant support with which the NEA, NEH and IMS aid the arts, humanities and museums of our country. I hope we will listen to their concerns as well.

For this Federal role is essential to encouraging the highest standards of excellence, assisting institutions and individuals of national importance and upholding the Federal-state, public-private partnership that affords access by the greatest number of Americans to the finest in art and scholarship.

Such Federal support, moreover, helps make possible education in the arts and the

humanities for our children and youth and helps preserve the cultural traditions and rich heritage of the American people, traditions and heritage in which we should take immense pride.

You in this room have tremendous collective clout if you are willing to use it. Many of you are members of the service organizations representing the arts, humanities and museums. Over 50 of these organizations are working together to educate Congress, to correct the misinformation about the Endowments and IMS and tell the compelling story of how these agencies advance America. We hope to attract many new friends, Republican and Democrat alike, to this effort.

This is not a political issue. It is a matter of national pride.

So I reiterate my hope that all of you, as leaders in your several states and communities, will speak out, forcefully and immediately.

For a great democracy like ours must neither abandon nor retreat from the world of ideas and culture.

Congratulations on producing one of the best Grammy shows in recent history. The change in format gave the show new life and I thought all the performances were top notch. Both Gloria and I are proud to be a part of NARAS and we are happy to have someone like you at the head of this great organization. Again, congratulations on yet another success!

EMILIO & GLORIA ESTEFAN

*Crescent Moon,
Estefan Enterprises, Inc.*

I want to express my gratitude for your impassioned work on behalf of arts education, including the beautiful segment on the 1996 Grammy Awards broadcast. Those of us in education are fortunate to have the articulate support of someone in a position of impact upon the industry and media. As I begin my tenure as President of the IAJE, I look forward to working with you, NARAS, and other involved organizations toward the preservation of culture in our society. Please feel free to enlist my help in any way.

SHELTON G. BERG

*President-Elect, International
Association of Jazz Educators*

I wanted to compliment you on your poignant speech on this year's Grammy telecast and thank your assistant for faxing it to us. The 1995-96 OBIES and telecast which will occur on May 20, 1996 focus on ADVOCACY FOR THE ARTS. We are with you at NARAS 100% and admire your efforts.

GAIL PARENTEAU

The OBIE Awards

Congratulations on yet another fabulous Grammy event. They get better each year. Your remarks (as always) were right on

target, and were very much appreciated by me and all of the people I represent here at NAMM. Sharing your stage with Richard Dreyfuss helped to underscore the importance of the efforts of so many people to preserve the arts in education.

LARRY R. LINKIN

*President/CEO, National Association
of Music Merchants*

What you said last night was right on the money. Congratulations.

BOB KRASNOW

Krasnow Entertainment

I have known for years and experienced first hand how the arts have always been expendable within the school systems across the country. Having been raised in New York City, a product of a Mom and Dad both in the school system and in the arts — myself having taught art and music in the New York City School System — I know up close and personal how art, music and drama have always been considered extra curricula and therefore when funds are cut, the first to go are the arts. What a shame — for they allow the disadvantaged and advantaged to balance their spirits — and in many cases to light the flame of their spirits and allow them to soar to heights not possible otherwise. We have systematically over the past 50 years held the 3 Rs to be more important than art, music and drama. I guess as a nation, we deserve what we have gotten.

The pendulum always swings — I know that our country will turn it around — perhaps, I'm optimistic — I do know that some wise philosopher once said, and I am paraphrasing, that when a country no

longer supports its artists and the spirit of the arts begins to die, so does the nation.

Thank you for your words and for the Grammy In The Schools program — we need one such program for the visual arts also. Can you work on that? I'll be your first recruit.

ALICE BILLINGS

Billings Artworks

I was really pleased to catch the portion of this year's offering in which you spoke. I felt a real intelligence at work, someone with a real understanding of what music and the other arts mean in the truest sense of human enrichment, and of the urgent necessity for all of us to get off our butts and see to it that such enrichment is not to be pushed off. You were direct, lucid, forceful, and really effective. Many thanks for all that.

NARAS is damned lucky to have you at its head, and we are all lucky to have you as a true ombudsman for the best of what the Arts are all about.

NORMAN PELLEGRINI

I am an elementary music teacher for the DOD in Germany. I teach army children and get the Grammy show each year on the Armed Forces TV Network. For four years I have wanted to thank you for your support to music teachers. We have felt the cuts — even working for the U.S. government. I am anxious for the movie, "Mr. Holland's Opus", to come to our army base theater.

REBECCA INGRAM

Thank you for your statement in support of the arts and culture, and particularly your references to traditional and community arts, in your Grammy

Awards statement. Although I'm usually cynical about entertainment industry organizations, I'm actually proud to be a member of an organization that, through the remarks of its President and Richard Dreyfuss — and Bobby McFerrin! — takes a stand against the increasingly culturally threatening policies and attitudes of self-serving politicians and demagogues.

MARK GREENBERG

*Co-Director, the Dream Project Upstreet
Productions*

Your "Triple whammy at the Grammy's" was terrific. What a wonderful way to get our message across. I was lucky enough to get to serve as chairman of our Memphis premier for "Mr. Holland's Opus." Never have I seen so many prominent Memphians and Tennesseans take a public stand for music education. I am still hearing glowing compliments about the movie and our premier. One of my Senators called to say that his only objection was that the movie was not long enough. He wanted to see the Governor reinstate the music program. Does that tell you how very successful this advocacy campaign is? Please continue the truly wonderful support you are giving for music ed. I can hardly wait to see what you dream up next. I only hope that whatever it is, I will be part of it. You are simply great!

TOMMIE PARDUE

Just wanted to let you know that the Grammy Awards show was great. I have received calls from NARAS members in all directions expressing their support and appreciation for the speech that you gave.

GWEN KESLER

COVER STORY

Opposing Interests Brace For a Culture Clash

As GOP considers spending cuts, horizon looks bleak for backers of arts, public broadcasting subsidies

Patrick A. Trueman has waited a long time for this day to come.

Trueman is the director of government affairs for the American Family Association, a group of conservative Christians founded by the Rev. Donald Wildmon of Tupelo, Miss. The group has been trying for five years to stop the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) from funding what it calls filth.

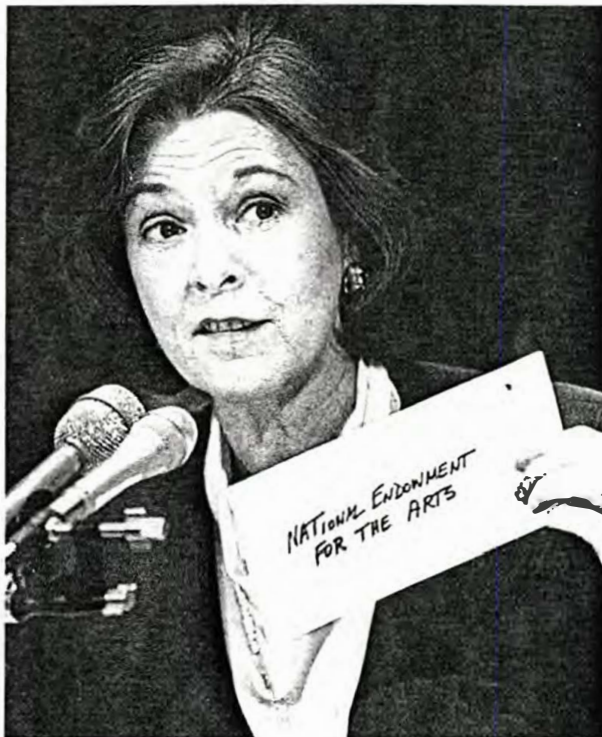
Now the NEA is fighting for its life, or rather, its lifeblood — its annual federal subsidy, which amounted to \$167.8 million in fiscal 1995. And the new Republican majorities in the House and Senate are not giving it much hope.

"Of the 73 new Republican freshmen," Trueman said, "probably 65 of them oppose NEA funding altogether.... I don't see [the NEA] surviving." Last year an amendment to eliminate funding for the NEA fell 105 votes short of passing, while one to slash its budget by 54 percent fell 86 votes short. (1994 *Weekly Report*, p. 1692)

Other conservative groups are clamoring for Congress to end funding not only for the NEA, but also for the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), the Smithsonian Institution and the National Gallery. For some or all of these efforts, they have allies in the House in Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., Majority Leader Dick Armey, R-Texas, Majority Whip Tom DeLay, R-Texas, and Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert L. Livingston, R-La.

The supporters of these cultural programs have mounted a heavy public lobbying campaign, just as they did

By Jon Healey



At hearings Jan. 26, NEA Director Jane Alexander says the NEA's yearly cost to each taxpayer is equal to two stamps.

in the face of previous threats to their funding during the Reagan and Bush administrations. And the lobbying appears to be making inroads — witness Gingrich's remarks at a Republican fundraiser Jan. 26. There, Gingrich said he did not mean to suggest that public television should be ended, he simply wanted to find an alternative to the taxpayer subsidy.

There are at least two differences in the political landscape this time, though, that give the critics confidence: Republicans are in control of both the federal purse strings and key congressional rules, and the new brand of GOP leadership counts the "cultural elite" among its enemies, not its benefactors.

The theme of this year's efforts also has shifted from that of past debates over the endowments. The forces who once focused their ire on the product of the cultural subsidies — the homoerotic exhibitions, the paintings of Christ with a needle in his arm — now talk first about the budget deficit and the need to cut spending on "frills."

Some moderate and rural Republicans still break from the leadership to support cultural subsidies, often because they see the subsidies making the arts more available to their constituents. But the need for budget cuts is pushing more Republicans into the conservatives' corner — weakening support for the NEA, NEH and CPB. House members such as Republican John Edward Porter of Illinois, the new chairman of the Labor, Health and Human Services Appropriations Subcommittee, speak of the value of such institutions, yet question whether the country can still afford the \$630 million they cost in fiscal 1995.

"To me they're not questions of culture," Porter said in a recent interview. "They're questions of funding. They're questions of budgets and deficits."

The result has been the strongest challenge to date to the federal government's fundamental role in cultural programs. Loosely organized, it is not a systematic campaign against cultural subsidies so much as a determined assault on the most prominent federally funded cultural institutions and the type of work they produce.

The Broad Reach

The federal government subsidizes a wide array of cultural pursuits, with some of the largest beginning as Great Society programs in the mid-1960s.

At President Lyndon B. Johnson's request, Congress created the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, the parent organization for the NEA and NEH, in 1965. The arts endowment is slated to receive \$168 million in fiscal 1995; the humanities, \$167.8 million.

The original legislation (PL 89-209) lays out several justifications for a federal role in the arts and humanities, mainly based on their importance to civilization and democracy. "While no government can call a great artist or scholar into existence, it is necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to help create and sustain not only a climate encouraging freedom of thought, imagination, and inquiry but also the material conditions facilitating the release of this creative talent," it says.

Funding for the endowments skyrocketed under President Richard M. Nixon, at the urging of White House Counsel Leonard Garment. Nixon not only thought the endowments were worthwhile, he also liked the irony of being the one to aid a cause so important to liberals, Garment said.

From its creation in 1967, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting has grown into a \$2 billion enterprise. Only 14 percent, or \$285 million in fiscal 1995, of that money comes from the federal government, however.

When it launched the CPB, Congress declared that "it is in the public interest to encourage the growth and development of public radio and television broadcasting, including the use of such media for instructional, educational and cultural purposes." It also asserted that the public had an interest in encouraging programs that took creative risks and addressed the need of children and minorities.

Most of the federal aid to CPB goes into operating subsidies for public radio and television stations. Congress appropriated an additional \$29 million in fiscal 1995 for grants to help build public telecommunications facilities — a subsidy that may be threatened by the Clinton administration.

Perhaps the oldest orga-

nization receiving substantial subsidies is the Smithsonian Institution, a trust that was established in 1846 as a bequest from a British scientist. The complex, which includes 12 museums and a zoo, has grown significantly over the years, as has the amount of its federal support; in fiscal 1995, Congress provided \$371.8 million, or 75 percent of the Smithsonian's operating budget.

The Smithsonian's museums are not the only ones receiving federal aid. The National Gallery of Art, which Congress began supporting in the 1930s, received \$53 million in fiscal 1995. The Institute of Museum Services, which supports museums across the country and their special programs, received almost \$29 million.

Other programs supported by the federal government range from cultural programs in schools to deter illegal drug use and violence, heritage programs for American Indians and other ethnic groups, regional music programs, overseas fellowship and exchange programs,

and historical preservation efforts. A number of new programs also were authorized last year, including one to preserve the nation's maritime heritage and a New Orleans Jazz Commission and national historical park.

Who Pays?

William J. Bennett, who was President Ronald Reagan's first chairman of the NEH and later his secretary of Education, said that the endowments may have been created with a noble purpose. But "the question [today] is, Is the federal government the right place to do it?"

The answer, Bennett says, is no. "One of the most important contributions the new Republican majority can make is to challenge a core assumption of this city, which is that anything in life which is worth doing or having demands the involvement and financial support of the federal government," Bennett said in testimony submitted to the House Appropriations Interior Subcommittee on Jan. 24.

For the federal government, even a modest role in the arts and humanities is inappropriate and counterproductive, Bennett argued. Through the two endowments, he contended, the government has contributed to the worsening of the arts and humanities; improperly served as the arbiter of art and scholarship; funded "obscene, pornographic ... blasphemous" and "politically tendentious" works; and fostered an entitlement mentality among artists and scholars.

Bennett's own stance on cultural funding has shifted since the early 1980s, when he led the NEH. In those days, he supported the endowment's existence, albeit with a smaller budget and narrower purpose.

Supporters of the endowments argue that their missteps have been few, albeit notorious. They also point to the way federal grants yield huge returns, as private corporations and foundations follow the federal government's lead. In 1992, for instance, the NEA awarded \$123 million in grants that helped finance arts projects

Key Programs

Here are the major federal subsidies for cultural programs and their fiscal 1995 appropriation:

- **Smithsonian Institution.** A non-governmental trust almost 150 years old, it supports 12 museums of art, history and science, a zoo, and numerous research and support programs. \$372 million.

- **Corporation for Public Broadcasting.** Created in 1967, it distributes money to public radio and television stations and helps develop programs for those stations. \$285 million.

- **National Endowment for the Humanities.** Created in 1965, it promotes the study and preservation of history, literature, philosophy, languages and other humanities through grants, seminars, exhibitions, films and other media. \$177 million.

- **National Endowment for the Arts.** Created at the same time as the endowment for the humanities, it provides matching grants for arts, funding for state art organizations and other forms of support for artists and art institutions. \$168 million.

- **National Gallery of Art.** Created in 1937, it is a collection of significant works of art and an exhibition space for major touring collections. \$53 million.

- **Institute of Museum Services.** Created in 1976, it aids museums with grants for operations, conservation and public service. \$29 million.



Bullying the Arts . . .

By David S. Broder

TAMPA—Former chairman John Frohnmayer of the National Endowment of the Arts (NEA) will undoubtedly find another job, and Sid Yates will probably figure out how to keep the funding going. But the battering the arts agency has taken in this campaign is no joke.

When Patrick J. Buchanan decided to steal a leaf from Jesse Helms's playbook and add the anti-pornography theme to his know-nothing campaign against President Bush, the administration's craven response was to dump Frohnmayer from his job as head of the arts-funding agency. Predictably, the capitulation only encouraged Buchanan to step up his attack on the NEA. And on television March 8, Republican National Chairman Richard Bond said he might urge the president just to abolish the agency.

Other usually sensible people are saying the same thing. But it's a bad idea, and if the politicians won't speak up in behalf of the arts, then maybe a newspaperman has to try.

The NEA spent \$175 million last year. That is less than two-hundredths of 1 percent of the federal budget. Of that sum—which is the most Democratic Rep. Sidney Yates of Illinois, the Appropriations subcommittee chairman, can get for his favorite agency—only a handful of grants involving a pitifully few thousand dollars have come under fire from NEA's critics.

Virtually all the money has gone to help mainstream institutions carry forward the kind of arts projects and programs that communities, schools and citizens show by their own support that they deeply value. With its state and local affiliates, NEA has made it possible for millions of Americans to see great art exhibits, to hear stirring music, and meet face-to-face with writers, artists and musicians.

The prospect that all this will be sacrificed because craven politicians cannot stand up to a bully-boy presidential candidate and the right-wing fund-raiser-lobbyists who love to exploit this issue is appalling.

I would have more confidence that they won't capitulate if I thought that many of the politicians shared Yates's own appreciation of the arts. But that is not my impression. In the last quarter-century, Washington has been blessed with a wondrous growth of theater, music and art. Its galleries can hold their own with any world capital's. The Kennedy Center provides a rich menu of music. And drama flourishes at the Eisenhower Theater, the National Theater, Arena Stage, the Folger and a dozen smaller theaters.

The audiences for everything from grand opera to quilting shows are large and appreciative. But rarely do I see the politicians and elected officials I make my living covering among those taking in an exhibition, a concert or a show.

I do not want to level a blanket charge of philistinism against the government of the United States. One Sunday afternoon, I remember seeing Republican Sen. Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas taking a friend through the Vuillard show at the Phillips Gallery. Democratic Rep. John Conyers Jr. loves both African art and the Smithsonian Jazz Orchestra. Democratic Sen. Pat Moynihan and his wife, Liz, whose children are art and theater professionals, are regulars at the Folger's Shakespearean productions. Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander, House Minority Leader Bob Michel, Democratic Rep. David Obey of Wisconsin—and, I'm sure, many others—are talented amateur musicians themselves.

But the tendency in Washington is to value everything in terms of power. The capacity to touch people's imaginations and stir their souls, which is the realm of the arts, is devalued. If you gave most of the members of Congress a choice between dinner with the conductor of the National Symphony and the assistant director of the Federal Highway Administration, they'd pass up Mstislav Rostropovich and deal with the guy who has dollars to spend. To pit people like these—and a president who goes out of his way to pretend he has cowpoke tastes—against the self-appointed purity cops looks like a mismatch to me. The idea that public funds should go only for pictures you'd want on your kitchen wall and poetry you can recite in the sixth grade is popular—but wrong.

Of course, some of this stuff is offensive—to me, or you or somebody else. But the notion that this nation will be damaged or degraded by a single subsidized sculpture or sonnet is a neurotic confession of distrust in ourselves. The audience for outrageous experimental arts is tiny; more people saw that homosexual film in Buchanan's TV ads than ever would have seen the original. What are we so afraid of?

As for that famous argument that "I don't want my tax dollars going to pay for . . ." whatever, the answer is clear. I don't want my tax dollars going to soldiers who kill their comrades with "friendly fire" or to cops who punch out a manacled suspect—but I don't therefore favor abolishing the police force or shutting down the Pentagon.

Bureaucracies make mistakes. The NEA has made fewer than most. But a nation that cannot afford to finance its arts—even the occasionally tasteless or offensive variety—is a nation that has lost its perspective, its self-confidence and probably its soul. ■

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

THE FEDERAL ROLE

1. Endowment imprimatur. Grants from the National Endowment for the Arts are a matter of national prestige, a stamp of excellence. This "Good Housekeeping" seal of approval testifies to the artistic quality of the recipient organization. Grantees are selected through a democratic system of peer review by panels of more than 1,000 private citizens who represent all regions of the country, diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds and varying aesthetic viewpoints. This process, the most extensive and highly regarded peer review system in the nation, creates a uniquely national perspective, one which corporations and foundations look to in making their own funding decisions.

2. Fundraising leverage. NEA grants are powerful fundraising instruments. Each Endowment dollar must be matched at least one to one, and sometimes three to one, with private or local dollars. This matching requirement helps arts organizations -- from the smallest community-based group to the largest cultural institution -- raise many times more than the one-to-one match. In fact, each dollar awarded by the NEA attracts \$12 and more from state and local agencies, foundations, corporations, businesses and individuals.

3. Federal-state partnerships. Before the creation of the Arts Endowment, only five states had state-funded arts councils. Today, all 50 states do. The growth of this network of state partners is due largely to the Endowment's requirement that states provide matching support to qualify for federal funds. Fully one-third of the NEA's program budget goes to the states. When in recent years various state legislatures threatened to curtail state funding to the arts, the potential loss of matching federal dollars dissuaded them from making such draconian cuts.

4. National impact. The Arts Endowment is uniquely positioned to support projects with the potential to serve the whole nation. Design competitions, such as the one that led to the creation of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, the annual Fourth of July concert on Washington's Mall, the National Heritage Fellowships, the Mayor's Institute on City Design, and other Endowment-sponsored programs have participants that span the country. NEA Challenge grants support ambitious and model projects. One such initiative was the American Music Theater Festival's plan to create a new body of musical theater works to attract younger and more ethnically diverse audiences. These broad-reaching initiatives could not be undertaken without federal leadership. Awards to national arts service organizations also help enhance and improve the artistry of entire artistic fields.

5. America's cultural exchange. Support from the NEA helps Americans share their diverse cultures with one another. Grants from the Arts Endowment encourage performing arts groups to travel outside their states, often to rural areas which are traditionally underserved by the arts. The Endowment's Dance On Tour program, for example, enables first-rate dance companies to reach new and appreciative audiences. The agency also helps regionally based culture -- the music of Appalachia or the artworks of various Native American tribes, for example -- to reach wider audiences outside their indigenous areas.

Federal Role - Page 2

6. National leadership. The Arts Endowment is the nation's premier arts entity, and as such, provides crucial leadership and advocacy within the cultural life of the country. The agency's Chairman and Presidentially appointed advisory body, the National Council on the Arts, are recognized as national spokespersons for the arts, helping set national cultural policy. The Endowment's leadership role in such areas as education reform, city design, public art, and preserving the nation's cultural heritage has made a meaningful difference in America's artistic vitality.

7. Federal partnerships. The Arts Endowment has forged alliances with other federal agencies to explore funding opportunities and seek solutions in areas of common concern. The agency is working, for example, with the U.S. Department of Commerce in the promotion of cultural tourism, the Department of Justice on crime prevention initiatives and the U.S. Department of Transportation to promote design excellence within the nation's transportation systems. And with the support of the National Service Corporation, the Endowment has launched The Writers Corps, an anti-illiteracy project in San Francisco, Washington, D.C. and the Bronx, New York.

8. Arts education. The National Endowment for the Arts has been instrumental in education reform initiatives that seek to include the arts as a basic, sequential part of K-12 education. The agency has worked closely with the U.S. Department of Education, educators, and business and community leaders in helping make the arts an integral part of a child's education.

9. National commitment. All great nations support the arts. Recognizing that the not-for-profit arts are vital to a society's well-being and that they could not survive without public patronage, governments throughout history have helped nurture and sustain cultural activity. Future generations will judge this era of our country's life by the level of our national commitment to supporting the finest expressions of the human condition. The United States today spends 64¢ per capita to support the Arts Endowment, a level 50 times below that of our major allies.

10. Economic returns. Grants from the Arts Endowment help set in motion an engine that spurs economic activity throughout the country. The not-for-profit arts contribute an estimated \$37 billion to the U.S. economy, are responsible for 1.3 million jobs, and return \$3.4 billion to the federal Treasury in income tax. The arts generate tourism, stimulate business development, attract new businesses, drive urban renewal, and contribute to the economic vitality of the nation.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

*The Federal agency
that supports the
visual, literary and
performing arts to
benefit all Americans*

-- NEA has a thirty year record of excellence - supporting museums, arts education, children's theatres, dance touring, orchestras, community planning, rural music festivals, literacy programs, at-risk youth projects, jazz and folklife festivals and thousands of other worthy projects.

-- At a current cost of 38 cents a year to each American, the NEA has made over 110,000 grants. Less than 40 have caused concern or raised controversy. Moreover, much of the information that has been disseminated about these grants is not true (eg. in fact, the NEA has never made a direct grant to Robert Mapplethorpe).

-- An NEA investment of \$1 brings an average return of \$12 dollars from private and public sector sources. Corporations and foundations state plainly, they can not replace lost Federal funds.

ACCESS ACCESS ACCESS

-- Since 1965, millions more Americans have been able to experience the arts because of the NEA.

-- NEA grants reach every state and every Congressional district in America.

-- NEA has 28 partnerships with other federal agencies increasing the scope and impact of grant monies.

-- Since the establishment of the NEA, the number of non-profit theatres in America has grown from 46 to over 425, symphony orchestras have doubled in number, opera companies have increased fourfold and where there were 37 dance companies, now there are over four hundred.

-- NEA allocates a specific funding pool for projects in rural and underserved communities.

-- NEA grants support quilting in Mississippi, Native American art on pueblos, storytelling in Appalachia, touring Shakespeare in over 30 states, museum exhibitions in semi-trailers and trains. The NEA nurtures art where it's found and transports it to communities it might not otherwise touch.

Arts in Education

Challenge &
Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk &
Traditional Arts

International

Literature

Local Arts Agencies

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera/Musical
Theater

Presenting &
Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

**NATIONAL
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State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

-- Through guidelines, leadership and grantmaking, the NEA encourages organizations to reach out beyond their walls and address new audiences who can not traditionally access or afford their services. Out reach projects bring theatre to parks, dance to schools, symphonies to senior citizen centers, poetry to hospitals -- art to the people.

INVESTING IN CHILDREN

-- NEA has helped bring the traditions of American culture to life for millions of children and provided opportunities for creative expression and intellectual stimulation to our country's youth through grants to organizations that focus on children and through support of outreach programs from other institutions.

-- NEA is the leading proponent of arts education in the schools. Children learn through the arts. Studies show that integrating the arts into the curriculum markedly increases test scores in academic subjects across the board.

-- NEA has placed over 14,000 artists-in-residence per year in America's schools. These professionals work with students and teachers to insure that benefits extend beyond the length of the residency.

-- NEA has supported multi-year partnerships between arts organizations and schools or school districts.

-- NEA has helped provide at-risk youth with creative alternatives to drugs, crime and despair. Working in partnership with artists, arts organizations, local governments and law enforcement officials, the NEA supports projects like A.P.P.L.E. Corps.. Mariposa County, AZ District Attorney Rick Romley was so convinced of this arts focused collaboration's ability to counter drugs, he requested that county RICO monies go to its support.

-- NEA, with the Dept of Ed and the Kennedy Center, has established ArtsEdge, a prototype national arts education network which connects people and provides information about successful projects and techniques.

-- NEA has spearheaded a Goals 2000 Arts Education Planning Process which convened key leaders in education, public sector governance groups, federal agencies, businesses and foundations to develop an action plan to insure that the arts become a resource for achieving the National Education Goals.

*The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20506
202/682-5400*

**NATIONAL
ENDOWMENT
FOR THE
ARTS**

COMMUNITY LEGACY

-- NEA has helped make communities better places to live and work. Endowment supported organizations provide a venue for families and community members to come together in shared experience on common ground.

-- NEA has contributed to urban renewal. The arts stimulate business development, attract new businesses and, in many cities, like Philadelphia, Tacoma and Cleveland, arts organizations have been the impetus and anchor for downtown revitalization.

-- NEA has helped the arts feed the economy and bring jobs and revenue to communities. On a national level, the non-profit arts generate an estimated \$37 billion dollars in economic activity and return \$3.4 billion in federal income taxes to the U.S. treasury each year. More than 1.3 million Americans are employed in the non-profit arts industry.

THE FUTURE OF THE ARTS

-- FY 96 Interior appropriations passed by the Senate cuts NEA by 39 percent. NEA staff has been reduced by nearly half. Thousands of arts organizations in every single part of this country have lost grants - others have had them dramatically reduced.

-- Chairman Jane Alexander has recently completed the most comprehensive reorganization in the agency's history. 17 discipline programs were folded into 4. Pursuant to Congressional directive, grants to individuals were eliminated. Subgranting and grants for seasonal support have been disallowed.

-- NEA has created an Office of Enterprise Development to identify ways to establish a systemic funding infrastructure for the arts and to supplement Endowment funding.

-- The NEA and Chairman Alexander are resolved that a federal commitment to the arts in America must be maintained. As does the President, we see the arts as part of a broader social agenda that speaks to our very essence as Americans. Our dedication to the arts today will shape our civilization tomorrow. As we approach the Millennium, we must not become the only nation in the industrial world to abandon its responsibility to support its cultural institutions as a legacy to future generations.

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NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
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Office of the Chairman

November 19, 1996

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

My congratulations to you again on your re-election. Under your continued leadership the next four years promise to be the most important in our nation's history as we build that bridge to the 21st century.

I do not think it will be possible for me to get on your busy schedule soon, so I write to inform you of the difficulties the National Endowment for the Arts faces in the months to come.

The G.O.P. House has slated the agency for elimination in '98. They may not have the votes to do so, but it is likely that our House appropriations will decrease substantially in any case. The Senate is more conservative than it was last year and may not honor even our '96 and '97 appropriations of 99.5 million. We rely more than ever on the administration's support and your Presidential veto, should it be necessary.

This cut of 39% in NEA's budget (from 172.4 million in FY'95) has been calamitous for the agency and the arts organizations it serves across the country. We will not be able to award grants to over 2000 arts organizations that qualified as excellent and received help in years past. I will not go into the litany of doom that a cut of this magnitude means to arts education for children, the disabled, the elderly or youth at risk, or to our orchestras or theatres. Suffice it to say when the Congress of the United States sends a message that the arts are not important, the ripple is felt at the state and local levels and in the corporate board rooms as well.

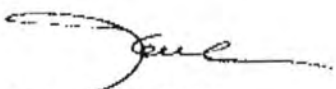
You have been a staunch supporter of the arts and the NEA. The NEA has been vilified by our critics for a handful of controversial grants in the past to the exclusion of the 110,000 grants in 31 years that celebrated our brilliant American legacy. It would mean so much to the discouraged artists and people everywhere who love the arts if you would speak about their value to society in your inaugural address or in your State of the Union address or both.

The President
Page Two
November 19, 1996

Finally, let me express my fervent hope that the Department of Justice will not appeal for the second time Karen Finley et al v. the National Endowment for the Arts. I personally believe that content restrictions are anathema to the creative process and the courts have twice determined in this case that the decency clause imposed by Congress on the NEA was unconstitutional. As Chairman I have endeavored to make sure that the NEA funds work of the highest degree of excellence, but as citizens of a free and democratic society, it would not be possible or appropriate to tell others what they might say.

It has been a privilege for me to serve in your administration. Despite the sometimes overwhelming challenges, the Endowment continues to do rewarding work and American communities everywhere are the better for it. Thank you for the opportunity to be Chairman of this remarkable agency; with your help we will survive these next ten months and be alive and well to help America celebrate the new millennium.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Jane Alexander", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

Jane Alexander
Chairman

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

We strongly urge continued Federal support for the National Endowment for the Arts, National Endowment for the Humanities and Institute of Museum Services. Although each of us may have different views on one or another of the many activities assisted by these institutions, we are all in accord that Federal funding for them, without crippling cuts, should be sustained.

Among America's greatest contributions to the world are our culture and our ideas. Support for the arts, the humanities and our museums is a measure of the nation's commitment to our creative heritage and to our future creative life.

The genius, the ideals, of the American people are best reflected in the achievements of our culture. The arts and the humanities help us understand who we are as individuals and as a society. The institutions aided by the two Endowments and the Institute of Museum Services enrich the quality of life in every part of the country.

These agencies nurture promising artists, stimulate important scholarship and create new audiences. Through assisting projects in communities across the nation, the NEA, NEH and IMS have opened doors to the arts and humanities to millions of Americans, adults and school children.

Beyond these fundamental reasons for supporting the NEA, NEH and IMS, the record is clear: These modest investments produce solid and substantial dividends.

The arts, the humanities and museums are vital to the economy of every state and every local community. Non-profit arts institutions alone generate \$36 billion in economic activity annually. They support 1.3 million jobs and generate \$3.4 billion in Federal tax revenues. Investment in the arts and the humanities is good business.

Moreover, support for these three Federal agencies is indispensable seed money. Every Federal dollar leverages an additional \$11 to \$26 from the private, state and local sectors. Yet the Federal contribution amounts to only \$.65 per person each year for each Endowment.

Without Federal support, there is no serious prospect that private funds will fill the resulting gap or that state and local governments will do so.

The Future of the Arts Endowment

THE FIGHT over whether to cut or eliminate the National Endowment for the Arts is littered with debris from previous struggles, but the basic question is simple as a Senate committee opens hearings on reauthorization today. Should government have a role in funding the arts at all, and if so, should it do it in this particular way? The first answer depends on the second. If the NEA were doing nothing but funneling money to the willfully offensive and self-indulgent or providing the kind of playground-for-the-elites so often charged, it would not matter (especially in desperate budget times) that other governing entities down through history have been patrons of the arts or that, as the NEA's defenders keep telling us, the city of Berlin's cultural budget and the military marching band budget are bigger than the U.S. arts and humanities endowments put together.

But the arts endowment mission is more complicated than that. A substantial chunk of its funding does go to supporting individual artists—the most questionable part of its expenditures, in our view. But the initial legislation stated a broader purpose of extending the reach of the arts *beyond* elites to encourage the creation of new, locally and regionally based theater, dance, opera and museums and to stimulate local financial support for them. The endowment has had its most quantifiable successes in this realm, illustrated by the frequently cited increase in the number of symphonies, folk dancing troupes, theater groups and state and local arts agencies since 1965.

What would happen without an endowment? It's unlikely, given the state of arts financing, that most such groups would be "liberated" from dependence on the federal teat, as some critics of the NEA claim, and would simply get support from elsewhere. (Corporate arts funding, like state and local arts funding, has been falling.) The better-established and better-heeled institutions might do all right, and so, ironically, might the fashionably provocative avant-gardes, but at the expense of more mainstream activities with broader appeal.

The endowment's tilt toward such activities—school programs, community art centers, regional arts—should be even greater than it now is. It could increase further the 35 percent of its budget that goes directly to state and local arts agencies; it could require—as has happened informally—that groups getting yearly operating money prove their viability by going off the dole every so often. There is ample precedent for such a shift and, in fact, this has been the gradual trajectory throughout the endowment's

30-year history. In its early years, despite the stated mission, much more of the then much smaller budget was focused on big national cultural institutions. But in increments over the years—notably, during the Nixon administration, when the endowment budget jumped from about \$8 million to \$82 million—it moved toward nourishing what has become a tremendously healthy nonprofit arts sector. Supporters have offered calculations of the economic impact of that sector's growth—1.3 million jobs created, \$10 in federal tax revenue generated per government dollar invested, \$11 leveraged per dollar in corporate support for culture and so on. Yes, these are the figures of endowment supporters, but there is surely something to the argument that the many arts centers built and markets enlarged have paid something back to the economy, not just to the arts.

If, as seems inevitable and indeed right, cultural funding is called on to take its proportionate share of across-the-board cuts, that mission should be uppermost in what is preserved. Under Jane Alexander, the endowment has taken some steps this way, pushing significantly to expand endowment activities in arts education in tandem with the Education Department; not coincidentally, she has also infuriated many artists by streamlining or eliminating many of the individual artist programs. This has the side effect of dampening much of the clamor over individual offenses and over the legitimate question of what taxpayers should be expected to fund. But the real argument over whether there should be a National Endowment for the Arts is not about offensiveness but about whether this kind of leavening function has enough countervailing cultural and economic value, for the price, to be worth it.

The system by which the NEA awards grants through peer panels was intended to avoid "official" art by turning the vetting process over to independent experts, as is done with science grants. Some of the panels have made some monumentally stupid mistakes, and endowment chairs have sometimes failed to rein them in. Cronyism is a built-in hazard of this kind of system. More outsiders on the panels would go far toward cutting the self-indulgence and insularity.

But the business of giving grants to individual artists to create new work—novelists, painters, choreographers, the unlamented "performance artists"—is finally less of a core function for government than the mission of promoting shared appreciation of the shared culture. The endowment has been doing that, quietly, through even its worst times. It could do it more, and should have the chance.

A Vote on the Budget Amendment

THE HOUSE is scheduled to vote today on a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. There are two principal versions, one or the other of which is thought likely to pass. Whichever it is will be a monument to hypocrisy.

The right way to balance the budget is simply to do it. Pass the necessary spending cuts and tax increases; that's all that's required. This would do neither. Rather, it would simply require three-fifths votes of both houses to pass unbalanced budgets. It would not enshrine a balanced budget in the Constitution but minority rule. Forty percent plus one of either house could hold the rest of the government at bay. The price of passing a budget would go up, not down; more members would have to be brought round. The likelihood is that Congress would find ways to cheat, declare that spending of a certain kind isn't really part of the budget, for example. Who would say otherwise, the courts? Would they be the ones to judge among conflicting spending estimates? How would the amendment be enforced? Nobody knows.

Nor will the supporters confront the question, what

would happen if it were enforced? Which spending would be cut, and what would be the consequences of cutting it? The ostensible purpose of reducing the deficit is to increase national savings and the funds available for private investment. Would the private investment always be more valuable than the public investment in education or roads or the other spending that would have to be forgone? Supporters say yes. A lot of them want not just to reduce the deficit but to reduce the influence of the federal government in national life, and see this as a way to do it. But nobody's really thought a lot about that, either.

Maybe if the amendment passes the House, the Senate will have the wisdom to sidetrack it. If that doesn't happen, maybe the states will have the wit. Among much else, the amendment is likely to add to their burdens by reducing the quarter-trillion dollars a year they get in federal aid. Would the transfer of that burden leave the country better off? That isn't clear, either.

This is a vote for show, and for a symbol.

The State of the Union

IN THE State of the Union address Tuesday night, the president was plainly trying to preempt and coopt the successful Republican political message of last fall. You had the feeling that a lot of *positioning* had gone on, and this always raises suspicions as to substance and sincerity. On some of his moves toward what he believes to be the political outlook the voters mandated, Mr. Clinton, it seems to us, moved toward common sense and away from misguided policy. But there was a good deal of veering back and forth. He alternately suggested he agreed with the Republicans on many things and sought to reassure Democrats that there were also matters on which he would stand and fight.

Occasionally he was forthright, as when he warned he would block repeal of last year's ban on the manufacture and sale of assault weapons. He was clear as well on some essential aspects of welfare reform and on the fact that tax cuts ought not add to the deficit. He was also right to stress the themes of personal and civic responsibility and the importance of institutions outside government—the community groups that “do the work of citizenship”—in determining national well-being.

But on too many other issues, he chose to speak obliquely and in code. The administration has claimed to think the balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution on which the House is voting this week could have disastrous consequences; but the president would say only that the proponents owe the public an explanation of how the balance would be achieved. Administration officials likewise think the unfunded mandates legislation on which both houses are at work could have grave consequences if carried too far, but the president said only that he wanted to work with Congress to “pass a reasonable bill which will protect the national interest [yet] give justified relief.” The administration believes that some of the deregulatory legislation in Congress also goes too far; he dealt with that by saying that Congress should “remember what national action in the national interest has given us” in

the form of cleaner water and air, safer food and cars and all the rest. It was watery as commitments go and vague. He urged an increase in the minimum wage but wouldn't say how much. The very length of this speech suggested that Mr. Clinton was trying too hard to fulfill too many political imperatives at once—a little here to liberals, a little there to conservatives, something else to the middle class, a bow to religious people, a nod to environmentalists.

As a tactical matter it's fair enough, maybe even wise, for a president whose party has just taken a beating at the polls to try to blur his differences with the opposition. Mr. Clinton's problem is that in the last two years, he has done more than just blur differences for tactical reasons. He has a history both of trying too hard to please and of folding. Yes, the president has taken risks—for deficit reduction, gun control and, after much wobbling, NAFTA. But there are doubts, and this speech did not dispel them, about how long the president's positions will stand. He would have done himself some good had he said just once in the course of wrapping himself in Republican themes, here's where the other side is wrong. He never quite did it. The issue on which he challenged the now-Republican Congress most directly was fake: “To just stop taking the lobbyist perks,” whatever that means, as if he were the champion of such reform and they the particular resisters. But in the two years in which he had Democratic majorities to implore, he pressed very little for congressional reform.

Defenders argue that the speech did serve the important purpose of putting the president back into the argument. By accepting some of the opposition's themes while seeking to modulate and bend them, he suggested the Republicans might be right about some things and made himself a player in a way he otherwise could not hope to be. The question is, a player to what end? How hard is he going to fight, and for what? Eighty-two minutes of speech, and you still don't know.

One Agency That Needs No Reinvention

With the demise of the Office of Personnel Management [news story, Dec. 20] will come the elimination of the Office of Federal Investigations (OFI) within that agency.

The OFI performs background investigations for 76 government agencies, investigations that are used to determine the initial and continuing “suitability for employment” of federal employees as well as initial and continuing security clearance for both federal and contractor employees. In FY '94, the OFI scheduled 197,631 such investigations at the request of other agencies.

On Jan. 11 the OFI advised customers that by Oct. 1 it would no longer conduct investigations. Alternatives to the OFI include privatization of the conduct of investigations (“contracting out”) or allowing customers to conduct their own investigations. Neither option is practical, cost-effective

or consistent with reinventing government tenets. Contractors should not be hired to perform an inherently governmental function, nor should OFI's work (which is being conducted in a timely, efficient, quality-controlled and consistent manner) be distributed among 76 agencies.

No matter what happens to the Office of Personnel Management, the OFI should be retained, perhaps as a separate entity, to continue its vital services. Finally, the concomitant elimination of the OFI while the administration is developing an executive order to strengthen personnel security activities within the executive branch represents an inconsistent approach to serving the needs of the national security.

A. BARRY DALINSKY

Personnel Security Specialist
Department of Energy
Washington

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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Don't Ax Federal Support for Art

The National Endowment for the Arts, now in its 30th year, has been a brilliant though sometimes controversial success. At a modest cost to the taxpayers, \$167 million this year, it has helped channel private donations to an impressive variety of nonprofit arts institutions across the country. Institutions report that each dollar granted by the Endowment generates an average of \$11 in matching private funds. As a result, many more Americans have been able to experience original art firsthand, and talented artists have been encouraged to pursue their work.

This is just what the Endowment was created to do. But now, for a variety of reasons, some conservative Republicans want to use their new Congressional majorities to cut off funds for the Endowment and shut it down. They should not be allowed to succeed.

The Endowment has some devoted conservative Republican defenders, for example Senators Orrin Hatch and Alan Simpson. But other conservatives remain ideologically opposed to public subsidies for the arts. Yet subsidies by governments and wealthy patrons are an ancient and necessary tradition. Even artists whose greatness has been acknowledged by posterity have had to struggle to support themselves during their lifetimes, particularly if their originality consisted in challenging received tastes. Enlightened societies all over the world recognize that there is a clear public interest in supporting such talents and to sustaining the traditions represented by art museums, libraries, symphonies and dance, opera and theatrical companies and making them available to wider audiences.

This is a wise and historically validated role for governments. The real risk of government subsidies lies not in overgenerous use of the taxpayers' money but in the potential for political interference or censorship. The Endowment's designers wisely guarded against this danger by leaving ini-

tial grant-making decisions to panels of people knowledgeable about the arts. The awards are then subject to two higher levels of expert review. Most grants are awarded not to individual artists or productions but to institutions with a good track record. But a good track record in the arts includes a willingness to take the occasional risks on a promising new or controversial talent.

It is these risks that have gotten the endowment in trouble with demagogic politicians like Jesse Helms who will seize on provocative aspects of particular exhibits or performances put on by institutions receiving some Endowment support to caricature the whole of the Endowment's work. The most recent controversy, for example, centered on a bloodied paper towel flung by a performance artist, Ron Athey, at the Walker Arts Center in Minneapolis. The Endowment had awarded some \$100,000 to the Walker to help support its entire season. The Walker in turn awarded about \$150 of this money to Mr. Athey.

Not all great art is controversial and not all controversial art is great. But themes like eroticism, homosexuality and the provocative use of religious imagery that so upset the Endowment's critics have been entwined with great art for centuries. In recent years, the Endowment has tried to play it safe on these issues to appease its Congressional critics. But excessive caution shortchanges an important part of the Endowment's mission.

The zealous and small-minded are always willing to attack art and artists. But there is no reason to elevate their attacks to general Government policy. To do so would be a distortion of the mandate of the November election. To be blunt about it, prominent New York Republicans with ties to the city's extraordinary cultural institutions have an obligation to see that their more rambunctious members of Congress do not destroy the National Endowment for the Arts.

LEISURE & ARTS

Shunning the Yahoo Point of View

As the new Congress starts to debate whether to zero out the pitifully small (\$176 million) budget of the National Endowment for the Arts, everyone should take a look at the section of "Gulliver's Travels" where Gulliver visits the Houyhnhnms and the Yahoos. The Houyhnhnms are equine intellectuals, the Yahoos hairy, uncouth louts in human form. In our day, while the cultivated Houyhnhnms whinny and prance in futile protest, we are well on the road to becoming a nation of Yahoos.

Christina Jeffrey's appointment as historian of the House of Representatives was a warning. Speaker Gingrich was rewarding her because in 1993 she had supported his attempt to keep his course at Georgia's Kennesaw State College alive while other faculty there were protesting it as improperly contaminated with politics. But Ms. Jeffrey, an associate professor of political science, was not just a complaisant right-winger at a Podunk college. She was already on record in 1986 denouncing a federal history program about genocide because it did not include the Nazi point of view on the Holocaust. When this statement resurfaced a few days ago, Speaker Gingrich said he hadn't connected Ms. Jeffrey with its author because she had used her maiden name back then (before he met her). So, to stem the tidal wave of furious public outrage, he up and canned the lady.

This flaplet raises several interesting questions, but the most interesting is, What kind of intellectual milieu could bring Speaker Gingrich and Ms. Jeffrey into contact as historians?

Wishing to believe in the good faith of all parties, I accept that the speaker did not know about the Nazi memo, that he agrees with the angry protesters, and that the intellectual milieu in Georgia where this odd couple found common cause is exactly the kind of unenlightened backwater in which the Holocaust can be blithely dismissed by a professional historian as a subject primarily of interest for religious

discussion (as Ms. Jeffrey argued to the federal government).

Anyone who thinks that way is an unreconstructed anti-Semite, of course, but, worse still, such a person has managed to remain completely untouched by the overwhelming facts of history as they have been documented, discussed and accepted by historians and others in the overwhelming majority of mainstream America and the rest of the world. It is one thing to hate Jews. Any moral dwarf can do that. But it takes an especially ignorant and fact-resistant sort of historian to believe that there is a viable Nazi point of view on the subject.

But let's stop for a moment and try to take Ms. Jeffrey seriously. What would the Nazi point of view on the Holocaust be? Why obviously it would be a positive point

has real merits worth airing in a classroom. Ms. Jeffrey has obviously not considered the actual facts of the Nazi record, or she isn't interested in them. She is therefore a historian outside history. She is a Yahoo.

Does that sound like the harrumph of a member of the cultural elite? I certainly hope so, because I think that the Jeffrey affair obliges people committed to the preservation of our heritage to defend the idea of cultural elitism against the Yahoos. If we who speak for culture retreat from the fray now, we really are an effete corps of impudent snobs, in Spiro Agnew's immortal phrase.

What we should be saying, as the fight for the National Endowment budgets and their survival begins, is that the arts are everybody's province, that their health is a matter of highest national interest.

Speaker Gingrich, no doubt trying to look like a non-Yahoo in an effort to assume presidential stature, recently expressed his admiration for the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and for Atlanta Opera. He should go further, if he wants to shake off the hairy mantle of Georgia Yahoo. He should put his (our) money where his mouth is.

Newt, get down and support the arts. Don't zero out the NEA budget. Increase it manyfold under wise and stringent supervision, to put our cultural heritage in museums, libraries and concert halls on a solid footing for the future. Help America join the rest of the world in making sure that the treasures of the past—and the arts education system that makes that possible—will prosper. Otherwise, we will all be provincial Yahoos with no point of view worth having.



Critique

By Raymond Sokolov

of view. Unlike most of us who think the sadistic incineration of six million people because they had at least one Jewish grandparent was among the great crimes of history, the Nazis believed it was a great and necessary achievement. The Nazi point of view must have been that annihilating Jews was a social good for Nazi Germany and the world. And, on reflection, I agree with Ms. Jeffrey that any good course on the dynamics of genocide would have to include this point of view, expressed as vividly as possible with documents and photographs. This is actually the approach that the Holocaust Museum on the Mall in Washington takes, and it is an extremely effective method of discrediting the Nazi point of view.

The trouble with Ms. Jeffrey's point of view about the Nazi point of view is that she thinks the Nazi point of view

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1995

EDITORIALS

Maintain Subsidies To Support the Arts

American voters say they want a leaner, more effective government. And like most federal programs, the National Endowment for the Arts could survive with less. But it would be a mistake to eliminate the NEA and its \$167 million budget.

Attacking the NEA has become good symbolism for political conservatives. They believe the federal government has no business subsidizing the arts and they object to the choices the NEA makes in choosing which artists to subsidize.

We disagree on both counts. In our view, government can play a legitimate role in subsidizing the arts, and political disagreement over which artists to subsidize is both inevitable and worth it.

By any definition, the arts are important to the nation's quality of life. There is no evidence that self-interested consumers, corporations and foundations can adequately meet funding needs.

Since the NEA was founded in 1965, grants have been awarded to traditional as well as avant-garde artists. These grants often serve as vital seed money for artists, projects and arts organizations. For every \$1 individual artists and groups get from the NEA another \$11 in private donations is raised.

The arts also have positive economic impact. Museums, art galleries and theaters attract tourists and conventions. On an annual basis, the arts generate \$37 billion in revenues, employ 1.3 million people and pay \$3.4 billion in various taxes.

Eliminating federal subsidies also would cripple state and local arts programs, which get 35 percent of their funds from the NEA. The Illinois Arts Council, for example, will get \$696,000, or 11.7 percent of its \$7.6 million budget, from the NEA.

The world would not come to an end if the NEA were eliminated. But all that would be satisfied are the political aims of today's congressional leadership. In the real world, the federal government is running an annual budget deficit of \$203 billion. Cutting \$167 million for the arts would do much more harm than good.



San Francisco Chronicle

THE VOICE OF THE WEST

FRIDAY, JANUARY 13, 1995

FAX COPY

EDITORIALS

Government Has a Role In Supporting the Arts

"Everything passes. Robust art alone is eternal. The bust outlasts the citadel."

ANYONE who agrees with 19th century writer Theophile Gautier and believes that music, art, poetry and dance elevate the spirit, connect us as human beings and also define national culture should be more than alarmed by rumblings on Capitol Hill that the National Endowment for the Arts and National Endowment for the Humanities are

'The strength of America's arts and humanities is essential to the well-being of the nation'

soon to be victims of the Republican chopping block under the menacing guise of "privatization."

For an unthinking few, government support of the arts is a frivolous waste of scarce taxpayer

money that subsidizes the elitist cultural pursuits of the rich.

Far from it. Grants from the NEA allow inner-city kids to attend their first opera, to hear their first symphony, to view their first Monet. Such an introduction may inspire them to become the next Pavarotti or Casals or Pollack, but more likely it will add an enriching dimension to their lives at a time when schools are eliminating art and music from the curriculum.

In the Bay Area alone, federal grants help support San Francisco's Museum of

Modern Art, the Berkeley Symphony Orchestra, Film Arts Foundation, Friends of the Mission Cultural Center and Asian American Dance Performances.

The NEA is the federal government's largest supporter of diverse art activities, and the endowment makes its grants with a budget of a mere \$167 million — 64 cents per American.

The dollar amount of an NEA grant is important, but less so than its ability to generate broader support for the arts. A dollar of NEA money typically generates \$11 from state or local governments, private donors, corporations or foundations, because NEA recognition lends a certain prestige that makes it easier to get other contributions. That "leveraging" would be eliminated without federal grants.

A 3-year study showed that the nonprofit arts generated an annual average of \$37 million to local businesses, created 1.3 million jobs and provided \$3.4 billion in federal income taxes.

A task force appointed by President Reagan 14 years ago concluded that the national endowments played an important role in promoting the culture of the United States.

"The strength of America's arts and humanities is essential to the well-being of the nation," the task force found. "Our federal government bears a responsibility for encouraging and protecting the arts and the humanities. The endowments should emphasize the advancement of American culture through the support of both institutional and individual efforts." That conclusion still holds.

Letters

Foes of arts funding should turn off their rhetoric and look at the facts

I am amazed and deeply disturbed by the ongoing campaign of misinformation concerning the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), most recently in a column by Phyllis Schlafly ("NEA funding test for Republicans," Commentary, Jan. 3) and in statements by House Speaker Newt Gingrich ("Cultural elite feel lash of Gingrich," Jan. 4).

It is clear that Mrs. Schlafly and Mr. Gingrich have no real knowledge of the NEA's history or of the grant-review process of the agency. Prior to the creation of the NEA in 1965, a relatively small number of cultural organizations served our citizens, and the majority of those were located in large cities. Today, thanks to seed money provided by the NEA (directly or through state and local arts councils), there are thousands of artists and arts institutions across the country that produce cultural experiences for millions of Americans. The NEA's competitive grant-review process requires approval by review panels made up of experts in their respective fields, approval by the bipartisan National Council on the Arts and approval by the NEA chair.

Mrs. Schlafly and Mr. Gingrich appear unaware that the NEA makes artistic and cultural programs available to a wide range of Americans in rural and urban communities across the country. The agency supports symphony orchestras, folk arts festivals, dance companies, operas, theaters, museums, programs for seniors and families, arts education programs for young people and other forms of artistic expression. In most case, NEA funds

account for less than 5 percent of an organization's budget. But NEA support must be matched by private contributions in almost every grant. This means that a small NEA grant stimulates significant support from individuals, corporations and foundations. In fact, the NEA has long been a model for the popular concept of "public-private partnerships," in which a small government investment leads to a significant commitment of private funds.

Mrs. Schlafly and Mr. Gingrich ignore the fact that NEA funds generate significant economic returns to communities. Each NEA dollar awarded generates a 20-fold return in jobs, services and contracts, which spurs growth in local businesses in rural and urban areas. More than 1.3 million Americans are employed by nonprofit arts and cultural organizations.

Mrs. Schlafly and Mr. Gingrich disregard the proven positive impact that the arts and culture have on young people. Numerous studies have concluded that the arts improve overall student learning, enhance cognitive skills, instill self-esteem and discipline and provide creative outlets for self-expression. We desperately need to develop these aspects of our young people if we are to compete successfully in the global economic community.

Most disturbingly, Mrs. Schlafly and Mr. Gingrich engage in rhetoric that appears to equate support of the NEA with being anti-American through statements such as Mr. Gingrich's comment, "They are simply enclaves of the left using your money to propagandize your chil-

dren against your values." Furthermore, Mr. Gingrich has repeatedly stated that free speech is not subsidized, ignoring the fact that through government support of tax exemptions for organized religions, funding for libraries and taxpayer financing for presidential candidates and Mr. Gingrich's speech (as well as the speech of all our elected officials), Americans support the widest possible range of free speech.

The arts and culture develop our humanity. With the help of federal funding, they contribute to the development of young people through educational initiatives; they are vital to small businesses that create jobs; and they are a proven asset to community-building. Recognizing that the not-for-profit arts are vital to a society's well-being and could not survive without public patronage, governments throughout history have helped nurture and sustain cultural activity. A federal mandate to support continued funding for the arts and culture should be a bipartisan priority that is at the heart of improving the quality of our lives and our society.

Mrs. Schlafly and Mr. Gingrich should turn off the rhetoric and look to the facts.

ROCHE SCHULFER

Chair
American Arts Alliance
Washington

■ Mr. Schulfer is the executive director of the Goodman Theatre in Chicago.

— The Editor

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Arts are for all to enjoy

I am glad that George F. Will has articulated his reasons to eliminate government funding for the arts, the humanities and public broadcasting [op-ed page column, Jan. 9, "Time to abolish federal arts funding"]. Now that they are out, it is easier to counter his claims.

As is so often the case these days, critics will focus on one issue as the reason to eliminate an entire program. Will focuses on National Endowment for the Arts Chairwoman Jane Alexander's visits to 50 states during the past two years. This seemingly improper use of funds is reason enough to eliminate the entire NEA.

For Sen. Jesse A. Helms, it was a single photographic exhibit. What our conservative colleagues seem to be forgetting here is that every year the NEA gives tens of thousands of dollars in support to many of our nation's cultural organizations. Institutions such as The Hartford and New Haven symphony orchestras, the Wadsworth Atheneum, the Hartford and Connecticut opera companies and the Hartford Ballet would be hard pressed to maintain their programs without this federal support. The same is true all over the country.

It is common knowledge in the arts community that orchestras and opera companies could not survive on ticket sales alone. America is already pitifully behind other countries in its support of the arts. If these arts organizations are put at risk, any hope for urban revitalization will go with them.

As for public broadcasting, Will says that we already have 9,500 commercial radio stations and plenty of commercial TV outlets. Why support public broadcasting? What he doesn't answer is why do only a handful of the 9,500 commercial radio stations play classical music or jazz? Why haven't commercial TV stations bought the rights for "Sesame Street" and "Barney"? Why do they opt instead for Power Rangers and the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles?

What about the rural communities where public broadcasting stations are the only broadcasters? How about Connecticut Public Radio's constant commitment to promote events by our local arts organizations? What about programs like Connecticut Public Radio's monthly *Alcoholics*

Anonymous open information meeting? AA is one of House Speaker Newt Gingrich's pet programs; yet, AA could never be on commercial radio because of its firm avoidance of any commercial endorsements.

The federal government's already paltry support of the arts and noncommercial media is an important catalyst for improving the quality of life in our country. The arts are not class conscious; they are for all to enjoy and to enrich us.

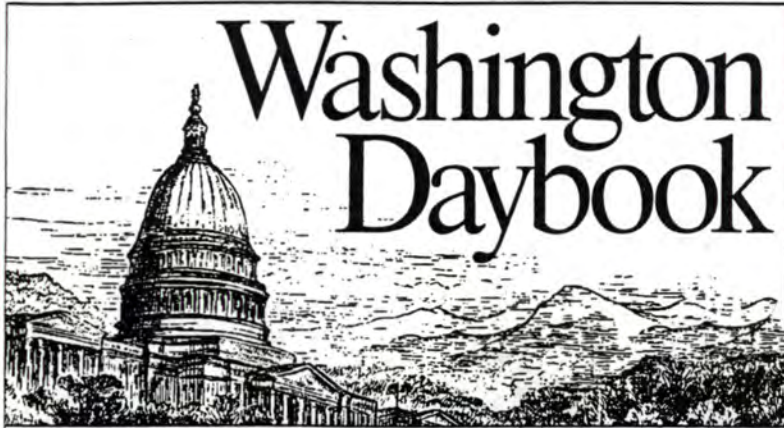
John F. Berkley
Vice President

Director of Radio

Connecticut Public Television and Radio
Hartford



Courant File Photo
■ The Wadsworth Atheneum



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GENERAL AGENDA

Arts education conference

— **all day** — The Getty Center for Education in the Arts continues a conference titled, "Beyond the Three Rs: Transforming Education With the Arts." The luncheon program features Jane Alexander, chairman of the National Endowment of the Arts. Location: Washington Hilton, 1919 Connecticut Ave. NW. Call 310/274-8787.

Universities' Stake in Public Broadcasting

A DEBATE has begun in Washington about the future of public broadcasting. Several members of the new Congress have indicated that they are not in a mood to support this troublesome medium, which daily dares to consider all things and defines itself as an educational and cultural resource for the nation. Rep. Newt Gingrich has said publicly that "one of the things we're going to do this year, I hope . . . is to zero-out the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which has been eating taxpayers' money." Sen. Larry Pressler and others have advocated "privatizing" public broadcasting. Whatever form it comes in, the threat to eliminate federal support for public broadcasting is real.

Educators—particularly the faculty members and presidents of major universities—cannot afford to remain silent in the intensifying debate. So far, they have failed to recognize the extent of their stake in public broadcasting, but if they don't figure it out soon, and act on it, we will all be the losers.

One might think that the best reason for leaders in higher education to be concerned about the issue is money: Because 88 of America's 351 public television stations—25 per cent—and 328 of its 629 public radio stations—52 per cent—are licensed to colleges and universities, a large share of federal money for public broadcasting flows from the C.P.B. to educational institutions. Most of them would be hard pressed to make up the budget gap if that money were to disappear.

A second, perhaps more compelling reason for colleges and universities to be concerned is the difficulty they would have attracting a first-class faculty to a community where there was no classical music, no "Sesame Street," no serious drama or dance on the tube or the radio, to say nothing of no substantive discussion of public issues on programs such as "Morning Edition," "All Things Considered," and the "McNeil Lehrer NewsHour." The intellectual stimulation available on public broadcasting is an amenity that thinking people value, a part of the discussion at almost any gathering of scholars. A university in a community without that cultural resource is bound to be less attractive to thoughtful people.

But the best reason for educators to fight for public broadcasting is that it helps to carry out higher education's mission. It is odd that university administrators seem unprepared to address that aspect of the debate. When, in my work as a consultant to colleges and universities that own public stations, I ask presidents why their institutions are in the broadcasting business, there often is an awkward silence, followed by muddled talk about teaching kids how to run cameras and do the news, or of broadcasting's being a good public-relations tool. But those are precisely the wrong justifications for federal support of public broadcasting, because those types of activity should be paid for by the institutions themselves, not the government.

Administrators and faculty members had better marshal stronger, more cogent arguments about why public broadcasting is important, because if federal support is eliminated, institutions will lose a powerful ally in educating society. With just a bit more thought, we can see that public broadcasting helps fulfill many of higher education's traditional responsibilities. These include conserving our society's past, serving as a repository of our culture, and organizing the body of knowledge that has allowed our society to advance; transmitting that body of knowledge to subsequent generations; and seeking new knowledge and under-



THOMAS NELSON FOR THE CHRONICLE

standing through research aimed at finding solutions to society's most vexing problems. In America, we also expect higher education to prepare students to participate in the economic life of society and in the political process.

The mission of public broadcasting is strikingly similar. The best stations illuminate past, present, and future issues confronting society, placing them in context and thereby contributing to the development of an in-

"The 'privatizing' of public broadcasting is as preposterous an idea as the notion of privatizing a public university."

telligent electorate. Its educational role is most obvious in the radio programs "All Things Considered" and "Morning Edition" and in the TV programs "McNeil/Lehrer NewsHour" and "Frontline." Some public stations also have extensive news operations that examine local events and issues, all for the purpose of helping citizens participate in their community. Through broadcasts of classical music and jazz and programs such as "Great Performances," "Theater in America," and "The Civil War," to name just three, public broadcasting also fosters greater understanding and appreciation of America's cultural diversity.

Unlike tuition-paying college students, members of TV and radio audiences can switch programs off if they are boring, bland, or irrelevant. So the public stations work hard to present information in an appealing and meaningful way. The result is that more people tune in to public radio and television stations in a week (18.7 million and 96.7 million, respectively, according to A. C. Nielsen and Arbitron estimates) than attend classes on college campuses, go to sporting

events and concerts, and visit museums during the same period.

Unfettered by geographic constraints, the programs bring together experts on every subject to create public forums for the discussion of ideas and issues. Commentators on public television and radio question authors of recent books about their assumptions and conclusions and ask politicians hard questions. On call-in programs, no subject is off-limits, so long as it is handled with taste and intelligence.

In short, public broadcasting expands on the work of a university—presenting the best of our society's past to new generations and thus conserving it for the future. It explores the significant issues facing society today and prepares us to participate in the political process. Above all, it gives us information we need to participate in the debate about where we want our society to go and what we, as a species and as a society, aspire to. And that, I submit, is the core of a university's value.

Colleges should be prepared to go into political battle for the public broadcasting stations they operate, because those stations are their institutions' most public face and, for many of them, the only connection they have with the taxpayers who are asked to support them. Public broadcasting is more than a P.R. tool; it does the work of higher education, bringing it directly to people in their homes, every day of the year.

Understood in that context, the "privatizing" of public broadcasting is as preposterous an idea as the notion of privatizing a public university. Both types of institution have a mandate to serve the public interest. Public broadcasting works because it has evolved as a partnership involving the government (representing the public as a whole), the universities, which recognize the value of their stations to society and to themselves, companies that want to be associated with a quality product (through their monetary contributions), and individual "subscribers" who value the product and can afford to support it.

To send public broadcasting into the marketplace would subject it to the same pressures that have produced our commercial broadcasting system. To attract and keep the advertisers that support them, commercial stations are forced to favor the trivial over the significant, to avoid controversy, and to titillate rather than educate. As one public broadcaster put it: "There is a good model for what public television would look like if it became more commercial. It's called 'commercial broadcasting.'"

IN A YEAR, the federal government spends about 80 cents per citizen on public broadcasting. For every dollar the government puts in, the users of the service contribute about five dollars. That should tell university administrators that public broadcasting is a service that Americans value and one that is worthy of its association with institutions of higher education.

If faculty members and administrators fail to make the case to legislators and policy makers that public broadcasting is a national asset worth preserving, then we deserve the broadcasting system that would remain.

Donald P. Mullally is a former chairman of National Public Radio and director of broadcasting and associate dean of the College of Communications at the University of Illinois.

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THE FEDERAL DIARY

The Shift to Early-Outs

By Mike Causey
Washington Post Staff Writer

Many federal employees who fail to get buyout offers in the next two months still will get the chance to retire early.

Most agencies will expand early-out offers to allow more employees to leave on immediate pensions if they are at least age 50 with 20 years of federal service, or any age with 25 years of service. Pensions are reduced 2 percent for each year the retiree is younger than 55. Some private companies cut pensions 5 percent for each year the retiree is younger than 65.

Early-outs will be the downsizing tool of choice when buyouts (worth as much as \$25,000) end March 31 in non-Defense agencies. Those agencies will still be under heavy pressure to meet the White House ordered 272,900-job cut, and the Republican Congress is expected to call for even deeper cuts.

Budget cutters want to avoid expensive and disruptive layoffs. Using buyouts, the Clinton administration has managed, so far, to avoid massive layoffs. Thousands of federal employees—mostly retirement-age white men—took buyouts which saved the jobs of younger, low-seniority workers who are first on the layoff list. Early-outs will be critical to downsizing unless Congress extends the buyouts for non-Defense agencies. That is possible, but there is no such plan in the works.

The Office of Personnel Management says 50 agencies are offering early-outs. The early-out window closes March 31 for staff members at OPM, Justice and the Office of Government Ethics and National Endowment for the Humanities.

Early-outs run through Sept. 30 at the National Credit Union Administration, TVA, National Labor Relations Board, Merit Systems Protection Board, National Endowment for the Arts, Board for International Broadcasting, Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., International Joint Commission, Overseas Private Investment Corp., Nuclear Regulatory Commission,

National Gallery of Art, National Archives, Department of Education, Export-Import Bank, Consumer Product Safety Commission, Smithsonian, Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development.

Early-outs will end Nov. 30 at the CIA, July 31 for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and May 31 at the Federal Trade Commission.

Let George Do It!

George Nesterchuk, a top Reagan administration appointee, will be the staff director of the new House Government Reform and Oversight Committee's key civil service subcommittee. Rep. William F. Clinger Jr. (R-Pa.) is chairman of the full committee, and Rep. John L. Mica (R-Fla.) heads the civil service unit.

Nesterchuk was an aide to Donald Devine when he was director of the Office of Personnel Management. Devine ran the program to downsize the non-Defense side of government. He ran unsuccessfully against Rep. Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.) last November.

Nesterchuk's appointment will cause added heartburn for federal unions that in the last decade have burned most of their bridges with House and Senate Republicans.

Virginia Tax Deadline

To be on the safe side, federal-military retirees need to send their Form FR 5 (saying whether they accept or reject the state's proposed pension tax refund settlement) by certified mail, return receipt requested. The Virginia Department of Taxation has sent reminders to many retirees—who say they already have filed the form—that they have no record of receiving it. Retirees need proof they met the Feb. 1 deadline.

Benefits Update

At 9 a.m. tomorrow on WUST radio, Joe Richardson, of Government Retirement Benefits, is scheduled to talk about retirement, investment and other benefits available to feds, retirees and their survivors. At 10 a.m., Rep. Thomas M. Davis III (R-Va.) will talk about what the Republican-controlled Congress may do to, and for, feds and retirees.

Educators to alter course of history

By Tamara Henry
USA TODAY

Educators agreed Thursday to revise the new national history standards to meet harsh criticisms that they focus too much on non-Europeans and on the negatives of America's past.

Members of the National History Standards Project met privately Thursday with ardent critics to deal with protests that erupted after the standards were unveiled last fall. Gary Nash, project director and history professor at the University of California at Los Angeles, said later, "We will look for examples of ideological bias or imbalance and will make appropriate changes."

The standards detail the history U.S. students should know about areas such as Western Europe and West Africa, but also seek to liven up the tedious memorization of facts and dates by prodding students to examine documents and ask questions.

John Fonte, a spokesman for Lynne Cheney, former head of the national Endowment for the Humanities, renewed complaints that "the U.S. and world history standards are seriously flawed in tone, conception and content from start to finish."

Nash says an abbreviated, updated edition should be available in two to three months.



It's dance, stupid

What might look to some like a scene from a science-fiction movie is actually a modern-dance class at Florida's Rollins College. Students are

holding up a nylon parachute used as a teaching tool in the class, and sunlight filtering through the fabric turns them into stark silhouettes.

AP