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Series: Card, Andrew, Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 08374
Folder ID Number: 08374-005

Folder Title:
National Endowment for the Arts

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION	CLASS.
01a. Memo	From Stephen I. Danzansky to Andy Card RE: NEA (1 pp.)	02/28/91	P-2, P-5	
Open on Expiration of PRA (Document Follows) By <u>CA</u> (NLGB) on <u>1/7/06</u>				
COLLECTION Bush Presidential Records Chief of Staff Andrew Card Files				
FILE LOCATION National Endowment for the Arts OA/ID Number 08374 Date Closed 04/01/2003				

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Closed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- F-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1991

Rec'd
MAR - 1 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDY CARD

FROM: STEPHEN I. DANZANSKY

SUBJECT: NEA

I thought that before you and I set up a meeting on this, you might want to take a look at the attached memo to Chase. It, along with the draft letter explains the current state of affairs.

Not hearing from Chase with contrary counsel, I did exercise the telephone option, rather than having a letter floating around ready to leak. The letter will give you some background on where the discussions broke down and why.

Sam Skinner did call and I am meeting with his inner circle next Tuesday about the General Counsel position. Apparently they're finally ready to move and interview potential candidates. I told Chase who said he would be supportive.

I suppose I have become the government's primary expert on the NEA and would be happy to share with other potential candidates any wisdom gained from my odyssey.

Please let me know when it would be convenient to meet.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION	CLASS.
01b. Memo	From Stephen I. Danzansky to Chase Untermeyer RE: NEA (1 pp.)	03/27/91	P-2, P-5	
Open on Expiration of PRA (Document Follows) By <u>CEI</u> (NLGB) on <u>6/7/05</u>				
COLLECTION Bush Presidential Records Chief of Staff Andrew Card Files				
FILE LOCATION National Endowment for the Arts OA/ID Number 08374 Date Closed 04/01/2003				

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 27, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR CHASE UNTERMEYER

FROM: Stephen I. Danzansky

SUBJECT: NEA

On Monday I again met with John Frohnmayer in an attempt to reach some understanding about my role and function at the NEA. At the end of the day, Frohnmayer had rejected the conceptual notion of my coming aboard as a strong, managerial deputy by dismissing the organizational structure which I had proposed along with a separate title delineation. His reasons for rejection were most troublesome to me.

It was clear by his words and body language that his intention was to bring me on for a trial period during which I would be given specific assignments including review of the grants program, reporting on staff job performance/responsibility and the like. Then, he indicated, "I'll give you additional managerial authority as you prove you can handle it."

The remainder of the conversation centered on philosophic questions regarding the Endowment's role in serving the arts versus serving the 130 million taxpayers who each pay \$1.33 per year for its sponsorship selection service. As you might expect we have some differences there.

Although the latter is likely to be problematic, my main concern, is leaving unresolved the matter of duties and responsibilities. I am currently debating one of two options:

- sending Frohnmayer the attached letter, summarizing our differences and thereby possibly extending further this already lengthy process; or
- calling him in the morning and telling him it's no go.

If you'd like to discuss this further, I'd be happy to meet with you and Ann later today or first thing tomorrow. I'd like to complete the circle by noon tomorrow and get on with other things.

DRAFT

STEPHEN I. DANZANSKY

3609 EDMUNDS STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

DRAFT

February 25, 1991

Hon. John E. Frohnmayer
National Endowment for the Arts
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20506

Dear John:

I am indeed grateful for the time you have expended discussing the possibility of my continuing service to the Bush Administration as your Deputy at the NEA. I feel our discussions to date have been both cordial and fruitful as we wend our way toward a mutual decision. It is now clear to me that we both are motivated by an honest desire to do that which will be in the best interest of the Endowment.

With that premise, let me try to articulate for you a lingering concern that I still harbor about entering into a partnership without a clearer understanding of my role and function.

In bureaucratic parlance, the term "deputy" carries with it a certain character and common understanding of responsibility. A "deputy" secretary is the second in charge of the agency and the "acting" secretary when the boss is out of the country or incapacitated. In most cases, the deputy assumes the primary responsibility for management of the agency, "Mr. Inside" as you so properly named it, while the secretary tends to the necessary public responsibilities of the office.

I have yet to see an organization chart where the deputy (sometimes called "undersecretary") is not positioned either in a box with the secretary (or agency head) or in a box directly below that of the head--the remainder of the organization being situated in a direct line of reporting through the deputy.

The current NEA chart includes four individuals with the title of "deputy." It is therefore unclear what is meant by the term "senior deputy" and how that individual relates to the rest of the organization. Further questions are raised by boxes and

lines which would have the General Counsel, Congressional Liaison, Policy, Planning and Research and Inspector General reporting directly to the Chairman.

When I first spoke with Andy Card and Chase Undermeyer about assuming the "deputy" position at NEA, it was my understanding that we were speaking about a deputy in the sense well understood by those inside the organization, inside the beltway and thus inside most departments and agencies. That is the only position which I would be willing to discuss assuming at NEA.

That being the case, before I met with you early this year, I prepared a new organization chart, went over it carefully, and left it with you at our first meeting. Recently, in response to your expressed need to retain the title of "deputy" for your programs, public partnership and management directors (even though two are currently vacant), I attempted to solve that dilemma by suggesting a change in title of my proposed position from senior deputy chairman to "Vice Chairman." My organization chart proposed a structure similar to the NEH in which second-in-command authority would be vested in a single deputy, to be called Vice Chairman.

Unfortunately, in Washington, as in other capitals and corporations, titles are important both for the authority they convey and for what they mean in general parlance. A senior deputy among three other deputies does not firmly convey a # 2 manager but rather something like a first-among-four-# 3s. That coupled with the current hodge-podge of reporting lines makes the senior deputy position equivocal at best. Your reluctance to agree to my suggested changes and organization chart added to your suggestion that "I'll give you additional managerial authority as you prove you can handle it" give me considerable pause.

What you apparently have in mind is a period of trial during which I would be given specific assignments including review of the grants program, reporting on staff job performance/responsibility and the like. I'm afraid I cannot accept such a probationary role. It would not only unnecessarily postpone the day when I can be fully effective, but also diminish the ultimate likelihood of managerial success. I cannot agree to sign on to a regime on the vague promise of a promotion from the ranks.

That's not to say, John, that as chief operating officer, I would not be fully and directly responsible to you as CEO or that you would be somehow cut off from your staff or operations. Everything I know, you will know. Everything I do, you will know about ahead of time. And, of course, I meant what I said when I pledged to you that if at any time during my tenure, you felt the slightest unease about my motives, performance or loyalty, you need only indicate that fact to me and I will quietly return to

my life in the private sector. No news stories, no White House calls, no intrigue. I don't want to be there if you don't want me.

Of course, charts and titles while conveying messages and authority are still somewhat symbolic. I would be happy to discuss other configurations with you provided they are true to the elements of the job which I have described. If you are unprepared to take that step at this time, then I think our discussions are about exhausted and we'd best get on with the business of continuing our careers.

I wish to repeat my thanks to you for the time and energy expended on my behalf over the past couple of months and on behalf of the NEA over the past couple of years. I think I now have a better understanding of the difficult choices you have had to make in the past, and of your sense of mission for the future.

Cordially,

STEPHEN I. DANZANSKY

RECEIVED

NOV 08 1991

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

11/8/91

1.6

AC HAS SEEN

11/8

TO:

Andy Card

FROM:

LEIGH ANN METZGER *Lam*
Special Assistant to the President for
Public Liaison
Room 193, OEOB, Ext. 7142

This is the third batch of
petitions from the Rutherford
Institute we've acknowledged
over the past few months -
FYI - all on the same issue -

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

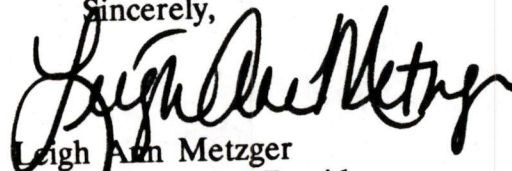
November 5, 1991

Dear Mr. Whitehead:

This is to acknowledge receipt of nine boxes of petitions regarding the National Endowment for the Arts. As always, I appreciate hearing from supporters of the Rutherford Institute on this important issue.

Please let me know if I can be of assistance in the future.

Sincerely,



Leigh Ann Metzger
Special Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison

Mr. John W. Whitehead
President, The Rutherford Institute
P.O. Box 7482
Charlottesville, VA 22906-7482

CITIZEN PETITION

To President Bush,

WHEREAS: The National Endowment for the Arts has used my tax dollars to fund art that defames Christ . . .

WHEREAS: I object to the use of tax dollars to fund "art" that depicts Christ as a drug addict and portrays the Cross of Christ in a jar of urine . . .

WHEREAS: The First Amendment to the United States Constitution prohibits the Federal Government from using tax dollars to denigrate religious people . . .

WHEREAS: Action must be taken immediately to prohibit any further use of federal funds to attack religious people and beliefs,

I, THE UNDERSIGNED TAXPAYER, HEREBY REQUEST that you act to stop Federal funds from being used to denigrate religious Americans.

Mary S. Crawford
Signature

8/8/91
Date

Altadena CA
City and State

THE RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE

SEP 16 1991

TELEPHONE 804 • 978 • 3888
FACSIMILE 804 • 978 • 1789

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
Post Office Box 7482
1445 East Rio Road
Charlottesville, Virginia 22906-7482

September 11, 1991

Ms. Leigh Ann Metzger
Office of Public Liaison, Room 193
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

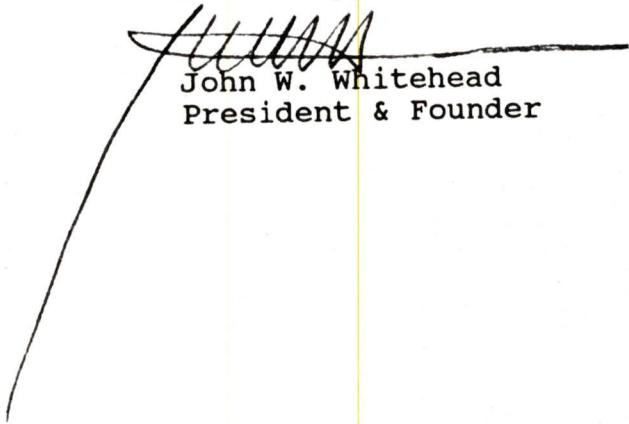
Dear Ms. Metzger:

American citizens are still concerned about the anti-Christian "art" funded by the National Endowment for the Arts. As a way of expressing their outrage at government sponsored hate art, many outraged taxpayers have signed petitions to President Bush, asking him to put an end to this federally funded, discriminatory "art."

Under separate cover, please find 45,800 additional petitions which continue arriving and address President Bush's position on the N.E.A. We await President Bush's active response to stop the funding of such hate art.

Thank you for your concern.

Sincerely,



John W. Whitehead
President & Founder

JOHN W. WHITEHEAD
Founder and President

The Rutherford Institute
Foundation of Canada
Prince George, British Columbia

The Rutherford Institute
of Bolivia, La Paz, Bolivia

The Rutherford Institute
of Central and Eastern Europe
Budapest, Hungary

THE WHITE HOUSE

3/28/90

Dear John -

Thank you for your cooperation.
You're a good and valued member
of the Bush Team.

Sincerely,

Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable
John Frohnmayer
National Endowment for
the Arts
1100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington DC
20506



NATIONAL
ENDOWMENT
FOR
THE ARTS

A Federal agency
advised by the
National Council
on the Arts

Office of the Chairman

for f.b

3/26/90

Andy,

Enclosed is a copy of
my testimony before the house
Reauth. Committee last week
along with the press statement
which was released on Friday,

Regards

John

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

NEWS



A Federal agency advised by the National Council on the Arts
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

For further information contact:
Katherine Christie/Virginia Falck
202/682-5440 tel.

For Immediate Release
March 22, 1990

National Endowment for the Arts Chairman John Frohnmayer today reiterated his and the Endowment's position on art versus obscenity. He stated:

"For approximately the last six months, I have been Chairman of the Arts Endowment. Many of the complaints which are currently being aired about 'obscenity' with regard to Endowment funded art projects relate to actions taken prior to my appointment. The record shows that I am personally and unequivocally opposed to government funding of obscenities. I will be diligent that obscenity will not be funded by the Endowment. As I stated yesterday in my testimony to Congress:

'I and the National Endowment for the Arts oppose obscenity unequivocally. It is the antithesis of art. It is without soul. It conveys no message. It degrades humanity, and it sickens me.'

"In my testimony yesterday, I outlined 14 steps which I have undertaken to strengthen the panel process so that the citizen-experts (some 800 of them each year who come to the Endowment to recommend grants) might have adequate guidance both on the law and their responsibilities as panelists.

"I believe in a responsible Arts Endowment, which promotes only the finest art available in this country. I believe it is inappropriate for Congress to micro-manage the Endowment through additional legislation. Rather, we at the Endowment must act responsibly and reflect the broad range of American cultures, expertise and viewpoints.

"Art and obscenity are opposites. Obscenity will not be funded with taxpayers' money."

John E. Frohnmayer
Chairman
National Endowment for the Arts

Statement before the House Subcommittee
on Postsecondary Education
House Education and Labor Committee

March 21, 1990

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

At the hearing on March 5, 1990, I addressed how the National Endowment for the Arts has fulfilled its mandate to promote creativity in our society. I commented that the Endowment's success has been in its process, namely, the panel process which brings over 800 citizens to Washington each year to do the government's business. These citizens, who are expert in a particular area of the arts, recommend the applications which are most competitive -- which represent real quality and merit.

Because so much public discourse, debate, and concern has arisen over "obscene or indecent images," and because the charge has come, from some quarters, that the Arts Endowment is not responsible for the grants we make, I direct my remarks today to two topics:

I. How the Endowment is responsible for the grants it funds.

II. The specific changes we propose.

I. Responsible Procedures

I start with the proposition that Congress does not want to micromanage the Arts Endowment, but does want to assure that

taxpayers' money is responsibly spent. Our mission statement says, in part:

"We must exercise care to preserve and improve the environment in which the arts have flourished. We must not, under any circumstances, impose a single aesthetic standard or attempt to direct artistic content."

While the panel system is sometimes inefficient, slow and cumbersome, it is also akin to the American jury system which, over 800 years of English and American jurisprudence, has proved to be the most effective way of reaching true consensus. But we can improve the process to make it more responsible, more responsive, and more visible to the American people. To that end:

1. We have developed a grid which shows where each panelist comes from geographically. By so doing, we attempt to achieve wide geographic distribution and have at least one panelist from each region of the country who will know the work of many of the applicants from that region.
2. We have developed a grid to assure that as many cultures as possible are represented on each panel.
3. To the extent possible, we attempt to mix the panels with individuals of varying experience (and to the extent possible, viewpoint).

4. On each panel, we attempt to have some representation of educated lay persons, that is, those who have expertise in the particular discipline, but don't necessarily make their living at it. These persons are a small minority on every panel, but they do bring a point of view which is useful.

5. We have opened the deliberations of policy panels in all disciplines to the public.

6. We use site visitors in some categories to assist the panelists with more in-depth reviews of the applicants.

7. I, as Chairman, personally attend each panel (over 120 panels meet each year), or if I am out of town or unavailable, one of the senior members of my staff attends to explain the most current legislation and discuss the responsibilities of panel persons. Not only are these discussions useful to the panelists, but they often provide insights as to how the process can be improved.

8. We are assuring that a careful record is made of all panel deliberations:

- i. The meetings are recorded and staff are directed to keep careful notes.

ii. On each recommendation, the panel records its findings as to various criteria outlined in the published guidelines, such as artistic significance, administrative abilities, significance to the field and such other attributes or deficiencies, prior to voting yes or no or assigning a monetary recommendation to the application.

iii. As for applications which might be controversial, but which the panelists find have artistic merit and which they vote to recommend, I request that a careful record be made by which they justify the artistic grounds upon which the recommendation is forwarded.

9. The National Council on the Arts members (the 26 Presidential appointees) are encouraged to observe as many panels meetings as their schedules allow. The Council's comments and suggestions are fed back into the system, so that the panels are continually improving policies and programs.

10. All grant notification letters for FY 1990 state up front the requirement that all grantees adhere to the appropriations language (prohibiting obscenity) passed by Congress with our FY 1990 appropriation.

11. All guidelines published for 1990 (except those already in print prior to the passage of the legislation) contain the language attached to the 1990 appropriations bill.

12. The Inspector General of the Arts Endowment (a position created by Congress which reports directly to the Chairman) reviews grants for compliance with all accounting and financial criteria.

13. In our 1991 budget request, we seek funds to increase the panel sizes in order to get a broader spectrum of experience, cultures and geography. Our panel sizes range from five to 15. Just as I preferred 12 person juries to six person juries when I was a trial lawyer, I prefer larger panels and hope that Congress will see fit to make them possible.

14. Finally, we have implemented procedures for dealing with subgrants so that they go through essentially the same review by the National Council on the Arts as grants recommended by our own panels do.

Will these modifications in the panel process eliminate controversy? Probably not. I do not see as a desirable goal that the art which the Federal government supports be so bland

that no one even notices it. Some art is provocative and rightly so. These modifications are designed to assure that the panel process is as fair, as responsible, and as careful as it possibly can be in identifying the best art which is available for support in this country.

In addition, we are considering modifications to the panel process which require further study before they are accepted or rejected.

a.) Making the panel procedures and guidelines consistent, as appropriate, among the disciplines (such as Visual Arts, Dance, Music, etc.) to simplify the application procedure and make it more easily understood.

b.) Requiring state and local arts agencies, arts service organizations, and perhaps other grantees of the Endowment to submit the names of qualified panelists to assure that the panelist "gene pool" represents all areas of the country.

c.) Identifying better ways in which the panelists can be made fully aware of the past performance of applicants so that the artistic quality of that performance can be judged. Complaints from persons who have not seen a

particular performance are seldom reliable measures of artistic quality. We must, however, develop a means by which future panels can to the greatest extent possible accurately and thoroughly consider past performance.

d.) Developing a panelist orientation handbook.

e.) Increasing the number of site visitations of potential applicants within the limits of our budget.

f.) Considering multi-year grants to applicants which are funded on an annual basis. These grants would be subject to the Endowment's annual appropriation from Congress, but would give some certainty to the applicant and would greatly reduce the application load with which the panelists have to deal each year. This reduction would, in turn, allow more in-depth analysis of each applicant.

g.) Finally, because the Endowment is sometimes subject to the charge that the panels are "elitist" or that there is "cronyism," I have directed that an in-depth study of this issue be made. A similar charge was made in 1985, and the resulting evidence proved conclusively that those charges were without foundation. Our preliminary findings also show no evidence of elitism or favoritism. Those results will be made available to you as soon as the study is completed.

Most importantly, you have directed that a Commission study the grant-giving process of the Endowment. We welcome the report of that commission and hope that it will shortly commence its work. Any improvements in our process are certainly welcome, and we are prepared to cooperate with the commission in every way possible.

II. Proposed changes in Reauthorization Legislation

Mr. Chairman, I think it might be useful at this point for me to highlight for the Committee those provisions of the reauthorization legislation that was recently transmitted which directly affect the National Endowment for the Arts. As you know, the proposed bill tracks the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act, as amended, and therefore includes provisions relevant to each of the agencies authorized under that Act -- The National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Institute of Museum Services. While we support those provisions pertaining to our sister agencies, I will confine my remarks today to those sections dealing directly with the Arts Endowment.

By way of overview, let me state that it is our view that our enabling legislation, in its present form, works well and is in

no need of substantive revision. We have in the past year been the subject of rigorous scrutiny and consultation concerning our legislation. In our FY 90 appropriations bill Congress prohibited the Arts Endowment from funding any art it deemed to be obscene. This language has caused much concern and confusion among the arts community. The Endowment has, as a result, spent a significant amount of time discussing the matter with the field, as well as studying the directive. After much careful thought and discussion, it is our conclusion that the legislation proposed here which contains no content restrictions, along with measures discussed earlier, will best serve the American public.

We are here today to urge the Committee to act favorably on the single most important provision affecting the Endowment -- and that is a five year extension of our authorization. In addition, there are several technical amendments which we are proposing to fine tune the authorizing legislation. At this point I will outline those provisions relevant to the Arts Endowment in the sequence in which they appear in the bill.

- A. Section 2 of the bill amends the definition of the "arts" to recognize explicitly the inclusion of the traditional arts as practiced throughout the country.

B. Section 3 of the bill amends the definition of the term "project" to underscore that programs which enhance public knowledge and understanding of the arts should be available to all people throughout the nation.

C. Section 5 of the bill makes several changes to section 5(c) of the Act. Paragraph 2 is amended to recognize that excellence is embodied in the artistic standards applicable to the traditional arts.

Paragraph 5 is amended to reference education explicitly among the types of arts projects which may be supported. Paragraph 8 was added to describe the authority to provide organizational and managerial assistance to arts organizations.

Paragraph 9 was added to recognize the authority of the National Endowment for the Arts to support international arts activities.

D. Section 6 of the bill revises certain reporting requirements for state arts agencies. Currently, state arts agencies are required by the Act to provide information annually on their activities over the past every two years. The bill requires this information to be reported annually only for the most

recent preceding year for which information is available. The bill changes the reporting requirement from the preceding two years to only the preceding year because elsewhere, the state has already agreed to provide annual reports. This method was decided upon after a costly and intense study undertaken with the state arts agencies to create an annual information collection system. The change would also prevent the undesirable affect of receiving duplicative information. The bill also increases the scope of the reporting requirement to include all projects funded by state arts agencies. This change also makes the requirement more compatible with existing state information systems.

- E. Section 7 of the bill amends the NEA Challenge Program authority to include a new emphasis for the use of Challenge grants: Stimulating artistic activity and awareness with respect to the varied cultural traditions throughout the nation.
- F. Section 8 of the bill strikes out the requirement in section 5(m) of the Act that a national information and data collection system be developed by the Arts Endowment and inserts a requirement that such a system be "employed". This change is being made because the system has already been developed pursuant to the requirements of the 1985

reauthorization. The provision that a plan be submitted to Congress within one year of the effective date of the 1985 Act has been accomplished and therefore that provision is also being deleted.

The last sentence which currently provides that the state of the arts report was to be submitted by October 1, 1988, has been deleted because the report for 1988 was submitted, and a second one will be submitted in accordance with the current law by October 1, 1990. The bill would require submission of the next report in 1992, and quadrennially thereafter. Generally, changes in the arts fields do not occur so rapidly as to warrant a full-scale report to the Congress and the President every two years. A four year interval would provide more perspective and thus permit a more significant report. Developments that might occur between reports could be brought to the attention of Congress through Arts Endowment planning documents, congressional budget submissions and reports, the Arts Endowment's Annual Reports, or other appropriate formats.

- G. Section 20 of the bill rennumbers certain paragraphs as suggested by Congress. Two subsections have also been deleted -- Subsection E required a joint study of arts and humanities education to be conducted by the two Endowments and the Secretary of Education. The study was completed and the

report made to the various committees of Congress by the date indicated, thereby fulfilling the requirements of this subsection.

Subsection F required the two Endowments to submit reports to Congress detailing the procedures used in selecting experts for appointment to panels and the procedures used by the panels making recommendations for funding applications. Both studies were completed and submitted to Congress, thereby fulfilling the requirements of this subsection.

H. Section 21 of the bill provides for a five year authorization of definite program appropriations for the Arts Endowment. It authorizes \$125,800,000 for fiscal year 1991 and such sums as may be necessary for fiscal years 1992 through 1995.

I. Section 23 of the bill extends the authorization of appropriations for the Arts Endowment's treasury funds for five years. It authorizes \$13,000,000 for fiscal year 1991 such sums as may be necessary for fiscal years 1992 through 1995.

J. Section 25 of the bill extends the authorization of the appropriations for the Arts Endowment's Challenge grant program for five years through fiscal year 1995. It

authorizes \$15,000,000 for fiscal year 1991 and such sums as may be necessary for fiscal years 1992 through 1995.

- K. Section 27 of the bill deletes the requirement that if at the end of the ninth month of any fiscal year Challenge grant funds cannot be used by one of the Endowments, that Endowment shall transfer the unused funds to the other Endowment. This provision has been in the law since 1976 when the Challenge program was first established for the two Endowments but has never been used. At the inception of this new program, there may have been the concern that Challenge grantees might not be able to meet the three-to-one matching requirements which would result in some of the appropriated funds not being used during the fiscal year. However, such concern has not been born out. Therefore, deletion of the transfer provision is consistent with the experience of the two Endowments and independence they have as to all other programs.
- L. Section 28 of the bill extends the authorization of appropriations for administrative funds for the Arts Endowment by authorizing \$20,300,000 for fiscal year 1991 and such sums as may be necessary for each fiscal years 1992 through 1995.
- M. Section 30 of the bill extends the authorization of appropriations for the two Endowments for five years and

authorizes \$175,000,000 for the Arts Endowment for fiscal year 1991 and such sums as may be necessary for fiscal years 1992 through 1995.

N. Section 38 of the bill amends section 5(b) of the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act by increasing the aggregate level of insurance available for international exhibitions at any one time to \$3,000,000,000. The current statutory limit is \$1,200,000,000. This increase is necessary to meet the demand for coverage under the Act and to make the benefits of the Act more widely available. The increase is justified by the continuing escalation in art market values since the current limit was established. The availability of this insurance is key to our staging international exhibitions. Since this program was instituted in 1975, there have been only two certified claims totalling \$104,000.

O. Section 39 of the bill amends section 5(c) of the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act by increasing the amount of insurance available for a single exhibition to \$300,000,000. The current statutory limit is \$125,000,000. This increase is necessary to provide adequate coverage of international loans protected by the Act. The higher limit is a realistic accommodation for the effects of the dramatic increase and the value of art objects since the current limit was

established. The availability of this insurance is key to our staging international exhibitions.

- P. Section 40 of the bill amends section 5(d) of the Arts and Artifacts Indemnity Act by amending the deductible amounts under indemnity agreements by adding layers of \$100,000 and \$200,000 based on the total value of the exhibition. The current statutory limits are \$15,000, \$25,000, or \$50,000 depending upon the value of the exhibition. The sliding scale formula used to determine the current limits should be applied to the increase and the per exhibition ceiling. The deductible layers protect the U.S. Treasury from multiple claims for minor losses or damage. The amendment would actually limit the budgetary impacts or claims against the Federal government by increasing the exposure of the exhibition organizer who would be responsible for arranging for additional insurance to cover the deductible amount.
- Q. Section 41 of the bill repeals Title IV of the Arts, Humanities and Museums amendments which directs the Comptroller General to conduct studies to determine the feasibility of establishing a revolving fund comprised of payments made to the Federal government for the right to use artistic and other works in the public domain with the funds used to supplement funding of the agencies under this Act.

Work on the project was terminated after the Comptroller General's Office consulted with members of Congress and determined that the studies should not be pursued.

- R. Section 43 of the bill makes these amendments effective on the date of enactment.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Endowed
for the
Arts*

Date: March 19, 1990

FOR: Andy Card

FROM: GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

- ☐ Action
- ☐ Your Comment
- ☐ Let's Talk
- ☒ FYI



ENDOWMENT
FOR
THE ARTS

National Council
on the Arts

Office of the Chairman

3/14/90

Governor,

As promised, enclosed are
some quotes stating my
unequivocal opposition to
obscurity.

I have also said this
repeatedly in speeches which
were not reported & I
will continue to say it
at every opportunity.

Copy to Andy.

Regards
John

NATIONAL
ENDOWMENT
FOR
THE ARTS

WASHINGTON
D.C. 20506



A Federal agency advised by the
National Council on the Arts

March 14, 1990

MEMORANDUM TO THE CHAIRMAN

FROM: Jack Lichtenstein
Director, Office of Public Affairs

SUBJECT: Chairman Quotes Re Obscenity

The Chairman has been quoted as making the following observations regarding art and obscenity:

Pacific Northwest Magazine

October, 1989

"I think [the reaction to Congress' proposed limitations on NEA funding] is reflective of how important the arts really are to our society. I mean, this is a little agency that costs about as much per year as the landing gear for a sophisticated bomber. But I also think some of the art [in question] has really offended a fairly large segment of the population, and that's something we clearly have to pay attention to."

The Los Angeles Times

February 26, 1990

"I told Sen. Helms the same thing that I told every other congressman and senator, that is that we will not fund obscenity and that I will be a responsible steward of this agency. I have kept my word to him in that regard. The more we can tell him about what we are doing, the less critical he's likely to be."

The Cleveland Plain Dealer

December 6, 1989

Asked about a statement by Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., following the Artists Space debate that referred to Frohnmayer's "voluntary commitment" to Helms, the chairman replied his only commitment to Helms was that stated in the law, namely, "We will not fund anything that is obscene."

The Washington Times

October 10, 1989

"We have a very fine line to walk here between continuing artistic freedom and maintaining the public trust, when you're using taxpayer dollars."

MORE...

THE NEW YORK TIMES
"There is a continuum between public trust on the one hand and artistic freedom on the other. And where you come down on a case-by-case basis is the exercise of judgment. That's true under the present legislation and it would be true if the legislation weren't there."

Art in America

January 1990

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March 6, 1990

"We never fund anything whose sole purpose is to offend."

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March 6, 1990

"What I'm saying in terms of the endowment is we are looking for artistic quality. And if a panel finds there is serious artistic intent and quality in a particular piece of work, then by definition that is not going to be obscene. Because one of the things that obscenity is, which makes it the opposite of art, is that it has no serious artistic intent or content."

Orlando Sentinel

October 15, 1989

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Village Voice

November 21, 1989

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Newsday

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MORE...

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February 7, 1990

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(The above quote was picked up in several papers.)

Letter to Members of Congress

February 7, 1990

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Letter to Members of Congress

March 7, 1990

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February, 1990

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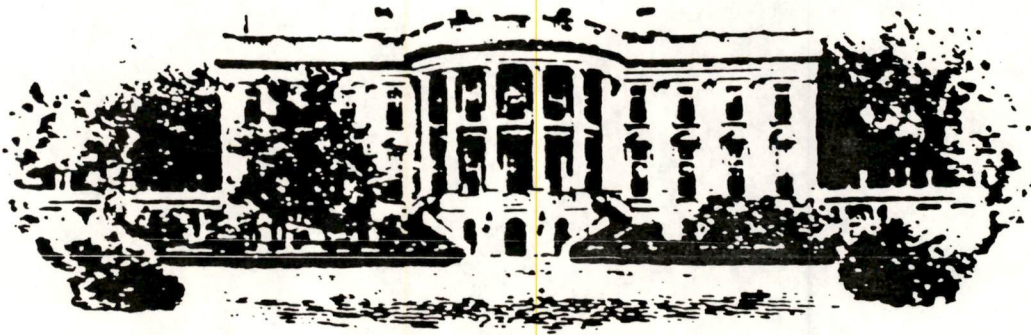
Letter to the Public

March 15, 1990

"The National Endowment for the Arts DID NOT fund the Annie Sprinkle performance. Had the Annie Sprinkle program been presented to our panels or to myself, it would not have been funded -- based on its description in the media."

sent 3/22
3:45pm

THE WHITE HOUSE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE: Thursday, March 22, 1990

TO: John Frohnmayer (682-5798)
National Endowment for the Arts

FROM: Andy Card

PHONE: 456-2533

COMMENTS: My suggestions for either a statement or a letter from you.
It could be issued as a press statement or in response
to inquiries.

NUMBER OF PAGES, EXCLUDING COVER SHEET 1

March 22, 1990

For approximately the last six months, I have been Chairman of the Arts Endowment. Many of the complaints which are currently being aired about "obscenity" with regard to Endowment funded art projects relate to actions taken prior to my appointment.

The record shows that I am personally and unequivocally opposed to government funding of obscenities. I will be diligent that obscenity will not be funded by the Endowment. As I stated yesterday in my testimony to Congress:

"I and the National Endowment for the Arts oppose obscenity unequivocally. It is the antithesis of art. It is without soul. It conveys no message. It degrades humanity, and it sickens me."

In my testimony yesterday, I outlined 14 steps which I have undertaken to strengthen the panel process so that the citizen-experts (some 800 of them each year who come to the Endowment to recommend grants) might have adequate guidance both on the law and their responsibilities as panelists.

I believe in a responsible Arts Endowment, which promotes only the finest art available in this country. It is inappropriate for Congress to micro-manage the Endowment through additional legislation. Rather, we at the Endowment must act responsibly and reflect the broad range of American cultures, expertise and viewpoints.

The difference between art and obscenity is clear to the observer. I know obscenity, and it will not be funded by taxpayer's money.

NATIONAL
ENDOWMENT
FOR
THE ARTS

WASHINGTON
D.C. 20506



A Federal agency advised by the
National Council on the Arts

March 14, 1990

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NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

NEWS



A Federal agency advised by the National Council on the Arts
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

For further information contact:
Katherine Christie/Virginia Falck
202/682-5440 tel.

For Immediate Release
March 22, 1990

National Endowment for the Arts Chairman John Frohnmayer today reiterated his and the Endowment's position on art versus obscenity. He stated:

"For approximately the last six months, I have been Chairman of the Arts Endowment. Many of the complaints which are currently being aired about 'obscenity' with regard to Endowment funded art projects relate to actions taken prior to my appointment. The record shows that I am personally and unequivocally opposed to government funding of obscenities. I will be diligent that obscenity will not be funded by the Endowment. As I stated yesterday in my testimony to Congress:

'I and the National Endowment for the Arts oppose obscenity unequivocally. It is the antithesis of art. It is without soul. It conveys no message. It degrades humanity, and it sickens me.'

"In my testimony yesterday, I outlined 14 steps which I have undertaken to strengthen the panel process so that the citizen-experts (some 800 of them each year who come to the Endowment to recommend grants) might have adequate guidance both on the law and their responsibilities as panelists.

"I believe in a responsible Arts Endowment, which promotes only the finest art available in this country. I believe it is inappropriate for Congress to micro-manage the Endowment through additional legislation. Rather, we at the Endowment must act responsibly and reflect the broad range of American cultures, expertise and viewpoints.

"Art and obscenity are opposites. Obscenity will not be funded with taxpayers' money."

March 22, 1990

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The difference between art and obscenity is clear to the observer. I know obscenity, and it will not be funded by taxpayer's money.

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National Endowment for the Arts



FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

TO:

Name Andy Card
FAX Telephone Number 456-2397

WHITE HOUSE
456-2397
Company or Organization

FROM:

Name John Frohnmaier
Telephone Number 682-5413

CHAIR
Program/Office/Division
(202) 682-5798

RE:

As discussed

This facsimile transmission is 5 pages in length, INCLUDING this page. If you do not receive all pages or otherwise need this message to be retransmitted, please contact _____ at _____.

NATIONAL
ENDOWMENT
FOR
THE ARTS

WASHINGTON
D.C. 20506



A Federal agency advised by the
National Council on the Arts

DRAFT

3/22/90

I have been Chairman of the Arts Endowment for approximately six months. Many of the complaints which we continue to hear about "obscenity" are items which have already happened or which were already in the pipeline before I came. About those, I can do nothing.

I do, however, understand the definition of obscenity as articulated by the Supreme Court, and as I testified to Congress yesterday:

"I and the National Endowment for the Arts oppose obscenity unequivocally. It is the antithesis of art. It is without soul. It conveys no message. It degrades humanity, and it sickens me."

In my testimony yesterday [copy enclosed?] I outlined 14 steps which I have undertaken to strengthen the panel process so that the citizen-experts (some 800 of them each year who come to the Endowment to recommend grants) might have adequate guidance both on the law and their responsibilities as panelists. I truly believe that the answer to running a responsible Arts Endowment, which promotes only the finest art available in this country, is not for Congress to add legislation and micro-manage. It is for our process to be responsible and to reflect the broad range of American cultures, expertise and viewpoints.

Andy -

Let me know if this
is what you
need.

I want to
state emphatically
that I do oppose personally will
be vigilant that obscene art will not be
funded by the NEA. He stated yesterday

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

NEA FUNDS SAN FRANCISCO S&M SHOW

"A PERFORMANCE NOT FOR THE FAINT-HEARTED"

Dear Colleague:

If you thought Annie Sprinkle was bad, you ain't seen nothing yet.

The NEA recently funded an S&M (that's sado-masochism for all you non-artists out there) show in San Francisco called

(3)

"Modern Primitives: An exhibition and series of live events on contemporary body modification," at Southern Exposure in San Francisco.

What an exhibition!

Southern Exposure described one portion of the show as "A presentation of literary sources in S&M culture; extolling 'the illuminative benefits of radical body modification': wounding and cuttings by women as a healthy response for a sick society; body modification and erotic practices by non-Western civilizations."

The flyer advertising the event described a second portion of the show as follows: "Video artist/photographer Sheree Rose combines slides of tattooing, piercing and scarification with a provocative bondage & discipline bloodletting ritual."

Another portion of the show featured her videos of "genital-piercing," and the final performance, entitled "NAILED! A performance not for the faint-hearted," concluded with, according to Southern Exposure's bill of fare, "an emotionally charged presentation of his [artist Bob F.] ingenious autocrotic scaffold."

It is utter madness that your constituents and mine are forced to pay for such things through their taxes. "Modern Primitives" was part of a series of events supported by a \$5,000 grant from the NEA to Southern Exposure/Project Artaud. Rather than decrying NEA's support for "Modern Primitives" and promising not to let such things happen in the future, NEA Chairman John Frohnmayer merely said, "It is conceivable that some of FY 89 funds were used in support of the exhibit as grants in this category support an entire year of visual arts programming."

The NEA was created to foster the arts in America, but it has become a sort of welfare program for artists that can't seem to get their work supported by private sources. In fact, John Frohnmayer recently said federal funding for the arts was important because it helped "provide a catalyst for salaries to allow local arts leaders to be paid."

Congress is struggling to come up with funds for pre-natal care for poor women and Head Start programs for our children, yet we are using tax dollars to fund S&M shows. In order to prevent this in the future, Congress must either 1) get the federal government out of the arts; or 2) establish basic standards for the use of tax dollars. If the Federal Communications Commission can determine what is obscene and indecent, the NEA can as well.

Novelist John Updike, when he received his National Medal of Art from President Bush, commented, "Whenever the American government starts to subsidize the arts, I think you're in trouble. I'm not sure the entire disappearance of the NEA would be a terrible thing." Now that's something to consider.

Sincerely,

Dana Rohrabacher

Dana Rohrabacher
Member of Congress

National Endowment for the Arts



FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

TO:

Andy Cord
Name
456-2397
FAX Telephone Number

White House
Company or Organization

FROM:

Beth Storer
Name
682-5414
Telephone Number

Chairman's office
Program/Office/Division

RE: "Dear Colleague" Letters + responses

This facsimile transmission is 17 pages in length, INCLUDING this page. If you do not receive all pages or otherwise need this message to be retransmitted, please contact

Ron at 682-5414

1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC. FAX telephone: (202) 682-5798.

NATIONAL
ENDOWMENT
FOR
THE ARTS

WASHINGTON
D.C. 20506



A Federal agency advised by the
National Council on the Arts

March 22, 1990

The Hon. Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Andy:

I enclose the three "Dear Colleague" letters of Congressman Rohrabacher along with the Endowment's response in each case. I have labeled them 1, 2 and 3 since they are undated.

The first accuses us of funding Annie Sprinkle. We did not, and as you can see from the press release of February 6, 1990, we promptly said that if it were as described in the media, it would not have been funded by the Endowment. Rohrabacher, in the third to last paragraph, says that I defended the grant. That is categorically false, and he knows it because I talked to him for approximately 45 minutes on February 2, 1990 in which I told him that we did not fund that grant and I did not support it in any way, shape or form. At the end of that conversation, Dana told me that he would check with my office to verify his facts before sending any subsequent "Dear Colleague" letters. He has not done so.

The second "Dear Colleague" has to do with a show by David Wojnarowicz. I have already corresponded with the President on this show. We did fund it. It is extremely abrasive, and some of the images and writing are disgusting. I waded into this thicket in the Artists Space dispute in November and, since it is a 1989 grant, determined I was on extremely tenuous grounds both legally and artistically. The compromise there was to not fund the catalogue. As I told the President, the solution is to take this material into account in the next funding application, not to try to do something retroactively.

The third "Dear Colleague" is again erroneous since we did not fund the show of which he accuses us. Our memorandum of March 16, 1990 which has gone to Congress explains this.

Page Two

I don't think Dana is doing himself any good in terms of his credibility with Congress, and he is certainly making it difficult for me to get this agency organized and running responsibly. Any assistance you can give would be most appreciated.

Sincerely,



John E. Frohnmayer
Chairman

Enclosures

JEF/kd

LANA MOHRBACHER
470 O-STREET, CALIFORNIA

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

FEB 6 1990

"Usually I get paid a lot of money for this, but tonight it's government funded!"

**Annie Sprinkle: "Post Porn Modernist" and Tax Dollar
Recipient, after experiencing orgasm on stage**

**THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS
IS AT IT AGAIN!**

Dear Colleague:

Does the following performance sound like an appropriate use of tax dollars to you?

Star of 150 explicit, XXX-rated videos, Annie Sprinkle takes to the stage and...

- * Masturbates with various "sex toys" until she experiences orgasm.
- * Performs oral sex with rubber penises, inviting the audience to massage her breasts.
- * To conclude her performance, she opens her vaginal canal with a gynecological tool known as a speculum and invites audience members to the stage to inspect her.

Okay, now, hold onto your hats...and your wallet. Annie Sprinkle's titillating masterpiece received your constituents' tax dollars, in the following manner:

The New York Council for the Arts receives \$500,000 in unrestricted funds from the National Endowment for the Arts every year. In turn, the Council chose to spend \$25,000 on a performance series at the Kitchen Theatre in New York.

"Annie Sprinkle: Post Porn Modernist" was performed twelve times during that series.

A "Post Porn Modernist Manifesto," printed in the show's program, is written by "artists" who "celebrate sex as the nourishing life giving force....We embrace our genitals as part, not separate, from our spirits....We utilize sexually explicit words, pictures and performances to communicate our ideas and emotions."

Unfortunately, they are also utilizing taxpayer dollars.

Once again, of course, NEA backers are calling opponents of the Annie Sprinkle Show "censors," because we don't believe that Annie has a First Amendment right to taxpayers' dollars.

The executive director of The Kitchen, Bobbi Tsumagari, defended the "artistic quality" of Sprinkle's performance, defining the show as "a critical look at Sprinkle's personal experiences dealing with some of the most important issues of our time...."

Mr. John Frohnmyer, the Chairman of the NEA, defended the grant, saying, "The point is we are not the moral arbiter of this country. We're not going to run around and respond just because something happened somewhere that someone didn't like."

Let's remind Mr. Frohnmyer he is dealing with taxpayer funds and is accountable for how they are spent, just like every other head of every other federal agency.

If the NEA can't hold itself responsible to the U.S. taxpayer, it's our job to make them responsible.

Sincerely,



Dana Rohrabacher
Member of Congress

NATIONAL
ENDOWMENT
FOR
THE ARTS

WASHINGTON
D.C. 20506



A Federal agency advised by the
National Council on the Arts

March 15, 1990

Dear Representative:

Thank you for contacting the National Endowment for the Arts to express your deep concern regarding the performance of Annie Sprinkle last January at The Kitchen in New York City. I, too, oppose pornography - unequivocally.

The National Endowment for the Arts DID NOT fund the Annie Sprinkle performance. Had the Annie Sprinkle program been presented to our panels or to myself, it would not have been funded -- based on its description in the media.

The National Endowment for the Arts did provide a seasonal support grant to The Kitchen in 1989. These grants are awarded to organizations based on applications which provide as much detail regarding possible upcoming presentations as is available at the time of the application review. As I stated, had information on this performance been presented as part of the application, the performance would not have been funded.

The New York State Council on the Arts (NYSCA) receives a block grant from the Arts Endowment as required by law. The Council uses its entire Basic State Grant (currently \$549,000) for support of administrative costs of the Council. Consequently, federal funds provided to NYSCA would not have gone to the Kitchen nor any other subgrantee. NYSCA has clearly stated that it did not support the Annie Sprinkle performance with either federal or state funds. The Kitchen, itself, has said the same thing.

A provision included in the FY 90 Appropriations legislation for the Endowment states that "none of the funds authorized....may be used to promote, disseminate, or produce materials which, in the judgment of the National Endowment for the Arts or the National Endowment for the Humanities, may be considered obscene, including but not limited to, depictions of sadomasochism, homo-eroticism, the sexual exploitation of children, individuals engaged in sex acts and which, when taken as a whole, do not have serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value."

Under procedures developed by the Endowment to implement this legislation, every grantee is notified of this directive for all grants to be awarded with FY 90 funds.

I trust this information will clarify the matter of funding for the Kitchen. I reiterate that federal funding was not provided for the performance of Annie Sprinkle.

Sincerely,



John E. Frohnmayer
Chairman

JEF/MK/ss

New York State
Council on the Arts

875 Broadway
New York, NY 10010
212-614-2900

ANNIE SPRINKLE

The New York State Council on the Arts provided funding to the Kitchen to help support 32 of 36 planned performances. The Council purposely did not fund the full series because it believed that the Annie Sprinkle presentation was not of an artistic quality to warrant Council support.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

NEWS



A Federal agency advised by the National Council on the Arts
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

STATEMENT BY JOHN FROHNMAYER,
CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS
-TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1990

In FY 89, the Kitchen received a seasonal support grant of \$60,000 from the Endowment. Their application did not request support for any activity involving Annie Sprinkle, nor was the Endowment asked to examine, review or approve an application for this performance. Furthermore, the New York State Council on the Arts has stated that neither Endowment state block grant funds nor its own funds went to support this presentation.

If the performance by Ms. Sprinkle was accurately described in recent media reports, then it is something that would not have been funded by the Endowment.

TRANSMITTED FROM
DANA ROHRBACHER
43rd DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

02.20.90 16:05 P.01 *

Congress of the United States

THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

IS AT IT AGAIN! AGAIN!

February 20, 1990

Dear Colleague:

O.K., it's time for our NEA decency quiz.

Which of the following "pieces of art" belong in a show subsidized with your constituents' tax dollars?

- A) A depiction of Jesus Christ shooting heroin
- B) Explicit photographs of homosexual, anal intercourse
- C) Explicit photographs of homosexual, oral sodomy
- D) A painting of the Christ child holding an automatic pistol



ANSWER: None of the above, whether considered "art" or not, should receive federal tax dollars.

Does it surprise you to learn that all these images and more are on display -- today until March 4 -- at Illinois State University, courtesy of a \$15,000 direct grant by the National Endowment for the Arts?

It shouldn't. The NEA continues to thumb its nose at the American taxpayer and at Congress.

Does it surprise you to learn that this NEA-sponsored exhibit even includes some works which were denied funding by the NEA only last November -- after the battle over the Helms amendment to set standards on NEA grants?

It shouldn't. The NEA since last year has not gotten better, but worse. Asked if he could explain why things deemed inappropriate for funding two months ago are now being underwritten by the agency, Josh Dare, spokesman for the NEA said, "Chairman Frohnmayer has declined to comment on that. I don't know why. We've gotten several calls about it but he's decided not to stir the pot."

The show is called, "David Wojnarowicz, Tongues of Flame," an orgy of degenerate depravity. The art is sickeningly violent, sexually explicit, homoerotic, anti-religious and nihilistic.

There are also those who will say it is evocative, challenging, pained and insightful art -- who knows?

**ASK YOUR CONTITUENTS HOW PLEASED THEY ARE
TO BE PAYING FOR THIS "ART"**

Sincerely,

Dan Rostenkowski

In a multi arena format, video work by LA artist Sheree Rose featuring genital piercing and excerpts of the video-in-progress "MODERN PRIMITIVES," directed by Leslie Gladsjo will be presented. A highlight of the evening will be a tattoo fashion show featuring tribal designs.

PANEL: "PHYSICAL ILLUMINATIONS"
A presentation of literary sources in S&M culture; extolling "the illuminative benefits of radical body modification"; woundings and cuttings by women as a healthy response to a sick society; body modification and erotic practices by non-Western civilizations. Moderated by Andrea Juno and V. Vale.

MODERN PRIMITIVES

FRI OCT 27, 8:00 PM \$4

An Evening with

DON ED HARDY

The Thinking Man's Tattooist

Don Ed Hardy, master tattooist and tattoo historian, is the founder of *Tattootime Magazine*. He is credited with the elevation of tattooing to a recognized and accepted artform. In a presentation including superlative slides of rare and extraordinary tattoos, Hardy will present ideas about tattooing in history, culture and modern life.



FRI NOV 3, 8:00 PM \$4

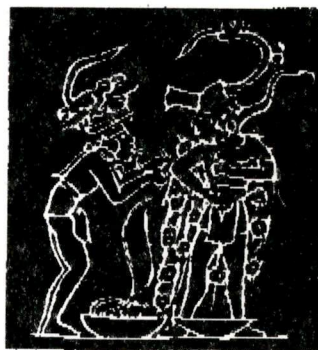
BEAUTY AND BLOOD:

MAYAN SACRIFICE,

BLOOD-LETTING

AND BODY MODIFICATION

San Francisco State University Professor, Archeologist and author Karen Bruhns is a noted contributor to the field of Central and South American Pre-Columbian scholarship. In a lively presentation, highlighted by blood curdling slides, Bruhns will relate ancient Mayan practices to contemporary perceptions of beauty and modern day modification: liposuction, tummy tucks and facelifts.



FRI NOV 10, 8:00 PM \$

NAILED!

A performance

Not for the faint-hearted

Video artist/photographer Sh Rose combines slides of tattoo piercing and scarification with a provocative bondage & discipline bloodletting ritual. Joining her is Bob F., a poet and comedian. Throughout demonstrations of a startling graphic nature, he infuses his comedic and poetic skills, culminating in an emotionally charged presentation of his incredible autocratic scaffold.

SOUTHERN EXPOSURE

401 ALABAMA STREET • SAN FRANCISCO • (415) 863-2141

Southern Exposure is sponsored in part by grants from the California Arts Council, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Project Artaud Corporation, the San Francisco Foundation, the San Francisco Hotel Tax Fund, the Voluntary Arts Contribution fund, and the Zellerbach Family Fund.

This show was originally organized by the Center On Contemporary Art (COCA), Seattle, WA. Major funding was provided by the National Endowment for the Arts, Art Matters, Inc., and Allied Arts of Seattle.

Southern Exposure is a member of NAAO, the National Association of Artists' Organizations.

MEMBERSHIP PITCH: THE FALL MEMBERSHIP DRIVE IS ON!

For as little as fifteen dollars you can join Southern Exposure's growing membership. Your vital contribution helps support our adventurous programming and the dynamic participating visual artists, designers, performers and lecturers. For additional information, contact us at 863-2141.

MEMBERS PRICES FOR MODERN PRIMITIVES EVENTS: \$1 LESS THAN LISTED.

03.12.90 15:04 P.01

TRANSMITTED FROM

P.14/17

MAR-22-90 THU 15:56

Sheer honesty works in 'Tongues of Flame'

By SPENCER SAUTER
Special to The Pantagraph

But will it play in Normal?

Surprisingly, the current retrospective of David Wojnarowicz's work at the Illinois State University Galleries, titled "Tongues of Flame," seems less a violent visual and verbal manifesto politicizing AIDS, more an impassioned plea, an emotional outpouring asking for us to see and hear a vision of the world, to embrace a loss, to examine mortality.

To convey his perceptions, to help quantify and clarify his world for us, Wojnarowicz has created a massive personal visual vocabulary. Scattered among the sixty-five works presented here (sculptures, paintings, collage, photographs created from 1978-1989) are representations of animals (fire ants, sharks, bulls, frogs, monkeys, snakes), guns, ships, trains, airplanes, parachutes, sailors, maps, tornadoes, sex acts, the White House, bridges, antiquarian statuary, syringes, skulls, fire, money, broken watches, globes, babies, tadpoles, blood cells, and archangels — all of which become the symbols that represent his vision.

Visually factoring the world to its ultimate demise in the works, these symbols appear harsh, uncompromising.

In an extraordinary creative outburst from 1987 are four large works, using brightly colored acrylics, ink, and mixed media on wood and masonite, representing the four elements, "Water," "Earth," "Wind," and "Fire." Here the artist confidently assembles most of his symbolic vocabulary to create a cohesive, apocalyptic vision. Unpredictably, the tone of these works seems to develop an underlying invitation that begs for

REVIEW

Title: Tongues of Flame
Gallery: Illinois State University Galleries, 438-5467
Dates: Jan. 23 through March 4

a kinder, gentler, more understanding world.

Possibly more evocative than his visual works are the writings of Wojnarowicz. Whether printed on his artwork (as in the extraordinarily moving "Untitled (Hujar death"-1988-89) or in his heart rending "Living Close to the Knives" (a chapter from "self-portrait in 23 Rounds: A psychic Walkabout), and even in his interview with gallery director Barry Blinderman, we become privy to the sensuality, the poetry, and the passions of this man. We witness the death of his lover, feel the pain of his loss, examine the sources of his rage against society.

Unfortunately, at times the pieces seem a bit philosophically fuzzy (a philosopher would probably have a field day dissecting Wojnarowicz's case for a "pre-invented world") but on an emotional, intuitive, artistic level the works are convincing, moving.

This show deals with the harsh realities of this artist's and our world. It will probably not be pleasing to some viewers. But it is highly recommended, if, for nothing else, its honesty.

ART / Larry Shiner

An angry beauty

David Wojnarowicz:
Tongues of Flame
University Galleries
Illinois State University:
Bloomington
(Through March 4)

A set of biting images and an impassioned catalogue essay that set off a national controversy have come to central Illinois. "Tongues of Flame" is the first comprehensive exhibition of the brilliant, angry, and compelling work of a young New York artist who year by year has seen his friends die of AIDS and now has the disease himself. It was Wojnarowicz' essay in the catalogue of the "Against our Vanishing" exhibit in New York last December led National Endowment for the Arts Director John Frohnmayer to withdraw federal funds. The offending essay, "Post Cards from America: X-Rays from Hell," is reprinted in Barry Blinderman's fine catalogue for this exhibit. The catalogue is itself a work of art, containing color reproductions of most of Wojnarowicz' paintings and sculptures, five essays by the artist, an interview, and discussions by three critics.

Some of the critical essays indulge in rhetorical overkill, but Wojnarowicz' multi-faceted artwork is so direct, passionate, and overflowing with imagery and energy that the enthusiasm of critics is understandable. He moves with ease from painting to sculpture to collage to photography to video, showing a remarkable facility in each medium or combination. But it is the content of his works that is most compelling. A few works are specifically about AIDS, a larger number are about the experience of being gay, but most deal with more general questions of values—materialism, violence, environmental degradation, the loss of spirituality. Yet Wojnarowicz seldom comes across as a preacher; he expresses his social and spiritual concerns through imagery that sets viewers into their own reverie.

His paintings are large, brilliantly colored and figural, often employing collages of newspapers, maps, money, and other popular imagery. The figures and the pure colors often remind one of Pop Art



Untitled, black and white photograph by David Wojnarowicz, from the exhibit "Tongues of Flame", now on display at the University Galleries at Illinois State University.

except that they are usually mar-shalled with surrealistic distortion and juxtaposition and with none of the playfulness we associate with Pop.

The visual appeal of Wojnarowicz' work is especially apparent in some of his sculptures. One of particular notice is a big shark that hangs from the ceiling, its body made up of maps of the world. In another part of the gallery stands *Burning Child*, the figure of a running child whose skin is also formed of maps but with wings of red and yellow flames sprouting from its arms and legs.

For all his anger and determination to unashamedly express his homosexuality, only a small number of Wojnarowicz' images are sexually explicit and these are usually integrated in the framework of some larger piece. Thus, in the series of four large paintings called *Earth, Air, Water, Fire*, two small male figures at one side of *Air* touch each other, and in *Water* there are two small scenes of sexual activity among the twenty-seven miniature pictures with the picture. The most directly sexual work is a set of eight photographs called *Sex Series*, but even here the direct comment

on sexuality is handled rather subtly. Each photograph is a negative print of a familiar object or scene, a ship, a house, an old airplane, a train, but in the upper corner of each there is a small circular inset depicting various sexual activities. One of the things that makes Wojnarowicz' work interesting is that he never seems to provoke gratuitously. Under the pressure of his anger and the threat of death, he doesn't waste our time trying to be clever or shocking.

It is, of course, the deadly pressure of AIDS that gives such urgency and poignancy to his work. It comes through especially clearly in the last room of the exhibit, which contains another series of large photographs and a video monitor on which the visitor can see on request one of several video tapes about AIDS, including one recently made by Wojnarowicz himself. The photographs around the room are constructs or montages and include a close-up of a crucifix with large ants crawling over it (*Spirituality*), a nude male torso also with enlarged ants (*Desire*), a pistol lying on the ground surrounded by ants (*Violence*), etc. But it is Wojnarowicz' video called *Silence-Death* that is

most moving and I would suggest it as the place to end your visit. He narrates a skillful montage of images and real footage, including the death of his lover Peter Hujar, reads an impassioned statement of his feelings about AIDS, and ends the tape with a woman chanting a refrain about the "unclean" as surreal images of death masks, Judas money, sawn up lips, pass before us. I suspect that the same painting, collage, sculpture, and photographic techniques that Wojnarowicz uses would not move me in the hands of many other artists—it would be just one more hip young talent trying to be heard above the noise of 10,000 other aspiring leaders of the avant-garde. But coming from the edge of death, Wojnarowicz speaks with an intensity and directness that cuts straight through the art world's preoccupation with status and stardom. It is a tribute to the judgment of the University Galleries at Illinois State that they had the courage and vision to bring an exhibition of such power and current importance to central Illinois.

RE SEARCH

CONTEMPORARY BODY MODIFICATION

curated by Andrea Juno and V. Vale of RE/SEARCH PUBLICATION
featuring the photography of Bobby Neel Adams

FRI. OCT. 20 — THURS. NOV. 16, Gallery Hours: Wed—Sun 2:00-6:00 p



FRI OCT 20, 7:00 PM \$4
OPENING NIGHT: TATTOO
FASHION SHOW AND
PIERCING VIDEOS

SAT OCT 21, 8:00 PM \$5

KATHY ACKER, author
FAKIR MUSAFAR, modern primitive
THYRZA GOODEVE, feminist theorist
LUIS KEMNITZER, urban anthropologist
DANIEL "LUCAS" LUCAS





3/16/90

National Endowment for the Arts Fact Sheet
on
Southern Exposure/"Modern Primitives" Exhibition

- o The Arts Endowment did not fund any part of the events in San Francisco described by Congressman Rohrabacher in his March 12 "Dear Colleague." The local sponsor of the events, Southern Exposure (a gallery in San Francisco) has already issued a statement indicating that these events were funded entirely by the local patrons who paid to attend.

These locally-funded events were planned and presented by Southern Exposure to coincide with an exhibition, "Modern Primitives," which also took place in San Francisco last year with no support from the Endowment.

The gallery received \$5,000 from the Endowment in Fiscal 1989, but none of those funds went toward anything named or described by the Congressman.

- o The sentence by Endowment Chairman John Frohnmayer quoted by Congressman Rohrabacher in his March 12 "Dear Colleague" announcement was apparently taken from a December 8, 1989 letter from Chairman Frohnmayer to Senator Jesse Helms in response to a series of questions from the Senator. Mr. Frohnmayer's response stated that it was "conceivable" that part of the Endowment's grant might have supported the exhibition (not the local events). Subsequently, however, Southern Exposure clarified that this was not the case.
- o While the events described by the Congressman were developed locally in San Francisco, the exhibition with which they were presented was brought to San Francisco from the Center on Contemporary Art in Seattle, where the exhibition had already been shown, with funding by Allied Arts of Seattle, other local patrons, and a portion of the \$17,500 grant provided by the Arts Endowment to the Center in Fiscal 1989 for an entire year of programming, of which this exhibition was one part.

When the exhibition was presented in Seattle, it was not accompanied by any of the San Francisco events described by Congressman Rohrabacher.

- o In sum, the Arts Endowment gave \$5,000 to Southern Exposure in Fiscal 1989. None of it was used for material described by Congressman Rohrabacher.

The Arts Endowment gave \$17,500 to the Center on Contemporary Art in Seattle in Fiscal 1989, a portion of which was used for the exhibition, "Modern Primitives." None of the events described by Congressman Rohrabacher was part of that exhibition.

- o Congressman Rohrabacher also states that Arts Endowment Chairman John Frohnmayer "recently said federal funding for the arts was important because it helped 'provide a catalyst for salaries to allow local arts leaders to be paid.'" The Chairman made this comment in Idaho and was specifically addressing an endowment program a few years back that helped develop local arts agencies. There was a decreasing match of funds for 3 years after which the established agencies funded their own administrator. This program was a remarkable success in John Frohnmayer's home state of Oregon.

NATIONAL
ENDOWMENT
FOR
THE ARTS

WASHINGTON
D.C. 20506



A Federal agency advised by the
National Council on the Arts

March 19, 1990

Dear Member of Congress:

Thank you for contacting the National Endowment for the Arts to express your concern about the Tongues of Flame exhibit at the University Galleries of Illinois State University.

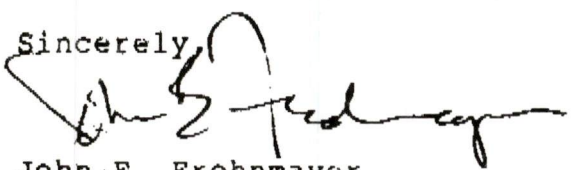
In Fiscal 1989, the National Endowment for the Arts gave a \$15,000 matching grant under the Museum Program's Special Exhibitions category to University Galleries at Illinois State University to support an exhibition and accompanying catalogue of the work of contemporary artist David Wojnarowicz. (A private foundation matched the Endowment funding.)

The exhibition comprises works in various media, including painting, sculpture, video, film, collage, and prose. Wojnarowicz's work addresses social and sexual taboos. This comprehensive exhibition was to include works created by Mr. Wojnarowicz from 1980 to 1989. The exhibition opened January 23 and closed March 4.

Attached to this letter, you will find two reviews about this exhibition which we hope you will find of interest.

Again, thank you for your inquiry and for your interest in the Arts Endowment.

Sincerely,



John E. Frohnmayer
Chairman

Enclosures

JEF/MK/ebd



CLARK UNIVERSITY

950 Main Street Worcester Massachusetts 01610-1477

Daniel Greenwood
President, Campus Republicans
Clark University
(508) 752-6450

Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff
White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. Card

The Clark University Campus Republicans, in concert with the Republican organizations of Holy Cross and Assumption, would be honored to host you as a speaker. We invite you because of your experience in Massachusetts and your intimate knowledge of national issues.

In this election year, the young Republicans will be a vital force in the resurgence of two party government in Massachusetts, and we hope you will share with us some of your insights into the process and politics of emerging victorious.

The evenings of April 4, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, and 28 are reserved for your favorable response. Please do not hesitate to suggest another more convenient date. We look forward with great anticipation to your reply.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Dan Greenwood", with a large, stylized loop at the end.

Daniel Greenwood
President, Campus Republicans

DG/dg