

either to lend special urgency to passage by the House at this time, or which lay to rest any doubts or reservations concerning the inherent wisdom of the principal provisions of the bill.

The first of these provisions I call to your attention concerns the authorization, in section 13, of teacher training institutes arranged by the Commissioner of Education with institutions of higher education, to "strengthen the teaching of the humanities and the arts in elementary and secondary schools." Overlooked in other legislation designed to improve the training of teachers, the extension and improvement of teaching of these areas of the curriculum is a must if we would raise the involvement of students with the arts and the humanities as major forces in shaping their lives.

The next provision I would single out authorizes, in section 12, limited payments to each State educational agency for the "acquisition of equipment—suitable for use in providing education in the humanities and the arts—and for minor remodeling." While the funds proposed are relatively modest, State educational agencies would be assisted for the first time in obtaining long needed equipment to enable teachers to present more effectively the arts and the humanities. With this nominal Federal support as an initial impetus, the States could be expected to move ahead on their own to improve the equipment and facilities available for their arts and humanities programs.

This leads me to point out the following in answer to those who hold that Federal assistance to the arts and the humanities would reduce private and foundation support. First, the authorization of matching Federal funds in section 11 of the bill would actually increase support from the private sector. In addition, we could reasonably expect that Federal support in these areas would elicit the same increase in non-Government spending in their behalf as has been found to be the case in those States providing seed moneys for arts and humanities programs. In some instances the Federal-private ratio has been as high as 1 to 8. Surely this is eloquent answer to those who fear a lessening of private initiative.

With regard to the timeliness of the proposed bill, passage now would provide a most effective complement to the recently enacted Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965—Public Law 89-10. This act will provide, among other things, improved library resources and textbooks; supplementary centers and services with broad implications for arts and humanities programs and persons; expanded research and research training programs, including those in arts and humanities; and, finally, assistance to State educational agencies in strengthening their overall effectiveness, including employment of needed personnel such as State directors of programs in the areas of the arts and the humanities. By providing badly needed assistance to the institutions of the arts and the humanities and to their individual practitioners, the proposed National Foundation would enable them to

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, I speak once again before my colleagues in the House, as I have done numerous times before, on behalf of proposed legislation in which I believe with the utmost conviction. I refer to my bill, H.R. 9579, to provide for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities.

In this instance, I am pleased to take special note of the many Members of the House who have joined with me and the distinguished Representative from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON] in the joint sponsorship of this important legislation. And let me point out that I use the word "important" with great care, and that I take no risk at overemphasis in so doing. This proposed legislation is of deep importance to the national welfare—an importance not to be measured solely in terms of the moneys authorized. Its importance is to be measured rather by the fact that, for the first time, the Federal Government of this Nation would be creating an organization which would give support and visibility to all aspects of the arts and the humanities in our national life.

It is not my purpose here to delve into the many compelling reasons why such Federal support and recognition of the arts and humanities is as necessary as our wide-ranging support of the sciences. These have been amply described in the past by me and by like-minded colleagues in both House and Senate. I wish instead to point to several features of the proposed legislation which seem to me

serve better the needs of the educational community in these areas, as well as to be better served by it.

My fellow legislators are aware that the Senate has already passed this measure now before us, due in large part to the enlightened leadership of my most able colleague from Rhode Island, Senator PELL. The funds proposed in the legislation are modest indeed in comparison to the undoubted benefits which will accrue to our arts and humanities programs at all levels throughout the country. We have already established the National Council on the Arts. Now we must also create a National Council on the Humanities and we must provide the organizational framework and the means by which the programs proposed by these two Councils can be implemented. We dare not delay further in taking this modest but vital step. I respectfully urge each of you to join me and our many colleagues who have sponsored the proposed legislation, in order that its enactment may be assured at this time.

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Chairman, I would like to place in the RECORD at this point the statement of policy which was adopted by the House Republican policy committee regarding H.R. 9460, the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965:

This bill was reported by the Committee on Education and Labor after only 15 minutes of consideration. It reflects the hasty and inadequate consideration that it received.

It refers to a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities which will consist of a Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities which will coordinate the activities of the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Council on the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the National Council on the Humanities. All but one of these, the National Council on the Arts, are created by this bill.

It is no wonder that the majority of the Republican members of the Education and Labor Committee felt obliged to state that the bill is so full of ambiguities "as to puzzle the mind, paralyze the faculties, and numb the imagination."

Last year the National Council on the Arts was created by the Congress to study and analyze the state of the arts in this Nation and to make recommendations concerning methods to encourage and improve the arts.

This bill, however, is not based upon any such study or recommendations. As a matter of fact, the members of the Council were not even appointed by the President until after the subcommittee hearings on this bill were underway. As far as is known, the Council has never even met, or carried out any of the duties and functions of the statute which created it.

Aside from the unseemly haste which has attended the advent of this legislation from committee, the idea of federally dominated endeavors in the arts and humanities threatens the very foundation of our Nation's cultural activities.

State domination of the arts in the Soviet Union should be sufficient warning against experiments of this nature in this country. Moreover, the prospect of political interference with the arts should be repugnant to all Americans.

The arts and humanities are thriving today, and will continue to thrive so long as the deadening hand of the Federal bureauc-

cracy is kept from the palette, the chisel, and the pen.

The Republican policy committee opposes H.R. 9460.

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Chairman, I am proud to support H.R. 9460, to establish a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. This long-needed action will correct the inequality which has existed because of Federal support for science, through the National Science Foundation, and health, through the National Institutes of Health, without any Federal support of the arts and humanities.

The bill recognizes that aiding the arts and humanities is primarily a matter of private and local concern but that it is appropriate for the Federal Government to assist programs supported by local, State, regional, and private organizations.

The National Endowment for the Arts would provide grants to cover from 50 to 100 percent of the cost of projects to encourage artists and develop appreciation of the arts, such as commissioning works of art, developing artistic talent, educating the public through museums and other organizations, constructing facilities, and acquiring equipment.

The Humanities Endowment would promote research and training in the arts and humanities at the graduate school level through assistance to students, State or local public agencies, and private nonprofit organizations. The Endowment could also support publication of scholarly works, projects to improve public understanding, the interchange of information by such means as assisting universities in providing for visiting lecturers, and a university theater or orchestra.

The bill would also initiate a program of grants to State educational agencies and loans to nonprofit private schools to purchase equipment for instruction in the arts and humanities and to provide for minor construction to accommodate the new equipment. The Commissioner of Education could also arrange, by grants or contracts with institutions of higher education, for special programs for elementary and secondary school teachers and student-teachers to improve teaching of the arts and humanities in elementary and secondary schools.

Congressional legislation has long been concerned with civil rights, health, housing, and economic development, to provide a more comfortable and affluent life for our people, but we have neglected the arts and humanities, which will bring meaning and understanding to our Great Society. This bill will bring the fruits of participation in arts and humanities to many people who live in relatively isolated areas and are not now able to enjoy these programs. The gains made through our social and economic programs will take on greater meaning as our people develop common bonds through sharing experiences in the arts and humanities.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, in our brief visit yesterday with Astronauts Conrad and Cooper, the House honored

its pathfinders of space. Today we have before us legislation to encourage men and women who can be pathfinders for America's imagination and understanding.

I am a cosponsor of the bill to establish a National Arts and Humanities Foundation. In its essence, this bill seeks to advance the humanities and I am mindful of the statement of my good friend, formerly editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Irving Dilliard, who said:

When we advance the humanities we advance man himself. For the state of the humanities, high, mediocre, and low, is the state of man—where he has been, where he is now, what in prospect he will be, what he holds dear, what he believes, what he seeks, and what he achieves of enduring worth.

There is a recognition in this bill that the Federal Government has long testified to the development of science and technology in this Nation but that it has largely ignored corresponding inspirations to the arts and humanities. It would be well if this were as much a humanist age as it is an age of science, where science marches ahead on all fronts.

The scientific method is being applied to nearly all sectors of human life. Political scientists use the method to predict elections. Social scientists use it to explain social phenomena we once thought were purely random occurrences. Economists use it to order the marketplace and to reduce the real world to a series of abstract graphs and pictures. Politically, socially, and economically the world is becoming increasingly analytical, increasingly abstract, where the irrational and the emotional and the spiritual have less place. It is no surprise, then, that the arts have not received the attention they merit. The Committee on Education and Labor posed the dilemma bluntly:

There is a financial crisis facing the arts in the United States.

The committee also cited a "serious imbalance between Federal support for the natural or pure sciences and for humanistic research and studies."

I do not demean the importance of science or the huge sums we have appropriated in this Congress for their application. No one will deny that scientific discovery has played a major role in revolutionizing our society. It is natural that in this revolution that we should look to the scientist as a kind of leader. He has created a better material world for us and he has shown us that a still better physical environment awaits us, if only we will follow him. But this better life—and this longer life—is not an end or a goal in itself; it is what we make of the opportunities which improved living standards provide us with that is important. Do we live for the purpose of living better, or do we seek to live better for some higher purpose?

I believe the real reason for scientific advance lies in the second query. And it is here that our society requires the humanist. For as the scientist is concerned with improving life, so the humanist is concerned with the meaning of that life. Archibald MacLeish reminds us of the

dangers of stumbling blindly ahead into some scientific brave new world without human meaning when he writes:

We know more about the planet and the galaxy and the universe in which it drifts—about the substance of the earth and the uses of that substance—than men ever knew before. But who we are in this vast outward-bound of stars and constellations we do not know—or have forgotten.

The bill to create a National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities is a relatively small, but necessary redress of the imperfect attention given to those who seek this larger meaning for our lives.

It is apparent that this inattention cannot be resolved by the private sector alone. In 1963 slightly over half of the corporations in the United States made contributions in the area of the arts. Of all corporate contributions in that year, only about 4 percent went to the arts. This amounted to a sum of between \$16 and \$21 million. This does not approach the full 5-percent tax exemption that corporations are allowed to make on net corporate income for contributions to charitable and educational organizations. According to the Rockefeller panel report on the future of theater, dance, and music:

It has been the practice of American corporations in recent years to use only a little over one-fifth of their taxable income. At present only a handful of business firms use the full 5-percent tax exemption.

Thus, liberal allowances for tax exemptions do not seem to alleviate the current financial starvation of the arts. Nor can private individuals be depended upon to provide impetus for achievement in this area. Individual citizens today use only a small fraction of the 30-percent tax deduction permitted by the Government for philanthropic purposes. Many cultural institutions are unable to exist on their own receipts. One good example is the New York Metropolitan Opera, which in 1963 was able to cover only 73 percent of its total expenses through box office receipts.

Of course, H.R. 9460 will not serve as a panacea for the ills troubling the arts today. But this legislation will serve as a catalyst to encourage more gifted people toward a profession in the arts and it will encourage the public to take a greater interest in the arts and to contribute more to their support. And certainly it will emphasize the importance of the arts to our civilization. I am in agreement with the committee finding that:

The Foundation would have a profound impact on the burgeoning desire on the part of our citizens for greater exposure to cultural excellence. This desire is manifestly related to the increasing availability of leisure time in an era of growing prosperity.

Under this bill, the National Endowment for the Arts will provide matching grants to groups and individual engaged in the creative and performing arts, with special grants for States with organizations performing similar functions and one-time grants to States without arts councils or similar groups. The National Endowment for the Humanities will provide nonmatching grants and

loans for research, award fellowships and grants to institutional or individuals in training, support publications of scholarly work, and provide for an exchange of information. The work of both endowments will be coordinated by a Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities. To those who are concerned about excessive Federal control of the arts, I point to section 4(c) of the bill which states:

In the administration of this act no department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States shall exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the policy determination, personnel, or curriculum, or the administration or operation of any school or other non-Federal agency, institution, organization or association.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to recall the humanistic conviction of the proverbs of Solomon, verse 18 of chapter XXIX of the Book of Proverbs:

Where there is no vision, the people perish.

I support this legislation as the American recognition of that imperative. This bill is worthy of that vision, and I urge its passage.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise at this time to urge this House to pass H.R. 9460, to provide for the establishment of a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities.

The legislation now before us, would establish an independent agency in the executive branch of the Government, to encourage excellence in the arts and give recognition and emphasis to the values of humanities.

This bill contains the recommendations of President Johnson, who in his state of the Union message said:

We must also recognize and encourage those who can be pathfinders for the Nation's imagination and understanding.

This bill will give encouragement to those who would give impetus to what President Johnson described as "the frontiers of understanding in the arts and in humanistic studies."

On March 10 the President made a statement on this legislation in which he said:

This Congress will consider many programs which will leave an enduring mark on American life. But it may well be that passage of this legislation, modest as it is, will help secure for this Congress a sure and honored place in the story of the advance of our civilization.

As a cosponsor of this legislation, my bill being H.R. 9741, I have been gratified that it has received such widespread endorsement, not only by leading artists, scholars, and educators, but also by business and influential business leaders and many well-known civic leaders.

Through the enactment of this legislation, we will be making a commitment on the part of the Federal Government to work in cooperation with public agencies, institutions of higher learning, museums, and other nonprofit groups, and numerous individuals, toward the advancement of the arts and humanities throughout our Nation.

I am quite confident that this legislation will pass this House today, to indicate that American culture is not stand-

ing still, but is pushing forward toward creating a golden age for all Americans.

This bill will provide a vitally needed stimulus for all the segments of the arts and humanities in every locality of the United States. Under the provisions of the bill providing for direct grants and loans to performing groups, as well as to students of the various humanistic disciplines, we shall see an inspiring upsurge in activity and creativity.

In today's world our society has become more and more science conscious. It is because of this fact that the Federal Government and the public support the sciences in the manner they do. However, when the growth of man's understanding of technology is greater than the understanding of his fellow man, it is of utmost importance that we turn our attention to the humanities—to that which is human and common to all peoples.

In the past there has been a tendency to bring culture and art to persons in the higher income group, and it is up to us to take the initial step toward bringing artistic productions to the grasp of more of our American people.

But the concept of Federal aid to the arts and humanities has been slow in evolving, and this legislation would be a great step in providing such Federal aid. However, in the past, such Federal aid has been opposed by many who fear that there will be Federal interference in their work of the performing arts.

This is not so. We have had critics opposing our aid to education programs, to our urban renewal legislation, and in many other fields. We have shown these critics that there can be Federal aid without Federal control. In this legislation we propose to do the same thing. The Federal Government will supply the money, but the artists and their organizations will suggest the proposals, select the performances which are to be produced and do all the planning. The Federal Government will be the means, but the end product will be the sole responsibility of the performing artists.

Again, let me go back and repeat that we have made great strides in atomic energy, space exploration, in automation, in the sciences. But it will be an unbalanced society in which we will live if, among these wonders we do not expand the human mind and spirit.

This legislation will supplement the efforts now being made by the public, foundations, and corporations so that the people in the artistic field will obtain the widest range of support in their endeavors.

This Congress, can fulfill the dreams of the American people to make available the fruits of culture to all of our citizens—just as we have been making economic abundance available to them.

We can make great strides forward today in the field of culture by passing the legislation now before us. H.R. 9460 will meet the needs and fulfill our objectives.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Chairman, I renew my point of order that a quorum is not present.