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Mr. President, I oppose this amendment. The Endowments are a tiny portion of a percentage of the national budget. Their funding has shrunk in real dollars ever since 1979 and the legislation before us already makes further enormous cuts in funding to the Endowments. Further funding cuts of this magnitude for the Endowments would be injurious to cultural projects all around the country -- harm far disproportionate to the real dollar savings to the government.

Some have spoken of a privatization of the Endowments. The reality is that no government agency is going to able to raise billions of dollars in private funds for grant activities. The private sector -- foundations, corporations and private patrons -- is already contributing the vast majority of cultural funding in our society. The Endowment funds provide the vital lever to encourage this involvement, but the private and philanthropic sectors are not going to contribute to the federal government so that the government can turn around and re-grant the money. I do not think that anyone would consider such an arrangement an efficient use of resources.

The Endowments' budgets have been shrinking significantly over the last decade, despite the fact that every Endowment dollar brings many more from the private sector to bear on increasing the quality and availability of art and scholarship for our citizens. We are in a very strict budgetary situation. Nevertheless, this cut is far out of proportion to cuts in other government programs and would harm our policy of federal cultural support leveraging private funds from around the country. Despite a very few controversial grants, some thirty out of over 100,000, I believe that the Arts and Humanities Endowments, on the whole, have a marvelous effect on American culture.

I believe that NEA Chairman Jane Alexander has taken Congressional concerns
regarding the agency very seriously. She has instituted a series of valuable changes to the Endowment, all of which are incorporated in the authorization legislation recently reported out of the Labor and Human Resources Committee.

Mr. President, this amendment would eliminate the viability of the National Endowments and make it impossible for them to have even a modest effect in supporting American culture. I hope my colleagues will oppose this amendment.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL

Mr. President, eliminating the direct grant program included in this legislation would do great harm to our efforts to support cultural development in our nation. Direct
grants support projects of the highest artistic calibre around the country. Providing an opportunity for our artists to create American literature, music, dance and theater was one of the core aspirations motivating the foundation of an Arts Endowment. Ideally, a National Endowment quietly fosters the creative spirit, allowing the production of significant work, then equally quietly departs the scene when the works become successful.

Judged by these criteria, the Endowment's grants to individual artists have been a great success. Artists who have received fellowships from the National Endowment have gone on to win myriad awards, including 46 Pulitzer Prizes, 48 Macarthur "genius" awards, 28 National Book awards, and many others.

This bill ensures that every grant application is subject to stringent analysis by several levels of review. Eliminating direct grants will not erase every grant that some Americans find offensive, but it will make it impossible for much of our most creative American citizens to make their best contribution to their society. They say that talent does what it can, genius does what it must, but neither will be able to do anything at all if it means the individual will starve. It is well known that private sector support for artists is extremely limited -- companies and patrons generally support institutional projects -- where they can get some prominent attention for their sponsorship. Support of individual artists is central to the mission of the NEA -- essentially to provide a fertile environment for creative talent in our nation.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL

Mr. President, sending so much of the Endowment's monies in block grant to the states would undermine the effectiveness of our support for culture. Disrupting the federal-
state partnership in this way would injure the vital goals of supporting artistic excellence and access to the arts for Americans. Although a strong state presence is important in furthering the arts in our society, this amendment would further reduce national competition on the basis of excellence and all but eliminate the viability of the Endowment as an entity representing this nation's commitment to culture. The bill as written already significantly increases the set-aside to the states. I note that the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies itself opposes changes in the share of funds allocated to the states. The states understand full well the necessity for a strong federal partner for their success. First, shifting federal funds away from the Endowment, means elimination of many projects that have national or regional impact. Second, federal funds have a far greater multiplier effect on arts funding, increasing the amount of funds going to support artists and arts organizations. Thus, this amendment would frustrate one of the most admirable strategies of the Endowment -- increasing matching funds for the arts from state and private sources.

The federal government will simply receive less bang for its buck and our culture will suffer accordingly. Only a national agency provides the widespread renown for the best arts organizations and artists because patrons and corporations pay attention to the national recognition that comes with federal support. I urge my colleagues to reject this amendment. Some of the richest arts programs take place in the form of national partnerships between organizations in different states and require a strong national entity to encourage their work. Endowment supported theater and dance groups, operas and symphonies which leave their city stages and tour the country, radio and television programs, and major music and art institutions all require national support. These programs cross state boundaries and therefore would not receive funding from independent
STATEMENT OF SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL

Mr. President, I rise in opposition to this amendment. The amendment suffers from the same problems as most content restrictions on what type of expression our society can or cannot support. While I might well have voted against the particular grant at issue here
on the basis of its quality, to my mind restrictions of this nature invariably do more harm than good. These restrictions inevitably end up excluding cultural expression that is truly worthy of support, while often not ensuring that all controversial art is eliminated. Thus, the fundamental criterion for support of American creativity ought to be a work of art or scholarship’s excellence. In order to best address this issue, the pending reauthorization of the NEA provides that both laypeople and experts review grant applications and provides for extremely stringent examination by several levels of review both inside and outside the agency on every grant.

I also take note that over the last year Chairman Jane Alexander has instituted a series of most valuable changes in the agency’s procedures. The agency will no longer accept applications from organizations, other than the state arts councils, which subgrant Endowment funds out to other projects. In addition, the Endowment will now require that progress reports be submitted before the release of the final third of a grant award. Permission from the agency will be necessary before a grantee can modify its activities from those approved by the Endowment. These changes give the Chairman greater oversight over Endowment grants and I believe they will go a long way towards addressing the concerns of many of our citizens.

I believe that general restrictions on the content of works of art or performances do not accord well with our longstanding American tradition of free expression and paying tribute to excellence. I hope my colleagues will reject this amendment.
STATEMENT OF SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL

Mr. President, I propose a very modest amendment which would increase slightly the appropriations for the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Endowment for the Arts and the Institute of Museum Services by a total of five million dollars -- one million to the Institute of Museum Services, two million to the National Endowment for the Humanities, and two million to the National Endowment for the Arts.
These funds would be drawn from an across the board cut of 1% of administrative funds only for agencies within the Interior Appropriations bill.

Although this is a relatively small change in the administrative budget of these agencies, these funds would make a significant difference to thousands of scholarly, cultural and museum projects around the country. The bedrock of our nation’s intellectual advancement lies in our scholars. It is their work, individually and as part of our great institutions, that makes our nation the leader it has become in erudition. Mr. President, my amendment would restore funds to preserve presidential papers, brittle books and historical documents, train elementary and secondary teachers through summer seminars to better educate our young people and make available travelling exhibits like "The Treasures of Sipan" or the Tuttenkhamen display so that the people all over the country shall have access to their cultural heritage. Thus, the NEH supports exemplary work to advance and disseminate knowledge in all the humanities disciplines. The NEH makes possible scholarly research, education and public programs concerned with history, literature, philosophy, language and other humanistic disciplines. The NEH has supported popular and scholarly works, including the Pulitzer Prize winning Slavery and Human Progress and programs such as The Civil War, Columbus and the Age of Discovery and Baseball by Mr. Ken Burns. Grants from the NEH have worldwide significance in the scholarly world.

The Institute of Museum Services is a shining example of the "Little Agency That Could." IMS grants go solely to general operating support to our nation's museums, strengthening them in the area for which it is most difficult to raise private funds. The IMS supports the most basic needs of these great institutions, their most basic expenses and conservation activities for art, history and science museums, among others. The Seattle
Aquarium, the Desert Botanical Garden, the Akron Art Museum, The Children's Museum of Houston and many other have received essential IMS support. 87% of IMS grantees use these federal funds to strengthen their educational activities. This support makes possible educational and cultural exhibits around the country, instructing and bringing joy to millions of Americans, young and old. This tiny agency has been a dynamic and imaginative leader in museum technology and education. Our museums are the keystone of our American identity, reminding us of who we have been and who we are today. Museums preserve our most valuable national possessions, protecting them from the ravages of time. Our nation receives back in value the cost of the IMS many times over.

The Arts Endowment, in turn, provides support to non-profit organizations and individuals in dance, design and folk arts, literature, opera and other artistic endeavors. Due to matching funds from state councils, community organizations and private donors, arts organizations now have the resources to present programs of extraordinary caliber and variety. Before the Arts Endowment came into existence, there were 37 professional dance companies in this country, today there are nearly 300. There were 58 orchestras, today there are more than a thousand. There were 22 professional theaters, today there are 420. The funds for the National Endowment for the Arts would still leave a 30% cut to that agency and make our national contribution to the arts less than 45 cents per person.

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Permission from the agency will be necessary before a grantee can modify its activities from those approved by the Endowment. These changes give the Chairman greater oversight over Endowment grants and I believe they will go a long way towards addressing the concerns of many of our citizens.

I ask my colleagues to support this amendment.