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ORIGINAL

United States Senate

Transcript of Proceedings

Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES

ACT OF 1965

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Washington, D. C.

April 28, 1976

HOOVER REPORTING COMPANY, INC.

Official Reporters
Washington, D. C.
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NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES

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this case of an interest as a registration. The time the profession of it is not but United States Senate. Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,

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The Subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 11:35 a.m., in Room 4232, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Claiborne Pell, Chairman of the Subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Senators Pell, Mondale, Javits, Taft and Stafford.

Staff present: Livingston Biddle, Professional Staff; and Gregory Fusco, Minority.

Senator Pell. I hope we can get through with this very shortly.

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This is the reauthorization of the Arts and Humanities legislation, which would be the fourth cycle since we originally enacted it seven years ago.

Title I of the bill provides that the State Humanities Councils or Committee will be converted within three years into State Councils, of whom a majority would be appointed by the

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Governor. Each State would get \$100,000 minimum provided the money was authorized and appropriated.

The protection for the rights of prevailing wages, the labor rights that are in the Arts Section, would also apply to the Humanities Section.

It would add the Chairman of the Kennedy Center to the Federal Council on Arts and Humanities. It would authorize the use of surplus property. And the funding -- I do not know if you want to touch on it now or as we get toward the end.

Usually, we do the funding towards the end.

That would be Title I.

Title II is Museum Services Program which, in my own view, should be placed in the Smithsonian, but they will not have it. HEW is the present recommendation in the draft. We are not wedded to it.

The House passed bill would put it in HEW.

It provides for Institute of Museum Services, and the Institute shall consist of a National Museum Services Board. The Board would consist of 15 members appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, plus eight ex officio members, appointed for five years; and ineligible after seven years.

The Director of the Institute would be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Title III is what we title Cultural Challenge Program,

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which is the same program we have had for short-range challenge grants, and Title I all of these years, where one dollar of Federal money produces \$3 of private money. It has been very successful for short-range goals.

We think it would be successful for long-term goals.

This has been adopted in the House bill that passed the day before yesterday.

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Title IV is the Arts Education Program, which provides for the in-service training, retraining of art teachers.

Title V is Senator Mondale's American Bicentennial Photographic and Film Project.

I neglected to say that in the Title I is a new provision here, two new provisions. One saying that funds can be spent for exhibitions and for work abroad, and exhibitions abroad, and also provides for advice and consent of the Senate on the Council on Arts and Humanities.

Neither of these two provisions I am sold on, but there seems to be a good deal of consensus on it. Lots of support outside, and I put them in here for discussion.

The bill is open for comment now. I tried to walk through so there are no surprises.

Is that right?

Mr. Biddle. Let me make one comment.

This was a result of the original State Humanities

Program as proposed by Senator Tower and co-sponsored by Senator

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Javits back in May.

The figure that you mentioned, the \$100,000 per State, I think should be \$200,000 per State.

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Senator Pell. I see.

Senator Javits. Mr. Chairman, I would like for Senator Taft to take the lead on the question of amendments, and then I will follow. But I would like to raise Title VI and deal with it.

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Senator Pell. There is no Title VI.

Senator Javits. I would like to raise the question. That is Bicentennial Program which has been raised by a bill of Senator Mathias' inspired by John D. Rockefeller, III, which we held a hearing on. That is not included in the bill because I think Senator Pell and I both felt, and the Senator will correct me if I am wrong as to my impression, that not enough had yet been put forward to rate a program.

I was going to request that the Chair allow another hearing to be granted and that Senator Mathias be asked to supply the witnesses.

I have talked with him, and he feels that he can make a case which will convince us, if he can call Eric Goldman, the Historian, who is very deeply apparently involved, and he feels can be very helpful in the particularization of the so-called Rockefeller Plan, and Mr. Euromelsine who used to be in the State Department and is now down at Williamsburg, and himself.

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I talked with him this morning as to what he would The Thirty is a second considerable and the second like us to do about this bill. That was a suggestion which developed between us. And between the Chair and myself, we will work out some way of giving it the time. I would hope that we could find in the next six or eight weeks some opportunity to let them go at it again.

Senator Pell. This bill must be reported to the Full Committee --

Senator Javits. It will be. I have no desire not to. We can report out a separate measure which might have been a Title VI if we feel the case is made.

I gather correctly the Chair does not yet feel that it is made.

Senator Pell. Hummelsine is basically a Rockefeller employee.

Senator Javits. I understand.

Senator Pell. Goldman, we had dealings with several years ago, not always of the most specific nature.

Senator Javits. And Mathias wants to testify himself. Senator Pell. Well, no problem. We will work out a time, and you will help preside.

What bearing does this have on the bill?

Senator Javits. None whatsoever except to account for the bill. Normally, somebody could move it on this bill. I could. It might be defeated, but I could do it. Rather than Graph Graph

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do this, I prefer to go this route.

Senator Pell. We had made provision perhaps in the Challenge Section, second Challenge Section, under Humanities, of putting a certain amount -- of accepting an amendment now that would provide for this Bicentennial Program, in lieu of part of the Challenge Grant on the Humanities sector. You might want to put it in right there.

Senator Javits. How much did you have in mind? Senator Pell. We had \$15 million.

Senator Javits. \$15 million.

Senator Pell. As authorization.

Senator Javits. Let me take that up and see.

Senator Pell. The only thing is we want to try to report it out.

Senator Javits. I will do it in the Full Committee. Senator Pell. Okay.

Senator Javits. As long as it is agreeable to the Chair and Senator Taft, then I will suggest that option to Senator Mathias, and I will move it in the Full Committee if he agrees. I think that will shortcut the whole thing.

Senator Pell. So we can reserve that amount to the side.

When we get to the authorization funds at the end of the meeting this morning, hopefully, then we could earmark the appropriate amount of money for that suggestion.

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Senator Javits. That will be fine.

Senator Taft. The language of this would just be general language, is that right?

It would not designate what the project was?

Senator Pell. I think it should be fairly specific for this particular project.

What would be your thoughts?

Senator Javits. I think you are both right.

Senator Taft. Yes.

Senator Javits. It would be a continuance of the Bicentennial concept through the philosophic aspects and historical and policy and studies aspects which is covered by the Mathias bill. It would not identify it as the Rockefeller's project.

Senator Pell. Or Hummelsine project.

Senator Taft. I have a question regarding Senator Mondale's proposal. That is the reason I raise it.

I am somewhat concerned about that.

Senator Pell. Which one is that?

Senator Taft. Do you want to discuss that one at this point?

Senator Mondale is here. The concern that I was expressing with regard to the precedent of designating a particular project. I am not saying the project is not a perfectly good one.

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I wonder if it could not be combined in the language of Senator Javits' amendment in some way so we have general authorization for it, given authorization under which application can be made to fund this type of project without identifying the particular project. It may be a very worthy project.

But I am not sure I like the precedence involved.

Senator Mondale. We have not seen Senator Javits'
language.

Senator Javits. If I may describe the situation.

I think Bob has a point. I think we could do it together.

As I read your amendment, it, too, is a continuance of the Bicentennial spirit and idea. So was Rockefeller's. It has been before us, we have had a hearing, and I will describe it.

His is to establish in an institutional frame a continuous of historical development, study, policy development, et cetera, respecting the spirit of the Bicentennial and how it carries on until the establishment of the Constitution. In other words, an additional 11 years. That is the span of his thought.

It is a way of continuing the Bicentennial observance in order to develop it into a permanent game in respect of the policy of the country.

Yours is much the same thing in the field of culture.

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Therefore, we could wrap the two together by providing \$20 million under the Challenge Grant Title, generically describe in your project, and describing generically the Rockefeller Project.

Though we describe them generically, as a practical matter, they are the only projects around that fill that definition.

But the only point that introduces is this, it requires matching. In other words, it does not go unless there is at least 50 percent matching.

Senator Pell. Seventy-five percent.

Senator Javits. So you have to consider that very carefully.

Senator Pell. Excuse me.

There is one other point here, too, I think, and that is that the Rockefeller proposal belongs basically under the umbroklam of the Humanities. I think Senator Mondale's proposal belongs basically under the umbrella of the Arts.

De done with matching provision, but it would mean of the \$30 million that we theoretically budgeted for this new long-range Challenge, the 15 for Humanities would be for this particular program of Rockefeller's, and of the 15 that we tentatively budgeted or thought about for the Arts, a third of that -- five -- that is all authorization, not appropriation -- could be for

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the Mondale American Bicentennial Photographic and Film Project

Senator Mondale. I would not have any objection to that. I would like to keep this Title V. In other words, we would have a separate title, and one part could be the Rockefeller Project on that part of the proposal and, of course, it carries a separate authority, and you have got to get appropriations, and you have to justify before the Appropriations Committee.

But I would like to keep this roughly in its present form.

Now, of course, you could always ask that these programs be funded out of existing programs. But I do not want to do that because I think it is the feeling of this Committee, which I strongly share, that the heart of these foundations is to be found in their discretion, and we should not get in the middle of trying to direct those judgments at the Congressional level.

This is a one-shot proposal. The set of photographs that were developed during the '30s are among the best in the country. I would hope that we could have a similar picture of America at its Bicentennial.

I think we could work that out.

Senator Javits. All right.

I have one suggestion, Mr. Chairman, which would enable us to have a separate title.

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If we left the Challenge Grant thing as you have it, but we set up a separate title for these two projects, with 50 percent matching --

Senator Mondale. I do not want any matching in mine.

I want this the way it is.

Senator Javits. The is the whole point.

Senator Pell. This would be matching.

Senator Mondale. I think it kills the program. We had all kinds of testimony on this. They hoped to hire photographers, film makers, and a lot of these have low budget beginning young artists. If they have to go out and raise half the money, I do not think the program would amount to anything.

We had the State testify on that.

Senator Pell. You know, people would much prefer nonmatching funds. There is another fault here, too, from your viewpoint, and that is when we go to conference with the House, I think there is more support probably behind the Rockefeller proposal in that body than there is with your part.

From the viewpoint of holding it in conference, I think it would be stronger --

Senator Mondale. Congressman Brademas owes me one or two.

Senator Pell. You may be right. But I think the idea would be to put it all under the rubric of a Bicentennial extension, or whatever we want to call it, as a separate title.

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Senator Javits. I think that would be wise.

Senator Mondale. That would be fine. It is such a small program, I would just as soon not get into matching.

Senator Javits. If the State Art Councils themselves can match under your program -- why do we not do this, Mr. Chairman, if you might yield a little point here -- why do we not provide for matching and say, well, I would like to provide for both these projects 50-50, but give the Director in each case the authority to waive so much of the matching as may seem desirable under all the circumstances.

Senator Pell. That would be acceptable. Would that be agreeable?

Senator Mondale. What is it your want?

Senator Javits. Provide for 50 percent matching but, in this particular case of this title, give the Director of the Humanities — I guess yours would be the Arts — the authority to waive as much of the matching as the Director thinks is desirable under the circumstances to forward the project.

Senator Mondale. Why do we not agree to that now, and let me check with them and see how that works, so we have the matching, but it would be a waiverable requirement?

Senator Javits. Waiverable requirement in whole or in part. And it might probably differ for you and the Rockefeller Project because they probably can raise more money.

Senator Mondale. The way I would envision this is we

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have a Bicentennial title --

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Senator Javits. That is right.

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Senator Mondale -- with two subparts carrying separate authorities?

Senator Pell. Then we will add a separate -- your

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Senator Javits. Right.

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thought is a separate title for both of these, and then in the

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part that we had tentatively scheduled for Challenge Grants,

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the new program which was \$30 million in toto, that would now

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become 10 million --

man of the Board selected?

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Mr. Biddle. Thirty-five.

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Senator Pell. I see. It would reduce the Challenge,

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the three to one long-range challenge in Humanities because of

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this.

Senator Javita. That is correct. Reduce it.

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Now, Mr. Chairman, Unless Senator Taft has some

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amendments, I would like to raise some questions.

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Senator Taft. I have a couple of questions. I do

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not know that I am going to bring them up as amendments as yet.

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One is with regard to the addition of the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center.

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What are the considerations behind that and how is

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the Board of the Kennedy Center selected and how is the Chair-

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Senator Pell. My recollection is that the President

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President, and that the President of the Federal Council on the Arts, to which he would be added, would be eight or nine people

Senator Taft. More than that.

I have got the list here.

Senator Pell. It started out at eight or nine.

Senator Taft. A publicly selected Board?

Senator Pell. Those are all ex officio.

Senator Taft. I do not mean that. I mean the Kennedy Center.

Senator Pell. No. That is selected by the White House.

Mr. Biddle. There are public members, Congressional members and Presidential appointee members.

Senator Taft. Who are the public members appointed by?

Mr. Biddle. By the President.

Senator Javits. The thing I would like to know, I had a question on that myself, Bob, that is an individual performing Arts operation and it is in business for itself, why should not I ask that the Lincoln Center Chairman be an ex officio member or whatever?

Why the Kennedy Center?
Senator Taft. That is right.

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Senator Javits. Why do we suddenly pick out Kennedy?

Senator Pell. He would be -- what is your legal term

-- primus inter pares -- from all these different Directors,

because he is basically --

Senator Javits. They do not run it that way.

Just because the President is a patron of Washington,

D. C., not because it is generically like the Smithsonian or

anything like that -- supported by private funds. This is pri
marily private funds with Government contribution.

Conceivably -- and I do not know that this is true -- Kennedy can get funds from the Endowment, or is eligible.

Senator Pell. I see your point on that. If there is a move to drop that --

Senator Javits. I move to strike it.

Senator Pell. Without objection.

Senator Javits. That is 106 and 404(a).

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Senator Taft. The other question, Mr. Chairman, is on your art teachers situation. What is the rationale on that?

Senator Pell. The rationals was that more support for art in schools is necessary. You may have seen the articles in the press in the last few months showing the need, and the relating of teaching of the arts to the problems which teachers face. You may have seen that story about the dancer who showed what angles were with their hands and legs.

There is a need to refine art teachers, bring them up to current methods, and bring art into the schools.

I could have put the same provision in to the education bill, but we were doing nothing in general education this year. We are dealing with higher education.

So it seemed equally appropriate in this bill, and that is why we inserted the idea.

Senator Taft. Does it amend the general education bill?

Senator Pell. It does not. It is a new project. It does not touch it.

It would be perfectly appropriate to put it in the ESEA bill if it would have been coming up this year for reauthorization.

Senator Taft. It does not affect the Endowment at all, is that correct? It does not have anything to do with operation of the Endowment? It is an entirely separate item?

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Senator Pell. A separate item, but it would be run by the Endowment. It would bring in a relationship with Education — it would bring in relationship with the education — it would come into relationship with the Office of Education, which is needed, and it would also make use of the work that has been going on at the Kennedy Center in the teaching of kids.

I think the Chairman of the Kennedy Center gets involved in a cooperative sense.

Senator Taft. I have a hard time seeing why it should have anything to do with the Endowment. I might be perfectly willing to go along with the amendment in the general education bill. I hasitate to get the Endowment bogged down with the administrative program of this kind.

I do not think they are set up to do it.

Mr. Diddle. If I could say something on that, the Arts Endowment does have, and always has had an education program within the program it develops. The education program at the moment primarily is concerned with providing a number of artists in schools that number now around 2,000 artists in different public schools.

Senator Taft. Through grants?

Mr. Biddle. Through grants.

Senator Taft. It is grant, not an administrative ob. That is the difference.

No.

Mr. Biddle. Well, this particular amendment or title would involve special kinds of teaching demonstration projects that would have an exemplary quality.

Senator Taft. Why can they not go ahead and fund those any way if they wanted to?

Mr. Biddle. Well, there is a shortage of money.

Senator Taft. Then it comes under the same objection I was raising before. It is attempting on the part of

Congress to earmark what funds are going to be used for that which we put into the Endowment.

Senator Pell. You are right. It is putting more money into the educational side. It would be perfectly appropriate to put in the ESEA bill. I would like to see a greater merger of the Arts Endowment and the Office of Education. At this point there is virtually no relationship between the two.

I think willy-nilly as they move along in a program like this, you would find them working more closely together.

Senator Javits. If it is of any help to you, I talked to Nancy Hanks yesterday in Chicago, and she had something else she wanted me to look into, which we will come to in a minute.

She said there is something there called Urban Gateways, that is doing exactly what Senator Pell wishes to do here. She said it now covers 300,000 people who are involved. It is that popular and that important.

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side.

That is, training artists to train teachers. I think the distinction about it being in this bill is that the "trainors" are probably subjects of the Endowment. They are artists. They are not an institution for college or university or something like that which we deal with in the education

You really are using people who could rate or qualify for stipends from the Endowment as teachers, as teachers of teachers, rather than the way we do it in the education field, some establishment or institution which is doing the teaching.

That is the distinction. So you could conceivably do it here.

Am I right about that?

Senator Pell. Exactly. Why do we not leave it in, and if you want to strike it --

Senator Taft. Well, the only other question is the museum question. I have got all kinds of comments on that. Apparently the latest I get is a little like the story of the football team which is getting the pants beat off them, and everyone stands up and keeps yelling give Leroy the ball, give Leroy the ball. And the quarterback puts his head up and says Leroy does not want the ball.

Senator Pell. This is the problem. The Smithsonian Institution, which is the museum's museum, they are the ones

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most adamant about not wanting it.

Senator Javits. It is well known that the Endowment is not very happy about its going to HEW, and I also think there are qualms in the museum field about HEW, whether it be shoved aside in this enormous organization.

So I have a suggestion. I do not make it as an amendment. This is the Chair's baby, and I am just making this suggestion. But here is the suggestion. Making this in a sense a pseudo-generous operation and to establish an institute for the improvement of museum services, as part of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. Then to establish a board which would be representative of three factors; the Council on the Arts, the Council on the Humanities, and by public members, establish a director and assistant director, and let them run it under the general tent of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. Thereby giving it a corporate status of its own, but preserving it within the frame of reference of the Arts and Humanities, and trying in that way not to burden the Administration in the Arts, and at the same time not to put this in a huge agency where it could easily be treated as a side effort, which would mean that each Council would designate five members, including the Chairman of the Arts and Humanities, and they would constitute two-thirds of the Board that would run the institute for the improvement of museum services.

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Senator Pell. Two questions on the membership of the council as you envision it.

One, would members of the new governing board be also members of the Arts and Humanities Councils?

Senator Javits. Yes. Pive of their number.

Senator Pell. I like the idea. The House has already passed the measure, including it under HEW.

Senator Javits. Right.

Senator Pell. When we go to conference, by that time we will have some reactions back and forth. It will either be under HEW, which I do not like either, or this proposal.

Senator Javits. Or some other. Somebody may come up with a better idea.

Senator Pell. I like the idea very much, and would move that we would accept it.

Senator Taft. Fine with me. A good way to get

Senator Javits. I would like to acknowledge Greg Fusco's workmanship here, which is very, very constructive.

Senator Pell. Very helpful to us.

Senator Javits. It shows great initiative.

The other thing I would like to raise is with the State Humanities Committees and the struggle. Now, again, Mr. Chairman, I submit this to you, this is my idea, and if you take it, I get the credit.

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The idea here, Mr. Chairman, would be to leave the set up as it is, but to provide for anybody who is unhappy with the work of a State Council as now organized to be able to appeal directly to the Director of the Foundation on the Humanities, and for the Director to supersede the State Council in respect to what he does, that is, he could order it done, or make the grant, or whatever, in consultation with the Governor of the State.

Again, it is an effort to capture the best of both worlds.

Senator Pell. I see the thought here. Actually it increases the power of the Chairman, which I think may be already a bit too great.

Senator Javits. Who would give it to his Council.

Senator Pell. Council, or the Chairman. And we have now, as we know, throughout the country, 50 Arts Councils, members of which are very often critical of the National Arts Council, because they are appointed separately, and they do not owe him any allegiance.

On the other hand, you have the State Arts Committees that are being set up, by, as we described before the
laying on of hands, first from the Chairman to a friend in the
State, and that friend to many others, and with a few more,
may lay his hands on five people, and when you do that you
obviously have 50 committees all of friends, because if you are

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not a friend, out. And so you do not have the same reaction.

appropriated funds for the arts have increased fifteen fold, from four million to more than 60 million in the years we have handled this program. And related to the growth of the grass roots support of the arts is the development of these Community Arts Councils.

Ten years ago we had less than 100. Today there are more than 1,000.

No similar development in the Community Humanities Council.

Then you have across the nation the privately run Associated Councils and Arts with Lou Harris as Chairman of the Association of Councils, which has done a good grass roots job across the country.

No similar thing in the humanities.

You have basically these community arts centers, which are developed in more than 100 areas, chiefly areas of the underprivileged.

Again, you do not have any Community Humanities

I realize the argument is often advanced art is more visible than humanities, and it is easier for them. When you and I worked on this so many years ago, it was I who dragged you along a bit into accepting the humanities, because you

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were interested in the arts, and yet in the end it would be arts that rode piggyback on the humanities, which at that time had --

Senator Javits. No question about that.

Senator Pell. Now it has leapfrogged over the humanities, and they are the stronger horse, and for that reason I think we should examine why this has happened, recognizing it is more difficult for the humanities to get the same excitement as a dance group, but why they have done such a poor job from the viewpoint of general penetration into the community.

I remain convinced that one of the reasons for it is the appointing process in the Councils. When we mentioned the hurley-burley of politics, you may get fellows like ourselves, politicians, but at least we are involved with the people, and it is healthy for the organization.

Where you do laying on of hands, you do not.

Mr. proposal on this is to compromise, because I do not say that all the members should be appointed by the Governors, I just say that a majority of the committees or councils, or whatever you want to call them, would be appointed.

This laying on of hands could still continue, but not for a majority, just for a minority.

I would hope that we could leave this pretty well as it is, and in addition to that we are going into conference

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with the House, which has left virtually untouched the present procedure.

Senator Javits. I am going to stay with you for the present. If I can make a better case than I have made so far, I will do it in the Full Committee.

Senator Pell. Thank you.

Senator Taft. It is all right with me. A good way to bring it out.

Senator Pell. They are marking up the CIA Committee bill, and I have to make a vote over the phone.

Senator Javits. I was going to move we report the bill.

Senator Pell. All right. Can we report it with the funding, which will be a total of two hundred fifty for the first and second year. We do not want it to go over the amounts that were presently authorized, and if that is okay with you, we will leave those figures which I think your staffs are ewere of.

Senator Javits. Okay.

Senator Pell. With that, I would move that the bill be favorably reported.

Senator Javits. I so move.

Senator Taft. I second.

Senator Pell. Without objection, so recorded.

Senator Javits. Let us vote Senator Stafford in

favor.

Senator Pell. Also Senators Mondale and Williams, whose proxies I have.

Thank you.

(Whereupon, at 12:06 p.m., the Subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

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