TO: Confirmation Team
RE: Alexander Briefing Book
DA: Wednesday, September 15, 1993

The following briefing book was delivered to Jane Alexander on Tuesday. [Her book included a binder and tabs.] If you think any additional material should be added, please let Ginny Terzano know by the end of this week. Thanks.

TO: Jane Alexander
FR: G Terzano
RE: Confirmation Briefing Book
DA: Tuesday, September 14, 1993

Attached is your briefing book for the confirmation hearing. As the hearing approaches, if you see the need for additional material please let us know.

This book was prepared by the public affairs and congressional liaison staff.

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Confirmation Hearing of Jane Alexander
Briefing Book
September 14, 1993

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MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **JEFF BINGAMAN (D)**

State: New Mexico

Voting Record: 80% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Sen. Bingaman is very interested in arts activities in New Mexico and has invited the agency and its Chairman to participate in related events in New Mexico. Although his voting record is basically supportive, Sen. Bingaman did vote for a Helms content restriction amendment in 1991, as did the majority of Democrats and Republicans (amendment passed 68 yeas-28 nays).

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

NEW MEXICO TALKING POINTS

In New Mexico, the greatest concentration of arts activity follows the course of the Rio Grande from Taos through Santa Fe to Albuquerque to Las Cruces. Included are a rich array of performing arts, visual and literary arts, particularly Indian and Hispanic folk arts. Thousands of artists are drawn to live and work in New Mexico by the state's natural beauty and southwestern style.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 66 grants to New Mexico artists and organizations totalling $2,643,000. The majority of those grants went to Santa Fe which received 38 grants totalling $2,246,370.

The New Mexico Arts Division in Santa Fe received 5 grants: a Basic State Grant of $839,000, and grants for folk arts, arts education, underserved communities, and out-of-state dance residencies.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in New Mexico was over $19 million. During this time public funds supported activities that:

Reached over 4.3 million participants.
Involved over 52,000 artists.
Provided arts education for 26,600 children each year.
Included 204 grants for rural projects.
Generated at least $38 million in private funds.

The Challenge Program awarded $140,000 to the Center for Contemporary Arts of Santa Fe for the Teen Project, the first facility in the U.S. created by an arts institution exclusively for teenagers. The Teen Project will provide Santa Fe's 6,300 ethnically diverse teenagers arts programs in visual, media, performing and literary disciplines. Internships, seminars, workshops, apprenticeships and part-time jobs will provide opportunities for creativity, self-expression, and self-reliance.

A $25,000 Dance on Tour grant went to the New Mexico Arts Commission to support a three-week statewide tour by the Eugene Ballet of Oregon. The Mimbres Regional Arts Council, the Farmington Civic Center, the Taos Art Association, and the Raton Arts Council brought the company for full performances into sites such as the Teen Life Center/Navaja Nation in Shiprock, the University of New Mexico Department of Dance, New Mexico Very Special Arts/Buen Viaje Dancer, and the New Mexico Dance Coalition. Over all, four full performances of the Eugene Ballet's "Children of the Raven," 46 school & community performances & 45 additional residency activities took place.

A three-year grant of $150,000 is helping the City of Santa Fe Arts Commission support small & emerging arts institutions. Fifteen local minority arts organizations received grants for projects, ranging from a one-hour documentary for television by the Santa Fe Symphony and Chorus to a Spring Festival to celebrate & demonstrate Spanish colonial life in the northern part of the state.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

Locals

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
202/682-5400

Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

New Mexico
September 3, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Dance on Tour program brought Jeff McMahon and the Margaret Jenkins Dance Company to Sante Fe and the Dayton Contemporary Dance Company to Farmington, Silver City, Raton, and Taos.

* The San Francisco Opera's Western Opera Theater toured to Silver City and TheaterWorks/USA of New York toured to Gallup and Raton, both with assistance of grants from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* The New Mexico Symphony Orchestra of Albuquerque received a grant of $60,000 from the Music Program to support its educational and touring activities. The orchestra performed in locations including Alamogordo, Raton, Espanola, Farmington, Las Vegas, Los Lunas, Carlsbad, Hobbs, and Deming.

* The Acting Company of New York toured to Albuquerque, and the Shenandoah Shakespeare Express of Harrisonburg, VA, performed in Roswell, both with the assistance of grants from the Theater Program.

* The New Mexico Arts Division received a Folk Arts grant of $27,000 for a folk arts apprenticeship program that supported masters and apprentices in a number of counties throughout the State, including Bernalillo, Cibola, Dona Ana, Eddy, Hidalgo, Lea, Los Alamos, Otero, Rio Arriba, San Juan, Sandoval, and Socorro.

* Arts Corps, a $250,000 pilot project funded by the Arts Endowment and coordinated by the National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies, sent Rodney Currin of Winthrop University of Rock Hill, SC, to work on a music program in cooperation with the Gallup Area Arts Council.

* Cristina Allen of Corrales, Robert Hart of Lincoln, Macario Herrera of Las Vegas, Maria Rinaldi of Bernalillo, and Patrick Vanderpool of Estancia participated in the "Your Town Program," an effort to address the design needs of rural America carried out by the National Trust for Historic Preservation on behalf of the Design Arts Program.

* The Orchestra of Sante Fe received a grant of $5,000 from the Music Program to support costs associated with its performance season. Students from communities including Pojaque, Espanola, Penasco, Pecos, and Los Alamos attended performances of the orchestra.

* Through a grant from the Presenting and Commissioning Program to Diverseworks of Houston, Dale Newkirk of Las Cruces and Charmaine Brown of Albuquerque received Artists' Project Regional Initiative subgrants.

-more-

* Through grants to the Western States Arts Federation, six New Mexico artists, including Brian O'Connor of Vequita, have received Visual Artists Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* The Honorable Lewis E. Saavedra of Albuquerque participated in the Mayors' Institute on City Design, a leadership initiative established by the Design Arts Program.

* Through a grant to the Northwest Film and Video Center at the Oregon Art Institute in Portland, Meridel Rubenstein of Sante Fe received a $5,000 Media Arts Regional Fellowship. (FY91)

* New Mexico received a $445,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

Almanac of American Politics 1994

Sen. Jeff Bingaman (D)

Elected 1982, seat up 1994; b. Oct. 3, 1943, El Paso, TX; home, Santa Fe; Harvard, B.A. 1965, Stanford, LL.B. 1968; United Methodist; married (Anne).

Career: Army Reserves, 1968–74; NM Asst. Atty. Gen., 1969; Practicing atty., 1970–78; NM Atty. Gen., 1979–82.

Offices: 110 HSOB 20510, 202-224-5521. Also 119 E. Marcy St., #101, Santa Fe 87501, 505-988-6647; 625 Wilver Ave., SW, #130, Albuquerque 87102, 505-766-3636; 505 S. Main St., Las Cruces 88001, 505-523-6561; and 114 E. 4th St., #103, Roswell 88201, 505-622-7113.

Committees: *Armed Services* (5th of 11 D): Defense Technology, Acquisition and Industrial Base (Chmn.); Military Readiness and Defense Infrastructure; Nuclear Deterrence, Arms Control and Defense Intelligence. *Energy and Natural Resources* (5th of 11 D): Energy Research and Development; Public Lands, National Parks and Forests; Renewable Energy, Energy Efficiency, and Competitiveness (Chmn.). *Labor and Human Resources* (8th of 10 D): Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism; Disability Policy; Education, Arts and Humanities; Employment and Productivity. *Joint Economic Committee* (3d of 10).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	75	76	80	92	75	58	4	17	40	20	28
1991	65	—	82	67	61	40	19	—	—	20	29

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB — 1991 CONS			1992 LIB — 1992 CONS		
Economic	46%	—	50%	58%	—	40%
Social	68%	—	30%	66%	—	32%
Foreign	62%	—	37%	55%	—	44%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	AGN	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	AGN	9. Use Force in Gulf	AGN
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	AGN	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	AGN	10. Keep Salvador Aid	AGN
3. Remove Budget Walls	FOR	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	AGN
4. Ban Striker Replace	FOR	8. Abortion Gag Rule	AGN	12. Override China MFN	FOR

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	FOR	2. HIV Immigrants	AGN	3. Clinton Budget	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Jeff Bingaman (D)	321,983	(63%)	($2,808,659)
	Bill Valentine (R)	186,579	(37%)	($659,624)
1988 primary	Jeff Bingaman (D), unopposed			
1982 general	Jeff Bingaman (D)	217,682	(54%)	($1,586,245)
	Harrison H. (Jack) Schmitt (R)	187,682	(46%)	($1,692,204)

NEW MEXICO

America, from its oldest settlement to its newest technology, can be found, in unusual and even surrealistic form, in New Mexico. For the oldest permanently inhabited city in the United States is not Plymouth, Massachusetts, or Jamestown, Virginia, or even St. Augustine, Florida; it is probably Acoma, New Mexico. Probably, because Acoma, inhabited by the Anasazi, "an agricultural, settled and architecturally sophisticated people," said historian Roger Kennedy in *Rediscovering America*, had perhaps 1,000 years of unrecorded history before Spanish conquistadors came upon it in 1540. Some 450 years later, much of what makes New Mexico distinctive still recalls the people found here by the first European explorers—something true of no other state but Hawaii. While the Pilgrims built flimsy wood houses, the Indians in New Mexico were living in extensive dwellings hundreds of years old, made with the adobe that is still the characteristic building material here. Other state cultures are generally based on what early white settlers brought to the land; natives, except in Hawaii and Alaska, have mostly disappeared. Not in New Mexico. The English-speaking culture here is superimposed, at times rather lightly, on a society whose written history dates back to the Spanish settlement of Santa Fe in 1609, and to centuries long past when the Pueblo Indians set up stable agricultural societies on the sandy, rocky lands of northern New Mexico, using small pebbles as mulch to retain scarce moisture. Pueblo culture is still celebrated in the Indian pottery that commands premium prices in Santa Fe and in the annual Gathering of Nations pow-wow in Albuquerque which attracts 30,000 Indians. Today, a very substantial minority of New Mexicans are descendants of these Indians or the Spanish, or both. New Mexico had the highest percentage of Hispanics (38%) in the U.S. after the 1990 Census. Nearly one-third of the people in this state speak Spanish in everyday life, and only a few are recent migrants from Mexico. The Hispanic roots go very deep, as witnessed by the recent discovery of Hebrew symbols left on Christian gravestones by the *conversos*, Jews who hid their religion after it was outlawed by the Spanish in 1492; there are families here who have secretly maintained Jewish practices for centuries. New Mexico is the northernmost salient of the great Indian-Spanish civilizations of the Cordillera, which extend along the mountain chain through Mexico and Central America to South America, as far away as Chile and Argentina.

Yet New Mexico also is a civilization built on the highest of technologies. It was to a remote mesa called Los Alamos that General Leslie Groves brought his Manhattan Project scientists during World War II to build a secret town and develop a secret weapon that would in one

explosion win World War II and change the course of history. Los Alamos remains a government high-tech laboratory, and New Mexico has others as well—the White Sands Missile Range near Alamogordo, where the first atomic bomb was detonated, and the Sandia Laboratories near Albuquerque, run by AT&T for the government, a non-nuclear high-tech weapons research facility. And if New Mexico was in on the takeoff of nuclear power, it has also come in for part of the landing. Near Carlsbad, New Mexico, is the site of the federal Waste Isolation Pilot Plant (WIPP), where the Energy Department wants to conduct a seven-year test of radioactive waste storage; the Energy Department wanted to use 1% of WIPP's capacity, while some of the state's congressional delegation held out for .5% and ultimately prevailed in 1992 legislation.

These two kinds of New Mexicos, very old and very young, intermingle with others of intermediate age in different proportions in this land of majestically vast vistas. The Hispanic-Indian culture predominates north and west of Albuquerque, with picturesque old towns and some still-functioning pueblos. "Little Texas," in the south and east, has small cities, plenty of oil wells, vast cattle ranches and desolate military bases and resembles, economically and culturally, the adjacent west Texas High Plains. Here, as everywhere in New Mexico, government is a prime employer (accounting for 27% of jobs, one of the highest figures in the country) and often the moving force in the local economy. In the middle is Albuquerque which, with the arrival of air conditioning, grew from a small desert town of 35,000 in 1940 into a Sun Belt metropolis of 602,400 today. Albuquerque has a large Hispanic minority, as do many fast-growing U.S. cities; its economy is based heavily on high tech, especially nuclear power; but it has relatively low income and education levels—the downscale Sun Belt. Each of these three areas has about one-third of the state's population, and their necessarily impressionistic boundaries are followed pretty closely by the boundaries of New Mexico's three congressional districts.

For many years, New Mexico politics was a somnolent business. Local bosses—first Republican, later Democratic—controlled the large Hispanic vote. Elections in many counties featured irregularities that would have made a Chicago ward committeeman blush. New Mexico also had for years another feature of boss-controlled politics, the balanced ticket: one Spanish and one Anglo senator, with the offices of governor and lieutenant governor split as well. But for all its distinctiveness, in national politics New Mexico was a bellwether, never voting for a losing presidential candidate from 1912, when it became a state, until 1976 when it backed Gerald Ford. In 1988 it voted 52%–47% for George Bush, close to the national average; in 1992, 46% for Bill Clinton, 37% for Bush and 16% for Ross Perot, 3% more for Clinton and less for Perot than the nation. Democrats usually have a solid base in the Hispanic areas, but there is little harsh ethnic polarization. New Mexico's relatively downscale newcomers—low-skill laborers and retirees who can afford a trailer but not a Scottsdale condominium—are culturally conservative, and if anything lean a bit Republican. Of all the border states, New Mexico has the least immigration from Mexico and Latin America; most Hispanic growth is from high birth and low death rates. But the Cordillera civilization not so far away is never entirely out of the minds of New Mexicans.

A footnote: for a state with such visually dazzling scenery, New Mexico has not been an environmentalist stronghold—not affluent enough, perhaps. It has lagged behind in wilderness areas and national parks; the 500 square mile Gray Ranch near the Mexican border was preserved not by the government, but by the private Nature Conservancy; former Congressman Manuel Lujan, a Bush appointee, was one of the less environment-minded Interior secretaries.

New Mexico's junior senator, Jeff Bingaman, is a Democrat with good political lineage: his father was a professor at Western New Mexico University in Silver City, and his uncle was campaign manager for Senator Clinton Anderson, one of the savviest politicians of his generation. A year out of law school, Bingaman was counsel to the state constitutional convention; a few years later, he went into law practice in Santa Fe with former Governor Jack Campbell; Bingaman's wife, Anne, started a highly successful law practice of her own that helped finance his first campaigns (she is now assistant U.S. attorney general for antitrust). In a small state, bright young people are not nearly as numerous as they are in New York or Washington or Los Angeles, and Bingaman rose fast. He ran for attorney general in 1978 and won; in 1982, he ran against Senator Harrison Schmitt, the former astronaut, also from Silver City, and won with 54%, partly because it was a recession year, but also because of Schmitt's misleading and negative ads.

Bingaman became a member of the Armed Services Committee and a protege of Chairman Sam Nunn, who created a subcommittee tailored to his interests, now called Defense Technology, Acquisition and Industrial Base. This gives Bingaman lots of say over New Mexico's Los Alamos and Sandia labs; he also has worked on superconductivity research and chartering the semi-conductor consortium, Sematech. He sponsored a $1.6 billion defense conversion package which passed in 1992 and $100 million in seed money for regional partnerships of small technology firms. He wants to make government research more accessible to the private sector and wants to expedite the process for government labs to enter into partnerships with private companies to develop new technologies; he has proposed a Critical Technologies Institute think tank to focus on civilian R&D and manufacturing. He wants to pass a law providing an education technology infrastructure program, involving computers, interactive television and information networks. Much of his work anticipated the Clinton Administration technology thrust; "it is a pleasure," he said, "to work with an administration that is proud to have a stated technology policy."

Bingaman also serves on the Energy Committee, where he has worked to protect the archaeological sites of the Mimbres Indians and the Glorieta battlefield. He opposed raising federal grazing fees but pledged to work with Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt on revising the 1872 Mining Act. He managed to get out of an unpleasant assignment ruling on the Keating Five, when he recused himself from the Ethics Committee because his wife's law firm had represented aides to Alan Cranston. He earnestly takes lessons to learn Spanish, tries to stop cut-rate cigarette sales to soldiers, fights bubonic and pneumonic plague (most U.S. cases are in New Mexico), and promotes physical fitness through his HealthNet state fitness encouragement program.

Bingaman has had good job ratings at home, and in 1988, campaigning as "serious about New Mexico," he won 63%–37%, the best showing by a Democratic Senate candidate in New Mexico since Clinton Anderson won his third term in 1960. But this is a seat Republicans have their eyes on, and if the Clinton Administration should get into trouble, Bingaman might also; he has never had to run carrying the baggage of a Democratic administration, which can get awfully heavy in the Rocky Mountains.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **DAN COATS (R)**

State: Indiana

Voting Record: 0% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Sen. Coats has been the leading Republican critic on the Education, Arts and Humanities Subcommittee since 1989. Generally, he expresses concern about "misuse" of Federal funds for "objectionable" art. He has not offered floor amendments, but serves as the opposition during Subcommittee consideration of reauthorization legislation.

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

INDIANA TALKING POINTS

Located in the heart of the Midwest, Indiana is home to 25 orchestras, four professional dance companies, seven major arts museums, over 200 historic and contemporary visual arts galleries, and thousands of artists. Built around the Indianapolis hub, the arts branch out to 11 other urban centers and rural areas across the state.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 23 grants to Indiana artists & organizations, totalling $1,114,800. The majority of those grants went to Indianapolis.

The Indiana Arts Commission received 3 grants: a Basic State Grant of $491,700, an arts education grant of $114,700, and underserved communities grant of $75,000.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in Indiana was over $17.3 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

Reached over 86 million participants.
Involved more than 190 artists.
Provided arts education to about 105,000 children each year.
Included 504 grants for rural arts projects.
Generated at least $34 million in private funds.

The Music Program awarded a $14,800 grant to the Evansville Philharmonic Orchestra to support a guest artists and conductor, youth concerts that reach children within 50 miles of the city, and ensemble performances in area hospitals, churches, and nursing homes. About 28,500 people benefit from this grant.

Through an $85,000 Challenge Grant, the Endowment supports the Indiana Repertory Theatre's Junior Works program, a new educational initiative for the Indianapolis-based company. Junior Works features original adaptations of classical stories performed by a young company of multicultural actors working with senior directors and designers. Long-range plans include touring the state, as well as eastern Illinois and northern Kentucky.

The Local Arts Agencies Program awarded a $30,000 grant to the Jasper Community Arts Commission to assist local arts agencies in Indiana with community cultural planning. Ten local arts agencies in the Fort Wayne, Jasper, South Bend, Jay County, Bloomington, Wells County, Evansville, Terre Haute, Lafayette, and Columbus expended 2,450 volunteer hours on this project, and the planning process was conducted by consultants who worked with each community. They designed a process for collecting opinions and information about community cultural needs. Existing plans were evaluated, interviews were conducted, and survey instruments were designed to meet the unique needs of each community.

Other Indiana arts organizations which receive funding are: the Indiana State Symphony, the Indiana Repertory Theater, the Indianapolis Ballet, the Indianapolis Opera, the Indianapolis Museum of Art, the Northwest Indiana Symphony, the South Bend Symphony, the Fort Wayne Museum of Art, and the Fort Wayne Symphony.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

Locals

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

Indiana
September 14, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Dance on Tour program brought African American Dance to South Bend, the American Indian Dance Theatre to Bloomington, the Feld Ballet to Indianapolis, and the Joseph Holmes Chicago Dance Company to Jasper.

* The Honorable Tomilea Allison of Bloomington participated in the Mayors' Institute on City Design, a leadership initiative established by the Design Arts Program.

* The San Francisco Opera's Western Opera Theater performed in Muncie, TheaterWorks/USA of New York toured to Anderson, Hebron, and Merriville, the Blue Apple Players of Louisville toured to Bordon, Pekin, Linton, Switz City, Orleans, New Castle, Thorntown, Lincoln City, Tell City, French Lick, Paoli, Michigantown, Mount Vernon, and Fort Wayne, and Mad River Theater Works of West Liberty, OH, performed in Decatur and Monroe, all with assistance from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* Judy Gray of Petersburg participated in the "Your Town" Program, an effort to address the design needs of rural America carried out by the National Trust for Historic Preservation on behalf of the Design Arts Program.

* Through grants to Arts Midwest, Myra Gray of West Lafayette and Carolyn Warfield of Indianapolis received Visual Artists Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* The Children's Theatre Company of Minneapolis performed in North Manchester, and Theater Grottesco of Detroit performed in South Bend, both with assistance of grants from the Theater Program.

* Through a grant to the Center for New Television of Chicago, six Indiana artists, including Joel Santaquilani of Hebron, Terence Doran of Fort Wayne, and Ronald Markman of Bloomington, received Media Arts Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* Through a grant from the Presenting and Commissioning Program to the Randolph Street Gallery of Chicago, Lisa Tsetse of Fort Wayne received an Artists' Projects Regional Initiative subgrant.

* Indiana received a $491,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
202/682-5400

Sen. Daniel R. Coats (R)

Appointed Jan. 1989, seat up 1998; b. May 16, 1943, Jackson, MI; home, Fort Wayne; Wheaton Col., B.A. 1965, IN U., J.D. 1971; Presbyterian; married (Marcia).

Career: Army Corps of Engineers, 1966–68; Asst. V.P. and Cnsl., Mutual Security Life Insurance Co., 1972–76; Dist. Rep. for U.S. Rep. J. Danforth Quayle, 1976–80; U.S. House of Reps., 1980–88.

Offices: 404 RSOB 20515, 202-224-5623. Also 1180 Market Tower, 10 W. Market St., Indianapolis 46204, 317-226-5555; Fed. Bldg., 1300 S. Harrison St., #3158, Fort Wayne 46802, 219-422-1505; 103 Fed. Ctr., 1201 E. 10th St., Jeffersonville 47132, 812-288-3377; 122 Fed. Bldg., 101 NW M.L.K. Blvd., Evansville 47708, 812-465-6313; and 5530 Sohl Ave., #103, Hammond 46320, 219-937-5380.

Committees: *Armed Services* (6th of 9 R): Coalition Defense and Reinforcing Forces; Defense Technology, Acquisition and Industrial Base; Force Requirements and Personnel (RMM). *Labor and Human Resources* (3d of 7 R): Aging; Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism (RMM); Education, Arts and Humanities; Employment and Productivity.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	10	5	40	33	50	17	93	100	90	90	77
1991	5	—	45	25	22	20	100	—	—	80	76

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB	—	1991 CONS	1992 LIB	—	1992 CONS
Economic	28%	—	69%	29%	—	70%
Social	14%	—	77%	11%	—	86%
Foreign	27%	—	67%	0%	—	90%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	FOR	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	FOR	9. Use Force in Gulf	FOR
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	FOR	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	FOR	10. Keep Salvador Aid	FOR
3. Remove Budget Walls	AGN	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	AGN
4. Ban Striker Replace	AGN	8. Abortion Gag Rule	FOR	12. Override China MFN	AGN

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	FOR	2. HIV Immigrants	AGN	3. Clinton Budget	AGN

Election Results

1992 general	Daniel R. Coats (R)	1,267,972	(57%)	($3,802,077)
	Joseph H. Hogsett (D)	900,148	(41%)	($1,584,173)
	Four Others	43,306	(2%)	
1992 primary	Daniel R. Coats (R), unopposed			
1990 general	Daniel R. Coats (R)	806,048	(54%)	($3,662,672)
	Baron P. Hill (D)	696,639	(46%)	($1,077,074)

INDIANA

Every Memorial Day, the eyes of America turn to Indianapolis, to the center of a state that has the nation's most distinctive nickname and some of its least distinctive borders, for a sports spectacle celebrating the knack for tinkering and taste for powerful machines that made the Midwest the nation's manufacturing center: the Indianapolis 500. This auto race is run on a technologically ancient brick track in a city that is literally the center of American manufacturing: almost precisely half the country's manufacturing jobs are east of the state and the other half west, almost half are north and half south. Indianapolis and Indiana are also the center of an economically, culturally and politically older America. Older economically, because Indiana's employment patterns in the early 1990s resemble those of the United States of the early 1970s: more manufacturing and fewer service and government jobs than average today. On the map, Indiana may look rural, with its large number of small counties and single major metropolitan area of Indianapolis, but it is still a factory state, from the steel mills of Gary and the ring of auto plants 50 or so miles around Indianapolis to the coal-fired power plants in the south. Which is not to say that Indiana is not prosperous: its incomes hover just below the national average, but so does its cost of living; it has a large class of affluent citizens and not much of an urban underclass. It has one of the nation's lower tax levels and some of the most restrictive tort laws.

Indiana also has lower levels of social pathology—violent crime, unwed mothers, and divorce. It retains some of the old norms that in the 1920s and 1930s brought sociologists Robert and Helen Lynd in their search for the typical American place to "Middletown" (actually Muncie). The major metropolitan area, Indianapolis, now has 1.2 million people, but without the extent of single and gay cultures seen in other American metropolises. Ethnically, Indiana seems older too: except for the steel area around Gary—really an extension of the Chicago metropolitan area—Indiana has relatively few descendants from the 1840–1924 wave of immigration, and few recent Hispanic or Asian migrants. Finally, Indiana is transfixed by American sports: Indianapolis's civic leaders have made sports the focus of their development plans, attracting the Colts professional football team to the Hoosier Dome, hosting the Pan-American games in 1987 and the NCAA Final Four in 1991, establishing the Indiana Basketball Hall of Fame, and of course the Indianapolis 500 at the Speedway every Memorial Day.

Politically, Indiana is also typical of an older America, with partisan preferences anchored in the Civil War era and a small overlay of change from the union organizing days of the 1930s. Indiana's cultural conservatism has kept it Republican in presidential elections for the last generation or so, but for many years before it was a fulcrum point in partisan politics, a crucial state from the Civil War to the New Deal in the struggles between Republicans and Democrats. Party identification was handed down with religious affiliation—the Lynds noted that the Presbyterians had little to do with Methodists, but that was nothing next to divisions between Republicans and Democrats—in a state still peopled largely by descendants of its original settlers, Yankees from Ohio and New England and "Butternuts" (as they were called in the Civil

War years) from Kentucky and the South. Most Yankees became Republicans and most Butternuts Democrats, and so the split has remained: a map of the close 1980 Senate campaign results shows liberal Democratic Senator Birch Bayh carrying half the counties south of the old National Road (later U.S. 40) that bisects the state, while conservative Republican Dan Quayle carried all but four of the counties to the north—a result eerily similar to the presidential election of 1868.

In Indiana, as in the Sun Belt, the big city votes more Republican than the rest of the state, at least if you ignore the northwest industrial zone from Gary to South Bend. Greater Indianapolis favored the Bush-Quayle ticket by a solid 48%–32% margin in 1992, as it won statewide 43%–37%; in 1988 Indianapolis and suburbs favored the Republican gubernatorial candidate 55%–45% while almost every other county voted for Governor Evan Bayh. Conversely, the heavily industrial and unionized belt from Gary to South Bend tends to vote Democratic, even against a big winner like Republican Senator Dan Coats. But auto factory towns like Kokomo, Anderson, Muncie and Fort Wayne have mostly stuck with Republicans at the top of the ticket. In the 1920s, the Lynds, liberal academics influenced by Marx's idea of political acts being determined by economic interests, were puzzled as to why the factory workers in "Middletown" didn't vote against the bosses; in the 1930s, they were cheered by signs that they did. But why don't they now? The answer is that cultural identity and personal values have been more important determinants of political allegiance in an America where economic status is so often readily changeable.

But Indiana's strong partisan allegiances seem now to be breaking down. In the late 1980s, the legislature banned the mandatory 2% contributions by state employees to finance whichever party was in power. The Republican machine which had controlled the state government for 20 years, since Dan Quayle was looking for a state job to work his way through law school, lost the governorship in 1988. But in 1992, Democrat Evan Bayh, despite great popularity, wasn't able to sweep in many Democrats, not even his friend Joe Hogsett who was running for the Senate. Instead, Hoosiers split their ticket as never before, with at least 20% splitting between Senate and governor races. This leaves Indiana competitive between the parties, at least if the Democrats stay, as Bayh does, with a relatively conservative platform. Hoosiers' ancestral ties produce rotation in office—but never a revolution in policies or cultural values.

The junior senator from Indiana is Dan Coats, a member of Congress for more than a dozen years who insists politics "is not really what I'd planned to do." He was an aide to Dan Quayle when he served in the House in the 1970s, was elected to succeed him in that seat in 1980, was appointed to succeed him in the Senate in December 1988 and was elected in his own right for the remainder of the term in 1990 and for a full term in 1992. Several themes emerge clearly from Coats's congressional career. One is a devotion to traditional values rooted in religious faith. Coats is strongly against abortion; he backed the ban on fetal tissue research and tried to block research on the abortifacient RU-486—lost causes now in the Clinton years. He backs school prayer and passed a law allowing parents to block dial-a-porn phone numbers. But his views also lead him to positions where he and some liberals agree. He wants to raise the dependent tax exemption from $2,050 to $4,000, and he has led the fight for more money for shelters aiding victims of domestic violence. He has his own health plan, Medisave, which would encourage medical IRAs and, he says, give incentives for healthy lifestyles and preventive care. Another thread in Coats's career is support for the military. In early 1993, he was the lead Republican seeking to block Clinton's plans to end the ban on gays in the military. Coats insisted that he was not anti-gay and that the Clinton plan would, among other things, lead to harm for many gays. Coats is a strong backer of the Strategic Defense Initiative, and he thinks enough of defense needs to have acquiesced when Indiana's only two active bases were included on the 1991 base closing list.

Coats wants to curb the career Congress, calling for term limits (promising to impose them on himself) and backing the line-item veto. Perhaps his most famous cause is allowing states to keep trash from other states outside their borders. In 1992, he got through a bill letting Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio and, of course, Indiana ban out-of-state trash; in early 1993, with Oregon liberal Ron Wyden, he was trying to get RCRA changed to give governors the power to freeze trash imports. "We want New Jersey students," he once said in debate. "We want New Jersey residents. We want New Jersey athletes. We want everything from New Jersey but your trash."

Coats has now won two Senate races in two years with increasing margins. In 1990, he was attacked by Democrat Baron Hill for mailing out 13 million franked letters; Hill campaigned by walking the length of the state, but didn't raise the important abortion issue because he had just switched positions on it himself. Hill lost 54%–46%, carrying the northwest industrial corridor from Gary to South Bend, the old Butternut counties along the Ohio River, the Terre Haute area and Bloomington. But Coats carried metro Indianapolis 57%–43% and ran even stronger in his old congressional district. In 1992, the Democrat was Joe Hogsett, who managed Evan Bayh's first two campaigns and succeeded him as secretary of state by beating Indianapolis Mayor William Hudnut in 1990. Hogsett attacked Coats for accepting honoraria from speaking engagements, called for an end to congressional pay raises, perks and privileges, and attacked the North American Free Trade Agreement. But Coats challenged him for breaking his promise to serve a full term in his current office and Hogsett never really caught on. Coats won 57%–41%, only barely losing the northwest industrial corridor and carrying greater Indianapolis 65%–34%.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **CHRISTOPHER J. DODD (D)**

State: Connecticut

Voting Record: 80% supportive of NEA *

Comments: In addition to general support for the NEA, Senator Dodd has been the sponsor of legislation which seeks to establish a "true endowment" for the agency as a source of funding in addition to the annual Federal appropriation. Under this proposal, the existing copyright period would be extended and royalty fees derived from this extension would be used to support a National Endowment for the Arts Copyright Trust Fund. This proposal has undergone modifications by Sen. Dodd over the past few years, but this remains the general concept. Senator Alan Simpson (R-WY) has cosponsored Sen. Dodd's legislation in the past two Congresses.

George White, Director of the Eugene O'Neill Theater and member of the National Council on the Arts, is a close friend of Senator Dodd's and involved in this legislative proposal as well.

Staff: Suzanne Day

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

CONNECTICUT TALKING POINTS

Connecticut's institutional resources are one its greatest cultural strengths – 23 exhibiting institutions, 50 local arts councils, 30 or so orchestras, and five nationally recognized regional theatres provide the backbone.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 72 grants to Connecticut artists and organizations totalling $2,173,400.

The Connecticut Commission on the Arts received 3 grants: a Basic State Grant of $465,000, an arts education grant of $61,800, and a grant of $22,000 to support the Connecticut Traditional Artists in the Schools Program.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in Connecticut was nearly $28 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

- Reached about 18.75 million participants.
- Involved over 80,000 artists.
- Provided arts education to about 23,100 children each year.
- Included 261 grants to rural projects.
- Generated at least $55 million in private funds.

The New Haven Symphony and the Hartford Symphony Orchestra received a $200,000 Challenge grant for a collaboration which will provide multicultural music programs for rural and small towns in Connecticut. The program is expected to reach 900,000 people. The three-part project began with youth education concerts in each area, followed by a community concert featuring a custom-composed fanfare for the city. Two concluding concerts will be held, one at each of the symphony halls, including high school chorus participation and a commissioned work by a minority composer.

A $17,5000 grant from the Expansion Arts Program went to support the Craftery Gallery, part of the Community Renewal Team of Greater Hartford. The Craftery exhibits both well-established and younger African-American artists. Through three exhibitions, about 4,000 people benefit from this grant, and the Craftery aims to reach even more of the African-American and Latino communities in Hartford's inner city.

A number of Connecticut organizations receive Endowment support on a fairly regular basis: the Discovery Museum in Bridgeport; the National Theatre of the Deaf in Chester; the Aston Magna Foundation for Music in Danbury; the Goodspeed Opera in East Haddam; the Artists Collective, Hartford Stage Company, Hartford Ballet, Connecticut Opera, Real Art Ways, Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford; Litchfield Performing Arts; the Fairfield Orchestra in New Canaan; the museum, music and theater programs at Yale University and the Dixwell Creative Art Center in New Haven; the Eastern Connecticut Symphony in New London; the Charles Ives Center for American Music in Roxbury; the Stamford Symphony; Pilobolus Dance Theater in Washington Depot; and the Eugene O'Neill Memorial Theater in Waterford.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

Locals

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
202/682-5400

Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

Connecticut
September 10, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Dance on Tour program brought the Jubilation Dance Company to Hartford, Ko-Thi to St. Johnsbury, the American Indian Dance Theater of Wallingford, the David Parsons Company to New London, Ann Carlson to Middletown, and Koester-Creach to Fairfield.

* The Long Warf Theatre received a grant of $145,000 from the Theater Program to support costs associated with their performance season. Students from communities including Ansonia, Woodbridge, Colchester, Bridgeport, Sheffield, Bethel, Bloomfield, Branford, Southington, Trumbull, Durham, Madison, Darien, Storrs, Manchester, Niantic, Milford, Ansonia, Farmington, Litchfield, Meriden, Griswold, Guilford, Higganum, Hamden, Falls Village, Redding, Norwich, Ledyard, Monroe, Mohegan, Clinton, Moodus, Hebron, Uncasville, Thomaston, Seymour, Wethersfield, Taft, Avon, Torrington, Deep River, Wilton, and Winsted attended special performances at the theater.

* The Hartford Ballet received a grant of $14,300 to support costs associated with its performance season. The Ballet toured to New Haven, New London, and New Britain, and the company's touring ensemble performed in Waterbury, Naugatuck, Cheshire, Simsbury, Manshester, and New Milford.

* American Theater Arts for Youth of Philadelphia toured to Fairfield and Ashford, the New York City Opera performed in Storrs, and TheaterWorks/USA of New York toured to Avon, Berlin, Hamden, New London, Newington, Newtown, Sherman, Simsbury, Torrington, and Waterbury, all with assistance from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* The Honorable Joseph Ganim of Bridgeport participated in the Mayors' Institute on City Design, a leadership initiative established by the Design Arts Program.

* The Fairfield Orchestra of New Canaan received a grant of $5,000 to support costs associated with its performance series in Norwalk. The Orchestra or its chamber group also performed in Westport and Newtown, and will perform in Greenwich in the coming season.

* The Underground Railway Theater of Arlington, MA, toured to Stonington, Washington, and Hampton, the Acting Company of New York performed in Fairfield and New Haven, the National Theatre of the Deaf of Chester, performed in Wallingford, and the Shenandoah Shakespeare Express of Harrisonburg, VA, performed in Thompson, all with the assistance of grants from the Theater Program.

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* Through a grant to the Boston Film/Video Foundation, Miso Suchy of New Haven received a Media Arts Regional Fellowship.

* The Institute for Community Research of Hartford received a $44,400 Folk Arts grant to support the position of state folk arts coordinator. This program has worked with 95 individual artists and 51 arts and community-based organizations, reaching such communities as Norwich, Somers, Willimantic, Sharon, Uncasville, Glastonbury, Meriden, Torrington, and Trumbull.

* Through a grant from the International Program to Arts International of New York, two Connecticut artists received support from the Travel Grants Pilot program for foreign residency projects: Somaly Hay of Waterford (Cambodia) and Ken Carder of Collinsville (Mexico).

* The Stamford Symphony Orchestra received a grant of $7,700 to support its education programs. Communities served by these programs include Greenwich, Bridgeport, Trumbull, Ridgefield, Fairfield, and Darien.

* The Fund for U.S. Artists at International Festivals and Exhibitions supported the appearances of Tahuantinsuyo of Norwalk at the Voice of Asia International Music Contest in Kazakhstan and the New England Jazz Ensemble of West Hartford at the Corinthos Festival of Jazz in Greece.

* Through grants to New England Foundation for the Arts, six Connecticut artists, including Constance Kiermaier of Westport and Cort Sierpinski of Higganun, received Visual Artists Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* Through a grant from the Presenting and Commissioning Program to the New England Foundation for the Arts, three Connecticut artists, including Mary Bailey of Redding and Jeffrey Krieger of Manchester, received Artists' Projects Regional Initiative subgrants.

* Connecticut received a $465,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

Sen. Christopher J. Dodd (D)

Elected 1980, seat up 1998; b. May 27, 1944, Willimantic; home, East Haddam; Providence Col., B.A. 1966, U. of Louisville, J.D. 1972; Catholic; divorced.

Career: Peace Corps, Dominican Republic, 1966–68; Army Reserves, 1969–75; Practicing atty., 1972–74; U.S. House of Reps., 1974–80.

Offices: 444 RSOB 20510, 202-224-2823. Also 100 Great Meadow Rd., Wethersfield 06109, 203-240-3470.

Committees: *Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs* (3d of 11 D): Economic Stabilization and Rural Development; Housing and Urban Affairs; Securities (Chmn.). *Budget* (9th of 12 D). *Foreign Relations* (4th of 11 D): International Economic Policy, Trade, Oceans and Environment; Terrorism, Narcotics and International Operations; Western Hemisphere and Peace Corps Affairs (Chmn.). *Labor and Human Resources* (4th of 10 D): Aging; Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism (Chmn.); Education, Arts and Humanities; Labor. *Rules and Administration* (7th of 9 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	75	86	80	92	92	83	11	28	50	30	31
1991	75	—	73	92	83	73	24	—	—	20	20

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB — 1991 CONS	1992 LIB — 1992 CONS
Economic	65% — 34%	52% — 46%
Social	67% — 32%	69% — 26%
Foreign	49% — 46%	56% — 41%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	FOR	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	AGN	9. Use Force in Gulf	AGN
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	AGN	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	AGN	10. Keep Salvador Aid	AGN
3. Remove Budget Walls	AGN	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	AGN
4. Ban Striker Replace	FOR	8. Abortion Gag Rule	AGN	12. Override China MFN	FOR

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	FOR	2. HIV Immigrants	FOR	3. Clinton Budget	FOR

Election Results

1992 general	Christopher J. Dodd (D-ACP)	882,569	(59%)	($4,553,792)
	Brook Johnson (R)	572,036	(38%)	($2,395,262)
	Five Others	46,104	(3%)	
1992 primary	Christopher J. Dodd (D-ACP), nom. by convention			
1986 general	Christopher J. Dodd (D)	632,695	(65%)	($2,276,764)
	Roger W. Eddy (R)	340,438	(35%)	($183,632)

CONNECTICUT

Small and isolated, insular throughout much of its history and without significant natural resources, the last state to renounce an established church and one of the last to institute an income tax, Connecticut is America's most affluent state. Its affluence has come, now and in the past, not from any windfall but from its knack for tinkering. In 1831, Alexis de Tocqueville was struck by how this spot on the map gave America "the clock-peddler, the schoolmaster, and the senator. The first gives you time, the second tells you what to do with it, and the third makes your law and civilization." Connecticut made clocks of wood and metal and hats of felt and invented vulcanized rubber; it produced combs, cigars, clocks, silk thread, pins, matches, furniture; it invented and still manufactures Pez candy in Orange, Pepperidge Farm bread and Nivea cream in Norwalk, the Stanley Powerlock tape measure in New Britain and the Wiffle ball in Shelton. Most importantly, Connecticut—one of the least violent parts of America—has always specialized in arms. The quintessential Connecticut Yankee, Eli Whitney, was the inventor not only of the cotton gin—which may have been the proximate cause of the Civil War—but also of the rifles with interchangeable parts with which so many were killed in that tragic conflict. Over the last century, ever since Samuel Colt won a War Department contract to manufacture guns for the Spanish-American War, Connecticut has had a close relationship with the military—and at no time more than during the Reagan defense buildup of the 1980s. United Technologies' various subsidiaries made Air Force jets and the Army's Sikorsky helicopters; General Dynamics's Electric Boat Shipyard in New London made the Navy's nuclear submarines; dozens of other companies made other weaponry.

These arms industries, like Connecticut's civilian manufacturers, depend heavily on precision work. For years, the state was the center of the brass industry, the nation's main producer of precision instruments, a center for machine tools, and the home of Perkin Elmer, which makes the machines that produce semiconductor chips. And if Connecticut workers today are more likely the descendants of Irish and Italian immigrants than of Yankee tinkerers, they have not lost the Yankee knack: Connecticut ranks third in new patents per capita. Connecticut also has the skill of cannily assessing risk: the foundation for its great insurance companies, Aetna, Travelers, Connecticut Mutual and The Hartford. This business requires not just managing money but understanding people: the poet Wallace Stevens, a Hartford resident all his life, worked for The Hartford Company investigating whether claims were valid or bogus.

Then, with the end of the Cold War and the stock market crash of the late 1980s, Connecticut's boom economy went bust. The state lost 142,000 manufacturing jobs, from its 1988 peak of 450,000. United Technologies laid off thousands of workers, and Electric Boat seemed perpetually in danger of being shut down because of opposition to Seawolf submarines. Real estate values, among the highest in the country, fell on the order of 30% to 40%, and homeowners who had borrowed on inflated values suddenly found themselves without their life's savings. Connecticut still had the highest incomes in the nation and the second lowest percentage without health insurance, but in 1991 it had a higher percentage of bad loans than any other state and its wealth—that of ordinary citizens, primarily in residential real estate—was sharply down. Early in the 1990s, Connecticut had the highest sales and corporate taxes in the nation. Fiscal crisis produced, after much controversy, a state income tax in 1991 and a Democratic win for president, for the first time in 24 years, in 1992.

For most of the 20th Century, Connecticut politics was an ethnic struggle between the flinty Connecticut Yankees delineated by Hartford resident Mark Twain, and the ethnics who were already streaming into the state's small industrial cities while Twain was writing *Huckleberry Finn* in his big house on Farmington Avenue. Connecticut Yankees, economically innovative,

were ornery and reactionary in politics: the last Federalists, loyal enough Republicans to carry the state for Herbert Hoover in 1932. In the years that followed, Connecticut became more Democratic as it grew more affluent—and more Catholic. The key Democratic politician was John Bailey, state party chairman from 1946 to 1975. A master legislative strategist and ticket-balancer, Bailey's power was augmented by Connecticut's strong party and straight ticket voting traditions: he was one of the earliest endorsers of John F. Kennedy, seeing electoral advantage in his Catholicism when most other old-line bosses saw peril. Connecticut also had a vital Republican Party which generated national chairmen, elected senators (including George Bush's father), swept the board when the Democrats were split on Vietnam and cultural issues in 1970 and captured the legislature as recently as 1984. But while Republicans carried the state's electoral votes, Democrats won every senatorial and gubernatorial election but two between 1976 and 1990. The winner each time was Lowell Weicker, who ran as a Republican for the Senate in 1970, 1976 and 1982, and as the candidate of his own A Connecticut Party for governor in 1990.

Senator Connecticut's two Democratic senators have crossed political paths over the years. Christopher Dodd's father, Senator Thomas Dodd, was notably more conservative on cultural and foreign issues than other Connecticut Democrats: the current Senator Dodd was the leading opponent of efforts to oust Communist-backed forces in Central America and backed programs to accommodate Americans' changing family lifestyles. Joseph Lieberman started off as a liberal reformer, beating the incumbent state senate majority leader in a primary in 1970 (with volunteer help from a freshman Yale Law student named Bill Clinton); but he won his Senate seat in 1988 by running slightly—but noticeably—to the right of Republican Lowell Weicker on cultural issues.

Dodd is one of those liberal baby-boom generation politicians whose formative political experience was service in the Peace Corps. While others were fighting in Vietnam, Chris Dodd was in the Peace Corps in Moncion, Dominican Republic. From his work with poverty-stricken Dominicans, he seems to have absorbed a lesson taught by many Latin American intellectuals, that the United States is responsible for the backwardness of Latin economies, as well as the lesson taught by many Americans, that the hardest task in foreign policy is preventing the United States from supporting repressive right-wing Third World dictators. Elected to the House in the Watergate year of 1974, he moved to the Senate in 1980 after persuading fellow Watergate baby Toby Moffett not to run in the primary and beating former New York Senator James Buckley in the general. As chairman of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, he regularly opposed U.S. military aid to El Salvador's government and aid to the Nicaraguan contras: alert to any human rights violations by these forces, he was muted in his criticisms of the pro-Communist Salvador rebels and Sandinistas. Events have not vindicated Dodd's judgment: the El Salvador government has become more observant of human rights than the rebels, and Nicaraguan voters when given the chance voted against the Sandinistas. Latin democracies have chosen not the socialism predicted by the theorists whose advice Dodd followed but free enterprise and the pro-U.S. policies championed by Ronald Reagan.

Dodd's major initiative on domestic policy has also proven unsuccessful: the ABC child care bill, a favorite cause of baby-boom liberals who want a stronger government role in helping individuals adjust to—and perhaps stimulating them to participate in—changing lifestyles. Supported by the AFL-CIO and the Children's Defense Fund, Dodd's version of ABC would have put $2.5 billion into setting federal standards for child health and safety. Its aim seemed to be to institutionalize pre-kindergarten day care on a national basis, and to create a corps of caregivers in the image of the teaching profession, complete with postgraduate training and union representation. Dodd did a good job getting the bill through the Senate, but it was rejected in the House when liberal Democrats George Miller and Tom Downey opposed it. The child care law ultimately passed in 1990 rejected the ABC approach, and it does not seem a live option even with longtime Children's Defense Fund board chairman Hillary Rodham Clinton in the White House.

Dodd is a pleasant man who works hard and, some say, plays hard. Though he was easily reelected in 1986, the national anti-incumbent trend, the unpopularity of Lowell Weicker's income tax and the unsuccess of his two major policy initiatives seemed to make him vulnerable in 1992; his poll ratings showed him hovering at or below the 50% level. But he worked the state hard and fought in spring 1992 to save the Seawolf from extinction, running one of 1992's best fall campaigns. He was helped by weakness in the opposition and by the fact that Nancy Johnson of the 6th District decided not to run. In the Republican primary, wealthy businessman Brook Johnson beat party-endorsed state legislator and Gulf war veteran Chris Burnham. Johnson was attacked for making money through 1980s leveraged buyouts, for investing in jobs overseas, for losing his cool with hecklers and reporters and not voting in local elections. Dodd emphasized his work on child care and support of the family leave bill George Bush vetoed; Johnson, for all the talk of financing his own campaign, was heavily outspent. Dodd, incidentally, also had the ACP line on the ballot, which helped increase his winning margin; overall he won 59%–38%.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **DAVE DURENBERGER (R)**

State: Minnesota

Voting Record: 100% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Sen. Durenberger has participated in Senate floor debates on the NEA as a supporter of the agency.

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

MINNESOTA TALKING POINTS

Most of the state's arts activities are concentrated in the Twin Cities area, but the Endowment has also supported projects which have a statewide impact. Over the past 30 years, Minnesota has had one of the strongest and most dedicated artist-in-residence programs, and organizations in all of the artistic disciplines thrive in the state.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 115 grants to Minnesota artists and organizations totalling $5,821,700. St. Paul and Minneapolis were awarded 105 grants totalling $4,689,010.

The Minnesota State Arts Board received 4 grants: a Basic State Grant of $478,000, an Arts in Education grant of $164,000, a Folk Arts grant of $30,000, and a rural/underserved grant of $68,000.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in Minnesota was over $27.8 million. During this time public funds supported activities that:

Reached about 98 million participants.
Involved about 113,000 artists.
Provided arts education to 49,000 children each year.
Included grants to 555 rural arts projects.
Generated at least $101 million in private funds.

Through a Dance on Tour grant of $28,000 the Minnesota State Arts Board supported a performance and residency tour of the American Indian Dance Theatre. Celebrating dance & culture of Native Americans, the company toured the Twin Cities, Duluth, and Bemidji. Members of the Fond du Lac Reservation near Duluth, the White Earth Reservation near Bemidji, and the Prairie Island Reservation in Prior Lake participated.

One of the Endowment's success stories has been its support of Graywolf Press in St. Paul. Through the years, Graywolf Press has received grants from the Literature and Advancement Program, growing from a very small press that produced a few titles each year to one of the country's outstanding regional presses. Founded in 1974, Graywolf has now published almost 100 titles of new American literature.

Minnesota boasts a number of nationally recognized arts institutions, all of which receive Endowment support: the Duluth-Superior Symphony, the Minnesota Chorale, the Minnesota Orchestra, the Walker Art Center, the Plymouth Music Series, the Playwrights' Center, The Guthrie Theatre, the Children's Theatre Company, the Minnesota Dance Alliance, the Minnesota Opera, Coffee House Press, Milkweed Editions, the Minneapolis American Indian Center, Film in the Cities, "St. Paul Sunday Morning" from Minnesota Public Radio, "Alive TV" from Twin Cities Public Television, and Arts Midwest.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

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Opera-Musical Theater

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State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

The Nancy Hanks Center
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Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

Minnesota
August 27, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Dance on Tour Program brought Rhythm in Shoes to Grand Rapids, the Ohio ballet to Moorhead and Red Wing, the Maria Benitex Spanish Dance Company and the Muntu Dance Theatre to Collegeville, Jelon Vieira's Dance Brazil, Urban Bush Women and the Paul Taylor Dance Company to Winona, the Hubbard Street Dance and Garth Fagan Dance to Duluth, Montanaro Dance Integrated to Morris, and Pandit Birju Maharaj and Company to Crystal.

* The Acting Company of New York toured to Morris, and will perform in Moorhead in the upcoming season; the Children's Theatre Company of Minneapolis performed in St. Paul, Grand Rapids, Monticello, Howard Lake, Pequot Lakes, Cloquet, Montevideo, Red Wing, Marshell; and the Mixed Blood Theatre Company toured to Albertville, Alexandria, Aurora, Barnum, Bemidji, Biwabik, Blaine, Blooming Prairie, Blue Earth, Brainerd, Buffalo, Byron, Cannon Falls, Carlos, Cass Lake, Canterville, Champlin, Cleveland, Cotton, Cottonwood, Eagan, Fergus Falls, Fridley, Garden City, Grand Marais, Grand Portage, Granite Falls, Hayfield, Herman, Hinckley, Iron, Kasson, Lakeland, Le Center, Leech Lake, Lino Lakes, Little Canada, Luverne, Mahtomedi, Marine on St. Croix, Mayer, Montgomery, Mound, Moundsview, Nett Lake, North Branch, Onamia, Pine City, Pipestone, Princeton, Prior Lake, Redlake, Rice, Saginaw, St. Anthony, St. Charles, St. Peter, Sauk Rapids, Savage, Shakopee, Shoreview, Springfield, Stewartville, Stillwater, Thief River Falls, Virginia, Waseca, Wheaton, White Earth, Woodbury and Worthington, all with the assistance of grants from the Theater Program.

* Through a grant from the Presenting and Commissioning Program to Intermedia Arts Minnesota, 31 Minnesota artists received support from 12 Artists' Project Regional Initiative subgrants.

* The Rochester Symphony Orchestra received a $5,000 grant from the Music Program to support artists' salaries for its concert series. The Symphony also sponsors a quintet that performs youth concerts in such communities as Dodge Center, Eyota, Elgin, Faribault, Fillmore, Harmony, Houston, Kenyon, Lyle, Austin, Pine Island, Preston, Claremont, West Concord, Wanamingo, and Wykoff. The Symphony also brings young people in for special concerts. School systems that participate in this program include Harmony, Houston, Pine Island, Preston/Fountain, Rochester, Rushford/Peterson, and Spring Grove.

* Through grants to Arts Midwest of Minneapolis, seven Minnesota artists, including Clifford Morgan of Stillwater, received Visual Artists Regional Fellowships in recent years.

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* The Minnesota State Arts Board received a Folk Arts grant of $30,000 for a folk arts apprenticeship program that supported masters and apprentices from such communities as Sleepy Eye, Clearbrook, Ely, Mankato, Milan, Atwater, Fairfax, Cambridge, Callaway, Dawson, and Redwood Falls.

* The Duluth-Superior Symphony received a grant of $10,500 to support costs associated with its concert season and the "Chamber Ensembles in the Schools" project, which served school districts including Grand Rapids, Lake Superior, and Orr.

* The Minnesota State Arts Board received a $164,000 Partnership Grant from the Arts in Education Program to support artist residency activities in 87 communities, including Apple Valley, Bayport, Blackduck, Chisholm, Circle Pines, Coon Rapids, Eagle Bend, Falcon Heights, Farmington, Forest Lake, Gonvick, Hugo, Kelliher, Lake Crystal, Lake Elmo, Le Sueur, Madison, Marshall, Mazeppa, Northfield, Osakis, Rochester, Sandstone, Shakopee, St. Cloud, Wabasso, White Bear Lake, and Willmar.

* The Fund for U.S. Artists at International Festivals and Exhibitions supported the appearances of Ann Heymann of Minneapolis and the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra at festivals in Ireland, England, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Switzerland.

* Through a grant to Film in the Cities, St. Paul, 15 Minnesota artists, including Bill Felker of Crystal and Tim Kaiser of Duluth, received Media Arts Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* Appalshop's Roadside Theater of Whitesburg, KY, toured to St. Joseph, and the Minnesota Opera will tour to Fairmont, Red Wing, St. Cloud, Moorhead, and Morris during its upcoming season, both with the assistance of grants from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* Ronald Jabs of Jordan and Roland Fowler of Embarrass participated in the Your Town Program, an effort to address the design needs of rural America carried out by the National Trust for Historic Preservation on behalf of the Design Arts Program.

* Minnesota received a $478,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

MINNESOTA

Sen. Dave Durenberger (IR)

Elected 1978, seat up 1994; b. Aug. 19, 1934, Collegeville; home, Minneapolis; St. John's U., B.A. 1955, U. of MN, J.D. 1959; Catholic; separated.

Career: Army Intelligence, 1955–56, Army Reserves, 1956–63; Practicing atty., 1959–66; Exec. Secy., Gov. Harold LeVander, 1967–71; Cnsl. for Legal and Comm. Affairs, Corp. Secy., Intl. Licensing Div. Mgr., H.B. Fuller Co., 1971–78.

Offices: 154 RSOB 20510, 202-224-3244. Also 1020 Plymouth Bldg., 12 S. 6th St., Minneapolis 55402, 612-370-3382.

Committees: *Aging (Special)* (7th of 10 R). *Environment and Public Works* (3d of 7 R): Clean Water, Fisheries and Wildlife; Superfund, Recycling and Solid Waste Management (RMM); Water Resources, Transportation, Public Buildings and Economic Development. *Finance* (6th of 9 R): Health for Families and the Uninsured; Medicare and Long-Term Care (RMM); Social Security and Family Policy. *Labor and Human Resources* (7th of 7 R): Aging; Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism; Disability Policy (RMM); Education, Arts and Humanities.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	25	59	40	50	75	50	42	56	80	60	51
1991	35	—	64	33	50	60	48	—	—	50	48

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB — 1991 CONS	1992 LIB — 1992 CONS
Economic	28% — 69%	36% — 63%
Social	54% — 44%	56% — 43%
Foreign	33% — 65%	21% — 72%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	FOR	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	FOR	9. Use Force in Gulf	FOR
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	FOR	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	FOR	10. Keep Salvador Aid	FOR
3. Remove Budget Walls	AGN	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	AGN
4. Ban Striker Replace	AGN	8. Abortion Gag Rule	FOR	12. Override China MFN	AGN

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	FOR	2. HIV Immigrants	FOR	3. Clinton Budget	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Dave Durenberger (IR)	1,176,210	(56%)	($5,410,783)
	Hubert H. Humphrey, III (DFL)	856,694	(41%)	($2,477,068)
1988 primary	Dave Durenberger (IR)	112,413	(93%)	
	Sharon Anderson (IR)	5,464	(5%)	
1982 general	Dave Durenberger (IR)	949,207	(53%)	($4,189,619)
	Mark Dayton (DFL)	840,401	(47%)	($7,172,312)

MINNESOTA

In many ways the model American state, Minnesota has some of the nation's highest voter turnout and lowest crime rates, and is the birthplace of worthy national institutions from Scotch Tape and Betty Crocker to Garrison Keillor and the Mall of America. Improbably situated where the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers cut gorges through the Great Plains, the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul are the center of one of America's 20 largest metropolitan areas, and the one with by far the most frigid weather. Minnesota is a distinctive commonwealth with high traditions of probity and civic-mindedness and a center of innovation in business and government; in many ways it is politically liberal. During the Democrats' quarter-century presidential dry spell, Minnesota was the nation's most Democratic state; it voted for Democrats in five of six elections and nearly voted for George McGovern in 1972. But it also has one of the nation's largest and most active antiabortion movements.

Minnesota's distinctive polity comes from a distinctive history. The far northern states were ignored by most Yankee immigrants, who headed straight west into Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas. But in Minnesota's icy lakes and ferocious winters, other people saw opportunities. James J. Hill, the builder of the Great Northern Railroad ("You can't interest me in any proposition in any place where it doesn't snow"), and others operating out of Minneapolis and St. Paul—already twin cities by 1860—worked to attract Norwegian, Swedish and German migrants who would find the terrain and climate congenial. By 1890, the Twin Cities—rivals that year in a Census competition—were the nerve center of a sprawling and rich agricultural empire stretching west from Minnesota through the Dakotas and eventually into Montana and beyond. Minneapolis and St. Paul became the termini of its rail lines and the site of its grain-milling companies. They also became the center of a three-party politics and an economic radicalism reminiscent of the

politics of Scandinavia. For our American regions seem to reflect the geography of Europe, with the East Coast resembling the British Isles and France, the industrial Midwest reminiscent of Germany and Poland, the poor and always hawkish South a Baptist Mediterranean, and the Upper Midwest of Minnesota, Wisconsin and North Dakota as North American versions of Scandinavia. Like Scandinavia, these Upper Midwestern commonwealths pioneered their continent's welfare states, with an effect on public policy far out of proportion to their numbers. Alarmed by the unprecedented concentration of economic power and wealth into the hands of just a few identifiable millionaires who lived on St. Paul's Summit Avenue or the hill above Minneapolis's Hennepin Avenue, the immigrants drew on their native traditions of cooperative activity and bureaucratic socialism. Their rebellion against market capitalism and the magnates' dominance gave the politics of Minnesota its Scandinavian flavor.

As in Wisconsin and North Dakota, a strong third party developed here in the years after the Populist era; this Farmer-Labor Party elected senators in the 1920s and dominated state politics in the 1930s. Hurt by their ties to Communists, the Farmer-Laborites were beaten by Harold Stassen's Republicans in 1938. But this was still a New Deal state and by 1944 the bedraggled local Democrats were merged with the anti-Communist faction of Farmer-Laborites to form the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party. A key role was played by Hubert Humphrey—graduate student in 1940, mayor of Minneapolis in 1945, and the dazzling advocate of the civil rights plank at the 1948 Democratic National Convention. Humphrey's DFL—clean, idealistic, closely tied to labor, backed by many farmers—attracted dozens of talented politicians, including Eugene McCarthy, Orville Freeman, Walter Mondale and Minneapolis's current mayor, Donald Fraser. In 1948, Humphrey's speech helped put the Democrats on record for civil rights, and he was elected to the Senate at age 37.

In the years following, the DFL dominated Minnesota politics, while a series of progressive companies led the development of a strong, diversified economy. The DFL stood for a generous, compassionate federal government, for strong labor unions and high wages, for an expansionist fiscal policy to encourage consumer-led economic growth, for civil rights, and for an anti-Communist but not bombastic foreign policy. Its base was among blue-collar workers in the Twin Cities, in Duluth and the Iron Range, and among farmers of Scandinavian origin. Most of Minnesota's business leaders—executives of the great grain milling companies and the privately held grain traders in particular—were conservative politically. But they were innovation-minded in their work: 3M has been generating new products—more than 60,000 by 1992—since the abrasive material it was founded to sell proved a loser in 1903; Control Data was an early high-tech pioneer; IDS was one of the first mass-marketers of mutual funds; the Dayton retail empire helped invent the shopping mall and the national bookstore chain. Linking DFL political liberalism and business innovation have been a high-skill work force and a squeaky-clean ethic of honesty and integrity, with high wage and salary levels and a high percentage of women working outside the home. Over several decades, Minnesota has grown robustly in prosperous years and has not fallen much behind during recessions.

In effect Minnesota's economy over the past dozen years has been headed where most of the rest of America wanted to go; Minnesota's state government has been headed in directions the country may want to go as well. This is the state that produced the nation's first anti-smoking bill and one of the first public campaign financing schemes. It helped pioneer reduction of state welfare programs, and it passed the nation's first statewide educational choice plan in 1987. It was one of the first states to establish HMOs and in 1992 it passed a HealthRight plan to insure the uninsured, and which encourages insurance pooling for small employers and set targets for reducing healthcare spending. The plan is to be paid for by a higher cigarette tax and a 2% health services tax; some estimates set the cost of the program to the state at $250 million a year. State social services continue to be generous, but are supplemented by the commitment of 78 of Minnesota's biggest companies to donate 5% of their earnings for charity. The state also has pitched in to help business, in November 1991 pledging $840 million of credit and loan guarantees for beleaguered Northwest Airlines, which promised to keep its Twin Cities hub and

build repair facilities in Duluth and the Iron Range. But saddled with huge amounts of debt, Northwest delayed construction plans in December 1992 and some say the state may have squandered millions. So just as Scandinavia is adapting its welfare state by lowering taxes and using market mechanisms, so Minnesota is building on the patchwork American welfare state by adding state protections and regulations: both are continuing their search for a "third way" between unbridled market capitalism and regimented bureaucratic socialism.

Minnesota is well-positioned for that search, because its work ethic has always been strong, its skill levels are high, and it is less troubled by aberrant social behaviors—violent crime, children bearing children, substance abuse—than most of America. So relatively high tax levels here have not choked off economic growth, and government spending on education and social services has tended to upgrade private sector performance rather than just enrich public sector employees and contractors. Higher education levels have helped the Twin Cities develop a diversified economy, with responsive big companies plus entrepreneurial startups and spinoffs and other small firms. Workers and even (the much less numerous) farmers no longer feel at the mercy of a few big milling firms and railroads, young people starting out have many more career choices, and consumers have a much wider range of brand and product choices than they did 50 years ago: the need for New Deal-style intervention and regulation is less. Yet that heritage still counts for something: if Minnesota has an Independent Republican governor and senator (the party renamed itself in the 1970s) and a DFL senator whose election was arguably a fluke, it is still one of the least Republican states in national politics, casting less than one-third of its votes for the incumbent Republican president in 1992.

Senator Minnesota has one Independent Republican senator and one leftish DFLer; neither precisely fits the squeaky-clean, anti-Communist DFL profile of Hubert Humphrey or Walter Mondale. David Durenberger is both an attractive senator who has been seriously engaged on difficult issues like health care and a politician whose name has been linked increasingly to tawdriness if not scandal. He was raised in Collegeville, the son of the athletic director at St. Johns College, in a community of Benedictine monks; as a Catholic, he continues to oppose both abortion and capital punishment on pro-life grounds, a common combination in Minnesota if not elsewhere. His specialization in health care also came naturally to one from the leading HMO state who snagged a seat on the Senate Finance Committee. He promoted patient choice and peer review of doctors and encouraged forms of medicare cost control; he tried to salvage elements of the Catastrophic Health Care Act when Congress stampeded to repeal it in 1989; he authored the Small Employer Health Benefit Reform Act of 1990. He supported the long-term health care proposal in the Pepper Commission. He introduced with New Mexico Senator Jeff Bingaman the Health Insurance Purchasing Cooperatives (HICs) Act of 1992 to make affordable coverage available to small businesses; he opposes universal healthcare coverage as too burdensome on businesses. On other issues, he has worked to reform the student loan program and to promote ethanol fuels (very popular with grain farmers). He got an amendment passed to the 1991 Surface Transportation Act to create a 180,000 mile network of interstates and feeder routes available for federal aid.

Quite a contrast with this constructive legislative record are Durenberger's ethical problems. In the mid-1980s, his personal life was in turmoil; he separated from his wife in 1985, amid rumors that he had an affair with a staffer; he got into an altercation with an airport policeman, amid rumors he was drinking too much. In July 1990, the Senate voted 96–0 to denounce (a penalty lighter than censure, harsher than a reprimand) him for improper use of public funds to rent a condominium he partially owned, and for circumventing honoraria limits by accepting expense-paid trips and speaking fees in connection with promoting two books he authored—an offense for which Speaker Jim Wright was forced to resign. More troubles became public in late 1992. Then, just before the November 1992 election, a woman accused Durenberger of raping her and fathering her child in 1963; he denied the charges "with every fiber of my being" and submitted to a paternity test (an issue which still remains in court as of May 1993). Durenberger was then indicted in April 1993 for making false claims to the Senate and for billing the Senate for overnight stays in the condo, after falsifying records that he had sold his interest in it.

November 1992 exit polls showed only 26% of Minnesota voters favored his reelection, while 66% were opposed. Durenberger refused demands he resign; his seat is up in 1994. If he should leave the Senate before August 24, 1993, there would be a special election the next November; after that date, Governor Carlson's appointee would hold the seat until November 1994. Mentioned as IR appointees are former Congressman Vin Weber, former state House Majority Leader Connie Levi, and former state legislator Kathleen Blatz (speculation is that the DFL candidate in 1993 or 1994 will be a woman).

This collection of charges threatens to end what has been a very successful political career. Durenberger jumped into electoral politics in 1978 by running for the Senate seat vacated by the death of Hubert Humphrey and resoundingly beat his opponent. In 1982, Durenberger was opposed by department store heir Mark Dayton, who spent more than $7 million on the race; Durenberger won, 53%–47%, in a recession year. In 1988, he beat one of the great names in Minnesota politics, Hubert Humphrey III, known as Skip, winning 56%–41%. Now the woods are full of potential challengers: Secretary of State Joan Growe, House Speaker Dee Long, and state Senator Ember Reichgott—none of them household names—are mentioned for the DFL nomination, while Connie Levi seems to be the favorite among IRs.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **JUDD GREGG (R)**

State: New Hampshire

Voting Record: Freshman--no votes

Comments:

NEW HAMPSHIRE TALKING POINTS

New Hampshire is home to a number of nationally known organizations serving this largely rural state – from the MacDowell Colony to the Currier Gallery of Art. The majority of arts organizations in New Hampshire are small, volunteer operations.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 16 grants to New Hampshire artists & organizations, totalling $782,810.

The New Hampshire State Council on the Arts received 4 grants: a Basic State Grant of $441,000, an arts education grant of $61,100, a folk arts grant of $38,900, and underserved communities grant of $82,000.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in New Hampshire was over $6 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

Reached over 9.7 million participants.
Involved more than 54,000 artists.
Provided arts education to 26,500 children each year.
Included 1,295 grants to rural arts projects.
Generated at least $12 million in private funds.

The Music Program gave a $5,000 grant to the New Hampshire Music Festival in Center Harbor. The festival featured orchestra and chamber music concerts and presented emerging American conductors in addition to contemporary works by American composers. The festival was held in the summer of 1992 during which time 12 orchestral performances were presented in Plymouth and Gilford. In addition, four outreach concerts, six chamber music concerts, an adult educational series, and the New Hampshire Music Festival Chorus gave a total of 22 performances for an audience of 10,022 people.

The Music Program gave $5,000 to New Hampshire's Monadnock Music Festival in Peterborough to support the 27th season of the Festival in 1992. The festival presents free concerts in 17 towns in southwestern New Hampshire, to keep a sense of discovery alive for both musicians and audiences through a mixture of little-known works, with a special emphasis on new American music.

Other New Hampshire organizations which receive Endowment support include: the Apple Hill Center for Chamber Music in East Sullivan, the Daniel Clark Foundation pottery center in Goffstown, the National Film Preserve in Hanover, the New Hampshire Symphony and Currier Gallery of Art in Manchester, the MacDowell Colony in Peterborough, and the New Hampshire Mime Company in Portsmouth.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

Locals

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

New Hampshire
September 14, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Dance on Tour program brought the Transitions Dance Company to Keene, Pilobolus Dance Theater to Portsmouth, Ko-Thi to Plymouth, and the Paul Taylor Dance Company to Hanover.

* The Honorable Brenda Elias of Franklin participated in the Mayors' Institute on City Design, a leadership initiative established by the Design Arts Program.

* The New York City Opera performed in Durham and TheaterWorks/USA of New York toured to Claremont, Keene, and Lebanon, both with assistance from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* Through a grant to the New England Foundation for the Arts of Boston, Dorthy Imagire of Durham received a Visual Artists Regional Fellowships. (FY91)

* The Acting Company of New York toured to Hanover, Keene, Durham, the Underground Railway Theater of Arlington, MA, toured to Plymouth, Concord, and Newport, the National Theatre of the Deaf of Chester, CT, performed in Portsmouth, and the Shenandoah Shakespeare Express of Harrisonburg, VA, performed in Hanover and Lebanon, all with assistance of grants from the Theater Program.

* Through a grant from the Presenting and Commissioning Program to the New England Foundation for the Arts of Boston, Lawrence Siegel of Westmoreland and Patryc Wiggins of Guild received Artists' Projects Regional Initiative subgrants.

* Students and adults from communities such as Bow, Windham, Antran, Fitzwilliam, Marlborough, Peterborough, Rindge, Bethlehem, Frankonia, Canaan, Grantham, Wilton, Conway, Danville, Dover, Exeter, Hampton, Newfields, Newmarket, Rochester, Rye, San Down, Seabrook, Stratham, Wolfborough, Candia, Derry, Goffstown, Hollis, Hudson, Londonderry, Merrimack, Milford, Nashua, Pelham, Salem, Wilton, Windham, Bedford, Hooksett, Andover, Contoocook, Henniker, Franklin, Lincoln, Weare, and Concord were able to attend performances at The Trinity Repertory Company of Providence. The Trinity provides performance and educational programs to the New England area with the assistance of a $147,700 grant from the Theater Program.

* Through a grant to the Boston Film/Video Foundation, Lisa Millimet of Wilton received a Media Arts Regional Fellowship.

* New Hampshire received a $441,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
202/682-5400

Sen. Judd Gregg (R)

Elected 1992, seat up 1998; b. Feb. 14, 1947, Nashua; home, Greenfield; Columbia U., A.B. 1969, Boston U., J.D. 1972, LL.M. 1975; Protestant; married (Kathleen).

Career: Practicing atty., 1976–80; NH Exec. Cncl., 1978–80; U.S. House of Reps., 1980–88; NH Gov., 1988–92.

Offices: 393 RSOB 20510, 202-224-3324. Also 125 N. Main St., Concord 03301, 603-225-7115; 28 Webster St., Manchester 03104, 603-622-7979; 136 Pleasant St., Berlin 03570, 603-752-2604; and 99 Pease Blvd., Portsmouth 03801, 603-431-2171.

Committees: *Budget* (9th of 9 R). *Foreign Relations* (9th of 9 R): European Affairs; Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. *Labor and Human Resources* (4th of 7 R): Aging (RMM); Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism; Education, Arts and Humanities; Employment and Productivity.

Group Ratings and 102d Congress Votes: Newly Elected

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	AGN	2. HIV Immigrants	AGN	3. Clinton Budget	AGN

Election Results

1992 general	Judd Gregg (R)	249,591	(48%)	($875,675)
	John Rauh (D)	234,982	(45%)	($1,109,467)
	Katherine Alexander (LIB)	18,214	(4%)	
	Others	15,629	(3%)	
1992 primary	Judd Gregg (R)	57,141	(50%)	
	Harold Eckman (R)	43,264	(38%)	
	Jean T. White (R)	10,642	(9%)	
	Others	3,690	(3%)	
1986 general	Warren Rudman (R)	154,090	(63%)	($831,098)
	Endicott Peabody (D)	79,222	(32%)	($307,760)

NEW HAMPSHIRE

New Hampshire, with four-tenths of 1% of the nation's population, in an odd corner of the country and with some of its most unusual public policies, has nonetheless set the nation's political course over the last two decades. The mechanism of this influence is New Hampshire's first-in-the-nation presidential primary, a device specifically sanctioned by the Democratic rules reformers of the 1970s which did much to defeat the Democratic presidential candidates of the 1980s. For good reason, George Bush ended his victory speech in November 1988 by saying, "Thank you, New Hampshire." But by 1992, he too was in political trouble here, and his rather narrow primary victory over Pat Buchanan was the earliest clear sign of the trouble that moved him from 63% of New Hampshire's votes in November 1988 to 38% four years later, and defeat in his campaign for reelection.

In a country that prides itself on its feistiness and freedom from outside direction, New Hampshire has always been even feistier and less fettered by authority. Before the Revolution, New Hampshire was almost an outlaw colony, its great fortunes made by poachers in the king's forests and smugglers avoiding taxes. In this free environment, 19th Century entrepreneurs built textile mills along fast-flowing rivers; the Amoskeag Mills in Manchester, lining the Merrimack River for a mile, were once the largest cotton mills on the globe, employing 17,000 and producing enough cloth every two months to put a band around the world. Around the mills grew a city of red brick dormitories and three-family frame houses filled with immigrants from Quebec, Ireland, Poland and Greece, set down amid dirt-roaded villages of flinty Yankee farmers and mechanics. New Hampshire held to its traditions of local government and little external control, and its refusal to join most other states and enact an income or sales tax or provide statewide guidance of schools and social services seemed to doom it to continued backwardness.

But low taxes proved to be New Hampshire's fortune. Starting in the 1960s, New Hampshire for 30 years had the fastest growth on the East Coast, attracting businesses from Massachusetts and other high-tax states. It became a location of choice for entrepreneurs and high-tech innovators, attracting an increasing number of people skeptical of government programs—like John Sununu, who grew up in New York and worked in Massachusetts but lived and made his political career in New Hampshire. From 1965 to 1990, Massachusetts grew from 5.5 million to 6.0 million, up 9%; New Hampshire grew from 676,000 to 1,109,000, up 64%. The bedraggled New Hampshire of 50 years ago, of poor Yankee farmers and French Canadian mill hands, largely disappeared, and in its place arose one of the nation's most prosperous economic communities. This "Nouvelle Hampshire," to use Henry Allen's term, has none of the architectural purity of Amoskeag: its shopping centers and new subdivisions have a slap-dash, half-built look, as if there were no time for details in the hurry to build. The boom was feverish in the late 1980s, producing more jobs per capita than any other state and fabulous increases in real estate value; descendants of Amoskeag mill hands and stone-poor farmers found themselves with high-income jobs and even substantial wealth, property and perhaps interests in business worth hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The low taxes that spurred this growth, making New Hampshire a tax haven in Governor John Sununu's 1980s as it was in Governor Benning Wentworth's 1760s, would probably have been raised in the late 1960s or early 1970s, as they were in so many states at the time, but for the far from gentle advocacy of the *Manchester Union Leader* and its owner William Loeb. The *Union Leader* insisted that governors and legislators "take the pledge" to vote for no sales or income tax, and from 1972 on, all did. That meant keeping education and welfare as local responsibilities and holding down spending. At the same time, New Hampshire boasted the highest SAT

scores in the country and had the brainpower to participate fully in New England's high-tech boom for most of the 1980s: the old Amoskeag Mills were converted to offices, and once grimy Manchester is now a high-tech center.

But what translated New Hampshire's penchant for low taxes into a national political force was its presidential primary. First held in 1920, it was not seriously contested until 1952, when Estes Kefauver beat Harry Truman, and Dwight Eisenhower beat Robert Taft. For the next 40 years, no one won a presidential election without winning the New Hampshire primary first—until Bill Clinton, in 1992. But he hailed his second-place finish ("the comeback kid!") here as a victory, and he carried the state in November. The New Hampshire primary has played other roles, hurting front-runners by giving them fewer votes than expected (Barry Goldwater in 1964, Lyndon Johnson in 1968, Edmund Muskie in 1972 and Walter Mondale in 1984) and propelling little-known or little-considered candidates into the national spotlight (Henry Cabot Lodge in 1964, Eugene McCarthy in 1968, George McGovern in 1972, Gary Hart in 1984 and Paul Tsongas in 1992): but a common motif in most of these surprises was an aversion to high-tax candidates. New Hampshire Democrats have shown signs of liberalism on some issues: they were somewhat dovish (but not nearly as much as Iowa caucus attenders) in the 1970s and 1980s and were strongly against the Seabrook nuclear plant in the 1980s (which accounts for Michael Dukakis's victory here in 1988). New Hampshire Republicans, in contrast, were increasingly single-issue voters. Ronald Reagan won his smashing victory here in 1980 not just by one-upping the other candidates at a debate, saying "I paid for this microphone," but because he favored the Kemp-Roth tax cut; George Bush won in 1988 when Bob Dole refused to take the pledge not to raise taxes. In his 1988 acceptance speech, Bush was speaking New Hampshire language when he said, "Read my lips. No new taxes," and in the campaign he referred to his opponent as "the Governor of Massachusetts." It was no wonder that on election night he thanked New Hampshire.

But in the next four years things went terribly wrong for New Hampshire—and for George Bush. Just as the nation seemed headed into recession, Bush broke his pledge and supported a tax increase in the 1990 budget summit agreement—amazingly enough, engineered by John Sununu, who on going to Washington seemed to have forgotten the first rule of politics in his home state. The prolonged recession that followed hit New Hampshire especially hard. In retrospect, it seems plain that New Hampshire priced itself out of the growth market: its giddily high real estate prices kept out the new workers its businesses needed to continue expanding. The collapse of Massachusetts computer giants like Wang and Digital hurt here too. In just two years, New Hampshire went from the nation's highest personal income growth rate and lowest unemployment to leading the nation in welfare cases and personal bankruptcies. Property taxes doubled over four years and the state government faced a fiscal crunch relieved only by Medicaid accounting legerdemain. Thousands of jobs disappeared; major banks failed or were taken over by others (a few old Yankee ladies withdrew their money from one when it was taken over by the Bank of Ireland); real estate prices crashed, and more than a year's backlog of commercial and residential real estate hung on the market. This was a severe recession in incomes, but even more severe in wealth; people might expect to find another job and continue their standard of living upon economic recovery, but the loss of assets—a loss suffered by many very non-elite people in New Hampshire—could mean a permanent setback in the lifelong enterprise of accumulating enough wealth for a comfortable and independent retirement.

The result was registered on the political Richter scale. George Bush, postponing for the last months of 1991 the domestic program sought by most voters, suddenly found himself under attack from an articulate and energetic Pat Buchanan in a state filled with anger and distress. Five Democratic candidates, though sometimes preoccupied with collateral issues (Bill Clinton and the Gennifer Flowers tapes), were lambasting Bush as well. His own responses were less than reassuring ("Message: I care"). Bush eventually did win the primary, but with an unimpressive 53% that kept Buchanan on the campaign trail and Bush on the defensive for months. Indeed, Bush finally lost New Hampshire, 39%–38%, a state counted as safe Republican since the

1960s, and where he won his second highest percentage in 1988. The political earthquake did not level every candidate: Republican Governor Judd Gregg was elected senator, though by a narrow 48%–45% margin, and Democrat Deborah Arnesen, who advocated a broad-based tax and challenged the *Union Leader*'s low tax orthodoxy, lost the governor's race decisively, 56%–40%, to Republican Stephen Merrill.

Judd Gregg, in his second two-year term as governor after four terms as 2d District congressman, was the clear favorite for the seat. Gregg is the son of former Governor Hugh Gregg, whose backing of Ronald Reagan in 1976 and George Bush in 1980 helped both men to crucial primary victories. Judd Gregg, who was a junior at Columbia during the student riots of 1968, is a man of great certainty and few words: a tax increase is "an absurd idea," the state's banking industry "is going down the drain," "there is no magic wand" to cure the state's economy, but "sure," he will win the Senate election. The last proved not quite that simple. In the September primary, Gregg was challenged by construction company owner Hal Eckman, and won by just a 50%–38% margin, losing the state capital of Concord. Meanwhile, businessman John Rauh won the six-candidate Democratic primary with 51% of the vote. Rauh, a nephew of the great Washington liberal advocate Joseph Rauh, made money in Cincinnati with a plastic film business, then moved to New Hampshire in 1986. In the primary, he beat Franklin Mayor Brenda Elias and Terry Bennett, a physician who called for dismantling Russian submarines in the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard as a way to keep the base running. Rauh called for a line-item veto and balanced budget amendment, said he would produce "a prosperous economy, not legislative tinkering" and attacked Gregg for opposing abortion. Gregg was also attacked for having been deferred from the draft in 1969 for bad knees, sleepwalking and severe acne, and his father said the family doctor may have "exaggerated" his physical problems. (Gregg later said his father had been misquoted.) Gregg actually ran behind in some polls, and his victory was by an unimpressive 48%–45% margin. In the Senate, he can be expected to be a solid conservative vote. He serves on the Commerce, Labor and Budget Committees.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **TOM HARKIN (D)**

State: Iowa

Voting Record: 100% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Sen. Harkin consistently supports the Arts Endowment, although generally has not been active in Senate floor debate on related amendments.

Staff: Bev Schroeder

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

IOWA TALKING POINTS

Some of the major arts institutions in Iowa are clustered around Des Moines, headquarters of the state arts agency, the Arts Center, the Symphony, and the Metro Opera. At the University of Iowa in Iowa City, there are vibrant music, theater and dance programs, and it is the center for one of America's preeminent creative writing programs. The Old Creamery Theatre in Garrison is also a long-time Endowment grantee.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 21 grants to Iowa artists and organizations totalling $1,024,600.

The Iowa Arts Council received 4 grants: a Basic State Grant of $460,000, an Arts in Education grant of $110,200, a rural arts grant of $69,000, and a Locals grant of $95,000.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in Iowa was nearly $10 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

Reached nearly 6.7 million participants.
Involved over 36,000 artists.
Provided arts education to about 178,000 children annually.
Included 1,671 grants to rural projects.
Generated at least $19 million in private funds.

The Opera Musical Theater Program awarded $12,000 to the Des Moines Opera Company to support its resident season and touring productions. OPERA Iowa, the company's touring component, travels through Iowa and neighboring states, and in 1992 was invited to Iowa's sister state of Yamanashi, Japan. For its touring program, the company commissioned Harmoonia, an opera for young audiences, by composer Stephen Paulus.

Through a new pilot initiative, the Music Program placed nine emerging chamber music ensembles in rural communities in three states, including Iowa. One ensemble, the Ying Quartet, was featured on CBS's Sunday Morning, which followed the musicians as they interacted with the community of Jessup, Iowa in concerts, workshops, and local schoolrooms. Two other ensembles were in residence in Iowa – the Boccherini Ensemble in Fayette and the Unified Jazz Ensemble in Decorah.

The Old Creamery Theatre in Garrison received a $17,000 grant from the Expansion Arts Program to support is 1992-93 season, including the mounting of a production, "Beautiful Mourning" to tour the state. This unique theater, now over 20 years old, uses Iowa history and folklore from local writers and musicians to reach audiences of about 20,000 people combined each year.

Iowa artists received a number of fellowships in 1992. Nancy Berg of Fairfield and Thomas Rogers of Iowa City received Creative Writing Fellowships of $20,000. Janice Boland and John Dowdall of Marion received Music grants of $11,000 to support the preparation & performance of duo flute and guitar recitals across the United States.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

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International

Literature

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Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
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Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

Iowa
September 8, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* American Theater Arts for Youth of Philadelphia toured to Ames, Waterloo, and Atlantic, TheaterWorks/USA of New York toured to Ottumwa and Ankeny, Des Moines Metro Opera's OPERA Iowa of Indianola toured to Arcadia, Westside, Vail, Bloomfield, Blue Grass, Bussey, Carson, Carroll, Clive, Coon Rapids, Bayard, Crestland, Schaller, Denison, Fayette, Holstein, Iowa Falls, Keokuk, Lakeview, Auburn, Montana, New Virginia, Olin, Oskaloosa, Russell, St. Charles, Treynor, Urbandale, Waverly, Woodward, and Granger, and Minnesota Opera will perform in Pella and Lamoni, all with assistance from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* Through grants to Film in the Cities of St. Paul, 13 Iowa artists, including Daniel Carbone of Fairfield, Franklin Miller of Solon, and Monteith McCollum of Fort Dodge, received Media Arts Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* The Des Moines Symphony received a grant of $12,000 from the Music Program to support expenses associated with its performance season. Students from communities such as Altoona, Ames, Ankeny, Boone, Carroll, Colfax, Collins, Dexter, Earlham, Granger, Grimes, Grinnell, Johnston, Knoxville, Maxwell, Mingo, Mitchellville, Nevada, Newton, Oskaloosa, Pella, Perry, Pleasantville, Roland, St. Charles, Templeton, Truro, Waukee, and Woodward attended special concerts of the Symphony.

* The Iowa Arts Council received a $110,200 Partnership Grant from the Arts in Education Program to support artist residency activities in such communities as Davenport, Dayton, De Witt, Decorah, Council Bluffs, Cresco, Creston, Clinton, Cultier, Coralville, Corwith, Clarion, Clear Lake, Camanche, Carlisle, Cedar Falls, Clarinda, Boone, Boyden, Britt, Calmar, Ackley, Albert City, Albia, Algona, Aplington, Atkins, Battle Creek, Bedford, Dickens, Donnellson, Dysart, Eldora, Eldridge, Elgin, Estherville, Everly, Fairbank, Fontanelle, Garner, Gilbert, Goose Lake, Hamburg, Harlan, Hartley, Hawarden, Hiawatha, Hills, Hull, Johnston, Kanawha, Keswick, Keystone, Lacona, Lake Mills, Laurens, Le Mars, Long Grove, Luana, Madrid, Manchester, Manilla, Maquoketa, Marion, Martensdale, Mason City, Middle Milo, Milton, Monona, Moorhead, Moulton, Mt. Aye, Mt. Pleasant, Murray, Muscatine, New Hampton, North Liberty, Northwood, Norwalk, Oelwein, Okoboji, Orange City, Osceola, Parkersburg, Red Oak, Riceville, Rock Rapids, Russell, Storm Lake, Story City, Tama, Titonka, Traer, Urbana, Ventura, Villisca, Vinton, Welton, and West Bend.

-more-

* The Acting Company of New York toured to Grinnell and Cedar Rapids, the Children's Theatre Company of Minneapolis toured to Iowa City, Decorah, and Forest City, the Shenandoah Shakespeare Express of Harrisonburg, VA, performed in Pella, the Mixed Blood Theatre Company of Minneapolis performed in Des Moines, and the Arkansas Repertory Theatre performed in Dubuque, all with the assistance of grants from the Theater Program.

* The Iowa Arts Council received $69,000 in Underserved Communities Set-Aside Funds from the State and Regional Program to support the expansion of the agency's operational support to mid-sized arts organizations in underserved and rural communities. Among the communities reached were Spencer, Dennison, Sioux City, Jesup, Fort Madison, Burlington, Fort Dodge, Charles City, Amana, and Spirit Lake.

* The Dance on Tour program brought the Joffrey Ballet to Iowa City.

* Through grants from the Presenting and Commissioning Program to Intermedia Arts Minnesota of Minneapolis, Rebecca Gilman and Vicky Grube of Iowa City received Artists' Projects Regional Initiative subgrants.

* Rebecca Reynolds-Knight of Keosauqua participated in the "Your Town Program," an effort to address the design needs of rural America carried out by the National Trust for Historic Preservation on behalf of the Design Arts Program.

* Through grants to Arts Midwest, John Andrews of Oxford, Doug Shelton of Des Moines, and Thomas Stancliffe of New Hartford received Visual Artists Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* Iowa received a $460,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

Sen. Tom Harkin (D)

Elected 1984, seat up 1996; b. Nov. 19, 1939, Cumming; home, Cumming; IA St. U., B.S. 1962, Catholic U., J.D. 1972; Catholic; married (Ruth).

Career: Navy, 1962–67; Naval Reserves, 1969–72; Practicing atty., 1972–74; Staff Aide, House Select Cmte. on U.S. Involvement in SE Asia, 1973–74; U.S. House of Reps., 1974–84.

Offices: 531 HSOB 20510, 202-224-3254. Also 733 Fed. Bldg., 210 Walnut St., Des Moines 50309, 515-284-4574; Fed. Bldg., Council Bluffs 51501, 712-325-0036; Lindale Mall, #101, 4444 1st Ave. NE, Cedar Rapids 52407, 319-393-6374; 131 E. 4th St., 314B Fed. Bldg., Davenport, 52801, 319-322-1338; 350 W. 6th St., Dubuque 52001, 319-588-2130; and 110 Federal Bldg., 320 6th St., Sioux City 51101, 712-252-1550.

Committees: *Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry* (5th of 10 D): Agricultural Production and Stabilization of Prices; Agricultural Research, Conservation, Forestry and General Legislation; Nutrition and Investigations (Chmn.). *Appropriations* (10th of 16 D): Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies; Defense; Foreign Operations; Labor, Health and Human Services, Education (Chmn.); Transportation. *Labor and Human Resources* (6th of 10 D): Disability Policy (Chmn.); Education, Arts and Humanities; Employment and Productivity; Labor. *Small Business* (4th of 12 D): Competitiveness, Capital Formation and Economic Opportunity; Export Expansion and Agricultural Development; Government Contracting and Paperwork Reduction.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	85	88	80	91	75	33	0	0	40	17	13
1991	100	—	82	90	67	73	0	—	—	14	13

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB — 1991 CONS	1992 LIB — 1992 CONS
Economic	89% — 10%	95% — 0%
Social	87% — 0%	76% — 23%
Foreign	86% — 0%	86% — 0%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	AGN	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	AGN	9. Use Force in Gulf	AGN
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	*	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	AGN	10. Keep Salvador Aid	AGN
3. Remove Budget Walls	*	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	FOR
4. Ban Striker Replace	FOR	8. Abortion Gag Rule	AGN	12. Override China MFN	FOR

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	FOR	2. HIV Immigrants	FOR	3. Clinton Budget	FOR

Election Results

1990 general	Tom Harkin (D)	529,571	(54%)	($5,628,242)
	Thomas J. Tauke (R)	453,273	(46%)	($5,060,104)
1990 primary	Tom Harkin (D), unopposed			
1984 general	Tom Harkin (D)	716,883	(55%)	($2,838,277)
	Roger W. Jepsen (R)	564,381	(44%)	($3,420,153)

IOWA

Iowa, America's most downcast state in the upbeat 1980s, now seems to have turned frisky in the chastened 1990s. In spirit, in temperament, in its preoccupations with issues and its partisan preferences, Iowa seems so often to be going just the other way from the rest of the nation—determinedly, with confidence in its own chipper rectitude, undeterred by being the state out of step. Consider the 1980s, when onetime Des Moines radio announcer Ronald Reagan was president, and Iowa gave him some of his lowest job ratings in the nation. The reason was the stalled economy: in the first seven years of the decade, Iowa saw 7% of its residents leave and its population fall more than any other state but West Virginia. It lost both incomes and wealth, as farmland prices dropped and farm implement factories shut down. These were actually exaggerations of the long-range trend, apparent since 1900, of outmigration. Despite its proximity to major markets, despite its high levels of education—Iowa is dotted with colleges and boasts the nation's highest literacy rates—Iowa by the 1980s was in its ninth straight decade of outmigration; it never generated the new jobs it needed to employ its own young people much less attract others. Iowa's very articulateness may have been working against it. Iowans in the 1980s continually expressed a sense of aggrievement that Iowa's economy, based on the wholesome business of farming, couldn't sustain the desired levels of growth, even though history shows that an essential characteristic of economic growth is long-term decline in basic commodity prices. For half a century, Iowa looked to the federal government to maintain agricultural profits with a fervor that began with Jeffersonian sentimentalism about the moral superiority of farming and ended up as a sense of entitlement and almost greed.

Iowa voters were coddled in these sentiments during ever-lengthier campaigns in this state's first-in-the-nation precinct caucuses. Starting in 1976, when Jimmy Carter's strategist Hamilton Jordan determined that intensive personal campaigning could produce national publicity for a little-known candidate, the Iowa caucuses were a major league event: Ronald Reagan avoided a debate here in 1980, only to be beaten by George Bush, while Carter was overwhelming Edward Kennedy; Walter Mondale won half the votes in an eight-candidate field in 1984, only to see the

spotlight fall on the splinter vote for second-place finisher Gary Hart: attention fell for a moment on winners Bob Dole and Dick Gephardt in 1988, as George Bush was humiliated by coming in third in a rush of anti-Reagan feeling, and Michael Dukakis's spinners managed to convince the press that his third-place finish behind Gephardt and Paul Simon still kept him alive. In the 1970s, the Iowa caucuses were scheduled early by Democratic doves who wanted leverage for a dovish constituency (and there was hardly an electorate then more averse to the use of American military power than Iowa Democratic caucus-goers); but while this tended to block hawkish Democrats from the party nomination nationally, the effect in Iowa was to reinforce the state's self-pitying preoccupation with the farm economy.

Now, in the 1990s, Iowa's mentality seems to have changed. The farm bill of 1985 played a part; farm subsidies had been mushrooming, so they were cut way back, and Iowa among other states realized it had to look elsewhere than Washington for growth. At which point, growth happened: starting in 1987, the economy turned upward, and in the recession of the early 1990s, Iowa's unemployment was well below national levels while farmland prices were stable. Moreover, Iowa did not get two years of sick calls from sympathetic-physician presidential candidates in 1990–92, as Iowa Senator Tom Harkin decided to run for president, thus preempting the Democratic side, and Pat Buchanan understood that anti-tax New Hampshire was a much better venue for his Republican candidacy than dovish Iowa. In the vacuum created by the absence of national candidates, Iowans started building their own economy—and getting enthusiastic about it in the process. Governor Terry Branstad proclaimed that Iowa would build a statewide fiber optics network, "the highway of the future," linking Iowa's highly literate and skilled work force, in its growing small cities as well as shrinking small towns, with the world economy. Iowa in 1991 became the first state to legalize modern riverboat gambling, trying to keep the stakes low in a bow to the old-time morality symbolized by Iowa painter Grant Wood's *American Gothic*, but hoping to stimulate some tourist business by competing with Nevada. Riverboat gambling did spruce up the picturesque cities of Dubuque and Davenport. But there is risk in pioneering. By the end of 1992, both Illinois and Missouri also had legalized riverboat gambling; the Dubuque Casino Belle was sold and only two of five original casinos were operating. And there were other losses in Iowa: starting with the city of Marshalltown—home of the writer of *The Music Man*—Iowa cities and state governments invested money with a California-based firm called Iowa Trust which turned out to defraud the state of some $70 million. Dubuque alone lost $23 million; state Senate President Joe Welsh of Dubuque and salesman for Iowa Trust was disciplined by the Senate for his role in the scandal and was forced out of his job as president, though he did retain his seat.

But the very fact that the Iowa Trust scandal shocked Iowans shows that Grant Wood-style rectitude is not at all dead here. For if this is a state that has been more dovish than the nation (from the time of the Vietnam war to 1991, when Iowa's Charles Grassley was one of only two Senate Republicans voting against the Gulf war resolution), it is also culturally more conservative in many ways. Divorce is far less common here than in the rest of the nation; abortion is allowed, but disfavored, and remains unpopular in heavily Catholic communities like Dubuque; people here tend to be older, and so from generations which celebrate traditional morality rather than disdain it. This cultural conservatism is allied to Iowa's aversion to spending, derived from both the New England Yankee and German heritages which are strong cultural forces here; there is something similar in adjacent Minnesota and Wisconsin. Iowa's dovishness, which has roots in this thriftiness and in its large numbers of German-Americans, isolationist before both world wars, made this a more Democratic state than the nation in the 1980s; by 1988, it not only voted for the pacifist-inclined Michael Dukakis, but gave him his second highest percentage of any state, ahead even of Massachusetts. But by 1992, Iowa's cultural conservatism was asserting a stronger force. Iowa did not vote for George Bush, but the drop in his percentage here over his four-year term was only 8%, less than half the national average, and the smallest in the country. To put it another way, this may be one state where questions of Bill Clinton's marital fidelity may have hurt him; for whatever reason, he ran 11% behind Michael Dukakis. This leaves Iowa now with a stronger Democratic Party than it had historically and a stronger Republican Party than apparent in the 1992 presidential returns. So Iowa continues its tradition of being politically countercyclical in the 1990s, though in different ways than in the 1980s.

Tom Harkin, after years of toiling in Iowa's political vineyards, became a national figure, at least for a moment, in the 1992 presidential race. Few guessed during most of his two-decade career in Iowa politics that he would become a national candidate, and indeed he did so more out of conviction than calculation, because he sensed there was no one in the race who would challenge George Bush as Harkin thought he ought to be. For Harkin is an old-fashioned economic issues liberal, a believer in income redistribution and a vitriolic opponent of "trickle down economics." Harkin is one of the Democrats' Watergate babies, but there is no smooth Ivy League smugness to him. He has a craggy and almost worn look; he grew up poor in a rural town, worked his way through college and law school, spent five years in the Navy during the 1960s, ferrying planes from Vietnam for repair. After a close loss in 1972, Harkin ran for Congress again in 1974 and invented "work days," a campaign technique widely imitated since: he spent a day working at each of a dozen or so local jobs. He won solidly and held the seat with good percentages. Well before the 1984 election, he cornered the Democratic nomination to run against Senator Roger Jepsen, who was gravely weakened by, among other things, insisting he was entitled to commute to work alone in the highway lane reserved for multiple passenger cars. In a tough year for Democrats elsewhere, Harkin was elected to the Senate with 55%.

Harkin styled himself a populist in the Senate; some others, like Bob Dole who was angered by his maneuvering for credit on the 1985 farm bill, called him a demagogue, or worse. In fact, his ag initiatives have fallen flat, notably the 1987 Harkin-Gephardt supply management farm bill, which would have raised overall food costs in order to benefit small farmers with assets of half a million dollars or more; Harkin unavailingly opposed the 1985 and 1990 farm bills that turned the trajectory of farm subsidies downward. Socialism and central planning may be on the way out in the rest of the world, but would stay in American farming if Harkin had his way. Harkin supported, as farm state senators usually do, food aid to the Soviet Union, on whatever terms; interestingly, though representing export-dependent Iowa, he supported the 1990 textile trade restrictions bill and co-sponsored the most stringent of the foreign investment disclosure bills being considered on Capitol Hill.

Harkin has also had legislative success, notably the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). Influenced by the plight of his brother who became deaf at age nine, he has long been a champion of the disabled, using his chairmanship of the Labor-HHS Appropriations Subcommittee for that purpose; he has implemented grants for "assistive technology" for the handicapped and a new NIH Institute on Deafness and Other Communications Disorders. The ADA was a great achievement, one that required overcoming resistance based on cost and qualms about the real-world effect of regulations. At Gallaudet University in Washington, D.C., a noted school for the hearing impaired, Harkin gave part of his speech in sign language when he withdrew from the presidential race.

On foreign policy, Harkin is very much a product of the Vietnam experience, an opponent of U.S. military intervention and involvement almost anywhere. He opposed contra aid and verged on being an apologist for the Sandinista government. He obviously was against the dispatch of U.S. troops to the Persian Gulf in 1990, presumably sensing another Vietnam, and filed suit against President Bush to prevent him from using force without congressional approval. That same year, Harkin beat a tough opponent, 2d District Congressman Tom Tauke, a knowledgeable critic of government programs and a smart political operator. But his attacks on Harkin's supposedly luxurious lifestyle fell flat, and Harkin's pro-choice position was an asset. (A dozen years before, the abortion issue defeated pro-choice Senator Dick Clark, as Catholic Democrats deserted his cause; now the leverage was among pro-choice Republicans, and Tauke, who defended his position in a dignified manner under intense pressure, was the net loser.) Harkin won with 54%, carrying all districts but Tauke's and the heavily Republican seat in northwest.

Then came the idea of running for president. In angry phrases, with a Trumanesque zest, Harkin preached that George Bush and the Republicans helped only the rich and that government must get involved to help the poor and middle class. Harkin was not always accurate and didn't play up to the modern media; his style and message came from a time when liberal politicians knew most of the media were against them and were confident that the people would support them if they could only shout their message loud enough. That confidence was not justified by events; Harkin failed to get solid support even from union leaders sympathetic to his positions. The AFL-CIO's decision to withhold any early endorsement of Harkin, who had backed the AFL-CIO on more than 90% of its key votes during his Senate career, was a major blow to Harkin's candidacy and a great tactical victory for Bill Clinton, governor of a right-to-[illegible] sweep of the Iowa caucuses February 10, actually a rather nice testimonial

to his home state popularity, was naturally discounted by the media. They also started to point up how Harkin had stretched the truth in past campaigns. But Harkin's greatest problem was that he just didn't strike a chord with many voters. He had a good New Hampshire organization, enough money to run a respectable campaign, and no scandal problems like Bill Clinton or health problems like Paul Tsongas. New Hampshire on February 18, with its mania for low taxes, was not a good Harkin venue: he got only 10% of the vote, a sign that he had essentially no constituency there. Harkin won the Minnesota and Idaho caucuses March 3, but got only 7% in South Carolina March 7 after campaigning there with Jesse Jackson. In debt and ineligible for matching funds, Harkin decided to quit rather than contest Michigan and Illinois on March 17, despite pleas from some union leaders there.

But Harkin didn't entirely vanish from the scene. Within weeks (March 26), he endorsed Bill Clinton, and campaigned gamely for him in primaries and with union audiences, despite the differences between their programs. This brought out the best side of Harkin: he showed none of the defensiveness he does when he's running himself; instead, he was a genuinely happy warrior. He was also a contrast with Paul Tsongas and Jerry Brown, who endorsed Clinton grudgingly and well after the fact; Clinton owes Harkin one. He returned the favor by appointing his wife Ruth Harkin, a Washington lawyer who combines good humor, competence and strong beliefs, to head the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. Meanwhile, Tom Harkin will continue in the Senate, probably still with a poor kid's chip on his shoulder and his sometimes grating self-righteousness that are among his trademarks; generosity and empathy are others. His seat comes up in 1996, and will probably be seriously contested. He is the first Iowa Democrat to win two consecutive six-year Senate terms; none has won a third.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **ORRIN G. HATCH (R)**

State: Utah

Voting Record: 50% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Although Sen. Hatch has supported several content restriction amendments, he has been a key Republican supporter of the Arts Endowment and has a genuine personal commitment to the arts. He was instrumental in developing the 1990 reauthorization proposal. As a conservative, he has been strongly criticized by many conservative interest groups for his support of the agency.

Staff: Corine Larson

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

UTAH TALKING POINTS

Utah supports a relatively dense proportion of cultural resources from the Utah Symphony to Ballet West. A young and growing population makes arts education a priority for Utah which has valued culture from its beginning. Utah was the first state to create a branch of government devoted to the arts, in 1899. This long & proud tradition endures.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 23 grants to Utah artists and organizations totalling $1,096,100. The majority of those grants went to Salt Lake City, which received 18 grants totalling $1,056,950.

The Utah Arts Council received 3 grants: a Basic State Grant of $446,000, an arts education grant of $129,800, and a folk arts grant of $20,000.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in Utah was nearly $19 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

Reached more than 18.6 million participants.
Involved over 170,000 artists.
Provided arts education to about 137,000 children each year.
Included 671 grants for rural projects.
Generated at least $38 million in private funds.

The Utah Opera Company in Salt Lake City was awarded an $89,000 Challenge grant to establish a Young Artists Program to assist young singers. The program will help them become complete performers, providing a steady, fresh infusion of talent into the Company, and developing a more intensive educational program to benefit the singer and student. In addition to daily classes, participants in the Young Artists Program will have the opportunity to perform in mainstage productions and participate in outreach programs and master classes.

The Dance Program awarded a $69,000 grant to Ballet West to support costs associated with its home season activity. Ballet West is in the midst of a campaign to match an earlier $500,000 Challenge grant. That award went to support Ballet West's innovative concept of "hub and spoke" split-community touring which enables the Company to bring quality dance programming to underserved communities in Utah and throughout the Western states.

Among the other grantees in Utah are: the Western Folklife Center, the Children's Museum of Utah, the Utah Symphony, the Salt Lake Acting Company, the Sundance Institute for Film and Television, the Ririe-Woodbury Dance Foundation, the Repertory Dance Theatre, the Utah Media Center, and the Utah Museum of Fine Arts in Salt Lake City. In Logan, the Endowment supports the Chamber Music Society and the Harrison Museum at Utah State University. In Ogden, the Endowment supports a visual artists lecture series at Weber State University.

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Theater

Visual Arts

Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

Utah
September 14, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Utah Opera Company received a grant of $7,000 from the Opera-Musical Theater Program to support expenses associated with its performance season. The company sponsors educational programs that reach the following school districts: Box Elder, Cache, Logan, Uintah, Duchesne, North Sanpete, Davis, Alpine, Ogden, Provo, Granite, Jordan, Weber, Tooele, Iron, Beaver, San Juan, Wasatch, Murray, North Summit, Nebo, Washington, and Park City.

* Joseph Blain of Ephraim, J. Kent Hortin of Logan, Randy Gainer of Draper, and Mark McGrath of Midvale participated in the Your Town Program, an effort to address the design needs of rural America carried out by the National Trust for Historic Preservation on behalf of the Design Arts Program.

* Through a grant to the Northwest Film and Video Center in Portland, Jan Andrews of Salt Lake City received a Media Arts Regional Fellowship.

* The Honorable Glen Mecham of Ogden participated in the Mayors' Institute on City Design, a leadership initiative established by the Design Arts Program.

* The Fund for U.S. Artists at International Festivals and Exhibitions supported the appearance of Ann Hankinson of Salt Lake City at the Fourth International Contemporary Music Festival in Santiago, Chile.

* The Children's Theatre Company of Minneapolis performed in Logan, and Theater Grottesco of Detroit performed in Sundance, both with assistance from the Theater Program.

* Through grants from the Presenting and Commissioning Program to the Colorado Dance Festival of Boulder, Allison Ann Berkey and Janet Shapero of Logan, Marina Harris of Salt Lake City, and Phillip Kent Bimstein of Springdale received Artists' Projects Regional Initiative subgrants.

* The San Francisco Opera's Western Opera Theater performed in Logan and Park City with the assistance of a grant from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* The Dance on Tour program brought Eiko and Koma to Salt Lake City.

* Utah received a $448,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
202/682-5400

UTAH

Almanac of American Politics 1994

SENATORS

Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R)

Elected 1976, seat up 1994; b. Mar. 22, 1934, Pittsburgh, PA; home, Salt Lake City; Brigham Young U., B.S. 1959, U. of Pittsburgh, J.D. 1962; Mormon; married (Elaine).

Career: Practicing atty., 1962–76.

Offices: 135 RSOB 20510, 202-224-5251. Also 8402 Fed. Bldg., Salt Lake City 84138, 801-524-4380; 109 Fed. Bldg., 88 W. 100 N., Provo 84601, 801-375-7881; 1410 Fed. Bldg., 325 25th St., Ogden 84401, 801-625-5672; and 10 N. Main, P.O. Box 99, Cedar City 84720, 801-586-8435.

Committees: *Finance* (8th of 9 R): Energy and Agricultural Taxation (RMM); International Trade; Medicare and Long-Term Care. *Judiciary* (RMM of 8 R): Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights; Constitution; Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks (RMM). *Labor and Human Resources* (6th of 7 R): Disability Policy; Education, Arts and Humanities; Employment and Productivity; Labor (RMM).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	5	5	50	17	33	0	96	94	100	100	73
1991	10	—	27	25	6	13	86	—	—	90	74

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB	—	1991 CONS	1992 LIB	—	1992 CONS
Economic	0%	—	91%	25%	—	73%
Social	25%	—	74%	11%	—	86%
Foreign	0%	—	87%	0%	—	90%

Key Votes of the 102d Senate

1. $ for Homeownership	FOR	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	FOR	9. Use Force in Gulf	FOR
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	FOR	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	FOR	10. Keep Salavador Aid	FOR
3. Remove Budget Walls	AGN	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	AGN	11. Cut $1B from SDI	AGN
4. Ban Striker Replace	AGN	8. Abortion Gag Rule	FOR	12. Override China MFN	AGN

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	AGN	2. HIV Immigrants	AGN	3. Clinton Budget	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Orrin G. Hatch (R)	430,089	(67%)	($3,706,381)
	Brian H. Moss (D)	203,364	(32%)	($153,475)
1988 primary	Orrin G. Hatch (R), unopposed			
1982 general	Orrin G. Hatch (R)	309,547	(58%)	($3,838,335)
	Ted Wilson (D)	218,895	(41%)	($1,703,170)

UTAH

Utah is a triumph of man over nature, the creation of a productive and orderly civilization in a remote expanse of desert and mountain, arrayed around a desolate salt sea. Today's Utah and Mormonism have their roots in a very different landscape of more than 150 years ago, when a wave of religious enthusiasm, prophecy and utopianism swept across the "burnt-over district" of Upstate New York in the 1820s and 1830s. There Joseph Smith, a young farmer, experienced a vision in which the angel Moroni appeared and told him where to unearth several golden tablets inscribed with hieroglyphic writings. With the aid of special spectacles, Smith translated the tablets and published them as the Book of Mormon in 1831. He later declared himself a prophet and founded the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The Mormons, as they were called, attracted thousands of converts and created their own communities; persecuted for their beliefs, they moved west to Ohio, Missouri and then Illinois. In 1844, the Mormon colony at Nauvoo, Illinois, had some 15,000 members living under the strict theocratic rule of Joseph Smith. It was here that Smith received a revelation sanctioning the practice of polygamy, which led to his death at the hands of a mob in 1844. After the murder, the new church president Brigham Young, decided to move the faithful, "the saints," farther west into territory that was still part of Mexico and far beyond white settlement. Young led a well-organized march across the Great Plains and into the Rocky Mountains. In 1847, they stopped on the western slope of the Wasatch Range and, as Brigham Young gazed over the valley of the Great Salt Lake spread out below, he uttered the now famous words, "This is the place."

The place was Utah. Young was governor of the territory for many years, and it is the only state that largely continues to live by the teachings of a church. The early pioneers laid out towns foursquare to the points of the compass, with huge city blocks, built sturdy houses and planted dozens of trees. Throughout the 19th Century and even today, this "Zion" has attracted thousands of converts from the Midwest, the north of England and Scandinavia. The object of religious fear and prejudice, Utah was not granted statehood until 1896, after the church renounced polygamy. Utah has grown steadily since then, and remains heavily Mormon, its basic character is stamped on the desert, mountain-shadowed, often surrealistic landscape which would have been, without the Mormons, mostly unpopulated.

The Church remains distinctive in many ways. It cares deeply about its past: in caves in the mountains of Utah, the Church preserves America's most complete genealogical records. It tries to spread the faith: many young Mormons spend missionary years abroad, and their experiences in turn give Utah the biggest inventory of people with knowledge of obscure foreign languages of any state in the union, a nice commercial advantage. It prohibits the consumption of tobacco, alcohol and caffeine; it encourages hard work and large families, and Utah has by far the nation's highest birth rates; its members are healthier than the average American, better educated, more likely to live in families and in affluent households. And while American

mainline denominations are losing members, the Mormon Church is growing, with more members than either the Presbyterian or Episcopalian churches. There were 2.9 million Mormon in 1970 and 7.7 million in 1990: 4.3 million in the United States and 3.4 million abroad.

The Church's influence in Utah is great—it owns one of the two leading Salt Lake City newspapers and a TV station, it has holdings in an insurance company, several banks, real estate and owns ZCMI, the largest department store in Salt Lake City—and it is sometimes resented. The conservative hold that the Church has over the state can appear in political issues. In 1991 Utah passed the strictest abortion law of any state, banning abortion except in cases of rape and incest, or if the mother's life is endangered. Also in 1990, it became the first state to ban the sale of vending machine cigarettes; although earlier in the year it became the last state to abolish the provision which stated that hard liquor could not be served in public. And the Church itself, financed by the tradition of tithing, runs its own high-quality welfare programs: this is a society that favors market economics and free enterprise, but also has a lively tradition of communal effort and responsibility. Utah's state workfare program, started in 1983, requires one adult in a welfare family to spend 32 hours a week in community service or training, plus job search, and benefits are paid only after performance; social workers here seem to strengthen middle-class values rather than lead rebellions against them.

But if the moral underpinnings of life in Utah have not changed in 50 years, Utah's view of its place in the nation has. Before World War II, Utah saw itself as a colonial victim of East Coast bankers and financiers and Mormons saw themselves as suffering religious discrimination and bigotry—all with some cause. Its income levels were well below the national average, its cost of living higher, the prices paid for the things it produced seemed to be controlled elsewhere. Politically, this perspective translated into a Democratic allegiance: in 1940, Utah was represented by staunch New Dealers in Congress and cast 62% of its votes for Franklin Roosevelt. Today, Utah is more likely to see itself as a busy generator of wealth, with a raft of successful businesses and a knack for high-tech innovation. It has the youngest and highest-productivity work force of any in the nation, leading the nation in job creation in 1992 with 3.2% growth. Its information technology jobs doubled to 63,000 from 1986 to 1992, and it is home to such big software firms as Novell and WordPerfect; the state government has a Centers of Excellence program to fund small high-tech startups. Utah believes in the coexistence of high-tech and traditional values.

Politically, this perspective translates into a strong Republican preference; Utah was pretty solidly Republican by the middle 1960s. In the last 20 years, as traditional values thriving in Utah have come under attack elsewhere, it has become the most Republican of states—standing out in national statistics politically just as it does demographically. In 1960, Richard Nixon carried Utah with 55% of the vote; by 1972, he won with 72%. Ronald Reagan won 73% and 75% of Utah's votes; George Bush won 66% here in 1988: for four presidential elections in a row, Utah was the nation's most Republican state. In 1992, it was not, but not because of Bill Clinton, who finished third here with 25%: Ross Perot won 27% of the vote and George Bush fell to 43%. Democrats are competitive in other races, but only if they show themselves to be consistent with Utah values and attitudes; new residents may be occasionally more liberal, and Utah is less heavily Mormon than it was, but the basic character of the state has not changed.

Senator With the retirement of Republican Jake Garn in 1992, Orrin Hatch is now, after nearly two decades in office, the senior senator from Utah, but he has been an important legislator almost from his start in 1976. In the late 1970s, he filibustered the AFL-CIO's labor law reform bill and killed it; when Republicans unexpectedly won control of the Senate in 1980, he was suddenly chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee. He became a legislative workhorse, taking seriously his responsibilities of superintending welfare and labor programs and working hard on the details. He moved many programs into block grants to the states early on, but also became a big booster of the Job Corps. He eventually won a subminimum training wage for teenagers, but only after market wages rose well above the minimum. He backed the Americans With Disabilities Act, and his child care bill included many provisions from the Children's Defense Fund's ABC bill. He is staunchly against abortion and, on the Judiciary Committee, opposed civil rights bills he considered quota legislation and staunchly supported the Supreme Court nominations of Robert Bork and Clarence Thomas. But he worked to build compromises on civil rights and family and medical leave. He has pushed for more funding for immunizations, the WIC program and AIDS babies. He has built up close friendship with Edward Kennedy, with whom he serves on both Labor and Judiciary; the two have worked together on issues from AIDS legislation to immigration reform. But Hatch remains a vigorous opponent of striker replacement and laws to strengthen labor unions.

In recent years, Hatch has spent much time on technical rather than headline issues: railway labor disputes, bankruptcy reform, sovereign immunity of states for patents and trademarks, compensation for exposure to radiation during nuclear tests (which affects southern Utah). He has worked hard to get a user fee for drug companies seeking quick FDA approval of new drugs; FDA Commissioner David Kessler, appointed by George Bush and held over by Bill Clinton, is a former Hatch staffer. In 1993, Hatch switched from ranking Republican on Labor to the same post on Judiciary, when it was vacated by Strom Thurmond; he got a seat on Finance in 1991 which he kept rather than take Garn's Appropriations spot in 1993. He has been dogged by stories about connections with the BCCI scandal. In 1990, he tried to help a business associate get a loan from BCCI, and the same year defended the bank on the Senate floor following its guilty plea on charges of laundering drug money; he also made calls to the Justice Department on BCCI's behalf. In April 1993, the Senate Ethics Committee began an investigation on whether Hatch had acted improperly.

Hatch was an attorney in Salt Lake City when he beat an incumbent Democrat in 1976, getting into the race at the last minute when, as a Reagan backer and relative newcomer to the state, he felt the other Republicans running were too moderate. Hatch had another tough race in 1982, when he was pressed by Democrat Ted Wilson, then mayor of Salt Lake City; but Hatch won 58%–41%. In 1988, he won easily, 67%–32%. He would be an overwhelming favorite for reelection in 1994, but for the BCCI investigation. Bill Orton, the conservative Democratic Congressman from Provo, said in early 1993 that he was considering running.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **JAMES M. JEFFORDS (R)**
Ranking Republican, Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities

State: Vermont

Voting Record: 100% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Sen. Jeffords has been extremely supportive of the Arts Endowment. Earlier this year, he indicated his willingness to facilitate passage of the reauthorization legislation. He also mentioned his interest in incorporating the arts into latchkey children's programs and education reform legislation under the jurisdiction of the Education, Arts and Humanities Subcommittee.

Staff: Pam Devitt

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

VERMONT TALKING POINTS

A small, rural state, Vermont is home to a dynamic arts community. While slightly more than half a million people live in Vermont, over 8 million visit the state each year, and many people come for the wonderful music and theater festivals, folk arts, and visual arts exhibitions.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 27 grants to Vermont artists and organizations totalling $791,750.

The Vermont Council on the Arts received 3 grants: a Basic State Grant of $434,000, an arts in education grant of $56,700, and a local arts agency set-aside of $47,000.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in Vermont was over $6.5 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

Reached over 4.1 million participants.
Involved more than 41,000 artists.
Provided arts education to 18,600 children each year.
Included 2,071 grants to rural projects.
Generated at least $13 million in private funds.

The Flynn Theatre for the Performing Arts in Burlington received a $22,500 grant to support its 1993-94 season of events in dance, music, performance art, and theater. The season will include residencies by Jackie McLean, Bread and Puppet Theater, Johanna Boyce, Muntu Dance Theater, and two seven-day National Performance Network projects. Five theater events are planned, including a visit by Junebug Productions. A diverse six-event dance series, featuring Laura Dean and a tap festival, a large-scale musical theater work, and the 10th annual Discover Jazz Festival are also in the works.

The Folk Arts Program awarded a $10,000 grant to the Vermont Folklife Center to initiate a statewide folk arts apprenticeship program. Endowment funds will pay seven master traditional artists to work with apprentices in the folk arts. The first year of the program emphasizes the needs of the Native American community. Future years will emphasize the state's French and Southeast Asian communities.

Other Vermont organizations which receive Endowment support are: the Vermont Symphony Orchestra, Vermont Mozart Festival, the Fleming Museum at the University of Vermont in Burlington; the New England Bach Festival and American artists at the multimusic season of the Brattleboro Music Center; the Onion River Arts Council; the Montshire Museum of Science; the Yellow Barn Chamber Music Festival; the Crossroads Theatre in Rutland; the Shelburne Museum, the Catamount Film and Arts Company; and the Pentangle Council on the Arts in Woodstock.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

Locals

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
202/682-5400

Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

Vermont
September 14, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Dance on Tour program brought the American Indian Dance Theater and the Trisha Brown Company to Burlington, the Joe Goode Performance Company to Morrisville, the Pilobolus Dance Theater to Montpelier, the Hartford Ballet to Woodstock, and Ko-Thi to St. Johnsbury.

* Arts Corps, a $250,000 pilot project funded by the Arts Endowment and coordinated by the National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies, sent Meryl Prettyman of the University of California at Los Angeles to work on a dance program in cooperation with the Pentangle Council on the Arts of Woodstock.

* Through a grant from the International Program to Arts International of New York, David Erlich of Randolph received support from the Travel Grants Pilot program to work with animators in Lahore, Pakistan.

* TheaterWorks/USA of New York toured to Barre, Lyndonville, Randolph, and Rutland, with the assistance of a grant from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* The Fund for U.S. Artists at International Festivals and Exhibitions supported the appearances of Gypsy Reel of Ludlow at the Holmfirth Folk Festival in Yorkshire, England, the Science Fixion Jazz Ensemble of Burlington at Jazz over the Volga in six Russian cities, Banjo Dan and the Mid-nite Plow Boys of Montpelier at Mondialfolk 92, and William Taylor of Bennington at the Fifth World Harp Congress in Copenhagen, Denmark.

* The Acting Company of New York performed in Burlington, the Underground Railway Theater of Arlington, MA, performed in Chester, the Shenandoah Shakespeare Express of Harrisonburg, VA, toured to Poultney, Rutland, and Woodstock, all with the assistance of grants from the Theater Program.

* Through a grant from the Presenting and Commissioning Program to the New England Foundation for the Arts of Boston Hannah Dennison of Burlington received an Artists' Projects Regional Initiative subgrant.

* Students and adults from communities such as Shelburn, Swanton, Montpelier, Barre, Johnson, More Town, Morrissville, Northfield, Plainfield, Stowe, Ruthod, Castleton, East Poultney, Middlebury, Lyndon, Newport, North Scituate, and Bratt were able to attend performances at The Trinity Repertory Company of Providence. The Trinity provides performance and educational programs to the New England area with the assistance of a $147,700 grant from the Theater Program.

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* Through a grant to Boston Film/Video Foundation, Jay Craven of Barnet and Theodore Lyman of Richmond received Media Arts Regional Fellowships.

* Through a grant to the Mid-Atlantic Arts Foundation, Suzanne Bocanegra of Middlebury received a Visual Artists Regional Fellowship. (FY91)

* Vermont received a $434,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

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VERMONT

Sen. James M. Jeffords (R)

Elected 1988, seat up 1994; b. May 11, 1934, Rutland; home, Shrewsbury; Yale, B.S. 1956, Harvard, LL.B. 1962; Congregationalist; married (Elizabeth Daley).

Career: Navy, 1956–59, Naval Reserves, 1959–90; Law clerk, 1962–63; Practicing atty., 1963–69, 1973–75; Shrewsbury Repub. Chmn., 1963–74, Town Agent, Grand Juror, 1964; VT Senate, 1966–68; VT Atty. Gen., 1968–72; U.S. House of Reps. 1974–1988.

Offices: 513 HSOB 20515, 202-224-5141. Also P.O. Box 676, 138 Main St., Montpelier 05601, 802-223-5273; 95 St. Paul St., #100, Burlington 05401, 802-658-6001; and P.O. Box 397, 2 S. Main St., Rutland 05702, 802-773-3875.

Committees: *Aging (Special)* (5th of 10 R). *Foreign Relations* (7th of 8 R): African Affairs (RMM); International Economic Policy, Trade, Oceans and Environment; Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. *Labor and Human Resources* (2d of 7 R): Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism; Disability Policy; Education, Arts and Humanities (RMM); Labor. *Veterans' Affairs* (5th of 5 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	65	86	60	56	75	75	27	18	60	60	39
1991	65	—	91	50	61	87	10	—	—	22	27

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB	1991 CONS	1992 LIB	1992 CONS
Economic	45%	54%	37%	61%
Social	68%	30%	78%	21%
Foreign	63%	33%	59%	40%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	AGN	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	AGN	9. Use Force in Gulf	FOR
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	AGN	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	FOR	10. Keep Salvador Aid	AGN
3. Remove Budget Walls	AGN	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	FOR
4. Ban Striker Replace	AGN	8. Abortion Gag Rule	AGN	12. Override China MFN	AGN

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	FOR	2. HIV Immigrants	FOR	3. Clinton Budget	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	James M. Jeffords (R)	163,183	(70%)	($876,877)
	Bill Gray (D)	71,460	(30%)	($549,908)
1988 primary	James M. Jeffords (R)	30,555	(61%)	
	Mike Griffes (R)	19,593	(39%)	
1982 general	Robert T. Stafford (R)	82,259	(51%)	($407,340)
	James A. Guest (D)	78,447	(48%)	($282,600)

VERMONT

It is an antique state, summed up best in the Shelburne Museum, with its barn and jail, railroad station and blacksmith shop and covered bridge, 37 buildings of folk art, carefully preserved by rich New Yorkers in better-than-ever condition. Vermont, wrote Vermonter Dorothy Canfield Fisher half a century ago, "represents the past, is a piece of the past in the midst of the present and future." Today, reverence for that past has made Vermont, for many Americans approaching the 21st Century, a guide to a congenial future. Vermont's closeness to nature, the intimacy of its small communities, its lack of unattractive accoutrements of early 20th Century industrialism have all made it a kind of promised land for urban expatriates: the state that missed out on U.S. Steel now produces Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream. By the 1980s, for the first time in nearly 200 years, Vermont became a growth area: in an era when Americans are increasingly ill-served by the rigidities of big organizations and repelled by big-city congestion, small businesses and computers enable more and more Americans to make their livings where they want, which often means Vermont.

Vermont began as an agricultural state, a target of America's northward and eastward migration (as important, for a while, as westward movement), a place where starting in the 1790s, second sons and daughters from small New England farms went to scratch out livings from the rocky soil. Agriculture has remained important, especially dairy farming, but Vermont has commerce as well. With its legendary thriftiness, it has accumulated capital that, invested wisely, was used to build the solid stone office buildings and courthouses, the thick-timbered houses and gold-topped state Capitol that have remained long after ramshackle wooden buildings of the 1880s have crumbled into dust. But Vermont never developed labor-intensive industry, and so over the years it exported people, and aged. Today, millions of Americans have Vermont blood—far more than the half million who live here now, many of whom have no Vermont roots at all. Two presidents were born here, but both made their careers elsewhere: Chester Arthur in New York, Calvin Coolidge in Massachusetts. As a result of continuous outmigration, Vermont's population hovered between 300,000 and 400,000 from 1850 to 1960.

Since then—perhaps the key date was 1963, when people started outnumbering cows—Vermont has changed rapidly. Its economy has boomed, led by the leisure-time industries—ski resorts, summer homes—and IBM, with several big high-tech facilities around the Burlington area on the mostly undeveloped shores of glorious Lake Champlain. Vermont's tradition of cottage industries continues, with knitters seeking to overturn union-inspired federal bans on home production. Home-grown firms started by erstwhile Baby Boom rebels—Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream is the archetype—have flourished. The population rose from 390,000 in 1960 to 444,000 in 1970, 511,000 in 1980 and 562,000 in 1990, and it hasn't been random settlement. While next-door New Hampshire, trumpeting its low taxes and aversion to government, has attracted right-leaning migrants from Boston and other parts of the East willing to put up with ticky-tack development to maintain the low taxes, Vermont, proclaiming its love of the environment and desire to protect it, has attracted left-leaning migrants from New York and elsewhere, willing to pay higher taxes for the privilege of living in a seemingly pristine setting.

Another key point may have been in 1970, when Republican Governor Deane Davis, facing a primary challenge, pushed through a sweeping land use law (Act 250) that helped give Vermont its environmental reputation. Housing developments and new ski resorts were required to meet ten environmental criteria and get the approval of a state commission. Davis also raised more money for education, authorized higher fines for water polluters and liberalized divorce laws. Since then, Vermont has passed its own Clean Air Act that levies a tax on new cars that get less than 20 miles per gallon and is proud that it has no EPA-cited air pollution areas. With its

Yankee heritage, it was the most Republican state in the nation in the 19th Century; in 1936 Vermont and Maine were the only states to resist Franklin Roosevelt's landslide. While its population stagnated, its Yankee Protestant Republicans always outnumbered its French Canadian and Irish Catholic Democrats. But now, with more growth in the last 30 years than in the preceding 110, it is liberal, especially on cultural issues, giving Bill Clinton one of his biggest percentage margins in the country (exceeded only in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Arkansas and New York) and reelecting its Socialist congressman to a second term in 1992.

Vermont's junior senator is Jim Jeffords, known since he was first elected to the House in 1974 for having one of the most liberal records of all Republicans. Jeffords returned from law school to his home town of Shrewsbury, was elected state Senator at 32 in 1966 and then state attorney general in 1968 and 1970. He often votes more with Democrats than with Republicans—against the 1981 Reagan tax cuts as Vermont's at-large congressman and, more recently as senator, against Clarence Thomas, for the Brady bill waiting period for handgun sales, for cable TV reregulation, and against the B-2 and SDI. He voted with the Clinton Administration on five of eight early budget votes in 1993, more than any other Republican, was one of two Republicans supporting motor voter registration and was a co-sponsor of family and medical leave. But he has stuck with Republicans on some tough issues. He backed President Bush on most favored nation status for China and, despite pleas from President Clinton, opposed the fiscal stimulus package. Jeffords's overall economic record is more conservative than that of many Democratic senators; it is on foreign and especially cultural issues that he is more liberal.

Other Jeffords causes include his "MediCore" a state-based, single payer medical insurance system, which he emphasizes would help finance Vermont's new plan, and raising grazing fees on public lands (of which there are very few in Vermont). He serves on Foreign Relations, where he has become interested in problems in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics. He was ranking member of the Senate subcommittee investigating the so-called October surprise, which found nothing to this exotic conspiracy theory. A Civil War buff interested in a Vermont regiment's critical role in the Shenandoah Valley Battle of Cedar Creek, and inspired by murals in the Vermont Capitol, he has a bill to catalogue and study unprotected Civil War sites to avoid repeating the imbroglio over Virginia's Manassas battlefield, in which Congress paid millions to save part of the battle site from becoming a shopping center.

Jeffords won this seat in 1988 when Senator Robert Stafford retired. His real hurdle was the Republican primary, in which he was attacked fiercely by conservative Mike Griffes on gun control, abortion, and church and family issues, as well as for accepting $5,000 from the Teamsters' PAC after asking the Justice Department not to take over the union; Jeffords won by a 61%–39% margin—not terribly impressive for a popular representative. In the general, he did better, winning with 70%; any threat to his incumbency in 1994 will likely come in the primary.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **NANCY KASSEBAUM (R)**
Ranking Republican, Committee on Labor and Human Resources

State: Kansas

Voting Record: 80% supportive of NEA *

Comments: During the 1990 reauthorization process, Sen. Kassebaum was the Ranking Republican of the Senate subcommittee which has jurisdiction over the NEA. She still serves on the subcommittee, but is no longer its ranking member as she has assumed that position for the full Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. For the past few years, she has expressed increasing concern regarding "objectionable" arts projects she felt were inappropriate for Federal support both on a personal basis and on behalf of her constituency. Although supportive of the agency's procedural changes brought about as a result of the 1990 reauthorization, she surprised arts supporters, and her Senate colleagues, by offering an amendment to the FY 1992 appropriations bill which sought to reduce NEA funding by 10%. The amendment was rejected by a vote of 27 yeas-67 nays (despite her credibility on this issue with members of the Senate). Since this amendment in September 1991, strenuous efforts have been made by arts supporters to reestablish the Senator's full support for the agency.

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

KANSAS TALKING POINTS

Nearly every small town in Kansas has a local arts agency which supports museums, arts centers, theaters & festivals. Wichita, Topeka, Kansas City, and Lawrence offer museums, concerts, performances, and throughout the state, colleges & universities are sites for additional arts activities.

In Fy 92, the Endowment awarded 18 grants to Kansas artists and organizations, totalling $901,300.

The Kansas Arts Commission received 5 grants: a Basic State Grant of $456,000, an Arts in Education grant of $61,800, a Design grant of $35,000, and rural arts grant of $88,000.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in Kansas was over $9 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

Reached nearly 10 million participants.
Involved nearly 150,000 artists.
Provided arts education to about 29,600 each year.
Included grants to 1,400 rural projects.
Generated at least $18 million in private funds.

Through a new pilot initiative, the Music Program placed nine emerging chamber music companies in rural communities in three states, including Kansas. Dodge City played host to the Antaras Wind Quartet, and in Liberal, the Group du Jour, a windwood trio, participated in a school year residency. The chamber ensembles present concerts, as well as offer music instruction children and adults through workshops.

The Design Program awarded $10,000 to the Lucas Arts and Humanities Council to support the design of an arts center that will house grassroots art indigenous to the area. The Council hopes to design & build a facility to adequately house local cultural treasures as well as to provide space for educational activities. Public recognition of local art has risen in the past 10 years, with scholars, artists, and architects conducting research on the historic limestone architecture of the Lucas region.

A number of Kansas arts institutions regularly receive Endowment support: the Wichita Symphony, Music Theatre of Wichita, the folk arts programs of the Kansas State Historical Society, Literary Magazine Review at Kansas State University, the International Association of Jazz Educators, and the Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

Locals

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
202/682-5400

Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

Kansas
August 20, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Dance on Tour program brought 12 dance companies to 13 communities, including the Great American Indian Dancers to North Newton and Junction City, the State Ballet of Missouri to Iola and Garden City, the Joseph Holmes Chicago Dance Theatre to Salina, Ballet Omaha to Colby, the Tulsa Ballet Theatre to Leavenworth, and the American Tap Dance Orchestra to Hays.

* The Lucas Arts and Humanities Council received a grant of $21,000 from the Folk Arts Program to support a documentation and presentation project centered on the rich woodworking tradition of Lindsborg.

* The Kansas Arts Commission received a grant of $61,800 from the Arts in Education Program to support its residency activities, which reach such communities as Mound City, Lindsborg, Hays, Wellsville, Emporia, Goodland, Osage City, Manhattan, Atchison, Coffeyville, Moreland, Minneapolis, Courtland, Baldwin and Fredonia.

* The Metro Theater Company of St. Louis, MO, toured to Lawrence and Leawood, Theater Grottesco of Detroit, MI, toured to Coffeyville, and the Arkansas Repertory Theatre of Little Rock, AR, toured to Colby, Sterling, Great Bend, Ottawa, Norton, and Coffeyville, with assistance of grants from the Theater Program.

* The Kansas State Historical Society of Topeka received a Folk Arts grant of $30,000 for a folk arts apprenticeship program that supported masters and apprentices from such cities as Auburn, Desoto, Ellsworth, Newton, Winfield, Atchison, Atwood, Dodge City, Edgerton, Hoyt, Troy, Valley Falls, and White Cloud.

* The New York City Opera and TheaterWorks/USA of New York toured to Manhattan, the latter also performing in Parsons; American Theater Arts for Youth of Philadelphia performed in Liberal; and Minnesota Opera of Minneapolis will perform in Hays in 1993, all with assistance of grants from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* The Wichita Symphony received a grant of $30,100 to support run-out concerts in such locations as Winfield and Eldorado. The grant also helped to support the Symphony's series of Young People's Concerts. School districts in such locations as Haven, Arkansas City, Andover, Augusta, Benton, Elbing, Valley Center, Goddard, Colwich, Pretty Prarie, Haven, White Water, Winfield, Kingman, Eldorado, Halstead, South Haven, Maize, Mount Hope, Newton, Haysville, Oxford, Sedgwick, and Towanda were able to bring students to these concerts during the past season.

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* The Kansas State Historical Society of Topeka received a $26,800 Folk Arts grant for traveling exhibitions that reached such communities as Arlington, Burlington, Concordia, Dodge City, Ellsworth, Lyndon, Meriden, Osage City, Ottowa, Sabetha, Washington, and Yates Center.

* The Honorable Harry "Butch" Felker of Topeka and the Honorable Robert Walters of Lawrence participated in the Mayors' Institute on City Design, a leadership initiative established by the Design Arts Program.

* The Kansas Arts Commission received a $88,000 grant in Underserved Communities funds from the State and Regional Program to support subgrants to such organizations as the Latin American Ethnic Foundation of Shawnee, the Kansas Multicultural Arts Alliance of Wichita, Celebration of Cultures Corporation of Lawrence, and Shawnee County Allied Tribes, which carry out programs to increase access to the arts for underserved groups.

* Through a grant from the Presenting and Commissioning Program to Intermedia Arts Minnesota, two Kansas Artists received Artists' Project Regional Initiative subgrants: Roger Y. Shimomura and Tony Allard, both of Lawrence.

* Kansas received a $456,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R)

Elected 1978, seat up 1996; b. July 29, 1932, Topeka; home, Burdick; U. of KS, B.A. 1954, U. of MI, M.A. 1956; Episcopalian; divorced.

Career: Maize Sch. Bd. Mbr., 1972–75; Staff, U.S. Sen. James Pearson, 1975.

Offices: 302 RSOB 20510, 202-224-4774. Also 444 S.E. Quincy, Box 51, Topeka 66683, 913-295-2888; 911 N. Main, Garden City 67846, 316-276-3423; 4200 Somerset, #152, Prairie Village 66208, 913-648-3103; and 111 N. Market, #120, Wichita 67202, 316-269-6251.

Committees: *Foreign Relations* (3d of 8 R); African Affairs; European Affairs; International Economic Policy, Trade, Oceans and Environment (RMM). *Indian Affairs* (6th of 8 R). *Labor and Human Resources* (RMM of 7 R); Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism; Education, Arts and Humanities; Labor. *Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress* (8th of 12).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	25	41	20	25	33	33	67	56	90	100	73
1991	35	—	27	17	28	40	62	—	—	80	58

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB	—	1991 CONS	1992 LIB	—	1992 CONS
Economic	32%	—	66%	15%	—	80%
Social	48%	—	51%	35%	—	63%
Foreign	41%	—	58%	34%	—	63%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	FOR	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	FOR	9. Use Force in Gulf	FOR
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	AGN	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	FOR	10. Keep Salvador Aid	AGN
3. Remove Budget Walls	AGN	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	FOR
4. Ban Striker Replace	AGN	8. Abortion Gag Rule	AGN	12. Override China MFN	AGN

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	AGN	2. HIV Immigrants	AGN	3. Clinton Budget	AGN

Election Results

1990 general	Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R)	578,605	(74%)	($521,140)
	Dick Williams (D)	207,491	(26%)	($16,627)
1990 primary	Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R)	267,946	(87%)	
	R. Gregory Walstrom (R)	39,379	(13%)	
1984 general	Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R)	757,402	(76%)	($355,077)
	James R. Maher (D)	211,664	(21%)	($30,444)

KANSAS

In October 1989, when Yevgeny Primakov, then a top deputy to Mikhail Gorbachev, wanted to see "real Americans," he flew out to Dodge City, one of the mythic prairie towns of Kansas. There he visited Boot Hill Museum, saw the reproduction of historic Front Street and the Long Branch Saloon, and was questioned by friendly Kansans who nonetheless asked him about the Soviets' continued occupation of the Baltic States. Primakov chose Dodge City partly because his host was Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole, who was first elected to represent Kansas in the House in 1960, but it was also a choice that was particularly appropriate for a Russian. For Kansas, like so much of Russia, is placid-looking plains country, full of solid farmers who work hard and have deep roots in the soil; wheat-growing country that can feed much of the world, as Kansas does today and as Russia did before it was taken over by the Soviets. But the history of Kansas, like the history of Russia, has also been punctuated by uprisings, intellectual and violent, by moments of anger and rage sweeping through the tall sheaves like a tornado wind. The difference, of course, is that Russian traditions of law and liberty, culture and civility are weak, while in Kansas as in all America they are remarkably strong.

Those roots for Kansas come from one moment of violence, the Bleeding Kansas of the 1850s; violence which broke out when the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 left to local settlers the question of whether this new Kansas Territory would be a free or slave state. Pro-slavery "bushwhackers" rode over the line from Missouri, stealing elections and writing a pro-slavery constitution; but much larger numbers of free-soil "jayhawkers" from New England and the New England-Yankee-settled Great Lakes states put down roots and, despite the massacres of the mad John Brown, prevailed and established their own law and order. The effect on national politics was tumultuous: the Democratic Party was split, the Republican Party was created, the nation was plunged into Civil War. The effect on Kansas was calming: the anti-slavery majority bent the soil to the plow and built small towns thick with schools, churches and colleges, to the point that in the 1939 color movie, *Wizard of Oz*, Kansas was shot in dreary black and white as the image of dull, prim, old-fashioned Middle America. But the rebellious impulse did not totally die out. Kansas lived almost entirely on farming, and its livelihood was always at risk; hailstorms, grasshopper invasions, dry seasons or a drop in world farm prices could mean disaster for thousands of Kansans. The high-rainfall 1880s attracted hundreds of thousands of new settlers to Kansas; the low-rainfall 1890s produced a bust and a populist rebellion. "What you farmers should do," said orator Mary Ellen Lease, "is to raise less corn and more hell." For a few years in the 1890s, and then in farm rebellions of the 1930s, 1950s and 1970s, Kansans did, but afterwards always returned to jayhawker Republicanism.

At least a whiff of rebellion was apparent in the air of 1992. George Bush ended up carrying Kansas, but for much of the campaign he was running behind in polls, and Ross Perot won 27% of the vote here, tying Idaho for his fourth best showing in the nation. Perot did not run that well in any of the five major urban counties, whose recent growth has made Kansas an increasingly urban state despite its wheat-farm image. But most of his strongest showings were not in the wheat country of central Kansas or the grazing lands of the southwest (where seven counties voted 84% to secede from the state in April 1992), either; farm prices and profits have been relatively high and unemployment here very low. Instead, Perot ran best in counties just at the edge of metropolitan expansion and in the sparsely populated Flint Hills, where young families may live on old 80-acre farms but make their living commuting to two jobs in Wichita or Topeka or greater Kansas City, shopping not in the boarded-up county seat storefronts but driving 50 or 100 miles to the nearest mall. Historically, these counties are places where people have deep roots, but many of them have been moving out, and the new residents are oriented to the Interstates rather than the courthouse squares. It seems likely that the Perot vote comes in Kansas, as in other states, from the less deeply rooted, from newcomers with a tradition of civic involvement but with none of it in their lives until the Texas billionaire came along.

Nancy Kassebaum, first elected in 1978, has little of Dole's strong partisanship or celebrity, but has proved to be a thoughtful legislator to whom colleagues listen and one of steely will to whom they pay respect. She came to the Senate with minimal experience in public office but a fine political legacy as the daughter of 1936 Republican presidential nominee Alf Landon, who died in 1987 at age 100; and she has shown some pretty shrewd political and policy instincts in office. Interestingly, her greatest impact has been on foreign affairs, where she has often proved prescient. She was a major player in the passage of sanctions against South Africa, and has been key in determining the conditions under which they should be scaled back. She came forward in June 1990, with Dan Glickman, to urge a cutoff of $700 million in credit guarantees for Iraq for food purchases, which Saddam Hussein was actually using to acquire arms. This was opposed heartily by the Bush Administration, a monumental blunder in retrospect, since it might have deterred Saddam Hussein from invading Kuwait and would, in any case, have made him militarily weaker. Kassebaum was again far ahead of the curve, calling, after a June 1992 trip there, for United Nations peacekeepers in famine-torn orderless Somalia. Again, the Bush Administration opposed her, and then switched, deciding in November 1992 to send U.S. troops; many lives would have been saved, and U.S. military forces might not have been required in such numbers, if Kassebaum's advice had been taken earlier.

Despite her partisan pedigree, Kassebaum sometimes opposed and has often seemed uncomfortable with some Republican stands in the Reagan and Bush years; she is now ranking Republican on the Labor and Human Resources Committee and a strong supporter of international family planning, which they have opposed, as well as pro-choice at home. On health care, she reintroduced a bill in 1993 calling for an annual limit on insurance premium rate increases and requiring that insurance carriers offer a basic benefits package determined by an independent commission. She has worked for bipartisan budget agreements like the budget summit of 1990, which supply-siders have opposed. She switched her vote to preserve key funding for SDI in fall 1992; she was one of the few Republicans who voted for cable TV reregulation.

After the 1992 election, she wrote in a ***Washington Post*** op-ed piece that the Republican Party must "reinvent itself," taking its traditional limited government approach to abortion and cutting the federal budget deficit. In December 1992, she co-founded, with former Congressmen Tom Campbell and Warren Rudman, the Republican Majority Coalition to combat the rise of the religious right in Republican politics. Kassebaum's approach is widely popular in Kansas. After winning a relatively close race against Bill Roy in 1978, she was easily reelected in 1984 and 1990, the latter time despite an earlier promise to serve only two terms.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **HOWARD M. METZENBAUM (D)**

State: Ohio

Voting Record: 100% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Sen. Metzenbaum has participated in Senate floor debates in support of NEA and is strongly supportive of the agency. He recently announced he will not seek re-election in 1994.

Staff: Cheryl Birdsall

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

OHIO TALKING POINTS

The arts resources of Ohio reflect the mixture of urban and small towns in the state. Major organizations are located in Columbus, Cincinnati, and Cleveland, and mid-sized organizations can be found in Dayton, Toledo, Canton, and Akron. Over 6,700 organizations & individuals comprise the arts community.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 99 grants to Ohio artist & organizations totalling $3,442,090.

The Ohio Arts Council received 3 grants: a Basic State Grant of $551,000, an arts education grant of $194,300, and a folk arts grant of $20,000.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in Ohio was nearly $74 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

Reached over 119 million participants.
Involved over 423,000 artists.
Provided arts education to 57,200 children each year.
Included 729 grants to rural arts projects.
Generated at least $146 million in private funds.

The Musical Arts Association of Cleveland received a $500,000 Challenge grant to establish an endowment to support free performances of classical music in the downtown area. The Cleveland Orchestra will pave the way for attendance by a more ethnically and economically diverse audience by removing geographic and economic barriers to concert attendance and by keeping the presentation informal. The orchestra will also position itself centrally in the life of the community to introduce the classical music tradition to a vastly larger public.

A grant of $7,000 from the Literature Program went to the Thurber House in Columbus to support the center's literary services including writers' workshops conducted by nationally-known authors, Saturday morning writing classes for children, a reading series, and a newsletter mailed to hundreds of local homes. From the home of James Thurber, celebrated author and cartoonist, there are programs for families, picnics of the lawn, and a variety of events featuring emerging and established writers.

Some of the other Ohio organizations the Endowment funds include: the Ohio Chamber Ballet in Akron, the Canton Symphony; in Cincinnati – the symphony, theater, ballet, opera company, and museum; in Cleveland – the orchestra, Cleveland PlayHouse and Fairmount Theater of the Deaf, the ballet, the Modern Dance Association, the Lyric Opera, the Gateway Economic Development Corporation, the museum of art; in Columbus – the symphony, the chamber orchestra, Ballet Metropolitan, performing arts at Ohio State, the Wexner Center for the Arts; Cityfolk presenters in Dayton; the Kenyon Review in Gambier; the Blossom Music Center in Kent; the Toledo Museum of Art; Mad River Theatre Works in West Liberty; & the Youngstown Symphony.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

Locals

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

Ohio
September 14, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Dance on Tour program brought the Mark Morris Dance Company and the Lyon Opera Ballet to Columbus, the Joe Goode Dance Company to Athens, Contraband to Cincinnati, the Feld Ballet to Cleveland, and the Muntu Dance Theatre to Dayton.

* The Honorable Robert Paulson of Solon participated in the Mayors' Institute on City Design, a leadership initiative established by the Design Arts Program.

* TheaterWorks/USA of New York toured to Sidney, Piqua, Elyria, Sylvania, Clayton, and Highland Heights, American Theater Arts for Youth of Philadelphia performed in Sandusky, the New York City Opera performed in Oxford, and Mad River Theater Works of West Liberty toured to Kenton, Franklin, Fairborn, Medway, Shawnee, Lewistown, Troy, Marysville, Raymond, Chillicothe, Frankfort, Fredericktown, Centerville, Yellow Springs, Marietta, Ashley, Bellefontaine, Minford, Lima, Urbana, Richwood, Circleville, London, Pandora, Casstown, Medina, Mount Victory, Quincy, Tipp City, Marion, Logan, Brunswick, Kettering, Elida, Trenton, Hamilton, Fletcher, Lewisburg, Pemberton, Archbold, Mechanicsburg, Eaton, Germantown, Magnetic Springs, Essex, Brookville, Mount Sterling, Huntsville, New Holland, Celina, Kidron, Willoughby, and Tiffin, all with assistance from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* Through grants to Arts Midwest, 13 Ohio artists, including Johnson Bowles of Newark, Ron Kroutel of Athens, Thomas Macaulay of New Carlisle, and Paul O'Keeffe of Kent, received Visual Artists Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* The Acting Company of New York toured to Westerville, Springfield, and Dayton, the Children's Theatre Company of Minneapolis performed in Akron and Columbus, the Great American Mime Experiment of Atlanta performed in Lima, the Underground Railway Theater of Arlington, MA, performed in Oxford, the Mixed Blood Theatre Company of Minneapolis toured to Cincinnati, Cleveland, Marietta, and Middletown, the Arkansas Repertory Theatre of Little Rock performed in Westerville, Theatre IV of Richmond, VA, performed in Zanesville and Mansfield, and the Contemporary American Theatre Company of Columbus toured to Delaware, Springfield, Franklin County, Concord, Nelsonville, Portsmouth, Wilberforce, Marion, Port Clinton, Willard, Millersport, Newark, Rio Grande, London, Granville, and Tiffon, all with the assistance of grants from the Theater Program.

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-more-

* Through grants from the Presenting and Commissioning Program to the Randolph Street Gallery of Chicago, five Ohio artists, including Yolanda Brown of Dayton, received support from Artists' Projects Regional Initiative subgrants.

* Through a grant from the International Program to Arts International of New York, Acquaetta Williams of Columbus, a craft artist received support from the Travel Grants Pilot program for foreign residency projects to research glass blowing and bead making techniques in Nigeria.

* Through grants to the Center for New Television of Chicago, 17 Ohio artists, including David Bussan of Granville, Susan Pointon Richardson of Whipple, and Daniel Friedman of Yellow Springs, received Media Arts Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* The Fund for U.S. Artists at International Festivals and Exhibitions supported the appearances of Edwin London of Shaker Heights at the New Music Week in Bucharest, Romania, Mad River Theater Works of West Liberty at the Vancouver Children's Festival in British Columbia, BalletMet of Columbus at the Italica International Festival of Dance in Spain, and the Solaris Quintet of Akron at the Tenth Bienal de Musica Brasilera Contemporanea in Rio de Janiero.

* Ohio received a $551,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D)

Elected 1976, seat up 1994; b. June 4, 1917, Cleveland; home, Lyndhurst; Ohio State U., B.A. 1939, LL.B. 1941; Jewish; married (Shirley).

Career: Practicing atty., businessman; OH House of Reps., 1943–46; OH Senate, 1947–50; Co-founder, Airport Parking Co. of Amer., Chmn., 1958–66.; Chmn. of the Bd., ITT Consumer Svs. Corp., 1966–68.

Offices: 140 RSOB 20510, 202-224-2315. Also 200 N. High St., #405, Columbus 43215, 614-469-6774; 1240 E. 9th St., #2919, Cleveland 44114, 216-544-7272; City Ctr. One, 100 Fed. Plaza E., #510, Youngstown 44503, 216-746-1132; 10411 Fed. Bldg., Cincinnati 45202, 513-684-3894; and 234 Summit St., Toledo 43603, 419-259-7536.

Committees: *Environment and Public Works* (8th of 10 D): Clean Air and Nuclear Regulation; Superfund, Recycling and Solid Waste Management; Water Resources, Transportation, Public Buildings and Economic Development. *Intelligence (Select)* (2d of 9 D). *Judiciary* (3d of 10 D): Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights (Chmn.); Constitution; Courts and Administrative Practice. *Labor and Human Resources* (3d of 10 D): Aging; Disability Policy; Education, Arts and Humanities; Labor (Chmn.).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	90	91	90	100	92	100	0	22	40	11	21
1991	100	—	100	83	100	93	0	—	—	10	24

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB — 1991 CONS	1992 LIB — 1992 CONS
Economic	97% — 0%	84% — 12%
Social	87% — 0%	84% — 11%
Foreign	86% — 0%	86% — 0%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	AGN	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	AGN	9. Use Force in Gulf	AGN
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	AGN	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	AGN	10. Keep Salvador Aid	AGN
3. Remove Budget Walls	FOR	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	FOR
4. Ban Striker Replace	FOR	8. Abortion Gag Rule	AGN	12. Override China MFN	FOR

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	FOR	2. HIV Immigrants	FOR	3. Clinton Budget	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Howard M. Metzenbaum (D)	2,480,038	(57%)	($8,547,545)
	George V. Voinovich (R)	1,872,716	(43%)	($8,233,859)
1988 primary	Howard M. Metzenbaum (D)	1,070,934	(83%)	
	Ralph A. Applegate (D)	210,508	(17%)	
1982 general	Howard M. Metzenbaum (D)	1,923,767	(57%)	($2,794,172)
	Paul E. Pfeifer (R)	1,396,790	(41%)	($1,025,595)

even swimmable) to Toledo, with its glass and auto plants which were organized by the United Auto Workers. North-and-east Ohio was hurt badly by the collapse of the auto-steel-coal economy following the oil shock of 1979: the great steel factories along the Mahoning and Cuyahoga became cold, black hulks; the tire factories of Akron emptied out. People who had counted on making well-above-average wages even for low-skill work, and who were looking forward to an early and comfortable retirement, suddenly found themselves facing the end of their unemployment benefits in communities where the traditional big employers had pretty much shut down and there were no visible job openings in new firms. Hundreds of thousands of people moved out, and the area's population declined by 4% in the 1980s.

Politically, north-and-east Ohio became one of the most Democratic areas of the nation. Walter Mondale ran as well here as he did in Minnesota, and Michael Dukakis ran as well here as he did in Massachusetts; Bill Clinton's percentage margin here was almost as big as in Arkansas. Senators John Glenn and Howard Metzenbaum carried north-and-east Ohio with 58% and 64% in their most recent elections—the kind of near-unanimous response you usually don't get outside city-states like Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Maryland.

By the early 1990s, north-and-east Ohio's economy was diversifying and slowly growing, and population growth had begun again. Raging dissatisfaction was replaced by something between resignation and calm acceptance of a less than exciting, but no longer scary, economic fate. Voters seemed less strongly Democratic. In 1990 the north-and-east actually voted Republican for governor, 55%–45% for George Voinovich, a familiar figure on Cleveland TV, which covers most of northeast Ohio, after his 10 years as mayor of Cleveland. In 1992, Bill Clinton did carry the area by 16%, but he won only 47% of the vote, less than Dukakis or Mondale, and little more than Jimmy Carter in 1980; the difference was a 22% vote for Ross Perot. North-and-east Ohio was certainly sour on the Republican president, but its enthusiasm for the Democratic challenger seemed limited and its faith that the Democrats could solve its problems not clear.

For the rest of Ohio, the 1980s were not as traumatic—but the early 1990s have been perhaps more so. There were layoffs at machine tool factories in Cincinnati and box factories in Dayton, the Federated retail empire headquartered in Cincinnati had problems, little auto parts shops in north Ohio towns closed. But the soap factories of Cincinnati and cash register business in Dayton hummed on, and Columbus, with its white-collar economy symbolized by Banc One, the largest regional bank in the Midwest, grew at almost Sun Belt rates. With little union or Democratic machine tradition, with relatively few ethnics and blacks, this has long been a Republican area, favoring the policies of James Rhodes, governor for 16 of the 20 years between 1962 and 1982: low taxes, limited public services, attempts to attract business and—his favorite four-letter word—jobs. In the 1980s, it moved even more solidly to the Republicans: cultural conservatism and patriotic nationalism, plus faith in a growing economy, made this one of the more Republican parts of the country, only mildly favoring big statewide Democratic winners like John Glenn, and voting 67%–32% for Ronald Reagan in 1984 and 63%–36% for George Bush (whose grandfather owned a steel factory in Columbus) in 1988. Then, in 1992, support for Bush fell off disastrously. Low job growth combined with higher taxes—the exact opposite of the Rhodes formula—produced massive Republican defections, and Bush carried this region by only 44%–35%, with 20% for Perot; the Democratic percentage was scarcely changed, but Bush's percentage was down 19%.

The sum of these two different Ohios produces an uneasy political equilibrium. In presidential elections, Ohio comes close to the national average, as it has for most of the last century: it nearly matched the national vote in 1984 and was 2% less Democratic than the nation in 1988 and 3% in 1992. At home, Republicans held the governorship, the state Senate, and enough statewide officials to redraw the state legislative districts; Democrats have both senators, a majority of congressmen, and a state House ruled by the nation's longest-serving Speaker, Vern Riffe. What neither side has been able to do—nor have business and labor—is capture people's imagination or attract them with a vision of a better tomorrow. The turn of the century Ohio that produced Thomas Edison and the Wright brothers, the cash register and auto safety glass, showed its

citizens that a more comfortable and more exciting future was possible through mechanical technology and business organization; the 1940s Ohio that produced the big CIO unions, showed Americans that mass production and job security could win a war and create an affluent life. The Ohio of today has 250,000 fewer manufacturing jobs than 20 years ago but is still a manufacturing state, though an increasingly skilled and supple one; but it lacks a guiding vision and sense of where it is going.

Howard Metzenbaum has been heavily involved in Ohio politics for more than half a century. He spent many of his adult years in Cleveland in business, making his fortune by owning airport parking lots (not a business one enters for love). He served in the Ohio legislature from 1943 to 1950, and managed Senator Stephen Young's upset victories in 1958 and 1964, over John Bricker and Robert Taft, Jr. Then Metzenbaum ran himself, beat Glenn and almost beat Taft in 1970; appointed to fill a vacancy in 1974, he lost the primary to Glenn for the full term; he finally won in 1976, beating Cleveland Congressman James Stanton in the primary and Taft in the general. Winning reelection by handsome margins in 1982 and 1988, Metzenbaum has now had a hand in winning elections for this Senate seat, in one of the nation's largest states, for terms totalling 30 years. He shows great political skills and an ambition inextricably linked to strong convictions. A staunch New Dealer 50 years ago, attacked for having joined the leftish National Lawyers Guild, he has one of the most liberal records in the Senate today and formed the Coalition for Democratic Values to champion liberal ideas when they seemed nationally to be in eclipse.

Having fought uphill and come so far, Metzenbaum is an indefatigable and cheerful worker, undeterred by setbacks and incapable of embarrassment. In the early 1980s, when Republicans controlled the Senate, he mastered the rules and used the threat of delaying amendments and filibusters to kill legislation he opposed. After the Democrats regained control in 1986, he used committee positions to embarrass the Republicans, assailing S&L regulators for selling a package of failed thrifts too cheaply and persistently questioning the role played by Republican gubernatorial candidate, Fife Symington, in a failed Arizona S&L. Never mind that Metzenbaum himself in 1983 accepted a $250,000 "finder's fee" for making a phone call putting a prospective buyer in touch with the owner of Washington's Hay-Adams hotel, returning the money only after the transaction was revealed, or that he lobbied the Senate Finance chairman on a tax break for companies that pay for employees' legal services while his son-in-law Joel Hyatt heads the nation's largest legal services firm. His most spectacular moment came in the Clarence Thomas hearings where he doggedly pursued Thomas to articulate his personal views on abortion. Moreover, it was Metzenbaum staffers who first learned about and contacted Anita Hill and the Senate special counsel's report on the matter implied that they may have had a hand in leaking the story to the press.

Metzenbaum has also passed major legislation. He is lead sponsor of Senate gun control bills, including the Brady bill handgun purchase waiting period and bans on automatic rifles and plastic weapons. He was one of the leaders in framing a tough savings and loan bill in early 1989. He was lead sponsor of the plant-closing notification legislation enacted after the fight over the 1988 trade bill. He is probably the Senate's strongest backer of organized labor, and his ties to unions go back 40 or 50 years, but he is also a backer of trial lawyers and an admirer of their friend Ralph Nader. He backs high auto gas mileage standards, despite claims they would cost Ohio auto workers jobs, and scuttled the nomination of one Bush appointee for arguing that higher mileage would mean flimsier cars and more traffic deaths. He has attacked life insurance companies for misleading marketing, backed reregulation of cable TV and has severe qualms about the U.S.-Mexico free trade agreement.

Long a critic of Republican administrations, Metzenbaum could be a gadfly of Clinton's. Although he supported Clinton in 1992, Metzenbaum created his Coalition for Democratic Values as a counterweight to the Democratic Leadership Council once headed by Clinton, and he could easily criticize the Democratic president for not being liberal enough. His 1988 campaign, Metzenbaum said at the time, would be his last; it was plenty nasty, with Republican George Voinovich attacking him for opposing "laws that will put child pornographers out of business," but Metzenbaum won with 57%, about two-thirds of the vote in north-and-east Ohio and a slight majority in the rest of the state in both races. But Metzenbaum will probably try to extend his influence over this seat into the 21st century: he has said it's his "objective" for son-in-

law Hyatt to win the seat, and by early 1991 Hyatt was already travelling around the state. Should Metzenbaum not run again, there is speculation that Marcy Kaptur and Louis Stokes may take up the race. Among Republicans, state Senator Eugene Watts has announced, and Lieutenant Governor Mike DeWine may make the race. Congressman John Kasich may run should his friend DeWine opt not to.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **BARBARA A. MIKULSKI (D)**

State: Maryland

Voting Record: 80% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Sen. Mikulski has not been involved in floor debate on NEA amendments. She has not agreed to meet with previous Chairmen despite repeated requests. Staff indicates that she prefers to meet with constituents involved in the arts.

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

MARYLAND TALKING POINTS

Maryland calls itself "America in miniature" -- with western mountains, an ocean border, a major metropolitan center in Baltimore, and rural and small town areas. While most of the Endowment funding goes to the smorgasbord of arts in Baltimore and the Washington, DC area, projects in every area of the state are supported.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 57 grants to Maryland artists & organizations totalling $2,601,700.

The Maryland State Arts Council received 2 grants: a Basic State Grant of $482,000 and an arts education grant of $26,000.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in Maryland was over $80 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

Reached over 61 million participants.
Involved over 500,000 artists.
Provided arts education to about 169,000 children each year.
Included 287 grants for rural arts projects.
Generated at least $91 million in private funds.

The Museum Program awarded a $40,000 grant to the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore for the exhibition "Classical Maryland, 1815-1845." About 300 objects were on exhibit, including furniture, silver, textiles, glass, paintings, architectural drawings, and sculpture. All are significant works by the foremost Baltimore artists working during the period, and many are recent discoveries not previously exhibited.

The Writers' Center in Bethesda received a $25,000 grant from the Literature Program to support literary activities in 1992-93, including workshops for Maryland writers, a small press and literary magazine gallery & reference library, and other programs for writers. The Center offers at least 160 literary workshops and presents a series of events to attract audiences interested in contemporary literature.

Other Maryland organizations that receive Endowment support are: in Baltimore, the Peabody Music Institute at Johns Hopkins University, the Baltimore Symphony, Pro Musica Rara, the Baltimore Chamber Orchestra, Center Stage, the Baltimore Opera, Maryland Art Place, the Walters Art Gallery, the Baltimore Museum of Art; the National Orchestral Institute and the Maryland Handel Festival at the University of Maryland at College Park; the Maryland Symphony in Hagerstown; Pyramid Atlantic visual arts center in Riverdale; the National Chamber Orchestra Society in Rockville; the National Council for the Traditional Arts in Silver Spring, "Images of the 20th Century" radio series in Takoma Park; the Cambodian-American Heritage folk arts group in Temple Hills; and the Downtown Dance Company in Towson.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

Locals

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
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Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

Maryland
September 7, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Dance on Tour program brought the Tmu-Na Dance Theatre to Columbia, Eiko and Koma and the Lyon Opera Ballet to Towson, the Ballet Folklorico de Mexico to Frostburg, the Alvin Ailey Repertory Ensemble to Gaithersburg, and Dinizulu and his African Dance Company to Hyattsville.

* Arts Corps, a $250,000 pilot project funded by the Arts Endowment and coordinated by the National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies, sent Keith D. Lee of Indiana University in Bloomington, IN, to work on a literature program in cooperation with the Salisbury-Wicomico Arts Council.

* The Baltomore Symphony Orchestra received a grant of $227,000 from the Music Program to support expenses associated with its concert season. Students from counties including Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Prince Georges, Carroll, Montgomery, Harford, Wicomico, Cecil, Howard, and Queen Anne's, participated in the Symphony's young peoples concerts. In addition, Maryland Public Television broadcast a special concert into classrooms across the entire state.

* American Theater Arts for Youth of Philadelphia performed in Salisbury, Mad River Theater Works of West Liberty, OH, performed in Hyattsville, and TheaterWorks/USA of New York toured to Bel Air, Church Hill, Olney, and Owings Mills, all with assistance from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* The Maryland State Arts Council received a $26,300 Partnership Grant from the Arts in Education Program to support artist residency activities in such communities as Forest Hill, Wakefield, Joppatowne, Garrett, Easton, Loch Lynn Heights, Friendsville, Grantsville, Thurmont, Hollywood, St. Michaels, Snow Hill, Berlin, Pocomoke, New Windsor, Cresapstown, and Jacobsville.

* The Underground Railway Theater of Arlington, MA, performed in Baltimore, the Paper Bag Players of New York toured to Towson and Annapolis, the Great American Mime Experiment of Atlanta performed in La Plata, the Acting Company of New York performed in Hagerstown, and the Shenandoah Shakespeare Express toured to Bethesda and Chevy Chase, all with assistance of grants from the Theater Program.

* Through grants to Mid-Atlantic Arts Foundation, seven Maryland artists, including Nadezda Prvulovic of Columbia and Claire Freeman of Bethesda received Visual Artists Regional Fellowships in recent years.

-more-

* Through grants to Pittsburgh Filmmakers, six Maryland artists, including Dan Bailey of Glyndon, Chris Mosner of Lutherville, and Christiane Graham of Highland, received Media Arts Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* The Fund for U.S. Artists at International Festivals and Exhibitions supported the appearances of the Capital Klezmers of North Potomac at the Sixth International Klezmer Festival in Israel and HELICON of Baltimore to the Third International Hackbrett Festival in Germany.

* Through a grant from the Presenting and Commissioning Program to Painted Bride Arts Center of Philadelphia, eight Maryland artists, including Linda Reeves-Cook of Oakland and Kristine Yuki Aono of Cheverly, received Artists' Project Regional Initiative subgrants.

* Maryland received a $482,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

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MARYLAND

Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D)

Elected 1986, seat up 1998; b. July 20, 1936, Baltimore; home, Baltimore; Mt. St. Agnes Col., B.A. 1958, U. of MD, M.S.W. 1965; Catholic; single.

Career: Social worker, admin., Baltimore Dept. of Social Svcs., 1965–70; Baltimore City Cncl., 1971–76; Adjunct prof., Loyola Col., 1972–76; Chmn., DNC Delegate Selection Comm., 1972; U.S. House of Reps., 1976–86.

Offices: 709 HSOB 20510, 202-224-4654. Also 253 World Trade Ctr., Baltimore 21202, 410-962-4510; 60 West St., #202, Annapolis 21401, 410-263-1805; City Ctr. on the Plaza, 213-219 W. Main St., Salisbury 21801, 410-546-7711; 658 Baltimore Ave., #207, College Park 20740, 301-345-5517; and 82 W. Washington St., #402, Hagerstown 21740, 301-797-2826.

Committees: *Appropriations* (11th of 16 D): Foreign Operations; Legislative Branch; Transportation; Treasury, Postal Service and General Government; VA, HUD and Independent Agencies (Chmn.). *Ethics (Select)* (2d of 3 D). *Labor and Human Resources* (7th of 10 D): Aging (Chmn.); Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism; Education, Arts and Humanities; Employment and Productivity.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	100	90	100	92	92	67	0	17	40	0	18
1991	90	—	91	83	78	93	10	—	—	20	20

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB — 1991 CONS			1992 LIB — 1992 CONS		
Economic	72%	—	27%	89%	—	9%
Social	70%	—	27%	68%	—	31%
Foreign	75%	—	23%	65%	—	26%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	AGN	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	AGN	9. Use Force in Gulf	AGN
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	AGN	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	AGN	10. Keep Salvador Aid	AGN
3. Remove Budget Walls	FOR	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	FOR
4. Ban Striker Replace	FOR	8. Abortion Gag Rule	AGN	12. Override China MFN	FOR

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	FOR	2. HIV Immigrants	FOR	3. Clinton Budget	FOR

Election Results

1992 general	Barbara A. Mikulski (D)	1,307,610	(71%)	($3,623,974)
	Alan L. Keyes (R)	533,688	(29%)	($1,175,682)
1992 primary	Barbara A. Mikulski (D)	376,444	(77%)	
	Thomas M. Wheatley (D)	31,214	(6%)	
	Walter Boyd (D)	26,467	(5%)	
	Don Allensworth (D)	19,731	(4%)	
	Three Others	36,621	(8%)	
1986 general	Barbara A. Mikulski (D)	675,225	(61%)	($2,097,216)
	Linda Chavez (R)	437,411	(39%)	($1,699,175)

MARYLAND

Maryland lays claim to being the typical American state, and in many ways is so because of atypicalities that cancel each other out. It was the only one of the 13 colonies founded by Roman Catholics, the Calvert family, and its embrace of religious tolerance came less from abstract principle than from the Calverts' desire to protect their property from Protestant monarchs. It was one of the two big Chesapeake colonies, overshadowed by Virginia, but with the same economy based on tobacco cultivated by slave labor and traded directly with Britain. In time, Virginia and Maryland went their separate ways, Virginia to become the capital of the Confederacy, Maryland to remain part of the Union, though grudgingly (the state song condemns Abraham Lincoln's suppression of pro-Confederate rioters), and to become identified with the North. The puritan impulse was never lively here: Prohibition was enforced only laxly in Baltimore, to the delight of its great journalist-cum-lexicographer, H.L. Mencken; slot machines were legal in the rural counties of the Western Shore; the state's law guaranteeing blacks equal access to public accommodations specifically excluded the Eastern Shore. By not pursuing any one course rigorously, Maryland could be many things at once: northern as well as southern, moralistic as well as libertine, industrial as well as rural, leaving people to their own devices yet with a heavy government presence. Perhaps as a result, much of Maryland's political history reads like a chronicle of rogues, from Luther Martin, the drunken haranguer at the Constitutional Convention, to Spiro Agnew, who took cash bribes as governor and vice president and resigned in 1973 a convicted felon.

Maryland's genial tolerance may have given it a history a little too savory, but this state, perhaps because it is in so many ways typical, cherishes its uniqueness. The Chesapeake Bay, for example, is the nation's largest fresh water estuary, with its unique watermen and shellfish: the terrapin and Chesapeake oyster may be so endangered as to be rare today, but Maryland blue crabs are still common, and the rockfish is coming back. Maryland likes having its state bird (the Baltimore oriole), state flower (the black-eyed Susan), state dog (the Chesapeake Bay retriever), even if today's political correctness has made it convenient to forget the words to "Maryland, My Maryland" and to consider, as the legislature did, a politically correct version of the Calverts' old Italian motto (*fatti maschi, parole femine* which means manly deeds and womanly words).

Maryland also has some reason to be proud of the economy, or economies, it has built over the years. Half a century ago, half the state's population lived in the city of Baltimore and only one-fifth in suburbs; now the proportions are the other way around, and then some: 15% Baltimore, 65% suburbs. And in 1992, the Census Bureau announced that Washington and Baltimore were now a single metropolitan area, the fourth largest in the country, with more than 6 million people. But this is a case of statistical definition at odds with practical reality. Baltimore and Washington are not fraternal, if sometimes quarrelsome, twins like Dallas and Fort Worth or Minneapolis and St. Paul; they are two quite separate cities, with different economic bases, and different attitudes toward public life. Baltimore started off as a port and an industrial city, and has managed to stay diversified and successful as it has spread out into the countryside from its new central core at Harborplace and the solidly built edifices of its downtown grid streets. It makes spices and writes insurance; it headquarters one of the nation's giant power tool makers and one of its great investment banks; it has big government operations, the headquarters of the Social Security Administration and, quietly down the road, the National Security Agency; it is home to the Orioles in their new, intentionally old-fashioned Oriole Park at Camden Yards and is home to Johns Hopkins University in Georgian buildings along the affluent corridor that runs directly north from downtown all the way to the developing edge city of Hunt Valley.

"Bawlmer" retains its local accent and a fierce local pride, and is celebrated by artists as vivid in their own ways as Mencken was in his: the novelist Anne Tyler, and moviemaker Barry Levinson, who brings to life a Baltimore of the 1950s and 1960s that is at once both unique and universal—the Calverts' achievement all over again.

Baltimore remains the focus of Maryland's public life, for 50% of Marylanders still live in the former metropolitan area designation, and its influence is far greater than Washington's on the Eastern Shore or in the western counties. Maryland's Governor Donald Schaefer and Lieutenant Governor Melvin Steinberg, its U.S. Senators Paul Sarbanes and Barbara Mikulski, and its Attorney General Joseph Curran all come from the city of Baltimore or its very near suburbs. Many residents of suburban Washington counties—Montgomery and Prince George's—in contrast, have their focus elsewhere: Montgomery has a very large percentage of people from all over the nation, who moved here to be near the nation's capital and for whom residence in Maryland is a convenience, not a commitment: Prince George's has more black middle- and upper-income residents than any other county in America, most of them with roots in Washington or somewhere farther south. The Eastern Shore and the Western Shore counties south of Annapolis, in contrast, remain as fixated on things Maryland-ish as they are addicted to steamed crabs with characteristic Chesapeake spices: the Chesapeake origins of Maryland are never very far away. The uplands of the western counties, in contrast, are getting harder to distinguish from adjacent parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia and West Virginia.

Maryland is in most respects a Democratic state. Democratic presidential candidates ran relatively well here in the 1980s, with 47%, 47% and 48% of the vote; Maryland was one of Bill Clinton's very best states, as he won 50%–36% over George Bush. In statewide elections, the balance is much farther toward the Democrats: they have not lost an election for senator or governor, or won with under 50% of the vote, since the 1980 victory of liberal Republican Charles Mathias. One reason for this is that 25% of Marylanders are black, the highest percentage of any state outside the Deep South; even the prosperous blacks of Prince George's County are still voting overwhelmingly Democratic (blacks voted 87%–10% for Clinton according to network exit polls). Another, overlapping reason is the liberalism of the Washington suburbs, of the whites as well as blacks therein: they voted for Clinton over Bush 60%–30%. The Eastern Shore and the western counties may go Republican; whites in the Baltimore metropolitan area may favor the Republicans, as they did in the 1992 presidential and 1986 Senate races; but the Democratic margins among blacks and in the Washington suburbs are usually big enough to put Maryland in the Democratic column.

It helps also that the vast majority of state and local officials are Democrats, even in counties that are solidly Republican in national contests. This is partly a matter of ancestral preference, partly a matter of talent. But there are also some signs of discontent. Republicans recently won county executive posts in the three largest suburban Baltimore counties; they won two seriously contested congressional races and came close in another in a year in which Maryland's first-in-the-nation congressional primary was the first clear sign of the 1992 anti-incumbent trend. With some solid candidates, they might be competitive one of these days in a major contest, but haven't been so far.

Barbara Mikulski came to the Senate with deep roots in immigrant urban America, and more than most there she seems fascinated by the new technology and jobs growing in the outer edges of the urban areas, many of which are held by people with backgrounds like her own. Her roots are in east Baltimore, where her Polish immigrant parents ran a bakery. She got her start in politics as a social worker, organizing Highlandtown to stop a highway from going through; she won, and in the process was elected to the Baltimore City Council in 1971, in time to serve (and spar) with the then new mayor, Donald Schaefer. As a local official with genuine ethnic roots and a woman with genuine liberal impulses, she was chosen head of the Democratic National Committee's Commission on Delegate Selection in 1972. She ran for the Senate in 1974, and got a respectable 43% against Charles Mathias; when Paul Sarbanes ran for the other Senate seat in 1976, Mikulski ran for his 3d District seat and won. Ten years later, she gave up that seat for what seemed like a chancy Senate race, and won handily, with 50% in the primary to 31% for Montgomery County Congressman Michael Barnes and 14% for Governor Harry Hughes. In the general, against former White House aide Linda Chavez, Mikulski won with 61%.

Mikulski is loud and brash, humorous and warm, brusque and aggressive when she feels it is necessary, curious and thoughtful when encountering another new part of the world. She knows Baltimore warp and woof—its neighborhoods and government agencies, charitable institutions and ethnic politicians—and she still lives there, in the Fells Point neighborhood being restored

on the waterfront: Fells Point and Don Schaefer's Harborplace, she points out, stand where the highway she opposed was supposed to pass. But she has also become, thanks to an Appropriations subcommittee chairmanship and lots of hard work, the Senate's chief superintendent of the space program and an enthusiast for space exploration. An ardent backer of the manned space station *Freedom* sometimes derided by other liberals, she has found enough money to keep it alive despite her sympathy for veterans' and housing programs also funded by her subcommittee and which, under current budget procedures, tend to be competitors for the same fixed pool of funds. On foreign policy, she usually votes with the doves and opposed the Gulf war resolution, but was attentive even in the Cold War years to human rights violations in left-wing as well as right-wing countries.

On domestic policy, Mikulski is a liberal who insists that "where there are rights there are responsibilities." She surprised many by supporting workfare requirements in 1992. Her biggest domestic initiative is a national service proposal, introduced well before Bill Clinton endorsed the idea in his campaign, in which an adult could perform public services on a National Guard-like schedule and get credits convertible to student loan payments or partial down payment for first-time homebuyers. Mikulski was one of the most vocal defenders of Anita Hill during the Clarence Thomas hearings, and has long denounced sexual harassment. In 1993, she joined the Ethics Committee where she should be a strong voice during the investigation of sexual harassment charges brought against Bob Packwood. She has worked for United Nations family planning funding and more money for Pap smear tests and mammograms; she has sought to exempt from anti-bundling campaign finance laws checks of $50 or less, helpful to EMILY's List, which effectively backed many Democratic women Senate candidates in 1992. Mikulski has not been shy about using her Appropriations seat to help Maryland projects, from the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda to the Baltimore VA program to the Goddard Space Flight Center in Prince George's County to a new $130 million marine biotechnology center in Baltimore. She sponsored a law requiring country of origin disclosure for manufactured car parts. Remembering how she relied on low-cost billboards in her first campaign, she calls anti-billboard proponents "boutique environmentalists."

In 1992, Mikulski was opposed by Alan Keyes, a former Reagan appointee who had run against Sarbanes in 1988. Keyes charged that the national Republican Party was ignoring him because he is black; articulate and angry, he probably hurt himself by any attention he gained from this. Mikulski continued to make a positive impression, and won with 71%.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **EDWARD M. KENNEDY (D)**
Chairman, Committee on Labor and Human Resources

State: Massachusetts

Voting Record: 100% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Senator Kennedy is recognized, together with Senator Pell, as the point person on the arts in the Senate.

Staff: Kathy Kruse

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

MASSACHUSETTS TALKING POINTS

While Boston is indeed The Hub for the arts in Massachusetts and indeed all of New England, a great deal of artistic activity goes on throughout the Commonwealth. The 1,500 nonprofit cultural institutions and 32,000 artists who make Massachusetts their home represent a continuum of creativity that stretches back to Hawthorne and Dickinson.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 193 grants to Massachusetts artists and organizations totalling $6,411,115. Boston proper received 72 grants totalling over $2.9 million.

The Massachusetts Cultural Council received 3 grants: a Basic State Grant of $496,000, an arts education grant of $101,300, and a Locals grant of $95,000.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in Massachusetts was over $119 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

Reached over 233 million participants.
Involved over 1.6 million artists.
Provided arts education to 64,700 children each year.
Included 498 grant to rural arts projects.
Generated at least $238 million in private funds.

The DeCordova Museum and Sculpture Park in Lincoln received $15,000 to support Gallery on the Go, a school outreach program, which travels to middle schools in the state. Students at each school have the opportunity to meet with artists who have created works in the exhibition and to develop their own artistic responses to the works.

A $100,000 grant from the Museum Program enabled the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston to mount "The Lure of Italy: American Artists and the Italian Experience, 1760-1914," an exhibition of 125 paintings, sculptures and drawings. Americans such as Benjamin West, Charles Bullfinch and Thomas Jefferson were deeply moved by their experiences in Italy, and the work they created has never before been featured in a major exhibition. After presentation in Boston last fall, the exhibit traveled to Cleveland and Houston.

Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival in Lee received a $73,300 grant to support their 60th anniversary season. Over 35,000 people attend Pillow events, which included performances by some of the region's and nation's finest companies, such as the Mark Morris Dance Group, Philadanco, and the Jose Limon Company.

Two Boston dance companies received Challenge grants in 1992. The Boston Ballet received $500,000 to implement major initiatives to build new audiences through community outreach and repertory enrichment. The Boston Dance Umbrella received $350,000 to undertake its Dance Company in Residence Program, which will feature a six-week residency of other dance companies to work with the Dance Umbrella.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

Locals

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

Massachusetts
September 1, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* With assistance from Dance on Tour, the Trisha Brown Company and Urban Bush Women toured to Cambridge, the Pat Graney Company and the Margaret Jenkins Dance Ensemble performed in Lee, the American Indian Dance Theater performed in Amherst, and the Feld Ballet and the Pittsburgh Ballet Theatre toured to Lowell.

* The Honorable Theodore Pelosi of Haverhill, the Honorable Judith Robbins of Attleboro, the Honorable Robert Markel of Springfield, and the Honorable James Sheets of Quincy participated in the Mayors' Institute on City Design, a leadership initiative established by the Design Arts Program.

* The Acting Company of New York toured to Amherst, the Shenandoah Shakespeare Express of Harrisonburg, VA, toured to Boston, Cape Cod, and Marblehead, and the Underground Railway Theater of Arlington toured to Rockport, Dorchester, Worcester, Wellesley, Medford, Northborough, Billerica, Sandwich, Harvard, Easton, Brockton, Mashpee, Greenfield, Somerville, Westfield, and Burlington, all with assistance from grants from the Theater Program.

* Through a grant from the International Program to Arts International of New York, four Massachusetts artists received support from the Travel Grants Pilot program for foreign residency projects: Larry Louie Gonzalez-Negron of Jamaica Plain (Dominican Republic), Carlotte Duarte of Cambridge (Mexico), Salem Mekuria of Cambridge (Ethiopia), and C. David Thomas of Newton Centre (Vietnam). Additionally, two visual artists, a composer, and two musical ensembles from Massachusetts received support from the Fund for U.S. Artists at International Festivals and Exhibitions.

* The New England Foundation for the Arts of Cambridge received a $21,000 grant to support the folk arts coordinator position and related costs at Country Roads in Boston. Country Roads carries out a variety of apprenticeship and presentation programs featuring the work of Southeast Asian refugees and reaching such communities as Lowell, Northampton, Waltham, Worcester, Dorchester, Reading, West Wareham, Revere, Chelsea, and Lynn.

* The Springfield Symphony Orchestra received a grant of $31,000 from the Music Program to support youth concerts and symphony ensemble performances. Students from communities such as Ludlow, Westfield, Agawam, Longmeadow, Palmer, Wilbraham, Holyoke, and Chicopee took part in one or both of these programs.

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
202/682-5400

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* The New England Foundation for the Arts of Cambridge received a Folk Arts grant of $20,800 for a folk arts apprenticeship program that supported masters and apprentices from such cities as Leominster, Lincoln, Attleboro, Amesbury, and Malden.

* The New York City Opera toured to Bridgewater, and TheatreWorks/USA performed in Agawam, Dennis, Millbury, Needham, Newburyport, Newton Centre, and Turner Falls, both with assistance from the Opera-Musical Program.

* The Massachusetts Cultural Council received a $101,300 Partnership Grant from the Arts in Education Program to support artist residency activities in 61 communities, including Amesbury, Athol, Chelmsford, Chestnut Hill, Everett, Hopkinton, Ipswich, Mashpee, Rockport, Roslindale, Saugus, Topsfield, Ware, and Wrentham.

* Through a grant from the Media Arts Program to the Boston Film/Video Foundation, 10 Massachusetts artists from such communities as Mendon, Winchester, and Amherst, received Media Arts Regional Fellowships.

* Through grants to the New England Foundation for the Arts, 38 Massachusetts artists from such communities as Newtonville, Charlemont, Allston, Belmont, Merrimac, Shelburne Falls, Fiskdale, and Williamsburg have received Visual Artists Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* Massachusetts received a $496,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

SENATORS

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D)

Elected 1962, seat up 1994; b. Feb. 22, 1932, Boston; home, Hyannis Port; Harvard, B.A. 1956, The Hague Intl. Law Schl., 1958, U. of VA, LL.B. 1959; Catholic; married (Vicki).

Career: Army, 1951–53; Western states coordinator, John F. Kennedy Pres. campaign, 1960; Asst. Dist. Atty., Suffolk Cnty., 1961–62.

Offices: 315 RSOB 20510, 202-224-4543. Also 407 JFK Fed. Bldg., Boston 02203, 617-565-3170.

Committees: *Armed Services* (4th of 11 D): Defense Technology, Acquisitionand Industrial Base; Force Requirements and Personnel; Regional Defense and Contingency Forces (Chmn.). *Judiciary* (2d of 10 D): Constitution; Immigration and Refugee Affairs (Chmn.); Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks. *Labor and Human Resources* (Chmn. of 10 D): Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism; Education, Arts and Humanities; Labor. *Joint Economic Committee* (2d of 10).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	100	95	100	92	100	100	0	5	40	20	10
1991	95	—	100	83	82	100	0	—	—	20	20

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB	—	1991 CONS	1992 LIB	—	1992 CONS
Economic	90%	—	3%	91%	—	5%
Social	87%	—	0%	89%	—	0%
Foreign	86%	—	0%	86%	—	0%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. S for Homeownership	AGN	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	AGN	9. Use Force in Gulf	AGN
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	AGN	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	AGN	10. Keep Salvador Aid	AGN
3. Remove Budget Walls	FOR	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	FOR
4. Ban Striker Replace	FOR	8. Abortion Gag Rule	AGN	12. Override China MFN	FOR

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	FOR	2. HIV Immigrants	FOR	3. Clinton Budget	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Edward M. Kennedy (D)	1,693,344	(65%)	($2,702,865)
	Joseph D. Malone (R)	884,267	(34%)	($587,323)
1988 primary	Edward M. Kennedy (D), unopposed			
1982 general	Edward M. Kennedy (D)	1,247,084	(61%)	($2,470,473)
	Raymond Shamie (R)	784,602	(38%)	($2,305,996)

MASSACHUSETTS

A city on a hill: that's what John Winthrop thought his Puritans were building in their Massachusetts Bay colony, and Massachusetts in the more than three centuries since has always assumed it has a lot to teach. The Puritans' austere creed taught that only the select would be saved and that they must extirpate the forces of Satan—Indians, Papists, tolerationists. For 150 years, New England was partial to learning, but also insular, hostile to outsiders and economically stagnant. Then, after the American Revolution, the international war between royal Britain and revolutionary and Napoleonic France allowed New England shipowners to cross enemy lines to become the world's leading merchants; they made vast profits in just a few brief years, and plowed them into textile mills, then railroads, then coal-mining and steel-making: this was the capital that made industrial America.

Massachusetts made a new America in other ways. Intellectually, New England flowered: just a few writers from Boston and Concord—Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Henry David Thoreau, John Greenleaf Whittier—created an American literary genre and popularized an American philosophy, more than 200 years after Plymouth Rock. Demographically, New Englanders surged through Upstate New York, the Midwest, and across the continent. Long blocked from Upstate New York, they only reached Syracuse in the 1820s; by the 1850s they were in Iowa and Kansas and Oregon's Willamette Valley; by the 1880s they had settled Los Angeles. They built new cities and new colleges in the wilderness; they helped to start the Republican Party and did much to start—and win—the Civil War; they planted their economic system and their values, articulated in the "McGuffey Readers," across the continent: a whole nation looking to Massachusetts for instruction.

But in the meantime Massachusetts itself and Boston, the Hub of the Universe, were being remade. The potato famine of the 1840s and an economy that continued imploding for decades

after sent Irishmen across the Atlantic, and many came to Boston, looking for work in the mills, docks and factories. Yankee Protestants had seen Catholics as their great cultural enemy for 200 years and saw their commonwealth as under siege. As the Irish became a majority first in Boston and then statewide, Protestants feared the Irish would use their majorities to ladle out government jobs and benefits to their kind. And the Irish had a much better flair for politics than instinct for commerce; they yearned for the security of a government job, and they encountered such bigotry and rejection by the Yankees that even as successful an Irish Catholic as Joseph Kennedy felt obliged to move to New York in 1927. Politics in Massachusetts for years was a kind of cultural war between Yankee Republicans and Irish Democrats, an argument not so much over the distribution of income or the provision of services as over whose vision of Massachusetts should be honored, whose version of history should be taught.

Sometimes the stakes were concrete—control of patronage jobs, command of the Boston Police Department—but more often they were symbolic. Yankee Republicans tended to back activist government programs: public works and protective tariffs to help business, Civil War and Reconstruction to help suitably distant oppressed people like southern blacks, uplifting (and productivity-enhancing) social movements like temperance. The Irish found 19th Century Democrats—a party promoting laissez-faire—more congenial. They had come from a place where the government was the enemy, and didn't want government spending money to help the rich or to stimulate commerce; they didn't want government to restrict immigration, to advance the blacks who might compete with them in the labor market, or to prohibit the consumption of liquor. So politics in Massachusetts became a conflict whose warriors gird for battle still over cocktails at the Somerset Club or at Billy Bulger's St. Patrick's Day breakfast in South Boston, and then duke it out at the polls and in the gold-domed 1820s State House.

Over the years, the percentage of Irish and Catholics slowly rose. Yankees had smaller families, moved west, intermarried with people of immigrant stock and lost their Yankee identity. The Irish mostly stayed put, raising large families and eventually Massachusetts moved from being one of the most Republican states to one of the most Democratic. Economically Massachusetts did not make much progress. The descendants of the Yankees who had been so venturesome in the early 19th Century became the most cautious investors in the early 20th, while the predominance of the textile mills in their home state meant that for a century beginning in the 1820s Massachusetts imported low-skill labor and exported highly skilled people. As textile mills fled south in the 1920s, Massachusetts started exporting low-skill people as well; and from the waning of Yankee authority until the national rise of the Kennedys, Massachusetts seemed to run out of things to teach the rest of the nation. The state's Yankee Republicans were backward-looking, out of power in Washington, on the defensive at home, without a cause to champion. The Irish Democrats were hostile to Franklin Roosevelt's pro-British internationalism and receptive to the anti-Communism of the very Irish Joe McCarthy.

Then came the Kennedys. Their only residence in Massachusetts after 1927 was their summer home in Hyannis Port. But Rose Kennedy was the daughter of John "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, elected to Congress at 31, mayor of Boston in 1906–07 and 1910–14; and her husband Joseph Kennedy, first chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission in the 1930s and ambassador to the Court of St. James from 1937 to 1940, was perhaps the richest Catholic in the world and a shrewd and ruthless political operator. Joseph Kennedy moved his oldest surviving son, John, to Massachusetts, engineered his election to the House in 1946, the Senate in 1952 and the Presidency in 1960. The Kennedys, with their elegant manners and great achievements, seemed like royalty to the Irish Catholics of Massachusetts and John Kennedy's election in 1960 certified to U.S. Catholics, 78% of whom voted for him, that they too were Americans. Joseph and John Kennedy were, on many issues, conservative or skeptical. But Kennedy's Administration was increasingly, even before his untimely death, identified as liberal, and his example and that of his brother, Edward, elected to the U.S. Senate at 30 in 1962, moved Massachusetts Catholics to the left. At the same time, Massachusetts Protestants were influenced by the leftward direction on the state's great campuses in the 1960s. The universities were also

providing the basis for a surging high-tech economy, to the point that Massachusetts started importing high-skill people even as it continued to export those with low skills.

In the 1970s and 1980s Massachusetts, with one interval, had the most liberal governance and national politics of any state in the country. The expanding high-skill population, attracted initially by Massachusetts's many universities and colleges, not obliged to deal with the problems of a vast urban underclass, provided a political base of activists and money; Irish and other Catholic voters, won over by the Kennedys, provided most of the votes. Massachusetts was the only state to vote for George McGovern in 1972 and although it voted twice for Ronald Reagan, the son of an Irish Catholic, its Democratic percentage in other presidential contests from 1968 to 1988 was 53%, just 0.4% behind Rhode Island and well ahead of every other state. The state's Senators included Edward Kennedy, liberal Republican Edward Brooke, and liberal Democrats Paul Tsongas and John Kerry. Its Governors, liberal Republican Francis Sargent and liberal Democrat Michael Dukakis, vastly increased spending and endorsed the lunatic policies Dukakis could not explain in the 1988 presidential campaign: prisoners sentenced to life without parole being given weekend furloughs (the Willie Horton charge—a policy which liberals in the press said it was racist to oppose), prisoners allowed to vote and be registered by state employees sent into prisons for that purpose, government spending that rose 9% a year in the 1980s. An attempted rebellion against this resulted in Dukakis's defeat in 1978 and the election of conservative Democrat Edward King. As historian David Hackett Fischer points out, the mindset of the original settlers remains strong even when the ethnic origin of current residents is far different, and the spirit of the Puritans, the faith that they had much to teach the rest of the world, was strong in Massachusetts liberals: Michael Dukakis is moralistic, humorless, austere, smug and contemptuous of those not sharing his vision.

Today, Massachusetts has largely rejected this politics, and with a suddenness matched in its history by its merchants' sudden emergence as world traders in the 1790s and the appearance of Irish immigrants on Boston docks in the 1840s. When Dukakis announced he was running for president in 1987, his job rating was far above 50%, and the *Boston Globe*, as objective a cheerleader for Massachusetts liberalism as the *Chicago Tribune* was for Midwestern conservatism in the 1940s, was hailing "the Massachusetts miracle." But the state's financial problems were silently worsening as Dukakis campaigned across the country; he won only 53% of the vote in Massachusetts, running strong in the Berkshires and the Pioneer Valley in the west, but only running even in the Boston media market (which includes New Hampshire, a low-tax haven from high-tax Massachusetts since colonial times). Then in 1989 things fell apart. The state economy sagged badly: the slump in minicomputers hurt Massachusetts-based Wang and Digital; Cambridge's Lotus software was outflanked by Seattle's Microsoft; defense spending cutbacks, long sought by Massachusetts politicians, naturally produced job losses. More spectacular was the bursting of the Northeast real estate bubble and the resultant collapse of major New England banks: New Englanders learned anew the old lesson that housing prices don't go up 25% a year indefinitely. The state government essentially went bankrupt: spending had ballooned, revenues were falling and higher tax rates only decreased them more, services were cut, Dukakis was ridiculed and announced his retirement from office. Now it seemed that the rest of the country had something to teach Massachusetts.

The repudiation was complete in the 1990 elections. Liberals like Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn and Congressman Joe Kennedy didn't run for governor; liberal Lieutenant Governor Evelyn Murphy bowed out of the race eight days before the Democratic primary. And former Attorney General Frank Bellotti, in and out of state government since 1962, lost to Boston University President John Silber, a tough-talking critic of liberalism and former Texan who also feels he has much to teach the country. The Republican gubernatorial primary winner was former U.S. Attorney William Weld, pro-choice on abortion and pro-gay rights, but stern on crime and by his own definition reactionary on taxes and spending. After a nasty campaign, Weld beat Silber in November 1990, and Republicans won other races, electing Joe Malone state treasurer and gaining seats in the legislature and that colonial relic, the Governor's

Council. In 1991, Weld actually cut state spending—not projections or current-budget-plus-inflation, but actual spending—privatized services and slashed public payrolls; the state's economy did not start growing much by early 1993 but it was no longer declining. But Democrats remain the hardier party in Massachusetts: they have veto-proof majorities in the legislature; they generate most of the talented young politicos; even as Republicans picked up two congressional seats and seriously contested three others in 1992, Democrats won the total vote cast for Congress by 57%–35%, the largest margin in any big state.

Yet the underlying tectonic plates of Massachusetts politics have shifted. Support for Massachusetts liberalism has slipped among the university elite as they face the limits of government's ability to solve problems and the depressing effects of high taxes. It has slipped as well among the Catholic majority as more exotic policies and effects of cultural liberalism have come out into the open. Edward Kennedy, despite his marriage in 1992, seems less a venerated royal and more a controversial politician. Talk radio hosts like WRKO's Jerry Williams and Howie Carr and the feisty *Boston Herald* have delegitimized Massachusetts liberals' claims to moral superiority, while the *Globe* and other liberal voices are as hollow and unconvincing—nagging and telling others what to do when they haven't a very good idea of what to do themselves. Massachusetts undoubtedly will have more to teach the country, but for the moment it seems to be doing some learning.

Senator Edward Kennedy is now in his fourth decade as a national celebrity. He has had the highs and lows of his personal life followed by millions and criticized vitriolically by many; he has been a presidential candidate and, while still in his 30s, was assumed by many to be the next occupant of the White House. He is now the fourth most senior member of the United States Senate, behind Strom Thurmond, Robert Byrd and Claiborne Pell. His reputation as an idealistic champion of the poor has been burnished by the praise of first-rate celebrators that no American political family has attracted before; to millions of others, he is a symbol of personal immorality and unpunished criminal behavior, a man who has gotten away with things that would have ended anyone else's public career. There is some basis for both views, but neither is an entirely fair picture of this politician who goes before the voters of Massachusetts in 1994 with the outcome for the first time in 32 years not entirely certain.

For the luster of the Kennedys has worn off, in America and even in Massachusetts, and the percentage of Americans who look to the Kennedys for political leadership has grown small; most voters can't remember, or never knew, what made the Kennedys so exciting. Edward Kennedy, elected to the Senate in 1962 when his brother John was president, Senate colleague with his brother Robert in the middle 1960s, was seen as the natural heir after their assassinations in 1963 and 1968. In retrospect, it is plain that Edward Kennedy's presidential chances were ended in July 1969, with the accident at Chappaquiddick, even though the Kennedy family retainers managed to cast a cloud over the specifics in a way that would be considered outrageous if tried by anyone else. Now, after the Good Friday 1991 bar-hopping in Palm Beach and his nephew Willie Smith's trial and acquittal for rape, Kennedy's vote-to-reelect figures in Massachusetts are languishing and his political career may be in some jeopardy.

In fact, Kennedy has been a hardworking and practical politician who, after his brothers' deaths, took up the liberal causes and preoccupation with the poor which had been the focus of Robert Kennedy in the last years of his life. He has worked hard for a quarter century on their behalf—and now, perhaps for the first time in his career, certainly for the first time in 15 years, Kennedy has a friendly Democratic administration to work with. And he was able, as chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, to be legislatively productive in the Bush years. The child care bill passed in 1990, though by no means in the form sponsored by Kennedy's friend Christopher Dodd. A higher minimum wage and the Americans with Disabilities Act, sponsored by Tom Harkin, passed after negotiations with the White House. The Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Care Act was passed. He played a major role on the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which Bush first opposed as quota legislation, then signed after revisions. Kennedy pushed through a higher education reauthorization bill, and produced a neighborhood schools improvement act that treated the Bush Administration school choice proposals with contempt; he has no truck with the argument that spending more simply rewards teachers and administrators who are not serving children well. Kennedy has played a major role on expanding immigration quotas: the 1965 Immigration Act, which eliminated the quotas of the 1920s, was the first major bill Kennedy floor-managed; but by the early 1980s, he was, like other labor-oriented liberals, hostile to increasing immigration. Heavy illegal Irish immigration to Boston and New York changed his mind, and in 1989 and 1990 he pushed successfully to increase the total number of immigrants.

Where he was frustrated during the Bush years, Kennedy may do better with Clinton. The

Family and Medical Leave Act vetoed by Bush was signed by Clinton in February 1993. National health insurance has long been a Kennedy cause: in the 1970s and 1980s he backed a Canadian-style single-payer government system; he moved toward the Democrats' pay-or-play plan in the 1990s, and is likely to support the Clinton Administration program and to assist in shaping the legislation. As the lead sponsor of many civil rights measures, he may try to raise the cap on punitive damages in sexual harassment suits and ban the death penalty when it is imposed disproportionately on members of different races, an attempt to bring quota legislation to criminal law. He will try to beef up OSHA regulations and reauthorize the Job Training Partnership Act and the Legal Services Corporation. He will be an advocate of the Freedom of Choice Act to provide a statutory guarantee of the right to abortion.

But it should not be assumed that Kennedy will automatically support Clinton programs. In recent years, his record has been increasingly radical, at the farthest left edge of Senate opinion. For example, he helped defeat Judge Robert Bork's nomination in 1987 when, just after the nomination was announced, he shrewdly, though without any fair basis, charged that "Robert Bork's America is a land in which women would be forced into back-alley abortions, blacks would sit at segregated lunch counters." He was precluded from a similarly loud role in the Clarence Thomas hearings in October 1991 because of his role in the Willie Smith case, which reduced to the level of *Saturday Night Live* satire his moral authority to pronounce judgment on sexual harassment. On foreign policy, Kennedy was strongly against any U.S. use of force to back up U.N. resolutions against Iraq in the Persian Gulf; not only did he vote against authorizing military force, he was only one of three senators (Democrat Bob Kerrey and Republican Mark Hatfield were the others) to oppose Bush's seeking the resolutions in the U.N. Here he seems to have moved far from President Kennedy's declaration that America would "bear any burden, pay any price" to advance freedom in the world and more toward Ambassador Joseph Kennedy's isolationism. He has called for deep cuts in the Defense budget, twice as deep as Bush and even deeper than Clinton. It is inconceivable that Kennedy would end up running against President Clinton in 1996 as he did against President Carter in 1980, when he opposed administration policies from the left. He began the race far ahead in the polls, but his inability to articulate his reasons for running, and adverse reaction to him personally and to his policies, resulted in a crushing defeat, relieved only by his stirring speech to the Democratic Convention in New York where he pointedly refused to raise Carter's hand on the podium. But it could be that Kennedy, with less now to lose, will loudly oppose Clinton if he deems his programs a betrayal of liberal principles and of the poor whom he seeks to help.

Since 1980, Kennedy, like the man he succeeded as chairman of the Judiciary Committee in 1979, James Eastland of Mississippi, has had a shrewd political sense and has maintained his popularity in the Senate and in his state, without much regard to how he stands elsewhere. In the Senate, seniority protects his power, and he is a good person-to-person politician as well. In Massachusetts, he was not much in evidence in 1990 and 1991, avoiding the Dukakis debacle as Kennedys have avoided the troubles of other Massachusetts Democrats for years, and ducking from sight pending the Palm Beach trial. He remarried in 1992, which may help him with some voters; yet at a time when feminism is increasingly the energizing force in liberal politics, his past does not ideally position him to be a liberal leader. His strength in Massachusetts depends less every year on the almost religious devotion of the decreasing numbers of Irish and Catholic voters who remember discrimination and loved him as a member of the family that had brought them all into the American mainstream, and more on those who respect him as a hardworking, competent public official. That helped him win with 62% in 1970, the year after Chappaquiddick, and with 69% in 1976, 61% in 1982, 65% in 1988. Governor William Weld has said he won't run against him; neither will Lieutenant Governor Paul Cellucci or his 1988 opponent, Treasurer Joe Malone. Former Bush Transportation Secretary Andrew Card may also be interested. His nephew, Congressman Joe Kennedy, declined to run for governor, which surely helps the Senator: two Kennedys on one ballot might be too many. Ted Kennedy surely will enter 1994 the favorite, but he is not taking his reelection for granted, and no one else should either.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **CLAIBORNE PELL (D)**
Chairman, Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and Humanities

State: Rhode Island

Voting Record: 100% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Sen. Pell sponsored the legislation which established the Arts Endowment in 1965 and has subsequently guided all reauthorization proposals through the Senate. Together with Senator Kennedy, he is considered the "point person" in the Senate on arts issues.

Staff: Alexander "Sandy" Crary

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

RHODE ISLAND TALKING POINTS

Due to its size, Rhode Island often functions as a "city-state," and its major cultural institutions are located in Providence. Despite this concentration, art organizations have been growing in other regions of the state, from Aquidneck Island to Woonsocket.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 15 grants to Rhode Island artists & organizations, totalling $889,500. Providence won the lion's share of the grants with 12.

The Rhode Island State Council on the Arts received 3 grants: a Basic State Grant of $440,000, an arts education grant of $48,800, and a folk arts grant of $29,900.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment for Rhode Island was over $10 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

Reached over 8.3 million participants.
Involved nearly 39,000 artists.
Provided arts education to about 4,000 children each year.
Included 92 grants for rural arts projects.
Generated at least $20 million in private funds.

The Rhode Island Black Heritage Society's Rites and Reasons Theatre in Providence was awarded a $29,000 grant from the Expansion Arts Program to support its 1992-93 play season. This current season presents workshop productions of original plays based on research documentation, as well as a fully staged production of a work by playwright Elmo Terry-Morgan and Brer Rabbit Whole by the late George Houston Bass. Rites and Reason Theatre was cited by the New England Theatre Conference for "original work on the New World and Afro-American experience," and they received the Monarch Merit Award from the National Council for Culture and Arts.

The Museum Program awarded a $25,000 grant to the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology at Brown University in Rhode Island. This award supports an exhibition with accompanying catalogue and educational programs of the work of Tomah Joseph, a Passamaquoddy artist who dramatically changed the style of traditional New England incised birchbark art. Inspired by his Passamaquoddy heritage as well as non-Indian book illustrations, Joseph covered the surfaces of traditional and Victorian-inspired birchbark objects with lively, informative, and sometimes humorous drawings depicting past and present Passamaquoddy life. This first retrospective exhibition of Joseph's work is curated by Joan Lester, chief and Native American curator of the Boston's Children Museum. The exhibition of 75 objects will also travel to a museum in northern Maine, home of the Passamaquoddy and related Penobscot peoples.

Other Rhode Island grantees include: the Rhode Island Philharmonic, the Newport Music Festival, Trinity Repertory Theater, the Anyart Contemporary Art Center, and the Langston Hughes Center for the Arts.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

Locals

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
202/682-5400

Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

Rhode Island
August 20, 1993
(Fiscal years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Rhode Island State Council on the Arts received a Folk Arts grant of $29,000 for a folk arts apprenticeship program that supported masters and apprentices from such cities as Pawtucket, Cumberland, Kenyon, Wakefield, Warwick, and Bristol.

* Brown University of Providence was awarded a $25,000 grant to support a touring exhibition of the work of Passamaquoddy Indian artist Tomah Joseph.

* The Trinity Repertory Company of Providence received a $147,700 grant from the Theater Program to support its season. The Trinity Repertory Company draws its audience from a large region, both through ticket sales and the Project Discovery program, which brings students into the theater. Cities in Rhode Island that have participated in programs offered by the Trinity Repertory Company include Cranston, Johnston, Hope Valley, Jamestown, Pascoag, Central Falls, Cumberland, Wakefield, Charleston, Lincoln, Pawtucket, Bristol, Saunderstown, Slocum, Narragansett, Peace Dale, Wyoming, Rumford, Esmond, Ashaway, Barrington, Block Island, Chepachet, Clayville, Exeter, Fiskville, Forestdale, Foster, Greene, Harmony, Hopkinton, Little Compton, Manville, Narragansett, Adamsville, and Albion.

* The Rhode Island Arts Foundation of Newport received a $5,000 grant from the Music Program to support artists' fees for the Newport Music Festival.

* The Rhode Island Black Heritage Society of Providence received $29,000 from the Theater Program to support its theater season.

* The Rhode Island Philharmonic Orchestra of Providence received a $21,000 grant from the Music Program to support an educational program including school-time concerts and ensemble presentations. Communities served by this program include Barrington, Bellingham, Belmont, Bristol, Central Falls, Cranston, Cumberland, East Greenwich, Foster, Foxboro, Lincoln, Middletown, North Attleboro, North Dartmouth, North Kingstown, North Scituate, Pawtucket, Rehoboth, and Warwick.

* The Rhode Island State Council on the Arts received a $48,800 Partnership Grant from the Arts in Education Program to support artist residency activities in such communities as Scituate, Coventry, Tiverton, and Middletown.

* The Chorus of Westerly received an Advancement grant from the Challenge and Advancement Program to support a year of technical assistance and long-range planning.

-more-

* Theaterworks/USA of New York toured to North Kingston and Providence, and the New York City Opera, the San Francisco Mime Troupe and Theaterworks in Palo Alto, CA, all performed in Providence all with assistance from grants from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* Residents of Rhode Island are served by public television station WSBE, which offers such Endowment-funded programs as "American Masters," "Great Performances," "Live from Lincoln Center," "Dancing," and "Wonderworks."

* The mayors of Woonsocket and Newport participated in the Mayor's Institute on City Design, a leadership initiative established by the Design Arts Program.

* Using $63,300 in Underserved Communities Set-Aside Funds, the Rhode Island State Council on the Arts has developed an arts education program that will place vocational students in arts organizations throughout Rhode Island. Students will receive both supervised on-the-job training as well as free access to performances, exhibitions, and other arts activities. The state arts council also received an $18,000 set-aside planning grant to identify and ultimately provide for the artistic needs of newly arrived immigrants and refugees.

* The Birmingham Childrens' Theatre of Birmingham, AL, the Paper Bag Players of New York City, and the Underground Railway of Arlington, MA, toured to Providence with the assistance of grants from the Theater Program.

* Arts Corps, a $250,000 pilot project funded by the Arts Endowment and coordinated by the National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies, sent Meridith Mitchell of Indiana University, Bloomington, to work on a music program in cooperation with the Pawtucket Arts Counsel.

* Rhode Island received a $440,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

RHODE ISLAND

Almanac of American Politics 1994

Sen. Claiborne Pell (D)

Elected 1960, seat up 1996; b. Nov. 22, 1918, New York, NY; home, Newport; Princeton, A.B. 1940, Columbia U., A.M. 1946; Episcopalian; married (Nuala).

Career: Coast Guard, 1941–45 (WWII), Coast Guard Reserves, 1945–78; Foreign Svc., U.S. Dept. of State, Czechoslovakia and Italy, 1945–52; Exec. Asst., RI Dem. St. Chmn., 1952, 1954; Consultant, DNC, 1953–60.

Offices: 335 RSOB 20510, 202-224-4642. Also 418 Fed. Bldg., Providence 02903, 401-528-5456.

Committees: *Foreign Relations* (Chmn. of 11 D): Terrorism, Narcotics and International Operations. *Labor and Human Resources* (2d of 10 D): Aging; Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism; Education, Arts and Humanities (Chmn.). *Rules and Administration* (2d of 9 D). *Joint Committee on the Library* (Vice Chmn. of 5).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	80	91	90	82	92	83	8	17	50	30	12
1991	90	—	100	83	72	100	0	—	—	22	22

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB — 1991 CONS	1992 LIB — 1992 CONS
Economic	90% — 3%	67% — 32%
Social	87% — 0%	89% — 0%
Foreign	78% — 14%	65% — 26%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	AGN	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	AGN	9. Use Force in Gulf	AGN
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	AGN	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	AGN	10. Keep Salvador Aid	AGN
3. Remove Budget Walls	FOR	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	FOR
4. Ban Striker Replace	FOR	8. Abortion Gag Rule	AGN	12. Override China MFN	FOR

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	FOR	2. HIV Immigrants	FOR	3. Clinton Budget	FOR

Election Results

1990 general	Claiborne Pell (D)	225,105	(62%)	($2,363,904)
	Claudine Schneider (R)	138,947	(38%)	($2,056,923)
1990 primary	Claiborne Pell (D), unopposed			
1984 general	Claiborne Pell (D)	286,780	(73%)	($430,739)
	Barbara M. Leonard (R)	108,492	(27%)	($143,842)

RHODE ISLAND

The tiny little city-state with a mouthful of an official name, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, has as turbulent a political history as any state in the Union. A successful trading community since the 1600s, a leader in manufacturing since Samuel Slater replicated from memory an English water-powered cotton textile mill in Pawtucket in 1791, Rhode Island also had its beginning as an upstart community, a refuge for religious dissenters, "the sewer of New England," as the orthodox Cotton Mather put it. Rhode Island profited from slavery (two-thirds of America's slaves arrived on ships owned by Rhode Islanders) and war (the state boomed during the Civil War), and carried its tradition of tolerating just about anything into politics. Rhode Island refused to pay for the Revolutionary War, declined to send delegates to the 1787 Constitutional Convention, and delayed joining the Union until the other 12 states had, prompting George Washington to say, "Rhode Island still perseveres in that impolitic, unjust—and one might add without much impropriety—scandalous conduct, which seems to have marked all her public counsels of late." The new nation's first bank failure occurred in Rhode Island in 1809, when a bank capitalized at $45 issued $800,000 in bank notes. In the 1840s, conflict between hard money merchants and soft money farmers resulted in two state governments and a conflict known as Dorr's War, with the outcome determined when merchant Dorr's two ancient cannons failed to fire.

Then, in the 1930s, Rhode Island had something resembling a political revolution. Thousands of immigrants from French Canada, Ireland and Italy had come to Rhode Island to work in the textile mills; by the early 1900s, this colony of dissident Protestants had become the most heavily Catholic state in the nation. Yankee Republicans were able to appeal to Catholics by running French Canadians for high office for example; but national events—Al Smith's candidacy in 1928, when he carried Rhode Island, and Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal—moved the Catholics toward the Democrats. Then came the revolution: in 1935, the Democrats under Governor Theodore Green, although they had won only 20 of the 42 state Senate seats, refused to seat two Republicans. With the lieutenant governor's tie-breaker they voted Democrats into the seats, and proceeded in 14 minutes to declare the state Supreme Court seats vacant, abolish state boards that controlled Democratic cities, strengthen the power of the governor and reorganize state government to get rid of Republicans. This ended the direct political control by Rhode Island's "Five Families"—the Browns, Metcalfs, Goddards, Lippitts and Chafees—who owned or ran many of the textile mills, the Rhode Island Hospital Trust (long the largest bank), the *Providence Journal*, the Rhode Island School of Design and the state Republican Party—and ultimately lost the leadership of Rhode Island politics to the heirs of the 1935 Green revolution. The Democrats have won most elections with the lion's share of votes from Rhode Island's 64% Catholic majority, starting with Green's election in 1936 at age 69 to the first of his four terms as U.S. senator. From 1940 to 1980, Democrats won every election for the U.S. House seat; its Democratic percentages in presidential elections from 1968 to 1992 were among the highest in the country, rivalled only by Massachusetts. Republicans have won when they've been able to capitalize on scandal or Democratic disarray. The only really durable Republican politician has been John Chafee, elected governor in 1962, 1964 and 1966, senator in 1976, 1982 and 1988; but even he has lost twice statewide.

But Rhode Island political patterns were destabilized by economic transformation in the 1970s and 1980s. Manufacturing was reduced from almost half of Rhode Island jobs to one-quarter, with twice as many jobs in services, trade and finance. For years, the unions remained politically powerful, though representing fewer and fewer workers; the state economy was quietly upgraded from blue-collar to white-collar, from textiles to high tech; the electorate,

instead of being a mass of Catholic factory workers pressed into neighborhoods of three-story three-family houses, became comfortably affluent and suburban. Old political ties frayed, tolerance of scandal and sleaze diminished, and in the 1980s there were wild oscillations around the political spectrum. In 1984, after eight years of apparent satisfaction with Democratic Governor Joseph Garrahy, voters rejected his Greenhouse Compact, a policy devised by Bill Clinton adviser Ira Magaziner that would use government to encourage and incubate industry, by almost an 80%–20% margin. The new governor, Republican businessman Edward DiPrete, said he would encourage private sector growth. But personal scandal and the fallout from the late 1980s New England recession turned voters against him. Democrat Bruce Sundlun, running against him in successive years, won 32% in 1986, 49% in 1988, 74% in 1990. DiPrete was eventually fined $30,000 for steering state contracts to friends. Scandal struck elsewhere as well: Chief Justice Joseph Bevilacqua was forced out in 1986 because of connections with organized crime; Providence Mayor Buddy Cianci was convicted in 1984 of a felony after he assaulted and burned a man he accused of having an affair with his wife; Congressman Fernand St Germain, who as chairman of the Banking Committee wrote the savings and loan laws of the 1980s, was hurt by favors he had accepted from lobbyists and sharp operators; he was beaten in 1988 by Republican Ron Machtley.

Senators. Ethnic Catholic Rhode Island has two blue-blooded WASPs as U.S. senators, both enduring political figures of great popularity. Claiborne Pell, first elected to the Senate in 1960, is now not only Rhode Island's senior politician, but one of the nation's: in the Senate, only Strom Thurmond and Robert Byrd have served longer. Pell's father was a one-term congressman from New York, a friend of Franklin Roosevelt and minister to Portugal and Hungary. Pell himself served as a foreign service officer for several years, then settled on Bellevue Avenue in Newport, where you find the Vanderbilt and Auchincloss "cottages." (Rhode Island's Five Families tend to live on Providence's College Hill, with comfy summer places on Rhode Island Sound; the oceanfront palaces of Newport were built mostly by New Yorkers.) Pell has been what he long wanted to be, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, since 1987, in title, anyway.

But Pell has been an increasingly inactive, passive chairman—diffident, polite, but often tongue-tied—of a committee that wields much less influence than it once did. Some might call that an improvement. The ranking Republican, Jesse Helms, has spent much of his time monitoring Bush and Clinton Administration appointments, keeping track of policy in peripheral areas in which he is interested. Most committee Democrats were longtime doves, reflexively opposed to the exertion of American military power almost anywhere, up through and including the Gulf war, whose outcome they spectacularly failed to foresee. Then, as if to make up for this staggering mistake, some, notably second ranking Joseph Biden, vehemently backed U.S. military intervention in Bosnia in 1993. In all these debates, Pell has been a kind of footnote. In fall 1990, Pell called for the War Powers Act to be invoked during the Persian Gulf crisis, but did not pursue the point; almost entirely ignored, this legacy of the Vietnam era has become effectively a dead letter. Pell propitiated the erstwhile doves in 1991 by backing their requests for bigger subcommittee budgets and allowing them greater visibility—Joseph Biden on European Affairs, Paul Sarbanes on International Economic Policy, Christopher Dodd on Western Hemisphere and, in 1993, Daniel Patrick Moynihan on South Asia and the Middle East. In June 1992, Pell called for consideration of military action to enforce UN sanctions in Bosnia; in early 1993, he was almost entirely silent on the issue. He and Helms did have one achievement, a 1992 bill penalizing countries trading in chemical weapons, but with a provision allowing the president to waive the penalties. Pell does have his interests: banning nuclear weapons on the ocean floor and banning environmental alteration (the burning oilfields in Kuwait?) as a weapon of war. But he has done nothing remotely comparable to William Fulbrights's hearings on Vietnam or Richard Lugar's work on the Philippines in 1986.

Over the years, Pell has accomplished more on education. He is the second ranking Democrat on Labor and Human Resources, and for years has chaired the subcommittee on Education, Arts and the Humanities. His Pell grants for needy college and university students have become a household word over a generation; they have never been fully funded over the current $2,400 per year level, however, and Pell has backed off from attempts to make them an entitlement not subject to annual appropriations. He has also worked on a teacher training act. Pell was for many years the congressional father of the National Endowment for the Arts, but has played little role in the controversy over its funding in the 1990s. He has also been one of the main promoters of ocean research (Rhode Island's license plates call it the "Ocean State").

For all of Pell's oddness, he is a formidable figure in Rhode Island, an iron fist in a velvet glove. He has received everything he wanted in politics, and by whipping the toughest competition this little state could offer. In the 1960 Democratic primary, he beat former Governor Dennis Roberts and former Governor, Senator and U.S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath; this was the first time since Theodore Green's governorship that a candidate endorsed by the Democratic organization was beaten. In 1972, when Rhode Island was going Republican for president, Pell faced John Chafee, then a popular former governor and secretary of the navy, and beat him decisively. Reelected with 75% in 1978 and 73% in 1984, he faced another tough challenge in 1990 from Congresswoman Claudine Schneider. She had a strong environmental record and a great deal of energy; her popularity ratings were as high as Pell's, and she shared most of his issue positions and a bit of his oddity (she cut a TV ad for an inspirational audio tape which promoted weight loss, a more passionate life and financial independence). At a Pell-Schneider forum televised in August, Pell was asked to identify a piece of legislation he'd sponsored recently to help people in Rhode Island; he replied, "I couldn't give you a specific answer. My memory's not as good as it should be." The next day, however, Iraq invaded Kuwait, and Pell was soon getting coverage, on Rhode Island TV if not so much nationally, opining on the crisis and visiting the Persian Gulf. It was an exquisitely polite race, with Pell praising Schneider ("You've done a fine job . . . in the Congress, and I would congratulate you") and Schneider ads conceding Pell's strong points ("We all love Claiborne Pell," she said). "Quiet accomplishments that make a world of difference," Pell's ads proclaimed, and Rhode Islanders apparently agreed, giving him a 62%–38% victory. Pell holds, it may be worth noting, the seat won by Theodore Green in 1936 at 69, a seat that a generation of Rhode Island politicians assumed would soon become open; to stay in the Senate until the age Green retired at (93), Pell (now 75) would have to win three more terms and serve until 2012.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **PAUL SIMON (D)**

State: Illinois

Voting Record: 80% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Sen. Simon has been a long-time supporter of the NEA. His only negative vote since 1989 occurred in 1991 when he supported a Helms content restriction amendment which passed with the support of the majority of Democrats and Republicans (amendment passed 68 yeas-28 nays).

Staff: Kristina Zahorik

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

ILLINOIS TALKING POINTS

A great deal of the arts activity in Illinois revolves around the city of Chicago. Other areas of the state, however, have compelling claims. From East St. Louis jazz and blues to the Arts Festival in Springfield to the Peoria music festivals, all of Illinois resonates with the sounds of creativity.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 161 grants to Illinois artists & organizations totalling $4,710,676.

The Illinois Arts Council received 4 grants: a Basic State Grant of $558,000, an arts education grant of $118,000, a folk arts grant of $12,000, and a locals grant of $45,000.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in Illinois was over $70 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

Reached over 250 million participants.
Involved about 944,000 artists.
Provided arts education to 850,000 children each year.
Included 849 grants for rural arts projects.
Generated at least $154 million in private funds.

A three-year grant of $200,000 from the Locals Program was awarded to the Illinois Arts Council to establish a new program of Local Partnership Incentive Grants. Five Illinois arts agencies will participate in Evanston, Oak Park, Rockford, Carbondale, and Springfield. Over 882,000 people benefit from this program, including 1,775 local artists and arts organizations. Projects include planning, facility development, and programs to increase access to the arts. This project will generate more than $600,000 in new public money.

Chicago's Educational Television Association/WTTW received a $485,000 Challenge Grant to create new works for national television in collaboration with some of America's most talented artists. The project, Expressly for Television, will allow artists who have been successful in one medium to produce work specifically for television. WTTW will commission 9 programs, three for each of the three years, for premiere on local and national PBS stations. At least half of the commissions will go to women, minorities, or the physically disabled.

The Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs and the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center of San Antonio, Texas teamed up to receive a $30,000 grant from the International Program to host four leading Mexican artists representing the visual and traditional arts of Mexico. These artists served as teachers at Gallery 37 in Chicago, an innovative city arts education project which provides on-the-job training to over 300 Chicago high school students from low income families.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

Locals

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
202/682-5400

Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

Illinois
August 19, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Dance on Tour Program brought the Miami City Ballet and Paul Taylor Dance Company to Urbana, Trisha Brown and the Nikolais and Murray Dance Company to DeKalb, the American Tap Dance Orchestra to Macomb, the Manhattan Tap to Rock Island and Lakota Performing Arts to Peoria.

* The Music Program provided grant support to symphony orchestras in Elgin, Champaign-Urbana, Peoria, and Springfield.

* The Illinois Arts Council received a $90,700 Arts in Education grant to support artist residencies in Wood Dale, Lombard, Wilmette, Skokie, Park Ridge, Palatine, Oak Park, Northbrook, Glenview, Evanston, Des Plaines, Calumet Park, Bridgeview, Blue Island, Hinsdale, Winnetka, Norridge, and Elk Grove Village. Projects included activities in the fields of writing, crafts, theater, dance and visual arts, as well as performances and concerts.

* The Review of Contemporary Fiction of Normal received a $10,000 grant from the Literature Program to support fees and production costs.

* American Theater Arts for Youth of Philadelphia, PA, toured to Shaumburg and Joliet, Mad River Theater Works of West Liberty, OH, performed in Champaign-Urbana, the Tennessee Repertory Theater of Nashville, TN, performed in Peoria, OPERA Iowa of Indianola, IA, toured to Rockford, TheatreWorks/USA of New York toured to Shaumburg, Joliet, DeKalb, Aurora, Edwardsville, Elgin, Evergreen Park, Peoria, and Skokie, all with assistance from grants from the Opera-Musical Program.

* The Decatur Area Arts Council received a $18,466 grant from the Locals Program to support a community-wide cultural planning process.

* Theatre IV of Richmond, VA, performed in Elgin, Schaumburg, Rockford, Skokie, and Peoria, The Children's Theatre Company of Minneapolis, MN, performed in North Manchester and St. Charles, Mixed Blood Theatre Company of Minneapolis, MN, toured to Canton, Deerfield, and Highland Park, The Acting Company of New York toured to Marion, and CityLit Theater Company of Chicago toured to Bellwood, Elmhurst, Schaumburg, Harvey, Oak Park, Richton Park, Evanston, Cary, Markham, Joliet, Prairie View, Glen Ellen, Elgin, Villa Park, River Grove, Gurnee, South Holland and Braidwood all with assistance from grants from the Theater Program.

* The Chinese Music Society of Woodridge received $12,000 from the Expansion Arts Program to support its concert season.

-more-

* Through grants to Arts Midwest of Minneapolis, MN, 35 Illinois artists from such communities as Carbondale, Murphysboro, St. Charles, Urbana, Normal, and Hinnsdale, have received Visual Artists Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* The Illinois Arts Council received a grant of $12,000 from the Folk Arts Program to support an American Indian Heritage Arts Conference of the Midwest, held in Collinsville.

* The Community Television Network of Chicago received an Expansion Arts grant of $25,000 to support the Neighborhood Video Program, which is designed to reach youth who have dropped out of public schools and have little or no exposure to the arts.

* The Illinois Arts Council received grants of $95,000 over two years in Underserved Communities Set-Aside funds from the Local Arts Agencies Program to support technical assistance workshops that reached emerging rural and underserved local arts agencies in the following communities: Olney, Carterville, Charleston, Alton, Monmouth, Galena, Robinson, Marion, Sesser, Carbondale, Herrin, Galesburg, Macomb, Greenup, Oblong, and Galva.

* Arts Corps, a $250,000 pilot project funded by the Arts Endowment and coordinated by the National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies, sent Michele Owens-Pearce of the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, to work on a dance program in cooperation with the Buchanan Center for the Arts in Monmouth.

* Illinois received a $558,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

Sen. Paul Simon (D)

Elected 1984, seat up 1996; b. Nov. 29, 1928, Eugene, OR; home, Makanda; U. of OR, 1945–46, Dana Col., 1946–48; Lutheran; married (Jeanne).

Career: Army, 1951–53; Editor-Publisher, *Troy Tribune*, 1948–66; Owner, weekly newspaper chain, 1948–66; IL House of Reps., 1954–62; IL Senate, 1962–69; IL Lt. Gov., 1969–73; Prof., Sangamon St. U., 1972–73; U.S. House of Reps., 1975–85; Author, 1964-present.

Offices: 462 DSOB 20510, 202-224-2152. Also Kluczynski Bldg., 230 S. Dearborn, #3800, Chicago 60604, 312-353-4952; 3 W. Old Capital Plz., #1, Springfield 62701, 217-492-4960; and 250 W. Cherry, #115B, Carbondale 62901, 618-457-3653.

Committees: *Budget* (7th of 12 D). *Foreign Relations* (6th of 11 D): African Affairs (Chmn.); European Affairs; Terrorism, Narcotics and International Operations. *Indian Affairs* (6th of 10 D). *Judiciary* (7th of 10 D): Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights; Constitution (Chmn.); Immigration and Refugee Affairs. *Labor and Human Resources* (5th of 10 D): Disability Policy; Education, Arts and Humanities; Employment and Productivity (Chmn.).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	95	91	80	92	100	92	7	5	50	10	14
1991	100	—	100	75	100	87	0	—	—	10	18

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB — 1991 CONS	1992 LIB — 1992 CONS
Economic	97% — 0%	79% — 20%
Social	84% — 13%	79% — 16%
Foreign	86% — 0%	86% — 0%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	AGN	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	AGN	9. Use Force in Gulf	AGN
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	AGN	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	AGN	10. Keep Salvador Aid	AGN
3. Remove Budget Walls	FOR	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	FOR
4. Ban Striker Replace	FOR	8. Abortion Gag Rule	AGN	12. Override China MFN	FOR

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	FOR	2. HIV Immigrants	FOR	3. Clinton Budget	FOR

Election Results

1990 general	Paul Simon (D)	2,115,377	(65%)	($8,665,789)
	Lynn Martin (R)	1,135,628	(35%)	($4,921,613)
1990 primary	Paul Simon (D), unopposed			
1984 general	Paul Simon (D)	2,397,165	(50%)	($4,545,786)
	Charles H. Percy (R)	2,308,039	(48%)	($5,391,567)

ILLINOIS

More than any other state, Illinois has a claim to being central in American politics. Demographically, this is the megastate most like the nation as a whole—with similar percentages of blacks and Hispanics, immigrants and pioneers, city-dwellers and suburbanites and farmers, the affluent and the impoverished, heavy industry and high-tech. Illinois reaches farther south than Richmond, Virginia, and looks north over Lake Michigan frozen in winter; to Westerners it seems like back east and it has long been classified as the gateway to the West by writers on the East Coast. Chicago may no longer be the nation's Second City (greater Los Angeles is), but O'Hare Airport is still the nation's busiest. Chicago may no longer be the hog-butcher of the world, but it remains the central focus of our rail system. Illinois is also a prime producer and processor of corn and soybeans, and the home of the world's greatest commodities

exchanges and futures markets. Manufacturing employment may be declining in Illinois, but the white-collar and service economy is larger here than elsewhere between the coasts, and incomes have remained robustly high. But Illinois is not an exact replica of the nation—farm discontent got more amplification in Downstate Illinois in the early 1980s, and Chicago has a yeasty ethnic tradition richer than most other cities—but it comes closer than any other state.

Illinois has always had a robust two-party politics that also has paralleled the nation. In the past century, it has voted for the losing presidential candidate only twice, in 1916 and 1976. The issue of the extension of slavery, which split the nation apart, was most clearly exposed in the seven 1858 debates between Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln. But politics has not always been central to life in Illinois, or America. This was a state of farmers, whose families, communities and churches absorbed more of their energies than politics or government. Chicago was established not by government but by markets; it has always been a free enterprise city, settled by pioneers from New England and Kentucky, by immigrant Irishmen who dug the first canal connecting Lake Michigan and the Illinois River, and by railroad promoters who saw its potential as the great connecting point between East and West and the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley. Its factories, built where iron ore from Great Lakes freighters and coal from inland hills came together, attracted migrants from near and far. Its growth was explosive: Chicago did not exist in 1830, boasted 112,000 people as the Civil War began and had 1.2 million when it hosted the World's Fair of 1893. To meet the demands of these masses and referee their cultural struggles, political machines sprang up, allied with the Republicans who predominated in northern Illinois and the Democrats who usually prevailed from Springfield south. Not until the Depression of the 1930s did Chicago become reliably Democratic, and that was in part because so many Republicans had moved to the Cook County suburbs and the Collar Counties surrounding Chicago, still one of America's strongest Republican constituencies, voting for Barry Goldwater in 1964 and George Bush in 1992. Illinois has produced no figures of the stature of Lincoln or Douglas and no presidents since Ulysses S. Grant. But decade after decade, it has given the U.S. important and skillful politicians of both parties—Carter Harrison and Joseph Cannon, Ed Kelly and Harold Ickes, Richard J. Daley and Everett Dirksen, Adlai Stevenson and Charles Percy, and Dan Rostenkowski and Robert Michel.

Over the last quarter-century, Illinois's politics have been the nation's writ amplified (or shouted—for some reason this state has more politicians with booming voices than any other). For the two decades following 1968, when the Democrats held their disastrously violent national convention in Chicago, their party had trouble rallying the middle-class voters who were its historic base, and Democratic presidential candidates failed to win majorities in metro Chicago or Illinois. Chicagoland voters were split along racial lines following the election of Mayor Harold Washington in 1983 and the "council wars" that followed; after Washington's death the atmosphere calmed with the election of Richard M. Daley in 1989.

Illinois has played a pivotal role in at least three of the last four Democratic primary seasons. Its mid-March primary follows Iowa and New Hampshire and is just a week after the southern Super Tuesday contests; it is the first big northern state to vote, and analysts reasonably ask, if a candidate can't carry Illinois, what reason is there to think he can carry any other big state? In 1980 and 1984, big wins in Illinois cinched nominations for Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale. In 1988, George Bush clinched the Republican nomination here, as Bob Dole left the race in the last week of campaigning. The 1988 Democratic contest seemed inconclusive, since most votes were cast for two local candidates, Downstate-based Senator Paul Simon and then Chicago-based Jesse Jackson; but in fact any other alternative was blocked from emerging, thus winnowing the race down to a contest between Michael Dukakis and Jackson which Dukakis could not help but win. The St. Patrick's Day 1992 Illinois primary clearly decided both parties' contests. George Bush's pulverizing of Pat Buchanan not only clinched the nomination but took Buchanan off the TV news; Bill Clinton's big win over Paul Tsongas and Jerry Brown made his nomination inevitable, although New York-based reporters insisted on treating their state's primary as if it were capable of making a difference. The Illinois primary was also an early

warning of the strong anti-incumbent feeling percolating up from the precincts: Senator Alan Dixon and four incumbent congressmen were defeated, and even Ways and Means Chairman Rostenkowski had a scare.

Illinois has also tracked, and occasionally exaggerated, national opinion trends in general elections. In 1988, despite near-unanimous support for Dukakis from black voters and some lingering farm discontent in Downstate, particularly along the Iowa border, George Bush held the line for the Republicans: with 62% of the vote in the suburbs (Cook County suburbs plus the Collar Counties), Bush carried the state 51%–48% despite winning only 30% in Chicago and a bare 52% margin Downstate. By similar margins, Republicans won gubernatorial elections in the 1980s: James Thompson, the nation's longest serving governor when he retired, won in 1982 and 1986 with 49% and 53%, and Jim Edgar won in 1990 with 51%. But as the Republican vote dropped sharply nationally in 1992, so it dropped in Illinois; indeed, George Bush's showing sagged in polls in Illinois before it did nationally. Bill Clinton, popular here since his March 17 primary win, carried Illinois by a solid 49%–34% margin in November. In effect the Republican vote just collapsed: Bush's percentage was down 12% from 1988 in Chicago, 16% in Downstate and 19% in the suburbs. Indeed, he dropped to the same levels as 1990 Senate candidate Lynn Martin, who began little known and whose campaign ran out of money and was off the air during most of the fall, while Senator Paul Simon spent liberally and won 65%–35%. Bush's drop in the suburbs was particularly disastrous since they are a rising percentage of the state's vote, casting almost twice as many ballots as Chicago in 1992; in a volatile post-cold war world, in a recessionary economy, after abandoning Ronald Reagan's no-new-taxes policy, Bush evidently failed to provide the sense of certainty and order which Reagan provided in the 1980s.

Another factor was at work in Illinois's 1992 results, most visibly in the election of the first black woman in history to the United States Senate, Carol Moseley-Braun. Her victory was due less to her personal strength or to her party's popularity—and happened despite charges against her that would have sunk another candidate—than it was to the sense of reconciliation and racial harmony in the 1990s that voters of all backgrounds in greater Chicago have welcomed after the discord of the 1980s. Just as most black voters came to accept and even have some affection for Mayor Richard M. Daley, after opposing him almost unanimously in 1989, so a large number of whites, many of whom would ordinarily shun Democrats, voted for Moseley-Braun as a gesture of respect and conciliation. There are worse motives for a vote. Moseley-Braun's victories were not overwhelming: she won a three-way primary with 38% of the vote and won in November by 53%–43%. But the point was made. Will the nation follow again?

Senator Illinois has two Democratic senators, with very different backgrounds but likely to have very similar voting records. Paul Simon has been an important figure in Illinois politics for a quarter century, and was a presidential candidate in 1988; Carol Moseley-Braun was the Cook County Recorder of Deeds, unknown outside Chicago and Springfield inner political circles, until she won an upset victory in the March 1992 Democratic primary and suddenly became a symbolic figure of national importance.

Paul Simon looks the part of the country editor he once was, with his horn-rimmed glasses and bow tie, his extra-flat midwestern accent and his habit of writing his own newsletters and books; his 13th book, *Advice & Consent*, is about the Bork and Thomas confirmation hearings. Simon is an autodidact, with great faith in the ability of government to solve problems, a belief that corruption can be avoided and thrift enforced on government by sheer good will and hard work. He got his start in public life when he bought the *Troy Tribune* at age 19, and crusaded against local gangsters and machine politicians; he was elected to the legislature in 1954; eventually, he owned 14 newspapers and sold the chain in 1966. In 1968, he was elected lieutenant governor, and was prepared to take on politically ailing Republican Governor Richard Ogilvie when he lost the Democratic primary to anti-Daley, anti-spending Daniel Walker. In 1974, when Ken Gray retired from the state's southernmost Downstate congressional district, Simon ran and won; and in 1984, he won a heavily contested Democratic primary for the Senate and then went on to beat Foreign Relations Chairman Charles Percy 50%–48%. The key to this victory was Downstate, which Simon carried heavily in the primary and lost to the Chicago-based Percy by only 50%–49% in November.

Knitting together Simon's record on a miscellany of issues is a sort of perky reformism, which has made him a distinctive member of a party often tarred by corruption in a state where politics is usually a matter of hard-bitten self-interest. He was one of the first American politicians to disclose his personal finances, starting in the 1950s, and is a backer of a balanced budget constitutional amendment (requiring a three-fifths vote of the House and Senate for deficit spending) and presidential line-item veto or reduction authority overridable by majority vote. At the same time, he believes in WPA-type government job training programs and wants to have all student loans disbursed and collected directly by the federal government with an income based repayment schedule. He sponsored a National Literacy Act and an antitrust exemption to allow the television industry to produce joint standards on violence in programming. He has sponsored legislation on missing children, backed tax credits for the purchase of electric cars and pushed for more foreign language requirements in schools. Local issues get his attention too: promoting a St. Louis-to-Chicago-to-Detroit high-speed rail line and the Chicago Underflow Plan. He was for years the one non-lawyer on the Judiciary Committee, where he opposed Judges Bork and Thomas; he has taken relatively few initiatives on the Foreign Relations Committee, where he seemed a bit surprised to find himself backing U.S. military intervention in Somalia.

Simon ran for president in 1988 as an unabashed liberal, despite his stand on the balanced budget amendment, and stressed issues like foreign language education which struck some as peripheral. He finished second in the Iowa caucuses, third in New Hampshire, and out of the running in the South on Super Tuesday; but, at the importuning of Illinois politicos who were on his delegate slates, he stayed in the race and won the Illinois primary a week later. That was testimony to his popularity—and to Chicago media's concentration on home-state candidates (Simon and Jesse Jackson) and lack of interest in out-of-towners.

In 1990, he was expected to have a serious challenge from Congresswoman Lynn Martin, a sharp-tongued partisan widely respected in the House; but her campaign imploded while his thrived. She began with gaffes, while Simon's adeptness at getting media coverage on local newscasts gave him a solid base. Martin's anti-tax stand was undercut by President Bush's budget summit agreement; her attacks on Simon for helping a campaign contributor whose proprietary school had many student loan defaults could not undermine his longtime reputation for integrity. Simon's TV spots hit hard at Martin for voting against education and child care spending, while her campaign ran out of money and was off the air from September 25 to October 25. This was another example of Democrats holding a big state Senate seat through the power of political money: Martin's $4.9 million was dwarfed by Simon's $8.6 million. Simon won a record-smashing victory, with a 979,000-vote margin, carrying even affluent DuPage County outside Chicago; Martin became Bush's secretary of labor and nominated him for reelection at the Republican Convention in Houston.

SOUTH CAROLINA

South Carolina stands as one of America's great success stories. Two generations ago, it looked like an underdeveloped country: beneath a thin veneer of rich people, this was among the poorest of states in the union, with income levels less than half the national average and with high levels of illiteracy and disease. Even today South Carolina, founded by planters from Barbados, can still suggest the West Indies. Physically, its semitropical climate, lush foliage and trademark palmettos, and the $4 billion of destruction wreaked by Hurricane Hugo's 135 mile-per-hour winds in September 1989 are reminiscent of the Caribbean. But economically and culturally, South Carolina is part of the booming South Atlantic seaboard and Piedmont, from Baltimore and Washington south into Florida, filling up with new retirement condominiums, factories and office buildings, giant airports and shopping centers, and leading the nation's economic growth.

In South Carolina, this growth lies atop the plantation economy built on the swampy lowlands below the Fall Line, where the great 18th and 19th Century planters built rice paddies and cultivated exotic crops like indigo in the days before cotton was king. The great wealth of these low-country planters was destroyed by the Civil War which they, more than any other southerners, provoked. But their pride and way of life continued as did that of former slaves. As late as 1940, 43% of South Carolinians were black, most living in conditions that would be incomprehensible today. New economic growth started here in the 1920s, with that lowest-wage of industries, textiles. Mills were built in the up country above Columbia, hiring poor whites (never blacks) from the hardscrabble farms in the area. Politics here was a rough business, with harsh appeals to racial fear and economic envy, and with limited participation: in 1940, just 99,000 South Carolinians voted for president, 96% of them Democratic—the highest Democratic percentage in the nation. In the Democratic primary the year Strom Thurmond ran for governor, 1946, only 271,000 people voted in this state of more than 2 million.

Now this once underdeveloped country has joined the First World. Personal incomes, discounted for a somewhat lower cost of living, are now close to national levels; health standards are similar to those in the rest of the nation; education levels have been rising toward the national average. South Carolina was helped for some years by the military bases clustered around Charleston, by the big textile mills around Greenville and Spartanburg, and by the outmigration of low-country blacks to big cities of the Northeast. Then, starting in the 1970s, South Carolina became the most aggressive state in the South in attracting new industry. It enticed French and German firms to set up major operations in the Piedmont and the lowlands. It advertised its business climate (one of the lowest rates of unionization), its taxes (low), and its willingness to meet local employers' needs (very high). But it also used some of its new affluence to upgrade the quality of its local work force through public expenditures on schools as well as highways, teachers as well as police. Capping its success symbolically was German car manufacturer BMW's decision in June 1992 to build its U.S. assembly plant off I-85 in Spartanburg County, a decision prompted in part by $130 million in incentives from Governor Carroll Campbell. But even more typical are the decisions of hundreds of small employers to open plants, rent offices and create jobs in what has become one of America's more vibrant economic environments.

Much of this was possible because South Carolina was relieved, quite against the will of its white majority, of the burdens and stigma of racial segregation. Beginning in the 1950s, fewer people were kept from the polls by the poll tax, and turnout surged as South Carolina became competitive in the presidential elections of 1952, 1956 and 1960. Then the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 ended segregation of public accommodations and the workplace, bringing blacks suddenly into the electorate.

Politically, this new South Carolina has been moving, more than any other state in the South,

toward the Republicanism exemplified by its native son, the late Republican National Committee chairman and 1988 Bush campaign manager Lee Atwater. Republicans hold the governorship and one Senate seat and came close to winning the other in 1992; they hold three of the state's six House seats, and beat Democrats 52%–45% in House voting; they can win statewide, have a strong position in the legislature, gaining a dozen seats in the 1992 elections, and cast the second highest percentage for George Bush in 1992 (after Mississippi) and the third highest in 1988 (after Utah and New Hampshire). This Republican trend continues even though the 30% of South Carolinians who are black remain heavily Democratic. Limited Republican gains were made in the 1960s and 1970s by opposition to busing and appeals to traditional values; most white southerners didn't want to rally to a past they were proud to have overcome. One who understood this instinctively was Senator Strom Thurmond, the once fierce segregationist who left the Democratic Party in 1964 to become a Republican and then, in the early 1970s, became the first southern senator to hire black staffers and make black patronage appointments. Other Republicans did better in the mid-1980s when they replaced reform-minded Democratic Governor Richard Riley with policy-activist Republican Carroll Campbell. Following Atwater's strategy, Campbell sought black votes while gaining near-unanimous white support by emphasizing economic growth and education reform, against a background of a relaxed acceptance of patriotism and traditional values in what has become, even in South Carolina, a not entirely traditional world. Democrats had once hoped to unite all blacks plus enough whites to make a majority, but Republicans are coming closer to doing it the other way around, uniting almost all whites with enough blacks to make a huge majority. The results can be seen in the numbers: Republicans Campbell and Thurmond were reelected in 1990 with 69% and 64% of the vote, while the state's leading Democrat, Senator Fritz Hollings, won by a bare 50%–47% margin in 1992. A University of South Carolina poll showed Republicans leading in party identification 63%–27% among whites and making small inroads among blacks; nearly one-quarter of the state's blacks voted for Campbell against a black candidate. Bill Clinton spent the first days of 1993 in South Carolina, at the New Year's Renaissance Weekend sponsored by onetime Democratic gubernatorial candidate Phil Lader at Hilton Head, where one of his hosts was former Governor Richard Riley, personnel chief on his transition team and now secretary of education.

There are some blotches on South Carolina's political and economic landscape. The South Carolina legislature for 50 years was controlled by traditional rural-based bosses and then in 1990 was hit by scandal in which 14 legislators fell prey to a sting operation—mostly young members, of both parties and races, who had seemed the hope of state politics. The Navy is reducing its presence in the Charleston area and the Savannah River nuclear plant, with the only tritium plant in the country, was shut down permanently in 1993. And South Carolina presents more starkly than most states the contrast between belief in traditional religion and morals and a daily life in which these seem to be honored less and less. But it is also a state proud of its Confederate heritage and is as proud of Charleston's Spoleto Festival musical celebration as it is of Darlington's Heinz Southern 500 Stock Car Race, which Bill Clinton attended in 1992.

Senator The most enduring figure in today's American politics is Strom Thurmond: first elected to the legislature in 1932 and governor in 1946, he ran for president as a "States' Rights Democrat" and won 39 electoral votes in 1948; he was elected senator as a write-in candidate in 1954, resigned and ran for the seat again in 1956; he has served as both a Democrat and a Republican, and was elected in 1990 to a seventh term which, if he serves it out, will make him the oldest person ever to serve in Congress. He switched to the Republican Party to support Barry Goldwater in 1964, a move that seemed unwise at the time but proved sentient about the direction of opinion; in 1968, Thurmond provided key backing to hold the South for Richard Nixon at the Republican National Convention. Thurmond has combined a reputation for steadfastness with a flexibility and adroitness that have enabled this onetime symbol of racial segregation to prosper politically in an era of integration. In 1957, he set a record, filibustering for over 24 hours against a fair housing bill. But when South Carolina blacks started voting in large numbers after the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Thurmond shifted gears and became the first Southern senator to hire black staffers and appoint blacks to high positions (including a federal judgeship). He voted for renewal of the Voting Rights Act and the Martin Luther King Holiday. He probably gets few black votes, but the few that are adamantly against him don't form a strong political base for a possible opponent.

Thurmond's party switch was an example of his mind at work; there are no baroque embellishments to his thoughts and he is not interested in nuance or qualification. His intellect is simple but strong: he decides where he wants to go, figures out how to get there, and then does it. His health seems fine. He has been a proud teetotaler and physical fitness buff all his life, and always an appreciator of beautiful women. His first wife was 23 years younger than he; after she died, he married a South Carolina beauty queen 44 years younger; the first of his four children was born when he was 69; he is now seeing them through college. In hearings and on the Senate floor, Thurmond usually seems heavily scripted, but he responds aptly to arguments and interjections and is always polite and courtly.

Thurmond, the senior member of the Senate, was president pro tempore when Republicans were in the majority, and thus in line of succession to the presidency; he may be again. For a dozen years, he chaired or was ranking minority member on Judiciary, which put him at the center of the hot fights over Supreme Court nominees Robert Bork, David Souter and Clarence Thomas. He has sponsored many bills to extend the death penalty and reduce federal courts' jurisdiction over collateral attacks on state criminal convictions. He has supported gun control measures endorsed by police, such as bans on cop-killer bullets and plastic guns. He is a stickler for ethics, supporting outside income limits for senators, bans on lobbying for federal projects on a contingent fee basis and lobbying for foreign countries by former federal officials.

In 1993, Thurmond exercised his option to switch to the ranking position on Armed Services, replacing John Warner there and elevating Orrin Hatch on Judiciary. Thurmond landed in Normandy on D-Day and had served on Armed Services for 34 years. He clearly wants to hold down cuts in military spending and opposes lifting the ban on gays in the military; he wants to look after South Carolina's military bases. He is also a member of Veterans' Affairs and Labor and Human Resources. He backs the use of fetal tissue in research; one of his daughters has diabetes, research on which requires such material.

Thurmond's almost non-stop politicking in South Carolina has helped keep his popularity exceedingly high. His last tough challenge was from businessman Charles Ravenel in 1978, when he got 56%; he won with 67% and 64% in 1984 and 1990. He says that if he stays healthy he will run again in 1996, for a term that would take him to 2002, when he turns 100. He continues to raise campaign money, although he has also donated $733,000 to scholarships and endowed chairs in South Carolina. His longevity is breathtaking: this is a man whose children will likely live into the 2050s; a senator ready to become the oldest member of Congress ever in February 1996.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **STROM THURMOND (R)**

State: South Carolina

Voting Record: 0% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Sen. Thurmond has consistently voiced concern about "obscene" or "pornographic" art and clearly states opposition to use of taxpayers' funds for objectionable art. Always supports content restriction amendments.

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

SOUTH CAROLINA TALKING POINTS

Combining the best of a proud cultural heritage and the vitality of the New South, the arts in South Carolina serve a largely rural and culturally diverse population. Nationally known for its commitment to arts education, South Carolina leads the way in establishing comprehensive arts instruction as a basic element in the education of all students.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 18 grants to South Carolina artists & organizations, totalling $916,250.

The South Carolina Arts Commission received 6 grants: a Basic State Grant of $468,000, an arts education grant of $163,600, and three grants for media, literature, and folk arts programs.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in South Carolina was over $25.7 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

Reached over 17 million participants.
Involved over 78,000 artists.
Provided arts education to about 195,100 children each year.
Included 927 grants for rural arts projects.
Generated at least $51 million in private funds.

The Literature Program awarded the South Carolina Arts Commission a grant of $4,600 to support the South Carolina Fiction Project. Included in this project are the 1992-93 writers' awards and newspaper publication in The State's literary supplement. The South Carolina Fiction Project is a syndicated review network which solicits short stories from South Carolina writers and publishes 12 stories which also receive cash awards.

The Spoleto Festival in Charleston received several grants for its 1992 festival. A $9,500 award from the Dance Program supported presentation of dance companies such as the Ballet de Monte Carlo and the Paul Taylor Dance Company. A Music Program grant of $14,800 went to support chamber, new music, and jazz performances. An Opera-Musical Theater grant of $35,000 went to support presentation of new opera, and a $25,000 grant from the Presenting and Commissioning Program went to support costs associated with the Festival. Altogether, the Endowment support the Spoleto Festival USA with $84,300 for 1992.

Other South Carolina organizations which receive Endowment support include: the Charleston Symphony Orchestra, the South Carolina Orchestra, Columbia Museum of Art, folk arts at the University of South Carolina, the Greenville Symphony, the Committee for African-American Art in Georgetown, and the ETV Endowment of South Carolina which presents "Marian McPartland's Piano Jazz" a weekly jazz series for public radio.

SENATORS

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R)

Elected 1956, seat up 1996; b. Dec. 5, 1902, Edgefield; home, Aiken; Clemson U., B.S. 1923; Baptist; separated.

Career: Army, 1942–46 (WWII); Teacher and coach, 1923–29; Edgefield Cnty. Supervisor of Educ., 1929–33; Practicing atty., 1930–38, 1951–55; SC Senate, 1933–38; Circuit Judge, 1938–42; SC Gov., 1947–51; States' Rights candidate for U.S. Pres., 1948; U.S. Senate, 1954–56; Pres. Pro Tem, U.S. Senate, 1981–87.

Offices: 217 RSOB 20510, 202-224-5972. Also 1835 Assembly St., #1558, Columbia 29201, 803-765-5496; 334 Meeting St., #600, Charleston 29493, 803-724-4282; 211 York St. NE, #29, Aiken 29801, 803-649-2591; and 401 W. Evans St., Florence 29501, 803-662-8873.

Committees: *Armed Services* (RMM of 9 R). *Judiciary* (2d of 8 R): Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights (RMM); Courts and Administrative Practice. *Labor and Human Resources* (5th of 7 R): Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism; Education, Arts and Humanities; Employment and Productivity (RMM); Labor. *Veterans' Affairs* (2d of 5 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	10	9	40	25	33	0	89	83	90	100	73
1991	10	—	36	25	22	7	90	—	—	70	66

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB	—	1991 CONS	1992 LIB	—	1992 CONS
Economic	20%	—	78%	15%	—	80%
Social	14%	—	77%	17%	—	80%
Foreign	0%	—	87%	21%	—	72%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	FOR	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	FOR	9. Use Force in Gulf	FOR
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	FOR	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	FOR	10. Keep Salvador Aid	FOR
3. Remove Budget Walls	AGN	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	AGN
4. Ban Striker Replace	AGN	8. Abortion Gag Rule	FOR	12. Override China MFN	FOR

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	*	2. HIV Immigrants	AGN	3. Clinton Budget	AGN

Election Results

1990 general	Strom Thurmond (R)	482,032	(64%)	($2,333,689)
	Robert H. Cunningham (D)	244,112	(33%)	($6,232)
	Two Others	24,122	(3%)	
1990 primary	Strom Thurmond (R), unopposed			
1984 general	Strom Thurmond (R)	644,815	(67%)	($1,682,962)
	Melvin Purvis (D)	306,982	(32%)	($9,023)

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

Locals

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

South Carolina
September 14, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Dance on Tour program brought the Martha Graham Ensemble and Jane Comfort and Company to Beaufort, Chuck Davis' African American Dance Theater to Columbia, and the Paul Taylor Dance Company to Charleston.

* Dan Leach of Greer participated in the Your Town Program, an effort to address the design needs of rural America carried out by the National Trust for Historic Preservation on behalf of the Design Arts Program.

* The San Francisco Opera's Western Opera Theater toured to Greenwood and Aiken, TheaterWorks/USA of New York toured to Anderson, and Sumpter, and the Tennessee Repertory Theatre performed in Conway, all with assistance from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* Arts Corps, a $250,000 pilot project funded by the Arts Endowment and coordinated by the National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies, sent Donald J. Bernier of State University of New York at Buffalo to work on a media arts program in cooperation with the McCormick Arts Council of the Keturah.

* The Acting Company of New York performed in Columbia, and the Shenandoah Shakespeare Express of Harrisonburg, VA, toured to Charleston, Clemson, and Florence, both with the assistance of grants from the Theater Program.

* Through grants to Southern Arts Federation, Scott Goldsmith of Greenville, Ralph Waldrop of Columbia, and Maxwell Taylor of Orangeburg received Visual Artists Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* Through a grant from the Presenting and Commissioning Program to Alternate ROOTS of Atlanta, Jeff Sumerel of Greenville, Phillis Constrantsitch of Charleston, and Susan DuPlessis of Greenville received Artists' Projects Regional Initiative subgrants in recent years.

* Through grants to Appalshop of Whitesburg, KY, Richard Sampson of Columbia, Peter Wentworth of Charleston, and Peter Allison of Hilton Head Island received Media Arts Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* South Carolina received a $468,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
202/682-5400

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **PAUL WELLSTONE (D)**

State: Minnesota

Voting Record: 100% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Sen. Wellstone was elected to the Senate in 1990 and has consistently supported the NEA in any related Senate votes.

Staff: Lucy Mondale

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

MINNESOTA TALKING POINTS

Most of the state's arts activities are concentrated in the Twin Cities area, but the Endowment has also supported projects which have a statewide impact. Over the past 30 years, Minnesota has had one of the strongest and most dedicated artist-in-residence programs, and organizations in all of the artistic disciplines thrive in the state.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 115 grants to Minnesota artists and organizations totalling $5,821,700. St. Paul and Minneapolis were awarded 105 grants totalling $4,689,010.

The Minnesota State Arts Board received 4 grants: a Basic State Grant of $478,000, an Arts in Education grant of $164,000, a Folk Arts grant of $30,000, and a rural/underserved grant of $68,000.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in Minnesota was over $27.8 million. During this time public funds supported activities that:

Reached about 98 million participants.
Involved about 113,000 artists.
Provided arts education to 49,000 children each year.
Included grants to 555 rural arts projects.
Generated at least $101 million in private funds.

Through a Dance on Tour grant of $28,000 the Minnesota State Arts Board supported a performance and residency tour of the American Indian Dance Theatre. Celebrating dance & culture of Native Americans, the company toured the Twin Cities, Duluth, and Bemidji. Members of the Fond du Lac Reservation near Duluth, the White Earth Reservation near Bemidji, and the Prairie Island Reservation in Prior Lake participated.

One of the Endowment's success stories has been its support of Graywolf Press in St. Paul. Through the years, Graywolf Press has received grants from the Literature and Advancement Program, growing from a very small press that produced a few titles each year to one of the country's outstanding regional presses. Founded in 1974, Graywolf has now published almost 100 titles of new American literature.

Minnesota boasts a number of nationally recognized arts institutions, all of which receive Endowment support: the Duluth-Superior Symphony, the Minnesota Chorale, the Minnesota Orchestra, the Walker Art Center, the Plymouth Music Series, the Playwrights' Center, The Guthrie Theatre, the Children's Theatre Company, the Minnesota Dance Alliance, the Minnesota Opera, Coffee House Press, Milkweed Editions, the Minneapolis American Indian Center, Film in the Cities, "St. Paul Sunday Morning" from Minnesota Public Radio, "Alive TV" from Twin Cities Public Television, and Arts Midwest.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

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

Arts in Education

Challenge & Advancement

Dance

Design Arts

Expansion Arts

Folk Arts

International

Literature

Media

Media Arts

Museum

Music

Opera-Musical Theater

Presenting & Commissioning

State & Regional

Theater

Visual Arts

Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506

Highlights of Arts Endowment Support

Minnesota
August 27, 1993
(Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated)

* The Dance on Tour Program brought Rhythm in Shoes to Grand Rapids, the Ohio ballet to Moorhead and Red Wing, the Maria Benitex Spanish Dance Company and the Muntu Dance Theatre to Collegeville, Jelon Vieira's Dance Brazil, Urban Bush Women and the Paul Taylor Dance Company to Winona, the Hubbard Street Dance and Garth Fagan Dance to Duluth, Montanaro Dance Integrated to Morris, and Pandit Birju Maharaj and Company to Crystal.

* The Acting Company of New York toured to Morris, and will perform in Moorhead in the upcoming season; the Children's Theatre Company of Minneapolis performed in St. Paul, Grand Rapids, Monticello, Howard Lake, Pequot Lakes, Cloquet, Montevideo, Red Wing, Marshell; and the Mixed Blood Theatre Company toured to Albertville, Alexandria, Aurora, Barnum, Bemidji, Biwabik, Blaine, Blooming Prairie, Blue Earth, Brainerd, Buffalo, Byron, Cannon Falls, Carlos, Cass Lake, Canterville, Champlin, Cleveland, Cotton, Cottonwood, Eagan, Fergus Falls, Fridley, Garden City, Grand Marais, Grand Portage, Granite Falls, Hayfield, Herman, Hinckley, Iron, Kasson, Lakeland, Le Center, Leech Lake, Lino Lakes, Little Canada, Luverne, Mahtomedi, Marine on St. Croix, Mayer, Montgomery, Mound, Moundsview, Nett Lake, North Branch, Onamia, Pine City, Pipestone, Princeton, Prior Lake, Redlake, Rice, Saginaw, St. Anthony, St. Charles, St. Peter, Sauk Rapids, Savage, Shakopee, Shoreview, Springfield, Stewartville, Stillwater, Thief River Falls, Virginia, Waseca, Wheaton, White Earth, Woodbury and Worthington, all with the assistance of grants from the Theater Program.

* Through a grant from the Presenting and Commissioning Program to Intermedia Arts Minnesota, 31 Minnesota artists received support from 12 Artists' Project Regional Initiative subgrants.

* The Rochester Symphony Orchestra received a $5,000 grant from the Music Program to support artists' salaries for its concert series. The Symphony also sponsors a quintet that performs youth concerts in such communities as Dodge Center, Eyota, Elgin, Faribault, Fillmore, Harmony, Houston, Kenyon, Lyle, Austin, Pine Island, Preston, Claremont, West Concord, Wanamingo, and Wykoff. The Symphony also brings young people in for special concerts. School systems that participate in this program include Harmony, Houston, Pine Island, Preston/Fountain, Rochester, Rushford/Peterson, and Spring Grove.

* Through grants to Arts Midwest of Minneapolis, seven Minnesota artists, including Clifford Morgan of Stillwater, received Visual Artists Regional Fellowships in recent years.

-more-

* The Minnesota State Arts Board received a Folk Arts grant of $30,000 for a folk arts apprenticeship program that supported masters and apprentices from such communities as Sleepy Eye, Clearbrook, Ely, Mankato, Milan, Atwater, Fairfax, Cambridge, Callaway, Dawson, and Redwood Falls.

* The Duluth-Superior Symphony received a grant of $10,500 to support costs associated with its concert season and the "Chamber Ensembles in the Schools" project, which served school districts including Grand Rapids, Lake Superior, and Orr.

* The Minnesota State Arts Board received a $164,000 Partnership Grant from the Arts in Education Program to support artist residency activities in 87 communities, including Apple Valley, Bayport, Blackduck, Chisholm, Circle Pines, Coon Rapids, Eagle Bend, Falcon Heights, Farmington, Forest Lake, Gonvick, Hugo, Kelliher, Lake Crystal, Lake Elmo, Le Sueur, Madison, Marshall, Mazeppa, Northfield, Osakis, Rochester, Sandstone, Shakopee, St. Cloud, Wabasso, White Bear Lake, and Willmar.

* The Fund for U.S. Artists at International Festivals and Exhibitions supported the appearances of Ann Heymann of Minneapolis and the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra at festivals in Ireland, England, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Switzerland.

* Through a grant to Film in the Cities, St. Paul, 15 Minnesota artists, including Bill Felker of Crystal and Tim Kaiser of Duluth, received Media Arts Regional Fellowships in recent years.

* Appalshop's Roadside Theater of Whitesburg, KY, toured to St. Joseph, and the Minnesota Opera will tour to Fairmont, Red Wing, St. Cloud, Moorhead, and Morris during its upcoming season, both with the assistance of grants from the Opera-Musical Theater Program.

* Ronald Jabs of Jordan and Roland Fowler of Embarrass participated in the Your Town Program, an effort to address the design needs of rural America carried out by the National Trust for Historic Preservation on behalf of the Design Arts Program.

* Minnesota received a $478,000 Basic State Grant from the State and Regional Program.

MINNESOTA

Sen. Paul D. Wellstone (DFL)

Elected 1990, seat up 1996; b. July 21, 1944, Washington, D.C.; home, St. Paul; U. of NC, B.A. 1965, Ph.D. 1969; Jewish; married (Sheila).

Career: Prof., Carleton Col., 1969–90.

Offices: 717 HSOB 20510, 202-224-5641. Also 2550 University Ave., St. Paul 55114, 612-645-0323.

Committees: *Energy and Natural Resources* (8th of 11 D): Energy Research and Development; Public Lands, National Parks and Forests; Renewable Energy, Energy Efficiency, and Competitiveness (Vice Chmn.). *Indian Affairs* (8th of 10 D). *Labor and Human Resources* (9th of 10 D): Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism; Education, Arts and Humanities; Labor. *Small Business* (7th of 12 D): Rural Economy and Family Farming (Chmn.); Urban and Minority-Owned Business Development.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	100	95	90	92	100	100	0	11	40	10	12
1991	95	—	100	83	89	93	5	—	—	20	20

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB	—	1991 CONS	1992 LIB	—	1992 CONS
Economic	97%	—	0%	95%	—	0%
Social	87%	—	0%	89%	—	0%
Foreign	86%	—	0%	86%	—	0%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	AGN	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	AGN	9. Use Force in Gulf	AGN
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	AGN	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	AGN	10. Keep Salvador Aid	AGN
3. Remove Budget Walls	FOR	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	FOR
4. Ban Striker Replace	FOR	8. Abortion Gag Rule	AGN	12. Override China MFN	FOR

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	FOR	2. HIV Immigrants	FOR	3. Clinton Budget	FOR

Election Results

1990 general	Paul D. Wellstone (DFL)	911,999	(50%)	($1,338,708)
	Rudy Boschwitz (IR)	864,375	(48%)	($6,221,133)
	Other	29,820	(2%)	
1990 primary	Paul D. Wellstone (DFL)	226,306	(60%)	
	James W. Nichols (DFL)	129,302	(34%)	
	Gene Schenk (DFL)	19,379	(5%)	
1984 general	Rudy Boschwitz (IR)	1,119,926	(56%)	($6,657,484)
	Joan Anderson Growe (DFL)	852,844	(43%)	($1,592,885)

MINNESOTA

In many ways the model American state, Minnesota has some of the nation's highest voter turnout and lowest crime rates, and is the birthplace of worthy national institutions from Scotch Tape and Betty Crocker to Garrison Keillor and the Mall of America. Improbably situated where the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers cut gorges through the Great Plains, the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul are the center of one of America's 20 largest metropolitan areas, and the one with by far the most frigid weather. Minnesota is a distinctive commonwealth with high traditions of probity and civic-mindedness and a center of innovation in business and government; in many ways it is politically liberal. During the Democrats' quarter-century presidential dry spell, Minnesota was the nation's most Democratic state; it voted for Democrats in five of six elections and nearly voted for George McGovern in 1972. But it also has one of the nation's largest and most active antiabortion movements.

Minnesota's distinctive polity comes from a distinctive history. The far northern states were ignored by most Yankee immigrants, who headed straight west into Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas. But in Minnesota's icy lakes and ferocious winters, other people saw opportunities. James J. Hill, the builder of the Great Northern Railroad ("You can't interest me in any proposition in any place where it doesn't snow"), and others operating out of Minneapolis and St. Paul—already twin cities by 1860—worked to attract Norwegian, Swedish and German migrants who would find the terrain and climate congenial. By 1890, the Twin Cities—rivals that year in a Census competition—were the nerve center of a sprawling and rich agricultural empire stretching west from Minnesota through the Dakotas and eventually into Montana and beyond. Minneapolis and St. Paul became the termini of its rail lines and the site of its grain-milling companies. They also became the center of a three-party politics and an economic radicalism reminiscent of the

politics of Scandinavia. For our American regions seem to reflect the geography of Europe, with the East Coast resembling the British Isles and France, the industrial Midwest reminiscent of Germany and Poland, the poor and always hawkish South a Baptist Mediterranean, and the Upper Midwest of Minnesota, Wisconsin and North Dakota as North American versions of Scandinavia. Like Scandinavia, these Upper Midwestern commonwealths pioneered their continent's welfare states, with an effect on public policy far out of proportion to their numbers. Alarmed by the unprecedented concentration of economic power and wealth into the hands of just a few identifiable millionaires who lived on St. Paul's Summit Avenue or the hill above Minneapolis's Hennepin Avenue, the immigrants drew on their native traditions of cooperative activity and bureaucratic socialism. Their rebellion against market capitalism and the magnates' dominance gave the politics of Minnesota its Scandinavian flavor.

As in Wisconsin and North Dakota, a strong third party developed here in the years after the Populist era; this Farmer-Labor Party elected senators in the 1920s and dominated state politics in the 1930s. Hurt by their ties to Communists, the Farmer-Laborites were beaten by Harold Stassen's Republicans in 1938. But this was still a New Deal state and by 1944 the bedraggled local Democrats were merged with the anti-Communist faction of Farmer-Laborites to form the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party. A key role was played by Hubert Humphrey—graduate student in 1940, mayor of Minneapolis in 1945, and the dazzling advocate of the civil rights plank at the 1948 Democratic National Convention. Humphrey's DFL—clean, idealistic, closely tied to labor, backed by many farmers—attracted dozens of talented politicians, including Eugene McCarthy, Orville Freeman, Walter Mondale and Minneapolis's current mayor, Donald Fraser. In 1948, Humphrey's speech helped put the Democrats on record for civil rights, and he was elected to the Senate at age 37.

In the years following, the DFL dominated Minnesota politics, while a series of progressive companies led the development of a strong, diversified economy. The DFL stood for a generous, compassionate federal government, for strong labor unions and high wages, for an expansionist fiscal policy to encourage consumer-led economic growth, for civil rights, and for an anti-Communist but not bombastic foreign policy. Its base was among blue-collar workers in the Twin Cities, in Duluth and the Iron Range, and among farmers of Scandinavian origin. Most of Minnesota's business leaders—executives of the great grain milling companies and the privately held grain traders in particular—were conservative politically. But they were innovation-minded in their work: 3M has been generating new products—more than 60,000 by 1992—since the abrasive material it was founded to sell proved a loser in 1903; Control Data was an early high-tech pioneer; IDS was one of the first mass-marketers of mutual funds; the Dayton retail empire helped invent the shopping mall and the national bookstore chain. Linking DFL political liberalism and business innovation have been a high-skill work force and a squeaky-clean ethic of honesty and integrity, with high wage and salary levels and a high percentage of women working outside the home. Over several decades, Minnesota has grown robustly in prosperous years and has not fallen much behind during recessions.

In effect Minnesota's economy over the past dozen years has been headed where most of the rest of America wanted to go; Minnesota's state government has been headed in directions the country may want to go as well. This is the state that produced the nation's first anti-smoking bill and one of the first public campaign financing schemes. It helped pioneer reduction of state welfare programs, and it passed the nation's first statewide educational choice plan in 1987. It was one of the first states to establish HMOs and in 1992 it passed a HealthRight plan to insure the uninsured, and which encourages insurance pooling for small employers and set targets for reducing healthcare spending. The plan is to be paid for by a higher cigarette tax and a 2% health services tax; some estimates set the cost of the program to the state at $250 million a year. State social services continue to be generous, but are supplemented by the commitment of 78 of Minnesota's biggest companies to donate 5% of their earnings for charity. The state also has pitched in to help business, in November 1991 pledging $840 million of credit and loan guarantees for beleaguered Northwest Airlines, which promised to keep its Twin Cities hub and

build repair facilities in Duluth and the Iron Range. But saddled with huge amounts of debt, Northwest delayed construction plans in December 1992 and some say the state may have squandered millions. So just as Scandinavia is adapting its welfare state by lowering taxes and using market mechanisms, so Minnesota is building on the patchwork American welfare state by adding state protections and regulations: both are continuing their search for a "third way" between unbridled market capitalism and regimented bureaucratic socialism.

Minnesota is well-positioned for that search, because its work ethic has always been strong, its skill levels are high, and it is less troubled by aberrant social behaviors—violent crime, children bearing children, substance abuse—than most of America. So relatively high tax levels here have not choked off economic growth, and government spending on education and social services has tended to upgrade private sector performance rather than just enrich public sector employees and contractors. Higher education levels have helped the Twin Cities develop a diversified economy, with responsive big companies plus entrepreneurial startups and spinoffs and other small firms. Workers and even (the much less numerous) farmers no longer feel at the mercy of a few big milling firms and railroads, young people starting out have many more career choices, and consumers have a much wider range of brand and product choices than they did 50 years ago: the need for New Deal-style intervention and regulation is less. Yet that heritage still counts for something: if Minnesota has an Independent Republican governor and senator (the party renamed itself in the 1970s) and a DFL senator whose election was arguably a fluke, it is still one of the least Republican states in national politics, casting less than one-third of its votes for the incumbent Republican president in 1992.

Paul Wellstone, Minnesota's junior senator, is representative of a still-lively impulse in American politics: the spirit of student protest that blazed out in the late 1960s and, on some campuses at least, lives on in embers. Wellstone himself is a Rip van Winkle, the spirit of Woodstock 1969 come back to earth. As a "rock-the-boat professor" at Carleton College, he taught nothing but the politics of protest and appeared at faculty meetings only when he was leading a group of students to protest something or other; he made a name for himself in local politics by leading protesters in sympathy with the Hormel meatpacker strikers in Austin and getting arrested while picketing a bank that had foreclosed on local farmers; he co-chaired Jesse Jackson's 1988 presidential campaign in Minnesota. His announcement that he was running for the Senate in 1990 attracted little attention: Walter Mondale had still not decided whether to run, Wellstone was opposed by DFL Agriculture Commissioner Jim Nichols, a populist advocate of increasing aid to farmers, and incumbent Republican Senator Rudy Boschwitz had a good job rating and a large campaign treasury. But Mondale chose not to run, Nichols was pro-life on abortion and lost the DFL primary 60%–34%, and Wellstone turned Boschwitz's financial advantage into a disadvantage and put himself in position to benefit from a couple of incredible Boschwitz mistakes.

The Wellstone campaign made shrewd—and in some cases dubious—use of symbolism. Wellstone's TV ads proclaimed that viewers wouldn't be seeing him as often as they saw Boschwitz (because he didn't accept PAC money), but his cute touches ("I'm better looking") guaranteed him more attention. His most-screened ad (often on newscasts) was an obvious takeoff on the movie *Roger and Me*, and like Michael Moore's movie on Flint, Michigan, the Wellstone ad was based on a dishonest premise: the ad purported to show Wellstone in pursuit of a confrontation-shy Boschwitz, even though Boschwitz had already agreed to meet him in debate. But the ad's cleverness and the candidate's charm created an almost cuddly impression—the kind of feel-good, image-heavy politics of which Ronald Reagan was often accused.

Boschwitz responded hamhandedly, needlessly involving himself in the controversy over gubernatorial nominee Jon Grunseth's personal problems, switching his stand on the 1990 civil rights veto override, sending out a letter to a Jewish mailing list suggesting that in this first Senate race between two Jewish candidates Boschwitz was the better Jew because Wellstone took no part in Jewish affairs and had not raised his children as Jews. Wellstone, the only candidate to beat an incumbent in 1990, won 50%–48%, carrying metro Twin Cities 54%–45% while losing outstate Minnesota 51%–47%. Here, as in the governors' race, the Twin Cities were venturesome enough to reject a well-known candidate—the IR's Boschwitz and the DFL's Perpich—for a relatively unknown and culturally liberal challenger—the DFL's Wellstone and the IR's Carlson.

Wellstone got off to a predictably rocky start in the Senate, gratuitously saying he "despised" Jesse Helms, handing Vice President Quayle a videotape of a Minnesota town meeting where people spoke out against war (actually, Wellstone backers stacked the meeting and some participants supported the war policy after Congress voted). Much to his own distress, this opponent of any assertive U.S. foreign policy found that the first issue he had to vote on was the Gulf war, and that the tide of opinion was very much against his own heartfelt views. But this left-wing Democrat of the early 1990s, like some of the right-wing Republicans of the early 1980s, got caught up in the responsibilities of serving as majority party superintendents of complex government programs, working hard trying to master issues and come up with positions that might win majority support. He has put forward a universal single-payer healthcare bill, but with the understanding that it probably won't pass; he skittered back from a purist campaign finance bill to let other Democrats take the lead; he played a skillful role in derailing Bennett Johnston's original energy bill in 1991 because of provisions allowing for oil drilling in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. He has let his pleasant personality prevail and gets along well with colleagues whose views on issues he used to bristlingly oppose, while deftly using senatorial delaying tactics to win points. Wellstone backers see him as a harbinger of a new left politics, brave enough to support major expansions of government responsibility and opposed to U.S. militarism abroad; they point to the 1992 victory of Russ Feingold in Wisconsin as an extension of the trend. But the more evident similarity is that Feingold, like Wellstone, won largely with charming ads almost devoid of issue content: cutie-pie leftism. But Wellstone does evoke some lively Minnesota traditions—the 1960s protesters now grown older but still posing as angry rebels; the Farmer-Laborites of the 1930s, incremental socialists and foreign policy isolationists. His job rating, which hit a low 35% after the Gulf war, rebounded in 1992 and by year's end was as high as any top Minnesota official's. He worked shrewdly and contributed organizational help ("the Wellstone Alliance") to 2d District winner Dave Minge and other DFLers running for the legislature in 1992. Republicans in 1990 may have thought Wellstone would be a one-term fluke, but in this Democratic state he must be regarded as a strong candidate for reelection.

MEMBER'S PROFILE SHEET

Senator: **HARRIS WOFFORD (D)**

State: Pennsylvania

Voting Record: 100% supportive of NEA *

Comments: Sen. Wofford began service in the Senate in 1991.

* Based on relevant votes since 1989

PENNSYLVANIA TALKING POINTS

The Keystone State is home to world-class museums, theater, dance, symphonies, literature and all of the arts. Culture enriches the lives of all Pennsylvanians, from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Over 3,000 arts organizations reflect the ethnic, racial & geographic diversity of the Commonwealth and bring arts to every corner of the state.

In FY 92, the Endowment awarded 176 grants to Pennsylvania artists & organizations, totalling $4,677,755.

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Council on the Arts received 9 grants: including a Basic State Grant of $563,000, an arts education grant of $124,000 and seven others, for a total of $1,085,400.

In the 5 years between 1987 and 1991, combined Federal and state arts investment in Pennsylvania was over $85 million. During this time, public funds supported activities that:

Reached over 126 million participants.
Involved over 404,000 artists.
Provided arts education to 231,000 children each year.
Included 547 grants for rural arts projects.
Generated at least $170 million in private funds.

The Local Arts Agencies Program gave $50,000 to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Council on the Arts to provide comprehensive technical assistance for rural, inner city, and underserved local arts agencies. A collaboration of the Pennsylvania Rural Arts Alliance, the Pennsylvania Local Arts Network, and the Pennsylvania Arts Coalition provides on-site consulting services, grassroots technical assistance at regional service centers, and travel subsidies for professional development. The project has provided a landmark opportunity to unify planning and programming for the arts services delivery system in Pennsylvania. Under consideration by the Council are Uniondale, Philadelphia, Stroudsburg, Lewiston, Ridgway, Clearfield, Carmichael, Indiana, Franklin, and Towanda.

The Three Rivers Arts Festival in Pittsburgh received a $12,500 grant to support four site-specific works by artists Mel Chin, Edgar Heap-of-Birds, Mierle Ukeles, and Chris MacDonald at Point State Park for the 1992 festival. Over 600,000 visitors attended the Festival during its 17-day run in June.

The Philadelphia Orchestra received a $280,300 grant from the Music Program to support its 1992-93 season at the Academy of Music. The award also assisted the pre-concert lecture series, "Orchestra Insights," post-concert "Composer Encounters" and "Retrospective Encounters," and a chamber music series performed by Orchestra members and guest artists. Educational programs, including a free concert for 5th graders, and a concert commemorating Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. were all part of the programs supported by the Endowment.

Sen. Harris Wofford (D)

Appointed May, 1991, seat up 1994; b. Apr. 26, 1926, New York, NY; home, Bryn Mawr; U. of Chicago, B.A. 1948, Yale, LL.B. 1954, Howard U., J.D. 1954; Catholic; married (Clare).

Career: Army 1944–45; Advisor, J.F. Kennedy Pres. campaign, 1960; Spec. Asst., Pres. Kennedy, 1960–63; Peace Corps, 1963–66; Pres., S.U.N.Y. Westbury, 1966–70; Pres., Bryn Mawr Col., 1970–78; Practicing atty., 1978–86; PA Dem. St. Chmn., 1986; PA Secy. of Labor and Industry, 1986–91.

Offices: 521 DSOB 20510, 202-224-6324. Also 9456 Green Fed. Bldg., 600 Arch St., Philadelphia 19106, 215-597-9914; 1306 Liberty Ctr., 1001 Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh 15222, 412-562-0533; Fed. Square Sta., P.O. Box 55, Harrisburg 17108, 717-233-5849; 130 Fed. Square, Erie 16501, 814-454-7114; and 116 N. Washington Ave., Kane Bldg., #3K, Scranton 18503, 717-347-2341.

Committees: *Environment and Public Works* (9th of 10 D): Clean Water, Fisheries and Wildlife; Superfund, Recycling and Solid Waste Management; Toxic Substances, Research and Development. *Foreign Relations* (9th of 11 D): International Economic Policy, Trade, Oceans and Environment; Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs; Western Hemisphere and Peace Corps Affairs. *Labor and Human Resources* (10th of 10 D): Aging; Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism; Education, Arts and Humanities; Employment and Productivity. *Small Business* (8th of 12 D): Export Expansion and Agricultural Development (Chmn.); Urban and Minority-Owned Business Development.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	CDF	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	100	82	100	92	83	67	0	25	60	20	18
1991	79	—	88	89	87	86	22	—	—	0	11

National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB — 1991 CONS			1992 LIB — 1992 CONS		
Economic	84%	—	15%	95%	—	0%
Social	77%	—	22%	84%	—	11%
Foreign	86%	—	0%	86%	—	0%

Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. $ for Homeownership	*	5. Clarence Thomas Nom.	AGN	9. Use Force in Gulf	*
2. Have Cap Gains Debate	AGN	6. Lmt Death Row Appeal	AGN	10. Keep Salvador Aid	AGN
3. Remove Budget Walls	FOR	7. Handgun Wait/5-Day	FOR	11. Cut $1B from SDI	FOR
4. Ban Striker Replace	FOR	8. Abortion Gag Rule	AGN	12. Override China MFN	FOR

Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	FOR	2. HIV Immigrants	FOR	3. Clinton Budget	FOR

Election Results

1991 special	Harris Wofford (D)	1,860,760	(55%)	($3,241,556)
	Dick Thornburgh (R)	1,521,986	(45%)	($3,993,070)
1988 general	H. John Heinz III (R)	2,901,715	(67%)	($5,151,512)
	Joe Vignola (D)	1,416,764	(32%)	($544,137)

PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania, long a backwater in American politics, the megastate least transformed economically and culturally over the last half-century, emerged in the 1992 electoral cycle not once but several times as the central focus of American politics. In 1991, the special Senate election made necessary by the tragic death of Senator John Heinz produced an upset victory for Democrat Harris Wofford that in important ways presaged the presidential result of 1992: spotlighting the healthcare issue and showing severe Republican losses in the suburbs. Then Pennsylvania became the venue for struggles over cultural issues. Governor Robert Casey's limited abortion restrictions were upheld by the Supreme Court in June 1992, but in this *Casey* decision, three Republican appointees refused to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. Meanwhile, the 1992 Pennsylvania Senate race was heralded as a test of opinion on the charges made by Anita Hill against Justice Clarence Thomas the year before. The Democratic nomination to oppose incumbent Arlen Specter, who had questioned Hill persistently and charged at one point that she had committed perjury, was won by Lynn Yeakel, a political neophyte whose ads featured Specter questioning Hill. Pennsylvania was important in other respects: for incumbent defeats in the April congressional primary; as the site of Jerry Brown's presidential campaign announcement in front of Independence Hall; its large poll margins for Bill Clinton which meant that George Bush would have had to carry almost every conceivable state to win. But if Pennsylvania was the setting for many political arguments, it did not settle them. Wofford won solidly, 55%–45%, in 1991, but could not immediately enact one of his primary objectives, national health insurance. Bill Clinton carried the state, but with a 45%–36% plurality—lower shares of the vote than Michael Dukakis or Walter Mondale. Pennsylvania has not obviously become a solidly Democratic state, as it seemed to in the New Deal years. Lynn Yeakel's much-ballyhooed campaign fell short, with Arlen Specter winning 49%–46%. Perhaps 1994, when Wofford's seat is up again, and when Casey must step down, will see more conclusive results in the Keystone state.

Pennsylvania started off as the center of America. Philadelphia was the 13 colonies' largest city when it hosted the Continental Congress in 1776 and the Constitutional Convention in 1787. This was one of the newer colonies, founded 50 years after Massachusetts and 70 years after Virginia. Under the benevolent rule of the Penns and with its Quaker traditions, Pennsylvania soon became the major settlement in the Middle Colonies: its tolerance attracted Englishmen of all religious sects as well as Germans. The rich green farmlands west to the first Appalachian chain filled rapidly. Bordermen from Scotland, Yorkshire and Northern Ireland crossed the corduroy-like ridges and settled the mountainous interior where General Braddock had been beaten by the French and Indians not long before, and where a decade later George Washington would again lead troops when the Whiskey Rebellion flared up. On the banks of a wide estuary, with its thriving commerce and rich hinterland, Philadelphia seemed destined to be the London of America, the capital and metropolis and academy all rolled into one. But Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, failed to hold the central position the Founders had expected. The nation's capital was sited on the Potomac rather than the Delaware as part of a political deal, and the Erie Canal and the water-level railroad from the Hudson to Lake Erie channeled trade away from Philadelphia to New York. Philadelphia's Quaker tradition, tolerant of diversity and indifferent to others' behavior, was overshadowed in intellectual life by New England's Puritan tradition, angrily intolerant and always ready to use the state to impose cultural values from abolitionism to prohibition and women's rights. So, in antebellum America, Philadelphia was eclipsed by Washington in government, New York in commerce and Boston in culture.

Instead, Pennsylvania became America's energy and heavy industry capital. The key was coal. Northeast Pennsylvania became the nation's primary source of anthracite, the hard coal used for home heating, and western Pennsylvania became a major source of bituminous coal, the soft coal used in steel production. Connected with Philadelphia by the Pennsylvania Railroad, the area around Pittsburgh, where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers join to become the Ohio, was the center of the nation's steel industry by 1890. Immigrants poured in from Europe and from the surrounding hills to work in the mines and factories. Pittsburgh became

synonymous with industrial prosperity, the map [illegible]
chuffing smokestacks. In 1900, Pennsylvania was the nation's second largest state and growing rapidly. The boom ended conclusively with the Depression of the 1930s, and in parts of Pennsylvania has never returned. After World War II, both home heating and industry switched away from coal; John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers traded higher pay and benefits for payroll cuts. Even when coal prices boomed in the 1970s, strip mining created relatively few new jobs. Similarly, Pennsylvania steel ceased to be a growth industry three decades ago, when big company managers made some bad technological decisions acceding to big wage and benefit increases with the mistaken confidence that they could always pass the costs along. Big steel got import quotas in 1969—Pennsylvania has been the nation's most protectionist state since the first Bessemer converter furnaces were lit—but this has not revived employment. By the time quotas lapsed in the 1990s, the industry had modernized, but mostly in huge new Indiana mills and other mini-mills scattered far from the cold or bulldozed factories that had lined the Monongahela.

The result has been the slowest population growth in the nation: there were 9.5 million Pennsylvanians in 1930, 11.9 million in 1990. Pennsylvania cast 36 electoral votes for Franklin Roosevelt in 1940 and 23 for Bill Clinton in 1992; it had as many congressmen (30) as California in 1960, and now has 21 while California has 52. People growing up here are as likely to leave the state as stay, and few out-of-staters have moved in. Pennsylvania looks and sounds today more like it did in the 1940s than any other major state. But the 1980s boom saw some new Pennsylvania growth. Southeast of the first Appalachian ridge, the Philadelphia metro area partook of the upscale boom that was even more spectacular up and down the East Coast. Center City Philadelphia sprouted new office towers, the edge city around King of Prussia blossomed, and pharmaceutical and biotech jobs replaced those of the Fairless steel plant. Outlet stores proliferated around Reading and new jobs sprung up in the Dutch country. West of the first mountain ridge, growth was slower and spottier, radiating outward from Pittsburgh, where a high-tech, research-oriented economy was growing. But in mill towns tucked in river valleys between mountains farther from the Golden Triangle, there was little growth, and overall population loss continued. Then the white-collar recession of 1990–91 attacked real estate values and suburbanites' jobs, sharply changing the economic picture in eastern Pennsylvania; the change was less sharp in western Pennsylvania, but optimism was about as scarce.

Traditionally, Pennsylvania was the most Republican of the mega-states—for Lincoln and the Union, for the steel industry and the high tariff. Its malodorous Republican machines built parties which were not representative of one ethnic segment but organizations with places for just about everyone: in Philadelphia's huge City Hall, a knockoff of Paris's Hotel de Ville; in Pittsburgh's massive, Roman-columned City-County Building; in Harrisburg's grandiose Capitol with its rotunda modeled on St. Peter's in London and staircase modeled on the Paris Opera. In 1932, Pennsylvania was the only big state that stuck with Herbert Hoover and voted against Franklin Roosevelt. But the New Deal, John L. Lewis's United Steelworkers and CIO industrial union movement, and a series of bloody strikes made industrial Pennsylvania almost as Democratic in the 1930s and 1940s as it had been Republican from the 1860s to the 1920s. Even then parts of Pennsylvania not heavy with big steel factories and coal mines—the northern tier of counties along the New York border, the central part of the state around the Welsh railroad town of Altoona, and the Pennsylvania Dutch country around Lancaster—remained the strongest Republican voting bloc in the East. Philadelphia became a mostly Democratic city, but in the suburban counties the antique Republican machines, anchored in old courthouse and railroad station towns, stayed in control. The result was a key marginal state in presidential elections from the 1950s to the 1980s.

Diverse economic trends divided Pennsylvania politically in the 1980s; now it is voting as one state again. Western Pennsylvania voted for Michael Dukakis and almost for Walter Mondale in the 1980s, while the east—with the Philadelphia machine in tatters and the suburbs booming—gave decisive margins for Ronald Reagan and George Bush. But in 1992, Bill Clinton got the same 45% on both sides of the Appalachians. East of the mountains his liberal cultural stands—emphasized by Lynn Yeakel's assaults on Arlen Specter—may have been an asset; Clinton carried three of four suburban Philadelphia counties. West of the mountains, in culturally little-changed factory towns and mountainous countryside, they probably held his vote down; he ran well behind Mondale and Dukakis there. Either party, to win a majority here, must move against the grain of its national appeal: for Pennsylvania, with its continued support for anti-abortion laws, is culturally more tradition-minded than most of America, while on economic issues it is more favorably disposed to government intervention. The Democrats will be tested in 1994 on whether their approach can command majority support, just as the Republicans were tested [illegible] Pennsylvania may not be ready yet to cede center stage

From former college president and state Labor and Industry secretary to United States senator and the short list for vice president, Harris Wofford came a long way in little more than a year's time. But he had spent most of a lifetime doing things that gave him unique preparation for the national spotlight. From an affluent background, he was the first white student in years at Howard Law School in Washington, D.C.; he was active in the civil rights movement back in the 1950s, and Martin Luther King, Jr., drew on his writings on non-violence in India. It was Wofford who persuaded John Kennedy to call Coretta Scott King in October 1960 after Dr. King had been jailed in rural Georgia where his life seemed in danger—a call that helped Kennedy win many black votes in the November election. Wofford helped Sargent Shriver set up the Peace Corps, one of the all-time successful government agency starts. While college president at Bryn Mawr, he wrote a book called *Of Kennedys and Kings: Making Sense of the Sixties*, an account that is both admiring and without illusions, appreciative but without the saccharine tone of so many New Frontier memoirs.

Wofford came to the Senate through tragedy and connections and won his seat through perseverance and convictions. After John Heinz's death in a plane crash in April 1991, Governor Casey waited weeks to fill the vacancy, seeking out Pennsylvania native Lee Iacocca, but finally settling on Wofford, whom he had known since 1954 and who shared his support of liberal economic programs and some abortion restrictions. Little known, not well financed, forced to run in November 1991 in a state which had not elected a Democratic senator since 1962, Wofford started out far behind. In July 1991, he trailed the obvious Republican candidate, U.S. Attorney General and former Governor Richard Thornburgh, by 65%–21%. But Thornburgh had his own problems: a crackpot court decision delayed the nominating process, and Thornburgh seemed a reluctant candidate. He obviously enjoyed being in the Cabinet and had never shown an iota of interest in serving in the Senate. When he did start running, he talked much about his record as governor (though he had last been elected in 1982 with 51% of the vote) and his contacts in Washington. This was precisely the wrong tack for a Republican when voters were growing increasingly angry with George Bush's disengagement from domestic issues. Meanwhile, Wofford started running a spot calling for national health insurance. "If criminals have the right to a lawyer," he said, in a line suggested by a local doctor, "I think working Americans should have the right to a doctor." Never mind that the line conflates two notions of rights; the ad had greater political power than Thornburgh's assurances that holding down taxes would produce economic growth, and by the end of September Thornburgh was down to a 50%–38% lead. In October, Wofford picked up votes of the elderly and reduced 1988's big Republican margins in the suburbs to a dead heat, as Bill Clinton would do a year later, and won the special by a 55%–45% margin. It was a wakeup call for George Bush, but he pushed the snooze button and put off talk of any new economic programs until the State of the Union address two months later.

Wofford instantly became a national celebrity and a participant in the presidential race. Paul Tsongas had been his star Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia, and he gave him some aid; but once Tsongas was out, Wofford gave greater help to Bill Clinton, with whom he'd worked on his national service proposal idea with its Peace Corps echoes. In July, Wofford emerged on the short list for vice president; passed over, he still supported Clinton strongly, while his old ally Casey, snubbed because of his abortion stand, was conspicuously cool to the national ticket. His first legislative move was to reduce government health care (by stopping free care for members of Congress) rather than expand it (by the national health service he has promised). He has also put in a bill for a national service program which he hopes would evoke the Peace Corps spirit and help young people afford college. Great success and celebrity came to Wofford in 1991 and 1992; in 1993 and 1994 he will be tested on policy and politics. Can he and the Clinton Administration produce a workable national healthcare reform? Can the massive highway and infrastructure program he supported jump-start the economy? Will the Republicans seriously challenge him, or will he be reelected easily as John Heinz once was? Among Republicans, Representative Rick Santorum and businessman Bob Monahan were said to be seriously interested in a Senate bid, and 1990 gubernatorial nominee Barbara Hafer had formed an exploratory committee for this senate seat in the spring of 1993.

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BEST OF ARTS ENDOWMENT GRANTS
September 13, 1993

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3. Success Stories -- Highlights of Endowment Grants
4. Support for Individuals/Fellowship Recipients
5. Challenge Grants

Sampling of Arts Endowment Grants
Autumn 1993

1. **Master Teachers/Mentors**

A new collaboration between the Endowment's Dance and Arts In Education Programs, the Master Teachers/Mentors initiative kicks off this fall by recognizing the careers of four distinguished choreographers who continue to influence the course of dance through teaching or mentoring. Fellowships in the amount of $20,000 each have been awarded to Katherine Dunham of East St. Louis, Missouri; Talley Beatty of New York City; Daniel Nagrin of Tempe, Arizona; and Bessie Schonberg of New York City.

2. **Literature of the States**

This new program assists states in developing projects to edit and publish volumes of each state's best fiction and poetry. In Oregon this fall, for example, more than 300 English teachers will incorporate the first-ever volume of Oregon short fiction into their classrooms to replace boring basal readers. A second volume of poetry is in the works.

3. **Mayor's Institute on City Design**

Now in its eighth year, the Endowment's Mayor's Institute on City Design continues in October in Charlottesville, Virginia where the mayors from St. Louis, Missouri; Scottsdale, Arizona; Pasadena, California; Anchorage, Alaska; San Diego, California; Orlando, Florida; and Norfolk, Virginia will convene with design professionals, developers, landscape architects and city planners to find solutions to practical, real-life design challenges in each of the participating cities.

4. **Village of Art & Humanities**

Four artists commissioned with help from the Arts Endowment designed and constructed a neighborhood park for the senior citizens of North Philadelphia. The artists invited residents to workshops and lectures on Asian, African, European, Islamic and Native American garden deisgn as the basis for converting an empty lot in a dilapidated neighborhood into a quiet and safe garden where people can meet, relax and reflect.

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5. **National Folk Festival**

More than 100,000 folk arts devotees will flock to Chattanooga, Tennessee in October for the 55th annual National Folk Festival. With the help of an Endowment grant, the Festival attracts some of the country's best traditional artists in music, crafts and dance.

6. **Presidential Design Awards**

Established in 1983 and awarded every four years, the latest round of Presidential Design Awards will be made in October to honor federal achievements in architecture, engineering, graphic design, historic preservation, interior design, landscape architecture, product/industrial design, urban design and planning. This year's honorees include an antebellum-style development of low-income housing; the restoration of a 90-year-old historic inn that is regarded as America's premiere log structure; and an explosives detector, the kind used to determine the presence of explosives during this year's World Trade Center bombing.

7. **Seattle Arts Commission**

A grant from the Endowment's Visual Arts Program has helped bring an ambitious project in five Seattle-area neighborhoods to fruition. The Endowment has helped commission four visual artists to work collaboratively with architects and residents on a variety of projects, including monthly storytelling for children that will be produced for public television, radio and the City's interactive computer kiosks. The partnership also spearheaded an aluminum can drive which the artists and designers have incorporated into design features for five newly constructed community centers.

8. **Associated Writing Programs**

The Endowment is supporting a three-phase program administered by the Associated Writing Program, in Norfolk, Virginia to develop creative writing programs at 12 historically black colleges and universities. The Program hopes to make contemporary literature more meaningful in people's live -- particulary those people from an underserved population -- as well as enhance individual levels of achievement in the classroom.

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9. **Collaborative Play**

Junebug Productions in New Orleans, Louisiana and Roadside Theatre in Whitesburg, Kentucky are collaborating on research and writing for an Endowment-sponsored play about race and class. Representatives of the theate companies will meet with arts presenters and a variety of community leaders to explore new community partherships across racial and class lines. This dialogue will then be translated into a play about race, class and culture.

10. **University of Nebraska Amphitheater**

Due in large part to an Endowment grant, the University of Nebraska in Omaha has completed a new outdoor amphitheater on campus. Fifty feet in diameter, "The Castle of Perserverance" is derived from a medieval theater plan from the year 1425 and includes the scuptures of the four daughters: Mercy, Righteousness, Truth, and Peace. The Castle will be used for performances, lectures, still-life drawing classes, and study space for as many as eighty people.

For more information contact:
Office of Public Affairs
(202) 682-5570

ARTS ENDOWMENT GRANTS AT WORK

--A Current Sampling--
Summer 1993

Chamber Music Rural Residencies

In partnership with local community groups in Georgia, Iowa and Kansas as well as with private corporate support, the Endowment has helped to transplant nine outstanding young chamber music ensembles in eight rural, neighboring communities within the three states. Serving as artists-in-residence for an entire nine-month school year, the musicians perform, teach and generally live and work as members of the community during the entire residency. This pilot program, which has been renewed for the 1993-94 school year, helps fill a void of classical music and music education in some rural areas while at the same time provides opportunities for musical growth for emerging musicians.

Arts Corps

In the middle of a three-year pilot program, Arts Corps places exceptional arts graduate students in six-week paid summer residencies in small towns and rural communities throughout the United States. Coordinated by the National Assembly of Local Arts Agencies and funded through a variety of NEA programs, the students live with local families and practice and teach their art in local libraries, community centers, homes and schools. In the first year, communities in 11 states participated in Arts Corps.

Capstone Project

The Capstone Project, a new initiative of the Expansion Arts Program in 1993, addresses the problem of over-reliance by some nonprofit organizations on public sector grants as the principal source of contributed income. Multidisciplinary organizations that are at least 10 years old and have minimum budgets of $300,000 are eligible for the pilot phase designed to increase earned revenues and individual contributions.

National Heritage Fellowships

For the 12 consecutive year, the Endowment is honoring the nation's "national treasures," a select group of traditional artists and artisans who are preserving an array of cultural heritage first brought to this country by their forebears. The Endowment recently announced that the honor would go to 12 artists for 1993 at ceremonies to be held this September.

-more-

Women's Rights National Historical Park

On July 31, six years after the NEA sponsored a design competition to design the Wesleyan Chapel Block, there will be a ribbon-cutting ceremony to dedicate the newly renovated and designed chapel where 300 people met close to a century and a half ago for the first-ever convention on women's right. As part of the new design, a 140-foot long water wall has been engraved with the Declaration of Sentiments and the names of the original signers.

San Francisco Symphony Orchestra School Outreach

As a result of a $1 million Challenge Grant, the San Francisco Symphony has undertaken an ambitious arts education project that will touch every fourth grade student in San Francisco. Working with the principals and music teachers in each of the city's elementary schools (including parochial schools), musicians from the Symphony and other diverse arts groups (Chinese dancers and African drummers among them) have incorporated the arts within existing curricula. The Symphony has also developed a computer-based program that not only contains an encylclopedic data base on the arts, but also has the capacity to demonstrate aloud the appropriate musical response.

Open House at Feld School of Ballet

The Feld School of Ballet, which annually opens its doors for auditions to all public school children in New York City -- from tots to teens -- will hold an open house at the School on August 4 where current students will perform. With Endowment support, the School is free to all selected students. While the School provides future dancers for the Feld Ballet, its real feat is in providing an appreciation for dance within future audiences.

Anti-Drug Billboards

Through the Endowment's Art In Public Places category, the NEA has helped sponsor a series of outdoor billboards with anti-drug messages in the Detroit area. In concert with this promotional campaign, the NEA grant helped sponsor a series of artist-student exchanges, at the conclusion of which, students were asked to create their own anti-drug artworks.

# # # # #

Success Stories

The following list highlights some of the successes of the Endowment over the years.

- The Endowment provided assistance for the competition that chose the design of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C.

- The Endowment provided support for local non-profit theater productions that went on to Broadway and Hollywood fame, including The Great White Hope, Driving Miss Daisy, Children of a Lesser God, Annie, A Chorus Line, M. Butterfly, and Jelly's Last Jam.

- In 1990, the Arts Endowment brought 125 hours of arts programming on public television to a cumulative audience of 310 million. The Endowment's contribution represented about a penny and a half per person.

- During the 1990/91 school year, more than 13,000 artists-in-residence reached about 4 million students and teachers through Endowment funding.

- Over the past five years, the Endowment and the state arts agencies have awarded nearly $2 billion in grants.

- Over the past five years, a combined audience of over 335,800,000 people has attended arts events that were supported by this funding partnership.

- The private sector has contributed almost $4 billion towards those projects in matching funds.

Support for Individuals

While no government can call a great artist or scholar into existence, it is necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to 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.

With this mandate from the enabling legislation of the Arts Endowment, the agency has been offering support to individual artists from its inception. In 1966, the Endowment made its first awards to individuals in the form of one-year sabbaticals to 50 novelists, poets, painters, sculptors, and composers. Since then, over 11,000 artists have received grants, often at a crucial point early in their careers. The ranks of Arts Endowment fellows include many of the very best artists working in the United States over the past generation. They have won dozens of awards, including 42 Pulitzer Prizes, 47 MacArthur "genius awards," 28 National Book Awards, 11 Obie Awards for Theater, and many other distinctions.

More important than the awards and accolades has been the creativity that these fellows have helped engender: scores of symphonies, operas and songs; reams of poems, short stories, dramas and novels; a spate of new dance from modern to folk to ballet. Reels of new films and videos have been created, and new radio and television programs have filled the airways and made their way into millions of homes, schools, and libraries. New painting, sculpture, photography, crafts, and design have come forth from the imagination of a generation.

Among the many distinguished artists who have received Endowment support are: choreographers Alvin Ailey, Merce Cunningham, Meredith Monk, Mark Morris, Alwin Nikolais, Paul Taylor and Twyla Tharp; composers Dominick Argento, Philip Glass, Ned Rorem and Pauline Oliveros; musicians Ellis, Delfeayo and Wynton Marsalis, David Baker, Toshiko Akiyashi, Dexter Gordon and Emma Kemp; playwrights Wendy Wasserstein and A.R. Gurney; writers Annie Dillard, John Irving, Louise Erdrich, Bobbie Ann Mason, William Kennedy, Rita Dove, Oscar Hijuelos, and Alice Walker; visual artists Laurie Anderson, Dale Chihuly, Chuck Close, Lee Friedlander, Martin Puryear, and William Wegman; designers Frank Gehry and Susana Torre; filmmakers Barbara Kopple and Wayne Wong.

Programs which offer direct grants for individuals

Dance
Design Arts
Folk Arts (Heritage Fellows)
International
Literature
Media Arts
Music
Opera-Musical Theater
Theater
Visual Arts

Challenge Grant Program
September 13, 1993

The Arts Endowment's Challenge Grant Program is designed to assist arts institutions of national or regional artistic significance to strengthen long-term institutional stability and enhance artistic quality.

Each Challenge Grant must be matched by three dollars or more in non-federal funds for each grant dollar awarded.

Over the past 15 years, $240 million in Challenge Grants have helped to raise more than **$2.4 billion** in new or increased private donations throughout the nation to benefit America's arts institutions.

Examples

Challenge Grants helped to:

- renovate and restore New York's famed Carnegie Hall (Senators Moynihan and D'Amato);
- take the San Francisco Symphony's "Adventures in Music" program to students in every public elementary school in the City; (Senators Boxer and Feinstein);
- build a major, new art museum at the University of Wyoming, the first of its kind for the State (Senators Simpson and Wallop);
- present live dance performances by Ballet West of Utah in communities underserved by the arts throughout the Intermountain West and Southwest (Senators Hatch and Bennett);
- establish an endowment for the Kentucky Center for the Arts which makes local, national and international arts performances accessible for people in all parts of the state (Senators Ford and McConnell).

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ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE ARTS ENDOWMENT
September 13, 1993

1. Highlights of Arts Endowment and the Economy
2. Charts -- Growth of the Arts
3. City/State Examples of Economic Impact
4. Op Ed -- Funding the Arts Benefit Community

Economic Impact
September 13, 1993

The Arts Endowment provides significant economic stimulus in the non-profit arts economy, and it helps create and sustain economic growth and empowerment through the arts.

Projects supported by the Arts Endowment help create jobs, provide education and training, and stimulate urban renewal -- a remarkable return on the modest Federal investment.

The Arts Endowment and the Economy

- Historically, every Endowment grant dollar (excluding Challenge grants and fellowships) is matched on the local level by $3 from the private sector. In Fiscal Year 1992, the Endowment awarded $123 million to 3,548 organizations. To complete the funded projects, those organizations raised an estimated $1.376 billion.

- For every dollar the Endowment invests in communities, a 20-fold return in jobs, services and contracts is created (Source: Arts Working Group, 1992).

- The creative arts industry has a tremendous impact on our economy, accounting for about 6 percent of the GNP. Additionally, the creative arts industry employed 3.2 million people (2.7 percent of the workforce) in 1989. More people work in the creative arts industry than in the steel or rubber industries (Source: The Arts in America, 1992).

- The Arts Endowment has an annual budget of approximately $175 million. All of its programs cost each American just 68 cents per year. (Germany spends $27 per citizen, and France spends $32.) By contrast, each American annually pays $1,137 in taxes for national defense, and $201 in Federal taxes for education (Source: American Arts Alliance).

- The budget for the Arts Endowment is less than two hundredths of one percent of the Federal budget.

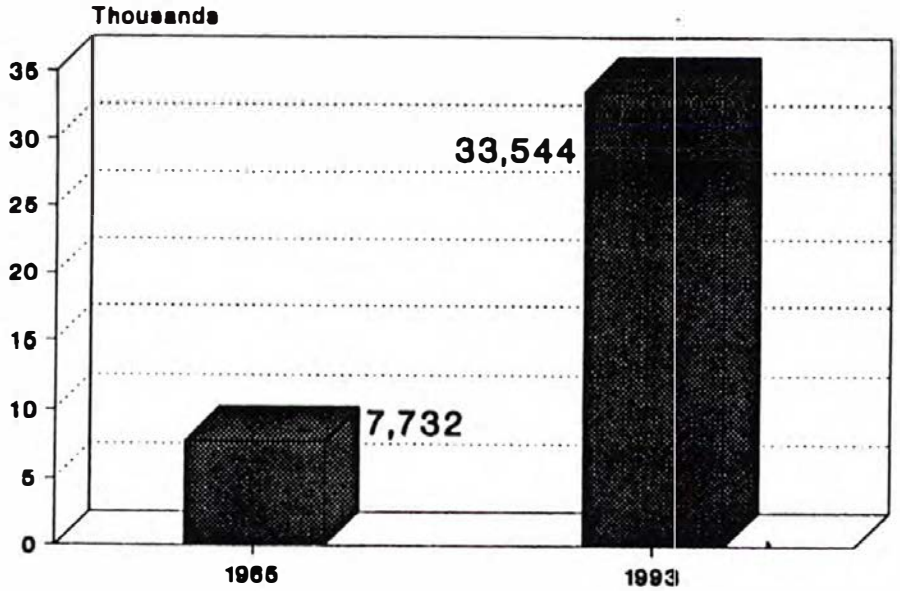
- Over the past five years, the Endowment and the state arts agencies have awarded nearly $2 billion in grants.

- Over the same five years, a combined audience of over 335,800,000 people has attended arts events that were supported by this funding partnership.

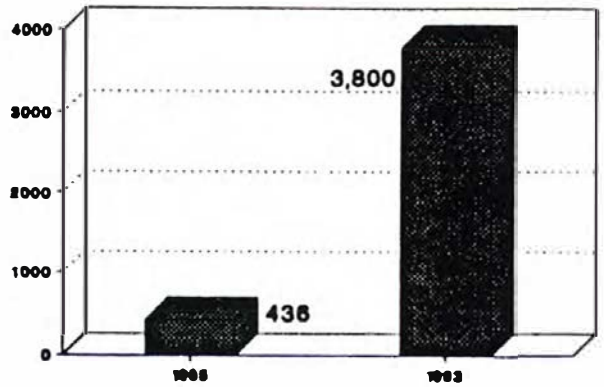
- The private sector has contributed almost $4 billion towards those projects in matching funds.

GROWTH OF THE ARTS

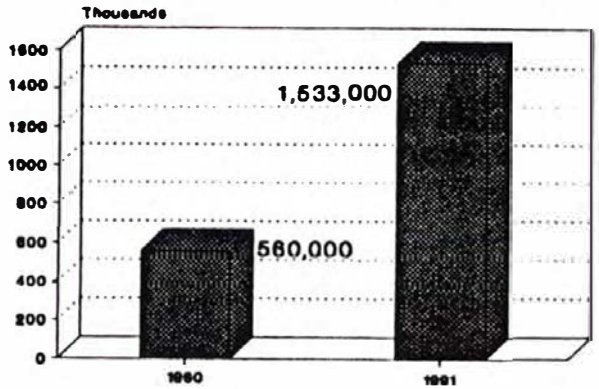
Non-Profit Arts Institutions



Community Arts Agencies



Artists in the Workplace



Source: The Arts in America, 1992 A Report to the President and to Congress

Economic Impact of the Arts

The arts first and foremost provide nourishment and enjoyment to a diverse society. At the same time, it has a tremendous impact on the economy nationwide. The following are some city and state statistics which show how much the arts add directly and indirectly to the local economy.

Boston, Massachusetts	**(1990)**	**$ 100.0 million**
Columbus, Ohio	**(1986)**	**$ 34.6 million**
Newark, New Jersey	**(1990)**	**$ 17.2 million**
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	**(1991)**	**$ 25.9 million**
Rochester, Minnesota	**(1989)**	**$ 1.2 million**
Cincinnati, Ohio	**(1991)**	**$ 102.0 million**
Orange County, California	**(1989)**	**$ 259.0 million**
St. Joseph, Missouri	**(1991)**	**$ .8 million**
Wisconsin	**(1987)**	**$ 91.8 million**
Oregon	**(1989)**	**$ 42.0 million**
Colorado	**(1989)**	**$ 97.0 million**
Maryland	**(1989)**	**$ 167.0 million**
Florida	**(1987)**	**$ 1.0 billion**
Kentucky	**(1988)**	**$ 65.0 million**
Texas	**(1984)**	**$ 510.0 million**
North Carolina	**(1987)**	**$ 1.0 billion**
Michigan	**(1983)**	**$ 195.0 million**

1989 Study of Economic Impact of the Arts in New England

Connecticut		**$ 353.8 million**
Maine		**$ 91.9 million**
Massachusetts		**$ 1241.3 million**
New Hampshire		**$ 105.9 million**
Rhode Island		**$ 71.9 million**
Vermont		**$ 96.2 million**
	TOTAL	**$ 1.9 billion**

(Source: Twenty Years of Economic Studies of the Arts
Anthony Radich, 1992)

Funding the Arts Benefits Community

Many of us in the Savannah arts community have followed with keen interest the recent letters to the editor in the *Savannah News-Press* regarding U.S. Representative Jack Kingston's ideas about the National Endowment for the Arts. As the manager of the largest arts organization in Georgia outside of Atlanta, I feel it is my duty to tell the other side of the NEA story, to point out what enormous good the Endowment has done in our country and in Savannah.

Since its inception in 1965, the Arts Endowment has advanced artistic standards and has expanded opportunities for all Americans to experience and participate in the arts. With an annual budget of approximately $175 million, the Endowment costs each American just 68 cents per year. (By comparison, Germany spends $27 per citizen for arts funding each and France spends $32.) To put this cost in perspective, each American annually pays $1,137 for national defense and $201 in federal taxes for education.

Consider what this small investment of federal funds has done for all of us over the past 28 years:

- Because most NEA grants require recipients to match federal funds with private contributed dollars, the Arts Endowment has helped stimulate a dramatic increase in private sector contributions to the arts, humanities, and cultural activities. In 1965, private sector giving was $44 million. In 1992, it was $7.9 billion, an increase of 17,954 percent.
- From 1965 to 1992, symphony audiences have increased from 9 million to 27 million per year. During the same period, the number of major orchestras has grown from 58 to 230.
- The number of non-profit theaters has increased from 56 to well over 400, resulting in an increase in audience from 5 million in 1965 to 20 million in 1992.
- Audiences for dance have increased from 1 million to 16 million, and the number of dance companies has increased from 37 in 1965 to over 250 today.
- The number of opera companies has grown from 27 in 1965 to a network of over 100 today.

The NEA has advanced artistic standards.

— Gregg Gustafson

Clearly, the good work the Endowment has done greatly surpasses the minute number of controversial projects supported by NEA grants. We did not eliminate funding of the Pentagon because of a few $600 toilet seats, and we should not do the same to the NEA. Because of the catalyst provided by federal arts funding, more people attend more performances and exhibits sponsored by more arts institutions now than they did in the days before the existence of the Arts Endowment.

While the arts provide nourishment for the mind and enhance the spiritual well-being of our citizens, many Savannahians may be unaware of the economic impact arts organizations have here in the Coastal Empire. The Savannah Symphony alone, with an annual budget of $2 million, has an annual economic impact locally in excess of $6 million. Last year, the SSO received $14,500 from the NEA to help fund our superb Masterworks Series.

Arts organizations in Savannah also provide employment to seemingly unrelated jobs such as truckers, stage hands, laborers, electricians, carpenters, painters, parking lot attendants, printers, restaurant workers, hotel workers, transportation workers, and yes, even professional musicians and artists. All these citizens are taxpayers, buy food, housing, and support families here in Savannah. The arts segment of our local economy will continue to grow in importance as Savannah emerges as the preeminent arts capital of the Southeast.

A recent study of the arts industry in metro-Atlanta commissioned by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce found that $13 was returned for each dollar invested in arts projects. It is this high rate of return that encourages businesses to invest in the arts.

The Savannah Symphony is fortunate to enjoy outstanding support by the citizens of Savannah, corporate executives with vision, companies large and small, and many generous individuals who recognize the aesthetic and economic values of the arts here. Major corporations as well as individuals choose to move to Savannah because of the quality of life afforded by organizations such as the Savannah Symphony, King-Tisdell Cottage Foundation, City Lights Theatre and the Telfair Museum. The economic value of these relocations cannot be ignored or dismissed.

Federal support of this important segment of Savannah's economy is no less crucial to our economic well-being than is federal support of other segments of our economy such as the military, transportation, tourism, housing and foreign trade.

On July 14, Rep. Kingston spoke on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives in support of the "Crane" amendment which would have completely eliminated funding for the NEA. His decision to support killing the Endowment not only hurts Savannah's cultural life, but damages our economy as well. And that's bad news for all of us.

Gregg Gustafson is the general manager of the Savannah Symphony Orchestra.

Savannah Morning News / Evening Press
August 29, 1993

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ARTS ENDOWMENT GRANTS TO RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND GRANTS WITH RELIGIOUS THEMES
September 13, 1993

1. Highlights of Arts Endowment Grants to Religious Organizations and With Religious Themes

Spring 1992

ART WITH RELIGIOUS THEMES FUNDED BY THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

A $125,000 grant to the Metropolitan Museum of Art to support an exhibition of painting from Renaissance Siena. The city of Siena has a special devotion for the Virgin Mary ever since 1260. At the entrance of the exhibition was a large fresco of the Madonna of Mercy with her cloak extended so as to protect the Siennese citizenry. The fresco was removed from its original location in the 17th century and was divided into three large pieces. This was the first time all three parts were reunited.

In FY 87, a grant of $125,000 to the Metropolitan Museum of Art for an exhibition of Spanish Baroque painter, Francisco de Zurbaran, the leading artist working for churches in southern Spain. An essential aspect of the exhibition was the reassembly of several artpieces and cycles of pictures that were designed to be seen as decorative ensembles.

A $100,000 grant to the Los Angeles County Museum of art for an exhibition of the 17th Century painter Guido Reni of Bologna. His renowned works include "St. John the Baptist," "The Coronation of the Virgin" and "The Apostles Peter and Paul."

A $75,000 Museum grant to the Pierpont Morgan Library for an exhibition of drawings by Raphael and his school, many of which were on religious themes.

A $75,000 grant to the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore for the reinstallation of such works as Raphael's "Madonna of the Candelabra," Battista Tiepolo's "Madonna and Child," El Greco's "St. Francis Receiving the Stigma."

Grants to visual artists whose themes & subject matter are religious: Richard Beerhorst, Willie Birch, Alex Seowtewa, Eddie Dominquez, Steve Rogers (terra cotta church interiors), Carmen Garza, Felix Lopez, Reverend Howard Finster

In Music, of the 53 grants awarded to choruses in FY 88, much of the repertoire was of religious nature, including masses, passions, requiems, and other types of choral oratorios by Argento, Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Mendelssohn, Verdi, etc. by choruses from Boston to Portland, Oregon.

The Cathedral Concert Series in Newark New Jersey performs repertoire suited for the acoustic & visual setting of a grand cathedral, including many works with religious themes. The Endowment grant also supports its apprenticeship program for young, inner-city musicians to play in the orchestra.

We have supported the Fisk Jubilee Singers which perform Gospel music in Nashville, Tennessee.

In FY 88, grants totalling $19,500 to the Nashville Gospel Ministries to support American Gospel Arts Day.

A grant of $10,000 to the American Gospel Arts Fund for the First American Black Sacred Music Convention.

A grant of $19,300 to support "The Sacred Arts of Queens" a component of the annual Queens (NY) arts festival.

Nearly $40,000 to the New Mexico Community Foundation's design study of adobe churches which has led to the preservation of many of these historical houses of worship.

A grant of $7000 to the Jewish Federation of the Greater East Bay in Oakland, California to support a festival celebrating the dance, music and culture of Yiddish-speaking people.

Through a $20,000 Arts Endowment grant, the first major U.S. touring exhibition of Mexican retablo paintings was realized by InterCultura, Inc. of Fort Worth. Small devotional paintings on tin depicting the Holy Family and the saints, retablos are an important category of Mexican religious folk art from the 19th century displaying accomplished stylistic qualities of color, line and technique.

A grant of $10,000 to Penn Community Services on St. Helena Island, South Carolina to support a tour of traditional sacred musicians to sites across the state.

$9,000 to the Franciscian Sisters of Little Falls, Minnesota to support multidisciplinary arts activities.

$12,500 to the Staten Island Jewish Arts Festival.

$3,900 for the Santero Exhibition -- art with Christian themes -- at the Taos Spring Arts Festival.

$6,500 to the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research for recordings by klezmer clarinetist, Dave Tarras.

$25,000 to St. Norbert's College in De Pere, Wisconsin for a summer arts workshop for developmentally disabled youth.

These projects were judged by the peer review panels of the National Endowment for the Arts to have artistic merit regardless of their religious content. Our panels are instructed to look for artistic excellence as the main reason for recommending grants. The mission of the Arts Endowment is to promote the finest achievements of the American spirit.

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ARTS ENDOWMENT GRANTS TO LARGE CITIES THAT REACH INTO THE STATES AND SMALL COMMUNITIES
September 13, 1993

1. Highlights of Arts Endowment Grants to Large Cities That Reach Directly into States

National Grants That Reach Directly into States
September 13, 1993

The Arts Endowment often gets criticized for awarding too many grants to the nation's largest cities like New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Atlanta, etc. However, what the critics do not realize is that many of these organizations go on to tour in states and small towns across the country. The Endowment's money and impact is therefore reaching into more and more inner-city and rural communities.

Listed below are several examples of Endowment grants to larger cities that have reached into other communities through touring and other activities.

These grants are from Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 unless otherwise indicated).

The Acting Company, New York City.

Received a grant of $55,000 from the Theater Program. The company toured live theater productions in 24 states: Michigan, Delaware, North Carolina, Missouri, New York, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, Tennessee, Florida, South Carolina, Alabama, Connecticut, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Ohio, Iowa, Indiana, West Virginia, Maryland, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts.

Affiliate Artist, New York City.

Received a grant from the Endowment ($60,000) to set up a Chamber Music Rural Residency Program. The grant was leveraged with private support and in partnership with local community groups in three states. The program brought nine outstanding young chamber music ensembles to eight rural, neighboring communities within Georgia, Iowa, and Kansas. These artists-in-residence worked for an entire nine-month school year, performing and teaching members of the community. This test-pilot program, which has been renewed for the 1993-94 school year, helps fill a void of classical music and music education in rural areas. [This is the same program that included the Ying Quartet in Jessup, Iowa.]

Children's Theatre Company, Minneapolis.

Received a grant of $60,750 from the Theater Program. The company toured live theater productions in 21 states: Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, South Dakota, North Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, California, Idaho, Utah, Montana, Wyoming, Washington, Oregon, Alabama.

New York City Opera, New York City.

Received grants totaling $228,000 from the Opera-Musical Theater Program to support its resident season and touring activities. The City Opera's production of CARMEN toured in 24 states: Rhode Island, Maryland, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, West Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina.
[The Endowment's Opera-Musical Theater Program splits "seasonal support" from touring support; therefore this combined grant amount represents $13,000 specifically for touring and $215,000 for the regular seasonal activities.]

San Francisco Opera, San Francisco.

Received grants totaling $405,000 from the Opera-Musical Theater Program to support its resident season and touring activities of its Western Opera Theater. Western Opera Theater's production of LA BOHEME toured in 23 states: Massachusetts, West Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Ohio, South Carolina, California, Oregon, Idaho, Washington, Montana, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Indiana, Tennessee, North Carolina, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado.
[Western Opera Theater touring grant was $75,000 while the seasonal grant for the San Francisco Opera was $330,000.]

Eugene O'Neill Theater Center, Waterford, CT, and New York.

Received a grant of $81,000 from the Theater Program to support the National Playwrights Conference. Grant monies were used to provide travel assistance, stipends and artistic fees for playwrights, production personnel and other artists. Over the past two years, artists from 29 states and the District of Columbia have participated in this conference. States participating include New Mexico, New York, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Tennessee, California, Florida, Connecticut, New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan, Maryland, Washington, Louisiana, Kentucky, Illinois, Oregon, Wisconsin, Utah, Colorado, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Texas, Alaska, and the District of Columbia.

National Theatre of the Deaf, Chester, CT,

Received a grant of $40,000 from the Theater Program to support expenses of its theater season. The company toured in 17 states: Connecticut, Massachusetts, Missouri, Arizona, New Mexico, California, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, Maryland, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Indiana, and Wisconsin.

San Francisco Mime Troupe, San Francisco.

Received grants totaling $90,000 from the Theater and Opera-Musical Theater Programs to support its seasonal and touring expenses. The company toured its original production of I AIN'T YO UNCLE in 20 states: Oregon, Colorado, Wisconsin, Michigan, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and California.

Paul Taylor Dance Company, New York City.

Received a grant of $297,900 to support expenses associated with its resident and touring seasons. The company toured in 12 states and the District of Columbia: Massachusetts, Missouri, Texas, Tennessee, North Carolina, New York, New Hampshire, Vermont, Utah, California, Oregon, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia.

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Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater, New York City.

Received a grant of $279,900 to support expenses associated with its resident and touring seasons. The company toured in 14 states: Wisconsin,New York, Missouri, North Carolina, Kentucky, Minnesota, Colorado, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, New Jersey, California, Oregon, and Washington.

Nikolais and Murray Louis Dance Company, New York City.

Received a grant of $88,900 to support expenses associated with its resident and touring seasons. The company toured in 12 states and the District of Columbia: Kentucky, California, Vermont, New York, Texas, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and the District of Columbia.

Feld Ballet, New York City.

Received a grant of $79,000 to support expenses associated with its resident and touring seasons. The company toured in 12 states: Ohio, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, New Jersey, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Kentucky, and Indiana.

Center for Puppetry Arts, Atlanta.

Received a grant of $117,605 to support expenses associated with its theater season. The company toured in 10 different states and the District of Columbia: Georgia, North Carolina, Mississippi, Illinois, Arkansas, New Jersey, Florida, Michigan, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia.

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ARTS FOR CHILDREN AND EDUCATION
September 13, 1993

1. Examples of Arts Endowment Grants
Geared Toward Children and Education

ARTS FOR CHILDREN AND EDUCATION
September, 1993

- The National Arts Endowment played a vital role in creating "Behind the Scenes," a national television series about the arts, specifically aimed at children, wich premiered on PBS last fall. The Endowment held a competition for designing and executing the series six years ago, selected and awarded a $1.5 million grant to WNET, and followed up with a final $100,000 so that the program could get out the door and on the air. The series gave millions of children insight on what goes into creating visual arts, music, theater, and dance. Schools received free recording rights, low-cost video cassettes, and teacher's guides and other materials. McDonald's Restaurants promoted the series.

- The State and Regional Program's $82,000 grant to the Arizona Commission on the Arts is supporting the state's A.P.P.L.E. corps anti-drug program. Through the corps, artists, prosecutors, private enterprise, law enforcement personnel, and educators help young people become involved in the arts to instill self-esteem, creativity, and confidence. About 10,000 rural and inner-city youth at-risk have attended workshops and performances by professional arts groups which present anti-drug messages in a non-lecture format.

- The Literature Program in collaboration with the Arts In Education Program awarded a $39,000 grant to the Oregon Council of Teachers of English for "Literature of the States," an initiative to get Oregon writers' work published into textbook format so that students can be taught about literature, local history, and cultural heritage. The Endowment's grant helps produce the first two of what will be six volumes of work for the program. The first volume, one of short stories, was published and distributed this summer in conjunction with workshops to help teachers incorporate its use in the classroom. A second volume, one of poetry, will be released this December.

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GOALS 2000
September 13, 1993

1. Fact Sheet on Goals 2000

GOALS 2000: EDUCATE AMERICA ACT
September, 1993

President Clinton's Goals 2000: Educate America Act, a $420 million package, aims to achieve world-class teaching and learning and proposes:

- to add the arts and foreign languages to goal three of the six education goals adopted by the President and the nation's governors in 1990.
- to establish a National Education Standards and Improvement Council (NESIC) which would certify voluntary standards and assessments to identify what American students should know and be able to do.
- to develop "opportunity-to-learn" (OTL) standards for professional development for teachers, curriculum quality, and availability of instructional material and technology.
- to financially support state and local education improvement efforts.
- to establish a 28-member National Skills Standards Board to identify skills needed for a quality workforce.

The six National Education Goals by the year 2000 are:

1. All U.S. children will start school ready to learn.
2. The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.
3. Students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 able to demonstrate competency in English, mathematics, science, history, and geography.
4. U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.
5. Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global marketplace.
6. Every school in America will be free of drugs and have an environment conducive to learning.

Both the House and Senate committees have approved different versions of the legislation; the full House and Senate have not yet considered the bills.

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RURAL AND SMALLER TOWN GRANTS
September 13, 1993

1. Examples of Arts Endowment Grants in Rural Areas and Smaller Towns

SELECTED EXAMPLES OF ARTS ENDOWMENT GRANTS REACHING SMALLER TOWNS AND RURAL AREAS
September, 1993

- Now in its second year, the Chamber Music Rural Residencies pilot program places emerging chamber music ensembles in rural communities for a full school year. Nine community sites in three states -- Georgia, Iowa, and Kansas -- are participating in 1993-94. The three ensembles in each state work together, as well as separately, to teach children and adults in areas where music teachers are scarce and perform in both formal and informal settings. The participating towns are: in Georgia, Tifton, Fitzgerald, and Moultrie; in Iowa, Jesup, Fayette, and Decorah; and in Kansas, Dodge City, Garden City, and Liberal.

- The Fairbanks Symphony is using a $50,000 Challenge grant to create a permanent endowment so that the Arctic Chamber Orchestra can continue to travel to rural Alaska and Fairbanks. The Chamber Orchestra has performed concerts in over 100 Alaskan communities over the past 22 years and enabled Native and Western Cultures to share different art forms, such as Native dance and theater and symphonic music. The endowment will permanently support that effort, enable the group to expand the number of concerts, and support a professional core for the ensemble.

- Arts Corps, a pilot program started by the Arts Endowment last year has provided 34 small towns and rural areas with graduate students in the arts for six week summer residencies. Blythesville, Arkansas's arts corps student produced a video marketing the town's resources, and in so doing helped unite the community in a common concern. People in Twin Falls, Idaho put their family stories, their thoughts, and visions into creative prose with the assistance of their arts corps resident. People in all of these towns -- Brevard, North Carolina; Corsicana Texas; Lewisburg, West Virginia, and others -- have said their lives were changed from their experience with the arts corps students who visited.

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ARTS ENDOWMENT GRANTS THAT PROVIDED SEED MONEY
September 13, 1993

1. Highlights of Arts Endowment Grants that provided "seed money" to artists, organizations and projects.

Arts Endowment "Seed Money"
September 13, 1993

One of the unheralded success stories of the National Arts Endowment is its support for emerging artists and organizations. This early-career support for individuals and seed money for projects and organizations has had many recognizable successes. among them:

DANCE

- The **Dance Theater of Harlem** was created with Endowment support.
- The first ever grant from the Arts Endowment in 1965 rescued the **American Ballet Theater** from extinction.
- Endowment support likewise saved the **Joffrey Ballet.**

DESIGN

- The Endowment provided early funding for the design of the **Vietnam Veterans Memorial**, controversial at the time but today the most visited memorial in Washington, D.C.
- The Endowment sponsored a design competition of the Wesleyan Chapel Block entry of the Women's Rights National Historical Park in Seneca Falls, NY.

VISUAL ARTS

- Acclaimed visual artists such as painter **Chuck Close**, sculptor **Martin Puryear**, and video artist **Laurie Anderson** received Endowment support early in their careers.
- The agency's first public art project was for the **Calder** sculpture in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

-more-

MUSIC

- The program boasts a long list of composers and jazz musicians who received Endowment funding and went on to critical success. Among the dozens of Pulitzer Prize winners are **Mel Powell** and **Shulamit Ran** as well as notable jazz performers **Wynton Marsalis** and **Charles Mingus.**

LITERATURE

- Early Endowment support nurtured the careers of writers **Alice Walker** and **John Irving**, Pulitzer Prize winners **Oscar Hijuelos** and **Mona Van Dyne**, as well as **Rita Dove**, the current Poet Laureate of the United States.

MEDIA ARTS

- Much of the critically acclaimed public television also began with Endowment seed money, including such long-running series as **"Dance in America," "Live From Lincoln Center,"** and **"American Masters." "Behind The Scenes,"** the recent 10-[art series on the arts for children, and **"Dancing,"** the eight-part series on American dance, also received early support.

- The Endowment also helped to create the **American Film Institute** and the **National Center for Film and Video Presentation**, a singular source for helping preserve our nation's important film legacy.

- Early support to **Garrison Keillor** helped make possible his popular **"Prairie Home Companion."**

THEATER

- The Arts Endowment has also supported a long list of theatrical productions, some of which went on to lengthy runs on Broadway and others were brought to life in film as well. Among the plays that have received Endowment support are: **"The Great White Hope," "M Butterfly," "Annie," "A Chorus Line," "Driving Miss Daisy,"** and **"Children of A Lesser God."**

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RECENT CONTROVERSIES
September 13, 1993

1. Talking Points

2. Fact Sheet on Recent Controversies

Recent Controversies
September 14, 1993

The following are general talking points to use at the hearing regarding recent controversies at the Endowment. At one of the next two briefings, we will discuss in more detail the exact answer that you should be prepared to say.

Attached is a fact sheet on the recent controversies. This is intended for you to know as background. The fact sheet is a general overview on the facts of each controversy and does not get into specific detail.

Suggested Talking Points

- I am not thoroughly knowledgeable on the actions taken by the former administration, nor am I thoroughly knowledgeable about current controversies.

- In the future, I look forward to working with the Senate on those issues and all other issues regarding the Endowment.

Fact Sheet on the National Arts Endowment
September 14, 1993

The following fact sheet will set the record straight on attacks by special interest groups made against the National Arts Endowment.

1991 Pittsburgh Gay and Lesbian Film Festival
The Arts Endowment did **not** fund the 1991 Pittsburgh International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival, directly or indirectly. This festival was not among any applications that the Endowment considered in 1991. Further, the Endowment did **not** fund the making of the films from the 1991 Pittsburgh Gay and Lesbian Film Festival which the Christian Action Network excerpted into a video.

Release of $17,500 to NAMAC
In response to an appeal by the National Alliance for Media Arts and Culture (NAMAC), the Endowment conducted an administrative review of the process by which three of NAMAC's recommended subgrants were denied funding by the agency in 1992. Artistic merit was outside the scope of this procedural review. The Endowment found that there was an error in procedure that unfairly and improperly affected the grantee (NAMAC) and the proposed subgrantees. $17,500 -- an amount equal to that recommended by NAMAC for three subgrants -- was made available to NAMAC for dispersal to subgrantees in accordance with the terms and conditions of NAMAC's 1993 grant. Under the 1993 grant, allowable costs for film festivals include activities such as symposia and lectures on the art of film; not the exhibition of films.

"Abject Art" Exhibition at the Whitney Museum of Art
The Arts Endowment did **not** provide funding for the "Abject Art" exhibit at the Whitney Museum. All funds used to mount this exhibit were raised from private sources. The Endowment awarded two FY92 grants to the Whitney to support a docent training program and the Independent Study Program.

Distribution of Ten Dollar Bills to Undocumented Workers
The Endowment found that the distribution of $10 bills, totalling $4,500, as part of the "Art Rebate" project is an unallowable expense. This determination was based on a review of information provided by the Museum of Contemporary Art, San Diego regarding the 1989 Endowment grant to the Museum to support "Dos Ciudades/Two Cities: The Border Project." The Museum has been advised that this $4,500 expense cannot be charged to the Federal grant.

Joel-Peter Witkin
Mr. Witkin, a critically acclaimed photographer, has received four fellowships from the Arts Endowment, most recently in 1992. His works are in the permanent collections of such well-respected museums as the J. Paul Getty Museum, Kansas City Art Institute, and the National Gallery of Art, and have been exhibited internationally in Japan, Spain, Great Britain, Israel and other countries. Recently, more than 130 members of Oracle, the international association of curators of photography, signed a statement of support for Mr. Witkin's work.

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UNDERSERVED COMMUNITIES
September 13, 1993

1. Fact Sheet on Funding for Underserved Communities

The Arts in Underserved Communities category utilizes $4.5 million of the funds set aside by Congress in FY 93 for grants to states for projects in rural, inner city, and other artistically underserved communities. Set-aside funds are also administered through categories in the Expansion Arts, Folk Arts, Local Arts Agencies, and Presenting and Commissioning Programs.

For purposes of this category, an underserved community is defined as one in which people lack access to arts resources due to: geography, economic conditions, cultural background, disability, sociopolitical circumstances, age, or other demonstrable factors.

Of funds available to the category, about two thirds ($3 million) is distributed in equitable shares among states with project plans that meet established requirements. Of these funds, 75% is available in equal shares per state and 25% on the basis of population.

Almost one third ($1.4 million) is apportioned on the basis of project quality in relation to established criteria.

In addition to requesting support for implementation of project plans, agencies have the option of requesting up to $20,000 in any two-year period to work with underserved communities to plan new programs. Plan development grants come out of an agency's "equitable share."

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1993 REAUTHORIZATION PROPOSAL
September 13, 1993

1. Press Release on Request of Two Year Reauthorization Extension
2. Summary of 1990 Reauthorization
3. Funding Formulas
4. Panels/1990 Changes
5. Decency Provision Implementation

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

1993 Reauthorization Proposal

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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
Wednesday, May 5, 1993

CONTACT: Ginny Terzano
202-682-5570

STATEMENT BY THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

Arts in Education
Challenge & Advancement
Dance
Design Arts
Expansion Arts
Folk Arts
International
Literature
Locals
Media Arts
Museum
Music
Opera-Musical Theater
Presenting & Commissioning
State & Regional
Theater
Visual Arts

The following statement was issued today by the National Endowment for the Arts:

The Administration is requesting a basic two-year extension of the authorization statute which governs the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), and the Institute of Museum Services (IMS).

The basic reauthorization recommendation provides for a simple extension of appropriation authorities for the agencies for a two year period (FY 1994 and 1995). The funding level authorized for the Arts Endowment for FY 1994 is the $174,593,000 reflected in the President's budget. The reauthorization proposal makes no substantive changes in the authorities of the agencies.

The three agencies were last reauthorized by the Arts, Humanities and Museums Amendments of 1990 (Public Law 101-512), enacted on November 5, 1990. Present authorities for these agencies expire September 30, 1993.

A two year extension allows the agencies and the Administration time to assess the overall legislative policies of the agencies. At the same time, it allows the agencies to go forward with their work.

-30-

The Nancy Hanks Center
1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20506-0001
202/682-5400

10/92

THE ARTS, HUMANITIES, AND MUSEUMS AMENDMENTS OF 1990

Public Law 101-512
November 5, 1990

The major new provisions of PL 101-512, the 1990 reauthorization statute for the National Endowment for the Arts, summarized by general subject areas, include:

PROGRAMS OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

o The States Program: The earmarked program funds allocated to State Arts Agencies was increased from 20% to 25% in FY 91 & 92 and to 27.5% in FY 93.

Underserved Communities Set-aside: An additional 5% was earmarked in FY 91 & 92 and 7.5% in FY 93 for State Arts Agencies to support initiatives in underserved rural and inner-city communities.

Thus, the total earmarked allocation for State Arts Agencies in FY 93 is 35% of Endowment program funds.

o Arts in Education: The previous law was amended with a new section entitled Access to the Arts Through Support of Education. The Chairperson was authorized to establish a program of assistance to eligible organizations to foster and encourage arts in education through a wide range of projects:

- o in all levels of the educational system;
- o for training of artists and for programs of developing audiences' appreciation;
- o for research on arts education, teacher training, curriculum development;
- o etc.

An Advisory Council on Arts Education, appointed by the Chairman, was authorized.

Appropriations for Arts in Education: The statute requires that in any year in which the aggregate appropriation for the National Endowment for the Arts exceeds $175 million, 50% of the amount in excess of $175 million shall be available to arts in education, with the total amount for arts education in any one year not to exceed $40 million.

o Addition of Types of Programs: The previous law was amended to highlight the "national or international" significance of the projects, productions, or programs supported by the Arts Endowment and to include "traditional" and "educational" criteria. Public access to the arts was encouraged through "film, radio, video, and similar media".

PROCEDURAL CHANGES

o Repayment of Funds: The authority of the Endowment to debar and suspend grantees if they fail to use Federal funds for the purposes for which the grant was made was amended to include the authority to require repayment of funds if a project, production, workshop, or program supported by an Endowment grant is determined to be obscene by a final decision of a court. Failure to make such a repayment results in permanent debarment from receipt of Federal funds.

o Grant Application Review Panels: New language was added to require the Endowment to use grant application review panels. These application review panels are required to be composed, to the extent possible, of individuals reflecting wide geographic, ethnic, and minority representation as well as individuals reflecting diverse artistic and cultural points of view. All panels must include representation of "laypersons" knowledgeable in the arts. Memberships of panels are required to change substantially from year to year; individuals are ineligible to serve on a panel for more than 3 consecutive years.

These panels are required to keep written records of deliberations and recommendations. Site visitations to view work of applicants are now required when necessary and feasible. An individual who has an application pending, or who is an employee or agent of an organization with a pending application, may not serve on the reviewing panel, according to these new provisions.

o Application Requirements: As a condition of the receipt of financial assistance, the application must contain a detailed description of the proposed project, production, workshop, or program and a timeline for its completion. The application must also include assurances that: 1) the applicant will submit interim reports, annual reports if grant period is greater than 1 year, and a final report not later than 90 days after the grant period ends and 2) the project, etc. shall meet standards of artistic excellence and artistic merit required by this Act.

o Grant Payments: Installment payments are authorized except in those cases where not practicable. Installment payments may not exceed two-thirds of total amount at time the grant is approved. The remainder may not be provided until the Chairperson determines the grantee is in compliance with conditions under which the grant was awarded.

DECENCY STANDARD AND OBSCENITY PROVISION

Attachment #1

A new provision was added which states that the Chairperson shall implement procedures to ensure that artistic excellence and artistic merit are the criteria by which applications are judged, "taking into consideration general standards of decency and respect for the diverse beliefs and values of the American public". (On June 9, 1992, a Federal District Court Judge in California issued an opinion that the "decency clause" is unconsitutional and he, therefore, enjoined the Endowment from enforcing it.)

Attachment #2

The new law also states that obscenity is without artistic merit, is not protected speech, and shall not be funded.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE ARTS AND THE CHAIRMAN

Language was added that 1) members of the Council shall be appointed so as to represent equitably all geographical areas in the United States; 2) all policy meetings of the National Council on the Arts are to be open to the public and that written records must be kept and available to the public; 3) the Council shall make recommendations to the Chairperson regarding whether to approve applications and on the amount of financial assistance the Chairperson should provide for each recommended application.

An explicit statement was added that the Chairperson shall have the final authority to approve each application, except that the Chairperson may provide only the amount of financial assistance recommended by the Council and may not approve an application not recommended by the Council.

GAO STUDIES

GAO was directed 1) to study the roles of the States and local arts agencies and their capacity to receive increased funding allocations (due October 1, 1992) and 2) to study the Endowment's staffing policies and practices and the use of consultants and of independent contractors as administrative staff.

Attachment #1

(d) No payment may be made under this section except upon application therefore which is submitted to the National Endowment for the Arts in accordance with regulations issued and procedures established by the Chairperson. In establishing such regulations and procedures, the Chairperson shall ensure that —

(1) artistic excellence and artistic merit are the criteria by which applications are judged, taking into consideration general standards of decency and respect for the diverse beliefs and values of the American public; and

(2) applications are consistent with the purposes of this section. Such regulations and procedures shall clearly indicate that obscenity is without artistic merit, is not protected speech, and shall not be funded. Projects, productions, workshops, and programs that are determined to be obscene are prohibited from receiving financial assistance under this Act from the National Endowment for the Arts.

The disapproval or approval of an application by the Chairperson shall not be construed to mean, and shall not be considered as evidence that, the project, production, workshop, or program for which the applicant requested financial assistance is or is not obscene.

(e) The total amount of any grant to any group pursuant to subsection (c) of this section shall not exceed 50 per centum of the total cost of such project or production, except that not more than 20 per centum of the funds allotted by the National Endowment for the Arts for the purposes of subsection (c) of this section for any fiscal year may be available for grants and contracts in that fiscal year without regard to such limitation.

(f) Any group shall be eligible for financial assistance pursuant to this section only if (1) no part of its net earnings inures to the benefit of any private stockholder or stockholders, or individual or individuals, and (2) donations to such group are allowable as a charitable contribution under the standards of subsection (c) of section 170 of title 26 (Internal Revenue Code 1986).

(g) (1) The Chairperson, with the advice of the National Council on the Arts, is authorized to establish and carry out a program of grants-in-aid to assist the several States in supporting existing projects and productions which meet the standards enumerated in subsection (c) of this section, and in developing projects and productions in the arts in such a manner as will furnish adequate programs, facilities, and services in the arts to all the people and communities in each of the several States.

Attachment #2 Obscenity Prove

(f) The term "workshop" means an activity the primary purpose of which is to encourage the artistic development or enjoyment of amateur, student, or other nonprofessional participants, or to promote scholarship and teaching among the participants.

(g) The term "State" includes, in addition to the several States of the Union, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, Guam, American Samoa, the Northern Mariana Islands, and the Virgin Islands.

(h) The term "local arts agency" means a community organization, or an agency of local government, that primarily provides financial support, services, or other programs for a variety of artists and arts organizations, for the benefit of the community as a whole.

(i) The term "developing arts organization" means a local arts organization of high artistic promise which —

(1) serves as an important source of local arts programming in a community; and

(2) has the potential to develop artistically and institutionally to broaden public access to the arts in rural and innercity areas and other areas that are underserved artistically.

* (j) The term "determined to be obscene" means determined, in a final judgment of a court of record and of competent jurisdiction in the United States, to be obscene.

(k) The term "final judgment" means a judgment that is either —

(1) not reviewed by any other court that has authority to review such judgment; or

(2) is not reviewable by any other court.

* (l) The term "obscene" means with respect to a project, production, workshop, or program that —

(1) the average person, applying contemporary community standards, would find that such project, production, workshop, or program, when taken as a whole appeals to the prurient interest;

(2) such project, production, workshop, or program depicts or describes sexual conduct in a patently offensive way; and

(3) such project, production, workshop, or program when taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value.

(k) The Inspector General of the Endowment shall conduct appropriate reviews to ensure that recipients of financial assistance under this section comply with the regulations un this Act that apply with respect to such assistance, includi regulations relating to accounting and financial matters.

(1) (1) If, after reasonable notice and opportunity for a hearing on the record, the Chairperson determines that a recipient of financial assistance provided under this section by the Chairperson or any non-federal entity, us such financial assistance for a project, production, workshop, or program that is determined to be obscene, t the Chairperson shall require that until such recipient repays such assistance (in such amount, and under such terms and conditions, as the Chairperson determines to b appropriate) to the Endowment; no subsequent financial assistance be provid this such recipi

(2) Financial assistance repaid under this section to t Endowment shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States and credited as miscellaneous receipt

(3) (A) This subsection shall not apply with respect to financial assistance provided before the effect date of this subsection.

(B) This subsection shall not apply with respect to project, production, workshop, or program after the expiration of the 7 year period beginning o the latest date on which financial assistance i provided under this section for such project, production, workshop, or program.

(m) It shall be a condition of the receipt of any grant under this section that the group or individual of exceptional taler or the State or State agency receiving such grant furnish adequate assurances to the Secretary of Labor that (1) all professional performers and related or supporting professional personnel (other than laborers and mechanics with respect to whom labor standards are prescribed in subsection (j) of this section) employed on projects or productions which are finance in whole or in part under this section will be paid, without subsequent deduction or rebate on any account, not less than t minimum compensation as determined by the Secretary of Labor t be the prevailing minimum compensation for persons employed in similar activities; and (2) no part of any project or producti

Funding Formulas

2) Formulas There are three formulas which are included in the Endowment's authorizing statute. Although the current authorizing legislation expires in FY 93, we have assumed that all mandated formulas will remain at the current level.

The first is the State and Regional formula. It states that as of FY 93, 27.5 percent of the Endowment's Program funds must be available for grants to states and regions. These funds appear under the State and Regional Program. Within the 27.5 percent, there is a further subdivision:

75 % goes to states in equal amounts

12.5% for regional groups

12.5% divided as follows:

the lesser of 12.5 % or $2.872 million divided by population/state

difference between 12.5% and $2.78 million for collaborative initiatives

It should be noted that prior to FY 90 the state formula was at 20 percent of Program funds; under the current authorizing statute, the state formula was increased to 25 percent of Program funds for FY 91 and FY 92, increasing to 27.5 percent in FY 93.

The second formula is the Underserved Communities Set-Aside formula which is currently 7.5 percent of Program funds. These funds are allocated for carrying out programs to states and regional organizations for the purpose of raising the artistic capabilities of developing organizations and expanding public awareness and access to the arts in rural, inner-city and other areas that are underserved artistically; not less than 50 percent of these funds shall be used for carrying out programs in rural areas.

The Underserved Communities Set-Aside was added by the current authorizing statute. For FY 91 and FY 92 it was at 5 percent of Program funds, increasing to 7.5 percent in FY 93.

The third formula is the arts education override. Basically, this formula states that 50 percent of all funds appropriated in excess of $175 million shall be earmarked for arts education activities up to a cap of $40 million. At the current request level, the override is not a factor since we are below

$175 million. Funds made available under this formula have been allocated, by Congress, to the Arts in Education Program but a portion is available to all programs through collaborative initiatives.

UNDERSERVED COMMUNITIES SET-ASIDE
DESCRIPTION

The Endowment's current authorizing statute requires that 7.5 percent of the agency's Program funds be awarded to state arts agencies to support projects that: (1) raise the artistic capabilities of developing arts organizations and (2) stimulate artistic activity and awareness and broaden public access to the arts in rural, inner-city and other artistically underserved areas.

Five of the Arts Endowment's Programs administered set-aside funds during FY 93: the Expansion Arts, Folk Arts, Local Arts Agencies, Presenting and Commissioning, and State and Regional Programs.

Through the combined efforts of these programs, support has reached all but two of the 56 states and special jurisdictions. $12.4 million was awarded for projects in underserved communities in FY 91 and FY 92, with $7.8 million, or 63 percent, supporting projects in rural areas.

Excerpted authorizing legislation attached.

1990 Changes in Panel System Highlighted

PANELS

INTRODUCTION

For well over twenty-five years, the National Endowment for the Arts has utilized "consultant-expert" panelists to review applications for financial assistance and to advise the agency on application criteria and other policy matters.

A panel may include from six to fourteen people and meet only for one day or for as many as six. A "typical" panel is composed of between ten and twelve people and meets from three to five days. Panelists are reimbursed for their travel expenses; and for meals and lodging at the prevailing federal government rate for Washington. They are, in addition, compensated for their service at the rate of $100 per day. During FY 1992 , a total of 133 panels met, and 972 people served. The total cost of all panelists in FY 1992 was $1,069,340.

The Endowment's panel process is managed through the Executive Secretariat by the Office of Panel Operations. Panel Operations has the following mission:

> to assure that the requirements of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (FACA) are observed with respect to the Endowment's advisory panel system, including development of an annual panel budget, membership appointments, chartering, Federal Register notices, annual and *ad hoc* reports and panel guidelines. The Director, Panel Operations, serves as the agency's Committee Management Officer and system manager for the Automated Panel Bank System (APBS). The Office of Panel Operations reviews Program proposals for the composition of panels, and ensures that panel activities are coordinated with the appropriate Deputy Chairman and/or with other concerned offices.

BACKGROUND & STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS

The Endowment's original enabling legislation (P. L. 89-209) gave the Endowment's Chairman authority to "utilize, from time to time, as appropriate, experts and consultants, including panels of experts...".[1] Since 1966, panels have played a central role in reviewing and making recommendations on applications for funding, and providing advice on policy and application guideline issues.

Geography and Cultural Diversity. Over the years the Endowment's enabling legislation has become more specific about the nature and composition of advisory panels. In 1976, the statute provided that the panels should have broad geographic representation. By 1980, the language explicitly stated that "any

[1] In 1990, the wording was changed from "the Chairman shall have authority to utilize, from time to time, as appropriate, ..." to "the Chairperson shall ... utilize advisory panels ...".

advisory panel appointed to review or make recommendations ... shall have broad geographic and culturally diverse representation." The 1985 amendments to the legislation specified that panel members

> should have exhibited expertise and leadership in the field, represent diverse aesthetic or humanistic perspectives, geographical factors, and cultural diversity. Panel membership should change substantially from year to year and no more than 20% of panelists should serve more than three consecutive years on a subpanel, and panels should have both experienced as well as new members.

Laypersons. The 1990 reauthorization legislation adds to the 1985 requirements the addition of a "layperson"[2] to all panels. All Endowment panels now include a layperson.

Panel Service. In addition to language requiring the addition of laypersons to panels, the 1990 reauthorization directs the Chairperson to "issue regulations and establish procedures to require that the membership of each panel change substantially from year to year and to provide that each individual is ineligible to serve on a panel for more than three consecutive years." The Arts Endowment has interpreted the wording "ineligible to serve on a panel for more than three consecutive years" to include an individual's consecutive service on any Endowment panel.[3]

Conflict of Interest. Finally, the 1990 reauthorization language provides that "the Chairperson shall ensure that an individual who has a pending application for financial assistance under this Act, or who is an employee or agent of an organization with a pending application, does not serve as a member of any panel before which such application is pending." To ensure conflict-free panels, the Endowment does not now allow a panelist with a conflict to serve on a panel considering the conflicted application.[4] In grant categories where nearly all U. S. organizations apply to the agency -- Dance, Opera-Musical Theater, Presenting and Commissioning, Museum and Theater -- split panels are employed. That is, two slightly smaller panels are constituted, and each of the two reviews a balanced half of the application pool. In the Music and Visual Arts Programs multi-year applications

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[2]Lay individuals are those persons who are knowledgeable about the arts but who are not engaged in the arts as a profession and are not members of either artists organizations or arts organizations.

[3]This means, for example, that an Executive Director of a State Arts Agency, who might serve on application review panels in public partnership (. e.g, State and Regional) and a discipline program (e. g., Presenting & Commissioning or Challenge) as well as on a policy panel would be ineligible to serve on any Endowment panel after three consecutive years.

[4] Prior to the implementation of this provision, Arts Endowment procedures required that a panelist recuse him- or herself (by temporarily leaving the room) from discussion of any application with which he or she might have an affiliation.

were introduced to prevent direct conflicts. That is, organizations submit an application for the same amount of funding for more than one year -- usually for two years. In the year in which their organizations' application is being considered, no one with a relationship with that organization serves on the Music or Visual Arts review panel; in the second year, because no application from that organization is being considered, a person with an organizational tie may serve on a review panel.

Composition. It is the policy of the National Endowment for the Arts that all panels include an appropriate combination of expertise in terms of members' background, current and previous experience and artistic knowledge, perspective or practice. In addition, panels must include, to the maximum practicable extent, geographically-balanced and ethnically diverse representation. Programs are asked to include, where possible, a representativefrom a state, regional or local arts agency.[5] Programs are also asked to aim for a balance of men and women on each panel, and are strongly encouraged to consider older adults and people with various disabilities for panel service.

Panel Policies and Procedures. The Endowment issued an administrative directive (#3100) entitled "Panelist Selection and Approval Process" which became effective on December 1, 1992. This directive implements section 959 (c) of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 as amended through November 1990. It establishes responsibilities, outlines the Endowment's policies and standards regarding panel composition, and establishes procedures for selecting and approving primary and substitution panelists.

STATISTICS

A summary chart of statistics for the past three fiscal years (FY 1990 - FY 1992) is attached at TAB A. The chart reflects statistics on gender, ethnic diversity, and geographic diversity by region.

AUTOMATED PANEL BANK SYSTEM

During the 1990 reauthorization process, the Congress encouraged the Arts Endowment to expand its pool of current and potential panelists. Although most programs have effective means for recruiting new panelists and are acutely sensitive to the need to bring "new blood" into the pool, the agency did not have a formal, coordinated system or process for recruiting potential panelists and for making the results of recruitment efforts available to all program staff in the Endowment.

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[5]A representative of a state, regional or local arts agency may include: a current or former Chairperson; a Board, Council or Commission member; an Executive Director; or other relevant staff member.

Effective September 1, 1992 the Office of Management and Budget approved a form and granted authority to the Arts Endowment to solicit information from potential panelists throughout the Nation. In addition to information regarding name, address, Social Security Account Number, organizational affiliation, etc., the form requests information regarding a potential panelist's **field** (e. g., dance, arts presenting, music, design arts, theater), **role** (e. g., administrator/manager, board member/trustee, choreographer, conductor, architect) and **specialty** (e. g., rural arts, landscape architecture, critic, editor). As the completed forms are received they are checked for completion and sent to the Information Management Division for computer data entry. A biography of the potential panelist is also requested; the biographical information is retained in the Office of Panel Operations.

In April, 1993, an Automated Panel Bank System, in design, implementation and testing for nearly two years, became operational for Endowment-wide use. The APBS enables Endowment staff members to search the database of potential panelists for individuals meeting various selection criteria based upon the field, role and specialty codes previously entered. For example, the Music Program might wish to locate one or more potential panelists meeting the following criteria:

Field:	Music
Role:	Conductor
Specialty:	Experimental

By selecting the appropriate field/role/specialty combination, the APBS will search for, locate and display names and other information for all potential panelists meeting the selected criteria. In addition, the APBS will perform certain "housekeeping" chores such as producing "panel rotation" charts (lists of panelists' previous service to determine if they are still eligible to serve on a panel or have reached their limitation of three consecutive years of service), the Chairman's "letter of appointment" and reports to meet the reporting requirements of the Federal Advisory Committee Act.

ISSUES.

1. The Endowment does not have a directive on how panels should be conducted, or what minimum administrative requirements must be adhered to. New program personnel, especially Directors and Assistant Directors, are not "briefed" on what the agency expects of them before, after and during the panel meeting and what they should expect from their panel.

2. The data-collection form for the APBS is being revised after less than one year of use. It is too complicated to fill out, and potential panelists (and staff) resent it. Nearly 20% of the forms received are incomplete and need manual corrections by staff prior to data entry.

TAB A: Panelist Statistics

Gender, Ethnic Diversity and Geographic Diversity (by region)

	FY 1990		FY 1991		FY 1992	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
GENDER:						
MEN	437	55.18%	492	52%	500	51.44%
WOMEN	355	44.82%	455	48%	472	48.56%
ETHNIC DIVERSITY:						
BLACK	140	17.68%	166	17.53%	194	19.96%
HISPANIC	58	7.32%	77	8.13%	72	7.41%
OTHER	46	5.81%	73	7.71%	69	7.10%
GEOGRAPHIC DIVERSITY:						
NEW YORK	141	17.8%	163	17.2%	144	14.8%
CALIFORNIA/PACIFIC	121	15.2%	132	13.9%	124	12.7%
WEST	92	11.6%	101	10.7%	118	12.1%
CENTRAL PLAINS	95	12.0%	117	12.4%	120	12.3%
GREAT LAKES	94	11.9%	110	11.6%	116	11.9%
SOUTHEAST	95	12.0%	106	11.2%	119	12.2%
MID-ATLANTIC	94	11.9%	129	13.6%	139	14.3%
NEW ENGLAND	60	7.6%	89	9.4%	92	9.5%
Total	792		947		972	

Implementation of Application Review Provisions of PL 101-512, The Arts, Humanities and Museums Amendments of 1990

Public Law 101-512, the Arts, Humanities and Museums Amemdments of 1990, which was enacted on November 5, 1990, states that "...the Chairperson shall ensure that artistic excellence and artistic merit are the criteria by which applications are judged, taking into consideration general standards of decency and respect for the diverse beliefs and values of the American public".

In December, 1990, the National Council on the Arts recommended that the obligation to "take into consideration general standards of decency and respect for the diverse beliefs and values of the American public" be implemented through diverse composition of the grant application review panels. (This requirement is also fulfilled through the diverse makeup of the National Council.)

On January 3, 1991, the Chairman of the Endowment wrote to all members of Congress requesting their recommendations of qualified individuals from all parts of the country, all cultural and ethnic groups and all beliefs to serve on the more than 100 review panels which convene each year. (Letter attached.) Recommendations are also being solicited from a broad range of private sector groups and organizations.

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FEDERAL COUNCIL ON THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES
September 13, 1993

1. Overview of Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities

2. Membership of Federal Council

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

The Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities was created by Congress in 1965 to coordinate arts-related activities throughout the government (see attached legislation). The Council was staffed and active until 1980, the end of the Carter Administration. Examples of projects of the Council included providing art to veterans hospitals and publication of an energy conservation manual for arts organizations.

By agreement among the agencies represented on the Council (list attached), the Chairmanship rotated among the five lead agencies, National Endowment for the Arts, National Endowment for the Humanities, National Science Foundation, U.S. Department of Education and the Library of Congress. From 1976-1980, Joan Mondale was Honorary Chairman of the Council.

In 1975 Congress authorized the Federal Council to administer the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Program, which provides government insurance for international exhibitions. For five years, until 1980, the Federal Council met four times a year: twice to conduct Council business and twice to review indemnity applications.

The Federal Council delegated management of the Indemnity Program to the National Endowment for the Arts and, since 1980, the Indemnity Program has been the sole function of the Council. There are twice yearly meetings of the Council members, nearly all of whom are represented by staff with a proxy to vote in their behalf.

The Federal Council has approved indemnity coverage for nearly four hundred exhibitions, saving the organizers more than $50 million in insurance premiums. The government's costs have been limited to administrative expenses and two claims (for a total of $104,000). 176 museums in the United States have benefitted from participation in this Program.

Spring 1993

MEMBERSHIP

FEDERAL COUNCIL ON THE ARTS
AND THE HUMANITIES

Chairman, National Endowment for the Arts

Chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities

Secretary of Education

*Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution

Director, National Science Foundation

Librarian of Congress

*Director, National Gallery of Art

Chairman, Commission of Fine Arts

Archivist of the United States

Commissioner, Public Buildings Service, General Services Administration

Director, United States Information Agency

Secretary of the Interior

*Secretary of the Senate

*Member, U.S. House of Representatives

Secretary of Commerce

Secretary of Transportation

Chairman, National Museum Services Board

Director, Institute of Museum Services

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

Administrator, General Services Administration

Secretary of Labor

Secretary of Veterans Affairs

Commissioner, Administration on Aging

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*Members who do not vote on indemnity

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PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES
September 13, 1993

1. Overview of President's Committee

2. Membership of Committee

3. Current Issues

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

Briefing Materials

1. History/membership:

* The President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities was created by Executive Order 12367 in 1982 and charged with recommending ways by which private sector giving to the arts and the humanities might be increased.

* The Committee's membership consists of 12 ex-officio members and 20 or more private sector members. (There is no fixed number of members) (See below)

* The Speaker of the House and the Senate Majority Leader are asked to name one member each for appointment by the President.

* The chairman's post is currently vacant. Donald Hall, the most recent chairman, resigned effective January 20, 1993. Prior to Mr. Hall, the chairman was Andrew Heiskell, the former chairman and CEO of Time-Life, Inc.

Ex-officio members include:

the chairs of the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities;

heads of various federal cultural agencies:

Librarian of Congress;
Director of the National Gallery of Art;
Director of the United States Information Agency;
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution;
Chairman of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts;
Director of the Institute of Museum Services;

three cabinet officers:

the Secretary of the Treasury;
the Secretary of the Interior;
the Secretary of Education;

and the Administrator of the General Services Administration.

Note: a list of the current members is attached

2. Staffing/Funding:

* The President's Committee is authorized to have 4 FTE, and its budget for fiscal 1993 is approximately $300,000.

* The request for FY 94 is $342,000, which reflects the added costs of a full-time director at the SES level.

* The Executive Director post is currently occupied by an acting director, Malcolm Richardson, a career civil servant. Diane Paton, the previous director, resigned effective January 20, 1993.

* The PCA&H budget is shared by NEA and NEH. NEH provides approximately half of the budget through an inter-agency agreement.

3. Current Status:

* The Clinton administration has yet to make a final decision on the Committee's continuation, and most of the current membership are awaiting this decision. Some private sector members, including the chairman, resigned.

* White House officials have indicated that the Committee staff and operations should continue until further notice through this fiscal year.

* The President's Committee staff are assisting NEA with its current private sector partnerships and are also reissuing publications on the economic impact of the arts.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Suite 526
Washington, DC 20506
Tel.: 202-682-5409 Fax: 202-682-5668

President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities Current Members
(Pending action by the White House)
1993

Chairman, *vacant*.

Robert McC. Adams, Secretary of the Smithsonian

Lloyd Bentsen, United States Secretary of the Treasury.

James H. Billington, Librarian of Congress.

Dennis J. Fisher, Administrator, United States General Services Administration.

Richard J. Franke, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of John Nuveen & Company in Chicago, Illinois.

David B. Kennedy, President of the Earhart Foundation in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Dominic Man-Kit Lam, Director Emeritus of the Baylor Center for Technology in The Woodlands, Texas.

Emily Malino, designee of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Senior Partner, Metcalf, Tobey and Partners Reston, Virginia.

Donald B. Marron, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of PaineWebber, Inc., New York, New York.

Konrad Matthaei, consultant with the United Negro College Fund, New York, New York.

Alexander K. McLanahan, Vice President of Kidder, Peabody & Company, Inc., Houston, Texas.

Lynne D. Novack, Director of the International Conferences at the University of Tulsa, in Oklahoma.

Earl A. Powell III, Director of the National Gallery of Art.

Richard W. Riley, United States Secretary of Education.

Marvin S. Sadik, designee of the Senate Majority Leader, former Director of the National Portrait Gallery and an art consultant in Falmouth, Maine.

Jane DeGraff Sloat, former Executive Assistant to the Ambassador-at-Large for Refugee Affairs, is an active volunteer in the Washington D.C. community.

Roger L. Stevens, Founding Chairman of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

4. Current Issues:

* A real question exists whether the President's Committee will be, or should be, extended.

* A critical part of this policy issue concerns the extent to which the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities will be revitalized and given new duties besides its responsibility for the Federal Indemnity Program.

* The members of the President's Committee addressed this issue themselves in the Committee's 1992 **Report to the President.** This report recommended that private sector members be added to the Federal Council if The White House decides to discontinue the PCA&H. The President's Committee report argues strongly that the involvement of private sector members has been a useful innovation regardless of whether the Committee or the Council is given primary responsibility for advising The White House. (A copy of the Report is attached.)

* Assuming that it is retained, another major issue will be the proper role for the Committee. Should it continue to focus on private sector initiatives or should it be more actively involved in coordination of federal programs? Are there other functions that an advisory committee with private sector members could perform?