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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION**OFFICE OF LEGISLATION AND CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS**

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From : Bruce Wardle

**COMMENTS :**

Info on America
2000

New AMERICA SCHOOLS

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AMERICA 2000 FIELD REPORT

March 5, 1992

I. STATE 2000 ANNOUNCED

State	Governor	Kickoff Date
COLORADO	Roy Romer (D)	June 17, 1991
WYOMING	Mike Sullivan (D)	June 21, 1991
OREGON	Barbara Roberts (D)	August 22, 1991
AMERICAN SAMOA	Peter Coleman (R)	August 30, 1991
MAINE	John McKernan (R)	September 3, 1991
MARYLAND	William Schaefer (D)	September 5, 1991
NEBRASKA	Ben Nelson (D)	September 5, 1991
LOUISIANA	Edwin Edwards (D)	September 9, 1991
MINNESOTA	Arne Carlson (R)	September 12, 1991
DELAWARE	Michael Castle (R)	September 19, 1991
VERMONT	Howard Dean (D)	September 20, 1991
NORTH CAROLINA	James Martin (R)	September 27, 1991
INDIANA	Evan Bayh (D)	October 1, 1991
ALASKA	Walter Hickel (I)	October 17, 1991
GEORGIA	Zell Miller (D)	October 18, 1991
PENNSYLVANIA	Robert Casey (D)	October 18, 1991
MASSACHUSETTS	William Weld (R)	October 24, 1991
TENNESSEE	Ned McWherter (D)	October 25, 1991
IOWA	Terry Branstad (R)	October 27, 1991
MISSOURI	John Ashcroft (R)	October 29, 1991
KANSAS	Joan Finney (D)	October 29, 1991
ALABAMA	Guy Hunt (R)	October 31, 1991
MICHIGAN	John Engler (R)	November 13, 1991
SOUTH CAROLINA	Carroll Campbell (R)	November 20, 1991
WISCONSIN	Tommy Thompson (R)	November 21, 1991
OHIO	George Voinovich (R)	November 25, 1991
UTAH	Norm Bangerter (R)	December 10, 1991
MONTANA	Stan Stephens (R)	December 11, 1991
ARIZONA	Fife Symington (R)	December 12, 1991
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Judd Gregg (R)	December 17, 1991
DIST. of COLUMBIA	Sharon Pratt Kelly (D)	December 19, 1991
SOUTH DAKOTA	George Mickelson (R)	December 19, 1991
OKLAHOMA	Dave Walters (D)	December 19, 1991
MISSISSIPPI	Kirk Fordice (R)	February 10, 1992
ILLINOIS	Jim Edgar (R)	February 11, 1992
WASHINGTON	Booth Gardner (D)	February 28, 1992
TEXAS	Ann Richards (D)	March 5, 1992

II. UPCOMING STATE 2000 KICKOFFS

State	Governor	Kickoff Date
NEVADA	Bob Miller (D)	March 9, 1992
NEW JERSEY	Jim Florio (D)	TBD
PUERTO RICO	Rafael Hernandez-Colon	TBD
CALIFORNIA	Pete Wilson (R)	TBD
NORTH DAKOTA	George Sinner (D)	TBD
HAWAII	John Waihee (D)	TBD
VIRGINIA	Doug Wilder (D)	TBD

* As of 3/5 approx - 1350 communities on list

CLOSE
HOLD

AMERICA 2000
Community Report
Summary

February 5, 1992

National Summary

National Total:	1151 *			
Green	Blue	Red	Purple	Gold
597	354	183	16	0

Regional Summary

Region	Code					Total	Region	Code					Total
	G	B	R	P	G			G	B	R	P	G	
Region I	40	53	16	0	0	109	Region VI	58	44	48	0	0	150
Region II	49	19	7	0	0	75	Region VII	38	92	4	0	0	134
Region III	34	6	6	0	0	46	Region VIII	73	77	74	3	0	227
Region IV	180	23	23	0	0	226	Region IX	29	10	0	0	0	39
Region V	68	19	5	0	0	92	Region X	28	11	0	13	0	52

COLOR CODE DEFINITIONS

- GREEN** All contacts who pledge a sincere interest in organizing an AMERICA 2000 community will be categorized "Code Green" for continued follow up and cultivation.
- BLUE** Once a community formally embraces the goals, begins to put together a steering committee and a game plan to involve the entire community, it is categorized "Code Blue".
- RED** After a community has held a public kick off event or any kind of public announcement to communicate its acceptance of the President's four part challenge and its desire to achieve AMERICA 2000 community designation, it will be categorized "Code Red".
- PURPLE** A community will be categorized as a "Code Purple" community once it has devised a strategy to reach the goals and a report card to assess its progress.
- GOLD** When a community has completed all four steps of the President's challenge and it is designated an AMERICA 2000 community by its Governor, it will receive "GOLD" status.

Talking Points:**NEW AMERICAN SCHOOLS**

The engine that drives the **AMERICA 2000** strategy is the **Community Challenge**. The President has challenged every neighborhood, town, city, and State in our Nation to become an **AMERICA 2000 Community** by:

- *First* - Adopting and demonstrating their commitment to achieving all six National Education Goals. *Second* - Developing a community-wide strategy for achieving these goals. *Third* - Designing a report card to measure progress and results. *Fourth* - Planning for and supporting, break-the-mold New American Schools.

New American Schools would "break the mold" by reflecting the best of what is known about teaching, learning, and educational technologies and would enable all students to meet world class standards of achievement. They will be a new generation of American Schools that are light years beyond those of today.

- Schools that help every child reach world class standards in at least the five core subjects. Schools that help all children prepare for responsible citizenship, life-long learning and productive employment. Schools that set the pace for our Nation.

The **AMERICA 2000 Community Challenge** is a tough, long-term challenge, but it's the most important thing a community can do to improve its schools. Once a community accomplishes these four things, it will be designated as an **America 2000 Community**.

- As of March 9, 1992, thirty-five Governors--16 Democrats and 19 Republicans--have launched a State 2000 effort as part of **AMERICA 2000**.
- Hundreds of communities have declared their support for the **AMERICA 2000** goals and are progressing toward designation as an **AMERICA 2000 Community**.

Attached is a list of "key contacts" for some of the community groups making progress in your State. These contacts represent groups of committed individuals who are attempting to meet the four part "Community Challenge."

Also included is a listing of projects that provide an idea of what a New American School might look like and eight promising efforts that help point the way.

How does this effort to create a new generation of American Schools differ from previous reform efforts?

It relies on clear, World Class Standards of performance. The central mission of each NAS will be to help all students reach World Class Standards in five core subjects, as measured by American Achievement Tests.

It depends on community-wide efforts. It brings a wide range of intellectual and social resources to bear on the challenge of helping students reach those World Class Standards.

It aims to integrate all dimensions of a school's life to promote the achievement of World Class Standards. This means using time, space, staff, and community resources in more powerful ways.

It brings visionary designers together with communities dedicated to creating schools that are best in the world . Schools that draw on state-of-the-art technology, the latest education research, the best education practices, and the community resources to put them in place.

It calls for leadership from all levels.

The President introduced AMERICA 2000 and sought to put education first and keep it there.

Governors 30 are now leading STATE 2000 efforts.

Local leaders Thousands of civic, business, education and religious leaders are organizing COMMUNITY 2000 efforts to transform learning in their schools and communities.

Congress The President has asked Congress to provide seed money for a new generation of American schools.

The attached provides an idea of what a New American School might look like -- eight promising projects that help point the way...

A New Generation of American Schools

1. RJR Nabisco's Next Century Schools

The RJR Nabisco Foundation is supporting fundamental school reform projects across the country. Over five years, 1990 through 1994, 45 schools will share in \$30 million in grants. To date, 30 schools have received three-year grants of up to \$250,000 per school per year to help them increase the time students spend learning, alter the structure of the school day and year, group students according to mastery level, and measure success based on student performance. This year's 15 winning schools were chosen from 1,600 applicants.

2. Ted Sizer's Coalition of Essential Schools

Less is more, student as worker, personalized learning - these are among the nine essential principles that schools must commit to in order to become an Essential School. Ninety-eight schools in 23 States have made a commitment, in an effort to transform the roles of their students and teachers, to recast students as active learners and teachers as coaches. Such transformations, the Coalition recognizes, can come about only through comprehensive, concentrated efforts at the individual school site. As Ted Sizer puts it, "Schools cannot be redesigned piecemeal: everything important within a school affects everything else important there. Substantial redesign by and of an existing school while it is operating is often every bit as difficult as *rebuilding an entire car while it speeds along an Interstate.*"

3. Washington State's Schools for the 21st Century

Created by the legislature in 1987, Washington's Schools for the 21st Century competition has resulted in awards for 33 innovative educational projects. Schools are connected by an electronic network, which enables teachers to "discuss" ideas and share lesson plans. The program supports a 10-day supplemental contract which, in effect, sets aside two weeks for school-level planning, staff development, and instructional improvement. Common themes among projects include outcomes-based education, integrated curricula, cross-age grouping of students, parents' involvement, and technology.

4. Saturn School of Tomorrow

In 1986, in his weekly New York Times column, Al Shanker wrote that "Perhaps the most important step in revitalizing the [automobile] industry is the Saturn Project. It is designed to make believe that no one has ever made a car before and to start the whole process from scratch, to reopen not just what the car should look like and how it should run but every question of production, supplies, labor, relations, the role of management." That, Shanker argued, is what's needed in education, an educational Saturn Project. Taken by this idea, Tom King and David Bennett set out to make it happen. The result is the Saturn School of Tomorrow which opened in St. Paul, Minnesota in the fall of 1989. The Saturn School of Tomorrow uses innovative approaches in staffing, use of computers, and

creation of individual lesson plans for students. It groups students by interest and ability rather than by grade level. And students go to museums, libraries, and elsewhere in the community for lessons. Saturn enjoys enthusiastic support from parents.

5. **Lighthouse Project**

In 1989 in Casper, Wyoming, Lamar Alexander called for the creation of "Brand new American Schools." The Casper business community responded to that challenge by sponsoring a competition, open to anyone, to create innovative schools. The competition triggered a flurry of creative thinking, drawing 37 proposals, from which five winning "Lighthouse School" proposals were selected. Four of those proposed schools are scheduled to open in the fall of 1991, with seed money from the business community.

6. **James Comer's School Improvement Program**

Yale child psychologist James Comer's innovative school improvement process has been adopted by a total of 165 elementary, middle and high schools, including schools in Prince Georges County, Maryland, and by all elementary schools in New Haven, Connecticut. The "Comer process," which was first implemented in 1968, emphasizes team building with parents, comprehensive planning, staff development, and continuous assessment of student progress. All Comer schools use a governance structure that includes three components: a school planning and management team, a mental health, and a parent group.

7. **Henry Levin's Accelerated Schools Program**

Unlike most approaches to compensatory education, where instruction is slowed down, Henry Levin's idea is to *accelerate* instruction. The purpose of his Accelerated Schools Program is simple: to bring every low-performing child up to grade level by the end of elementary school. Approximately 50 schools, including Statewide networks in Missouri and Illinois, are testing the three principles of Levin's program. First, parents and educators have set goals for their schools and their children and identified ways to achieve those goals. Second, parents and educators at the school site are empowered to make the decisions necessary to make learning happen. Third, teachers, parents, and students build on students' strengths.

8. **Project Genesis**

A unique proposal in North Carolina would allow teams of educators to bid on and the winning teams run the new schools before their doors are opened. Proposed requirements would be minimal; they would include a statement of principles, information on funding, and an accountability plan. Also, up to half the slots in each school would be reserved for students living outside the attendance area. A key provision in Project Genesis is training. Winning teams would receive training and assistance in reconceptualizing schooling. They would then hire and train their own staff, who may not need to meet teacher certification requirements. The idea, ultimately, is to extend Project Genesis beyond new schools to include existing schools as well.

**FOR CONGRESS, IT'S "BUSINESS AS USUAL" FOR EDUCATION!
FOR THE PRESIDENT, IT'S REAL EDUCATION REFORM OR BUST!**

- o In April of last year, President Bush announced America 2000, to move this Nation toward the National Education Goals.
- o So far, 36 States and 1350 communities have committed to revolutionize education by adopting an America 2000 plan.
- o This is a bipartisan revolution -- 16 Democratic governors have signed their states on as America 2000 states -- to work together to help our kids -- beyond politics.
- o But inside Washington it's partisan politics as usual; the Democratic Congress won't look at real change. They are captives of the education establishment -- and they're afraid the President might actually get credit for changing things -- so our kids suffer.
- o As a part of the America 2000 strategy he submitted the Excellence in Education Act to the Congress. The President called for bold reforms such as:
 - 1) Choice in education for low and middle income students who now can't afford to choose;
 - 2) Development funding for a new generation of American Schools -- using the best teaching methods and latest technologies;
 - 3) Rewards for States with alternative methods of certifying teachers and school administrators;
 - 4) Waivers of burdensome regulations in exchange for education accountability;
 - 5) Rewards for schools that make notable progress toward achievement of the National Education Goals.
- o Congress turned a deaf ear to this innovation and has countered with a "business as usual" approach. Neither the House nor Senate bills would provide any real change or encouragement to States for real education reform.
- o Neither bill encourages choice programs to be implemented anywhere or allows private school choice -- even for our poorest students.
- o This year we will spend \$6.6 billion to send low income kids to college -- often private colleges. No one complains about a kid from Watts having the choice of Notre Dame or SMU. But when that same choice might shake up the Democrats' beloved education establishment, they won't even look at it.

- o In fact, the President agreed to a choice proposal with the House Democrats -- and they later welshed on the agreement!**
- o Both bills leave the full power and control of the system in the hands of the existing education bureaucracy -- as opposed to shaking up the status quo to grant more local control and parental involvement.**
- o Both bill simply pump more money into the same old ineffective programs.**
- o Because of Congress' failure to enact the America 2000 proposal, we may lose funding reserved for this purpose in the FY 1992 Labor, HHS, and Education Appropriations bill. The bill set aside \$100 million for America 2000 initiatives -- real reform -- if authorized by April 1, 1992. Once again it seems our Congress is incapable of acting to accomplish any real change for the country.**

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6. AMERICA 2000 Newsletter -- Anniversary Addition.

What there is to Decide

1. Congressional Strategy

- A. Agree on Message
- B. Meet with GOP Leaders
- C. Announce Message in a Speech (and repeat it often)
- D. By April 18, an America 2000 anniversary event: visit an AMERICA 2000 Community (Omaha, San Antonio, Memphis, Las Cruces, Richmond, a town in Maine, Houston)

2. Longer Term

- A. 30 minutes on education every 10 days
- B. Coordinate message with speechwriting
- C. 3 New Big Ideas
 - (1) State GI Bill for Children--Milwaukee
 - (2) The Armed Forces helping to create schools for kids not making it in regular schools--Los Angeles
 - (3) \$25,000 Lifetime learning line of credit for education and job training--Midwestern State community college
- D. New American Schools: Sam Walton, Jack Phelan

The Message

I will not sign business as usual legislation for our schools.

We must have revolutionary changes if our children are going to meet the six national education goals by the year 2000.

Almost a year ago, I outlined the America 2000 strategy to help our country, community by community, reach the six ambitious national education goals that all the nation's Governors and I--Democrats and Republicans--had agreed upon.

The Governor have responded. At least 40 of them have already launched America 2000 efforts in their states.

Communities have responded, more than 1000 of them--like San Antonio 2000, Fresno 2000, Detroit 2000, Memphis 2000.

Educators and Governors are working harder on new academic standards, on changing curriculum frameworks, on building a voluntary national examination system, on new report cards that let us know each year, state by state, community by community what progress we're making toward these goals.

American business has responded by agreeing to raise \$200 million to fund creative design teams that will help communities create a new generation of truly break-the-mold New American schools, the best schools in the world, schools that meet the needs of kids the way kids are growing up today.

700 teams of the most creative Americans have applied to become the design teams that help communities create New American Schools --including 120 universities, educators in more than 1000 schools, several hundred corporations of all sizes, 140 think tanks--they all want to do one thing: help create the best schools in the world.

America is determined to create the best schools in the world for our children and grandchildren and I am determined to help do just that.

"WHEN I THINK OF AMERICA IN THE YEAR 2000. . ."

[NOTE: This is about how to follow up and to actually make happen what the President talked about in his excellent February 12 campaign kick-off statement. It is a medium term strategy focused upon the President's speech at the convention as the defining moment.]

While a speech on March 20 might define the President's current agenda and program versus the "business as usual" Congress, what follows is different. It defines a longer view of what kind of America we want, and how we should get there. It might be mentioned in passing in response to the March 20 deadline but should not be rushed.]

1. The central thrust of the 1992 electorate.
 - a. Partly because of American success in beating Communism abroad, and partly because of the speed of change at home too (Technology, medicine, job market, etc.) the 1992 election will be about the future of America at home.
 - b. The recession accelerates the focus of our attention to matters at home and it should be taken seriously but it is only a traffic jam. It will end. The question is where the road leads then.
 - c. The public will want the candidates (the President included) to understand America and to point to where the road goes -- what kind of America we want, and how we should get there.
 - d. In that sense the election is less a referendum on the successful past than the first day of an uncertain future. That might be dangerous for leaders who have been around for awhile -- and a chance for new faces who seem to be generational change (Probably an explanation for early Clinton success).

e. The people sense that our institutions need renewal:

- Our cities aren't what they should be.
- Something is wrong with our education system.
- Something is wrong with our health system.
- Big business seems to be indifferent to little workers.
- Congress and Washington don't seem to work very well.
- The people aren't sure about their jobs because they're not sure their employers will survive 5 years.
- They're not sure their kids will get good jobs.
- They have no sense of what America will be like in the year 2000.

f. The people don't need a complete and detailed road map but they want to know what their leadership has in mind.

2. Leadership for the future is best shown not talked about -- shown through involvement, commitment. Words, speeches, bills alone may not do it.

a. It may be very important for the President to seem as engaged in and by domestic issues as foreign. When the words seem words only while his heart/mind are overseas, it may hurt. The people want to know he cares.

b. The key may be consecutive time -- few highly visible interruptions for foreign things -- and truly engaging the President's attention over a long enough period to get his mind fully into it. His schedule needs to assure him private quality time to talk with people about the future of the country,

--The Cabinet can be asked to fill in the following: "When I think of America in the year 2000. . . ." Attachment A is an example of what the President might say about education as he thinks of America in the year 2000.

--A series of great American thinkers might spend individual quality time with the President -- asked to the White House to share with him their thoughts about "When I think of America in the year 2000 . . ."

--He might ask himself and all around him, in every meeting, on every subject: "What does this mean for America in the year 2000?"

--He might instruct every speechwriter to include the concept in every speech: "When I think of America in the year 2000 ..." The process is to impose the discipline upon everyone to think in those terms.

- c. Leadership about the future need not be comprehensive. The people don't expect an answer for everything. But they do want to see that their President understands the questions, has some answers, and is looking for more.
3. One vehicle, the America 2000 Communities, already exists as one example of how to think about many of these subjects.
4. A relevant campaign year calendar might look like this:
- a. From now until the late Spring/early Summer might be a good time to engage in the quiet consecutive time meetings with Cabinet and outsiders on what America in the year 2000 will be like.
 - The Democrats will be pre-occupied with their own primary mess.
 - The immediate public focus is appropriately on the short-term economic plan to end the recession (the "Traffic jam")
 - b. If some things leak out about great thinkers asked to the White House to talk about America in the year 2000, that's OK, probably good. After all, the most important thing the President should be doing is getting his thoughts together for exactly how to make the most of a second term. Although it really should not be done for PR but to help focus on the job ahead.
 - c. Come early Summer he should start to use the line repeatedly on all domestic subjects -- in most speeches, regardless of the subject: "When I think of America in the year 2000. . ."

- d. The objective of the exercise should be to select no more than 5 areas which address and symbolize American concerns for today as well as for tomorrow. The product itself (goals, strategy and assessment) must be designed to provide assurance that the American ship of state is not rudderless and that future unknown problems will also be solved with effective leadership.
- e. The Convention acceptance speech is the right moment to launch it in a campaign speech. It should be a knock-em-dead speech about the America we can be -- optimistic -- uplifting -- with confidence in the future and excitement in getting there: Here is the America I see in the year 2000 -- and here's how we can get there.
- f. This is less a definition of Democratic weakness than it is a reason to re-elect a Republican President. It leaves plenty of room to criticize the Democrats, but from a position of maximum strength.
- g. Everything in the campaign -- and in the President's schedule -- would re-emphasize his upbeat commitment to the future: All scheduling, all advertising, all campaign materials, all speeches, all releases (campaign or White House).
- h. It would be less a referendum on the past than seeking a mandate for the future. (The specifics of the mandate are less important than the public's awareness that the President not only thinks about the future but has an exciting concept of it and how to get there. He will thus get support from many who might disagree on the specifics but are thrilled by the leadership.)
- i. The beginning point might be a schedule like this:
 - Consult with Skinner and Teeter by 3/10
 - Small group (2-5) put draft plan together by 3/17
 - Plan ready for the President by 3/18 (meet that week).

When I think of America in the Year 2000--Education

When I think of America in the year 2000--I think of schools, colleges and universities that are the best in the world.

Instead of a nation at risk I think of America as a nation of students.

To accomplish that we must make revolutionary changes in our schools and in our attitudes about our educational responsibilities at home.

Business-as-usual has no chance whatever of getting us where we must go.

That is why we have worked with Governors to create six such ambitious national education goals. This is the first time in our nation's history America has had such goals.

That is why we are working so hard on the America 2000 strategy to implement these goals, community-by-community.

This is an agenda for radical change:

--working with educators to create world class standards in math, science, English, history and geography;

--helping states build new curriculum frameworks;

--moving ahead on a voluntary national examination system so parents and communities can know how their children and schools are doing;

--beginning a period of massive teacher retraining and of parents and communities re-examining their own responsibilities toward children.

I have challenged America to create an entirely new generation of "break-the-mold" New American schools, to literally start from scratch and create the best schools in the world.

America has responded. Hundreds of communities are rethinking their schools and their responsibilities from top to bottom. Business has responded by agreeing to raise \$200 million to create design teams to help those communities create New American schools. And 700 of the most creative teams in America are competing to be among those design teams.

I have challenged every American city, town and village to become an America 2000 community: to adopt the six national goals, to find their own way to reach them, to create a report card to measure their progress, and to create at least one new American school.

America has responded. In less than a year 40 states and more than 1000 communities are hard at work on their American 2000 activities.

I have challenged Congress to give teachers more flexibility in spending federal money and to help communities create New American Schools.

I have challenged Congress to give families more choices of schools, to give teachers more flexibility, to help states create world class standards, new curriculum frameworks and a national examination system.

Congress has been thinking about my challenges now for nearly a year and is about to send (has sent) me a billion dollars worth of business-as-usual legislation.

But I am not going to let Congress authorize spending one billion new dollars on business as usual and pretend that it is real education reform.

Business as usual and more of the same will not help us reach our dream of creating the best education system in the world by the turn of the century.

We must have revolutionary change.

That means ambitious goals, America 2000 communities, world-class standards and a national examination system--it means break-the mold New Americans Schools, more flexibility for classroom teachers, and opportunity scholarships that give middle and low income families more choices of schools.

And it means spending the money we are now spending more wisely--as well as making new investments at all levels--to make these revolutionary changes real.

I am glad to put new money into education. I think of education as an investment in our future.

My new budget puts more new dollars into education than into any other department. Federal spending for education has been going up faster than state and local spending while I have been President.

The budget has record increases for head start and for helping families pay for college. It has a half billion new federal dollars to create opportunity scholarships and another half billion over three

years for New American schools. It allocates \$2.1 billion to math and science education with a new focus on teacher retraining.

This year I have also challenged Congress to create one million \$1000 "opportunity scholarships" that will give middle and low income families more of the same choices of all schools that wealthy people have always had. "Opportunity scholarships" will mean new federal dollars to help states do for elementary and high school students what the federal government did for veterans with the GI Bill and what the federal government does today with Pell Grants to help students pay for college costs. These "opportunity" scholarships would mean fairness to middle and low-income families, would put new federal money into schools that serve our children who need the most help, and would unleash powerful competitive forces to help make all schools better.

When I think of education in America in the year 2000 I think of all of our children arriving at school ready to learn, of at least 90 per cent of our children graduating from high schools, of all children learning at least math, science, history, English and geography to a standard so that they can live work and compete with children in every part of the world. I think of our children working hard to become first in the world in math and science. I think of working Americans literate and skilled so that they can have and keep good jobs. I think of schools that are drug and violence free.

I can think of no crusade that will bring out the best in this wonderful country better than this America 2000 crusade, a crusade community-by community to make certain that when the next

century comes, America is a nation of students and that those students have the best education system in the world.

And every indication is that the only kind of legislation Congress will send to me is warmed over business as usual legislation, more money for more of the same.

I want Congress to know this: I will not sign business as usual legislation for our schools.

The American education system needs revolutionary change, not more of the same.

Just because it is an election year, I will not sign business as usual legislation that pretends to be education reform. That will not help us create the best schools in the world. That will not help our children move fast enough toward our six ambitious education goals. That will not create the kind of America we want by the year 2000.

Congress must give teachers more flexibility, help communities create truly break-the-mold New American Schools, help states create world class standards and new curriculum frameworks and a voluntary national examination system. And, as a matter of simple fairness, Congress should give middle and low income families more of the same choices of schools that families with money already have.

And while Congress is at it there is a good deal more that it can do-

--increase head-start funding so that it will be available to every four year old;

--give families help paying for college by increasing college scholarships by more than \$1 billion, making student loans deductible from income taxes, make it possible to use retirement accounts for education costs without penalty;

--help working people by giving every American a \$25,000 lifetime learning line of credit for education and job training and by

making those who can only take one course at a time eligible for federal grants and loans;

--create Governor's Academies for Teachers of math, science, English, history and geography in every state and increase support for retraining math and science teachers;

--make it easier for Americans in mid career to enter teaching;

This costs money. I am ready to spend more money:

--my new budget has more new discretionary dollars for education than for any other department; federal spending for education has been rising faster than state spending while I have been President.

--while I have President head-start spending will have gone gone up 127 per cent while the federal budget has increased only 25 per cent;

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--I have asked for half billion new federal dollars to help states create a state or local GI Bill for Kids. That is a half million new 1000 scholarships for middle and low income families to spend at the school of their choice. It would affect every family making less than \$40,000 per year in a participating school district.

--I have asked for a half billion new federal dollars over three years for the first 500 new American Schools.

But money alone is not the answer. America already spends nearly as much per student on elementary and secondary education as any country in the world.

Rethinking from top to bottom our schools and our attitudes about education and our children is the answer.

When I think of America in the year 2000 I think of America as a nation of students--students of all ages--lucky enough to live in a country that has provided for them the best schools, colleges and universities in the world.

Most of what must be done can't be done in Washington. It must happen community, community, school by school, family by family.

But Congress can help. And one year ago, I asked to Congress to do just that--to join America's effort to change our education system from top to bottom, and to help America create the best schools in the world for our children.

Specifically, I asked Congress:

--to give teachers more flexibility in their classrooms spending federal money;

--to give communities help in creating break-the-mold, New American schools;

--to give middle and low income families more of the same choices of schools that families with money already have

--and to help state leaders and educators create world-class standards so we can agree on what our children know and can do, to build new curriculum frameworks that will move those standards to the classrooms, and to construct a national voluntary examination system--a system of American Achievement Tests-- so that we can tell whether our schools and our children are meeting these standards.

This is urgent business.

There is no more important enterprise in this country than a community by community movement to create the best schools in the world for our children by the year 2000.

It has been a year now. Congress has not responded.

Congress has missed my March 20 deadline.

Congress has even missed its own April 1st deadline, one it set for coming up with legislation to spend \$100 million that it appropriated for America 2000.

1. Getting the talk right -- Let speechwriters turn the attached policy into a few paragraphs of rhetoric and use it over and over and over again: "When I think of America in the year 2000 I think of a nation of students educating ourselves throughout our lifetimes at the best system of schools, colleges and universities in the world. This will take revolutionary changes. Business as usual will not help us reach our six ambitious national education goals."

2. Prepare for Second Term -- The President hosts small one hour private sessions every 10 days to talk about and get comfortable with his second term plans for education and how he should go about talking about this to the American people.

WHERE THE PRESIDENT GOES AND WHAT HE SAYS -- The President should seize the initiative on education, make it his by a sustained series of public appearances that make clear his agenda, where he thinks the nation ought to go, what it ought to do in order to become a nation of students educating ourselves at the best system of schools, colleges and universities in the world. All of the following ideas are either approved and part of the budget, or are now being worked out with OMB.

1. Draw the line with Congress -- The President should invite bipartisan congressional leaders to the White House immediately (before April 1). Tell them: "I won't sign business as usual legislation for our schools. We need revolutionary changes if our children are going to meet the six national education goals by the year 2000. That means support for world class standards, new curriculum frameworks and a voluntary national examination system. It means giving teachers more opportunity for training and more flexibility spending federal funds in their classrooms, giving communities help in creating truly break-the-mold New American Schools, and giving middle- and low-income families more of the same choices of schools for their children that wealthy families already have."

2. A bold Republican initiative for working Americans -- Invite Republican congressional leaders to the White House. Let them tell the President about their amendment to the higher education bill. They will say: "Let's create a \$25,000 lifetime line of credit for education and job training for every American which can be paid back out of earnings collected by the IRS. This will give working men and women and their children a better chance for a better job and a better life." The President can offer his support and use this for the rest of the year.

3. Drawing the line with Congress again -- When Congress does not act by March 20 and the April 1 deadline for authorizing the use of \$100 million appropriated for AMERICA 2000 passes, criticize the Congress: "Congress has missed not only my deadline but its own deadline. Worse than that, all Congress is thinking about passing is more of the same, business as usual. We need revolutionary changes: world-class standards and a voluntary national examination system; training and flexibility for teachers; break-the-mold New American Schools; more choices of schools for families."

4. Celebrate the first birthday of AMERICA 2000 (April 18) -- Celebrate the first anniversary of AMERICA 2000 by making one or two visits the week before to cities working hard to become an AMERICA 2000 community (e.g.: Omaha, Memphis, Las Cruces, etc.). "Forty states, led by Governors of both parties -- more than 1000 communities -- have accepted my challenge to become AMERICA 2000 communities. This is how America will create the best system of schools in the world by the turn of the century, community-by-community. This is how we can help our children reach the six ambitious national education goals we established in Charlottesville in 1989."

Another visit in May to Charlotte-Mecklenburg Chamber of Commerce Community Education Summit -- (May 22) Major POTUS address on education. Organizers expect "thousands" of citizens attending. Community has made a strong commitment to AMERICA 2000 and made rapid strides on standards and testing. Trip should include visit to Johnson C. Smith University's Kiddie Kollege.

5. World Class Standards and Testing -- Go to Nashville on April 3-4 (or videoconference) to address 15,000 math teachers: "You are one more reason for America to value its teachers. You led the way. You got out in front, established clear and high standards for what our children should know and be able to do about math. We are working together to create voluntary American

Achievement Tests so parents and communities can know how their kids and schools are doing. We want them to be able to live, work and compete with kids growing up in Seoul, Tokyo and Berlin."

6. "Opportunity Scholarships" -- Go to Milwaukee, check on the progress of Polly Williams and Gov. Thompson's program to help poor families attend private schools: "I have included in my new budget a half billion dollars to create one million new thousand dollar scholarships for children of middle- and low-income families. The only restriction would be that families be able to use this scholarship at any lawfully operating school. This is fair to families, will put money into the schools that help children who need the most help, and will unleash competitive forces that will make all schools better. It is federal support for a kind of state or local GI Bill for Kids. It is, in effect, a Pell grant for elementary and high school students. It will help to create the best system of elementary and high schools in the world just as the GI Bill and Pell grants have helped to create the best system of colleges and universities in the world. For Houston, for example, this would be \$100 million new federal dollars into the hands of middle- and low-income families to be spent in the schools that serve their children. . ."

7. New American Schools -- Go to almost any city, visit a break-the-mold school with TedSizer, or Jim Comer, or Hank Levin. "We must rethink our schools from top to bottom. We must break the mold, make revolutionary changes, invent schools that meet the needs of children the way children are growing up today. More than 700 of the most creative teams in America are competing for the \$200 million that the New American Schools Development Corporation will be giving to design teams that will in turn help communities everywhere create a new generation of new American schools, the best schools in the world."

8. Head Start and Parental Responsibility -- Go to National Meeting of Elementary School Principals in New Orleans, April 31: "We know Head Start helps. That is why I have pushed for a 127 percent increase in funding for Head Start during my four years while the federal budget as a whole was going up only 25 percent. Beginning next year Head Start will be available for every four-year-old. But, in the end, it is the parent who must make certain the child is born healthy, loved, read to, listened to, cared for. The family makes a difference. Every teacher knows this."

9. Flexibility -- Meet with teachers anywhere about this: "I can't think of a better example of the difference between what Washington thinks and what America thinks about this. I have yet to meet a teacher who does not think that she and her colleagues could not help children more if they had more flexibility in the way they spend the \$12 billion in more than 70 federal elementary and secondary programs. Yet Congress won't move. I think everybody against the idea of giving teachers more flexibility in the classroom must live in Washington, D.C."

10. Retraining Teachers -- Go to a Teachers or Principals Academy, lots of places: "One thing is certain -- if we are going to have new world-class standards, and different curriculum frameworks, and New American Schools, if we are going to expect so much more of our children we must be prepared for a period of massive retraining of teachers. That is why I have recommended that Congress provide funds to begin Governors Academies for teachers of math, science, English, history and geography in every state. That is why we have refocused \$2.1 billion of federal math and science education programs on teacher retraining."

11. Education and Job Training for working Americans and their Children -- Go to any community college, or to the national convention of community colleges in Phoenix on April 12 (or videoconference): "When I think of America in the year 2000, I think of a nation of students, Americans of all ages, throughout their lifetimes educating themselves in the best system of schools, colleges and universities in the world. This means we must give working men and women and their children a \$25,000 lifetime line of credit for education and job training which may be paid back from earnings collected by the IRS. It means we should let the working mother, who can only take one class at a time while she is working and managing her family, be eligible for our federal grants and loans to continue her education."

12. The Armed Forces helping to create the best schools in the world -- The President should take Cheney and Alexander to a conference in Los Angeles, direct them to implement a plan for how the armed forces can work with Los Angeles and other school districts to create schools for kids that aren't making it in regular schools: "If we can put missiles down smokestacks, we can create the best schools in the world for our children. As we cut back on military spending, we should take some of this brain power, equipment and dollars to help our cities with some of their toughest educational problems."

13. Colleges and Universities -- Commencement address:
"We have the best system of colleges and universities in the world. We are the world grand champions of science and technology. That is why I have recommended record levels of R&D spending. That is why I have recommended record increases in federal funds to help families pay for college costs. That is why I have recommended letting students deduct from their federal taxes the interest on student loans and to withdraw money without penalty from their IRAs for education. Today one of every two four-year-college students has a federal grant or loan to help pay college costs. We must use the principles that have helped to create the best system of colleges and universities in the world to help to create the best elementary and high schools in the world by the turn of the century."

14 Design Teams -- In mid to late June the New American Schools Development Corporation will announce the 20-30 award winners from the nearly 700 design teams who submitted bids. The President should meet with a few of these teams, perhaps at the proposed geographical location of the school and speak with them about their winning "break-the-mold" ideas.

cc: Richard Darman
Ede Holiday
Clayton Yuetter



STATE OF ARKANSAS
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
State Capitol
Little Rock 72201

Bill Clinton
Governor

March 18, 1992

Dr. Sam Wilson
Secretary's Regional Representative
United States Department of Education
1200 Main Tower Building, Room 2125
Dallas, TX 75202

Dear Sam:

This letter is to announce Arkansas 2000. In joining with the America 2000 initiative, Arkansas will continue its education revolution that we began a decade ago with the adoption of state school standards--a crusade that encourages the involvement of our communities in the education of all its citizens.

In joining this national effort, I challenge and encourage every community in Arkansas to move toward reaching the six National Education Goals by the year 2000.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

BC:rdd

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Co.	SAM P. WILSON	
Dept.	Rt. VE	
Fax #	727-3634	

AMERICA 2000

DRAFT

NUMBER 23, WEEK OF MARCH 30, 1992

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

AMERICA 2000: One Year Later

by Lamar Alexander, U.S. Secretary of Education

AMERICA 2000 will have its first birthday April 18. Just one year ago President Bush launched a strategy to help America, community by community, reach six ambitious National Education Goals by the turn of the century. The President and the nation's Governors had agreed on the goals after the education summit in Charlottesville.

AMERICA 2000 has helped to establish a radical new agenda for rethinking our educational system from top to

"AMERICA 2000 has helped to establish a radical new agenda for rethinking our educational system from top to bottom"

bottom, and the U.S. Department of Education has become the sparkplug for that change.

AMERICA 2000 is not a seven-second soundbite and won't have instant results. Most of it is about helping Americans do things for themselves, in their own families, schools and hometowns.

But there is new energy and a new agenda and an inevitable sort of momentum developing. Here are some of the most important things that have happened during this first year:

1. **More people saying "the Nation's at risk, so I may be, too"**—While not often on the front pages or at the top of the evening news, education is more often seen as the *solution* to what is at the top of the news. George Gallup says Americans think nothing is more important for the next 25 years than having the best education system in the world. Education has become the national worry.
2. **AMERICA 2000 Communities**—Led by both Democrat and Republican Governors, 42 States and more than 1,100 communities are mobilizing under the AMERICA 2000 banner to reach the six National Education Goals. Over 86 of Maine's 184 communities are MAINE 2000 communities. MEMPHIS 2000 has 800 persons working on task forces to find ways to reach the goals, develop progress reports, and create a New American School.

AMERICA 2000 helps give shape to an emerging education movement that will be for America in the 1990s what the civil rights movement was in the 1960s.

3. **World-class standards and new curriculum frameworks**—The National Council on Education Standards and Testing and the National Education Goals Panel have moved rapidly to help create a consensus about what children should know and be able to do in order to live, work and compete in today's world. The National Academy of Sciences is coordinating the development of standards for the sciences; UCLA is coordinating history. The work in English, geography, the arts and civics is about to begin. I see math teachers learning the new standards in virtually every school I visit. States—with our help—are accelerating efforts to change curriculum frameworks to incorporate these new world-class standards.
4. **American Achievement Tests**—There is a new consensus about the need for and the shape of a voluntary national examination system so that parents and communities can know how their schools and kids are doing. In just one year the question has become not whether to do it, but how best to do it.
5. **September Goals Report**—In 1991, Governors and the Administration published the first annual September

"AMERICA 2000 is about helping Americans do things for themselves, in their own families, schools and hometowns."

Goals Report measuring the nation's and each state's progress toward the six National Education Goals. Each year these reports will be increasingly powerful engines for change.

6. **New American Schools**—The New American Schools Development Corporation formed, raised over \$45 million, and received nearly 700 proposals from design

See One Year Later, next page

teams that want to help communities create their own "break-the-mold" schools. Minnesota has authorized the creation of deregulated charter schools, a sort of independent public school. Other states, including California, Colorado, Connecticut, and Michigan, are considering similar proposals.

7. **More school options for parents**—This year 10 more states gave parents more choices of the schools their children attend as a way to unleash competitive forces to improve all schools. The President proposed a half billion dollar program to help states create their own GI Bill for Children, \$1000 scholarships that would follow the children of middle- and low-income families to any lawfully operating school.
8. **Flexibility for teachers**—Ohio, Texas, and 12 other states

"All the Governors of both parties set the national education goals, and almost all are involved in the AMERICA 2000 partnership."

have given state commissioners of education broad authority to free from regulation schools that set high goals and produce results. The President wants Congress to do the same with federal funds.

9. **Money**—Education is the President's No. 1 federal budget priority, including record increases for Head Start, for grants and loans that help families pay for college, and for university research and development. Much of the new funding proposals support the agenda for radical change: New American Schools, standards and testing, choices for families, flexibility.
10. **A bi-partisan spirit**—All the Governors of both parties set the National Education Goals, and almost all are involved in the AMERICA 2000 partnership. In turn, STATE and COMMUNITY 2000 efforts include educators at every level because nothing will change in education unless it changes inside the classroom.

Disappointments? I wish AMERICA 2000 had an hour on television every day, and two hours on radio to carry the message. After all, in the end what we are trying to do is to help people rethink their attitudes and ways of doing things.

"Disappointments? I wish AMERICA 2000 had an hour on television every day, and two hours on radio to carry the message."

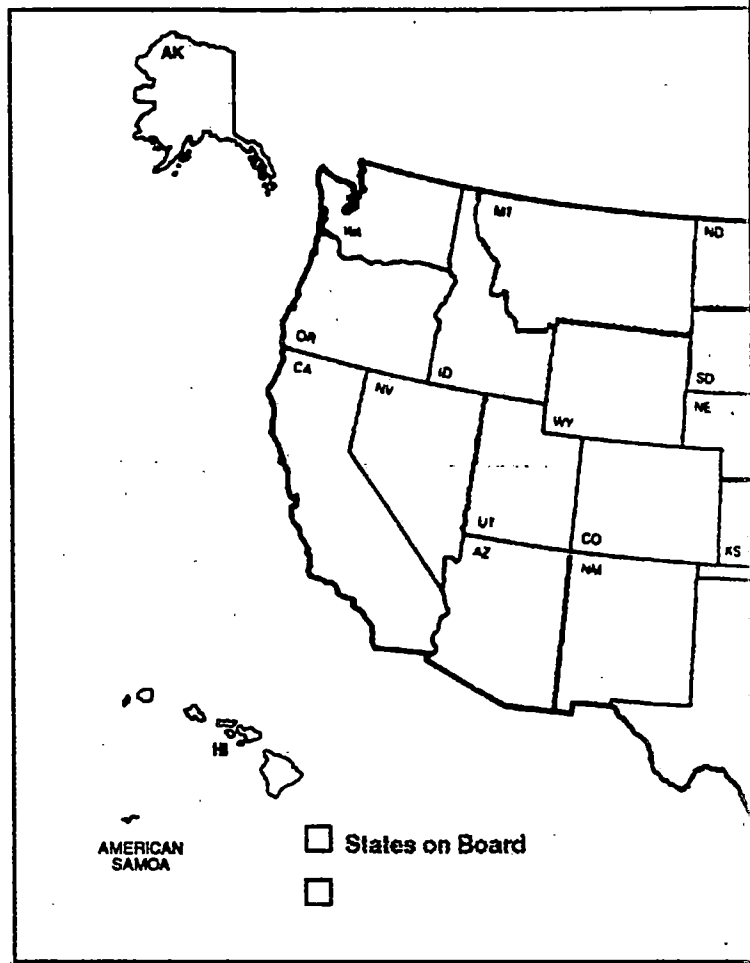
And I am disappointed in the failure, so far, to achieve the same bi-partisan consensus with Congress that we have with Governors. There have been a few important areas of cooperation. The National Council for Education Standards and Testing included members of Congress. Congress appropriated \$100 million for AMERICA 2000, but Congress can't seem to agree on how to spend it. The President wants to give teachers more flexibility, to help communities create New American Schools, and to give families more

choices of schools. Yet the Congress cannot bring itself to support this much change.

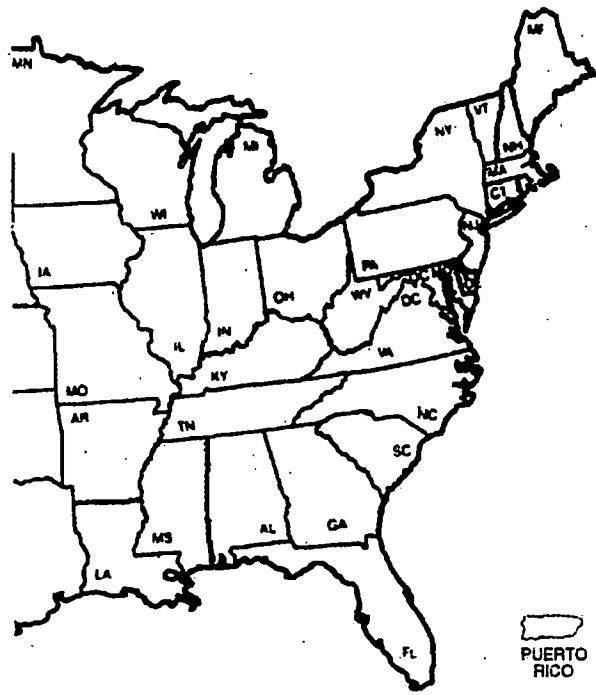
"And I am disappointed in the failure, so far, to achieve the same bi-partisan consensus with Congress that we have with Governors."

During the past year I have spent about half my days in schools and communities helping to begin AMERICA 2000 efforts. What I see is usually inspiring—families, students, and teachers straining to fit out-dated school structures and community attitudes with a world that has changed dramatically:

- ▲ Math teachers retraining to teach to vastly different standards;
- ▲ Decatur, Georgia, raising \$1 million a year to help children outside the schools so they can learn while they are inside;
- ▲ Murfreesboro, Tennessee, opening all its elementary schools 12 hours a day and in the summer to fit needs of working families;
- ▲ In Minnesota, a kindergarten in a bank, a school in a shopping mall, and a school for teenage mothers in a corporate headquarters;



AMERICA 2000: One Year Later



- ▲ In Derry, New Hampshire, plans for a year-round school that includes the Alan B. Shepard School of Math and Science;

"Our goals for this next year are to double the number of AMERICA 2000 communities, to help those communities succeed, to move ahead with world class standards and the national examination system, to launch the first wave of design teams creating New Americans Schools, to push more decision making into the hands of teachers and school leaders, and to place more school choices into the hands of parents."

- ▲ Milwaukee, giving poor families more of the same choices of schools wealthier families already have, including private schools;

- ▲ Louisville, Kentucky, saving money by giving school principals the right to acquire electrical services and air conditioning somewhere other than the central maintenance system;
 - ▲ Balderas School in Fresno, California, with evening classes for Hmong, Cambodian, Laotian and Spanish-speaking parents so those parents can understand what their children are learning;
 - ▲ Hispanic first graders in the Bronx learning English on computers so they can improve their math scores.
- Standards are higher. Children are growing up differently. School systems and ways of thinking are atrociously out of date. And most adults are finding we need to go back to school ourselves.
- It is harder today to be a teacher, to be a student, to be a

"The best way I can think of to show the world the best in us is AMERICA 2000—a national movement, community by community, to create the best schools in the world for our children."

parent. More of us are gradually realizing that radical change in our schools, rather than business as usual, will be necessary if we are to reach the ambitious education goals by the end of the century. And it is also dawning on more of us that there will also have to be radical change in our attitudes outside our schools, within our families and in our own communities. Schools must become better, but that means changing communities, too. It's hard for a school to be a better place than the community it serves.

Our goals for this next year are to double the number of AMERICA 2000 communities, to help those communities succeed, to move ahead with world class standards and the national examination system, to launch the first wave of design teams creating New Americans Schools, to push more decision making into the hands of teachers and school leaders, and to place more school choices into the hands of parents.

More than anything, we want to give more energy and visibility to the need for really radical change in our schools and in our attitudes toward education—all of which begins with helping even more individuals come to their own conclusion that "The Nation's at risk, so I might be, too."

A few weeks ago Russia's new education minister came by the U.S. Department of Education to learn about our schools. I said, "But we should learn from you as well. American eighth graders were 14th in math and 13th in science scores—nearly last—in international comparisons last month. Russian children were ahead of ours."

He replied, "But you were not 13th in democracy."

Most of the world is now ready to try the American way of life, to follow our example. They know we have more advantages than any other country. The best way I can think of to show the world the best in us is AMERICA 2000—a national movement, community by community, to create the best schools in the world for our children. ▲

The National Education Goals

1. All children in America will start school ready to learn.
2. The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.
3. 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.
4. U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.
5. 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.
6. Every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

Forty-two states, the District of Columbia, American Samoa, Puerto Rico and more than 1,100 communities are mobilizing AMERICA 2000 initiatives.

State	Governor	Kickoff Date
ALABAMA	Guy Hunt (R)	October 31, 1991
ALASKA	Walter Hickel (I)	October 17, 1991
AMERICAN SAMOA	Peter Coleman (R)	August 30, 1991
ARIZONA	Fife Symington (R)	December 12, 1991
ARKANSAS	Bill Clinton (D)	March, 18, 1992
CALIFORNIA	Pete Wilson (R)	April 10, 1992
COLORADO	Roy Romer (D)	June 17, 1991
DELAWARE	Michael Castle (R)	September 19, 1991
DIST. of COLUMBIA	Sharon Pratt Kelly (D)	December 19, 1991
GEORGIA	Zell Miller (D)	October 18, 1991
HAWAII	John Waihee (D)	January 28, 1992
ILLINOIS	Jim Edgar (R)	February 11, 1992
INDIANA	Evan Bayh (D)	October 1, 1991
IOWA	Terry Branstad (R)	October 27, 1991
KANSAS	Joan Finney (D)	October 29, 1991
LOUISIANA	Edwin Edwards (D)	September 9, 1991
MAINE	John McKernan (R)	September 3, 1991
MARYLAND	William Schaefer (D)	September 5, 1991
MASSACHUSETTS	William Weld (R)	October 24, 1991
MICHIGAN	John Engler (R)	November 13, 1991
MINNESOTA	Arne Carlson (R)	September 12, 1991
MISSISSIPPI	Kirk Fordice (R)	February 10, 1992
MISSOURI	John Ashcroft (R)	October 29, 1991
MONTANA	Stan Stephens (R)	December 11, 1991
NEBRASKA	Ben Nelson (D)	September 5, 1991
NEVADA	Bob Miller (D)	March 9, 1992
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Judd Gregg (R)	December 17, 1991
NEW JERSEY	James Florio (D)	April 13, 1992
NORTH CAROLINA	James Martin (R)	September 27, 1991
NORTH DAKOTA	George Sinner (D)	To Be Scheduled
OHIO	George Voinovich (R)	November 25, 1991
OKLAHOMA	Dave Walters (D)	December 19, 1991
OREGON	Barbara Roberts (D)	August 22, 1991
PENNSYLVANIA	Robert Casey (D)	October 18, 1991
PUERTO RICO	R. Hernandez-Colon (PDP)	To Be Scheduled
SOUTH DAKOTA	George Mickelson (R)	December 19, 1991
SOUTH CAROLINA	Carroll Campbell (R)	November 20, 1991
TENNESSEE	Ned McWherter (D)	October 25, 1991
TEXAS	Ann Richards (D)	March 5, 1992
UTAH	Norm Bangerter (R)	December 10, 1991
VERMONT	Howard Dean (D)	September 20, 1991
VIRGINIA	Douglas Wilder (D)	To Be Scheduled
WASHINGTON	Booth Gardner (D)	February 28, 1992
WISCONSIN	Tommy Thompson (R)	November 21, 1991
WYOMING	Mike Sullivan (D)	June 21, 1991

The Writings of Abraham Lincoln

Edited by
Arthur Brooks Lapsley

With an Introduction by
Theodore Roosevelt

06-24

Together with
The Essay on Lincoln, by Carl Schurz
The Address on Lincoln, by Joseph H. Choate
and The Life of Lincoln, by Noah Brooks

Volume Two
1843-1858



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The Knickerbocker Press, New York

in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except negroes." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty,—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.

Mary will probably pass a day or two in Louisville in October. My kindest regards to Mrs. Speed. On the leading subject of this letter I have more of her sympathy than I have of yours; and yet let me say I am

Your friend forever,
A. LINCOLN.

SPEECH DELIVERED BEFORE THE FIRST REPUBLICAN
STATE CONVENTION OF ILLINOIS, HELD AT
BLOOMINGTON, ON MAY 29, 1856.

From the Report by William C. Whitney.

(Mr. Whitney's notes were made at the time, but not written out until 1896. He does not claim that the speech, as here reported, is literally correct—only that he has followed the argument, and that in many cases the sentences are as Mr. Lincoln spoke them.)

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: I was over at [Cries of "Platform!" "Take the platform!"]—I say, that while I was at Danville Court, some of our friends of Anti-Nebraska got together in Springfield and elected me as one delegate to represent old Sangamon with them in this convention, and I am here certainly as a sympathizer in this movement and by virtue of that meeting and selection. But we can hardly be called delegates strictly, inasmuch as, properly speaking, we represent nobody but ourselves. I think it altogether fair to say that we have no Anti-Nebraska party in Sangamon, although there is a good deal of Anti-Nebraska feeling there; but I say for myself, and I think I may speak also for my colleagues, that we who are here fully approve of the platform and of all that has been done [A voice, "Yes!"], and even if we are not regularly delegates, it will be right for me to answer your call to speak. I suppose we truly stand for the public sentiment of Sangamon on the great question of the repeal, although we do not yet represent many numbers who have taken a distinct position on the question.

We are in a trying time—it ranges above mere party—and this movement to call a halt and turn our steps backward needs all the help and good counsels it can get; for unless popular opinion makes itself very strongly felt, and a change is made in our present course, *blood will flow on account of Nebraska, and brother's hands will be raised against brother!* [The last sentence was uttered in such an earnest, impressive, if not, indeed, tragic, manner, as to make

a cold chill experience.]

I have listened to an appeal made by Lawrence [Ja] us so eloquently by his state men out there men North s to be willing to right the what we our what we can consider the possible and ment and p ments would We have h business th

We are stand firm political and committed rages, alth more. Bu personal o to all, and

We have opinion is *Free Soil*, some sort the extens

a cold chill creep over me. Others gave a similar experience.]

I have listened with great interest to the earnest appeal made to Illinois men by the gentleman from Lawrence [James S. Emery] who has just addressed us so eloquently and forcibly. I was deeply moved by his statement of the wrongs done to free-State men out there. I think it just to say that all true men North should sympathize with them, and ought to be willing to do any possible and needful thing to right their wrongs. But we must not promise what we ought not, lest we be called on to perform what we cannot; we must be calm and moderate, and consider the whole difficulty, and determine what is possible and just. We must not be led by excitement and passion to do that which our sober judgments would not approve in our cooler moments. We have higher aims; we will have more serious business than to dally with temporary measures.

We are here to stand firmly for a principle—to stand firmly for a right. We know that great political and moral wrongs are done, and outrages committed, and we denounce those wrongs and outrages, although we cannot, at present, do much more. But we desire to reach out beyond those personal outrages and establish a rule that will apply to all, and so prevent any future outrages.

We have seen to-day that every shade of popular opinion is represented here, with *Freedom*, or rather *Free Soil*, as the basis. We have come together as in some sort representatives of popular opinion against the extension of slavery into territory now free in fact

as well as by law, and the pledged word of the statesmen of the nation who are now no more. We come—we are here assembled together—to protest as well as we can against a great wrong, and to take measures, as well as we now can, to make that wrong right, to place the nation, as far as it may be possible now, as it was before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and the plain way to do this is to restore the Compromise, and to demand and determine that *Kansas shall be free!* [Immense applause.] While we affirm, and reaffirm, if necessary, our devotion to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, let our practical work here be limited to the above. We know that there is not a perfect agreement of sentiment here on the public questions which might be rightfully considered in this convention, and that the indignation which we all must feel cannot be helped; but all of us must give up something for the good of the cause. There is one desire which is uppermost in the mind, one wish common to us all, to which no dissent will be made; and I counsel you earnestly to bury all resentment, to sink all personal feeling, make all things work to a common purpose in which we are united and agreed about, and which all present will agree is absolutely necessary—which *must be done by any rightful mode if there be such. Slavery must be kept out of Kansas!* [Applause.] The test—the pinch—is right there. If we lose Kansas to freedom, an example will be set which will prove fatal to freedom in the end. We, therefore, in the language of the *Bible*, must “lay the axe to the root of the tree.” Temporizing will not do longer;

now is the time for resolute action.

The Nebraska one of wholes of legislative intention, is headed off in to see this land a land of slavery your two eyes more than that almost following in the the planting in a popular of the voters in the border ments freely, it is safe to entire nation spite of this country, we itself for adm felony, by the slavery exist of law, a ne Legislature that he is fre

¹ Statutes of son, by speaking not the right to this Territory, pr magazine, pamph

now is the time for decision—for firm, persistent, resolute action. [Applause.]

The Nebraska Bill, or rather Nebraska law, is not one of wholesome legislation, but was and is an act of legislative usurpation, whose result, if not indeed intention, is to make slavery national; and unless headed off in some effective way, we are in a fair way to see this land of boasted freedom converted into a land of slavery in fact. [Sensation.] Just open your two eyes, and see if this be not so. I need do no more than state, to command universal approval, that almost the entire North, as well as a large following in the border States, is radically opposed to the planting of slavery in free territory. Probably in a popular vote throughout the nation nine tenths of the voters in the free States, and at least one half in the border States, if they could express their sentiments freely, would vote NO on such an issue; and it is safe to say that two thirds of the votes of the entire nation would be opposed to it. And yet, in spite of this overbalancing of sentiment in this free country, we are in a fair way to see Kansas present itself for admission as a slave State. Indeed, it is a felony, by the local law of Kansas, to deny that slavery exists there even now. By every principle of law, a negro in Kansas is free; yet the *bogus* Legislature makes it an infamous crime to tell him that he is free!¹

¹ Statutes of Kansas, 1855, Chapter 151, Sec. 12: If any free person, by speaking or by writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate . . . any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular containing any denial of the right of

The party lash and the fear of ridicule will overawe justice and liberty; for it is a singular fact, but none the less a fact, and well known by the most common experience, that men will do things under the terror of the party lash that they would not on any account or for any consideration do otherwise, while men who will march up to the mouth of a loaded cannon without shrinking will run from the terrible name of "Abolitionist," even when pronounced by a worthless creature whom they, with good reason, despise. For instance—to press this point a little—Judge Douglas introduced his Nebraska Bill in January; and we had an extra session of our Legislature in the succeeding February, in which were seventy-five Democrats; and at a party caucus, fully attended, there were just three votes, out of the whole seventy-five, for the measure. But in a few days orders came on from Washington, commanding them to approve the measure; the party lash was applied, and it was brought up again in caucus, and passed by a large majority. The masses were against it, but party necessity carried it, and it was passed through the lower house of Congress against the will of the people, for the same reason. Here is where the greatest danger lies—that, while we profess to be a government of law and reason, law will give way to violence on demand.

persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of *felony*, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years.

Sec. 13. No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall sit as a juror on the trial of any prosecution for any violation of any Sections of this Act.

of this awful and crushing Juggernaut—I think that idol, it crushes everything that makes a—or, as I read in a book, "a slave is a human person but a *thing*." And if we are broken down, as is now, have made *things* of all things, think you, before they will poor white men? [Applauding] Revolutions do not go back to the Democratic party decided created equal. His successor written the word "white" read "all *white* men are created" or may not the Know-Nothing power, add the word "Protestant" "all *Protestant white* men?"

Meanwhile the hapless nation of reprisals in other quarters. Tom Benton paid his respects calls the immortal Declaration while at the birthplace of of Bunker Hill and of the home of the Adamses and from our side of the home the birthday promise of the Declaration to be "a string" and the Southern Whig with proslavery Democratic theories practical. Thoroughly mindful of the moral element

of this awful and crushing power. Like the great Juggernaut—I think that is the name—the great idol, it crushes everything that comes in its way, and makes a—or, as I read once, in a blackletter law book, “a slave is a human being who is legally not a *person* but a *thing*.” And if the safeguards to liberty are broken down, as is now attempted, when they have made *things* of all the free negroes, how long, think you, before they will begin to make *things* of poor white men? [Applause.] Be not deceived. Revolutions do not go backward. The founder of the Democratic party declared that *all* men were created equal. His successor in the leadership has written the word “white” before men, making it read “all *white* men are created equal.” Pray, will or may not the Know-Nothings, if they should get in power, add the word “Protestant,” making it read “all *Protestant white men*?”

Meanwhile the hapless negro is the fruitful subject of reprisals in other quarters. John Pettit, whom Tom Benton paid his respects to, you will recollect, calls the immortal Declaration “a self-evident lie”; while at the birthplace of freedom—in the shadow of Bunker Hill and of the “cradle of liberty,” at the home of the Adamses and Warren and Otis—Choate, from our side of the house, dares to fritter away the birthday promise of liberty by proclaiming the Declaration to be “a string of glittering generalities”; and the Southern Whigs, working hand in hand with proslavery Democrats, are making Choate’s theories practical. Thomas Jefferson, a slaveholder, mindful of the moral element in slavery, solemnly

declared that he trembled for his country when he remembered that God is just; while Judge Douglas, with an insignificant wave of the hand, "don't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down." Now, if slavery is right, or even negative, he has a right to treat it in this trifling manner. But if it is a moral and political wrong, as all Christendom considers it to be, how can he answer to God for this attempt to spread and fortify it? [Applause.]

But no man, and Judge Douglas no more than any other, can maintain a negative, or merely neutral position on this question; and, accordingly, he avows that the Union was made *by* white men and *for* white men and their descendants. As matter of fact, the first branch of the proposition is historically true; the government was made by white men, and they were and are the superior race. This I admit. But the corner-stone of the government, so to speak, was the declaration that "*all* men are created equal," and all entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." [Applause.]

And not only so, but the framers of the Constitution were particular to keep out of that instrument the word "slave," the reason being that slavery would ultimately come to an end, and they did not wish to have any reminder that in this free country human beings were ever prostituted to slavery. [Applause.] Nor is it any argument that we are superior and the negro inferior—that he has but one talent while we have ten. Let the negro possess the little he has in independence; if he has but one talent, he should be permitted to keep the little he

has. [Applause.] But slavery will endure no test of reason or logic; and yet its advocates, like Douglas, use a sort of bastard logic, or noisy assumption it might better be termed, like the above, in order to prepare the mind for the gradual, but none the less certain, encroachments of the Moloch of slavery upon the fair domain of freedom. But however much you may argue upon it, or smother it in soft phrase, slavery can only be maintained by force—by violence. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was by violence. It was a violation of both law and the sacred obligations of honor, to overthrow and trample under foot a solemn compromise, obtained by the fearful loss to freedom of one of the fairest of our Western domains. Congress violated the will and confidence of its constituents in voting for the bill; and while public sentiment, as shown by the elections of 1854, demanded the restoration of this compromise, Congress violated its trust by refusing simply because it had the force of numbers to hold on to it. And murderous violence is being used now, in order to force slavery on to Kansas; for it cannot be done in any other way. [Sensation.]

The necessary result was to establish the rule of violence—force, instead of the rule of law and reason; to perpetuate and spread slavery, and in time to make it general. We see it at both ends of the line. In Washington, on the very spot where the outrage was started, the fearless Sumner is beaten to insensibility, and is now slowly dying; while senators who claim to be gentlemen and Christians stood by, countenancing the act, and even applauding

it afterward in their places in the Senate. Even Douglas, our man, saw it all and was within helping distance, yet let the murderous blows fall unopposed. Then, at the other end of the line, at the very time Sumner was being murdered, Lawrence was being destroyed for the crime of freedom. It was the most prominent stronghold of liberty in Kansas and must give way to the all-dominating power of slavery. Only two days ago, Judge Trumbull found it necessary to propose a bill in the Senate to prevent a general civil war and to restore peace in Kansas.

We live in the midst of alarms; anxiety beclouds the future; we expect some new disaster with each newspaper we read. Are we in a healthful political state? Are not the tendencies plain? Do not the signs of the times point plainly the way in which we are going? [Sensation.]

In the early days of the Constitution slavery was recognized, by South and North alike, as an evil, and the division of sentiment about it was not controlled by geographical lines or considerations of climate but by moral and philanthropic views. Petitions for the abolition of slavery were presented to the very first Congress by Virginia and Massachusetts alike. To show the harmony which prevailed, I will state that a fugitive slave law was passed in 1793, with no dissenting voice in the Senate, and but seven dissenting votes in the House. It was, however, a wise law, moderate, and, under the Constitution, a just one. Twenty-five years later, a more stringent law was proposed and defeated; and thirty-five

years after that Virginia, was p just now, comp show how the 1817 was far le 1774 the Conti a dissenting v trade, and to r and less than Declaration o which adopte solved "that thirteen Unite

On the sec Declaration o gress by the was character "a piratical v powers," and [Applause.] lina and Geo and from the were omitted far south as that Washin Mason, and and much n the Whig an On March eration all River. Jeff Rhode Islar

years after that, the present law, drafted by Mason of Virginia, was passed by Northern votes. I am not, just now, complaining of this law, but I am trying to show how the current sets; for the proposed law of 1817 was far less offensive than the present one. In 1774 the Continental Congress pledged itself, without a dissenting vote, to wholly discontinue the slave trade, and to neither purchase nor import any slave; and less than three months before the passage of the Declaration of Independence, the same Congress which adopted that declaration unanimously resolved "that *no slave be imported into any of the thirteen United Colonies.*" [Great applause.]

On the second day of July, 1776, the draft of a Declaration of Independence was reported to Congress by the committee, and in it the slave trade was characterized as "an execrable commerce," as "a piratical warfare," as the "opprobrium of infidel powers," and as "a cruel war against human nature. [Applause.] All agreed on this except South Carolina and Georgia, and in order to preserve harmony, and from the necessity of the case, these expressions were omitted. Indeed, abolition societies existed as far south as Virginia; and it is a well-known fact that Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Lee, Henry, Mason, and Pendleton were qualified abolitionists, and much more radical on that subject than we of the Whig and Democratic parties claim to be to-day. On March 1, 1784, Virginia ceded to the confederation all its lands lying northwest of the Ohio River. Jefferson, Chase of Maryland, and Howell of Rhode Island, as a committee on that and territory

thereafter *to be ceded*, reported that no slavery should exist after the year 1800. Had this report been adopted, not only the Northwest, but Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi also would have been free; but it required the assent of nine States to ratify it. North Carolina was divided, and thus its vote was lost; and Delaware, Georgia, and New Jersey refused to vote. In point of fact, as it was, it was assented to by six States. Three years later, on a square vote to exclude slavery from the Northwest, only one vote, and that from New York, was against it. And yet, thirty-seven years later, five thousand citizens of Illinois, out of a voting mass of less than twelve thousand, deliberately, after a long and heated contest, voted to introduce slavery in Illinois; and, to-day, a large party in the free State of Illinois are willing to vote to fasten the shackles of slavery on the fair domain of Kansas, notwithstanding it received the dowry of freedom long before its birth as a political community. I repeat, therefore, the question: Is it not plain in what direction we are tending? [Sensation.] In the colonial time, Mason, Pendleton, and Jefferson were as hostile to slavery in Virginia as Otis, Ames, and the Adamses were in Massachusetts; and Virginia made as earnest an effort to get rid of it as old Massachusetts did. But circumstances were against them and they failed; but not that the good will of its leading men was lacking. Yet within less than fifty years Virginia changed its tune, and made negro-breeding for the cotton and sugar States one of its leading industries. [Laughter and applause.]

In the Constitutional Convention of Virginia made a more than my friends Lovejoy or make here to-day—a safely repeated anywhere enlightened year. But, with differences of opinion on this discussion was allowed; but the slave code, which, as you know, was merely ferried across the river, even express an opinion in the land of Washington. Independence. [Sensation.]

In Kentucky—my State—the mighty influence of Henry Clay, the good men there could not resist the passion in favor of gradual emancipation of marching toward the West, Ohio and Illinois; but the opposition of Henry Clay, with a noble heart, the black trail toward barbarism. Is there—can there be this thing? And is there any way to lay aside our prejudice, to shoulder, in the great arm of the nation,

Every Fourth of July we claim this to be “the land of the brave!” Well, that off next year, and, would you like some old the grove and deny it? you like that? But sup

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In the Constitutional Convention, George Mason of Virginia made a more violent abolition speech than my friends Lovejoy or Coddington would desire to make here to-day—a speech which could not be safely repeated anywhere on Southern soil in this enlightened year. But, while there were some differences of opinion on this subject even then, discussion was allowed; but as you see by the Kansas slave code, which, as you know, is the Missouri slave code, merely ferried across the river, it is a felony to even express an opinion hostile to that foul blot in the land of Washington and the Declaration of Independence. [Sensation.]

In Kentucky—my State—in 1849, on a test vote, the mighty influence of Henry Clay and many other good men there could not get a symptom of expression in favor of gradual emancipation on a plain issue of marching toward the light of civilization with Ohio and Illinois; but the State of Boone and Hardin and Henry Clay, with a *nigger* under each arm, took the black trail toward the deadly swamps of barbarism. Is there—can there be—any doubt about this thing? And is there any doubt that we must all lay aside our prejudices and march, shoulder to shoulder, in the great army of Freedom? [Applause.]

Every Fourth of July our young orators all proclaim this to be “the land of the *free* and the home of the brave!” Well, now, when you orators get that off next year, and, may be, this very year, how would you like some old grizzled farmer to get up in the grove and deny it? [Laughter.] How would you like that? But suppose Kansas comes in as a

slave State, and all the "border ruffians" have barbecues about it, and free-State men come trailing back to the dishonored North, like whipped dogs with their tails between their legs, it is—ain't it?—evident that this is no more the "land of the free" and if we let it go so, we won't dare to say "home of the brave" out loud. [Sensation and confusion.]

Can any man doubt that, even in spite of the people's will, slavery will triumph through violence unless that will be made manifest and enforced? Even Governor Reeder claimed at the outset that the contest in Kansas was to be fair, but he got his eyes open at last; and I believe that, as a result of this moral and physical violence, Kansas will soon apply for admission as a slave State. And yet we can't mistake that the people don't want it so, and that it is a land which is free both by natural and political law. *No law, is free law!* Such is the understanding of all Christendom. In the Somerset case, decided nearly a century ago, the great Lord Mansfield held that slavery was of such a nature that it must take its rise in *positive* (as distinguished from *natural*) law; and that in no country or age could it be traced back to any other source. Will some one please tell me where is the *positive* law that establishes slavery in Kansas? [A voice: "The *bogus* laws."] Aye, the *bogus* laws! And, on the same principle, a gang of Missouri horse-thieves could come into Illinois and declare horse-stealing to be legal [Laughter], and it would be just as legal as slavery is in Kansas. But by express statute, in the land of Washington and Jefferson, we may

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It is, I believe, a principle in law that when one party to a contract violates it so grossly as to chiefly destroy the object for which it is made, the other party may rescind it. I will ask Browning if that ain't good law. [Voices: "Yes!"] Well, now if that be right, I go for rescinding the whole, entire Missouri Compromise and thus turning Missouri into a free State; and I should like to know the difference—should like for any one to point out the difference—between *our* making a free State of Missouri and *their* making a slave State of Kansas. [Great applause.] There ain't one bit of difference, except that our way would be a great mercy to humanity. But I have never said, and the Whig party has never said, and those who oppose the Nebraska Bill do not as a body say, that they have any intention of interfering with slavery in the slave States. Our platform says just the contrary. We allow slavery to exist in the slave States, not because slavery is right or good, but from the necessities of our Union. We grant a fugitive slave law because it is so "nominated in the bond"; because our fathers so stipulated—had to—and we are bound to carry out this agreement. But they did not agree to introduce slavery in regions where it did not previously exist. On the contrary, they said by their example and teachings that they did not deem it expedient—did not consider it right—to do so; and it is wise and

right to do just as they did about it. [Voices: "Good!"] And that is what we propose—not to interfere with slavery where it exists (we have never tried to do it), and to give them a reasonable and efficient fugitive slave law. [A voice: "No!"] I say YES! [Applause.] It was part of the bargain, and I'm for living up to it; but I go no further, I'm not bound to do more, and I won't agree any further. [Great applause.]

We, here in Illinois, should feel especially proud of the provision of the Missouri Compromise excluding slavery from what is now Kansas; for an Illinois man, Jesse B. Thomas, was its father. Henry Clay, who is credited with the authorship of the Compromise in general terms, did not even vote for that provision, but only advocated the ultimate admission by a second compromise; and Thomas was, beyond all controversy, the real author of the "slavery restriction" branch of the Compromise. To show the generosity of the Northern members toward the Southern side: on a test vote to exclude slavery from Missouri, ninety voted not to exclude, and eighty-seven to exclude, every vote from the slave States being ranged with the former and fourteen votes from the free States, of whom seven were from New England alone; while on a vote to exclude slavery from what is now Kansas, the vote was one hundred and thirty-four *for*, to forty-two *against*. The scheme, as a whole, was, of course, a Southern triumph. It is idle to contend otherwise, as is now being done by the Nebraskites; it was so shown by the votes and quite as emphatically by the expres-

sions of representative men. South Carolina was never known to make a mistake; his was the great mistake, and he declared that to disturb the tranquillity to the country was every consideration of wisdom, and of virtue. He was before President Monroe, and he asked each member of his Congress the question: "Do you support the constitution in a Territory?" And H. Crawford from the North, and Quincy Adams, Benjamin Franklin from the North, all gave the same qualification or equivalent answer: "No." So great consequence to Missouri was, by means of this compromise, at the door of the Republic, a brood of slaves. And the share is about to be taken by the people of misrepresentative popular will. What can be given to this wicked trade?

But even then the Missouri constitution, without approval, it forbade entering the State. The "laws" were hidden [Laughter], and the Missouri. Then it was that Missouri was conspicuously, and the Union to its foundation.

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sions of representative men. Mr. Lowndes of South Carolina was never known to commit a political mistake; his was the great judgment of that section; and he declared that this measure "would restore tranquillity to the country—a result demanded by every consideration of discretion, of moderation, of wisdom, and of virtue." When the measure came before President Monroe for his approval, he put to each member of his cabinet this question: "Has Congress the constitutional power to prohibit slavery in a Territory?" And John C. Calhoun and William H. Crawford from the South, equally with John Quincy Adams, Benjamin Rush, and Smith Thompson from the North, alike answered, "Yes!" without qualification or equivocation; and this measure, of so great consequence to the South, was passed; and Missouri was, by means of it, finally enabled to knock at the door of the Republic for an open passage to its brood of slaves. And, in spite of this, Freedom's share is about to be taken by violence—by the force of misrepresentative votes, not called for by the popular will. What name can I, in common decency, give to this wicked transaction? [Sensation.]

But even then the contest was not over; for when the Missouri constitution came before Congress for its approval, it forbade any free negro or mulatto from entering the State. In short, our Illinois "black laws" were hidden away in their constitution [Laughter], and the controversy was thus revived. Then it was that Mr. Clay's talents shone out conspicuously, and the controversy that shook the Union to its foundation was finally settled to the

satisfaction of the conservative parties on both sides of the line, though not to the extremists on either, and Missouri was admitted by the small majority of six in the lower House. How great a majority, do you think, would have been given had Kansas also been secured for slavery? [A voice: "A majority the other way."] "A majority the other way," is answered. Do you think it would have been safe for a Northern man to have confronted his constituents after having voted to consign both Missouri and Kansas to hopeless slavery? And yet this man Douglas, who misrepresents his constituents and who has exerted his highest talents in that direction, will be carried in triumph through the State and hailed with honor while applauding that act. [Three groans for "Dug!"] And this shows whither we are tending. This thing of slavery is more powerful than its supporters—even than the high priests that minister at its altar. It debauches even our greatest men. It gathers strength, like a rolling snowball, by its own infamy. Monstrous crimes are committed in its name by persons collectively which they would not dare to commit as individuals. Its aggressions and encroachments almost surpass belief. In a despotism, one might not wonder to see slavery advance steadily and remorselessly into new dominions; but is it not wonderful, is it not even alarming, to see its steady advance in a land dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal"? [Sensation.]

It yields nothing itself; it keeps all it has, and gets

all it can besides. It securing Illinois in 182 The first proposition Arkansas and Missouri territory was divided a serious question, as a Missouri, not, as a sort slave State. Then w now Kansas is about procession. [Sensatio you look. We have years since—how dar to being a slave State four other slave State domain. And yet, i abolished throughout decree of the then s please tell me by wh to-day? By the sar greater than, slavery by political force—the torch (as in Kan Senate chamber), repeats itself; and ev by craft, intimidat so it will persist, i dominated by the restriction.

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all it can besides. It really came dangerously near securing Illinois in 1824; it did get Missouri in 1821. The first proposition was to admit what is now Arkansas *and* Missouri as one slave State. But the territory was divided and Arkansas came in, without serious question, as a slave State; and afterwards Missouri, not, as a sort of equality, *free*, but also as a slave State. Then we had Florida and Texas; and now Kansas is about to be forced into the dismal procession. [Sensation.] And so it is wherever you look. We have not forgotten—it is but six years since—how dangerously near California came to being a slave State. Texas is a slave State, and four other slave States may be carved from its vast domain. And yet, in the year 1829, slavery was abolished throughout that vast region by a royal decree of the then sovereign of Mexico. Will you please tell me by what *right* slavery exists in Texas to-day? By the same right as, and no higher or greater than, slavery is seeking dominion in Kansas: by political force—peaceful, if that will suffice; by the torch (as in Kansas) and the bludgeon (as in the Senate chamber), if required. And so history repeats itself; and even as slavery has kept its course by craft, intimidation, and violence in the past, so it will persist, in my judgment, until met and dominated by the will of a people bent on its restriction.

We have, this very afternoon, heard bitter denunciations of Brooks in Washington, and Titus, Stringfellow, Atchison, Jones, and Shannon in Kansas—the battle-ground of slavery. I certainly

am not going to advocate or shield them; but they and their acts are but the necessary outcome of the Nebraska law. We should reserve our highest censure for the authors of the mischief, and not for the catspaws which they use. I believe it was Shakespeare who said, "Where the offence lies, there let the axe fall"; and, in my opinion, this man Douglas and the Northern men in Congress who advocate "Nebraska" are more guilty than a thousand Joneses and Stringfellowes, with all their murderous practices, can be. [Applause.]

We have made a good beginning here to-day. As our Methodist friends would say, "I feel it is good to be here." While extremists may find some fault with the moderation of our platform, they should recollect that "the battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift." In grave emergencies, moderation is generally safer than radicalism; and as this struggle is likely to be long and earnest, we must not, by our action, repel any who are in sympathy with us in the main, but rather win all that we can to our standard. We must not belittle nor overlook the facts of our condition—that we are new and comparatively weak, while our enemies are entrenched and relatively strong. They have the administration and the political power; and, right or wrong, at present they have the numbers. Our friends who urge an appeal to arms with so much force and eloquence should recollect that the government is arrayed against us, and that the numbers are now arrayed against us as well; or, to state it nearer to the truth, they are not yet expressly and

affirmatively rather than revolutionary appeal to the We will ma strong by c strong by th And, unless lie, we will then the rev none the les measures. on principle right. We cessities of and school NEVER BE TRUTH! [I One of our know that s to the nati tion and c cretely, th was a brill our purest thus slaves detest it a forced thr slavery a g Not that h whole Uni his great c

affirmatively for us; and we should repel friends rather than gain them by anything savoring of revolutionary methods. As it now stands, we must appeal to the sober sense and patriotism of the people. We will make converts day by day; we will grow strong by calmness and moderation; we will grow strong by the violence and injustice of our adversaries. And, unless truth be a mockery and justice a hollow lie, we will be in the majority after a while, and then the revolution which we will accomplish will be none the less radical from being the result of pacific measures. The battle of freedom is to be fought out on principle. Slavery is a violation of the eternal right. We have temporized with it from the necessities of our condition; but *as sure as God reigns and school children read, THAT BLACK FOUL LIE CAN NEVER BE CONSECRATED INTO GOD'S HALLOWED TRUTH!* [Immense applause lasting some time.] One of our greatest difficulties is, that men who *know* that slavery is a detestable crime and ruinous to the nation are compelled, by our peculiar condition and other circumstances, to advocate it concretely, though damning it in the raw. Henry Clay was a brilliant example of this tendency; others of our purest statesmen are compelled to do so; and thus slavery secures actual support from those who detest it at heart. Yet Henry Clay perfected and forced through the compromise which secured to slavery a great State as well as a political advantage. Not that he hated slavery less, but that he loved the whole Union more. As long as slavery profited by his great compromise, the hosts of proslavery could

not sufficiently cover him with praise; but now that this compromise stands in their way—

“ . . . they never mention him,
His name is never heard:
Their lips are now forbid to speak
That once familiar word.”

They have slaughtered one of his most cherished measures, and his ghost would arise to rebuke them. [Great applause.]

Now, let us harmonize, my friends, and appeal to the moderation and patriotism of the people; to the sober second thought; to the awakened public conscience. The repeal of the sacred Missouri Compromise has installed the weapons of violence: the bludgeon, the incendiary torch, the death-dealing rifle, the bristling cannon—the weapons of kingcraft, of the inquisition, of ignorance, of barbarism, of oppression. We see its fruits in the dying bed of the heroic Sumner; in the ruins of the “Free State” hotel; in the smoking embers of the *Herald of Freedom*; in the free-State Governor of Kansas chained to a stake on freedom’s soil like a horse-thief, for the crime of freedom. [Applause.] We see it in Christian statesmen, and Christian newspapers, and Christian pulpits applauding *the cowardly act of a low bully, WHO CRAWLED UPON HIS VICTIM BEHIND HIS BACK AND DEALT THE DEADLY BLOW.* [Sensation and applause.] We note our political demoralization in the catch-words that are coming into such common use; on the one hand, “freedom-shriekers,” and sometimes “freedom-screechers” [Laughter]

and, on the other hand, fully deserved. And cannot pass unheeded of the times. Even in with everything Nebraska Bill are likely they come. I will later be compelled time has not yet come may never come. stronger than the of slavery use but November and finally by that peaceful win. [Applause.]

It was by the early fathers fought victory. In 1820 Governor Coles President Madison that those beautiful dirge of one who resolute determined our broad prairie nor shall the universal gladness to our slave; but so sparkling stream their fragrance which they [Great applause] ing, and some

and, on the other hand, "border ruffians," and that fully deserved. And the significance of catch-words cannot pass unheeded, for they constitute a sign of the times. Everything in this world "jibes" in with everything else, and all the fruits of this Nebraska Bill are like the poisoned source from which they come. I will not say that we may not sooner or later be compelled to meet force by force; but the time has not yet come, and, if we are true to ourselves, may never come. Do not mistake that the ballot is stronger than the bullet. Therefore let the legions of slavery use bullets; but let us wait patiently till November and fire ballots at them in return; and by that peaceful policy I believe we shall ultimately win. [Applause.]

It was by that policy that here in Illinois the early fathers fought the good fight and gained the victory. In 1824 the free men of our State, led by Governor Coles (who was a native of Maryland and President Madison's private secretary), determined that those beautiful groves should never re-echo the dirge of one who has no title to himself. By their resolute determination, the winds that sweep across our broad prairies shall never cool the parched brow, nor shall the unfettered streams that bring joy and gladness to our free soil water the tired feet, of a *slave*; but so long as those heavenly breezes and sparkling streams bless the land, or the groves and their fragrance or memory remain, the humanity to which they minister SHALL BE FOREVER FREE! [Great applause.] Palmer, Yates, Williams, Brown- ing, and some more in this convention came from

Kentucky to Illinois (instead of going to Missouri), not only to better their conditions, but also to get away from slavery. They have said so to me, and it is understood among us Kentuckians that we don't like it one bit. Now, can we, mindful of the blessings of liberty which the early men of Illinois left to us, refuse a like privilege to the free men who seek to plant Freedom's banner on our Western outposts? ["No!" "No!"] Should we not stand by our neighbors who seek to better their conditions in Kansas and Nebraska? ["Yes!" "Yes!"] Can we as Christian men, and strong and free ourselves, wield the sledge or hold the iron which is to manacle anew an already oppressed race? ["No!" "No!"] "Woe unto them," it is written, "that decree unrighteous decrees and that write grievousness which they have prescribed." Can we afford to sin any more deeply against human liberty? ["No!" "No!"]

One great trouble in the matter is, that slavery is an insidious and crafty power, and gains equally by open violence of the brutal as well as by sly management of the peaceful. Even after the Ordinance of 1787, the settlers in Indiana and Illinois (it was all one government then) tried to get Congress to allow slavery temporarily, and petitions to that end were sent from Kaskaskia, and General Harrison, the Governor, urged it from Vincennes, the capital. If that had succeeded, good-bye to liberty here. But John Randolph of Virginia made a vigorous report against it; and although they persevered so well as to get three favorable reports for it, yet the United States Senate, with the aid of some slave States,

finally *squelched* if for is why this hall is instead of a negro and laughter.] Once locality, by ever so ever so small number thistle or Bermuda. You yourself may labor has five or six neighbor, or your so they beg you to he vote against your in modate a neighbor, the losing side. A those ways slavery that is done the w the nation—is com very process is wor must recollect tha billion of dollars (men must work for "blue lodges"—a doing their secret

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finally *squelched* if for good. [Applause.] And that is why this hall is to-day a temple for free men instead of a negro livery-stable. [Great applause and laughter.] Once let slavery get planted in a locality, by ever so weak or doubtful a title, and in ever so small numbers, and it is like the Canada thistle or Bermuda grass—you can't root it out. You yourself may detest slavery; but your neighbor has five or six slaves, and he is an excellent neighbor, or your son has married his daughter, and they beg you to help save their property, and you vote against your interests and principle to accommodate a neighbor, hoping that your vote will be on the losing side. And others do the same; and in those ways slavery gets a sure foothold. And when that is done the whole mighty Union—the force of the nation—is committed to its support. And that very process is working in Kansas to-day. And you must recollect that the slave property is worth a billion of dollars (\$1,000,000,000); while free-State men must work for sentiment alone. Then there are "blue lodges"—as they call them—everywhere doing their secret and deadly work.

It is a very strange thing, and not solvable by any moral law that I know of, that if a man loses his horse, the whole country will turn out to help hang the thief; but if a man but a shade or two darker than I am is himself stolen, the same crowd will hang one who aids in restoring him to liberty. Such are the inconsistencies of slavery, where a horse is more sacred than a man; and the essence of *squatter* or popular sovereignty—I don't care how you call it—

is that if one man chooses to make a slave of another, no third man shall be allowed to object. And if you can do this in free Kansas, and it is allowed to stand, the next thing you will see is ship-loads of negroes from Africa at the wharf at Charleston, for one thing is as truly lawful as the other; and these are the bastard notions we have got to stamp out, else they will stamp us out. [Sensation and applause.]

Two years ago, at Springfield, Judge Douglas avowed that Illinois came into the Union as a slave State, and that slavery was weeded out by the operation of his great, patent, everlasting principle of "popular sovereignty." [Laughter.] Well, now, that argument must be answered, for it has a little grain of truth at the bottom. I do not mean that it is true in essence, as he would have us believe. It could not be essentially true if the Ordinance of '87 was valid. But, in point of fact, there were some degraded beings called slaves in Kaskaskia and the other French settlements when our first State constitution was adopted; that is a fact, and I don't deny it. Slaves were brought here as early as 1720, and were kept here in spite of the Ordinance of 1787 against it. But slavery did not thrive here. On the contrary, under the influence of the ordinance the number *decreased* fifty-one from 1810 to 1820, while under the influence of *squatter* sovereignty, right across the river in Missouri, they *increased* seven thousand two hundred and eleven in the same time, and slavery finally faded out in Illinois, under the influence of the law of freedom, while it grew stronger and stronger in Missouri, under the law or



practice of "popular sovereignty." In point of fact there were but one hundred and seventeen slaves in Illinois one year after its admission, or one to every four hundred and seventy of its population; or, to state it in another way, if Illinois was a slave State in 1820, so were New York and New Jersey much greater slave States from having had greater numbers, slavery having been established there in very early times. But there is this vital difference between all these States and the Judge's Kansas experiment: that they sought to disestablish slavery which had been already established, while the Judge seeks, so far as he can, to disestablish freedom, which had been established there by the Missouri Compromise. [Voices: "Good!"]

The Union is undergoing a fearful strain; but it is a stout old ship, and has weathered many a hard blow, and "the stars in their courses," aye, an invisible Power, greater than the puny efforts of men, will fight for us. But we ourselves must not decline the burden of responsibility, nor take counsel of unworthy passions. Whatever duty urges us to do or to omit must be done or omitted; and the recklessness with which our adversaries break the laws, or counsel their violation, should afford no example for us. Therefore, let us revere the Declaration of Independence; let us continue to obey the Constitution and the laws; let us keep step to the music of the Union. Let us draw a cordon, so to speak, around the slave States, and the hateful institution, like a reptile poisoning itself, will perish by its own infamy. [Applause.]

But we cannot be free men if this is, by our national choice, to be a land of slavery. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under the rule of a just God, cannot long retain it. [Loud applause.]

Did you ever, my friends, seriously reflect upon the speed with which we are tending downwards? Within the memory of men now present the leading statesman of Virginia could make genuine, red-hot abolitionist speeches in old Virginia! and, as I have said, now even in "free Kansas" it is a crime to declare that it is "free Kansas." The very sentiments that I and others have just uttered would entitle us, and each of us, to the ignominy and seclusion of a dungeon; and yet I suppose that, like Paul, we were "free born." But if this thing is allowed to continue, it will be but one step further to impress the same rule in Illinois. [Sensation.]

The conclusion of all is, that we must restore the Missouri Compromise. We must highly resolve that *Kansas must be free!* [Great applause.] We must reinstate the birthday promise of the Republic; we must reaffirm the Declaration of Independence; we must make good in essence as well as in form Madison's avowal that "the word *slave* ought not to appear in the Constitution"; and we must even go further, and decree that only local law, and not that time-honored instrument, shall shelter a slaveholder. We must make this a land of liberty in fact, as it is in name. But in seeking to attain these results—so indispensable if the liberty which is our pride and boast shall endure—we will be loyal to the Constitu-

tion and to the what our grievance in as a slave State if we shall resist TO THE SOUTH OF THE UNION climax; the applauded, stamp in the air, and arch-enchanter looked, meanly cal justice.]

But let us, patriotism of let us spread all over these Let us commend Governor (Co of our State chaparral of while he defies have a greater fians can accomplish There is both To that let ability, no rebellion and for when, if ever AND TO THE a rush for the

tion and to the "flag of our Union," and no matter what our grievance—even though Kansas shall come in as a slave State; and no matter what theirs—even if we shall restore the compromise—WE WILL SAY TO THE SOUTHERN DISUNIONISTS, WE WON'T GO OUT OF THE UNION, AND YOU SHAN'T! [This was the climax; the audience rose to its feet *en masse*, applauded, stamped, waved handkerchiefs, threw hats in the air, and ran riot for several minutes. The arch-enchanter who wrought this transformation looked, meanwhile, like the personification of political justice.]

But let us, meanwhile, appeal to the sense and patriotism of the people, and not to their prejudices; let us spread the floods of enthusiasm here aroused all over these vast prairies, so suggestive of freedom. Let us commence by electing the gallant soldier Governor (Colonel) Bissell who stood for the honor of our State alike on the plains and amidst the chaparral of Mexico and on the floor of Congress, while he defied the Southern Hotspur; and that will have a greater moral effect than all the border ruffians can accomplish in all their raids on Kansas. There is both a power and a magic in popular opinion. To that let us now appeal; and while, in all probability, no resort to force will be needed, our moderation and forbearance will stand us in good stead when, if ever, WE MUST MAKE AN APPEAL TO BATTLE AND TO THE GOD OF HOSTS! [Immense applause and a rush for the orator.]

AMERICA 2000 FIELD REPORT

February 24, 1992

I. STATE 2000 ANNOUNCED

<u>State</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>Kickoff Date</u>
COLORADO	Roy Romer (D)	June 17, 1991
WYOMING	Mike Sullivan (D)	June 21, 1991
OREGON	Barbara Roberts (D)	August 22, 1991
AMERICAN SAMOA	Peter Coleman (R)	August 30, 1991
MAINE	John McKernan (R)	September 3, 1991
MARYLAND	William Schaefer (D)	September 5, 1991
NEBRASKA	Ben Nelson (D)	September 5, 1991
LOUISIANA	Edwin Edwards (D)	September 9, 1991
MINNESOTA	Arne Carlson (R)	September 12, 1991
DELAWARE	Michael Castle (R)	September 19, 1991
VERMONT	Howard Dean (D)	September 20, 1991
NORTH CAROLINA	James Martin (R)	September 27, 1991
INDIANA	Evan Bayh (D)	October 1, 1991
ALASKA	Walter Hickel (I)	October 17, 1991
GEORGIA	Zell Miller (D)	October 18, 1991
PENNSYLVANIA	Robert Casey (D)	October 18, 1991
MASSACHUSETTS	William Weld (R)	October 24, 1991
TENNESSEE	Ned McWherter (D)	October 25, 1991
IOWA	Terry Branstad (R)	October 27, 1991
MISSOURI	John Ashcroft (R)	October 29, 1991
KANSAS	Joan Finney (D)	October 29, 1991
ALABAMA	Guy Hunt (R)	October 31, 1991
MICHIGAN	John Engler (R)	November 13, 1991
SOUTH CAROLINA	Carroll Campbell (R)	November 20, 1991
WISCONSIN	Tommy Thompson (R)	November 21, 1991
OHIO	George Voinovich (R)	November 25, 1991
UTAH	Norm Bangerter (R)	December 10, 1991
MONTANA	Stan Stephens (R)	December 11, 1991
ARIZONA	Fife Symington (R)	December 12, 1991
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Judd Gregg (R)	December 17, 1991
DIST. of COLUMBIA	Sharon Pratt Kelly (D)	December 19, 1991
SOUTH DAKOTA	George Mickelson (R)	December 19, 1991
OKLAHOMA	Dave Walters (D)	December 19, 1991
MISSISSIPPI	Kirk Fordice (R)	February 10, 1992
ILLINOIS	Jim Edgar (R)	February 11, 1992

II. UPCOMING STATE 2000 KICKOFFS

<u>State</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>Kickoff Date</u>
NEVADA	Bob Miller (D)	March 9, 1992
TEXAS	Ann Richards (D)	TBD
WASHINGTON	Booth Gardner (D)	TBD
NEW JERSEY	Jim Florio (D)	TBD
PUERTO RICO	Rafael Hernandez-Colon	TBD
CALIFORNIA	Pete Wilson (R)	TBD
NORTH DAKOTA	George Sinner (D)	TBD
HAWAII	John Waihee (D)	TBD
VIRGINIA	Doug Wilder (D)	TBD



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FAX COVER SHEET

MESSAGE

TO: Seannice Buntin

FAX NUMBER: 456-6218

FROM: Kimberly

Keep things consistent

DRAFT

v. status quo
Possible Education Opportunities

*Back decision
Flexibility
Ed training
violence in schools* →

- *(change oppor^t into group focus on individual teacher's student the system)*
Teacher of the Year 7th @ 11:15 Rose Garden Hanchett/Nik
200 people • 30 associations outreach groups invited
7 pts. (Charlie Kell's speech) acc. in education → summit; goals; legislation;
role teachers play connected to pky. Applaud teachers and cash Congress
- **American Business Conference** 7th Anderson/Adams
(education, jobs, economic, JT 2000, legislation (?),
Labor initiatives) ? life long, learning
tag on an event - workplace ? or wait until transmittal to Congress; not wk. when travels sign it on the road?
- **American Newspapers Editors' Association** *McGowan (BANTON)*
mtg. needs - w/ Dan & family
(America 2000 ...)
Lamar to Press Club - and do the report cited on 17th in Press to do Anniversary → veto bill
- **National Read-Aloud Day** 8th 8 AM.
Catholic School invited here - first grade class
- **Event in Detroit (?)**
- **Event in Lehigh Valley (?) PA.** *TOWN MEETINGS AMERICA 2000*

30 March '92

either ABC / or ASNE speech
Close / Down, Run / Fare / Me

Unemployment ins. announcement (?)

Economic week; crime week (why would you
test speechwriting)

Job training

Education met w/ jobs week after (America 2000)
5 weeks targeted

Lamar w/ POTUS then Benson then Clayton:
Ferguson ed (1 wk. b4 anniversary)

→ ⁷APC ^{business} & C. ed. spir JF 2000, laser, 2000
→ ⁹ASNE

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	Lamar Alexander to Sam Skinner, re: What the President Can Be Doing and Saying About Education from Super Tuesday Through the Convention. (5 pp.)	04/16/92	~~P-5~~	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Lehigh Valley [2000] 4/16/92 [4]

Open on Expiration of PRA
 (Document Follows)
 By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 11/29/2004
FOIA/SYS Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

OA/ID Number: 07572

MR Case #:
MR Disposition:
Disposition Date:

Appeal Case #:
Appeal Disposition:
Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

CLOSE HOLD

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
THE SECRETARY

March 12, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR SAM SKINNER

FROM: LAMAR ALEXANDER

WHAT THE PRESIDENT CAN BE DOING AND SAYING ABOUT EDUCATION FROM
 SUPER TUESDAY THROUGH THE CONVENTION

1. Getting the talk right -- Let speechwriters turn the attached policy into a few paragraphs of rhetoric and use it over and over and over again: "When I think of America in the year 2000 I think of a nation of students educating ourselves throughout our lifetimes at the best system of schools, colleges and universities in the world. This will take revolutionary changes. Business as usual will not help us reach our six ambitious national education goals."

2. Prepare for Second Term -- The President hosts small one hour private sessions every 10 days to talk about and get comfortable with his second term plans for education and how he should go about talking about this to the American people.

WHERE THE PRESIDENT GOES AND WHAT HE SAYS -- The President should seize the initiative on education, make it his by a sustained series of public appearances that make clear his agenda, where he thinks the nation ought to go, what it ought to do in order to become a nation of students educating ourselves at the best system of schools, colleges and universities in the world. All of the following ideas are either approved and part of the budget, or are now being worked out with OMB.

1. Draw the line with Congress -- The President should invite bipartisan congressional leaders to the White House immediately (before April 1). Tell them: "I won't sign business as usual legislation for our schools. We need revolutionary changes if our children are going to meet the six national education goals by the year 2000. That means support for world class standards, new curriculum frameworks and a voluntary national examination system. It means giving teachers more opportunity for training and more flexibility spending federal funds in their classrooms, giving communities help in creating truly break-the-mold New American Schools, and giving middle- and low-income families more of the same choices of schools for their children that wealthy families already have."

2. A bold Republican initiative for working Americans
-- Invite Republican congressional leaders to the White House. Let them tell the President about their amendment to the higher education bill. They will say: "Let's create a \$25,000 lifetime line of credit for education and job training for every American which can be paid back out of earnings collected by the IRS. This will give working men and women and their children a better chance for a better job and a better life." The President can offer his support and use this for the rest of the year.

3. Drawing the line with Congress again -- When Congress does not act by March 20 and the April 1 deadline for authorizing the use of \$100 million appropriated for AMERICA 2000 passes, criticize the Congress: "Congress has missed not only my deadline but its own deadline. Worse than that, all Congress is thinking about passing is more of the same, business as usual. We need revolutionary changes: world-class standards and a voluntary national examination system; training and flexibility for teachers; break-the-mold New American Schools; more choices of schools for families."

4. Celebrate the first birthday of AMERICA 2000 (April 18) -- Celebrate the first anniversary of AMERICA 2000 by making one or two visits the week before to cities working hard to become an AMERICA 2000 community (e.g.: Omaha, Memphis, Las Cruces, etc.). "Forty states, led by Governors of both parties -- more than 1000 communities -- have accepted my challenge to become AMERICA 2000 communities. This is how America will create the best system of schools in the world by the turn of the century, community-by-community. This is how we can help our children reach the six ambitious national education goals we established in Charlottesville in 1989."

Another visit in May to Charlotte-Mecklenburg Chamber of Commerce Community Education Summit -- (May 22) Major POTUS address on education. Organizers expect "thousands" of citizens attending. Community has made a strong commitment to AMERICA 2000 and made rapid strides on standards and testing. Trip should include visit to Johnson C. Smith University's Kiddie Kollege.

5. World Class Standards and Testing -- Go to Nashville on April 3-4 (or videoconference) to address 15,000 math teachers: "You are one more reason for America to value its teachers. You led the way. You got out in front, established clear and high standards for what our children should know and be able to do about math. We are working together to create voluntary American

Achievement Tests so parents and communities can know how their kids and schools are doing. We want them to be able to live, work and compete with kids growing up in Seoul, Tokyo and Berlin."

6. "Opportunity Scholarships" -- Go to Milwaukee, check on the progress of Polly Williams and Gov. Thompson's program to help poor families attend private schools: "I have included in my new budget a half billion dollars to create one million new thousand dollar scholarships for children of middle- and low-income families. The only restriction would be that families be able to use this scholarship at any lawfully operating school. This is fair to families, will put money into the schools that help children who need the most help, and will unleash competitive forces that will make all schools better. It is federal support for a kind of state or local GI Bill for Kids. It is, in effect, a Pell grant for elementary and high school students. It will help to create the best system of elementary and high schools in the world just as the GI Bill and Pell grants have helped to create the best system of colleges and universities in the world. For Houston, for example, this would be \$100 million new federal dollars into the hands of middle- and low-income families to be spent in the schools that serve their children. . ."

7. New American Schools -- Go to almost any city, visit a break-the-mold school with TedSizer, or Jim Comer, or Hank Levin. "We must rethink our schools from top to bottom. We must break the mold, make revolutionary changes, invent schools that meet the needs of children the way children are growing up today. More than 700 of the most creative teams in America are competing for the \$200 million that the New American Schools Development Corporation will be giving to design teams that will in turn help communities everywhere create a new generation of new American schools, the best schools in the world."

8. Head Start and Parental Responsibility -- Go to National Meeting of Elementary School Principals in New Orleans, April 31: "We know Head Start helps. That is why I have pushed for a 127 percent increase in funding for Head Start during my four years while the federal budget as a whole was going up only 25 percent. Beginning next year Head Start will be available for every four-year-old. But, in the end, it is the parent who must make certain the child is born healthy, loved, read to, listened to, cared for. The family makes a difference. Every teacher knows this."

9. **Flexibility** -- Meet with teachers anywhere about this: "I can't think of a better example of the difference between what Washington thinks and what America thinks about this. I have yet to meet a teacher who does not think that she and her colleagues could not help children more if they had more flexibility in the way they spend the \$12 billion in more than 70 federal elementary and secondary programs. Yet Congress won't move. I think everybody against the idea of giving teachers more flexibility in the classroom must live in Washington, D.C."

10. **Retraining Teachers** -- Go to a Teachers or Principals Academy, lots of places: "One thing is certain -- if we are going to have new world-class standards, and different curriculum frameworks, and New American Schools, if we are going to expect so much more of our children we must be prepared for a period of massive retraining of teachers. That is why I have recommended that Congress provide funds to begin Governors Academies for teachers of math, science, English, history and geography in every state. That is why we have refocused \$2.1 billion of federal math and science education programs on teacher retraining."

11. **Education and Job Training for working Americans and their Children** -- Go to any community college, or to the national convention of community colleges in Phoenix on April 12 (or videoconference): "When I think of America in the year 2000, I think of a nation of students, Americans of all ages, throughout their lifetimes educating themselves in the best system of schools, colleges and universities in the world. This means we must give working men and women and their children a \$25,000 lifetime line of credit for education and job training which may be paid back from earnings collected by the IRS. It means we should let the working mother, who can only take one class at a time while she is working and managing her family, be eligible for our federal grants and loans to continue her education."

12. **The Armed Forces helping to create the best schools in the world** -- The President should take Cheney and Alexander to a conference in Los Angeles, direct them to implement a plan for how the armed forces can work with Los Angeles and other school districts to create schools for kids that aren't making it in regular schools: "If we can put missiles down smokestacks, we can create the best schools in the world for our children. As we cut back on military spending, we should take some of this brain power, equipment and dollars to help our cities with some of their toughest educational problems."

13. Colleges and Universities -- Commencement address:
"We have the best system of colleges and universities in the world. We are the world grand champions of science and technology. That is why I have recommended record levels of R&D spending. That is why I have recommended record increases in federal funds to help families pay for college costs. That is why I have recommended letting students deduct from their federal taxes the interest on student loans and to withdraw money without penalty from their IRAs for education. Today one of every two four-year-college students has a federal grant or loan to help pay college costs. We must use the principles that have helped to create the best system of colleges and universities in the world to help to create the best elementary and high schools in the world by the turn of the century."

14 Design Teams -- In mid to late June the New American Schools Development Corporation will announce the 20-30 award winners from the nearly 700 design teams who submitted bids. The President should meet with a few of these teams, perhaps at the proposed geographical location of the school and speak with them about their winning "break-the-mold" ideas.

cc: Richard Darman
Ede Holaday
Clayton Yuetter

- ☐ Jane after lunch - education bill
- ☐ Thank you notes / correspondence
- ☐ Newspaper clips

(quick thumbnail)

Jane has heard
Lamar wants
Veto unless these included

slammed ← ☐ ^{key}



Choice - opp. 4 low-mid inc. parents choose schools

slammed ← ☐ ^{key}

New Am. Schools - ¹ funds to get one go^g in ea. cong. dist.
SBS 1 million 4 ea.

- ☐ educational flexibility - nutshell → fund programs that
work; gives sec. waiver authority
to relax burdens of regulations

☐ 52 in Senate
HR 2443

△ com. will 2 twal
goals [36 states, 2 twal,
1000+ com.]

△ world class standards
american achievement tests

Apr. 18 am. An. 2000

Rae Nelson 7777

Iman Ferguson