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Folder Title:
Education Summit-Charlottesville, Virginia-Part II, 9/28/89 [3]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/11/89

TO: Speechwriters

FROM: Bob Simon

The attached is for:

- ☐ Per our conversation
- ☐ Per your request
- ☒ Information
- ☐ Review & Comment
- ☐ Direct Response
- ☐ Appropriate Action
- ☐ Draft Reply
- ☐ Signature
- ☐ File
- ☐ Other
- ☐ Please Return By _____

Comments:

The attached is an account of an open air sermon delivered by Theodore Roosevelt in 1905 near Rifle, Colo.

There's quite a bit of good language which you may want to use at some point. I think the President has seen this.

GB

1500 Windsor Drive
Kingsburg, CA 93631
July 13, 1989

Honorable George W. Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear President Bush:

Having read that you are an admirer of President Teddy Roosevelt, I thought you might be interested in the enclosed personal, first-hand account of a visit and speech President Roosevelt gave in Rifle, Colorado, in 1905. Some of the president's comments could well be relevant today.

I typed this information, word for word, from the notes of my grandfather, Rev. Lewis L. Thomas, who was privileged to sit on the platform at that time and to take part in the program. I have also included a photocopy of an original photograph I have showing the president, platform party, and part of the crowd that was there that day.

I was in the crowd that came to see and hear you the day you visited the Sun Maid Raisin plant near Kingsburg on September 14, 1988, when you were campaigning for office. We are very pleased that you were elected and believe you are doing a fine job as president.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Shirley Thomas Bolton

sb
Enc.

A SABBATH WITH THE PRESIDENT - THEODORE ROOSEVELT

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

For the first time in the history of Colorado, and probably for the first time in the history of the United States, the President of the nation rode several miles on horseback to meet the people and preach an open air sermon to an open-air people in God's big out of doors.

This, as a precedent, is important, but the circumstances surrounding it make it even more startling.

Out in the open, with no family retinue with him, with no bodyguard of hundreds of armed soldiers, such as the crowned heads of Europe would have to have, but alone and unattended, riding a prancing white horse, with the nearest railway station, Rifle, sixteen miles away, with a little blue school house as a fitting background, its platform the rostrum, President Roosevelt, attired in his canvas hunting suit, a blue flannel shirt, a white Stetson hat, no vest on and coat swinging wide open, his watch fastened to a leather string and tied in a button-hole of the coat, with large heavy hunter's shoes covering his feet and pants fastened tightly at the top, with a large silk, red handkerchief around his neck, preached to over 1200 people who flocked to see and hear him, pleading with them for a higher standard of citizenship, for higher and better moral lives, for a deeper and more fervent worship of a God, which he declared had "lifted our country from among the infant nations of the earth and made it a home for freedom and liberty."

Beyond the further edges of the throng, higher than the tops of the pines and cedars and spruces, the foothills climbed steadily, laden with their soft purple twigged forests. And beyond the rounded tops of the furthest foothills, the majestic foothills, the majestic mountains,

"Grand, sublime,
Enduring sentinels of time."

stood in a ring, covered with virgin snows, glinting in the sunlight. Their tops rising and falling, sharply serrated against the blue, seemed like a great white crown set upon the brow of the smiling valley.

Like one of the mountain people, like one of the many hundreds who had gathered from the mountain, valley, canyon and mesa, was the President. He himself might have been one of those who had ridden in from a lonely little ranch house to attend Sunday service. He might have been one moved by the eloquence of the regular pastor, Rev. Horace Mann, to rise and tell his own experience, for the good of his neighbors.

It was a gala day for Rifle and Divide Creek and neighboring towns. The people came from every direction and in every sort of conveyance. Cowboys and cowgirls came on horseback, the cowgirls vying in rhythm of movement with their more hardened brothers of the saddle. Whole families, of a size to gladden the President's heart, drove up winding roads, across the mesas and valleys, and over mountains and snow-born torrents in heavy lumber wagons, while others used stage coaches, carryalls, single and double-seated rigs, coaches and tallyhos.

They all brought capacious lunch baskets and at the noon hour it looked like one gigantic picnic ground. Some were just finishing their dinner when the President rode down through the cedars fringing the road.

"Now that's fine," shouted the President, as he looked down upon the picnickers from his white horse. "I wish I hadn't eaten, I'd have lunch with you." "You'd be mighty welcome," was the hearty response from every side. With the coming of the President, everyone started for the little school house. The platform had been arranged as a rostrum. There were chairs on it for the President, Dr. Alexander Lambert, the President's physician, Rev. Horace Mann, Rev. A. B. Sanderson and the writer.

There were no secret service men present. "The President didn't want them," said a member of the presidential party. "He knew that the people out here could take care of him all right." And so they could. The President could not be safer anywhere else in this wide world than right there. And not a man or woman or child but what would have gladly thrown themselves upon a sword or into the mouth of a belching cannon in protection of "Teddy."

"Blessed Assurance" was the first hymn sung. Then the 23rd Psalm was read, followed by the opening prayer by the writer, at the close of which the President's "amen" was as hearty as the writer's. In several places the President would respond to a sentiment expressed with a hearty, audible "amen" just like the Methodists used to. The next song sung was, "There's Sunshine in My Soul Today," the President singing with the rest.

Why, he was one of us. Great was his simplicity and common placeness. So great was it that everyone felt perfectly at ease and at home in his presence. Sitting at his side and exchanging words with him during the service and afterwards, it hardly occurred to the writer that he was sitting side by side with the chief of this great nation and a man that had been given the greatest popular vote ever cast for a President.

When the President was introduced and rose to his feet, there was a sea of fluttering handkerchiefs, giving the President the chautaugua salute. At this point someone said, "Have you got your handkerchief with you, Mr. President?" Whereupon he pulled out of the pockets of his hunting coat a large red bandana. This provoked a hearty laugh on the part of the people and set them to waving their handkerchiefs again.

President Roosevelt is always at his best when he is closely in contact with the people, and his voluntary appearance at the little blue school house on Divide Creek put him in a particularly favorable light. There was a wholesome simplicity about the whole affair, a democratic disregard of the unessentials and a getting down to the plain facts of humanity, such as we would like to see more frequently in our national affairs.

There are doubtless many more Americans that would like to get on a level with the people and feel their heartbeat, but there are comparatively few who know how to do this like President Roosevelt. There is no better stock of humanity anywhere in the world than is to be found in the rural districts of Colorado; and amid the cowboys and ranchmen of the Rocky Mountains, the republic of the future may well look for her Lincolns, her Garfields, and her Grants, if not her Roosevelts.

And the President knows that in what is best in nature and best worth having, it is akin to these simple, kind, generous, patient, whole-hearted men and women, who in their circles of experience have preserved so much that is too soon forgotten in the denser crowds of self-styled civilization.

The day was one of the prettiest imaginable in Colorado, under the blue sky and the fleecy clouds, with the green trees bowing on the mountainsides and down the valleys, with snowy peaks rising high above them and around them, we listened to a heart-to-heart sermon by our President. Straight from the shoulders he talked. There was no mincing of words or finishing of phrases, just good, straight English thrown straight at the crowd. A characteristic grin, in which the President showed his teeth, when he began speaking, called forth the following expression from a rancher in the crowd who had never seen the President before, except in pictures, "Say, them newspaper fellers can draw. I saw Teddy's picture in a paper, but I thought it was one of them thar cartoons."

The President spoke, in part, as follows:

"Friends and neighbors: It all seems real good to have a chance to come here today to say a few words to you. For a number of years I lived where my neighbors were just such good people as these whom I see before me. It is but true for me to say, then, that I feel thoroughly at home with you. I cannot say how much I have enjoyed my stay here with you. Not only have I been treated middling well by the bears (the President got 14 bear and 6 bobcats), which treatment has not always been kindly reciprocated by me, I am a little afraid, but the people have fairly outdone themselves in their hospitality. In the few words which I have to say to you, I am going to draw some illustrations from the Grand Army, many of whose representatives I see before me now. It is remarkable how many Grand Army men I see in the west, the little bronze button testifying mutely to their heroism in the days gone by.

"Comrades, I am going to say a few words on success, taking your lives as an example for the others here. Only the other day I was saying to the dominie here as to success and what it means. One of the best illustrations of American ideas and possibilities of success is the Grand Army man. Success in the dark days of '61, the days that tried men's souls had a meaning. From lieutenant-general to drummer boy, every man has the title of Comrade. Every man was and is judged not by his position, but by the way he does his duty in that position. So we judge the success of men as private citizens. Success from the soldier's standpoint meant that the man, whether he carried a musket or a sword, did his duty up to the handle. If a man did that, he had a right to feel that he left a name that would be an honor to his descendants. So it is in civil life--real success consists in doing one's duty in the paths where one's life is laid.

"And duty first, remember, is doing what is right to self, for if you cannot pull yourself, you cannot pull others, doing what is right to family and neighbor.

"It is not possible for any of us to say just how much accident there is in winning the great prizes of life. There is always some accident in it. No amount of skill, perseverance, energy or genius can win the great prizes of life if you lack character, moral character, and the courage of moral convictions. Real success consists in bearing yourselves so that your children will bless you for having done all that was in your power to bring them up to an honored name, and those coming after you will look upon you as having brought honor to them and your country.

"In this great country of ours it is absolutely certain that the government cannot rise higher than those who make it, any more than a stream can rise higher than its source. One leader, or set of leaders, cannot make the government. The government cannot be better than the average citizen. He alone can make it or unmake it. When the King of Sparta was visited by a neighboring king, the visitor said to him, 'Where are your walls?' The king replied, 'I will show them to you after a little while.' The king had his armies pass in review before his guest. As they were passing by he said, 'There go the walls of Sparta.' So I can point to every American citizen today and say, 'There go the walls of this Republic.' And the walls will not be any stronger than each individual brick in them.

"In the Civil War, comrades, we could not have got along without Grant or Logan or Sherman, but it was the average men in the ranks that made the army. So in civil life today.

"Now, as in the war days, as ever, the successful man is the man in the ranks, the man who carries the hod, or the musket, or the coupling pin, or casts the ballot and does his conscientious duty.

"Yet, friends, there is no secret, nothing remarkable in being a good citizen. The qualities that make a good citizen are ones that every man may have, if he will show them. If he will not, no brilliancy, genius or anything else can avail him or the nation."

Next the President poured a broadside into dishonesty in public and private life and particularly that kind which goes into business and is taken as an indication of ability when it is downright dishonesty.

"The dishonest man is a disgrace to himself and a community. If he is an educated dishonest man, he is more the dangerous. You can do nothing with a man or for a man that is dishonest. That is insincere; that is two faced. That is anything to get the spoils. He may think he is smart and others may think he is smart because he can corner this or that to his own advantage without any moral sense of the other man's wellbeing. I have a haughty contempt for that so-called smartness, ability unaccompanied by moral sense, which is getting altogether frequent.

"What we want is courage. The greater part of the courage needed in the world today is not of the military kind, but the common courage to be honest, the courage to resist temptation, the courage to speak the truth. The patriot who fights an always losing battle for the right, the man who though in the minority always stands for the right, the martyr who goes to his death amidst the triumphant shouts of his enemies, the discoverer, like Columbus, whose heart remains undaunted through the bitter years of his wandering woe, are examples of courage and heroism sublime, and these examples excite a profounder interest in the hearts of man than the most complete and conspicuous success.

"Press on with courage true and bold,
Press on with pulses beating high,
The morning breaks her bars of gold,
The sun in splendor mounts the sky.
Aim high, dear friend, and strive to climb,
The heights where heroes stand,
Whose purposes were all sublime,
And aspirations grand.

"Now, I do not want a timid good man. Not much! None of that kind, who when they meet evil face to face, say, 'how dreadful,' and then run away. No sir! I hate the timid good! I like the man who wades in and licks the wickedness. You all know of men, especially you comrades, who were forever boasting that they wished that they could find something heroic to do. Yet when these same men had to dig kitchen sinks they failed. Heroism is doing what your duty says you ought to do, little or big.

"We think too often of heroism as being displayed only on the battle-field or in the days of Feudalism and Knight errantry. We are apt to make our heroes mailed knights, charging a superior foe or a Decius plunging into the thickest of the battle single handed and alone, or a Horatio at the bridge, or a Richard the Lion Hearted leading to certain success as though heroism was a thing of the past or consisted in some great thing; but, in reality, there is more chance for heroism today than the world has ever seen before!

"A pure man is a hero! A man who will contend with the gigantic evils of this present age is a hero! The boy who can pass along the pathway of life, strewn on either side with the enticing gardens of sin, yet pass them by, is a hero of no common or mean mould! The woman who can pass goddess fashion in her gorgeous robes, yet be willing to be satisfied with her own small wardrobe, is as much a heroine as was Joan of Arc.

"The man who makes a tender loving husband, the young fellow who tries to make his friends glad when he returns home to the ranch, the young girls who help their mothers, these are heroes and heroines of every-day life!

"To do each day what that day calls you to do, so that at the end of your years you can look back and say, 'I tried my best to be a loving father and husband, a tender mother, a dutiful son and daughter,'--that is doing your duty; that is earning that immortal crown of a decent citizen."

After the benediction, the handshaking began and lasted for nearly an hour. Twelve hundred people passed along the line to bid him goodbye and tell him how much they appreciated his kindness in addressing them. Finally, it was all over. President Roosevelt stopped for a few moments to bid goodbye to the pastors, then he walked down to his horse and started back to his camp three miles up the creek in the mountain vastnesses.

Long live our Nation's Chief!

(This description of President Roosevelt's visit to Rifle, Colorado, in 1905, was written by the Rev. Lewis L. Thomas, pastor of the United Methodist Church in Rifle from 1904 to 1910.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mrs. Bolton:

Many thanks for your letter and kind words. I appreciate your thinking of me.

I thoroughly enjoyed your grandfather's wonderful account of Teddy Roosevelt's visit to Rifle, Colorado. I'm a great admirer of our 26th President. Anyone who can say, "I hate the timid good! I like the man who wades in and licks the wickedness." -- and then can go on to extol such virtues as kindness, tenderness, and honesty -- deserves to be admired. He was a great man who set a marvelous example for all Americans.

With my best wishes and appreciation,

Sincerely,

Mrs. Shirley Thomas Bolton
1500 Windsor Drive
Kingsburg, California 93631

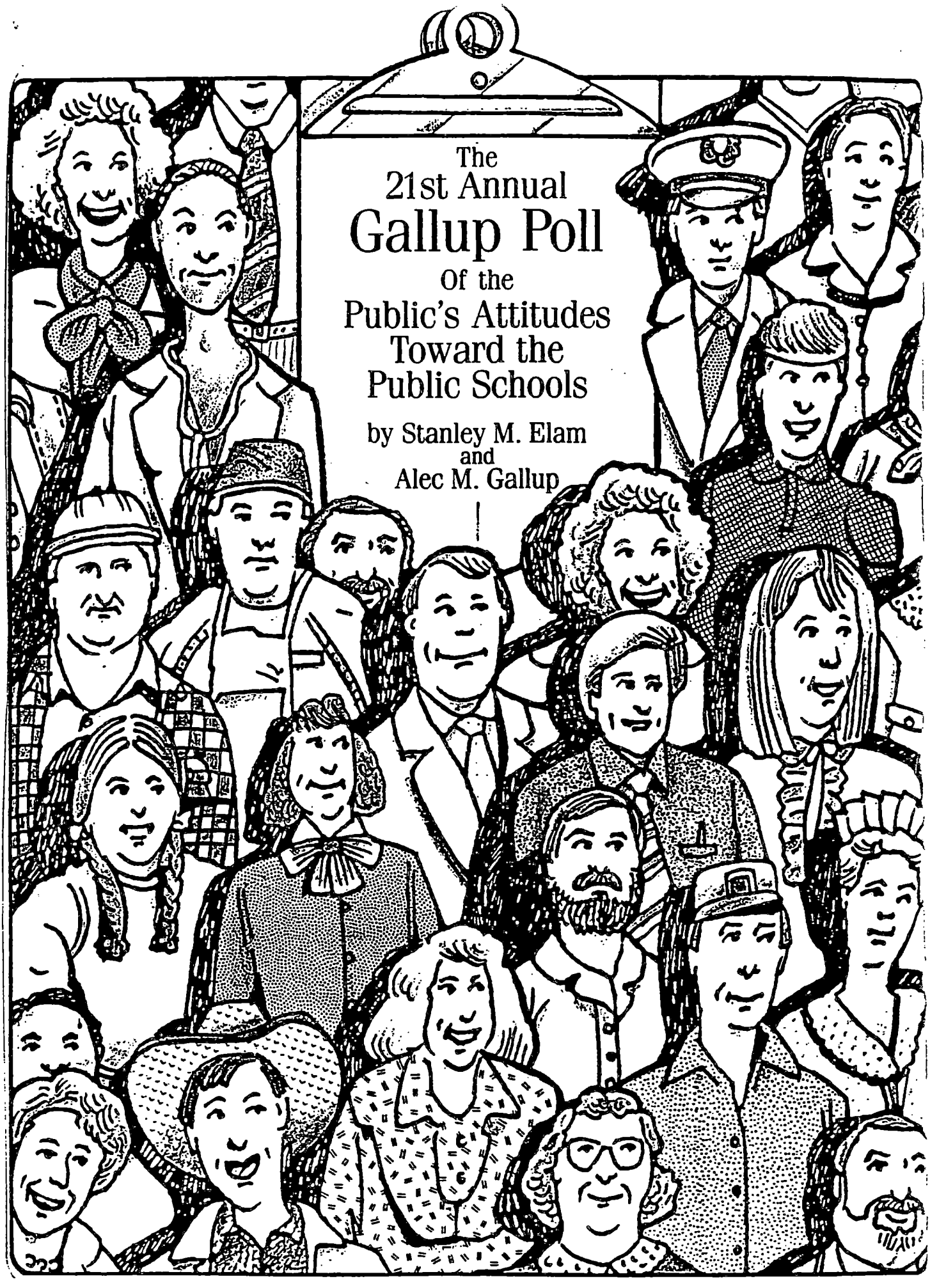
Presidents who were state governors:

Jefferson
Monroe
Van Buren
Tyler
Polk
Hayes
Johnson, Andrew
Cleveland

Presidents in this century:

McKinley
Roosevelt, T.
Wilson
Coolidge
Roosevelt, F.
Carter
Reagan

Facts about the Presidents"
by Joseph Nathan Kane



The 21st Annual Gallup Poll Of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools

by Stanley M. Elam
and
Alec M. Gallup



THE PUBLIC is ready for tradition-shattering changes in the policies that govern U.S. public schools. This interpretation of the results of the 21st annual Gallup/Phi Delta Kappa poll of public attitudes is inescapable. Among the findings that support it are these:

1. The public favors, by a 2-1 margin, allowing students and their parents to choose which public schools in their communities the students will attend. This is an aspect of the so-called parental choice movement, and it is already state law in Minnesota, Arkansas, and Iowa, while several other states are considering it in one form or another. Parental choice is also a centerpiece of the federal education policy articulated by the Bush Administration. The idea is especially popular among nonwhites and younger adults. Many people think that the option to choose their schools would improve students' satisfaction and achievement. Apparently, respondents to the 1989 survey are not much impressed by the argument that many schools would suffer from this tradition-breaking change.

2. A consensus appears to be building for more uniformity in public school programs. In the 1989 survey the public supports, by a substantial margin, the idea of a "standardized national curriculum," as well as national standards and goals for the public schools and nationally standardized tests to measure the achievement of those standards and goals. People seem willing to entrust professional educators, perhaps working with lay panels, to establish these goals and prepare tests to measure them.

3. A convincing 83% of the public think that more should be done to improve the quality of public schools in poorer states and communities. By a 2-1 margin, they say that they are even willing to pay more taxes to make this improvement possible.

4. The public favors (by 75% to 18%) reducing class size in the early grades to as few as 15 pupils. By a 68% to 25% margin, respondents say that they are willing to pay higher taxes to fund such reductions.

5. The public favors (by 71% to 21%) after-school and summer programs for students whose parents work. They are divided, however, on whether these programs should be financed by taxation, by parent contributions, or by some combination of the two.

6. People are deeply concerned about what they perceive to be the declining quality of the nation's inner-city schools; 74% think it is "very important" to improve them, and substantial majorities would be willing to pay more taxes to expand Head Start programs, to screen young children for health problems, and to provide day care for the children of working parents.

7. An overwhelming 83% of the respondents favor more state and federal assistance for high school graduates who have the ability and desire to attend college but cannot afford to do so. Respondents want more scholarships and grants, more work/study programs, and more low-interest loans.

Public approval of change was not indiscriminate in the current poll, however. For example, many people remain skeptical about the desirability of increasing the amount of time students spend in school, whether by lengthening the school day or the school year. In addition, rather than allow students to drop out of school as soon as they meet certain standards of knowledge and skill, the largest number of respondents would prefer to have students remain through high school graduation.

Two questions are standard in the Gallup education surveys. First, what are the biggest problems with which the schools in this community must deal? And second, what grade would you give the public schools in this community — A, B, C, D, or FAIL?

The public perception of local school problems and the ratings given public schools in the 1989 survey vary little from last year. Use of drugs, lack of student discipline, and lack of proper financial support again head the list of problems. The proportion of poll respondents who gave their local schools grades of A or B rose from 40% last year to 43% in this year's survey, up from a low of 31% in 1983, the year in which *A Nation at Risk* was published. That report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education warned of "a rising tide of mediocrity" and triggered the current reform movement.

Details of the 1989 Gallup education poll follow.



Support for Parental Choice

Among various proposals for school restructuring being considered by the nation's policy makers, one of the most frequently mentioned is parental choice. For this reason, four questions were asked in the current poll that sought to measure public attitudes toward the idea and toward the reasoning behind it.

Majority support for parental choice appears in all demographic groups and in all geographic areas, although that support is somewhat stronger among nonwhites (67%) and younger adults (67%) than among whites (59%) and persons aged 50 and over (51%). People in eastern states regard parental choice less favorably than those in the West (53% to 64%).

Half of the respondents to the current poll believe that parental choice would improve some schools while hurting others; 21% think that parental choice would improve *all* schools. Only 14% think that choice would hurt *all* schools.

Opponents argue that parental choice might benefit students of caring and ambitious parents but that the children of apathetic parents — those already most at risk — would be the ultimate losers as the quality of poorer schools declined further. But many poll respondents felt that student achievement and satisfaction would, on the average, be higher than at present.

STANLEY M. ELAM (Indiana University Chapter) is contributing editor of the Phi Delta Kappan. *He was* Kappan *editor from 1956 through 1980 and has been coordinating Phi Delta Kappa's polling program since his retirement. ALEC M. GALLUP is co-chairman, with George Gallup, Jr., of the Gallup Organization, Princeton, N.J.*

Illustrations by Roger T. De Muth

The first question:

Do you favor or oppose allowing students and their parents to choose which public schools in this community the students attend, regardless of where they live?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor	60	58	64	68
Oppose	31	33	29	22
Don't know	9	9	7	10

A question on parental choice was asked in the Gallup/Phi Delta Kappa survey conducted in 1987. However, the wording was somewhat different, and this difference probably accounts for the somewhat different response. The 1987 question:

Do you think that parents in this community should or should not have the right to choose which local schools their children attend?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Yes	71	68	76	81
No	20	20	21	15
Don't know	9	12	3	4

Further breakdowns for the 1989 question:

	Favor %	Oppose %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	60	31	9
Sex			
Men	60	32	8
Women	61	30	9
Race			
White	59	33	8
Nonwhite	67	22	11
Age			
18 - 29 years	67	24	9
30 - 49 years	64	29	7
50 and over	51	38	11
Community Size			
1 million and over	59	30	11
500,000 - 999,999	52	34	14
50,000 - 499,999	64	31	5
2,500 - 49,999	64	33	3
Under 2,500	59	31	10
Education			
College	60	33	7
Graduate	58	36	6
Incomplete	61	32	7
High school	62	28	10
Graduate	60	29	11
Incomplete	65	26	9
Grade school	54	33	13
Income			
$40,000 and over	62	32	6
$30,000 - $39,999	64	29	7
$20,000 - $29,999	59	33	8
$10,000 - $19,999	60	28	12
Under $10,000	61	30	9
Region			
East	53	39	8
Midwest	60	31	9
South	63	27	10
West	64	27	9

The second question:

What effect do you think allowing students and their parents to choose the students' schools would have on the public schools in this community? Do you think it would improve all the schools, hurt all the schools, or would it improve some and hurt others?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Improve all schools	21	19	24	25
Hurt all schools	14	14	14	13
Improve some, hurt others	51	51	51	55
Don't know	14	16	11	7

The third question:

If students and their parents were allowed to choose the students' schools, do you think student achievement in the public schools in this community, on the average, would be higher than it is now, lower than it is now, or wouldn't there be much difference?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Higher	40	39	42	51
Lower	10	11	8	8
Not much difference	42	42	43	33
Don't know	8	8	7	8

The fourth question:

If students and their parents were allowed to choose the students' schools, do you think student satisfaction with the public schools in this community, on the average, would be higher than it is now, lower than it is now, or wouldn't there be much difference?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Higher	49	48	53	57
Lower	7	7	6	8
Not much difference	37	38	35	32
Don't know	7	7	6	3



Support for National Goals, Standards, Curriculum, and Testing

Public opinion in these annual polls has generally supported the American tradition of local control of schools. For example, a 2-1 majority said in 1978 that federal regulations were more likely to hinder than to help the local schools. In 1982 a majority of respondents (54%) said that in the future they would like to see less federal influence on local educational programs. When the question was repeated in 1986, the results were almost identical. These sentiments may still hold, but the current poll reveals that a majority of respondents believe there should be a national public school curriculum, national goals and standards, and a national testing program to measure the achievement of those goals and standards.

These attitudes appear in the responses to several questions that were preceded by queries to determine whether respondents understood that we currently have no unified national goals, standards, or testing. People who said that they favored national goals and standards were also asked what groups should establish them. The responses show that the public places considerable confidence in professional educators to do so.

The first question:

As you understand it, do achievement standards and goals for the public schools differ from community to community and from state to state, or is there a single set of national achievement standards and goals that apply to all the public schools in the country?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Different goals	61	60	63	72
Single set of goals	24	23	26	12
Don't know	15	17	11	16

The second question:

Would you favor or oppose requiring the public schools in this community to conform to national achievement standards and goals?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor	70	68	72	80
Oppose	19	19	20	14
Don't know	11	13	8	6

The third question (asked of those who favor national standards and goals):

Which one of the following groups do you think should establish these national achievement standards and goals: the President and Congress, professional educators, a consensus of state governors, or a panel of parents and other laypeople?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Professional educators	61	61	61	59
Panel of parents and other laypeople	20	19	22	23
The President and Congress	5	6	3	8
A consensus of state governors	3	3	2	2
Other	3	3	4	*
None	1	1	*	2
Don't know	7	7	8	6

*Less than one-half of 1%.

The fourth question:

As you understand it, do public school curriculum requirements — that is, the subjects required — differ from state to state and from community to community, or is there a standardized national curriculum that is required in all public schools in the country?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Differ	55	55	54	64
Standardized	29	28	33	23
Don't know	16	17	13	13

The fifth question:

Would you favor or oppose requiring the public schools in this community to use a standardized national curriculum?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor	69	67	74	75
Oppose	21	21	20	18
Don't know	10	12	6	7

The sixth question:

As you understand it, do testing programs to determine the academic achievement of students differ from state to state and from community to community, or are there standardized testing programs that are required in all public schools in the country?

Illustrations by Roger T. De Mark

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Differ	38	40	35	37
Standardized	42	39	49	49
Don't know	20	21	16	14

The seventh question:

Would you favor or oppose requiring the public schools in this community to use standardized national testing programs to measure the academic achievement of students?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor	77	75	81	80
Oppose	14	15	13	17
Don't know	9	10	6	3



Remedying Inequality in Educational Opportunity

One of the longest-running scandals in U.S. public education is the inequality of educational opportunity resulting from the unequal distribution of economic resources among the governmental units that support schools. By and large, court actions designed to correct these educational inequities (e.g., *Serrano* and *Rodriguez*) have failed. Over the past decade or so, many states have taken legislative action to improve their equalization formulas, but district-to-district and state-to-state inequities persist.

A convincing majority of the public (83%) believes that more should be done to improve the quality of the public schools in poorer states and communities. Of this 83%, 62% (just over half of all respondents) say they would be willing to pay more taxes for the purpose.

The first question:

The quality of the public schools varies greatly from community to community and from state to state because of differences in the amount of taxes taken in to support the schools. Do you think more should be done to improve the quality of the public schools in the poorer states and in the poorer communities or not?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Yes	83	82	86	85
No	9	9	8	7
Don't know	8	9	6	8

The second question (asked of those who think more should be done):

Would you be willing or not willing to pay more taxes to improve the quality of the public schools in the poorer states and poorer communities?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Willing	62	62	62	58
Not willing	30	29	32	27
Don't know	8	9	6	15



Reducing Class Size

Although the findings of research remain unclear, most laypeople believe the broad generalization that students achieve much more when class sizes are small. They are highly supportive of new state initiatives designed to reduce class size to as few as 15 pupils in the early grades.

The first question:

In some school districts, the typical class has as many as 35 students; in other districts, only 20. With regard to the achievement or progress of students, do you think small classes make a great deal of difference, little difference, or no difference at all?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Great deal of difference	79	77	82	88
Little difference	13	14	12	6
No difference	6	6	5	5
Don't know	2	3	1	1

	National Totals		
	1989 %	1988 %	1973 %
Great deal of difference	79	71	79
Little difference	13	21	11
No difference	6	6	6
Don't know	2	2	4

The second question:

A few states have started programs in the early grades to reduce class size to as few as 15 pupils. Would you favor or oppose such programs in the public schools in this community?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor	75	73	81	82
Oppose	18	19	14	10
Already have such a program	1	1	1	1
Don't know	6	7	4	7

The third question (asked of those who favor restricting class size to as few as 15 students in the early grades):

Would you be willing to pay higher taxes to fund such programs or not?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Yes	68	66	72	71
No	25	26	24	20
Don't know	7	8	4	9



Support for After-School and Summer Programs

A sizable majority (71%) of respondents favor more after-school and summer programs for students whose parents work. Not many people, however, believe that these programs should be supported by increased taxes alone. They prefer some combination of government and parent contributions.

The first question:

Would you favor or oppose having more after-school and summer programs in the local public schools for those students whose parents work?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor	71	70	77	69
Oppose	21	21	18	27
Don't know	8	9	5	4

The second question (asked of those who favor more after-school and summer programs):

How do you think such programs should be paid for — by increased taxes, by contributions from the parents of those student involved, or by both increased taxes and parent contributions?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Increased taxes	15	16	14	11
Parent contributions	23	24	20	23
Increased taxes/parent contributions	57	55	60	63
Don't know	5	5	6	3



School-Site Management And Accountability

Some advocates of school restructuring would give building principals more authority for the operation of their schools and then hold them responsible for results. The public favors such proposals.

The question:

It has been suggested that school principals be given more authority to determine who will teach in their schools and how the schools will operate. In return, a principal given such authority would be held accountable for the school's performance; that is, after several years he or she would be rewarded if the school was educationally successful but replaced if the school did not meet established standards. Would you favor or oppose the adoption of this program in the public schools in this community?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor	63	62	64	64
Oppose	26	26	26	24
Don't know	11	12	10	12

Because a few major school districts are experimenting with giving additional authority to parents, the parents of public school students were asked how much say they should have over several aspects of school operation. They expressed the opinion that parents should indeed have more say than they now do, particularly over the allocation of funds.

The question:

Do you feel that parents of public school students should have more say, less say, or do they have about the right amount of say regarding the following areas in public schools?

Illustrations by Roger T. De Mark

	More Say 1989 %	Less Say 1989 %	Right Amount 1989 %	Don't Know 1989 %
Allocation of school funds	59	10	27	4
Curriculum (i.e., the courses offered)	53	9	36	2
Selection and hiring of administrators	46	14	37	3
Books and instructional materials	43	13	41	3
Selection and hiring of teachers	41	17	38	4
Teacher and administrator salaries	39	17	39	5
Books placed in the school libraries	38	15	44	3



Criteria for Leaving School

Schooling to a certain age is required by law in every state, and the public is relatively well-informed about the requirements. However, there is little agreement about when a student *should* be allowed to drop out of school — at a minimum age, upon graduation from high school, or when certain standards of knowledge and skill have been met. Minimum age turns out to be the least-approved criterion. Three questions in the current poll probed the public's knowledge and opinion on this subject.

The first question:

Do you happen to know when students can legally drop out of school in this state? Does it depend on a minimum age, on whether the student has graduated from high school, or on the student's ability to meet certain standards of knowledge and skill?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Minimum age	70	70	71	65
Graduated from high school	6	6	6	5
Can meet standards	6	6	7	11
Don't know	18	18	16	19

The second question (asked of those who were aware of the minimum-age criterion):

Do you happen to know the minimum age at which a student can legally drop out of school in this state?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Yes	87	87	87	83
Don't know	13	13	13	17

The third question:

If you could choose one of these three plans, when do you think students should be allowed to drop out of school in this state? When they reach a minimum age, when they have graduated from high school, or when they have met certain standards of knowledge and skill?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Graduated from high school	45	46	45	40
Met certain standards	38	36	42	41
Minimum age	13	13	10	13
Don't know	4	5	3	6



Educational Influences on the Young

Educators often debate the strength and value of various educational influences on the young. A two-part question intended to reveal public perceptions of four of these influences was devised for the current poll. The public agrees that family influence is most important, as well as most positive, but the schools are a close second. The influence of peers and of television rank third and fourth in both strength and value. Television — a favorite scapegoat — gets a very low rating as a "positive influence."

The first question:

In addition to school, young people receive their education from a number of different sources. As I read off these sources, one at a time, would you indicate how important an influence you think each source is on a student by mentioning a number between zero and 10 — the higher the number, the more important the influence; and the lower the number, the less important.

	Most Important Influence (Ratings of 9 and 10 only) %
The student's family	63
School	47
The student's peers	41
Television	32

The second question:

Now, as I read off each of these sources, one at a time, would you tell me how *positive* an influence you think each source is on a student by mentioning a number between zero and 10 — the higher the number, the more positive the influence; and the lower the number, the less positive.

	Most Positive Influence (Ratings of 9 and 10 only) %
The student's family	53
School	39
The student's peers	24
Television	13



Why People Prize Education

These polls have repeatedly shown how important people believe education to be for success in life. To reveal detailed reasons why people want their children to receive an education, an open-ended question first asked in 1986 was repeated this year. The pragmatic bent of the American mind is immediately apparent in the responses. A primary concern for most parents is that their children be able to get good jobs and achieve financial security, and they believe that education will make these things possible. They consider knowledge for its own sake, good citizenship, and critical thinking skills secondary.

The question:

People have different reasons why they want their children to get an education. What are the chief reasons that come to your mind?

	National Totals 1989 %	1986 %
Job opportunities/better job	33	34
Preparation for life/better life	25	23
Financial security/economic stability	15	9
More knowledge	9	10
To get a better-paying job	8	8
To become self-sufficient (independent)	7	3
Personal development/self-realization	7	3
Teaches a person to think/learn/understand	6	3
Education is a necessity of life	5	12
To become better citizens	5	6
For a successful life	5	5
Specialized training/profession	4	4
To learn how to get along with people	4	4
To learn basic skills/fundamental learning skills	4	3
For better/easier life than parents	3	4
To contribute to society	2	3
To develop the ability to deal with adult responsibilities	2	2
Creates opportunities/opens doors	2	2
Social status	1	1
For happy/happier life	1	2
To develop basic individual values	1	1
To develop an understanding of and appreciation for culture	1	1
To develop self-discipline	1	1
Helps keep children out of trouble	*	1
To develop critical thinking skills	*	1
Miscellaneous	*	2
Don't know	2	4

*Less than one-half of 1%.
(Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple answers.)



Longer School Day and Year

In 1982, when people were first asked about extending the public school year in their communities by 30 days or the school day by one hour, they opposed both suggestions. They opposed a longer year by 53% to 37%, and they opposed a longer day by 58% to 38%. By 1984 the opposition was somewhat weaker: 50% opposed to 44% in favor of the longer year; 52% opposed to 42% in favor of the longer day.

Although the question asked in this year's survey was phrased somewhat differently,* the responses suggest that opposition continues to dwindle. For the first time in the Gallup/Phi Delta Kappa polls, more people favor than oppose increasing the amount of time students in their communities spend in school, but no decisive majority opinion has emerged; 48% favor increased time in school, while 44% oppose it. Support is widely distributed among demographic and geographic groups, with some interesting differences. Men, for example, are somewhat more supportive of the idea than are women. People in larger cities are more likely to support it than are people in small communities or rural areas. And many more respondents in the West than in the East favor the idea.

The first question:

In some nations students spend about 25% more time in school than do students in the U.S. Would you favor or oppose increasing the amount of time that students in this community spend in school?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor	48	48	46	54
Oppose	44	43	48	40
Don't know	8	9	6	6

*The 1982 and 1984 wording: "In some nations, students attend school as many as 240 days a year as compared to 180 days in the U.S. How do you feel about extending the public school year in this community by 30 days, making the school year about 210 days or 10 months long? How do you feel about extending the school day in the schools in this community by one hour?"

Illustrations by Roger T. De Muth

Further breakdowns:

	Favor %	Oppose %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	48	44	8
Sex			
Men	50	41	9
Women	46	47	7
Race			
White	48	44	8
Nonwhite	49	43	8
Age			
18 - 29 years	38	53	9
30 - 49 years	47	46	7
50 and over	54	36	10
Community Size			
1 million and over	52	37	11
500,000 - 999,999	61	29	10
50,000 - 499,999	46	46	8
2,500 - 49,999	44	53	3
Under 2,500	42	52	6
Education			
College	53	39	8
Graduate	52	41	7
Incomplete	54	38	8
High school	43	49	8
Graduate	45	47	8
Incomplete	38	53	9
Grade school	47	44	9
Income			
$40,000 and over	50	44	6
$30,000 - $39,999	55	42	3
$20,000 - $29,999	47	46	7
$10,000 - $19,999	45	43	12
Under $10,000	41	51	8
Region			
East	48	41	11
Midwest	43	49	8
South	43	49	8
West	61	34	5

Respondents who favor increasing the amount of time students spend in school were asked which plan they prefer: more days, more hours per day, or Saturday morning classes. Sentiment was equally divided between the first two alternatives. Few people like the idea of Saturday morning classes.

The second question:

Which *one* of these plans for increasing the amount of time students spend in school would you prefer? Increasing the number of days in the school year, increasing the number of hours in the school day, or having school on Saturday mornings?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Increasing number of days	46	44	49	62
Increasing number of hours per day	45	47	44	27
Saturday morning school	6	5	6	11
Don't know	3	4	1	*

*Less than one-half of 1%.



Concern About Inner-City Schools

In general, the public is aware of the decline in the quality of education in the nation's inner cities in recent decades. People attach a high priority to improving inner-city schools; almost no one thinks that attacking this problem is unimportant.

The first question:

Thinking about the nation's inner-city schools, is it your impression that they have improved, gotten worse, or stayed about the same over the last several decades?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Improved	12	11	13	15
Gotten worse	57	58	56	53
Stayed about the same	20	19	20	22
Don't know	11	12	11	10

The second question:

How important do you think it is to improve the nation's inner-city schools — very important, fairly important, not very important, or not important at all?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Very important	74	71	83	83
Fairly important	19	21	14	14
Not very important	2	2	*	1
Not important at all	*	*	*	*
Don't know	5	6	3	2

*Less than one-half of 1%.



"I opined on your behalf today. You now support tax increases."



Grading the Public Schools

Public schools held their own in the ratings game this year. In the past five years, no statistically significant differences have appeared in the grades people give their local public schools or in the grades they give the public schools nationally.

Once again residents of large cities and nonwhites give schools the poorest grades. The decline in the quality of the schools that serve inner-city residents and minorities is a problem that should be high on the agenda of education policy makers.

Those who follow these polls are aware of three phenomena that recur annually in ratings tabulations. First, public school parents rate local schools more favorably than do other groups. Second, parents rate the school *their oldest child attends* even more favorably (about seven out of 10 of these ratings are either an A or a B). And third, the public as a whole rates its local public schools much more favorably than it rates the public schools nationwide.

A number of hypotheses are suggested by these facts. Perhaps the most obvious is that the more firsthand knowledge one has about the public schools (i.e., knowledge that does not come from the media), the better one likes them. This is a rare case of familiarity breeding respect.

The first question:

Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, and FAIL to denote the quality of their work. Suppose the *public* schools themselves, in this community, were graded in the same way. What grade would you give the public schools here — A, B, C, D, or FAIL?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
A & B	43	38	57	35
A	8	7	13	4
B	35	31	44	31
C	33	34	29	36
D	11	11	11	14
FAIL	4	5	2	7
Don't know	9	12	1	8

Ratings Given the Local Public Schools

	1989 %	1988 %	1987 %	1986 %	1985 %	1984 %	1983 %	1982 %	1981 %	1980 %	1979 %
A+B	43	40	43	41	43	42	31	37	36	35	34
A	8	9	12	11	9	10	6	8	9	10	8
B	35	31	31	30	34	32	25	29	27	25	26
C	33	34	30	28	30	35	32	33	34	29	30
D	11	10	9	11	10	11	13	14	13	12	11
FAIL	4	4	4	5	4	4	7	5	7	6	7
Don't know	9	12	14	15	13	8	17	11	10	18	18

Further breakdowns:

Grading the Local Public Schools

	A %	B %	C %	D %	FAIL %	Don't Know %
NATIONAL TOTALS	8	35	33	11	4	9
Sex						
Men	9	33	34	11	4	9
Women	8	35	32	11	4	10
Race						
White	9	36	32	10	4	9
Nonwhite	5	25	37	17	6	10
Age						
18 - 29 years	6	30	41	11	6	6
30 - 49 years	10	35	34	13	3	5
50 and over	7	37	27	9	4	16
Community Size						
1 million and over	8	28	33	14	7	10
500,000 - 999,999	8	27	36	14	4	11
50,000 - 499,999	8	39	32	9	2	10
2,500 - 49,999	7	43	27	13	3	7
Under 2,500	9	38	34	8	3	8
Education						
College	9	38	31	10	4	8
Graduate	13	40	28	8	3	8
Incomplete	7	37	32	11	5	8
High school	6	32	36	13	5	8
Graduate	6	34	36	14	4	6
Incomplete	7	28	35	10	6	14
Grade school	10	23	31	12	4	20
Income						
$40,000 and over	12	38	29	9	6	6
$30,000 - $39,999	11	32	40	8	2	7
$20,000 - $29,999	7	34	29	17	5	8
$10,000 - $19,999	6	34	38	8	4	10
Under $10,000	6	29	34	11	4	16
Region						
East	6	41	31	9	5	8
Midwest	10	30	36	13	4	7
South	9	32	33	11	4	11
West	7	35	31	12	4	11

The second question:

How about the public schools in the nation as a whole? What grade would you give the public schools nationally — A, B, C, D, or FAIL?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
A & B	22	22	24	15
A	2	2	2	1
B	20	20	22	14
C	47	46	47	52
D	15	15	15	14
FAIL	4	5	3	4
Don't know	12	12	11	15

The third question:

Using the A, B, C, D, FAIL scale again, what grade would you give the school your oldest child attends?

	1989 %	1988 %	1987 %	1986 %	1985 %
A & B	71	70	69	65	71
A	25	22	28	28	23
B	46	48	41	37	48
C	19	22	20	26	19
D	5	3	5	4	5
FAIL	1	2	2	2	2
Don't know	4	3	4	3	3

Illustrations by Roger T. De Mich



Required Community Service

Community service for high school credit is sometimes offered as a corrective for the excessive self-centeredness of adolescents. President Bush has expressed his approval of the idea. When a question on this topic was first asked in the 1978 survey, the question implied that community service would be an option, not a requirement, and approval was very high (87% for, 8% against). In 1984 the same question brought a high level of approval (79% for, 16% against).

In the current poll, the public was asked if community service should be made a *requirement* for high school graduation. Although there is less support for the requirement than there was for the elective, a majority of respondents still approve (61% for, 30% against).

The question:

Would you favor or oppose a requirement that all students in the local public schools perform some kind of community service in order to graduate?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor	61	60	63	69
Oppose	30	30	32	25
Don't know	9	10	5	6



Part-Time Work by High School Students

In a study sponsored by Phi Delta Kappa in 1986,* 70% of a representative sample of U.S. high school seniors reported that they held paid part-time jobs outside the home while attending school. Nearly 40% worked between 11 and 25 hours per week at these jobs, and 37% reported that they earned between $50 and $125 per week. The more paid hours students worked, the lower the grades they received in school. This finding neither proves nor implies a cause-and-effect relationship, but it is nonetheless disturbing.

What, if anything, should be the schools' response to such findings? To obtain the public's view, four questions were asked in the current survey. Some 43% of the respondents believe that holding part-time jobs hurts the academic achievement of high school students. (Interestingly, however, some 28% of the *parents* of public high school students think part-time jobs actually *help* achievement.) A solid majority would like to see school authorities make recommendations about the kind of out-of-school jobs that students should take and about the number of hours that they should devote to them. Half of the respondents think that the schools should offer courses at odd hours for the convenience of working students. And a very large majority think that schools should give academic credit in certain courses for the work experience of students.

The first question:

Many high school students now work long hours at jobs outside of school. What effect do you think this has on their academic achievement — do you think this usually hurts their academic achievement, usually helps their academic achievement, or doesn't it make much difference?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Hurts	43	43	45	42
Helps	29	28	28	36
Not much difference	23	23	23	18
Don't know	5	6	4	4

The second question:

Do you think the public high schools in this community should or should not make recommendations to high school students about the kinds of outside jobs they should take and the number of hours they should work?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Should	62	62	62	69
Should not	32	31	33	28
Don't know	6	7	5	3

The third question:

Do you think the public high schools in this community should or should not offer duplicate courses in the afternoon and at night for working students?

	National Totals %	No Children in School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Should	50	50	50	54
Should not	43	42	45	36
Don't know	7	8	5	10

The fourth question:

Do you think the public high schools in this community should or should not give academic credit in certain areas for work experience?

*Terry F. White, *A Study of High School Seniors, 1986* (Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, 1986).

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Should	75	73	79	70
Should not	19	19	19	24
Don't know	6	8	2	6



Improving Services for Poor Children

A majority of the public expresses a willingness to spend more tax money to expand child development services in low-income communities. Support is particularly strong for health screening and for Head Start; support for day care for young children of working parents is less strong.

The question:

A recommendation has been made that child development services be expanded in low-income communities. As I read off each service, one at a time, would you tell me whether you would be willing or not willing to spend more taxes for that service in low-income communities?

	National Totals		
	Willing %	Not Willing %	Don't Know %
Screening young children for health problems	74	21	5
Head Start programs to help young children get a better start in school	69	25	6
Day care for young children with working parents	58	36	6



"I didn't come all the way up here to get the results of the latest poll. I thought you could dispense some wisdom of the ages."

Biggest Problems Facing Local Public Schools in 1989

Each year since 1986 drug abuse has edged higher in the public's perception of the most important problems facing local public schools. In 1986, for the first time, more respondents mentioned the use of drugs as a problem than mentioned discipline. In other respects, the 1989 responses are very similar to those given in each of the past several Gallup/Phi Delta Kappa surveys.

The question:

What do you think are the biggest problems with which the public schools in this community must deal?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Use of drugs	34	35	30	30
Lack of discipline	19	20	16	23
Lack of proper financial support	13	11	18	11
Poor curriculum/poor standards	8	9	9	7
Large schools/ overcrowding	8	6	11	6
Difficulty in getting good teachers	7	8	6	9
Parents' lack of interest	6	6	6	5
Integration/busing	4	3	5	7
Drinking/alcoholism	4	3	4	5
Low teacher pay	4	4	4	7
Teachers' lack of interest	4	4	6	2
Crime/vandalism	4	5	3	2
Pupils' lack of interest/ truancy	3	4	2	6
Moral standards	3	3	3	10
Lack of respect for teachers/other students	3	3	3	7
Lack of proper facilities	1	1	2	1
Mismanagement of funds/programs	1	1	2	1
Lack of needed teachers	1	1	1	1
Parents' involvement in school activities	1	1	1	2
Problems with administration	2	2	1	1
Communication problems	1	1	1	2
Lack of after-school programs	1	1	2	2
Too many schools/ declining enrollment	1	*	2	1
Transportation	1	1	1	1
Taxes are too high	1	1	*	1
Too much emphasis on sports	1	1	*	1
Peer pressure	1	1	1	*
Lack of family structure	1	1	1	2
School board politics	1	1	1	1
Teacher strikes	1	1	1	*
There are no problems	2	1	3	1
Miscellaneous	4	4	6	7
Don't know	9	10	6	4

*Less than one-half of 1%.
(Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple answers.)

Illustrations by Roger T. De Mark



Lowering Financial Barriers to College

The public has come to believe that all young people with the ability and desire to attend college should be able to do so, regardless of their financial status. Respondents to the 1989 survey strongly support making more state and federal assistance available for this purpose. Overwhelmingly, they approve more scholarships and grants, more work/study programs, and more low-interest loans.

The first question:

Many high school graduates cannot afford to attend college, although they may have the ability and desire to do so. When students have the ability and desire to attend college but not enough money, would you favor or oppose more state or federal assistance to enable them to attend?

	National Totals %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Nonpublic School Parents %
Favor	83	82	87	83
Oppose	13	14	11	14
Don't know	4	4	2	3

The second question:

There are several forms of state or federal assistance that might be provided to students who have the ability but not enough money to attend college. As I read off each form of assistance, one at a time, would you tell me whether you would favor or oppose providing this form of assistance?

	National Totals		
	Favor %	Oppose %	Don't Know %
More scholarships and grants	94	4	2
More work/study programs	94	3	3
More low-interest loans	93	5	2

Acknowledgments

The advisory panel for this 1989 education opinion poll consisted of the following persons: Helen Bain, associate professor of administration and supervision, Tennessee State University, Nashville; Terrel Bell, former U.S. Secretary of Education, now an author, lecturer, and consultant, Salt Lake City; Denis Doyle, senior fellow, Hudson Institute, Chevy Chase, Md.; Chester Finn, Jr., professor of education and public policy, Vanderbilt University, Washington (D.C.) office; Anne Lewis, education policy writer, Glenn Echo, Md.; Sylvia C. Pena, associate professor of education, University of Houston; and John Rowley, president, Phi Delta Kappa, and administrator, Livingston (N.J.) Public Schools. — Stanley M. Elam, coordinator, Gallup/Phi Delta Kappa Poll.

Research Procedure

The Sample. The sample used in this survey embraced a total of 1,584 adults (18 years of age and older). It is described as a modified probability sample of the nation. Personal, in-home interviewing was conducted in all areas of the nation and in all types of communities. A description of the sample can be found below.

Time of Interviewing. The fieldwork for this study was carried out during the periods of 5-7 May and 9-11 June 1989.

The Report. In the tables, the heading "Nonpublic School Parents" includes parents of students who attend parochial schools and parents of students who attend private or independent schools.

Due allowance must be made for statistical variation, especially in the case of findings for groups consisting of relatively few respondents, e.g., nonpublic school parents.

The findings of this report apply only to the U.S. as a whole and not to individual communities. Local surveys, using the same questions, can be conducted to determine how local areas compare with the national norm.



Composition of the Sample

Adults	%
No children in school	68
Public school parents	28*
Nonpublic school parents	6*

*Total exceeds 32% because some parents have children attending more than one kind of school.

Sex	%
Men	49
Women	51
Race	**%**
White	87
Nonwhite	13
Age	**%**
18-29 years	23
30-49 years	42
50 and over	35
Occupation (Chief Wage Earner)	**%**
Business and professional	31
Clerical and sales	9
Manual labor	36
Nonlabor force	18
Farm	3
Undesignated	3
Income	**%**
$40,000 and over	24
$30,000-$39,999	14
$20,000-$29,999	20
$10,000-$19,999	24
Under $10,000	12
Undesignated	6
Region	**%**
East	25
Midwest	25
South	31
West	19
Community Size	**%**
1 million and over	36
500,000-999,999	8
50,000-499,999	19
2,500-49,999	10
Under 2,500	27
Education	**%**
College	47
High school	45
Grade school	8

Design of the Sample

The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, age 18 and older, living in the U.S., except for persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals.

A replicated probability sample is used, down to the block level in urban areas and down to segments of townships in rural areas. More than 300 sampling locations are used in each survey.

The sample design included stratification by these seven size-of-community strata, using 1980 census data: 1) incorporated cities of population 1,000,000 and over, 2) incorporated cities of population 250,000 to 999,999, 3) incorporated cities of population 50,000 to 249,999, 4) urbanized

places not included in 1 and 2, 5) cities over 2,500 population outside of urbanized areas, 6) towns and villages with populations less than 2,500, and 7) rural places not included within town boundaries. Each of these strata was further stratified into four geographic regions: East, Midwest, South, and West. Within each city-size/regional stratum, the population was arrayed in geographic order and zoned into equal-sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities were selected in each zone, with probability of selection of each locality proportional to its population size in the 1980 census, producing two replicated samples of localities.

Separately for each survey, within each subdivision for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters is drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments are drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment, a randomly selected starting point is designated on the interviewer's map of the area. Starting at this point, interviewers are required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignment is completed.

Interviewing is conducted at times when adults, in general, are most likely to be at home, which means on weekends, or, if on weekdays, after 4 p.m. for women and after 6 p.m. for men.

Allowance for persons not at home is made by a "times-at-home" weighting" procedure rather than by "callbacks." This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from underrepresentation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The prestratification by regions is routinely supplemented by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. Also, minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment by men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from its Current Population Survey) and by age.

"A. Politz and W. Simmons, "An Attempt to Get the 'Not at Homes' into the Sample Without Callbacks," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, March 1949, pp. 9-31.

Sampling Tolerances

In interpreting survey results, it should be borne in mind that all sample surveys are subject to sampling error, i.e., the extent to which the results may differ from what would be obtained if the whole population surveyed had been interviewed. The size of such sampling errors depends largely on the number of interviews.

The following tables may be used in estimating the sampling error of any percentage in this report. The computed allowances have taken into account the effect of the sample design upon sampling error. They may be interpreted as indicating the range (plus or minus the figure shown) within which the results of repeated samplings in the same time period could be expected to vary 95% of the time, assuming the same sampling procedure, the same interviewers, and the same questionnaire.

The first table shows how much allowance should be made for the sampling error of a percentage:

Recommended Allowance for Sampling Error of a Percentage

	In Percentage Points (at 95 in 100 confidence level)* Sample Size						
	1,500	1,000	750	600	400	200	100
Percentages near 10	2	2	3	3	4	5	8
Percentages near 20	3	3	4	4	5	7	10
Percentages near 30	3	4	4	5	6	8	12
Percentages near 40	3	4	5	5	6	9	12
Percentages near 50	3	4	5	5	6	9	13
Percentages near 60	3	4	5	5	6	9	12
Percentages near 70	3	4	4	5	6	8	12
Percentages near 80	3	3	4	4	5	7	10
Percentages near 90	2	2	3	3	4	5	8

*The chances are 95 in 100 that the sampling error is not larger than the figures shown.

The table would be used in the following manner: Let us say that a reported percentage is 33 for a group that includes 1,000 respondents. We go to the row for "percentages near 30" in the table and across to the column headed "1,000."

The number at this point is 4, which means that the 33% obtained in the sample is subject to a sampling error of plus or minus four points. In other words, it is very probable (95 chances out of 100) that the true figure would be somewhere between 29% and 37%, with the most likely figure the 33% obtained.

In comparing survey results in two samples, such as, for example, men and women, the question arises as to how large a difference between them must be before one can be reasonably sure that it reflects a real difference. In the tables below, the number of points that must be allowed for in such comparisons is indicated.

Two tables are provided. One is for percentages near 20 or 80; the other, for percentages near 50. For percentages in between, the error to be allowed for lies between those shown in the two tables.

Recommended Allowance for Sampling Error of the Difference

TABLE A	In Percentage Points (at 95 in 100 confidence level)* Percentages near 20 or percentages near 80					
Size of Sample	1,500	1,000	750	600	400	200
1,500	4					
1,000	4	5				
750	5	5	5			
600	5	5	6	6		
400	6	6	6	7	7	
200	8	8	8	8	9	10

TABLE B	Percentages near 50					
Size of Sample	1,500	1,000	750	600	400	200
1,500	5					
1,000	5	6				
750	6	6	7			
600	6	7	7	7		
400	7	8	8	8	9	
200	10	10	10	10	11	13

*The chances are 95 in 100 that the sampling error is not larger than the figures shown.

Here is an example of how the tables would be used: Let us say that 50% of men respond a certain way and 40% of women respond that way also, for a difference of 10 percentage points between them. Can we say with any assurance that the 10-point difference reflects a real difference between men and women on the question? Let us consider a sample that contains approximately 750 men and 750 women.

Since the percentages are near 50, we consult Table B, and, since the two samples are about 750 persons each, we look for the number in the column headed "750," which is also in the row designated "750." We find the number 7 here. This means that the allowance for error should be seven points, and that, in concluding that the percentage among men is somewhere between three and 17 points higher than the percentage among women, we should be wrong only about 5% of the time. In other words, we can conclude with considerable confidence that a difference exists in the direction observed and that it amounts to at least three percentage points.

If, in another case, men's responses amount to 22%, say, and women's to 24%, we consult Table A, because these percentages are near 20. We look in the column headed "750" and see that the number is 5. Obviously, then, the two-point difference is inconclusive.

How to Order the Poll

The minimum order for reprints of the published version of the Gallup Poll is 25 copies for $10. Additional copies are 25 cents each. This price includes postage for parcel post delivery. Where possible, enclose a check or money order.

If faster delivery is desired, do not include a remittance with your order. You will be billed at the above rates plus any additional cost involved in the method of delivery.

Persons who wish to order a set of the tables showing detailed demographic breakdowns on questions included in the 1989 Gallup/PDK education survey may do so by writing to Phi Delta Kappa, enclosing $10 to cover all costs. (These tables are not included in the published version of the poll.) In the fall of 1989, Phi Delta Kappa will publish *The Gallup/Phi Delta Kappa Polls of Attitudes Toward the Public School, 1969-1988: A 20-Year Compilation and Educational History*, edited by Stanley M. Elam, with historical summaries by Ben Brodinsky.

Orders for reprints or for the demographic breakdowns should be addressed to Gallup Poll, Phi Delta Kappa, P.O. Box 789, Bloomington, IN 47402-0789. Ph. 812/339-1156.

BUSH PROPOSES TAX BREAK FOR ADOPTION OF OLDER, HANDICAPPED KIDS

Pressing his fight against abortion by urging the "adoption option," President Bush Wednesday proposed a $3,000 one-time tax deduction for adoptive parents of older and handicapped children.

He also would provide a $2,000 subsidy per child if the parents are federal civilian employees.

Bush, whose son Marvin has an adopted daughter Marshal, 4, said at a White House ceremony that "those who adopt are given more than they receive."

Bush didn't mention abortion, but White House aides said that encouraging what Bush calls the adoption option is one way he has chosen to fight abortion....

"These two legislative proposals will make a contribution toward solving one of America's most difficult and saddest problems, the children with special needs who have no loving family of their own," Bush said. "Let's get these bills enacted into law."

(Ann McFeatters, Scripps Howard)

BUSH'S EDUCATION SUMMIT TO SEEK NATIONAL GOALS FOR SCHOOLS

With the White House, governors and the educational community at odds on many subjects, President Bush's education summit will take aim at a single goal -- drawing up a blueprint for improved student performance in the nation's public schools.

Instead of the dreary national report cards that in recent years have assigned flunking grades to public education in America, the summit instead will look to the future by setting higher standards for student achievement, officials said.

What will not be accomplished at the Sept. 27-28 summit of Bush and the nation's governors in Charlottesville, Va?

Judging from the assessments by governors, Administration officials and education leaders, the sharp disagreement over how much money the federal government should provide is unlikely to be resolved....

"I'm really looking for some leadership from the President to say, 'It's in the national interest of this country to make a commitment to education,'" said Verne Duncan, Oregon's superintendent of schools, after meeting with Bush. "It's just got to be foremost in our thinking. He's got to rally the people now. I'm not convinced that the man on the street has that commitment yet. Sure, he wants good schools for his kids down the street, but he isn't the least bit worried about a black community that's having all sorts of problems."

(Tom Baden & Robert Lewis, Newhouse)

U.S. DETAILS TORTURE, KILLING OF BURMESE STUDENTS

The U.S. Wednesday described widespread beatings, water torture and killings of students and others who oppose the military government of Myanmar, formerly Burma.

"We now have credible firsthand reports that instances of torture, beatings, and mistreatment are commonplace, and that deaths have resulted," State Department spokeswoman Tutwiler said at a briefing.

"These reports relate accounts of cigarette burns, beatings, and of the use of electrical shock," she said. "In some cases, prisoners are crowded into small cells in knee-deep water; others are forced to stand in water for long periods of time during interrogation."

Her remarks were amplified in testimony by two other State Department officials before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee considering a resolution to support democracy and human rights in Burma.

(Deborah Zabarenko, Reuter)

EDITOR'S NOTES: The New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor arrived after News Summary press time and could not be included.

"Colombian Drug Traffickers Are Getting International Help, Senate Panel Is Told," by John Fialka, appears in the Wall Street Journal, A4.

###

QUESTIONNAIRE

My favorite teacher is/was: Dr. A.B.Darling

He/She taught: He taught History- American History
(subject and grade level)

at: Phillips Academy Andover
(school)

The things I remember most about this teacher are. . .
(Specific incidents would be very interesting)

He made us work from a well prepared outline. His course was required. He was tough, demanding, and yet excedingly fair. He knew American history and made it come alive.

Past is Prologue///and when I think back on Dr. Darling's way of teaching that seems so true. It wasn't just dates and happenings- he taught us through hiastory the real business of living./

The reasons why this is my favorite teacher are. . .
(You might want to include qualities of this teacher, teaching techniques, testing techniques, interpersonal skills, etc.)

Techniques- he'd srping quizzes on us. His exams were tough but fair. He was exacting- slopiness did not amuse him. And yet, if you really fouled up he could pick you up and give you a hand, taking time to explain things in detail one on one.

I am George Bush, Vice President of the United States of America
(name and occupation/affiliation)

I hereby give permission to the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing to use my name and edit my response for space and clarity. _____
(initial)

PLEASE ATTACH A PHOTO OF YOURSELF, IF AVAILABLE

Commission on Teacher Credentialing
1812 9th Street
Sacramento, CA 95814-7000

FEEL FREE TO USE ADDITIONAL PAGES OR A DIFFERENT FORMAT IF YOU PREFER.

September 1, 1989

BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION

SUMMARY

As the Bush Administration enters its eighth month, the President has set the agenda on a number of fronts domestically -- from the environment and education to the fight against drugs and crime. The economy is strong, with the current economic expansion continuing to set new records and create new jobs. Meanwhile, America continues to lead in the international arena, after President Bush's success at two multilateral summits paved the way for greater understanding among the allies and improved relations with the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc nations.

KEEPING THE ECONOMY STRONG

- **Record expansion:** During the current economic expansion -- now in its 80th month as of July -- over 20 million jobs have been created and the unemployment rate has fallen to levels not seen in 15 years. Income levels have risen sharply and growth in industrial output is nearly double that of Western Europe. Consumer price inflation has remained under five percent for the past seven years.

- **Budget agreement:** The President has put forth a budget which restrains overall growth of spending and meets the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets -- with no new taxes in fiscal year 1990. The President and Congress announced on April 14 a budget plan to reduce the estimated fiscal year 1990 deficit by about $64 billion below fiscal year 1989.

- **Savings and Loans:** On August 9, the President signed the **Financial Institution Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act of 1989** to begin solving the savings and loan crisis. The President's plan calls for tough standards to help ensure such a crisis never happens again.

- **Third World debt:** The Administration has taken the lead in finding a way to reduce the debt burden and encourage economic growth in developing countries. At the Administration's urging, the IMF and World Bank have set aside funds to support debt reduction programs for developing countries.

- **Capital gains tax cut:** The President has sent to the Congress a proposal that would re-establish a capital gains differential to lower the cost of capital, create incentives for investment, make American business more competitive and create new job opportunities.

- **Minimum wage:** The President, by vetoing the excessive across-the-board increase in the minimum wage proposed by Congress, preserved job opportunities for the disadvantaged and blunted the adverse economic impact such a move would have had.

- **International Trade:** The Bush Administration successfully broke a stalemate in the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations and advanced its proposal to correct and prevent trade distortions in agriculture. It is engaged in bilateral trade talks with important trading partners to discuss structural impediments to expanding trade and encourage them to open their markets to our exports.

SEIZING INTERNATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACE

- **"Europe Whole and Free":** In two State visits to Europe, a series of major speeches and frequent meetings and contacts with European leaders, the President has set forth a vision of a new Europe -- secure, prosperous, whole and free -- successfully culminating four decades of Western policies and seizing an historic opportunity to move toward ending the postwar division of Europe.

- **Poland and Hungary:** The President's strong support for unprecedented democratic change in Hungary and Poland was highlighted by his visits to those nations, where he encouraged internal reconciliation and cooperation. The President offered political and moral support as well as economic and trade incentives for further steps along the path of reform.

- **Economic summit:** Under President Bush's leadership, the Paris Economic Summit agreed to support Polish and Hungarian economic reforms and to concert efforts for maximum effectiveness of Western assistance. The Economic Summit also made further progress on key U.S. economic and political objectives such as a strengthened debt strategy, economic policy coordination, completion of the Uruguay Round by December 1990 and, for the first time, international cooperation on protection of the environment.

- **"Beyond Containment":** The President has welcomed the extraordinary political and economic changes underway in the Soviet Union. He has established a new American policy, "Beyond Containment," that seeks to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. The President has accelerated the pace of arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union, and broadened the dialogue beyond human rights, bilateral and regional issues to include problems of global concern such as the environment, terrorism, and narcotics.

- **NATO Summit:** The President seized the arms control initiative and won the strong support of our Allies with a bold proposal to reduce conventional forces in Europe. Calling for completion of negotiations within six months to a year, the President proposed deep cuts in manpower and equipment.

- **China:** Visiting China soon after taking office, the President underscored the long-term strategic importance of the Sino-U.S. relationship and his support for the process of reform. In response to the subsequent suppression of the democratic movement in China, the President took actions making clear that we do not condone repression even while he worked to preserve the basic elements of this important relationship.

- **Central American Accord:** The President and Congressional leaders agreed on March 24 on a bipartisan strategy for peace and democracy in Central America. With the agreement, for the first time in years, the U.S. has a broadly supported strategy aimed at bringing about free and fair elections in Nicaragua.

- **Strengthening our Strategic Deterrent:** After a thorough review of U.S. defense strategy, the President submitted to the Congress a defense budget that will modernize our ability to deter war including, after more than a decade of debate, specific proposals for two mobile ICBMs. The strategic modernizations program also includes the revolutionary B-2 bomber and funding to support an informed development and deployment decision on the Strategic Defense Initiative within the next four years.

INVESTING IN OUR FUTURE

- **Education:** The President proposed and sent to the Congress a comprehensive education package, **The Educational Excellence Act of 1989,** which includes seven initiatives -- on merit and magnet schools, alternative certification of teachers, excellence awards for teachers, emergency grants to help urban schools to fight drugs, increased funding for endowments at Historically Black Colleges, and a National Science Scholars program.

- **Natural Gas Deregulation:** On July 26, the President signed into law the **Wellhead Decontrol Act of 1989**, which ends all remaining price controls on natural gas. This will phase out all federal price controls on natural gas by January 1, 1993.

- **Clean Air Act revisions:** On July 21, President Bush transmitted to the Congress the first revisions to the **Clean Air Act** since 1977. His legislation is designed to drastically reduce three major threats to the nation's environment: acid rain, urban air pollution, and toxic air emissions.

- **Hazardous waste:** The President announced that he will seek new legislation to ban all exports of hazardous waste unless an agreement already exists with the receiving country to provide for its safe handling.

- **Ozone depletion:** In order to prevent further damage to the earth's protective ozone layer, the President has called for a total worldwide phaseout of CFCs by the year 2000, provided safe substitutes are available.

- **Medical Waste:** The EPA has begun a tracking system for medical wastes and the Justice Department has started a task force to prosecute those who deliberately dump medical wastes into the Nation's waters -- the first step in a comprehensive program to help keep our beaches clean. The President is committed to end ocean dumping of sewage sludge by 1991.

- **Wetlands:** The President is committed to "no net loss of wetlands" and is directing his executive branch agencies, through an interagency task force, to make recommendations to achieve that goal. He has also proposed $206 million in his budget to expand parks and wildlife refuges.

- **Combatting Violent Crime:** President Bush transmitted to Congress **The Comprehensive Violent Crime Control Act of 1989** proposing measures to augment enforcement and prosecution,

strengthen current law, restrict certain semi-automatic weapons, and expand prison capacity.

- **Fighting Drug Abuse:** The Administration is requesting over $6 billion in funding for FY 1990 to fight the drug war, increasing outlays by nearly $1 billion for drug education, treatment and enforcement. In September, the President will announce the Administration's new drug strategy and budget.

- **Drug-free Public Housing:** The Bush Administration is working to make public housing drug free, and to protect the rights of decent, law-abiding public housing residents.

- **D.C. Anti-Drug Efforts:** The Office of National Drug Control Policy has responded to the drug emergency in the District of Columbia by expanding the Metropolitan Area Task Force, by working for more prisons, and by providing support in enforcement and local treatment efforts.

- **Space:** The President announced a three-step commitment to establish America's preeminence in space -- Space Station Freedom, a permanent presence on the Moon, and a manned mission to Mars -- for this and future generations.

- **Transportation:** The Department of Transportation has begun a public outreach effort to develop a national transportation policy to move America into the 21st Century.

WORKING FOR A KINDER, GENTLER AMERICA

- **Child Care:** The President has transmitted to the Congress a child care package, the **Working Family Child Care Assistance Act of 1989** which provides a new refundable child care tax credit of up to $1000 per child under age four, for low income working families. This legislation will also make the existing Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit refundable, and does not discriminate against religious or family-based child care or a parent who chooses not to work outside the home.

- **Head Start:** The President has also transmitted legislation to Congress that would allow a $250 million increase in Head Start FY 90 appropriations. This will pay for enrollment of up to 95,000 more four-year-olds in the program.

- **National Service:** The President is spearheading a movement to call all Americans to national service. He has announced the formation of a foundation known as the **Points of Light Initiative** to identify, enlarge and duplicate those community service initiatives that are working and to discover and encourage new leaders.

- **Welfare Reform:** The Administration issued proposed rules on April 18 to **implement the major provisions of the Family Support Act of 1988**, as the next step in welfare reform. The Administration is proposing to spend $3.6 billion over the next five years to implement the JOBS program. The Act will help reduce the number of individuals who need welfare.

- **Medicaid:** To address the all-too-high infant mortality rate, the Administration forwarded to Congress legislation to improve federal Medicaid assistance to pregnant women, infants, and children.

- **Homelessness:** President Bush has called for full funding of the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act and for a new $50 million matching grant program to promote public/private partnerships to assist homeless families and the mentally ill.

- **Enterprise Zones:** President Bush asked Congress to enact labor and capital-based incentives -- through enterprise zones -- to create jobs and entrepreneurial activity in our most distressed communities.

- **Campaign Finance Reform:** On June 29, the President announced comprehensive campaign finance proposals designed to lessen the power of special economic interests and restore real competition to American Congressional elections.

- **Civil Rights:** The President has called upon Congress to reauthorize the Commission on Civil Rights and is committed to seek legislation extending civil rights protections to disabled Americans. The Administration has endorsed the Hate Crimes Bill which provides for the collection of data about crimes motivated by race, religion, or ethnicity. The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice has vigorously pursued the enforcement of the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988 which became effective in March.

- **Ethics:** President Bush sent his ethics reform legislation, **The Government-Wide Ethics Act**, to the Congress on April 12, and he issued an Executive Order announcing ethical principles for the conduct of executive branch employees.

- **Whistleblower Protection:** On April 10, the President signed S. 20, the **"Whistleblower Protection Act of 1989."** This law will strengthen the protections and procedural rights available to those federal employees who report misdeeds and mismanagement.

# # #

September 1, 1989

BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA
ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION

KEEPING THE ECONOMY STRONG

Maintaining the current expansion with low inflation is the key to improving standards of living, increasing job opportunities for all Americans, and increasing investment in productive capacity. Economic performance during this expansion has been exceptionally good with extraordinary job growth. The policies of the Bush Administration are designed to preserve this strong record.

- **Record peacetime expansion:** The current expansion reached 80 months in July. This is the second longest peacetime economic expansion in U.S. history, tying the World War II expansion of 80 months (from June 1938 - February 1945).

- **Job creation:** Over 20 million new jobs have been created during this expansion, and this year, the unemployment rate has reached levels not seen in 15 years. During this decade, America has created more new jobs than Japan and the nations of Western Europe combined.

- **Record income:** Real per capita disposable personal income -- personal income after taxes and inflation -- has risen 19 percent during this expansion. Real median family income set a new record in 1987, the last year for which data are available.

- **Industrial output:** During this expansion, American industrial output has grown almost 40 percent, nearly double Western Europe's growth rate in industrial output.

- **Higher national saving and investment:** During the first nine months of fiscal year 1989, the Federal Government budget deficit was less than during the same period in the previous fiscal year. Partly due to the discipline of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, the Federal deficit has declined from 6.3 percent of GNP in fiscal year 1983 to an estimated 2.9 percent this fiscal year. The personal saving rate rose to 5.5 percent during the first half of this year. Real, non-residential fixed investment as a percent of real GNP rose to 12.4 percent in the second quarter of 1989.

- **Inflation under control:** Consumer price inflation has remained under five percent in each of the seven years from 1982 to 1988, and the recent slowing in economic growth to a sustainable rate will lessen price pressures in the near future.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Presenting a budget:** The President put forth a budget that provides for investment in future growth and competitiveness and addresses our fundamental obligations for national security and support of the needy. It also provides sufficient funds to advance high-priority initiatives such as protection of the environment, the fight against drugs, and the improvement of our educational system. The President's budget restrains overall growth of spending and meets the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets -- with no new taxes in Fiscal Year 1990.

- **Reaching a budget agreement with Congress:** The President and Congress announced on April 14 a budget plan to reduce the estimated Fiscal Year 1990 deficit by about $64 billion below Fiscal Year 1989. The plan called for reducing the deficit to $99.4 billion, meeting the targets set by the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law. **This is the first budget agreement in recent years reached before the start of the budget year and not framed in the context of crisis.**

- **Savings and Loan reform:** The President signed the **Financial Institution Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act of 1989** on August 9. This legislation comes to grips with the problems facing our savings and loan industry, and will safeguard and stabilize America's financial system. The Act assures that the long developing problems in our savings industry will never happen again. It significantly reforms the regulation of the thrift industry and separates the chartering of the institutions from the insurance of deposits. It establishes strict new guidelines to assure the solvency of thrift institutions in the future, including new capital requirements, and sets stiff penalties for wrongdoing by the officers of insured institutions. Further, the act establishes new agencies to remedy existing problems in the thrift industry and authorizes funds to finance the restructuring of insolvent institutions.

- **Addressing the international debt problem:** The Administration has taken the lead in encouraging commercial banks to reduce the debt and debt service burdens of developing countries. At the Administration's urging, the IMF and World Bank have agreed to support debt and debt service reduction in conjunction with their debtor programs to promote investment, growth, and the return of flight capital to these countries. The recent agreement between Mexico and commercial banks, with its emphasis on debt and debt service reduction, attests to the viability of the Administration's plan for resolving the debt problems of developing countries.

- **Capital gains tax rate cut:** A lower tax rate for long-term capital gains is a key element of President Bush's economic program. It will reduce the cost of capital in the U.S., create incentives for investment, and increase job opportunities. The President's proposal includes:
  - -- A 45 percent capital gains exclusion for qualified capital gains, or a 15 percent maximum capital gains tax rate at the taxpayer's option.
  - -- A phased-in increase in the qualifying holding period from one year to three years.
  - -- An exemption from the capital gains tax for families earning under $20,000.

- **Minimum wage proposal:** The President believes in keeping job opportunities available for youth and for those seeking to enter the economic mainstream. The excessive across-the-board increase in the minimum wage which was passed by Congress would have had an adverse economic impact and cut job opportunities drastically. Accordingly, the President vetoed the bill. The veto was later sustained.

- **International Trade:** The Administration is forcefully promoting the opening of world markets. It successfully broke a stalemate in the Uruguay Round's mid-term review and put in place a framework, agreed to by the 96 member nations, to correct and prevent trade distortions in agriculture. It is engaged in bilateral trade talks with important trading partners to encourage them to open their markets to our exports. The Administration has created a high level interagency group to assure that U.S. trade and investment interests are addressed as the European Community works to create a single market in 1992.

- **Steel imports:** The President initiated a two-and-a-half year Steel Trade Liberalization Program designed to phase out, in a responsible and orderly manner, the Voluntary Restraint Arrangements (VRAs) that currently limit steel imports into the U.S. and to negotiate an international consensus to address trade-distorting practices.

- **Agricultural initiatives:** The Administration has announced additional advance deficiency payments of 10 percent to producers of wheat, feed grains, rice, and upland cotton. In addition, a top-level Working Group on Rural Development was established to focus on an action-oriented agenda.

- **National Energy Plan:** The President directed the Secretary of Energy to develop a comprehensive national energy strategy for the nation. The strategy will help the nation meet our energy security and environmental responsibilities and, at the same time, allow a sensible mix of energy sources to protect America's economic competitiveness.

SEIZING INTERNATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACE

The President assumed office at a time of dramatic and vibrantly promising change in the world. From the Third World to the Communist World, surging internal forces of democratization and economic reform have shaken Marxist and other authoritarian regimes to their foundations. As they respond to these internal crises, unprecedented opportunities have arisen to resolve longstanding international disputes, to reduce the level of arms and military expenditures, and to promote the further spread of market economies and political pluralism. While this worldwide process of reform and change has and will inevitably encounter setbacks, a new course in history has been set. The President is determined to move on a broad front to seize this unique opportunity to strengthen world peace and the course of freedom.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **"Europe Whole and Free":** In two State visits to Europe, a series of major speeches, and frequent meetings and contacts with European leaders, the President has set forth a vision of a new Europe -- secure, prosperous, whole, and free -- successfully culminating four decades of Western policies and seizing an historic opportunity to move toward ending the postwar division of Europe.

- **Western Europe:** The President for the first time has declared the United States' unequivocal support for European unity and defense cooperation. He has proposed new mechanisms for consultation with the EC Commission and member states as the European Community heads toward a single market in 1992. Seeing the resurgence of Western Europe as a triumph of Western values and principles, the President welcomed its success, confident that a mature partnership will serve mutual interests.

- **NATO Summit:** At the successful NATO Summit, the President's vision of Europe as well as agreement on a new conventional arms reduction initiative helped restore Alliance unity and confidence and define the Alliance's future agenda.

- **Eastern Europe:** As Poland and Hungary take unprecedented steps toward pluralism, democracy, and market economic policies, the United States has signaled its strong support. These steps provide an opportunity not only for a democratic transition in these countries, but also for a broader process of European reconciliation. Offering political and moral support as well as economic assistance during his visits to Poland and Hungary, the President proposed major new initiatives for Poland and Hungary designed to further structural change that promises improved economic performance.

- **Poland:** Following up on the program he announced earlier this year in Hamtramck, Michigan, the President called for action to declare Poland a beneficiary country under the U.S. Generalized System of Preferences. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation will be authorized to operate in Poland, and the US is proposing a private business agreement that will promote contacts between the private sectors of both countries. The President will ask Congress to provide a $100 million fund to help capitalize and invigorate the Polish private sector and encourage the World Bank to move ahead with new loans to help Polish agriculture and industry. He has encouraged other members of the Paris Club to agree to an expeditious rescheduling of Polish debt. Finally, he will ask Congress for $15 million in a cooperative venture with Poland to help fight air and water pollution in Krakow.

- **Hungary:** The President will ask Congress to authorize a $25 million fund as a source of new capital to invigorate the Hungarian private sector. As soon as new emigration legislation has passed the Hungarian Parliament, the President will inform Congress that Hungary is in full compliance with the restrictions of the Jackson-Vanik Amendments of the 1974 Trade Act. This will make Hungary eligible for Most-Favored-Nation tariff treatment for the maximum period allowable under the law. The President also declared Hungary a beneficiary country under our Generalized System of Preferences which will allow duty free entry of Hungarian products into the U.S. market. He also called for legislation to allow OPIC to operate in Hungary, and for greater scientific, technical, educational, and cultural exchanges between the US and Hungary. The President will seek to establish an International Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe in Budapest. Finally, he announced that the Peace Corps would operate in Hungary to enhance English language training -- the first time in a European country.

- **The Economic Summit in Paris:** The mission of the President's historic visit to Poland and Hungary and his successful effort at the Paris Economic Summit was to promote concerted actions among the industrial democracies in the economic and political arenas. The industrial democracies demonstrated their unity, as they dealt with a variety of issues on the international economic agenda, as well as the problem of drugs and the environment.

- **"Beyond Containment":** Seeing an historic process of change in the Soviet Union, the President has declared his intention to move beyond the successful policy of containment of Soviet power to a new policy whose goal is integrating the Soviet Union into the world community as a constructive partner. Positive changes so far in Soviet policies -- in human rights, economic reforms, and settlement of some international conflicts -- need to be encouraged and broadened. The United States will be ready to respond to such further developments. Already:
  - -- The US-Soviet dialogue on conflicts in regions of the Third World has resumed intensively, and discussions have begun on a new range of global problems that require global cooperation, such as terrorism, the environment, and narcotics.
  - -- In arms control, the President has accelerated the pace of negotiations, with new American initiatives on reducing conventional forces in Europe (endorsed by the NATO Summit), and on strategic arms reduction. U.S. initiatives also aim at early progress on verification issues to further early agreement on strategic arms reductions.

- **China:** On his visit to China in February, the President emphasized the long-term strategic importance of the U.S.-China relationship and his support for the process of reform. In response to the subsequent tragic suppression of the democratic movement in China, the President ordered the suspension of all government-to-government sales and commercial exports of weapons, suspension of visits between US and Chinese military leaders, sympathetic review of requests by Chinese students in the United States to extend their stay, and review of other aspects of US-PRC bilateral relations. The President's policy signals that repression cannot be condoned. But it also seeks to preserve the basic elements of a strategically important relationship that has, itself, played a major part in China's recent policy of reform and openness -- and can do so again in the future.

- **Latin America:** The President has established a close, working relationship with Latin American neighbors to foster a new partnership on hemisphere problems like democracy, debt, and drugs. Relations with Mexico are closer than at any time in recent memory. The U.S. has also worked with the Organization of American States to develop a hemispheric consensus urging Manuel Noriega to leave power.

- **Bipartisan Accord on Central America:** On March 24, the President and Congress agreed on a bipartisan plan for peace and democracy in Central America:
  - -- Regional peace: The President and Congress agreed that the region's democracies deserve our support, that

Nicaragua's subversion of its neighbors must end, and that Soviet support for violence and subversion in the hemisphere must also end.

-- Humanitarian aid: Congress agreed to support the Administration's request for continued humanitarian assistance for the Nicaraguan Resistance at current levels through the elections in Nicaragua scheduled for February, 1990.

-- Democracy: The Communist Sandinistas are being put to the test to permit a real democratic electoral contest for political power, fulfilling the promises of democratic pluralism that they have made (and broken) so often before.

o **Middle East:** The Administration is devoted to promoting progress toward peace in the Middle East by supporting the Government of Israel's May 14 initiative calling for Palestinian elections in the occupied territories. These elections can be a step toward a comprehensive peace settlement that assures Israel's security and the legitimate political rights of the Palestinians. The Administration also has supported the efforts of the Arab League and others to end the internecine warfare and slaughter of innocents, and to bring peace to Lebanon.

o **A Strong Defense:** The President proposed to Congress a two-missile plan to maintain a strong, modernized strategic deterrent. The plan to deploy the rail-mobile Peacekeeper and the road-mobile Small ICBM will also give the U.S. momentum in strategic arms control negotiations.

-- The President proposed to Congress an integrated package on strategic modernization that capitalizes on the revolutionary potential of the B-2, and modernizes the third leg of the Triad -- essential also to our arms control positions.

-- The President requested a funding level of $4.6 billion for the Strategic Defense Initiative to support an informed development and deployment decision within the next four years.

-- The President also directed the Department of Defense to implement its recent blueprint to strengthen and streamline the weapons procurement process.

o **Air Transportation Security:** The Administration has taken several measures to enhance security and efficiency in the air transportation system. These efforts include:

-- A proposed 17% increase in the budget for the Federal Aviation Administration.

-- New requirements for installation of explosive detection devices in high-risk airports.

-- Intense international negotiations to enhance security abroad.

INVESTING IN OUR FUTURE

Record economic growth has provided America with the opportunity to invest in a brighter future. Because America's available resources are limited, the President's programs are designed to focus our efforts on those initiatives most likely to create growth in the years ahead.

EDUCATION

The President's actions to improve education are guided by **four key principles:** that **excellence** and success in education should be recognized and rewarded; that federal funding should be targeted to those who **need** it most; that **choice and flexibility** -- for educators, parents and students -- are important to educational reform and to achieving excellence; and finally, that greater **accountability** is needed in the education system to assure that students are actually receiving the highest quality education.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- On April 5, the President proposed and sent to the Congress a comprehensive education package, **The Educational Excellence Act of 1989**, which includes seven initiatives:
  - **The Presidential Merit Schools program** -- to reward schools that are making substantial progress in raising students' educational achievement, creating a safe and drug-free school environment, and reducing the drop-out rate.
  - **A new Magnet Schools of Excellence program** -- to support the establishment, expansion or enhancement of magnet schools, increasing parental choice and improving quality education.
  - **The Alternative Certification of Teachers and Principals program** -- to assist States interested in broadening the pool of talent from which to recruit teachers and principals.
  - **President's Awards for Excellence in Education** -- to be awarded to public and private school teachers in every state who meet the highest standards of excellence.
  - **Drug-free Schools Urban Emergency Grants** -- to provide special assistance to selected urban school districts that are disproportionately affected by drug trafficking and abuse.
  - **A National Science Scholars program** -- to provide college scholarships to high school seniors who have excelled in the sciences and mathematics.
  - **Additional Funding Authorization for Endowment Matching Grants at Historically Black Colleges and Universities** -- to strengthen HBCUs by building endowments, an especially effective way to create financial strength and long-term security.

- On April 24, the President issued a new **Executive Order on Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs).** Highlights of the order include:
  - -- Establishing the President's Board of Advisors on Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the Department of Education.
  - -- Directing Federal agencies to increase opportunities for HBCU involvement in Federal programs and directing the Secretary of Education to develop an Annual Federal Plan for Assistance.
  - -- Calling for the White House Office of National Service, along with other Federal offices to work to encourage private sector support of HBCUs.

THE ENVIRONMENT

President Bush, a long-time environmentalist, has taken strong action to protect the environment. He believes that environmental protection, conservation, and wise management of our national resources must have a high priority on our national agenda.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Clean Air legislation:** President Bush transmitted to the Congress a sweeping program to ensure clean air for all Americans. The President's plan, transmitted to Congress on July 21, 1989, calls for the first revisions to the Clean Air Act since 1977 and is designed to curb three major threats to the nation's environment: acid rain, urban air pollution, and toxic air emissions.
  - -- **Acid Rain:** Sulfur dioxide emissions that cause acid rain will be cut, by ten million tons from 1980 levels, and nitrogen oxide levels cut by two million tons -- by the end of this century. The Administration's bill is the only one which imposes a cap on emissions after the year 2000 to ensure that a ten million ton reduction is maintained. Companies will be allowed to trade credits among themselves for reductions they make, so that they can decide how to bring aggregate emissions down as cost-effectively as possible.
  - -- **Urban Air Pollution:** By employing a mix of federal measures and state initiatives, this legislation will sharply cut air pollution in our cities by the year 2000. The federal measures alone will cut hydrocarbon emissions -- which contribute to urban ozone -- by almost half.

    Currently, 100 cities don't meet Federal air quality standards. This legislation will bring all but 4 cities into attainment with the ozone standard by 2000 -- and within 20 years, even Los Angeles, Houston and New York.

In the nine urban areas with the greatest smog problems, smog will be cut through the introduction of alternative fuels and clean-fueled vehicles. The President is calling for the phased-in introduction of a half a million clean-fueled vehicles in 1995, building up to sales of a million clean-fueled cars a year in 1997 through 2004.

Automobile and fuel companies will be allowed to trade reduction credits among themselves.

-- **Toxic Air Emissions:** All categories of airborne toxic chemicals should be cut by 75 percent by the year 2000. In its first phase, the President's plan should substantially reduce the number of deaths from cancer that are suspected to have been caused by toxic industrial air emissions.

Until now, because of an unworkable law, the EPA has been able to regulate only seven of the 280 known air toxics. The President's plan will allow EPA to do its job better, and will apply the most advanced industrial technology available to control these airborne poisons. The legislation promises certifiable progress in regulating sources of toxic air emissions on a set schedule.

o **Natural Gas Decontrol:** On July 26, the President signed into law the **Wellhead Decontrol Act of 1989**, which ends all remaining price controls on natural gas. This will phase out all federal price controls on natural gas by January 1, 1993.

o **Alaskan oil spill:** A Cabinet-level team was sent to assess the Alaskan oil spill, and a joint federal-state resource recovery team was convened. The National Transportation Safety Board is investigating the accident. Exxon has accepted responsibility for paying for the clean up, and for employing local civilian personnel necessary to control further damage.

The Departments of Transportation and Interior, as well as the EPA, are coordinating the long-range planning to restore the environment of Prince William Sound, and the President has ordered a review of existing contingency plans for accidents such as this.

The President also proposed, and the Paris Summit leaders accepted, a call for increased international efforts on oil spill prevention and clean-up.

- **Oil Spill Legislation:** On May 11, the Administration transmitted to Congress comprehensive oil pollution liability and compensation legislation that broadens and strengthens our existing patchwork of laws. The bill provides swift and assured compensation for clean up costs and damages through a liability system based on strict financial responsibility requirements for shipowners backed up by an oil-industry financed fund.

- **Outer Continental Shelf Task Force:** The President set up a special task force to address environmental concerns about oil and gas drilling off the coasts of California and Florida. Pending the recommendations of the task force, the President has postponed drilling activity in these areas.

- **Cleaning up hazardous wastes:** The President announced he will be seeking new legislation to amend the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act in order to give the United States Government authority to ban all exports of hazardous waste unless an agreement exists with the receiving country providing for the safe handling and management of those wastes.

- Also, Secretary of Energy Watkins has put forth a plan of action to identify and prioritize clean up of defense and civilian radioactive waste; meet the Nation's security needs; and comply with environmental safety and health laws.

- **Superfund:** The President is reinvigorating the Superfund hazardous waste clean-up program by directing EPA to take a number of steps, including more aggressive action to force private parties to clean up sites, stepped-up cost recovery, and better use of existing emergency cleanup authorities. EPA is also now finishing a priority review of Superfund to improve its operation.

- **Ozone depletion:** The President has called for a total worldwide phaseout of CFCs by the year 2000, provided safe substitutes are available, in order to prevent further damage to the Earth's protective ozone layer.

- **Clean water and coastlines:** The EPA has started a tracking system for medical wastes and the Justice Department has set up a task force to prosecute those who deliberately dump medical waste into our Nation's waters -- the first step in a comprehensive program to help keep our beaches clean. The President is committed to end ocean dumping of sewage sludge by 1991.

- **Wetlands, National Parks, and Reforestation:** The President is also committed to "no net loss of wetlands" and is directing his executive branch agencies, through an

interagency task force, to make recommendations to achieve that goal.

He has proposed $206 million in new money to expand and improve America's parks and wildlife refuges, preserving them for generations to come.

Finally, the President supports increased lending by the development banks for reforestation programs and the implementation of the Tropical Forest Action Plan. He also endorsed the call by the Paris Economic Summit for an end to world deforestation.

- **Asbestos Ban:** On July 7, EPA announced an almost total phase-out of nearly all uses of asbestos by 1997. The ban will prohibit importation, manufacture, and processing of asbestos, a carcinogen linked to lung cancer and mesothelioma (lung and chest cancer).

- **Improved Forecasting:** The Commerce Department announced that beginning in Fiscal Year 1990, the National Weather Service will modernize and restructure its operations to provide improved forecasting and weather warning systems. The new system will include advanced weather radar, observation automation, and a new communications system.

- **Ban on African Elephant Ivory:** On June 9, the Administration announced an importation ban of African elephant ivory into the United States, making importation from any country illegal. The ban covers both commercial and non-commercial shipments.

COMBATTING VIOLENT CRIME

The President is working to strengthen the nation's criminal justice system and the Federal, state, and local law enforcement partnership.

Four principles underlie the goals of our criminal justice system and the means for accomplishing them: First, to protect citizens and their property; to hold those who commit violent crimes accountable for their actions; to have as the objective of our criminal justice system the swift and certain apprehension, prosecution and incarceration of those who break the law; and finally, to ensure a sustained, cooperative effort by Federal, state and local law enforcement authorities.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- On May 15, 1989, President Bush announced to Congress **The Comprehensive Violent Crime Control Act of 1989** to combat violent crime. The President's initiative includes:
  - **Strengthening Current Laws:** The President is calling on Congress to double the mandatory minimum penalties
    - from five years to ten years in Federal prison -- for the use of semi-automatic weapons in violent crimes or drug felonies.

    In addition, the Attorney General has been directed to advise America's prosecutors to end plea bargaining for violent Federal firearms offenses.

    President Bush called on Congress to enact the steps necessary to implement the death penalty for the most serious Federal crimes, and urged state Governors to match these Federal initiatives -- new mandatory sentencing, tougher rules on plea bargaining, and implementing the death penalty -- in the States.
  - **Controlling Certain Semi-Automatic Weapons:** In July, the Administration took action to ban permanently the importation of any semi-automatic weapons which fail to meet the criteria specified in the Gun Control Act of 1968. The President also called for the closing of loopholes which allow access to such guns by certain classes of criminals, and he proposed prohibiting the importation, manufacture, sale, or transfer of gun magazines of more than 15 rounds.
  - **Augmenting Enforcement:** The President has directed the Attorney General and the Treasury Secretary, working together with state and local authorities, to launch a comprehensive, coordinated offensive against America's most violent criminals.

    President Bush requested funding for the hiring of 825 new Federal agents and staff -- 375 at the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; 300 at the FBI; and 150 Deputy U.S. Marshals. This offensive, including state and local enforcement authorities, will target violent criminals and repeat offenders.
  - **Enhancing Prosecution:** The President proposed increased funds for the U.S. Attorneys Offices to support 1,600 new prosecutors and staff, and increased funds for the Justice Department Criminal Division to support 168 new positions, to handle drug cases, weapons offenses, and other priority matters.
  - **Expanding Prison Capacity:** The President proposed an additional $1 billion for Federal prison construction, bringing the total FY 1990 budget to over $1.5 billion. This will add 24,000 new Federal prison beds to the current 31,000 beds, an increase of nearly 80%.
  - **Anti-Drug Treaty:** The Vienna Convention on Illicit Drugs and Psychotropic Substances was strongly endorsed

by the President and forwarded to the Congress for ratification. This is the most significant and far-reaching treaty on international cooperation on drug trafficking, chemical precursor control, and money laundering ever to be signed.

FIGHTING DRUG ABUSE

We have begun a new war on drugs in this country. The President believes a **four-pronged approach** is key: **education, treatment, interdiction, and enforcement.** The policy of this Administration is **"zero tolerance."** No amount of illegal drug use is acceptable. This means dealing with both supply and demand.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Budget:** The Administration is requesting over $6 billion in funding for FY 1990 to fight the drug war, increasing outlays by nearly $1 billion for drug education, treatment, and enforcement.

- **Education:** The Administration is requesting nearly $1.1 billion for education and prevention efforts. This is a 16 percent increase over 1989 and includes funding for ongoing programs and new initiatives.

- **Treatment:** Funding for drug abuse treatment will be increased 18 percent. The Administration is proposing over $700 million to expand the nation's capacity to provide treatment, particularly to indigent, disadvantaged youth and expectant mothers.

- **Interdiction and enforcement:** The Administration is proposing over $4.6 billion for law enforcement programs in 1990, a 20 percent increase over 1989. This constitutes about 70 percent of President Bush's proposed drug budget. Substantial increases are requested in funding to strengthen inspection, interdiction, intelligence efforts and crop eradication programs, such as Operation Snow Cap, a federally led effort which broke up a $1.2 billion drug money-laundering operation. The President strongly supports the death penalty for drug kingpins who commit drug-related murders, and will appoint judges who will strongly enforce the drug penalty laws.

- **Public housing:** The Bush Administration is working to make public housing drug free, to protect the rights of the vast majority of decent, law-abiding public housing residents.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development has acted:

-- To modify its lease and grievance procedures to facilitate eviction of those involved in drug related criminal activity;
-- To make drug use and trafficking a lease violation subject to eviction proceedings;
-- To target federal assistance to anti-drug security measures;
-- To revoke federal housing subsidies from those dealing in drugs;
-- To involve the private and voluntary sectors in efforts to rid public housing of drugs and give residents, especially young people, a stake in their communities and their futures.

o In addition, **the Office of National Drug Control Policy has responded to the drug emergency in the District of Columbia** by expanding the Metropolitan Area Task Force, working for more prisons, and providing FBI support in enforcement. The assistance of the National Institute on Drug Abuse will be provided to local treatment efforts. The Department of Education will assist the District with 50 percent more funds for drug prevention programs in city schools and the Department of Labor will support employee assistance programs and work with the business community to increase job training for youth.

WORKING FOR A KINDER, GENTLER AMERICA

CHILD CARE

The changing nature of American society heightens the need for quality, affordable, accessible child care. President Bush wants to put **choice** in the hands of parents so that they -- not government -- have the power to select the best and safest environment for their children.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Child care:** The President transmitted to Congress a child care package, the **Working Family Child Care Assistance Act of 1989** which:
  - -- Provides a new refundable child care tax credit of up to $1000 per child under age four, for low income working families.
  - -- Makes the existing Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit refundable.
  - -- Does not discriminate against religious- or family-based child care, or a parent who chooses not to work outside the home.

- The President has directed Secretary of Labor Dole to determine whether the barriers to securing liability insurance impair employer-provided child care.

- **Head Start:** The President also transmitted legislation to Congress that would allow a $250 million increase in Head Start appropriation. This will pay for enrollment of up to 95,000 more four-year-olds in the program.

NATIONAL SERVICE

The President's vision to help overcome the disintegration of communities and build a better America -- not through a federal government program, but through a nationwide service movement -- has three facets: First, to issue a call to all individuals and institutions to claim society's problems as their own; second, to identify, enlarge, and duplicate what is working; and third, to discover and encourage new leaders.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **President Bush called on:**
  - -- **all Americans and all American institutions,** large and small, to make service of central value in their daily life and work;
  - -- **all heads of business and professional firms** to include community service among the factors considered in making hiring, compensation, and promotion decisions;
  - -- **newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations, cable systems, and other media institutions** to identify service opportunities, spotlight successful service initiatives and profile outstanding community leaders regularly;
  - -- **all state and local education boards** to uphold the value of service and to encourage students, faculty, and personnel to serve others;
  - -- **college and university presidents** to recognize the value of community service in considering applicants, and to encourage and uphold the value of community service; and
  - -- **not-for-profit service organizations** to build the capacity to absorb increasing numbers of volunteers in purposeful roles.

- **Identifying, Enlarging, and Recreating What is Working:** The President announced the formation of a foundation called the **Points of Light Initiative,** of which he will serve as Honorary Chairman. Formed to identify and build upon what is working, the Foundation will act as a magnet for the best ideas and brightest programs in community service and then serve as a catalyst to project these ideas into every corner of the nation. The Administration will ask Congress for $25 million annually to support this initiative, which will, in turn, seek matching funds from the private sector. The President has also encouraged all governors nationwide to join the movement by forming State and local Points of Light working groups composed of outstanding leaders.
  - -- Through a Foundation initiative called the **ServNet Project,** professional firms, corporations, unions, schools, religious, civic and not-for-profit groups will be asked to donate the services of some of their most talented and promising people for a period of time. Peer-to-peer working groups will be formed to bring examples of successful initiatives and provide training, technical assistance and other support to enable other institutions to devise similar initiatives.
  - -- Another Foundation initiative, the **ServLink Project,** will help improve existing methods of matching would-be volunteers with purposeful service opportunities. ServLink will stimulate the development, through

private sector resources, of "technology links" like telephones, computers and other mechanisms between those who wish to serve and those needing service in the inquirer's own community.

-- The Foundation will also discover and encourage new leaders by recognizing them through two new Presidential Awards:
  -- The **National Service Youth Leadership Awards** will be given each year to individuals.
  -- The **President's Build A Community Awards** will honor those people and institutions who have worked together to rebuild families or to revitalize communities.

WELFARE REFORM

The Administration has developed a major new education and job training program to help recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children move off welfare and become economically self-sufficient.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

o **Welfare reform:** The Administration issued proposed rules on April 18 to **implement the major provisions of the Family Support Act of 1988.** The proposed rules are designed to:
  -- **Target job training assistance** to those who are most likely to benefit and who are most at risk for long-term welfare dependency.
  -- Provide **maximum level of flexibility** to AFDC parents in obtaining the type of **child care** that best suits their needs, consistent with the Administration's legislative proposals on child care.
  -- The Administration is proposing to spend $3.6 billion over the next five years implementing the **JOBS Program.** The changes will pay benefits in the future by reducing the number of individuals on welfare. It is estimated that 138,000 families will be able to leave welfare rolls over five years as a result of this program.

EXPANSION OF MEDICAID

The President is committed to health care for disadvantaged mothers and children, the disabled, and poor, aged Americans and has called for full funding of Medicaid. This will mean $39.1 billion for FY 1990, an increase of $4.8 billion, or 12.2 percent over the FY 1989 level.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Expanding Medicaid:** On April 18, the Administration forwarded to Congress proposed legislation to make federal programs better serve pregnant women, infants and children. The legislation would expand the population Medicaid serves, making Medicaid available to 1.9 million more women when they become pregnant. The legislation would:
  - -- Increase by 374,000 the number of pregnant women and children eligible for Medicaid.
  - -- Foster greater participation in Medicaid by eligible pregnant women by providing services to pregnant women who are presumed eligible for Medicaid before a formal eligibility determination is made; and by requiring States to operate outreach programs in areas of high infant mortality.
  - -- Entitle all children under age 6, who are receiving Food Stamps, to receive Medicaid coverage for immunizations.
  - -- Make the Federal match rate for State administration expenses a uniform 50 percent by gradually reducing special administrative match rates that currently range from 75 to 100 percent. The savings that would result would allow the legislative eligibility changes proposed by the President to be implemented within the current program's spending level.

AIDS INITIATIVES

The Administration is moving on a number of fronts to combat the spread of AIDS.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **AIDS Clinical Trials Information Service:** The Administration developed a computerized listing though which AIDS patients and their doctors can get up-to-date information on clinical trials of AIDS drugs and vaccines -- whether federally or privately sponsored.

- **Experimental AIDS Drugs:** The Administration unveiled a proposal to allow wider availability of experimental therapeutic drugs used to treat people with AIDS.

- **AIDS Prevention Guide:** The Administration joined the National Parent Teachers Association in announcing the distribution of 500,000 copies of the "AIDS Prevention Guide" for use by parents and teachers nationwide.

- **$5 Million Transferred to States -- AIDS Treatment:** The Administration transferred $5 million from currently appropriated AIDS funds to assist needy individuals in the purchase of treatment drugs for AIDS and related conditions.

HOUSING/HOMELESSNESS

President Bush has taken a number of steps to create an "opportunity society" of jobs, growth, housing, and hope for Americans in need of a helping hand.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Homelessness:** In his FY 1990 budget, the President has proposed to provide over $1 billion in federal resources to help end homelessness and pave the way to jobs, permanent housing, health care, and human dignity. President Bush's proposal calls for fully funding the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act and for a new $50 million matching grant program to promote public/private partnerships to assist homeless families and the mentally ill.

- **Affordable housing:** President Bush is committed to making housing more affordable for low-income families, and to provide homeownership opportunities to the disadvantaged and to young families. President Bush proposes to assist through HUD subsidized Housing Programs, 109,000 new families in need of low-income housing, and has pledged to maintain HUD assistance to those families already being helped. President Bush has also signalled his commitment to helping poor residents in public housing to become homeowners through resident management and ownership programs.

OPPORTUNITY

- **Enterprise zones:** President Bush has called for enactment of enterprise zone legislation, to give urban and rural areas the opportunity for jobs and hope for the future. President Bush asked Congress to enact labor and capital-based incentives to create jobs and entrepreneurial activity in our most distressed communities.

- **Job training:** The Administration has sent to the Congress a proposal to improve the Job Training Partnership Act by targeting its resources on the poor and at risk youth and adults who most need job training to get jobs and become economically self sufficient.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The Bush Administration is committed to reaching out to minorities, and to striking down barriers to free and open access. The President has made it clear that this Administration will not tolerate discrimination, bigotry, or bias of any kind.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Civil rights:** The Administration has taken a number of actions to protect the civil rights of all Americans, including several court actions in key civil rights cases.
  - -- The President has called upon Congress to reauthorize the Commission on Civil Rights.
  - -- The Administration endorsed the Hate Crimes Bill, which provides for the collection of data about crimes motivated by race, religion, or ethnicity.
  - -- On March 13, Attorney General Thornburgh announced the filing of Federal housing discrimination lawsuits seeking monetary damages and civil penalties under the expanded enforcement authority of the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988.

- **Disabled Americans:** The Administration has reached a consensus with key Senators on legislation that would fulfill the President's commitment to seek legislation extending civil rights protections to disabled Americans. The legislation, called the **Americans with Disabilities Act,** would represent the most significant expansion of federal civil rights laws in the past two decades.
  - -- The legislation would provide unprecedented protections against discrimination in the area of employment, requiring reasonable accommodation be made by employers for disabled potential employees.
  - -- Most new buildings would be required to be accessible to the disabled.
  - -- Stores, providers of services, restaurants, and other public accommodations would be required to serve disabled Americans to the same extent they serve able Americans.

- **Whistleblower protection:** On April 10, the President signed S. 20, the **Whistleblower Protection Act of 1989.** This law will strengthen the protections and procedural rights available to those federal employees who report misdeeds and mismanagement.
  - -- This new law will enhance the authority of the Office of Special Counsel, and whistleblowers will also now be allowed to take their cases to the Merit Systems Protection Board.
  - -- The statute alters the legal burdens of proof, making it easier for employees to be vindicated when they are wrongfully penalized by their supervisors for whistleblowing activities.

ETHICS

High ethical standards for all Americans are central to this Administration, and we will enforce them -- strictly, comprehensively, fairly, and to the letter and spirit of the law.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Campaign Finance Reform:** The President's comprehensive campaign finance reform proposal is designed to lessen the power of special economic interests and restore real competition to American Congressional elections. The package seeks to enhance the role of individuals and the political parties in elections. Below are proposal highlights:
  - -- **Eliminating political action committees (PACs)** supported by corporations, unions, or trade associations, and prohibiting such entities from paying for the overhead or administrative costs of any independent PAC.
  - -- **Strengthening political parties by increasing the amounts they can spend on behalf of congressional candidates.** This source of funds would permit legislators to spend less time fundraising, would ensure that challengers have greater resources with which to challenge incumbents, and would further limit the role of special economic interests in elections.
  - -- Addressing the problem of the "permanent Congress" by **reforms designed to reduce the unwarranted advantages of incumbency.** Specifically, the proposals would **prohibit the personal use of excess campaign funds,** drastically **reduce Congressional mailings under the frank, ban the rollover of campaign funds** from one election cycle to the next, and **legislate fair neutral criteria for the redistricting** of Congressional and legislative lines that will follow the 1990 census.
  - -- **Fully disclosing all soft money** spent by the political parties and all labor unions, corporations, and trade associations to influence a federal election.

- **Ethics:** The President issued an **Executive Order** creating the **President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform,** which submitted its recommendations to the President on March 9. **Responding to the Commission's work, the President, on April 12, sent to Congress a sweeping ethics bill and simultaneously issued an Executive Order announcing ethical principles for the conduct of executive branch employees.** The President's proposals include:
  - -- **Expanded financial disclosure** for all three branches of government.

-- **Deferral of tax liability** when an individual is required by his or her agency to divest assets in order to avoid conflicts of interest.
-- Strengthened **rules against abusing the revolving door for private gain at the expense of the public trust.** These rules would also apply for the first time to the legislative branch.
-- **A 25 percent pay raise for federal judges** was proposed in the legislation submitted April 12. On July 7, the President submitted separate legislation calling for pay increases for certain specialized professionals and other senior officials in the executive branch.
-- **Congressional Honoraria Ban:** On July 7, the President also sent to Congress legislation that calls for the elimination of Congressional honoraria by 1991, making the next Congress honoraria-free. This proposal is linked to the enactment by Congress of a pay increase for its Members, and the President will work with Congress toward this end.
-- The extension of the federal statute that prohibits employees from taking actions that enhance their own financial interest to cover legislative and judicial branch employees (but not Members of Congress).
-- The extension of the **Independent Counsel statute to cover the Congress** and the creation of an independent, non-partisan Congressional Ethics Office.
-- **A ban on outside earned income** for full-time non-career Presidential appointees in the executive branch, including non-career employees in the immediate White House Office.

# # #

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Grading Public Schools

The Gallup/Phi Delta Kappa Poll. May 5-7, 1989, and June 9-11, 1989. N=1,584 adults nationwide:

"Do you favor or oppose allowing students and their parents to choose which public schools in this community the students attend, regardless of where they live?"

	Favor %	Oppose %	Don't know %
ALL	60	31	9
No children in school	58	33	9
Public school parents	64	29	7
Nonpublic school parents	68	22	10

"Would you favor or oppose requiring the public schools in this community to use a standardized national curriculum?"

	Favor %	Oppose %	Don't Know %
ALL	69	21	10
No children in school	67	21	12
Public school parents	74	20	6
Nonpublic school parents	75	18	7

"Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, and FAIL to denote the quality of their work. Suppose the public schools themselves, in this community, were graded the same way. What grade would you give the public schools here: A, B, C, D, or FAIL?"

	A+B %	A %	B %	C %	D %	FAIL %	Don't Know %
1989	43	8	35	33	11	4	9
1988	40	9	31	34	10	4	12
1987	43	12	31	30	9	4	14
1986	41	11	30	28	11	5	15
1985	43	9	34	30	10	4	13
1984	42	10	32	35	11	4	8
1983	31	6	25	32	13	7	17
1982	37	8	29	33	14	5	11
1981	36	9	27	34	13	7	10
1980	35	10	25	29	12	6	18
1979	34	8	26	30	11	7	18

"How about the public schools in the nation as a whole? What grade would you give the public schools nationally: A, B, C, D, or FAIL?"

	A %	B %	C %	D %	FAIL %	Don't Know %
ALL	2	20	47	15	4	12
No children in school	2	20	46	15	5	12
Public school parents	2	22	47	15	3	11
Nonpublic school parents	1	14	52	14	4	15

"What do you think are the biggest problems with which the public schools in this community must deal?" [Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple answers.]

	ALL %	No Children In School %	Public School Parents %	Non-public School Parents %
Use of drugs	34	35	30	30
Lack of discipline	19	20	16	23
Lack of proper financial support	13	11	18	11
Poor curriculum/ Poor standards	8	9	9	7
Large schools/ Overcrowding	8	6	11	6
Difficulty in getting good teachers	7	8	6	9
Parents' lack of interest	6	6	6	5
Integration/Busing	4	3	5	7
Drinking/Alcoholism	4	3	4	5
Low teacher pay	4	4	4	7
Teachers' lack of interest	4	4	6	2
Crime/Vandalism	4	5	3	2
Pupils' lack of interest/Truancy	3	4	2	6
Moral standards	3	3	3	10
Lack of respect for teachers/other students	3	3	3	7
Lack of proper facilities	1	1	2	1
Mismanagement of funds, programs	1	1	2	1
Lack of needed teachers	1	1	1	1
Parents' involvement in school activities	1	1	1	2
Problems with administration	2	2	1	1
Communication problems	1	1	1	2
Lack of after-school programs	1	1	2	2
Too many schools/ Declining enrollment	1	-	2	1
Transportation	1	1	1	1
Taxes are too high	1	1	-	1
Too much emphasis on sports	1	1	-	1
Peer pressure	1	1	1	-
Lack of family structure	1	1	1	2
School board politics	1	1	1	1
Teacher strikes	1	1	1	-
There are no problems	2	1	3	1
Miscellaneous	4	4	6	7
Don't know	9	10	6	4

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Notes	Handwritten notes, Re: Draft language for POTUS education speech. (1 pp.)	n.d.	~~P-5~~	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Davis, Mark William
Subseries: Subject File
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Education Summit - Charlottesville, VA Part II 9/28/89 [3]

Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)
By cap (NLGB) on 4/5/05

Date Closed:	12/10/2004	**OA/ID Number:**	13870-001
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Re-review Case #:	2005-0481-S	**Appeal Disposition:**	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
AR Case #:		**MR Case #:**	
AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
AR Disposition Date:		**MR Disposition Date:**	

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(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

Some of our problems may be caused by the huge sizes of school districts. This nation realizes full well that when governmental bodies grow above and beyond the bounds and boundaries of community interests, bureaucracy takes control. Giantism is deadly. It breeds bureaucratic paper work and bureaucratic rules and procedures that lead to false assumptions, self-serving decisions and deterioration of purpose.

Smaller school districts, ~~that offer~~ closer to parents and teachers would be more efficient ~~the~~ ~~Which is the question~~ is, however, have we the ability and will to seek that efficiency without reverting to segregation? Freedom of choice for schools would be necessary to avoid even the semblance of ~~segregation~~ purpose. The question then remaining would be, how to apportion ~~supportive~~ taxation and how to satisfy ~~judges who~~ judges and courts.

Mark - The Ross probably wouldn't use this — Might use a varied suggestion of "We need to find ways to get administrators in giant school districts closer to communities + community interests. Giantism is deadly, etc." Omit suggestion of smaller school districts.

DRAFT

September 11, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER

SUBJECT: Public Attitudes Toward Education Reform Initiatives

This is the second in a series of background memorandums on education as you prepare for the Education Summit Conference with Governors. The recently released 21st Annual Gallup Poll on Education (1989) indicates growing public support for "tradition-shattering changes" in education policies. Much of this support reinforces the principles of excellence, choice, accountability, and targeting the needy that you have consistently articulated.

The 1989 Gallup poll produced seven significant findings regarding public attitudes toward changes in our educational system.

1. The public believes by a 2 to 1 margin (60% - 31%) that parents and students have the right to choose which schools in the community students attend.

Polls show those who need it most know best.

The 1989 poll shows that a majority of the public supports parental choice. This is true of all demographic groups and in all geographic areas. The concept has greatest support among non-whites (67% favor) and young adults (67% favor).

A majority of the public (51%) believes that choice would improve some schools while hurting others, 21% believe choice would improve all schools, and 14% believe choice would hurt all schools. Many of the people answering the poll (two-fifths) believe that choice would improve student achievement. Only 10% believe it would lower achievement and 42% believe there would not be much difference. Parental choice is state law in at least three states.

2. Those with the ability to attend college should be able to do so, regardless of financial status.

Four-fifths of the public supports more state or federal assistance for those academically qualified and desiring to attend college. More scholarships or grants, work/study programs, and low-interest loans are strongly and equally supported (94%, 94%, and 93%, respectively).

3. A significant majority (83%) of the public believes that more needs to be done to improve schools in poorer states and communities.

Nearly three-fifths of the public believes that the nation's inner-city schools have "gotten worse over the last several decades." Nearly three-fourths believe it is "very important to increase efforts toward improvement."

The majority of the public would be willing to spend more tax money for youth-oriented programs in low-income communities:

- Almost three-fourths support increased funding for screening young children for health problems.
- Over two-thirds support increased funding for Head Start programs.

4. The public believes that the U.S. should have national goals and standards for education (70%), national public school curricula (69%), and national testing programs to measure achievement (77%).

The Gallup polls have shown since 1978 that the public supports the tradition of local control of schools. This year the question about local control was not asked. Instead the question in this portion of the interview dealt with national goals, standards, etc. and revealed considerable support for such national standards. This result may point to increasing support for national direction in education policy.

When asked whom they thought should establish national goals, those interviewed responded:

WHO SHOULD ESTABLISH NATIONAL STANDARDS AND GOALS?

Professional educators	61%
Panel of parents and other laypeople	20%
The President and Congress	5%
A consensus of state governors	3%
Others/Don't Know	11%

5. The public favors by a 2 to 1 margin (61% - 30%) community service as a requirement for high school graduation.

The question of whether community service should be an option in public schools was asked in 1978 and in 1984 and resulted in an even higher approval rating -- 87% in 1978 and 79% in 1984.

6. The public also favors policies to increase accountability at the school level and to lengthen the school year and school day.

Over three-fifths of the public supports giving principals greater authority over school operations and financially rewarding those schools making the greatest progress.

For the first time in the series of Gallup Polls, a greater percentage would favor than oppose increasing the amount of time students spend in school (48% to 44%).

7. The main reason most parents want their children to have an education is to improve their changes of getting a good job or improve their earning capacity. "To become better citizens" and other quality of life reasons rank far behind.

REASONS PARENTS WANT EDUCATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN

Job opportunities/better job	33%
Better life	25%
Financial security	15%
Personal development	7%
To become better citizens	5%
To contribute to society	2%

Conclusion

Ernest Boyer, President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, was quoted in a Washington Times article last Friday as saying that the Education Summit with Governors is coming at a good time because the "education movement has fizzled." The results of the 21st Annual Gallup Poll on Education clearly indicate that the public is supportive or a variety of reforms.

The investment Americans are making in education is at an all-time high level in terms of financial investment as well as the number of Americans involved in the education system, either as students or workers. The third memo in this series will detail the American commitment to education in 1989 in terms of dollars as well as personal investment.

NOT PARTISAN

COMPACT

"I am challenged to..."

"You are challenged to..."

Davis/Martin
Sept. 20, 1989
Draft: One
Title: Jefferson

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: "Jefferson's Children"
CONVOCATION, UNIV. OF VIRGINIA
Thursday, Sept. 28, 11:30 a.m.

It's a delight to be back in Charlottesville. My son Marvin and my daughter-in-law Margaret have told me to be humble while I'm at U. Hall. ((I guess you only do the wave for Ralph Sampson.)) ////

((Acknowledge governors, events of the last few days.)) I have been deeply impressed by the commitment, the intelligence and the knowledge that you bring to education reform. We ~~can~~ can accomplish much, as long as we are ~~partisans~~ not partisans.

((I've also heard eloquent appeals from many authorities on education in the last few weeks, from state legislators to leaders in business and education. I have listened. And I am deeply appreciative of all that I have heard.))

((But I want to share with you the concerns of someone from an under-represented group in this debate -- first-graders. LETTER ANECDOTE from a "Johnny"))

The (("Johnnys)) of our schools are, in many ways, the luckiest generation of children in history. Just last month, these children observed, in the clarity of Voyager's sight, the horizons of alien worlds, the majesty of space. Think what these images would have meant to the ever-curious founder of this university, who could only look through a primitive telescope at faint patches of light, and wonder.

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

"Jefferson had not only an eighteenth century rationalist's faith in the perfectibility of man; he had not only an aristocrat's enlightened concern for the less fortunate; he had not only a cultivated awareness of the educational principles of his humanistic heritage, he also had ~~the~~ an American's fundamental conviction that on the 'good sense' of an educated citizenry, we could build and defend a country of liberty and justice."

I borrowed these last few words from a friend of mine. This assessment of Thomas Jefferson ~~comes~~ came from another Renaissance man, ~~yet~~ but a man of our times -- the late A. Bartlett Giamatti. //

The vision of the founders was as old as Athens and as fresh as the New World -- to lead an examined life. This was the credo of Thomas Jefferson. And this was the belief by which Bart Giamatti lived.

~~Bart's career was~~ Their lives are a metaphor for decency and public service. And it is that commitment to public service that we must carry on, not just as an education President, but as education governors, as an education society.

We have come close to the Jeffersonian ideal of an educated citizenry. And yet, after two centuries of progress, we are backsliding. While millions of Americans read for pleasure, millions of others don't read at all. While millions of Americans graduate from college, millions of others never finish high school. Jefferson said that no nation could long be both ignorant and free. The state of our educational system is nothing less than the future of our democracy.

So I come to Jefferson's university to make a frank observation: This nation is moving away from the aspirations of its founders. The Founding Fathers were as fluent in geography and science as they were in Latin and French. They began as rapt students of the ancients, the statecraft of Marcus Aurelius, the philosophy of thinkers from Socrates to Cicero. And yet they surpassed their long-dead teachers to become the greatest political philosophers of all time.

Our founders lived at a time when the purpose of education was to develop the **character** of young people. Schools taught literature, physics and geometry. But they also taught honesty, discipline and service to country. Judge for yourself how well we teach these lessons today.

Jefferson wanted to redeem "that mass of talents which lies buried in poverty." And for most of our history, education **has** been the great champion of the poor, leveling all distinctions of class, race and background. Fifty years ago, the poorest immigrants in the bleakest slum knew that their children could go

anywhere, be anything, because they could get **an American education.** Again, judge for yourself if the same could be said today.

We've heard of high school graduates who believe New Mexico is in Latin America. We've seen schools that are overrun by crack and coke. We've read about children who don't know George Bush from George Mitchell,// or ~~either~~ from George Washington. We are all, by now, fully aware of the extent to which our nation is at risk.

This is only the third time a President has called a summit with the governors. And I did not ask you to such an historic occasion merely to discuss what is wrong with our schools. We are here to **work;** to work **together;** to again make **an American education** the **best** in the world. ////

This is not a distant goal to be passively pursued. It is urgent. Imperative. Vital. In the past, one could rise to the middle class without a high school education or a special skill. You know as well as I that in the service economy of the future, this will no longer be possible. There will be **no** jobs for the illiterate and the unskilled. By the year 2000, between five million and fifteen million low-skill jobs will be replaced by jobs that require vastly greater knowledge and ability. If we do not find a way to reach that quarter of young Americans who never attain a high school degree, then the underclass will be truly permanent. And America will no longer be synonymous with opportunity.

Education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become. And come the next century -- just ten years away -- what will we be? Will our descendants forget all that we have been and forsake all we could become? Will they still be the children of Jefferson?

Bill Milliken, a friend of mine in the educational community, told me last week of a boy he knows who is from an inner-city neighborhood, a neighborhood where chaos and violence reigns. For the trouble of going to school, this boy was shot through his shoulder.

Bill went to visit him in the hospital. The boy cried, and Bill rose to get a nurse, thinking that the pain of his wound had become unbearable. But it wasn't that; it wasn't that at all. The boy said he was crying because, and I ~~quote:~~ he was "~~I'm~~ afraid to go home. I'm afraid to walk the streets. And I'm afraid to go to school." Before we do anything, we must first give these children what they need most -- **safety** on the streets and **sanctuary** at school. **Then** they can learn.////

We must become a reading nation, to again approach universal literacy. We must grapple with the hard sciences. And because education is as spiritual as it is practical, our children must know **why** Americans died at Concord, at Gettysburg, at Monte Cassino and Inchon. They must **never again** be allowed to forget our heritage -- **Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, ~~Roosevelt~~, Eisenhower and Kennedy.** ////

To beat illiteracy, to again lead the world in science and to know history by heart -- these are ambitious goals. To some, they may appear over-ambitious. But Americans are not a people who aim for half-way. Nothing less than a full-fledged challenge will mobilize us as a people.

As President, I am here to make such a challenge. As governors, you can provide the leadership to match it. You already are working with the state legislatures and school boards to better our schools. Let us, then, come together -- President and principal, governor and teacher -- to define **national** goals, to set **national** standards. ////

My Administration is committed to doing its part. I have enunciated four principles for federal action. First: Excellence in education should be recognized and rewarded. Second: Federal funding should be targeted to those who need it most. Third: Choice and flexibility -- for educators as well as for parents and students -- are important to educational reform. And fourth and finally: Greater accountability.

Accountability means discipline, structure and goals. And most of all, it means competition -- competition between students, between teachers and between schools. In short, a report card for all -- back to the basics.

Yet I do not counsel a naive nostalgia, a timid adherence to the past. We should embrace only what works. And when hallowed tradition proves to be hollow convention, then we must shatter tradition. The public is ready for sweeping and far-reaching

changes, for lasting reform. We **must// not// disappoint** them. ////

Less than three percent of all families live on a farm; and yet we still educate by an agrarian school calendar largely unchanged since the 1880s. The school year could easily be lengthened to more than 200 days, with generous breaks throughout. Listen to the children. They will tell you that it is a tossup as to which is more boring: nine straight months of school, or three straight months of vacation. **Let us shatter this tradition.**

Some subjects may require hours a day; others minutes. Yet we teach all subjects in rigid 55 minutes formats, as if the human attention span were a Pavlovian ((PAHV-Low-Vian)) response to the ring of a school bell. School days, like school years, are structured by custom, not by creativity. **Let us shatter this tradition.**

Americans fully realize that when government bodies swell beyond the boundaries of community interest, bureaucracy takes control. We should scale our school districts to the communities they serve, empowering parents and teachers alike. Giantism is deadly. **Let us shatter this tradition.**

Reform requires even more of us. Too many parents have come to see education as a service we can hand over to the school boards, in much the same way we expect our cities to provide electricity or water. But education is not a utility, not something to be delegated to public policy. Education is a way

of life, and educational reform is an urgent responsibility for every parent, every student, every community. Those who do not advance the cause of education, **hinder it.** ////

Too often, excessive regulation has also hindered education. How many great ideas, how many grand and noble experiments, have been impaled on the narrow spike of a federal directive? Regulation is the enemy of the bold. And **bold action** is what we need **most** of all. //

Look to Chelsea, Massachusetts, where Boston University has been asked to assume control of a school system in trouble. These schools will now stay open from 7:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., serving as day-care centers for children whose parents work. Eventually, Boston University will offer pre-school classes for all children ages three to five, and "after-school" programs involving arts and exercise.

Look to Milton Goldman and Jeffrey Reed -- teachers in Los Angeles who use video science to entice the children of the television age to enjoy reading.

And look to Pine Villa Elementary School in Miami. In this inner-city school, boys from poor households headed by single mothers were put into an experimental program, in which all the students and their teachers were males. The idea was simple, and it worked. These boys were given what they desperately needed -- their first exposure to a positive, male role model. The principal reported the experiment to be a resounding success. There were no fights, no major discipline problems. Not a single

parent complained. Most important, the academic ability of these children improved by leaps and bounds. And yet the federal government interpreted this program as a violation of its regulations, and terminated it. This is not oversight, this is overkill.

Some experiments are sure to come up short. But for a third of our schools, experimentation is preferable to the status quo, because the status quo could scarcely be worse. The worthy and the useful will win out only if we allow for the vigorous competition of ideas at the local level.

Some say that the greater answer is to spend more money. The fact is, our nation already spends more to educate our youth than it does to defend them -- this year, 353 billion dollars in all. The average per-pupil expenditure in American public education has risen by more than $1,500 since 1983, about ~~as~~ twice as much per student as in the mid-sixties and nearly three times the level of the mid-fifties. And over the decades, while spending growth burgeoned, high school graduation rates and SAT scores tumbled. Hard experience teaches that we cannot buy our way out of this problem.//

I have requested nearly a half a billion dollars on ten worthy programs. The states may choose to spend more. But our main focus should no longer be solely on resources. It must be on **results. It is time we got our money's worth in education.** //

To get results in education, I offer two proposals, each a radical departure from tradition. For the first time, a

President is ready to define, with the governors, national goals and standards in education. Tighter standards// higher goals// greater aspirations -- beginning with sharp reductions in illiteracy and drop-out rates. So my first proposal is to achieve ((goal)) before the high school class of 1999 lines up for its diplomas. ((Specifics to come.))

Second, I also intend the reverse the tightening web of federal restrictions. So I will issue ((an executive order)) on ((date)) to ((language to come)).

In return for greater flexibility from Washington, I ask that you, in turn, ease state restrictions on local bodies. And then we will ask superintendents and principals to meet the higher national standard.

We must eventually be ready to do more than measure our progress against our past performance. We must be willing to compare ourselves with our present competitors. We must come out on top of the toughest of all grading curves -- that the other major industrial nations.

One way to meet a more stringent standard is to establish the principle of choice in education. Parents should be free to choose their schools. Principals should be free to choose the best methods for their schools. And schools should be free to choose teachers with alternative certification -- those whose knowledge surpasses their credentials.

These proposals do not add up to a quick and easy solution. They are the beginning of a process, the work of years. So let

me make a third proposal -- that we meet again in a less formal setting to take stock of where we succeeded, and where we need to redouble our efforts.

Individuals must make the same assessment, for our education is the work of a lifetime. With the average lifespan lengthening to three-quarters of a century, it is absurd that we should quit learning at age 18 or 22. Education shouldn't begin with kindergarten, and end with a diploma and a handshake. Education begins when we draw our first breath. And it stops only when we breathe our last.

Our homes and our workplaces must be places of learning; schools that continually sharpen our skills and upgrade our competence. Seventy-five percent of the workforce of the year 2000 are already on the job today. This makes vocational and adult education essential.

Yet we need to practice lifelong education for greater reasons than the trade balance, or the greying of our work force. These reasons are broader than the narrow compass of economics and government.

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

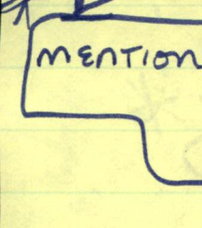
As a nation, we can impart this enchantment -- every time a parent reads a bedtime story to a sleepy child; every time a young scholar turns to the great books. When the day comes that every young American can participate in the life of the mind, then we will truly be Jefferson's children.

Thank you for your hard work and dedication. Thank you for your partnership. Let us leave Charlottesville determined to work together, to work for America. God bless you all.

# # #

- [Cabinet meeting] Sept 20 11:30

- POTUS / GOV.
- STAFF: Porter / Roger / Ray
- Alexander / EDUCATORS



MENTION 4 meetings: state legislators, education assoc. pres., ed. experts, + BUSINESS ROUNDTABLE "A met w/ state leg's, ed. assoc. presidents + other ed. experts, and leaders of business

GOV. elbow "Smile" / POTUS: NOT TALKING TO A DECK THAT ALREADY IS BEEN STACKED. FACT GOVS - NOT LIMITED INPUT TO GOVS.

CAVAZOS: NADA

MR. O'NEILL: DAVID BRODER / WSJ - SET OUT AN IMPORTANT ROLE / CONTINOUS LEARNING IN OUR SOCIETY. Speaking for business community - energy / urgency / asked at Policy Com. meeting not for our money but for our time. Fundamentals / Fixing the problem is enormously costly - best to start of KIDS.

Alexander: One: GOALS / TWO: new school system.
- Fed. Exp'ns aimed @ PRES + POST. in 3 days. Thousand great ideas / adopt a truck, paint the planes a different colors / mint pay for truck drivers / GOALS
- Given a national go-to-the-moon goal. & Second: Brand new school system. More professional tracks for school.

Ask gous. "go-to-the-moon-goal"
JOBS · LITERACY.
[redacted]
- SET A SCHOOL DAY once-a-month
- paying good ~~teachers~~ more / one thing Pres. can do - one meeting - raise $25 million - create a board of excellence / Tom Kean's idea of career switchers *
{ 10,000 grad. in engineering / science
$15,000 each a year / $ 150 ~~000~~ million } *
[redacted]
POTUS Lukewarm
(California)
EDUCATOR - DAVE Gardner - say nice things about ~~teachers~~. By year 2000 reduce adult illiteracy in ~~half~~. By YR 2000 - * drop school ~~drop~~-outs, ~~etc.~~ / Definite deadlines / a new milenium * the moon.
- Brief comment on higher ed. / Unlike K-12, higher ed. more direct fed. inducement.
40% of our support Calif / 40% Fed. grants, often research / 20% private.
- Already need work on the cure - * { scientists and engineers - Even if we start today - We are late. Natl. [redacted] Sec. Fed., state + industry leadership needed.
Mark note [pure science NOT ENOUGH - [redacted] engineers]

WHO IS THIS BROWN NOSER?
4 TOPICS OF CONCERN - 2/3 RDS ~~of~~ schools * work and are getting better. 1/3 ~~do~~ don't and are getting worse. Need to broaden Head Start.

Carnegie guy 

- Recruit teachers + Asst. as teachers
- Account. – Report card – National, state and local report card.
- Follow up / corporations talking sense /

CD Wonderfully exciting moments –
Start w/ KIDS / grow up in '80s / NOT 50's. We know the way Kids learn, human learning. Stand up to test of common sense / JUMPSTART PROCESS - fundamental rethinking /

** CHOICE is MEANINGLESS there is something to choose from. NERVOUS ABOUT restructuring system, unless apply what we know about school.
IRAN HITTER's book: DESCRIBES life of A CLASSROOM.
SQUAD:

Revenge of the Nerds?

* Conversion? What am I getting for a $130,000 for a classroom – as a taxpayer.

Cities in Schools Bill Milliken

Bill: KIDS need SUPPORT SYSTEM / KID SHOT-CRYING NOT because of WOUND – but because of "I'm afraid to go home, afraid to go school, afraid to go to my neighborhood, afraid to go to schools."

DRUGS – order comes before

Pay more for teachers on basis of coop., not competition. Reward people to work together. Bush system DOWN to small, caring, environments.

is Bill Milliken a Bushie? lib? liberal but friend / CAN we use his story?

"A friend of mine, ~~a leader~~ a leader in ed. named Kosher

Bill Milliken

Dr. Chubb -

REMARKS: OPENING ADDRESS
EDUCATION SUMMIT
OLD CABELL HALL
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1989
3:30 P.M.

[MEMBERS OF THE CABINET, GOVERNOR BRANSTAD, GOVERNORS CLINTON AND CAMPBELL, DISTINGUISHED GOVERNORS, PRESIDENT O'NEILL, MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY, AND FRIENDS ... THANK YOU AND WELCOME.]

WELCOME TO "MR. JEFFERSON'S UNIVERSITY," THE ALMA MATER OF PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON; VIRGINIA'S GRACIOUS GOVERNOR, GERRY BALILES; AND BOTH OF ITS U.S. SENATORS JOHN WARNER AND CHUCK ROBB AND THE CONGRESSMAN FOR THIS BEAUTIFUL AREA -- FRENCH SLAUGHTER.

I CALL IT "MR. JEFFERSON'S UNIVERSITY," AS NEARLY EVERYONE DOES IN CHARLOTTESVILLE.

IN FACT, PRESIDENT WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT SAID ONCE THAT THEY STILL SPOKE OF MR. JEFFERSON HERE AS THOUGH HE WERE IN THE NEXT ROOM -- HIS SPIRIT MORE REAL THAN THE PAINTING OF PLATO AND ARISTOTLE BEHIND ME, OR THE STATUE OF HOMER OUTSIDE ON THE LAWN.

ALTHOUGH HIS IDEAS ON INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, HUMANISM, AND THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF MAN STAND ALONE IN THE HISTORY OF THIS REPUBLIC, MR. JEFFERSON HAD ONE OVERRIDING VISION THAT HE DID NOT SEE REALIZED IN HIS LIFETIME. BUT ONE WHICH HAS, OVER THE PAST 200 YEARS, BEEN FULFILLED: A VISION OF A STRONG PUBLIC EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THIS COUNTRY.

IT IS A SYSTEM THAT HAS BROUGHT AMERICANS FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE TOGETHER, AND ENABLED ALL CITIZENS TO BUILD BETTER LIVES FOR THEMSELVES ... A SYSTEM THAT HAS GIVEN US NEIL ARMSTRONG, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JONAS SALK AND SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR ... A SYSTEM UNPARALLED IN THE WORLD.

BUT TODAY, MILLIONS OF AMERICANS CANNOT READ. SOME NEVER EVEN MAKE IT TO GRADUATION, DROPPING OUT OF SCHOOL AND SOCIETY.

DRUGS HAVE INVADED OUR CLASSROOMS, AND VIOLENCE HAS ENTERED OUR SCHOOLYARDS. CLEARLY, THE ENLIGHTENED AMERICA DREAMED OF BY THOMAS JEFFERSON STILL ELUDES US.

AND SO YOU HAVE ACCEPTED MY INVITATION TO COME TOGETHER FOR OPEN AND CANDID DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN EDUCATION. I AM GRATEFUL TO EACH OF YOU, AND I APPRECIATE THE DEPTH OF COMMITMENT SHOWN BY EVERYONE ASSEMBLED HERE TODAY. EDUCATION ISN'T A REPUBLICAN OR A DEMOCRATIC ISSUE.

IT'S AN AMERICAN ISSUE, AND EVERYONE IN THIS ROOM IS COMMITTED TO EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE. WE ALL KNOW TOO MUCH IS AT STAKE TO LET PARTISANSHIP GET IN THE WAY OF PROGRESS.

THE CALL WAS SOUNDED IN 1983, WHEN THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WARNED IN ITS HISTORIC EDUCATION REPORT THAT WE WERE "A NATION AT RISK." THAT REPORT AWAKENED AMERICANS TO THE SITUATION IN OUR SCHOOLS, AND THE ALARM BELLS RANG.

EVERYONE NOW KNOWS WHAT THE PROBLEMS ARE -- AND NO ONE IS HERE TO POINT FINGERS. BUT FOR THE GOOD OF OUR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION, FOR THE GOOD OF THE COUNTRY, WE MUST DECIDE ON A COURSE OF ACTION. THE TIME FOR STUDY IS OVER.

THERE ARE REAL PROBLEMS RIGHT NOW IN OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, BUT THERE IS NO ONE FEDERAL SOLUTION.

YES, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY -- WHICH IS WHY I AM HERE, AND WHY MY CABINET IS HERE. WE WILL WORK WITH YOU, TO HELP FIND ANSWERS. BUT I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE KEY WILL BE FOUND AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS.

YOU ARE THE ONES, AS GOVERNORS, WHO ARE ON THE FIRING LINE. YOU SEE WHAT GOES ON IN THE CLASSROOMS, IN THE LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS, AND IN YOUR STATE-LEVEL POLICY-MAKING SESSIONS.

TRULY, THE STATES ARE THE LABORATORIES OF REFORM IN THIS COUNTRY, AND YOU ARE THE EXPERTS.

BUT WE MUST WORK TOGETHER, THE STATES -- GOVERNORS, MAYORS, STATE LEGISLATORS -- AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. WE MUST WORK TOGETHER OVER THE NEXT TWO DAYS ... BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS. WE WILL TALK ABOUT MANY ISSUES -- MOST IMPORTANTLY, CHOICE, COMPETITIVENESS, TEACHING QUALITY, AND IMPROVING THE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT.

ACCOUNTABILITY, FLEXIBILITY, TOUGHER STANDARDS AND A RESULTS-ORIENTED SYSTEM -- ALL OF THESE MUST BE ON THE TABLE. WHAT I AM SEEKING AT THIS SUMMIT IS NOT JUST DIALOGUE BUT A NEW SENSE OF DIRECTION. WE'VE GOT TO CHALLENGE THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IF WE ARE TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE. IT'S TIME TO STOP DEBATING OVER COMMISSIONS AND STUDIES -- AND SET PRIORITIES. IT'S TIME TO GET ON WITH IT.

SHORTLY, WE WILL LEAVE THIS HALL AND WALK DOWN THE LAWN TO THE ROTUNDA, FOR THE FIRST OF OUR WORKING GROUP MEETINGS. ON THE WAY, WE WILL WALK PAST PAVILION VII, KNOWN AS THE COLONNADE CLUB. THE CORNERSTONE OF THAT BUILDING WAS LAID BY THREE GREAT AMERICANS ... PRESIDENTS JEFFERSON, MADISON AND MONROE.

AS YOU WALK PAST THE COLONNADE CLUB, LET US THINK OF THESE THREE MEN AND WHAT THEY ENVISIONED FOR THIS REPUBLIC.

THINK OF THE SCHOOLS THE FOUNDERS SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH TO DEVELOP THE CHARACTER OF STUDENTS, WITH VALUES LIKE HONESTY, DISCIPLINE AND PUBLIC SERVICE. LET US WORK TOGETHER THESE NEXT TWO DAYS IN FRANKNESS AND HONESTY -- AND LET US NOT BE AFRAID, AS MR. JEFFERSON SAID, TO FOLLOW TRUTH WHEREVER IT MAY LEAD.

GOD BLESS YOU AND THANK YOU.

# # #

Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/27/89 **ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:** -------

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CONVOCATION, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☐	☑
SUNUNU	☐	☑	NEWMAN	☐	☑
SCOWCROFT	☐	☐	PORTER	☐	☐
DARMAN	☐	☑	STUDDERT	☐	☑
BATES	☐	☑	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
BREEDEN	☐	☐	Bromley	☐	☑
CARD	☐	☑	Pinkerton	☐	☑
CICCONI	☐	☑	Anderson	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☐	☑	Winston	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	Rogers	☐	☑
GRAY	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

THe attahced has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

89 SEP 27 A11 : 13

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

Davis/Martin
Sept. 26, 1989
Draft: Seven
Title: eduprez

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: CONVOCATION, UNIV. OF VIRGINIA
Thursday, Sept. 28, 11:30 a.m.

Thank you Secretary Cavazos, President O'Neil, Governors Baliles and Branstad.

It's a delight to be back in Charlottesville. ((Imagine this -- you have a President, the Cabinet and America's governors visiting your school. And the big man on campus today is still Sean Moore.)) ////

And then my son Marvin and daughter-in-law Margaret advise me to be humble while I'm at U. Hall. ((You see, they told me you only do the wave for Ralph Sampson.)) ////

Well, it's easy to be humble at a school so rich in history and educational endeavor. And I have also been deeply impressed by the commitment, the creativity and the knowledge that my fellow chief executives from the states bring to education reform.

It is you -- the governors -- along with state legislators and school boards, leaders of business, parents and teachers -- those throughout this nation's vast decentralized education system, who face tough decisions. I've heard eloquent advice from many of you, and so many others, in the last few weeks. I've listened. And I am deeply appreciative of all that I have learned.

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

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

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

Jefferson set out to fashion his rarified vision into solid reality, brick by brick, book by book. And it is his University

-- and his dream -- that inspires us today to follow in his footsteps.

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

I borrowed this assessment from a friend of mine -- another Renaissance man, a man of **our** time -- the late A. Bartlett Giamatti. //

Like Jefferson, Bart's life was a metaphor for civility and public service. And it is this commitment to public service that we must carry on, not just as an education President and as education governors, but as an education society.

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

Jefferson wanted to redeem "that mass of talents which lies buried in poverty." And for most of our history, education **has** been the great champion of the poor, compensating for all distinctions of class, race and background. ((A century ago, the poorest parents in the bleakest slum knew their children could go

anywhere, could be **anything**, if they could get **an American education.**))

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

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

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

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

Too much is at stake not to act now. Jefferson said that no nation could long be both ignorant and free. The state of our educational system is nothing less than the future of our democracy. This is a time for **action.**//

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

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

This is only the third time in our 200 years as a nation that a President has called a summit with the governors. I have called you together because you bear the Constitutional responsibility for education. And I did not ask you to such an historic occasion merely to bemoan what is wrong. We are here to **work**; to work **together**; to put the future before the moment, and progress before partisanship, once again to make **an American education** the **best** in the world. //

You already are consulting with the state legislatures to better our schools. Our teachers are already giving their heart and soul to their jobs. But we have never before worked **together**

-- President and principal, governor and teacher -- to achieve **results** in education.

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

I challenge **you** to join me, for the first time, to define national goals in education. From this day forward, let us be an America of tougher standards,/ an America of higher goals// and a land of bigger dreams.

And our goals must be "national," not "federal." That is why I welcome the initiatives of the National Governors Association, from the Time for Results report in 1986, to the goal-setting project recently begun under the leadership of Iowa's Terry Branstad, South Carolina's Carroll Campbell and Bill Clinton of Arkansas. My Administration will work with you to build on the National Assessment program's first state-by-state achievement results. We will work with you to formulate national goals. And then **we** will challenge superintendents and principals to meet these higher goals.

((In return, I accept **your** challenge, and will work with you to loosen the grip of federal restrictions.//// How many great ideas, how many grand and noble experiments, have been impaled on the narrow spike of a federal directive? Unnecessary restriction

is the enemy of the bold. And **bold action** is what we need **most** of all. //

I ask Congress to allow Washington to be more flexible, by passing reform legislation. And I ask you, in turn, to ease state restrictions on local bodies.))

Then we will judge our efforts not by our intentions, but by our **results**.

So to get results, we need national goals, and more flexibility from federal and state government.

To get results, we will need a new spirit of competition between students, between teachers and between schools -- a report card for all.

And **to get results**, we will need discipline, structure and goals.

Yet I do not counsel a naive nostalgia, a tame adherence to the past. Business as usual is not getting us where we need to go. So when hallowed tradition proves to be hollow convention, then we must shatter tradition. The polls show what every P.T.A. board member already knows: The American people are ready for radical reforms. **We must// not// disappoint// them.//**

I envision tradition-shattering reform in five areas.

First, I see the day when every student is literate. But literacy should mean more than the "three R's." We must be a reading nation. We must grapple with the hard sciences. And because education is as spiritual as it is practical, our children must know **why** Americans died at Bunker Hill, at

Gettysburg, at Monte Cassino and Inchon. They must do more than identify names on a multiple choice question. They must **understand** the generosity of Andrew Carnegie, the genius of Alexander Graham Bell and the heroism of Rosa Parks. //

Some youngsters will naturally take longer than others. Some will need more study, and extra instruction. But we should **never** send a student from school just because he or she has passed an arbitrary birthday.//

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

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

Too many parents have come to see education as a service we can hand over to the school boards, in much the same way we expect our cities to provide electricity or water. But education is not a utility, not something to be delegated. Education is a way of life, and educational reform is an urgent responsibility

for every parent, every student, every community. Those who do not advance the cause of education, **hinder it.**

This means enlisting the parents, grandparents and other adults who play large roles in children's lives in their formal, as well as their informal education. This means that parents, students and professional educators will be accountable to one another, as a community.

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

Accountability also means we must act on what we discover. Weak performance in the classroom, or the principal's office, will no longer be tolerated. But neither will indifference toward good educators. Society has no greater benefactors than outstanding teachers and principals. Let them get what they deserve -- generous praise and **solid rewards.**

Fifth, I see an educational system that never settles for the minimum, in academics or in behavior. Decades of research bear out what the best teachers already know: when standards and expectations are high, everyone does better. This includes both the unusually gifted, and those with special needs and

disabilities. But it must also include the student we too-often forget, the average student. For I believe, that with a little care and a little work, we can unleash within each of these so-called ordinary children an extraordinary potential.

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

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

Such freedom will not lead to a quick and easy solution. It is the work of years. And we have taken such a long-term view in our meetings.

We have discussed the need for educational reform in terms of our national competitiveness, even our national future. But I am sure you agree that there is more to learning than just our trade balance or the greying of our work force; it is broader than the important, but narrow, compass of economics and government.

A scholar once wrote that great books are not lifeless paper, but minds alive on the shelves. He observed that just as the touch of a button on a stereo will fill a room with music, so

by taking down one of these volumes, and opening it, one can call into range the voice of a man far distant in time and space, and hear him speak, mind to mind, heart to heart.

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

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

////

Thank you for your hard work and dedication. God bless you all, and God bless America.

# # #

TOAST: GOVERNORS' DINNER
JEFFERSON'S HOME AT MONTICELLO
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1989
7:30 P.M.

((I WAS WORRIED ABOUT COMING UP ROUTE 53 TO GET HERE. I HEARD THAT THERE WOULD BE SO MANY LIMOUSINES HERE TONIGHT, THE SECRET SERVICE WAS GOING TO PUT THEM IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER BY STATE. THANK GOODNESS WE SWITCHED TO BUSSES -- I AM SURE GOVERNOR SULLIVAN OF WYOMING WONDERED IF HE'D GET DINNER OR BREAKFAST.))

I'LL TRY AND KEEP IT SHORT TONIGHT ... YOU SEE, THE RECORD HAS ALREADY BEEN SET FOR TOASTS HERE IN CHARLOTTESVILLE AT THE UNIVERSITY ... BACK IN 1824, MR. JEFFERSON HOSTED A DINNER IN THE DOME ROOM OF THE ROTUNDA FOR THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE, ATTENDED BY FORMER PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON AND THEN-PRESIDENT JAMES MONROE.

IT WAS AN ELEGANT DINNER, AND THE LIBATIONS FLOWED FREELY -- SO FREELY, IN FACT, THAT THIRTEEN FORMAL TOASTS ENSUED. ONLY TO BE FOLLOWED BY THIRTY-SEVEN MORE IMPROMPTU ONES. BELIEVE ME...THAT'S ONE TRADITION I WON'T BE FOLLOWING. [PAUSE]

THIS AFTERNOON, WE BEGAN AN HISTORIC SUMMIT AND TWO DAYS OF WHAT WILL BE MANY LONG HOURS AND HARD WORK. THE ISSUES BEFORE US IN OUR WORKING SESSIONS ARE PROFOUND AND THE SOLUTIONS WE SEEK WILL NOT BE SIMPLE ONES.

BUT I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE SPIRIT WHICH INSPIRED THE FOUNDERS OF THIS NATION AND PARTICULARLY THIS UNIVERSITY IS EVERPRESENT TONIGHT AS WE GATHER AT THE "BELOVED MOUNTAINTOP HOME" OF PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON. BELOW US, WE CAN SEE THE TWINKLING LIGHTS OF CHARLOTTESVILLE. ABOVE US, THE QUIET PASTURES OF BROWN'S MOUNTAIN. NOT FAR DOWN THE MOUNTAIN ROAD IS ASHLAWN HIGHLANDS, THE HOME OF PRESIDENT JAMES MONROE.

WE ARE OVERLOOKING THE "ACADEMICAL VILLAGE" FOUNDED BY MR. JEFFERSON 170 YEARS AGO. EARLIER, AT SUNSET, WE COULD SEE THE ROTUNDA AND THE PURPLE SHADOWS OF THE LAWN -- ONCE AN OPEN-ENDED FIELD THAT LOOKED OUT TO THE BLUE RIDGE MOUNTAINS OF VIRGINIA. IT WAS MR. JEFFERSON'S WISH THAT IT REMAIN THAT WAY, SO THAT STUDENTS WOULD LOOK OUT TO THE HORIZON, POISED BETWEEN THEIR EDUCATION AND THEIR FUTURE.

TODAY, IN THE ROTUNDA, WE WORKED IN THAT ELUSIVE AREA BETWEEN EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE, DEFINING OUR DREAM FOR EXCELLENCE AND GIVING SHAPE TO OUR HOPES FOR AMERICA. AND IT WAS ONE DAY, SHORTLY BEFORE HE DIED, THAT MR. JEFFERSON GAZED AT THE ROTUNDA AND SAID THAT ESTABLISHING HIS UNIVERSITY WAS "THE LAST ACT OF USEFULNESS I CAN RENDER MY COUNTRY."

BUILDING THE ROTUNDA AND THE UNIVERSITY WERE THE CROWNING ACHIEVEMENTS OF "THE SAGE OF MONTICELLO," YET HE KNEW THAT WITHOUT THE CREATIVITY AND THE INTELLECTUAL CHALLENGE OF A GREAT FACULTY, HIS NEW CENTER OF LIVING AND THOUGHT WOULD BE NOTHING MORE THAN BRICKS AND MORTAR.

MR. JEFFERSON SEARCHED FOR THE BEST IN EUROPE, AND BROUGHT THEM TO TEACH AT THE UNIVERSITY AS NEW CITIZENS -- EXCEPT IN THE SUBJECT OF LAW, TO BE TAUGHT ONLY BY A RESIDENT AMERICAN. IN FACT, JEFFERSON'S FAVORITE TEACHER WAS HIS OWN LAW PROFESSOR, GEORGE WYTHE, A MAN WHO ALSO TAUGHT HIM THE ESSENTIALS OF ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY AND THE CLASSICS.

I'M SURE EVERYONE HERE HAS A FAVORITE TEACHER ... ONE OF MINE WAS MY HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER, DR. A.B. DARLING, WHO MADE THE IMMORTALS OF AMERICAN HISTORY COME ALIVE FOR ME.

TODAY, AS IT WAS IN JEFFERSON'S TIME, IT IS AMERICA'S TEACHERS WHO ENLIGHTEN OUR YOUNG PEOPLE AND INSPIRE THEM TO EXCELLENCE.

JEFFERSON KNEW THIS, WRITING ONCE THAT ASIDE FROM EDUCATION, "NO OTHER SURE FOUNDATION CAN BE DEVISED FOR THE PRESERVATION OF FREEDOM AND HAPPINESS."

AND SO TONIGHT I TOAST THOSE WHO HAVE HEARD THE CALL AND FOLLOWED IT -- THOSE WHO HAVE SACRIFICED SO MUCH IN ORDER THAT AMERICA MIGHT ENJOY A SURE FOUNDATION OF FREEDOM AND HAPPINESS.

I TOAST OUR TEACHERS ... THOSE WHO TAUGHT US, AND TEACH OUR CHILDREN; AND THOSE AMONG US WHO HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF THIS PROUD PROFESSION: THE SIX MEMBERS OF MY CABINET AND THE THIRTEEN GOVERNORS PRESENT WHO ARE FORMER TEACHERS. AND JUST TO GIVE A SMALL PLUG FOR ALTERNATIVE CERTIFICATION ... THERE IS ONE PERSON PRESENT WHO HAS NEVER HELD A TEACHING POSITION YET HAS BEEN A LEADER IN THE FIGHT AGAINST ILLITERACY ... MY WIFE BARBARA.

WE HAVE COME TO THE HOME OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, TO BUILD UPON HIS DREAM OF A STRONG SYSTEM OF EDUCATION FOR ALL. BUT WITHOUT OUR TEACHERS -- WITHOUT THEIR VISION AND THEIR DEDICATION -- THE DREAM WOULD BE LOST. I ASK YOU TO JOIN ME IN SALUTING THE TEACHERS OF AMERICA.

GOD BLESS THEM AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

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