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Nation's Governors Toast 2/3/91 [OA 6855]

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FOR A HEALTHY

AMERICA

CHAIRMAN'S AGENDA FOR 1990-91

GOVERNOR BOOTH GARDNER, WASHINGTON

NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION



FOR A HEALTHY AMERICA

FACING THE FACTS

We as a nation face one of the most critical domestic crises ever. Our health care system is in serious trouble. The signs of stress are everywhere. Millions of citizens lack access to basic medical care. Businesses face double-digit increases in employee insurance premiums. Hospitals and clinics are at risk of closing and leaving communities without adequate medical resources. Meanwhile, governments strain merely to fill the gaps.

Clearly, major restructuring is needed, and cost containment is central to achieving universal access to care. But it's not enough for us simply to juggle funds and shift responsibilities. As a nation, we must take a comprehensive look at our health care system and decide what we want it to accomplish.

For example, our current system is designed primarily to respond to medical problems, rather than to prevent them. This results in higher costs and a diminished quality of life for our citizens. As Governors, we are charged with protecting the well-being of those we serve. During the next year, as we develop a framework for a renewed health care system that provides universal, affordable access to care, I can think of no better way to serve our citizens than to propose a health care system that can flexibly promote good health—not just cure illness.

IDENTIFYING THE NEED

Health care in the United States presents a vast contradiction. We possess the most advanced medical technology in the world, technology that prevents birth defects, cures illnesses, and saves millions of lives each year. Our unique mix of public and private coverage has afforded excellent protection to a large number of Americans. Yet Americans have a harder time obtaining basic medical care than do citizens in most other developed nations, and the United States has consistently poorer health outcomes than those countries. For instance, our infant mortality rate is higher than that of any other western industrialized nation.

A growing sense of crisis pervades the public debate over the future direction of health care. Consider the facts: In 1983, the United States spent \$357 billion, or 10.5 percent of our gross national product (GNP), on health care. By 1989 those figures had climbed to more than \$599 billion, or 11.5 percent of our GNP—\$2,400 for every person in the United States. Unchecked, health care costs are projected to rise to \$1.5 trillion (15 percent of our GNP) by the year 2000.

Despite these enormous and growing expenditures, more and more Americans have little or no access to health care. About 31 million people in the United States are uninsured annually, and 37 million are uninsured in any given month. About 12.2 million of the uninsured are employed; the total number of uninsured workers, together with their families, is 22 million. Roughly 10 million of the uninsured have incomes below the federal poverty level.

The fact is that what we refer to as our health care “system” is not really a system at all. Rather, it is a shaky patchwork of financing and delivery mechanisms that fail to provide adequate access to services, cost controls, or basic quality care for all of our citizens. In addition, our so-called system focuses much more on illness than on health. Little is done to promote healthy lifestyles that would reduce the illnesses, diseases, and injuries that increase demand for services and add to overall medical costs.

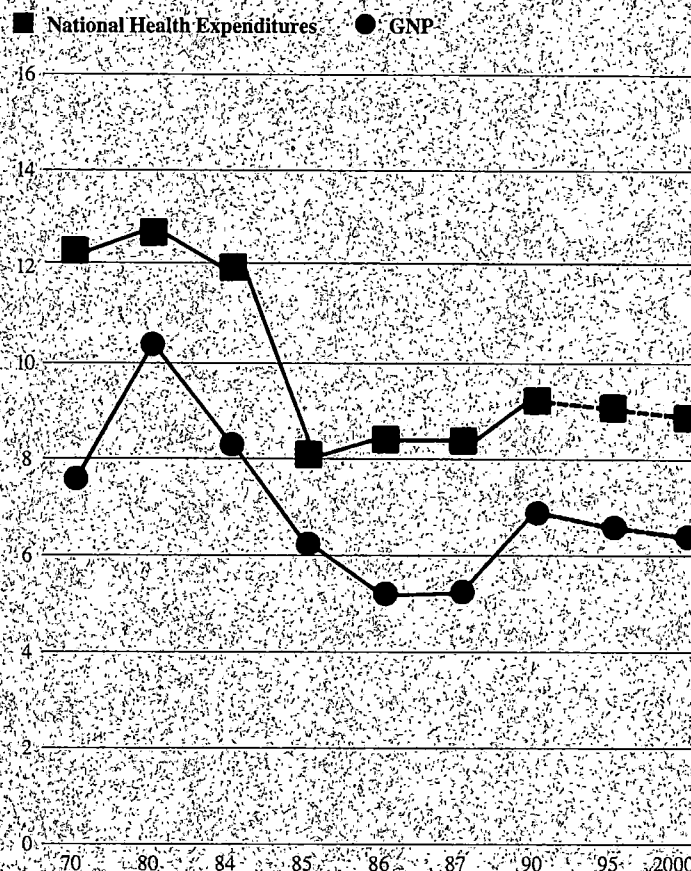
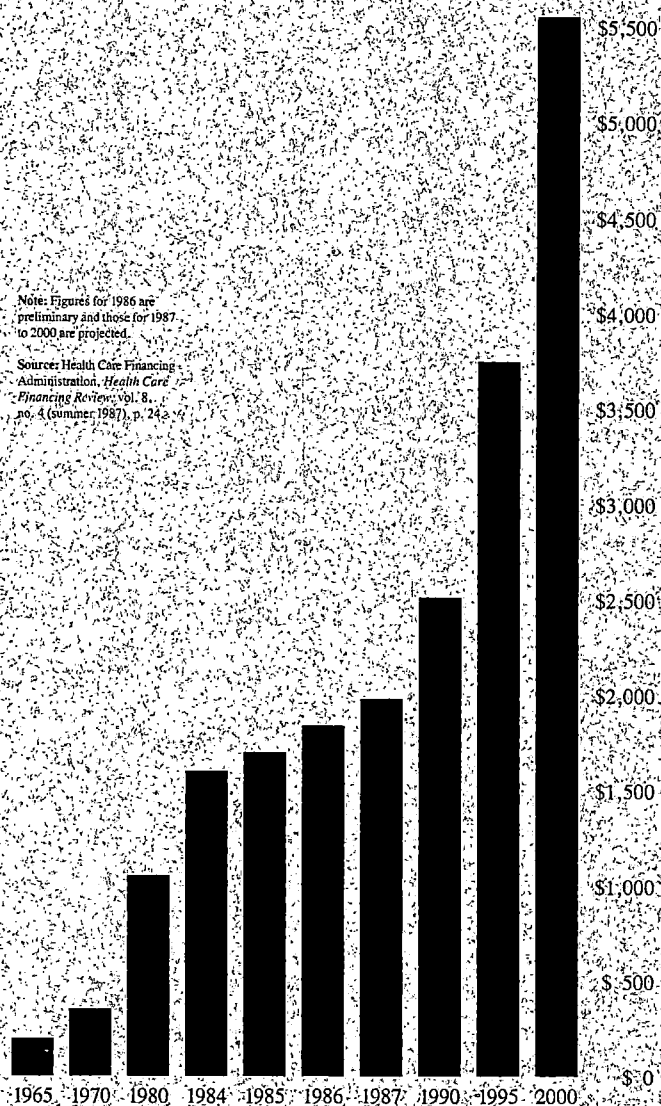
Without comprehensive restructuring, we will never have a true health care system, let alone one that provides universal access to basic medical care at affordable prices.

National Per Capita Health Expenditures, Selected Calendar Years

Average Annual Percent Change in National Health Expenditures and GNP, Selected Calendar Years

Note: Figures for 1986 are preliminary and those for 1987 to 2000 are projected.

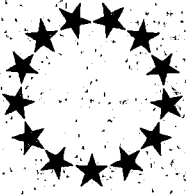
Source: Health Care Financing Administration, *Health Care Financing Review*, vol. 8, no. 4 (summer 1987), p. 24.



Note: Figures for 1986 are preliminary and those for 1987 to 2000 are projected. Source: Health Care Financing Administration, *Health Care Financing Review*, vol. 8, no. 4 (summer 1987), p. 24.

How People Feel About Health Care	Countries	Canada	Netherlands	W. Germany	France	Australia	Sweden	Japan	U.K.	Italy	United States
On the whole, the health care system works pretty well and only minor changes are necessary to make it work better.		56%	47%	41%	41%	34%	32%	29%	27%	12%	10%
There are some good things in our health care system, but fundamental changes are needed to make it work better.		38%	46%	35%	42%	43%	58%	47%	52%	46%	60%
Our health care system has so much wrong with it that we need to completely rebuild it.		5%	5%	13%	10%	17%	6%	6%	17%	40%	29%
Per capita health expenditure (U.S. dollars)		\$1,483	\$1,041	\$1,093	\$1,105	\$939	\$1,233	\$915	\$758	\$841	\$2,051

Source: Robert J. Blendon, Robert Leiman, Ian Morrison, and Karen Donelan, "Satisfaction with Health System in Ten Nations," *Health Affairs*, vol. 9, no. 2 (summer 1990), pp. 185-92.



National Governors' Association
444 North Capitol Street
Washington, D.C. 20001-1572
Telephone (202) 624-5300

NGA POLICY
Approved by the members of the National Governors' Association
on July 29, 1990.

**A Process for Measuring and Reporting on Progress Toward
the National Education Goals**

At the historic Education Summit, the President and the nation's Governors, as elected chief executives, made a commitment to be held accountable for progress in achieving the national education goals. To fulfill this commitment, this statement establishes the process for identifying measures of performance and reporting on progress toward the goals, and reaffirms the decade-long partnership toward realizing the goals.

In order to provide the direction and support needed to instill public confidence and the full cooperation of federal and state officials, the President and Governors agree to establish the National Education Goals Panel to oversee the development and implementation of a national education progress reporting system. The process for developing and establishing appropriate measures and reporting annually on progress will build on the constructive, bipartisan partnership between the President and the Governors initiated at the Charlottesville Summit.

NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS PANEL

The National Education Goals Panel will be composed of:

- o Four senior-level federal executive branch officials appointed by the President;
- o Six Governors appointed by the Chairman of the National Governors' Association in consultation with the Vice-Chairman, with no more than three of the Governors being from the same party; and
- o Four congressional leaders (Senate Majority and Minority Leaders, the Speaker of the House or his designee and House Minority Leader) invited to serve as ex officio non-voting members.

The Chairman of the Panel will be appointed annually by the Chairman of the National Governors' Association.

The executive branch officials will serve at the pleasure of the President. Governors will be appointed to the Panel for a two-year term, except that two of the initial appointments, equally divided between the two parties, shall be for a three-year term.

The Panel will be responsible for determining the indicators used to measure the national education goals and for reporting progress toward their achievement. Its responsibilities shall include:

- o Selecting interim and final measures and appropriate measurement tools to be developed as necessary in each goal area;
- o Determining baselines and benchmarks against which progress may be evaluated;
- o Determining the format for an annual report to the nation; and
- o Reporting on the federal government's action to fulfill those responsibilities set forth in the federal-state partnership at Charlottesville, including funding the federal financial role, providing more flexibility in spending under existing federal programs, and controlling mandates that limit the states' ability to fund education, as defined in the Joint Statement issued at the Charlottesville Summit.

In addition, the Panel will review proposed changes in national and international measurement systems as appropriate and make recommendations to the President, the Congress, and the Governors for needed improvements.

The Panel will not be limited by availability of current data and measurements in its decisions as it designs the format of the report card. It will seek to identify fair, constructive measures that will boost the performance of students at all levels.

The Panel shall have the authority to hire and direct an independent staff to assist it with its responsibilities.

In making final decisions, the Panel will operate on the principle of consensus among the Governors, Executive Branch, and Congress. In the event that a vote must be taken, a decision will require seventy-five percent of the voting members.

Expert Advisers

The process for developing and establishing appropriate measures shall benefit from the experiences and expertise of the education research and measurement communities and other interested parties.

The Panel, in carrying out its responsibilities, will consult broadly with experts in the field of research and measurement, as well as with other interested parties, in order to:

- o Identify and evaluate existing indicators; and
- o Prepare specific options and recommendations for the Panel concerning: the selection of appropriate indicators; baselines and benchmarks against which performance may be evaluated; and the format for an annual report.

REPORT TO THE NATION

The President and the Governors agree that beginning in 1991, the Panel will issue a report card to the nation on the anniversary of the Education Summit (September 27-28) on progress toward the national education goals. The Governors reaffirm their commitment made in Charlottesville to report individually on restructuring efforts in their states on the first anniversary of the Education Summit.

In developing the report card, the Panel will be guided by the following principles:

- o The measurements and benchmarks should be consistent with the intent of the Charlottesville Joint Statement and the comprehensive statement of national education goals adopted by the President and the Governors.
- o The measurement of benchmarks should not discriminate in favor of or against any state based on its current performance or the degree of improvement needed to reach the goals. The main focus of the national report card will be measuring each state's progress toward achieving the goals based on each state's baseline.

Following the release of the annual report card, each Governor shall issue a report on progress in his or her state related to the goals.

EXTENDING THE PARTNERSHIP

Although the immediate task relates to national, state, and international assessments, the President and the Governors encourage the creation of similar systems of accountability in every school in America.

The President and Governors agree to begin work immediately to fulfill the commitments made in this statement.

DRAFT - (LEGISLS #249)
January 14, 1991

A NEW FEDERAL-STATE COMPACT

Within their states, the nation's Governors are making hard choices during what has become the most difficult fiscal situation since the 1982 recession. More hard choices await us as a nation. As partners in the federal system, the nation's Governors propose a new compact with Congress and the Administration to address the nation's critical issues. Specifically, we propose a new compact to:

- o address the immediate concerns of the short-run recession, and
- o develop a new blueprint for renewed economic growth and a better quality of life in the future.

State Fiscal Pressures

Currently, more than thirty states will have deficits if they do not cut spending or increase revenues before the end of fiscal 1991. Eleven states face shortfalls in excess of 5 percent. On average, states face a 3 percent deficit. Specifically:

- o 1990 state fiscal balances were at their lowest level since the 1982 recession and 1991 balances continue to drop precipitously.
- o The 1991 recession is expected to increase mandatory services to the poor and unemployed. Considerably more workers are now collecting unemployment than are provided for in the fiscal 1991 appropriation, and caseloads for Medicaid and Aid to Families with Dependent Children are increasing dramatically.
- o Many services will be cut back, including some services to the poor. Clearly cutback management is the critical state budget theme until national economic growth is positive again.

- o In 1990, states increased taxes \$10.3 billion, the largest single-year increase ever recorded. The political climate regarding increased taxes has also become quite negative. As a result, additional tax increases for 1991 and 1992 will be very difficult.

Why the Fiscal Pressure on the States

The most significant cause of the fiscal pressure on states is the decline in economic growth in many regions of the country. As a result, corporate profits, sales, and personal income tax revenues have decreased dramatically. Other factors also are at work:

- o Health care costs are virtually exploding. State Medicaid spending increased by 18.4 percent in fiscal 1990 alone, and is expected to increase by nearly 25 percent in fiscal 1991. Over the next five years, Medicaid is projected to increase \$75 billion -- costing the federal government an additional \$42 billion and states an extra \$33 billion.
- o Medicaid and other federally mandated expenditures are forcing states to make cuts in other critical areas, such as education, highways, environmental protection, and aid to localities. Furthermore, mandated expenditures drain precious resources, virtually eliminating any opportunity for states to initiate new, innovative programs.
- o States are losing their ability to raise revenues and state tax bases are eroding. Federal tax policymakers are taxing traditional state sources, such as excise taxes, and are limiting the deductibility of state and local taxes. Increasingly, interstate industries are asking Congress to exempt them from state taxes.
- o Large portions of dedicated federal trust funds have been withheld. Balances in highway and airport construction funds, unemployment benefits, and land and water conservation funds have been withheld to reduce the federal deficit, rather than being returned to the states for needed programs.

- o State and federal courts are ordering states to increase financial commitments to stop prison overcrowding, to equalize education spending among districts, and to provide higher reimbursements to hospitals for medical services. In 1990 prisons in about forty-one states and two territories were under court order to relieve overcrowding and/or improve conditions, and in eight of those states, the entire prison system was under court order. Twenty-six percent of all local jails are now under court orders. State expenditures on prisons created by those mandates are expanding dramatically.
- o Due to federal fiscal cutbacks and the downturn in the economy, most big cities and many other local governments also lack funds to meet basic services. The average local government raises only 63 percent of its revenues from its own sources. By far, the balance comes from states. However, states cannot maintain current local aid when their own revenues are falling and spending is increasing.

The Governors' Recommendations

Even though economists predict that the current downturn will reverse itself by the end of 1991, few predict a robust recovery. In addition, forty-nine states have balanced budget requirements. As a result, Governors will continue to face extremely difficult fiscal choices well into 1992.

Immediate Concerns

The Governors recommend five short-term actions the federal government can take to help stabilize the economy and provide fiscal relief to states.

1. Relax the new Medicaid mandates included in the final budget agreement for fiscal 1991 and 1992 by making these expansions optional. Incremental Medicaid mandates and extensions are a poor solution to the nation's health care problems. The nation's Governors are working to help develop a more effective partnership on health care reform, but some fiscal relief is necessary during the interim.

- Shift to floor*
2. Freeze any further cost shifts to the states. Current federal formula matching rates should be maintained. This is particularly important in the area of federal highway and transit programs.
 3. Spend the surplus funds in the highway, transit, airport, and land and water conservation trust funds. This would have the dual benefit of stimulating economic activity during the recession while making much-needed infrastructure improvements at a lower cost since construction expenses are traditionally lower during an economic downturn.
 4. Refrain from enacting legislation that preempts state taxation of interstate industries, such as financial institutions, railroads, telecommunications, interstate gas pipelines, and trucking. Help states collect sales taxes from out-of-state direct marketers by approving legislation to overturn the National Bellas Hess decision. Finally, preserve the deductibility of state and local taxes, which are essential to state revenue raising capability.
 5. Enact changes in the unemployment insurance extended benefits program to make it an effective countercyclical program. First, adjust the unemployment rate trigger so it is more responsive to rising unemployment. Second, because cyclical unemployment is due to national trends beyond the control of individual states, the federal government should cover 100 percent of extended unemployment benefits. The current extended unemployment compensation trust fund has a surplus of approximately \$8 billion.

Long-Term Concerns

The Governors call for a new blueprint for renewed economic growth and a better quality of life. They call on Congress and the Administration to work with them to develop:

1. A national health care policy to provide increased access at reasonable costs.
2. A comprehensive education plan to achieve the national education goals.

3. A national energy policy that will assure the long-term availability of adequate energy supplies, including domestic resources, and increase the efficiency of energy use.
4. A new long-term national transportation policy, beginning with the reauthorization of the surface transportation program in 1991.
5. A new national program for waste management and clean water that relies on state leadership.
6. A long-term strategy for investment in human resources, worker training, education, infrastructure, and research and development.

A more effective partnership is essential, both to maintain critical services during the recession and to make the long-term investments necessary for our nation's continued growth and well-being. We as Governors stand ready to work on a bipartisan basis to create and implement this new blueprint. We ask Congress and the Administration to join with us and share our commitment to this new federal-state compact.

not stand. Think of unprecedented United Nations solidarity -- and unprecedented unity at home. We're not going it alone -- but believe me, we **are** going to see it through. //

Tonight, let me thank you for your support of what is right, and decent. And let us raise our glasses:

-- To the partnership between this White House and every State House in the Nation;

-- To what, together, we can do for our generation and those to come;

-- And to the finest soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines any Nation ever had, this prayer: May God bring them back, and soon.

#

Handwritten notes:

the paper - as by
paper the act
/ing 815
we - please
to the sun - belly full
- 20% good
(canal)

to the world 4

Stress on the decision -
a step, a plan,
a way, a goal.
M

the paper - as by
paper the act
/ing 815
we - please
to the sun - belly full
- 20% good
(canal)

Set way

Labors
15 miles - 500
15 miles - 400
15 miles - 300
15 miles - 200
15 miles - 100

Labors
15 miles - 500
15 miles - 400
15 miles - 300
15 miles - 200
15 miles - 100

Labors

Labors
15 miles - 500
15 miles - 400
15 miles - 300
15 miles - 200
15 miles - 100

Labors

Labors

Labors

Think of health care -- where Booth Gardner has been a pioneer. Sir, your colleagues and your Nation are profoundly grateful. And education -- our most enduring legacy -- vital to everything we are and can become. Daniel Webster once said, "Mind is the great leveler of all things." Our educational partnership will help America produce the children -- not orphans -- of a new enlightenment. //

In education and other domestic issues, we are all Republicans -- all Democrats. Let others talk of special interests. Our only interest is America's. // That is also true abroad -- and nowhere more than in the Persian Gulf. So let me close by noting how, as James Polk once said, "This war will continue to be prosecuted with vigor, as the best means of securing peace." //

Each Governor is the peacetime commander-in-chief of the state's national guard -- with virtually every state's Guard now serving in the Gulf. None of us wanted war. Yet we are determined to seize from battle the real peace that can create a new world order. I cannot tell you how long we will remain in the Gulf. I can tell you: We will stay just as long -- and only as long -- as it takes to complete our mission. //

Right now -- half a world away -- our young men and women -- pride of our nation -- are showing that America would not be the land of the free if it were not also the home of the brave. // I salute your standing up for them at home and abroad -- showing that we will not waver -- and Saddam's aggression will

(Smith/Grossman)
January 29, 1991
8 A.M.
GOV

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GOVERNORS TOAST
EAST ROOM
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1991
7:00 P.M.

Vice-President and Mrs. Quayle. Members of the Cabinet -- especially your ex-colleagues Secretary Alexander and Secretary Martinez. Governors and their spouses. Friends. This marks the third State Dinner we have had together -- and including the Charlottesville Summit, the fourth time we have met. //

It is always wonderful to see Chairman Booth Gardner. That goes, too, for the -- unbelievably -- 22 new faces in one of America's most distinguished clubs. / It is a pleasure to welcome all of you to the White House. //

~~((One of those new faces, Pete Wilson, may remember how California was still a Spanish colony when Alexis de Tocqueville asked a local politician to define the role of Governor. He received this answer: "The Governor counts for absolutely nothing and is paid only twelve hundred dollars.") //~~

I'm sure you'd agree that Governors' salaries are still inadequate. But in 1991, the office of Governor counts for absolutely everything. // Here is where the action is for localities across America. Here you have forged a special relationship with this Administration to help people help themselves. //

DOUG GAMBLE

Jan. 29/91

91 JAN 29

P 3:03

424 - 36th Place
Manhattan Beach, CA 90266
(213) 546-6409

TO: CHRISTINA MARTIN

GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE (Curt Smith)

I KEEP HEARING TALK ABOUT THE "ELITE REPUBLICAN GUARD." I ALWAYS THOUGHT THE ELITE REPUBLICAN GUARD WAS JOHN SUNUNU.

THERE HAVE BEEN MANY NIGHTS WHEN I'VE GONE TO SLEEP AT NIGHT WITH A LITTLE VOICE IN MY HEAD SAYING "GOVERNORS ARE GREAT, GOVERNORS ARE VITAL, GOVERNORS ARE VISIONARY." I HAVE TO FIND OUT HOW SUNUNU KEEPS SLIPPING INTO THE FAMILY QUARTERS.

I ASKED JIM BAKER IF HE HAD ANY MEETINGS COMING UP WITH ANY STRONGMEN, POTENTATES OR GRAND HIGH EXALTED RULERS. HE SAID "I'M SEEING JOHN SUNUNU TOMORROW."

THE 50 GOVERNORS: NEW FACES

Democrats will hold 28 governorships, one fewer than they held before, and the Republicans will hold 20, a loss of one, as a result of the Nov. 6 elections. Alaska's Walter J. Hickel and Connecticut's Lowell P. Weicker Jr. are independents. Here are the 50 postelection governors. The names of the new governors are in boldface.

STATE	GOVERNOR	PARTY
Alabama	Guy Hunt	R
~~Alaska~~	Walter J. Hickel	I
~~Arizona~~	J. Fife Symington III	R
~~Arkansas~~	Bill Clinton	D
~~California~~	Pete Wilson	R
~~Colorado~~	Roy Romer	D
~~Connecticut~~	Lowell P. Weicker Jr.	I
~~Delaware~~	Michael N. Castle	R
~~Florida~~	Lawton Chiles	D
~~Georgia~~	Zell Miller	D
~~Hawaii~~	John D. Waihee III	D
~~Idaho~~	Cecil D. Andrus	D
~~Illinois~~	Jim Edgar	R
~~Indiana~~	Evan Bayh	D
~~Iowa~~	Terry Branstad	R
~~Kansas~~	Joan M. Finney	D
~~Kentucky~~	Wallace G. Wilkinson	D
~~Louisiana~~	Buddy Roemer	D
~~Maine~~	John R. McKernan Jr.	R
~~Maryland~~	William Donald Schaefer	D
~~Massachusetts~~	William Weld	R
~~Michigan~~	John Engler	R
~~Minnesota~~	Arne Carlson	R
~~Mississippi~~	Ray Mabus	D
~~Missouri~~	John D. Ashcroft	R
~~Montana~~	Stan Stephens	R
~~Nebraska~~	E. Benjamin Nelson	D
~~Nevada~~	Robert J. Miller	D
~~New Hampshire~~	Judd Gregg	R
~~New Jersey~~	James J. Florio	D
~~New Mexico~~	Bruce King	D
~~New York~~	Mario M. Cuomo	D
~~North Carolina~~	James G. Martin	R
~~North Dakota~~	George Sinner	D
~~Ohio~~	George V. Voinovich	R
~~Oklahoma~~	David Walters	D
~~Oregon~~	Barbara Roberts	D
~~Pennsylvania~~	Robert P. Casey	D
~~Rhode Island~~	Bruce Sundlun	D
~~South Carolina~~	Carroll A. Campbell Jr.	R
~~South Dakota~~	George S. Mickelson	R
~~Tennessee~~	Ned R. McWherter	D
~~Texas~~	Ann W. Richards	D
~~Utah~~	Norman H. Bangerter	R
~~Vermont~~	Richard A. Snelling	R
~~Virginia~~	L. Douglas Wilder	D
~~Washington~~	Booth Gardner	D
~~West Virginia~~	Gaston Caperton	D
~~Wisconsin~~	Tommy G. Thompson	R
~~Wyoming~~	Michael J. Sullivan	D

*subject to runoff election

✓ means
new

Contact Sheet

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Nations Governors East 2/3/91

① Leah Zeaccagnino, Intergovernmental 7170

DINNER (GOVERNORS OF THE STATES & TERRITORIES)
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1991 - 7:00 PM - EAST ENTRANCE - (bt)

AA THE PRESIDENT & MRS. BUSH
AA The Vice President & Mrs. Quayle

AA Hon. & Mrs. Lamar Alexander (Honey)
Secretary-designate of Education

AA The Secretary of State & Mrs. Baker (Susan)
AA The Secretary of the Treasury & Mrs. Brady (Katherine)
AA The Secretary of Defense & Hon. (Dr.) Lynne V. Cheney
AA The Secretary of Veterans Affairs & Mrs. Derwinski (Bonnie)
AA The Secretary of Housing & Urban Development & Mrs. Kemp (Joanne)
AA The Secretary of the Interior & Mrs. Lujan (Jean)
-- Hon. Lynn Martin & Judge Harry Leinenweber
Secretary-designate of Labor

RR The Secretary of Commerce & Mrs. Mosbacher (Georgette)
AA The Secretary of Transportation & Mrs. Skinner (Honey)
-- The Secretary of Health & Human Services & Mrs. Sullivan (Ginger)
RR The Attorney General & Mrs. Thornburgh (Ginny)
AR The Secretary of Energy & Mrs. Watkins (Sheila)
AA The Secretary of Agriculture & Mrs. Yeutter (Jeanne)

-- Hon. & Mrs. Richard G. Darman (Kathleen)
Director, OMB
-- Hon. Carla A. Hills & Hon. Roderick M. Hills
United States Trade Representative

AA Hon. (Dr.) & Mrs. Michael J. Boskin (Christien)
Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers
AA Hon. & Mrs. William K. Reilly (Libbie)
Administrator, EPA
AA Hon. & Mrs. Robert Martinez (Mary Jane)
Director-designate, National Drug Control Policy

- Hon. (Miss) Debra Rae Anderson
Deputy Assistant to the President & Director, Office of
Intergovernmental Affairs

AA Hon. & Mrs. Andrew H. Card, Jr. (Kathleene)
Assistant to the President & Deputy to the Chief of Staff
AA Hon. David F. Demarest, Jr. & Ms. Sarah Tinsley
Assistant to the President for Communications
AA Hon. & Mrs. George O. "Lanny" Griffith, Jr. (Susan)
Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental
Affairs

-- Hon. (Dr.) & Mrs. Roger B. Porter (Ann)
Assistant to the President for Economic & Domestic Policy
A Hon. (Gen.) Brent Scowcroft
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
AA Hon. (Gov.) & Mrs. John H. Sununu (Nancy)
Chief of Staff to the President

-- The Governor of Guam & Mrs. Joseph Ada (Roseanne)
AA The Governor of Idaho & Mrs. Cecil D. Andrus (Carol)
AA The Governor of Missouri & Mrs. John Ashcroft (Janet)
AA Hon. Norman H. Bangerter & daughter, Mrs. Ann Gayheart
Governor of Utah (Mrs. Bangerter regrets)
-- The Governor of Indiana & Mrs. Evan Bayh III (Susan)
AA The Governor of Iowa & Mrs. Terry E. Branstad (Christine)
AA The Governor of South Carolina & Mrs. Carroll A. Campbell (Iris)
AA Hon. Gaston Caperton & Ms. Rachel Worby
Governor of West Virginia
-- The Governor of Minnesota & Mrs. Arne Carlson (Susan)
-- The Governor of Pennsylvania & Mrs. Robert P. Casey (Ellen Theresa)
- Hon. Michael N. Castle, Governor of Delaware
-- The Governor of Florida & Mrs. Lawton Chiles (Rhea)
AA The Governor of Arkansas & Mrs. Bill Clinton (Hilary)
-- The Governor of American Samoa & Mrs. Peter Tali Coleman (Nora)
RR The Governor of New York & Mrs. Mario M. Cuomo (Matilda)
-- The Governor of Illinois & Mrs. James Edgar (Brenda)
-- The Governor of Michigan & Mrs. John Engler (Michelle)
- Hon. Alexander A. Farrelly, Governor of the Virgin Islands
-- Hon. Joan M. Finney, Governor of Kansas & Mr. Spencer Finney
AA The Governor of New Jersey & Mrs. James J. Florio (Lucinda)
-- The Governor of Washington & Mrs. Booth Gardner (Jean)
AA The Governor of New Hampshire & Mrs. Judd Gregg (Kathy)
-- The Governor of Northern Mariana Islands
& Mrs. Lorenzo I. Guerrero (Matilda)
AA The Governor of Puerto Rico & Mrs. Rafael Hernandez-Colon (Lila)
-- The Governor of Alaska & Mrs. Walter J. Hickel (Ermalee)
AA The Governor of Alabama & Mrs. Harold Guy Hunt (Helen)
-- The Governor of New Mexico & Mrs. Bruce King (Alice)
AA The Governor of Mississippi & Mrs. Ray Mabus (Julie)
AA The Governor of North Carolina & Mrs. James G. Martin (Dorothy)
AA Hon. John R. McKernan, Governor of Maine
& Hon. Olympia J. Snowe (US Rep/R/Maine)
- Hon. Ned Ray McWherter, Governor of Tennessee
AA The Governor of South Dakota & Mrs. George S. Mickelson (Linda)
-- The Governor of Nevada & Mrs. Robert J. Miller (Sandy)
-- The Governor of Georgia & Mrs. Zell Miller (Shirley)
- Hon. Rose Mofford, Governor of Arizona
-- The Governor of Nebraska & Mrs. E. Benjamin Nelson (Diane)
- Hon. Anne W. Richards, Governor of Texas
-- Hon. Barbara Roberts, Governor of Oregon & Mr. Frank Roberts
-- The Governor of Louisiana & Mrs. Buddy Roemer (Patti)
-- The Governor of Colorado & Mrs. Roy R. Romer (Bea)
- Hon. W. Donald Schaefer, Governor of Maryland
-- The Governor of North Dakota & Mrs. George Sinner (Jane)
-- The Governor of Vermont & Mrs. Richard A. Snelling (Barbara)
AA Hon. Stanley G. Stephens, & daughter, Mrs. Alana Gillen
Governor of Montana (Mrs. Stephens regrets)
AA The Governor of Wyoming & Mrs. Michael Sullivan (Jane)

DINNER (GOVERNORS OF THE STATES & TERRITORIES)
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1991 - 7:00 PM - EAST ENTRANCE - (bt)

PAGE 2

-- The Governor of Rhode Island & Mrs. Bruce Sundlun (Marjorie)
AR The Governor of Wisconsin & Mrs. Tommy G. Thompson (Sue Ann)
-- The Governor of Ohio & Mrs. George V. Voinovich (Janet)
-- The Governor of Hawaii & Mrs. John Waihee (Lynne)
-- The Governor of Oklahoma & Mrs. David Walters (Rhonda)
-- The Governor of Connecticut & Mrs. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. (Claudia)
-- The Governor of Massachusetts & Mrs. William Weld (Susan)
AA Hon. L. Douglas Wilder & son, Mr. Larry Wilder
Governor of Virginia
AA The Governor of Kentucky & Mrs. Wallace Wilkinson (Martha)
-- The Governor of California & Mrs. Pete Wilson (Gayle)

AA Mr. & Mrs. Raymond Scheppach (Terry)
Executive Director, National Governors Association

(Smith/Garmey)
October 31, 1990
3 P.M.
PETE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WILSON FUNDRAISER
SAN BERNADINO VALLEY
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1990

Governor Deukmejian, Senator Wilson. And it's always great to see Frank Visco, our State party chairman. // Pete, thank you for that kind introduction. And let me say what a pleasure it is to return to California. // Again. // ((Some say I've spent more time on the road here than Charles Kuralt.)) //

((It's great to see the **current** and **future** Governors of California. / I say that with the knowledge that having the three of us here at the same time is more charisma than most audiences can stand.)) //

((Most of all, I'm glad to be back with you. What a reception I had at the airport. Red carpet. 21-gun salute. // Signs saying "Welcome back" and "We love you." When I went down the stairs I told someone I was surprised by the big greeting. / He said, "Not as surprised as we are -- we expected Barbara."))

Let there be no confusion about why I'm here. To support a good friend -- a great Mayor of San Diego -- our superb U.S. Senator. Pete Wilson. // The ___ calls him, " ." / The ___ calls him " ." / What do I plan on calling Pete? Come next January, I think I'll just call him Governor. //

((You know, California was still a Spanish colony when Alexis de Tocqueville asked a local politician to define the role

of Governor. He received this answer: "The Governor counts for absolutely nothing and is paid only twelve hundred dollars.)) // Compare with that today: In 1990, the office of Governor of California counts for absolutely everything. //

First, the next Governor will count politically. // Only Pete Wilson can stop Democratic gerrymandering -- sanctioned by a Democratic Governor -- from making a mockery of the Democratic process. //

Here's another way the next Governor will matter. He can shape policies that ensure a better life for all. // Maybe you've heard the song titled, "A New York State of Mind." // On Election Day, we can support a California State of Mind that encourages growth, opportunity, and prosperity -- yes, GOP! //

All his life, that's what Pete Wilson has done. In education, he has tried to empower parents to choose their children's school. He's right. / In crime, he's tried to empower the peace forces against the criminal forces. Right on. / In clean air, he believes that to keep our environment green, we don't have to make our economy black and blue. // Pete's opponent adores the special interests. // Pete and I believe: The only thing that counts is America's interest. //

Never has this philosophical Great Divide been more evident than during the last few weeks. I refer to the sorry spectacle known as the United States Congress. // Yes, Virginia, America finally has a Federal budget. But even Ripley would not believe what we had to endure to get that budget passed. //

All of you know the history of these budget negotiations. For most of the past year, our Administration has worked to produce a serious response to a serious deficit -- grappling not only with the budget, but a self-serving Congress. //

For eight months, this Democrat Congress acted like a 78 record played at 33. // For eight months, it postured. Debated. Bellowed. Stalled. // If Congress were a play, it would have closed before New Haven. Congress hasn't been doing the people's business. It's been giving the business to the people. Now Pete's opponent wants to give the business to every Californian.

Part of Congress' problem is institutional. Think of it -- 20,000 staff members and a Rubik's Cube of committees. Too often, serving liberals who pander to pressure groups. // When I was little, I read a book titled, "Far From The Madding Crowd." Today, Congress is the Madding Crowd. //

A second fact makes the crisis even worse: Congress' left-wing philosophy perpetuated by nearly 40 years of one-party rule. // Because Congress has been unaccountable, Congress has become irresponsible -- sort of reminds me of the song from the musical Oklahoma, "I'm just a girl who can't say no." // The problem is a Congress addicted to "Tax and spend." I have a solution. Let's change the budget process -- by changing the Congress, too.

Three days from now, let's remember who gave us the charade we call a budget process. Who? You know who. Liberal Democrats. // And recall who fought so hard for budget reform - - for built-in enforcement rules. Yes, Republicans. //

Republicans helped us achieve the first five-year curb on spending ever. And ensured over \$350 billion in spending cuts - - the largest cut in history. // Republicans helped me reduce the deficit by nearly \$500 billion. Held the line against those who would cripple our national defense. Finally, who was it that helped me keep Congress from raising income tax rates on working Americans? Right again -- Republicans. We need more Pete Wilsons to help government serve people -- not the other way around. //

I know our budget agreement's not perfect. Here's its good news. The agreement will help bring interest rates down in California -- helping you buy that new car or home. // It will help build more new businesses -- and that means more new jobs. // The bad news it's not the best budget possible -- but ask Pete: It's the best we could get with this Democrat Congress. // If spending were an art form, this Congress would be the Michaelangelo of its age. We have to elect Republicans who will help break liberals' tax and spend addiction once and for all. //

Let me give some examples of what I'm talking about -- all taken from this Democratic budget. // All of you, of course, have heard about the half million dollars allocated to renovate Lawrence Welk's birthplace. Now I have nothing against the esteemed Mr. Welk. // Barbara tells me often wake up chanting, "A one and a two." // But this boondoggle shows why America is fed up with a Congress that feeds at the trough. //

Here's another example: Recently, Congress voted itself a pay raise that now puts them in the very tax bracket that --

under the new budget -- is set to decrease by two percent. Congress believes in more pay and lower taxes -- but only when it comes to them. // Want more? Try the \$375,000 for a facelift of the House beauty parlor -- or \$250,000 to study the best placement for T.V. lights on the Senate floor. // America knows who arranged these cosmetic changes. Who? You know who. Liberal Democrats. // But it's going to take more than a beauty parlor facelift and a change in lighting to hide the ugly truth from the American people. //

I could go on. Could tell you about the quarter of a million dollars appropriated for studies to improve the texture of sweet potatoes -- or the \$40,000 to study how long it takes to cook breakfast eggs. // I know this -- takes longer for me than Barbara. // I could tell you about the 182 "commemorative" bills Congress has asked me for one thing or another. The Democrats gave me "National Asparagus Month" --but they stalled for almost a year before passing a farm bill. // They gave me "The Year of Clean Water" -- but delayed for months before finally passing a clean air bill. // [[If all this sounds unpalatable, don't worry -- the Democratic Congress also declared National Digestive Disease Awareness Month.]] //

Now, I have nothing against clean water, or asparagus. // Broccoli's another matter. // But Americans deserve more than a government that measures progress made by dollars spent. So in closing, here's how starting Tuesday, we can empower individuals -- not bureaucracies. And help Pete Wilson and I build a

government where progress made is measured in people helped and dreams achieved. // Sounds like a definition of California. //

On Election Day, let's vote for candidates who support the line-item veto -- the same one that 43 Governors like Pete Wilson will use to balance their budget. // Let's also back men and women who support a Federal balanced budget amendment. // Next, let's support initiatives on the ballot to limit terms of our State officials. Unlike his opponent, Pete wants a Sacramento where ideas take root -- not politicians. Let's prove Tuesday the answer to political abuse of power is the power of the people. //

Finally, this Tuesday let's support those candidates who understand the people's values and concerns. Candidates like Pete Wilson. // ((Pete knows that it will cost money to help California prosper. So do I. // When I was here last __, the demonstrators who got up and shouted at me paid a thousand dollars to get into the room. Even free speech isn't free.)) // Yet Pete knows that only standing for the general against the special interests can achieve a Better Deal for all. //

For instance, look at quotas. Pete supported my recent veto of the so-called Civil Rights Bill. He knows the way to end discrimination against some Americans is not to begin it against others. // Look at the environment. Pete wrote the first Coastal Protection Act before the environmental movement ever began. He was an architect of our comprehensive Clean Air legislation that the Congress finally passed last week. // Here's more on how Pete Wilson will act for all Californians.

Education -- where the Governor plays a special role. Democrats think we can keep America No. 1 by throwing money at the problem. Pete supports our Administration's Educational Excellence Act -- demanding more accountability -- higher standards -- and more parental choice in where your kids go to school. // Or crime -- where all the Democrat Congress has done is to make the streets of America safer -- safer for muggers, safer for killers, safer for the most barbaric elements of society. //

Last week, after 17 months of delay, the Democrats finally passed a crime bill -- a tough bill -- then proceeded to weaken it, out of sight, in a backroom. The mutilation was itself a mugging -- a legislative crime that could only take place behind closed doors. // What a difference more Pete Wilsons would have made. You know his record: The son of a police officer -- his dad was a police officer who died so that others might live. Who's responsible for gutting our crime bill? You know who? Liberal Democrats. They sympathize with criminals. We support the police. Let's elect Pete Wilson here -- and Republicans across the country. Together, we'll pass a Crime Bill that gives cop-killers the kind of punishment they deserve.

Pete Wilson understands the California State of Mind. That's why as Mayor of San Diego, he balanced 11 straight budgets. And why -- the day after a recent emergency appendectomy -- Pete made it to the Senate floor to cast a tie-breaking vote to reduce the Federal deficit. // He knows that Californians want lower spending -- not higher taxes. So he has

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Here is another example of why next Tuesday, America will say: We're fed up with a Congress that feeds at the trough. // Recently, Congress voted itself a pay raise that now puts them in the very tax bracket that -- under the new budget -- is set to decrease by two percent. Congress believes in more pay and lower taxes -- but only when it comes to them. // Want more? Try the \$375,000 for a facelift of the House beauty parlor -- or \$250,000 to study the best placement for T.V. lights on the Senate floor. // These are cosmetic changes, all smoke and mirrors. But it's going to take more than a beauty parlor facelight and a change in lighting to hide the ugly truth from the American people. //

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THE PRESIDENT'S EDUCATION SUMMIT WITH GOVERNORS

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

September 27 - 28, 1989

Joint Statement

The President and the nation's Governors agree that a better educated citizenry is the key to the continued growth and prosperity of the United States. Education has historically been and should remain, a state responsibility and a local function, which works best when there is also strong parental involvement in the schools. And, as a Nation we must have an educated workforce, second to none, in order to succeed in an increasingly competitive world economy.

Education has always been important, but never this important because the stakes have changed: Our competitors for opportunity are also working to educate their people. As they continue to improve, they make the future a moving target. We believe that the time has come, for the first time in U.S. history, to establish clear, national performance goals, goals that will make us internationally competitive.

The President and the nation's Governors have agreed at this summit to:

- establish a process for setting national education goals;
- seek greater flexibility and enhanced accountability in the use of Federal resources to meet the goals, through both regulatory and legislative changes;
- undertake a major state-by-state effort to restructure our education system; and
- report annually on progress in achieving our goals.

This agreement represents the first step in a long-term commitment to reorient the education system and to marshal widespread support for the needed reforms.

NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS

The first step in restructuring our education system is to build a broad-based consensus around a defined set of national education goals. The National Governors' Association Task Force on Education will work with the President's designees to

recommend goals to the President and the Nation's Governors. The process to develop the goals will involve teachers, parents, local school administrators, school board members, elected officials, business and labor communities, and the public at large. The overriding objective is to develop an ambitious, realistic, set of performance goals that reflect the views of those with a stake in the performance of our education system. To succeed we need a common understanding and a common mission. National goals will allow us to plan effectively, to set priorities, and to establish clear lines of accountability and authority. These goals will lead to the development of detailed strategies that will allow us to meet these objectives.

The process for establishing these goals should be completed and the goals announced in early 1990.

By performance we mean goals that will, if achieved, guarantee that we are internationally competitive, such as goals related to:

- the readiness of children to start school;
- the performance of students on international achievement tests, especially in math and science;
- the reduction of the dropout rate and improvement of academic performance, especially among at-risk students;
- the functional literacy of adult Americans;
- the level of training necessary to guarantee a competitive workforce;
- the supply of qualified teachers and up-to-date technology; and
- the establishment of safe, disciplined, and drug-free schools.

THE FEDERAL/STATE PARTNERSHIP

Flexibility and Accountability

The President and the Governors are committed to achieving the maximum return possible from our investment in the Nation's education system. We define maximum return as the following: significant and sustained educational improvement for all children. Nothing less will meet the Nation's needs for a strong, competitive workforce; nothing less will meet our children's needs for successful citizenship and economic opportunity.

Federal funds, which represent only a small part of total education spending, are directed particularly toward services for

young people most at risk. Federal laws and regulations control where and for whom states and localities spend this money. State and local laws and regulations control what is taught, and how, for all students.

At present, neither Federal nor State and local laws and regulations focus sufficiently on results, or on real educational improvement for all children. Federal and State executives need authority to waive statutory and regulatory provisions in return for greater accountability for results.

The President and the Governors have agreed:

- to examine Federal regulations under current law and to move in the direction of greater flexibility;
- to take parallel steps in each state with respect to State laws and administrative rules.
- to submit legislation to Congress early next year that would provide State and local recipients greater flexibility in the use of Federal funds, in return for firm commitments to improved levels of education and skill training.

The President and the Governors have agreed to establish a working group of Governors and the President's designees to begin work immediately to accomplish these tasks.

We know that other voices need to be heard in this discussion -- voices of educators, parents, and those whose primary interest is the protection of the disadvantaged, minorities, and the handicapped. We need to work with the Congress. The processes we will set up immediately following this conference will involve all parties.

The urgent need for flexibility in using Federal funds can best be illustrated by a few examples.

First, the Federal Vocational Education Act, which mandates specific set-asides that often result in individual awards that are too small to be meaningful and that prohibit the money from being spent to achieve its purpose. One state reported being required to divide \$300,000 in aid among far too many categories and set-asides.

Second, similarly, the Chapter 1 program requires that equipment purchased to provide remedial education services cannot be used for non-Chapter 1 institutions in areas such as adult education. Several States report that large numbers of computers purchased by Federal funds are idle at night, while adult education classes that need them either do without or use scarce tax dollars to buy other equipment.

Third, the requirements that children who benefit from Federal

funds for compensatory and special education be taught separately often undermines their achievement. Waivers that permit these students to return to regular classes and receive extra help have produced large increases in their test scores. This option should be available for all school districts.

These commitments are historic steps toward ensuring that young people with the greatest needs receive the best our schools and training programs can give them, and that all children reach their highest educational potential.

In a phrase, we want to swap red tape for results.

The Federal Government's Financial Role

State and local Governments provide more than 90 percent of education funding. They should continue to bear that lion's share of the load. The Federal financial role is limited and has even declined, but it is still important. That role is:

- to promote National education equity by helping our poor children get off to a good start in school, giving disadvantaged and handicapped children extra help to assist them in their school years, ensuring accessibility to a college education, and preparing the workforce for jobs;
- and second, to provide research and development for programs that work, good information on the real performance of students, schools, and states, and assistance in replicating successful state and local initiatives all across the United States;

We understand the limits imposed on new spending by the Federal deficit and the budget process. However, we urge that priority for any further funding increases be given to prepare young children to succeed in school. This is consistent with the President's recommendation for an increase in the number of children served by Head Start in this year's budget. If we are ever to develop a system that ensures that our children are healthy and succeed in school, the Federal Government will have to play a leading role.

Further, we urge that the Congress not impose new Federal mandates that are unrelated to children, but that require States to spend state tax money that could otherwise go to education.

COMMITMENT TO RESTRUCTURING

Virtually every State has substantially increased its investment in education, increased standards, and improved learning. Real gains have occurred. However, we still have a long way to go. We must make dramatic improvements in our education system. This cannot be done without a genuine, National, Bipartisan commitment to excellence and without a willingness to dramatically alter our

system of education.

The President and the Nation's Governors agree that significant steps must be taken to restructure education in all states. We share the view that simply more of the same will not achieve the results we need. We must find ways to deploy the resources we commit to education more effectively.

A similar process has been going on in American manufacturing industry over the last decade with astonishing results: An increase in productivity of nearly 4 percent a year.

There are many promising new ideas and strategies for restructuring education. These include greater choice for parents and students, greater authority and accountability for teachers and principals, alternative certification programs for teachers, and programs that systematically reward excellence and performance. Most successful restructuring efforts seem to have certain common characteristics.

- a system of accountability that focuses on results, rather than on compliance with rules and regulations;
- decentralization of authority and decision-making responsibility to the school site, so that educators are empowered to determine the means for achieving the goals and to be held accountable for accomplishing them;
- a rigorous program of instruction designed to ensure that every child can acquire the knowledge and skills required in an economy in which our citizens must be able to think for a living;
- an education system that develops first-rate teachers and creates a professional environment that provides real rewards for success with students, real consequences for failure, and the tools and flexibility required to get the job done; and
- active, sustained parental and business community involvement.

Restructuring efforts are now underway in many states. The Nation's Governors are committed to a major restructuring effort in every state. The Governors will give this task high priority and will report on their progress in one year.

ASSURING ACCOUNTABILITY

As elected chief executives, we expect to be held accountable for progress in meeting the new National goals and we expect to hold other accountable as well.

When goals are set and strategies for achieving them are adopted,

we must establish clear measures of performance and then issue annual Report Cards on the progress of students, schools, the states, and the Federal Government.

Over the last few days we have humbly walked in the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson. We have started down a promising path. We have entered into a compact -- a Jeffersonian compact to enlighten our children and the children of generations to come.

The time for rhetoric is past; the time for performance is now.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Charlottesville, Virginia)

For Immediate Release

September 28, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT,
GOVERNOR GERALD BALILES, GOVERNOR TERRY BRANSTAD
AND SECRETARY LAURO CAVAZOS
DURING UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

The University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

11:56 A.M. EDT

GOVERNOR BALILES: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, as you may have noticed during the course of this unprecedented education summit, Virginia law and tradition oblige us to publicly invoke the name of Thomas Jefferson at least once or twice an hour. (Laughter and applause.) There are worse habits.

Mr. President, it has been an interesting -- sometimes provocative -- gathering. You asked the governors to be candid, and I think we've fulfilled that request -- perhaps beyond your fondest hopes. (Laughter.) I would also say, however, that you gave as good as you got. But these are times for candor and outspoken self-examination. These are times for us to open our eyes and our minds and face the facts. The world has changed more than we sometimes would prefer. The challenges, both internally and externally, are profound and difficult. And, frankly, we have not made it easy for ourselves.

Within the last decade, immense federal budget deficits have accumulated with resulting declines in domestic spending, including education. We need not assign blame, but we ought to acknowledge that the federal budget situation has left the states increasingly on their own to address not only education, but also health care, transportation, law enforcement and other pressing concerns.

Indeed, the federal budget deficits have been the backdrop to the education summit stage. The federal deficits confine our flexibility, limit our options, and explain our shared reluctance to discuss financial resources. To be sure, in recent years the states have stepped into the breach. Imaginative and innovative programs have been created and funded by governors and state legislators determined not to let the red ink in Washington inhibit the potential of our people in their enterprise.

But has it been enough? Has the renaissance of state governments yielded a renewed competitive America? The evidence says no. Indeed, it may be said of the American federal system of government that the whole remains less than the sum of the parts. Education is one example, but not the only one. In other words, if we are to take on education as a nation, we had better get all the parts in accord and pulling together. And you, Mr. President, have taken a valuable and important step in that direction.

Up to this point, Mr. Jefferson's preference for locally-administered education has prevailed. We will not depart from that model entirely. States and localities will continue to provide more than 90 percent of the funding and the preponderance of the direction and supervision.

And yet, there is a federal role to be more clearly defined, supported and sustained. In response to international economic competition, a consensus has emerged for an American national resolve. The Jeffersonian belief that education is the first, best hope for our Republic's enduring success has not diminished. We have simply discovered that, as the times change, so must our ideas.

That may be the finest result of this education summit that we have begun. State and federal governments together, to think anew our respective roles and to address education for the first time as a nation undivided.

Mr. President, you have a loyal ally to support your efforts in the person of the new Chairman of the National Governors Association. It is my pleasure to introduce my friend and the distinguished Governor of the State of Iowa, Terry Branstad. (Applause.)

GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Thank you, Governor Baliles. Mr. President, First Lady Barbara Bush, members of the Cabinet, fellow governors and their spouses, President O'Neil and Mrs. O'Neil, and members of the University of Virginia community: It is indeed appropriate that this education summit be held here amidst this historic setting. On behalf of the governors and their spouses we want to thank the faculty, administration and students for hosting us here at this beautiful University of Virginia campus. And I hope we haven't disrupted your class schedules too much the last couple of days. (Laughter.)

With this historic education summit, the President and the governors have taken an important first step in the process of developing for the first time a national consensus for educational goals. We are discussing some of the most critical issues facing America today -- that is, the state of education. Our discussions underscore the breadth and depth and the complexity of the issues that we face. We believe that this summit can serve as a catalyst for change and improvement in American education.

But we know that we can't do it alone. Not even the President of the United States and the Congress, each governor and their legislature can cause the kind of changes that we want. We have to have the involvement of the people who are directly affected; the people who can assure that we get results for America's children.

These are the teachers, the parents, local school administrators and school board members. Students, business leaders, leaders in their communities. People who care deeply about American education. Only with the commitment of all of these people and with their cooperation and help can we be successful in attaining the goals that we hope to agree upon.

Governors recognize that this is a time for results. We are working hard to achieve results in our states. Results like better student performances on math, science and foreign language tests; lower dropout rates and higher graduation rates; improved adult literacy; skilled and productive workers for the jobs of the 21st century.

To get the results we want, we have to hold our education system accountable and give educators the flexibility they need to do their job. It is time to find new measures of performance based on what students know and what students can do; not just the number of classes that they complete in high school or college. It is time for more flexibility in the use of federal dollars. And better coordination and cooperation among all levels of government and the different agencies of the federal government and state governments.

We need to better serve the needs of American families and American schools.

On behalf of the nation's governors, we thank you, Mr. President, for convening this historic summit, for the process that you have started and for our opportunity to help achieve significant goals that will get results for future generations of Americans.

And now I have the privilege of introducing the Secretary of Education for the United States. Lauro Cavazos was appointed by President Reagan in 1988 as U.S. Secretary of Education. He was confirmed unanimously by the United States Senate, and before that, he had a distinguished career as President of Texas Tech University. And I'm pleased to say, he also has a PH.D. from Iowa State.

Lauro Cavazos, Secretary of Education. (Applause.)

SECRETARY CAVAZOS: Thank you, Governor. Thank you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. It's my distinct pleasure to be here today as we continue this historic education summit. The decisions we make will affect the lives of millions of children in the United States, and it is for those children and the future of this country that we are here.

President Bush has pledged his support for education and the need to restructure our educational system, and it is an honor now for me to introduce the President of the United States, George Bush. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Thank you Secretary Cavazos. Thank you governors. Thank you, Dr. Cavazos -- Secretary Cavazos. First, my respects to all the governors here, and I want to thank the music of that Air Force Band. Just lovely. Thank you for your performance. (Applause.) I want to thank Governor Baliles and Governor Branstad and so many others who had a very special role.

I want to thank President O'Neil and Mrs. O'Neil. It was only yesterday that I discovered that we had evicted them from the President's house. (Laughter.) And not only did they go peacefully, but they left me this necktie from Eljo's, which I'm sure some of you may recognize. (Applause.) You talk about Virginia hospitality. (Laughter.)

And I also want to pay my respects to the students and especially to the distinguished faculty of this great institution. (Applause.)

And for Barbara and me it's a delight to be back in Charlottesville. Imagine this -- you have a President, the Cabinet, America's governors all visiting your school. And the big man on the campus -- still Sean Moore. (Laughter and applause.) But, you see, we're somewhat familiar. Our son Marvin and our daughter-in-law Margaret, having gone here, both advising me to be humble while I'm at U. Hall. You see, they told me you only do the wave for Ralph Sampson. (Laughter.)

Now, it's easy to keep your perspective and be humble at a school so rich in history and in educational endeavor. And I've also been deeply impressed by the commitment, the creativity and the knowledge that my fellow chief executives bring here to this education reform agenda. In our meetings yesterday, I learned exactly how much you care about the children of your states and the future. And in short, I came to Charlottesville with high expectations, and I've got to say, you have exceeded them.

So the spirit of our summit is not: "Who will get the credit?" The spirit of this summit is: "How can we get results?" We are here to put progress before partisanship, the future before the moment, and our children before ourselves.

I've heard eloquent advice from many of you, and from so many others, in the last few weeks. And I've listened, and I am

deeply appreciative of all that I have learned.

But I've also learned that we should listen to our children. And they have much to tell us. In many ways, they are the luckiest generation in history. Just last month, our children observed, in the clarity of Voyager's sight, the horizons of new worlds, the majesty of space. And think what these images would have meant to the ever-curious founder of this university, who could only look through a primitive telescope at faint patches of light and wonder.

But our children are growing up in an age where wonder is commonplace, peace and prosperity often taken for granted. And our children are also the beneficiaries of a nation that lavishes unsurpassed resources on their schooling. So in many ways, we're close to fulfilling the Enlightenment dream of universal education, a dream that became a reality in the shadows of the Shenandoahs here at Mr. Jefferson's school.

And every step we take at this university is truly a walk in Thomas Jefferson's footsteps. When he first charted the ground on which we gather today, there was just a field of grass, a horizon limited only by the Blue Mountains beyond. But Jefferson surveyed a horizon that no one else could see. He saw the graceful dome of the Rotunda, the elegance of the Lawn and its pavilions. He saw meeting rooms and libraries and lecture halls teeming with professors, students yet unborn.

Jefferson set out to fashion his rarified vision into solid reality, brick by brick, book by book. And it is his University -- and his dream -- that inspires us today to follow in his footsteps.

As President O'Neil said, Thomas Jefferson, our first education president, was a relentless advocate for universal public education. "He had a fundamental conviction that on the good sense of an educated citizenry, we could build and defend a country of liberty and justice."

I borrowed those words -- this assessment -- from a friend of mine -- another Renaissance man of our time -- the late Bartlett Giamatti.

Like Jefferson, his life was a metaphor for civility and public service. And it is this commitment to public service that we must carry on. So let us make this an education society.

We have already come close to this Jeffersonian ideal. Our educational system is, in many ways, unrivaled in its scale and its diversity; in its commitment to meeting special needs and individual differences. And we're inspired by our best teachers, who give more than we can rightly expect; and from our best students, who surpass our highest expectations.

And yet, after two centuries of progress, we are stagnant. While millions of Americans read for pleasure, millions of others don't read at all. And while millions go to college, millions may never graduate from high school.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress estimates that fewer than one in four of our high school juniors can write an adequate, persuasive letter. And only half can manage decimals, fractions and percentages. And barely one in three can locate the Civil War in the correct half-century. No modern nation can long afford to allow so many of its sons and daughters to emerge into adulthood ignorant and unskilled. The status quo is a guarantee of mediocrity, social decay and national decline.

Education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything that we are and can become. And come the next century --

just 10 years away -- what will we be? Will we be the children of the enlightenment, or its orphans?

Six years ago, the Committee on Excellence in Education issued its powerful report; and yet today, our nation is still at risk. The educational reform movement has done well in articulating its criticisms. And now it is time to define goals. This is the time for action.

I sent my proposals for federal action in education to Congress last spring, including an increase in funding for Head Start. The Educational Excellence Act of 1989 includes ways to reshape and expand federal efforts, to recognize excellence, lift the needy, foster flexibility and choice, and measure and reward progress. I remain solidly committed to these principles and I value your advice and ideas as we continue to refine the federal role.

Some offer a completely different answer -- spend more money alone. And at the federal level, we have asked Congress to provide nearly a half a billion dollars in new funding for 10 worthy programs. Your states may also choose to spend more. But to those who say that money alone is the answer, I say that there is no one answer. If anything, hard experience teaches that we are simply not getting our money's worth in education. Our focus must no longer be on resources. It must be on results.

And this is only the third time in our 200 years as a nation that a President has called a summit with the governors. And I've called you together because you bear the constitutional responsibility for education. And I didn't ask you to such an historic occasion merely to bemoan what is wrong. We are here to work; and work together; to once again make an American education the best in the world. (Applause.) And let me say to the governors before this majestic audience, these sessions have been informative and thoughtful and very useful to me. And I appreciate the obvious extensive preparations that the governors have undertaken in the days and weeks leading up to this summit. The governors have emphasized to me the need for national performance goals and the importance of greater flexibility in the use of federal funds, while accepting enhanced accountability for the results.

And they've also stressed the high priority that helping prepare preschool children should have in federal spending even in time of fiscal constraint.

And finally, the governors have articulated eloquently the need to restructure our education system. You already are consulting with state legislators to better our schools. Our teachers already are giving their heart and soul to their jobs. But we've never before worked together -- President and principal, governor and teacher -- to achieve results in education.

A social compact begins today in Charlottesville, Virginia -- a compact between parents, teachers, principals, superintendents, state legislators, governors and the administration. Our compact is founded not on promises, but on challenges -- each one a radical departure from tradition.

I hope that you will join me, to define national goals in education for the first time. From this day forward, let us be an America of tougher standards, of higher goals and a land of bigger dreams. (Applause.)

Our goals must be national, not federal. That's why I welcome the initiatives of the National Governors Association, from the Time for Results report in 1986, to the goal-setting project recently begun under the leadership of Iowa's Terry Branstad, South Carolina's Carroll Campbell, Washington's Booth Gardner, Bill Clinton of Arkansas. And my administration will work with you to build on the National Assessment Program's first state-by-state achievement

results. We will work with you to formulate national goals. And then we're going to challenge superintendents and principals to meet these higher goals.

In return, I accept your challenge and will work with you to loosen the grip of federal restrictions. How many great ideas, how many grand and noble experiments, have been impaled on the narrow spike of a federal directive? Unnecessary restriction is the enemy of the bold. And bold action is what we need most of all. (Applause.)

I ask Congress to allow Washington to be more flexible by passing reform legislation. And I ask you, in turn, to ease state restrictions on local bodies. And then we'll judge our efforts not by our intentions, but by our results.

So to get results, we need national goals and more flexibility from federal and state government. To get results, we will need a new spirit of competition between students, between teachers and between schools -- a report card for all. And to get results, we will need discipline, structure and goals.

And yet I do not counsel a naive nostalgia, some tame adherence to the past. Business as usual is not getting us where we need to go. So when hallowed tradition proves to be hollow convention, then we must shatter tradition. The polls show what every PTA board member already knows -- the American people are ready for radical reforms. We must not disappoint them. (Applause.)

For myself, I envision tradition-shattering reform in five areas.

First, I see the day when every student is literate. But literacy should mean more than the "three Rs." We must be a reading nation. We must grapple with the hard sciences. And because education is as spiritual as it is practical, our children must know why Americans died at Bunker Hill, at Gettysburg and at Monte Cassino. And they must do more than identify names on a multiple choice question. They must understand the generosity of Andrew Carnegie and the genius of Alexander Graham Bell and the heroism of Rosa Parks.

Some youngsters will naturally take longer than others. And some will need more study and extra instruction. But we should never send a student from school to school just because he or she has passed an arbitrary birthday. (Applause.)

Second, I see a day when our educational system will be unafraid of diversity. Of course, all schools in a state will share a core curriculum and minimum standards of achievement. But the means by which that curriculum is taught and those goals met should be as diverse and varied as America itself. Let them blend, in myriad ways, the traditional and the modern, the human and the technological. Let us give our schools and our teachers the freedom to do what they do best.

Children also differ -- in their interests and learning styles and capabilities. And so, third, I see the day when choice among schools will be the norm rather than the exception -- (applause) -- when parents will be full partners in the education of their children.

Too many parents have come to see education as a service we can hand over to the school boards, in much the same way we expect our cities to provide electricity or water. But education is not a utility, not something to be delegated. Education is a way of life. And educational reform is an urgent responsibility for every parent, every student, every community. And those who do not advance the cause of education hinder it. Parents, students and professional educators must be accountable to one another as a community.

But to be accountable, we need to know just how much progress we're making. So, fourth, I see the day when we use accurate assessments, carefully linked to our educational goals. We need to first know where we are. And this means accepting the bad news along with the good. We've always measured our progress against our past performance. We must now evaluate ourselves on a tougher grading curve -- one that includes the other major industrial nations. (Applause.)

And accountability also means we must act on what we discover. Weak performance in the classroom or the principal's office will no longer be tolerated. But neither will indifference towards good educators. Society has no greater benefactors than outstanding teachers and principals. (Applause.) And so, let them have their day in the sun, get what they deserve -- generous praise and solid rewards. (Applause.)

Fifth, I see an educational system that never settles for the minimum, in academics or in behavior. Decades of research bear out what the best teachers already know -- when standard and expectations are high, everyone does better. And this includes both the unusually gifted and those with special needs and disabilities. But it must also include the student we too often forget, the average student. (Applause.) All you guys with C's, I want to hear it from you. (Applause.) For I do believe that with a little care and a little work we can unleash within each of these so-called ordinary kids an extraordinary potential.

This same potential can be found within every disadvantaged child, those from troubled neighborhoods, children for whom our schools must be a beacon of excellence, a sanctuary from violence, a model of good character, sound values, exemplary ethics. Let no child in America be forgotten or forsaken. (Applause.)

Some of our reforms and experiments are sure to come up short. But for too many of our schools, experimentation is preferable to the status quo, because the status quo could scarcely be worse. The worthy and the useful will win out only if we give our schools the freedom that they need.

And such freedom will not lead to a quick and easy solution. It's the work of years. And we've taken such a long-term view in our meetings over the last couple of days.

We've discussed the need for educational reform in terms of our national competitiveness -- you heard Governor Baliles refer to that just a minute ago. But I'm sure you agree that there is more to learning than just our trade balance or the graying of our work force; it is broader than the important, but narrow, compass of economics and government.

A scholar once wrote that great books are not lifeless paper, but minds alive on the shelves. And he observed that just as the touch of a button on a stereo will fill a room with music, so by taking down one of these volumes and opening it, one can call into range the voice of a man far distant in time and space and hear him speak, mind to mind, heart to heart.

As a nation, we can again hear these voices, feel this enchantment -- every time a parent reads a bedtime story to a sleepy child; every time a young scholar turns to the great books. The day must come when every young American can know the life of the mind. (Applause.)

I might say parenthetically that is why my wife, Barbara, for many years, has devoted a lot of her time to making this country more literate. (Applause.)

In essence, that is why we've gathered here at Mr.

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Jefferson's school. He was just one man, but look at what one man can do. Imagine what we can do, if we -- more than 50 strong -- are united by this great cause. So let us dream. And let us talk. And if need be, let us argue. But in the end, let us walk together on a journey to enlightenment, in the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson.

Thank you for your hard work and dedication. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

END

12:28 P.M. EDT

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks at the University of Virginia Convocation in
Charlottesville

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1458

September 28, 1989

LENGTH: 4045 words

Governor Baliles. Mr. President, Ladies and gentlemen, as you may have noticed during the course of this unprecedented education summit, Virginia law and tradition oblige us to publicly invoke the name of Thomas Jefferson at least once or twice an hour. [Laughter] There are worse habits.

Mr. President, it has been an interesting, sometimes provocative, gathering. You asked the Governors to be candid, and I think we've fulfilled that request -- perhaps beyond your fondest hopes. [Laughter] I would also say, however, that you gave as good as you got. But these are times for candor and outspoken self-examination. These are times for us to open our eyes and our minds and face the facts. The world has changed more than we sometimes would prefer. The challenges, both internally and externally, are profound and difficult. And, frankly, we have not made it easy for ourselves.

With the last decade, immense Federal budget deficits have accumulated with resulting declines in domestic spending, including education. We need not assign blame, but we ought to acknowledge that the Federal budget situation has left the States increasingly on their own to address not only education, but also health care, transportation, law enforcement, and other pressing concerns. Indeed, the Federal budget deficits have been the backdrop of the education summit stage. The Federal deficits confine our flexibility, limit our options, and explain our shared reluctance to discuss financial resources. To be sure, in recent years the States have stepped into the breach. Imaginative and innovative programs have been created and funded by Governors and State legislators determined not to let the red ink in Washington inhibit the potential of our people in their enterprise.

But has it been enough? Has the renaissance of State governments yielded a renewed competitive America? The evidence says no. Indeed, it may be said of the American Federal system of government that the whole remains less than the sum of the parts. Education is one example, but not the only one. In other words, if we are to take on education as a nation, we had better get all the parts in accord and pulling together. And you, Mr. President, have taken a valuable and important step in that direction.

Up to this point, Mr. Jefferson's preference for locally administered education has prevailed. We will not depart from that model entirely. States and localities will continue to provide more than 90 percent of the funding and the preponderance of the direction and supervision.

And yet, there is a Federal role to be more clearly defined, supported, and sustained. In response to international economic competition, a consensus has emerged for an American national resolve. The Jeffersonian belief that education is the first, best hope for our Republic's enduring success has not

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diminished. We have simply discovered that, as the times change, so must our ideas. That may be the finest result of this education summit: that we have begun, State and Federal governments together, to think anew our respective roles and to address education for the first time as a nation undivided.

Mr. President, you have a loyal ally to support your efforts in the person of the new Chairman of the National Governors Association. It is my pleasure to introduce my friend and the distinguished Governor of the State of Iowa, Terry Bradstad.

Governor Bradstad. Thank you, Governor Baliles. Mr. President, First Lady Barbara Bush, members of the Cabinet, fellow Governors and their spouses, President[University of Virginia] O'Neil and Mrs. O'Neil, and members of the University of Virginia community: It is indeed appropriate that this education summit be held here amidst this historic setting. On behalf of the Governors and their spouses we want to thank the faculty, administration, and students for hosting us here at this beautiful University of Virginia campus. And I hope we haven't disrupted your class schedules too much the last couple of days.
[Laughter]

With this historic education summit, the President and the Governors have taken an important first step in the process of developing for the first time a national consensus for educational goals. We are discussing some of the most critical issues facing America today -- that is, the state of education. Our discussions underscore the breadth and depth and the complexity of the issues that we face. We believe that this summit can serve as a catalyst for change and improvement in American education.

But we know that we can't do it alone. Not even the President of the United States and the Congress, each Governor and their legislature can cause the kind of changes that we want. We have to have the involvement of the people who are directly affected; the people who can assure that we get results for America's children. These are the teachers, the parents, local school administrators and school board members. Students, business leaders, leaders in their communities. People who care deeply about American education. Only with the commitment of all of these people and with their cooperation and help can we be successful in attaining the goals that we hope to agree upon.

Governors realize that this is a time for results. We are working hard to achieve results in our States -- results like better student performances on math, science, and foreign language tests; lower dropout rates and higher graduation rates; improved adult literacy; skilled and productive workers for the jobs of the 21st century.

To get the results we want, we have to hold our education system accountable and give educators the flexibility they need to do their job. It is time to find new measures of performance based on what students know and what students can do, not just the number of classes that they complete in high school or college. It is time for more flexibility in the use of Federal dollars, and better coordination and cooperation among all levels of government and the different agencies of the Federal Government and State governments. We need to better serve the needs of American families and American schools.

On behalf of the nation's Governors, we thank you, Mr. President, for convening this historic summit, for the process that you have started and for

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our opportunity to help achieve significant goals that will get results for future generations of Americans.

And now I have the privilege of introducing the Secretary of Education for the United States. Lauro Cavazos was appointed by President Reagan in 1988 as U.S. Secretary of Education. He was confirmed unanimously by the United States Senate, and before that, he had a distinguished career as president of Texas Tech University. And I'm pleased to say, he also has a Ph.D. from Iowa State. Lauro Cavazos, Secretary of Education.

Secretary Cavazos. Thank you, Governor. Thank you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. It's my distinct pleasure to be here today as we continue this historic education summit. The decisions we make will affect the lives of millions of children in the United States, and it is for those children and the future of this country that we are here. President Bush has pledged his support for education and system, and it is an honor now for me to introduce the President of the United States, George Bush.

The President. Thank you all very much. Thank you, Secretary Cavazos. Thank you, Governors. Thank you, Dr. Cavazos -- Secretary Cavazos. First, my response to all the Governors here, and I want to thank -- the music of that Air Force Band, just lovely. Thank you for your performance. I want to thank Governor Baliles and Governor Branstad and so many others who had a very special role. I want to thank President O'Neil and Mrs. O'Neil. It was only yesterday that I discovered that he had evicted them for the president's house. [Laughter] And not only did they go peacefully, but they left me this necktie from Eljo's, which I'm sure some of you may recognize. You talk about Virginia hospitality. [Laughter] And I also want to pay my respects to the students and especially to the distinguished faculty for this great institution.

And for Barbara and me it's a delight to be back in Charlottesville. Imagine this: You have a President, the Cabinet, America's Governors all visiting your school. And the big man on the campus -- still Sean Moore. [Laughter] But, you see, we're somewhat familiar -- our son Marvin and our daughter-in-law Margaret, have gone here, both advising me to be humble while I'm at U. Hall. You see, they told me you only do the wave for Ralph Sampson. [Laughter]

Now, it's easy to keep your perspective and be humble at a school so rich in history and in educational endeavor. And I've also been deeply impressed by the commitment, the creativity, and the knowledge that my fellow chief executives bring here to this education reform agenda. In our meetings yesterday, I learned exactly how much you care about the children of your States and the future. And in short, I came to Charlottesville with high expectations, and I've got to say, you have exceeded them. So the spirit of our summit is not: "Who will get the credit?" The spirit of this summit is: "How can we get results?" We are here to put progress before partisanship, the future before the moment, and our children before ourselves.

I've heard eloquent advice from many of you, and from so many others, in the last few weeks. And I've listened, and I am deeply appreciative of all that I have learned. But I've also learned that we should listen to our children. And they have much to tell us. In many ways, they are the luckiest generation in history. Just last month, our children observed, in the clarity of Voyager's sight, the horizons of new worlds, the majesty of space. And think what these

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images would have meant to the ever-curious founder of this university, who could only look through a primitive telescope at faint patches of light and wonder.

But our children are growing up in an age where wonder is commonplace. And our children are also the beneficiaries of a nation that lavishes unsurpassed resources on their schooling. So in many ways, we're close to fulfilling the Enlightenment dream of universal education, a dream that became a reality in the shadows of the Shenandoahs here at Mr. Jefferson's school. And every step we take at this university is truly a walk in Thomas Jefferson's footsteps. When he first charted the ground on which we gather today, there was just a field of grass, a horizon limited only by the blue mountains beyond. But Jefferson surveyed a horizon that no one else could see. He saw the graceful dome of the Rotunda, the elegance of the Lawn and its pavilions. He saw meeting rooms and libraries and lecture halls teeming with professors, students yet unborn. Jefferson set out to fashion his rarified vision into solid reality, brick by brick, book by book. And it is his university, and his dream, that inspires us today to follow in his footsteps. As President O'Neil said, Thomas Jefferson, our first education president, was a relentless advocate for universal public education. "He had a fundamental conviction that on the good sense of an educated citizenry, we could build and defend a country of liberty and justice."

I borrowed those words -- this assessment -- from a friend of mine, another Renaissance man of our time, the late Bartlett Giamatti. Like Jefferson, his life was a metaphor for civility and public service. And it is this commitment to public service that we must carry on. So, let us make this an educational society.

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In essence, that is why we've gathered here at Mr. Jefferson's school. He was just one man, but look at what one man can do. Imagine what we can do, if we -- more than 50 strong -- are united by this great cause. So let us dream. And let us talk. And if need be, let us argue. But in the end, let us walk together on a journey to enlightenment, in the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson. Thank you for your hard work and dedication. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 11:56 a.m. at the University Hall. In his remarks, he referred to University of Virginia football player Sean Moore, former University of Virginia basketball player Ralph Sampson, and former baseball commissioner, A. Bartlett Giamatti.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks at the Education Summit Farewell Ceremony in
Charlottesville, Virginia

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1463

September 28, 1989

LENGTH: 1785 words

Secretary Cavazos. Thank you very much. The past two days have been busy for all of us, but the enthusiasm has come to this meeting, discussions have borne our knowledge that we are doing vital and important work and that the results of our decisions will have an impact far beyond what we can imagine. We've made history at this education summit and I know that we will continue to make history in every State and every school across America.

It is an honor now to introduce the President of the United States, George Bush.

The President. Thank you very much. My role is simply now, at the end of what I think we all agree was a very successful conference, to again thank the University of Virginia -- students, its faculty, its president -- to thank all of the Governors. I want to single out those on the platform with me now. Governor Branstad, who is head of the Governors' Association; Governor Carruthers; Governor Booth Gardner of the State of Washington; and of course Bill Clinton, who looks a little tired, but took on an extra responsibility for hammering out a statement upon which there is strong agreement.

And we've reached agreement on the need for national performance goals; on the need for more flexibility and accountability; the need for structuring and choice, and I agree with Governor Clinton that this is a major step forward in education, the need for letting parents, teachers, students, and communities -- to encourage them to work together more and more; and the need for more Federal support for the prekindergarten education process normally identified with Head Start, but certainly other programs might fit that description.

But I want to thank each and every one of the Governors and their families. This has been historic, and I pledge to you my determination to follow up in every way possible. We just cannot let it sit here and end here, and I promise you that I won't, that my Cabinet won't, and that our entire administration will not. So, with no further ado, to all the Governors here, my heartfelt thanks.

Governor Branstad. Mr. President, on behalf of the National Governors' Association, we thank you for calling us together in this very historic summit on education. I want to thank all of the Governors that participated. We have better attendance than we even do at the National Governors' annual meetings. There were open and frank discussions. A very significant agreement has been reached. This year, the National Governors' Association has an agenda that calls for building a consensus for change to address some of the critical issues facing the United States of America -- the issues of education and the environment.

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And in the last 2 days here, we have made significant progress towards building that national consensus with the leadership of the President and the Governors. In the area of setting national education goals, we unanimously agree that there is a need for the first time in this nation's history to have specific results-oriented goals. And we're talking about roles in the area of readiness of children to start school; in the area of performance of students in international achievement tests in the areas of math and science; in the reduction of the dropout rate and the improvement of academic performance, especially for at-risk children; in the functional literacy of adult Americans; in the level of training necessary to guarantee a competitive work force; in the supply of qualified teachers with up-to-date technology; and the establishment of safe, disciplined, and drug-free schools.

We recognize the need for both flexibility to State governments and to local school districts; but coupled with that, accountability for outcome-related results. I think significant progress has been made. We have committed to work together. The National Governors' Association Task Force on Education and the people designated by the President to make specific goals and to reach those goals hopefully by the February meeting of the National Governors' Association in the Nation's Capital.

It's a beautiful day in Charlottesville, Virginia. I'm proud that the President has invited us to be here. We appreciate the great hospitality of this great State and this great university, and I'm pleased to introduce my Vice Chairman for the National Governors' Association, the Governor of the State of Washington, Governor Booth Gardner, to talk about some of the other goals that have been spelled out in this joint statement. Governor Gardner.

Governor Gardner. The report goes further, and I think one of the reasons that we're all so excited about the results of the last two days are that the report addresses the financial role of the Federal Government in education, albeit in a limited role, but an extremely important role. And the understanding is that the money that becomes available will be applied to the issue of early childhood education and Head Start and preparing young people for the day that they enter school that they will be on a parred and equity basis with other children and they're ready and able to perform.

And we also discussed and agreed that we have to continue to look at mandates from the Federal Government to make sure that those mandates do not impinge on the State's ability to provide its discretionary funds for education. Then we have a very exciting statement on the commitment to restructuring. The President and the Nation's governments have agreed that significant steps must be made in restructuring education in all States; a system of accountability that focuses on results rather than input; a decentralized authority and decision-making responsibility to the school site; empowerment to the principals and the teachers to carry out their mandates and citing challenges to face us in this country; and an educational system that develops first-rate teachers and supports those teachers with the technology, staff and services that are necessary to allow them to be productive.

And lastly, we want to compliment the Secretary of Education and the President on agreeing that we will have a report card and that we will measure the schools, the State, and the Federal Government year by year to make sure that we remain committed to the agreements that we have reached in the past two days and the goals that will come out of the process for the next few months

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that we hope to agree on in February or March.

In the past few days, the President, his Cabinet, Secretary of Education, the Governors and their staff have humbly walked the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson. We started down a promising path, and we have composed a Jeffersonian compact -- the beneficiaries of which will be the children of this country. The children of this country today represent 25 percent of our population. Tomorrow, they are 100 percent of that population. With that, I'd like to introduce the Governor of New Mexico and the Chairman of the Educational Commission of the States, Garrey Carruthers.

Governor Carruthers. Thank you very much, Booth. We came to talk about sharing the responsibility for success, and we've done that. And to have success we need to have a vision, much higher expectations, and the President of the United States gave one of the finest speeches I've ever heard on education today at the convocation at the University of Virginia.

And it is from that speech and the work that we have to do afterwards that will develop the vision of education in this country. But I think also we came to talk about empowering people, and we talked a lot about empowering. We're going to empower parents by encouraging choice; we're going to empower teachers by letting them take over the classrooms again; we're going to empower those educational entrepreneurs that exist in all our communities by deregulating the educational system.

We need to empower the kids by making sure that before they're 5 years old they've been properly taken care of in every way, particularly with health. And we need to empower the private sector by inviting them into the school systems and getting their assistance and mentoring programs and the financial assistance they've always been willing to give us. And then we need to empower all Americans very simply by having them join us in developing a set of national goals. It has been a wonderful conference and now I'd like to introduce you to Governor Bill Clinton who's one of the prime forces in developing this conference, the summit, with the President of the United States.

Governor Clinton. Thank you very much, Governor Carruthers, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen. This is a rather emotional moment for me. For one thing, I didn't get much sleep last night. We were up working on this statement. I want to thank Governor Campbell, who is not here, and Governor Bransstad, who is, and all of the others who worked on this statement from the National Governors' Association -- [Chief of Staff] John Sununu and [Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs] Roger Porter and others from the White House staff. And most important, Mr. President, I want to thank you for giving us the chance, the Governors, after 7 years of hard work on educational reform, to have a real national partnership in education.

The press will ask today, and maybe the people will when we get home, what really happened here that makes a difference. I would say there are three things.

This is the first time in the history of this country that we have ever thought enough of education and ever understood its significance to our economic future enough to commit ourselves to national performance goals. It has never happened in over 200 years. This is the first time, ever, any group of public

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officials have ever committed themselves to a national effort to restructure the schools of the United States -- something every educator who studied it says is the single most significant thing we could do.

And this is the first time a President and Governors have even stood before the American people and said, not only are we going to set national performance goals, which are ambitious, not only are we going to develop strategies to achieve them, but we stand here before you and tell you we expect to be held personally accountable for the progress we make in moving this country to a brighter future. If that doesn't make this a happy day, I don't know what does. Thank you very much.

The President. Thank you all. Well done, Bill. You did a wonderful job. Booth, thanks for everything.

Note: The President spoke at 3:07 p.m. on the steps of the Rotunda.

24 January 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR CURT SMITH

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN
SUBJECT: NATION'S GOVERNORS TOAST

I. MEETING WITH LANNY GRIFFITH

- A. Precedents: We've already had two state dinners with the governors (late May '89 and late Feb. 90) plus we had the Charlottesville Education Summit (Sept. 27, '89) with the governors, so this is really the fourth such meeting. POTUS has referred to his "special relationship" with the governors. The summitry and the working out of joint statements represent an unprecedented partnership, and underscore the President's commitment to our education goals.
- B. Audience: I've included the guest list. At present, it appears that the only governor who will not attend is Cuomo (bummer). Remember, there are 55 governors in total, so refer to them not it number, but as "the nation's governors." Also in attendance: the First Lady, Vice President Quayle, Mrs. Quayle, most of the Cabinet members, and the governors' spouses. Governor Alexander and Governor Martinez will attend; they are the two new Cabinet appointees, selected out of the ranks of the nation's governors---worth acknowledging, governor-types get excited about this kind of thing: you too could be a star.
- C. Response: National Governors' Association Chairman Booth Gardner (D-Washington) will respond to the President's toast. His interests and agenda center on health care. His remarks will probably touch on this agenda, but also most likely mirror the President's remarks in terms of themes.

D. Suggested length: one page, more or less.

E. WHERE: East Room.

F. Three areas POTUS' remarks should touch on:

1. Pay a brief tribute to Booth Gardner; basically what great leadership he has provided to the NGA. Again his agenda is health (access and reasonable cost) and I guess it deserves a nano-mention. Two Gardner quotes:

"I can think of no better way to serve our citizens than to propose a health care system that can flexibly promote good health--not just cure illness."

"As Governors, we have much at stake in how the nation's health care system is restructured, and we have much to contribute. It's important that we participate actively in the debate and take part in the solutions."

2. GULF TIE-IN/NEXUS WITH GOVERNORS: Mention the National Guard--each governor is the commander-in-chief of the state's national guard/state militia, and all 50 states have guard units serving in the Gulf. Mentioning the Guard will be popular because it'll make the governors feel important. Blah, blah, how well prepared the Guard is to meet this challenge, blah, blah.

NOTE: There's a possibility that General Conway will be invited to the dinner. He's the head of the National Guard Bureau at the Pentagon, and his presence would make this tie-in all the more appropriate.

3. EDUCATION: We called for the governors to meet in Charlotte for the Education Summit; we agreed to develop national education goals; we announced these goals in last year's State of the Union. Stress: ongoing process--much done, much to do.

G. In Closing...

--therefore I offer this toast to all of you..
--partnership, working together..
--commanders-in-chief, comrades in arms, working together to make this next century worthy of our children, and make sure our children's education will be worthy of the next century.
--International leadership, leadership in education.

II. EXCERPTS FROM PAST/SIMILAR SPEECHES

A. Remarks by the President at the University of Virginia:

"So the spirit of our summit is not: 'Who will get the credit?' The spirit of this summit is: 'How can we get results?' We are here to put progress before partisanship, the future before the moment, and our children before ourselves."

"..after two centuries of progress, we are stagnant. While millions of Americans read for pleasure, millions of others don't read at all. And while millions go to college, millions may never graduate from high school."

"Education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything that we are and can become. And come the next century...--what will we be? Will we be the children of the enlightenment, or its orphans?"

"..this is only the third time in our 200 years as a nation that a President has called a summit with the governors. And I've called you together because you bear the constitutional responsibility for education. And I didn't ask you to such an historic occasion merely to bemoan what is wrong. We are here to work; and work together; to once again make an American education the best in the world."

"A social compact begins today in Charlottesville, Virginia--a compact between parents, teachers, principals, superintendents, state legislators, governors and the administration. Our compact is founded not on promises, but on challenges--each one a radical departure from tradition."

B. President's Toast at the Governors' State Dinner, February 25, 1990:

"You know, I'm reminded every day about the vital work Governors do. The genius of the Governors--the special insight that comes from the experience of being Chief Executive in the Statehouse. // But come to think of it--it's always the same fellow who reminds me. // John Sununu."

"So tonight, let me thank you for working with me--for the exciting start we've made, and for your commitment to build on this beginning. And let us all raise our glasses: To the partnership between this White House and every State House in the nation..."

III. NATIONAL GOALS FOR EDUCATION

GOAL 1: By the year 2000, all children in America will start school ready to learn.

- GOAL 2: By the year 2000, the high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.
- GOAL 3: By the year 2000, American students will leave grades four, eight and twelve having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our economy.
- GOAL 4: By the year 2000, U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.
- GOAL 5: By the year 2000, every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.
- GOAL 6: By the year 2000, every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

IV. QUOTES

A. Education:

"Don't forget that education is the most important, vital strength. You will be the leaders of our nation soon, and you will learn about peace and liberty from all of this. Believe in yourselves. Dreams and goals are always yours for the taking. Take as many as you can hold and make them reality."

--letter from Senior Airman Fernando Casillas, Operation Desert Shield, September 18, 1990.

"A book must be the axe for the frozen sea inside us."

--Franz Kafka, Letter to Oskar Pollak, January 27, 1904

"Mind is the great leveler of all things."

--Daniel Webster (1825)

"Books are not lumps of lifeless paper but minds alive on the shelves."

--Gilbert Highet

"Every child is an artist. The problem is how to remain an artist once he grows up."

--Pablo Picasso

"Education: A debt due from present to future generations."

--Robert Maynard Hutchins

B. Gulf:

"Americans fight joyously in a just cause."

--Harold L. Ickes (1941)

"Patriotism is just loyalty to friends, people, families."

--Robert Santos, quoted in Al Santoli, Everything We Had: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Thirty-three American Soldiers Who Fought It, 1981.

"The war will continue to be prosecuted with vigor, as the best means of securing peace."

--James K. Polk, 2nd Annual Message to Congress, December 8, 1846.

"[war is a]..dramatic symbol of a thousand forms of duty."

--Woodrow Wilson, Speech at Brooklyn, NY, May 11, 1914

"..let every man stand to his post, and...let posterity..find our skeleton and armor on the spot where duty required us to stand."

--Millard Fillmore, Speech at Buffalo, N.Y., April 16, 1861.

C. A New Federal-State Compact/Much done, much left to do:

"What we have done so far are but small building blocks in a huge pyramid to come."

--John H. Glenn, Jr. (1962)

"A vision without a task is but a dream, a task without a vision is drudgery, a vision with a task is the hope of the world."

--Inscription on a church in Sussex, England, 1730.

"Destiny is not a matter of chance, it is a matter of choice; it is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved."

--William Jennings Bryan, in a speech in Washington, D.C., February 22, 1899

"A politician thinks of the next election; a statesman thinks of the next generation."

--Attributed to James Freeman Clarke

D. Miscellaneous Quotes:

"The good governor should have a broken leg and keep at home."

--Cervantes, Don Quixote. Pt. ii, ch. 34

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 26, 1990

NATIONAL GOALS FOR EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

At the historic education summit in Charlottesville five months ago, the President and the Governors declared that, "the time has come, for the first time in U.S. history, to establish clear, national performance goals, goals that will make us internationally competitive." The six national education goals contained here are the first step in carrying out that commitment.

America's educational performance must be second to none in the 21st century. Education is central to our quality of life. It is at the heart of our economic strength and security, our creativity in the arts and letters, our invention in the sciences, and the perpetuation of our cultural values. Education is the key to America's international competitiveness.

Today, a new standard for an educated citizenry is required, one suitable for the next century. Our people must be as knowledgeable, as well trained, as competent, and as inventive as those in any other nation. All of our people, not just a few, must be able to think for a living, adapt to changing environments, and to understand the world around them. They must understand and accept the responsibilities and obligations of citizenship. They must continually learn and develop new skills throughout their lives.

America can meet this challenge if our society is dedicated to a renaissance in education. We must become a nation that values education and learning. We must recognize that every child can learn, regardless of background or disability. We must recognize that education is a lifelong pursuit, not just an endeavor for our children.

Sweeping, fundamental changes in our education system must be made. Educators must be given greater flexibility to devise challenging and inspiring strategies to serve the needs of a diverse body of challenging and inspiring strategies to serve the needs of a diverse body of students. This is especially important for students who are at risk of academic failure -- for the failure of these students will become the failure of our nation. Achieving these changes depends in large part on the commitment of professional educators. Their daily work must be dedicated to creating a new educational order in which success for all students is the first priority, and they must be held accountable for the results.

This is not the responsibility of educators alone, however. All Americans have an important stake in the success of our education system, and every part of our society must be involved in meeting that challenge. Parents must be more interested and involved in their children's education, and students must accept the challenge of higher expectations for achievement and

greater responsibility for their future. In addition, communities, business and civic groups, and state, local, and federal government each has a vital role to play throughout this decade to ensure our success.

The first step is to establish ambitious national education goals -- performance goals that must be achieved if the United States is to remain competitive in the world marketplace and our citizens are to reach their fullest potential.

These goals are about excellence. Meeting them will require that the performance of our highest achievers be boosted to levels that equal or exceed the performance of the best students anywhere. The performance of our lowest achievers must be substantially increased far beyond their current performance. What our best students can achieve now, our average students must be able to achieve by the turn of the century. We must work to ensure that a significant number of students from all races, ethnic groups, and income levels are among our top performers.

If the United States is to maintain a strong and responsible democracy and a prosperous and growing economy into the next century, all of our citizens must be involved in achieving these goals. Every citizen will benefit as a result. When challenged, the American people have always shown their determination to succeed. The challenge before us calls on each American to help ensure our nation's future.

NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS

Readiness for School

GOAL 1: By the year 2000, all children in America will start school ready to learn.

Objectives:

- o All disadvantaged and disabled children will have access to high-quality and developmentally appropriate preschool programs that help prepare children for school.
- o Every parent in America will be a child's first teacher and devote time each day helping his or her preschool child learn; parents will have access to the training and support they need.
- o Children will receive the nutrition and health care needed to arrive at school with healthy minds and bodies, and the number of low birthweight babies will be significantly reduced through enhanced prenatal health systems.

High School Completion

GOAL 2: By the year 2000, the high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.

Objectives:

- o The nation must dramatically reduce its dropout rate and seventy-five percent of those students who do drop out will successfully complete a high school degree or its equivalent.
- o The gap in high school graduation rates between American students from minority backgrounds and their non-minority counterparts will be eliminated.

Student Achievement and Citizenship

GOAL 3: By the year 2000, American students will leave grades four, eight and twelve having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.

Objectives:

- o The academic performance of elementary and secondary students will increase significantly in every quartile, and the distribution of minority students in each level will more closely reflect the student population as a whole.
- o The percentage of students who demonstrate the ability to reason, solve problems, apply knowledge, and write and communicate effectively will increase substantially.
- o All students will be involved in activities that promote and demonstrate good citizenship, community service, and personal responsibility.
- o The percentage of students who are competent in more than one language will substantially increase.
- o All students will be knowledgeable about the diverse cultural heritage of this nation and about the world community.

Science and Mathematics

GOAL 4: By the year 2000, U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.

Objectives:

- o Math and science education will be strengthened throughout the system, especially in the early grades.
- o The number of teachers with a substantive background in mathematics and science will increase by 50 percent.
- o The number of U.S. graduate and undergraduate students, especially women and minorities, who complete degrees in mathematics, science, and engineering will increase significantly.

Adult Literacy and Lifelong Learning

GOAL 5: By the year 2000, every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

Objectives:

- o Every major American business will be involved in strengthening the connection between education and work.
- o All workers will have the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills, from basic to highly technical, needed to adapt to emerging new technologies, work methods, and markets through public and private educational, vocational, technical, workplace, or other programs.
- o The number of quality programs, including those at libraries, that are designed to serve more effectively the needs of the growing number of part-time and mid-career students will increase substantially.
- o The proportion of those qualified students, especially minorities, who enter college; who complete at least two years; and who complete their degree programs will increase substantially.
- o The proportion of college graduates who demonstrate an advanced ability to think critically, communicate effectively, and solve problems will increase substantially.

Safe, Disciplined, and Drug-Free Schools

GOAL 6: By the year 2000, every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

Objectives:

- o Every school will implement a firm and fair policy on use, possession, and distribution of drugs and alcohol.
- o Parents, businesses, and community organizations will work together to ensure that schools are a safe haven for all children.
- o Every school district will develop a comprehensive K-12 drug and alcohol prevention education program. Drug and alcohol curriculum should be taught as an integral part of health education. In addition, community-based teams should be organized to provide students and teachers with needed support.

NECESSARY CHANGES AND RESTRUCTURING

These goals are ambitious, yet they can and must be achieved. However, they cannot be achieved by our education system as it is presently constituted. Substantial, even radical changes will have to be made.

Without a strong commitment and concerted effort on the part of every sector and every citizen to improve dramatically the performance of the nation's education system and each and every student, these goals will remain nothing more than a distant, unattainable vision. For their part, Governors will work within their own states to develop strategies for restructuring their education systems in order to achieve the goals. Because states differ from one another, each state will approach this in a different manner. The President and the Governors will work to support these state efforts, and to recommend steps that the federal government, business, and community groups should take to help achieve these national goals. The nature of many of these steps is already clear.

The Preschool Years

American homes must be places of learning. Parents should play an active role in their children's early learning, particularly by reading to them on a daily basis. Parents should have access to the support and training required to fulfill this role, especially in poor, under-educated families.

In preparing young people to start school, both the federal and state governments have important roles to play, especially with regard to health, nutrition, and early childhood development. Congress and the administration have increased maternal and child health coverage for all families with incomes up to 133 percent of the federal poverty line. Many states go beyond this level of coverage, and more are moving in this direction. In addition, states continue to develop more effective delivery systems for prenatal and postnatal care. However, we still need more prevention, testing, and screening, and early identification and treatment of learning disorders and disabilities.

The federal government should work with the states to develop and fully fund early intervention strategies for children. All eligible children should have access to Head Start, Chapter 1, or some other successful preschool program with strong parental involvement. Our first priority must be to provide at least one year of preschool for all disadvantaged children.

The School Years

As steps are taken to better prepare children for schools, we must also better prepare schools for children.

This is especially important for young children. Schools must be able to educate effectively all children when they arrive at the schoolhouse door, regardless of variations in students' interest, capacities, or learning styles.

Next, our public education system must be fundamentally restructured in order to ensure that all students can meet higher standards. This means reorienting schools so they focus on results, not on procedures; giving each school's principal and teachers the discretion to make more decisions and the flexibility to use federal, state, and local resources in more productive, innovative ways that improve learning; providing a way for gifted professionals who want to teach to do so through alternative certification avenues, and giving parents more responsibility for their children's education through magnet schools, public school choice, and other strategies. Most important, restructuring requires creating powerful incentives for performance and improvement, and real consequences for persistent failure. It is only by maintaining this balance of flexibility and accountability that we can truly improve our schools.

The federal government must sustain its vital role of promoting educational equity by ensuring access to quality educational programs for all students regardless of race, national origin, sex, or handicapping condition. Federal funds should target those students most in need of assistance due to economic disadvantage or risk of academic failure.

Finally, efforts to restructure education must work toward guaranteeing that all students are engaged in rigorous programs of instruction designed to ensure that every child, regardless of background or disability, acquires the knowledge and skills necessary to succeed in a changing economy. In recent years, there has been an increased commitment to mathematics and science improvement programs. The federal government should continue to enhance financial assistance to state and local governments for effective programs in these areas. Likewise, there has been a greater federal emphasis on programs that target youth at risk of school failure and dropping out. The federal government should continue to enhance funding and seek strategies to help states in their efforts to seek solutions to these problems.

Improving elementary and secondary student achievement will not require a national curriculum, but it will require that the nation invest in developing the skills and knowledge of our educators and equipping our schools with up-to-date technology. The quality of teachers and teaching is essential to meeting our goals. We must have well-prepared teachers and we must increase the number of qualified teachers in critical shortage areas, including rural and urban schools, specialized fields such as foreign languages, mathematics and science, and from minority groups. Policies must attract and keep able teachers who reflect the cultural diversity of our nation. Policies that shape how our educators are prepared, certified, rewarded, developed and supported on the job must be consistent with efforts to restructure the education system and ensure that every school is capable of teaching all of our children to think and reason. Teachers and other school leaders must not only be outstanding, the schools in which they work must also be restructured to utilize both professional talent and technology to improve student learning and teacher- and system-productivity.

The After-School Years

Comprehensive, well-integrated lifelong learning opportunities must be created for a world in which three of four new jobs will require more than a high school education; workers with only high school diplomas may face the prospect of declining incomes; and most workers will

change their jobs ten or eleven times over their lifetime.

In most states, the present system for delivering adult literacy services is fractured and inadequate. Because the United States has far higher rates of adult functional illiteracy than other advanced countries, a first step is to establish in each state a public-private partnership to create a functionally literate workforce.

In some other countries, government policies and programs are carefully coordinated with private sector activities to create effective apprenticeship and job training activities. By contrast, the United States has a multilayered system of vocational and technical schools, community colleges, and specific training programs funded from multiple sources and subject to little coordination. These institutions need to be restructured so they fit together more sensibly and effectively to give all adults access to flexible and comprehensive programs that meet their needs. Every major business must work to provide appropriate training and educational opportunities to prepare employees for the twenty-first century.

Finally, a larger share of our population, especially those from working class, poor, and minority backgrounds, must be helped to attend and remain in college. The cost of a college education, as a percentage of median family income, has approximately tripled in a generation. That means more loans, scholarships, and work-study opportunities are needed. The federal government's role in ensuring access for qualified students is critical. At the same time, the higher education system must use existing resources far more productively than it does at present, and must be held more accountable for what students do or do not learn. The federal government will continue to examine ways to reduce students' increasing debt burden and to address the proper balance between grant and loan programs.

ASSESSMENT

National education goals will be meaningless unless progress toward meeting them is measured accurately and adequately, and reported to the American people. Doing a good job of assessment and reporting requires the resolution of three issues.

First, what students need to know must be defined. In some cases, there is a solid foundation on which to build. For example, the National Council on Teachers of Mathematics and the Mathematical Sciences Education Board have done important work in defining what all students must know and be able to do in order to be mathematically competent. A major effort for science has been initiated by the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences. These efforts must be expanded and extended to other subject areas.

Second, when it is clear what students need to know, it must be determined whether they know it. There have been a number of important efforts to improve our ability to measure student learning at the state and national levels. This year for the first time, the National Assessment for Education Progress (NAEP) will collect data on student performance on a state-by-state basis for thirty-seven states. Work is underway to develop a national assessment of adult literacy. These and other efforts must be supported and strengthened.

The Governors urge the National Assessment Governing Board to begin work to set national performance goals in the subject areas in which NAEP will be administered. This does not mean establishing standards for individual competence; rather, it requires determining how to set targets for increases in the percentage of students performing at the higher levels of the NAEP scales.

Third, measurements must be accurate, comparable, appropriate, and constructive. Placement decisions for young children should not be made on the basis of standardized tests. Achievement tests must not simply measure minimum competencies, but also higher levels of reading, writing, speaking, reasoning, and problem-solving skills. And in comparing America's achievement with that of other countries, it is essential that international comparisons are reliable. In addition, appropriate, nationally-directed research, demonstration, data collection, and innovation should be maintained and recognized as a set of core responsibilities of the federal government in education. That role needs to be strengthened in cooperation with the states.

The President and the Governors agree that while we do not need a new data-gathering agency, we do need a bipartisan group to oversee the process of determining and developing appropriate measurements and reporting on the progress toward meeting the goals. This process should stay in existence until at least the year 2000 so that we assure ten full years of effort toward meeting the goals.

A CHALLENGE

These national education goals are not the President's goals or the Governors' goals; they are the nation's goals.

These education goals are the beginning, not the end, of the process. Governors are committed to working within their own states to review state education goals and performance levels in light of these national goals. States are encouraged to adjust state goals according to this review, and to expand upon national goals where appropriate. The President and the Governors challenge every family, school, school district, and community to adopt these national goals as their own, and establish other goals that reflect the particular circumstances and challenges they face as America approaches the twenty-first century.

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Monticello
The Home of Thomas Jefferson
P.O. Box 316
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FAX TRANSMISSION

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TO: Peggy Dooley, Speech Writing Office, White House
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FROM: Ginder Stanton, Director of Research
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Messages: I'm enclosing: the remainder of the letter
to Adams; the first page of the Bill in question, with
part of the headnote and all of the footnote; and two
sources mentioned in the headnote.

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Thank you!!

The Latin versions of this passage by Buchanan and by Johnston,⁷⁴ are but mediocres. But the Greek of Duport⁷⁵ is worthy of quotation.

Ουρανὸν ἀγκλινάς κατεβή· ὅπο ποσσι δ' ἔοισιν
 Ἀχλὺς ἀμφι μελαινὰ χυθῇ καὶ νύξ ἐρεβεννῇ.
 Ριμφα ποτῶτο Χερουβὶ οχευμένος, ὡπερ ἐφ' ἱππῶ.
 Ἰππῶτο δὲ πτερυγεσσι πολυπλάγκτου ἀνεμοιο.

The best collection of these psalms is that of the Octagonian dissenters of Liverpool, in their printed Form of prayer; but they are not always the best versions. Indeed bad is the best of the English versions; not a ray of poetical genius having ever been employed on them. And how much depends on this may be seen by comparing Brady and Tate's XVth. psalm with Blacklock's *Justum et tenacem propositi virum* ["a man just and steadfast of purpose"] of Horace, quoted in Hume's history, Car. 2. ch. 65. A translation of David in this style, or in that of Pompei's Cleanthes, might give us some idea of the merit of the original. The character too of the poetry of these hymns is singular to us. Written in monostichs, each divided into strophe and antistrophe, the sentiment of the 1st. member responded with amplification or antithesis in the second.

On the subject of the Postscript of yours of Aug. 16. and of Mrs. Adams's letter, I am silent. I know the depth of the affliction it has caused, and can sympathise with it the more sensibly, inasmuch as there is no degree of affliction, produced by the loss of those dear to us, which experience has not taught me to estimate. I have ever found time and silence the only medicine, and these but assuage, they never can suppress, the deep-drawn sigh which recollection for ever brings up, until recollection and life are extinguished together. Ever affectionately yours

TH: JEFFERSON

P.S. Your's of Sep—just recieved

74. George Buchanan, ed., *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica*, nunc primum edita (Paris, 1566); Arthur Johnston, *Paraphrasis poetica Psalmorum Davidis* (Aberdeen, 1637).

75. James Duport, *Δαβιδῆς Ἑμμετρος, sive metaphrasis libri Psalmorum Graecis versibus contexta* (London, 1712).

Jefferson to Adams

Monticello Oct. 28. 13.

DEAR SIR

According to the reservation between us, of taking up one of the subjects of our correspondence at a time, I turn to your letters of Aug. 16. and Sep. 2.

The passage you quote from Theognis, I think has an Ethical, rather than a political object. The whole piece is a moral *exhortation*, παραίνεσις, and this passage particularly seems to be a reproof to man, who, while with his domestic animals he is curious to improve the race by employing always the finest male, pays no attention to the improvement of his own race, but intermarries with the vicious, the ugly, or the old, for considerations of wealth or ambition. It is in conformity with the principle adopted afterwards by the Pythagoreans, and expressed by Ocellus in another form. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλήλων ἀνθρώπων γενεσεως etc.—οὐχ ἡδονῆς ἀνεκα ἡ μίξις. Which, as literally as intelligibility will admit, may be thus translated. 'Concerning the interprocreation of men, how, and of whom it shall be, in a perfect manner, and according to the laws of modesty and sanctity, conjointly, this is what I think right. First to lay it down that we do not commix for the sake of pleasure, but of the procreation of children. For the powers, the organs and desires for coition have not been given by god to man for the sake of pleasure, but for the procreation of the race. For as it were incongruous for a mortal born to partake of divine life, the immortality of the race being taken away, god fulfilled the purpose by making the generations uninterrupted and continuous. This therefore we are especially to lay down as a principle, that coition is not for the sake of pleasure.' But Nature, not trusting to this moral and abstract motive, seems to have provided more securely for the perpetuation of the species by making it the effect of the oestrus implanted in the constitution of both sexes. And not only has the commerce of love been indulged on this unhallowed impulse, but made subservient also to wealth and ambition by marriages without regard to the beauty, the healthiness, the understanding, or virtue of the subject from which we are to breed. The selecting the best male for a Harem of well chosen females also, which Theognis seems to recommend from the example of our sheep and asses, would doubtless improve the human, as it does the brute animal, and produce a race of veritable ἀριστοὶ ["aristocrats"]. For experience proves that the moral and physical qualities of man, whether

on whom the sun has ever shone. If we do not think exactly alike as to it's imperfections, it matters little to our country which, after devoting to it long lives of disinterested labor, we have delivered over to our successors in life, who will be able to take care of it, and of themselves.

Of the pamphlet on aristocracy which has been sent to you, or who may be it's author, I have heard nothing but thro' your letter. If the person you suspect⁸⁰ it may be known from the quaint, mystical and hyperbolic ideas, involved in affected, new-fangled and pedantic terms, which stamp his writings. Whatever it be, I hope your quiet is not to be affected at this day by the rudeness of intemperance of scribblers; but that you may continue in tranquility to live and to rejoice in the prosperity of our country until it shall be your own wish to take your seat among the Aristoi who have gone before you. Ever and affectionately yours.

TH: JEFFERSON

P.S. Can you assist my memory on the enquiries of my letter of Aug. 22?

Adams to Jefferson

Quincy November 12. 1813

DEAR SIR

As I owe you more for your Letters of Oct. 12. and 28 than I shall be able to pay, I shall begin with the P.S. to the last.

I am very sorry to say, that I cannot "assist your memory in the Enquiries of your letter of August 22d." I really know not who was the compositor of any one of the Petitions or Addresses you enumerate. Nay farther I am certain I never did know. I was so shallow a politician, that I was not aware of the importance of those compositions. They all appeared to me, in the circumstances of the Country like childrens play at marbles or push pin, or rather like misses in their teens emulating each other in their pearls, their braceletts their Diamond Pins and brussels lace.

In the Congress of 1774 there was not one member, except Patrick Henry, who appeared to me sensible of the Precipice or rather the Pinnacle on which he stood, and had candour and courage enough to acknowledge it. America is in total Ignorance, or under infinite deception concerning that Assembly. To draw the characters of them all would require a volume and would now be considered as a caricatura print. One third Tories, another Whigs and the rest mongrels.

80. John Taylor of Caroline.

There was a little Aristocracy, among Us, of Talents and Letters. Mr. Dickinson was primus inter pares; the Bell Weather; the leader of the Aristocratical flock. Billy, alias Governor Livingstone, and his Son in law Mr. Jay, were of this privileged order. The credit of most if not all those compositions was often if not generally given to one or the other of these choice Spirits. Mr. Dickenson however was not on any of the original Committees. He came not into Congress till Oct. 17. He was not appointed till the 15th by his Assembly. [*Journals of Congress, containing Their Proceedings*] Vol. 1. 30. Congress adjourned 27. Oct. though our correct Secretary has not recorded any final Adjournment or dissolution. Mr. Dickenson was in Congress but ten days. The business was all prepared arranged and even in a manner finished before his Arrival.

R. H. Lee was the Chairman of the Committee for preparing "the loyal and dutiful Address to his Majesty." Johnson and Henry were acute Spirits and understood the Controversy very well; though they had not the Advantages of Education like Lee and John Rutledge. The Subject had been near a month under discussion in Congress and most of the materials thrown out there. It underwent another deliberation in committee; after which they made the customary compliment to their Chairman, by requesting him to prepare and report a draught, which was done, and after examination, correction, amelioration or pejoration, as usual reported to Congress. Oct. 3. 4. and 5th were taken up in debating and deliberating on matters proper to be contained in the Address to his Majesty. Vol. 1. 22. October 21. The Address to the King was after debate recommitted and Mr. John Dickenson added to the Committee. The first draught was made and all the essential materials put together by Lee, it might be embellished and seasoned Afterward with some of Mr. Dickenson piety; but I know not that it was. Neat and handsome as the composition is, having never had any confidenc[e] in the Utility of it, I never have thought much about it since it was adopted. Indeed I never bestowed much Attention on any of those Addresses; which were all but repetitions of the same Things: the same facts and Arguments. Dress and ornament rather than Body, Soul or Substance. My thoughts and cares were nearly monopolized by the Theory of our Rights and Wrongs, by measures for the defence of the country; and the means of governing our Selves. Please to turn over [to see N. B. at end of letter].

I was in a great Error, no doubt, and am ashamed to confess it; for those things were necessary to give Popularity to Our cause both at home and abroad. And to shew my Stupidity in a stronger light the reputation of any one of those compositions, has been a more splendid distinction than any aristocratical Starr or garter, in the Escutcheon of every man who has enjoyed it. Very sorry that I cannot give you more Satisfactory infor-

THE PAPERS OF
Thomas Jefferson

Volume 2 · 1777 to 18 June 1779
Including the Revisal of the Laws, 1776-1786

JULIAN P. BOYD, EDITOR

LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD AND MINA R. BRYAN,

ASSOCIATE EDITORS



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Crimes whose punishment extends to Life.

1. High treason. Death by hanging.
Forfeiture of lands & goods to Crown.
2. Petty treason. Death by hanging.
Dissection.
Forfeit of half of lands & goods to person killed.
3. Murder. 1. by poison. Death by poison.
Forfeit of one half as before.
2. in duel. Death by hanging.
gibbeting, if the challenger.
Forfeit of one half as before.
- less the challenge fee & costs.
3. any other way. Death by hanging.
Forfeit of half as before.
4. Manslaughter. 2. offence of murder.
Forfeit of one half as before.

Crimes whose punishment goes to Limb.

1. Rape. } Castration.
2. Sodomy. }
3. Maiming. } Retaliation.
4. Disfiguring. } Forfeiture of half to sufferer.

Crimes punishable by Labor &c.

1. Manslaughter. 1st offence. Labor 7 years.
Forfeit of half as before.
2. Counterfeiting. Labor 7 years.
Forfeit whole to Crown.
3. Assn. Labor 4 years.
4. Sedition & rebellion. Repetition threefold.
5. Robbery. Labor 14 years.
6. Burglary. Repetition double.
7. Housebreaking. Labor 11 years.
8. Horse stealing. Repetition.
9. Grand larceny. Labor 11 years.
10. Petty larceny. Labor 2 years.
Repetition.
11. Witchcraft &c. Ditching.
10 stripes.
12. Excusable homicide. nothing.
13. Suicide. nothing.

The Revisal of the Laws 1776-1786

I. PLAN AGREED UPON BY THE COMMITTEE OF REVISORS AT FREDERICKSBURG [13 JANUARY 1777]

II. CATALOGUE OF BILLS PREPARED BY THE COMMITTEE OF REVISORS

III. BILLS REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE OF REVISORS, 18 JUNE 1779

IV. APPENDIX

1. BILL DECLARING WHEN LAWS SHALL BE IN FORCE
2. JEFFERSON'S NOTES OF ENGLISH STATUTES
3. JEFFERSON'S NOTES OF ACTS OF ASSEMBLY ADOPTED OCTOBER 1777 AND MAY 1778
4. OUTLINE OF BILL FOR PROPORTIONING CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, &c.
5. MEMORANDUM BY JEFFERSON ON BILLS TO BE DRAFTED

EDITORIAL NOTE

It is an extremely difficult task to bring into proper focus, to say nothing of fully encompassing, the far-reaching revision of the laws that Jefferson and other leading Virginians embarked upon in the autumn of 1776. This is chiefly because the revision of the laws itself never came into focus. It was a long-drawn-out movement, ending in something of an anti-climax, and never became embodied in a single enactment as in the case of earlier or later revisions in Virginia and in other states. However important for the whole future of society its Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom may have been, the revision as a whole has, for the most part, faded into obscurity against the background of ordinary legislation in the decade from 1776 to 1786, with an occasional landmark standing out in bold relief. There is no single identifiable entity that can be called the Revision of the Laws as there is, for example, in the so-called Chancellors' Revisal of 1785 or the revision approved in 1792.

This resulted partly from its purpose, which was not that of forming a collection of laws then in force but of reforming the entire structure of law so as to strip it of all vestiges of its earlier monarchical aspects and to bring it into conformity with republican principles. If Jefferson and his colleagues had been content merely to collect the body of law then in force, no doubt the General Assembly would have approved in 1779 what it actually did approve in 1792. But this would have been executing the task of compilers, not that of legislators, and Jefferson, Pendleton, Wythe, Mason, and others apparently never entertained the idea of making a mere collection of the laws. Certainly Jefferson never did. The failure of the Virginia Convention of 1776 to adopt his proposed Constitution undoubtedly emphasized the need he felt for reform of the laws. For his Constitution had included some provisions that he later incorporated in legislative bills that he thought would form "a system by which every fibre would be eradicated of antient or future aristocracy; and a foundation laid for a government truly republican"

REVIVAL OF THE LAWS 1776-1786

(Autobiography, Ford, I, 68). But he no doubt would have proposed a general overhauling of the legal system as an urgent necessity even if his Constitution had been wholly adopted, for he understood the distinction between fundamental and statutory law and knew that the former could not and should not embrace the detailed provisions of the latter. Certainly Jefferson's historic decision in the early days of October 1776 to remain in Virginia rather than accept the mission to France was largely determined by his zeal to remake the legal structure of the commonwealth and to remold it both in form and substance so as to coincide more nearly with the leading principles of the Revolution. "I knew," he wrote in his Autobiography, "that our legislation under the regal government had many very vicious points which urgently required reformation, and I thought I could be of more use in forwarding that work. I therefore retired from my seat in Congress on the 2d. of Sep., resigned it, and took my place in the legislature of my state" (same, p. 48).

Yet the failure of the revision of the laws to come into focus and to be adequately appraised has resulted from the method as well as the intent of its leading architect. Jefferson, who was unquestionably the principal advocate of the idea of reform, was possessed of a sense of urgency that would not permit a single approach toward the goal. As an active legislator, enmeshed from 1776 to 1779 in the details of day-to-day law-making and its inevitable turmoil of political maneuverings, Jefferson was obliged to be alert to the possibility that any legislative calendar might bring forth bills proposed by adherents of the old order. This ever-present tendency to preserve the status quo or to project the nature of colonial institutions into the future required constant vigilance on his part. But important as this was in the time and energies it consumed, the daily hacking away at laws advocated by conservatives was not reform; it was merely the negative strategy of holding ground that had already been gained. Jefferson's achievement as legislator in the years 1776 to 1779 was more positive and proceeded on a two-fold method.

The first was a singlehanded effort to hasten the new era of republicanism by the drafting of legislative bills on particular subjects—courts of justice, entails, the established church, importation of slaves, naturalization, &c. On these and many other subjects it is safe to say that Jefferson was, as author or chief advocate, responsible for the introduction and adoption of more bills than any other single member of the General Assembly in the years 1776 to 1779. In the variety of subjects touched upon, in the quantity of bills drafted, and in the unity of purpose behind all of this legislative activity, his accomplishment in this period was astonishing. He was in himself a veritable legislative drafting bureau. Often his bills were introduced by others; equally as often he seems to have had himself appointed to committees in order that he might give effect to some of his own legislation by inserting it in or attaching it to the bills of others. But, however his bills were introduced or however important some of them were, Jefferson realized that these were "the details of reformation only . . . points of legislation

EDITORIAL NOTE

prominent in character and principle, urgent, and indicative of the strength of the general pulse of reformation" (same, I, 57). Despite the fact that this piecemeal approach to reform resulted in legislative achievements greater than he recalled and more extensive than biographers have recognized, Jefferson realized that a broader, more systematic revision of the laws was necessary.

His second approach, therefore, sprang from the conviction, as he later expressed it, "that our whole code must be reviewed, adapted to our republican form of government, and, now that we had no negatives of Councils, Governors, and Kings to restrain us from doing right, it should be corrected, in all its parts, with a single eye to reason, and the good of those for whose government it was framed. Early therefore in the session of 76, to which I returned, I moved and presented a bill for the revision of the laws" (same, I, 57-8). Under the broad terms of this Act a Committee of Revisors carried on the work of systematic reform, submitting its report on 18 June 1779. This Report of the Committee of Revisors comes nearer than anything else to representing a concrete revision of the laws executed under Jefferson's leadership. Yet many bills included in this Report were, for one reason or another, deemed to be of such urgency or importance that they were lifted from it, introduced, and in some instances enacted in advance of the submission of the full Report. Others were singled out for similar action in the years following. Despite this selective treatment of its bills, the proposed revision as a whole was brought forward for consideration at the October 1785 session. At that time about a third of the bills were enacted, though all that were adopted were suspended in operation until 1 January 1787 so that the remainder of the Report could be considered at the next session and, if approved, the entire revision put into effect as a unit. Only a few of the bills that were held over for the October 1786 session were adopted and the revision was never put into effect as a unit. In 1785 Jefferson was in France and the sponsorship of the reform rested upon James Madison. Some of the radical measures proposed in the Report met with strong opposition. Then a new committee was set to work, not with the object of reforming but of collecting and publishing the laws in one source. By 1786, in legislation as in other fields of political endeavor, "the general pulse of reformation" was far weaker than it had been in 1776.

Because of these facts, the landmarks of the revision that have been emphasized are chiefly those that Jefferson himself remembered and singled out for emphasis. He left several appraisals of the revision. The most nearly contemporary account—that in *Notes on Virginia*—contains the longest list of "the most remarkable alterations" that had been proposed by the Committee of Revisors (same, III, 242-55). It is also a fairly accurate index of what Jefferson considered his most important contributions to the work of revision, since most of the bills listed were those that he drew. In 1785, before the Report of the Committee of Revisors was even brought up, Jefferson wrote to G. K. van Hogendorp a very depreciatory comment on the revision: "It contains not more than three or four laws which could strike the attention of a foreigner. . . ."

The only merit of this work is that it may remove from our book shelves about twenty folio volumes of statutes, retaining all the parts of them which either their own merit or the established system of laws required" (letter dated 13 October 1785). But by far the most dramatic and most famous comment was that made by Jefferson in his *Autobiography*. Here he discussed the bills that he introduced separately as well as those that formed his part of the revisal, an account which concluded with this sweeping estimate of purpose and accomplishment: "I considered 4 of these bills, passed or reported, as forming a system by which every fibre would be eradicated of antient or future aristocracy; and a foundation laid for a government truly republican. The repeal of the laws of entail would prevent the accumulation and perpetuation of wealth in select families, and preserve the soil of the country from being daily more and more absorbed in Mortmain. The abolition of primogeniture, and equal partition of inheritances removed the feudal and unnatural distinctions which made one member of every family rich, and all the rest poor, substituting equal partition, the best of all Agrarian laws. The restoration of the rights of conscience relieved the people from taxation for the support of a religion not theirs; for the establishment was truly of the religion of the rich, the dissenting sects being entirely composed of the less wealthy people; and these, by the bill for a general education, would be qualified to understand their rights, to maintain them, and to exercise with intelligence their parts in self-government: and all this would be effected without the violation of a single natural right of any one individual citizen" (Ford, I, 68-9).

This dramatic summation by the chief architect of the revision undoubtedly played its part in throwing the foothills into deeper shadow once the peaks had been singled out. But the total work of revision extending over a full decade would have been obscured even without such an emphasis upon some of its parts. For there were other factors involved in addition to those of purpose, method, and timing indicated above. First of all, there is apparently no manuscript extant for the entire Report of the Committee of Revisors. Apparently no complete manuscript of the Report was submitted to the General Assembly even when Jefferson and Wythe, with Pendleton's concurrence, addressed their letter to Benjamin Harrison on 18 June 1779, for that letter, after explaining that "Some of these bills have been presented to the House of Delegates in the course of the present session two or three of them delivered to members of that House at their request to be presented," explicitly stated that "*the rest are in the two bundles which accompany this*" (italics supplied). Second, the *Report of the Committee of Revisors*, a printed text of ninety-six pages issued under authority of the General Assembly, is the only approximately complete text of the work of the Committee of Revisors existing in any form. Even this cannot be regarded as a complete text of the bills prepared by the Committee. For it lacks the text of Bill No. 15, which must have been among "the two bundles" submitted in 1779 but which, being a war-time measure, had served its purpose so that by 1784 there was no need to print it. Also, the Committee originally prepared at least 128 bills, but during the first week of June 1779 and undoubtedly while prepar-

ing "the two bundles" for transmittal, TJ struck two from the list; these were bills "for establishing a loan office" and "for regulating the inspection of tobacco" (see Document II in this series, notes 6 and 12). Furthermore, the *Report of the Committee of Revisors* is, except for specialists, a rare and inaccessible text of the most interesting and significant legal reforms attempted during the Revolutionary era. No complete publication or reproduction of the bills included in it has been made available heretofore. Finally, even a full and correct reprinting of this pamphlet would be very far from presenting a full account of the reform of the law attempted by Jefferson and his colleagues. To represent the scope of the revision fully it would be necessary to trace at least three difficult and tedious stages: (1) the law as it stood before the Committee of Revisors began work; (2) the alterations that the Committee proposed; and (3) the extent to which these alterations were adopted by the General Assembly. Even in so detailed a work as the present, such an analysis, in documentary form, would not be feasible and probably not desirable. That kind of appraisal must await investigation and evaluation by the legal historian.

Meanwhile, for the purposes of this work it has been deemed essential to present at least the full texts of all bills drafted by the Committee of Revisors, so far as texts can be found. This has been done in the following pages. In many cases a bill as proposed by the Committee has been compared with the law which it reenacted or altered; in many other cases—some of them of the highest importance—this has not been possible because no prototype existed, as, for example, in the Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom or the Bill for Proportioning Crimes and Punishments. In all cases, however, the extent to which the General Assembly accepted or rejected the terms of the bills proposed by the Committee has been noted through a comparison of the text of the bill as proposed with that of the act as adopted.

This has never been done before, though in a few notable instances the difference between what was proposed and what was accepted has been commented upon. However, even in respect to the most famous of all bills in the Report—that concerning religious freedom—the exact nature of the differences has not been indicated and has possibly been misunderstood (see Hening, XII, 84, where the opinion is given that the "variations . . . render the style less elegant, though the sense is not affected"; but see Malone, *Jefferson*, I, 279, for a more correct opinion). A comparison of texts of this Bill also brings out the surprising fact that the text most widely accepted by the general public and by scholars as the Act for Establishing Religious Freedom is neither the text of the Bill as drafted nor of the Act as adopted, but a variant of the two which, for some unknown reason, Jefferson made in 1786 and published under a title that induced subsequent generations to accept it as the text of the Act as adopted. This timeless declaration of intellectual freedom is here presented (either through a full text, a facsimile reproduction, or textual annotation) in the following forms: (1) as originally printed in 1779 and distributed "for the consideration of the people"; (2) as printed in the *Report of the Committee of Re-*

being given by the superintendant, shall be no further restrained by virtue of this act. A person authorised to see the quarantine performed, or a watchman upon any vessel, place, or goods, under quarantine, deserting his duty or willingly permitting a person's vessel or goods to depart, or be conveyed away, from the place, where the quarantine ought to be performed, without a lawful license, or a person, impowered to give a certificate of the performance of quarantine, knowingly giving a false certificate, shall be amerced.³ The forfeitures inflicted by this act shall be to the use of the commonwealth, and shall be recovered, by action of debt, in which actions the defendants shall be ruled to give special bail.⁴

Report, p. 52-3. MS (VIU); clerk's copy. Text of Act as adopted is in *Hen- ing*, XI, 329-31.

Earlier Acts dealing with the quaran- tine of vessels coming into Virginia were passed in 1722, 1766, and 1772 (*Hen- ing*, IV, 99-103; VIII, 260-1, 537-8). Bill No. 78 of the revival was passed in 1783 as a separate Act; it was ordered to be brought in on 20 Nov. 1783, was presented 24 Nov., amended by the House on 3 Dec., and passed the next day; the Senate amended it 13 Dec., which amendments were agreed to by House 15 Dec. (*JHD*, Oct. 1783, 1823 edn., p. 26, 31, 32, 44, 45, 59, 63). The Act as adopted and the Bill as proposed by the Committee of Revisors are the same except for the addition of a brief preamble in the Act and the other differ- ences indicated below. Although it had already been enacted into law, the

Bill was again brought up on 31 Oct. 1785 by Madison, but was postponed to the next session; it was presented at the Oct. 1786 session, but no further action was taken on it (same, Oct. 1785, p. 12-15, 92; same, Oct. 1786, p. 16-17).

¹ The Act adds: "the sum of five hundred pounds."

² The Act adds: "the sum of one thou- sand pounds."

³ The Act adds: "the sum of one hun- dred pounds."

⁴ The Act has an additional clause authorizing the governor in council to direct the auditors to issue warrants on the treasurer for such sums as may be necessary "for the support of the per- sons performing quarantine and those appointed to see it performed," to be re- paid by the master or owner of the ves- sel at the end of quarantine.

natural powers to defeat its purposes; And whereas it is generally true that that people will be happiest whose laws are best, and are best administered, and that laws will be wisely formed, and hon- estly administered, in proportion as those who form and administer them are wise and honest; whence it becomes expedient for pro- moting the publick happiness that those persons, whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue, should be rendered by liberal education worthy to receive, and able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, and that they should be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth or other accidental condition or circumstance; but the indi- gence of the greater number disabling them from so educating, at their own expence, those of their children whom nature hath fitly formed and disposed to become useful instruments for the public, it is better that such should be sought for and educated at the common expence of all, than that the happiness of all should be confided to the weak or wicked:

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, that in every county within this commonwealth, there shall be chosen annually, by the electors qualified to vote for Delegates, three of the most honest and able men of their county, to be called the Aldermen of the county; and that the election of the said Aldermen shall be held at the same time and place, before the same persons, and notified and conducted in the same manner as by law is directed for the annual election of Delegates for the county.

The person before whom such election is holden shall certify to the court of the said county the names of the Aldermen chosen, in order that the same may be entered of record, and shall give notice of their election to the said Aldermen within a fortnight after such election.

The said Aldermen on the first Monday in October, if it be fair, and if not, then on the next fair day, excluding Sunday, shall meet at the court-house of their county, and proceed to divide their said county into hundreds, bounding the same by water courses, moun- tains, or limits, to be run and marked, if they think necessary, by the county surveyor, and at the county expence, regulating the size of the said hundreds, according to the best of their discretion, so as that they may contain a convenient number of children to make up a school, and be of such convenient size that all the children within each hundred may daily attend the school to be established therein, distinguishing each hundred by a particular name; which division, with the names of the several hundreds, shall be returned to the

79. A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge

Whereas it appeareth that however certain forms of government are better calculated than others to protect individuals in the free exercise of their natural rights, and are at the same time them- selves better guarded against degeneracy, yet experience hath shewn, that even under the best forms, those entrusted with power have, in time, and by slow operations, perverted it into tyranny; and it is believed that the most effectual means of preventing this would be, to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large, and more especially to give them knowledge of those facts, which history exhibiteth, that, possessed thereby of the experience of other ages and countries, they may be enabled to know ambition under all its shapes, and prompt to exert their

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Report, p. 53-5. Surprisingly, no MS copy of this famous Bill has been found and no memoranda or scraps of notes such as TJ left respecting other Bills.

The Acts pertaining to the College of William and Mary fell within Pendleton's share of the revision, but, as TJ explained in his Autobiography, "We thought that . . . a systematical plan of general education should be proposed, and I was requested to undertake it. I accordingly prepared three Bills for the Revisal, proposing three distinct grades of education, reaching all classes. 1. Elementary schools for all children generally, rich and poor. 2. Colleges for a middle degree of instruction, calculated for the common purposes of life, and such as would be desirable for all who were in easy circumstances. And 3d, an ultimate grade for teaching the sciences generally, and in their highest degree" (Ford, I, 56). Within a decade after the work of the Committee of Revisors was begun, TJ regarded the Bill for the More-General Diffusion of Knowledge as the most important one in the Report (TJ to George Wythe, 13 Aug. 1786).

The exalted declaration of purpose in the preamble remains one of the classic statements of the responsibility of the state in matters of education. But what was new and distinctively Jeffersonian in the Bill was not its advocacy of public education, for in this respect it in fact envisaged a combined system of public and private education; and, indeed, public education was already in practice and had been for some generations in the systems of common schools of New England. But what was new in the Bill and what stamped its author as a constructive statesman of far-seeing vision was the object of seeking out men of genius and virtue and of rendering them "by liberal education worthy to receive, and able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens." This implied the establishment of a ruling elite that would promote public happiness by wisely forming and honestly administering the laws; but, though this never became and possibly could not become an explicit object of any democratic society, the important thing about TJ's Bill was that those "whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue . . . should be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth or other accidental condition or circumstance." The

Bill recognized natural gradations and disparities among men; it saw nothing dangerous or inimical to the liberties of the people in accepting and making use of such a natural aristocracy of virtue and talent; and its unique and revolutionary feature, never yet put into practice by any people, was that, in order to permit such a natural aristocracy to flourish freely, it would remove all economic, social, or other barriers that would interfere with nature's distribution of genius or virtue. (See TJ's account of this Bill in *Notes on Virginia*, Ford, III, 251-5; see also R. J. Honeywell, *Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931.) A highly interesting contemporary comment on the Bill is that by William Wirt: "Among other wise and highly patriotic bills which are proposed, there is one for the more general diffusion of knowledge. After a preamble, in which the importance of the subject to the republic is most ably and eloquently announced, the bill proposes a simple and beautiful scheme, whereby science (like justice under the institutions of our Alfred) would have been 'carried to every man's door.' Genius, instead of having to break its way through the thick opposing clouds of native obscurity, indigence and ignorance, was to be sought for through every family in the commonwealth; the sacred spark, wherever it was detected, was to be tenderly cherished, fed and fanned into a flame; its innate properties and tendencies were to be developed and examined, and then cautiously and judiciously invested with all the auxiliary energy and radiance of which its character was susceptible. What a plan was here to give stability and solid glory to the republic! If you ask me why it has never been adopted, I answer, that as a foreigner, I can perceive no possible reason for it, except that the comprehensive views and generous patriotism which produced the bill, have not prevailed throughout the country, nor presided in the body on whose vote the adoption of the bill depended. I have new reason to remark it, almost every day, that there is throughout Virginia, a most deplorable destitution of public spirit, of the noble pride and love of country. Unless the body of the people can be awakened from this fatal apathy; unless their thoughts and their feelings can be urged beyond the narrow confines of their own private affairs; unless they can be

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strongly inspired with the public zeal, the *amor patriæ* of the ancient republics, the national embellishment, and the national grandeur of this opulent state, must be reserved for very distant ages" (William Wirt, *Letters of a British Spy*, 10th edn., N.Y., 1832, p. 251-2; originally published in 1803).

TJ apparently finished the Bill late in the autumn of 1778, for on 18 Dec. 1778 he wrote to Pendleton about it (his letter is missing, but see Pendleton's reply under date of 11 May 1779). On 15 Dec. 1778 leave was given by the House for the presentation of a Bill "for the more general diffusion of knowledge," and Richard Parker and George Mason were ordered to prepare it; the Bill was presented by Parker on the next day, whereupon the House "Ordered, That the public printer do forthwith print and forward four copies of the said act to each county within this Commonwealth" (JHD, Oct. 1778, 1827 edn., p. 117, 120). It is very doubtful whether this order to print the Bill was actually executed; if it was, no copy of it has been found (see Edmund Pendleton to TJ, 11 May 1779 and notes thereon). The Bill was again presented on 12 June 1780, but no further action was taken until, on 31 Oct. 1785, Madison brought it up along with other bills of the Report of the Committee of Revisors. It was considered by the House

6 Dec., was amended 20 Dec., and on 21 Dec. was actually passed by the House under a new title, "An act, directing the mode of appointing aldermen." But, on being referred to the Senate, the Bill died (JHD, May 1780, 1827 edn., p. 14, 44; same, Oct. 1785, 1828 edn., p. 12-15, 74-5, 100, 101). Madison reported a year later, when TJ's Bill was again considered, that the system was carefully considered but not adopted because of the cost involved (Madison to TJ, 4 Dec. 1786; see also Madison to TJ, 22 Jan. 1786).

Madison did not bring in Bill No. 79 with the others reported on 1 Nov. 1786 but it was brought up two weeks later, and, as Madison reported to TJ, it "went through two readings by a small majority and was not pushed to a third one" (Madison to TJ, 15 Feb. 1787; JHD, Oct. 1786, 1828 edn., p. 44). The plan for establishing public schools was not carried to completion until 1796 when the Assembly passed an "Act to Establish Public Schools" (Shepherd, II, 3-5) which retained some of the phraseology of TJ's Bill, especially that providing for the election of aldermen. However, the 1796 Act provided only for primary schools, and the determination of the expediency of establishing such schools was left entirely to the aldermen of each county, borough, or corporation.

80. A Bill for Amending the Constitution of the College of William and Mary, and Substituting More Certain Revenues for Its Support

Whereas a scheme for cultivating and disseminating useful knowledge in this country, which had been proposed by some of its liberal minded inhabitants, before the year 1690 of the Christian epocha, was approved, adopted, and cherished, by the General Assembly, upon whose petition King William and Queen Mary of England, to the crown whereof the people here at that time acknowledged themselves, as a colony, to be subject, by their charter, bearing date the seventh day of February, in the fourth year of their reign, gave license, in due form, to Francis Nicholson, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the colony, and seventeen other trustees, particularly named, to found a place of universal study, or perpetual college, in such part of the country as the General Assembly

TJ to George Wythe, 13 Aug 1786

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much matter in as few words as possible. The word omitted will be supplied by every reader.

The European papers have announced that the assembly of Virginia were occupied on the revisal of their Code of laws. This, with some other similar intelligence, has contributed much to convince the people of Europe, that what the English papers are constantly publishing of our anarchy, is false; as they are sensible that such a work is that of a people only who are in perfect tranquillity. Our act for freedom of religion is extremely applauded. The Ambassadors and ministers of the several nations of Europe resident at this court have asked of me copies of it to send to their sovereigns, and it is inserted at full length in several books now in the press; among others, in the new Encyclopedie. I think it will produce considerable good even in these countries where ignorance, superstition, poverty and oppression of body and mind in every form, are so firmly settled on the mass of the people, that their redemption from them can never be hoped. If the almighty had begotten a thousand sons, instead of one, they would not have sufficed for this task. If all the sovereigns of Europe were to set themselves to work to emancipate the minds of their subjects from their present ignorance and prejudices, and that as zealously as they now endeavor the contrary, a thousand years would not place them on that high ground on which our common people are now setting out. Ours could not have been so fairly put into the hands of their own common sense, had they not been separated from their parent stock and been kept from contamination, either from them, or the other people of the old world, by the intervention of so wide an ocean. To know the worth of this, one must see the want of it here. I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom, and happiness. If any body thinks that kings, nobles, or priests are good conservators of the public happiness,² send them here. It is the best school in the universe to cure them of that folly. They will see here with their own eyes that these descriptions of men are an abandoned confederacy against the happiness of the mass of people. The omnipotence of their effect cannot be better proved than in this country particularly, where notwithstanding the finest soil upon earth, the finest climate under heaven, and a people of the most benevolent, the most gay, and amiable character of which the human form is susceptible, where such a people I say, surrounded by so many blessings from nature, are yet loaded with misery by

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kings, nobles and priests, and by them alone. Preach, my dear Sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know that the people alone can protect us against these evils, and that the tax which will be paid for this purpose is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, priests and nobles who will rise up among us if we leave the people in ignorance.—The people of England, I think, are less oppressed than here. But it needs but half an eye to see, when among them, that the foundation is laid in their dispositions, for the establishment of a despotism. Nobility, wealth, and pomp are the objects of their adoration. They are by no means the free-minded people we suppose them in America. Their learned men too are few in number, and are less learned and infinitely less emancipated from prejudice than those of this country. An event too seems to be prospering, in the order of things, which will probably decide the fate of that country. It is no longer doubtful that the harbour of Cherbourg will be completed, that it will be a most excellent one, and capacious enough to hold the whole navy of France. Nothing has ever been wanting to enable this country to invade that, but a naval force conveniently stationed to protect the transports. This change of situation, must oblige the English to keep up a great standing army, and there is no king, who, with a sufficient force, is not always ready to make himself absolute.—My paper warns me it is time to recommend myself to the friendly recollection of Mrs. Wythe, of Colo. Taliaferro and his family and particularly of Mr. R. T. and to assure you of the affectionate esteem with which I am Dear Sir your friend & servt.,

TH: JEFFERSON

PrC (DLC). Enclosure: Tr of Giovanni Fabbioni to TJ, 20 July 1786.

Mr. R. T.: Richard Taliaferro. I WILL HAVE THE COPPER PLATE IMMEDIATELY ENGRAVED: On 25 Oct. 1786 Short wrote to William Nelson: "This will be delivered to you by Major Martin of Williamsburg. He has been in Paris a few days and leaves it immediately to return to America by the way of London. Mr. Jefferson sends by him also the Arms of the Family of Tagliaferro as received from Italy" (DLC: Short Papers; see also TJ to Short, 7 Apr. 1787; TJ to Wythe, 16 Sep. 1787).

The original copperplate of the Taliaferro arms is owned by Colonel Williamsburg, Inc., and is in the Wythe House, Williamsburg.

¹ Thus in MS; TJ followed Wythe's use of the word literally, both as to the erroneous spelling and as to the form of the first sigma; see Wythe to TJ, 10 Jan. and 10 Feb. 1786.

² The preceding seven words were interlined in substitution for: "could give any aid towards their preservation," deleted.

Pardon and privilege of clergy are proposed to be abolished; but if the verdict be against the defendant, the court in their discretion, may allow a new trial. No attainder to cause a corruption of blood,¹⁹ or forfeiture of dower. Slaves guilty of offences punishable in others by labour, to be transported to Africa, or elsewhere, as the circumstances of the time admit, there to be continued in slavery. A rigorous regimen proposed for those condemned to labour.)

Another object of the revisal is, to diffuse knowledge more generally through the mass of the people.²⁰ This bill proposes to lay off every county into small districts of five or six miles square, called hundreds, and in each of them to establish a school for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic. The tutor to be supported by the hundred, and every person in it entitled to send their children three years gratis, and as much longer as they please, paying for it. These schools to be under a visitor, who is annually to chuse the boy, of best genius in the school, of those whose parents are too poor to give them further education, and to send him forward to one of the grammar schools, of which twenty are proposed to be erected in different parts of the country, for teaching Greek, Latin, geography, and the higher branches of numerical arithmetic. Of the boys thus sent in any one year, trial is to be made at the grammar schools one or two years, and the best genius of the whole selected, and continued six years, and the residue dismissed. By this means twenty of the best geniusses will be raked from the rubbish annually, and be instructed, at the public expence, so far as the grammar schools go. At the end of six years instruction, one half are to be discontinued (from among whom the grammar schools will probably be supplied with future masters); and the other half, who are to be chosen for the superiority of their parts and disposition, are to be sent and continued three years in the study of such sciences as they shall chuse, at William and Mary college, the plan of which is proposed to be enlarged, as will be hereafter explained, and extended to all the useful sciences. The ultimate result of the whole scheme of education would be the teaching all children of the state reading, writing, and common arithmetic: turning out ten annually of superior genius, well taught in Greek, Latin, geography, and the higher branches of arithmetic: turning out ten others annually, of still superior parts, who, to those

branches of learning, shall have added such of the sciences as their genius shall have led them to: the furnishing to the wealthier part of the people convenient schools, at which their children may be educated, at their own expence.—The general objects of this law are to provide an education adapted to the years, to the capacity, and the condition of every one, and directed to their freedom and happiness. Specific details were not proper for the law. These must be the business of the visitors entrusted with its execution. The first stage of this education being the schools of the hundreds, wherein the great mass of the people will receive their instruction, the principal foundations of future order will be laid here. Instead therefore of putting the Bible and Testament into the hands of the children, at an age when their judgments are not sufficiently matured for religious enquiries, their memories may here be stored with the most useful facts from Grecian, Roman, European and American history. The first elements of morality too may be instilled into their minds; such as, when further developed as their judgments advance in strength, may teach them how to work out their own greatest happiness, by shewing them that it does not depend on the condition of life in which chance has placed them, but is always the result of a good conscience, good health, occupation, and freedom in all just pursuits.—Those whom either the wealth of their parents or the adoption of the state shall destine to higher degrees of learning, will go on to the grammar schools, which constitute the next stage, there to be instructed in the languages. The learning Greek and Latin, I am told, is going into disuse in Europe. I know not what their manners and occupations may call for: but it would be very ill-judged in us to follow their example in this instance. There is a certain period of life, say from eight to fifteen or sixteen years of age, when the mind, like the body, is not yet firm enough for laborious and close operations. If applied to such, it falls an early victim to premature exertion; exhibiting indeed at first, in these young and tender subjects, the flattering appearance of their being men while they are yet children, but ending in reducing them to be children when they should be men. The memory is then most susceptible and tenacious of impressions; and the learning of languages being chiefly a work of memory, it seems precisely fitted to the powers of this period, which is long enough too for acquiring

the most useful languages antient and modern. I do not pretend that language is science. It is only an instrument for the attainment of science. But that time is not lost which is employed in providing tools for future operation: more especially as in this case the books put into the hands of the youth for this purpose may be such as will at the same time impress their minds with useful facts and good principles. If this period be suffered to pass in idleness, the mind becomes lethargic and impotent, as would the body it inhabits if unexercised during the same time. The sympathy between body and mind during their rise, progress and decline, is too strict and obvious to endanger our being misled while we reason from the one to the other.—As soon as they are of sufficient age, it is supposed they will be sent on from the grammar schools to the university, which constitutes our third and last stage, there to study those sciences which may be adapted to their views.—By that part of our plan which prescribes the selection of the youths of genius from among the classes of the poor, we hope to avail the state of those talents which nature has sown as liberally among the poor as the rich, but which perish without use, if not sought for and cultivated.—But of all the views of this law none is more important, none more legitimate, than that of rendering the people the safe, as they are the ultimate, guardians of their own liberty. For this purpose the reading in the first stage, where *they* will receive their whole education, is proposed, as has been said, to be chiefly historical. History by apprising them of the past will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views. In every government on earth is some trace of human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover, and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate, and improve. Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary, though it be essentially necessary. An amendment of our constitution must here come in aid of the public education. The influence over government must be shared among all

the people. If every individual which composes their mass participates of the ultimate authority, the government will be safe; because the corrupting the whole mass will exceed any private resources of wealth: and public ones cannot be provided but by levies on the people. In this case every man would have to pay his own price. The government of Great-Britain has been corrupted, because but one man in ten has a right to vote for members of parliament. The sellers of the government therefore get nine-tenths of their price clear. It has been thought that corruption is restrained by confining the right of suffrage to a few of the wealthier of the people: but it would be more effectually restrained by an extension of that right to such numbers as would bid defiance to the means of corruption.

Lastly, it is proposed, by a bill in this revisal, to begin a public library and gallery, by laying out a certain sum annually in books, paintings, and statues.²¹

ed in it; a liberty to
all things, when the
d not to be subject to
in, unknown, arbitrary

rnment. Bk. x, ch. 4.

ny opinion, to suppose
ed on force has more
that which is bound
good-will. (Et errat
tentia, Qui imperium
stabilis Vi quod fit
tia adjungitur.)
i. (Act i, sc. 1.)
es perpetually. (Iniqua
morant.)

s not endure long. (In-
retinentur diu.)
30.

ined a violent govern-
idures. (Violenta nemo
oderata durant.)
3.

less buttressed by good-
tutum nisi benevolentia

IONYSIUS CATO, *Lives*:

long secure without a

oningsby. Bk. ii, ch. 1.

in government, that
rous which proceeds
in corporibus sic in
morbus, qui a capite

pistles. Bk. iv, epis. 22.
pire is forsooth curved
nes imperii virga sive
flexum sit.)

pienia Veterum: Pan,
nes condensed to, "All
at the top." Referring
ok of Pan.

vernment begins almost
its principles. (La cor-
nement commence pres-
principes.)
prit des Lois. Bk. viii,

he human body, be-
h, and bears in itself
tion. (Le corps poli-
e corps de l'homme,
sa naissance, et porte
de sa destruction.)
ial. Bk. iii, ch. 11.

ower and the right of
Government, presup-

poses the duty of every individual to obey
the established Government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Farewell Address*, 1796.
I believe every citizen should support the gov-
ernment when final action is taken, whether he
approves of the action or not.

W. J. BRYAN, in *N.Y. Times*, 2 June, 1898.

While the people should patriotically and cheer-
fully support their Government its functions do
not include the support of the people.

GROVER CLEVELAND, *Message*, vetoing the
Texas Seed Bill, 16 Feb., 1887.

¹
In general, the art of government consists in
taking as much money as possible from one
class of citizens to give it to the other.

VOLTAIRE, *Philosophical Dictionary*: Money.

^{1a}
No man ever saw a government. I live in the
midst of the Government of the United
States, but I never saw the Government of
the United States.

WOODROW WILSON, *Speech*, at Pittsburgh, Pa.,
29 Jan., 1916.

II—Government: Apothegms

²
Nero could touch and tune the harp well;
but in government, sometimes he used to
wind the pins too high, sometimes to let
them down too low.

APOLONIUS, when Vespasian asked him the
cause of Nero's overthrow. (BACON, *Essays*:
Of Empire.)

Nothing destroyeth authority so much, as the
unequal and untimely interchange of power
pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

FRANCIS BACON, *Essays*: *Of Empire*.

³
The four pillars of government . . . religion,
justice, counsel, treasure.

FRANCIS BACON, *Essays*: *Of Seditions*.

⁴
In government change is suspected, though
to the better.

FRANCIS BACON, *Filum Labyrinthi*.

⁵
"Separa et impera," that same cunning
maxim.

FRANCIS BACON, *Letter to James I*, 1615, quot-
ing Machiavelli.

Divide et impera, that exploded adage.

SIR EDWARD COKE, *Institutes*. Pt. iv, ch. 1.

Divide and govern, a capital motto! Unite and
lead, a better one! (Entzwei' und gebiete! Tüch-
tig Wort; Verein' und leite! Bess'rer Hort.)

GOETHE, *Sprüche in Reimen*, 516.

Divide and govern. (Divide et impera.)

LOUIS XI OF FRANCE, his motto when dealing
with his nobles.

And yet they have learnt the chief Art of a Sov'-
reign,

As Machiavel taught 'em, *divide and ye govern*.
SWIFT, *On the Irish Bishops*, l. 47. (1732)

⁶
To govern mankind one must not over-rate
them.

LORD CHESTERFIELD, *Letters*, 15 Feb., 1754.

You can only govern men by serving them.
The rule is without exception. (On ne gouverne
les hommes qu'en les servant. Le règle est sans ex-
ception.)

VICTOR COUSIN.

⁷
The good governor should have a broken leg
and keep at home.

CERVANTES, *Don Quixote*. Pt. ii, ch. 34.

⁸
It were better to be a poor fisherman, than
to meddle with the government of men!

GEORGES JACQUES DANTON. (CARLYLE, *French
Revolution*. Vol. iii, bk. vi, ch. 2.)

⁹
I have been carried into the ministry by a can-
non-ball.

GEORGES JACQUES DANTON, after the insurrec-
tion of August, 1792. (TAINE, *French Rev-
olution*.)

¹⁰
An institution is the lengthened shadow of
one man.

EMERSON, *Essays*, *First Series*: *Self-Reliance*.

No institution will be better than the institutor.
EMERSON, *Essays*, *Second Series*: *Character*.

¹¹
He has erected the negation of God into a
system of government.

W. E. GLADSTONE, referring to the King of
Naples. (EMERSON, *Conduct of Life*: *Wor-
ship*.)

¹²
I will govern according to the commonweal,
but not according to the common will.

JAMES I OF ENGLAND, *Address*, to the House
of Commons, 1621.

¹³
I would not give half a guinea to live under
one form of government rather than another
It is of no moment to the happiness of an
individual.

SAMUEL JOHNSON. (BOSWELL, *Life*, ii, 170.)

¹⁴
A wise man neither suffers himself to be gov-
erned, nor attempts to govern others.

LA BRUYÈRE, *Les Caractères*.

¹⁵
Every country has the government it de-
serves. (Toute nation a le gouvernement
qu'elle mérite.)

JOSEPH DE MAISTRE, *Letter*, Aug., 1811.

¹⁶
He that would govern others, first should be
The master of himself.

PHILIP MASSINGER, *The Bondman*. Act i, sc. 3.
See also under SELF-CONTROL.

¹⁷
Republics end through luxury; monarchies
through poverty. (Les républiques finissent