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# **Transcript of Proceedings**

## **PLANNING CONFERENCE OF THE COMPACT FOR EDUCATION**

**KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI  
SEPTEMBER 29-30, 1965**

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## **PROGRAM**

### **Wednesday, September 29**

9:00 a.m.—Press Briefing—Tea Room, off Lobby of Muehlebach  
Terry Sanford and others

9:00-12:00 noon—Registration—Mezzanine of the Muehlebach

10:00 a.m.—Governors' Visit with President Truman.  
*We regret this must be limited to governors and their wives*

12:30 p.m.—Opening Luncheon—Grand Ballroom, Muehlebach  
Presiding: Governor John Love, *Colorado*  
Welcome by Host Governors:  
Governor William Avery, *Kansas*  
Governor Warren Hearnes, *Missouri*  
Remarks: Governor Richard J. Hughes, *New Jersey*  
Governor Mark O. Hatfield, *Oregon*

2:00 p.m.—First Working Session  
Presiding: Governor Otto Kerner, *Illinois*  
Discussion: Terry Sanford; Mitchell Wendell,  
Legal Advisor on Compacts, Council on State  
Governments  
Questions and Additional Discussion

3:30 p.m.—Visit to Truman Library (Buses available)

4:00 p.m.—Press Briefing—Tea Room, off Lobby of  
Muehlebach  
Terry Sanford and others

6:30 p.m.—Reception—Colonial Ballroom

8:00 p.m.—Dinner—Pierson Hall, University of Missouri at  
Kansas City  
Presiding: Governor Phil Hoff, *Vermont*  
Address: Dr. James B. Conant, President-Emeritus  
of Harvard University

9:30 p.m.—Informal Conferences of Individual State Groups

## Thursday, September 30

7:30 a.m.—Breakfast and Informal Meetings of Working Committees (In Suites of Committee Chairmen)

9:00 a.m.—Morning Working Session

Presiding: Governor William Egan, *Alaska*

Comments: Dr. James Allen, Commissioner of Education, *New York*

Question and Answer: Panel, Messrs. Conant, Sanford, and Wendell

Recess for Meetings of Working Committees

12:30 p.m.—Adjourn for Lunch (No formal luncheon planned)

2:00 p.m.—Afternoon Working Session

Presiding: Governor Charles Terry, *Delaware*

Continuation of Discussion, if necessary

Reports by the Committee Chairmen

Committee on Financing and Contributions

Chairman, Governor Daniel J. Evans, *Washington*

Committee on Compact Drafting

Chairman, Governor Karl Rolvaag, *Minnesota*

Committee on Bylaws

Chairman, Governor Clifford Hansen, *Wyoming*

Committee on State Representation

Chairman, Governor John Burns, *Hawaii*

Committee on Selection of Site for Permanent Office

Chairman, Governor Ralph Paiewonsky, *Virgin Islands*

Committee on Selection of Executive Director

Chairman, Governor Robert McNair, *South Carolina*

Action by the states to create interim association pending formal implementation of Compact

Committee on Nomination of Steering Committee

Chairman, Governor John Chafee, *Rhode Island*

OPENING LUNCHEON

Grand Ballroom, Muehlebach Hotel

12:30 P. M.

September 29, 1965

Presiding: Governor John Love, Colorado

JOHN LOVE

If we may have your attention, please, I'd like to call on Father Richard J. Lyon of Regis College, Denver, for the invocation.

JOHN LOVE

My fellow governors, distinguished guests, distinguished educators, ladies and gentlemen; I'm John Love, Governor of Colorado, and was chosen by some secret, maybe subversive group, to preside at this first session. Most presiding officers at this point, in pointing out the limitations on our time, urge the audience to continue with their dessert. I'm not going to take a position on it; I'm not for or against calories; do as you choose. In introducing the head table, each of the gentlemen up here with one exception will be called upon later for remarks. So at this time I would simply like to have you recognize Dr. James B. Conant, a man who truly needs no introduction in a group such as this. . . a man whose contribution to American education has been preeminent. . . a man from whom you will hear at greater length later in this conference. Dr. Conant. I also would like to take this opportunity to introduce very briefly from the audience the governors who are here who are not at the head table at this time, Governor William Egan of Alaska - where are you, Bill. . . . Governor Charles L. Terry of Delaware. . . . Governor John A. Burns of Hawaii. . . . Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois. . . . Governor Frank B. Morrison of Nebraska. It is my understanding that I skipped here Governor Rolvaag, who is due in, I think, this afternoon, but I don't believe he's here, is he? Governor Jack N. Campbell of New Mexico. . . . Governor Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma is due in later today, I believe he's not here at this time, is he? Governor John H. Chafee of Rhode Island. . . . Governor Robert McNair of South Carolina. . . . Governor Philip Hoff of Vermont. . . . Governor Ralph Paiewonsky of the Virgin Islands. . . . Governor Dan Evans of the State of Washington. . . . Governor Clifford P. Hansen of Wyoming. . . . Thank you, gentlemen. Are there other governors in the audience whom I have missed? I would now like to call on Mayor Ilus Davis of the great city of Kansas City, for a few words of greeting. . . . .

MAYOR DAVIS

Governor Love, distinguished governors of States both far and near, honored guests, delegates to the Compact for Education Planning Conference: We're happy to have you in Kansas City. As the Mayor of Kansas City, of course, it is my pleasant duty to address many specialized groups. I don't know when I've had the opportunity to address such an august body as this group of State Executives, Legislators and Educators. Sometimes you really don't know what to say to these groups.

Not long ago, I looked out across the audience, and I had all the Water Works Engineers in the United States here - 5,000 of them - and I was

a little taken aback - I didn't know who was running the plants back home. I was reminded of the story of the Water Works Engineer who went down to his lawyer and made out his will - he'd gotten awfully tired of reading the tobacco ads, so he left the American Tobacco Company his brains so they'd have a filtering man's thinker. We appreciate the Governor's remarks about the dessert around here, because we like to eat in Kansas City, and I hope you get some of our good Kansas City steaks while you're here. Our desserts have no calories in them at all - I was reminded of the man who had gone to the doctor for his annual check-up - the doctor weighed and measured him and listened to his heart and checked his lungs and sat him down - he was a very expensive doctor, very tactful, finally, he looked at the man and said, "Your weight is alright, but you're four inches too short." The other night up in Chicago Governor Kerner and I were listening to some stories by some Bishops up there, and this one Bishop told the story about eating, and he said he'd heard - I was interested in the way he put it - he said he'd heard that if a man didn't eat too much and he didn't drink and he didn't smoke and he went to bed early and he didn't run around with women that he'd live a long time, or at least it would seem like a long time.

We really congratulate you on this Conference. To my way of thinking, this Conference represents a real active leadership in the life of the United States. The quality of education that we provide in this country in the next generation will, in large measures, determine the kind of civilization that we have. Such a meeting as this is probably a great step in providing real quality in the education of this country in the future. One of our Columnists, locally, Bill Vaughn, said that the adult American response to the Russians sending up Sputnik was to turn to the little kids of the United States and say, "You've got to study harder," and that may have been one of the wisest decisions that was ever made by the people of this country. In a very real sense this meeting here is sort of an outgrowth of the change in attitude that has come to the United States in the past several years about education. We all realize the overwhelming need to put quality into every line, every field, every part of the educational system that we have in this country. Certainly your deliberations at this meeting can be of great consequence to the future of education in the United States. We hope they're successful.

We are proud to have you in Kansas City, and we hope you have a chance to look around our city and see some of the things for which we are very proud. If you have a chance to walk around the downtown area, you can walk over to City Hall, which is only four blocks from here, and ride the elevator to the 29th floor and a short flight of steps up to the roof you will get one of the best views of our metropolitan area that you can have. While you're over there, you can come on in the Mayor's office too, whether I'm there or not - we'd be glad to have you. Like the City Counselor used to say, "If you get into any trouble while you're here, call me up, I'll get you out even if it takes two years."

JOHN LOVE

Mayor Davis, we appreciate your words of greeting. I don't know whether it was such a good idea or not to hand you the microphone - you're a tough act to follow.

At the Governor's Conference in Minneapolis earlier this year, the governors voted almost unanimously to consider an idea that was presented there having to do with an interstate compact for education. I don't mean to imply that this was the origin of the idea - I'm sure as the Conference proceeds there will be much in the way of history on the origin of the idea and the direction in which a great many people think it should go. But I think the fact that the governors with almost unanimity expressed their concern for the great problems and challenges of education in the United States is indicative of the importance that each of us as Governors and each of you, I'm sure, as educators, and a great many other people attach to this great and growing problem challenge opportunity of education. I think that the concern is evidenced, of course, by this meeting and by your attendance here. Its purpose is to search out this particular suggestion as a vehicle which can give us some help in our approaches, not only to the financing, but certainly to the organization of education in the United States. Our concern is to where the overall control should be, a concern that we do share with each other. I'm sure we're going to talk a great deal about the problems here in the next two days, but I don't think it should all be negative - I think that possibly I wouldn't want any one or all of us jointly together to assume that sort of guilt complex that many parents seem to acquire about their children, that we're not doing enough. Well, we're not, we need to do more; I think that we can look with pride on the level, the quality and certainly quantity in most instances of education that has been provided in the United States and compare it to other portions of the globe and to other times in history. We've come a long way, and we need to go a great deal farther. Not all of our children are educated. An example someone was telling me about - two typical young American boys with, of course, long hair and sandals and a little bit dirty, met a Catholic priest who obviously was bruised, bandaged, and one of them - and I don't know that I command the English that they used to the extent to say exactly what he said, but he nevertheless inquired what had happened to the priest. The priest said he'd fallen in the bathtub. As they proceeded down the street, one of the boys turned to the other and said, "What's a bathtub?" The other one said, "Hell, I don't know, I'm not even a Catholic." Shaggy dog story if ever there was one.

I have the pleasant, but perhaps somewhat sensitive duty of introducing four Governors, and I was thinking about introductions, and again, I thought back to the Minneapolis Governor's Conference; the Vice President was there, and he addressed us, and he received what seemed to me, from my vantage point, which I don't claim as completely objective, a very flowery and lengthy introduction. The Vice President rose and said, "Of course, the proper protocol in introducing the Vice President of the United States is simply to say - The Vice President of the United States - but, he



said, "I like it this way better," and although I don't have the time to provide lengthy and flowery introductions for each of the governors, I am going to try and steer something of a middle ground. I'm going to call first for a few remarks on our two host governors, and I would like to take this opportunity to express to both of them at this moment my personal thanks and, I'm sure, the thanks of the participants in this conference for your many acts of courtesy for hosting this fine conference. We appreciate it very much.

I would introduce first Governor Hearnese of Missouri. I noted in the biographical material that I have one fact that reminded me of a remark that Warren made. I noted that he's the youngest of five children, and he told me that when someone had talked to him about possible legislation in the field of birth control, the fact that he was the youngest of five children, made him a little bit less than objective about a decision on that. Governor Hearnese was educated in the Charleston public schools and was graduated from the United States Military Academy with a Bachelor of Science degree, and then later from the University of Missouri, Columbia, in 1952 with an A. B. and L. L. D. degrees. He's been in the practice of law; he's been in the political field, first starting in the House of Representatives, where he was the youngest man at the time ever elected representative from his county. He was re-elected many times, became Secretary of State; he was elected Governor of Missouri, November of 1964 by a record - 1,110,000 votes. This was an unprecedented majority of 431,000. He has a distinguished military career; he's a member of many organizations, he has devoted a good deal of thought, effort and concern to the educational opportunities and problems of Missouri. It is my privilege to present to you, Governor Hearnese.

#### GOVERNOR HEARNES

Thank you, Governor Love, and Mr. Chairman, distinguished governors and delegates.

If I add nothing to this conference other than this one suggestion, it would be that the usual honors afforded a governor of arising every time he be introduced be dispensed with. With so many governors here, I'm sure there will be adequate exercise before we have finished.

I, today, of course, want to welcome all of you to this conference and to our state in two capacities: officially as the Governor of Missouri and unofficially as a citizen and as a father, extremely interested in education. Missouri's representatives to this conference, and I'm sure with the way that I've become acquainted with the other governors in the short time that I've been governor the same thing would apply to them, that they are solidly known for their work toward more and better education in Missouri. Most are engaged actively in the field itself as professionals or laymen; two are legislators who have time and time again demonstrated their concern with education through initiation and support of funds and laws to

strengthen Missouri's educational system on all levels. Some of us here today seek to improve the present and the future of education through the application of politics, which, according to Webster's, is the art of governing. Many of you may recall Theodore H. White's statement in his book, The Making of a President, in which he said that politics will be made by Republicans and Democrats but politics in the longer range sense will be made by thinkers. So to my fellow politicians attending this conference today, I want to say that I firmly believe in the long range idea of politics by thinkers.

Planning for the improvement of education is good politics, because it is an example of the wide exercise of the art of government. Those of us with children in college, or with children soon to be in college, are concerned with the alarming increase in the cost of higher education. In the last ten years, the average annual cost of tuition fees, room and board at private American colleges increased from \$1103.00 per student to \$2049.00, a jump of 86%. Over the same span, the cost of attending state and other public institutions rose from \$699.00 to \$1,044.00 a year for residents, a gain of almost 50%. The climb shows no indication of falter. In fact, the American Council on Education reports a probable one year increase of 50% in tuition at both private and public institutions. If such an increase can be expected in higher education, the costs at all other levels will obviously follow the trend, and therefore the effort being made here today at the Compact for Education could never be more timely.

The compact device more and more has become an important tool in educational cooperation in all levels of government. Interstate compact agencies are now being utilized in connection with many problems, mass transportation or city, waterfront problems, turnpike authorities, water resources management, even local government. Here in Missouri, we have been familiar with the compact for many years. The Bi-State Development Agency was created by Compact between Missouri and Illinois in 1950 to provide mass transit service within the St. Louis metropolitan area. The recent session of the General Assembly enacted similar legislation for Missouri and Kansas. The Federal Government has long been agreeable to Compacts with regard to education. In 1963, Congress enacted legislation consenting to the establishment of an Interstate school district for the neighboring communities of Hanover, New Hampshire and Norwich, Vermont which was authorized by the legislation of the two states. Library services has been provided by Compact among the states of Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island and Vermont. On a broader basis in the field of education, a Southern Regional Education Board was organized in 1949 in the Southern Regional Educational Compact. It was designed totally to assist states, institutions and agencies concerned with higher education in reference to advanced knowledge and to improve the social and economical level of the Southern regions.

(The tape did not pick up this portion of Governor Hearn's speech)

make our states' individual voices heard more strongly and through this unification our efforts more successful.

Today, of course, and tomorrow, you more-or-less have two hosts - the combined hosts of Missouri and Kansas. To adequately define the areas of responsibility, we did divide them. For example, if the governors enjoyed the tour today at the Truman Library, that was my responsibility. Today, I had to see that all the governors were seated, except two, Governor McNair and Governor Terry - they didn't have any seats - that was Bill Avery's responsibility. So, in short, what you like here, give me credit for; what you don't like Bill Avery is to blame. Thank you very much.

#### JOHN LOVE

Our next Governor who will present a few remarks is Governor Hughes of New Jersey. Governor Hughes' education is Rutgers University School of Law. He practiced law. I was interested to note that this is not a new situation in New Jersey to have Hughes involved in the political affairs. It is my understanding that his Father was one of the early supporters, and people who were concerned with the election of Woodrow Wilson in that state to his gubernatorial office which led on, of course, to the Presidency. I noted in another portion of his biographical data a thing that indicates to me that the governors are not only concerned with a solution to the problems in education; they also are doing, I think, more than their share toward providing those problems. Governor Hughes has a family of nine children, Governor Avery four children and I think Governor Hatfield almost four. Governor Hughes of New Jersey has had the political courage and the perception to realize to state firmly the need of more revenue at the state level, particularly the need of more revenue for education. He has made a great record there and I think it is worthy of your note that Governor Hughes has served as Chairman of the Governors Committee on Human Resources, a Committee which has considered this compact approach and has devoted a great deal of time and effort to it. It is my privilege to present to you at this time the great Governor of New Jersey, Governor Hughes.

#### GOVERNOR HUGHES

Thank you very much Governor Love, Dr. Conant, Mayor Davis, other Governors, Distinguished Guests and ladies and gentlemen. I must see that my biography is replaced. Obviously, John Love has been using the one that was currently in my first campaign in 1961 because the true figure of these candidates for education now is ten, including Thomas Moore Hughes who is three and one-half years old and just began nursery school by coincidence yesterday---rather successfully, so far. But thank you very much in any case, John, for that wonderful warm introduction, and I want to thank all of you for permitting me to say

just a few words to you as you begin this important conference in which you will be recognizing the changing pattern of education in America.

We have many differences among the states, but I think it is fair to say that all of the states are growing closer together in their educational goals. The greater mobility of our population means that we in New Jersey, for example, are required to train in our high schools, children who did or might have done their primary work in Pennsylvania, or in the South, or in Michigan, or in other states of the nation. Our teachers too, are becoming more mobile and the Federal Government has stepped up its participation and has an increasing impact everywhere in the field of education. Therefore, one of the questions that confronts us at this meeting is whether we shall continue to be led by these trends or take steps to lead and thus shape them ourselves. We cannot halt changes in education, indeed, we should welcome them; but we can and we must play a more forceful role, most of us Governors think, in determining the direction and content of educational change. We are not here to seek uniformity in education either, but rather unity of purpose. America is moving, it seems to me, in the direction of a national consensus in the area of education and our goal, of course, must be expanded educational opportunities for every American child.

I would like to direct these remarks particularly to my fellow Governors because I feel that our critical mission and our grave responsibility at this meeting, as has been said in the past few minutes, is to take steps towards solving a problem of government. We have the resources in this country to provide each child with all the education he is capable of using. We have the resources and I think we have the will, and I think this is true of the Governors and the Educators and the Legislators who are present. What we need are better mechanisms for transforming our plans for education into realities in the classrooms. I am convinced that the proposed Interstate Compact will be one such mechanism. For many months former Governor Sanford of North Carolina has been engaged in a kind of special education project. He has been explaining the importance to the states of this cooperative arrangement. Other people, including the lay and professional educational leadership of the nation, have joined him in the task of bringing together the nation's educational and political leadership; and this is very important--this merging of the consensus.

As chairman of the Committee on Human Resources of the Governor's Conference, I had the opportunity to play a very small part in placing this proposal before the committee membership, and after obtaining their approval for it, presenting it before the Plenary Session of the Governors --and I should pause here to thank very sincerely and publicly because this is my first opportunity, as it happens, to thank the vice-chairman of that committee--the distinguished Governor of Oregon, Mark Hatfield, who is here, for his invaluable understanding and assistance in considering this proposal and in presenting it, as a consensus matter to the Governor's Conference.

Our committee's special report to the governors included quite modest recommendations. Let me read you just three of them.

1. The committee believes that there is a need for a nationwide alliance for the widespread improvement of education such as that suggested by Governor Sanford.
2. The committee believes that the Governor should take a leading role and by this we mean a personal role in the formation of such a group and should give it their active personal participation.
3. The committee urges all governors to give serious consideration to Governor Sanford's proposals, and expresses the hope that they will receive a broad favorable response from the individual states.

Now the response to these recommendations has been very rapid and widespread. I think the Governors' willingness to reach out for new methods of educational cooperation augurs well for the future vitality of the Federal System. Though education is changing indeed, we must not accept a reduced role for the states in developing educational policy. President Kennedy reminded us of this once when he said, "Fundamentally education is and must always be a local responsibility, for it thrives best when nurtured at the grass roots of democracy." Now this is not a plea to Washington to keep out of education; obviously, for most of it is welcome very much. The National Government as a partner but as Dr. Francis Keppel has said, "It should be a Junior Partner." It is however, a reminder that those responsibilities which states are unwilling or even too busy to fulfill will slowly but inevitably be shifted to the Federal Government.

Now the states cannot solve all of our educational problems alone. We have great need of the imposing financial resources of the Federal Government, and really we have need of each other. We must stay together to defeat a common foe, the most ancient enemy of mankind really, ignorance. We should share our experiences, investing in one another's successes and savings by learning from our failures, and in the practical sense of Government, politics as mentioned by Governor Hearnes. I would like to also remind all of us to remind ourselves that we should invoke the consensus of the executive and legislative leadership in the states. To that end I am very pleased that they have consented to come here as part of New Jersey's delegation, the president of the New Jersey Senate, a very distinguished man, Senator Charles W. Sandman, Jr. He is a great Republican and spokesman for New Jersey, and, it is fairly well known in my part of the country that I am a Democrat. You can see that in the area of education, we Jersey Democrats and Republicans like to work together and we can obviously work very well together.

The education decade ahead obliges us as chief executives of the states not simply to shoulder new burdens, but to seize new opportunities.

If we fail, it is going to be our young people who will be required to pay our losses. All across the country state governments and localities bolstered by impressive new Federal initiatives are embarking on bold new programs for the expansion and improvement of their educational programs. Our goals are still distant but the brightness of their promise already casts a special glow, I think, as evidenced by this meeting here today, on our effort. For America draws her strength from the enlightenment: The education of her citizens very much depends on what the states do for themselves as a result of this conference to make that American dream come true.

Thank you very much.

### JOHN LOVE

I am privileged to present to you the distinguished Governor of Oregon-- Mark Hatfield. Mark received his education at Willamette University and then a Masters Degree at Stanford University. His credentials as far as education are concerned are beyond reproach. In addition to this, he has served in the ranks as a Professor and as a Dean in the field of Political Science, which perhaps should be more impressive to me, but I can't help but have a downbeat on it when I think that any educated group of people still think that politics is a Science I lose some of my confidence. Mark has had a most distinguished record as Governor of Oregon. He also has served as Vice Chairman on the Governors Committee on Human Resources and in that position has had a great deal to do with the Compact idea in the presentation that we are here to discuss at this conference. It is my privilege and pleasure to present to you Governor Hatfield.

### MARK HATFIELD

Governor Love, my fellow Governors, ladies and gentlemen. A while ago, Governor Love commented about the off-springs, numbers and qualities of the various Governors who are participating in this conference. There is no question that Governor Hughes of New Jersey is the gentleman who has the longest record of production. But I claim the fastest record of production, because within a week, we will have our fourth within a seven year period. Now I think that is a fairly good rate, but I must also add that we in our family feel that we must do our utmost for our party, and therefore we are doing our best to restore the Republican majority in this country.

I think it is very obvious that this is a very rare occasion in history, that a seminal idea moves from its first formal public expression to an occasion of this type, within less than a year. Yet, this is what has happened to Dr. Conant's proposal as embodied in his publication Shaping Educational Policy.

What has happened reflects the emergence of a broad consensus on two subjects in my opinion. The first, is that there is a need for a National Educational Policy. The second is that the National interest can be better served by concerted State action than by monolithic Federal action. We have before us a draft of a Compact that would create an Education Commission for the state, and may I quote again from the July 2nd letter by Governor Sanford to the Governors, a brief description of the concept embodied in this Compact, when he said, "Such a Compact would not have authority nor be expected to set policy. It would merely be the means of developing alternatives for policy decision which ultimately are to be made in any event by local and state policy making bodies. It would furnish the states with the best available information. It would suggest appropriate goals. It would serve to exchange information and to advise."

As we discuss the Compact Draft in this session and the related decisions which its adoption would require, I would suggest that we keep in mind at least three important facts.

First, we are not here engaged in another skirmish, or in a battle for control of education. The problems are too gigantic to divert our attention into this kind of activity. The fact that the National Government has responded to some of the needs of education and has joined in seeking the solution of some of the problems of education is an additive. It does not necessarily constitute a deduction from the power or the responsibilities of the State. There is in short a proper Federal role in the Federal, State, Local pattern of education. Our focus here is on the role of the States.

The second fact, which I would stress is the crucial importance that a strong state influence must play in this three part pattern. Without it, education will fall either into the orbit of localized fragmentary and limited policies or into an orbit of remote impersonal and rigid conformity. The States operate on a scale that is conducive to both breadth and perspective and adaption to regional problems and variations. It is a key role in the Federal, State, Local pattern that can be omitted only to our own peril.

The third fact that ought to be in the background of our consciousness is that public education lies at the base of this nation's greatness. A Governor is faced with hundreds of problems, opportunities, appointments, and other such problems as he takes office, and often is tempted to reduce education in his mind to just another agency or just another function, but education is not just another function of Government. It underlies improvement of our economic development. It is a key to improve public health. It can overcome some aspects of unemployment and poverty as it erases ignorance. Governors must put the highest type of priority on education. Individual legislators can certainly do heroic work, but there must be the spark of leadership from the focal point which has the broadest possible forum, and

that point is the Governor.

I believe it is very obvious that there is an inter-dependence between the political leaders and the educational leaders. We cannot advocate as public officials the responsibility to the educational leadership to provide the answers and solutions to these problems any more than the educational leadership can exclusively perform in these areas. We must have a strong and strengthened dialogue. Educators also have a responsibility to present programs of vision and practicality. They also must be prepared to prove their case in the Court of Public Opinion. This requires the kind of open mindedness, the kind of objective research study and perceptive goals in the matter of educational policies that the same educators seek in Science or Philosophy or any of the other disciplines. We cannot afford to be moribund in class scheduling, building occupancy, hiring, tenure, or any of the many other activities which cry out for new and better ways to deal with the more and better students, nor can we ever forget that for all the foundation grants, for all the sabbaticals, for all the research in space and on the ocean floor it is the student on the other end of the proverbial log for whom education primarily exists.

Together, Governors, Legislators, Educators, Friends of Education assembled under auspices and with an audience perhaps unique in this nation's history. We must go forth from these deliberations with a determination to make certain our citizenry is aware of our objective... that we commit not the sense of intellectual incert by talking only to ourselves and that we stand as we must recognize on the threshold of what promises to be an adventure of innovation. And, may I stress the point that we are here to create, to innovate, not to rubber stamp, not to be stampeded. . . That our draft is merely a point of departure for the kind of consensus and the creative minds that will deal with it in this assembly. I believe that this approach can shake the course of education in this nation for many generations in the shaping of this new instrument of public policy information. May we find the satisfaction of service to this generation and to those that will follow.

#### JOHN LOVE

Next on the program is Governor William Avery of Kansas. It is interesting to note, I think, that he began his great career in public service as a director of the Wakefield School Board. He was later elected to the Kansas House of Representatives, and toward the end of his second term there resigned to run for Federal Congress from the First District - he was elected to that post, and he served five years. He was elected Governor of Kansas in November of 1964, and he, too, and I will repeat this - I could repeat it, I think, for practically all of the 50 governors - he, too, has devoted a great deal of his time, thought and concern in that post to education in the State of Kansas. Governor Avery.....



## GOVERNOR AVERY

Thank you, John. My colleagues, the visiting Governors, Dr. Conant, other distinguished guests, Mayor Davis at the Head Table, and friends of education all assembled here in this great city today.

As I looked out over the crowd, I thought, well, perhaps, maybe you all feel a little like Moses; you are travellers, some of you have travelled quite a distance. Like Moses, we are travelling, or at least are embarked upon an uncharted course. We are exploring the possibilities of a Compact. . . of a goal that is not yet defined in terms of absolute. But in some ways, you are much more fortunate than Moses, in addition to having much in common with him. Mayor Davis invited you to go to the City Hall and to take the elevator up to the 22nd floor,, and in this instance, like Moses, you only got to travel within sight of the promised land - you didn't get to go there. Because what do you think you will see from the 22nd floor of the City Hall? - obviously you will see Kansas. But unlike Moses, I want to say that you will not be precluded from visiting the promised land. I want to extend each and everyone of you a very cordial invitation to travel over a fine Interstate Viaduct and visit the Land of Milk and Honey. And if you think that I'm exaggerating a little bit when I say "Milk and Honey," when you are up on that 22nd floor and look to the west and a little to the south, you will see the residence of the now Miss America, who grew up in Overland Park, Kansas, and this is her home. Now what better can you do for that, when you reduce this to terms of what is good?

Some uninformed person a few years ago described the Middle West as an intellectual vacuum. This person obviously had never been west of the Chesapeake Bay; I question whether he had ever left Washington. But may I ask you where else in the Middle West or where else in the world, as you did this morning - the governors did - and this afternoon, as the other guests of the convention did, could visit a presidential library in Independence, Missouri, the depository of some of the events that not only shaped the course of history of these United States of America but of the world; and then travel less than two hours into the State of Kansas and visit another presidential library - one certainly complimenting the other - there again reflecting documents, articles, pictures, and history made living by the displays that are there present. I don't think that any place in the world could have produced two men who have had such a great influence on the course of history that grew to manhood but a short two hours distance. And then if I could particularize just a little more, if you want to talk about quality, one of the greatest items of quality that we export apparently is gubernatorial material from Kansas. We have so much talent in Kansas that we can't even use it all. We have exported to the State of Nebraska and to the State of New Mexico their present governors, so I think there is no other state represented here today that can boast of the birth-place of three governors of the United States of America. And for this, among many other things, I am proud to be the Governor of Kansas,

and again repeat my invitation to you to visit our state.

Now, on a more serious note, may I close by simply saying this: If one note of caution should be spoken from this microphone at this time, it should be perhaps we have embarked upon a bit too ambitious an agenda and program, and I say that simply in the event that all of the objectives and purposes of this conference that have been so carefully delineated by our real host, Governor Sanford, if they do not become a reality, I do not think that we should become discouraged and should prematurely conclude that this effort was not worthwhile, that the concept was not a valid one, and that no further useful purpose would be served by a future convention or conference. In my own instance, I say this to illustrate more purposefully or persuasively the point I want to make. This may be peculiar to Kansas, it may apply to other states as well - this Compact agreement that was sent to us, I have, just by chance, conferred with the Attorney General of Kansas, and the Governor of Kansas is not in a position to become a part, in writing at least, of any kind of a Compact that would bind our state even in a preliminary sort of a way to an agreement with other states without legislative consent. So there will probably be circumstances similar or identical with other states, and so perhaps we cannot finalize any of the items or not all of the items that may be discussed and may be debated here in the next 48 hours, but even if we don't, certainly I think this conference would chart a course in a direction that must be explored to the very end, if we are going to fulfill our traditional and historical and constitutional responsibility of the states in the field of education. Governor Hearn and Mayor Davis have practically offered you everything there is in the way of hospitality, but in the event that your pleasure and convenience would be found wanting on the list that they have submitted to you, I hope you will let me know. Thank you, and have a good time in our state.

#### GOVERNOR LOVE

And now I would like to present for a few brief words Governor Terry Sanford, whose education, both A. B. and L. L. B., was at the University of North Carolina, who had a distinguished career as Governor of North Carolina, in which he was an advocate and innovator in the field of education. Some of the accomplishments and approaches that will be familiar to you, I am sure, are the Governor's School for Gifted Children, the North Carolina School of the Arts, the North Carolina Advancement School and the Learning Institute of North Carolina. Since his service as Governor, he is in the practice of law but also, under a grant from the Ford Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation, has been involved in a project called "A Study of American States." In that connection and in others, he has been at the central core of this Compact effort and certainly in this Conference. It is my privilege to present to you Former Governor Terry Sanford.

## GOVERNOR SANFORD

Thank you, and I want, on behalf of all the people who are here, to express gratitude to Governor Hearnese and Governor Avery for their accommodations and for everything that they have done to make this conference so pleasant. I am sorry that you put the blame on Governor Avery because I was going to take the blame for Governor McNair. He knows enough, coming from down in our part of the country, to get to dinner on time. If you don't, when we were growing up, you always had to sit at the children's table.

It has been very well done, I think, and your patrol officers and others have certainly gone out of the way. If anybody was missed it's my fault and not the host Governors. They wanted to make this the kind of conference that we are accustomed to seeing at a Governor's Conference. We simply thought that it was best to play it down and make it more of a working conference, so if you don't think you are being treated quite well enough it's not their fault, it's mine.

I especially want to thank Governor Hatfield for coming and talking and making such a very fine presentation, as did Governor Hearnese and Governor Avery, as to what this is all about and what we hope to do. Also, I would like to express my appreciation to Governor Hughes, not only for all of the work that he has done. More than that, I would like to thank him for the encouragement, because when we first started talking about this idea we weren't at all sure that it would receive any kind of widespread favorable acceptance, so it was most encouraging to have his thoughts and to have his assistance when in the very beginning we talked to him about participating and helping and planning how this might be presented on behalf of the states to the governors of the states. I especially appreciate his coming out here today, because those of you who follow political activities are aware of the fact that right now he is in the middle of an extremely hot political campaign to succeed himself, and all of us who have been in political campaigns know that you don't go half way across the country when you are engaged in a political campaign. I am so grateful to Governor Hughes for taking the time to fly here late last night, understanding that he has to fly right on back, in order to debate his opponent tomorrow. So I say, as you get ready to go, Governor Hughes, that I am most grateful for everything that you have done to put this together.

I think it is important to remember that we stand here in this country on a rather significant plateau in terms of accomplishment in American education. It is not appropriate to come here and say education is going to pieces and education is not adequate, because we have accomplished the broadest and most democratic system of education in all the world. While we stand on this plateau of accomplishment, there towers ahead of us the yet-to-be-conquered challenges and demands of a complex age. The times demand so much more of us than the past has required, that we need new approaches. . . we need new looks. . . at the whole problem

and the whole possibility of what can be done in education.

When we first began this committee work, talking first among a few people and then reaching out to all educational organizations, we felt that it would be adequate if we had ten or fifteen states participating at this stage of the development. And so I think, here at a planning session, that we can take great encouragement in the determination of people in every state to do more to improve education than has been done, by the fact that this group is together at all, and that here are nineteen governors, and that every state, without an exception, is represented as we now move to some formal action to start some kind of partnership between the leaders of education and the leaders of government in America.

This is not a "rubber stamp" conference. If there is one thing that we have agreed on already, I think it is that the states have a primary responsibility; that the states must move--the states must provide the leadership, if education is going to be what it can be. But beyond that, there is no plan and from the very beginning we haven't been trying to sell a plan. We have been trying to invite discussion, invite the best thinking of people from all over the country and all sections. . . people from all levels of educational activities. . . and that is what we are doing here today. You have a starting point in terms of a Compact and suggested resolutions and suggested legislation, at least a proposed budget which can be used as a starting point for your deliberation, but it would be a great disappointment to me if everybody said, "Let's take this," and move on without any discussion. It will be a wide open meeting and any idea is welcome. Any person is invited to bring out the bad as well as the good and raise a doubt, because I think only by raising these doubts can we resolve them, and only by looking at the black side can we paint the other side brighter. So, in these discussions please ask any questions, and in these discussions we can go in any direction that the best thinking calls for.

Now if we can proceed to the Music Hall across the street, we can begin our discussions. Thank you.

#### GOVERNOR AVERY

Having had a rather outstanding record of getting lost in other people's cities, I wondered if I could clarify just a little bit where we are going. Reference was made and quite properly to the Music Hall, but the Music Hall is in the Municipal Auditorium. This is the building you will be looking for, and we will go out through the west (this is on Wyandotte Street) and as you look a little bit to your right and down always you will see the Municipal Auditorium, which is in plain view. It is approximately one block from the west entrance of the Hotel. Thank you very much.

#### GOVERNOR LOVE

Thank you very much. The meeting stands adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION  
2:30 P. M.  
MUSIC HALL, September 29, 1965

Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois--Presiding

We are almost an hour behind schedule, and for your sakes and ours, I will continue on with the program and the trips that have been arranged for you. I'm pleased and honored to have been asked to moderate this first part. I think the prologue was played for us at the luncheon meeting, indicating the reason for this meeting here in Kansas City and also what the subjects of discussion might be and the purpose.

As Governor of Illinois, we have recognized that we do have problems and rather than to deny them and sweep them under the rug, we have taken considerable action both at the higher level, the junior college level only very recently, and earlier this year by executive order I established a task force on education to build the whole gamut of education from the pre-preliminary level through the junior college. We have had in Illinois for some period of time a School Problems Commission whose authority is extremely limited. Our Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mr. Page's authority is also limited. The task force on education headed up by Dr. McClure of the University of Illinois and co-chaired by Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ray Page, included a group of educators, a group of lay people, individuals from local school districts, local school superintendents, and tried to cover the entire gamut of interest in education from a primary and secondary level. These educators of international reknown also went into the problems of compensatory education and pre-primary working in conjunction with a junior college board which I recently appointed, and also keeping in mind a liason with our higher board of education which was established in 1961. It also took a look at all the problems of education, not only in the curricular area, but also in organization in the areas of foundation funds and the state participation and the local cost of education. In other words, Illinois is looking at the entire gamut of education in its broadest sense. And because of this we too have a great interest in the discussions that are to be held here today and tomorrow and continuing.

So I think we're extremely fortunate in having with us on this panel two individuals who have been working so hard in this particular area. Much was said about Governor Sanford and what he has done in his native state. Certainly he has lead all of us as governors in upgrading the educational system in his home state. He has been almost single-handedly an individual who has put together this Compact, and you have learned much about him on his previous introduction. And, although he is not a governor, certainly he stands in that status with us and I suppose I might just introduce him as Governor Love suggested that all the Governors should be introduced like the President and Vice-President,

I will say, the Former Governor of North Carolina, Terry Sanford,

#### GOVERNOR TERRY SANFORD

I think, in view of the time shortage that we might take just a slightly different approach. I'm not going to give you a great deal about the background and how this Compact was brought to its present state, except to say that we have done our best to call on educators, interested people and people who have any reason to be concerned with this from all over the country. It doesn't represent the thinking of any one person or even the thinking of any small group of people. It attempts to reflect the thinking of a great many people. As we have time this afternoon, I hope you will ask questions, that you will state objections, that you will feel free to say anything you want to say about it because nobody has any pride of authorship. We are simply doing the best we can to put an idea into being--that idea seems good and I think this kind of group can find a way to make the activation of it good.

Perhaps the most experienced person in the country today is Mitchell Wendell when it comes to knowing something about how to get states to work together and how to put compacts together, because as a specialist in compacts with the Council of State Governments where he serves as a legal advisor, he has had the opportunity to work with more than forty different compacts. It's Mr. Wendell who advises me that we do not need Congressional approval of this kind of Compact. It is Mr. Wendell who advises me that, whatever you call it, if it's an agreement between the states, the legal word for it is "Compact," so we might as well go ahead and use that word. And it's Mr. Wendell who has shifted out from all of the suggestions and thoughts and ideas expressed over the period of this year in such a way that we can now have a legal form that embodies the best thinking so far; and I'm sure that he alone, as I have, would welcome your criticisms and your suggestions. I'm going to ask Mr. Wendell if he will give a summary of what this Compact is about. I'd like to ask you then to address your questions to him or to me. I'd like to ask you also if you would write your question down on a piece of paper, if you don't think you will have an opportunity to get it in in the limited time; that you hand me this piece of paper with your question on it or your doubt, something that you want us to address ourselves to. I'll take all of those tonight if you'll hand them to me at the reception or at the dinner, and we'll put them together tonight and we'll start the discussions in the morning answering these questions. That doesn't mean we'll cut off live questions -- we'll be glad to have them too. Now, if I may introduce to you the person that I think has been more helpful than anybody else, in fact, he has put this Compact together: Mitchell Wendell of the Council of State Governments.

#### MITCHELL WENDELL

Thank you very much, Governor Sanford, the many governors in attendance, ladies and gentlemen.

I've been asked to do several things on the program during the next two days. Since I'm doing all of them in my capacity as counsel to the Council of State Governments, perhaps a few words of preface for those of you who do not know the Council of State Governments may be appropriate as to the type of assistance that you can look to me for and the type that perhaps is best requested of the Governor and his staff. The Council of State Governments is a joint agency--official agency of all fifty states and Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Our business is federal, state and interstate relations in all of its many aspects. We are in this capacity, however, as a technical arm of your state governments, insofar as you ask us to do it, we are not directly and immediately a policy organ. As a result, my function ever since Governor Sanford asked the Council of State Governments to assist in the development of this Compact, has been one of providing as best we could, to the best of our knowledge and skills, the technical abilities of the Council on Interstate Compact matters, which has been necessary to translate into a specific proposal the thoughts of the policy directions with Governor Sanford and his committee and the persons who have worked with him have indicated that this project might take. In this capacity, we, the Council of State Governments and I personally, stand ready to continue to serve to attempt to implement in the best technical and soundest legal form possible, whatever policy recommendations come out through state officials such as you.

Now, I'm going to change somewhat, as Governor Sanford has indicated in the interest of time, the nature of the presentation that I had expected to give. I was going to talk at least this afternoon more generally about interstate compacts and what they are and how they work. I think that is still desirable for the beginning of your day and one-half or two days of deliberation. Most of you know more about the problems of education, much more than I, in fact. For some of you this may be a first, or almost first, exposure to the Interstate Compact device. However, as Governor Sanford has just requested, I am going to try to couple a general discussion of compacts with a brief discussion of what the draft that was mailed to you presently contains. We will, the both of us, have to elaborate; he from the policy point of view, and I from the technical point of view, the reasons why some things were done and others not in answer to such questions as you may ask or as may be developed in the discussion.

Now, first of all, for the Compact itself: An interstate compact is a formal legal instrument. In this sense, it's really no more mysterious, or shouldn't be, than a statue or a contract, or any other type of standard legal instrument. The thing that makes an interstate compact different and so less well known than some of these other devices that I just mentioned, is that it has been less frequently used than an ordinary statute, or certainly than a contract. And one of the reasons

why it has been less frequently used is that an interstate compact is a formal agreement among states. And since there are fewer states than people in the Union, and since there are fewer things that the states embody in formal agreements than there are about which they individually legislate and form statutes, there are certainly many fewer interstate compacts than there are in the statutes or contracts.

But the device, although originally conceived and used almost exclusively up to about fifteen years ago as a means of settling interstate boundary disputes, has become of much wider significance than that. So that at the present day, if it is not yet quite true that interstate compacts are used in virtually every subject matter field of state government, it is rapidly becoming true that that is the case. Compacts are today used to handle many of our interstate natural resources problems--in the field of water resources, in the field of forest fire protection, in the field of pollution control of both water and air. Compacts are used also in the social welfare and corrections fields, to provide interstate administration and services in a wide variety of areas all the way from the institutionalization and treatment of persons to the out-patient care provision of programs in the mental health field, for example. Interstate compacts are also used in the public works area to operate as Governor Hearnest told us this noontime. Many of the interstate transportation of the public works facilities that function are necessary on a state basis. For that matter, right here in Kansas City, the two cities of Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas get their water supply under an interstate compact arrangement which permits inter-territorial interchange of water as between the two states in order to take maximum advantage of the particular watersheds used for this metropolitan area in the development and use of a reliable water supply. In the field of education, as has already been indicated, there are now functioning three major interstate compact undertakings. On a regional basis in each instance, and for higher education in each instance, the Southern Regional Education Compact and the board which it creates is the oldest in this field, dating back to late 1940's and it includes in its membership all of the states from Texas and Oklahoma on the Southwest on up to Maryland on the Northeast. The New England States also have an Interstate Compact on Higher Education. The western states as well have banded together in an interstate compact to pursue their common concerns in the field of higher education.

Now, why is it the interstate compact has been used in this wide variety of areas and what are the things, the characteristics, that make it of special usefulness in many of the projects the states want cooperatively to carry out? Well, it wasn't by accident that I mentioned a few minutes ago that contracts is one legal form and statutes is another. These are two familiar to all of you, I am sure. The interstate compact basically is a combination of these two forms. At one and the same time an interstate compact is a statute in each of the states which adopt it. Now, this gives it special binding qualities and special qualities of stability



for the authorization of ongoing interstate administration where this is the desire of those who are undertaking a public project--in other words, create an administrative union legally. It is necessary almost always to have statutory authorization. If you're going to have statutory authorization for the same undertaking, on a multi-state basis, the interstate compact is the way of providing that same statute on a dovetailing basis in all of the states that are to be parties to the arrangement. Similarly, if you are to have an interstate project, it is necessary that the states concerned agree to carry on together and agree as to what it should be that they are jointly going to do. That is the element of contract. If what you wish is to establish an interstate agency that will be charged with continuing functions, then the most reliable and the best known and probably the only satisfactory means in the long run which we know of should do this, is the interstate compact. That is why Governor Sanford and those with whom he has been working set about to propose and to develop an arrangement for an ongoing piece of interstate machinery in the educational field. It was decided to cast it in the form of an interstate compact.

Now, your judgment of the particular draft that has been distributed to you and your suggestions as to whether it should be recommended for consideration by states, whether it should be modified in some form or whether it should not be recommended for consideration by the states, I would suggest must probably depend on two separate types of consideration. One of those types of consideration is whether or not you believe that substantively it would be desirable and practical to create an interstate body officially connected with the state government to plan for and recommend policies which the state may or may not adopt in their localities as well as in all fields of education. This is a policy matter and it is for you to decide. My part of this program has little to do with this first matter, except to the extent that by explaining to you how a compact works, how this one might work, and what its various provisions are, I may assist you to decide whether from the policy point of view this is an undertaking that you would like to engage in. The second avenue of investigation that you have before you, assuming that you wish to establish an interstate body and enter into or have your state enter into an interstate compact in the field of education, is whether this compact, as here drafted, or as it might be modified in accordance with your suggestions, is the best instrument that you can devise from the technical point of view to accomplish what it is you have in mind.

Along this line of investigation, I may have more to say as opposed to Governor Sanford, who will be concerned more with the policy matter, in attempting to assist you to examine the technical aspects of this document.

Now the Compact, in its present draft language, provides first for the setting out of some educational goals, some objectives which the states,

if they were to adopt this Compact, would declare that they share in common and that they wish to pursue in common. In this sense, the first portion of the Compact document sets forth, if you like, the table of contents of what the effort is for. The succeeding several sections of the Compact concern themselves with the organization and powers to fulfill the need as described in that First Article of the Compact. Since what is contemplated is a forum, a policy developing and recommending group and to some extent a research group, there is need for a staff organization as well as for representative body linked to the various parts of state government in the educational community. So Article II of the Compact sets up the mechanics proposed for that interstate body. In other words, Article II really provides the wealth of housekeeping detail necessary to create an agency, and more particularly, an interstate agency.

Then there is the matter of finance. Any agency that is going to be composed of people and is going to do work requires monetary nourishment. And so, we have to have some way to receive monies, to dispense them, to calculate what the bill is, and then to present it for the consideration of the participating state governments, so that they may make it the subject of their normal appropriative process. And so there is here an Article of the Compact which deals with finance.

Now then, there is the powers Article or the Authority Article, if you like, of the Compact, that purports to set forth in statutory language the scope of activities in which this interstate agency will be authorized to engage. Those are generally, as you can see from the listing of them, of a research and recommendatory and interchange of information source. As I understand it, the concept as presented to us to turn into Compact language, was that this interstate agency--its entire undertaking--is one in which the materials for decision are to be worked up, presented and made more readily available for the states and to some extent, for recommendation to the Federal Government, as well as for consideration. This is not a regulatory agency that is being created, so you will notice that none of the standard legal phraseology which normally attends the creation of a regulatory administrative agency occurs. We don't have anything on hearings and judicial review here because there are no orders to be issued by this agency. There are similar omissions you will note that are due to the fact this is not a regulatory agency.

The balance of the Compact itself consists of a series of more or less standard clauses. Adapted, it is true to fit what has gone before in the rest of the document, but nonetheless, more or less standard clauses which are designed to provide for the parties to describe who they may be, how they become parties, under what circumstances and how they may both join and withdraw and then finally, there is the matter of a standard lawyer's construction and severability which also becomes somewhat specialized when you deal with an interstate compact, and the lawyers

in the group will notice a rather elaborate although standard provision on this scope.

Now, of these standard clauses, perhaps the only unusual feature is the one about joinder--the one to which Governor Avery made brief references earlier this afternoon. Basically, the Compact provides as do virtually all other compacts, that in order for a state to join, it must enact the Compact by the normal legislative process. However, those who developed this one and drew the prospectus for it suggested that it would be desirable in view of the study which has gone on during the course of the current year, and the momentum which the framers of the proposal believe that it has to take, to take advantage of the work that has presently been done while it is still current and so to permit a way for those states that wanted to proceed without interruption to enter into the arrangement on an interim basis and this is the reason why the provisions on joinder also allow in those states that can do it, and that may wish to do it, for the Governor to adhere temporarily to the arrangements as though it were an executive agreement entered into between himself and his counterparts in other states. For the rest, the joinder provision, the withdrawal provision, and the others are fairly standard for most compacts. This doesn't mean that you may not wish to raise questions with respect to them too, but it is the reason for their being here. I know that the time is short and for that reason, I have attempted to compress these two phases of what might have been a longer discussion occurring in different parts of the afternoon. For the rest, I wait your pleasure and what time may be available and to the extent requested, I will be very glad to join in any discussion which may follow.

#### OTTO KERNER

Thank you very much Mr. Wendell. Terry and I have been discussing here a dilemma which we face. If you will look at your programs, you will find that there is a scheduled trip to the Truman Library. I imagine it's one of these things that many of you would like to do. I have been informed by Terry that with the presentations that have been made by several of the governors at lunch today, certain of the subject matter that he intended to cover at this time was previously covered. Also, in the program tomorrow, there will be adequate time for Terry to make a presentation, if you wish, and if you wish it, there will be adequate time to answer all questions in tomorrow's sessions, so I don't want to tell you you have to go to the Truman Library, but I would presume that with the time factor that we face, it might be the better decision at this time to adjourn and then take up the rest of the subject matter and questions at sessions tomorrow. Is that your wish? (Applause) Thank you very much.

The busses will be waiting for you at the designated west entrance of the Muehlebach Hotel.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BANQUET PROGRAM  
OF THE KANSAS CITY CONFERENCE ON THE COMPACT FOR EDUCATION  
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI AT KANSAS CITY

SEPTEMBER 29, 1965

8:00 P.M.

GOVERNOR PHIL HOFF OF VERMONT PRESIDING

Good evening. I'm Governor Phil Hoff of Vermont. I wish you would all rise at this particular time while I introduce the Very Reverend Monsignor Edward J. Fleming of Seton Hall University for the purposes of giving the Invocation.

Monsignor Fleming: Direct O Lord, we beseech thee our actions by thy Holy Inspirations carried on by thy gracious assistance so that every prayer and work of ours may always begin from thee and by thee be happily ended through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

DINNER

Governor Hoff: The hour is getting late and in an effort to get the show on the road, I think we'll proceed even though the waitresses are in the process of cleaning the tables. We are here this evening at a branch of the University of Missouri as you well know. I think we are particularly fortunate in having with us this evening the President of the University of Missouri, Dr. Elmer Ellis. He is no novice at this business of education. This makes his twelfth year as President of this great University and it is with considerable pleasure that I present him to you this evening. Dr. Ellis. . . .

Dr. Ellis: Governor Hoff, Governor Hearnese, Chancellor Whaley, ladies and gentlemen. If the Governor will allow me, I would like to make one correction. We have no branches at the University of Missouri, but we have four campuses.

It is my great pleasure on behalf of Chancellor Whaley and myself to welcome this distinguished group to the campus of the University of Missouri at Kansas City. We shall do our best to see to it that the hospitality accorded you here will meet with your approval in every way. I hope you like Kansas City beef. We do in Missouri and I suspect you eat it at homewhen you can get it.

As the Governor implied, we have four campuses at the University of Missouri. This is one of the more recent ones. Some of you will recall it as the University of Kansas City in previous administrations and we're delighted to have you on one of our campuses and we are particularly delighted to have our speaker of the evening who has appeared before on our campuses. He has always given stimulating and thoughtful and worthwhile addresses that have been useful to all of us.

Those of us who have the responsibility for the administration of segments of the nation's educational structure were tremendously encouraged when national leaders, state leaders outside the field of education took cognizance of the rapidly increasing needs of the schools and colleges and come to our aid in meeting these needs. We are living in a time when the nation's educational need is at the highest peak ever

with respect to the number of young people of school and college age. Our educational need is at the highest point ever with respect to the relationship of education with the welfare of the individual, the state, and the nation. One of the reasons why our comparatively young nation has achieved such a high position in the world's economic and diplomatic framework is that our people have believed strongly in education. They have believed that education is of such importance that it should be available to all at little or no cost and should be compulsory up to a reasonable age and beyond that by making education at the post secondary level available at low cost in publicly supported junior colleges, senior colleges and universities.

I would be remiss in this point if I failed to mention the great contribution which the private and church related colleges and schools have made to American education. These institutions with private funds from their own constituents have taken care of a sizeable segment of the American educational enterprise. At the same time, supporters of private schools and colleges have also been supporters of the public educational structure and they participate in a very substantial way in federal aid as you well know.

In the years ahead, we are going to face a bigger job in our schools and colleges as never before. The task will require our best efforts on behalf of all the segments of our school system. All sources of financial support will have to do more than before ---public and private sources; local, state and national. I believe the people recognize the necessity for making educational opportunities available to all youth and to whatever each individual is able and wants to go. To meet this challenge, we will require much from all possible sources and I believe the job will be done.

As I understand it, the main purpose of our gathering here tonight and today and tomorrow is to devise means for making all of our citizens more aware of the magnitude and importance of our educational task, to develop and publicize ideas pertaining to the expansion and improvement of the educational structure and to urge all sources to support - to fulfill - their obligations, to promote through education the welfare of our citizens in our respective states and our nation. Since the assignment before you is so important our pleasure in welcoming you to this assembly is far beyond the ordinary. I hope that your meeting will be profitable in every respect and your enthusiasm for the task, although at a high level now, will become greater as the session progresses. Be assured that we are glad to have you here.

Governor Hoff: Thank you Dr. Ellis. It is my pleasure at this time to introduce Dr. Randall McVay Whaley who is the Chancellor of the University of Missouri at Kansas City, for the purpose of introducing the people here at the head table.

Dr. Whaley: I have the simplest and most pleasurable task of the evening perhaps. You can see from the remarks made by President Ellis how well we get along together in this new university system in the state of Missouri. I am one of the newcomers and I am enjoying it.

I want to extend again with special emphasis our appreciation for your being here on our campus here in Kansas City. It is a privilege to have before you something which you did not have an opportunity to obtain on your way here tonight after dark. You could not see, but we will give you a little insight--the booklet that is on

your table relative to this particular campus, the University of Missouri located in Kansas City.

At the head table at my far right, the Very Reverend Monsignor Edward J. Fleming, Seton Hall. . . . President Elmer Ellis, you just heard. . . . and I'd like to introduce simultaneously Governor Warren Hearnes and Governor William Avery of Missouri and Kansas, co-hosts for this conference. . . . Governor Phil Hoff has been presiding and he doesn't need an additional introduction at this time. I will skip the next gentlemen to his left for a moment and introduce at the far left - your far right - Mr. Miller Nichols, Chairman of the University of Kansas City, Board of Trustees, I should say in explanation, we have a rather unusual circumstance. The Board that controls this institution as a private institution is still in existence and still a very active board of trustees concerned with this particular institution at this place. Mr. Miller Nichols, Chairman. . . . .

We have some other distinguished guests here with us this evening. I call them distinguished because I happen to be one of them myself. And I don't dare do otherwise, but I would like to suggest this: hold your applause until I have introduced all the distinguished governors who follow. They are in no particular order. First, Governor Daniel J. Evans of Washington. . . Governor Richard J. Hughes of New Jersey has left, but he was with us during a substantial part of the day and this takes a great deal of doing, I might add, when you're mixed up in a campaign. . . Governor Clifford Hansen of Wyoming. . . Governor Robert McNair of South Carolina. . . Governor Jack Campbell of New Mexico. . . Governor Karl Rolvaag, who just recently arrived from Minnesota. . . Governor Frank Morrison of Nebraska. . . Governor John Chafee of Rhode Island. . . Governor Charles Terry of Delaware. . . Governor John Love of Colorado. . . Governor William Egan of Alaska. . . Governor John Burns of Hawaii. . . Governor Ralph Paiewonsky of the Virgin Islands. . . and again to mention two other people who have left. . . Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, who was with us during a major part of the day. . . and Governor Mark Hatfield who was with us also. Lastly, a Governor who will be with us tomorrow, Governor Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma. And now you can cheer as loud and as long as you want. . . .

Now the second reason for the other introduction being omitted is the fact that there has been a slight change in the plan. So before doing so, may I introduce the person with whom I have become totally fond over the period of the last two years, a person that I know has done about as much or more than any other governor I know in terms of furthering not just the cause of education in the United States, but also in terms of his concern over the role that state government is going to play - not just in the field of education, but in all other areas as well. And with this, it is a great pleasure to introduce our host - and I think you know whom I mean - no less than ex-governor Terry Sanford. . . .

One of the things you learn about Terry after a while is that he is a modest man. And so he suggested that perhaps I might like to introduce our speaker this evening. I must say that of all the things that I have been asked to do in the period of the last several months, I can't imagine anything that I enjoy more than doing this. It isn't just the fact that our speaker came in a sense from our section of the country, because it goes much further than that. And I think all of you can recall that about ten years ago, the first of several works that have been published by our distinguished speaker came out and it caused quite a stir and in a sense, I guess it is still causing a stir in educational circles throughout the country. The title of that book was

The American High School Today and it still generates a great deal of conversation. Yet I find that with the passage of time, it has come to be not totally accepted, but for the most part, accepted.

I think it's more than just a question of the works that he has published, however, it seems to me that more than any other person that I know of and I think it's highly unusual in any circle, but particularly perhaps in educational circles in our country, his name has become a family word, and you will find that in the families throughout the length and breadth of this land that his name is known and what he has suggested is discussed.

What we are talking about here today and this evening and again tomorrow has in a very real sense, been generated by our speaker because in November of last year, he wrote a volume or a work entitled Shaping Educational Policy and it was in this text that he suggested that the states should combine together as being the logical unit in terms of the educational traditions of this country to get together for the purposes of shaping national policy. I think for the most part we agreed that some sort of instrumentality is needed. It was he who really suggested the Compact and it was Terry Sanford who had the courage and the wisdom and the vision to carry it forward from there. I think the people of this country are deeply indebted to our speaker because among all people at least that I know, I think he has done more to reawaken this country to the need to review its educational policy and to in a sense "get on the ball". And so it's a real privilege and a real honor for me this evening to introduce to you Dr. James Conant, our speaker of the evening.

Dr. Conant: Governor Hoff, President Ellis, Chancellor Whaley, assembled Governors, members of the state legislatures, distinguished educators, ladies and gentlemen. I must first of all express my appreciation to our presiding officer for his cordial and far too flattering introduction. I must admit that it's very pleasant for an author to hear his book spoken of so well by a Governor.

Now you all heard the old saying that differences of opinion make horse races possible and differences of opinion now make educational meetings interesting and light. And I have no doubt that tomorrow when we go into our working sessions, we will have plenty of differences of opinion. But I venture to think that tonight we are of one mind on one subject and that is that this is a very unusual gathering.

Whatever may be the verdict a year or five years or ten years from now as to what was accomplished here or not accomplished it is unlikely to be forgotten that this meeting occurred. I doubt if anyone ten years ago could have envisioned that 19 Governors, some 50 state legislators and over 200 leading educators would come together to exchange ideas about interstate cooperation in education. And I may say if one could look forward with certainty to an annual meeting of this sort, concerned with substantive issues in education, then I think we would feel that we've been assembled here and our assembly had been well repaid.

For those of us here who struggled with educational problems in the grim depression days of the 1930's, why we old timers I think can only express amazement at this manifestation of a nationwide concern with the problems of education at all levels. Of course, this is only one manifestation of a national phenomenon. I think it is quite clear that none of us would be here tonight if we were not living in a

period in which the welfare of the nation as never before depends on the wise development of our educational system. The attitude of the American public, it seems to me, as regards schools, colleges, and universities is different from what it was before World War I. In those far distant days, few talked in terms of the national need for highly educated men and women. Education beyond the eighth grade was a personal matter. Whether a college education was worthwhile was a question I remember was often raised and by no means uniformly answered in the affirmative. And as for scholars and scientists with a Ph.D. degree, or even scientists and engineers with a B.S. training, the problem in the 1930's was how to find employment for such people.

Now this same changed attitude of public opinion was in large part responsible I believe for the criticism of public schools, particularly the public secondary schools which came to a head after Sputnik. It was alleged, I say alleged, that the nation was in danger because much talent, so it was said, was not being developed to the full by education. So at least four criticisms involved in the attack on the public schools in the 1950's. One was the failure of the schools to provide adequate instruction for those who had the ability to profit from a wide and intensive study of conventional subjects (mathematics, foreign languages, the sciences, English and history). The second was the failure to arouse the intellectual ambitions of the students so that they would take advantage of what was offered in the way of advanced academic instruction in grades 10-12. The third was the failure, so it was said, to stimulate and assist those who were having difficulty with these conventional academic subjects, and the fourth was to the effect that the offering of instruction in the industrial arts, homemaking and a range of vocational subjects, which, it was said, were so "easy" that they attracted students away from courses in mathematics, science and foreign languages. The implication of all these criticisms was that the national welfare was jeopardized by the alleged failure of our schools.

To these four criticisms in the last few years have been added the criticism of the comprehensive high school for what is said to be its failure to provide adequately for those who need and desire to acquire a vocational education.

Now this shift in public attitude about education in the United States made evident in so many ways, finds its parallel in other countries -- Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden. In all those nations, the newspapers and weekly journals are full of stories about educational reform. The economist has entered the educational picture and his arguments are listened to by government officials, political leaders and businessmen.

For example, not very long ago, one of the leading German industrialists said to me. "If we Germans don't overhaul our schools and universities quickly, we shall soon be an underdeveloped nation." He had in mind the fact that the basic structure of German education, I'm speaking of pre-Germany of course, is today essentially what it was in the Kaiser's time. Only about 6% of an age group complete the pre-university work. And in some of the German states, the figure is as low as 4%. And I may say in this dimension by the way, that in my opinion, those who say that European education is far superior to American education are talking utter nonsense.

Having spent the last two years in Germany, in Berlin, perhaps I may be entitled to an opinion on that subject. In fact, I would say the European and American patterns of education are so different that comparisons are almost without meaning. Each nation today has the job of improving the structure and the quality of its



system and the aims are not dissimilar but the starting points and the presuppositions are quite different.

I can illustrate this fact by two stories. The first is from Switzerland. About ten years ago, I was visiting one of the campuses very similar to the German system of education and talking with the educational official about their system by which at the age of ten they select the boys and girls who are going to the [gimnasia] that's described as pre-university schools, and I said, "but don't you have some difficulty with this selection method? Don't some parents object that their children aren't selected, that they want them to go on and it's a democratic country, don't you have some difficulty in the selection?" Well, he said, "yes, to tell you the truth, we've had a lot of difficulty since World War II on this point, but we've finally found the answer," and I said "What is it?" "Well", he said, "We get all the parents together of the boys and girls of this age group who are going to be chosen and subject to the process of selection and we tell them all about these pre-university schools; that they are very very difficult, a half-to two-thirds of the students fail during the nine year course, they are very likely to have nervous breakdowns. Unless your children are very bright, we don't advise them to enter such a school and any way, what is this school? It's just a preparation for the university. And what is the university? It's just a way of preparing for a profession and today there's no money in it." Well, I asked him if this worked and he said, "Oh, it works very well," and I said, "Isn't there any danger that you'll persuade some parents not to enter their children and they might be very bright students and they wouldn't go to a university." Well, he looked at me in amazement and he said, "You don't want all the bright children to go to a university do you?" Well, I told him I thought in the United States, we did.

The other story comes from Berlin and is more recent. It's about a Berlin educator..they pride themselves on their sense of humor. He says there were two masons who were working on a wall and one of them said to the other "Hans, why are you so depressed this morning? You seem to be in a very sour sad state of mind." "Oh, I've had very bad news in my family." "Well, what is it?" "My son has just successfully completed the work in the [gimnasia] and he's going to a university and it'll be years before he earns any money." "Oh", said the other one, I'm lucky, my son failed three years ago, and he's now at work." Those two fellows will show you that the presuppositions in Europe are quite different from those in the United States.

But the only reason for my referring to European education this evening is to point out that one component of the American revolution in education is basically the same as the chief component in the educational ferment in other lands. This component is a clear recognition of the relation between national welfare in the middle of the century and education. A second component with us, which is absent in Europe, is the very large increase in the size of our age groups now going to college. The impact of this vastly increased number of children and youth on all educational facilities is so well known to all of you, I don't have to emphasize it. Indeed, at times it is so evident that it tends to obscure the other changes in the educational picture.

A third component, also largely absent in Europe might be called the innovations in teaching methods and curriculum content. Under this heading, I would list the new mathematics, the three new kinds of high school biology, two new kinds of chemistry, and above all the new high physics first developed by Professor

Zacharias of MIT who deserves much credit for starting the movement of high school curriculum revision, and then I should mention the new approach to the teaching of foreign languages.

These innovations one might say constitute an American educational revolution. Let me illustrate a couple of examples well known to many of you. Ten or fifteen years ago, the accepted pattern was to start the study of a foreign language not earlier than grade nine and then to only offer two years of Latin or French or Spanish. And only a small fraction of even the ablest student selected such a program which I may say was just as well as to my point of view, such a fragmentary exposure was essentially worthless. The idea of learning to speak and read a foreign language was something approaching mastery, was alien to both pupils and teachers in most of the schools I visited in 1937 and 1938. Today, language laboratories are to be found on every hand and the instruction is by the direct method often starting even in the lower grades.

To illustrate further, ten years ago many argued that high school students should study mathematics and foreign language because it trained the mind. Modern psychologists take a dim view of the implied analogy between muscular and intellectual activity and whether there is anything in that argument or not. I'm going to leave it aside this evening. To my mind, it matters little. My own argument is that as many youth as possible study academic subjects in depth in the higher grades in high school to face quite another type of consideration. I call it the "open door policy".

Those who argue in this way are concerned with better fitting the individual and the nation. I call it the "open door policy" because unless the high school graduate enters college with a solid background of mathematics, science and a foreign language, many doors to many careers are shut. If he enters with adequate preparation, they are open with a wide and deep academic preparation technically five solids in four years an individual entering college is then free to choose among the variety of collegiate programs. But there should be as many possible who enter college thus prepared seems to me a matter of importance for the future of the nation. In other words, even when one is arguing about such academic technical details as a high school curriculum, there is today a widespread assumption that the basic issue is the national need.

Take the question of school district consolidation. There are about 24,000 high schools in the United States. Of these, at least 15,000 are graduating classes of much less than 100. Without very large expenditures of public funds, it is impossible for a small high school to introduce the innovation which have marked the last ten years. Indeed, in many cases, not even the old instruction in mathematics, sciences and foreign languages can be provided in the higher grades. Now the number of these small schools vary greatly from state to state. So do the methods adopted by different states to encourage district consolidation. What is very much needed is accurate information about the current situation in each state and the steps which are being taken to promote this consolidation and what is being done to improve instruction in those few areas where geography literally prevents further consolidation. Now, I hope such information will be one of the consequences of the formation of the educational commission of the states provided for in the Compact we are going to discuss tomorrow morning.

When one speaks of innovations, one usually has in mind such things as programmed instruction and team teaching. But to my mind one of the most significant innovations in American education is the changed relationship between school and college. Take for example, the so-called advanced placement program by which at the last year in high school, much of the work of the freshman year of some colleges can be anticipated and on the other hand, take the remarkable growth of the two year college. The old line separating high school from college has become very fuzzy.

Since the college can be regarded very often as a step toward the professional schools, graduate professional schools, some can say there is a continuance here between high school and medical school, law school and work for the Ph.D. degree. Now this changed relation where the line is fuzzy between secondary education and higher education has many implications for the planning of education state by state. I doubt that I have to emphasize that to most of the people in this audience. Indeed, to my mind here is an area where we sorely need a study in depth of the different arrangements in different states. In only a very few states has the pattern of public education beyond the high school been firmly established. My guess is that a majority of states are right now in the developmental and planning stages. And in these stages accurate information about what is going on in other states would be most helpful.

That the patterns of attending the junior colleges are different is clear from the few statistical estimates that are available. For example, in California, I calculate something like 65 percent of all the college freshmen in the state, private and public, are enrolled in local two-year colleges; in Michigan the corresponding figure seems to be about 40 percent; in New York state, about 27 percent. In California, this pattern has been established some years ago by a master plan adopted by the legislature. The decision was made that public instruction for the first two post-high school years will be given locally in junior colleges for a majority of the students. In some other states, among them Ohio and Indiana, a different pattern is evolving.

The state university has established two-year local branches. Just as in California, the student can live at home during the freshman and sophomore years, but the responsibility for his education is in the hands of the university. Now I pass no judgment on these two schemes, each has its merits and I have heard eloquent arguments on both schemes. It seems clear that whatever may be the advantages or disadvantages of either pattern, in a number of states where the course has not yet been decided, information about these advantages and disadvantages are sorely needed. These are the states which would benefit from a study by a committee set up under the interstate compact we are discussing. Though I do not envision a national pattern (indeed I hope we will not have one), I do envision a situation in which most states will develop a master plan for higher education based on the information now available or will be made available. Rather I should say if we get a Compact and have a committee operating under it to make a nationwide survey of what is going on in regard to education for the first two post high school years, and I quite definitely stick my neck out tonight by expressing the hope that such a study might be one of the first tasks undertaken by the educational assembly under the states under which it will be made possible if the Compact finds approval, but let me emphasize strongly that any such study would only present recommendations in the sense that they would be alternate schemes. They would not recommend that any state should organize education this way or that way. They would provide information and the recommendations would not be binding in any sense.

I might just remind you that the first time undergraduate college enrollment in 1965 is expected to be about 1,400,000. The projection to 1970 is 1,800,000, and to 1975 it is 2,200,000. Thus the ten year increase is 800,000 more college freshmen, which is about 57% of the 1965 figure. Note that these figures are on a nationwide basis, and they include freshman enrollments in junior colleges as well as in four-year institutions.

If one considers projections on a state by state basis, however, some patterns develop quite differently from the national growth of 57%. I understand that Governor Brown has written recently that "by 1970, we shall have to double the capacity of the University of California and triple the capacity of our state college system."

As many of you know, the growth of junior colleges on a nationwide basis has certainly been phenomenal. Between 1954 and 1964, the total enrollment more than doubled - from 300,000 to 700,000. If the trend continues, in another ten years, there will be as many as 2 million students enrolled in the two-year colleges. This was about the total number of all college students in all institutions in the United States only ten years ago!

The magnitude of the problem facing the individual state is, of course, directly influenced by the two factor percentage: The percentage of an age group going on to either junior college or a four year and for the percent in the whole country, this seems to be something like 46%. The other factors are the expected size of the age group state by state. One is sure that there are enormous variations state by state, but I defy anyone today to obtain accurate instrument estimates of the number of college freshmen who will be handled by that state say in five or ten years. The very absence of this state by state information is so essential to state planning, it underlines in my mind the significance to what we are going to discuss tomorrow morning.

At the outset of my remarks, I suggested that those of us who were born in the 19th century can only regard with utter amazement the educational scene in the 20th century. I said the meeting here in Kansas City was just one manifestation of the revolution in public attitude toward education which has taken place since World War II. The spread of innovations to which I have already referred would be considered by many as the hallmark of the revolution. But new patterns have developed within the states and between the states. Information by 16 states of the Southern Regional Education Board was followed in 1953 by the establishment by 13 states of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education and more recently still by the formation of the New England Board of Higher Education.

These regional compacts have proved their worth as joint planning agencies and in at least one instance have administrative powers. I see nothing whatever in what Governor Sanford has proposed that in any way limits or restrains the activities of these regional interstate boards. I can see ways in which the work of the sub-committees under the Compact might indeed help the regional boards.

Take the case of the two-year colleges. It is obvious that if a study were made that had accurate information about the alternative plan, that would be of benefit to any regional group that wanted to have a regional agreement as to the kind of two year college which should be provided. I may say that I feel the same way as regards

the relation of what is being discussed here tomorrow to the work of the national voluntary agencies. The NEA, the American Council on Education, the Association of American Colleges, the Association of Land Grant Colleges, the Association of American Universities need not fear, it seems to me, any interference by Governor Sanford's interstate compact. In the first place there is more than sufficient work to be done. In the second place, many of the leaders in these voluntary organizations are bound to be chosen by the governors of the states so they will be part of the organization as individuals and also, I note that in the provisional draft of the Compact before you, there will be 10 non-voting members of the commission from national educational bodies. I would expect, such important agencies as the Council of Chief State School Officers, the National School Boards Association, the NASSP, the AASA and others of national prominence.

I have spoken of our being gathered together to discuss Governor Sanford's scheme. Those of you who think well of the idea may regard me as unduly modest while those of you who are lukewarm may accuse me of trying to duck responsibility. Perhaps you will allow me to be immodest enough for a few minutes to trace out the history of an idea which I hope may be well on the way to being a reality when we adjourn tomorrow night. As far as I am concerned, it all goes back to my wandering around the country as a self-appointed appraiser of that unique American institution, the comprehensive high school in 1957 and 1959, followed by my study of the Education of American Teachers in 1962 and 1963. The first study involved my visiting public high schools in many states; the second, a rather intensive study of one phase of higher education in the 16 most populous states. I came to realize as never before that educationally speaking, each state had a distinct personality.

I became more and more impressed with the importance of tradition and custom in each state. It seemed to me that one thing was needed. We needed an invention of some sort in which the various states could cooperate and communicate with one another. This suggestion I put into print and at that point Governor Sanford took over. He made my vague suggestion concrete. He saw as I did not the key role of the Governors. For nearly a year now, he and his advisors have consulted an almost endless number of educators and political leaders. There have been many meetings. The result is a concrete plan which can be properly designated as Terry Sanford's Compact for Education.

If time permitted, I'd like to add one more subject to the two that I suggested to be studied under the Compact. I have suggested the district consolidation, the elimination or reduction of the small high schools and the other, the post high school years, the junior college. I venture just to throw in, in this last moment, one more suggestion namely the problem of vocational education and the relation of the problem which varies state by state to the present effort to have separate vocational schools and the problem which is confronted in some states; the problem of the future of the comprehensive high school. Though I've been long an advocate of the comprehensive high school, I must admit that I think it's time that we have a look at what that school can do under different conditions to provide for the vocational education of those who desire and need it. But I've talked too long already and I've said nothing about the details of the Compact which you're going to discuss tomorrow.

I might just point out what is so obvious that if you decide to go forward with this scheme, that the eventual success of the undertaking will depend on three factors. First, the quality of the members of the educational commission of the states

appointed by the governor, the quality of the members of the steering committee and above all the confidence of the executive director who will fill the position which I think will be second to none important in the educational world. Secondly, will depend on the understanding of the Compact by the state legislatures and the state officials and the educational world. It will be understood that the report to come out of this study or studies that will be made will be reports, not findings, but reports to provide information. And finally and thirdly, I think it would be essential that the reports be published and discussed and widely understood, not only by the state legislatures to whom they are in a sense directed, but by the American citizens and the educational community as a whole.

A friend of mine discussing this just a few days ago said, "Well, as I understand it, what is being proposed is a new mechanism for action in education." I said, "Not at all, you're completely wrong. This is not a new mechanism for action, it's a new mechanism that may stimulate action state by state... stimulating it by providing the necessary information which is not now available in regard to many important problems." As I tried to emphasize in my remarks tonight, the United States is now entering a new and revolutionary period of its educational history. I venture to believe that what we need is a new approach to the study of these problems... an approach which places no restraint on the states, but provides what the states need to act wisely.

Whether the Compact is a way to do this or not is for you to decide during the discussions tomorrow morning and afternoon. Whatever happens, I hope it will not be the last meeting in which Governors, Legislators, and distinguished educators come together to discuss education and to find a solution for the many educational problems on the solution of which depends the welfare of the United States.

Governor Hoff: Thank you very much Dr. Conant. As always, it was an illuminating talk and I'm very anxious that people bare his remarks in mind, both in considerations tomorrow and I hope this evening too.

There are just a couple of announcements. You will recall that in the kit that you received, you had a booklet of this nature called "Compact for Education". And you will note that in the inside cover, there are established certain working committees for the conference. I hope I can make myself clear on this because it is important. There are some seven of these committees. You will note for example that the first of these is a committee on financing and contributions and you will note also that the membership is made up extensively of those governors who are listed thereunder. Now you are well aware that there are a number of governors who are not present. It is our hope that the delegation of each state where a governor is not present will delegate somebody to attend that meeting on behalf of his state. These meetings are scheduled at the suite of the chairman of each of these committees tomorrow morning at 7:30.

The hour is late and I think we're all aware of that. By the same token, this Conference is intended as a working and discussion meeting and for the most part I am guessing that state delegations have not met. It is our urgent hope and request that even though the hour is late, that each of the states or a combination of states will meet and I note at least one region that is considering this will hold these meetings tonight in order to discuss it.

I think we are all aware that there is some discord or some reservations at least on certain portions of this compact. There are also those who think that perhaps we are trying to rush into this thing. I want to remind you that if this is a matter of national welfare and I find very few people who will disagree, then it means that on a federal level, if not on a state level, that the states themselves cannot find a means of fulfilling their responsibilities, and inevitably in terms of the national welfare others are going to fill the vacuum. I'd like to believe that time is of the urgency and I would remind you the gigantic federal appropriations among other things are of themselves fixed policy and I think it would be naive of us to look at it otherwise. I would also remind you that one of the problems of the states over the period of years has been either an unwillingness or an inability to act. Here is a means of action. And I hope that in the process of our consideration, both within your state levels and tomorrow, that each of you will bear in mind if we are to pull together so that we can be truly reflected in the national educational policies of this nation, that we treat compromise, as always, as the necessary part of our deliberations. So it is our fervent hope that you will meet this evening... that you will give this compact due deliberation among yourselves and that you will be prepared tomorrow to come in with positive suggestions and with the desire to move forward on this Compact.

The New England delegation is asked to meet in Room 4 on the Mezzanine of the Muehlebach Hotel.

In closing, we certainly would like to thank our hosts for this evening for this wonderful example of Missouri beef. It was awfully good and we are most grateful to the university. Now if we might have ..... are you prepared to give the Benediction?

Monsignor Fleming: We give thee thanks Almighty God for these and all thy gracious blessings which we have received from thy bounty through Christ our Lord. Amen.

# COMPACT FOR EDUCATION

## A STUDY OF AMERICAN STATES

MORNING SESSION - SEPTEMBER 30, 1965

9:30 A. M.

Chairman: Governor William Egan, Alaska

Dr. James Allen, Commissioner of Education (New York)

Thank you, Governor. I think we all feel at this point that the time for speeches has come to an end, and I would like to suggest rather than taking your time at this point in adding anything to the very eloquent statements or attempting to add anything to the very eloquent statements that were made yesterday and last night by Dr. Conant, that we begin really with questions here; and so with the agreement of Governor Sanford and Dr. Conant, let us open up with questions, and I think possibly Governor Sanford will start with some that he has on his mind. Some of them have already been given to him.

Governor Sanford

I did not expect a great pile of questions to be handed in, but I did feel like we should open that channel as well as suggest very strongly this morning that you get into whatever controversy you will get into. I read in the paper that this was a controversial meeting, and I would not like to let the newspapers down.

The purpose of this meeting, I think it is worth repeating, is not to adopt the Compact. The Compact can be adopted only by individual states compacting in good time and on the basis of their judgment and situation, when and if this becomes a formal organization. But this Compact will not direct policy; it will not even adopt what the policy should be; but it will come up with some ideas that the states can use and if any of them care to move into this Compact arrangement as it now stands or as it might be amended. If enough states come in to activate it, then it would be a compact, and it would be open to future states for their entry. I think it would be a mistake to let you think that here we are--an essentially unofficial group without any legal standing--that we are going to adopt a Compact. It never was our thought that we would. We felt that we would get here and draw on your ideas and put this in a letter form for mass discussion and then leave it to the states as they see fit.

As some of you know, some states have already indicated their intention of participating, subject to what is done here to the documents. We will talk about the final outcome of this meeting as the day goes on, but



we at least need to come out of this, it seems to me, with some kind of a group still unofficial which will pick up the ball and carry it and put together all of the new ideas and develop it in as thorough a manner as possible. We need to come out at the end with some kind of a group that can take this ball and do whatever should be done as determined by the conversation today, if it is your feeling that something should be done to create this kind of an organization. I don't believe that we will take a vote at the end of the day. The question of whether or not there should be the Compact is as much as we should put to a vote, I think. We can shake that thinking a little more tightly as the day rolls on.

Here is a question from a University President. I didn't make it clear whether I would identify the source of these questions or not, so I am not identifying. If you would like to identify yourself, please feel free to do so. The draft of the Compact states that the purpose is to select colleagues with pertinent information to encourage research, to develop methods of adequate finance, formulate suggested policies, etc..

The question is, or questions are: "What will the Compact achieve in these areas that it is not now possible through many organizations and agencies in existence? What information is needed that we do not now have or could not now get? What research is needed? What ideas on finance will be discussed that we do not now know about? What are the fields in which policies are needed?"

Of course, this is an excellent question because it goes to the one question of why we are here. It says, in fact, do we need this kind of pattern, and it says by implication do we need another organization in order to get the planning needed. I think everybody that has had any experience in government or education could answer this question in their own way. Let me give a personal answer and then if anybody else here would like to comment on it, please feel free to do so.

I certainly know that in my experience of participating in state government, and attempting to use state government to stimulate educational opportunities, that I could answer these questions. We do need many policies and plans in many fields. I know that one of the first things that I think of is the total life of any kind of a policy. . . its long-range impact on the problem it is designed to meet. . . whether it's really effective because it would be a shame to go back on the need.

What kind of plan does a state organization need? We need a plan for what to do about retarded children. We were doing this in a very haphazard way, and it took us two and one-half years of drawing information; first of all deciding that we needed to do it, convincing others of the need and then getting the information to substantiate. Finally we put a planning committee together that came up with something fairly sensible that gave us a program for these children, but that was two and one-half years after we might have been working on it;

and in my own case, at the end of my administration when I was still in a position to do little more than provide some extra funds.

I think that many states' planning for various phases of higher education has been implemented in the states where they have enough planning organizations doing this. But other states do not have these facilities and at least I could not find any readily available policies and procedures suggested either for the control of higher education or organization to prevent duplication, overlapping and unnecessary expansion in the colleges and universities. Just for one example, I certainly found that nobody, and I don't think anyone to date, has put together the full implications of educational television. I don't think we have had any definitions beyond the substance of--well some, but not a great deal--one or two universities working in various audiovisual media and doing something about it; but I don't know where a superintendent or local school board has defined the basis of any and or examined the use of these new methods and new material for teaching. Certainly nobody has available for us any plans on how to go about encouraging artistic talent throughout the system of education; or indeed asked the question of whether or not this should be a function of the school system. We didn't have available any information on what to do with the more able students, gifted students, those good academically who were still wandering around trying to find the proper approach to life; and I could go on and on in almost every phase to do with the teaching of most any particular subject that you wanted to mention, the kind of courses that should be offered in the high schools, what kind of vocational education, if any, should be presented at the junior high school grade level. I think back to my four years, and I could almost give you a new problem in a new area of needed planning and research, it seems to me, for almost every day of it.

So I think there is much to do and while you can reach here and there, we need a clearinghouse and, with your help, the pact can put together, and furthermore the ideas could be broadly disseminated to the people who could put them into effect for the benefit of the people to be concerned. We have, I think, a very fine educational association, the NCEA--I use this as just one example of a professional organization because I think it is a very good organization in our state--that came up with some good ideas, some good ideas about taxes for one thing. But that group essentially was an organization to promote adequate finance for schools because the public and the legislature looked on this group as maybe a special interest group--were they concerned about the improvement of education or were they concerned about the improvement of their paychecks--and so for years they have had difficulty in presenting their ideas though they did pretty good research on the way we could get the money. It wasn't until political leadership and the educational leadership joined together to develop a plan for financing that it got anywhere, and I think that's so now, I think that taxes are going to be an increasing problem; and I think we're going

to have to join together the political leadership and the educational leadership if we're going to see some of the good ideas put into effect. We are going to have to make certain that there is an involvement of the people that direct education and the people that vote for legislative policy that create financial support and program availability for talented children, for example. I think one of the advantages and certainly the most appealing thing to me about what we're trying to do here is that we combine the best thinking of the educators who spend their lives with educational concern and the best thinking of the people who make political decisions--the governors, the legislators, the policy-makers who are on various boards--and we put all of these together in coming up with an approach. I certainly think it's more acceptable if it comes out of this kind of an organization. Maybe I'm wrong, but generally that's my answer to what I think is a very fine and well-put question.

Dr. Allen

I can only add this as a Commissioner of Education faced with huge and enormously complex problems of education in a very complex and large state: I welcome with very open arms the kind of help that can come, and I think will come, from the decision that I hope is going to be made here today by this group of governors and professional and lay leaders; and I think in that connection that I speak for the majority, if not all, of my counterparts from the other states, and certainly for the city superintendent of schools who have tremendous problems, college and university presidents - all of them are carrying an increasingly heavy responsibility for education today. The education administrators are being asked today to take on a task of gigantic proportions: to provide well-qualified teachers, for example, to take classrooms for enrollment of the elementary and secondary schools, which is increasing at the rate of a million a year. We are being asked to do the same for an annual increase of nearly 400,000 students in higher education. We are being called upon to do such unpopular things as to try and consolidate a thousand small and inefficient school districts in order that these boys and girls, as Dr. Conant said last night, might have equal opportunity as an open door policy. We are being pressed to give immediate attention to the critical and enormously difficult problems of our large cities, and they are requiring top priority, in my judgment, in any action, by a Compact. We are asked to establish pre-school programs, especially for students who meet with a disadvantage. We are being asked to reorganize and revitalize the whole of the vocational education system. We are being called upon to desegregate hundreds, if not thousands, of racially unbalanced schools and to provide a quality of education for all children a task of great importance with a tremendous difficulty. We are being asked to increase our concern for the poor, the handicapped, and the unsuccessful and at the same time, to improve further the instruction for the academically gifted and the exceptionally talented. We are asked to create more graduate centers of excellence, to under-

take more research and better research, to innovate, to raise standards to a new level of excellence, and so it goes on and on.

As I see it, these gigantic needs must be met. The problems are difficult and complex, and they must be fought. The public is demanding the action, and education has become a political matter. So the question becomes: how do we insure that the right action for our education problems be found, and how do we protect against the adoption of unwise plans of action. I think it is indeed in answer to these questions that there lies the challenge and the opportunity for the historic action that is taking place here today. I wonder if anybody else here would like to take the other point of view-certainly, we would welcome your comments, and we'd like to suggest that this information is available and maybe it is, because I think we would be very happy if someone would speak of this. Please identify yourself for the report.

Dr. Andrew Holt, President, University of Tennessee

My name is Andy Holt, I'm president of the University of Tennessee - if you have difficulty in identifying the institution, this is the institution whose football team had a very long dry spell, beat Army and tied Auburn. But I do not wish to speak in opposition to this proposal, rather I'd like to have speed. When I first read Dr. Conant's speech, in which he came forward with the suggestion that we should have some sort of Compact of the States in the matter of education, I was mad at myself for not thinking of the idea. It just seemed to be so logical that I didn't see why I hadn't thought of it before he did. Then too, I had had experience with the Southern Region Education Board which has been, in my opinion, tremendously successful in helping higher education get with the governors of the states and conventional education, in general, particularly higher education. I thought this was a good idea, and they put this together on a basis that I like.

Terry Sanford has been delegated to try to find some means of implementing this wonderful idea. I want to say that I will be for almost anything Terry Sanford comes up with because he has been as fine an educational governor as I have ever known in any State. And then when I finally got around to reading this (for which I shamefully admit was on the plane on the way out here) (some of the rest of you look as guilty as dogs, too); well, when I finally got around to reading it, I was amazed that anybody had been able in so short a time to come up with what seems like a practical plan implementing this wonderful idea Dr. Conant had. I am glad, however, that Terry Sanford explained that we are not going to be called upon to vote on this compact at this meeting because if I had, I would have refrained from voting for two or three reasons; one of them would be that I have not had an opportunity to discuss this with my governor, and I want to discuss it with him and shall when I get back home. Number two is that I believe my governor (I think I know him)

would like to have the opportunity of extending to the educational organizations in his state the courtesy of reacting to this proposal and getting suggestions which might improve it. Then also, from a personal standpoint, I belong to some national organizations which for many years have been studying this problem of strengthening higher education throughout the nation; and I would like to get the reaction from the American Council on Education, the Land-Grant College Association, the National Educational Association and others. I say this not with the idea of letting them squelch the idea, but inviting them to give us suggestions which will strengthen the idea. And so I am glad we won't have to vote on this; but at the same time I would hate to go away from here with any feeling that we may have squelched an idea which has such tremendous possibilities as this has; and so, instead of doing what I was afraid we might have been called upon to do, I would like for us to indicate that we think this is a magnificent idea, that we think that the plans which have been proposed here deserve full consideration by all educational groups with the idea that they will give us any suggestions they have for improving it; then, that we shall ask the governors to make the money available that would have been available under this Compact basis, make it available for our continuing the work instead of calling this a proposed steering committee, call it some other kind of committee (I don't care what kind of a name is used) but the idea of the committee would be to say that we have got something to shoot at. Now let's take it to these educational people and let them give us suggestions about how they can improve it. And then, before we have a Compact and the governors be requested to sign, let us get the Compact improved before it goes out and the states work on it. Then I would say that certainly you have got to have the money, you have got to have the organization to keep this thing going and to keep the ball moving, but without saying "Here is a plan," now then we can react to it after we have already adopted a plan. Thank you very much.

Honorable Charles B. Garrigus, Chairman, Education Committee  
California Assembly

I am Assemblyman, Charles B. Garrigus, Chairman of the California Education Committee of the California Legislature. I would like to say in regard to this conference that never has there been so much intellectual progress with so little nourishment in ideas, and the reason for this is a necessity almost because of the size of this delegation. I agree with my eminent predecessor here tonight, the Governor of Tennessee (no, it was the President of the University of Tennessee - the Governor should not be so ambitious) that this idea is long overdue and of excellent merit. But if this commission (and it is to state today as it was yesterday, the many vacant seats)-- if this commission is to communicate as it must communicate to be effective; if it is going to establish a rapport to get co-operation, if it is going to articulate issues in terms of decisions which will make

possible public policy alternatives, and that is its purpose; then it must be of a practical size to do this. For this reason I believe that the present format of the Compact which provides seven delegates from each state for a possible accumulative voting total of 350 members be almost again half the size of the group right here is far too large for a practical resolvment of issues and the kind of proposal for public policy alternatives that we can expect and should expect from such a group. For that reason I am seriously hoping to order and implement this Compact in terms of its own purposes to follow: that the total delegations will be reduced to at least 250 by the restriction of each delegation from each state to five instead of seven. I must say that I lost this proposal this morning in the Committee on State Representation by a vote of 8 to 3. This is a minority expression, but I will say that the three were legislators and the eight were educators.

Senator David K. Trask, Member, State Senate of Hawaii

I am Senator David K. Trask, State of Hawaii. I am here at the meeting this morning because Governor Burns was ill and the Honorable Garrigus was in the minority even knowing the hastiness of the majority party. I don't know, Mr. Chairman, he gave the minority reports right now to the committee, and where I came from if the minority defaults, the majority usually follows right behind them. The majority looked at this thing and I know that in his great state of California he has some hundred odd legislators. However, the committee feels that of the five legislators, we should have educators participating and articulating together with the politicians-- that has been our problem, our National problem. Educators have failed to win support by pointing to the legislature and explaining their position.

I am the Chairman of the Senate Education Committee of our great state. We have brought the University of Hawaii President, we have brought the Director of our Junior Colleges, we have brought the Board Chairman of our Elementary and Secondary Education, and we have brought one Senator and one House Member, and we should articulate together. The Honorable Garrigus said that with 350 you cannot articulate--well, I have to disagree with the Honorable Assemblyman because legislators most certainly know how to articulate with politicians and that is the problem in education as I see it. I believe that if we have this Compact and the great State of Hawaii is interested in the Compact, we should have an even amount of representation--the committee says that there should be one House Member and one Senator besides the Governor and then the Governor should appoint the other members. We presume that he will be appointing the educators in his state. Now how better can we articulate if we have these two groups represented. Dr. Conant last night said, or the idea he put across to me was, we need this get

togetherness of educators and politicians in every state. I think it is overdue and I would like to thank Dr. Conant for bringing that idea forward to all of our states.

My opinion is and it is the opinion, the majority's opinion, that seven people in the committee supported the report from the drafting committee of seven members. I would like to find out, and it was never told in the committee (at least the majority couldn't understand it) how could you do away with educators and just have politicians? My strong belief is that we both should be represented and there should be equal representation, and that when the report comes up, Mr. Chairman, I am going to again call on Mr. Garrigus and give him a chance to try to get him to believe that the minority was right. Thank you.

Senator R. C. Morgan, State Senate of New Mexico

Mr. Chairman, I would like to take just a minute to emphasize what Terry Sanford has said. I am Senator R. C. Morgan from New Mexico, Chairman of the Education Committee in the Senate, and also Chairman of the Interim Legislative Committee for Education. Now, I would like to particularly emphasize what Terry Sanford said and also the governor, I believe, from Hawaii, was just noting how important it is, and if I understand the purpose of this Compact, it is to strengthen the line of communication between educators and legislators. It is impossible for a group of educators, regardless of the provocation, to suggest a program to the legislators when the legislatures sit for such a short time. Sometimes those sessions become very lengthy in the short days that the legislature in most states sit in session, and present the program and get it over to the legislation and get the legislators to pass that program in the relatively short time. So I think it is particularly important that we bear in mind that no matter how noble and how good the program is, it has got to be presented to the legislature, and it has got to be presented in the way that the legislature will feel they are a part of it. It has got to be our program instead of accepting just merely on say of the educators. Now here's an example.

You might recall we had what I think was the Blue Ribbon Committee - they were the, I think, the best from the educational field that we had in the State of New Mexico, and we have very good ones there. But they fell down on communicating, not only to the legislature, but to the public and press in being excluded from a good many of their meetings.

We legislators are outnumbered here, according to the paper--only about forty of us here and about two hundred educators. But I would like to impress upon the educators here this morning the need to include the legislators in all their planning--the planning stages--because,

after all, unless the drafting stages are made, it is the legislature which must provide the money to finance the educational program, and I can't emphasize too strongly about the point Terry Sanford made in his reply to the question on why the Compact and to the purpose of the Compact. It is my impression that this is a step in the right direction--it's a long direction--but the right direction, and I believe it's long overdue. Thank you.

Governor Egan

Thank you, Senator Morgan. We would like to urge other statements.

Mrs. Viola Hymes, Member, Minneapolis Board of Education

Mr. Chairman, I'm Mrs. Viola Hymes, and I'm a member of the Minnesota delegation. I am a layman; I am a consumer of education as a mother and as a grandmother who is concerned with them and their education. I have been, or I used to be, a teacher, in pre-historic days, but I lost that job because my contract during the depression said that teachers shall be dismissed in the case of gross immorality, or by marriage in the case of a woman. . . I have often said that I have been most distressed because there wasn't even a comma between them. But I did get married and I had to stop teaching school, which I had loved doing, but I became very active in citizens' movements in education. In fact, I was a Charter Member of the Minneapolis Citizens' Committee on Public Education, which was, with Chicago, the first citizens' committee in the United States. This was in the middle 30's when schools were in tremendous difficulty financially.

But speaking as a layman, speaking as a consumer, speaking as one who has been exposed for a great many years to citizen groups that always make great efforts upon the dialogues of the educators on the one hand and the citizens on the other hand, I think it is long overdue that we have some kind of an organization that takes into consideration our politicians, our representatives, our senators and the legal arms in this nation, which we don't really have, which in the end is the only way we can plainly stimulate some action. In all of these citizen groups that I have been concerned with, if one becomes a public official (and incidentally, I am now a public official because I ran by election and I am a member of the Minneapolis school board) if you become a public official, then you may continue to come to these meetings as an observer, and your remarks will be welcome, but you have no vote, because something dirty has happened to you--you got elected to something. I think that this proposal is one of the most dynamic and creative ones that this nation has ever seen, because it could bring together in unity, not necessarily unity in terms of ideas or action, but in unity in terms of "person" things, and a subject which is of major concern to all of us. It could succeed in bringing together



for the first time the real aspects of education, which either has got to work together effectively, or without this, I am afraid that we are not only going to see compounded the problems that have been pointed out to the platform today, but we are going to see them become so complex that there will be no solution. I think this is a great way forward as a nation, and I sincerely hope that sometime before the session adjourns, before the end of the day, there will at least be an impression on the part of the people here as to whether or not they save them. Last night our Minnesota delegates met, and in principle, they were unanimously in favor of the idea. Thank you.

#### Governor Egan

Thank you, Mrs. Hymes. . . the gentleman in the center aisle.

#### Dr. Landrum Bolling

I'm Landrum Bolling of Earlham College, a member of the Indiana delegation. In talking with members of our delegation, and with members of other committees this morning, I sense the fear on the part of some that the selling of this whole idea to our legislature may be a bit of a problem, but it is highly important that the purpose of it come through loud and clear at the very outset, so that we don't waste a great deal of time and make endless mistakes about whether this is a useless venture or whether it is selling out to the Federal Government and all other kinds of other tenuous arguments. At one point, one idea put forward was that we might ask the compact drafting group to consider putting in a preamble which might try to incorporate the heart of what Dr. Conant said to us last night and what Governor Sanford said on various occasions. And just as a kind of illustration of this, here is a brief suggestion of this sort of thing, which is presented with no intent of part of authorship, but as one possible approach. If it is at the very outset to say something like this: "We representatives of the state government of the United States of America recognize that education is one of the most important responsibilities of the state, and that the increasing demands of our whole national (can't pick up on tape) were improved; and that the standard educational services require a broad exchange of research data and information concerned with the problems of practical education; and the presence of need for close and continuing consultation among our several states on all matters concerning education and for strengthening the voices of the state for the formulation of alternative nationwide educational policies, do hereby establish this Compact for Education," and then go on from here to various articles. Something of this sort might be of use in selling this document at the outset.

Governor Egan

Thank you very much, Mr. Bolling. If you could give that to Governor Rolvaag, Chairman of the Compact Drafting Committee. Yes, sir?

Mr. Ronald Moskowitz

I'm Ronald Moskowitz, Chairman of the California Delegation, Secretary to Governor Brown. I'd like to say that the California Delegation has decided that California wishes very strongly to support the Compact, and I would like to tell the other delegates here why. We feel that the Compact would be a declaration of inter-dependence in two ways: first of all, inter-dependence between the states, and I think this is very important at this particular time in the history of this country; but even more important it is a declaration of inter-dependence between the educators and the politicians, which, as has already been said, is long overdue. For years I have heard about keeping politics out of education, when we all know that as long as public education is paid for by the taxpayer, that education has been and will continue to be the child of politics. For a long time the politicians have been the silent partners in with educators in getting bills paid and getting the programs developed and getting them approved. And I think it's long overdue that the educators and the politicians become working partners. This Compact would take education, the child of politics, and gradually work it into adulthood. Thank you.

Governor Egan

Thank you, Mr. Moskowitz. The gentleman over there.

Mr. James McNulty, Vice-Chairman of the State Board of Education, Arizona

We have eighty legislators, and as far as I know, not one of them is odd. We have known that California had a hundred odd legislators at some time, but it would be most improper and discourteous for us to bring that subject up at this period, but now that Ron has done it, we gladly confirm and propagate that fact.

I believe that the Compact for Education is a wonderful thing, and I intend to recommend that Governor Goddard of Arizona implement it in his state. It scares me to think, though, this morning there may not be a devil's advocate stand up and that some questions may be regarded as too rude to be asked and too discourteous to be answered. Let me play that role, will you? I foresee it because, of the possibilities of a national curriculum, a national test tube. I think some people in this audience perhaps have a profound sense of disturbance of that possibility or those possibilities. I also foresee some problems with respect to those states which are presently members of a Compact-

Arizona is a member of the Western Interstate Compact for Higher Education, which has been a grand, unqualified set of questions. What, if any effect, does this Compact for Education have on our continued progress picture in the Western Compact? Why get into another Compact, especially without success from the former one. Isn't the legislature probably wondering whether we are going to be duplicating the methods, and whether we are going to spend some more money for the same thing? Now as a country lawyer, I think I know the answer to the question that I pose, but I posed it because I think they avail and they are going to need to be asked, and it's better they be answered here, Governor Sanford, and that we think about them on the plane on the way home. Thank you.

#### Governor Sanford

Thank you, Mr. McNulty. I have sensed another question here in mind with the question of the Regional Compact, but before doing that let me say that I don't think many people want National testing, but there is no way to say that sometime in the future they shouldn't. I can't believe that this organization itself would promote this. However, obviously it is wide open, so they could promote anything the leaders in 1979 wanted to promote, for example. It might be very far from what we today think ought to be promoted, I don't know. I would say that I don't catch any feeling that this is what would exist in the nation and certainly there has been every indication on the part of everybody who has had anything to say about it that we don't want one plan, one pattern or uniformity of method or approach. We might want one goal extra but how to achieve it is necessarily done by a very different approach.

As far as the regional Compacts are concerned we have Senator Trask of the Hawaii group, we have directors for the other two here and I would be glad to have them comment here publicly. Another question that has come up, the possibility that has been suggested several times-- this existing cooperative framework of the Regional Education group, and the national organizations of Higher Education be utilized as the higher education component of the proposed nationwide policies recommending organization. It's an idea that would seem to have many advantages through utilizing existing resources and avoiding duplication of effort. I would say that to work the Regional Boards into the framework of this organization, to my judgment, having been president for two years for the Southern Regional Education Board and knowing something about how they operate, to work that into the structure of this Compact would be doing a great disservice to the Regional Board because I think the Regional Boards have a well defined purpose. I think, as I look at it from my somewhat limited experience but nevertheless experience on both sides of this thing, that there is no real danger of overlapping. I can see the executive directors of the current regional boards or any that might be set up in

the future, exchanging ideas and working very closely with the staff and the director of this organization and drawing on what each is doing in complete cooperation.

I think that the most obvious argument is that there is so much to do that no one would be assigned to duplicate, no one would be assigned to poach on another territory whether it was an association of Higher Education or whether it is one of the Regional Boards. They can work together and should. But I don't see how very well you could bring the national organizations on Higher Education together and the Regional Boards and make them an official of this, nor do I see how there is any real danger that they are going to be in any way stepped on; and I certainly wouldn't be in favor of anything that would step on them, or in any way cut down the very good work that they are doing. I can realize now that there is concern here. But it would set higher education apart, and do higher education a disservice if you didn't include them in the Compact as the legitimate concern of the legislators and the governors. So I don't know. I can see after batting this thing around a great deal, and I have about come to the conclusion that there isn't any conflict of interest. But after all that is a matter of opinion and I would be glad to have anybody speak on this situation.

Thomas E. Brennan, President, State Board of Education - Michigan

My name is Thomas Brennan. I am President of the State Board of Education in the state of Michigan. Our delegation is not particularly opposed to this and I think we would have difficulty being opposed because it seems that this is the only alternative available to us at this time. We do have some concern though.

First, I would ask a question regarding this: In the last recent years the U. S. Department of Education has been in the process of newly reorganizing their statistics and data division. There has been the hope on the part of many I think, that when it is completely reorganized and the deadwood is taken out it is possible that they will be able to furnish to the states much better information than they are now presently furnishing, that we do not have. We all know that gathering data on educational research is much easier said than done and very expensive, and I am wondering if the National Office of Education is not in the best position to do this. Secondly, if there would be a duplication of this; if both groups are doing it; and third and finally, what is the position of the National Office of Education and Mr. Keppel regarding the advisability of moving ahead in this direction.

That is one question--I have another one. The other one goes in a totally different direction, I suppose, but I feel I am here representing not merely the students in the public schools in Michigan, but the students in all the schools in Michigan, and I think that any new direction that education, that the groups may take as far as finding a solution to our

educational problem can't really be a realistic one unless we come to grips with the problem of how the nonpublic schools fit into the total educational pattern. Now I realize that this by its very nature is a public type of an organization and when you are talking about including in it legislators and governors and others then I think this is very fine. But I think you are going to find in many states that the parents of those in the nonpublic schools feel that they elect those legislators and governors and these legislators and governors may have a point of view that has not been expressed to any great extent by educators in the past because there is perhaps a desire on the part of educators that while we move along, this other group will disappear and if they would maybe it would be good, but as a matter of fact I am not sure that they will, and if they don't there are thousands and thousands involved and they contribute with their brains throughout the nation too. I just wondered if in this compact there has been any consideration given to this group, and I also hope you would answer the question regarding what Mr. Keppel's point of view is on this. Thank you.

#### Governor Sanford

Thank you, Mr. Brennan. I think Dr. Allen wants to discuss these more. Dr. Allen, before your proceed there is a phone call for Mr. Davis of the Idaho Delegation. Operator 61 236-3440

#### Dr. Allen

I certainly can't speak, and will not attempt to speak for Commissioner Keppel, or for anyone else from Washington on this subject. I do believe, however, that this Compact, where this is a group of states working together to compose this Compact can be of great value to the Office of Education and to the Federal Government because we can bring to them in a way that we have never before been able to do, the thinking and the power of the states--not merely of the educational groups but of the educational and political groups and those who are directly responsible for education in our states and localities. So, I would be surprised if the Federal Government did not welcome this movement as a means whereby the national goals and nationwide needs in education can be more effectively carried out by the kind of strong states and actions such as proposed here.

#### Governor Sanford

Mr. Brennan, did Dr. Allen's discussion answer your question or review them accurately in your mind?

#### Mr. Brennan

The first part was not answered completely. I would like to know if the Commissioner of Education and his office have been involved at least,

in advisory capacity, in the development of this Compact and what the point of view is. I realize you can't speak for them, but certainly somebody must know if they have been talked to and what their point of view is.

Governor Sanford

Well, first of all, they aren't out here opposing it--for what that means. I think it would be fair to say without attempting to speak for the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare or the U. S. Commissioner of Education that they have been aware of this since the very beginning and that the Secretary had something to do with starting it, that they have been getting informed, and that they have from time to time expressed at least informally that they were interested in its progress, and wanted to be kept informed. I hope that that answers your question without my in anyway attempting to speak for the Office of Education. I don't think you will find that they object to it. I do think you will find that they believe it to be of benefit; I do think the record is clear that Dr. Keppel and Dr. Gardner both, look with favor on strong state participation. I think there is real evidence of that.

If I may answer your question about private schools, one that has come up several times, I think, when putting the Compact together that we shouldn't attempt to speak for the private schools and that the political forces in the nation shouldn't attempt to tell private schools what private school policies should be. And for that reason, it was left out of the first page of the definition of purpose where it says--the formulating of public policy on education. I know representatives of private education have objected to that; and they think that public policy does affect private education to some extent, that the Compact should concern itself with questions of private and public policy in education. In the section where the governor names representatives, there has been a suggestion, and it seems to be a very good one, because we did intend to demonstrate by the makeup of the people here, that private education would be represented. It says, in effect, if the governor wants people from each state by virtue of their training, experience, knowledge, affiliations, be in a position to reflect broadly the interests, the state education system, local education (it doesn't say local public education) and lay and professional educational leadership, we could clarify by putting a comma in here, and saying local education lay and professional, public and private educational leadership to remind the governors that they are free to involve the people in private education.

Dr. Arthur Coons, President of the Coordinating Council for Higher Education, California

I am Arthur Coons, President of the Council on Higher Education in California and for twenty years prior to that, President of Oxford

Junior College. Governor Brown's secretary has already spoken with reference to California's delegation's general strong support for the idea that's before us. We believe the governor feels this way too. I would like to voice, however, on the basis of that prior statement, a word of caution, as well as a word of hope. The word of caution is that we do not wait, that we should move to implement it tomorrow. I say this with respect to Governor Sanford, to the list of things on which we feel we should as soon as possible get answers. Most respectfully I remind you that a very substantial body of literature is available in every field you've mentioned. Furthermore, I feel that this organization must move to this, must move through these purposes number one and two and even toward number four before tying itself up on the basis of organizational development, staff structure and all that goes with it. To try to become just another deeply ingrained organization, just another source of information is unnecessary. We have today in the field of education in America, literature that is, so many, in all respect to Professor Conant's distinguished institution, such a tremendous body of literature on almost every major subject of education that has been running across our minds and we have organizations and we have staffs all across the nation that are in the process of digesting this towards the issues of public policy in education. I like what Professor Conant said last night, that initially, let us concentrate upon one or two or three of what seem to be the major issues and on these get every single word and idea that may be available. But let us not here now go away with the hope that within a short period of time we should be able to write some bureau or some office somewhere and get an answer back quickly. We need to do a great deal of talking with one another and of sharing ideas. So then, my word of caution is, let's not overplay it. To begin with, let's look at our own budget. Thinking genetically, you see, we have the first phase, second phase, third phase, fourth phase. But right now the state of California spends in all on this sort of thing. Many hundreds of thousands of dollars from the University of California state colleges, State Board of Education and Junior Colleges support may be cancelled and our own budget is \$400,000; and you see the magnitude of just trying to coordinate, and to keep up where we may be in California is so tremendous that the funds we are talking about to be paid, good people, will not be sufficient, Governor Sanford, to do, if I may respectfully, all of the things which you request.

Now the word of hope is, then, that we do not try, and the word of caution is that we do not promise to move to the conclusion tomorrow but move steadfast. The word of hope is that our progress, if we do that, will be more meaningful a generation from now. Thank you.

Governor Egan

Thank you Dr. Coons. Governor Hansen.

Governor Clifford Hansen; Wyoming

Governor Egan, I am Governor Hansen of Wyoming. I have been very much interested, as have been the members of the Wyoming delegation, in the proceedings which have taken place here the last day. We were particularly impressed with the very excellent presentation by Dr. Conant last night. I only wish that more, many more people might have heard him because I feel that had they heard that very fine presentation he made, many of the misgivings that I think are in the minds of people would go away because such people would have been elated. I refer to a few comments he made, if I may, I am not certain at all that I can quote him directly, but I think I can refer to two or three statements he made that convey some of the ideas that I believe are valid and are important. I refer to his statement that one of the purposes of this Compact would be to provide alternate plans for action, that this is not a new mechanism for action but a new mechanism to provide information which may stimulate action, and it is in this context that I think this Compact should be considered by all of the states. I have the feeling that the attitudes that I think are probably very much in evidence in Wyoming would characterize the position of the people throughout the width and breadth of the land, and that is when you talk to members of the state legislatures, they are going to be very jealous about the prerogatives that they have, about the control that they think is now vested at the state level insofar as our public schools of America are concerned. And as a consequence, I would like to suggest that under Item I of the Compact heading "Purposes and policies," there be included this statement: "The purpose of this Compact shall be to provide the means for collection and dissemination of information, so as to stimulate the formulation of policies, goals and actions by the party states." I think this says essentially what Dr. Conant said, among other things, last night, and if it were to be filled out in rather precise language, it occurred to me that each of us would have a far easier task in persuading our respective states as to the merit of this cause. Thank you.

Governor Egan

Governor Hansen, would you be kind enough to give that suggestion to Governor Rolvaag, Chairman of the Drafting Committee. Thank you.

Dr. William P. McClure, Chairman, Task Force on Education, Illinois

Mr. Chairman, my name is McClure. I'm speaking for the Illinois delegation, at least in part, and hope certainly to express to you and to this gentleman, the prime feeling of this delegation. I am in positive support of this idea. We are fully in support of the main purpose and we'd like to go on record in support of the Compact. There is just one thing I might add--the gentleman who spoke about the purpose, about the Preamble--I would suggest that the Preamble include or that part of this whole idea, include a very clear cut and articulate presentation



of the substance for the need for the Compact. The purpose may be well stated in the generalization, but I am sure that people will head for the subsequent need for such a Compact. Now, we do not need a conflict with the purposes and the functions of other organizations. The need for such an organization to provide a mechanism for more ideas, for interchange, for exchanges of findings, and the reference to research, for example. I am reminded of a remark, I believe, that Robert Benchley once said: "All of you recognize that we are living in a period when it seems that everything that was once nailed on is coming loose." Now, we may be confident that we have researched in the area or studied an area, only to find that the things we thought we had nailed down are coming loose. (end of belt)...then we must continue to consider these problems; and I suggest, for example, just to offer one thought, can we really assess fully this new move for demand for education in America? I don't know whether anybody has a satisfactory answer to that. I offer that as one illustration of a consistent character.

#### Governor Egan

Thank you, Dr. McClure. Perhaps, Doctor, you could arrange to meet with Governor Rolvaag with your suggestion as to the change in the Preamble that was suggested. Yes, sir?

#### Dr. Don Sahli, Executive Secretary of Tennessee Education Association

I certainly am in favor of the principles that we are discussing here. I am concerned with one joint, and that would be the civic representation which the educators would have in this relationship. Of course, in each state we have one governor, we have, perhaps, one hundred more or less legislators, we have tens of thousands of educators. Now it's possible to get as many educators in any given meeting without perhaps having the mainstream represented. Now, furtively, in each state, the chief state school officer is concerned with education in the public, private, preschool, elementary, secondary and higher education. Beyond that, I think, in each state, you see I am here representing perhaps one of the many less gifted, but to each state in this very area in which we are concerned of bringing legislators and educators there is an association which is primarily involved in this relationship, one which again represents all levels of education and public and private in most cases, and I'm speaking of the State Education Associations. Now, in some cases the relationship is very cooperative, as it is in Tennessee, and they're certainly wondering why I have the privilege of being at this very fine conference. In some cases, and sadly, that relationship may not be as cooperative. I hope the fact that only six of the executive secretaries are in this meeting is not indicative that normally that relationship isn't good. But in any case, it seems to me that this executive secretary in any given state carries a prime responsibility for the relationship between the professional educators

and the legislature. It seems to me that if this is used to be the practical objective, perhaps a word should be said in favor of recognizing this role. It may not be feasible to write the Chief State School Officer and a representative from the State Education Association into the Compact, but perhaps it could be encouraged in some other way. But I just want to put forth the expression that, in my humble opinion, to do so would make this arrangement more workable, and certainly more saleable to the profession. Thank you.

Governor Egan

Thank you, Dr. Sahli.

Dr. Dave Nichols, President, State Association of School Boards, Kansas

My name is Nichols from Kansas, President of the State School Board Association. There has been a great deal of discussion today about the need for coordination between the legislative branch and the educational leadership. However, the Draft Compact envisioned specifically the very active leadership role on the part of the governors of the several states in the Compact and in the Commission thereby established. No doubt in the discussions between the organizers of this group, there has developed some understanding of a degree of commitment of the leadership role the governors of several states might at this point have indicated. So I really have basically two questions: To what degree do you envision the likelihood of the Governors' Committee in terms of time and leadership on the basis of other responsibility; and secondly, in what way would the effect of the Compact be reduced if the governors could not participate to the degree envisioned in the Compact?

Governor Egan

Governor Sanford?

Governor Sanford

I think one of the purposes of this Compact was to involve the governors into a more active participation and broader understanding of the needs of education. I would think if the governor accepted membership and didn't attend that it would damage the effect of the organization. I think this is the chance for the governors to revitalize all the purpose of the state government by taking an active interest in this number one function of the state government. I certainly hope that it turns out that the governors would participate and would attend and would give it their personal attention. Governor Hughes made this point very strongly at Minneapolis, that if it really was to be of any benefit to the people of the state and to state government, the governors had to give it their personal interest; and I think that the mere fact that you have nineteen governors here, and I suppose, except when the President

sent his airplane for them, that this is the most governors we have ever had in one place except the Governor's Conference. It's an indication that the governors are going to be interested, and of course I think it's essential that they are; but if not, I don't think we'll move nearly as fast to the mark.

I have some questions of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. One of their suggestions is that the Commission be designated the Governors' Commission for the Advancement of Education. This would bar confusion with other organizations. It also would point up the importance of the burden the governors carry if they're to improve education within their own states. We discarded this name in our preliminary thinking because we thought maybe it would put it too one-sided, but at any rate, I think everybody agrees that if the political machinery and political power in the state is to be used creatively and effectively for the advancement of education, it has to start with the governors, because he has so much to do with leadership in the legislation, so much to do with the administrative policies, so much to do with the budget, which, after all, is one of the principal means of progress. So I would hope that this would be always strongly supported by the governors. I promise no guarantee, I think all implications are in that direction.

#### Governor Egan

Yes, sir, the gentleman in the center aisle.

#### Senator Ross Rasmussen, Chairman of the Senate Education Committee, Nebraska

I am wholeheartedly in agreement with this program. There is one thing that concerns me, and that is how to keep continuity and contact with the states. I think that we need to be practical in saying that not all of the governors are always reelected, and if our contacts are just with the governors, then where do we go? We must realize that all legislators are not always reelected, and here we have, say, two from each state, for example; for Nebraska we only have the one.

I wonder if possibly we shouldn't use the education committees of the various legislatures--in other words, the contact with the governor into the legislative committees. There are standing committees in all of our state legislatures, they only have authority, I think in most instances, while we are in session. However, the education committees through the various states, I would say that roughly 50% of them will find themselves serving again on this committee, and I say, in this instance, we need to maintain contact with the states through this organization, and it could be that this is where we could lose this Compact if we don't broaden the scope. Because I think, let's be practical. If we're going to ask states for money, at the same time we have to be budgeted in the various legislatures,

and you're going to have to have somebody of legislative standing to defend this program, and to defend this program, you need a staunch committee, not necessarily just to defend the governor (who could be replaced) or not just one member of the legislature; and I think that it would be obvious that these very problems that would come up that we would need to work out with the Compact. For example, how do we need continuing education beyond high school? Get the ideas of the various committees through the various states, then this could be agreed upon in your group, and I think this would be helpful in a decision. It would also allow the various legislatures to know that they're getting something for their dollar, and they're getting something back in the interest to help solve their problems.

Governor Egan

Thank you, Senator

Governor Sanford

Senator, I think that's excellent, and you are certainly and absolutely correct that that should be done. Now one approach is that there be established by the legislature of any state an educational council--call it what you want to--composed of members of an educational commission which probably would be much broader than just the representation coming here, but made up essentially there, and probably loaded as heavily as you think with members of the legislature, so that there would be a working, interested, point of continuity within each state. You might have to revise our suggested act after you get back and after you've looked at it at how it might be improved. But we did attempt to get at it by suggesting in the Enabling Act that the Council, that they consider any and all patterns of public educational policy, and this would be what the legislature would enact in any matters relating to recommendation of educational commission in the state and activities of the members representing. In other words, this is the home base that would carry on the continuity, and they should be a little bit more heavily represented by members of the legislature. But I wish you would look at it, and see how maybe you would have some thoughts on improving it.

Governor Egan

Thank you, Governor Sanford

Mr. Francis Smith, President of National Association, State Boards of Education

This last comment from the gentleman from Nebraska, I think, is really quite interesting. But perhaps there has been lack of realization over the roles of the State Boards of Education.

In the State of Oregon, we as members of that Board, are directed by the Constitution with the responsibility for public education, and that includes education beyond the high school to the community college, so that if we build this whole picture, I think that the State Boards, who are the ones in many instances who actually make the regulations--these things are done in conformity with the overall state policy as set by the legislature--but certainly the legislature should not itemize each of these various areas with which we have to sit down and spend hours and hours and try to come up with plans whether the elementary, secondary school, or colleges should be helped. I am just really very much delighted and pleased when Ike asked me for the names of some various state board members, who can be brought into the play of the problem, so to speak, that we are trying to think the thing through. I think that anything that is going to involve the Executive Branch of Government is wonderful. Whether or not that can be sustained has been the question here. I would hope with all my heart that it could be sustained. In any event, the more that we can tie these groups together through both the so-called transitory and the permanent people interested in education the better it is--whether it be a legislator or an educator. We are all shooting toward one goal, but I think that we can't lose sight of the fact that in the final analysis, the action part of it is going to go back to the State Boards of Education and the legislators in those particular states. That is why we of our national association have called upon the state associations to discuss this. I can speak publicly that I don't think I've been to a single one of Governor Sanford's planning meetings that here has not been full freedom to discuss anything, and I take a great deal of pleasure in seeing the same kind of provision in a meeting such as this where you have nineteen governors. There is no conflict whatsoever. I feel that what we are trying to do in taking this thing on, is actually a compliment to this, the same that this is a compliment to our meeting, I am just making these comments to somewhat. I think this brings back the factor of the realization that we have in most states the State Board of Education who have a very great responsibility.

Governor Egan

Thank you, Mr. Smith

Dr. Oliver Brown

I'm Oliver Brown, Vermont Superintendents' Association. I would like to ask if a motion is in order?

Governor Egan

Governor Sanford?

Governor Sanford

Mr. Brown, perhaps I had better explain this group isn't really authorized to make too many policy decisions, but it certainly makes no difference to me.

Governor Egan

Yes, perhaps if you would state what your motion would be, Mr. Brown.

Dr. Oliver Brown

It seems to me at this point that we could not commit an organization or a state, but perhaps it would be helpful if the delegations here present, in not permitting the state or the organization which they represent of stating their opinions on this matter could do so by resolution.

Governor Egan

I'm sorry, Dr. Brown, I didn't get that last part there.

Dr. Oliver Brown

What I was saying was whether the delegation here present could express their opinions on this Compact for Education, not as a commitment of the organization or the state, but simply as an expression of the delegation's opinion.

Governor Egan

Dr. Brown, do you think that perhaps later in the day that might be the more appropriate? There may be many others who would like to comment on various aspects of the proposal and offer suggestions. The hour is yet to come, and I feel it would be probably better if we could hold such a motion in abeyance until after everyone has had an opportunity to have been heard from the floor. Would that be satisfactory to you?

Dr. Brown

Certainly.

Dr. Charles T. Sweeney, Association of School Commissioners

I think one very strong argument in favor of the drafting of this Compact, particularly relates to Paragraph 4, Section B, which, if you don't have the Compact in front of you, indicates the Commission may provide information and recommendations to any executive or legislative body, to the Federal Government, on the common educational policies of the states. We've had several instances in our own State Department

of Education where we've had late telephone calls, last minute telegrams from Members of the United States Senate and Congress who represent us. It's been a little bit embarrassing at times to try at the last minute appropriately to find some of the answers to some very discerning questions from which advice is needed. Similarly, unless I am mistaken, there isn't an appropriate degree of communication between the members of our state legislatures who most obviously are concerned with educational matters, as they in turn may or may not communicate again with our United States Congressmen and Senators. And so it strikes me that this kind of machinery, whereby one can retrieve the necessary information and have ready access to this kind of material and also leaves the flow in personal relationship, would be a most desirable thing, and one which I feel is a salutary aspect with reference to the Compact.

Governor Egan

Thank you very much.

Senator Earl W. Brydges, Minority Leader of Legislature, New York

Governors and ladies and gentlemen. I don't know why I've been picked on to articulate--the word that's being used this morning quite a bit--the viewpoint of the New York Delegation for the proposed Compact. I'm certainly not speaking for anybody in this capacity except myself. But the New York Delegation does feel very strongly that we should go forward with the work of making this Compact available to the several states of the union. I listened with interest to my friend who just spoke from Massachusetts, and I think he added another good reason why we need this kind of organization among the states, because I have been in the position with many other state legislators for many years of attempting to solve the problems that deal with education within my particular state when I haven't the slightest idea what the thinking was in Washington or what kind of programs were going to come out of there. Just to have an agency that can channel information from a central source to the representatives of state legislatures and to the governors, which is to me a very important consideration.

I don't mind the involvement of the governors directly in this operation at this point. In fact, I welcome them and their important positions and I think without them, without their active personal support, this organization would not come to fruition. I believe that I can speak for Governor Rockefeller as a person who perhaps thinks at least that he understands a little bit about the governors philosophy. . . That he will wholeheartedly support personally this undertaking as we talk about it today.

I wish that Terry Sanford were still here because I wanted to tell him that while he was struggling with the problem of how to take care of

handicapped down in North Carolina we had the same problem in New York State that they had in every state of the union in that one specific area. It was a real need for information to guide one state to help another and at that point if we could have had this kind of communication which this organization can offer, I think that certainly this program for the handicapped would have moved forward more rapidly than it has. The position of the organization itself, as my friend reminds me, the President of Cornell University, a great land-grant college, the quality of the people who are attracted to service ultimately in this organization find it having critical effects on whether it is successful or not. I personally am deeply grateful to Dr. Conant for having conceived it and to Governor Sanford who has brought it to this point. I'll be eternally grateful to the people in this room who will give it the next move forward. Thank you.

Governor Egan

Thank you, Senator Brydges.

Governor Egan

Are there any questions or possibly observations from the floor?

Mr. Larry Bilder, Executive Assistant to Governor Hughes of New Jersey

Governor, I'm Larry Bilder, Executive Assistant to Governor Hughes of New Jersey. I've been listening here this morning. It seems to me and to the other members of our Delegation that each person that has spoken has had quite essentially the same thing to say to start with, that this is a very good idea; they've edited, but in every case, they've said it was a good idea. We of New Jersey think this is a wonderful idea. We think that the way to get started is to start. We hope that when we leave here there will be a Compact. We hope that at least the necessary fifteen governors will sign so that it will start. Whatever the problems are, I'm sure there will be problems, they'll be worked out as time goes on. But they'll be worked out quicker if there is a going organization to do it. Maybe there shouldn't be seven members for each state, maybe there ought to be eight, six, five--time will tell that--and I'm sure the Commission in its wisdom will work these out. But our plea is to get on with it; to get started; to give it viability; and to study it not before we start it, but as it grows. New Jersey is first to sign in hopes that it will be joined by the necessary members that will make it a commission in being when we leave Kansas City. Thank you.

Governor Egan

Thank you, Mr. Bilder.



Senator Karl Grittner, Minnesota

I'm Senator Grittner from Minnesota, and judging from the way this session is going, it appears that there are those who have the desire to contribute to the general discussion and have had the opportunity, I think many things have come before this plannery session that need to be taken back into the committee, and I therefore move that we would adjourn this session.

Governor Egan

Senator, would your motion suggest that we adjourn until after this afternoon? It's set for 2:00 this afternoon.

Senator Grittner

There is for our committee deliberation to take place, especially many suggestions have come in this morning, and have been turned over to our Governor, and his Drafting Committee should get back to work.

Governor Egan

You can hold that motion, would you please?

Senator Grittner

I do so hold it.

Dr. John Driscoll, Chairman State Board of Education for New Hampshire

Governor, I would like to make one comment here. I think it's the consensus here that most all of us are in favor of the Compact. I think that one fact remains clear, however, that not all of us, all fifty states represented, have an opportunity to legally pass in giving this organization viability, making it legal. I would suggest that consideration be given to having an effective date put into the Compact late enough or early enough so that all the fifty states would have a reasonable opportunity to give this organization status, that all fifty states have a real opportunity to be in from the beginning so that they can participate in the direction of the organization. Thank you.

Governor Egan

Thank you, John. Now, would there be objection at this time to Senator Grittner's call for recess?

Dr. Fred Anderson, Chairman, University of Nevada Board of Regents

Not knowing whether an opportunity will arise to bring out some of these points later, I would like to point out three that have judicially concerned

our group. One of these is that if we reduce the number of participants of the states to five, this means that there'll be a governor, two members of the legislature, and you'll have a majority of commissioners from each state then that are legislative oriented rather than a majority that are educationally oriented. It is suggested that the Steering Committee be limited to 20 or 30. Our own state feels that each state or political unit that is represented in this should have at least one person who attends and is able to speak with some authority at each one of the interim meetings during the year when all the commissioners are not meeting. And number three, they note that there is no provision in the draft that was drawn up for making amendments to this. Now I'm not enough of an authority to say whether or not such provisions should be in there or not. We'd like to hear from someone who can speak to this.

### Governor Egan

Perhaps you could arrange with Governor Rolvaag too to attend the meeting of the Drafting Committee this afternoon, Dr. Anderson.

### Dr. Mitchell Wendell, Legal Advisor on Compacts, Council of State Governments

I'm Mitchell Wendell who served the group as a draftsman, and I think I can answer at least some of the questions within this range. First, with respect to the number of persons we might need from the state delegation, that's obviously a pure matter of policy. I think that there is a committee that reports on that particular subject, and that of course can go any way that the group wishes. In the matter of the amendment of the Compact and the failure to have a specific provision in this draft with respect to an amendment was discussed by the Drafters at some point, and the fact of the matter is that it would be very unusual for it is rare when a Compact contains a specific provision for an amendment. That does not mean, however, that amendments are impossible. It is, of course, always true that an amendment can be made by the party states by mutual agreement. That might be all that a Compact of this sort would need although it's not impossible, as a number of Compacts with large membership have had amendments in this particular fashion. However, if the amendment contemplated is such that would produce an addition to the Compact, or an supplement to, those amendments, depending on their subject matter, are possible in the Compact by any specific number of the states, acting for themselves agreeing to go perhaps further than the Compact documentation would go, provided the amendment is so arranged that the basic obligations of the other states would not be altered and containing an understanding of the obligation of other states from what the amendment further resolves. I would suggest also, that if you look at the nature of this particular Compact the question of amendment of such may be somewhat narrower and somewhat less important than it is with a Compact of a regulatory character, of where the body produced or where the law produced is of a regulatory character.

There, of course, may be the need for change. This Compact is somewhat different than what I just mentioned and is quite similar to a number of Compacts setting up in the state organizations. And then it actually sets up an administrative branch within which study of recommendations can go forward. I would suggest that there may be a somewhat more limited scope and this is certainly the view of the Drafting Committee for amendments and needs for them so long as the Compact restricts itself to this particular sphere of activity. Finally, if a state does not wish to continue or is dissatisfied with the Compact activity, why of course then they can work an amendment by withdrawing in a sense, so that I think the question of amendments might want to be considered by the group in the context of the type of machinery being established and the fact that within some of them, you will allow that with some particular amendments and provisions there are certain types of amendments that are quite possible to be judged by our experience in the Compact.

Governor Egan

Thank you, Dr. Wendell. Yes, sir?

Mr. Ed Nelson, Montana

My name is Ed Nelson. I'm executive secretary at the University of Montana, and I do have one question I would like to raise, and I do not believe that it is in the proposed Compact, and that is that this should be strictly a research group, a lobby group, a policy group, an implementary policy, or what? The reason I raise this question is that it not only relates to your own individual budget, it relates to what individual legislators in the states will pay toward this, as to your involvement in internal state affairs. And to give one example, rather than to go through the list of items that I have checked off, I would like to point out that in the Draft we have the usual terminology just as in Paragraph 5, Article 3, "Formulate suggested policies and plans," yet in Article 3, it says "develop methods for adequate finance," and I think in the end that the Compact itself should reflect the policy that is established by this group, which, to make this comparable, would be to say "develop suggested methods for adequate finance." I bring this up because unless there is a clear definition of this it is going to create confusion when we try to present this to state legislatures.

Governor Egan

With everyone present, I want to say to Senator Grittner too that I dislike putting off his motion for recess but there are some questions here that we would like to discuss and I would like to declare a ten minute recess pending the recess till 2:30. Extend a recess for ten minutes and then when the recess is over Mr. Nelson, Governor Sanford, and Dr. Allen will answer the questions you have raised.

RecessGovernor Egan

The delegates will please take your seats, and we will proceed with the meeting. It would be appreciated if everyone would come in and be seated so we can proceed with the meeting.

I would like to announce at this time that Governor Rolvaag's Drafting Committee will be meeting in Conference Room 4, that's on the Mezzanine Floor of the Muehlebach Hotel. Governor Rolvaag's Committee on Drafting will meet in Conference Room 4, Mezzanine Floor of the Muehlebach Hotel. The meeting of the Drafting Committee will convene at 12:30 P. M.

Anyone who does have a proposed amendment for discussion with the Drafting Committee should have that proposal in writing when they appear before the committee.

Mr. Nelson was the last person who made suggestions and had a question. Mr. Nelson, could you summarize the question you had submitted to Governor Sanford, Dr. Allen and Dr. Conant?

Mr. Nelson

I would like to correct the program, it is not Dr. Nelson but just Ed Nelson. My question related to the fact that in the draft of the Compact that there appears to me a lack of specifics in terms of what will be the role of this Compact. Will it be just a policy organization, will it be a research organization, will it be a lobby organization? This to me is not clearly spelled out in several of the paragraphs. There are some conflicts to my way of reading in the terminology used. In one place it will use the term "the group shall suggest means." In other places, it's rather dogmatic about saying it shall do things. I do not know whether this is in relation to securing information or whether it means going inside the framework of states and working with them or whether it implies lobbying but when we go before a body, we must be able to say to them, "This is what the Compact will do."

Governor Sanford

I would say that it would not be a lobbying organization. I believe it would be very helpful, Mr. Nelson, if you would attend Governor Rolvaag's Committee meeting and talk with them specifically about the points that you have raised. I know that it would be very helpful to them to have your thoughts on the drafting. But certainly, I don't think that we should give the impression that this is a lobbying thing, that is to come into the states trying to get some policy adopted. I don't think anybody contemplates that and so we certainly should be on the lookout for any wording that implies this.

Dr. William R. Wood, President of the University of Alaska

Governor Egan, it would be presumptuous for me to say that I spoke for Alaska, but I think it is vital that there be a Compact among states with a membership of highly responsible people to consider vital issues of this American Nation. . . and that the Alaskan Delegation is in support of it. It seems to me, however, the thinking of our delegation is that we have not dealt with what are truly the vital issues. Dr. Conant's idea is far more significant than most of the things which we are talking about. Terry Sanford has pointed out that we are now in the midst of a very great change in the nation in our social and economic way of life, and the reflections of this change are demonstrated by the kinds of unrest that we've found on our campuses in the last several months; the kinds of unrest that we have had demonstrated in some of our communities, and the kinds of things that some of our faculties and students are talking about with great vehemence persist. And I say that their voices are being heard. And, if they were not, I am skeptical that we would have been able to get together such an extraordinary assembly as we have here.

But we need to talk, it seems to me, as highly responsible people, on the issues of the nation that are of nationwide importance and everyone of us, it seems to me, has the concern that education must share. Because more and more education is becoming identified in the political realms as the instrument by which progress and adjustment to change is to be made. And I quite agree with Dr. Conant and with most of the people here, I think, that our educational system from the very bottom to the very top is not wholly ready to take all of the responsibility that is being thrust upon it. We are not, in fact, in a position alone to determine whether it is wise or not wise to ask me much of one of the institutions of the civilized world; namely, the educational system. And therefore, it seems to the members of the delegations that we have here a very unusual opportunity to attempt at least to gamble with some of the very very vital issues of the times. We wished that the Compact would come into being and it would concern itself with the big problems rather than the little ones, a good many of us have been listening to here. We do feel that in the rather extraordinary state of Alaska that we have very extraordinary problems. But not only do we have much to gain from sitting in on the deliberations and listening to the words spoken here, but that we have something to contribute. And I can say that with the very unusual educational problems of Alaska, that the systems that we have are pretty good ones and could not survive if it did not have extraordinary support from the Governor's Office, from the legislature, both parties, both Houses, and if it did not have the backing of the pioneer people. We think that the state's very survival depends upon the continuation of that attitude toward the advancement of education and is expected to resolve some of the very fundamental problems which face us all in that state.

Governor Egan

Thank you Dr. Wood.

Dr. R. Guild Gray, State legislator, Nevada

I am a member of the Education Committee of the Lower House of the State of Nevada and Governor Hatfield's comment yesterday, notwithstanding, I still to my own satisfaction, did I know the answers to the questions and I think in my own state, going back to my fellow legislators, that these questions would be important in showing the Compact to the state of Nevada. One of the purposes of the Compact is the movement to combat Federal infringement on the control of education, and if it is one of the purposes why haven't we talked more about it?

Dr. Conant

Well, I should say that as far as my ideas are concerned and in my discussion with Governor Sanford, this wasn't any defensive kind of a Compact organization we were discussing. I think the relation between the Federal Government with its increasing expenditure of money for education, which I applaud, and the states is one of the great problems for the future. I personally am a great advocate of strengthening our State Departments of Education, but Congress provides money under a section for just that purpose, so there is no issue, no combat involved there. I will say this, however, that the kind of problems that I feel that this Compact could study (not picked up) one I mentioned last night, one that Dr. Allen has mentioned here is, the future problems of the cities. Unless the states can act on those problems and act on them quickly and have much more information than they have now--unless the states can act on them and do, then I foresee that the Federal Government is more and more going to move in with its money and try to determine policy in areas where I think they are going to have great difficulty in dealing with the details of the education policy. Therefore, I should say that this was not made to combat the Federal Government, its purpose is to make more effective the relationship-the partnership between the Federal Government as a junior partner and the state which is the senior partner. Now, I would like Mr. Allen to comment on it. He really knows about it, I'm just talking theoretically.

Dr. Allen

I certainly don't look on this as any conflict with the Government at a Federal level. I don't feel defensive at all about increased Federal legislation. As a matter of fact, I would say too that I welcome it. I think it is a good thing that the Federal Government is now recognizing the problems and needs in education which the states and all counties have long recognized. And as Governor Hatfield said, I believe this Federal educational effort will be effective only if the states and localities

are also strong and effective. The needs in education today are so tremendous and so pressing it is going to require strength at all levels of government and the problem is not, to my judgment, to hold back or weaken the efforts at the Federal level, but to strengthen the level of all three levels. And I gather the purpose of our meeting here for this Compact is to give attention to the senior partners, the state and local communities.

Mrs. Thomas Scales, Chairman, Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education

Governor Egan, I am Mrs. Scales, Chairman of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education and our commission has not had time to meet and discuss any of the problems which are being discussed by this Compact, and I cannot speak officially. But in our role as a Compact, we have raised some of the hard questions which have come through experience and I certainly can understand why we did raise these questions. But certainly I can speak for the people who are here at this meeting, members of the Commission, and we are willing and ready to cooperate with any Compact which is written. And we are assured that the questions that we had are being resolved. We did have some concern in the first place but during this meeting this morning we have the feeling that you are going to resolve them and the situation is much better. We are certainly willing to cooperate. (Applause)

Governor Egan

Thank you Mrs. Scales

Dr. Ed Holt, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ohio

I am Ed Holt, the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Ohio. The Ohio delegation in conference last night announced the support of the ideas presented here to the delegates of the Compact, and for this purpose I hold in my hand and will present to you the Declaration of Intention signed by Governor James A. Rhodes, which he entrusted to me and asked me to present to you, stressing his position in terms of Ohio becoming an operating member of this proposed organization.

Governor Egan

Thank you, Dr. Holt.

Dr. Allan Cartter, Vice President, American Council on Education

Governor Egan, I am Allan Cartter, Vice President of the American Council on Education. A number of speakers today commented on the possible duplication and overlap between this new organization we are discussing and the Regional compacts and voluntary associations already

in existence. I think this may be important. I think, in the voluntary associations, we are concerned about possible overlapping and duplication even in research, data gathering, policy studies, etc. It seems to me, therefore, that it is extremely important that this group have very close liaison with the existing organizations and that perhaps something even stronger than the provision for representatives of these outside organizations to sit in on this Commission be considered. Personally, I think it would even be advisable if the representatives from one of the Regional Compacts and perhaps two or three of the major associations could sit with the Steering Committee.

One last thought occurred to me this morning when I was looking over this material on the proposed location of the new organization and it seems to me there is something to be said for the city which contains the best prospect for successful interchange with the Federal Government and that if the Commission is going to work very closely with the Office of Education in exchange of data and with the major voluntary associations, most of them are now working in Washington, and I feel that ought to be considered as a possible seat of the organization.

#### Governor Egan

Thank you, Dr. Cartter. I would like to announce at this time that Governor Burns' Committee on State Representation will meet at 1:30 P. M. in Room 1162 at the Muehlebach. If there is no objection, the conference will stand at recess until 2:00 P. M. while the appropriate committees are in meeting and while you have lunch. Thank you. Governor Sanford would like to announce that he will have a Press Conference at the Tea Room in the Muehlebach in just a few minutes, fifteen minutes.



AFTERNOON SESSION, 2:00 P. M.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1965

PRESIDING: Governor Charles, Terry, Delaware

Governor Charles Terry--Delaware

I will bring this meeting to order, and we will hear Governor Hughes, and respective governors, on reports that were submitted. The first report is by Governor Phil Hoff of Vermont for the Committee on Financing and Contributions. Governor Hoff.

Governor Phil Hoff, Vermont

We reformed the Resolution, which it was my intention to offer to this august body--when the Resolution appears, and I understand it is on its way.

You will perhaps recall that among the documents which you received at the outset of this meeting was a book entitled "Budget Patterns and Financing Procedures for a National Education Compact Commission." I assume that everybody has read this in great detail. It required a lot of hard work on my part. I would say this just by way of preliminary remark. Necessarily in the preparation of this type of budget or financial document, certain assumptions are absolutely necessary, and of course this is prepared on the basis of certain alternative assumptions. I think we have been fortunate in having a firm by the name of Alfred Baxter & Associates, Consultants in Planning and Management, in Berkeley, California, do a great deal of work on this. As a matter of fact, he has presented a very impressive document, and I know from talking to him personally, that he has spent a tremendous amount of time on it. I think he's in a much better position to present this report to you, and without further ado, I introduce you to Alfred Baxter.

Mr. Alfred Baxter

Thank you, Governor. Our assignment, as we've noted in the introduction to the blue-covered report, was to formulate a set of budget alternatives and develop an illustrative financing plan. Budgets clearly depend upon programs. So you will note, and hopefully, not criticize, that we've made our programatic assumptions in quite general terms.

Given these necessarily general program assumptions, my colleagues and I generated what struck us as reasonable staffing assumptions. And given these staffing assumptions, we made further assumptions or conjectures on what would be a reasonable mix of supporting services, clerical support, library, rent, heat, insurance, and so. The record

of our footprints through this pathway of assumptions is contained in the Appendix of the report. The assumptions lead to a single, hard number, but clearly this is not a number that is as exact as it would seem. So we took a 25% spread around this number, upward and downward, and calculated an estimated budget. I offer this to you as an illustrative range of where the program costs of a Compact organization might lie.

The second and the third sections in the report go to the question of how these costs might be distributed in an equitable fashion over the potential members of the Compact. We took the position to develop the illustrative financing plan, that the smaller states, those small in population, and the states with limited resources in comparison with other states, should pay less, and that those states larger in size and more wealthy should pay more. We translated these general assumptions in regard to equity into mathematical terms, applied these formulas to the allocation of costs, and rounded off the results. These rounded results appear in the second column of Schedule 2 of Table 3.1.

A final remark about the work that led to the report: We made no effort to relate exactly the budgets with the financing plan, so you should not be surprised if the amounts of money that occur as estimates of cost are not matched exactly by estimates of revenue. Since both of these are to some extent hypothetical and to be adopted by this group, or some other similar group, they represent informed estimates, informed conjectures, and give reliable ranges based on rather complete separate assumptions. Thank you.

Governor Terry

Are there any questions with respect to this particular report?

Governor Hoff

I wish somebody would ask a question, because we are waiting for the Resolution.

Governor Terry

Well, we'll proceed on with the next report. Now the next report is to be made by Governor Jack Campbell of New Mexico, for the Committee on the Selection of an Executive Director. Governor Campbell.

Governor Jack Campbell--New Mexico

Mr. Chairman, representatives to this Conference, I must say at the outset that it should be quite obvious that this Resolution is predicated upon the assumption which we, in New Mexico, sincerely hope is a valid one, that the Compact will become operative. For quite obviously, there would be no point in setting up machinery for the selection of an

Executive Director of a non-existent organization. Since I have not had the opportunity to appear before you otherwise, may I say that we in New Mexico are most enthusiastic about this program we are considering here. We feel it is a matter of urgency, so far as time is concerned, that the states get themselves into a position of exerting political influence, if you please, upon some of the decisions that are being made day by day in connection with educating our youth in this nation; and we sincerely hope that we in the states do not become so bogged down with semi-colons and commas at this stage that we defeat the purpose of this effort.

This is the Resolution which is submitted by the Committee to select an Executive Director;

WHEREAS, when the Compact becomes operative there will be a need to select an Executive Director with the qualities of leadership and intelligence to assure that the Compact will succeed; and,

WHEREAS, this choice will be the most crucial decision in the early life of the organization of the Compact; and,

WHEREAS, the nation should be surveyed, and a highly qualified person sought out for this position; and,

WHEREAS, the salary offered for this position must be sufficient to secure the finest talent in the United States; and,

WHEREAS, the Executive Director must be respected and trusted by the education community and by the states.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the Steering Committee constitute itself into a Standing Committee to secure a qualified Executive Director for the Compact at a salary commensurate with the responsibilities of the position;

4. That every effort be made to secure the best qualified person in America for this position.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the Resolution.

Governor Terry

Are there any questions concerning this Resolution? Do I hear a motion for the adoption of the Resolution?

Unidentified Voice

I so move.

Unidentified Voice

Seconded.

Governor Terry

All in favor of the adoption of the Resolution, say "Aye". . .

All opposed, "No". . . .

Governor Terry

All the voting is closed and the Resolution is adopted.

Governor Campbell

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Governor Terry

Next, we will proceed to the Resolution to be presented by Governor Karl Rolvaag of Minnesota for the Committee on Compact Drafting. Yes?

Unidentified Voice

Mr. Chairman, Governor Rolvaag is still in session with his Committee, and I dare say it will be another 15 minutes before he appears.

Governor Terry

Thank you very much. Then we will proceed with the next report. The next report is to be presented by Governor Clifford Hansen of Wyoming for the Committee on the Bylaws.

Governor Clifford Hansen--Wyoming

Good afternoon. I'm going to help with a little fillibuster here. I think all of you may have at least seen a copy of the Suggested Bylaws that was contained in the packet that was handed you when you registered. Your Committee on the Bylaws met this morning, and suggested a few changes. If you would like to follow along, you may keep up with me; I think maybe it won't take too long, and I propose just to read the Bylaws as they have been amended: (Governor Hansen proceeded to read the Bylaws as contained in the Appendix)

The Committee on Bylaws has a resolution that it would like to present, Mr. Chairman.

WHEREAS, there is a need for Bylaws to deal with a number of procedural details such as quorums, attendance, duties of the officers, executive committee, frequency of meetings, etc.; and,

WHEREAS, the Bylaws as hereby presented seem satisfactory as an effective instrument to deal with these problems;

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the Bylaws as hereby presented be approved as the initial Bylaws for the Educational Commission of the States.

2. That the Steering Committee be empowered to recommend changes in the Bylaws to meet problems as they arise in setting up the Compact.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the Resolution and the adoption of the report by the Bylaws Committee.

Governor Terry

Thank you, Governor; do I hear a second? (The motion was seconded) Ready for the question? All in favor of the adoption of the Bylaws and Resolution read by the Governor signify by saying "Aye". . . All opposed "No." So ordered.

Now, the next report is by Governor John Burns of Hawaii for the Committee on State Representation. Governor Burns. . . Governor Burns is not present, and Senator Trask of the Senate of Hawaii. . .

Senator Trask, Hawaii

Aloha. I'm going to address myself to the Compact for Education from the brief summary that you all have, and I'd ask that you turn to Page 2, Article 2. The amendment is not there yet, however, I have an advance copy, and it's going to read this way, and I'll draw the sentence that we changed to your attention. "The Education Commission of the states, hereinafter called the 'Commission,' is hereby established. The Commission shall consist of seven members representing each party state. One of such members shall be the governor, two shall be members of the state legislature selected by their respective houses and serving in such manner as the legislature may determine." Well, we'll go back just where the amendment is. "One of such members shall be the governor, two shall be members of the state legislature selcted by its respective houses and serving in such manner as the legislature may determine." Mr. Chairman, that is the only part of ~~the~~ section that we changed, and I would like at this time to readdress myself, to the Resolution which incorporates the change.

Governor Terry

Yes, sir.

Senator Trask-Hawaii

Committee on State Representation Resolution.

WHEREAS, each state has primary responsibility for public education within their borders; and,

WHEREAS, the responsibility for public education rests not only with the professional forces in education, but with the political forces in each state; and

WHEREAS, there is a distinct need to assure that the Educational Commission of the states is large enough to represent all the forces of education, but not too large and cumbersome to act; and,

WHEREAS, the primary purpose of this Compact is to join the political and professional and lay leadership in education into a partnership for the advancement of education;

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED,

That Article III, a copy of which is hereto attached, (which will be forthcoming) be approved as amended so that each state has seven representatives, to include the Governor, two members of the legislature and four other persons selected at the discretion of the Governor.

Mr. Chairman, I move at this time that we adopt the Resolution. Mr. Chairman, before you call the vote, I'd like to at this time address the group as to the why and wherefores of retaining the seven members. Being a practical politician, and we heard a lot of practical politicians this morning, you well know that we have to fill the cup; and as a practical politician, I know that a House member isn't going to listen to a Senator, and neither is a Senator going to listen to a House member. That's why Hawaii was very safe in bringing one House member and one Senator here, so we both could go back and give our versions of this Compact. The Committee also agreed that the governor would have the right to appoint four members. We don't believe that the governor should be restrained in his appointments. We believe that he has political and other machinery for appointments in his state, and he should use them. We believe the governors should be free to appoint whomever they feel are qualified to serve the needs of the state. (Assemblyman Charles B. Garrigus, California, received permission from the Chairman to speak at this point)

Assemblyman Charles Garrigus, California

I'm Assemblyman Charles Garrigus, Chairman of the Education Committee of the California Legislature. I would like to preface my remarks by saying that this does not represent, as far as I know, although it might, the view of my governor. I have the highest respect and affectionate regard for Senator Trask, especially since he and his colleagues are doing such a splendid job of governing California's beautiful Marina. However, I think he has fallen into a trap, which it is easy for many of us to fall into. This trap is the confusing of representation with affiliation. In my assembly district in California, I have many different schools, I have many different P. T. A. 's, I have many different Rotary Clubs, Kiwanis Clubs, Chambers of Commerces, and on and on. Now I am not affiliated with these organizations, but I do represent them, and I think we should keep in mind here that for this body to have representatives of all segments of education in a state, it is not necessary that you be affiliated with those segments.

Now we stand here at a philosophical plateau. You have seen here with this body how much involvement you are capable of because of the size of this body within the last two days. Now, if you wish the Commission to be the dynamic, realistic force for an exchange of ideas, genuine communication, genuine give and take, genuine challenge, then you should review this Resolution, because with a total of 350 people, this will not be accomplished. However, if you wish the Commission merely to be the approving body for the actions of an increasingly effective and powerful staff, then you should approve the Resolution. When you designate areas of authority in which the machinery of that authority is too cumbersome for effective achievement, then that authority will gravitate to delegated responsibility which can do the job. Then your staff will increase in importance--they would play a great staffing role in effective policy making and your Commission will be proportionately reduced. That is the case, gentlemen, why I oppose the seven delegates from each state. Thank you.

Senator Trask--Hawaii

Mr. Chairman, just a small aside. This morning a gentleman from California addressed us. He represents the Governor of the State of California, and he said that the legislature has been treated as young children, and I agreed with him. The legislature should grow up and become now full partners in the educational field, and I say that we have failed, we have failed, because we have not had legislators participating. And I say this, just think, if you only have seven, just think the pressures the governors are going to get for the appointments. He's only going to appoint four people, and in the great state of California, they have Kiwanis, Lion, Birch Society. . . Republicans, Democrats, P. T. A. 's, and the Governor of California is going to have a harder time than the Governor of the State of Hawaii. And I

think the governor of the state of Hawaii ought to at least appoint four more people. Mr. Chairman, I move at this time the motion, unless there are questions. I am willing, Mr. Chairman, to answer any questions.

Governor Terry

Are there any further questions?

Unidentified Voice

Can I be heard?

Governor Terry

Yes, you may, if you will come forward.

Unidentified Voice

We like the eyes of everyone on Nebraska, and we have to call your attention to Nebraska again. Can a clause be inserted "except for Nebraska where the unicameral legislature will select both legislative representatives?"

Senator Trask--Hawaii

Mr. Chairman, we talked about the unicameral legislature in the state of Nebraska in the committee. We felt that using the following would cover this: "one of such members shall be the governor, two shall be members of the State Legislature selected by their respective Houses. Since Nebraska has only one House, two would come from one House. And we need not interject Nebraska, because, God forbid, Hawaii might just be the number two state to get it. So is that alright with Nebraska? You'd have two legislative representatives chosen by your one-House legislature. Thank you.

Governor Terry

Are there any other questions?

Unidentified Voice

A question for Senator Trask. Senator, in the first sentence or two of your statement, you refer to the professional and political leadership, and then later on you refer to professional, lay and political - I think I've paraphrased about right. Would it be possible for you to be consistent in the use of these terms to include professional, lay and political in all cases?



Senator Trask-Hawaii

I say here in the fourth "Whereas," "the primary purpose of this Compact is to join the political and professional and lay leadership in education"-- is that what you are referring to?

Unidentified Voice

I am referring earlier in your paper where you use the term "the responsibility for public education rests not only with the professional forces in education, but with the political forces in each state." You would like to add "the lay people" also in this?

Senator Trask-Hawaii

Yes. On adoption of this Resolution, could we have the staff insert that into this "Whereas?" Is there objection by any of the members of this body?

Governor Terry

Well, the chair would consider the Resolution amended to that extent. Do you accept the amendment?

Senator Trask - Hawaii

Yes, I do.

Governor Terry

All in favor say "Aye," opposed "No," the "Ayes" have it. Now are there any further questions? It has been moved and seconded that the Resolution be adopted. All in favor say "Aye." Those opposed, "No." The "Ayes" have it. Governor Hoff now of Vermont will read the Resolution pertaining to Finance and Contributions.

Governor Hoff

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The Resolution reads:

WHEREAS, the amount of money available to the Educational Commission of the States will determine to a large extent its potential for service to the states; and

WHEREAS, there is a great desire on the part of the states to assure that the Compact for Education is adequately financed and the financial responsibility fairly apportioned; and,

WHEREAS, an initial entry fee is necessary to give the organization a good beginning and carry the expense of operation and study until the Legislatures can meet;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That for the period ending December 31, 1967, each State shall provide an initial entry fee to join the Compact; that this fee not exceed \$7,000 nor fall below \$3,000 and come through legislative appropriation or from such other sources as may be available; that this money, along with funds from foundations and other sources, serve to support the organization until December 31, 1967.

2. That beginning January 1, 1968, the state pro-rata contributions to support the budget be allocated by a formula which equitably takes into consideration population and income; that the cost to each state shall be reasonable enough to encourage membership, large enough to sustain an active operation, and fixed in advance of membership so the legislatures will know the cost of participation.

3. That the range for contributions by the states run from approximately \$22,000 per year to \$7,500 per year, subject to approval of the operating budget by the Commission.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this Resolution.

Governor Terry

Thank you, Governor. Do I hear a second? (The motion was seconded) All in favor of the adoption of the Resolution say "Aye," opposed "No." The "Ayes" have it. The Resolution is adopted.

And now Governor Ralph Paiewonsky of the Virgin Islands will submit the report of the Committee on Selection of a Site for a Permanent Office.

Governor Ralph Paiewonsky

Mr. Chairman and Members. This report, of course, is also subject, to the adoption of the Compact which we hoped would be sometime today, or sometime soon. The Committee met this morning in regard to the Selection of a Permanent Site. Of course, I believe they chose me as Chairman of this Committee knowing that the Virgin Islands, being far out into the Atlantic, could never aspire to be the permanent site. But we do hope to hold some committee meetings there.

We have considered this matter, and we have adopted by a unanimous vote the following Resolution:

WHEREAS, the staff of the Compact must be housed in offices suitable for its activities; and,

WHEREAS, many States will want to bid for the offices in terms of offering space, facilities, services, etc.; and,

WHEREAS, there will probably be a number of competing locations offered, and the advantages of each will have to be weighed and compared;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That this Committee constitute itself into a Standing Committee to accept bids from the States for the location of the permanent offices of the Compact;

2. That the Committee make every effort to locate the offices near a university so that the staff will have use of the libraries, and possible the accounting facilities of the University;

3. That the Executive Director transmit to the States an estimate of needs and the amount of money that will be available for rent so that the states will be able to make some judgment as to the kind of facility the Compact will be seeking.

Mr. Chairman, this is the Resolution. It was adopted unanimously this morning by your Committee, and I ask that this be considered now and adopted.

Governor Terry

Do I hear a second? (Motion was seconded from the floor) Any questions to be asked on this Resolution?

Dr. Philip G. Hoffman

Mr. Chairman, Dr. Philip G. Hoffman, President of the University of Houston and also President of the Council of State College and University Presidents of Texas.

I wish clarification on one particular point. This will appear to indicate that this Standing Committee would have the authority to make the decision on this without referring it to the Steering Committee. Perhaps I am in error on this assumption.

Governor Paiewonsky

It's my assumption, I presume my assumption is correct, that the Committee will make its recommendations to the Steering Committee after considering all of the conditions and the submissions from the various states.

Dr. Hoffman

This will cover the concern which I expressed.

Governor Terry

Any further discussion? All in favor of the Resolution signify by saying "Aye". . . all opposed "No." The Resolution is adopted.

Is Governor Karl Rolvaag of Minnesota here? Governor John Chafee? We'll now hear the report of the Committee on Nomination of the Steering Committee.

Governor John Chafee, Rhode Island

I am making the report on behalf of the Nominating Committee to select names for the Steering Committee. I might say that we started meeting at 7:30 this morning and ended at 2:30 this afternoon.

This report is subject to two assumptions. First, that there is a final adoption of a form of Compact. And secondly, that the Compact provision for the Steering Committee to be of thirty members will be also adopted.

There are four vacancies in this proposed list we have prepared in that we haven't had an opportunity to check through on everything. I hope that at the conclusion of this report, there would be a motion of some type to give permission to this Committee to fill in the balance of the Steering Committee, so we have some method of filling the final four positions.

The Committee consisted of Governor Terry of Delaware, and Governor Egan of Alaska and representatives from the other states as shown on your program, and I was Chairman. We propose herewith the following members:

Governor Edmund G. Brown, California  
 Governor Jack M. Campbell, New Mexico  
 Governor John H. Chafee, Rhode Island  
 Governor Clifford P. Hansen, Wyoming  
 Governor Mark O. Hatfield, Oregon  
 Governor Richard J. Hughes, New Jersey  
 Governor Otto Kerner, Illinois  
 Governor John J. McKeithen, Louisiana  
 Governor Robert E. McNair, South Carolina  
 Governor Karl F. Rolvaag, Minnesota

In addition, the following names:

Dr. Richard P. Gousha, Delaware  
 Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., New York  
 Monsignor Felix Pitt, Kentucky  
 Dr. Wendell H. Pierce, Ohio  
 Mrs. Richard Kading, Idaho  
 Mr. John C. Driscoll, New Hampshire  
 Mr. Dave Nichols, Kansas  
 Mrs. Nye, Iowa  
 Dr. Fred Harvey Harrington, Wisconsin  
 Dr. Martin Lichterman, Massachusetts  
 Dr. Rodney Berg, Washington  
 Mr. John E. Gray, Texas  
 Dr. Milo Bail, Nebraska  
 Mrs. Lucille Pinkerton, Alaska  
 Senator David K. Trask, Hawaii  
 Senator Richard Webster, Missouri

Mr. Chairman, as I stated, there are four vacancies in this, and we would like the permission of the group for the Nominating Committee to have the authority to fill these four positions in the event that we cannot complete this final phase prior to the adjournment of the proceedings. Thank you very much.

#### Governor Terry

Is there a second to the report? (Motion was seconded from the floor.)  
Any questions please?

#### Unidentified Speaker

I am a member of the delegation of the great territory of the Virgin Islands. Very fine persons and many, many positions were represented in the document as presented to us by the Chairman. I would like to call to his attention, however, that invited to the Compact meeting and very active, very interested part in education is the great Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and/or the three American territories be considered as the list is completed. They have been invited to this Compact meeting and have been very active and very interested in this.

#### Governor Chafee

Thank you very much. I appreciate that suggestion. If you'd like, I'll tell you how we proceeded to try and come up with this Nominating Committee. We had ten positions taken up by the Governors. We decided that it didn't seem fair that there be more than one representative from any single state, since we only had a total of thirty positions for fifty-four states--I believe there are fifty-four states and territories represented here. So, the ten Governors. We then provided for five professional school personnel and four lay school personnel. This is

on the elementary and secondary levels. We provided for four on the higher education level, that is professionally, and two lay on the higher education, and five legislators. I am sure anybody can quarrel with the system we used, but we spent a great deal of time on it, and tried to come up with as fair a proposal as possible, taking everything into account.

Governor Terry

Thank you very much. Any further questions?

Dr. Charles Orlebeke, Michigan

I'm Charles Orlebeke from Michigan. I have a couple of questions. First of all, what is the status of this Steering Committee? Does it have members nominated whether or not their state has indicated that they are going to join the Compact? And I pass this, for example, over to Mr. Nichols of Kansas, especially since the governor of Kansas said yesterday that he was not able, legally, to join the Compact. Also, I would ask whether in the Nominating Committee, Governor Chafee, any consideration was given to having one representative from each political subdivision entering the Compact, and if so, why was the number 30 chosen?

Governor Chafee

I'm sorry, I misunderstood the last part of your question. Was it why did we arrive at the figure 30?

Dr. Charles Orlebeke

Yes. At this morning's discussion, the point was raised that the Steering Committee possibly should have a representative from each political subdivision which joins the Compact, and I wonder whether this was discussed in your Committee and what form did this discussion take?

Governor Chafee

Well, it was discussed, and the conclusion was that, a Committee of 30 is a pretty good size Committee. It's true that when you limit it to 30, you are having 24 subdivisions who are not represented. At the same time the feeling was that this is going to turn over rather regularly, with half of them moving out at the end of the first year, and that we could then bring into representation those areas who had not previously been represented. In dividing up the 30 positions, we made every effort to give geographical representation to the fullest possible extent. But the feeling was that 30 was about the maximum size that you could have on a Committee and have it function with any

sort of efficiency. And I think that most of us will agree that even 30 is large. But 30 had been suggested originally, and after discussion, we felt that we would try and work with that to the best we could. And I think, speaking on behalf of the Committee, we came to the conclusion that we could make it work out alright.

Dr. Charles Orlebeke

My first question was what is the status of this Committee, and my second was, have those states represented on the Committee indicated that they have joined the Compact in some way? Well, in answer to the first part, Governor Sanford, why don't you mention the status of our Committee, if you would.

Governor Sanford

I think, as Governor Chafee said in the beginning that this report was a little bit out of order, since it certainly should follow the report of Governor Rolvaag, and the Compact Drafting Committee. The reason is that Governor Chafee is operating on assumption of 30, and the naming of a Steering Committee certainly should follow the conclusions of this Conference. However, in conferring with Governor Terry and Governor Chafee, we felt we should go ahead and jump Governor Chafee's report out of order so you could see how they were working. Of course, before the end of the day we will need to come to a conclusion as to what this Committee is to do, who it is to represent, what its duties are, what its next step is. That's something we would like to take up later, but at the moment, he simply has presented the names that they have come up with. If you want to look at it that way, he has 26 names.

But I would suggest, if Governor Chafee would have no objection, that you simply hold in abeyance your Resolution of approval until we have Governor Rolvaag's report and we consider just what the Committee will do. I think that, giving the background as to how you select them, has been very worthwhile, which gives you a sense of what the selection is going to be. Why don't we just hold this up, if it's alright with you until we get a little further along and talk about the structure and purpose of these people?

Dr. Charles Orlebeke

That's perfectly alright with me.

Governor Sanford

That doesn't fully answer your question, but I think we will get your question answered, I hope, in due time.

Then the answer to the second part of the question was whether the states from which we selected delegates had all indicated that they were in support of the Compact. To the best of my knowledge, I can answer that, yes. Now, I'll admit that Kansas showed some reservations yesterday, but I think that's the only one that did show some reservations of the states from which we selected delegates. Thank you very much.

### Governor Terry

Now, I would like to present Governor Karl Rolvaag of Minnesota, who will submit the report for the Committee on Compact Drafting.

### Governor Rolvaag

Mr. Chairman, Governor Sanford, Governor Chafee, Conferees of this very unusual conference. I am privileged this afternoon to present to you the results of the Working Committee on Drafting and the Enabling Act. We have made several minor changes following two long meetings: One this morning from 7:30 a. m. until 9:30 a. m. and again this afternoon from 12:30 p. m. until 2:30 p. m. or quarter to three. Serving with me on the Committee were Governor Morrison of Nebraska, Senator Curtin of Massachusetts, Senator Webster of Missouri, Dr. Peterson of North Dakota, Senator Clarence Bell of Arkansas, Dr. E. E. Holt of Ohio. In addition to that, I have had the services of one of our own state Senators from Minnesota, Karl Grittner, who has served as secretary of our Committee, the advice and suggestions of a good many leaders in the field of education, both public and non-public, from public officials and elected leaders.

First, we propose that the Compact as distributed to you be amended by providing for a Preamble. It's in the process of now being distributed to you.

May I please read it to you.

WHEREAS, the proper education of all citizens is one of the most important responsibilities of the States to preserve a free and open society in the United States; and,

WHEREAS, the increasing demands of our whole national life for improving and expanding educational services require a broad exchange of research data and information concerning the problems and practices of education; and,

WHEREAS, there is a vital need for close and continuing consultation among our several States on all matters of education, and do hereby establish this Compact for Education.



That's the Preamble which has been proposed by your Drafting Committee. I don't know the procedure here, Governor. We have one other amendment that will be offered to Article I, and I would expect that we would take these Articles one by one.

Well, then, Mr. Chairman, I would move that when Article I is amended by the inclusion of the Preamble that Article I be adopted. I would expect, Governor Terry, that it would be well advised if we adopted these Articles one by one.

Governor Terry

Do I hear a second to the motion? (Motion was seconded) Any questions? All in favor of the amendment.

Unidentified Speaker

This is a grammatic question, but I think we are a little bit off grammatically in the first statement of the Preamble. We have "the education of its citizens" when we talk about the state. I would suggest perhaps it might be better to drop "its" out of there and make it read "all citizens" or some other way.

Governor Rolvaag

I think your suggestion is perfectly in order, sir. We will drop the word "its."

Governor Terry

All in favor of the adoption of the amendment to Article I signify by saying "Aye." Opposed "No."

Governor Rolvaag

We will then proceed to Article II.

Governor Terry

In the real sense this was not an amendment to Article I, but the adoption of a Preamble prior to Article I. Is that correct?

Governor Rolvaag

No sir, that's not correct, Governor. I amended Article I by including the Preamble to Article I, and that when Article I was so amended, it would be adopted.

Governor Terry

Alright. Then, all in favor of amending Article I by adding the Preamble thereto, please signify by saying "Aye." All opposed "No." All in favor of the adoption of Article I as amended, signify by saying "Aye." All opposed "No." Motion carried.

Governor Rolvaag

Turn to Article II. I presume that all of you have a copy of the draft that was presented to you with your materials when you registered. Article II, Section A. The question of State Representation was delegated to another committee, and so we have no recommendation as to State Representation. However, in Article II, Section A, line 23, the Committee recommended an amendment as follows: After the words "local education" strike the word "and" and insert in lieu thereof a comma therefore; and in line 24, after the word "professional" and before the word "educational" insert the words "public and nonpublic," and when so amended the Committee recommends the adoption of the balance of Article II without change.

Governor Terry

You have heard the motion, is it seconded? (Motion was seconded) All in favor of the adoption of the amendment to Article II as indicated by the Governor, say "Aye." Opposed "No." Carried.

Governor Rolvaag

Article III, Paragraph 3. It's on page 5. Article III, Paragraph 3, on line 5. After the word "develop" strike the word "methods" and insert the word "proposals," and when so amended, we recommend the adoption of Article III.

Governor Terry

Is there a second? (Motion was seconded) It has been moved and seconded that Article III be amended as indicated by the Governor. All in favor of the adoption of the amendment say "Aye." Opposed "No." All in favor of the adoption of Article III as amended signify by saying "Aye." Opposed "No." Carried.

Governor Rolvaag

Article IV. We move the adoption without change.

Governor Terry

Is there a second to the motion? (Motion was seconded) All in favor of the adoption of Article IV signify by saying "Aye." Opposed "No." Carried.

Governor Rolvaag

Article V, Section A, line 11, it's on page 6. Article V, Section A, line 11. After the word "committee" and before the word "which" strike the words "of thirty members" and insert in lieu thereof the language "one member from each of the party states" and further, in line 13, before the word "one-third" insert the language "at least," and in line 14--pardon--I'll go over the whole thing again. In line 11, after the word "committee" (there was a discussion in the audience here, but it was not picked up on the tape) It has been called to my attention that we should have left in the word "of." After the word "of" and before the word "which" strike the words "thirty members" and insert in lieu thereof "one member from each party state." That in effect changes the number of the Steering Committee from one representative or a thirty member committee to a committee from which there will be one person serving from each party state. That is the effect of the amendment. Strike the words "thirty members" and insert in lieu thereof the language "one member from each of the party states" and further amend Article V in line 13, insert the language "at least." In other words, it will read "at least one-third of the membership." And in line 14, after the word "Governors" insert a period. Strike the balance of the sentence. I move the adoption of the amendment.

Larry Bilder, Executive Assistant to Governor Richard Hughes, New Jersey

Mr. Chairman, I would like to move to amend the amendment to reinstate on line 11 the word "thirty" for the membership of the Steering Committee. The purpose of my motion is this, Mr. Chairman. I think that we have to decide here and now whether this is going to be a Steering Committee operating in such a way as to help to run this Commission or not. I think the reasons that support my motion are clear. The amendment on the floor provides for a fifty-four man Steering Committee, but I suggest a fifty-four man Steering Committee will not be an effective organization. If this Steering Committee is to be effective, if it is to do the job that we hope it will do, then we must face up to the fact that it is impossible to give each state a representative at any one point. And it is true in most other organizations, over a period of time all of the states will serve and those who aren't represented one time will be represented at another time. But I would like to move at this time that we reinstate the word "thirty" in line 11, page 6.

Governor Rolvaag

May I ask a question, sir? For our information here, are you desirous of directing an amendment? See, if you're offering an amendment here, your position would prevail if the amendment were defeated. Therefore, parliamentarily speaking, your motion may not be in order. Because you would achieve your same purpose by voting no in the. . .

Larry Bilder

Sir, I understand when there is an amendment pending, and I hope the parliamentarian will advise just exactly how we have to do this; your amendment concerns more than one item, and therefore I asked to amend the amendment. My recollection of the rules is that if my amendment to the amendment is defeated, we proceed as you suggested and go from there. So I am suggesting that it should be "thirty" instead of. . .

Governor Rolvaag

Alright, we'll make it simple. We'll break it down into three parts. As Chairman of the Drafting Committee, I would move that we amend the language of Article V, Section A, that we amend line 11 after the word "of" and before the word "which" strike the words "thirty members" and insert in lieu thereof "one member from each of the party states." I so move.

Representative Edward Branchfield, Oregon

My name is Branchfield, I'm from Oregon. If we adopt this amendment as it is written, I think it would preclude from any membership to the Steering Committee, the territories and possessions of the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, because there is nothing in here that defines states to include them.

Governor Rolvaag

Sir, may we get to that later? We have made provisions for very specific inclusion of all jurisdictions, states, the District of Columbia, the territories and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. We will cover that later.

Mr. Alexander Aldrich, Executive Assistant to Governor Rockefeller

My name is Sam Aldrich. I'm from New York State. I've had a quick caucus with those from New York, and we are unanimous in opposing the purpose of this amendment. The very purpose of this Steering Committee is the expeditious conduct of the business of the overall Commission, and thirty may be too many. We would like to go on

record opposing expanding beyond that, and opposing the amendment on the floor.

Unidentified Voice

Mr. Chairman, Governor, could I raise a question? Could someone tell me how the Steering Committee is selected after this initial selection? What is the process stated herein in the Bylaws for the selection of subsequent Steering Committees?

Dr. Mitchell Wendell, Council of State Government

The Compact itself provides that the Commission as a whole at its annual meeting would choose the Steering Committee. The only exception is that after the first Steering Committee gets under way, fifteen of the Steering Committee members will serve only one year so that it would be renewed each year from a selection by the entire Commission.

Unidentified Voice

I would like to speak in opposition to the amendment. I believe that thirty is ample for the Steering Committee.

Larry Bilder

Well, you see in the amendment as it (pause) would affect on line 14, it would mean that you could be a member of the Steering Committee without being a member of the Commission.

Governor Rolvaag

He's asking the question, could you be a member of the Steering Committee without being a member of the Commission. I see nothing in here which says, sir, that you have to be a member of the Commission to be a member of the Steering Committee, but I can't presume the body electing the Steering Committee from outside the Commission.

Larry Bilder

Governor, the language on line 14 states "one-third of the membership shall be Governors" and the rest from other members of the Commission. As I understand it, the phrase "and may consist of other members of the Commission" is supposed to be stricken, if I understood your amendment correctly.

Governor Rolvaag

This matter did not come up for discussion. I don't think anybody noticed. There was no thought given to this in the Drafting Committee. I can't

speak for the Committee, because it is not now assembled, but I am sure it would not be accepted.

Governor Rolvaag

Why don't you explain that Senator Grittner. (there is a three-man discussion going on here and it doesn't come through on the tape) If the delegate is correct, Senator, the assumption that there is now no specific language which says that they must be members of the Commission.

Delegate from Rhode Island

I think if we make it larger we are going to do two things. We are going to make the Steering Committee strictly representation state by state. Secondly, it just isn't necessary since the Compact says that educational policy may be recommended only by the Commission and that this cannot be delegated to the Steering Committee. Mr. Wendell can perhaps tell if I am correct, but I believe I read it that way, and on that basis, I don't think any state has to fear this Commission adopting policies when the individual states don't even have a chance to speak on them.

Dr. Mitchell Wendell

The gentleman from Rhode Island is quite correct about the limitation on the Steering Committee. The actions of the Commission itself will set policy and pass on recommendations.

Governor Terry

You have heard the amendment. Any further questions? All in favor of the amendment as indicated by the Governor signify by saying "Aye." All opposed "No." Well, you understand what this amendment does mean. I take it to mean that if you vote for the amendment you vote for more than thirty on the Steering Committee. If you voted "No" to the amendment you've confined it to thirty. Now then, will you give me a show of hands. Those in favor of the amendment. . . Now, those opposed. . . I rule that the amendment is defeated.

Governor Rolvaag

In view of the action here of the delegates in defeat of this portion of the amendment we offered from the Drafting Committee, I would withdraw the balance of the amendment we offered because it would be somewhat incongruous in view of the defeat of the initial part of the amendment here. I would then move, Mr. Chairman, the adoption of Article V.

Governor Terry

Those in favor of Article V to be adopted. Any questions?

Unidentified Speaker

Mr. Chairman, I have two or three questions. Number 1. It seems to be assumed that the Steering Committee will be elected by the Commission, but it doesn't state so anywhere in the Compact. Maybe I missed it. Secondly, I don't find the provision that says that members of the Steering Committee will be members of the Commission; it says that they must be voting members of the Commission. I believe we have nonvoting members of the Commission. Is it the intention of the Drafting Committee that nonvoting members of the Commission may be members of the Steering Committee? I should think not. Accordingly, if it is intended that members of the Steering Committee must be voting members, I think we should amend the policy to say so. My third question is, is it intended that the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Treasurer of the Commission who are to be members of the Steering Committee be counted in the thirty? I think it must mean that, I feel to the contrary, but I wonder if it's right.

Governor Rolvaag

On your last question, I would presume that the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Treasurer of the Commission would be included in the thirty. Mr. Wendell is the legal mind that has worked most on the drafting of this language.

Dr. Wendell

There are several ways in which it comes about, I believe. The Steering Committee will be selected by the Commission. The draft itself does not specifically say that in so many words, but if you look at Article V, which you are now considering, you discover that the Commission determines what powers committees shall have. Now, one of the things that your Bylaws Committee worked on was the details of the Steering Committee and what the Commission as a whole might do. If each of these Bylaws that have been previously adopted this afternoon, there is a provision specifically to the effect that the Commission does do this and it does half at one time and half at another time. In other words, the selection of the Steering Committee and the selection of all committees is by the Compact itself, and on this basis it is a fact the Steering Committee is selected by the Commission.

Governor Rolvaag

Would some of your reservations, misgivings or doubts be removed if on line 10 we struck the word "have" and inserted in lieu thereof

"elect"? The Commission shall "elect" the Steering Committee.  
(Discussion is going on at this point which does not come through on tape)

Unidentified Speaker

Mr. Chairman, by providing for the word "elect" here, then in the next Chapter, "one-third of the membership shall consist of Governors."

Governor Rolvaag

I am sure that the--well, I would move that we strike the word "have" on line 10, following the word "shall" and insert in lieu thereof the word "elect." Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this amendment.

Governor Terry

All in favor of the adoption of the amendment as indicated by the governor respond by saying "Aye." Opposed "No."

Unidentified Voice

Governor Rolvaag, if I may I would like to offer an amendment. I move that in line 15 that before the word "other" the word "voting" be inserted.

Governor Rolvaag

The motion has been made that Article V be amended in line 15 after the word "other" insert the word "voting." I'll second the motion.

Governor Terry

All in favor of the motion to amend as indicated signify by saying "Aye." Opposed "No." So carried.

Governor Rolvaag

Mr. Chairman, I then move that Article V as amended by adopted by the delegates to the conference.

Governor Terry

All in favor of the adoption of Article V as amended signify by saying "Aye." Opposed "No." Carried.

Governor Rolvaag

Article VI is an article dealing with Finance, and this article was delegated to another committee for recommendation, and as a consequence, we have



nothing to report on it. Article VII. We recommend adoption without change. Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of Article VII as prepared in our document.

Governor Terry

Do I hear a second? (Motion seconded) All in favor of the adoption of the Article signify by saying "Aye." Opposed "No." So carried.

Governor Rolvaag

Article VIII in the document which you have which has been distributed, there is a typographical error, and to make it certain that it is correct officially, line 21 on page 9, Article VIII, the construction and severability, we should strike the word "valid" and insert in lieu thereof the word "invalid." There is a substantial difference. Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the amendment.

Governor Terry

Is there a second? (Motion was seconded) All in favor of the adoption of the amendment to Article VIII, signify by saying "Aye." Opposed "No." Carried.

Governor Rolvaag

Mr. Chairman, I move that Article VIII as amended be adopted.

Governor Terry

All in favor of the motion signify by saying "Aye," opposed "No." Carried.

Governor Rolvaag

Now, Mr. Chairman, I assured one of the delegates that the matter of the definition of "state" and the several other jurisdictions would be covered. We have heard some time today from Mr. Mitchell Wendell, who is a brilliant lawyer with the Council of State Governments, and is more knowledgeable in the area of Compacts between states than perhaps any other person. Our Committee felt that we should leave to him and to the staff of the Study of American States the matter of inserting new language where needed and required defining the word "states." The delegation from Puerto Rico had sent a notice to us that they were particularly concerned and that the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico be clearly included in the whole Compact. While there is nothing specific here before us, it would take some time to work it out. Mr. Wendell, would you care to comment on this matter?

Dr. Mitchell Wendell

Governor Rolvaag, what we propose to do actually would be to produce a new Article II for the Compact which would be entitled something like "Definition of States," to include Puerto Rico, the Territories and the District of Columbia. We would also hope that you would give us the authority to run through the document and conform any of these Article references which would then have to be changed, and to renumber Articles. This would be a strictly mechanical job. That's the way it could be done.

Governor Rolvaag

Mr. Chairman, I would move that we reside this authority in Governor Sanford's office and his staff.

Governor Terry

Do I hear a second? (Motion was seconded) All in favor. Are there any questions? All in favor signify by saying "Aye," opposed "No." Carried.

Governor Rolvaag

Now do you have the Resolution? That takes care of the Compact itself.

Unidentified Speaker

Governor Rolvaag, excuse me for interrupting. I apologize for not being aware of this when we came to the appropriate section, but I had a question as to whether members of the Commission may vote by proxy. Has this been discussed?

Governor Rolvaag

This would certainly be taken care of in the Bylaws. I have not seen or heard a report from the Committee on Bylaws, but I would think, it would not properly be in the matter of the Compact itself.

Dr. Wendell

Governor Rolvaag, to the best of my knowledge, this matter did not come up until in the Compact Drafting Committee today. It was discussed in considerable detail at several times during the course of the past few months with Governor Sanford while the Committee with which he was working was developing the Compact. The conclusion that Governor Sanford and his committee came to was incorporated in this case by omission. . . that is, it would be undesirable to have a proxy vote since there is a provision for the multiple representation of a state.

In other words, each state will have seven delegates to the Commission as a whole. Since there was desired a premium on personal attendance of those who would be participating in the deliberations of the Commission, and of the several Committees, the decision was quite consciously taken during the drafting stage not to have a proxy vote for those reasons I have indicated. Now, if anyone from the group here wants to change that, it should be considered; but the question was considered at some lengths, and the decision made during this earlier drafting stage was not to have a proxy vote.

#### Unidentified Voice

I would be content to rest with that decision, Mr. Chairman. I would point out that as a matter of practicality, however, that an acting commission require a majority of all members of the Commission, not just those present. And this means that you will be putting a heavy premium on getting to the Commission meetings.

My second question, Mr. Chairman, has to do with finance. I apologize again for not stating this at the time, but I believe we adopted the Resolution today that says the allocation of appropriations for the several states would be in proportion to population and income. I think the Compact says that it would be one-third equally and the balance of the portion of the population.

#### Governor Rolvaag

I'm sorry I can't reconcile this, maybe Governor Sanford. Our Committee did not handle Article VI and the question dealing with finances.

#### Dr. Mitchell Wendell

Governor Rolvaag, something might be said on general procedure now. Many decisions are made which require something in the nature of purely editorial drafting cleanup. I think it might be desirable for the entire Conference to consider giving again to the staff the authority to make purely conforming changes. Now, I for one understood, for example, that when the Finance Committee reported and read its report, that this meant that necessarily this section on finance would have to be redrafted. I would suggest that the staff be authorized to make changes in the draft to conform with the Resolutions and other amendments passed by the body.

#### Governor Rolvaag

Are you making this in the form of a motion?

Dr. Mitchell Wendell

I can't make a motion as I'm not a delegate. It's a staff suggestion that you may or may not take time to consider.

Governor Rolvaag

I would ask the unanimous consent that this provision, this authority be extended to the staff of Governor Sanford. It is a routine matter that we do in all legislative bodies to take care of obvious errors and mistakes in language that might have crept in.

Governor Clifford Hansen, Wyoming

Mr. Chairman, I am sorry not to have to go along with Governor Rolvaag's request for unanimous consent, and I do so with considerable reluctance because I am deeply appreciative of the great job he and the members of the committee have done. I must take the position I now take, because though I appreciate full well the committee demands which were placed upon you, sir; just before lunch and earlier during the day, there were some points that members of my delegation had raised that we thought were going to be taken care of later, and for that reason we did not appear at the proper time to raise our objections or to pose the questions which I think are in order. For that reason, I would like to have (can't pick up name) and President Fey of the University of Wyoming both be permitted to make statements.

Governor Rolvaag

Governor Hansen, it is my purpose in asking for unanimous consent to give to the staff of Governor Sanford's committee the power and the authority to do brushup work as far as the language is concerned, but make no substantive changes. We'll be glad to take up the matter of the opposing of the Wyoming delegation.

Governor Hansen

May I be assured then that I understand, too, Governor. I have no objection at all to the cleanup job which is proposed to be done by Mr. Wendell and the staff. I would, though, be remiss if I were not to say there are some provisions that already have been enacted upon that we would like to raise questions about.

Governor Rolvaag

I agree, Governor. The floor is open.

Unidentified Voice

I think the matter of questioning appropriations is a little more than a matter of sentence structure. And while the Resolution which was adopted this afternoon was presented, I didn't bring this up because I assumed there would be an amendment of the Compact. I do think that this question of how the financial burden of this Compact is going to be apportioned between the states is of sufficient importance so it ought to get some attention. Mr. Wendell, in his statement with respect to it, spoke of allocating it one-third in proportions equal between the states and the balance according to income. That isn't what the Resolution itself says. The Resolution says something else.

Dr. Wendell

Mr. Chairman, I did not say, it was certainly inadvertent if I did, one-third by population and the rest in accordance with per capita income. The report which you adopted proposed a formula which should consist of two parts, population and per capita income. Furthermore, the documents on which that was based propose that this should be allocated three parts for population and one part for per capita income. The only thing that the staff would deem itself the power to do would be to make sure that the actions which we took this afternoon were reflected in substance accurately in the draft. The staff would not expect to do anymore than that.

Senator Grittner

As the Governor of Minnesota pointed out, we did not deal with this finance section in our Committee on Drafting because we felt that the Finance Committee would bring in its report to a form of a revision of Article VI. Apparently while we were still working, the Committee on Finance and Contributions brought in a Resolution, which, I understand, has been adopted. And that being the case, I believe that all that you, Governor Rolvaag, are asking is that the staff translate the language of the Resolution into appropriate language within the body of Article VI of the Compact.

Governor Rolvaag

That was my intention and I would certainly so ask. I am just another delegate here and want to go back to my request for unanimous consent. Did we get it or didn't we? We do have it. Okay.

Unidentified Voice

I have a unanimous request from the Wyoming Delegation and will apologize for coming in so late. It was necessary for us to caucus. I should like to turn to page 3, Section B under Article II. I move,

Mr. Chairman, to make the following change: I move that lines 1 and 2 of said page read: "the party states shall be entitled to one vote each on the Commission" and further, in line 5 "action of the Commission shall be only at a meeting at which a majority of the party states are present." You will recognize at once, Sir, it is an attempt to say one state, one vote. It is our feeling that it is a Compact of states and that each contracting state should be entitled to a vote. Since the meetings of the Commission will probably be held in different parts of the country, there will be times when the whole state delegation might not be able to be present, and that a state should not be penalized in this regard. This is vitally important to a state such as Wyoming and this is made as a unanimous request on our part.

#### Governor Rolvaag

I might say we considered this amendment in the Drafting Committee and no action was taken on it. I would have no other comment to make on it.

#### Unidentified Voice

There has been discussion that when the states adhere to this Compact they are contracting with one another to bring together once a year the range and experience of seven people from different walks of life and with different viewpoints.

#### Larry Bilder

Mr. Chairman, there are a few points that I would like to bring out. This Compact organization isn't going to impose policy, but to explore common problems and suggest possible alternative solutions. We're talking about education and I think it is important that all views of education be put forward, so that the best possible solutions can be found.

Secondly, I would like to point out that in the Compact the states are very well protected under Article III, Section B which provides: "No action of the Commission shall be binding unless taken at a meeting at which a majority of the total number of votes on the Commission are cast in favor thereof. Action of the Commission shall be only at a meeting at which a majority of the Commissioners are present." This would seem to give plenty of protection to any minority group. But it certainly leaves the door open, as it should, to expressions of minority groups within any delegation, by allowing each member of the Commission one vote each.

#### Governor Terry

You have heard the motion to amend. Any questions? Is there a second to the motion? (Motion was seconded) All in favor say "Aye," opposed "No." Not passed.

(The tape was unable to pick up the discussion between a member of the Wyoming delegation, a member of the Minnesota delegation and Governor Terry. A motion to amend was made by a member of the Wyoming delegation and was not carried)

Governor Rolvaag

I believe then, we have adopted the Articles one by one. I believe then, Mr. Chairman that we have got the Compact done, according to my records. I move the adoption of the Compact as a whole. (Seconded)

Governor Terry

It has been moved and seconded that the Compact be adopted as a whole. Any questions?

Governor Hoff

Mr. Chairman, may I call your attention to Article VI on Finance. The Resolution on the Compact as presented does not cover Article VI, and I move that the Resolution of the Committee on Finance be adopted. (Seconded)

Governor Rolvaag

The motion has been made that Article VI be adopted as amended as provided by the Resolution by the Committee on Finance.

Governor Terry

Are there any questions? All in favor of the motion signify by saying "Aye," all opposed "No." The "Ayes" have it, passed.

Governor Hansen, Wyoming

First let me say how deeply appreciative I am of the honor which was afforded me this afternoon, that my name was suggested as one of the persons who might serve on the Steering Committee. It has been a very stimulating conference. However, I am a little bit disturbed about one thing and would like clarification on it. I was much in accord with Dr. Conant's remarks yesterday and again this morning when he spoke about the development of educational policy at the state level. I must admit I think there are very real differences in the problems that are presented by education as you compare the situation in a state like Wyoming with that of New York State. And I therefore, hesitate to subscribe to the Compact idea so quickly and wholeheartedly as I might otherwise do. Especially, if I were to infer that what has been said we are thinking about is a nationwide policy that could very well cast a die and that Wyoming would be expected to conform to or to

fit in with. Let me say I think much can be accomplished through cooperation, through an exchange of information, through a stimulation at the state level, and I think that these goals create a very worthwhile endeavor. I would hope that we do not leave here thinking that the purpose of this Compact is to try to standardize or to establish the nationwide policy that would submerge the specific need of the individual states.

#### Unidentified Voice

Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank the Governor of Wyoming--to give me an opportunity to clarify these very important issues. I would like to bring the attention of the delegates to the Preamble that has been adopted by each state, "Whereas: there is a vital need for strengthening the voices of the states in the formulation of alternative nationwide educational policies." It is for this reason, that I believe the fears of Governor Hansen of Wyoming can be allayed.

#### Governor Terry

Now we have the last thing on the agenda and for that purpose I recognize Governor Sanford to propose a resolution.

#### Governor Sanford

I've got about a 45 minute speech. . . I'm going to incorporate it in two sentences by saying that I thank all of you for your patience, and for the contributions which you have made, both before this group came together in Kansas City and while it was here. We all understand that this has been a nonofficial, non-appointed group of interested people concerned with doing something about improving American education. We leave here in this same capacity. On the other hand, I think that it's quite possible that what you have done here will have a long lasting effect, perhaps much more so than some official bodies in existence.

We probably could come out of this meeting now, with one of two approaches. I mentioned one and would like to recommend the other for your consideration. As best as I can count, we have fifteen governors who in writing have said that they are ready to adhere to the provisions of the Compact. We have a total of 29 governors, either personally or through their representatives, who have indicated that they intend to adhere. We have several others who have indicated that in all probability they will, and obviously we haven't heard from several others. So we probably could take these fifteen written statements and those fifteen states and put together a more or less legal Compact pending the official executive order by these fifteen governors. But we don't have the individual executive orders. We couldn't actually put together a legal Compact here. It never was contemplated, if you will note from your program, that we could put together a legal Compact while we were here. To limit it to these fifteen seemed to us to be



unduly restrictive. It would rule out other states and other governors who intended to participate, but who for various reasons simply couldn't give us the word at the moment, either because they weren't ready or because they felt that they needed to check this with other organizations or people at home, or for whatever reason that they might decide. I would like to suggest that we come out of here with a group that can pick up the ball. An interim group that can carry it out to fulfillment if that is your desire. In order to put that to you, I would like to propose the following Resolution;

RESOLVED:

1. That it is the sense of this group that there should be a compact between the states to bring together educational and governmental leaders for the improvement of education;
2. That an interim planning, development and steering committee be established for the purpose of carrying out the intent of this Conference, empowered to accept and expend funds, to employ a director and other staff members, to select a headquarters site, to present and explain the Compact to the various governors and state legislative bodies, and generally to assume the task of creating such compact as herein declared desirable;
3. That the membership of this interim committee be those individuals recommended by the committee on the nomination of a Steering Committee.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this Resolution.

Governor Terry

Do I hear a second? (Motion seconded) All in favor of the adoption of this Resolution signify by saying "Yes." Those opposed, "No." Motion carried. Now Governor Chafee of Rhode Island will conclude with his report.

Governor Chafee

Thank you Governor Terry. I think you all have the names that I presented to you previously. There is a suggestion that there be a representative from the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and/or the Territories. To show that we provide fast action, I suggest that the name of Mrs. Eldra L. M. Shulterbrandt of the Virgin Islands be added in the place of Mrs. Georgia C. Nye of Iowa who is unable to accept the assignment. So, would you please substitute Mrs. Eldra L. M. Shulterbrandt.

Now, in making these nominations, we were not able to personally get in touch with everybody here who has been nominated. I would hope that everyone would accept. We have spoken to a good number of them, a great majority have accepted. I have not given you any names of those who have refused. If anybody who we have nominated cannot serve, I would appreciate it if they would personally speak with me at the stage at the conclusion of this meeting. I would also like to add the name of one more gentleman, Mr. William J. L. Wallace of West Virginia, President of West Virginia State College. That gives 27 names and leaves three vacancies. I would move, Mr. Chairman, the adoption of this Nominating Committee report and the adoption of the motion that the Steering Committee have the power to fill the three existing vacancies and any vacancies which arise because some gentleman or lady cannot serve.

Governor Terry

Is there a second to the motion? (Second) Any questions? All in favor of the motion say "Aye." Opposed "No." Motion carried.

I would like to know if the distinguished governor from Oklahoma is here? Governor Henry Bellmon. Governor--we realize you were late in arriving but we're happy to have you with us. Now is there any further business before the Conference? If not, I'll entertain a motion to adjourn.