

next closest thing. If, after I'm gone, my wife has to shut us down, what will they do? Maybe it's not something you can measure in dollars and cents, but they've got a stake in this company, too.

At our store, we see plenty of people in the same situation. Farming is a high-investment, low-margin business. It's not uncommon to meet farmers who are paper millionaires—asset rich, cash poor. That may be hard for the rest of America to imagine; then again, maybe not. Think of all the retirees who own homes on either coast, bought 30 years ago for \$30,000 but worth \$350,000 today. I'll bet they don't feel "rich" either—at least until they sell their home and see that capital gains tax bill.

When my time comes, I'd like my son to be thinking about whether it's right for him to run the family business, not whether he's ready to saddle himself with a lien against the paper value of the business to pay the inflated estate tax—or whether he's calculated how many employees he'd have to let go to clear the bill with the IRS.

The best solution would be to exempt the hundreds of thousands of small family businesses across this country from the estate tax altogether. Congress and the president could haggle over how small is small, but the principle would be carried into policy. If the political climate isn't right for a complete exemption, then President Clinton ought to adopt the proposals Congress has built into its budget plan: Raise the federal tax exemption for family-owned business assets to \$1.5 million, institute a \$750,000 personal exemption and cut the tax rate for qualified small businesses in half for assets between \$1.5 and \$5 million.

President Clinton calls the tax reforms Congress is backing "tax cuts for the rich," and says he's holding out for cuts that help American families. Nice rhetoric. If he's serious, he'll take a second look and support the tax reforms in Congress' plan. If the small family businesses of America don't get some relief, federal taxes may just be the death of us yet.

#### A FURTHER STEP TOWARD LASTING PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, yesterday, British Prime Minister Major and Irish Prime Minister Bruton took a significant step toward breaking the deadlock that had beset the Northern Ireland peace talks for the last several months. The two governments agreed to establish an international commission headed by former Senator George Mitchell which will make recommendations regarding decommissioning and to work to hold all party talks by the end of February 1996. Their announcement, on the eve of President Clinton's visit, revives the twin-track approach to achieving a lasting peace in Northern Ireland. This is good news indeed.

Both Prime Minister Major and Prime Minister Bruton deserve a great deal of credit for moving the process along. The challenge now is to bring the various parties on board. All parties must recognize that it is in their interest to move forward. The situation in Northern Ireland today is completely different than it was just 16 months ago—prior to the cease-fire. There are, for example, fewer British soldiers occupying the streets of Bel-

fast; no longer do Protestant and Catholic mothers have to worry that their sons and daughters will be struck down by terrorist violence; and both communities in Northern Ireland are beginning to focus their efforts on economic development rather than continued conflict.

I am certain that President Clinton will reinforce this message—that the momentum needs to continue—during his visits to London, Belfast, Derry, and Dublin. The Clinton administration's unfailing support for the peace process has been a significant factor in getting us to this point. I am hopeful that his visit will contribute to the momentum.

Finally, from a personal standpoint, I am particularly pleased that George Mitchell will head the international commission on the decommissioning question. I have a great deal of regard and respect for Senator Mitchell, and believe that he will bring a great deal of wisdom and creativity to this position. I can think of no better person for this important post.

#### THE IMPACT OF DESIGN ON COMMUNITY AND PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I rise today to note the extraordinary impact of design on community and product development. Many years ago I helped establish an Institute of Research and Design in Rhode Island. But to my regret, I was not able to get it properly launched. The organization was intended to help my State take advantage of the enormous economic benefits of new designs created by our citizens. Design impacts our economy, environment, education and social sphere. It is a strategic national resource with potential to improve the global competitiveness of U.S. products. Design is a tool to analyze problems, develop critical thinking and communicate solutions. It offers numerous opportunities for creative partnerships with government, manufacturing and technology industries, social and community planners, scientists and educators. As the following speech documents, all of us make design decisions in nearly every life activity.

Because of the presence of the internationally-acclaimed Rhode Island School of Design [RISD], Rhode Island attracts a large number of people to the State to discuss design issues. Last March, RISD hosted a National Design Conference, sponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts, that explored the main challenges for design in the coming century and ways in which design strategy can be better employed to increase American economic competitiveness. In mid-November, the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies held its annual meeting in Providence where the professional and volunteer leadership of the Nation's State and jurisdictional arts agencies discussed the

challenges of leadership in the changing environment of public support for the arts. NASAA devoted the better part of a day to discussions of design programming, and featured Roger Mandle, president of the Rhode Island School of Design since 1993, as a keynote speaker.

An art historian, educator and current member of the National Council on the Arts who served as deputy director at the National Gallery of Art for 5 years following 11 years as director of the Toledo Museum of Art, President Mandle possesses a comprehensive perspective of the societal importance of arts and design. Rhode Island and the Nation as a whole have benefitted enormously from his work. Mr. President, I would ask unanimous consent that this important address delivered by Roger Mandle be printed in the RECORD following my statement.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### DESIGNING TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE FUTURE

(By Roger Mandle)

Thank you for being here today. It is more important than ever that we come together through gatherings such as this to plan the future of design in America, to in fact design the progress of our culture and our society. I am convinced that issues of design hold the key to the future, which isn't surprising, perhaps, considering my current role.

What I am going to talk about today is the importance of design in terms of community development and economic impact, and the potential of design for meeting the needs of the future. By "design," I am referring here to both the noun and the verb. When I refer to the noun—the art of design and the discipline of design—I am thinking of good design, design that is appropriate, well thought-out and aesthetically pleasing. When we think of the verb "design," we think of the creative process, the act of conception and invention. Today, I want to talk about how both aspects of design—the practice and its outcome—play a pivotal role in the world in which we live.

Practically everything we do in life—as individuals and as communities—involves a design decision. Whether consciously or not, we solve problems and make choices by following the design process, using creativity, experimentation, intuition and thought to come up with the ideal solution to the challenges we're confronted with on a daily basis.

As individuals we design everything from our careers to our homes, our dream vacations, even our own look. The process involves: examining the circumstances, defining the problem, considering the resources, trying certain arrangements, establishing probabilities and testing outcomes. In many ways, it is similar to the process a research scientist follows in testing a theory.

In making these day-to-day design decisions, however, we don't just want our homes or clothes to look good, we also need them to be comfortable and functional. Good design is the effective use of available resources in patterns, combinations and arrangements that provide pleasing solutions to needs. Good design makes the things you use everyday work better for you. It also makes good business sense, because products that are well-designed sell better.

To most of us in this room it's clear that art and design are essential to the health of

our communities not only from aesthetic, philosophical, psychological and emotional vantage points, but due to sheer economics. As communities, corporations and countries have become ever more multinational in scope, they have come to recognize that to remain competitive in the world marketplace, they must rely on strong design.

Here at RISD we've noticed in the past five years that increasingly more business leaders and heads of state and local governments are awakening to the fact that design matters, that it, in fact, is among the most important components of community and product development.

On a national level, the importance of innovation in design is now recognized through the annual Presidential Design Awards. It is also recognized through such critical conferences as this and the one the NEA is planning for this winter, with RISD as a major sponsor and organizer.

Internationally, there are lessons to be learned from countries such as Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Germany and Switzerland—to name but a few—where good design is a way of life. I recently returned from a trip to Korea, where art and design have long been valued not only for contributing to culture but for strengthening the economy as well.

At RISD and the country's other leading art and design colleges, the correlation between good design and a strong economy is underscored through a wide range of industry- and community-related projects. U.S. News & World Report's annual guide to the best colleges in the country, which was released earlier this fall, points out that contrary to popular perception, an education in the arts and design to no longer destined to lead to a life as a starving artist precisely because of this correlation. "Reality and art education may sound like contradictory notions," the article suggests, "but they are quietly merging at the nation's leading colleges of art and design." (I am happy to add that in this same issue of U.S. News & World Report RISD was evaluated as the top visual arts college in the country.)

Projects that connect students with the real world and have a tangible economic impact not only provide them with practical skills for future employment, but serve industry by providing research and development services at a minimal cost. Corporations currently working with art and design colleges throughout the country have tapped into the creative energy and talent on these campuses to research and develop a wide range of products.

In addition, municipalities turn to institutions such as RISD for a range of design services, including help in planning basic infrastructure needs. For instance, RISD runs a Road and Land Institute that brings engineers, landscape architects, city planners and others together to discuss the aesthetic as well as practical needs of new and expanding roads.

Art and design schools also offer the commercial sector access to creative think tanks where students and faculty can actually develop such innovations as the ideal "Universal Kitchen" for the 21st century, an example of a current collaboration between RISD and Frigidaire. RISD students have been working with MBA candidates from Harvard and MIT to design, develop and market innovative products of the future, many of which have formed the seeds of successful new businesses.

While RISD has been collaborating with Nissan, the Art Center College of Design in California is renowned as a training ground for the world's leading auto designers and in return, enjoys support from General Motors and other industry leaders. By the same token, nearly every animated film since the

1980s has been produced by alumni of California Institute of the Arts, founded in the '60s by Walt Disney and his brother Roy. Thanks to industry support for CalArts, the college has in essence returned the investment by educating the creative talents behind every recent Disney blockbuster, from *The Little Mermaid* and *Aladdin*, to *The Lion King* and *Pocahontas*.

Art and design colleges also offer ideal settings for partnerships with the business world such as one RISD is undertaking with a local business school, Bryant College. Together, we are creating a Center for Design and Business as a joint venture with regional companies. The Center will offer a wide range of educational programs and services to help artists and designers develop competitive business skills. It will also promote design excellence in all areas of business and foster innovative product development. Through the Center, we will help local companies to translate ideas, technologies and resources into viable commercial products and will also stimulate the region's economy and create new jobs.

All of these examples emphasize the importance of design education to the future of our economy and the well-being of our communities. Unless we offer design students a solid foundation in the economic, political, social and historic forces that shape our society, however, they have little understanding of the contexts in which they're expected to find innovative solutions. Before we can acknowledge them as some of society's best thinkers—the people we turn to for answers and breakthroughs—designers need to be educated to be socially responsible citizens of the world who are equipped to grapple with and solve problems of our own making.

We have been polluting the world with noxious fumes, poisonous words and violent acts for too long. Technology may bring us closer to these problems, promising to help us figure out solutions to them, yet it creates a more complicated network of issues to confront than before. The principles of good design can offer us a way out of this maze of self-destruction. But how?

Recently, entrepreneur and visionary Paul Hawken spoke to the RISD community about the importance of design to the future of our economy and the environment. Hawken's message, which some of you may be familiar with through his books *The Ecology of Commerce*, *Growing a Business* and *The Next Economy*, is essentially this:

"If every company on the planet were to adopt the best environmental practices of the 'leading' companies—say, the Body Shop, Patagonia, or 3M—the world would still be moving toward sure degradation and collapse. So if a tiny fraction of the world's most intelligent managers cannot model a sustainable world, then environmentalism, as currently practiced by business today, laudable as it may be, is only a part of an overall solution. Rather than a management problem, we have a design problem, a flaw that runs through all business."

Hawken goes on to point out that: "Just as every act in an industrial society leads to environmental degradation, regardless of intention, we must design a system where the opposite is true, where doing good is like falling off a log, where the natural, everyday acts of work and life accumulate into a better world as a matter of course, not a matter of conscious altruism."

As a society, it's essential that we rectify this most fundamental of all design problems if we're to ensure our existence into the next century and beyond. Together, we need to use our heads—our collective creativity—to puzzle our way out of societal dilemmas and to design a sustainable future. Hawken proposes redesigning the manufacturing process

along with the product so that the durability and recyclability of the end product and its by-products are accounted for at the beginning of the process. Here, more than ever, design matters.

By definition the arts and design are problem-solving pursuits capable of proposing answers to some of our most gnawing human dilemmas. In our communities, issues of design aid in rethinking public housing, strip malls and the layout of neighborhoods, and in creating optimal functionality in our classrooms, hospitals, libraries and parks. In education, the arts help build understanding across disciplines, create passion for learning, heighten the sensibilities of students, and give them tangible evidence of their progress.

Design, which by its nature requires exploration and experimentation, helps foster an open mind. It also fosters a mode of thinking that sounds very simple but eludes many of us: it enables people to think visually—to think creatively—and solve problems with speed and clarity.

At colleges of art and design around the world, we teach our students to see things others don't, enabling them to find solutions, alternatives and opportunities other people might overlook. If a manufacturer turns to RISD, for instance—as they frequently do—and asks for help in designing a better toaster, we might in fact design an economical, ecologically sound toaster that looks better than any you've ever seen. But we're also just as likely to interpret the request as an invitation to come up with a better way to make toast instead.

Young artists and designers use their unique ability to see and to think creatively to launch an astounding array of new businesses, capitalizing on their rigorous but flexible education to pursue careers that are deeply satisfying. As a result, you'll find graduates of these schools doing everything from creating magnificent public sculpture and making feature films, to designing software, weaving fabric from recycled plastic and inventing better bicycles.

People educated at art and design schools teach some of the most innovative classes in our nation's public schools, art direct some of the catchiest commercials on television, and produce some of the most popular music in the country. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the education tends to be flexible enough to allow others to go on to become successful doctors, lawyers, politicians, and nationally acclaimed restaurateurs.

"So what?" you may ask. Well, all of this activity—the result of artistic energy and talent—demonstrates that design is, in fact, integral to our lives, that design matters.

Paul Hawken urges us to find new ways to design business so that we effectively use natural resources in a sustaining, non-destructive manner. Stephen Sterling has shown us that our values relating to the use of our natural resources are based on the Western linear view of history and causation, which amplifies the idea of limitless maximization. Bigger must be better, regardless of whether it requires the use of more and more resources, further degrading our environment. Our approach to production has been literal; it now must be poetic. We must find solutions that are metaphors from continuity and for survival, that enable us to treat life as a cycle—as a spiral in which growth is controlled by intelligent use and replacement of resources. Here again, innovative design is the answer.

As we all recognize, the social and cultural problems facing America's cities and towns today are significant. At a time when our society promises so much material wealth, few are able to benefit from it; the great irony in this land of plenty is that so little is available to those who need it most. Now that

Congress is proposing to eat away at the limited programs we do have, what will we design to replace them?

In a world so rich in resources, logic dictates that the most basic life sustaining options should be available to those who so desperately need them. In this context, of what value are design and the arts?

Maslow's hierarchy of needs places the arts and education at the top of the ladder, with food, shelter, and the more "basic" necessities at the bottom. But as a society we are just now beginning to recognize that the effective delivery of reasonable services and products to those with few means can be achieved through good design.

Right now a small team of RISD students, faculty and alumni are working to develop portable, low-cost housing for the world's refugee population in conjunction with the UN High Commission for Refugees and the Red Cross.

RISD is also working with Habitat for Humanity to develop new designs for affordable housing, and designers in a number of our urban centers are creating low-cost shelters for the homeless. In addition, we are looking to designers to work with engineers in developing electric cars and other more energy-efficient forms of personal and mass transportation to replace outmoded gas guzzlers of the past.

In order to enable artists and designers to lead in their chosen fields, those of us charged with guiding the country's art and design institutions need to work with schools to recreate curricula, reallocate resources, and expand experiences for students that teach appreciation and respect for human creativity and invention as well for limited resources.

The future into which these students will be launched is already at hand in many respects. We know that it will be technology-driven for communications, visualization, and information. We know that resources will be ever more scarce, and the options for using them constrained by the long-term effects of manufacture. We know that our nation, indeed the world, is filled with the tensions of boundaries that are ever more sharply dividing people by color, language, religion, and region. We know that the need to create educated, creative, and tolerant citizens is even more important than at any other time in history—and that our nation's willingness to invest now in the education of these citizens of the future is still in question.

Why? Because art and design, by their very nature, represent change. They may help us adapt to change, to express that change and create chances for it, but to many people this is more threatening than comforting.

"The artist and society have a tentative relationship," says Jane Alexander, chairwoman of the National Endowment for the Arts. "The artist is often the sentinel on the precipice, heralding change as it peaks over the horizon. Artists challenge, ask difficult questions, and rattle our cages. They can make our skin itch, or souls bristle, and touch us to the heart's deep core."

What this conference aims to do and we need to do as a nation is to recognize the values and thought-systems inherent in design-related fields. We need to help our neighbors understand the vital importance of the arts and design in creating strategies to rebuild and enhance our communities.

When former Apple CEO John Sculley spoke at RISD's Commencement last June, he challenged our graduates to be either a mirror of society and reflect what's going on, giving their interpretation or perspective, or to be a lens that shows what can happen, what the possibilities are.

Throughout history, of course, artists and designers have held a mirror up to society,

producing work that chronicles where we are or suggests where we might go. Rosanne Somerson, head of RISD's new Furniture Design Department, reminded me of the other day that furniture, like clothing, speaks volumes about a society at any given point in history. When else but during the Sixties, for instance, would we have invented the bean bag chair and mini skirts? Next fall, to illustrate the symbiosis between design and society, RISD's Museum will host the first of a two-part exhibition on Dress, Art & Society, curated by Lorraine Howes, head of our Apparel Design Department.

Design and the manufacture of products not only captures the pulse-beat of society at any given time, but sends important signals about what we value. Urban planning also affects our lives, creating social strategies out of our living spaces.

Who had ever even heard of workstations a mere 10 years ago or considered the concept of phone books, encyclopedias or the entire collection of our National Gallery on CD? More importantly, how would any of these innovations have been developed without the critical input of designers?

What we are witnessing in the latter years of this century is the pivotal turning point when technology is being handed by the engineers who created it to us to use. It's artists and designers, however, who will help us make the most of it. Designers are creating the visual language of software, influencing not only what we see on screen, but how we explore and process information. Here again, as Sculley points out, it is not the technology that is important, it is the consequences of the technology—how artists, designers and others make use of it.

One hundred and eighteen years ago RISD was founded by women with foresight and commitment to the improvement of society. These 19th-century visionaries realized that the arts and design are an essential ingredient in the vitality of a community, of an economy and of a nation.

And they weren't alone. An intelligent appreciation of art and design has always been part of the American democratic promise. Our Founding Fathers recognized this and upheld it.

"I must study politics and war," John Adams wrote to his wife Abigail, "that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study . . . navigation, commerce and agriculture in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, and architecture."

At times it is difficult to fathom that as a nation we seem to have strayed so far from the underlying sentiments that made this country strong. When our government spends less than 5/100ths of one percent of the national budget on all forms of cultural subsidies, how can Speaker Gingrich continue the pretense that the proposed elimination of federal funding for the arts has anything to do with the national deficit?

The politicians of the day somehow ignore the fact that art and design are serious business and that without a minimum federal investment as an incentive there will be a far smaller return. You have all heard the figures—that for every dollar of federal support, the NEA and NEH help leverage \$16 in private funding. Yet our Speaker of the House still fails to acknowledge that the not-for-profit arts—organizations such as the ones many of you in this room work with and support—employ 1.3 million people, generate \$37 billion a year in economic activity and most importantly for those concerned with the bottom line, return \$3.4 billion a year to the federal treasury through taxes. This return is 20 times the dwindling budget of the NEA.

During its 30-year history, the overwhelming majority of NEA grants have supported

projects that include such laudable design innovations as architect Bill Warner's plan for the Providence river front. If you haven't already had an opportunity, while you're here you should take a walk along the completed portion at the foot of the hill, just south of the train station. It was thanks to a small NEA grant that Warner originally proposed a major waterfront revitalization project in the city that is having enormous repercussions for business, industry and the state's economy. For Rhode Island, the vision of this one designer has definitely made a difference.

"Great artists and designers have always been discriminating people," says painter Alfred DeCredico, a RISD graduate and one of our associate professors of Foundation Studies. "The life work of great artists and designers constitutes a commitment to humanity and to what they believe is true. What is often perceived as arrogance and an insistence on control is in reality an adherence to an ethical stance," DeCredico goes on to point out.

This ethical stance can help illuminate and define the progress artists, designers, art educators and advocates make as a creative community. In a wider sense, the arts and design also help shape or mirror the values of society. In my view, artists and designers are central to each level of human existence, from the basic provision of food and shelter, to the sustenance of community, manufacturing and governance.

In conclusion, I want to reiterate that in this age of high-speed information and economic uncertainty, the need to recognize the value of good design has taken on great urgency. Either by plan or default, we are designing how we wish to be remembered as a society.

To maximize the potential impact of good design on solving the challenges facing our communities, designers need to be adequately educated, properly nurtured and competitively compensated. In short, they need to be recognized as invaluable contributors to the future health and well-being of society. Once that happens, the possibilities will be staggering.

#### CHINA'S ARREST OF DISSIDENT WEI JINGSHENG

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, last week, while the world's attention was focused on new hopes for peace in Bosnia, the Chinese Government formally arrested and charged its most famous dissident with sedition. Wei Jingsheng, who has been imprisoned without charge for the last 20 months, is known as the father of China's still-fragile democracy movement. Wei's formal arrest signals a renewed hardline approach on the part of the Chinese leadership to internal criticism of the Government.

The timing of Wei's arrest is telling. It comes alongside China's push for entry into the World Trade Organization as a developing economy. The United States, joined by the European Union, Japan, and Canada, insists that China has a strong exporting economy that can meet the open-trade standards demanded of other member economies. China continues to reject this standard and argues that it is being excluded from the organization and isolated by the United States and the West.

I strongly believe that we need to engage China and my reading of current