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Folder Title:
Remarks to Evangelical Leaders 11/21/89 [OA 6344]

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What crowd!
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(Smith/Blessey)
Draft Two
November 17, 1989
FUN

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: EVANGELICAL LEADERS
ROOM 450
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1989
3:20 P.M.

Swain
James
Dr. Kennedy
Boymann
Row
Dr. Falwell, Dr. Robertson, Dr. Carlson, Reverend Crouch,

Day West
x 2992
Ladies and gentlemen. ((You know, it is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Well, I am delighted to address an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

It is a pleasure to welcome you, and to have you here. We gather as friends, and as fellow believers. For although we demand the separation of church and state -- we do not -- must never -- accept a separation of morality and state.

Perhaps a little boy once expressed it best. "God bless mother and daddy, my brother and sister," he said. And then he went on to pray: "And, oh God, do take care of yourself, because if anything happens to you we're all sunk." //

Those words, I think, say much about America. And about the evangelical movement which so uplifts America. They remind us that we are a religious people. And that political values without spiritual values cannot sustain a Nation.

George Washington knew this. Addressing his troops in 1776, he said, "The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army." And so did Dwight Eisenhower. He began his first Inaugural Address with a hand-

Artlett's
p. 379

Eisenhower
Papers
p. 1

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Papers

written missive. "Give us, we pray," he said, "the power to discern clearly right from wrong."

Bio

For decades, America's evangelical movement has worked to reaffirm Ike's message: To do right, reject wrong, and make America a more decent place. You do so now. And I am with you.

You know, I look around here. // Jerry [FALWELL], I remember your kindness in inviting me to speak at Liberty. // Pat [ROBERTSON], thinking back to the '88 Campaign, seems like old times. // And so many of you -- old friends, inspiring millions; your movement growing by leaps and bounds. And I think of how people ask, "Who are the ^{evangelicals} ~~born-again~~? What do they believe in? What do they expect from government?"

Conf

Doug Wood

First questions, first. Who are they? -- these evangelical Christians. They are ^{young and old,} ~~rural and urban, laborer and manager,~~ ^{even} Protestant and Catholic. They come from the heart of America. They show that the heart of America is good.

Doug

Doug Wood

What do you believe in? You believe what I believe. You cherish home and family. You believe that the only true special interest is America's. Above all, you accept Jesus Christ as your personal savior.

Doug

Next, what do you expect from government? You don't ask for privileged treatment. ^{But you do ask for fair treatments} You do ask to be respected. And this Administration does. You want to be listened to. And we do -- and will. You want evangelicals to influence government policy. And you have -- and are. For your philosophy is our philosophy: Morality forms the rock upon which America's greatness rests.

Doug

Doug

Doug

Doug

X

All "you's to they" according to Doug

That is why we have acted to enhance the quality and diversity of our public and private schools. Our "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" seeks to reward education. To demand educational accountability. And to let parents choose which schools their children will attend. A final note: You know the realities of the Federal budget. But when the Budget allows, I'm going to fulfill the pledge I made in last year's Campaign: We need tuition tax credits for the parents of America.

Account

Ree OMB

A second concern, I know, is abortion. And here, too, we're trying to make America a more decent place. I know that this is matter of conscience -- that Americans of good faith can, and do, disagree. But my position has not and will not change. I believe that life does not begin at birth -- it begins at conception. So we support the Hyde Amendment which supports Federal financing of abortions only when the life's mother is in danger. Of this you have my word. //

Brad

Then, there is the issue of child care. For often, while parents work, love and care come from the extended family -- grandparents, aunts, and uncles. In many ways, the church community is the greatest extended family. So I am determined to protect every church-sponsored child care center in America.

Brad

B.F.

In that spirit, we have proposed a child-care tax credit, focused on putting money in the hands of low-income parents. Our approach is different than past programs. It would empower parents, not the government, to choose the best care for their kids -- be it a grandparent, a neighbor, or a local church.

and alternatives that have been proposed in Congress

We
This
B.F. Administrators

will not discriminate against church-sponsored child care. ~~Of this you have my word.~~ //

Finally, let me mention another Campaign pledge I intend to fulfill. Before the Supreme Court outlawed it, voluntary school prayer forced religion on no one. But lack of prayer has denied many that opportunity. We should remember: "I pledge Allegiance -- one Nation, under God." So we support a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. And I ask you to help me spread this gospel: We need the Federal Courts out of our Nation's schools -- and we need the Faith of our Fathers back in.

God

Together -- through voluntary prayer and excellence in education, through protecting our kids and protecting the unborn -- we can do great things for our Nation. For times change -- ~~but idealism does not.~~ ~~Times change~~ -- but principles do not.

As individuals -- as public officials -- we know that we must honor God with the lives we lead. So in closing, let me recall what Lincoln said in ^{February} January 1861, leaving his home people to assume the Presidency. "The great God," he said, "which ^{Unless} helped General Washington must now help me. Without that great assistance, I will surely fail. With it, I cannot fail."

Lincoln Papers

Lincoln Encyclopedia p. 115

Thank you for coming here this ^{afternoon} morning -- and for all you're doing, with God's help, to make ours a better, more peaceful world. I want to hear from you. I want to benefit from your counsel. Let's work together, God bless you, and God bless America.

Dans

Doug Wood

#

What the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended [George Washington], I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail.

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



Monday, April 10, 1989
Volume 25—Number 14
Pages 465-511

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Urban Emergency
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comprehensive range of services appropri-
ate to the needs of individual communities.

(6) A *National Science Scholars* program
would provide scholarships to high school
seniors who have excelled in the sciences
and mathematics. These scholarships, of up
to \$10,000 a year, would recognize recipi-
ents' academic achievement and encourage
them to continue their education in science,
mathematics, and engineering. The Presi-
dent would select recipients after consider-
ing recommendations made by Senators
and Members of the House of Representa-
tives.

(7) I am proposing to provide additional
endowment matching grants for *Historical-
ly Black Colleges and Universities*, institu-
tions that occupy a unique position and
have a major responsibility in the structure
of American higher education.

I urge the Congress to take prompt and
favorable action on this legislation. Taken
together, these seven initiatives, for which I
have proposed adding \$422.6 million in the
1990 budget, would help us advance toward
the goal of a better-educated Nation.

In addition to these initiatives, I have
proposed a budget amendment for \$13 mil-
lion in new funds for experiments and data
collection in support of education reform. I
am also asking the Congress to fund fully
the authorization in the Stewart McKinney
Homeless Assistance Act. This includes \$2.5
million to fund for the first time the Exem-
plary Grants program and \$2.7 million in
additional funding for literacy programs for
homeless adults.

George Bush

The White House,
April 5, 1989.

**White House Fact Sheet on the
Educational Excellence Act of 1989
April 5, 1989**

The President outlined today a program
for fostering excellence in education. The
need for reform is evident:

- America is in an increasingly competi-
tive world, where investment in
people, in human capital, is becoming

a critical factor in a country's potential
for economic growth and prosperity.

- Many of our young people are per-
forming well below their capacity and
below the levels of young people in
other countries in such important sub-
jects as science and math.
- Outstanding achievement by schools,
teachers, and principals too often goes
unrecognized and unrewarded.
- Achieving excellence in education re-
quires high expectations, low dropout
rates, and safe and drug-free schools.
- Parents lack adequate choice in the
education of their children.
- Schools often find that it is difficult to
hire capable teachers and administra-
tors, even though many people possess
outstanding subject matter knowledge
and management skills.
- Projections of the future indicate an
increasing shortage of people with ad-
vanced training in science and mathe-
matics.
- Our country's historically black col-
leges and universities struggle to main-
tain their commitment to educational
excellence.

The Educational Excellence Act would au-
thorize several initiatives designed to ad-
dress these problems.

This legislation builds on the accomplish-
ments of the last Congress, which enacted
into law the Augustus F. Hawkins-Robert T.
Stafford Elementary and Secondary School
Improvement Amendments of 1988. That
law took significant steps toward improving
elementary and secondary education by im-
proving program accountability, reauthoriz-
ing the magnet school program, and ex-
panding parental choice, providing greater
flexibility to local school districts in the im-
plementation of bilingual education pro-
grams, enhancing parental involvement in
programs for disadvantaged children, and
stimulating education innovation and
reform. The President's initiative proposes
new efforts, but complements in numerous
ways the important work of the 100th Con-
gress in pursuing educational excellence.

This legislation is based on four basic
principles. These are:

1. *Recognition of Excellence.* Recognizing
and rewarding our best schools, teachers,

and students will serve as an incentive for all schools, teachers, and students to improve their performance.

2. *Addressing Need.* This administration believes that Federal dollars should assist those most in need.

3. *Flexibility and Choice.* Greater flexibility and choice in education, both parental choice in selecting schools for their children and local school systems' choice of teachers and principals, are important to providing the means and incentives for achieving educational excellence.

4. *Accountability.* The administration supports objective measurement and reward of progress toward quality education.

The Educational Excellence Act includes seven legislative initiatives aimed at fulfilling these important principles. Highlights of the individual initiatives follow.

PRESIDENTIAL MERIT SCHOOLS

Program

- The Presidential Merit Schools program would provide cash awards to public and private elementary and secondary schools that have made substantial progress in raising student educational achievement, creating a safe and drug-free school environment, and reducing the dropout rate. This program would provide a powerful incentive for all schools to improve the educational achievement of their students.

Funding

- The legislation would authorize \$250 million for fiscal year 1990, increasing to \$500 million by 1993. These funds would be allocated by formula to the States, with State allocations based on school-aged population and State shares of funding under the Chapter 1 Basic Grants program.
- The amount of each merit award would depend on State-established criteria, including criteria related to the size of the school and the composition of the student body.

Implementation

- Presidential Merit Schools would be selected by the State, assisted by a special State review panel, using State and

Federal criteria. These criteria would focus on schools' progress in improving students' educational performance, creating or maintaining a safe and drug-free environment, reducing the dropout rate, and other State-determined factors. States could also give special consideration to schools enrolling substantial numbers or proportions of children from low-income families.

- A school selected as a Presidential Merit School would use its award for any purpose that furthers its educational program, including development or implementation of special educational programs, purchase of computers and other materials and equipment, and bonus payments to teachers and administrators. Private schools would be prohibited from using Presidential Merit Schools funds to provide religious instruction or for other sectarian purposes.
- The bill would also prohibit the reduction of other Federal, State, or local support to a school because of its receipt of a Presidential Merit Schools award.

MAGNET SCHOOLS OF EXCELLENCE

Program

- Currently, the Department of Education makes Magnet Schools Assistance grants to school systems undergoing court-ordered or voluntary desegregation. Because of the success of magnet schools in increasing parental choice and improving educational quality, the bill would create a Magnet Schools of Excellence program to support the establishment, expansion, or enhancement of magnet schools, without regard to the presence of desegregation plans.

Funding

- The bill would authorize \$100 million for Magnet Schools of Excellence for fiscal year 1990 and each of the 3 succeeding fiscal years.

Implementation

- Local educational agencies (LEAs), intermediate educational agencies, or

consortia of directly to petitive gra selected for quality of likelihood c tion, and th ening the (district or d

- The Depart plications t of educati dren to be programs a expand. or which enha tional offeri
- No magnet under the years or if segregation desegregati

ALTERNATIVE (ERS AND PRINCI

Program

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Funding

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Implementation

- Grants coul opment, in evaluation (

tive certification of teachers and principals, as well as training and recruitment activities.

- States would be required to consult with teachers, principals, parents, and others in developing their applications. Subgrants to school districts, intermediate educational agencies, colleges and universities, and consortia of these agencies would be authorized.

PRESIDENT'S AWARDS FOR EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION

Program

- The success of American education depends heavily on the Nation's teachers. Because teachers who meet the highest standards of excellence deserve public recognition, respect, and appropriate financial rewards, our bill includes authorization for a new program of Presidential awards for excellent public and private school teachers. The amount of each Presidential award would be \$5,000. Teachers receiving awards would be permitted to use their awards for any purpose.

Funding

- The bill would authorize \$7.6 million for each of the fiscal years 1990 through 1993. Funds would be allocated to the States on the basis of the number of full-time equivalent public school teachers in each State.

Implementation

- In each State, winners of Presidential awards would be selected by a statewide panel, selected by the Governor, from nominations made by local educational agencies, public and private schools, parents, teachers, teacher associations, associations of parents and teachers, private businesses, business groups, and student groups. In making selections, the panel would use selection criteria developed by the State, subject to approval by the Secretary.
- Each State would be permitted to use up to 5 percent of its allocation for administrative expenses, including the cost of convening the statewide panel.

consortia of such agencies would apply directly to the Department for competitive grants. Applications would be selected for funding on the basis of the quality of the proposed project, the likelihood of its successful implementation, and the likelihood of its strengthening the educational program of the district or districts.

- The Department would encourage applications that recognize the potential of educationally disadvantaged children to benefit from magnet school programs and applications to establish, expand, or enhance magnet schools which enhance the diversity of educational offerings to students.
- No magnet school could be supported under the program for more than 2 years or if the award would result in segregation or impede the process of desegregation.

ALTERNATIVE CERTIFICATION OF TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS

Program

- The bill would provide assistance to States interested in expanding the pool of talent from which to draw teachers and principals. Funds would support such activities as training, program development, and evaluation. The bill would provide incentives for States to develop, expand, or improve flexible certification systems designed to draw into education talented professionals with demonstrated subject-area competence or leadership qualities.

Funding

- The legislation would authorize \$25 million for fiscal year 1990 only, for one-time grants to the States. States would apply for the amount of funds they need or an amount that is proportional to their school-aged population, whichever is less; excess funds would be reallocated on the basis of demonstrated need.

Implementation

- Grants could support the design, development, implementation, testing, and evaluation of strategies for the alterna-

NATIONAL SCIENCE SCHOLARS

Program

- The National Science Scholars program would encourage achievement in the sciences by providing scholarships to graduating high school students who have excelled in the sciences and mathematics and engineering. The scholarships would recognize the academic achievement of these students and would encourage them to continue their education in these academic areas at the postsecondary level.

Funding

- The bill would authorize \$5 million for fiscal year 1990. The amount authorized would increase in increments of \$5 million per year to a total authorization of \$20 million for fiscal year 1993. These funding levels would ensure that the scholars would be supported throughout their undergraduate study and that a new group of 570 scholars would be selected each year.

Implementation

- National Science Scholars would receive up to \$10,000 a year for each year of undergraduate education.
- Each State would nominate between 4 and 10 students per congressional district to receive scholarships. The President would select a total of 570 scholars, after considering the recommendations of an advisory board (30 scholarships) and the recommendations of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives (540 scholarships). The scholars would be nominated in accordance with specific academic achievement criteria that would be developed by the Secretary in consultation with a panel of experts in the sciences, mathematics, and engineering.

DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS URBAN EMERGENCY GRANTS

Program

- Prevention and education programs are frequently inadequate in urban areas with the most severe drug problems. More concentrated and comprehensive approaches are required. The

bill would amend the Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act of 1986 to authorize a program of Urban Emergency Grants.

Funding

- The bill would authorize \$25 million for each of the fiscal years 1990-1993 for Urban Emergency Grants.

Implementation

- This amendment would authorize a small number of special, competitive grants to urban districts that have the most severe drug problems so that these districts can develop and implement comprehensive approaches to solving those problems.

HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Program

- Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU's) play a vital role in the American system of higher education. In the past, these institutions offered many Black Americans their only opportunity for a higher education. Today HBCU's enrich the range of educational choice. These institutions enroll approximately 220,000 students.
- Many HBCU's are financially weaker than comparable institutions. This bill would strengthen HBCU's by providing additional support for endowment matching grants. Endowment building is an especially effective way to create financial strength and long-term financial security for HBCU's.

Funding

- The bill would provide additional authorizations of \$10 million for fiscal year 1990, \$20 million for both fiscal year 1991 and fiscal year 1992, and \$10 million for fiscal year 1993.

Implementation

- Federal funds would be available to match private sector contributions to the school's endowment fund. Income from the endowment fund could be used to improve academic programs as well as administrative management.
- All HBCU's currently eligible under

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grants.

Message to the
the Annual Re
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April 5, 1989

To the Congress

In accordance
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title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965 would be eligible to apply for grants.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on International Activities in Science and Technology
April 5, 1989

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Title V of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1979 (Public Law 95-426), I am transmitting the annual report on international activities in science and technology (S&T) for Fiscal Year 1988.

I firmly believe that the economic advances of the 21st century are rooted in the research and development (R&D) performed in laboratories around the world today. Innovation and dedication of resources and people, both public and private, to scientific and technological advances are essential to economic progress. Our future well-being as a nation is dependent upon the continuous transfer of technology from basic science into commercial goods and services.

Over the past 5 years, this concept—the linkage of our science and technology enterprise to our future global competitiveness—has become a dominant theme in the United States. Because of this linkage, some have challenged our historical subscription to an open, unimpeded R&D system, claiming that such a system transfers valuable R&D results to other countries for commercialization and eventual sale in the United States. I, and President Reagan before me, believe that the United States benefits, and our global competitive position is improved, by international cooperation in research and development based on balance, reciprocity, and comparable access. We have actively promoted this policy through multilateral fora and bilaterally with our trading partners and advanced developing countries.

For example, a major accomplishment of FY 1988 was winning multilateral endorsement for key themes of President Reagan's Executive Order No. 12591 of April 10, 1987, on "Facilitating Access to Science and

Technology." At the Ministerial Meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris in May 1988, the ministers endorsed a new framework of common principles for international S&T cooperation, originally introduced by the President's Science Adviser, Dr. William R. Graham. The framework endorses adequate investment and excellence in basic sciences; reciprocity and balanced access as a solid foundation for science and technology cooperation; improved universal protection of intellectual property rights (IPR); and effective protection of sensitive knowledge. I am convinced that the new OECD framework establishes a firm, future-oriented foundation for sustainable cooperation in science and technology.

On the bilateral front, under the guidance of the Economic Policy Council, the Administration developed a coordinated policy to reshape our S&T relationship with Japan based on the principles of shared responsibilities, equitable contributions, adequate protection and fair disposition of intellectual property rights, acknowledged security obligations, and comparable access to government-sponsored and -supported R&D facilities and programs. The culmination of this effort came in Toronto in June 1988, when President Reagan and Prime Minister Takeshita signed the new umbrella S&T Agreement. We view this as a model agreement and now are incorporating its principles into all our science and technology bilateral agreements.

Maintenance of our global competitiveness requires adequate and effective protection and equitable allocation of intellectual property rights. The commercial development of a new technology requires large investments of time, money, and talent. Continued investments in research and development require the ability to derive economic benefits from the new technology. Therefore, in FY 1988, we initiated numerous bilateral and multilateral dialogues on the benefits accruing to all partners from effective protection and equitable disposition of IPR.

With the view that balanced and reciprocal cooperation in S&T benefits the United States and the world at large, at the December 1987 Washington Summit, Presi-

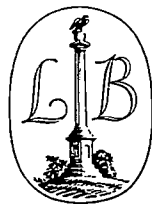
Familiar Quotations

*A collection of passages, phrases and
proverbs traced to their sources in
ancient and modern literature*

FIFTEENTH AND 125TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED

John Bartlett

*Edited by EMILY MORISON BECK
and the editorial staff of Little, Brown and Company*



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Washington — Priestley

1 Let us therefore animate and encourage each other, and show the whole world that a Freeman, contending for liberty on his own ground, is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth.

*General Orders, Headquarters,
New York [July 2, 1776]*

2 The time is now near at hand which must probably determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and themselves consigned to a state of wretchedness from which no human efforts will deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy leaves us only the choice of brave resistance, or the most abject submission. We have, therefore, to resolve to conquer or die.

*Address to the Continental Army
before the battle of Long Island
[August 27, 1776]*

3 There is nothing that gives a man consequence, and renders him fit for command, like a support that renders him independent of everybody but the State he serves.

*Letter to the president of Congress,
Heights of Harlem [September 24,
1776]*

4 To place any dependence upon militia, is, assuredly, resting upon a broken staff.

Ib.

5 Without a decisive naval force we can do nothing definitive. And with it, everything honorable and glorious.¹

To Lafayette [November 15, 1781]

6 If men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us; the freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter.

*Address to officers of the Army
[March 15, 1783]*

7 The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked, on the ex-

¹See Themistocles, 70:19; Bacon, 181:11; Waller, 276:3; Mahan, 642:8; and Morison, 800:11.

periment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

*First Inaugural Address [April
30, 1789]*

8 Happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

*Letter to the Jewish congregation
of Newport, Rhode Island [1790]*

9 To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.²

*First Annual Address [to both
houses of Congress, January 8,
1790]*

10 The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.

*Farewell Address [September 17,
1796]*

11 Let me now . . . warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party. *Ib.*

12 Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. . . . The Nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. *Ib.*

13 'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world. *Ib.*

14 There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. *Ib.*

15 It is well, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. *Last words [December 14, 1799]*

Joseph Priestley³

1733-1804

16 It was ill policy in Leo the Tenth to patronize polite literature. He was cherishing an enemy in disguise. And the English hierar-

²See Aristotle, 87:24; Vegetius, 128:25; Robert Burton, 259:13; Fénelon, 316:12; and Lowell, 568:9.

³See the Bentham footnote to Francis Hutcheson, 342:19. Bentham credits Priestley's *Essay on Government* [1768] — or the work of Cesare Bonesana, Marchese di Beccaria [1738-1794] — with inspiring his concept of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

n — Washington

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y dividing we fall.⁷
Liberty Song [1768]

Henry Lee

1794

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*f. Guibert [August 27,
1774]*

Washington⁹

-1799

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*Instructions to the Cap-
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try. — HENRY KNOX, *Letter to
87]*
(see Harry) Lee, 402:10, and

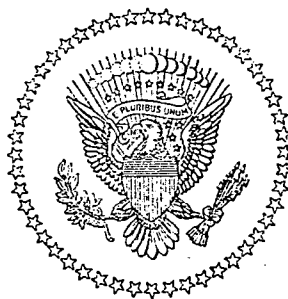
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*Washington as a child; MASON
, The Life of George Washing-*

. I did it with my little hatchet.
], *Mark Twain as Washington*

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS

OF THE UNITED STATES

Dwight D. Eisenhower



1953

*Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and
Statements of the President*

JANUARY 20 TO DECEMBER 31, 1953





I ¶ Inaugural Address. *January 20, 1953*

[Delivered in person at the Capitol]

MY FRIENDS, before I begin the expression of those thoughts that I deem appropriate to this moment, would you permit me the privilege of uttering a little private prayer of my own. And I ask that you bow your heads:

Almighty God, as we stand here at this moment my future associates in the Executive branch of Government join me in beseeching that Thou will make full and complete our dedication to the service of the people in this throng, and their fellow citizens everywhere.

Give us, we pray, the power to discern clearly right from wrong, and allow all our words and actions to be governed thereby, and by the laws of this land. Especially we pray that our concern shall be for all the people regardless of station, race or calling.

May cooperation be permitted and be the mutual aim of those who, under the concepts of our Constitution, hold to differing political faiths; so that all may work for the good of our beloved country and Thy glory. Amen.

My fellow citizens:

The world and we have passed the midway point of a century of continuing challenge. We sense with all our faculties that forces of good and evil are massed and armed and opposed as rarely before in history.

This fact defines the meaning of this day. We are summoned by this honored and historic ceremony to witness more than the act of one citizen swearing his oath of service, in the presence of God. We are called as a people to give testimony in the sight of the world to our faith that the future shall belong to the free.

Since this century's beginning, a time of tempest has seemed to come upon the continents of the earth. Masses of Asia have awakened to strike off shackles of the past. Great nations of

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Lincoln, Abraham, Pres. U.S., 1809-1865.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN:

His Speeches and Writings.



EDITED WITH CRITICAL AND ANALYTICAL NOTES

BY Roy P. Basler, AUTHOR OF "THE LINCOLN LEGEND"

PREFACE BY Carl Sandburg



THE WORLD PUBLISHING COMPANY

Cleveland and New York



ew B. Brady on February 9,
in making his design for the
in the Meserve Collection.

The South would be in no more danger in this respect, than it was in the days of Washington. I suppose, however, this does not meet the case. You think slavery is *right*, and ought to be extended; while we think it is *wrong* and ought to be restricted. That I suppose is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us.

Yours very truly
A. Lincoln

At the time of this letter Stephens was still supporting the Union, but when Georgia seceded on January 17, 1861—in spite of Stephens's efforts—his loyalty went with his State.

FAREWELL ADDRESS AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
FEBRUARY 11, 1861

My Friends:

No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN:

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suppose, however, this does not
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HIS SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

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The text of this address is from the Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln. The manuscript is purported to be in the Robert Lincoln Collection in the Library of Congress. According to Nicolay's account in Abraham Lincoln: A History, Vol. III, p. 291 n., it was written out on the train after the departure from Springfield, partly by Lincoln and partly by Nicolay from Lincoln's dictation.

In view of Lincoln's general style, most of the differences between this version and the versions printed in newspapers at the time seem to be differences which Lincoln would have brought about in writing it out. This version tends to enhance the alliterative sequences and to strengthen the rhythm pattern, both of which are apparent even in the newspaper versions. This is entirely in keeping with Lincoln's usual practice.

Of the several newspaper versions, two are interesting for purposes of comparison. The first is the version which was published in the Illinois State Journal, February 12, 1861, and the second is the version of a contemporary broadside, published by the American News Company of New York, which is in all but a few marks of punctuation identical with the version which appeared in Harper's Weekly and various eastern newspapers. The two versions are as follows:

"Friends:

"No one who has never been placed in a like position, can understand my feelings at this hour, nor the oppressive sadness I feel at this parting. For more than a quarter of a century I have lived among you, and during all that time I have received nothing but kindness at your hands. Here I have lived from my youth until now I am an old man. Here the most sacred ties of earth were assumed; here all my children were born; and here one of them lies buried. To you, dear friends, I owe all that I have, all that I am. All the strange, chequered past seems

to crowd now upon my mind. To-day I leave you; I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon general Washington. Unless the great God who assisted him, shall be with and aid me, I must fail. But if the same omniscient mind, and Almighty arm that directed and protected him, shall guide and support me, I shall not fail, I shall succeed. Let us all pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now. To him I commend you all—permit me to ask that with equal security and faith, you all will invoke His wisdom and guidance for me. With these few words I must leave you—for how long I know not. Friends, one and all, I must now bid you an affectionate farewell.”

“My Friends:

“No one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century; here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is, perhaps, greater than that which devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him, and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support, and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. Again I bid you an affectionate farewell.”

Lincoln, Abraham, Pres. U.S., 1809-1865.

THE
LINCOLN
ENCYCLOPEDIA

THE SPOKEN AND WRITTEN WORDS OF

A. Lincoln

ARRANGED FOR READY REFERENCE

COMPILED AND EDITED BY

ARCHER H. SHAW

With an Introduction by David C. Mearns
Assistant Librarian, Library of Congress

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY : NEW YORK

1950

expedient or proper.—*Opinion on draft law never issued, Aug. 15, 1863.* IX, 77.

Expediency, rules emancipation issue in District of Columbia—There has never been in my mind any question upon the subject [of abolition in the District of Columbia] except the one of expediency, arising in view of all the circumstances.—*Message to Congress, April 16, 1862.* VIII, 146.

See EMANCIPATION, District of Columbia, 7.

Experience, teacher—We know nothing of what will happen in future, but by the analogy of past experience.—*Speech, Springfield, Dec. 20, 1839.* I, 113. 2.—We dare not disregard the lessons of experience.—*To Sec. of State John M. Clayton, July 28, 1849.* Tracy, 39.

3.—We all feel that we know that a blast of wind would extinguish the flame of the candle that stands by me. How do we know it? We have never seen this flame thus extinguished. We know it because we have seen through all our lives that a blast of wind extinguishes the flame of a candle whenever it is thrown fully upon it. Again, we all feel we know that we have to die. How? We have never died yet. We know it because we know, at least we think that of all the beings, just like ourselves, who have been coming into the world for 6,000 years, not one is now living who was here 200 years ago.—*Speech, Springfield, Dec. 20 1839.* I, 112.

Extra-Legal Acts—See WAR POWER, use of defended.

Eye, wonderful power of—Notice the wonderful power of the eye in conveying ideas to the mind from writing. Take the . . . example of the numbers from one to one hundred written down, and you can run your eye over the list, and be assured that every number is in it, and in about half the time it would require to pronounce the words with the voice; and not only so, but you can in the same short time determine whether every word is spelled correctly, by which it is evident that every separate letter, amounting to 864, has been recognized and reported to the mind within the incredibly short space of twenty seconds, or one third of a minute.—*Lecture, Springfield, Feb. 22, 1859.* V, 109.

Factions, beware of—See CODE OF CONDUCT, rules for personal guidance, 31.

Faith, appeal to—Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.—*Cooper Institute address, New York, Feb. 27, 1860.* V, 328.

Repeated at New Haven, Conn., March 6, 1860. V, 371.

Faith, government should keep—It is bad faith in the government to force new terms upon such as have kept faith with it—at least, it seems to me.—*To Sec. Stanton, Aug. 21, 1863.* IX, 90.

Falsehood, in proslavery reasoning—See NEGRO, no necessary conflict between, and white man, 3.

See SLAVERY, policy of the fathers, 27, 33.

Falsehood, maxim in morals—I believe it is an established maxim in morals that he who makes an assertion without knowing whether it is true or false is guilty of falsehood, and the accidental truth of the assertion does not justify or excuse him.—*To editor of Illinois Gazette, Aug. 11, 1846.* Quarterly, March, 1942, p. 3.

Fame, fixed by "cloud of witnesses"—My belief is that the permanent estimate of what a general does in the field is fixed by the "cloud of witnesses" who have been with him in the field; and that, relying on these, he who has been right needs not to fear.—*To Gen. McClellan, Aug. 12, 1863.* IX, 73.

Farewell to Springfield—I assure you Springfield and its citizens are very dear to me. It will only be a matter of time—if I live—and return again with the dispensation of Divine Providence.—*To I. R. Diller, Feb. 10, 1861.* Hertz II, 804.

2.—If I live, I am coming back some time, and then we'll go right on practicing law, as if nothing had happened.—*To W. H. Herndon, Feb. 10, 1861.* Tarbell II, 203.

3.—No one, not in my position, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young man to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him I cannot succeed. With the assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.—*Farewell Speech, Springfield, Feb. 11, 1861.* VI, 110.

4.—I love the people here, Billy, and owe them all that I am. If God spares my life to the end, I shall come back among you and spend the remnant of my days.—*To W. H. Herndon, Feb., 1861.* Townsend, 10.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 4, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
DURING BREAKFAST FOR RELIGIOUS LEADERS

The Residence

8:45 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Dr. and Mrs. Bright and reverend clergy, and members of the National Day of Prayer Committee, distinguished members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and ladies and gentlemen, you know, it's often said of a group or individual that he hasn't got a prayer. (Laughter.) Well, those of us interested in sports keep hearing that all of the time. But I'm delighted to address an audience about which that will never be said.

And first, I want to say what a pleasure it is to welcome you on this special day. America's religious, civic, political leaders welcome you to this very special place, America's house. We come as friends, as believers in a humane and loving God, and we meet on a special day for America -- a National Day of Prayer.

You know, a little boy once uttered this simple prayer: "God bless mother and daddy, my brother and sister, and, oh, God, do take care of yourself because if anything happens to you, we're all sunk." (Laughter.) Well, I expect this George Healy portrait of Lincoln gets to the margins of that prayer, and I expect he felt that way -- perilous times for our country. And I'm sure all of us have shared those sentiments at one time or another -- something in our own lives, something facing our country.

Certainly the Continental Congress did, for it was they who in 1775 issued the first official proclamation of a National Day of Prayer. In 1952, Congress decreed that a specific date be set aside each year for Americans to gather in homes and places of worship in order to pray. And since then, every president has declared a National Day of Prayer. And so this morning, like my predecessors, I am proud to continue that tradition.

But I am pleased to note that today marks a departure from the norm, for 1989 marks the first year of an official permanent date of designation -- from now on, the first Thursday of every May.

My friends, I'm glad that together we could commemorate this event, and just for a few moments let me focus on what to me, and I hope to you, this observance means.

It does mean, I'm sure we would all agree, that we believe in separation of church and state, but not in the separation of morality or moral values and state. While the government must remain neutral towards particular religions, it must not -- certainly it need not -- remain neutral toward values that Americans support. And, yes, we believe in pluralism, and I just want to reassure you I believe in pluralism -- certainly in mutual tolerance, for we are one nation under God. And we were placed here on Earth to do His work. And our work has gone on now for more than 200 years in the nation -- a work best embodied in four simple words, in God we trust.

And it was to that higher being that George Washington looked when in 1776 he was addressing his troops, and he said, "The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army.

Lincoln believed in divine providence. Leaving

MORE

Springfield to take over, to assume the presidency, he told the people of his home town that the God which helped General Washington must now help him. "Without the assistance of the divine being," Lincoln said, "I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail."

And some of you may be too young to remember how -- remember D-Day. Not many of you, but some of you may be too young. (Laughter.) Over a nationwide network, Franklin Roosevelt prayed for the safety and success of our invading force. "Our sons," he said, "pride of our nation, lead them straight and true. Give strength to their arms, stoutness to their hearts, steadfastness in their faith."

Our history tells us what our hearts confirm -- as Americans we are a religious people. We prize compassion and self-sacrifice. We know that America is great because America is good. And, as President, I am reminded of that constantly. Several weeks ago I was sharing this with Mrs. Bright and Mr. Zeoli. Barbara and I went up to -- or did you go to Lancaster, Pa.? She didn't make the traveling squad. (Laughter.) I went to Pennsylvania, and I went to a local high school in a relatively affluent rural area, Lancaster, and there we discussed a problem which is America's problem -- the rising use of drugs. If you ever need to pray about something and ask for strength and guidance, it is this, that we succeed in our anti-narcotics efforts. But then, after meeting with this relatively affluent group and hearing that drugs were in their corridors and in their playgrounds, I went a few miles over -- just the same community -- to meet with the Amish and Mennonite leaders. And wonderful people and kind, living their own lives, and they don't have a drug problem. And they made very clear to me why -- family and faith. Against them, drugs don't have a chance.

And I am convinced that faith and family can help us honor God in a most profound and personal way daily as human beings by the conduct of our lives. They teach us not only to revere but to practice the golden rule, and they also help us reflect the internal values of decency, humility, kindness and caring.

I thought of those values last Sunday when I was in New York to mark the 200th anniversary of George Washington's first inaugural address, for it was then that, like Washington two centuries ago, Barbara and I prayed at St. Paul's Chapel there where in 1789 a prayer service was offered by the chaplains of Congress for the United States of America. To me that day -- some of you may have seen it -- was moving, intimate, but there was something special about that church service 200 years ago. This Washington realized that political values without moral values, without that moral underpinning, cannot sustain a nation.

And so this strong yet gentle man knew that the advancement of America, while it might rely on its president, would surely depend on providence. And so what Washington believed so strongly over 200 years ago -- it really is just as true today. For without God's help, we can do nothing, and with it, we can do great things -- for our children, for the world.

So let me just thank you all for coming. Barbara and I are delighted to have you here. We will do our best in the people's house to hold these values high that are shared by everybody here regardless of our denomination, regardless of our own personal commitments. We welcome you, we are pleased you're here, and if you have an extra minute for a prayer when the going gets a little tough, remember the Congress. They need it, too. (Laughter.) And Barbara and I know we do, too.

Thank you all very, very much. Thank you for coming.
(Applause.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
November 19, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *W*
FROM: CURT SMITH *C*
SUBJECT: REMARKS TO EVANGELICAL LEADERS

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, November 21, at 3:20 p.m., you will address about 180 evangelical leaders in Room 450. Dr. Jerry Falwell, Dr. Pat Robertson, Dr. James Kennedy, Dr. Raymond Carlson and Reverend Paul Crouch are all expected to attend.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks (8 minutes; speechcards) focus on issues that are important to evangelicals. In particular, the remarks discuss education, abortion, child care, and voluntary school prayer.

(Smith/Blessey)
Draft Three
November 20, 1989
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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: EVANGELICAL LEADERS
ROOM 450
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1989
3:20 P.M.

Dr. Falwell, Dr. Robertson, Dr. Kennedy, Dr. Carlson,
Reverend Crouch, Ladies and gentlemen. ((You know, it is often
said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer."
Well, I am delighted to address an audience about whom that will
never be said.)) //

It is a pleasure to welcome you, and to have you here. We
gather as friends, and as fellow believers. For although we
ensure the separation of church and state -- we do not -- must
never -- accept a separation of values and government.

Perhaps a little boy once expressed it best. "God bless
mother and daddy, my brother and sister," he said. And then he
went on to pray: "And, oh God, do take care of yourself, because
if anything happens to you we're all sunk." //

Those words, I think, say much about America. And about the
evangelical movement which so uplifts America. They remind us
that we are a religious people. And that political values
without spiritual values cannot sustain a Nation.

George Washington knew this. Addressing his troops in 1776,
he said, "The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God,
on the courage and conduct of this army." And so did Dwight

Eisenhower. He began his first Inaugural Address with a handwritten missive. "Give us, we pray," he said, "the power to discern clearly right from wrong."

For decades, America's evangelical movement has worked to reaffirm Ike's message: To do right, reject wrong, and make America a more decent place. You do so now. And I am with you.

You know, I look around here. // Jerry [FALWELL], I remember your kindness in inviting me to speak at Liberty. // Pat [ROBERTSON], thinking back to the '88 Campaign, seems like old times. // And so many of you -- old friends, inspiring millions; your movement growing by leaps and bounds. And I think of how people ask, "Who are the evangelicals? What do they believe? What do they expect from government?"

First questions, first. Who are they? -- these evangelical Christians. They are young and old, rural and urban, Protestant and Catholic. They come from the heart of America. They show that the heart of America is good.

What do they believe in? They believe what so many of us believe. They cherish home and family. They believe that the only true special interest is America's. Above all, they believe Jesus Christ is a personal savior.

Finally, what do they expect from government? They don't ask for privileged treatment. They do ask for equal treatment and they ask to be respected. And this Administration does. You want to be listened to. And we do -- and will.

You are rightly concerned, as I am, about our Nation's schools. That is why we have acted to enhance the quality and diversity of our schools. Our "Educational Excellence Act of 1989" seeks to reward the best in education. To demand educational accountability. And to let parents choose which schools their children will attend.

A second concern, I know, is abortion. I know that this is a matter of conscience -- that Americans of good faith can, and do, disagree. But my position is clear. You know I have an adopted granddaughter and, as I said at the convention last year, thank God her parents chose life.

Then, there is the issue of child care. For often, while parents work, love and care come from the extended family -- grandparents, aunts, and uncles. In many ways, the church community is the greatest extended family. So I am determined to protect every church-sponsored child care center in America.

In that spirit, we have proposed a child-care tax credit, focused on putting money in the hands of low-income parents. Our approach is different from the approach favored by some in Congress. We seek to empower parents, not the government, to choose the best care for their children -- be it with a grandparent, a neighbor, or a local church. We will not discriminate against church-sponsored child care. //

Finally, let me mention another Campaign pledge I intend to fulfill. Before the Supreme Court outlawed it, voluntary school prayer forced religion on no one. But lack of prayer has denied

many that opportunity. We should remember: "I pledge Allegiance -- one Nation, under God." So we support a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer. And I ask you to help me spread this message: We need the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools.

Together -- through voluntary prayer and excellence in education, through caring for our kids and protecting the unborn -- we can do great things for our Nation. Times change -- but principles that made this country great do not.

As individuals -- as public officials -- we know that we must honor God with the lives we lead. So in closing, let me recall what Lincoln said in February 1861, leaving his home town to assume the Presidency. "Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended [George Washington]," he said, "I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail."

Thank you for coming here this afternoon -- and for all you're doing, with God's help, to make ours a better, more peaceful world. I want to hear from you. I want to benefit from your counsel. Let's work together, God bless you, and God bless America.

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