

# NATIONAL CONSTITUTION CENTER

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## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE DEPARTMENT OF THE  
INTERIOR AND RELATED AGENCIES

AND THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN  
SERVICES, AND EDUCATION, AND  
RELATED AGENCIES

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED FIFTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

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### SPECIAL HEARINGS

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MARCH 9, 1998—PHILADELPHIA, PA  
SEPTEMBER 2, 1998—WASHINGTON, DC

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## NATIONAL CONSTITUTION CENTER

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MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1998

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND RELATED AGENCIES,  
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,  
*Philadelphia, PA.*

The subcommittee met at 9 a.m., in Carpenters Hall, Philadelphia, PA, Hon. Slade Gorton (chairman) presiding.  
Present: Senators Gorton, Stevens, and Domenici.  
Also present: Senators Specter and Santorum.

### NONDEPARTMENTAL WITNESSES

STATEMENT OF EDWARD G. RENDELL, MAYOR, CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, PA

#### OPENING REMARKS OF SENATOR STEVENS

Senator STEVENS. Let me call the hearing to order, please. It is a great pleasure to be here today in this very historic building, and we are grateful to the Carpenter's Co., of Philadelphia. I am told that they offered this facility to the First Continental Congress; and we appreciate the continued hospitality of the Carpenter's Co., today and also the city of Philadelphia, Mayor Rendell and his lovely wife Midge last night having a chance to visit.

I want to thank the mayor and Senators Specter and Santorum for the hospitality they have shown me and other members of the committee and the interesting discussions we have had so far. We have gone over the development plan for the Constitution Center, and we have allocated some time here this morning—I do not know how long the rain's going to hold off. We appreciate everything you have done to arrange this meeting. I think it is very important the subject we are discussing.

I served on the Commission on the Constitution with a former Chief Justice, and I do believe that celebrating the Constitution and helping to educate our children is one of the tasks that we should undertake, educating them concerning the Constitution and the meaning of the Constitution. And it is really of great importance to our lives as Americans.

Now, we have this morning a period of time which we have allocated to be here. We must return to Washington slightly after noon. We have set some time limits here on you gentlemen and the statements you want to make, but let me just put it very plainly, Mr. Mayor: We are going to leave right after noon. You use the

time however you want. Now, if you want to take the full 2 hours to talk to us right now, you can go right ahead and do that.

We would like to have a chance to walk down the mall, and we will not melt if it is raining. We will be happy to take a walk in the rain, but I want you to know that I am the chairman of the full committee. But under the circumstances since Senator Gorton is chairman of the subcommittee that has jurisdiction over this matter and if you want to get the money, you have got to talk to him. [Laughter.]

We allocate money—the chairmen do—among the subcommittees; but after Senator Gorton gets the money, he makes the recommendations to the committee as to how the money is to be spent. And normally, normally, the subcommittee chairmen are like cardinals. The only difference is I am not the Pope, and I cannot change that very easily.

So let me do this, let me welcome our colleagues from Pennsylvania who are with us here today, Senator Specter and Senator Santorum. Senator Domenici who is the chairman of the budget committee; and if you read the morning paper, you know he has got to get back today, too, because he is going to markup his bill this week. But I leave it to Senator Gorton to chair the full hearing today. Thank you very much.

#### OPENING REMARKS OF SENATOR SLADE GORTON

Senator GORTON [presiding]. I thank Senator Stevens for that, and I really appreciate the welcome that we have received here, Mr. Mayor, from you and from members of your staff and from the two extremely persistent U.S. Senators from the State of Pennsylvania. And the fact that three others of us are here today is a tribute to them.

For me, it is a wonderful experience. One of my most favorite books in my library is Katherine Drinker Bowen's "Miracle in Philadelphia." I went out for my morning run and did the mall and was thrilled by what I saw. The idea that we should have a memorial, a physical memorial, in place in which to celebrate the Constitution of the United States, I believe is thoughtful and brilliant and extremely valuable.

Where we come up with the money, of course, is another question. Senator Stevens has described the way in which we operate, and my subcommittee—we get a certain number of dollars for a wide range of functions. To the best of my memory, the total amount we get each year for capital investments is a little bit over \$100 million for the entire United States and the whole Park Service.

But last summer Senator Santorum talked me into an extra \$1 million or so for a refurbishment at Gettysburg here in your State. So we are here to come listen to the case that you have to make to see whether or not we can come up with an imaginative way in which to help you in what I consider to be a wonderful project. The question being, how we can come up with money to pay for it.

And with that, of course, your own Senator Specter is also a chairman of an even larger subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee. And we should probably hear from the two Senators

from Pennsylvania, but maybe we will let them go last and hear next from Senator Domenici.

OPENING REMARKS OF SENATOR PETE DOMENICI

Senator DOMENICI. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Mayor, I want you to also know that in addition to being budget chairman I am on the Interior Subcommittee. So if you all were watching the Senate floor during the past week and saw Senator Specter and I talking on the floor, and Senator Santorum and I, you might wonder in what deep thoughts we were involved. Actually, they were there to lobby me all week long to make sure I came here. [Laughter.]

On Friday, I finally decided that I could get away; and I am very pleased to be here. It has been a pleasure meeting you, Mr. Mayor, and seeing just a little bit of a side of you that makes you a great mayor. It has been a pleasure being with you, and to meet your wife last night was a distinct pleasure.

Mr. Torsella, it was good to be with you. When you told me what your title was, I almost asked you how old you were.

Mr. TORSELLA. I am 60; I am just very healthy.

Senator DOMENICI. You do look very young for such a formidable job, but I have no doubt that you are going to succeed. I did want to put a plug in for way out West since frequently in the East all you easterners think the only American history is back here. We are celebrating the 400th anniversary in my State of the arrival of the Hispanics setting up a capitol for Spain in America in my State. So we have a little bit of another side of history.

Let me say from the standpoint of an American and a U.S. Senator wherever you are from, New Mexico, Alaska, or New Jersey, it is obvious that the Constitution is something very sacred to us all. To the extent that you are proposing to do more by way of getting Americans to recognize this fantastic part of our heritage, I commend you; and I hope your plans for doing this in a more formidable way than in the past are achieved.

Whether we will be able to be a full partner immediately, we will wait and see; but obviously, it is good that we are here. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

OPENING REMARKS OF SENATOR ARLEN SPECTER

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I thank Senator Stevens, and Senator Gorton, and Senator Domenici for coming to Philadelphia today. Senator Santorum and I take great pleasure and pride in having this Appropriations Committee hearing on location. I believe that it is unprecedented to have the full Appropriations Committee meet in a field hearing of this sort. At least, none has occurred during my tenure in the Senate.

I believe that this is a very important matter to be heard by the committee. The Constitution Center, I believe, will have, could have, important aspects for the country as a whole. I think part of what the Constitution Center will be directing its efforts toward is not only of the buildings here in Philadelphia, but active programming to educate Americans across the land as to what the Constitution means.

We come upon it every day. Right now there is a fixed debate in the Congress about the President's authority as Commander in Chief versus the constitutional authority of the Congress to declare war as we take a look at the Iraqi issues. We have just finished after years of efforts to pass legislation on a line-item veto, but that is now in the hands of the Supreme Court as to whether it squares with the Constitution.

Yesterday I was asked a question which is on most people's minds: What does it take to impeach a President? I started to refer to the Constitution, and I was interrupted by the questioner. They did not want to hear anything about the Constitution. I said, well, the Constitution is where you start. It is high crimes and misdemeanors. People do not realize that the Constitution has great force and bearing on virtually everything that happens in America.

As the Supreme Court has interpreted the Constitution in so many 5 to 4 decisions, the document becomes even more important. We know the statistics that school children and high school children or students and Americans generally do not know the Constitution. So I think that this could be a great learning experience for America if handled properly.

The sum of money is difficult, but I know that Senator Gorton, and Senator Stevens, and Senator Domenici, and the rest of the committee, and the Congress will give a very careful thought; and if possible, it will be done. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Senator GORTON. Senator Santorum.

#### OPENING REMARKS OF SENATOR RICK SANTORUM

Senator SANTORUM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I, too, want to join my colleague Senator Specter in thanking all of you for taking time to come up to Philadelphia. We have had a good time here learning more about this, and you are going to learn a lot more information today.

The mayor has done a great job, and I want to congratulate him and all of his people for putting together a very impressive gathering. The mayor has done great work in moving the National Constitution Center to this point. The center is close now, I believe, to a reality. I am very hopeful, like Senator Specter, that the committee can be as helpful as possible.

Just two comments, this country learns, No. 1, more and more—particularly children, from real life interaction. The abstract is ever more difficult in a concrete age that we have today. It is very difficult for children to learn, and the more we can give them to get their arms around, the better understanding they will have. This is one reason, I believe, this center is so important.

The other reason the center is important is because symbols are important. Whether it is the symbol of Independence Hall or whether it is the symbol of the Lincoln Memorial, the Capitol, or the Statue of Liberty, they all burn in us some sense of what the concepts of liberty and freedom mean.

I really believe that having a physical place where people can experience the Constitution will be very important to the psyche of America. It will burn in those responsibilities and rights that we have within the Constitution. I am hopeful that we can do that today. We have a group of students from Horace Furnace High

School here in Philadelphia. Two classes. One that studied the Constitution. One that studied the appropriations process. Bless your heart for that. [Laughter.]

But for them, it is an abstract concept. Having something physical they can interact with, will be very important for their learning experience. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Senator GORTON. With that, we do have a statement here from the National Park Service that will be included in the record. [The statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

The National Park Service [NPS] appreciates the opportunity to provide the following statement regarding the National Constitution Center [NCC].

The NPS entered into a cooperative agreement with the NCC on May 11, 1990, pursuant to the authority contained in Public Law 100-433, the (Constitution Heritage Act of 1988. Under the terms of that agreement, the NPS has provided annual statutory aid to the NCC as appropriated by Congress for operating expenses to support the Fusion of the NCC as stated in the act. The NPS has included the NCC in its final General Management Plan (approved 4/97) for Independence National Historic Park and the Independence Mall Master Plan. The plan calls for the placement of the NCC structure on the Third Block of the Mall.

In fiscal year 1999, the NPS is requesting a statutory aid increase of \$264,000 above the fiscal year 1998 level of \$236,000 for a total of \$500,000. The increase in funding is specifically provided to support planning involved in the development of a new structure. The NPS welcomes the NCC within the boundaries of Independence National Historic Park, and supports both the construction of an appropriately sized facility and the creation of a center with programs that complement the interpretive activity already provided by the NPS at Independence NHP.

Furthermore, the NPS supports the continuation of statutory aid to the NCC for its operating expenses, and we are hopeful that their capital campaign will achieve the goal of funding a structure which is compatible with its purpose. The fiscal year 1999 budget does not include funding for construction. We understand that the Administration is willing to explore options for appropriate federal contributions if agreement can be reached on a suitable project scope and cost sharing arrangement during the planning process.

The Independence NHP as well as most other parks in the system have extensive unmet construction needs involving deferred maintenance, rehabilitation, replacement and resource preservation. Addressing these needs must take precedence over this major new development project.

In summary, we look forward to continuing our partnership with the NCC as it evolves, and working with the NCC to achieve its aims as embodied in the act. We support their efforts to raise private funding for their structure.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD G. RENDELL

Senator GORTON. We will now start with the mayor's presentation. Mr. Mayor, thank you again for your hospitality, and we are at your disposal.

Mr. RENDELL. Well, Senator, thank you very much. Again, our personal thanks to you and Senator Stevens and Senator Domenici for taking the time to come up here. As Senator Specter said, it is extraordinary to have a field hearing like this; and we thank you very much for that. We believe that this is an extraordinary subject, but we appreciate your taking the time to be with us.

We also deeply appreciate the work of our own two Senators, Senator Specter and Senator Santorum, who on this issue as on all issues have had a tremendous working relationship with not only myself as mayor, but with all of the people of Philadelphia in try-

ing to advance the things that will continue to make our city a great one. And we pride ourselves in being the most historic city in America, not withstanding the 400 years of civilization and government in New Mexico, probably without question more things of importance in the development of this country happened here in Philadelphia than anywhere else.

We pride ourselves in that, and it is a central part of what we do, but we appreciate all the things that the Senators, our own two Senators, have done to advance our cause in Washington. And as you know in 1988, this Congress and President Reagan passed legislation creating the National Constitution Center; and it gave us a mandate to promote the education of the Constitution among the American people, adults and children alike.

And in that mandate, there were two aspects of it. They asked us to continue—to begin immediately to programming that would, in fact, bring knowledge of the Constitution throughout the United States of America and at the same time plan for a museum on or near Independence National Historic Park to be dedicated to this great document, its interpretation and the education of people for the great document itself.

I think the first mission the National Constitution Center has done very well. Over the last decades, we have won awards for the program we have developed, radio shows, materials that we sent out throughout the country, and contests we have run to promulgate to interest in education in the Constitution. We maintain a library of lesson plans given to us by the Warren E. Burger repository, and those lesson plans are now available on our website and can be downloaded—over 800 lessons plans can be downloaded to teachers all over the United States of America. And many of those lesson plans are ingenious ways to make learning about the Constitution relevant to students in the 20th century and as we go into the 21st century.

We also run a program all across America during Constitution Week called “I Signed the Constitution” where people are asked to come in at libraries, schools, Government offices and sign copies of the Constitution, put their names next to Madison and Jefferson; and they get a pocket Constitution, one of which is included in the front of your book.

And we were able to find—even though the “I signed the Constitution” takes place in locations all over the 50 States, we asked people who were at our sites to send back in pictures or reports to us. And we just coincidentally have two from Washington, the State of Washington, from a librarian at the Jefferson County Library in Hadlock, WA, where 150 students signed the Constitution. They sent us in pictures, and we also have one from the Olympia Timberland Library where 250 individuals came in and signed the Constitution. And there is a great picture of a young person with the librarian signing the Constitution, and I would like to pass those up to Mr. Chairman, as well as an editorial in the Seattle Times talking about the very subject of the Constitution during the last Constitution Week and how it is important for all Americans from Maine to Alaska, from Washington to Florida, New Mexico also—important to all Americans that we learn more about the Constitution.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to pass those up and make them part of the record. And so I think we have done a great job in fulfilling our first mission. We have developed a website with the University of Pennsylvania, and you will hear more from its great president, Judith Rodin, who has led the university to become our academic partner.

And that website has generated a tremendous amount of interest, and we have done this over the last decade on a budget of slightly more than \$1 million of which \$230,000 comes to us from the Federal Government from your committee and the House committee and has to be matched. And, of course, it is matched; and on a budget of about \$1 million with no permanent home, we rent office space. We have tried to carry out our mission throughout the length and breadth of this country.

But unfortunately, we are simply not reaching enough people. That is something we suspected; and this past year as part of Constitution Week and the Constitution Week we have honored people who have advanced the cause of the Constitution and have been great heroes in the name of the Constitution. Two years ago, we honored Senator Byrd and Senator Hatfield here in Philadelphia; and this year as part of Constitution Week, we commissioned a poll to find out if we really were reaching Americans or there was this gap that we thought there might exist.

In fact, the poll results were both very discouraging on the one hand and very encouraging on the other hand. They were discouraging because as we suspected Americans have a basic lack of knowledge about the Constitution. Some of that lack is shocking. One-half of our citizenry do not know the number of U.S. Senators that sit in Washington. Only 6 percent of our citizens can name the four basic freedoms guaranteed by the first amendment. One out of three Americans do not know how many branches there are of the Federal Government, and two out of three Americans cannot name those three branches. Thirty-five percent of Americans believe that the Constitution establishes English as the official language of this country.

And I could go on and on with examples that are discouraging, but there is good news in the same poll. And the good news is: Despite this lack of knowledge, 91 percent of the American public believes that the Constitution is important to them; and 84 percent believe even if they do not know about the Constitution believe for the Constitution to be successful, to have its maximum impact, it is important that the American people know and understand the basic tenets of the Constitution.

And this poll convinced me more than ever that we needed a building that was a center for interpretation that could be visited by families where children could have a great time and at the same time absorb learning in an interactive type way, a center which would be a place, an academic place, where debate about the Constitution, reflection on the Constitution, study and work about the Constitution could take place. Do you know it is ironic that perhaps the greatest document ever created by man and womankind in the history of this planet has no museum dedicated to it? In the United States of America, we have museums dedicated to the peanut, to pound cake, to gourds, to insects, to NASCAR racing, and to Bar-

bara Streisand; and yet, we do not have a museum anywhere in the length and breadth of America dedicated to the most important document in this country's history and maybe respectfully in the history of the world.

So I believe it is important, and I believe it can fill the need. Last night in our informal session, there was some question—no question about the need, question about even this type of great institution, whether it could accomplish the goal of educating Americans more about the Constitution. Now, I believe the answer to that is yes, not all Americans. We do not delude ourselves. But we believe that in a decade 15 million people will visit this new center, and we believe that they will absorb. We believe many of the young people will be inspired, and we believe this will fill a desperate need.

When I got home last night, I looked for a letter that I had received recently from a schoolteacher in New York, Larchmont, NY; and it was sent to me on February 25, probably received a few days later. And I will not read the whole letter, but she tells me that they are going to be in Philadelphia, her class of 25 students, and would I have time to see them; the class has studied the Constitutional Convention and even dramatized our version of the events; so the events of 1789 are well known to them; in addition, we have just completed a simulation of hypothetical contemporary first amendment rights case in which the class assumes role of attorneys and Supreme Court Justices.

I would submit, Senator, we may not be able to reach the entire American population; but if we reached 25 kids like this and we produced a Supreme Court Justice or a Senator or a great teacher because of what they experienced here and because of the emotions that could be rekindled at a museum like this, then I would submit that it is well worth the money that we are asking you to appropriate and that we must raise ourselves.

And with your support, we can build this center. The center will cost \$130 million. We are asking over the next 3 years that the Federal Government approve one-half of that in a matching grant, money only to be spent if we can come up with the other 65. I am certain that we can. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has put in its capital redevelopment assistance budget \$30 million for this purpose, and I believe we can raise the remaining \$35 million both locally and nationally across the length breadth of this country. We understand, obviously, the priorities as a mayor of a city who inherited a \$1.5 billion potential deficit, I understand that we have to make choices. There is no question about that.

And I understand how legitimate the demands were. I have to say no to more money for libraries, more money for parks, more money for recreation centers, more money for after school programs. I have to say no in my first couple of years if we were ever going to put ourselves in a position to grow and develop and to have a tax base broad enough to support that type of spending; and fortunately, for us, we have gotten there.

But the spending that we are asking from the Federal Government, although significant in dollars, is, I think, less—I think in context it is less than it might seem. You have before you what we call the Independence Mall, a very key part of Independence Na-

tional Historic Park. And you will see that there our basically three blocks to the mall starting on Chestnut Street where Independence Hall faces out and faces north.

That three block area was part of a general management plan that the Park Service has been studying for several years. It is in that GMP that the Constitution Center got its location. Up until then, we did not have a location; but in the GMP, the Park Service with terrific leadership by Martha Aikens and Marie Rust gave us a location at the front part of the third block.

And the entire mall restoration is going to happen in phases. Phase 1 is underway, and that is for block 1 and block 2. And Jim Pickman, who is a consultant for the Pew Charitable Trust and the Gateway Visitor Center, he will walk you through this in his brief presentation so I am not going to belabor it. But phase 1 includes block 1 and block 2 where we will get a new building for the Liberty Bell, an interpretive center for the Liberty Bell, a total change in the landscaping. Block 2 we will create a wonderful new visitor center called a Gateway Visitor Center, also a change in the landscaping and the sculpting of the second block.

There must be renovations to the parking garage that is below the second block. All told, this is a \$65 million plus project. We have been able to do this project with only a request for \$3.5 million from the Federal Government. The rest of the money has been put in increments by the city of Philadelphia, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Pew Charitable Trust, Ambassador and Mrs. Annenberg, and the Philadelphia Parking Authority. That is a renovation of probably two of the most historic blocks in America for only \$3.5 million of Federal money.

And I do not believe, respectfully, that that occurs in national parks very often where the local government and the local charitable and business community has undertaken to put up 90 percent of the money. So in phase 2, we are asking for \$130 million to be spent, albeit \$65 million, half in Federal allocation; but the total Federal allocation for the revamping of these three historic blocks is less than one-third of the entire price. And that is something that we are proud of.

It is also true, as Senator Specter said last night, we are not asking for any continuing operating funds. So over a 10-year period, we hope—and we need to get this money in the next 3 years hopefully. But over a 10-year period your total spending for this project will be about \$68 million. If I can contrast to two very worthwhile projects—one extraordinarily worthwhile—the Holocaust Museum which over the first 10 years of its life span will cost the Federal Government \$333 million in operating costs and Steamtown USA in northeastern Pennsylvania which will cost the Federal Government some \$90 million in both capital and operating costs over 10 years.

The price for this crucially important, crucially important, project put in that context, I think, is a relatively modest one. And that does not in any way, shape, or form denigrate your difficult task in appropriating the limited sum of money, but I did want you to see our request in the perspective of other initiatives.

So it is our hope we can do this. It is our hope that we will break ground on Constitution Day in the year 2000; and that 2 years

later, people can stand in front of Independence Hall—and we are going to have the opportunity to start our tour hopefully from Independence Hall—look down the Mall where there is basically nothing other than a Liberty Bell Pavilion that is not what we would like it to be; and they will be able to look down two clear and beautiful blocks with the Liberty Bell arrayed in a wonderful glass pavilion to their left with the Gateway Center a block further arrayed to the left with sculptured gardens to the right and look down clearly to the end of the mall at the beginning of the third block and see the Constitution Center.

And when people come out of the Constitution Center, they will be able to look down; they will be able to look south and see the same vista but see a Independence Hall. So we will frame the most historic three blocks in America with the Independence Hall in the south end, and the Constitution Center in the north end.

We were discussing this in our informal meeting last night, in an age when we often dwell far too much on what divides us, I believe the Constitution Center will focus on what unites us. And that is a set of political beliefs, though often misunderstood and not practiced, that still command in America almost universal assent. When people try to assail something important in the Constitution, Americans whether they be liberal conservative, Democrat or Republican rally to the banner of the Constitution.

#### PREPARED STATEMENT

It is something that unites us in an age where we seem to in the spirit of partisanship tear at each other, and I think its importance cannot be overemphasized. And it was right here in this room when, as Chairman Stevens said, the First Continental Congress began the journey to make America into one nation over two centuries ago. I think nothing could be more appropriate than this committee meeting here in the same place to ensure that that great American journey continues successfully for centuries to come.

I thank you for coming to Philadelphia and thank you for your attention.

[The statement follows:]

#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF EDWARD G. RENDELL

Good morning, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for the opportunity to testify to this committee regarding the National Constitution Center located in the city that is both the birthplace of America and my home, Philadelphia. I especially want to thank you and the members of the committee for travelling here today to see, first-hand, our plans for what has rightly been called the most historic square mile in the United States. We are deeply grateful to all of you, and to your two colleagues and Pennsylvania's dedicated senators, Senator Specter and Senator Santorum, for their leadership on this issue, today and in the past.

The National Constitution Center (NCC) was established by the Constitution Heritage Act of 1988, passed by Congress and signed by President Ronald Reagan. In that Act, Congress created NCC as an independent, non-partisan, and non-profit organization and charged it with two goals: first, fostering increased awareness and understanding of the United States Constitution, and second, eventually building on or near Independence Mall a permanent facility dedicated to interpreting for visitors this great document and the system of government it created.

In the past 10 years, NCC has done an excellent job, with extremely limited resources, towards its first objective: education. We have developed award-winning radio programming, materials, and contests. We maintain a library of curricula and lesson plans on the Constitution, the Warren Burger Repository, which we make available free to teachers around the nation. Each September 17th, we commemo-

rate the anniversary of the signing of the Constitution with our trademark “I Signed the Constitution” program. Citizens literally sign a parchment replica of the Constitution, adding their name next to Madison’s or Washington’s, and receive in return educational materials which change each year. An estimated 1.5 million Americans have participated, and the program is held in all 50 states of the union, at schools, businesses, national parks, government offices, and hundreds of other sites. Each year, we distribute hundreds of thousands of pocket-sized copies of the Constitution. And last year, we opened an exciting website about the Constitution in conjunction with our partner, the University of Pennsylvania. This website received an extraordinary 200,000 “hits” in its first two weeks of operation. We do all of this on an annual budget of approximately \$1 million, supported in part by federal aid of approximately \$230,000 each year.

But we are simply not reaching enough Americans. Despite our best efforts, and the efforts of other dedicated groups and individuals, far too few Americans have even a basic working knowledge of the Constitution and its role in their everyday lives. And, as all of you know, the Constitution will not work by itself. The system it designs assumes an informed and involved citizenry. Today, we are in danger as never before of losing that invisible glue that holds the Constitution together.

Last September, NCC commissioned the first-ever comprehensive poll of Americans’ constitutional knowledge. The startling results demonstrate our appalling ignorance of how our government works:

- More than half of those polled DO NOT know the number of U.S. Senators;
- only 6 percent can name the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment and almost one-quarter cannot name a single first amendment right;
- 1 out of 6 believe that the Constitution establishes America as a Christian nation;
- 35 percent believe that the Constitution mandates English as the official language; and
- about 1 in 3 do not know the number of branches in the federal government and about 2 in 3 cannot name all three branches.

Overall, just 5 percent of all adults could correctly answer ten basic questions about the Constitution. If our poll had been a test, our nation would have received an “F.”

There was, however, some good news in the poll. While I was dismayed by our lack of knowledge, I was surprised and pleased by the poll’s findings on our reverence for the Constitution. Ninety-one per cent (91 percent) of Americans believe the Constitution is important to them. Eighty-four per cent (84 percent) believe that for a constitutional system to work they must be active and informed citizens. It is this paradox between knowledge and reverence which provides reason for great optimism. The picture that emerges from the NCC poll portrays us as a citizenry which knows little but is motivated to know much, much more.

These statistics are why the National Constitution Center has recently dedicated itself to the second goal contemplated in the 1988 legislation: building the first-ever museum dedicated to the document from which the soul of our government grew and flourished. And these statistics are why, just over a year ago, I accepted the position of Chairperson of NCC, even though I have never before or since taken a position outside of government during my term as Mayor. I believe that building this museum and reversing this tide of ignorance is absolutely critical to the health of our democracy.

It is astonishing that there is no museum devoted to this incredible document, probably the finest political creation of man and womankind. For two centuries, the Constitution has made the United States into the most successful democracy the world has ever seen. It has inspired, and been emulated by, hundreds of other nations, literally remaking the globe. But—even here in the city where it was born—the Constitution is homeless. As one commentator has written, “The United States has museums devoted to the appreciation of peanuts, cakes, gourds, NASCAR racing and Barbara Streisand, but it has none that concentrates on this supple framework for history’s most successful experiment in democracy.”

Today we are on the verge of righting this wrong, of at last realizing the dream you first laid out in the Constitution’s bicentennial. With your support, the Constitution Center can break ground on the first Constitution Day of our third millenium, September 17, in the year 2000. In recent months, there have been several important developments that have put this project on a fast track.

First, the National Park Service (NPS) included the Constitution Center in the final General Management Plan (GMP) for Independence National Historical Park (INHP). The GMP was developed through the visionary leadership of our local park officials, especially Superintendent Martha Aikens and Regional Director Marie Rust. As you will hear from the other witnesses, the GMP, finalized last summer,

outlines a comprehensive set of exciting projects planned for Independence Park, comprising the most significant changes to Independence Park in a generation. They include a new building and site for the Liberty Bell, a new Gateway Visitor Center, a new Constitution Center, new visitor amenity facilities, and a complete restructuring of the layout and landscape architecture for the Park. This restructuring will transform Independence Mall from a failed public space into a vibrant plaza which uniquely captures the spirit of the American experience. And the proposed Constitution Center—placed opposite Independence Hall as the northern anchor of the Park—will be central to this transformation. In calling for construction of the Constitution Center, the GMP recognizes, as Congress has, that the Constitution deserves a state-of-the-art interpretative facility at the place of its birth.

A second important development has been that we at NCC have sharpened our plans for such a center, and are ready to proceed. As you will hear, what we propose is vastly different from a typical museum. The Constitution Center will be an exciting, interactive, and even entertaining place. It will not just deal with the history of the Constitution, it will show visitors the document's contemporary relevance to their daily lives. And the Center will be one-half museum, accommodating an estimated 1 million visitors, and one-half center for study and debate, reaching many millions more. The total capital budget for the project will be \$130 million, which includes the costs of detailed planning and design, construction, contingency, and an endowment fund to defray admission pricing. As I mentioned, the Center will break ground on Constitution Day, 2000, and will open its doors to the public two years later.

Third, in the last year, we have developed partnerships to ensure that this venture is truly a collaboration between all levels of government, and with the private sector. In particular, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has made an impressive commitment to this project. Last October, through the leadership of Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge, the leaders of the Pennsylvania General Assembly and Senate, and Representative Robert Godshall, Chairman of the General Assembly's Tourism Committee, the Pennsylvania legislature authorized the spending of \$30 million toward the construction and development of the Constitution Center. Additionally, approximately one-half million dollars was appropriated to continue to expand programming currently offered by NCC. At the same time, we developed an exciting new partnership with the University of Pennsylvania to jointly develop Constitution-related programming now and for the Center. These are just two examples that illustrate how this project is becoming a true model of the type of public-private partnership which you and I, as elected officials, strive to create.

For all of these reasons, now is the moment to turn this dream we all share into a reality, and I am here today to ask this committee to do just that. As you know, the Administration has requested a funding increase in the statutory aid category for NCC. In fiscal year 1999, a request of \$500,000 has been proposed. While we appreciate the administration's support of NCC programming and recognition of the progress we have made toward building the Constitution Center, we are at a point in time when greater federal support is needed. We seek \$65 million in federal support over the next three fiscal years in order to complete the design and construction of the Constitution Center. This amount represents one-half of the total estimated project cost. The remainder will be raised from state and local governments, and private donations, and I am confident that we can raise the necessary amount. This project has already attracted extraordinary support—including the participation of Presidents Bush, Reagan, Carter and Ford, all of whom serve with their wives on our Honorary Board—and the momentum of our private fundraising will increase dramatically in response to a strong lead from Congress.

We ask that your committee support a fiscal year 1999 appropriation of \$20 million directed to the Constitution Center, with two future installments funding the balance. This funding would be used for a variety of activities including architectural costs, exhibit design, content development, construction and program management, museum consulting and project management at NCC.

I want to emphasize that the amount we are requesting, although one-half of the capital budget for the Constitution Center, represents an even lower percentage of the capital costs of all the improvements called for in the GMP. The combined cost of the other GMP projects I mentioned earlier is an additional \$75.6 million. So the total capital cost for all the improvements to Independence Mall, including the Constitution Center, is approximately \$205.6 million, and a \$65 million federal contribution to NCC would represent less than one-third of that amount.

This is an important point, since all of the other major capital projects—the Liberty Bell Pavilion, the Gateway Visitor Center, the parking garage—are being built with non-federal funds. As you will hear, of the total required, we have already raised \$58 million from non-federal sources—the City of Philadelphia, the Common-

wealth of Pennsylvania, and from generous private donors including the Pew Charitable Trusts and Ambassador and Mrs. Walter Annenberg—and these projects will begin construction shortly. (This \$58 million is in addition to the \$30 million authorized by the Commonwealth for the Constitution Center).

We in Philadelphia are proud of this tremendous accomplishment. We are turning to this committee only after exhausting other sources of support, and demonstrating to you the depth of our commitment to this project before we ask you to make yours. Independence Mall is perhaps the most historic few blocks in America. It is fitting that the rebirth of these precious sites will be a true and meaningful partnership between the federal government, state and local government, and the private sector.

I would like to clarify for the committee that the funding we seek for fiscal year 1999, 2000, and 2001 will be our full request for NCC. The fundraising plan for NCC has never envisioned the participation of the federal government in the continued operation and maintenance of the NCC after construction of the Constitution Center is completed. We expect that market demand, subscriptions, endowment income, and other non-federal fundraising mechanisms will serve as the source for operating and maintaining this great treasure.

Mr. Chairman, as an elected official I understand and appreciate the many difficult decisions you and your colleagues are asked to make on a daily basis. Like the City of Philadelphia, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and this country, this committee faces many challenges that need to be addressed, and will always have more needs than resources.

Nevertheless, I urge you to make the Constitution Center a priority project for this committee, for Congress, and for the nation. America and Americans deserve it and, in fact, require it, if the flame of freedom is to continue to burn bright. Only when Americans understand how their government works can they fully participate in its operations. As Judge Learned Hand wrote, "Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women: When it dies there, no Constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it."

In an age when we often dwell on what divides us, the Constitution Center will focus on what unites us: a set of political beliefs that, while often imperfectly understood and practiced, still command nearly universal assent. It was in this room, more than two centuries ago, that America began its journey toward becoming a single nation. What could be more appropriate than for this committee, meeting here, to ensure that journey continues successfully for centuries to come?

Thank you.

**STATEMENT OF JAMES PICKMAN, DEVELOPMENT MANAGER, GATEWAY VISITOR CENTER, PRESIDENT, GATEWAY VISITOR CENTER CORP.**

Senator GORTON. Mr. Pickman.

Mr. PICKMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Senators. My name is Jim Pickman. I am managing the development of the Gateway Visitor Center and am helping to coordinate with the National Park Service, the city, and the Commonwealth, and a range of private sector partners a first phase of redevelopment of Independence Mall.

I would like to make—before I stand up at the chart, I would like to make three points. The first is that the revitalization of Independence Mall is a spectacular undertaking, and I could not say it better than the mayor did. But when your visit is concluded this morning, I am confident that you will agree that this effort is a win-win for the American people, for the Federal Government, for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and the city of Philadelphia.

The second point that I wanted to make that the mayor did is leverage. On this first phase of Independence Mall, only \$3.5 million of \$65½ million is being requested from the Federal Government. That is almost an 18-to-1 ratio of non-Federal to Federal dollars, and I think that is just a sensational bang for the Federal dollars that are being requested.

The third point I wanted to make is one of partnership. Over the years, I have helped put together a number of partnerships involv-

ing the public and private sectors, but this effort involving three levels of government and a range of private sector participants is to me the quintessential true public/private partnership.

Just a little bit of background of Independence Mall. As the mayor said, it is three square blocks beginning just immediately out the doorstep of Independence Hall. It is 15½ acres, and the mall was created in the 1950's and 1960's when the State and city demolished over 140 buildings to create—which was thought to be an appropriate setting for Independence Hall in a vibrant public space.

As I know that you will see as we tour the mall that these aspirations have not been fulfilled. Independence Mall just is not working as it currently is. The pivotal second block is a virtual urban wasteland. The third block is lovely, parklike; but nobody uses it. And the first block has the Liberty Bell in a pavilion that nobody I know likes it; and if you stand on Market Street, it blocks your view of Independence Hall.

So when over 1.6 million people every year—and that number by the way is growing—come to visit the hallowed ground where our democracy was created, they encounter Independence Mall. At best, it is a lost opportunity; and at worst, it is an embarrassment. But that is changing, and I would like to just point out just briefly some of the things that are happening.

This is Independence Hall, and this is where the Liberty Bell Pavilion currently exists. That is going to come down; that is going to be demolished; and a brand new pavilion for the Liberty Bell is going to be created here; and it is going to have three parts. First, it is going to have a part where people who are waiting in line can line up in a covered area. Second, it will have an interpretive area where there will be exhibits and memorabilia and telling the story of the Liberty Bell. And third is a chamber for the Liberty Bell itself.

Right now, there is a compressed situation; and one is not able to have that kind of experience; and there is no place for visitors to wait in line. So that is all going to be done. Various walls and barriers will be taken down that now prevent people from in the city to easily access this block. And as the mayor said, it will be a complete relandscaping of that block.

On the second block over here across from Market Street will be the new Gateway Visitor Center, and I know I am a little biased here; but this is going to be the best visitor center in the country with friendly people, with informative visits and interactive technology. This visitor center is going to be a place that will inform. It will excite; and it will tell people about the wonders of the national historic park but also the surrounding historic district, the city, and the region.

So we are very pumped up about the visitor center. In addition, there is a parking garage underneath the second block, 650 spaces. All of that will be renovated, but this is not an ordinary parking garage—or it will not be because one whole mall is going to be created, be connected, to the new visitor center so that when someone gets out of their car; they can look and be part of the whole experience.

There will be murals and other exhibits, and then there will be a complete relandscaping with a cafe and various kiosks. Now, that from here on down is the first phase we are working on; and we have got of the \$65.5 million we have a little bit less than \$4 million; and we are confident that we are going to raise that from private donor sources.

There is just one more element on the second block, and that is an Independence Park Institute, and this is going to be developed and devoted primarily to school children and youngsters. It is going to be an educational facility so that when they come here to visit the park, there will be exhibits and classrooms geared specifically to them. That does not now exist.

And, of course, as the mayor pointed out right here on the third block is the capstone, the anchor of this entire effort. That would be the Constitution Center. Like I said, I think it is a spectacular project; and it is going to happen. Thank you.

Senator GORTON. What goes beyond that? What is the one the furthest to the right?

Mr. PICKMAN. This is a Park Service maintenance building.

Senator STEVENS. How about above that?

#### PREPARED STATEMENT

Mr. PICKMAN. This—let me just say that this plan for the third block is preliminary, but right now that is a gathering space in a parklike setting. For now, that is what is designated as—

Senator STEVENS. And is the whole mall part of the Independence Park? What are the outlines?

Mr. PICKMAN. The whole mall is part of the park, and then the park goes down. This way, in fact, we are right about here.

Senator GORTON. Thank you.

[The statement follows:]

#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAMES PICKMAN

Good morning, Mr. Chairman. I thank you for the opportunity to testify on the creation of a truly spectacular public space—the revitalization of Independence Mall. The mall, which forms a part of Independence National Historical Park, is the focal point for millions of visitors to the Philadelphia region, a unique and memorable entryway to our nation's birthplace. For almost three years—first as a consultant to The Pew Charitable Trusts and now as the president of the Gateway Visitor Center Corporation—I have been honored to work with the leadership of the National Park Service, the City of Philadelphia, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and numerous private sector partners to help transform ambitious aspirations for a rejuvenated mall into a tangible reality. And Mr. Chairman, we are well on our way.

#### BACKGROUND

Independence National Historical Park (INHP), the home of the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall, is one of this nation's (indeed the world's) most important historic and cultural assets. This jewel in our crown offers visitors a truly profound experience, as over one and one-half million people come to the bell each year and walk across Chestnut Street to learn about how the world's greatest living democracy was created at Independence Hall.

The birthplace of our nation at INHP sits at the threshold of the most historic square mile in America—a lively urban district with dozens of colonial buildings and other attractions, including Congress Hall, Carpenters' Hall—the site of this hearing, the United States Mint, the First and Second Banks of the United States, historic churches, the Betsy Ross House, Elfreth's Alley, the Atwater Kent, Maritime,

Afro-American and American-Jewish History Museums, colonial taverns and much more.

This vibrant historic district is further encircled by other destination points, including the new Convention Center, South Street, Chinatown, Old City, the Delaware riverfront, Avenue of the Arts and more. Additional treasures lie beyond these: the world class Museum of Art, the largest urban park in the country, the biggest concentration of public gardens and arboreta in North America, and so on. Just beyond the city limits there is the region's brand new Aquarium, Valley Forge National Historical Park, Longwood Gardens, Chadds Ford, Lehigh Valley, the Brandywine River and more.

Although Independence Park contains the most enduring of historical treasures, its existing visitor center is poorly located and is inadequate for accommodating and orienting significant numbers of people to the park and other city and regional attractions. There is clear consensus among the National Park Service, city and state officials, and other interested parties that a new visitor center needs to be constructed right on the mall—a location more accessible to the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall as well as to major travel arteries.

The mall itself, which consists of over 15 acres on three large blocks just north of Independence Hall, was created through the demolition of over 140 buildings by the city and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in the 1950's and 1960's. While intended as a vibrant, open urban space to accommodate a range of special events and festive (as well as contemplative) uses, the mall has fallen into serious disrepair in recent years. The pivotal middle block has become an urban wasteland, while the northernmost block, despite its restful park-like setting, is hardly ever used. And the first block is well regarded, but only in comparison to its two sister blocks. To compound the problem, the 650-space parking garage under the second block requires significant renovation.

Fortunately, the National Park Service has recently completed a comprehensive review of the future management and use of Independence Park. The resulting management plan, which received loud and clear public support, calls for a complete redoing of Independence Mall—a new and improved pavilion for the Liberty Bell; a new Gateway Visitor Center, which promises to be a magnificent orientation facility for the Park, the city, and the surrounding region; a renovated and enhanced underground parking garage; a new Independence Park Institute, an educational facility to serve primarily school children and senior citizens; and rejuvenation of the mall itself with a lovely outdoor cafe, kiosks, formal and informal seating areas and gathering spaces, and a park setting for viewing Independence Hall or simply playing and relaxing. And last, but certainly not least, is a new Constitution Center, the northern anchor directly across the mall from Independence Hall.

#### CURRENT STATUS

Through a planning process for the mall begun by Venturi, Scott Brown & Associates and continued by a multi-disciplinary team headed by the nationally renowned (and Philadelphia-based) landscape architect Laurie Olin, a spectacular vision for a revitalized mall has been articulated. A rendering of that plan is contained in your briefing packet. The entire planning process has been highly visible, generating significant media and widespread public attention. Suffice it to say, the Olin plan has been greeted enthusiastically by the design community and the general public.

To begin the revitalization effort, we have defined a first phase of work that would include most of block 2 and all of block 1. Its major components consist of the new complex for the Liberty Bell, the Gateway Visitor Center, a renovated and enhanced underground parking garage, an open air cafe, and complete re-landscaping. The latter includes pathways and arborways, formal and informal seating areas, new lighting, and tasteful and user friendly signage.

The total cost for the first phase is estimated at about \$65.6 million. Of this amount, we currently have \$61.8 million firmly committed or anticipated. Major funding partners to date include the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Annenberg Foundation, the city, and the commonwealth, which have each committed \$10 million; the Philadelphia Parking Authority, and several private foundations. The National Park Service is seeking \$3.5 million in the proposed fiscal year 1999 budget, which would bring the total to \$61.8 million. Requests are pending from private sector sources for the \$3.8 million balance.

With the bulk of the funding for phase one in place, planning and design work is moving forward, with construction on the parking garage slated to commence this summer and all other components to begin next year. Completion of this phase is targeted for late 2000.

Subsequent phases of work—which we expect will be launched imminently—include the Independence Park Institute which will complete the work on block 2, and the Constitution Center, the centerpiece of block 3 and the capstone for this wonderful public space.

Thank you.

**STATEMENT OF JOSEPH M. TORSELLA, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL CONSTITUTION CENTER**

Senator GORTON. Mr. Torsella.

Mr. TORSELLA. Good morning. Mr. Chairman, Senators, it is a great honor for me personally in representing the National Constitution Center to testify here today; and I thank you for that; and we thank you for the extraordinary step you've taken in coming to Philadelphia to hear more about this project.

You have heard from the mayor about why we believe we need a National Constitution Center, and you have heard from Jim Pickman about the overall context for the mall project. My job is to tell you a little bit more about the building itself, the National—the proposed Constitution Center. The main vehicle, with your permission, that I am going to use to do that is an 8-minute video we have developed titled, "Imagine a Place" which is designed to take the viewer on a tour of this place that exists for now, and hopefully not for long, in our imagination.

As you will hear, it is narrated by President Bush, James Earl Jones, and Andrea Mitchell. And I trust you will agree with me that they can do a better job than I at articulating what we hope to accomplish. But let me make three brief introductory comments to this video.

First, some details about the building itself, the physical space. As it is currently planned, the Constitution Center would be 132,000 square foot facility. We conservatively estimate that we will see 1 million visitors a year and hope to do better, more on the order of 11½ million.

As the mayor said, the total budget for the project which includes an endowment designed to defray the cost of the mission includes all the detailed exhibit planning and so forth is \$130 million. And we plan to break ground on Constitution Day, September 17, in the year 2000 and to open to the public 2 years later.

Second, I want to tell you a little bit about the people behind the building. The plans that you are about to see have been created by the very best minds in the museum business in America. And I am not including myself in that category. Our exhibit—our preliminary exhibit designs were done by Apple—Ralph Applebaum Associates, the firm—the award-winning firm that designed the exhibits for the Holocaust Museum.

Our architectural and physical space planning have been overseen by the distinguished dean of the University of Pennsylvania's School of Fine Arts and Architecture, Dr. Gary Hack. And the interpretive meat of this was developed by a blue ribbon panel of Pulitzer prize winning historians and other scholars of the Constitution over about 1 year or so.

And third—my third and final point is that we use the words "building" and "museum," and we use those only because we cannot think of the appropriate word to describe what we are talking about. Those are inadequate words. What you will see, and hope-

fully as you will see, everything about the visitor experience at this place is designed to be different than a typical museum, the way we typically think of a museum.

This will be true from the very beginning when the visitor walks in and is asked not to be a passive visitor, but to become an active delegate and is given a delegate's pass to emphasize to them the active nature of the participation that we are seeking from them until the very end when they are asked literally to use a laser pen and sign a copy of the Constitution affirming their citizenship.

All of what happens in this place is designed to reinforce the theme that the Founders cast in the starring role in our democracy, the citizen, the informed citizen. At the heart of the Constitution Center, there are six different exhibits and activity zones where delegates can explore as deeply as they care to based on their interest or knowledge. One-half of these relate to the Constitution as it affects individuals, but the other half relate to the Constitution as it affects the Nation and the national structures it creates for us, which is where too many Americans often do not have a complete understanding.

And each of these zones communicates a core idea about the Constitution. One example that I will give and you will see more of the zone titled, "The More Perfect Union States a Nation" tells a story of federalism. And it tells the chapters that we may know about it that occurred in the past, like the Civil War; but it also tells about the chapters that are occurring even today, like the current debate over Federal mandates in the context of the 10th amendment.

And it emphasizes to visitors that they can have a part, and they should have a part, in writing how all these stories turn out. But the exhibits, the visitor exhibits, are only one-half of the story of what is happening here. The other half of this place is devoted to reaching all Americans as best we can, even those who cannot journey physically to Philadelphia to see it. Through a virtual museum which will put the exhibits online, through national broadcast program that will originate in studios at the center, through programming like the mayor mentioned for students and teachers and through sponsorship of debates on all kinds of constitutional questions, we hope to reach many more than the 1 million visitors we expect to hear.

In short, we are asking you to help create a museum; but we are hoping to do much more than that. We are hoping to create an institution that can have significant and positive impact on our culture. With your permission now, I would like to show the video. There are two televisions there for the Senators, and there is one here for the audience.

#### PREPARED STATEMENT

Mr. RENDELL. While we are setting up the video, Joe mentioned President Bush, and you will hear him in a moment, but President Bush, President Carter, President Ford, and President Reagan all agreed to be the four honorary cochairmen of the National Constitution Center.

[The statement follows:]

## PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOSEPH M. TORSELLA

Good morning, Mr. Chairman and senators. It is an honor to testify today before this committee, and all of us involved in this project thank you for your interest, and for the extraordinary step you have taken of traveling to Philadelphia to learn more.

You have heard today of why we need a Constitution Center, and of the larger context for this project. My job is to tell you a bit more about the proposed center itself. With your permission, I will do that mainly by screening for you an 8-minute video, titled "Imagine a Place." We developed this video to take the viewer on a sort of virtual tour of a place that exists—for now—in our imaginations. It will describe for you, much better than my words could, what we hope to accomplish at this place. Like all plans, ours will certainly change and become more detailed as we get closer to our goal. But the broad strokes of the visitor experience will ultimately be those you are about to see.

Before we begin, a few brief comments are in order to set the stage.

First, the building itself. The proposed Constitution Center will be 132,000 square feet. We conservatively estimate that 1 million visitors a year will pass through its doors. The total capital budget for the project is \$130 million, which includes detailed planning and design, building and exhibit construction, contingency funds, and an endowment to defray the cost of admission and support its future operating budget. We plan to break ground on Constitution Day—September 17—in the year 2000, and open to the public 2 years later.

Second, you should know something about the people behind the building. Our preliminary plans have been developed by the best minds in the museum business in America. Ralph Applebaum, the award-winning designer of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, has created the preliminary exhibit designs. Dr. Gary Hack, Dean of the Graduate School of Fine Arts at the University of Pennsylvania, serves as our senior architectural and planning advisor. And the interpretive themes have been guided by a blue-ribbon panel of historians and other scholars from around the country.

Finally, although we call this place a "building" or a "museum," I want to emphasize that it is really much more than either of these words suggest. As you will see, the visitor experience will be worlds apart from a typical museum tour. It will interactive, engaging, educational, and entertaining. And the experience of the one million physical visitors is only part of what will happen at the Center. What happens behind the scenes will reach many millions more. There, an online "virtual museum" will let a third grader in Alaska visit the Constitution Center, even if he can't come to Philadelphia. A schoolteacher in Paris—Texas or France—can get free curricula and lesson plans on the Constitution. And a senior citizen in Seattle can watch a televised debate on the latest proposal for a constitutional amendment. One speaker might be a presidential candidate. The other might be president of her senior class.

In short, we hope that the Constitution Center will be a sort of headquarters for spreading a message across our culture, as great institutions can: that each of us has a vital role to play in ensuring that the hard-won freedoms embedded in our Constitution are passed along intact to the next generation. Whoever our visitors are, however they arrive, we want them to leave as citizens.

Ultimately that's what the Constitution Center is all about. There is a wonderful story that at the end of the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin was leaving Independence Hall and was asked by a Philadelphia woman what sort of government the founders had given America. Franklin replied: "A republic, Madam \* \* \* if you can keep it." In asking you today to support our request for federal funding to build the Constitution Center, we are not asking you to support a building.

We are asking you to create an institution—whose home will be just a few steps from where Franklin spoke those words—that will help Americans learn how to "keep" our precious republic for generations to come.

Thank you.

**STATEMENT OF DR. JUDITH RODIN, PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA**

Senator GORTON. Dr. Rodin.

Dr. RODIN. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, Senators, I am delighted to be before you on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania, the academic partner of the National Constitution Center. Perhaps it is important to begin by reminding us that the Constitu-

tion is our guardian, but it is our obligation as citizens to protect it. And certainly, we in higher education have a responsibility to help our people understand that responsibility; and therefore, it is our great honor and privilege to be the academic partner of this initiative.

Perhaps I can begin with a story. I have a colleague who is a professor of political science and law at the university, and she participated in the drafting of the Hungarian Constitution and has been spending a great deal of time in Hungary working with the new constitutional court in developing their procedures. She comes back from every visit talking about how shopkeepers and taxi drivers and people in restaurants debate every tenet of the Constitution, that it is the major topic of conversation among the general populace in Hungary.

Now, perhaps those who have not had these freedoms very long really do understand and appreciate them to a greater extent; and perhaps those who have lived in totalitarian societies appreciate and understand the importance and value of a document like the Constitution. While we do not have to reach that point, we are very fortunate in the United States to be free and democratic; but our people do need to understand better and appreciate the bedrock of our freedoms.

The mayor told you about the Constitution Center poll, and the relatively limited, the dispiriting, I think, amount of knowledge that Americans have about the Constitution. And yet, Americans in their gut understand what the Constitution is and what it does and what it means to them. I think we need a little more of it in the head as well; and as an educator, I am hoping that we can create that and create in our public the same kind of impassioned constitutional awareness that is characteristic in Hungary and, of course, was characteristic of our forefathers and their fellow citizens. We need to restore it in America today, and we believe that the National Constitution Center can help to do that.

We are very eager to move forward in our partnership with the National Constitution Center, and perhaps it is a great advantage that this project did not begin 10 or 15 years ago. 10 or 15 years ago, we created very different kinds of museums; and you have seen the reluctance here to use the word museum on—even though that is, of course, partly what it is because museums tend to be static enterprises. And we are talking about an educational enterprise that is dynamic and interactive and changing and really will captivate the American public from the general school child to the senior citizen in a very imaginative, and we think, new way and perhaps will help to define new kinds of museums in America that really will lead us into the 21st century very creatively.

What is Penn doing? We have developed American and comparative democratic institutions as a university wide academic priority for the next 5 years in a strategic planning process that developed only six. Across the university priorities, this is a major one in which the university will be investing, course work, faculty, visitor centers, a great deal of scholarship around the issue of American and comparative democratic and legal institutions.

You may know that the University of Pennsylvania is America's first university founded in the city of Philadelphia, the birthplace

of American democracy. We would like to celebrate that collaboration from the beginning of the founding of our country; and certainly, thinking and working on the Constitution is a very significant way to do that.

Penn history professor, Richard Beeman who is an expert on the American Revolution and early American history has spent this past year as the Constitution Center first visiting scholar and was quite instrumental in developing the initial material that will go into the Constitution Center's displays. Mr. Torsella mentioned that Dean Gary Hack who is the dean of the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate School of Fine Arts is helping to design the center's planned interactive museum, and he has been a consultant on much of the urban design aspect of the laying out of these three blocks.

Penn has been working with the center on setting up an extraordinary interactive website; and I hope that you will, those of you who are comfortable with web technology, take a look at it because it is very fresh; it is creative; and we change it about once a month. And we have invested at the university in the development and maintenance of this website.

Finally and importantly, our law school has established a new constitutional law journal, Senator Specter's alma mater. So I hope that we will please you with that, Senator Specter. It will plum the depths of a variety of constitutional issues in a very significant and meaningful way.

#### PREPARED STATEMENT

Certainly, education is Penn's mission. It is our great strength, and we are committed to the educational component of the National Constitution Center. We think it is critical, and we hope you will be enthusiastic about the notion that a leading American university will play an ongoing role in keeping this material fresh and making it exciting and in contributing to the educational opportunities of our great populace in understanding the Constitution.

We are very grateful for your support of the center. Thank you.  
[The statement follows:]

#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. JUDITH RODIN

I am very pleased to be here today as the President of the University of Pennsylvania, the academic partner of the National Constitution Center. And I am pleased to be testifying about the Center's importance as both guardian and promoter of our constitutional awareness.

Our Constitution protects us; we must protect the Constitution. This message of mutuality sounds almost trite, yet it is profoundly important. And it is the mission of the National Constitution Center to make sure we do not forget it.

Each of us, as an American citizen, must appreciate the obligation we share to guard and protect our Constitution against any and all threats. If we fail in this obligation, then the Constitution will surely yield to assault and grow too weak to protect us when we may need it most.

To protect the Constitution, we must know and understand it. We must learn its central provisions, appreciate the specific freedoms it guarantees, be alert to all that we must fight to defend. I believe most Americans may have a kind of gut-level understanding that:

- We may say what we like, with very few exceptions;
- We may go to any church we like, or to no church;
- The police may not break into our homes without a very good reason;
- We have a right to a lawyer if we're accused of a crime; and
- Our property is our property.

The problem is that “gut knowledge” about these freedoms is unlikely to secure their permanence. Unless we know the bedrock of our freedoms, unless we are certain of their source, their foundation—then we may not notice when a thief in the night tries to steal them away.

Last year the Mayor invited me to join him during Constitution Week at a press conference publicizing a poll taken by the Constitution Center. At the time, a colleague of mine, a professor in Penn’s Law School, had just spent a year in Hungary working with that nation’s new Constitutional Court. As I said then, I was captivated by her account of Hungarian taxi drivers and shopkeepers debating provisions of that country’s new constitution with great knowledge and passion. They memorized its provisions and were hungry to understand them in all their depth—because they had seen, in their lifetimes, how freedoms can vanish like the wind from an inattentive populace.

This is the same kind of impassioned constitutional interest that was characteristic of our founding fathers and their fellow citizens. We need to restore it in America today, and the National Constitution Center will help do that.

The University of Pennsylvania is eager to do all it can in its partnership with the National Constitution Center. Among other things:

- Penn has made the study of American and Comparative Democratic Institutions a University-wide academic priority for the next five years;
- Penn history professor Rick Beeman—an expert on the Revolution and early American history—has spent the past year as the Constitution Center’s first visiting scholar;
- Dean Gary Hack of our Graduate School of Fine Arts is helping design the Center’s planned interactive museum here in Philadelphia;
- Penn has worked with the Center in setting up its exciting new user-friendly website; and
- At the scholarly level, our Law School has established a new Constitutional Law Journal that will plumb the depths of a variety of constitutional issues.

Education is Penn’s mission and our great strength. Through these and other efforts Penn will work with the National Constitution Center to reinvigorate the education of Americans about their most valuable national asset. We look forward to the challenge. And we will be very grateful for your support of the Center.

#### PARTNERSHIP

Senator GORTON. Mr. Mayor, in developing this request for a partnership from the Congress, did your group have any precedents? Can you tell us when we have previously financed a significant capital investment, not for the National Park Service itself, but for a State or locally owned and operated facility; or are you asking us to set a precedent?

Mr. RENDELL. No; I think the two that I mentioned—I do not know that Jim or Joe or Dr. Rodin would have any additional, but certainly, and this is a very appropriate Federal spending, but the commitment that the Federal Government made to the Holocaust Museum, for example, was significant. Steamtown—

Senator GORTON. That is a national park.

Mr. RENDELL. This will be part of a national park. It will just be a nonprofit institution that runs the center, and one of the things we tried to do being cognizant of the fact that operating funds are difficult because there are so many aspects of the national parks that are always coming to you for operating funds and so many different requests.

I happened to testify before Congressman Regula’s committee, and it was a day when every group had 5 minutes. I sat for about an hour listening to the Congressmen go through a ton of groups, and it became clear to me that this was a burden that we had to assume, the Commonwealth, the city, and the private sector assume and not lay on the Park Service itself. But certainly, this is a cooperative effort with the Park Service. This is going to be a

part of Independence National Historic Park. It is not going to be a separate entity. It is on land that will be part of, and probably sometime this year will become formally part of the Federal Government's federally owned property.

And so I think in that sense, it is every bit as much of a part of a national park as anything else.

Senator GORTON. Jim, why do not you describe the conceptual process. How was this idea arrived at, and who was involved in it? And in its ideal, would it have been even larger? Have you reduced it, and has it been reduced further in size and cost? How did we get to exactly where you are?

Mr. RENDELL. Let me take the first crack at that. Obviously, from the Federal mandate that was in the 1988 legislation, the people who ran the Constitution Center at that point always had that in the back of their mind. The reason that it never moved to where we are today is because we were looking for a home; and to us for the very reason of the first question you asked, that home had to be on Independence National Historic Park. The mandate says on or near, but we wanted it to be on official national parkland, and so we fought very hard to be in the GMP to be given this location.

And, in fact, as I said, it is manifested in our cooperative effort with the Park Service that they not only placed us in the GMP but gave us such a central part of what we did. And as far as the museum itself, since Mr. Torsella and I have been president and chairman, we have scaled down the idea. We scaled down the idea dramatically, and he can comment on exactly how much because we thought that this amount of money was more than sufficient to do what we wanted to do. Because this is not going to be a museum with grand exhibits in size, hopefully, the exhibits will stimulate the through processes; but we did not think we needed a grand museum.

Joe, why do not you comment?

Mr. TORSELLA. Senator, one original set of plans proposal for the museum about 3 years ago had a significantly greater size by fair multiple, 200,000 square feet and a more extensive layout on the mall. And we are presenting to you today, the sort of neat outcome of a couple years of fairly laborious and at times contentious, but ultimately very fruitful processes.

One was the GMP plan for the mall where there was a great deal of give and take between the Park Service and the Constitution Center and all the other stakeholders about what was the most realistic and what would work for everybody. In terms of the interpretive side of this, we went back to the drawing boards with the museum consultants and professionals as well as with the scholars and did, as the mayor said, come up, we think, a much more realistic and scaled back version, although one that will still be meaningful.

Senator GORTON. One more question, and then I want to turn it over to Mr. Mayor. Assuming that this takes place, do you have any specific plans—do you have any plans for the surrounding non Park Service area in the immediate vicinity of this new facility or up and down the mall?

Mr. RENDELL. The surrounding area to the direct west of the mall is the Federal Courthouse and the Federal Building where Senator Specter and Senator Santorum have an office and where the courthouse is. And to the east of the mall, we have a wonderful—one of the earliest training centers in the country, the Bourse which has been rebuilt into really a center for visitors with all sorts of food and shopping opportunities.

And to the north—I am sorry to the south of the mall itself is a greater part of the Independence National Park. Independence Square which is in back of Independence Hall which is part of the park, then directly adjacent to that is Washington Square Park which is being renovated now where over 2,000—maybe 2,500—colonial soldiers are buried, and it is a wonderful park with an incredible flame.

And then to either side of the mall itself are Congress Hall, Carpenter's Hall where we are. So—

Senator GORTON. So you have no further redevelopment plans for the area surrounding the park?

Mr. RENDELL. The surrounding area other than the Park Service is maintenance requests and redevelopment, I think, is a good area itself. We have one other project which we are not seeking Federal funds for which is by and large funded by the city and private sources is to develop a 3½ block walking sound and light show with all the great—latest technology going through IHP and the story that is told on the headset is the story of how we became an independent nation from the time the First Continental Congress met here in August 1774 until July, actually, 8th of 1776 when the Declaration was read to the people of America for the first time.

And it is truly an amazing story because as you will recall in August 1774 the people, the men, who assembled here were the landed gentry of the Colonies were the people that had—were the establishment who 98 percent of had no interest in breaking from England. In many ways, it was just an issue of tax reform at that point. And in less than 2 years right here in Philadelphia, they undertook an incredible metamorphosis.

I know "Miracle of Philadelphia" is written about the Constitution and the Constitutional Convention, but it was a true miracle that events that happened here and around the Colonies took those men from part of the establishment who had no thought of breaking with England; and in less than 2 years on the Fourth of July, they signed their names to a document that was their death warrant.

And we are going to tell that story through this incredible sound and light show. But that is, again, financed by the city and private donations.

Senator GORTON. Senator Stevens.

Senator STEVENS. Well, Mr. Mayor, I think one of the problems we have—and I have not talked to them yet myself. We will undoubtedly have a hearing, I assume, in Washington on it; but I am told the Park Service is not in line with this, does not endorse this facility. The size of it they have objected to. The Park Service opposes the 600 underground garage, I am told. They have objections because the budget of the NCC does not include funding for the multipurpose storage project that they had envisioned, and that

they are concerned outside of the mall to develop hotels in the vicinity of the park.

And we are told that we can expect strong opposition from the Park Service when we do have a hearing. I have not talked to Chairman Regula yet, but we are told that the House subcommittee currently is on record as opposing the project. Now, we are all very impressed I have got to tell you, or we would not be here. But I do think that we have to be direct in not raising undue expectations as far as process and a timing for congressional action on this.

This is going to be a very difficult year for us in terms of the appropriations process. We discussed that a little bit last night, but we currently have appropriated \$48.8 million for the Federal portion of this project since 1994. There are currently \$104 million in projects that the Park Service has outlined it would like to consider, but we have not as yet either authorized or appropriated any of those funds.

In other words, it is a tortuous path you are on; and I hope that we keep in mind that. I just asked one question. You have cited the Holocaust Museum. When we had the hearings on the Holocaust Museum, which we all supported very strongly, we were told there would never be any Federal funds requested for that project. We now have a request; and as you mentioned, it is roughly \$32 million a year.

On this project, this is still going to be Federal land. I assume there is going to be Federal employees, security guards or otherwise. I want you to again tell me how can you make the statement that there would be no Federal operating expenses for the NCC.

Mr. RENDELL. You raised a ton of issues there. No. 1, we have a gentleman here from the Park Service; and I do not mean to put him on the spot from Director Rust's office; and they are supportive of the plan. It is included in their GMP which has been published and as a result of 2 years worth of hearings and research. So they are very supportive of the plan.

The plan does include the renovation of the garage. And they knew that, and that is part of the plan. And again——

Senator GORTON. The garage exists now?

Mr. RENDELL. Excuse me?

Senator GORTON. The garage exists now?

Mr. RENDELL. Oh, yes; Oh, yes; And there had been some talk about a garage underground on the third block, but that is not part of the GMP. The garage under the second block, the renovations and improvement of that, are very much a part of the GMP that has been approved by the Park Service.

So I do not know where you got the first part of your information. As to the building of the maintenance building, Mr. Torsella informs me we have agreed to undertake that construction cost for the Park Service. So again, whoever told you about that is either got dated information or is just flat out incorrect.

And as far as hotels, whether or not there are hotels in the surrounding area—and I do not know of any current expansion for a hotel—there are 13 new hotels under construction in the city of Philadelphia right now. But none of them—I think the closest to the mall is about 3 or 4, 3½ blocks away at about 9th and Arch

Street. So again, there has been talk about a hotel. The newspaper is agitated about a hotel at the back of the third block.

Of course, if that happened, that would be a money generator for the mall; but that is not included in the GMP and would not be eligible to be included. You would have to go through a whole new GMP process.

And as far as the last question that Senator Stevens asked, as far as the maintenance question, it is our intent between the Endowment and the admissions charge to cover all of those costs; and whether it would be Federal employees who would do the maintenance or whether it would be private employees who do the maintenance, if it is Federal employees, they will be reimbursed, plain and simple as that. They will be reimbursed from the Endowment and the admission charge, but it may well be private employees. We have not decided that. We have not discussed that with the Park Service.

But again, I am stunned to hear that there is opposition from the Park Service. Again, they made it part of the GMP; and they have been very supportive. Again, there is a gentleman here from Director Rust's office; and he might want to speak to those issues.

Joe, do you want to—

Mr. TORSELLA. Senator, I just want to add on the operating budget question. One of the differences that may not have been clear going through the plan is that the Constitution Center will be the only attraction on the block charging an admission price. Now, we hope to keep it as modest as possible through an Endowment; but because we are the only one charging, we feel we are comfortable saying that we are not going to be coming back to you for operating support.

Now, that does not mean that we are going to, as of today, that we are done looking for funds. It means, we are not looking for them from the Federal Government. Good museums continually develop new programming and find support and corporate sponsorships and national membership campaigns, in philanthropic and foundation support. And we will continue to do that through the life of the center, I am sure.

But our preliminary plans developed by the museum consultants have identified between \$10 and \$12 million in operating revenues at this stage from things that are integral to the design concessions that we let out, from the admissions, from the Endowment to income and so forth. We have set out to design this building—and maybe this is how it is different from some other institutions, we have set out to design this building informed by what has been a clear concern from Congress and from the Park Service that Congress in the past has been disappointed when an institution has come back to it and said, we now need you to rescue us from our operating situation.

So we have been very careful from the beginning to build things into the design that will make our operating budget easier. The Senator mentioned a proposed parking garage. At one point, we had proposed, for example, in addition to the existing garage, we had also proposed a garage under the Constitution Center because museum consultants advised us that was a way of generating operating revenue and securing the future of the operating budget. And

it impacted on visitorship statistics, also in a positive way in the operating budget.

We had proposed that. The Park Service has indicated they object to that. That is not in the plan presented as the GMP.

Mr. RENDELL. In fact, in terms of—we do take the mandate of self-sufficiency very, very seriously which is why we did not just stop at what we need to build a center. We are looking for an Endowment; and, in fact, I have been trying to see if Bill Gates—and maybe Senator Gorton could help me get an appointment—[Laughter.]

I thought this would be a great project at this time in Microsoft's corporate history for them to become involved in.

Senator GORTON. Senator Domenici.

Senator DOMENICI. Maybe he can go see Senator Hatch about Microsoft. [Laughter.]

Let me just tell you an interesting story. This is perhaps as much for the academician, the distinguished president. In the city of Albuquerque about 3 weeks ago, I was invited to a nonprofit corporation headquarters and manufacturing center called Hands On Learning. Twelve school teachers 5 years ago decided that what was needed to teach kids in areas where they just were not getting ahead in America was to design educational kits, different kinds of physical hands on kits, used as lesson plans. Now, it is an educational piece, a document.

For instance, one of them was a big, deep tub which had a lot of dirt and peat moss; and there were five different kinds of worms and the like growing in it. They literally sold those all over America. They are pretty heavy, but the teacher could teach 2½ months of biology and other things from that, and there were a lot of different kinds of kits.

I asked them why they had to do all this, and incidentally, they are having great success. They have not taken a penny of Federal money in 4 years. They are self-supporting. They sell their product. I asked them, why do you have to do this? Two teachers run it now. They said, well because we do not always have teachers who are experts in the subject matter that kids are supposed to learn; and second, children need new ways to apply concepts to learn; and they have to be something hands on and touchable.

I was absolutely amazed at the kinds of things they produced. They are now going to produce an art kit to teach fourth, fifth, and sixth grade kids art. It is all coming out of this little nonprofit group.

Now, having said that, let me say I am not sure when I return to Washington and study up on this to go to our Interior meetings, I am not sure that I am going to be as impressed with how many Americans you are going to convert to people who understand our Constitution in the classrooms of America. I am not sure I have heard as innovative approaches to disseminating this information far and wide as I am hearing about people coming here and getting exposed to the Constitution.

I think there is no question that on the letter you will impact for that day. What I think you need to convince us of is that you are going to have a much bigger impact than that. I am not saying that is critical to your funding, but I think it is very important if we

are going to be saying up there that we are now funding a project—I do not know that we will call it—a museum—in the city of Philadelphia where our freedom comes from, the origins of our great freedoms, that it has a broad impact. I am not sure that we should be funding it solely on the basis that it will do a great job in the context that people come here.

If it has some impact beyond that, I think it would be interesting. I would ask whether the University of Pennsylvania might submit to us for the record through your various experts where else within the academicians of America and teacher training parts of America's higher education where other events are occurring that are trying to disseminate information about better teaching of the Constitution and our freedoms? I do not think that we ought to be misled—and I am not saying that we are—but there may already be some very vital and important efforts on how we teach our kids about the Constitution. I think we ought to know about that, if there are.

Dr. RODIN. We would be happy to do that kind of survey and provide it. We view the website as one mechanism to bring it outside of Philadelphia; and as we all know although that is not classroom learning in the traditional way or in the very innovative way actually that you characterized, it is now a mechanism that is not only being used in a person's home, but teachers are using the websites in the classroom as an opportunity to find and utilize the most up to date information.

Penn has a graduate school of education; and up to this point, it has been our American historians, our law professors, and our city planners who have been most involved; but I think that our faculty would take in the graduate school of education would take it as a wonderful opportunity to challenge the creating of—

Senator DOMENICI. Might you try to supply for the record information on some institutions around the country that might be doing this? My last two observations are quick. Just so that you will not think that we are overstating the case of how hard it is to find \$65 million even over 3 years, I want to state for the record so everybody in Philadelphia will know that the domestic budget of the United States, the entirety of the domestic programs, will be frozen for all intents and purposes this year versus last year.

Essentially for 2 more years after that, they will be practically frozen. Now, that is the result of the 5-year budget agreement that many said did not do anything—we did not curtail the Government enough. Well, we are telling you right now that our Congressional Budget Office says, we have ordered a freeze for the next year and almost a freeze for the next year

So it is not easy to find new money. The President has canceled a lot of programs to find some of his new money, and it might not surprise you that we do not agree with some of the cancellations. We also agree that we ought to spend some new money some different places than he, but that is pretty tough and pretty binding.

My last observation is that I surely do not want to leave the impression that because New Mexico has 400 years of history of the Hispanic colonization of the United States that I do not understand that our premier and most positive document regarding freedom and the reason we are a powerful Nation is our Constitution and

the Bill of Rights. There is no question about it. I have come to the conclusion that our prosperity is predicated almost exclusively on the amount of freedom we permit each individual in America to have, and the more who have freedom the more achievement there is because achievement comes when people are free.

The more who are free, the more achievement, and that is probably America today. So if our kids do not know it and do not understand it, then we ought to get busy trying to make sure they do.

Mr. RENDELL. Senator, can I just comment very briefly on the first part of what you said? And I do appreciate the funding problem because I deal with this on a host of other issues, as you can imagine; but let me address the first point. I do not know if you are—I am about 10 years too old to have been part of the computer revolution. So it is difficult for me to think of—when I think of hands on, I think of worms. I do not think of sitting in front of that little box, but my son who is 17, to him, that is all hands on is.

And one of the things that I think is going to be truly remarkable—and we may have sloughed over it in our presentation and on the tape—is the virtual reality center that is going to be available on the Net. And I believe 20 years from now, hopefully, American schools at every level, elementary, middle, secondary kids will be able to go into classrooms where there are computers for each and every one of them; and they will be able to visit the National Constitution Center here in Philadelphia without leaving Des Moines, IA.

Then they will be able to have the same hands on experience, and they will be able to plug in questions about what they are seeing and get answers back from the website. So I think that is the hands on experience of the 21st century, different than you and I had when we were growing up; but I think that is the hands on experience. And I agree without the academic portion of this, without the website, without—this would be in part a great museum and a great experience, but it would not be able to fulfill the widespread goal that all of us would like to see it fulfill.

Senator GORTON. Senator Specter.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. We have to move on so I will just take a minute or two. I compliment you, Mayor Rendell, for organizing this program and for keeping the lines hot between your office and Senator Santorum and me. I have a red phone on my desk. It is Rendell calling. If it is not Cavern and the navy yard, or housing, or education, it is something.

But you have been the beneficiary today of an extraordinary event, a field hearing. And the biggest advantage to you is that you have seen in a very thoughtful way concerns raised which you are now in a position to respond to. You do not get that luxury very often. Ordinarily, you get a subcommittee hearing, and the chairman is there, and Senator Domenici may come. But they are very busy.

I would ask you to take a look at the issue raised by Senator Gorton on the structure. You have a 501(c)(3). It may be magnificent; but if it is unprecedented, a lot of people in the Congress are going to raise their eyebrows and say, why. And maybe the structure can be accommodated within the National Park Service. I do

not know now, but that is something that I would ask for your consideration on.

The point that Senator Domenici emphasizes is one we talked about last night at dinner. And that is, what kind of outreach will you have? This is a great program for Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, but there are 49 other States. And the other Senators are going to say, why? And if you have a program of outreach, I do not know what it would be, can send or how you contact other States or how you contact schools and inspire them to study away from the Constitution Center or maybe to come here. That would be important.

And privately, I will identify for you the other members of Senator Gorton's subcommittee and the other members of the Appropriation Committee, people who will be helping to make the decision.

On the locale, I think it is important to add to the plan that Christ Church, a very old church, is in the environs; the Mickva Israel, the second oldest synagogue right on the square so that there are tremendous historical adjacencies so to speak. And then there is the National Park Service, and you want to get that cleared up and as positive as fast you can, and there is Chairman Regula. Some of us will work on him.

But you have had a great opportunity to find the questions here. You do not get that very often. And knowing you, you will find the answers; and then the rest of us will help you. Thank you.

Senator GORTON. Senator Santorum.

Senator SANTORUM. Senator Specter commented on all the points I wanted to make, however, I want to reemphasize the last point he made in regards to the National Park Service. Having worked extensively with the National Park Service in Gettysburg, PA, and other places, it is very important on Capitol Hill to make sure they are in sync with the project; and that they are seen as in sync with what is going on.

As you know, there are a lot of requests for money. Congress only needs to identify one problem to say, well, we will have to wait until next year for this project. So to the extent that you can get rid of the problems and get everybody, particularly in Washington, on board and as enthusiastic as possible, you can then be judged on the merits of the project and not on any problem that someone may have with the proposal.

I think you put together a terrific presentation. You have a great group of folks working with you, and Senator Specter and I stand ready to help you, and we will. Now, let us go see the park.

#### SUBCOMMITTEE RECESS

Senator GORTON. Thank you very much. Now we will proceed to show and tell.

Senator STEVENS. We are going to have about 10 to 15 minutes with the press, and then we would like to take our walk. That concludes our hearing, we will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

[Whereupon, at 10:30 a.m., Monday, March 9, the subcommittee was recessed, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]

## NATIONAL CONSTITUTION CENTER

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1998

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN  
SERVICES, AND EDUCATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES,  
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,  
*Washington, DC.*

The subcommittee met at 11:11 a.m., in room SD-138, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Arlen Specter (chairman) presiding.  
Present: Senator Specter.

### NONDEPARTMENTAL WITNESSES

#### STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD G. RENDELL, MAYOR, CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, CHAIRPERSON, NATIONAL CONSTITUTION CENTER

##### OPENING REMARKS OF SENATOR ARLEN SPECTER

Senator SPECTER. The Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education will now proceed. Our hearing this morning is on the National Constitution Center. We have convened this hearing to further establish the record of importance for the substantial Federal appropriation for this very important undertaking.

The total cost of the center and the adjacent buildings will be established in the course of today's hearing with precision, but I understand it to be something in the neighborhood of \$210 million. The organizers are looking to a Federal share of \$65 million.

Senator Santorum and I invited the Appropriations Committee to a special hearing in Philadelphia earlier this year, attended by the chairman of the full committee, Senator Stevens, and the chairman of the Subcommittee on Interior, Senator Gorton, Senator Domenici, Senator Santorum, and myself. Senator Gorton on the Interior Committee has put a mark in his subcommittee bill, which is out of full committee, of \$10 million, conditioned in effect on this subcommittee matching \$10 million, which we put in our mark yesterday, and we are going to full committee tomorrow.

It was our view that we ought to strengthen the record for this approach. The House of Representatives as I understand it, has nothing in their bill so far. Their bills are not finished. So that is a continuing battle. Some legislators have already gone to the floor to identify this. I forget what neat appellation they gave, but it was not a complimentary one to the National Constitution Center. But what is one man's imperative is another man's frivolity. You can quote me on that, Bettilou.

We have a very distinguished panel today. We have America's Mayor for America's Constitution Center. I see his biographical resume which has been presented to me here, which omits his greatest distinction. That was being employed in the Philadelphia District Attorney's Office immediately after graduation from law school. He bamboozled the then-district attorney, was chief of homicide, prosecuted a great many cases as an assistant, knocked down a great many walls as an assistant, later was district attorney.

I think that his election in the primary in May 1977 was one of my biggest thrills in the electoral process, including many of my own races.

We have Richard Beeman, the Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Pennsylvania. He has been there for some 30 years, received numerous grants and professional honors, and is an expert on revolutionary and early American history. The University of Pennsylvania will be a co-partner with the operation of the Constitution Center.

We also have Mr. Joseph Torsella, who serves as President of the National Constitution Center, a Rhodes scholar, Penn grad, honors in economics and history, served as deputy mayor for the city.

Mayor Rendell, we welcome you here and the floor is yours.

#### SUMMARY STATEMENT OF MAYOR RENDELL

Mr. RENDELL. Thank you, Senator. Let me begin by thanking you and Senator Santorum for the leadership you have undertaken in what we know was a difficult task in trying to get money for this project here in the District of Columbia. We do not believe it ought to be a difficult task. We believe if you look at the history of the National Constitution Center it brings this issue more clearly into focus.

As you know, Senator, because you were the prime proponent of the legislation, in 1988 the Congress of the United States adopted legislation creating the National Center for the Constitution. That legislation was signed by President Reagan. You gave the center two tasks: one, to continue the education and learning and knowledge of the American public about its Constitution, which I believe is the greatest document ever written by man and womankind.

We have tried to do that faithfully over the last decade. We have a budget of a little more than a million dollars a year, which includes a \$250,000 Federal matching grant, and with that small, relatively small sum of money, I think we have done an excellent job in trying to reach out and touch many Americans and instill upon them not only respect, but knowledge of the Constitution and how it works.

We have a very, very active website. The first 2 weeks that our website was up we got over 200,000 hits. On our website you can download, teachers can download any one of 70-plus lesson plans on how to teach children at different grade levels the Constitution in a way that grabs their attention and relates it to modern life. These came from the Warren Burger Repository. As you know, Senator, the repository recently gave those lesson plans to us and made us the guardian and the distributor of those plans.

We do educational programs throughout the year, run contests on the Constitution, and of course our Constitution Week activities,

which touch many cities in each and every one of the 50 States in the Union, and are centered around the "I Signed the Constitution" campaign. We try to get Americans to come in during Constitution Week in public offices, post offices, representatives' offices, city halls and the like, to come in and sign the Constitution, to affix their signature next to Madison's or Jefferson's, and then they get in turn a small copy of the entire U.S. Constitution.

That has been a very successful program. Over 1.7 million Americans have participated in it. As you know, we were able to show Senator Stevens when he was in Philadelphia the many different towns in Alaska that had "I Signed the Constitution" ceremonies. When we brought this idea to the President, we showed him many different towns in Arkansas that had the signing ceremony during "Constitution Week."

But the second task you gave us back in 1988 was to create a museum for the Constitution. It is a task which on its face seems very simple. In America, as I outlined in my testimony, we have museums dedicated to everything: to the paper bag, to the history of insects, to top hats. There are museums literally to cover almost every element of American life, and yet there is no museum to cover what is undoubtedly the most important document in our country and I believe in this entire world.

#### PREPARED STATEMENT

So we have set out on a plan to accomplish your mission, as you know, Senator. We have laid the groundwork for a building that will cost \$130 million.

[The statement follows:]

#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF EDWARD G. RENDELL

Good morning, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for the opportunity to testify to this committee today regarding the National Constitution Center (NCC). I want to thank you and the members of the committee for taking the time to hear about our plans for this exciting project.

Mr. Chairman, we are deeply grateful to you for your leadership both in establishing the educational mission of the NCC through the Constitution Heritage Act of 1988, passed by Congress and signed by President Ronald Reagan, and for your unflagging support of that mission over the past ten years. I am here today to tell you that a truly remarkable result of your vision is well within our reach: the creation of the first ever institution devoted to educating the public about the United States Constitution.

In the past 10 years, NCC has done an excellent job, with extremely limited resources, toward its first objective: education. We have developed award-winning radio programming, educational materials, and school contests. We maintain a library of curricula and lesson plans on the Constitution, the Warren E. Burger Repository, which we make available free to teachers around the nation and, indeed, around the world. Each September 17th, we commemorate the anniversary of the signing of the Constitution with our trademark "I Signed the Constitution" programs. Each year, participants sign a parchment replica of the Constitution, adding their names next to Madison's or Washington's, and receive in return new educational materials. An estimated 1.7 million Americans have participated, and the program is held in all 50 states of the union, at schools, senior citizen centers, libraries, businesses, national parks, government offices, and hundreds of other sites. Each year, we distribute hundreds of thousands of pocket-sized copies of the Constitution. And last year, in conjunction with our academic partner, the University of Pennsylvania, we debuted an exciting web site about the Constitution. This web site received an extraordinary 200,000 "hits" in its first two weeks of operation and has continued to receive thousands of visitors—teachers and school children among them—each month. We do all of this on an annual budget of approximately \$1 million, supported in part by federal aid of approximately \$230,000 each year. We are

proud of our ability to leverage federal resources on a four-to-one basis and provide such quality outreach programming.

But our educational mission calls for much more. Frankly, given our limited resources, we have been most successful at “preaching to the choir.” We reach schools and community and civic groups that often already have a high interest in the Constitution; we attract the attention of visitors to our National Parks who enjoy the opportunity to sign on to this precious document; we can count on our programs to generate excitement and enthusiasm in presidential libraries, patriotic societies, clubs and lodges in every corner of the nation. These, however, are just the tip of the iceberg. Too few Americans have even a basic working knowledge of the Constitution and its role in their everyday lives. And, as Dr. Beeman has pointed out in his testimony, the Constitution cannot run all by itself. The system it designs assumes an informed and involved citizenry. Today, we are in danger as never before of losing that invisible glue that holds the Constitution together.

Last September, NCC commissioned a comprehensive poll of Americans’ constitutional knowledge. The results demonstrated our startling ignorance of how our government works: more than half of those polled do not know the number of US Senators; almost one-quarter cannot name a single First Amendment right. Overall, just 5 percent of all adults could correctly answer ten basic questions about the Constitution. In fact, they were questions very much like those given on citizenship tests every day for immigrants who seek to become citizens of our great nation. If our poll had been a test, I am afraid our nation would have received a failing grade.

Having obtained an indicator of the knowledge deficit among adults, we turned our attention this year to America’s youth in a national survey of teens that compares their knowledge of popular culture with their knowledge of the Constitution. The results are fascinating and a full copy of this year’s poll results is submitted as part of our written testimony today. Consider this:

- Only 21 percent of American teens know how many US Senators there are, but a full 84 percent know how many brothers there are in the musical group “Hanson.”
- 75 percent know what city in the United States boasts the zip code 90210, while only 26 percent know that the US Constitution was written in Philadelphia.
- Fewer than 2 percent of the teens polled could name the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, while almost 95 percent knew that Will Smith plays the Fresh Prince of Bel Air on television.
- Around 92 percent knew who stars as the father of the house in TV’s “Home Improvement,” while only a third polled knew the name of the current Speaker of the House of Representatives.
- Just over a third knew the first three words of the Preamble to the Constitution, while almost 70 percent knew the first three letters of most web site addresses.

Statistics like those from our adult poll and this new information on teens’ knowledge reinforce how critical it is for the NCC to pursue the second goal contemplated in the 1988 legislation: building the first-ever museum dedicated to the document from which the soul of our government grew and flourished. And these statistics are why, just over a year ago, I accepted the position of Chairperson of NCC, even though I have never before or since taken a position outside of government during my term as Mayor. I believe that building this museum and reversing this tide of ignorance is absolutely critical to the health of our democracy. And I am confident that we are in a unique position to do just that, especially because the Constitution Center and its outreach programs will bring these ideas to life in such a way that the stories we tell are every bit as compelling as the stories kids learn when they turn on the TV, log onto the Internet, listen to the radio, and absorb popular print.

It is astonishing that there is no museum devoted to this incredible document, one of the world’s finest political creations. For two centuries, the Constitution has made the United States into the most successful democracy the world has ever seen. It has inspired, and been emulated by, hundreds of other nations, literally remaking the globe. But even in Philadelphia, where the Constitution was conceived, the Constitution’s role in our world today goes uncelebrated and unexplained. As one commentator has written, “The United States has museums devoted to the appreciation of peanuts, cakes, gourds, NASCAR racing and Barbara Streisand, but it has none that concentrates on this supple framework for history’s most successful experiment in democracy.”

Today we are on the verge of at last realizing the dream you first laid out during the Constitution’s bicentennial. With your support, the Constitution Center can break ground on the first Constitution Day of our third millennium, September 17, in the year 2000. Now is the moment to turn this dream we all share into a reality, and I am here today to ask this committee to do just that. We are asking for a total

federal appropriation of \$65 million, with \$20 million for fiscal year 1999 and two future installments funding the balance. We seek support from this committee for \$10 million—half of our fiscal year 1999 request of \$20 million—which will be applied directly to the key educational components of the Center: storyline development and exhibition content and design.

I want to emphasize that the amount we are requesting, although one-half of the capital budget for the Constitution Center, represents a lower percentage of the capital costs of all the improvements called for in the National Park Service's General Management Plan (GMP) for Independence Park. The combined cost of the other GMP projects is an additional \$75.6 million. So the total capital cost for all the improvements to Independence Mall, including the Constitution Center, is approximately \$205.6 million, and a \$65 million federal contribution to NCC would represent less than one-third of that amount.

This is an important point, since all of the other major capital projects—the Liberty Bell Pavilion, the Gateway Visitor Center, the parking garage—are being built with non-federal funds. Of the total required, we have already raised \$58 million from non-federal sources—the City of Philadelphia, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and generous private donors including the Pew Charitable Trusts and Ambassador and Mrs. Walter Annenberg—and these projects will begin construction shortly. (This \$58 million is in addition to the \$30 million authorized by the Commonwealth for the Constitution Center). Further, this project has already attracted extraordinary support—including the participation of Presidents Bush, Reagan, Carter and Ford, all of whom serve with their wives on our Honorary Board—and the momentum of our private fundraising will increase dramatically in response to a strong lead from Congress.

I would like to clarify for the Committee that the funding we seek for fiscal year 1999, 2000, and 2001 will be our full request for NCC. The fundraising plan for NCC has never envisioned the participation of the federal government in the continued operation and maintenance of the NCC after construction of the Constitution Center is completed. We expect that market demand, subscriptions, endowment income, and other non-federal fundraising mechanisms will serve as the source for operating and maintaining this great treasure.

Mr. Chairman, as an elected official I understand and appreciate the many difficult decisions you and your colleagues are asked to make on a daily basis. Like the City of Philadelphia, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and this country, this committee faces many challenges that need to be addressed, and will always have more needs than resources.

Nevertheless, I urge you to make the Constitution Center a priority project for this committee, for Congress, and for the nation. America and Americans deserve it and, in fact, require it, if the flame of freedom is to continue to burn bright. Only when Americans understand how their government works can they fully participate in its operations. As Judge Learned Hand wrote, "Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women: When it dies there, no Constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it."

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I want to draw your attention to some good news from our national surveys. While the polls on constitutional knowledge make clear that we have much to do to educate our citizens about our constitutional heritage, there is a silver lining. Both polls of adults and teens point to a terrific opportunity for us to carry out our educational mission. We learned from the adult polls that even if Americans know little about our constitutional system, they care deeply about it and feel that the Constitution is important to their daily lives. And from the teen poll, we have seen the potential to educate using popular culture media and techniques. These positive responses tell us two things: First, the opportunity is here for us to capitalize on this heartfelt sense of the Constitution's importance; second, people are inspired to learn when they are personally touched by compelling, human stories and situations. So, our poll this year should not be read as an indictment of teenage Americans for not knowing their constitutional ABC's; it's an opportunity for us to learn something about how to capture their interest. If teenagers understand the "girl power" mantra of the Spice Girls, then creating enthusiasm to learn about the women's suffrage movement is achievable. In the spectacular new Constitution Center and through the Constitution Center's state-of-the-art outreach programming, we can tap into lively and natural curiosity of people of all ages, bringing the Constitution's ideas and ideals to center stage in our national consciousness.

Thank you.

NATIONAL CONSTITUTION CENTER'S CONSTITUTIONAL KNOWLEDGE SURVEY  
QUESTIONNAIRE N = 600

Hello, my name is (\_\_\_\_\_) and I'm calling from a national public opinion research company. We are looking for teenagers between 13 and 17 years old to participate in a survey about current affairs and entertainment. It will only take five minutes and it will be fun. Is there a teenager between the ages of 13 and 17 living at your home?

[IF YES] May I speak to that person?

[IF NOT AVAILABLE] When would be a good time to call back?

[IF NO] Thank and terminate.

[INTRO FOR TEENAGER INTERVIEW]

Hello, my name is (\_\_\_\_\_) and I'm calling from a national public opinion research company. We are interviewing teenagers across the country about current events and entertainment. We're just interested in your opinions. This will only take five minutes and it will be fun.

Percent

[DO NOT PAUSE]	
TELEPHONE NUMBER	
SOURCE	
1. ORIGINAL CALL .....	91.5
2. REDIAL OF PREVIOUS INTERVIEW .....	8.5
1. First, what is your age, please?	
1. 13 .....	22.0
2. 14 .....	18.0
3. 15 .....	24.2
4. 16 .....	18.3
5. 17 .....	16.5
6. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED [DO NOT READ] .....	1.0
2. Gender [BY OBSERVATION]	
1. MALE .....	50.0
2. FEMALE .....	50.0
3. In what city would you find the zip code 90210?	
1. BEVERLY HILLS/LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA .....	75.2
2. ALL OTHER .....	5.2
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	19.7
4. In what city was the US Constitution written?	
1. PHILADELPHIA .....	25.5
2. ALL OTHER .....	32.3
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	42.2
5. Name the male star of the movie Titanic.	
1. LEONARDO DICAPRIO/DICAPRIO/LEO DICAPRIO .....	89.7
2. ALL OTHER .....	1.2
3. DK/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	9.2
6. Name the Vice President of the United States.	
1. AL GORE, Jr./AL GORE/ALBERT GORE/GORE .....	73.8
2. ALL OTHER .....	3.5
3. DK/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	22.7
7. How many brothers are there in the musical group "Hanson?"	
1. 3 .....	81.2
2. ALL OTHER .....	4.5
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	14.3
8. How many U.S. Senators are there?	
1. 100 .....	21.2
2. ALL OTHER .....	30.5
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	48.3
9. What are the first three letters of almost every website address?	
1. WWW .....	71.2
2. ALL OTHER .....	11.3
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	17.5
10. What are the first three words of the Constitution?	
1. WE THE PEOPLE .....	35.5
2. ALL OTHER .....	4.3
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	60.2
11. What does the device The Club protect?	
1. YOUR CAR .....	63.7
2. ALL OTHER .....	1.7
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	34.7

	<i>Percent</i>
12. What does the fifth amendment protect?	
1. DOUBLE JEOPARDY/SELF-INCRIMINATION/RIGHT TO A GRAND JURY/DUE PROCESS/COMPENSATION FOR PRIVATE PROPERTY TAKEN FOR PUBLIC USE .....	25.0
2. ALL OTHER .....	22.2
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	52.8
13. Which musical band celebrates "girl power?"	
1. THE SPICE GIRLS/SPICE GIRLS .....	92.8
2. ALL OTHER .....	0.8
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	6.3
14. In which century did American women obtain the right to vote?	
1. THE TWENTIETH CENTURY/1900's .....	54.3
2. ALL OTHER .....	18.5
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	27.2
15. Name as many of the Three Stooges as you can. (ACCEPT MULTIPLE ANSWERS)	
1. CURLY .....	83.2
2. LARRY .....	73.8
3. MOE .....	81.7
4. SHEMP .....	10.8
5. CURLY JOE .....	4.3
6. DON'T KNOW ANY NAMES .....	12.8
15. TOTAL NUMBER OF STOOGES IDENTIFIED (Name as many of the Three Stooges as you can.)	
0. NONE .....	12.8
1. ONE .....	4.5
2. TWO .....	12.8
3. THREE .....	59.2
4. FOUR .....	7.2
5. FIVE .....	3.5
16. Name the three branches of the federal government.	
1. EXECUTIVE (PRESIDENT) .....	49.2
2. LEGISLATIVE (CONGRESS) .....	61.5
3. JUDICIAL (COURTS) .....	62.0
4. ALL OTHER .....	5.3
5. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	22.8
16. TOTAL NUMBER OF BRANCHES IDENTIFIED (Name the three branches of the federal government.)	
0. NONE .....	25.8
1. ONE .....	16.8
2. TWO .....	16.2
3. THREE .....	41.2
17. How old do you have to be to see an rated R movie in a theater without a parent or guardian?	
1. SEVENTEEN .....	65.3
2. ALL OTHER .....	29.7
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	5.0
18. How old do you have to be to vote in a national election for president?	
1. EIGHTEEN .....	90.8
2. ALL OTHER .....	7.0
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED .....	2.2
19. Who played the Fresh Prince of Bel Air on Television?	
1. WILL SMITH .....	94.7
2. ALL OTHER .....	0.5
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED .....	4.8
20. Who is the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court?	
1. WILLIAM REHNQUIST/REHNQUIST/JUSTICE REHNQUIST .....	2.2
2. ALL OTHER .....	6.0
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	91.8
21. What comedian/talkshow host is known for his nightly Top Ten List?	
1. DAVID LETTERMAN .....	53.0
2. ALL OTHER .....	14.2
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	32.8
22. What are the first ten amendments to the Constitution known as?	
1. THE BILL OF RIGHTS .....	44.8
2. ALL OTHER .....	4.7
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED .....	50.5

	<i>Percent</i>
23. Who stars as the father of the house in TV's "Home Improvement?"	
1. TIM TAYLOR/TIM ALLEN/TIM "THE TOOLMAN" .....	89.8
2. ALL OTHER .....	1.3
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	8.8
24. Who is currently the Speaker of the House in the United States Congress?	
1. NEWT GINGRICH .....	32.7
2. ALL OTHER .....	5.5
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	61.8
25. Who is considered the father of the computer company Microsoft?	
1. BILL GATES/GATES/WILLIAM GATES .....	58.3
2. ALL OTHER .....	3.5
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	38.2
26. Who is considered the father of the U.S. Constitution?	
1. JAMES MADISON/MADISON .....	1.8
2. ALL OTHER .....	54.2
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	44.0
27. What famous football player was found not guilty of murdering his ex-wife in 1995?	
1. OJ SIMPSON/OJ/SIMPSON .....	87.5
2. ALL OTHER .....	1.2
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	11.3
28. What landmark Supreme court case found that separate but equal treatment for blacks and whites in public schools was unconstitutional?	
1. BROWN VERSUS BOARD OF EDUCATION .....	9.2
2. ALL OTHER .....	5.5
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	85.3
29. What's the name of the town where Bart Simpson lives?	
1. SPRINGFIELD .....	74.3
2. ALL OTHER .....	1.0
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	24.7
30. What's the name of the town where Abraham Lincoln lived for most of his adult life and which he represented when in Congress?	
1. SPRINGFIELD .....	12.2
2. ALL OTHER .....	16.7
3. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	71.2

#### PARENTS AND TEACHERS

31. How often do you talk about politics and government with your parents or guardians?	
1. DAILY .....	8.3
2. A FEW TIMES A WEEK .....	14.2
3. ONCE A WEEK .....	10.0
4. A FEW TIMES A MONTH .....	7.7
5. ONCE A MONTH .....	5.5
6. RARELY .....	30.7
7. NEVER .....	22.7
8. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	1.0
32. How often do your teachers talk about politics and government with you?	
1. DAILY .....	38.0
2. A FEW TIMES A WEEK .....	23.5
3. ONCE A WEEK .....	9.0
4. A FEW TIMES A MONTH .....	9.0
5. ONCE A MONTH .....	4.0
6. RARELY .....	10.0
7. NEVER .....	3.7
8. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	2.8

#### DEMOGRAPHICS

33. In an average weekday—how many hours a day do you watch TV?	
0. NEVER .....	2.3
1. ONE .....	14.3
2. TWO .....	23.0
3. THREE .....	20.7
4. FOUR .....	11.7
5. FIVE .....	9.7
6 to 10. SIX-TEN .....	11.8

11 + . ELEVEN-TWENTY-FOUR .....	5.3
25. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED .....	1.2
34. How many days in the typical week do you read or listen to the news for at least 15 minutes a day?	
1. DAILY .....	51.5
2. A FEW TIMES A WEEK .....	32.0
3. ONCE A WEEK .....	6.5
4. A FEW TIMES A MONTH .....	0.8
5. ONCE A MONTH .....	0.8
6. RARELY .....	3.0
7. NEVER .....	4.8
8. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	0.5
35. In an average weekday how many hours a day do you do homework?	
0. NEVER .....	4.8
1. ONE .....	35.8
2. TWO .....	26.8
3. THREE .....	14.3
4. FOUR .....	6.7
5. FIVE .....	4.2
6 to 10. SIX-TEN .....	3.8
11 + . ELEVEN-TWENTY-FOUR .....	0.8
25. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED .....	2.7
36. What kind of grades do you get in school: Just stop me when I read the right category:	
1. MOSTLY Ds AND Fs .....	1.7
2. MOSTLY Cs AND Ds .....	5.0
3. MOSTLY Bs AND Cs .....	26.0
4. MOSTLY As AND Bs .....	49.0
5. MOSTLY As .....	17.7
6. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED (DO NOT READ) .....	0.7

## INDEPENDENCE MALL

Senator SPECTER. Where does the figure of \$210 million come in here?

Mr. RENDELL. That comes if you look at Independence Mall, the three blocks that make up the mall of Independence National Historic Park. If you look at the three blocks in the mall, they are all undergoing reconstruction. The third block has the Constitution Center. The first two blocks will house a new pavilion for the Liberty Bell, a new interpretive center to the Liberty Bell, a new Independence Institute, which will also be a teaching vehicle, and on the second block a new visitors center for INHP.

That part of the project will cost \$70 million-plus and there is less than \$2 million of Federal money in that part of the project. The other money comes from the State of Pennsylvania, the city of Philadelphia, the Pugh charitable trusts, and Ambassador and Mrs. Annenberg, who gave a \$10 million personal gift from their foundation.

So the total public funding, Federal public funding, in this project will be less than one-third of the overall cost of the reconstruction.

Senator SPECTER. Mayor Rendell, if you project \$67 million, \$65 million plus \$2 million, out of \$210 million, it has an easier ring on a sale in Washington than \$65 million on \$130 million.

Mr. RENDELL. I understand. I was getting to that.

Senator SPECTER. OK.

Mr. RENDELL. But you are right, Senator, and that is one of the points that you had made in your opening statement, and I wanted to reiterate that. That is absolutely the case. In fact, I know of no work being done in any part of the National Park Service, as in the

first two blocks, where 95 percent of the work is being done without Federal dollars. I think it is an extraordinary effort by the city, the State, and the private sector to do that.

We believe that this museum will be extraordinarily important to Americans, Senator, not just for Philadelphia. If this was just a Philadelphia issue, I do not think we would be here. But we believe the museum will have great importance to America.

Last year, as you know, Senator, we took a poll, a national poll about what adults knew and felt about the Constitution. There was good news and bad news in the poll. The good news was that nearly 90 percent of Americans polled said they had a great sense, a real sense of reverence about the Constitution and thought it was a great document. 85 percent said that for the Constitution to work at its greatest capacity American citizens should be knowledgeable about the Constitution.

But then the poll revealed that American citizens in fact were not knowledgeable, adult American citizens were not knowledgeable at all. Only 6 percent of American adults questioned could name the four freedoms guaranteed in the First Amendment. Less than two-thirds, about a third of all American adults questioned, could not name the three branches of the Federal Government. 52 percent of adults could not name the number of United States Senators that the Constitution requires.

On and on. There were other misconceptions. One out of six Americans believed that the Constitution established the United States as a Christian nation. There were all sorts of glaring misconceptions. On a rudimentary poll of 10 basic questions, only 5 percent of Americans could get that rudimentary poll correct.

We released those statistics last year and I think they were an eye-opener for people, both the reverence that Americans have for the Constitution, but also their lack of knowledge.

This year, and actually today, although it got out yesterday a little bit, we also want to highlight a poll that we took this year, Senator, involving teenagers in America, where we juxtaposed teenagers' knowledge of the Constitution to their knowledge of basic pop culture. The poll is highlighted in that chart to the left, but if I can touch on some of the more interesting results.

Only 1.8 percent of American teenagers knew that James Madison was the father of the United States Constitution, but almost 60 percent of American teenagers knew that Bill Gates was the father of Microsoft.

Only 2.2 percent of American teenagers knew that the Chief Justice of the United States was William Rehnquist, but 95 percent of American teenagers knew that the Fresh Prince of Belair was Philadelphia's own Will Smith.

Only 21 percent of American teenagers knew how many U.S. Senators there were, but 81 percent of American teenagers knew how many brothers made up the singing group the Hansens.

25 percent of American teenagers knew what the Fifth Amendment protected, but 64 percent of American teenagers knew what The Club protects, the device The Club.

25 percent of American teenagers knew that the Constitution was written in Philadelphia, but 75 percent of American teenagers knew that you would find the ZIP Code 90210 in Beverly Hills, CA.

Only 41 percent of American teenagers could name the three branches of the Federal Government, but 60 percent of American teenagers could give you the names of the Three Stooges.

The good news for the Vice President: Almost 74 percent of American teenagers could name Al Gore as the Vice President, but that pales in comparison to the 90 percent of American teenagers who could tell you that the male star of the movie Titanic was Leonardo DiCaprio.

So there is a huge gap both in adults and teenagers in the knowledge about this great instrument and this great document. We believe that our center, our museum, can in fact change a lot of that. We believe our average attendance will be somewhere between 1 million and 2 million people a year, and we believe most of them will be American families. It is our mission to correct what is obviously the failings of our basic education system that educates our teenagers about things like the Constitution, because our museum will be exciting, interesting, it will grab their attention, and it will be informative by showing America's young people as well as America's adults how the Constitution relates to their lives, how it affects them in modern 1998 America.

We think that that type of approach, coupled with the educational functions that you will hear that the University of Pennsylvania and Dr. Beeman are going to talk about, that type of approach will in fact have a dramatic effect in changing what Americans know and feel about this great document.

We also believe that as high school teachers and other teachers come to the Constitution Center they will learn about our website, they will learn about the availability of the lesson plans, and they will bring those lesson plans back to their kids.

So we believe that this is an enormously important project for the United States of America, not just for Philadelphia.

Last, and I do not want to take any of Dr. Beeman's area, but I do want to say that, in addition to the exhibits and the wonderful things that will be in the museums, one of the things I think Joe is going to touch on is the museum will create—as you go into the museum you will get a delegate's pass and, among other things, we will have a room where the delegate visitor will pass through and will hear a debate on Constitutional issues of the time.

For example, were the center up right now we would have you, Senator, talking about whether in fact campaign financing legislation violated the Constitution, and we would have someone else—

Senator SPECTER. Would you have Senator McCain doing that, too?

Mr. RENDELL. We would have someone else on the other side.

Senator SPECTER. No; he is on the same side.

Mr. RENDELL. Well, then someone on the other side. And we would ask—

Senator SPECTER. You ought to have Senator McCain doing that.

Mr. RENDELL. All right, we will have Senator McCain doing it. It may not be relevant in 2002, hopefully, but just to give you an idea.

Then we would ask the delegates to cast their vote, so we could almost have a contemporary running poll on the hottest constitutional issues of the day.

So in any event, we believe this is a great for Philadelphia, but, even more importantly, a great idea for America, and we would again ask that this committee add the \$10 million into its budget, and we will fight on the House side to make sure that in conference committee there are Representatives there who are receptive to this.

Again, Senator, we want to thank you. Had you not brought the Interior Committee to Philadelphia for the field hearing, I do not think we would have progressed to the level that we have progressed today, and we are very appreciative of all your efforts.

Senator SPECTER. Mayor Rendell, thank you for your testimony. As you know, I have been pushing hard since I introduced the legislation for the National Constitution Center way back on April 21, 1987. It was a spectacular celebration when the 200th anniversary was celebrated on September 17, 1987. President Reagan was in town. In front of Independence Hall we have those markings, one where President Lincoln spoke in 1862 and one where President John Kennedy spoke in 1963. It is truly historic.

I refer to Senator McCain only because he was the author of the "pork" comment. How anybody could call the National Constitution Center pork is a little beyond my personal comprehension. It is about the same thing as calling Dirksen Room 138 pork, where we are having our hearing today, or the Senate chamber, or the House chamber or the Rotunda.

It is as magnificent a Federal institution as you can find. We have talked about this before. I think we need to find as many ways as we can to publicize the Constitution Center so that people across America know about it even if they cannot get there.

Mr. RENDELL. That is right. On our web site, once the center is built, Senator, we intend—and Joe can tell you more about that, but we intend to basically have a virtual reality center, so you can be sitting at home in Spokane, Washington, and literally traverse, go through the center, the way a delegate who is physically present in Philadelphia could do so.

I think that will bring the center and its reality and what it teaches to a much wider scope than even the one to two million people a year who go through it.

Senator SPECTER. The aspect of the Constitution as a living, expanding document is one which is not really understood. There are many people who articulate the intent of the Founding Fathers, which is a little hard to figure out sometimes. The one case which stops everybody cold is Brown versus Board of Education. Nobody is going to disagree with integration in America and that does not square with the Constitution in 1787 or with the post-Civil War amendments, the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments.

We have had some testy and incisive debates on the Supreme Court confirmation hearings on that precise point. I will not specify which ones since this is an election year. But those are concepts which really need to be articulated.

Were you in the college or the Wharton School?

Mr. RENDELL. I was in the college, and my son starts in the college on Saturday.

Senator SPECTER. Well, they will have an easier time with Jesse Rendell than with Edward G. Rendell.

**STATEMENT OF RICHARD R. BEEMAN, DEAN, COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA**

Senator SPECTER. With that, we will turn to Dean Beeman of the School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania. He came there a little after I graduated.

Dean Beeman, the floor is yours.

Mr. BEEMAN. Thank you very much, Senator. I am going to be delighted—I am the new dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. I am going to be delighted to welcome the mayor's son to Penn.

Mr. Chairman, thank you so much for this opportunity to testify about the important purposes of the proposed National Constitution Center. I and my colleagues at Penn join Mayor Rendell in our gratitude to you for your support for the Constitution Center, but also we are enormously grateful for your support for so many other initiatives in research and higher education, in biomedical research, in the National Institutes for Health, on undergraduate and graduate student financial assistance. All of that support is greatly appropriated.

Mr. Chairman, we Americans are indeed blessed to live under the protection of the Constitution. It has allowed an extraordinary measure of individual liberty for our citizens and at the same time it has provided our Nation a remarkable measure of public order and stability. Liberty and order, those are the essential aims of any government.

Such is our confidence in the durability of the government created by the Founding Fathers that it is easy to take those blessings of liberty and stable government for granted. But the Founding Fathers themselves as they prepared to leave Philadelphia after the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention in September 1787, they were far less sanguine about the prospects for their new government.

On September 17th, the final day of the convention, Benjamin Franklin, the founder of my and our university, rose to give what would be the last major speech of his life. Ever the optimist, even at the age of 81, he nevertheless gave what was for him a remarkably restrained assessment of the government he and his colleagues had labored to create:

“When you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom,” he noted, “you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views.”

Franklin thought it impossible to expect a perfect production from such a gathering, but he believed that the Constitution they had just drafted, with all its faults, was better than any alternative that was likely to emerge.

Nearly all of the delegates harbored objections to the document. They too believed that much of it was still imperfect. But, persuaded by Franklin's logic, they put their misgivings aside and affixed their signatures to it.

More important, following adoption of the Constitution, Franklin and his fellow delegates worked tirelessly to make certain that America's experiment in liberty would be a success. They and their successors, men like John Marshall and Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun and Abraham Lincoln, realized that the Federal edifice so recently created was not a self-actuating or a self-sustaining one. It could only be sustained, they knew, by renewed dedication and constant commitment to the principles of American government.

Our Founding Fathers understood that our system of democratic government came with no guarantees. They knew that the new republic would require active, informed citizen involvement to preserve, protect, and defend it. This, Mr. Chairman, as you know, is the basic, if daunting mission of the National Constitution Center—to make sure that the citizens of our Nation live up to their obligation to understand and to nurture the Constitution and our system of government.

The University of Pennsylvania is proud, therefore, to commit resources to the establishment of a National Constitution Center. It is a commitment that includes our excellent history department and law school, which together are working to lay a foundation for renewed scholarship and public discussion about the origins and purpose of American government.

Dean Gary Hack of our Graduate School of Fine Arts is actively involved on a pro bono basis in the design of the museum, and the faculty of Penn's Graduate School of Education are actively engaged in the creation and dissemination of teaching materials on the Constitution for use by students in our Nation's schools. As the Mayor has already mentioned, Penn has also worked with the center in setting up its new user-friendly web site, and we will continue to provide support to help refine that website.

These and other examples of Penn's support for the National Constitution Center are an outgrowth of our commitment to higher education, to the higher purposes of education, to educate an informed citizenry, a citizenry aware not only of the rights provided by our Constitution, but also of our responsibilities to keep America's experiment in liberty a viable and vibrant one.

As an historian of the Revolution and the Constitution who has taught in Philadelphia for the past 30 years, I am aware of how the historic buildings on Independence Mall and its environs—Independence Hall itself, Congress Hall—they provide an exciting opportunity to teach Americans, as well as tens of thousands of foreign visitors, about these critical moments in our Nation's past.

The National Park Service is doing an outstanding job both of preserving Philadelphia's physical heritage and in interpreting the events that transpired in those historic buildings. The National Constitution Center's new mission will be to build intellectual bridges between that important eighteenth century history and the twenty-first century, so that we might better appreciate where we have come from and where we might be headed.

I really do believe that it will be the synergy created between the efforts of the Park Service and those of the Constitution Center that will make the educational experience on Independence Mall such a powerful one.

I see that red light in front of me, but if I might have 30 seconds to express—to end on a personal note. I serve on a National Advisory Board of Scholars which helps guide the center’s public outreach efforts. That board includes scholars from all over the country and it is a very distinguished bunch, including several Pulitzer Prize winners. Each of us is privileged to teach in our respective universities a few hundred students each year about the Constitution and the birth of democracy.

PREPARED STATEMENT

Our experience as teachers has been enormously rewarding to us. It is I think the most rewarding thing we do. But our ambition—and I hope I use that word in a public-spirited and not a self-interested sense—our ambition is to extend teaching and learning well beyond our classrooms. If the ambitions of the National Constitution Center are realized, we will be able to reach millions of American citizens to inform them, as we do the students in our classrooms, about the priceless heritage Franklin and the other framers bequeathed us.

Thank you very much for your time, and of course I would be pleased to answer any questions you might have.

[The statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RICHARD BEEMAN

My name is Richard Beeman. I am a Professor of History and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania. I also have the privilege and honor of serving as the National Constitution Center’s first Senior Visiting Scholar.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to testify before you this morning on the proposed new National Constitution Center .

Let me say at the outset, I and my colleagues at Penn salute the vision you have shown in seeking to secure federal funding to build the Constitution Center. Your leadership on this and other matters of critical importance to the University of Pennsylvania and the nation—in biomedical research at the National Institutes of Health and on undergraduate and graduate student financial assistance—is greatly appreciated.

Mr. Chairman, we Americans are fortunate to live under the protection of the United States Constitution. It has established an extraordinary measure of individual liberty for the citizens of our nation. At the same time, the Constitution has also provided our nation a remarkable measure of public order and stability.

Such is our confidence in the durability of the government created by the Founding Fathers that it is easy to take the blessings of liberty and of stable, just government for granted.

The Founding Fathers themselves, as they prepared to leave Philadelphia after the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention in September 1787, were wisely more modest about their accomplishments. And they were far less sanguine about the prospects for the new government.

On September 17, 1787, the final day of the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin, who also was the founder of the University of Pennsylvania, rose to give what would be the last major speech of his life. Ever the optimist, even at the age of 81, he nevertheless gave what was for him a remarkably restrained assessment of the government he and his colleagues had labored to create.

“When you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom,” he noted, “you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views.” Franklin thought it impossible to expect a “perfect production” from such a gathering, but he believed that the Constitution they had just drafted, “with all its faults,” was better than any alternative that was likely to emerge. Nearly all of the delegates harbored objections to a document that they believed to be still imperfect, but, persuaded by Franklin’s logic, they put aside their misgivings and affixed their signatures to it.

More important, following adoption of the Constitution by the individual states, Franklin and his fellow delegates worked tirelessly to make certain that America's experiment in liberty was a success. They, and their successors—men like John Marshall, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, and Abraham Lincoln—realized that the federal edifice so recently created was not a self-actuating or a self-sustaining one. It could only be sustained, they knew, by renewed dedication and constant commitment to the principles of American government. These would require the attention and devotion of all citizens.

Our Founding Fathers understood that our system of democratic government came with no guarantees. Not in 1787, or today. They knew that the new republic would require active, informed citizen involvement to preserve, protect, and defend it.

This, Mr. Chairman, as you know, is the basic, if rather daunting, mission of the National Constitution Center. To make sure that we as a nation understand that each of our citizens has an obligation to understand, to guard, and to protect the Constitution and our system of government.

The National Constitution Center is designed to be a living national museum devoted to advancing public understanding of the principles, rights, and responsibilities of American citizenship, past and present.

The United States currently does not have a facility that performs this critical function at a time when we know that the public's understanding of the American experiment in democratic government has unfortunately eroded. We cannot afford the luxury of ignorance or apathy today, any more than we could at any other critical time in the nation's past.

The University of Pennsylvania is proud, therefore, to commit resources to the establishment of a National Constitution Center. It is a commitment that includes the History Department and Law School, which together are working to lay a foundation for renewed scholarship and discussion about the origins and purpose of American government. In addition, Dean Gary Hack of our Graduate School of Fine Arts is helping design the museum, and the faculty of Penn's Graduate School of Education are actively engaged the creation and dissemination of teaching materials on the Constitution for use by students in our nation's schools. Penn has also worked with the Center in setting up its new user-friendly web site, which we will continue to support and refine.

These and other examples of Penn's support for the National Constitution Center are an outgrowth of our commitment, really since the Revolutionary Era, to educate an informed citizenry—a citizenry aware, not only of its rights protected by our Constitution, but also of its responsibility to keep America's experiment in liberty a viable and vibrant one.

As an historian of the Revolution and the Constitution, who has taught in Philadelphia for the past thirty years, I am aware of how the historic buildings on Independence Mall and its environs—Independence Hall, Congress Hall, the American Philosophical Society, Carpenters Hall—provide an exciting opportunity to teach Americans, as well as tens of thousands of foreign visitors, about this critical moment in our nation's past.

The National Park Service is doing an outstanding job of both preserving Philadelphia's physical heritage and in interpreting the events that transpired in those historic buildings. The National Constitution Center's new mission, on the other hand, will be to build intellectual bridges, if you will, between that important eighteenth century history and the twenty-first century—so that we might better appreciate where we have come from and where the nation might be headed.

Mr. Chairman, allow me to conclude on a personal note. I serve on a National Advisory Board of Scholars which helps guide the Center's public outreach efforts. That board includes scholars from all over the country—from Rhode Island, New Jersey, Ohio, and California. It includes several Pulitzer Prize winners. Each of us is privileged to teach a few hundred students each year about the Constitution and the birth of democracy.

Our experience as teachers has been enormously rewarding, but our "ambition"—a word I use in its disinterested eighteenth century sense—is to extend teaching—and learning—well beyond the classrooms of our respective universities. If the ambitions of the National Constitution Center are realized, we will be able to reach millions of American citizens to inform them—as we do the students in our classrooms—about the priceless heritage Franklin and the other Framers bequeathed us.

Thank you very much.

## DEBATING TEAM

Senator SPECTER. Well, thank you very much, Dean Beeman. You are a successor to Dean Glenn R. Morrow, who was Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences? You know Dean Morrow's work, or is that too old for you?

Mr. BEEMAN. I think yes, it is past my time, although I have been at Penn a long time.

Senator SPECTER. Well, he was the Dean when I was in school. The Oxford debating team came to debate the University of Pennsylvania and Penn did not do too well one year. Dean Morrow insisted upon having a split team debate the next year. The Oxford and the British people would travel around, charge \$100 for each school, and they drew very sizable crowds. In those days they had a lot of people from World War II.

My colleague and I wanted to debate them together. The year before they had had a split team where one Oxford fellow was on with one Penn fellow, so that there was no Oxford against Penn. Marvin Katz, who is now a Federal judge, and I went to talk to Dean Morrow, your predecessor, to try to persuade him to let us debate as a team.

He was totally opposed to the idea until he saw the force of our argument, and then he agreed. We won the second debate with Oxford as well.

When I see the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, I feel like reminiscing on the record for up to a minute and a half.

Mr. BEEMAN. I congratulate you for that victory in the name of the college.

Senator SPECTER. Well, since you have made a response I will tell you what the subject was. It was: Resolved, that the British Empire is decadent. We debated two Britishers: a man named Robin Day, who later became the British equivalent of Walter Cronkite, and a man named Jeffrey Johnson-Smith. Both were later knighted, and Jeffrey Johnson-Smith is in the Parliament and I see him from time to time on the North Atlantic Assembly.

After the debate was over and the judges had voted in favor of Penn that the British Empire was decadent, my father walked onto the stage and said: Arlen, you are not a very good host. You brought these fellows all the way from Great Britain and now you prove that their empire is decadent. What kind of a way is that to treat these fellows? And I said: Dad, they got their 100 bucks. [Laughter.]

**STATEMENT OF JOSEPH M. TORSELLA, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL CONSTITUTION CENTER**

Senator SPECTER. Back to business. Mr. Torsella, president of the National Constitution Center, we welcome you here and look forward to your testimony.

Mr. TORSELLA. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, and thank you. The mayor whispered to me that I should disclose to you that I am also an alumni of Oxford as well as Penn, although, having heard that story, I am not sure that is a wise idea, but in the interest of full disclosure.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify today and to echo what the mayor and Dr. Beeman said. Thank you for your longstanding

leadership, not just in the past few days and weeks, but over many, many years, in support of the cause of constitutional education and the National Constitution Center.

In the poll the Mayor discussed there is a lot of bad news, as you can see, but there are also glimmers of good news. One of the pieces of good news is that kids, like adults, are capable of taking information on board and remembering it when they think it is relevant and interesting to their lives. You see some scores up there in the 90's and high 80's when it is a fact that kids think has meaning for them in their daily life.

Now, the Constitution Center with our ongoing educational outreach, we do a good job of reaching kids who already think that this information is relevant to them. I will just briefly share a letter we recently received from a student in Greenwood, SC. He wrote to us recently:

"Hi: My name is Terence Pea and I have to study for my test. Can I have a copy of the Constitution of the United States? I need to make an A-plus."

Now, that is sort of my definition of relevant and important to one's daily life. Terence is a very practical young man.

The trouble is, as you can tell from the poll, for every Terence out there there are 20, 30, 40, maybe even 50 other kids who do not think the information is relevant and who we need to do more to get to them. That is why we have to rededicate ourselves to the goal articulated first in the legislation of building a physical place that can reach an audience vastly greater than the tens of thousands that we now reach.

We are ready to do that. We have developed preliminary plans for the world's first museum devoted to what is truly the most remarkable document in political history, the United States Constitution. These plans have been developed, by the way, by some fairly remarkable minds of our day and age. You heard from Dr. Beeman how Dean Gary Hack of the University of Pennsylvania has been our senior design consultant on space and architectural issues. We will be announcing within the next 2 weeks our official architect and exhibit designer and I am confident that those choices will be of the same caliber. Ralph Applebaum, who designed the noted Holocaust Museum and the Newseum, also nearby here, was the preliminary exhibit designer for the Constitution Center. And as Dr. Beeman mentioned, we have a number of Pulitzer Prize-winning historians who are involved in the thematic content of it.

The particulars of the building are that it would be 132,000 square feet, it would be located on Independence Mall, we would reach more than a million visitors a year, and the total cost, as you know, of the entire mall project is over \$200 million, with \$130 million of that to the Constitution Center.

I am going to give you a brief tour of the building from the visitor perspective, not from the architectural facts. As you enter the building, you become a delegate. You are asked not to take a passive approach, but an active approach to citizenship, just the way the people who signed the Constitution did.

Your first stop is something called "The Founding Story," and that is a brief film that gives all visitors the same basic set of knowledge about the origins of the Constitution and its historical

perspective. From there you can go on to one, two, or all six of six different thematic zones that deal with the important themes of the Constitution. Each takes its title from words in our founding document.

The first is called "This Constitution" and that relates to the basic structure of government. The second is called "Promoting the General Welfare," and that is the way that government and society interact. The third, called "A More Perfect Union," deals with issues of Federalism. The fourth, "Created Equal," addresses equality in America and how we have struggled toward a more perfect approximation of that. The fifth, "Blessings of Liberty," is related to rights and responsibilities of citizens. And the last, "To Our Posterity," looks at democracy in the future.

In each of these levels you can explore as much or as little as you like, and there will be attractions geared not just for people who know a lot, but for people who know very little.

Finally, your last stop is something called "Signer's Hall," and there you will see an original copy of the Constitution, but you will be given the opportunity, using a laser pen, to sign your name and to receive a parchment replica, which includes your name as well as those of the original signers, affirming your citizenship and taking the same leap of faith that the founders did.

All of these things, though, are just half of what happens there. Behind the scenes, there are activities that are going to reach more than the million visitors who come, many millions more, hopefully tens of millions. There will be a virtual museum where all of the museum's activities will be paralleled on line, so that a student in Alaska can come to the museum even if she cannot come to Philadelphia. There will be curricula and lesson plans for teachers.

Senator SPECTER. Tell us a little bit more about how the student from Alaska participates even though she does not come to Philadelphia?

Mr. TORSELLA. Well, there is technology available now so that when the physical museum is constructed that reality can be mirrored on-line on the Internet, so that someone can, using virtual reality, walk through a room and see exhibits. If she sees an exhibit related to the Civil War and Union, she can click on a picture of Abraham Lincoln and learn more about that.

Senator SPECTER. That could be done at the center, but also on Internet?

Mr. TORSELLA. Absolutely. Further, that person can also engage in actual ongoing discussions through the Internet with other people, both at the center and elsewhere, who are interested in the same topics. That kind of discourse and discussion is an important part of what we hope to accomplish.

Mr. RENDELL. Just for another example, Senator, if I can cut in, the room where the visitors will actually hear the 3- to 5-minute presentations on each side of a current constitutional issue, assume it was Senator McCain, you could press a button and hear and see Senator McCain's 3- to 5-minute presentation on one side of the issue, someone else on the other side of the issue. You can actually see that and hear that on your computer at home.

Mr. TORSELLA. A third behind the scenes function of the center will be to be a center for production of broadcast content, television

and radio debates on constitutional issues in current events, where you could have debates between presidential candidates, but, more importantly, you could have debates between presidents of high school classes or even maybe the University of Pennsylvania and Oxford rematch.

Last, there would be a center for scholars and residents. An important distinction: This would not be a center where scholars speak only to other scholars, but where scholars speak to ordinary citizens and help make this knowledge available to all of us.

Now, in this description there are two important points that I would like to emphasize and then I will close. The first is that this is a museum with an agenda, with a purpose. We want people, however they come in, whether they come in electronically or physically, they come in as tourists, but we want them to leave as citizens. We want them to leave with a new level of information and, most importantly, an understanding that it is their individual participation in democracy that keeps it healthy.

Second, we call this a museum because we have not thought of the right word. This is meant to be much more than a museum. It is meant to be interactive, engaging, dynamic, entertaining, and even fun, because if it is those things we can reach people and communicate important educational content that might not be reached by more traditional means and who clearly are not being reached by more traditional means.

We are now entering the most important phase of the work and this is the work for which we have requested the committee's support over the next year. The detailed exhibit planning and design and content development and story development that has to take place over the next 12 months is what we determine whether we succeed in this or fail in this mission and how effective we are.

#### PREPARED STATEMENT

With your support, we can make this a place as remarkable as the document that it commemorates. If we do that, we can make all American kids and adults A-plus students and not just Terence Pea.

Thank you.

Senator SPECTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Torsella.

[The statement follows:]

#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOSEPH M. TORSELLA

Good morning, Mr. Chairman. It is an honor to testify today before this committee. All of us involved in the National Constitution Center thank you for your interest and for your time, and commend you for your longstanding leadership in making constitutional education a national priority.

As you know, the National Constitution Center (NCC) was created as an independent, non-profit and non-partisan organization by Congress in the Constitution Heritage Act of 1988. At the heart of this legislation was a recognition by Congress of the need for ongoing education of all of our citizens on the U.S. Constitution. In the words of the Act, "educational programs for the Constitution should continue after the bicentennial to document its profound impact on the political, economic, and social development of this Nation." Most ambitiously, the Act contemplated that someday NCC would establish a physical site devoted to explaining the Constitution to visitors at the place of its birth: Independence National Historical Park, in Philadelphia.

Mr. Chairman, that someday is today. NCC has finalized plans to create the Constitution Center—the first-ever museum honoring and explaining the world's most

important political document. As you know, we are seeking federal support of this important project in the fiscal year 1999 budget in the total amount of \$20 million, with equal portions coming from both Interior and Education related budgets. You will hear this morning from my colleague Dr. Richard Beeman, a distinguished professional of early American history and a visiting scholar at NCC, about why constitutional education is so important to a healthy democracy. You will also hear from Philadelphia's Mayor, Edward G. Rendell, who is chairman of NCC's Board of Directors. Mayor Rendell will discuss our funding request in the context of local and philanthropic efforts related to the entire Independence Mall project, and will also share the disturbing results of a new national poll of American youth recently conducted by NCC. But first, I would like to tell you a bit more about plans for the Constitution Center museum and why this project represents the ultimate fulfillment of the educational mission charted by Congress 10 years ago.

The Constitution Center will appropriately be located on Independence Mall, just steps from where the Constitution itself was written. It will dramatically tell the story of the United States Constitution to the one million visitors expected to enter its doors each year. The facility will be 132,000 square feet, and is scheduled to break ground on Constitution Day (September 17) in the year 2000, and to open its doors to the public two years later. The total capital budget for the project is \$130 million. As the first institution dedicated to telling the story of this extraordinary document, the Center will be one of the most important educational resources in the 21st century for Americans, and indeed for all people around the world struggling to adopt constitutional governments and functioning democracies.

When they enter the Constitution Center, visitors will register as delegates, just as Washington, Madison, and Franklin were at the Constitutional Convention in the summer of 1787. By becoming delegates, visitors discover how important they are as individuals and as members of communities to the ongoing American democratic experience. This act will be the first of many devices throughout the Center that will transform visitors from passive observers into active participants—a transformation the Constitution itself demands that we adopt to preserve our freedoms.

The visitor experience will begin with "The Founding Story," a dynamic cinematic introduction to the Constitution Center through which visitors will experience the heady excitement of a nation experiencing its newfound independence, the difficult days of forging the new nation, the wrenching debates over slavery and representation, and the cautious hope that dawned with the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. From there, visitors will move through six themed areas whose titles take their inspiration from words in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

"This Constitution" explores the structure of government while "Promoting the General Welfare" asks visitors to consider the relationship between government and society. In "A More Perfect Union," our attention centers on federalism and states rights, and in "Created Equal," we explore the changing meanings of equality in our society. Journeying through "The Blessings of Liberty," visitors learn about rights and responsibilities, and in "To Our Posterity," we see visions of our future, with interactive galleries delving into "on-line democracy."

As we leave these six themed areas, we enter the final of the Center's permanent exhibition spaces, Signer's Hall, a dramatic and reverent conclusion to our journey. Here, a copy of the Constitution is on display. And just like the original delegates, we are asked to judge whether or not to adopt it. Using a laser pen and our Delegate's Pass, we can sign the Constitution, adding our names to those of the millions of visitors stored in a permanent electronic data bank. And as we leave, we receive a signed parchment replica of the Constitution.

The experience of the one million physical visitors is only part of what will happen at the Center. What happens behind the scenes will reach many millions more. A third grader in Alaska can visit the Constitution Center's virtual museum—even if she can't come to Philadelphia. A schoolteacher in Paris—Texas or France—can get free curricula and lesson plans on the Constitution. And a senior citizen in Seattle can watch a televised debate on the latest proposal for a constitutional amendment. One speaker might be a presidential candidate. The other might be president of her senior class. There will be nationally-televised debates from an in-house production studio, a major internet presence, using "virtual museum" technology, newsletters and publications, polling, and off-site school programs. The Center will also boast a study and resource center for teachers, scholars, and students.

I hope that from this description several facts will be apparent to you. First, although we call this place a "building" or a "museum," it will really be much more than either of these words suggest. The visitor experience will be worlds apart from the typical museum tour. It will be interactive, engaging, educational, and entertaining. Everywhere visitors turn they will find activities, films, shows, and inter-

active exhibits to engage their interest. In this way, we hope to capture the hearts and minds of both adults and children who previously had little understanding of the Constitution's role in their daily lives, and who might not be reached by more typical educational methods.

In short, we expect that the Constitution Center will be a sort of headquarters for spreading a message across our culture that each of us has a vital role to play in ensuring that the hard-won freedoms embedded in our Constitution are passed along intact to the next generation. Whoever our visitors are, however they arrive, we want them to leave as informed citizens.

We stand ready to undertake this challenge. In the past 18 months, a number of important developments have set the stage for the next phase of our work:

- The National Park Service (NPS) completed its General Management Plan (GMP) which will guide the Park's development for the next several decades. The GMP endorsed the inclusion of the Constitution Center on Independence Mall, federal parkland.
- NPS also completed a master design plan for the Mall. This design, by noted landscape architect Laurie Olin, situates the Constitution Center prominently on the third block of the Mall, facing Independence Hall, making the Center the vital northern anchor of the Mall.
- The interpretative vision for the Center was developed and articulated with assistance from an extraordinary group of scholars from around the country, and by Ralph Appelbaum, the award-winning designer of the Holocaust Museum in Washington. This vision—which sees the Constitution both as the creator of a nation, and a protector of individuals—was elaborated in an 8-minute video, "Imagine a Place," produced by NCC to describe the visitor experience.
- The Pennsylvania General Assembly authorized a \$30 million capital contribution towards the construction of the Constitution Center, and NCC will shortly announce major developments in its private fundraising efforts.
- Using the GSA's Design Excellence Program, NCC engaged in a national search for the nation's best architectural and exhibition designers. NCC will announce its design team, both architect and exhibit designer, later this month. The Constitution Center will truly come to life with preliminary sketches and plans as early as the spring and summer of 1999.

Because of these developments, we are now ready to tackle the most critical phase of creating the Constitution Center: the detailed planning that is required for a project of this magnitude. It is for this work that we seek this committee's support. In the next year, we will intensively study, develop, and design the educational core of the Constitution Center, working with the nation's leading educators and scholars. We will now lay the educational groundwork that will ensure that future generations have the resources they deserve to grasp the role the Constitution plays in their government.

In the Constitution Heritage Act ten years ago, Congress first articulated an ambitious and worthwhile goal: that there would eventually be established within Independence National Historical Park a center dedicated to the Constitution, from which would emanate nothing less than a "national program of public education on the Constitution." Today, we are poised to achieve that worthwhile goal, and with the support of this committee, we shall.

Thank you.

#### COUNTRY SYMBOLS

Mr. RENDELL. Can I add one last thing that Joe's recitation reminded me of. I think for Americans to feel good about themselves and their country symbols are important, too. I know one of my police officers drove me down last night to Washington, and he had never been to Washington, D.C., before. We came down North Capitol Street off New York Avenue because I was staying at the Capitol Hyatt, and he looked at the Capitol Building, as you can see it when you turn onto North Capitol, lit up and gleaming. He is an Hispanic officer, born in Puerto Rico and lived in Philadelphia for the last 30 years, and this is a fairly hardened Philadelphia policeman. He was touched by what he saw, I mean truly touched by what he saw. It is a beautiful site.

I want to close our presentation by just asking you to think about being an American citizen, never been in Philadelphia before,

read a little bit about the Declaration and the Constitution, et cetera, and you are touring Independence Hall and you come out of Independence Hall and you look down the mall, and at the other end of the mall, two blocks away, you will see the Constitution Center.

As you come out of Independence Hall or the Liberty Bell Pavilion and you look down at the Constitution Center, whatever the building will look like—and we do not know that yet because we have not picked the architect—but above the entranceway in very graphic form will be three words: “We the People.”

I submit to you that that can be as moving a site to Americans as what my detective saw last night seeing the Capitol for the first time.

Senator SPECTER. Well, that is very impressive, and thank you for the presentation.

Let me ask for an enumeration as to how the Constitution Center will be applicable or of advantage to the other 49 States or distant parts of Pennsylvania? Specifically identify that so that I may repeat them to the House members and my colleagues in the Senate.

Mr. TORSELLA. First of all, I would point out that our current educational offerings, we are of advantage to all 50 States. The signings program that the Mayor mentioned takes place in all 50 States and this September is also going to take place in all 50 States. Our files are filled with letters from all these States and from communities large and small about the meaning of this program.

Those same people, by the way, write to us.

Senator SPECTER. You say the signing, where somebody signs the Constitution?

Mr. TORSELLA. Yes.

Senator SPECTER. That can be done in other States?

Mr. TORSELLA. That can be done. We currently do that in other States and we archive the scrolls for the future Constitution Center.

Now, those people, by the way, when they write back to us, not only do they tell us how effective the signing is, but when we let them know what our plans are related to the Constitution Center there is an enormous amount of interest from these people in visiting the Constitution Center. If I can, I actually have some examples of some letters.

Nita Skoagland in Rome, New York: “My grandson is very interested in history. I would bring him with me.”

Hazel Park, Missouri: “The Constitution Center sounds fun and educational. I would really love to go.”

Senator SPECTER. Tell me now, the signing can be done now. What will be unique after the Constitution Center is put up that cannot be done now?

Mr. TORSELLA. Well, the difference is that when people partake in our signings, either offsite or on the Constitution Center, their names will become part of a permanent record that we hope will become an enormous percentage of all Americans who have “signed the Constitution” and affirmed their citizenship, so that in the cen-

ter will be a vast permanent record of millions upon millions of signatures.

The first point I want to make is that we expect visitation, which is currently, at Independence Mall, visitation is very national and international, we expect that to be true for the Constitution Center.

Second, the behind the scenes things that I talked about are not trivial. They represent about half of the space in the center. It is our intent that things like television broadcasts, things like Internet debates and national electronic town meetings be half of the center's priority, not just for the physical visitor, so that those people who are lucky enough to come, we would certainly like to see them. Those people that cannot come, we would like to see them electronically, or perhaps those people who are planning to come we would like to see before they get there.

Senator SPECTER. Of course, the Constitution Center has to be in existence and you have to have all these programs so they can be tapped into electronically.

Mr. BEEMAN. You know, Senator Specter, my view of this may be biased by the fact that I have chosen to be a historian of 18th century America. But whenever I walk into Independence Hall I am filled with emotion at the achievement of the people who gathered there first in 1776 and in 1787. It is not just an educational experience. It is a profoundly emotional one, and I think it is for millions of visitors as well.

I think all of our hopes is that when people come to the National Constitution Center some time early in the 21st century that they are going to have that same kind of experience, not just an educational experience, but an emotional one. It really is an experience which, as you look down the mall, which links that wonderful eighteenth century history to the promise of the future.

Mr. TORSELLA. Senator, one final point on this subject. You here in Washington can see from the experience of the Holocaust Museum how an institution can cast a shadow that is much larger than its physical presence. Kids and adults all around the country have a new understanding of that subject because of the place that that museum has taken in our culture.

We hope to be, similarly, not just a museum, but much more broadly a presence in the American culture.

#### CONCLUSION OF HEARINGS

Senator SPECTER. Well, it is enormously impressive and we will work hard to help you with the funding. That is obviously indispensable. We have our work cut out in the Senate, but more specifically in the House.

We told you we would get you out of here by noontime and it is 2 minutes to 12. So we thank you very much for being here, that concludes our hearing. The subcommittee will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

[Whereupon, at 11:58 a.m., Wednesday, September 2, the hearings were concluded, and the subcommittee was recessed, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]