

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION

ORIGINAL

WINTER MEETING

FIRST PLENARY SESSION

Washington, D. C.

Sunday, February 25, 1990

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1990 WINTER MEETING

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Hyatt Regency Capitol Hill
400 New Jersey Avenue, N.W.
Yorktown Room
Washington, D. C.

Sunday, February 25, 1990

1:20 p.m.

P R O C E E D I N G S

[1:20 P.M.]

GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governors and ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasure to welcome you to the 1990 Winter Meeting of the National Governors Association. This is indeed a historic meeting. We have the biggest attendance at a National Governors Meeting at any time in the last decade. I think all but one governor of the Fifty States and Five Territories are intending to be here for this important session, and I believe that the vital issues of education and the environment are an important reason why there is so much interest among governors and among the public.

As we begin this Winter Meeting of the National Governors Association it is my pleasure to welcome three new governors to our presence.

The Honorable Lorenzo Guerreo from the Northern Mariana Islands.

(Applause.)

GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: The Honorable James J. Florio from the State of New Jersey.

(Applause.)

GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: The Honorable L. Douglas Wilder from the Commonwealth of Virginia.

(Applause.)

1 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: We welcome these new
2 governors to our midst. We look forward to building
3 friendship with them and to have a rewarding and fruitful
4 experience together as we work on the challenges facing our
5 states and helping meet the challenges facing our nation.

6 At this time I would ask for the adoption of the
7 rules of procedure. We have a motion for the adoption of
8 the rules of procedure. It is so moved.

9 Is there a second?

10 VOICES: Second.

11 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: It has been moved and
12 seconded that the rules of procedure be approved. All those
13 in favor signify by saying, aye?

14 (Chorus of ayes.)

15 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Those opposed say, nay?

16 (No response.)

17 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: The rules are approved.

18 Our commitment to build a consensus for change in
19 education has taken us on a significant journey in the last
20 six months. Education goals will be addressed in today's
21 session, and they have come out of a very thorough and
22 thoughtful process that began with the historic education
23 summit, which President Bush invited us all to participate
24 in Charlottesville, Virginia back in September.

25 We've held discussions with America's teachers,

1 administrators, parents and business leaders and we've
2 reached out to people all across this country in every
3 single state of America to ask for their input and
4 participation in developing these historic first ever
5 national goals for education achievement. Each of you is to
6 be congratulated for your commitment to this very ambitious
7 agenda.

8 The purpose of education is very clear. To
9 prepare our people to compete successfully in the world
10 economy and for good employment opportunities, to achieve
11 participate in the democratic system of government, which we
12 cherish, and for their own personal fulfillment.

13 We've had a tremendous interest in education
14 throughout American history and, yet, our nation has changed
15 dramatically from the early days. Today's economy is
16 global. Today's processes involve tremendous technology.
17 Today's democracy is based more and more on instantaneous
18 communication provided from throughout the world via the
19 media to our constituents in every state and territory.

20 Our schools have had a difficult time adapting to
21 this change. In many instances the school year and the set
22 up in the schools is as it was when our states were founded.
23 We face many challenges: Too high a level of illiteracy,
24 too many drop outs, poor performance on key subject areas,
25 such as science and math, and the very quality of education

1 provided to our children does not meet the expectations that
2 most of us have.

3 As governors we have long shared a mutual concern
4 and responsibility for improving the performance of American
5 students and improving the education system in our
6 individual states, and I'm proud to say that governors have
7 been at the forefront of the efforts to reform and improve
8 American education. We've developed goals and those goals
9 are ambitious. They are goals that demand excellence, and
10 you might say, well, it's one thing to develop goals, it's
11 much more difficult to achieve those goals and to make it a
12 reality.

13 You don't have to consider for long these goals
14 before you recognize that there is going to have to be
15 radical change in the way education is conducted in America
16 if we have any hope of achieving these goals by the year
17 2000. Even though we're talking about a decade-long
18 commitment, remember that a decade from now people that are
19 graduating are already well along in the grade schools of
20 our country. As governors our next step is to develop the
21 objectives and the strategies that will allow us to make
22 these reforms.

23 We've already seen some innovative ideas that are
24 taking effect in many places. There are discussions of
25 lengthening the school year, empowering teachers, rewarding

1 performance, using more technology in the class rooms,
2 developing student achievement goals and appropriate
3 assessment tools of achieving those goals, as well as things
4 like alternative certification. In fact, America does not
5 lack for things to do. But up until now, we haven't had the
6 national will. We haven't had the collective commitment to
7 do something about it. A lot of work has gone on this fall
8 and winter, centering on developing that national will and
9 commitment.

10 We appreciate the effort that the President and
11 his staff have put into it. We appreciate the effort and
12 the time that the governors have put into it in their
13 individual states, as well as working with out task force on
14 education. I'm very proud of the leadership of that task
15 force, Governors Campbell and Clinton, and all the members
16 of that task force, and each of you that have participated
17 in sharing with them your ideas and thoughts on the goals,
18 on the objectives and how they can be achieved.

19 I would submit to you that we are building that
20 national will. We are seeing a positive response from
21 education leaders. We are seeing a positive response from
22 the business community. We're seeing more and more parents
23 saying, yes, I want to do something about it and I recognize
24 a personal responsibility for my children's education. That
25 I can't just leave it to the classroom teachers and to

1 somebody else to do it for me.

2 We need now to continue to build that consensus
3 to encourage the stake holders to be actively involved in
4 this ongoing process, and now we ask you to make the next
5 big step in passing these national goals, developing the
6 specific objectives to go with them. We think that the
7 National Governors Association working with the President of
8 the United States, working with education and business
9 leaders can be a catalyst for change and that we indeed can
10 in the next decade make a dramatic difference in the quality
11 of education that the people of this country will enjoy and
12 their ability to compete in the world in the 21st Century.

13 We have some very outstanding speakers that are
14 going to participate in our discussions on education goals
15 today. In this year, as we focus on building a consensus,
16 we recognize that real change in American society always
17 comes through building a consensus, that it is not in this
18 democratic system imposed from above. It has to involve the
19 decision makers and the people that have a stake in it.

20 It's very important that our society recognize
21 the need to assist and encourage every person to achieve
22 their full potential and that we can't leave the less
23 fortunate out, that we can't afford to have young people
24 from disadvantaged or minority backgrounds fall through the
25 cracks. They need to achieve and succeed and be part of the

1 American dream.

2 And I'm proud to say that our first speaker this
3 evening is a business leader that recognizes that education
4 in America needs to be truly universal. In addition to his
5 service on many corporate boards, David Kearns devotes
6 personal time to programs like the United Way, Junior
7 Achievement, Rochester University and the National Urban
8 League. He works on education issues through the Committee
9 on Economic Development, the Business Roundtable and the
10 President's Education Policy Advisory Committee. He's been
11 chairman and chief executive officer of the Xerox
12 Corporation since 1985.

13 And I'm very pleased to introduce Mr. David
14 Kearns, the President of the Xerox Corporation.

15 (Applause.)

16 MR. KEARNS: Governor, thank you very much. I
17 appreciate the gracious introduction.

18 I'm somewhat intimidated, not just because of
19 speaking in front of all the governors, but some of the
20 governors in this room have been my teachers in learning
21 about education. I want to tell you I'm here to wear two
22 hats: One to represent the Business Roundtable in a formal
23 capacity and, in another, to put my own hat on before I get
24 finished and give you some of my own thoughts about what I
25 think we all need to be doing.

1 I'd like to spend first just a few minutes and
2 talk about the Business Roundtable, the BRT, and explain how
3 the Business Roundtable came to be involved in education and
4 what we're doing about it.

5 The Business Roundtable is a group made up of 201
6 chief executive officers of the largest corporations in our
7 country. It has a very small staff and it's supported and
8 augmented by a number of task forces that are run by chief
9 executive officers of different companies, not unlike the
10 National Governors Association.

11 Last June President Bush challenged the BRT to
12 help him fulfill his goal to be the education president. In
13 late September we met with the President and told him of our
14 plan to support the national goals, but also to work with
15 the governors at the state level where we believe the main
16 action is. Since then our task force has been hard at work.

17 I join you today to tell you that the Business
18 Roundtable is committed to helping you and be supportive of
19 your requirements and we intend to go beyond rhetoric and we
20 intend to act. The BRT Task Force leader is John Akers, the
21 Chairman and CEO of IBM, whom many of you know, and John
22 Clendenon of Bell South and myself are the Vice Chairmen.
23 We are committed to a ten-year plan. One that transcends
24 the individual CEO's; one that will put the nation's
25 corporate resources behind the cause of reform until the

1 next century.

2 As a first step, John Akers has asked each BRT
3 CEO to form a partnership with a governor. I am pleased to
4 report that such partnerships are currently being formed
5 across the nation and 158 chief executive officers of the
6 201 are already signed up to cover the 50 states and the
7 District of Columbia. I can tell you that John Akers and I
8 will not rest until all 201 are signed up and have committed
9 their companies over the next ten years.

10 We believe clearly, as you do, that it will take
11 at least that long to institutionalize real education reform
12 and restructuring. That is what we are talking about. We
13 are not talking about tinkering at the margins. We are not
14 talking about what I call our feel-good partnerships that
15 tend to shore up an old institution that needs changing.
16 But we are talking about fundamental reform and
17 restructuring.

18 In case you are wondering, Xerox has selected to
19 work with the District of Columbia. We have done that
20 because I believe that the large urban centers have very
21 special problems and that they must be solved, and we would
22 like to participate.

23 The goal of the BRT is to work with you and the
24 educators in your states to be helpful as you develop your
25 reform agenda and we want to work, as I said, with all 50

1 states. This will clearly take a different structure and
2 different shape in each state, but the Business Roundtable
3 also will provide some umbrella activities. We are
4 currently working with the Aspen Institute to develop a day
5 and a half seminar, a dialogue which will bring together the
6 governors and the CEO's and the experts on education reform.

7 You will be invited to participate by one of the
8 CEO's who has chosen your state to work with, and I urge you
9 to attend. Each CEO has also designated one or more people
10 to provide staff support and these people will also attend
11 these seminars to bring them the learning curve. The
12 education commission for the states is working with us to
13 develop a handbook on coalition building and education
14 reform.

15 Although this effort is being driven by the
16 Business Roundtable, we are working very closely with the
17 Committee on Economic Development, the National Alliance for
18 Business and the National Chamber of Commerce, and one thing
19 that we believe we can provide you is increased public
20 awareness and, hopefully, some political clout with the
21 different constituencies in your state that need changing.

22 Now, for starters, I am here to tell you that we
23 are 100 percent behind your efforts on the establishment of
24 national goals and performance standards to back them up.
25 Education in this country is a \$200 billion enterprise and

1 to invest that much resources without national consensus and
2 without standard and measurements is flat out wrong. We
3 wouldn't do it in business and you do not do it in your
4 states.

5 So, we look forward to the goals that you're
6 working on and, hopefully, that you will issue before this
7 Governors Association Meeting has concluded. I will also
8 make you a promise that you will get no second guessing from
9 the business community, the BRT. We will support your goals
10 100 percent. And I will make you another promise. That is,
11 that we are ready and anxious to roll up our sleeves and
12 work side-by-side with all of you to implement the goals
13 that you establish state-by-state.

14 We clearly do not have all the answers, but we do
15 have some and we want to work with each of you to develop
16 more.

17 Now, I am often asked why is business so caught
18 up in this, and the answer is deceptively simple. We cannot
19 compete in the world class economy without a world class
20 work force and we cannot have a world class work force
21 without a world class education system, and we do not have
22 that today.

23 I believe that the National Governors Association
24 and the business roundtable have a unique opportunity.
25 Together we must organize and lead a national crusade, not

1 for reform alone, but fundamental restructuring of the
2 system. And we must do so, because if we do not do this, I
3 believe that our economy will falter and if we do not do
4 this, I believe that no one else will. And as Clemenceau
5 has been often quoted about war, this is too important an
6 issue to leave to the educators alone.

7 In any great democracy education is everyone's
8 business. But it is of special importance to government and
9 business today because of the way that wealth is created in
10 a modern economy. It is the product of applied human
11 intelligence, the era of strong backs and deft hands is
12 behind us forever. The future belongs to the educated.

13 What we must do is to educate our workers before
14 they enter the work force. The businesses cannot afford to
15 do the schools' product recall work for them. The Japanese
16 are proud of saying that they have the best bottom half in
17 the world, and we have been proud over the years to say that
18 we have the best stop half in the world. That may have been
19 good enough at one time, but it is no longer acceptable.
20 What do youngsters in AMerica need to know to be able to
21 prepare for the future. Do we need to turn our schools into
22 vocational training schools, and the answer is, an
23 authoritative, ringing, no.

24 Business is prepared to provide the vocational
25 and technical training if the workers are first educated.

1 Let me repeat. Business will train if the schools educate.
2 No one needs to go to public school to learn how to fix or
3 to build a Xerox machine. That's a cost that we are not
4 only willing but are able to bear and should bear.

5 AT issue is the capacity of the American workers
6 and managers to continue to learn over their entire career.
7 Surveys conducted by the Committee for Economic Development
8 reveal that there is almost total agreement between all
9 employers. The most important knowledge and skills the new
10 employee can bring to the work place is learning to learn
11 skills, problem solving and communications skills.

12 How do workers acquire such knowledge and skills?
13 They acquire them through a broad curriculum that we have
14 all referred to over the years as liberal arts. They are
15 the building blocks of a knowledge based society. Business
16 is not asking for the schools to prepare a docile and
17 compliant work force. Quite the contrary. What we want is
18 a work force that is curious, impatient, that knows how to
19 think, to ask questions, to work as a team and to solve
20 problems. The workers of the future need to both know how
21 to think and to continue to learn. To prepare us for this
22 future we need to begin now, and I believe that we have a
23 historic opportunity.

24 The current issue of American Heritage magazine
25 has an excellent article on the history of education reform

1 in this country. It points out that all previous attempts -
2 - all previous attempts have fallen far short of their
3 goals. We cannot let this happen again. And I believe that
4 this is our last opportunity to dramatically restructure
5 change and improve the public education system in our
6 country.

7 Now, I said when I started that I was going to
8 wear two hats. If you will indulge me for just a moment
9 while I put my Kearns hat on and not my BRT hat. And I
10 would like to talk for just a moment about a controversial
11 subject that I know because I have talked with some of you
12 that you do not agree with me on. That is the issue of
13 choice, because I believe that is the linchpin or the
14 centerpiece through real educational restructuring.

15 Let me say before you all jump out of your
16 chairs, I do not support the so-called voucher system that
17 moves public monies to private and parochial schools. I
18 know that some of you believe in that, but I believe that
19 the system is too fragile for that today and that we must
20 bolster up the public system because the country cannot
21 exist without a strong public education system. But, today
22 our schools are largely monopoly providers and they are not
23 subject to the pressures of the consumers, or the pressure
24 of the customers and the customers in the schools are the
25 school children.

1 In the case of schools, there are 15,500 public
2 monopolies. We can them school districts. If you're smart
3 and you're well off you can pay tuition and go to a private
4 school or you can buy a home in another community. But it
5 is no surprise, of course, that the poor and the
6 disadvantaged cannot do that. Just think of it, the
7 youngsters that need the best schooling have the least
8 opportunity open to get it. And I believe that every person
9 in this room, every relative of every person in this room
10 thinks that they have the wit, the sensitivity and the
11 intelligence to choose schools for their kids and to do it
12 wisely. If it works well for you, I believe that it will
13 work well for everyone. Indeed, I believe that is what
14 democracy is all about.

15 One of the most interesting school districts in
16 this country is in Spanish Harlem in New York City. It is a
17 100 percent choice district. There is no compulsory
18 assignment for any child to any school. Every one chooses
19 the school that they attend. So popular is this approach
20 that some well-to-do white youngsters are now applying to
21 those schools. That is not surprising to me and I don't
22 believe it would be surprising to most business people. We
23 could have forecast as much. Choice and markets work well
24 in the school system. As well as they do in the private
25 enterprise world.

1 Si Flagello, who was the Deputy Superintendent of
2 that school district until recently, was asked a question of
3 why choice works in a poverty stricken area. He gave a
4 simple answer. Maybe a little bit smart-alecky, and he
5 said, what's good enough for the rich is good enough for the
6 poor.

7 It's interesting that talking about choice in
8 education elicits strong feelings. Why? Because people in
9 monopoly positions do not want to change them. Businessmen
10 in weak moments would ask for competition to go away because
11 it makes the provider's life easier for a short time.

12 Similarly, schools want the status quo. But we
13 must all remember that no institution changes without
14 pressure from the outside. Businesses don't do it. Do you
15 think Xerox would have changed if it were not threatened by
16 the Japanese about going out of business? Of course we
17 wouldn't have, because the choices to be made are too
18 onerous.

19 Politicians do not change without pressure from
20 the voters, and certainly schools will not change without
21 strong outside pressures, and I believe the choice will
22 force the schools to stand and deliver. But making it a
23 reality will not be easy. As Gorbachev is finding out,
24 perestroika may be desirable, but it sure is painful. But I
25 believe that it is worthwhile.

1 The keystone of the restructuring is to create a
2 public market. A set of relationships in the public sector
3 that mirror the best in the private sector. That means
4 choice among schools for teachers, as well as students to
5 create voluntary communities of scholarship. And the great
6 secret of the market of choice and diversity is that markets
7 harness individual effort and enthusiasm on both sides of
8 the equation. Both the buyer and the seller are invested in
9 the process.

10 Now, one more item. Public education must take
11 another page from what we are learning and restructuring our
12 businesses, and that is, that we must push decision making
13 down to the principle and the teacher level. Let them run
14 their class rooms and they schools and turn the districts
15 and the district bureaucracies into support and service
16 centers, not centers to tell the local schools what to do.

17 Real restructuring of this type is absolutely
18 essential. I would urge you not to look for easy solutions
19 because there aren't any. We must have patience, we must
20 commitment before we get results. We must be willing to try
21 new concepts and new strategies. We must be willing to risk
22 failure to gain success, because our future, economic and
23 political, depends on our citizens' education, and our
24 economy today is linked more than ever to the education of
25 our young people. And I believe we are standing at a cross-

1 roads and that all of us have an opportunity to make a real
2 difference, and I am positive that it will pay off huge
3 dividends. Remember, we are not on a crusade to save our
4 schools. We are on a crusade to save our nation.

5 There is nothing more important on the national
6 agenda. There is no domestic issue that is more important.
7 But I believe that education and the restructuring of the
8 education system is not just another national priority. I
9 believe that it is the solution and the fundamental
10 underpinning to the drug problem, the twin deficits problem,
11 the homeless and a whole series of other things, as well as
12 the security of our nation.

13 None of you need a compliment from me. But
14 yesterday afternoon I watched the task force under Governor
15 Carroll Campbell and Bill Clinton work this issue. I was
16 more encouraged than I had been for a long time, because in
17 fact we are doing more talking and doing about this subject.
18 But yesterday afternoon I saw a bipartisan, national effort
19 to really get moving with this. I commend you for it. I
20 commend your courage for moving ahead and I commit the
21 Business Roundtable to support you.

22 Thank you very much.

23 (Applause.)

24 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: David Kearns, we appreciate
25 your very forceful message and also the decade long

1 commitment that you and other members of the Business
2 Roundtable are making to this reform of the educational
3 system.

4 Are there questions from the governors? We have
5 time for a few questions.

6 Governor Ashcroft from Missouri.

7 GOVERNOR ASHCROFT: Thank you very much for your
8 leadership in leading other corporate executives to partner
9 with the states. I believe the involvement of the business
10 community is essential.

11 You talk a lot about restructuring. That's a
12 matter of great interest. If you were to look down the
13 decade, at the end of the decade could you describe what you
14 think you might envision as the way schools would look, how
15 they would be functioning in the restructured school? What
16 would it look like?

17 MR. KEARNS: I'll give you a quickie.

18 Dennis Doyle, who wrote the book with me, Winning
19 the Brain Raise, he gets royalties for the book; I don't. A
20 lot of this is in the book, Winning the Brain Raise. But
21 first, I would envision by that time, and I certainly don't
22 want to get into the political debate about what full
23 funding means. But I would envision that all children by
24 the time they are five years old are prepared to go to
25 school. All educators will tell you. If we do not do that,

1 all the rest of the stuff we are talking about will not make
2 any difference.

3 So, that is number one.

4 Two, I visualize schools of choice within the
5 public system. It's not really quite a free market system.
6 We clearly have got to have economic, racial and ethnic
7 balance to go with this. In no way am I presenting
8 something that I think should be some sort of a skimming
9 process. But choice, I am positive, will work.

10 I really think we would have arrived at what
11 site-based management means, and don't get fooled when you
12 hear about some of the site-based management that's going
13 on. Go and ask what real authorities the principals and the
14 teachers have, having to do with curriculum, course
15 selection, the materials that they use, and if we have
16 national standards set up by the states, you then can do
17 that because then we are measuring different kinds of
18 programs but against set standards.

19 We clearly will have schools that do not have
20 grades. They are outmoded and they are unnecessary. There
21 is no reason people should go through school at the rate at
22 which they learn, and as we set these national goals,
23 national standards, we must have a report card to know how
24 we are doing in those areas. We must have professional
25 standards for teachers.

1 As with some of you, I have been supportive of
2 the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards. We
3 must be teaching values in our school, and I do not mean
4 religion. I'm talking about the easy values of neatness and
5 punctuality and that type of thing, but the much more
6 profound values of democracy and civilization and integrity,
7 loyalty and truth. When we do not teach that in the
8 schools, we teach that values do not have importance.

9 I think we will still have a limited federal
10 role, but I do believe that the leadership from the
11 Administration can drive this process of working with the
12 Governors. I believe that Chapter I and Head Start type
13 programs are an appropriate federal role for the pre-school
14 youngsters, and lastly, there is a federal role in research.
15 I do not know how much money it should be. But we currently
16 spend, on the federal level, about \$150 billion for research
17 and education and about \$8 billion in medicine, and there
18 are less than 100 computer scientists in the entire world
19 currently looking at and trying to understand not only how
20 do you put a computer in the classroom, but how to people
21 really learn. What is the learning experience? How do
22 people learn?

23 One of the things we want to make sure is that we
24 do not copy what the Japanese do. I suspect that one of the
25 things that will pop out is, rather than going to very large

1 highly disciplined lecture-type approaches, that
2 experiential learning will start to come out and we will
3 have very different class-room types.

4 So, that's a quickie, John.

5 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Roemer?

6 GOVERNOR ROEMER: First of all, David, I thank
7 you for your presentation. I would ask you to let
8 Washington, D.C. go and take Louisiana. Can you do that?

9 (Laughter.)

10 MR. KEARNS: Governor Roemer, I'm committed. I
11 did learn something about loyalty in school.

12 (Laughter.)

13 GOVERNOR ROEMER: I'll ask you again later.

14 MR. KEARNS: And from my father.

15 GOVERNOR ROEMER: You said something I'd like you
16 to amplify for all of our benefits. You said, and I quote:
17 "Business will train if the schools will educate." Each of
18 us spends a large portion of our budget on what's called
19 VOTEC. Is it right? Are we headed in the right direction?
20 Would you amplify what you means, "business will train if
21 the schools will educate." I want to hear you on that.

22 MR. KEARNS: I will do this on somewhat of tender
23 steps.

24 Three years ago, when I gave this speech at the
25 Detroit Economic Club on this, which later turned into the

1 book and got me going down this track, one of our salesmen
2 wrote me a letter and said, Kearns, you have foot-in-mouth
3 disease. Don't you know that the schools are big users of
4 our copiers and duplicators. The vocational schools are all
5 customers of ours.

6 Having said that, there are some very good
7 vocational schools. Many of the vocational schools are not
8 good. They have been schools where we have pushed off
9 youngsters that someone else has decided cannot learn and
10 move along through an academic track.

11 I am not suggesting that all young people go to
12 college because it is not necessary. But all young people
13 must have that choice, whether to go to college or not, and
14 any vocational school that is not teaching the core subjects
15 in math, science, languages, history and civilization is not
16 doing what they need. The reason for that is that the
17 studies have been made that say that workers will change
18 jobs, not companies necessarily, but will change jobs seven
19 times in their career, which means they will have to learn
20 it over. So, if someone came to Xerox and they knew how to
21 fix a Xerox machine, three years later we would have to
22 teach them how to fix it, in any event.

23 Now, there are some very good vocational schools
24 around the country that in fact do both, and if a vocational
25 school is teaching the core subjects, and vocation in

1 addition, then I would be supportive of it. If they are
2 not, do away with them and do not support them.

3 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Bangerter?

4 GOVERNOR BANGERTER: I appreciate your
5 presentation and I agree with most of what you've said. I
6 think you clearly said that you cannot drive the reform down
7 from the top. That you've got to free up the system and let
8 the system develop the changes that are going to be
9 necessary to address this.

10 You mentioned site-based management. We've been
11 pushing a program we call block grant, which is to drive
12 that money, that same concept through the administrative
13 system to the individual schools. But we're getting a lot
14 of resistance from the education system. We also have a
15 business partnership that's putting a great deal of money
16 into the technology and of our school system.

17 Do you have any specific suggestions on what we
18 might do as governors to help move that system to accept
19 what I would call freeing up the system? We'll set the
20 objectives. We'll set the goals. How do we get the system
21 then to go along with us to free it up so they can then make
22 the changes that are necessary?

23 MR. KEARNS: Governor, I don't have any easy
24 answers.

25 I've been head of my company since 1982. I tried

1 it with speeches and pushing and we first had the outside
2 pressure. Survival was at stake. We were literally going
3 out of business. We were making product for what the
4 Japanese were selling it for in the United States. So we
5 had tremendous outside pressure to change. But even in
6 saying that, in talking with our people, pressing them, we
7 needed to give them the tools, the tools for change. We
8 happen to have selected a quality process and we ended up
9 training people. It's taken us a long time to do this. So
10 you need tools. You need examples.

11 One thing that is exciting about the education
12 thing and gives me some optimism -- not a lot, but some, is
13 that everything that you have been talking about in your
14 states, the things we wrote about in the book and the way I
15 responded to Governor Ashcroft, is being done some place in
16 this country successfully. Not like the drug problem. We
17 don't know what to do about the drug problem. Maybe you do,
18 but I don't. But in education the examples are there. So
19 we need to go and find them and to show people.

20 Second, I would urge you to find the
21 superintendents. There really are some that would like to
22 change. Find the union leaders, and there are some that
23 really do want to change, and just like I say to the
24 business people, what's one thing you can do? I say,
25 support the politicians and the educators that are willing

1 to try the new things. Give them your support, and to go at
2 it that way.

3 So, I would try to find where there are some good
4 examples and wrap your arms around those educators that want
5 to go. But I think it's going to take an awful lot of
6 outside pressure and, in some cases, it's going to take some
7 legislation. It's very difficult. There's a lot of tough
8 things that you have, but I have no easy answers because
9 institutions are so extraordinarily difficult to change, and
10 here's one, \$200 billion of it and there's a lot of vested
11 interest.

12 All of us say we like change, but no one really
13 likes it. It's insecure.

14 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Wilkinson, we're
15 running a little behind schedule.

16 GOVERNOR WILKINSON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

17 One quick response to Governor Bangerter.

18 Get the Supreme Court to rule, as they have in
19 Kentucky, that your entire system is unconstitutional.

20 GOVERNOR BANGERTER: Just like I said, we solved
21 that one 20 years ago.

22 GOVERNOR WILKINSON: Mr. Kearns, I agree with
23 almost, if not all, of everything you've said.

24 A question, as a follow-up to Governor Roemer and
25 very applicable to yours, the next step beyond restructuring

1 of public, elementary and secondary is the recognition that
2 the work force 2000, 80 percent of them are already in the
3 work place day and a substantial portion of them will either
4 be permanently or temporarily displaced over the next
5 decade.

6 It seems to me that those states that can
7 determine how to have a cost effective way to train and
8 retain those displaced workers with this information and
9 technology driven economy that we're talking about are going
10 to be the ones that are going to be successful. The
11 question is, how do you propose that we cost share the task
12 of doing that, training and retaining, with the private
13 sector.

14 MR. KEARNS: Governor Wilkinson, I don't have
15 easy answers for this. This is what I have referred to as
16 the intercept problem. It's absolutely huge.

17 As you know, the first graders that are in school
18 today are the first workers of the next century. So, it's a
19 huge problem. The companies have got to share in this,
20 there is no question about it, because we are going to need
21 to workers because of the shortage, and we can't just get
22 them out of the schools.

23 This is where I think that some of the work may
24 be more specific. Don Peterson at Ford Motor Company has
25 been doing a lot of work at Ford on this. I think we can

1 set up, frankly, a lot of voluntary programs. It's very
2 difficult, by the way, for anything that's not voluntary to
3 try to force people into anything that appears to be
4 remedial. People have to be motivated to do that.

5 I believe that there is much more that we must do
6 in the private sector in the companies to do this ourselves.
7 We will be motivated to do that. I am clearly not an expert
8 at this. I have been doing some work in this area and I
9 happen to know because I've talked to Don Peterson about it,
10 who's got some ideas. But this is a big issue and I believe
11 that this is also training that we can do and I would expect
12 frankly that many of the community colleges might be -- the
13 state community college system might be on of the
14 interactive mechanisms for the local companies to work with
15 where we do a combination of training and education in
16 working together.

17 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: A questions. Governor
18 Hernandez Colon from Puerto Rico will ask the last question.

19 GOVERNOR HERNANDEZ COLON: If I may, at this
20 point, I wanted to share with you an initiative that we have
21 taken in Puerto Rico in order to advance the achievement of
22 the goals that we are pursuing here.

23 Just six days ago in my State of the Commonwealth
24 address I announced the creation of an education trust fund.
25 The initial capital for this fund, over \$1 billion, will

1 come form the proceeds of the sale of a government-owned
2 asset, the Puerto Rico Telephone Company. It will be a
3 permanent endowment where capital is never spent and will
4 grow over time. The purpose of this fund will be
5 established clearly in legislation and eventually by
6 constitutional amendment in order to guarantee that the
7 resources are never diverted to other purposes or squandered
8 by anyone. Therein the proceeds of the fund will go first
9 to refurbishing the schools in Puerto Rico and then
10 permanently to innovations.

11 I just wanted to share the idea with the
12 governors here because I am sure that we all have assets of
13 this nature that in thinking of financing, we might decide
14 to use in the way that Puerto Rico will be doing very
15 shortly.

16 MR. KEARNS: Thank you.

17 Terry, thanks very much for the invitation, and
18 let me just say, when I put my Kearns hat on at the end,
19 don't forget, I came here to represent John Akers and the
20 Business Roundtable and we really are committed and we're
21 looking forward to working with all of you.

22 Thank you.

23 (Applause.)

24 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: The governors acknowledge and
25 appreciate the commitment made by the Business Roundtable

1 and this is time, talent, resources, and a commitment to
2 work directly with us in every state and the District of
3 Columbia.

4 As we address the important issues of education
5 it's critical that we recognize the important role that
6 professional educators will play in the teaching of our
7 children. Just about every one of us in this room can tell
8 a special story about a favorite teacher that had a dramatic
9 impact in our lives, somebody that motivated us, inspired us
10 and made us what we are today. That's usually a teacher
11 that had that kind of impact on the people that have gone on
12 to be successful in all fields. As we work to build a
13 consensus for changing education we recognize it is
14 absolutely essential to build a solid working partnership
15 with the leaders of education, with the professional
16 educators.

17 Dr. Ernest Boyer is by every measure a great
18 leader in education. That's been his life-long work. He
19 continues now to press harder than ever for educational
20 reforms and to make the goals that we're establishing a
21 reality. Dr. Boyer has 101 honorary degrees and
22 appointments, and he's been appointed by Presidents, from
23 Nixon to Ford to Carter, and has a long distinguished career
24 in education, including the U.S. Commission on Education.
25 He currently serves as President of the Carnegie Foundation

1 for the Advancement of Teaching.

2 We are very pleased to hear from a professor, a
3 leader, a dynamic educator and someone who has been playing
4 and continues to play a very key role in establishing goals
5 for education.

6 Dr. Ernest Boyer, we are proud to invite you to
7 the National Governors Association to address our session on
8 education.

9 (Applause.)

10 DR. BOYER: Thank you, Governor Branstad.

11 David, nice to see you. Thank you for your
12 presentation.

13 I am very honored to be invited to join you at
14 this Winter Meeting of the Governors Association. I wish to
15 congratulate all of you and especially the task force on
16 national goals, led by Governor Campbell and Governor
17 Clinton, for the superb work that you've all been doing on
18 behalf of the nation's schools.

19 Years ago Jim Hunt, Lamar Alexander, Bill
20 Clinton, Dick Riley, Tom Kane and many others actually
21 sparked the school reform effort and for nearly a decade, in
22 my opinion, governors have been in the lead on all the major
23 moves. And I applaud the superb leadership that you've
24 given.

25 The decade of the Eighties, in my opinion, has in

1 fact marked progress in school excellence. And it's my
2 opinion, although I must confess it's more of a stomach
3 cramp than hard evidence, but still it's my opinion that
4 about 20 percent of the nation's schools are excellent.
5 Indeed, I think they are perhaps the most outstanding in the
6 world. Forty to fifty percent of our school range from good
7 to mediocre, but many are getting better. Actually, though,
8 education for about one-third of our children is shockingly
9 deficient, and especially for those in urban ghettos and who
10 live in the rural poor.

11 I am convinced that if we can't improve the
12 terrifically disadvantaged schools frustration will
13 increase, public confidence will decline and America will
14 enter a new century with its education system greatly
15 threatened. Just one month ago President Bush made a
16 historic move, in my opinion, when he announced six
17 ambitious goals for all the nation's schools. And this
18 afternoon, in the moments that you've given me, I should
19 like to comment on the President's agenda and suggest
20 possible next steps to be considered.

21 First, the President spoke about young children
22 and announced a national objective that by the year 2000
23 every child in America must start school ready to learn, as
24 the President put it. I know that what I'm about to say is
25 all too familiar to the governors assembled, but the harsh

1 fact is that problems of education and problems of poverty
2 cannot be disconnected, and that today nearly one out of
3 every four children in America is officially classified as
4 poor, they are undernourished, hugely disadvantaged, even
5 drug depressed at birth, and unless we act now, these
6 children will come to school not ready to learn, which is
7 our goal. They'll come with their potential irreversibly
8 diminished, and I am convinced that good education begins
9 with good nutrition and that, surely, by the year 1995 the
10 federal WIC and supplemental food programs for poor mothers
11 and their babies should be fully funded.

12 Winston Churchill said on one occasion that
13 putting milk into babies is the finest investment any
14 community can make, and it's absolutely unacceptable in
15 this, the richest country in the world, that any child would
16 be hungry or sadly undernourished.

17 (Applause.)

18 DR. BOYER: Let's also agree that by 1992 Head
19 Start will be fully funded to overcome not just poor
20 nutrition but linguistic deprivation, too. It's one thing
21 to not have good food, but children also grow up in
22 environments where they don't even have good word models.
23 How do we expect them to come to school linguistically
24 prepared? I think it's a national disgrace that two decades
25 after Head Start was authorized by Congress to help

1 disadvantaged three- and four-year olds still only about 30
2 percent of those eligible are being served.

3 Can you imagine denying the millions of children
4 a vaccine that would protect them from a dread disease?
5 Yet, that's exactly what we're doing educationally when we
6 fail to fully fund Head Start. I applaud the President for
7 proposing a \$500 million increase for this essential
8 program, and next year, let's take the last step so that
9 finally after 20 years all eligible children will be served.

10 Let me pause here to say that I remain convinced
11 that public education in this country should be mainly
12 funded by local communities and by states. Let me say
13 parenthetically, for the first time in our history, however,
14 less than 50 percent of the school funding is coming from
15 the local tax base. But I also believe that the federal
16 government has one essential constitutional and moral
17 obligation to the schools and that's to promote equality of
18 opportunity through programs such as WIC and Head Start and
19 Chapter One.

20 I am suggesting that if we want all children
21 prepared to learn we need an action plan that includes
22 nutrition for all at risk babies and universal pre-school
23 education, good parenting, of course, and if children do not
24 have this foundation I am convinced it will be almost
25 impossible fully to compensate later on.

1 Well, this brings me to a second set of goals.
2 Last month, in his State of the Union message, the President
3 also proposed that we cut the drop out rate to 10 percent,
4 and he pledged that by the year 2000 every school in America
5 will be disciplined and drug free. But what's next? How do
6 we proceed? Recently at the Carnegie Foundation we studied
7 urban schools from New York to Los Angeles. IN going from
8 place to place I was struck by the bigness and by the
9 bleakness of many of these institutions. I was struck by
10 the broken test tubes and by the Bunsen Burners that
11 wouldn't work, and above all, I was struck by the way most
12 students moved facelessly from class to class, unconnected
13 to adults, and I concluded that many teenagers drop out
14 simply because no one noticed that they had in fact dropped
15 in.

16 I've said before that if I had just one wish I'd
17 break up every large junior and senior high school into
18 units of no more than 400 students each. I'd also assign
19 every youngster to a small family-like group of no more than
20 15 students to meet with a mentor at the beginning of each
21 day to review assignments, to talk about problems and to
22 know that someone truly cares. And, incidentally, it's my
23 opinion that the reason the I Have A Dream Program was not
24 the promise of tuition later on, it was thee fact that
25 someone truly cared right now.

1 That's what I would call restructuring at the
2 core. Indeed I'm quite confident, and I will say it again,
3 I am quite confident that if every at-risk student had a
4 mentor who truly cared and knew their name, that that one
5 act alone could cut the drop out rate in half.

6 Incidentally, I've talked a lot about urban
7 schools, but the need for caring is just as acute for rural
8 children, too. I'm also convinced that if we want to cut
9 the drop out rate by the year 2000 we'll need afternoon
10 enrichment programs in science and in computers and in music
11 and athletics to keep kids learning instead of drifting on
12 the streets.

13 Again, last year at the Foundation we surveyed
14 5,000 fifth and eight graders. We found that 40 percent of
15 them said they go home every afternoon to an empty house and
16 that number keeps on growing. They watch TV. They spend
17 lots of time alone, or they just hang out in shopping malls
18 or in the city streets where there is often crime and drugs.
19 Frankly, I'd like to see afternoon enrichment programs from
20 2 to 5 o'clock in every disadvantaged school, and families
21 who could afford it should pay for these special services.
22 But poor parents should be given vouchers so they could
23 select a public or private program of their choice.

24 Just last week while meeting with members of the
25 school board in Rockford, Illinois they told me that several

1 months ago they announced an afternoon program which they
2 called, I think significantly, Safe Place, and it was over-
3 subscribed almost at once. Many families desperately wanted
4 their children to get in. The truth is that the schools now
5 stop while the parents are still at work and most of our
6 young teenagers are, frankly, endlessly adrift.

7 But I think there is a summer problem, too. When
8 today's school calendar was set, almost a century ago, over
9 90 percent of all families in America lived in farms and
10 children had three months off to help harvest crops. Today
11 less than 3 percent of the families live on farms and most
12 parents now work away from home.

13 Frankly, I think it's finally time for the United
14 States to start working on a year-around school calendar
15 with at least 200 attendance days each year so that our
16 kids, like those in most other industrialized countries, can
17 keep learning from January to December, with refresher
18 breaks frequently interspersed.

19 Here's the point. If the goal is to reduce
20 school drop outs and if the goal is to improve the school
21 climate, as the President has proposed, then I am convinced
22 the structure, the calendar and the clock must be
23 overhauled. And if we don't have smaller schools with
24 mentors and if we don't have afternoon enrichment programs
25 and if we don't have year-long learning, I'm afraid that

1 school failure for far too many will continue to increase
2 and the nation's future will be threatened.

3 This leads to another issue that the President
4 presented. He talked about assessment, as you recall, and
5 the President declared that by the year 2000 our national
6 goal should be to regularly evaluate the educational
7 performance of our students in all of the critical subjects,
8 is the way he put it.

9 Now, I think this call for national standards is
10 absolutely right. I believe this country must have evidence
11 that it's \$180 billion investment in public education is
12 paying off, and I have a three point strategy to suggest, if
13 I might be so bold.

14 First, I think the language and mathematic
15 proficiency of all students should be measured at great four
16 to make sure that all children can read with comprehension,
17 right with clarity, and accurately compute.

18 Second, to achieve cultural literacy I think
19 students should be examined in science, geography,
20 literature, and the arts at least at the eights and twelfth
21 grade levels, using the federally-funded national assessment
22 of educational progress.

23 Third, and this is, I think, the most crucial
24 proposal that I would make regarding assessment. I believe
25 that every high school senior, before he or she graduates

1 from high school, should be asked to write a paper on a
2 consequential topic to demonstrate their ability, not only
3 to recall isolated facts, but to think critically, integrate
4 ideas and focus them on an issue of true importance. If
5 students cannot somehow show their capacity to think right
6 and to integrate ideas. We should close the doors and start
7 again.

8 Incidentally, I also do think that every state
9 should participate in the NAPE assessment program so that we
10 can have for the first time in our history national
11 profiles, as well as state-by-state comparisons of the
12 academic performance of our students.

13 Let me just say as a footnote, there is another
14 side to this issue of assessments. I think many of our
15 instruments are very crude, to put it bluntly. We sometime
16 measure that which matters least, and we're testing
17 sometimes too much and too little. Between now and the year
18 1995, speaking to David's point of R&D, I'd like to see a
19 major R&D project on assessment in which master teachers and
20 research scholars would come together and begin to design a
21 new generation of assessment instruments that would go
22 beyond the grab bag of test we use today that are
23 commercially produced, and I think we should focus not just
24 on the verbal skills of students, but we should focus on the
25 esthetics and the intuitive and social intelligence, too,

1 because these are survival skills out in what we like to
2 call the real world.

3 Checker Finn, distinguished Chairman of the
4 National Assessment Board, estimates that to retool our
5 testing program would cost perhaps \$100 million. That's a
6 lot of money. But if we can invest billions in new weapons
7 systems every year, why can't we invest modest funds to
8 better evaluate the potential of our children. I think
9 nothing is more crucial.

10 (Applause.)

11 DR. BOYER: Thus far I've talked about evaluating
12 students. But I do think that beyond national goals, every
13 state should have its own precise standards to evaluate the
14 performance of every school, and if a school fails to
15 measure up, I also believe, and some of you have this, of
16 course, that every state has the legal and moral obligation
17 to intervene. I think it should be a matter of law that the
18 intervention should be made in the event of school about two
19 or three years did not establish and fulfill standards, and
20 I think we could use remedies which would range from sending
21 in consultants to dismissal of the principal, to replacing
22 the school board, to perhaps even giving the school more
23 money, to even closing down the place.

24 I can only put it to you this way. If snow or
25 garbage piles up on city streets or there is a health

1 epidemic an emergency is declared and there is action. Yet,
2 I find it appalling that year after year after year we have
3 schools where half the children drop out and somehow we
4 assume we can just blame it on the system. I believe we
5 should assess careful our students, but I believe that every
6 state should assess the schools, as well, and if they fail,
7 an intervention program is required.

8 This leads me to say a word about the teachers.
9 I was delighted that in the introduction you really undercut
10 this point because you said so many nice things about
11 teachers. But I'll plow on anyway. I can't change my text
12 at this point.

13 (Laughter.)

14 DR. BOYER: What I was about to say is that with
15 all the talk about national goals we hardly talk about the
16 teachers. Yet, good teaching is the key to everything we
17 have. Consider math and science. You recall that the
18 present said that by the year 2000 we would be first in the
19 world in math and science. At the current time we're next
20 to last among industrialized countries. And I can only say,
21 do we really think we can move from last to first without
22 top-flight teachers in the classroom who have majored, or at
23 least strongly minored, in math and science? It's just an
24 impossible job to do.

25 It's for this reason that I'd like to make a

1 rather brash proposal. I suggest that in addition to six
2 essential goals that the President proposed, all of which I
3 think should be applauded, I suggest we add a seventh.
4 Specifically, could we agree that by the year 2000 we will
5 have well-prepared and dedicated teachers in every classroom
6 in this country, since if we fail here nothing else will
7 matter. But I do believe for this essential goal to be
8 accomplished we're going to have a system of peer evaluation
9 of all teachers, and also by the year 2000, I'd like to see
10 a career-ladder program in every state so that master
11 teachers can be rewarded for their work and poor teachers
12 can be tutored or removed.

13 Now, I know how controversial this is, and I know
14 that hardly any state has been successful in implementing an
15 arrangement for teachers to move ahead in the profession,
16 instead of moving out. But I also say that for the sake of
17 our children we simply cannot tolerate incompetence in the
18 classroom and teachers, above all others, should demonstrate
19 high standards to themselves and should see to it that these
20 standards are vigorously enforced.

21 But frankly, I also think we need to change the
22 working conditions of the teachers. The truth is that we're
23 asking them to do what the families and communities and
24 churches haven't been able to accomplish. I also believe
25 that most school critics couldn't survive one month in the

1 classrooms they condemn. We're giving teachers more
2 responsibility, but they're becoming less and less
3 empowered, and I really do believe it is time to turn the
4 government's structure in public education upside down, as
5 David has so eloquently suggested. It's time for every
6 state to have high standards for its school.

7 But then within this framework, I think
8 principals and teachers should be given huge amounts of
9 freedom to manage instructional programs and be held
10 accountable for outcomes, not procedures.

11 Let me stress again, I don't like school-based
12 management without also having school-based accountability
13 as well. Schools are not there to do their own thing. They
14 are to be free to meet the goals that have been clearly
15 defined before them. And frankly, if we expect to have good
16 teachers in the year 2000 in all classes, I think we perhaps
17 need a national campaign to start recruiting now the
18 brightest and the best.

19 Let's give full tuition scholarships to all
20 students in the top 20 percent of the high school if they
21 agree to teach. Let's have an alternative credentialing
22 arrangement in every states so you can attract people mid-
23 career, or even bring in those who have retired and would
24 like to go back and help the next generation.

25 And I have a suggestion for the corporations.

1 Why don't you, David, when you recruit the top math and
2 science people and you're, after all, grabbing off the top,
3 why don't you tell them that we're going to have a differed
4 entry program, and if you go out and teach for several years
5 we'll give you bonuses when you come back to Xerox several
6 years from now.

7 Incidentally, I think parents can recruit
8 teachers by suggesting to their children they should become
9 a teacher. I remember speaking of the influence of great
10 teachers, Governor. I remember one teacher who audaciously
11 said, if you keep studying, Ernest, you might be good enough
12 to be a teacher. The biggest academic accolade I ever had.
13 But the very fact that she planted that idea turned my head
14 around, probably to the peril of the profession.

15 In any event, I have a final thought on this. If
16 we were to decide that we're going to launch a ten-year
17 crusade to recruit the brightest and the best, perhaps the
18 President or perhaps the governors could name a blue ribbon
19 commission comprised of master teachers and governors and
20 corporate CEO's to monitor this process and to lead the
21 decade long crusade to attract into teaching our most gifted
22 students, which, frankly, is the only way any of the goals
23 that we've mentioned will be accomplished.

24 Now, I don't want to get carried away this
25 afternoon, but would it be possible -- I mean, would it be

1 possible for us in the next ten years to put as much energy
2 in recruiting first-rate teachers as we put into recruiting
3 linebackers for the LA Rams or any other pro team, for that
4 matter. I mean, where precisely are the priorities of this
5 country, for goodness sake.

6 We celebrate great heros on the athletic field.
7 How long has it been since we have celebrated the unsung
8 heroes in the classroom. Everyone knows that 30 years ago
9 John Kennedy inspired the nation's youth to serve in the
10 Peace Corps overseas. Why can't we challenge this
11 generation to serve in urban schools and in rural districts
12 here at home.

13 And now, I like to make one final observation.
14 Frankly, the longer it goes -- and this is perhaps going to
15 appear off the assignment that I've been given this
16 afternoon, but I'll march ahead nonetheless. Frankly, the
17 longer it goes, the more I'm beginning to suspect that the
18 family is a more imperiled institution than the schools and
19 that if we hope to have excellence of education, parent
20 simply must become more actively involved in the education
21 of their own children. Schools simply cannot do it all
22 alone.

23 Several years ago at the Carnegie Foundation we
24 gathered some disturbing evidence that simply reinforced
25 this conviction. We surveyed 22,000 teachers -- I think it

1 was the largest teacher survey ever conducted in this nation
2 -- and 90 percent of them said lack of parental support is a
3 problem at their school, 89 percent said they often see
4 abused and neglected children, and over half the teachers
5 said that malnutrition among their children is a problem.

6 Then, at the end of the survey, we made a great
7 mistake because we had an open-ended question and we said,
8 if there anything else you'd like to tell us about your work
9 and we made the biggest mistake by saying, and if you write
10 it, we'll read it. What happened was that half of the
11 teachers -- 11,000 -- took time to write their comments, and
12 I did get one of my colleagues with a little extra
13 inducement to go off for several weeks and read every single
14 one. She came back absolutely shaken and said, I just think
15 I've seen the future of America, and she also said, I think
16 teachers perhaps know more about what's happening to
17 children than anybody in the country because they're with
18 them more than anyone else.

19 So, she gave me hundreds of these comments to
20 read. I'd just like to read to you two this afternoon.
21 Just three or four sentences is all. A junior high teacher
22 in Minnesota wrote, "the difficult part of teaching is not
23 the academics. The difficult part," she said, "is dealing
24 with the huge number of children who come from emotionally
25 and socially stressed homes." And a third grade teacher in

1 rural Maine said, "sometimes I feel I should just throw out
2 the history book and try to help my students who are really
3 hurting." And then she asks, I think, the rhetorical
4 question that everyone who cares about schooling must
5 confront. She says, "what's the future of our country when
6 we have so many needy children."

7 Well, what's happening, as I observe it, is that
8 schools are not only trying to improve the academics so they
9 can look good on the final tests that we impose, but below
10 the surface there's another revolution. Schools are
11 becoming, to put it bluntly, social service centers, and all
12 of you know that you're adding programs in teenage
13 pregnancy, drug abuse, suicide prevention and even day care
14 service. And I'm intrigued that we're sure schools don't
15 work very well, whenever this country faces a huge crisis we
16 ask the schools to fix it. It's the only show in town.

17 And just about, what was it, a year ago, I saw
18 the extreme extension of this trend. I visited a school in
19 an urban area in which they bussed the children in at 7 in
20 the morning, they take them home at 6:30 in the evening,
21 they serve them three meals, and to put it as bluntly as I
22 can, the school has become the surrogate parent for these
23 children.

24 Now, it's obvious that with changing family
25 patterns schools I think must do more than simply teach the

1 basics. We are in, in the end, concerned with children.
2 But I also think it's obvious that schools simply cannot do
3 it all, and I am less and less inclined to be an advocate of
4 the school as a social service center if t means disengaging
5 the parents and letting other social institutions
6 uninvolved.

7 So, I'm beginning to suspect -- and this is
8 probably another idea that won't fly, but it seems to be
9 that by the year 2000 we may need in every community not
10 just a school board but also a children's board, or at least
11 some coordinating agency that can bring the services
12 together, keep kids from falling through the cracks, but not
13 pretend the school teachers and school principals can do it
14 all alone. I do come back, though, at the end to say that I
15 think parents are the key.

16 And I have another brash proposal right here at
17 the end. I suggest that we might want to add one final goal
18 -- that gets me up to eight -- to the President's of six
19 that I've just mentioned. Specifically, could we agree that
20 as eight objective during the decade of the Nineties all
21 parents would be expected to become full partners in the
22 education of their children. After all, if these are
23 national goals we're talking about, I think every one should
24 get involved, especially the parents.

25 That means turning off TV, it means reading aloud

1 to young children, it means checking homework, it means
2 going to school conferences, and by the way, David, I also
3 wonder would it be imagined that the corporations in this
4 country would agree, as a part of their labor personnel
5 package, to give all parents several days off each year with
6 pay with the understanding that they would go to school and
7 engage in parent conferences because the employer is not a
8 passive observer. As I look at it, the work place is an
9 active partner in whether families are going to be brought
10 together. So, the family policy in the work place becomes
11 part of the solution, too.

12 While I realize that almost everything I've
13 talked about this afternoon, from early invention to parent
14 education, is already going on somewhere in the states
15 represented here at this impressive table, the problem, as I
16 see it, that thus far the reform effort has been more
17 piecemeal than coherent. But I must tell you I see us
18 moving in this country from a commitment to local schools to
19 a concern about national results, and we've wanted it both
20 ways. Now, how we strike a balance between local control
21 and national results, it seems to me, will shape the future
22 of this country for decades yet to come. And I think the
23 challenge now is to develop a national agenda for school
24 renewal, while retaining leadership at the state and local
25 level. That's a new challenge. That's something this

1 country has never shaped before, and I've been wondering
2 about how to give guidance to this effort.

3 And as one approach, it seems to me, that the
4 President and the governors and Congress might wish to
5 appoint a prestigious non-governmental council to shape
6 during the next decade a national strategy for school reform
7 that goes beyond the goals and could report annually on the
8 nation's education health, just like the Council of Economic
9 Advisors reports annually on the nation's fiscal health.

10 And I do believe that if we can work out an
11 effective partnership between Washington and the states, I
12 believe American can begin a new century with an education
13 system unmatched by any in the world.

14 Thank you very much. Again, I'd like to
15 congratulate the governors assembled here for being so
16 energetically and visionarily involved in pushing for
17 better schools for all our children.

18 Thank you very much.

19 (Applause.)

20 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: We're going to take just a
21 few questions. Governor Carruthers is going to ask the
22 first question. I'd like to ask you to keep the questions
23 and the answers as short as possible because we are running
24 behind schedule.

25

1 GOVERNOR CARRUTHERS: Thank you, Governor.

2 Thank you, Dr. Boyer for very insightful comments
3 on public education.

4 You addressed the issue of assessment and you
5 focused your attention on the assessment of learning. But
6 it seems to me that we need to work just as hard at
7 assessing teaching. It seems to me they're both in the
8 classroom. And you mentioned assessment of schools, and,
9 yes, assessment of schools is some combination of the
10 assessment of learning and of teaching.

11 Point number one. I think we need to do a better
12 job of assessing teaching than we've done and teachers have
13 been resistant to that in the past.

14 The second comment on teachers and recruiting
15 people to become teachers -- I have always had a bit of a
16 problem and I would like for you to respond to it -- that
17 our colleges of education have over the years taken to
18 requiring 120 credits of how to teach and 20 credits of what
19 to teach, and it seems to me, that if restructuring is to be
20 helpful in this country that some of that restructuring has
21 to occur with colleges of education and how it is that we
22 teach our teachers to teach.

23 Could you respond to those?

24 DR. BOYER: The first point I agree, absolutely,
25 and I did mention perhaps too fleetingly that we have to

1 strengthen the quality of teaching. We have to have regular
2 means of assessing teaching in the classroom. That's
3 absolutely, it seems to me, a centerpiece of this. That's
4 why I think the career ladder builds into it the notion of
5 deciding who the good ones are, getting them a chance to be
6 professionally advanced, but also it means you're judging
7 those who are not performing well.

8 So, I would say assessing students and their
9 achievements, sure; assessing schools in terms of their
10 performance against state-wide standards, absolutely; but
11 assessing the performance of teachers and making sure that
12 there are no incompetent teachers in the classroom. That
13 seems to me to be a simple goals, as hard as it is to
14 accomplish. I've said sometimes that poor teachers are
15 worse, more dangerous than a poor surgeon because a surgeon
16 hurts only one person at a time; teachers do it in bundles.

17 Now, on the other point you mentioned -- I forgot
18 the other points. Oh, the teacher education. I was so
19 caught up in the surgeons.

20 I agree that teacher education needs reform.
21 Most of the schools of education require maybe 30 or 40
22 units of teaching in the total baccalaureate experience. On
23 the other hand, it is for that reason that I think we need
24 alternate certification arrangements so you can come into
25 teaching directly from a baccalaureate degree and

1 demonstrate your proficiency in a classroom.

2 I've always thought the best teacher
3 certification arrangement was to have a baccalaureate degree
4 with a major in a special field and a minor in a special
5 field and a fifth year apprenticeship, working with a
6 teacher in the classroom on a clinical experience. You're
7 gaining your experience by working with a master teacher.
8 Incidentally, we had a career ladder. The master teachers
9 would have as one of their functions acting as mentors to
10 beginning teachers.

11 I would think that's the road to go, looking down
12 the road to teacher ed reform.

13 Yes, please, Governor?

14 GOVERNOR GOLDSCHMIDT: Terry, if you had somebody
15 else, go ahead, please.

16 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: I'm sorry. Governor Waihee
17 from Hawaii.

18 GOVERNOR WAIHEE: Dr. Boyer, thank you very much
19 for your excellent comments. I was especially interested in
20 the relationship between your comments on parent involvement
21 and parenting and the enrichment program.

22 One of the things Hawaii has just done, by the
23 way, is instituted a policy that gives state workers paid
24 time off to have teacher conferences and participate in the
25 education of their children. That, by the way, did not

1 resolve this controversy.

2 We've also launched what I believe to be the
3 country's first state-supported state-wide school enrichment
4 program which runs two-and-a-half hours every day after
5 school for grades K through 12. I would be very interested
6 in your comments as to how we can structure such an
7 enrichment program because it is in the pilot stage to
8 receive maximum benefits from such a program, and perhaps
9 more specifically, how do you have such a program, which I
10 think we need, and still avoid the trap of becoming
11 surrogate parents.

12 DR. BOYER: Let me say that there are many at
13 this table who have in their states parent programs,
14 starting even with young infants. One of the connections
15 that's occurring is schools are taking responsibilities to
16 reach out to families and engage in parenting programs long
17 before children come to school, just as a footnote,
18 regarding what you're doing there.

19 It seems to me the afternoon enrichment programs
20 offer wonderfully delicious opportunities for schools to set
21 up and elective system and also an opportunity for older
22 community people to come in as special teachers, and,
23 frankly, for older students to teach younger students.

24 I am absolutely amazed at the fact that students
25 can go through 12, 16, even 40 years of schooling and not

1 engage as mentors to younger students. And it seems to me
2 that every year a students studies they should assume some
3 responsibility to engage in tutoring younger children. One
4 possibility is to have your assets -- you say it's K through
5 12?

6 GOVERNOR WAIHEE: K through 6.

7 DR. BOYER: One possibility is to have high
8 school students come in and work with younger children and
9 engage them in service projects, because many of them are
10 drifting in the street. But if they were to become mentors
11 to the young -- what about if they were to become mentors to
12 the young? How about grandparents coming in and engaging in
13 what is sometimes called a Grand-teacher Program.

14 The point is, the afternoon sessions give you
15 great opportunity and flexibility to teach many things that
16 the curriculum may not have. Make it elective and engage
17 many varieties of individuals who can work with younger
18 children. It could be an exciting model of a school for the
19 future, as a matter of fact.

20 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Goldschmidt?

21 GOVERNOR GOLDSCHMIDT: Mr. Boyer, this is an
22 observation. I try to read the reams of paper that every
23 interest group in the nation has been sending us governors
24 ever since my colleagues here launched this thing before I
25 was elected and have carried it through today.

1 I am literally stunned by how little is said
2 about treating principals. I've never been in a building
3 where there is a lot of great teaching and there is a
4 mediocre principal. We're moving people into these
5 management jobs who never were meant to be managers. We're
6 moving people out of teaching because they want to get more
7 money, not because they want to manage buildings. We've got
8 them in collective bargaining issues. We've got them in all
9 kinds of stuff.

10 I can say in my state the universities are making
11 a pre-text of training these people to lead education. But
12 as a practical matter, the issues you raised about research,
13 the issue you raised about lateral entry, this is the point
14 of maximum power for our school boards. If we want to
15 change school buildings, site based issued obviously are
16 irrelevant. But who is going to lead this building?

17 I guess I would just say to the national
18 leadership, anything you can produce on good examples,
19 because I think you made the point -- I think Mr. Kearns did
20 -- there is something good happening almost every place.
21 This subject I think admits to more potential faster, I
22 think, than the whole question of changing the way we train
23 teachers because we're talking about the most conservative
24 institution in society. The university has to be gotten to
25 help us do this.

1 I guess it's partly a question; partly a comment.

2 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: A great comment.

3 As you know, Governor, all the data show when you
4 try to get down to the issue of what makes an effective
5 school, every finding for decades has said, you have, among
6 other things, a great principal there. I happen to believe
7 that leaders matter. They can shape their institution, and
8 as we see now, they can even shape the world.

9 I think what you might consider is finding money
10 from corporations -- and now we're back to the public-
11 private partnership. I think the corporations have a lot of
12 interest in personnel. They know that. That's where they
13 demonstrated their capacity to lead. That is, invest in the
14 right people.

15 Why don't we have a public-private corporation to
16 set up school leadership institutes in every state in which
17 we would attract outstanding people and give them summer
18 seminars on the issue of effective leadership, not just
19 management, but creative educational thinking, as well.
20 That would perhaps be the centerpiece of school reform more
21 than anything you could do by getting their ideas because in
22 the end, you know, as someone said, you don't dictate from
23 the top. Institutions are only what we think in our heads.

24

25 You need leaders at the school level who can

1 cause teachers to think the right things and help parents
2 think the right things because they have the right words and
3 the right vision. That I think could come by state-wide
4 leadership institutes. Some of you already have this. But
5 I think that should become universal. And I don't see why
6 corporations might not help to underwrite these leadership
7 institutes for the year 2000.

8 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: I know we have a number of
9 governors who would like to ask questions, but we are
10 running behind schedule.

11 I guess I say, is there anybody who feels it's
12 essential that they ask a question, or can we move to the
13 task force report?

14 GOVERNOR ROEMER: It's only essential if you want
15 to learn something.

16 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: I know we all want to learn
17 something. I know we've got a number of other governors
18 that have requested, too. I just ask you to make this
19 really quick, and this will be the last question.

20 Governor Roemer.

21 GOVERNOR ROEMER: The question about literacy,
22 Ernest -- and I appreciate your comments. Wouldn't it be
23 an opportunity -- you made the most interesting statement of
24 the day. You said, "the family is a more imperiled
25 institution than the school."

1 If we lead a dubious distinction the
2 industrialized world in the rate of illiteracy, wouldn't it
3 be time to put parents and students together in some
4 literacy effort? One teaching the other and teaching both
5 simultaneously. Is there any hope for doing that? Is there
6 any example that we can use for that?

7 DR. BOYER: Sure. The answer to your question is
8 that would be a brilliant and I think unbeatable
9 combination.

10 To some degree, Head Start has done that only
11 secondarily, in that, as you know, one of the criteria for
12 Head Start is parents have to stand by. Very often they do
13 learn as they try to teach their children.

14 I can't recall the details. Some of you may have
15 seen it. But there was a spot on CBS about four months ago
16 in which they features a program. I think it was in one of
17 the states -- your's or adjoining it -- in which they had
18 created a parent-child partnership, and it was an absolutely
19 poignant cameo. Mothers beginning to read their first books
20 to their little three-and-four-years olds. I'll tell you,
21 that suggested to me something about the connectedness.

22 Was it your state, Governor Mabus? It featured a
23 programmer. That was absolutely essential strategy.
24 Wouldn't it be wonderful -- I'm going to talk about adult
25 illiteracy up here and talk about children's illiteracy down

1 here. If you could somehow bring those two together so that
2 parents were in fact teachers. That's a great way to learn,
3 incidentally, to try to teach someone else.

4 So that combination of adult and children's
5 literacy would I think be a superb combination and area I
6 think of creative leadership for the future because in the
7 end I would have one test. If children become proficient in
8 the use of language they have the key for all future
9 learnings, since language is not another subject. It's the
10 means by which all other subjects are pursued.

11 If we could get language proficiency right,
12 especially in the early grades when children have the best
13 potential, I think we cut the drop out rate and prepare them
14 for the coming centuries so they can be both economically
15 and civically proficient.

16 Thank you.

17 (Applause.)

18 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Dr. Boyer and David Kearns,
19 thank you both for your very insightful comments and for
20 responding to the questions.

21 I want to commend our Governors' Task Force on
22 Education for their outstanding leadership in this area and
23 especially our co-chairs, Governors Campbell and Clinton,
24 who put in long hours, late into the night, in
25 Charlottesville. Many trips back and forth to Washington

1 since that time, meetings with educators, business leaders,
2 many meetings with the White House and really working to
3 make this truly a national bipartisan consensus to address
4 this very challenging issue of education which is essential
5 for our ability to compete and succeed in the world.

6 Yesterday the task force met and sent its
7 recommendations on to the Executive Committee, which met
8 earlier today, and approved those recommendations with some
9 minor amendments. The personal attention and commitment of
10 the task force is something that pleased me a great deal and
11 I think we can all be very proud of it.

12 I know that each of you in your individual states
13 have also provided tremendous leadership. Many of you have
14 been involved in this for many years. We have just in the
15 last six months had meetings in all of the states. Outreach
16 meetings, some of them state-wide meetings, others regional
17 meetings. It has been I think a very exciting time to be
18 part of the beginning of this process, to develop for the
19 first time national education goals.

20 All of you were sent, on February 9, the proposed
21 goals. Those goals, with some minor amendments that were
22 approved by the task force yesterday, are now prepared to
23 come before your. However, I've said from the very
24 beginning this is a consensus process and I don't want to
25 take them out unless we have the consent of all the

1 governors to discuss and, hopefully, approve them this
2 afternoon.

3 It would be my intention to ask for unanimous
4 consent, first of all, to take up the goals, and then also
5 to take up the resolution that has also been approved by the
6 Executive Committee -- by the Task Force and the Executive
7 Committee for implementation of the education goals. So,
8 we've the goals, we've got a resolution on that and it's
9 also my understanding that Governor Celeste has a further
10 request.

11 I will recognize the Governor from Ohio, Governor
12 Celeste.

13 GOVERNOR CELESTE: Thank you very much, Mr.
14 Chairman.

15 I think that it might be appropriate if we take
16 up the national education goals and the resolution of
17 dissemination of the goals if we take up the third
18 resolution that was considered by the Executive Committee,
19 also in this session approved by the Executive Committee,
20 that goes to the budget language that we have and explicitly
21 tries to relate the peace dividend and education investment
22 as an appropriate companion peace to this very important
23 work we are doing.

24 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: I would wholeheartedly agree
25 with your suggestion that we also take that up by unanimous

1 consent. I would ask at this time if anybody objects to
2 taking all three up, to taking up first the education goals,
3 then the education resolution, and the peace dividend
4 resolution, all of which have been approved by the Executive
5 committee.

6 GOVERNOR CARRUTHERS: Mr. Chairman, we don't
7 appear to have a copy of the third resolution. Can that we
8 distributed?

9 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: I guess it's being
10 distributed at this time. If there are no objections, I
11 would recognize the Co-Chairman of the Education of the Task
12 Force, Governor Clinton, for opening remarks.

13 GOVERNOR CLINTON: Thank you very much, Mr.
14 Chairman. I want to formally move the adoption of the
15 statement on national education goals.

16 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Is there a second?

17 GOVERNOR CAMPBELL: Second.

18 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: There's a second from
19 Governor Campbell, the Co-Chairman.

20 GOVERNOR CLINTON: Mr. Chairman, is this subject
21 to amendment?

22 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: It is subject to amendment by
23 the normal rules of the NGA. Yes, that's correct.

24 Governor Clinton, you have the floor.

25 GOVERNOR CLINTON: I want to ask all of you to,

1 first, please review this document. We have included in
2 large type any amendments which were adopted either
3 yesterday by the Education Task Force or today by the
4 Executive Committee. Those are the amendments in large
5 type. The rest of the document is as you received it about
6 a week ago.

7 The amendments, I believe, are fairly self-
8 explanatory, but I would be happy to answer any questions on
9 them, or Governor Campbell would, if you have any.

10 Let me basically say that this document, as
11 amended, to the best of my knowledge and I think Governor
12 Campbell is in agreement, still reflects a joint commitment
13 between the governors that we've adopted here today and the
14 President. This is the beginning of the process, not the
15 end. But I don't think you should minimize the potential
16 enormous importance of our adopting these national
17 performance goals, the objectives under them, and equally
18 important, the commitment that follows to fundamentally
19 changing the education system and then holding ourselves and
20 all the other actors in the education system accountable
21 through a much better, more accurate, more comprehensive
22 system of assessment and reporting.

23 The only other point I would like to make is that
24 we have not resolved, obviously, all the issues that we need
25 to resolve. The amendment at the very end on how we will

1 report these, our progress in meeting these goals to the
2 American people, and how we will involve a broad, bipartisan
3 group reflects as much of what we could not agree with the
4 White House on as what we did agree on.

5 But that's not the end of the world. We have a
6 lot of work still to be done, and I think the document is in
7 good shape. I want to applaud Governor Campbell and the
8 other members of the Education Task Force and all of you and
9 the staff people who worked so hard on this and what was
10 really a rather remarkably short time from the Education
11 Summit to the present moment.

12 One last thing. All the reporter have asked me
13 whether I thought these were realistic goals or not and
14 whether we could achieve them. I have tried to answer
15 without exception, yes and no. Yes, I believe we can
16 achieve them; no, I do not believe we will achieve them
17 unless we dramatically change our behavior and the behavior
18 of everybody else that's involved in this.

19 Dr. Boyer and Mr. Kearns gave you some examples
20 of some of the specific things we will have to do in order
21 to achieve these goals, but there's nothing intrinsic in
22 human nature or the nature of the American people which will
23 preclude us from achieving them if we're prepared to exert
24 ourselves, and I hope when you vote today, if you vote for
25 it, you will allow the public back home and the press here

1 in this room to interpret your vote as a personal commitment
2 to change.

3 Thank you very much.

4 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Campbell.

5 GOVERNOR CAMPBELL: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 First, I want to say to my colleague, Bill
7 Clinton, it was a pleasure to work with you all the way
8 through this. Bill has done a tremendous job. And to the
9 rest of you I'd like to say that only am I proud to be a
10 partner in bringing these goals to us today, I think that we
11 fulfill the pledge that we made in Charlottesville. I
12 believe they map a bold vision of education for this
13 country, a vision that's going to challenge every citizen to
14 seek some fundamental changes in our education system.

15 I think that's the important thing. Our aim is
16 excellence in education; our motivation is our need to be
17 able to compete in the global economy. But equally
18 important are the quality of life issues that we talked
19 about. We have an emphasis on education as a community
20 enterprise and a life-long effort. We recognize that
21 American national education goals must provide flexibility
22 for the states and the localities.

23 Public education, as was noted just a moment ago
24 by Dr. Boyer, has largely been a state and local concern.
25 That's as it should be. We do have the first responsibility

1 to improve our own schools and we can't expect anyone else
2 do it for us. But in closing I'd just like to share just a
3 little story with you that kind of brought this thing home
4 to me better than anything else when I was working on the
5 education goals.

6 Our state underwent a tremendously traumatic
7 experience when Hurricane Hugo hooked over South Carolina.
8 I know they did in Puerto Rico and in the Virgin Islands.
9 The morning after that particular hurricane came through I
10 was on a helicopter and I was flying along the coast and we
11 flew over a small town called McClellanville. We thought it
12 had been evacuated. We were surprised to see a man standing
13 out on the cover to a porch of a school waving a red sweater
14 at us.

15 We landed the helicopter and we had to land in a
16 field that was flooded and waded up to the school. Found
17 out there were 52 men, women and children inside that
18 school. They had taken refuge in the school against the
19 hurricane. But when the surge tide came it flooded the
20 school and the parents got up on tables and held their
21 children up over their heads to keep them from drowning.
22 Somehow or another, that has something to do with what we
23 are doing. The parents were willing to sacrifice everything
24 for those children and they found their refuge in the
25 school.

1 Ladies and gentlemen, I honestly believe that the
2 effort that we are focusing on today leads us to the same
3 conclusion and should lead us to that conclusion as a nation
4 that we do need to sacrifice for the children of this
5 country if we're going to be the great nation that we know
6 that we should be. So, I want to thank all of you for the
7 privilege of working on this. I want to tell you how much
8 it's meant to me and how much I am privileged to have worked
9 with my co-chairman and say -- thank all of you and urge you
10 to support these goals.

11 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Clinton has moved
12 and Governor Campbell has seconded the national education
13 goals. Are you prepared to vote?

14 Governor Bellmon?

15 GOVERNOR BELLMON: Mr. Chairman, it seems to me
16 that in goal one we should add another objective. We seem
17 to have missed a very large segment of our schools. I'd
18 like to suggest some language along this line, that students
19 with disabilities receive special education services needed
20 to enable them to develop their full potential.

21 I don't see any language in here that deals with
22 the children with disabilities. The reference to
23 disadvantaged would seem to be to low-income children.

24 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Campbell, do you
25 want to respond to that?

1 GOVERNOR CAMPBELL: You're talking about --

2 GOVERNOR BELLMON: Children with disabilities.

3 GOVERNOR CAMPBELL: And you're speaking to that
4 in lieu of the section that says "by insuring access to
5 quality educational programs for all students, regardless of
6 race, national origin, sex or handicapping condition, that
7 federal funds should target those students." This is in the
8 plan on page 8, which is a part of it and it was referenced
9 in another section specifically on the school year. If you
10 go back to page 8, it's italicized.

11 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Which means it was added by
12 amendment yesterday.

13 GOVERNOR BELLMON: It seems to me that it belongs
14 as one of our objectives.

15 GOVERNOR CAMPBELL: The term is more spell out.
16 Objectives says, "all disadvantaged children to high-quality
17 and developmentally appropriate pre-school programs." Is
18 that the one you're speaking of?

19 GOVERNOR BELLMON: Right.

20 But the disadvantaged term would seem to refer to
21 financially disadvantaged.

22 GOVERNOR CAMPBELL: We tried to go back into this
23 because that was one of the discussions, was what exactly
24 were you talking about by "insuring access to quality
25 programs for all students" and then it goes on through that,

1 on number 8, "including or handicapping conditions." I have
2 no objection to adding the term "developmentally disabled."
3 That doesn't bother me at all. to do it, but we did try to
4 address it.

5 Perhaps Bill Clinton would like to speak to that
6 item, also.

7 GOVERNOR CLINTON: I basically agree with you.

8 (Laughter.)

9 GOVERNOR BELLMON: Mr. Chairman, the reference on
10 page 8 is limited to the federal government sustaining it's
11 role. I think the states have a role in taking care of the
12 needs of people with disabilities as well.

13 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: You're proposing an
14 amendment, then, to the first goal, is that right?

15 GOVERNOR BELLMON: I'm proposing to add a fourth
16 objective.

17 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Under the first goal?

18 GOVERNOR BELLMON: Right.

19 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Do you have that amendment in
20 writing?

21 GOVERNOR BELLMON: Yes, I have it in writing.

22 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Has it been distributed?

23 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: It has not.

24 GOVERNOR CLINTON: Has Governor Bellmon read it?
25 Did he read it in toto?

1 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Would you read the amendment
2 and then have it distributed after you've read it.

3 GOVERNOR BELLMON: The language would be,
4 "students with disabilities will receive special education
5 services needed to enable them to develop their full
6 potential."

7 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: That would go as an
8 additional objective under goal 1.

9 GOVERNOR BELLMON: Right.

10 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Have copies of that been
11 made, yet?

12 GOVERNOR BELLMON: We don't have copies.
13 Governor, would you read it again?

14 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: It's a pretty straight-
15 forward and understandable amendment. If there are no
16 objections we can take up the amendment. I'll ask Governor
17 Bellmon to read it one more time so that we are sure that
18 everybody understands what is being proposed, then we will
19 take up the amendment.

20 GOVERNOR BELLMON: This would be intended as a
21 fourth objective under goal 1. The language would be,
22 "students with disabilities will receive special education
23 services needed to enable them to develop their full
24 potential."

25 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Is there a second to that?

1 Governor Clinton?

2 GOVERNOR CLINTON: Governor Branstad, I have been
3 consulting with the people around me here, and let me just
4 make a suggestion and see if Governor Bellmon will entertain
5 it.

6 There is, as you know, now federal legislation
7 dealing with the treatment and provision of services for
8 disadvantaged or disabled pre-school children. Perhaps what
9 we ought to do is just to say that all disadvantaged and
10 disabled children will have access to high-quality and
11 developmentally appropriate programs to help prepare
12 children for school.

13 He's absolutely right. The states do have some
14 independent responsibility. But there is also a federal law
15 on this very subject now, and I think that maybe the
16 simpler, more direct way, if it does the same thing that he
17 wants to do, it would be easier for us to just integrate it
18 into the document and we could process it quicker if we said
19 all disadvantaged and disabled children would have access to
20 high-quality and developmentally appropriate pre-school
21 programs that help prepare children for school.

22 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Would Governor Bellmon accept
23 that as a friendly substitute amendment?

24 GOVERNOR BELLMON: The problem with that is, Mr.
25 Chairman, it's help is limited to helping prepare children

1 for school. Disadvantaged children need help all the way
2 through school.

3 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: But this particular goal
4 deals with that all children in American will be ready to
5 start school. So this objective is part of a goal which is
6 directed towards having children ready to begin school. As
7 Governor Campbell pointed out, this issue is also addressed
8 in another goal on page 8. But I think your concern was
9 that the states have some responsibility here, as well as
10 the federal government, as well.

11 Is that okay?

12 GOVERNOR BELLMON: Yes, that will be fine.

13 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Is there a second to this
14 substitute amendment?

15 VOICE: Second.

16 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: We have a second.

17 The substitute amendment is very straight-
18 forward. It would be in this first objective. All
19 disadvantaged and disabled children will have access to
20 high-quality and developmentally appropriate pre-school
21 programs that will help prepare children for school.

22 All in favor, signify by saying, aye?

23 (Chorus of ayes.)

24 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Opposed?

25 (No response.)

1 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: It is approved.

2 If there are no further amendments, we will
3 proceed to a vote.

4 All those in favor, signify by saying, aye?
5 (Chorus of ayes.)

6 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Opposed?

7 (No response.)

8 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: The goals have been approved.

9 I will now recognize Governor Clinton for the
10 resolution supporting these goals that we've just adopted.

11 GOVERNOR CLINTON: Mr. Chairman, I move the
12 adoption of Governor Castle's resolution for dissemination
13 and support of the goals that should be before you.

14 VOICE: Second that motion, Mr. Chairman.

15 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: We have a motion and a
16 second.

17 I would recognize Governor Castle to address this
18 resolution which he proposed in the Education Task Force.

19 Governor Castle?

20 GOVERNOR CASTLE: Thank you very much, Mr.
21 Chairman.

22 I think the resolution is fairly self-
23 explanatory. I've already spoken to this, so some of you
24 have already heard this before. But I feel it is very, very
25 important that we adopt these goals. I think the Committee

1 does deserve great congratulations for getting us to that
2 position.

3 Bill Clinton said we should interpret our vote as
4 a personal commitment. I also believe that we need to make
5 a personal commitment well beyond this. I don't believe
6 that the mere adoption of these goals by the President of
7 this country or by the President and the governors of this
8 country is going to change education as dramatically as we
9 would like to. I think it is only going to happen if we now
10 carry the word out, and we have been doing that. LIke all
11 of you, I've had hearings around my state. I have written
12 reports. I think every governor here has been doing that in
13 the course of last year and trying very hard.

14 Now that we have these new goals we need to make
15 sure that every educator, parent, business person and
16 anybody interested in education is aware of what the goals
17 are and what we are trying to achieve in this country by the
18 changes that are here.

19 I think we also have to make everybody aware of
20 why it is important to make changes. I'm not sure that even
21 a lot of the educators truly understand that change must
22 come, and there are important reasons why there must be
23 change. If it's going to be sold -- I think it's going to
24 be sold from within this room with our blood, sweat and
25 tears. So we will have to go out and make a difference.

1 And the purpose of this resolution is simply to
2 acknowledge that fact, that this is a beginning and not an
3 end. We still have a long ways to go and, hopefully, we can
4 combine our forces as governors in this country with the
5 President and everyone else who is interested in education
6 to make sure that by the year 2000 we can look back and see
7 that we did achieve these goals.

8 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor McKernon?

9 GOVERNOR MCKERNON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 I just want to echo Governor Castle's comments.

11 I think if nothing else, we are clear from Dr.
12 Boyer and Mr. Kearns' presentations today that there is a
13 lot more work that has to be done. This is only a
14 beginning. It is a very necessary consensus on what has to
15 be done. But I think it is just critical for all of us to
16 take this message back to our states.

17 I want to just give you one thought because what
18 struck me, as I have done it in our State of Maine, is the
19 fact that the educational establishment, contrary to what
20 many of us might have thought, seems prepared to make these
21 kinds of major changes if we want to go out and work with
22 them, and I think it is critical if we are to accomplish any
23 of these goals to understand that we are not going to do it
24 with the current system.

25 I think by the year 2000 we are going to be

1 looking at year-around schools, full-time teaching
2 professionals, and kids in school, as Dr. Boyer said, a lot
3 longer than they now are if we're going to be serious about
4 obtaining these, as well as more parental involvement.
5 That's going to have to come as well from corporations.

6 So I think this has to be disseminated. It has
7 to be discussed and discussed and discussed.

8 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Sinner -- I want to
9 try to get this to a vote as soon as I can.

10 Governor Sinner?

11 GOVERNOR SINNER: Mr. Chairman, I'll be very
12 brief.

13 I think it's extremely important that we, as
14 governors, realize that there have been a lot of people for
15 a long time that have said all the things we are trying to
16 say today. They have been Members of Congress, they have
17 been members of legislatures, they have been educators. I
18 think what we need to tell the people is not that we're
19 inventing some new wonderful program, but that we're
20 elevating the highest level we know how to elevate to this
21 critical need for educational change.

22 The President, in calling the summit, I think
23 started the process probably at the behest of some of the
24 people in this room. But it isn't that it's original with
25 us. We are simply adding to a building chorus of leaders in

1 a lot of other areas in Congress, the legislature and the
2 education field itself, and the business sector. As David
3 Kearns has pointed out, our effort here is simply to say
4 amen from our position as chief executives in the states and
5 this effort to help finally bring the dissemination of that
6 truth that a lot of people have taught us is probably the
7 most critical thing we can do right now.

8 So, I heartily support the resolution.

9 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Further discussion?

10 (No response.)

11 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Clinton has moved
12 the resolution supporting the goals that have already been
13 approved. All those in favor of the resolution, signify by
14 saying, aye?

15 (Chorus of ayes.)

16 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Those opposed, signify by
17 saying, nay?

18 (No response.)

19 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: The ayes have it; it is
20 approved.

21 We have another resolution that is entitled Peace
22 Divided.

23 I would recognize Governor Celeste from Ohio to
24 present this resolution, which is consistent with NGA
25 policy.

1 GOVERNOR CELESTE: I'd like to move the
2 resolution entitled Peace Dividend, which was, as I
3 understand it, authored by Governor Cuomo and submitted to
4 the Executive Committee and considered today in Executive
5 Committee session.

6 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Let me ask for a second?

7 GOVERNOR GARDNER: Second.

8 GOVERNOR CELESTE: Mr. Chairman, I think it's
9 appropriate that we take this up at this time as an
10 organization. For as long as I have been here we have tried
11 to address budget issues in a responsible and bipartisan
12 fashion.

13 I think that this resolution in four paragraphs
14 sets down in a manner very consistent with NGA policy our
15 hope and expectation that should there develop a peace
16 dividend for this country that it would be dedicated both to
17 the bringing down of the deficit, which poses so many
18 problems for us directly and indirectly, and investing in
19 those productivity-oriented investments with an emphasis on
20 education.

21 And so, as a consequence, I would strongly urge
22 that we pass the resolution.

23 GOVERNOR ROEMER: Mr. Chairman, I'd like to speak
24 to this also.

25 I spoke to Governor Cuomo this morning, and

1 Governor Celeste accurately identifies his interest in this
2 resolution.

3 As we come out of this meeting and the meeting
4 with the President, I think it's absolutely necessary that
5 we not only say to the nation that we want to achieve these
6 goals, and here are the goals, we've got to recognize, as
7 Governor Clinton indicated, that we're not going to get
8 there without change.

9 Two significant things I think are happening in
10 the last few months. One, this country is ready for a
11 revolutionary change in commitment to education. The other
12 event is in Eastern Europe we have something that is
13 monumental. It has not happened in 50 to 70 years, and that
14 is a reorientation of priorities of much of the world in
15 reference to reducing arms and the cost of defenses. We
16 need to join these two together.

17 Now, it's clear that NGA has a policy that states
18 that any peace dividend needs to be balanced among several
19 areas. But I think it's important that we send a message to
20 the country today and tomorrow, when the President joins
21 with us, that is you don't get there by just saying we want
22 to go. You get there by changing behavior, by reallocating
23 priorities and resources.

24 Therefore, I believe that this resolution should
25 be tied to our adoption of the goals, and I think it's not a

1 question of if we can get it. We have to get this peace
2 dividend or we have to make some other change in this
3 country's policy, or else we're not going to close the gap
4 that we have created. Therefore, I would urge us strongly
5 not only to pass the resolution, but to communicate clearly.

6 I think one of the most dangerous things we have
7 is to stand up together with the president and say, we've
8 got to do this in ten years. You've got to pay for it,
9 you've got to make a sacrifice, you've got to make some
10 changes in policy, and this is only the first step in that
11 change.

12 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Campbell?

13 GOVERNOR CAMPBELL: Mr. Chairman, I do not
14 disagree in any way that we have to stand behind the effort
15 toward education at the state and federal level. However, I
16 don't want to leave the impression that the totality of this
17 peace dividend resolution is entirely in the education-
18 funding field. I think that would be misleading to the
19 public.

20 Quite frankly, it states specifically that we
21 should divide our effort, number one, to bring down -- as
22 Governor Celeste has said, bring down the deficit which, as
23 we know, as we take the pressure off the market place, we
24 hopefully can get some relief in interest rates, which helps
25 all of us, and our industries become more competitive. That

1 is an integral part of this resolution as presented by
2 Governor Celeste.

3 The second part of this resolution speaks to the
4 NGA budget policy, which has already been adopted, which
5 speaks specifically to investment in productivity
6 enterprises inclusive of not only hard infrastructure but
7 human resources. That, of course, speaks a little beyond
8 just the education.

9 I think it is important that we put the term
10 education in there, recognizing that education is a part of
11 that in the development of human resources. But I wouldn't
12 want us to go out of here in any way leaving an impression
13 that this was specifically and completely aimed in that
14 direction, and I just wanted to make that statement.

15 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Thompson from
16 Wisconsin.

17 GOVERNOR THOMPSON: Thank you very much, Mr.
18 Chairman.

19 I, too, would like to make a clarification if I
20 might, and that is, in response to Governor Roemer's remarks
21 that we have to stand up united against the President.

22 I don't think it's we against the President or we
23 against Congress. If you read the first paragraph you will
24 find that the President has directed his Secretary of
25 Defense to review defense spending. It appears to me the

1 President is doing his part.

2 I don't think we want to go on record as saying
3 it's the governor against the President, that we have to
4 stand up against him and demand from him because it appears
5 to me the resolution already speaks to that. It appears to
6 me that the President is doing his part by directing the
7 Department of Defense to review defense spending.

8 I think that clarification should be on the
9 record, as well.

10 GOVERNOR ROEMER: A point of order, Mr. Chairman.

11 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: We have a point of order.

12 Yes, Governor?

13 GOVERNOR ROEMER: A point of clarification.

14 I didn't in any way say that we're against the
15 President. I didn't say that. I just don't want anybody in
16 this room to feel that I said that. I did not say that in
17 any way that I think we need to stand up against the
18 President. I just don't want that to be an interpretation
19 of my remarks.

20 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: It's my understanding that
21 Governor Dukakis has a friendly amendment.

22 GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: I hope so, Mr. Chairman.

23 (Laughter.)

24 GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: I strongly support the
25 resolution, but I wonder if there would be any objection to

1 adding in the final sentence, "we urge the President and the
2 Congress" -- I assume, Governor Celeste and Governor Roemer,
3 that the Congress has got to be a part of this.

4 Personally, I think it's unfair to direct this
5 just to the President. They're going to have to be a
6 player; they're going to have to be parties to this.

7 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Any objections?

8 Do we have a second?

9 GOVERNOR CELESTE: Mr. Chairman, I certainly
10 would have no objection to that amendment. I think it's
11 consistent, frankly, with the way we've directed NGA budget
12 policy in the past at both the President and the Congress.

13 GOVERNOR GREGG: Second.

14 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Gregg has seconded
15 Governor Celeste and I think both Governor Celeste and
16 Governor Roemer have endorsed it. I would point out that
17 this is indeed consistent with the NGA policy that we
18 already have in place.

19 Governor Stephens from Montana?

20 GOVERNOR STEPHENS: Mr. Chairman, I would just
21 make one minor grammatical suggestion.

22 Can you hear me?

23 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: I can hear you, but your
24 microphone isn't working.

25 GOVERNOR STEPHENS: How's that?

1 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: That's better.

2 GOVERNOR STEPHENS: Just to save us any small
3 degree of embarrassment from the English teachers who are
4 going to look at this resolution, we might want to on the
5 third to the last line remove the word "between" and insert
6 in lieu thereof "among" since we are talking about more than
7 two. We're talking about the federal deficit, education and
8 productivity.

9 (Applause.)

10 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Second to that?

11 There appears to be broad support for that.

12 (Laughter.)

13 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Celeste accepts
14 that.

15 I guess I would ask that both of these be
16 incorporated. We will vote on the corrections, both the one
17 offered by Governor Dukakis and the one offered now by
18 Governor Stephens, which was really I guess more just a
19 clarification in terms of grammatically to be correct.

20 All in favor of the amendment, signify by saying,
21 aye?

22 (Chorus of ayes.)

23 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Opposed?

24 (No response.)

25 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: The amendment is approved.

1 We now are on the peace dividend resolution, as
2 amended.

3 Discussion?

4 (No response.)

5 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: All in favor, signify by
6 saying, aye?

7 (Chorus of ayes.)

8 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Opposed?

9 (No response.)

10 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: It is approved. Thank you
11 very much.

12 First of all, I want to thank all of you for your
13 active participation in this. I think it's a very historic
14 step for the National Governors Association. We recognize
15 it as one important step along the way.

16 Tomorrow we will meet with the President. We
17 will share these goals with him. But it's important to
18 remember that the goals are not just the goals of the
19 National Governors Association or the President of the
20 United States. These are truly goals that need the support
21 and active involvement of the parents, teachers, school
22 leaders, business leaders, the entire population of this
23 nation. They are national goals for America.

24 I want to thank all of you for your hard work in
25 this effort.

1 One last announcement that I would like you to
2 pay attention to because it involves offering additional
3 amendments for resolutions. The rules of procedure require
4 that individual governors and committees who intend to offer
5 proposed policies that were not included in the required 15-
6 day advance mailing must give notice and provide a copy of
7 their proposal at least one session or at the close of
8 business of the day before the vote is taken. Please give a
9 copy of any proposal to suspend the rules ot Jim Martin of
10 the NGA Staff no later than 5 p.m.

11 I'm informed that Carla Hills is waiting to meet
12 with the Governors in Columbia A.

13 The first Plenary Session of the Winter Meeting
14 of the National Governors Association is adjourned.

15 (Whereupon, at 3:35 p.m., the meeting was
16 adjourned.)

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TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION

WINTER MEETING

SPECIAL SESSION ON
INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Washington, D. C.

Monday, February 26, 1990

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NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION
1990 WINTER MEETING
SPECIAL SESSION ON
INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Hyatt Regency Capitol Hill
400 New Jersey Avenue, N.W.
Yorktown Room
Washington, D. C.

Monday, February 26, 1990
8:15 a.m.

P R O C E E D I N G S

[8:15 a.m.]

GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: May I have your attention, please. I would like to ask the Governors to take their seats.

We are privileged this morning to have a very special guest, Secretary of State, James Baker. James Baker has held a number of important positions in the last two Administrations, including White House Chief of Staff, Treasury Secretary and Secretary of State. In each of those capacities he's worked very closely with the governors. We appreciate his taking time out of his busy schedule to meet with us this morning and to address one of the critical issues the Governors' Association is focusing on this year.

Last year, under the leadership of Jerry Baliles -- former Governor Jerry Baliles from Virginia, the National Governors' Association focused on global issues and the impact that global issues have on our ability to compete. This year our focus is on building a consensus for change in education and the environment. Most of the discussion thus far has been on the education goals and the consensus building approach in dealing with the issues of education.

We also have two task forces dealing with the environment. One is focusing on global climate change and the other on waste management.

1 The Secretary of State is here to address the
2 environmental issues today, but I would also hope that he
3 might give us some insight as to some of the dramatic
4 changes that we have seen just in the last few days.
5 Certainly what's happened in the last year during his time
6 as Secretary of State in Eastern Europe is exciting and
7 encouraging. What's happened in the elections in Nicaragua
8 and also in Lithuania are things that we wouldn't have
9 probably dreamed were likely to happen even a few days ago.

10 We are living in exciting and changing times and
11 we are very appreciative to have the Secretary of State, who
12 is certainly a true leader for this country, dealing with
13 those issues here to address the Governors' Association and
14 discuss the environmental issues and the important role the
15 United States can play in addressing the global
16 environmental problems.

17 James Baker, the Secretary of States.

18 (Applause.)

19 SECRETARY BAKER: Thank you very much, ladies and
20 gentlemen.

21 Picking up on your suggestion, Terry, before I
22 begin perhaps I should say a word about the election in
23 Nicaragua. In this year of remarkable political change
24 freedom, I think it's fair to say, won another victory
25 yesterday in Nicaragua. For those of you who are interested

1 in the latest vote count, with 61 percent of the polling
2 places counted, Violetta Chomorro now leads by a margin of
3 55 percent to 41.5 percent. We congratulate, of course, the
4 Nicaraguan people for their steadfastness and their
5 patriotism throughout this electoral process. We
6 congratulate Mrs. Chomorro and all of the good, brave people
7 in the UNO Coalition on their victory.

8 But we also commend Daniel Ortega and the
9 Sandanista Government for carrying out this commitment to
10 conduct elections under international supervision.

11 We pay special tribute to all of those whose
12 presence as international observers contributed so greatly
13 to protecting the integrity of the electoral process. We
14 hope that yesterday's election will mark the beginning of
15 permanent peace and democracy for the people of Nicaragua.

16 (Applause.)

17 SECRETARY BAKER: And of course we hope that all
18 sides in this hotly fought contest will extend the hand of
19 national reconciliation and cooperate together in rebuilding
20 their country for the good of all Nicaragua. We very much
21 hope that the cease fire will be reinstated immediately
22 under United Nations supervision and that it will be
23 strictly respected by all sides. We are confident that the
24 international community will rally in support of Mrs.
25 Chomorro's Government. We look forward to working with

1 President-elect Chomorro in support of her stated goals, .
2 which are national reconciliation and economic
3 restructuring.

4 The international community, of course, will also
5 insist that the decision of the Nicaraguan people be
6 respected and that full civil and military power be
7 transferred to the newly-elected government.

8 Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have had the
9 privilege of addressing the NGA in some of my past
10 incarnations in government. I'm very pleased to have this
11 opportunity to talk with you today about the environment.
12 As I told Governor Branstad on the way in, I don't profess
13 to be an expert on the environment. But the environment is
14 becoming more and more important as one of the foreign
15 policy priorities of this country and is something that we
16 consider much more frequently now in our foreign policy
17 dialogue with other countries.

18 It's a subject that happens to be very important
19 to me personally, even though I'm not an expert in it. It's
20 obviously very important to you and to the 50 States and it
21 is important as well to our foreign policy.

22 Perhaps a little bit of history may be in order
23 to begin with. In 1852 Chief Seattle responded to a request
24 of the U.S. Government to purchase some Tribal lands for
25 arriving pioneers. The Chief replied, the earth does not

1 belong to man. Rather, man belongs to the earth. All
2 things are connected like the blood that unites us all. Man
3 did not weave the web of life. He is merely a strand in it.
4 And the Chief warned, whatever he does to the web, he does
5 to himself.

6 The settlers, of course, kept moving west. My
7 own great-grandfather among them. These independent, hard-
8 working and courageous people helped to make our great
9 nation what it is today. Even for those of us whose
10 ancestors might not have taken part in the westward saga,
11 the pioneers I think still epitomized the essence of the
12 American spirit.

13 Yet, by the close of the century it had already
14 become evident I think to many Americans from the developed
15 East and the developing West alike that America's bounty was
16 indeed not inexhaustible. It had become apparent that we
17 needed to take responsibility for protecting and
18 replenishing our natural resources so that future
19 generations could enjoy them as we have.

20 In 1908, at the White House, President Theodore
21 Roosevelt convened a conference on the conservation of
22 natural resources. The first conference of its kind not
23 only in the United States but in the entire world, and it
24 was known as the conference of governors. It is fair to say
25 that the conference was the single greatest stimulus to the

1 creation of a responsible national environmental policy for
2 the United States.

3 Now, as we plan ahead for the next century, I
4 think we've got to remember the lessons of the 19th and 20th
5 Centuries. From America's native peoples we have learned
6 that we simply cannot take nature for granted. We've got to
7 cherish it and respect its God-given dignity. From our
8 forefathers we have learned that nature is not a cornucopia
9 of unending supply. We must give back to the earth if we
10 are to continue to draw from it.

11 From the history of the conservation movement in
12 the United States we've learned that state and federal
13 governments, business and labor, national organizations and
14 individual citizens must all work together if we are to
15 craft effective environmental policies.

16 Finally, we know from our own experience in this
17 interdependent world that we must think local and act
18 global. We cannot serve America's environmental interests
19 effectively unless we are willing to address world-wide
20 environmental concerns, and, of course, that's the point at
21 which foreign policy enters the picture, which is what I'd
22 like to talk with you about briefly today.

23 The foreign policy objectives of the United
24 States are grounded in the basic values of the United
25 States. We seek to encourage democracy to foster

1 prosperity through economic liberty, to insure security and
2 to improve effective international cooperation that
3 addresses our common interests.

4 What is not well-known, however, is that our
5 environmental concerns have a major role to play in the
6 achievement of each of these objectives. Democracy,
7 prosperity, security, cooperation and the environment, they
8 are all interconnected. That's why the President and I are
9 committed to ensuring that environmental issues are fully
10 integrated into our diplomatic efforts. This is, if you
11 want to put it this way, the greening of our foreign policy.

12 So, first, I would like to discuss how our
13 efforts to consolidate democracy are linked to our
14 environmental efforts. Democracies, dependent as they are
15 on an informed citizenry, and open society and
16 accountability in government, afford the greater scope for
17 responsible environmental action. The conservation movement
18 is one of the greatest success stories for grass roots
19 democracy in the United States of America. When we defend
20 and promote democratic and environmental values we express
21 the essence of what we believe is essential for all nations
22 to make progress, developed nations and developing nations
23 alike.

24 Let me give you an example that I think is pretty
25 vivid of how those who believe in democracy and

1 environmentalists can make common cause. In Eastern Europe
2 -- and Terry referred to this in his introduction --
3 environmental concerns were championed by democratic
4 opposition groups long before the people power revolutions
5 of last fall. In fact, environmental issues helped
6 galvanize the push for democracy in Eastern Europe.

7 It was an international environmental conference
8 in Sofia, Bulgaria that helped to spark the popular
9 revolution. The Ecoglasnost Association, formed in
10 anticipation of that conference, is now one of Bulgaria's
11 largest grass roots organizations and democratic opposition
12 groups. So, in Bulgaria ecoglasnost gave the term green
13 revolution a whole new meaning.

14 The environment is clearly one of those points of
15 mutual advantage between East and West that we are pledged
16 to seek as we try to leave the Cold War behind us. To help
17 the Eastern Europeans help themselves in the crucial area of
18 environment, we are offering our whole experience in dealing
19 with these issues. We are offering to the emerging
20 democracies grants and concessional loans, joint projects,
21 training and technology, as well as guidance in drafting
22 laws and regulations. For instance, we have proposed a
23 joint United States-Czechoslovak study to determine the most
24 cost effective way to deal with Czechoslovakia's very
25 serious air pollution problems. We are providing clean coal

1 technology to Poland in part to arrest the tragic defacement
2 of Krakow's historic architectural treasures. Treasures
3 that are literally being eaten away day by day.

4 For the region as a whole we have promoted
5 participation in the Budapest Regional Environmental Center
6 first announced by President Bush last July with the Soviet
7 Union. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze agreed to my request
8 last May add to our meetings a fifth major agenda item on
9 transnational or global concerns. Environment is the most
10 prominent issue in these ongoing discussions.

11 Narcotics and terrorism are similar issues.

12 The sum total of all of these projects will
13 reinforce the trends toward democracy in the East. That is,
14 governments that are responsible to the people and to the
15 concerns of the people. Which brings us to our second major
16 objective, promoting prosperity and economic liberty. Just
17 as political freedom and economic liberty go hand in hand,
18 so, too, do sustained growth and a healthy environment.
19 Strong economies provide the material means with which to
20 protect the environment.

21 These relationships are symbiotic. They are
22 expressed the concept called sustainable development.
23 Sustainable development, to put it simply, is a way to
24 fulfill the requirements of the present without compromising
25 those of the future. When policies of sustainable

1 development are followed our economic and our environmental
2 objectives are both achieved. In fact, America's approach
3 to bilateral and multilateral assistance is based on the
4 concept of sustainable development.

5 Providing market based incentives, eliminating
6 structural impediments and ending international trade
7 practices distort global markets. All will general an
8 economic dynamism that benefits the developed world and the
9 developing world alike.

10 Let me give you a few examples of how we are
11 trying to make the concept of sustainable development work
12 through our bilateral assistance efforts. In Rwanda we are
13 sponsoring a project linking the economic benefits of
14 tourism with conservation of two unique species rich
15 protected areas.

16 In other developing countries around the world we
17 are fostering biodiversity. By so doing we can increase the
18 availability of natural products for commercial purposes.
19 Life saving pharmaceuticals and other marketable goods, such
20 as food and dies, can result. And ongoing Agency for
21 International Development project in Indonesia focuses on
22 the management and conservation of exotic native fruits
23 which may prove marketable. This project also promotes the
24 management practices needed to stem the want and destruction
25 of tropical forests.

1 Innovative efforts such as debt for nature swaps
2 are also important. These, like all other debt reduction
3 efforts, must involve some basic structural reform if
4 they're going to be successful. Debt swaps, as I learned
5 during the three and half years that I served at the
6 Treasury Department, are not a panacea for debt reduction,
7 nor can they single-handedly solve environmental problems.
8 But, debt swaps can help with both of these problems.

9 On the multilateral level the development banks
10 can play a key role in promoting environmentally sustainable
11 growth. We will continue to encourage the multilateral
12 development banks to strengthen their policies, their staff,
13 and their training, and we hope that other donor countries
14 will join our efforts to integrate environmental assessments
15 into all of the operations of these development banks.

16 I know that there have been and continue to be
17 some rather dramatic calls by some for the establishment of
18 new financial institutions or mechanisms to provide
19 environmental assistance. But before we spend our scarce
20 resources on creating new bureaucracies, I think it makes
21 good sense to make maximum use of the multilateral tools
22 that are already in existence and to reinforce some of our
23 existing institutions.

24 Similarly, before we dedicate additional
25 resources toward international environmental efforts, we're

1 going to need to know exactly how much it's going to cost
2 and how much will be required. Substantial funding for
3 environmental projects is already available. We fully
4 recognize, however, that developing countries may need some
5 additional aid in order to meet the incremental costs which
6 are associated with fulfilling their international
7 environmental obligations.

8 Our third key objective is ensuring global
9 security. Solid democracies and sound economies cannot
10 prosper in unsafe surroundings. We have long worked in
11 partnership with friendly nations to protect ourselves
12 against traditional security trends from hostile
13 governments. But in today's world traditional concepts of
14 threats to the security of our citizens need to be updated
15 and they need to be extended to include the new trans-
16 national dangers, with environmental degradation being
17 foremost among them.

18 Environmental threats respect no border. They
19 threaten human lives and they violate the territorial
20 integrity of states both from within and from without.
21 Chernobyl, the classic example of the ills of the stagnant
22 Brezhnev era, showed us how lives can be needlessly
23 endangered when governments fail to act quickly and
24 responsibly to protect their own citizens and to protect the
25 people of neighboring countries.

1 Not surprisingly, the drug cartels that threaten
2 the health of the world community also damage the
3 environment. As I pointed out at a special session of the
4 United Nations on narcotics last week, traffickers in the
5 Andes are destroying vast tracts of forest for their drug
6 labs and they are dumping millions of gallons of precursor
7 chemicals into rivers.

8 Forty years ago we and our North Atlantic Treaty
9 Alliance partners pledged to safeguard the common heritage
10 and civilization of Europe against our common enemies. As
11 we have seen defending Europe's environment from the threat
12 of pollution is just another way for the West to help the
13 peoples of the East realize their dream of a Europe that is
14 whole and a Europe that is free.

15 Our fourth objective is enhancing effective
16 international cooperation that addresses our common
17 interests. As we have seen, many of today's problems,
18 environmental problems especially, have world-wide
19 consequences. They demand world-wide or global solutions.
20 All nations share responsibility for the protection of the
21 international community. No national alone, however great
22 that nation is, can dictate fully the course of human
23 events, nor fully protect its own natural resources, and no
24 nation, however small that nation might be, is without the
25 power to act for the health of the global economy. All

1 countries must act responsibly and all countries must work
2 together.

3 I am glad to say that more than ever before
4 nations all over the world are working together on global
5 environmental problems. Let me give you two examples, one
6 of which is global climate change. Just a few weeks ago the
7 President addressed the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate
8 Change. He was the first head of state to speak before this
9 panel and his presence demonstrated I think the seriousness
10 with which our government regards this question, as well as
11 our dedication to finding appropriate scientific, economic
12 and environmental solutions.

13 The President reiterated our policy toward
14 climate change. It's a policy that we call the no-regrets
15 policy, and we encourage other nations to adopt a similar
16 approach. Just what do we mean by no-regrets? We mean that
17 while we are pursuing the serious scientific research that
18 is critical to any responsible approach we are also hedging
19 our bets in an economically sound way. We mean that the
20 United States is making a major financial commitment to
21 analyze these scientific issues, increasing our funding for
22 the United States global change research program to over \$1
23 billion, and we mean that we are prepared to take actions
24 that are fully justified in an of their own right and which
25 have the added advantage of coping with greenhouse gases.

1 They are precisely the policies that we will never have any
2 cause to regret.

3 Specifically, we are committed to phasing out
4 chlorofluorocarbons by the year 2000 to protect the ozone
5 layer. CFC's also contribute significantly to the
6 greenhouse affect. Next, the President has launched a major
7 reforestation initiative called American the Beautiful.
8 Under this multi-year program our citizens will plant one
9 billion trees each year in partnership with the government
10 and the business community. The trees will provide, of
11 course, habitats for wild life, stem soil erosion, provide
12 recreational facilities, offer employment and generate
13 forest products. At the same time, the trees will help
14 absorb carbon-dioxide, a major greenhouse gas.

15 Finally, we are dedicated to a program of energy
16 conservation and energy efficiency. This contributes to
17 efficient use of scarce energy supplies. It reduces our
18 dependence on foreign energy sources and saves all of us
19 money, citizens, government and industry alike. Moreover,
20 decreasing the use of the fossil fuels will reduce
21 greenhouse gas emissions.

22 If the results of international scientific
23 research demonstrate that climatic conditions will not
24 change in a significant way, we will have no regrets for
25 these actions because they have provided -- or will have

1 provided us with other benefits. If, on the other hand, the
2 findings of our research turn out to be more trouble, we
3 will have taken prudent steps toward solving the problem in
4 a cost effective way.

5 We urge other nations to join us in our no-
6 regrets effort.

7 A final example of global cooperation involves a
8 denizen of the animal family, a party animal, if you will.
9 Some might say he is a partisan creature. But I think he
10 has bipartisan values and virtues. Sadly, he is listed
11 among the severely endangered species, and I would suspect
12 that perhaps even the Democrats among us might agree that if
13 we let our old friend the elephant pass from the earth we
14 would all be somewhat diminished. Therefore, last summer
15 the United States led the way in banning the international
16 trade in ivory. Now a global effort is underway. Most
17 other nations have joined us, and although some trading in
18 ivory continues, I believe we can all work together to
19 develop and enforcement system that saves the African
20 elephant.

21 The environmental efforts that I've mentioned
22 here today are illustrative of the many ways the Bush
23 Administration is acting to protect the environment
24 nationally and internationally. This morning I have not
25 even begun to touch upon our no net loss of wet lands

1 policy, our opening of formal discussions with Canada on
2 acid rain, or our drift net fishing resolution that was
3 adopted unanimously by the United Nations. Nor have I
4 touched upon another major environmental initiative of this
5 Administration, crafting a revised clean air act with
6 incentives for our private sector to find creative market
7 driven solutions to enhance air quality. And I'm very
8 hopeful that we will soon be able to sign the Basel
9 Convention which controls the exports of hazardous wastes.

10 The United States, ladies and gentlemen, is doing
11 all of these things because it serves our own national
12 interest to do them. We are also doing them because they
13 are fundamentally the right thing to do. The great early
14 pioneers of American conservation recognized these truths
15 and they found effective ways to act upon them. Their views
16 didn't always prevail with the officials of their era and
17 they certainly didn't always agree with one another.

18 Controversies that raged around the Governors'
19 Conference back in 1908 continue down to this day. Indeed,
20 environmental issues have never been simple and they never
21 will be. Environmental problems are complex and
22 environmental problems are sometimes very slow to develop,
23 and sometimes we are even slow to recognize them. Yet,
24 despite the intense debates, despite all the uncertainties,
25 despite the shear complexities involved, there remains

1 before us, as there remains before all peoples, the
2 unquestioned responsibility to act.

3 Emerson, the 19th Century American essayist and
4 poet, put it this way when he said, "We do not inherit the
5 earth from our ancestors; we borrow it from our children."
6 So this is a sacred debt that must be honored. The splendor
7 of nature enfolds and unites all of humankind. So, now
8 together the earth's peoples must work so that this precious
9 web of life shall embrace in beauty and embrace in peace all
10 of the generations to come.

11 Thank you very much.

12 (Applause.)

13 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Secretary Baker has got a
14 very busy schedule, but he has graciously agreed to accept a
15 few questions.

16 Governor Castle has a question.

17 GOVERNOR CASTLE: Mr. Secretary, I must say that
18 you had an amazing year, sir. You and the President. Every
19 day when I picked up the paper some new country has declared
20 for the side of democracy or something else. The Washington
21 Post I think has three headlines on that on the front page
22 this morning. It's hard for me just sitting in Delaware to
23 just figure out where it's all going. I'm going to be a
24 little more expansive than the environment.

25 I saw in the paper the other day that if East and

1 West Germany were to combine they would have had more gold
2 medals than either the United States or Russia in the last
3 Olympics and that may not be an indication of the economies
4 of the future. But I'm sort of interested in your thoughts
5 on the unification of the Germanys and just where the
6 Eastern European countries are going in terms of both their
7 economies and their governance in the future.

8 What do you see happening in the next three to
9 five years with these countries?

10 SECRETARY BAKER: Governor Castle, the point you
11 make I think is a very, very good one. Simply stated, I
12 believe it's that freedom works and we are seeing that the
13 commitments that free peoples have made and firmly held on
14 to over 45 years are paying off. Our job is to respond to
15 and manage this extraordinarily dynamic change in a manner
16 that wins the peace. Things are very much moving in our
17 direction in most all areas of the world that you can think
18 of. The election here in this Hemisphere this morning is
19 very, very important in that regard.

20 German unification is a very complex subject. It
21 happens to be -- some people tend to forget this, I think,
22 but it happens to be a policy goal of the United States and
23 has been for 40 years. It continues to be a policy goal of
24 ours. We're quite confident that it can be affected in a
25 manner that gives due regard to the concerns, the legitimate

1 concerns of many of Germany's neighbors and we see the
2 United States as having a major role to ply in that.

3 The President has just spent two days meeting
4 with Chancellor Kohl at Camp David. If you observed the
5 coverage of those meetings and the statements that were made
6 and the answers they gave at their press conference, I think
7 most would come away with a sense of well-being about at
8 least the efforts that we're undertaking to properly manage
9 what is truly historic change in that part of the world.

10 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Kunin, the Chairman
11 of our Energy Environment Committee, has a question.

12 GOVERNOR KUNIN: Thank you.

13 Mr. Secretary, I just want to first of all
14 complement you and commend you for having extraordinary
15 ability to integrate foreign policy with environmental
16 concerns and seeing that the two are strongly intertwined.

17 I concur with all the steps the United States is
18 taking to reach out and I agree that this is a beginning
19 stage. But do you foresee at some time in the future the
20 equivalent of an environmental economic Marshall Plan that
21 would combine those two approaches and enhance them in a
22 broader way because the needs are so great, and at some
23 point having a unified approach to dealing with both the
24 economy and the environment in these changing countries.

25 SECRETARY BAKER: Governor Kunin, I think there

1 has to be some integration of our approach to environmental
2 problems and economic problems, as I indicated in my
3 remarks. At the same time, I happen to be an
4 extraordinarily strong proponent of a free market approach
5 to the economy and I think that there is more room, frankly,
6 for international institutions.

7 Well, let me put it this way. There is more room
8 for a detailed cooperative approach with respect to the
9 environment, frankly, than I think there is with respect to
10 the economy. Although I spent a lot of time at the
11 Department of the Treasury in proposing, and we ultimately
12 got adopted, a mechanism within the group of seven nations
13 whereby we would coordinate the economic policies of the
14 major industrial economies of the world, I agree with you
15 that the two are related.

16 The economy is a major foreign policy concern of
17 ours, as well, but it's pretty much a free market economic
18 approach. More than I think it would be in the
19 environmental area. We are not quite as hands on, if you
20 will, in our approach to the economy as we would be -- will
21 be in terms of the environment.

22 It's only in the last 18 months that
23 environmental issues have played a large role in our foreign
24 policy. It's only in the last year that we have put this on
25 the agenda -- on our agenda with the Soviet Union so that we

1 discuss them routinely every time we meet with the Soviet
2 Union.

3 We have now, interestingly enough, begun to
4 discuss economic issues with the Soviet Union, but it's more
5 in the attitude of technical economic cooperation flowing
6 from a system that works to one that doesn't work.

7 GOVERNOR KUNIN: Thank you.

8 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Thank you.

9 Secretary of State James Baker, thank you very
10 much for joining us this morning.

11 (Applause.)

12 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: I just have a very brief
13 group of announcements. The committee meetings will begin
14 promptly at 9 o'clock. So that business can be completed on
15 time by 10:20 this morning, we would ask that you go
16 directly to your committee meetings at this time, and I
17 would also ask the Governors to be prepared to board the bus
18 in front of the main entrance of the Hyatt Hotel at 10:30
19 promptly so we can go to the White House to meet with the
20 President.

21 Thank you very much.

22 GOVERNOR SCHAEFER: Mr. Chairman?

23 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Schaefer?

24 GOVERNOR SCHAEFER: We have talked about
25 education and environment and all those cost money. I don't

1 know whether this is in order, but may I ask if there are
2 any Governors who would be interested in joining me in
3 sending a letter to the players and the owners of the
4 baseball teams and ask them to consider the fans instead of
5 considering spending the money on the ball teams and how
6 much money these players are going to get and how much
7 profit they're going to make and be a little bit concerned
8 about the economies of the cities that will be, and are
9 being, adversely affected at the present time.

10 I'm going to prepare such a letter and sent it.
11 Anyone that would be interested, I would be more than glad
12 to have them join me in the letter.

13 Thank you.

14 (Whereupon, at 8:50 a.m., the meeting was
15 adjourned.)
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TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION

ORIGINAL

WINTER MEETING

SECOND PLENARY SESSION

Washington, D. C.

Tuesday, February 27, 1990

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NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION

1990 WINTER MEETING

SECOND PLENARY SESSION

Hyatt Regency Capitol Hill
400 New Jersey Avenue, N.W.
Yorktown Room
Washington, D. C.

Tuesday, February 27, 1990
9:35 a.m.

1 P R O C E E D I N G S

2 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: I hereby call this Plenary
3 Session of the National Governors' Association to order. I
4 would ask that the governors take their places.

5 Hello governors, ladies and gentlemen. Our
6 commitment to build a consensus for change to achieve a
7 quality environment is just as strong as our commitment to
8 build a consensus for change in education. We have been
9 focusing on two very important issues that pose the imminent
10 threat to our quality of life and standard of living. We
11 have task forces addressing local climate change and solid
12 waste. These task forces are capably led by Governor Jim
13 Thompson with Governor Madeline Kunin as co-chairman on the
14 global climate change and Governor Casey with Governor
15 Martinez as co-chairman of the task force on waste
16 management.

17 In keeping with our goal for building a
18 consensus, we've asked for substantial input from the stake
19 holders, from people throughout the country, from
20 scientists, business leaders, and environmental leaders.
21 Among several significant forums that have been held was as
22 briefing on global climate change which occurred at the
23 United Nations. This was an historic first for the National
24 Governors' Association to hold a meeting at the United
25 Nations. And Governor Cuomo helped us to make the

1 arrangements. We established our task force and had our
2 first meeting of the task force coincide with the same day
3 that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher addressed the United
4 Nations General Assembly on the subject of global climate
5 change. The juxtaposition of these two was very significant
6 and gave us a good way to kick off the task force on global
7 climate change.

8 I also appreciate the leadership that Governor
9 Casey has given as we address the very important issue of
10 waste management. He comes from a state that has done some
11 very positive and innovative things in dealing with that
12 critical issue. Global climate change may be the most
13 complex environmental and economic challenge that we've ever
14 faced. It is difficult to assess the impact of human
15 activity on our world's atmosphere but that's what we're
16 trying to do. Given the complexity of this issue, the task
17 force has recommended goals that provide a reasonable return
18 on investment, improved energy efficiency, along with
19 addressing the need for improved social and environmental
20 changes.

21 Solid waste and its management, on the other
22 hand, is an environmental issue about which we know a great
23 deal. We know, for example, that each person in this
24 nation, with 245 million citizens, throws away an average of
25 3.6 pounds of trash a day. That's an unacceptably high

1 level. We also know that our landfills are overflowing with
2 trash. We've seen medical wastes appear on our beaches.
3 And each of us in our individual states is grappling with
4 the problems of the disposal of toxic wastes.

5 The waste management task force is proposing
6 goals that will encourage resource reduction and recycling,
7 as well as innovative management programs that have been
8 developed in the individual states. We know that governors
9 can be powerful agents for change in addressing these
10 critical environmental issues, just as we have been in the
11 educational field.

12 We must also begin the process of developing
13 specific objectives and strategies for our goals. And the
14 work of the task force, as it met yesterday, is certainly
15 moving forward on that front. We expect that these two task
16 forces, along with the education task force, will present us
17 their final reports and recommendations at the summer
18 meeting of the Governors' Association in Mobile.

19 This morning we have a full agenda, with two
20 outstanding guest speakers and 20 policy petitions to be
21 considered. If you haven't, I want to encourage all of the
22 governors to be sure you get the information from the
23 National Geographic Society. They've put together an
24 outstanding environmental education lesson plan for
25 governors to use in conjunction with earth day. And they, I

1 believe, yesterday, had a series of presentations for your
2 staffs. We would encourage every governor to take that
3 lesson plan back with you and to use it this spring and help
4 promote earth day and the environmental ethic that's so
5 important for not only our youth but all of our citizens.

6 At this time, I would like to call on Governor
7 Casey to report on the task force on solid waste.

8 Governor Casey?

9 GOVERNOR CASEY: Thank you, Governor Branstad.

10 Very briefly, the solid waste management task
11 force has had two meetings on this issue, the first in
12 Charlottesville, Virginia and the second yesterday, a very
13 informative session with experts from around the country.
14 The issue addressed by the task force is one that each of us
15 has had to face; we know its challenge, its complexity, its
16 difficulty, and most important of all, its great importance
17 to the economic and environmental future of our states.

18 The task force is concentrating on three primary
19 areas: first, to eliminate the amount of waste generated
20 into the next century -- or source reduction, as we call it
21 --; second, recycling a significant portion of our waste
22 stream, as high as 30 percent or more by the year 2,000; and
23 finally, ensuring that each state alone or in cooperation
24 with other states manages the waste that it is produced
25 within its own borders.

1 We'll be urging each state to take the necessary
2 steps to minimize the amount of trash transported for
3 disposal out of state. This can be accomplished through a
4 variety of means. Development and proper implementation of
5 comprehensive waste management planning which would include
6 source reduction and recycling, and efforts to construction
7 environmentally safe disposal facilities.

8 The task force and its staff will be working in
9 the coming months to strength and update and finalize the
10 goals. We want the goals to be ambitious and yet realistic.
11 And each of us knows that will require the cooperation of
12 all segments of our society, government, industry and the
13 public at large, if this challenge is to be met. We're
14 hopeful that Congress will consider the reports' final
15 recommendations when it considers amendments to its solid
16 and hazardous waste laws over the coming years.

17 I want to thank Governor Martinez, the vice chair
18 of the task force and members of the committee for their
19 efforts and contributions to this work, and look forward to
20 working with them over the next few months to finalize the
21 report and to present the final product to you, Mr.
22 Chairman, this summer.

23 Thank you.

24 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Casey, thank you
25 very much for your report and for your leadership on this

1 very important issue.

2 And now, we have a very special guest that's
3 going to be our speaker this morning and he has the title,
4 speaker, and we are very fortunate to have him. And a lot
5 of credit goes to the Vice Chairman of the National
6 Governors' Association, the Governor of the State of
7 Washington, who invited his friend and the Speaker of the
8 House. And at this time, I am pleased to introduce my good
9 friend, the Vice Chairman of the National Governors'
10 Association, Governor Booth Gardner from the State of
11 Washington, to introduce our next guest.

12 GOVERNOR GARDNER: Fellow governors, citizens, on
13 June 6, 1989, Thomas S. Foley was elected as Speaker of the
14 United States House of Representatives. Tom Foley is
15 described by his colleagues and those who watch government
16 as the right person with the right personality to heal the
17 political wounds within Congress that almost brought that
18 institution to a standstill. He was the leader that was so
19 badly needed to get Congress back to doing the business of
20 the people. And that's exactly what he did.

21 Through his training in law, his work as special
22 counsel to Scoop Jackson, his election to the House of
23 Representatives in 1965, his chairmanship of the
24 Agricultural Committee, and his election as Majority Leader,
25 Tom Foley has also become known to the nation as a leader

1 who can tackle tough issues, find solutions in a fair and
2 bipartisan manner.

3 Tom Foley, you've come a long way from that day
4 in 1965 when you were just a young freshman congressman
5 sitting in an airport in your home town of Spokane,
6 Washington, when a phone call came from the President of the
7 United States. Having been told by airline personnel that
8 the President was on the phone, you strolled proudly out of
9 the waiting area to a small room where the President was
10 waiting on the phone. You picked up that phone and said,
11 "hello, this Congressman Foley." And that West Texas voice
12 with that drawl said, "Foley? I was calling Fogarty in
13 Rhode Island." And hung up the phone.

14 (Laughter.)

15 Not to be outdone, you waited a minute, and then strolled
16 proudly back to the waiting area where you'd been sitting.
17 And when asked whether you had finished your conversation
18 with the President, you said, yes. And when the airline
19 upgraded you to first class, you just smiled inwardly.

20 But today, if you were sitting in an airport were
21 the President of the United States to call, you would know
22 that it would not be a wrong number. The President would be
23 asking for Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the U.S. House of
24 Representatives.

25 Ladies and gentlemen, Speaker Tom Foley.

1 (Applause.)

2 SPEAKER FOLEY: Thank you very much. Governor
3 Gardner, Chairman Branstad, distinguished governors, ladies
4 and gentlemen, that's a true story by the way. It was the
5 single most depressing moment of my political career before
6 or since when Lyndon Johnson, with appropriate expletives
7 prior to announcing he was calling for John Fogarty of Rhode
8 Island.

9 I do have a very welcome opportunity to greet you
10 and to help welcome you to the City of Washington. We're
11 living in astonishing times, these days, and I think we have
12 all witnessed a life time of change, particularly in Eastern
13 Europe, changes that have shaken the assumptions of the
14 world political system and assumptions that have governed
15 our domestic and foreign policy for the past forty years.

16 Each day brings new reports that would be
17 considered unthinkable a year ago. Saturday, the first
18 multi-party elections in the Soviet Union in 72 years took
19 place; in Lithuania, the communist party was dramatically
20 rejected; and in Nicaragua on Sunday, the voters elected
21 Violeta Chamorro, the opposition candidate, ending ten years
22 of domination by the Sandinista party. In South Africa, the
23 release of Nelson Mandela provides the best hope in a
24 generation for reconciliation in that polarized and troubled
25 nation. These events are still unfolding in Europe and

1 Latin America and Southern Africa by what Thomas Jefferson
2 called the irrepressible spread of the virus of democracy
3 gives us great hope that the end of conflict among nations
4 could occur in our lifetimes.

5 We Americans can take, I think, great pride in
6 these events; the end of the cold war, the triumph of
7 freedom is a victory for our ideals and our political and
8 economic values, a vindication of bipartisan leadership in
9 foreign policy and a tribute to the determination and will
10 of the American people who, for the past forty years, have
11 endured the cost and made every sacrifice necessary to
12 preserve peace and defend freedom.

13 We have a continuing duty to preserve and promote
14 the spread of democracy from South Africa to Nicaragua to
15 China and to protect ourselves against the possible
16 resurgence of the totalitarian aggression. Having spent by
17 some estimates about a trillion dollars since the end of
18 World War II to defend freedom around the world, we cannot
19 now afford to let democracy fail for lack of American
20 support.

21 But the lessening of international tension also
22 gives an opportunity to redirect our energies to challenges
23 facing us here at home. The 1990s will be a period of
24 profound and continuing change and a period of fundamental
25 choice. All of us, but most especially those of us who hold

1 public office, must be ready to meet those challenges. In
2 the Congress, we look forward to working with President Bush
3 but we also recognize the skill and commitment each of you
4 governors brings to your office. We especially value the
5 expertise that you've displayed and we look forward to
6 working with you in seeking the solutions to our national
7 problems. Working together, I'm convinced that we can
8 overcome any obstacles.

9 I believe the central challenge of America in the
10 1990s is to renew our economic capacity and regain control
11 of our economic destiny. The greatest test of our strength
12 will be in our classrooms, not in our missile silos. The
13 gravest threat will come not from any one nation's attempt
14 at world domination but from every nation's complicity in
15 the worldwide destruction of the environment.

16 Since the end of World War II, the United States
17 has experienced a period of unprecedented economic
18 prosperity. Even today, we continue to be the world leader
19 in economic and technological innovation. But our economic
20 preeminence is increasingly jeopardized and we find
21 ourselves confronted by countries that claim America is in
22 decline and we will never again dominate the world
23 marketplace. Perhaps we cannot dominate the world
24 marketplace but neither can we accept the judgment that the
25 United States is in decline.

1 In the lessons of the last forty years, the
2 principal lesson is that a strong America is essential to
3 the political and economic health of the world communities;
4 the foundations of American prosperity have been private
5 initiative and a well trained, industrious work force. The
6 Federal Government ought not and cannot ensure the success
7 of private economic endeavors but we in Government at all
8 levels can help create the conditions and the means for
9 vibrant economic growth.

10 Education, I believe, is the key to this
11 endeavor. Our ability to realize our full economic
12 potential depends on the degree to which we provide our
13 workers with the skills they need to participate in an
14 increasingly competitive marketplace. In addition, our
15 strength as a society depends on the ability of our citizens
16 to participate knowingly and knowledgeably in our democracy
17 and our democratic institutions.

18 While I commend the President for his desire to
19 be known as the education president, I question whether he
20 can achieve that goal by proposing a meager two percent
21 increase in the Federal spending on education programs. The
22 simple fact is we don't have a two percent education problem
23 in this country; the education gap is much more daunting.
24 By most accounts, American high school students rank near
25 the bottom of the industrialized nations in math and science

1 proficiency. And the results of at least one study purport
2 to show that less than half of the 17 year-old's in some
3 school systems can read and understand a newspaper
4 editorial. The population cannot succeed in meeting its
5 economic and political responsibilities with such levels of
6 proficiency. Yet, to apply a tepid incrementalism to such
7 problems, a two percent increase in the federal contribution
8 to education, will merely underscore and perpetuate our
9 problem. We need bolder action.

10 I recognize, of course, that spending alone is
11 not the answer to all problems in education. But it is an
12 important factor. By no credible measure, is the United
13 States a world leader in education spending as is sometimes
14 asserted by the Administration, especially in the troubled
15 kindergarten through twelfth grade areas. It is true that
16 we spend a great amount of money on higher education,
17 expenditures which are generally effective. But the use of
18 these expenditures as a measure of our spending on education
19 seriously distorts the degree of commitment to that critical
20 primary and secondary education level. By most estimates,
21 the United States ranks between 12th and 14th among the 16
22 leading industrial nations in expenditures on education from
23 kindergarten through the twelfth grade. Only Australia and
24 the Republic of Ireland spend less per capita as a
25 percentage of gross domestic product, and arguably they

1 produce a greater success with those expenditures.

2 Other changes in our education system in the
3 curriculum, in the status of teachers and expectations about
4 students and the regulatory reforms, to name a few, will be
5 fundamental to any improvement in education quality and
6 student achievement. But in education, as in every other
7 service, we may get what we pay for. To begin a process of
8 education reform by denying the need to increase spending,
9 especially when U.S. schools are under-funded, compared to
10 those in other industrialized nations, places a severely
11 limiting constraint on any plan for education improvement.

12 I commend the National Governors' Association for
13 its commitment to education reform and its effort to set
14 ambitious national education goals, goals we much achieve if
15 America is to remain economically and politically in a
16 position of prominence in the next century. We hope that it
17 will be possible to work with you as the Congress seeks to
18 find means to achieve those goals. Together, I believe we
19 can develop an educating system that is among the best in
20 the world.

21 We face other challenges. We face, for example,
22 a physical deficit, the gap in spending to maintain and
23 improve our public infrastructure. It shows up in lost
24 lives, lost productivity, lost jobs and lost opportunities.
25 Fully 41 percent of the bridges over 20 feet long are either

1 structurally deficient or functionally obsolete at an
2 estimated repair cost of \$51 billion. Sixty-two percent of
3 our paved highways need some sort of surface rehabilitation.
4 It is estimated it would cost about \$315 billion over the
5 next ten years just to return those highways to their 1983
6 condition. Airport delays exceed 2,000 hours a day, costing
7 airlines an additional \$1.8 billion in operating expenses,
8 and passengers \$3.2 billion in lost time. We have \$68
9 billion in unmet sewage treatment needs, and so on.

10 Our physical assets support of all our economic
11 activity. Our disinvestment in these assets poses a direct
12 threat to the nation's productivity. A study commissioned
13 by the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago estimates that a
14 remarkable 80 percent of the fall off of our domestic
15 productivity since 1970 can be explained solely by the fall
16 off in our spending on infrastructure. By contrast, an
17 increase of one percent in public infrastructure investment
18 yields a gain of four-tenths of one percent in productivity
19 growth.

20 The Administration's Department of Commerce
21 estimates that every dollar of construction investment
22 raises an additional 2.23 dollars in economic activity. And
23 since 1980, Federal direct public investment has dropped by
24 25 percent. The problem here, unlike so many other areas,
25 is not a lack of resources. In reality, there is a current

1 surplus in the highway trust fund exceeding \$17 billion.
2 The airport trust fund has a surplus in excess of \$14
3 billion. These funds are explicitly set aside to fund
4 improvements in highway and airport construction areas.
5 Yet, the President has proposed an obligation ceiling for
6 the next year, \$330 million less than the \$12.35 billion
7 ceiling established in the 1987 Highway Bill, and far less
8 than the \$15 billion ceiling proposed by the National
9 Governors' Association. The failure to spend the funds
10 accumulated in those trust funds might make the Federal
11 budget look smaller but they imperil our long term economic
12 health by robbing us of the foundations of that prosperity.

13 Since President Jefferson's time, the Federal
14 Government has played a pivotal role in developing a
15 nationwide system of roads and bridges. It's time to put
16 the trust back into the trust funds and to commit ourselves
17 as our forbearers did to investing in our infrastructure and
18 to ensuring our competitive future.

19 We will take up a variety of legislation this
20 year in the Congress, and we'll pass a child care bill
21 perhaps as early as the end of March in the House, pass a
22 tough clean air bill, the moral spill clean up legislation,
23 and I'm optimistic that we can pass a comprehensive campaign
24 finance reform bill. We also intend to complete action in
25 Congress. The House has already passed the so-called motor

1 voter law which will be, I think, passed by the Senate later
2 this year.

3 In health care, we're constantly seeking creative
4 ways to address the looming health care crisis. As a
5 nation, we spend, as you know, approximately 11 percent of
6 our gross national product on health care cost, yet 36
7 million Americans are without any health care insurance at
8 all. I understand my Governor, Booth Gardner, has made
9 health care reform his chief priority and I agree that
10 health care is one of the most important issues facing us as
11 a nation and a society, and we look forward to working with
12 you, Governors, in seeking solutions. Later this week, the
13 Pepper Commission, established to look at long term health
14 care problems, a bipartisan and bicameral committee of
15 Congress, is expected to make it's report.

16 On drugs, we're going to continue to seek ways to
17 fight this scourge that's attacking our society and our
18 families. It's of course a national problem. We have an
19 obligation to provide the resources needed to clean up our
20 streets. Last year, against the Administration's proposals,
21 the Congress tripled the \$450 million the amount of Federal
22 monies spent for state and local drug enforcement. I expect
23 that we will continue to pressure the Administration to
24 accept increases in these critical areas of assistance to
25 the states. We won't win the struggle overnight, of course,

1 or even in a few months or over a year or two, but we must
2 begin together to reclaim our streets and our schools and
3 our neighborhoods.

4 We are beginning a long process of reevaluating
5 our strategic needs and goals in the world. We will
6 continue to be cautious of virtually everyone of every
7 political and philosophical stripe agrees that our position
8 in the world has fundamentally changed and that the military
9 threat to the United States has lessened dramatically.
10 Richard Pearl, an associate of mine and former member of
11 President Reagan's Defense Department has testified that the
12 notion of a Warsaw Pact attack on Western Europe is
13 extraordinarily difficult to contemplate and that the past
14 three Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff have suggested
15 that we can consider postponing the modernization of our
16 strategic forces, at least to the extent of not needing two
17 new missile systems. James Schlesinger, former Secretary of
18 Defense for President Ford, has said that he believes the
19 United States forces in Europe can be cut to about 75,000.

20 The Administration has admitted that the Soviet
21 threat is now lower than any time since World War II.
22 Obviously, our first responsibility is to assure our
23 national security and, as a consequence, I don't foresee
24 immediate and dramatic reductions in the defense budget.
25 But over the course of the next several years, I think it's

1 reasonable to expect that the defense budget will reflect
2 the new environment and will be substantially lower in terms
3 of the overall budget and in terms of our gross national
4 product. This will create a debate about what we should do
5 with the defense funds. The so-called peace initiative is
6 already being debated extensively in the Congress. One of
7 my colleagues, after a weekend conference, sent me a note
8 saying, he felt that half of the peace dividend should be
9 applied to education and half of it to health, and half of
10 it to deficit reduction.

11 (Laughter.)

12 And half of it to tax reduction.

13 (Laughter.)

14 And half of it to the infrastructure, and half of it to
15 creating new mathematics to explain how six halves can equal
16 one whole.

17 (Laughter.)

18 But, despite that, I personally am more inclined
19 to the good sense I think, of the NGA in suggesting that
20 about half of it should be applied to the general social
21 deficit in the country and half to the fiscal deficit. We
22 will not want, however, for places to spend this money. It
23 is important to realize that in the first months, reductions
24 in defense spending are somewhat difficult, whether you
25 close bases or you bring troops home from Europe or you

1 cancel contracts or you engage in other general changes in
2 strategic and defense posture. The immediate impact is
3 sometimes to increase costs in the short term. But there's
4 no question over time that very significant savings will be
5 realized.

6 The challenges that we face as a country, I
7 think, are ones that give us an opportunity in this last
8 decade of this century to, as I say, readdress our focus
9 perhaps more at home while remaining an important and active
10 actor on the world stage -- the United States is not going
11 to forfeit its international role -- we can perhaps cede the
12 resources and certainly the time and attention to look to
13 where our country has gone and where it is going. And
14 perhaps, as many of us believe, the challenge of entering
15 the 21st century, a stronger, better educated, healthier
16 society, one in which we are more competitive, one in which
17 our position in the world is more secure, is a task and a
18 challenge for all of us to undertake with great seriousness.

19 As I said, we wish in the Congress to work with
20 the President. We have a divided government, divided
21 responsibility which has been the case since the end of
22 World War II; more often than not, mostly Republican
23 presidencies and mostly democratically-led Congresses. On
24 the other hand we will, from time to time, disagree, and
25 that is also part of the system, part of the undertaking of

1 our separation of powers Constitution. When we do disagree,
2 I hope we can disagree without rancor and without a residue
3 of ill will. Certainly, it's our view that the best ideas
4 of the Congress and the Executive Branch should be brought
5 forward in an effort to deal with our national problems and
6 challenges.

7 In all of this, the role of the states and the
8 governors is going to be extremely central. Thomas
9 Jefferson is one of my heros, and he once wrote to a friend,
10 what an augmentation in the fields for jobbing, speculating,
11 plundering, office building and office hunting would be
12 produced by the assumption of all of the states' powers into
13 the hand of the general governors. Our true theory of the
14 Constitution is surely that the wisest and the best is that
15 the states are independent as to everything within
16 themselves.

17 I'm not sure how totally independent you feel
18 today but the viability of the Federal system is being
19 improved and being demonstrated every day in this country.
20 And, as all of us who watch the affairs of the state and the
21 Federal Government know very well, some of the most
22 innovative and important steps are being taken not at the
23 federal level but at the state level. And we in the Federal
24 Government in the Congress and the Executive Branch look
25 forward to working with you as we confront these challenges

1 in the coming decade.

2 I want to personally express my gratitude to my
3 own Governor, Booth Gardner, and I know members of Congress
4 share this view with respect to their governors, for all the
5 cooperation and assistance and concern that he has exhibited
6 in having close and effective relations with the members of
7 the Congressional delegation. We are truly in a position of
8 great opportunity, and I hope that when the turn of the
9 century comes in ten years from now and we have an
10 opportunity to look back on this decade, we will all of us
11 look back on it with a sense of satisfaction and
12 achievement.

13 Thank you very much for the chance to be with
14 you.

15 (Applause.)

16 GOVERNOR GARDNER: Speaker Foley has generously
17 agreed to accept some questions. And I think that Governor
18 Sinner from North Dakota has the first question.

19 GOVERNOR SINNER: Mr. Speaker, you do good work.
20 And I want to ask for your help in a special problem. We in
21 the states' governors' chairs are literally reeling with
22 funding problems, just like you are. Our people have been
23 told over and over, no new taxes, by politicians at all
24 levels. Property taxes are skyrocketing to obscene levels.
25 The rich provide less and less support. The Federal

1 Government has a hopeless debt. Fortunately, we aren't
2 allowed to do that. We all want better education but with
3 local funding, of course, and that means higher taxes.

4 I'd like to ask your special help on another
5 problem and that's medicaid mandates. Tom, we can't handle
6 anymore. Can't you help us stop them? We have to
7 prioritize our spending in the states. Some of us have
8 horribly hurt economies. Prioritizing is extremely
9 difficult. You just have to let us decide what our
10 priorities are. We unanimously last year signed a letter to
11 Congress to ask them to ask you to stop sending us more
12 mandates. Now, I personally plead with you to stop them.

13 We're grateful for the options. We get mandates
14 even dropped on us in the middle of budget periods without
15 any time to plan or budget for them. There may not be a way
16 for us to legally resist these mandates, and I think we have
17 to try to do that. But can't Congress please let us run the
18 states? Why does it insist on giving us these mandates when
19 our own prioritizing is so difficult, from us, from our
20 point of view, and yet we have Congress try to do it. I
21 think we all feel pretty strongly about that. And we plead
22 with you to help us.

23 SPEAKER FOLEY: I think that's a concern that's
24 very well taken, Governor. I think that increasingly in the
25 House and the Senate, there's a recognition, largely because

1 of communications with the governors and the legislatures,
2 that Congressional mandates are an extremely serious
3 problem. The whole area of medicare is obviously one that's
4 troubling to the Congress. We are reluctant to restrict
5 benefits. We have exhausted many areas of potential savings
6 by restrictions on health providers and the Administration,
7 again, is pressing for even more savings in this area. So
8 it's one that's troubling all of us.

9 This is not an answer to your question, but I'm
10 interested to note that members of Congress are reporting to
11 me, at least, that in their home states, in their home
12 districts, they're getting more and more questions about
13 national health insurance. I'm not a proponent of that and
14 I'm not suggesting that, but it's interesting that after
15 years of relative quiet, the issue of a national health care
16 system is again, I think, bubbling up at the grass roots
17 level. In addition, many people in the industrial field,
18 including some of the major CEOs in the country, troubled by
19 the amount of money that is being required to meet labor
20 contracts, now are talking more about a system which removes
21 the cost of medical care from workers and from the company,
22 and places it on some kind of tax-based national level.

23 My concern with all of this is that the public, I
24 think, has the view as they do in so many areas that they're
25 presently paying enough, and the system should improve and

1 be widened and be deepened in all of its aspects and there
2 should be no additional cost. Whether that's possible or
3 not, that's the expectation we all deal with.

4 But I'll report your concern again to those who
5 are dealing with this area and it's a concern, I know,
6 shared by other governors.

7 GOVERNOR GARDNER: Governor Kunin of Vermont has
8 a question.

9 Governor Kunin?

10 GOVERNOR KUNIN: Thank you. Appreciate your
11 overview and your thoughtful remarks.

12 There are two areas that you mentioned that you
13 expect to see action this year, one the Clean Air Act, and
14 the other the Child Care Bill. I know of the action on the
15 Clean Air Act is now in the Senate, but could you give us
16 some more detail, particularly on the Child Care bill which
17 I believe is in your --

18 SPEAKER FOLEY: We have some, you know, perhaps,
19 Governor, we have some difference of opinion in the House
20 about how to proceed with the Child Care bill, and there is
21 some degree of jurisdictional dispute which I hope will be
22 resolved in the coming week or ten days. If it's not, I
23 intend to bring, do what I can to bring the Child Care bill
24 to the floor and let the House decide. That may lead us to
25 some rather tough and difficult votes and some perhaps even

1 angry disputes on the floor of the House. But one way or
2 the other, I am determined to move a Child Care bill to a
3 conference with the Senate this month or early next month.
4 And if it can't be done with what I hope will be an amicable
5 arrangement, it will be done simply by having the bill
6 brought to the floor and having those issues decided. As
7 you know, it's a question of whether we treat the bill as a
8 so-called ABC approach to it, or with a broadened
9 entitlement section. Some combination of both, I think is
10 the most likely to emerge.

11 GOVERNOR KUNIN: I could add to that, as a
12 thought, at the state level, we are very much counting on
13 action in that area and wish you every success of getting a
14 strong bill approved.

15 SPEAKER FOLEY: I think that's one of the
16 absolute must-pass bills as far as I'm concerned this year.

17 GOVERNOR GARDNER: Governor Ada from Guam.

18 GOVERNOR ADA: Mr. Speaker, I was interested in
19 your statement with respect to military closings of bases,
20 especially overseas. We have in Guam two military air bases
21 and as a result of the recent decision to deactivate the
22 B52s at Anderson Air Force Base, it certainly has adversely
23 impacted our economy. In that regard, sir, there were many
24 other military reductions that were occurring in Guam during
25 the past few years. It is our hope that Congress, and also

1 this National Governors' Association will support the
2 resolution that I am about to ask the Association to
3 consider.

4 That there will be a consolidation of the two Air
5 Force facilities, one, the naval station base in Guam, to be
6 consolidated with the Anderson Air Force Base in Guam and
7 dedicating over the Naval Base facility to the Guam
8 International Airport facility for us to expand at this
9 particular period of time because we need the additional
10 real estate to expand our facility and thus alleviate the
11 impact caused by the military deactivation of the various
12 facilities and operations in Guam.

13 I hope that I can get your consideration there
14 and support.

15 SPEAKER FOLEY: In these changes, of course, some
16 increases in base activity will probably result as well. I
17 think our talks with the Philippines are reaching critical
18 stage on the continuation of Clarke Field and Civic Bay base
19 rights in the Philippines. I think that there's a view in
20 the Congress that unless those negotiations can be
21 satisfactorily concluded, meaning without excessive cost to
22 the United States and with a clear political mandate by the
23 Philippine Government to continue them, we ought to move the
24 bases from the Philippines to American soil. The most
25 likely place may be Guam. So I wouldn't put it beyond the

1 possibility that we'll be enlarging military facilities in
2 Guam in the coming years.

3 GOVERNOR ADA: Mr. Speaker, I'd just like to --

4 SPEAKER FOLEY: I understand that's not what
5 you're asking.

6 GOVERNOR ADA: What we're saying is that we're
7 willing to entertain such a discussion. This has never been
8 brought to us or with respect to --

9 SPEAKER FOLEY: Well, I'm not making this
10 decision, you understand.

11 GOVERNOR ADA: -- we're willing to do our share,
12 as we've done for many years, but I'd just like to address
13 yourself, Mr. Speaker, that there are ample facilities in
14 Guam, especially Anderson Air Force base and there are two
15 other airport facilities in Guam that were never used for
16 ten, 15, 20 years that can be adequately used by any
17 potential fallback. And I also want to note that the
18 operation with respect to the Air Force activities at Clarke
19 Air Force base has to do with air to land exercise, and they
20 can't do that on a small island in Guam where they can't
21 practice shooting, you know, at a little piece of real
22 estate that our people are staying on.

23 (Laughter.)

24 GOVERNOR ADA: In the Philippines, they can do
25 that because they have an enormous mass of property that

1 they can target. And I appreciate very much that these are
2 considered during the deliberation of any contingency
3 fallback to Guam.

4 Thank you.

5 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Roemer of Louisiana
6 is next.

7 GOVERNOR ROEMER: Mr. Speaker, how are you doing?

8 On behalf of the governors, I'd like to ask your
9 help in an attempt that we're trying to make to deregulate
10 some of the education grants and funds, as well as JTPA.
11 When we met in Charlottesville with the President last
12 September, one of the items on our agenda with which the
13 President agreed was that if funding was going to be
14 difficult, one of the early victories we might have is to
15 share full accountability at state level but give us a
16 little more flexibility with the Federal funds. Without
17 naming names, and I won't do that, we're having a problem in
18 the Congress even getting the deregulation issue considered.
19 And I'd like to ask, on behalf of our governors, your
20 assistance in that. Respecting your Committee Chairman,
21 which I do, and I won't mention Gus' name at all.

22 (Laughter.)

23 GOVERNOR ROEMER: But and we're not asking you to
24 write the legislation for us. But we'd like a cooperative
25 hand with us. It's a victory for our children and it

1 doesn't mean anything from the taxpayers except better use
2 of their money.

3 SPEAKER FOLEY: I'll discuss with the Chairman
4 your concerns. We'll see what we can do.

5 GOVERNOR ROEMER: Thanks, Mr. Speaker.

6 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Jim Thompson from
7 Illinois.

8 GOVERNOR THOMPSON: Mr. Speaker, I'd like to go
9 back for a moment to the new math and the peace dividend.
10 I'm confused, I guess. Is there expected to be absolute
11 reduction in defense expenditures from the base in either
12 the near term or the long term, which I would call dividend,
13 or is there expected to be a reduction in growth of defense
14 expenditures which would lead you to the choice of spending
15 that money by continuing to borrow it or not spending it and
16 reducing the deficit automatically?

17 SPEAKER FOLEY: I think over time an absolute
18 reduction. Now, in the immediate future, in this current
19 budget year it's very difficult, even though you begin the
20 process, to realize immediate gains because bringing troops
21 home from Europe, for example, they have to be quartered
22 somewhere and all those things have to be adjusted in the
23 new budget. But over a five-year period, I think we're
24 increasingly going to be looking at budget problems in that
25 broad spectrum. I think there are very significant

1 reductions including absolute reductions in defense
2 spending.

3 GOVERNOR GARDNER: Governor Blanchard from
4 Michigan.

5 GOVERNOR BLANCHARD: Yes, thank you.

6 Thank you, Mr. Speaker, for being with us.

7 I think it's also fair to say to Governor Roemer,
8 that we need to make sure there's more flexibility with the
9 U.S. Department of Education, as well; not just members of
10 the Committee. But I have something else I wanted to
11 mention.

12 As we all watch the developments in Eastern
13 Europe, Latin America and Africa, I think it's important for
14 you, as the Speaker, and the Senate majority leader in
15 Congress, along with the President to find some serious way
16 that our country can celebrate the success of 45 years of a
17 strong bipartisan foreign policy, a policy I know you had
18 some very strong hand in with Scoop Jackson, and the
19 previous Presidents. But really when you think about it,
20 beginning with Truman and extending right up through
21 President Bush, the Congress and the Presidents have
22 succeeded in providing the framework and the support and the
23 stability all over the world for freedom to break out.

24 And I think it's important for the American
25 people to understand that after 45 years of this, we have

1 succeeded, and enjoy it in the sense that people have
2 sacrificed for years; through wars, foreign aid, incredibly
3 creative programs, whether it was the Marshall Plan or right
4 up until arms control negotiations. I think it's really
5 important for our country to understand that we've
6 succeeded.

7 And the changes in Europe and elsewhere now allow
8 us to make some changes here. That I think you can address,
9 not in bits and pieces with child care and this and that and
10 the other, but I think you need to address that over arching
11 issue that as to how we bring about the changes here
12 domestically to allow us to invest in our future. Then you
13 can quibble or argue about what that peace dividend is. But
14 I don't think there's any doubt that there's new emphasis in
15 America at home for its future as a result of your success
16 and the success of presidents and other congresses. And
17 it's worth celebrating and emphasizing, and not tinkering in
18 the margin.

19 SPEAKER FOLEY: Well, I agree with that. I
20 think, in addition, it's something that the public in
21 general should be credited for because in the last 40 years,
22 we have had really literally no political disagreement of
23 any consequence in supporting NATO, in supporting the
24 efforts that we've had to undertake as a country to meet the
25 military challenge, to meet the political challenge of the

1 Soviet Union and other adversaries.

2 The one slight problem I think we need to also
3 address is that our responsibilities do not end
4 internationally with the celebration of these elections in
5 Eastern Europe. It isn't going to be possible for the
6 United States simply to say, well, that's a job well done;
7 Now we'll go totally to domestic concerns. We still have an
8 international responsibility. Some of these states are
9 going to need, cooperatively with other countries, U.S.
10 assistance and support. In the case of Nicaragua, for
11 example, we ought to at least, in my judgment, be able to do
12 what we can to support the fledgling democracy in Nicaragua
13 that we did in an attempt to overthrow the government by
14 military force.

15 But we have a broad opportunity to make a start
16 here in addressing our problems at home, our particular
17 problems. I didn't try to go through and catalog them. I
18 think there is a physical infrastructure problem, an
19 education one, a health dimension to this that we need to
20 work on together. In some respects, I've been proposing
21 things that are not popular in this group and I'm not going
22 to thrust them on you.

23 But I, without much success, have suggested that
24 I think the Federal contribution to the infrastructure is
25 going to require an increase in Federal gasoline tax. We

1 have the lowest energy taxes in the world, taking state and
2 federal together, and the federal tax is not at the level
3 where it once was and, as you know, was not raised for very
4 many years. That currently has no support in the White
5 House; little support in the states and, I would gather,
6 probably no support here, but one of the things we're going
7 to have to be discussing as we move into these undertakings.

8 I'm in favor, as I've said, of exhausting the
9 trust fund and, for now, I guess we can resolve to do that.
10 After it's exhausted, we'll still have a heavy fiscal
11 deficit that will have to be dealt with in some way. And
12 from the Federal side, I think that requires some new
13 revenues.

14 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Bangerter of Utah.

15 GOVERNOR BANGERTER: Yes, Mr. Speaker, appreciate
16 your being here.

17 And relative to the gas tax, I think we'd have a
18 lot more comfort with it if it if we thought in terms that
19 it will be identified purely for highway construction.

20 SPEAKER FOLEY: No, no. That's what I'm
21 proposing.

22 GOVERNOR BANGERTER: And I think that's what
23 you're thinking about.

24 I wanted to pick up a little bit on what Governor
25 Sinner said and also what Governor Roemer said about the

1 mandates. We know that you're faced with the same challenge
2 as we are when it comes to health care costs, the increases
3 there. And if you pick them all up, we don't share; we
4 understand that although the mandates give us great trouble
5 and I share Governor Sinner's view.

6 On the education area, we've had a lot of debate
7 here between us, a little bit partisan from time to time
8 about whether we should have more money for education, or
9 whether we should continue that as a primarily state
10 responsibility. I think we'd feel a lot more comfortable
11 about the Federal Government putting more money into
12 education if you would back off the mandates. There's a
13 great fear that the more money you put in, the more mandates
14 we'll receive, the more program requirements we'll have. So
15 I'd just make that plea that if you will give us that help
16 which, I think we're unanimous around this table in desiring
17 that have those requirements freed up and have that greater
18 flexibility, then we can look more comfortably towards the
19 partnership that you essentially called for this morning,
20 and maybe identifying more money for education. I predict
21 none of us will turn it down, if you find the money to give
22 us.

23 (Laughter.)

24 SPEAKER FOLEY: Again, I want to repeat, I don't
25 think money is the complete answer. And I'm very reluctant

1 to have that suggestion that all we need to do is increase
2 federal spending for education, state and federal spending.

3 On the other hand, I am troubled, as I have said,
4 by the fact that the Administration, when they talk about
5 federal spending put the United States second among all
6 nations of the world in total spending for education. That
7 is true only if you include all higher education spending
8 where we spend rather more than other countries, and if you
9 take certain other statistical liberties with the result.
10 And I think that perhaps is not the way to look at the
11 education problem now through the kind of sanguine glasses
12 of assuming that the United States is ahead of most of our
13 competitors in education spending. It's not true if you
14 look at that critical cage of kindergarten to twelfth grade
15 area.

16 But, in any case, it's been a pleasure to be
17 here. I hope that we can find ways to work more effectively
18 together. I certainly will take the message on the mandates
19 back to my colleagues in the Congress. And we welcome
20 whatever ways we can find in the Congress to work together
21 with the National Governors' Association in meeting our
22 common challenges.

23 Thank you very much.

24 (Applause.)

25 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Speaker Foley, we are proud

1 of the integrity that you bring to the office of Speaker,
2 both for your forthright presentation and your
3 responsiveness to the questions of the Governors'
4 Association. We look forward to working with you and with
5 your colleagues in the Congress.

6 At this point, I'm going to call on Governor Jim
7 Thompson from Illinois to report on the Task Force on Global
8 Climate Change.

9 Governor Thompson.

10 GOVERNOR THOMPSON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 Well, you gave me an exciting topic to explore in
12 my last year as Governor. And far from noncontroversial, as
13 well, I might add. Thank you very much.

14 I began knowing nothing about global warming and
15 now after six months of effort, know less.

16 (Laughter.)

17 And there may be a message in that. I'm sure my
18 task force will be looking to see if knowing less than we do
19 at the beginning tells us something. In any event, we've
20 been working hard. We began at the United Nations with our
21 first task force meeting where we heard from all the experts
22 who absolutely conflicted with each other. We heard an
23 address by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on this issue,
24 as well.

25 We moved on to Sacramento, California, with great

1 assistance from Governor George Deukmejian, and looked at
2 alternative renewable sources of energy, in this case, a
3 photovoltaic system. We go next, under the sponsorship of
4 Governor Roemer, to New Orleans to talk about projected sea
5 level rises in the event of significant warming. And then
6 we move, for our final field meeting, to the state of our
7 Vice Chairman, Governor Kunin of Vermont.

8 In the mean time, we held a meeting yesterday,
9 two and a half hours, of the task force which was attended
10 at one time by eleven governors, including you, Mr.
11 Chairman; thank you for your appearance. And heard from a
12 panel of Administration experts, environmentalists and
13 representatives of business sector. And so we hope to have,
14 and in fact, we will have our findings and goals on the
15 issue of global climate change ready for presentation to
16 you, Mr. Chairman, at the annual meeting in Mobile.

17 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Jim Thompson, thank
18 you very much. I appreciate having your experienced and
19 capable leadership taking on this very challenging and very
20 very important issue.

21 And now, for purposes of an introduction, let me
22 say, first of all, we are pleased to have a former colleague
23 who is a distinguished leader in the environmental movement
24 as a guest speaker. And to introduce him, I'm pleased to
25 introduce the Governor of the State of Delaware, Governor

1 Mike Castle.

2 GOVERNOR CASTLE: Thank you very much, Mr.
3 Chairman. And congratulations to you, sir, on a very
4 successful meeting, which we have just gone through.

5 Russ Peterson was the Governor of the State of
6 Delaware from 1969 until 1973. He is noted as the Governor
7 who converted the state government in Delaware from the
8 commission form of government to a cabinet formation in our
9 state, something for which many of us held him and something
10 for which many people still talk about him, because it's
11 always a problem in our state, even today, as you and I both
12 know.

13 As the Governor of Delaware, he was responsible
14 for the passage of something called "the Coastal Zone Act."
15 You must understand -- this is a geography lesson -- that
16 Delaware is 100 miles long altogether, but 100 miles of our
17 length is along the Atlantic Ocean, the Delaware Bay, and
18 the Delaware River. And Russ Peterson was responsible,
19 almost singlehandedly although with the support of a lot of
20 others, when he got a ruling for passing this Coastal Zone
21 Act, which prohibited industrial development of that area,
22 something for which he has been hailed and should be hailed
23 throughout the world, because it has made a great difference
24 in the environment and in our state.

25 From 1979 to 1985, he was the President and Chief

1 Executive Officer of the National Audubon Society, and he
2 worked to focus the environmental movement of a long-term
3 global and holistic approach to quality of life issues. He
4 was a prime mover of the creation of the "Global Tomorrow
5 Coalition," that centered on the Consequences of Nuclear War
6 and a better world society. He chaired a project of a group
7 of ten national environmental leaders to develop an
8 environmental agenda for the future, he co-chaired a
9 committee of chemical industry and environmental chief
10 executive officers which helped persuade Congress to support
11 expanded research at ETA.

12 During 26 years with the DuPont Company, he
13 advanced through management assignments in research,
14 production, and sales, to Director of the Development
15 Department's research and development division which he
16 organized and which was responsible for initiating new
17 business ventures for the company.

18 As a result of his commitment and work to ensure
19 environmental protection, he has been the recipient of more
20 than 13 national awards including the American Chemical
21 Society's Parson's Award and the National Wildlife
22 Federation's 1971 Conservationist of the Year Award. And he
23 has received 13 honorary doctorates from prestigious
24 universities throughout the United States of America.

25 Finally, he is the author of numerous

1 publications in journals and periodicals on population,
2 resources and environment, science and technology, public
3 administration, commercial development, criminal justice,
4 world affairs, citizen action, technology assessment and
5 education. And to me, he is a beacon that there is light
6 after being the Governor of the State of Delaware.

7 (Laughter.)

8 GOVERNOR CASTLE: So I am very pleased to
9 introduce to you, today, former Governor Russell Peterson,
10 Dr. Russell Peterson.

11 (Applause.)

12 DR. PETERSON: Thank you, Governor Castle, my
13 friend, for that generous introduction.

14 Governor Branstad, distinguished governors, good
15 morning every one. It's good to be back at a National
16 Governors' Association meeting. I remember well my first
17 meeting with National Governors'. It was back in December
18 of 1968 after I had been elected but not yet sworn in. We
19 met in California. Governor Reagan was the host. The first
20 night, we drove to a beautiful canyon, where we mounted
21 horses to ride to a barbecue. As we assembled, my horse
22 wandered seemingly uncontrollably. I had never heard of
23 western reins, nor had the horse that I rode on a farm in
24 Wisconsin. Ronald Reagan and Nelson Rockefeller on their
25 horses were chatting. My horse moved over and nudged in

1 between their two horses. I was really embarrassed. And
2 ever since, those two segments of our party have been split.

3 (Laughter.)

4 DR. PETERSON: Thank you for the opportunity to
5 suggest how you governors might expand your important role
6 in addressing national and global, international
7 environmental problems. I know all of you are much bowed
8 with such concerns, and some of you are out front in dealing
9 with it; providing bold and innovative approaches.

10 The problem is of such crisis proportions,
11 however, that it calls for all fifty of you to bring the
12 full power of your offices to bear in moving environmental
13 concerns to the forefront of the national agenda.
14 Certainly, that it where it belongs, for the quality of all
15 life on earth is increasingly threatened by a powerful and
16 growing ecological force. We humans are that force, ever
17 more of us, using ever more materials, assaulting the
18 environment with ever more machines, chemicals, weapons and
19 waste.

20 One handicap of environmentalism is that it is
21 concerned primarily with the future; mostly the long range
22 future while most decisionmakers, in and out of government,
23 are concerned primarily with the present. Now that we are
24 catching up with the fringes of that future, its symptoms
25 become problems of the present and increasingly gain

1 attention of the decisionmakers. Suddenly, nearly everyone
2 is an environmentalist. However, the extreme nature of the
3 impending crisis is still not comprehended by many people.
4 It calls for people with authority, like you governors, the
5 President and the members of Congress, to provide the vision
6 necessary to articulate the threat, and the boldness to
7 invest resources today so as to earn a more secure future.

8 Let's review what we homo sapiens are doing;
9 poisoning our air, water and food, the essentials of life;
10 changing the climate, destroying the life-protecting ozone
11 layer; eroding the soils, deforesting the earth, spreading
12 the deserts, wiping out other species, destroying wild
13 areas, raining down acid, oiling the waterways, fouling the
14 beaches, manufacturing radioactive waste, despoiling parks
15 and refuges. The prime cause of all of this is exponential
16 growth, growth both in the number of humans and in the use
17 of natural resources.

18 We need to give more attention to the kind of
19 growth we want, growth in the quality of life of the
20 individual or growth in a community, it's goods and
21 services. Growth in the former is slipping. The number of
22 people worldwide living in absolute poverty, a condition
23 below any reasonable definition of human decency, has now
24 grown to 1.2 billion. As they scrounge for a living, they
25 are destroying the resource base on which their livelihood

1 is dependent. Among them, 40,000 children die each day from
2 causes readily avoided in more affluent countries. No other
3 tragedy comes close to this one. At the same time, the rich
4 all over the world are getting richer, using ever more
5 resources, each having many times the impact on the
6 environment as one of the poor.

7 The world population has more than doubled since
8 World War II, and is now growing in absolute number faster
9 than ever before, approximately 90 million more this year.
10 The world economy has grown more than five fold since World
11 War II, and is projected to grow five to ten fold over the
12 next half century, and that is over the remaining life time
13 of today's universities' students. The cumulative impact on
14 the environment of these two forces provides an awesome
15 challenge to state, national and world leadership.

16 All is not gloom and doom, however. Much of what
17 needs to be done to further our mutually assured survival is
18 known. What is required is the will to apply existing
19 resources to do the job. Twenty years ago growing concern
20 about the environment, triggered in part by Earth Day
21 demonstrations, set off a stream of action at all levels of
22 government. Much progress was made. Then came the 1980s
23 when the Federal Administration abandoned its leadership in
24 this field, turning the clock back on environmental
25 protection.

1 State governments have done much to fill the
2 breach; the private organization, Renew America, with the
3 aid of your Chairman, Governor Branstad, is reporting in a
4 study called "Searching for Success," the many programs the
5 states have instituted. It is an impressive list. Renew
6 America's rating of the states over the past three years
7 placed California, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Massachusetts,
8 Oregon and New York out front. No level of government can
9 do the job alone. We need political leadership that will
10 turn on the whole world, public and private groups, to this
11 task.

12 The recent flurry of international conferences
13 and protocols on environmental issues and speeches by world
14 leaders, such as President Bush, President Gorbachev, and
15 Prime Minister Thatcher have been encouraging. Secretary
16 Baker's speech here, yesterday, was a welcome recognition of
17 global environmental problems. President Bush has made a
18 number of good moves for protecting the environment.
19 Appointing Bill Reilly to head EPA, starting to rejuvenate
20 the Council on Environmental Quality which I used to head,
21 supporting a stronger Clean Air Act, and asking for
22 increased funding in 1991 for soil erosion, or I better say
23 for soil conservation, reforestation and research on climate
24 change.

25 This increased funding, however, comes from

1 cutting other environmental programs by an equal amount.
2 Although EPA's current budget in constant dollars is what it
3 was ten years ago when EPA had half its current workload,
4 the President's 1991 budget actually cuts EPA's total funds
5 in constant dollars by three percent. They also cut in half
6 the Department of Energy's program in Energy Conservation,
7 and slashed the budget for public transportation. The jury
8 is still out on whether or not President Bush will become
9 the environmental president. It is urgent that he do so.
10 But to do so, he must make his budgets match his words.

11 Poll after poll shows that the people of our
12 country, 75 percent or more, believe protecting the
13 environment is very important. And a majority state that
14 they are willing to pay more to protect it. This is a
15 potent latent force waiting to be mobilized by committed
16 political leadership. As you know, next April 22nd will be
17 the 20th anniversary of Earth Day. Many organizations all
18 around the world are working to plan major activities that
19 day to launch the decade of the environment. Millions will
20 be involved here in the United States. Nearly every
21 community and campus will participate. I believe a
22 tremendous sustained surge in the environmental movement is
23 about to occur, raising environmental concerns to the top of
24 the national agenda.

25 What are the requirements for the necessary

1 environmental actions? First is a moral commitment to the
2 task, and then the political will to put up the resources to
3 do the job. No token appropriation will suffice. What is
4 required by our Federal Government is, as a starter, an
5 increase in funding of at least \$50 billion per year.
6 States need to think big, too, like Governor Cuomo is doing
7 in pushing for a \$1.9 billion bond act to acquire and save
8 critical natural areas for future generations.

9 Additional funds are needed for national and
10 global programs to reduce population growth, further more
11 efficient use of energy and develop renewable sources of
12 energy, reforest the earth, promote alternative forms of
13 agriculture, acquire and protect critical habitat, encourage
14 development of industrial processes and lifestyles that
15 avoid the production of waste, recycle and recover
16 materials, clean up the inherited pollution and educate
17 people to think comprehensively, globally and long term.

18 Each of you has experts working on most of these
19 issues. You don't need me to run through this long list,
20 advising you what to do. I will use my remaining time this
21 morning to focus on issues which I believe are most in need
22 of increased attention. I hope, however, that some of your
23 staff will take the time to read the longer paper that I
24 have prepared.

25 First, it's essential to all of us on earth that

1 population growth be stopped as soon as possible. Even at
2 the current population level of 5.3 billion, the rate of
3 degradation of the resource base on which life is dependent
4 is so great that it is questionable whether human kind could
5 provide a decent quality of life with this number on a
6 sustainable basis. The Reagan Administration's cutting off
7 all of the United States' major funding of the two most
8 effective international family planning agencies was a
9 serious blow to population stabilization, as was the recent
10 veto by President Bush of Congress' attempt to correct this
11 policy. By withholding these funds, the United States has
12 denied millions of poor women the means of avoiding unwanted
13 pregnancies, thereby increasing abortions and the birth into
14 absolute poverty of large numbers of children who will
15 suffer and die from hunger and neglect.

16 We must convince our Federal Government to
17 markedly increase family planning and other socioeconomic
18 aid and to fund research on new contraceptives. This
19 environmental program so vital to all life must not be
20 ignored.

21 The second environmental issue I wish to
22 highlight is the need to face up to the future development
23 and use of energy, so basic to our way of life, but after
24 population growth, the most serious cause of environmental
25 deterioration. Of particularly concern today, as you well

1 know, is the burning of fossil fuels. It leads to urban
2 smog, acid rain, oil spills, and the greenhouse gas carbon
3 dioxide, all of which are increasingly demanding your
4 attention.

5 By far the best route to cope with these problems
6 and the best single protect-the-environment effort the
7 states can undertake is to further the soft energy pad. And
8 that is to develop more efficient use of energy and
9 renewable sources of energy. It is also a key to reducing
10 energy costs, making industry more competitive, reducing oil
11 imports, and reducing the need for nuclear power with its
12 attendant nuclear waste and nuclear weapon proliferation
13 problems.

14 As a result of Federal, state and local programs
15 and efforts in the private sector, impressive progress was
16 made in the 1970s and early '80s in using energy more
17 efficiently. Now we use 25 percent less energy per dollar
18 of GNP than we did in 1974. A major broad based soft energy
19 program launched by our Federal Government in the 1970s was
20 scuttled in the 1980s. Although some of President Bush's
21 team now thought positively about this program, his 1991
22 budget cut its funding once again. We need the Federal
23 Government and all 50 states vigorously pushing this top
24 priority program.

25 There is a major stake in getting electric

1 utility companies to invest heavily in helping residential
2 and commercial buildings to install energy saving
3 facilities. However, the way electricity rates are now
4 established, the utilities have an incentive to sell more
5 electricity and a disincentive to save, although some
6 states, following California's example, now allow rate
7 increases to cover losses from conservation. I believe that
8 progress toward maximizing the more efficient use of
9 electricity would be mightily accelerated if the states
10 established in each area now assigned to the current
11 electric supply utility, a new public conservation utility
12 with the authority to raise funds and invest them in energy
13 conservation projects. The state public service commission
14 would then decide whether to approve the current electric
15 supply utility's request to build more generating facilities
16 or the conservation utility's request to invest in energy
17 efficient facilities.

18 Solar energy is the renewable natural resource
19 which promises to provide the key to our energy future.
20 Already it provides commercially in the United States more
21 energy than nuclear plants at prices competitive with oil
22 and gas. California is leading the way in this area. A
23 major long range promise is the use of electricity produced
24 by a photovoltaic generator to electrolyze water, producing
25 the clean burning fuel, hydrogen. I predict that someday,

1 pipelines and tank trucks will be transporting hydrogen from
2 the deserts of our Sunbelt states, just like they transport
3 oil from the oil states today. This development merits
4 major research funding by state and Federal Government and
5 private industry. Increased energy efficiency and renewable
6 source of energy provide the best routes to mitigating the
7 global warming threat. Through their use, the United States
8 could achieve a 50 percent reduction in the carbon dioxide
9 emissions over the next 20 years. Since this development
10 can be justified by the other economic and environmental
11 merits I discussed earlier, President Bush and you governors
12 should push it, in spite of some people's uncertainty about
13 the global warming theory.

14 Some of the news in the global warming threat
15 could justify a born-again nuclear energy industry. Rather
16 than trying to revitalize this dying horse, we should
17 vitalize a healthy colt, soft energy. Even if nuclear power
18 plants could be brought to the dream state of one hundred
19 percent freedom from accidents and least cost, they would
20 still suffer from their terminal ailments of nuclear waste
21 production and nuclear weapon proliferation. The next major
22 accident in the world's aging nuclear industry will settle
23 this debate.

24 Although most business is now getting the message
25 that despoilment harms everyone's bottom line, some business

1 leaders, like some political leaders, continue to claim that
2 environmental regulations cost jobs. That claim is now
3 being exposed for the blackmail it is by the growing chorus
4 of financial analysts who see environmental entrepreneuring
5 as the next major growth market. Although some business
6 leaders, like Ed Willard of DuPont, are committing their
7 companies "to performance worldwide that places its
8 environmental stewardship fully in line with public
9 expectations," some at the other extreme continue to violate
10 the community's environmental regulations with little, if
11 any, penalty. Governments need to crack down on these
12 culprits. Let me ask you, who should pay the greater
13 penalty: the executive responsible for dumping poisonous
14 wastes into the community sewer system or the teenager for
15 dumping marijuana into a community neighborhood?

16 As I stated earlier, if we are to save our global
17 environment, we must be more future-oriented. You know,
18 governments must invest more of our resources today to
19 ensure a decent future. Our Federal Government, over the
20 past nine years, has not been forward looking; it has been
21 living it up today; to Hell with the future, borrowing
22 environmentally and economically from our grandchildren.
23 It is insulting to us citizens of affluent America to be
24 treated as paupers, to be told we can't afford to pay for a
25 decent future. As Paul Volker, Chairman of the Federal

1 Reserve Board from 1979 to '87, wrote last month, "we are
2 still the largest and richest economy the world has ever
3 seen. There are no inexorable economic or external forces,
4 no new burdens that demand we withdraw from leadership. If
5 it happens, it will be our own choosing."

6 Now is the time for affluent America to adopt a
7 decade of the environment tax; to apply it to saving the
8 world's environment. A gasoline tax, for example, of one
9 dollar per gallon with gas stamps for the poor would provide
10 \$100 billion per year, and at the same time, put market
11 forces to work to further the much needed energy efficiency
12 revolution. Every other developed nation already taxes
13 gasoline well beyond one dollar per gallon. If you
14 governors, the President, and members of Congress would
15 jointly and repetitively articulate for the people the need
16 for some decade of the environment tax to invest in their
17 future, I believe you would find yourselves out front of a
18 glorious parade, a crusade to save the biosphere, or, if one
19 prefers, a crusade to save the creation.

20 Although I believe that your following the gems
21 of wisdom I have provided today will help save the world, I
22 realize that it could also help to get you unelected.

23 (Laughter.)

24 But let me assure you, that latter course isn't so bad,
25 especially when one gets invited back to speak to fifty of

1 the most powerful and influential leaders in our country.

2 (Applause.)

3 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Dr. Peterson, I think you've
4 challenged all of us. You've spent 30 years as a scientist
5 and businessman with DuPont Company and I'd like to ask you
6 how the private sector is responding to the environmental
7 challenges, and how we, as governors, can get the businesses
8 in our states to work with us as partners in addressing the
9 environmental challenges that face us in our state.

10 DR. PETERSON: I think the private sector,
11 industry, has come a long way over the last 20 years. And
12 as I said in my remarks, the business community as a whole
13 now places environmental protection as a priority issue. In
14 fact, the Conference Board recently stated that it was the
15 most important issue that business should be paying
16 attention to.

17 On the other hand, I know that people still stick
18 to that old myth that environmental protection hurts the
19 economy. You can't have a healthy economy over the long run
20 without a healthy environment. Many more jobs and
21 investment opportunities have been created by environmental
22 regulation than have been lost. In fact, EPA used to keep
23 track of the number of jobs that were lost. When I was head
24 of the Council on Environmental Quality, I worked with them
25 closely on this and it was very hard to find any examples of

1 where were jobs were lost. I could find a few hundred,
2 mostly with companies that were in such bad shape with out-
3 of-date equipment, they ought to have been shut down for
4 competitive reasons anyway.

5 But the number of jobs created is large, indeed.
6 You think about the jobs created for putting a catalytic
7 converter on an automobile, producing the platinum catalyst
8 and the aluminum oxide substrate and the stainless steel
9 container, the workers' jobs on the assembly line, and in
10 the filling stations maintaining them. It was a major
11 stimulus to the economy. And what did it do? It produced
12 clean air. I never heard anybody complaining about the
13 manufacture of air conditioners as hurting the economy.
14 What did it do? It produced cool air.

15 Now, I think we need tougher enforcement at the
16 Federal level and the state level. More people need to be
17 hired in enforcement assignment to see that those companies
18 and that that are still dragging their feet get in line with
19 the current forces at work. But I think that you governors
20 should be looking to businesses as citizens of your state,
21 like you look at individuals as citizens of the state, and
22 see to it that they live up to your objectives, to the
23 state's objectives in providing for a decent future. And I
24 believe you'll find growing support for that view.

25 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Madeline Kunin of

1 Vermont.

2 GOVERNOR KUNIN: Thank you for your very
3 outspoken remarks and for your final observation, as well.
4 But I think, personally, that it is also good politics to be
5 a good environmentalist and that the public is very much in
6 favor of strong action. But it is sometimes difficult to
7 create the sense urgency, as you so appropriately pointed
8 out, about an uncertain future. We saw that in the global
9 warming discussion, yesterday, where there's a real question
10 of it's a whole policy of no regrets that the Washington
11 Administration and the President have articulated, saying
12 we're going to go so far but what we can actually see, but
13 we don't want to go further because it would be too big a
14 financial risk and we haven't done the full financial
15 analysis to make us certain. What this hinged around was
16 whether, by the year 2,000, we should have stabilized carbon
17 dioxide according to 1990 standards. This is a real
18 debating point.

19 How do you get that future vision and commitment
20 to changing the status quo, even if you don't have all the
21 dollars in place, knowing that if you don't act, you may in
22 fact have regrets and you may not be able to reverse the
23 course because it will be too late? How do you get this
24 clear and present danger into the discussion of future
25 possibilities?

1 DR. PETERSON: Well, I think you get that by
2 people who are the best educators, for better or worse, in
3 our society; and they are the President, the governors and
4 others who articulate the message to the people. I've been
5 working with research people for many years, in large
6 research division, and having been head of the Office of
7 Technology Assessment, I realize that we're never going to
8 get scientists to all agree on the nature of the threat.
9 But we do know -- in fact, as far as I understand, there's
10 no argument about the fact that more carbon dioxide's being
11 emitted, that the amount in the atmosphere has been
12 increasing by direct measurement, that carbon dioxide does
13 absorb infrared radiation of the earth and lead to warming.
14 The argument is over the what will be the magnitude of that
15 warming and what will be some secondary things triggered off
16 by this initial action, and how long will it be before we'd
17 be in deep trouble.

18 But the states are so tremendous that we need
19 people with the guts to speak out for the need to invest
20 today, to buy the insurance to protect against these
21 tremendous costs, if the theory is sound. And I believe
22 that the only people who can make that judgment and affect
23 the community's decision are people in positions such as
24 you. And I suggest you grab the bullet here and say to the
25 people in the country, this is a major threat. We can't be

1 sure to what extent it is or when it may occur, but the
2 consequences are so great that we need to move now to do
3 something to avoid. And there are things we can do, which
4 we ought to be doing anyway, just as I mentioned. That
5 under the cloud of this threat ought to be market
6 accelerated. I don't mean hundreds of thousands of dollars
7 put into energy efficiency; I mean something like \$10, \$20
8 billion put into energy efficiency.

9 When you think about how we spend like \$5 billion
10 on star wars which was a goal sort of like Ponce de Leon
11 searching for the fountain of youth, and contrast that with
12 the piddling amount we put into this energy efficiency, it's
13 ridiculous. So I'd say, let's move ahead with the things we
14 know will have a major impact in this area and get all the
15 benefits we ought to be getting for them anyway. And those
16 things are; push energy efficiency, plant more trees, reduce
17 the burning of fossil fuels, as a result.

18 I don't know, Governor, if that answers your
19 question, or not. It was an attempt to do so.

20 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Jim Thompson from
21 Illinois. This will be the last question.

22 GOVERNOR THOMPSON: Governor, one of the issues
23 that keeps arising in the task force discussions on global
24 climate change is the relative percentage of the U.S.
25 contribution to the gases which effect global climate change

1 versus the contribution of the rest of the world and
2 especially the developing world. And sort of a frustration
3 with the notion that we could, in any reasonable way, get
4 countries like China, the Soviet Union, the countries of
5 South America, to stop burning coal, or indeed encouraging
6 the growth of coal burning in those countries or the
7 deforestation that we see going on in the Amazon, how do we,
8 a rich, prosperous nation tell poor nations of the world
9 that they cannot do those things which we two hundred years
10 ago did to become a rich, prosperous nation? I guess that's
11 the question.

12 DR. PETERSON: I think by showing leadership.
13 I've dealt with many developing countries on environmental
14 issues and on the population issue. The statement you made
15 is one which was used repetitively, in fact, still is. How
16 are you going to get developing countries that are
17 struggling to reach a higher standard of living to abide by
18 environmental regulations when they are anxious to do as we
19 did in the past, to move ahead economically while we said
20 the Hell with the environment, so to speak. They also said,
21 how are you going to get those countries to reduce
22 population growth?

23 Well, over the years, the developing countries'
24 leadership has repeatedly shown an understanding of the fact
25 that if they didn't move with processes and equipment that

1 reduced environmental degradation, that they were going to
2 have more serious problems. And the same thing with the
3 population. They used to be particularly critical of China.
4 Now China has shown the world how you can have a major
5 reduction by education in population growth.

6 I think that if the United States, through
7 international operations and by the example of our own
8 actions, if we show them how important this is, the
9 developing countries would follow suit. In fact, in many
10 cases, like innovative pest management, China has been out
11 in front in many aspects of that for years. The developing
12 technology saw that a little brazier could get twice as much
13 energy out of a piece of wood as the current ones, which
14 only use five percent of the energy, would double the
15 lifetime of the available forests in those countries.

16 So I think you need to not assume that those
17 people are stupid in the developing countries. With some
18 understanding and exposure to alternatives, they will go
19 down the same road we want to go down in most cases. So
20 let's be the leaders and teach the world, not only with our
21 words but with our dollars and with the examples of our
22 actions.

23 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Peterson, thank you
24 very much.

25 (Applause.)

1 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: At this time, I'd like to
2 call on Governor Guy Hunt from Alabama, to give us some
3 remarks about the upcoming annual meeting in Mobile this
4 summer.

5 Governor Hunt?

6 GOVERNOR HUNT: Thank you, Governor Branstad.

7 And it's certainly going to be a pleasure to have
8 all of you governors down. We hope all of you plan to come.
9 I know some of you are thinking about retiring because you
10 cannot run again, Governor Celeste. We hope that doesn't
11 mean that you won't be down at the meeting because we will
12 try to throw you a good retirement party. You can either do
13 it deep sea fishing or sunning on the beach or eating our
14 seafood or all the other things that the good people --

15 GOVERNOR CELESTE: Mr. Chairman, count me in.

16 GOVERNOR HUNT: Well, that seems to be what I
17 need to do. But as you can tell by the reception the other
18 evening, the staff people who are here with the governors,
19 Mobile is very enthusiastic. But this is a big event for us
20 in Alabama and we're just; we welcome with open arms, and we
21 want all of you governors and your aides, as many as ten, to
22 come and stay as long as you can. I know those of you not
23 running next year will have a better opportunity than some
24 of the rest of us. But we will be in touch with you. We
25 will have, as you know, ships available for deep sea

1 fishing. If you want to come earlier and stay later, the
2 golf courses, as Governor Carruthers asked about, will be
3 open. And we will try to make sure that -- we cannot
4 guarantee the score -- but we will try to do the best we can
5 to make it the best Governors' Conference we've ever had.
6 And that'll be our goal, and to have all of you there will
7 be the first step toward it. And we'll try to do our part
8 to take it from there.

9 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Hunt, we're looking
10 forward to your famous southern hospitality. I've been to
11 Mobile; it's a beautiful city and I think it's going to be a
12 great conference. And we appreciate that you and your staff
13 and your state are hosting us, and we'll look forward to
14 having everybody come to Mobile. And I want to thank you
15 for the packet of information that you I think gave, you and
16 your wife have given each of the governors. Thank you very
17 much.

18 We're ready to go to the adoption of the proposed
19 policy positions of the various standing committees and also
20 suspensions. We will consider the revised and new committee
21 policy positions that were sent to you on February 9th. You
22 have before you these committee policy positions plus any
23 amendments made by the Executive Committee or the standing
24 committees during this winter meeting. There are several
25 resolutions. Please note that the resolutions can only

1 recognize persons, places or events or support existing
2 policy of the Association; no new policy is adopted by means
3 of resolutions. These policies and the resolutions will
4 require a two-thirds vote of those present and voting.

5 We will take the policies in the alphabetical
6 order, by committee, and then we will take up the
7 suspensions last. And you will recall that on Sunday, we
8 approved the education goals and two resolutions that came
9 out of the Executive Committee. So the Executive Committee
10 issues have already been approved by the Association.

11 To expedite matters, we will vote in bloc on the
12 proposals of each committee except where there is a request
13 made to consider the policy proposals individually.

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1 I will ask the Committee Chairs to move the
2 adoption of their policy positions after explaining the
3 policy positions. We'll begin in alphabetical order with
4 the Committee on Agriculture and World Development. And the
5 chair recognizes Governor Mickelson from South Dakota for
6 that report.

7 GOVERNOR MICKELSON: Mr. Chairman, I appreciate
8 the opportunity to address this issue. I couldn't help,
9 since we ran out of time and I couldn't make a comment when
10 Governor Peterson was testifying. I believe that there are
11 lots of things of the awareness that has been heightened on
12 environmental issues all across this nation is extremely
13 important. And our legislature that just went home last
14 weekend, we adopted a two-year moratorium on surface mining
15 with the cooperation of the mining industry, led by Home
16 State Mining Company and I think that all of the private
17 organizations are to be congratulated on that. As we have
18 talked about education and environmental issues in this
19 Governor's Conference, I think all of those issues permeate
20 each other.

21 And that has nothing to do with the agricultural
22 rural development policy issue which I'm going to discuss.
23 But I do believe that 1990 promises to be a watershed year
24 for American agriculture and certainly rural development.
25 As we have legislation on rural development that is weaving

1 its way through Congress. I think that the environmental
2 issues that permeate those kinds of things is also
3 exemplified by the attendance at our committee meeting,
4 yesterday, of Secretary Yeuter of the Department of
5 Agriculture, and Administrator Reilly of the Environmental
6 Protection Agency, as we understand how in rural areas and
7 in promoting agriculture in this nation, that we have to be
8 sensitive to environmental concerns.

9 The Committee on Agriculture and Rural
10 Development adopted two amendments to the current NGA
11 policies and I'll move the policies in a bloc.

12 The first amends the current policy, numbered
13 G-8. Agricultural Chemical Safety. And the current law
14 requires that in order for pesticides to be used on a crop,
15 it has to be federally-registered for that use. In the
16 instance of what a registering company considers to be a
17 minor use, like potatoes in Idaho and tobacco in North
18 Carolina, the cost of registration may mean that producers
19 will not have pesticides available for use. The amendment
20 to G-8 as adopted by the Committee asks that Congress
21 recognize and address this problem in their amendments to
22 Federal pesticide legislation.

23 The second policy amends G-11. The 1990 farm
24 policy legislation, as adopted this year, will provide a
25 legislative blueprint for agricultural programs for the next

1 five years in this nation and it will be debated this year,
2 hopefully early this year. Significant factors beyond the
3 scope of mere agricultural production will influence the
4 shape of that legislation. Interest in protecting and
5 maintaining our natural resource base in agriculture is at
6 an all time high in this nation. The amendments adopted by
7 the Agriculture and Rural Development Committee suggests to
8 Congress a series of changes in current programs that can
9 help farmers strengthen their commitment to the environment,
10 mostly through education, the things that we're talking
11 about in this conference.

12 The first amendment endorses providing farmers
13 with more options in planning decisions without having them
14 forego federal program benefits. Current farm programs make
15 it harder to farm in an environmentally responsible manner.
16 Now, a program that will increase farmers' flexibility
17 without creating market distortions is called for, and
18 that's what the amendment deals with.

19 The second amendment then to that, clarifies
20 current farm policy language on the conservation reserve
21 program. The amendment states that environmentally
22 sensitive lands, as well as highly erodible lands should be
23 included in the 45 billion acre potential CRP cap, or goal,
24 I should say. Further, as a means to better coordinate
25 state and federal resources for conservation, the policy

1 calls for priority to be given to lands identified in state
2 non-point source management plans.

3 And the third amendment outlines research needs
4 for agriculture.

5 The fourth reiterates that states should have the
6 primary role in managing water resources and that we should
7 develop a comprehensive water strategy that recognizes the
8 integrated nature of water resources, which obviously does
9 not respect political boundaries. We'd have to work on that
10 together.

11 Mr. Chairman, I believe these policies will
12 represent important and thoughtful suggestions to difficult
13 issues that are facing Congress, and I urge your support of
14 the policies, and I move the adoption of Policy G-8
15 amendments and G-11 as passed by the Committee on
16 Agriculture and Rural Development.

17 While I still have the microphone, if I might
18 also bring something else to the attention of the group. As
19 we speak here this morning, the Agriculture Committee of the
20 House of Representatives is marking up a rural development
21 bill that represents an important policy tool for improving
22 the economies of small and rural communities. And all of
23 our states have them. That's bill HR 3581. It's a
24 bipartisan effort by Congressmen English and Coleman, that
25 closely parallels NGA policy on rural development. It will

1 give state and local officials who will give us, and we talk
2 about flexibility and the ability to develop our own
3 priorities, not necessarily with new money, but to make
4 better use of the existing federal money, it will give state
5 and local officials responsibility for prioritizing the use
6 of federal rural economic development funds. And I urge all
7 of you to contact your Congressional delegation in support
8 of this legislation.

9 Thank you.

10 GOVERNOR ANDRUS: Second the motion, Mr.
11 Chairman.

12 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: We have a motion, and a
13 second from Governor Andrus for the policy positions G-8 and
14 G-11 of the Committee on Agriculture and Rural Development.

15 Discussion?

16 (No response.)

17 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: All in favor of the motions,
18 signify by saying, aye.

19 (Chorus of ayes.)

20 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Opposed?

21 (No response.)

22 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: It is approved.

23 The Chair now recognizes the Governor of
24 Mississippi, Governor Mabus, for the report of the Committee
25 on Economic Development and Technological Innovation.

1 GOVERNOR MABUS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 We do not have any policy positions but we do
3 have one new initiative that I would like to share with the
4 governors. The Committee on Economic Development and
5 Technological Innovation, in joint in connection with the
6 Committee on Human Resources has started an initiative
7 called "Excellence at Work." Governors Deukmejian, DiPrete,
8 Schaefer, and I are co-chairing this. The goal is to create
9 an accident agenda for the states on how to improve the
10 training of our work force. Since the demographics of the
11 work force are changing so dramatically, we are looking at
12 ways to assist business in reorganizing and restructuring
13 their work places. We'll pull together leaders from
14 business, labor, job training and education to share ideas.
15 We hope to direct attention to the most effective role for
16 states and businesses, and also toward evaluating various
17 options for state programs.

18 We are hosting a luncheon today at 12:30 here
19 with business, labor, education and job training people
20 called the "Governors' Forum on Excellence at Work." We'd
21 like to invite any governor that could attend to please
22 come. We will hold two to three round table discussions
23 between March and May of this year, we will review the
24 suggestions next summer in Mobile. We will meet again with
25 the forum in September to hear suggestions on draft action

1 agenda and we will present our final agenda at next winter's
2 meeting here in Washington.

3 Mr. Chairman, that is our report.

4 Thank you.

5 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Mabus, thank you
6 very much for your leadership and for that report.

7 The Chair now recognizes Governor Kunin from
8 Vermont, the Chair of the Energy and Environment Committee,
9 for a number of policies, and I think a resolution, as well.
10 Governor Kunin?

11 GOVERNOR KUNIN: Thank you, Governor Branstad.

12 The Energy and Environment Committee move on
13 behalf of the Committee, the adoption of four policy
14 amendments, two new policy positions and one resolution that
15 is consistent with existing policy. I might make note of
16 the fact that the Committee had the pleasure of hearing
17 Admiral Watkins, the Energy Secretary, gave a very
18 forthright and candid talk about a change in policy in
19 regard to federal facilities. I think we were all reassured
20 that the Administration is going to take a very different
21 approach to cleaning up these facilities and will be very
22 much in keeping with the policy that we adopted.

23 The policy amendments deal with the control of
24 natural water pollution, assist plastic recycling,
25 recommending a nationwide coating system; made some

1 technical amendments dealing with degraded coastal waters
2 and amending our clean air policy to deal with automotive
3 pollutants.

4 The Clean Air amendment recognizes the role that
5 motor vehicle emission play in air quality around the
6 country. The proposal recommends starting out with expanded
7 use of cleaner burning reformulated gasoline, which is
8 emerging quickly on the market, the conversion of fleet
9 vehicles to alternative fuels, the initiation of alternate
10 fuels in most urban areas. And a second phase of mobile
11 source emission standards for the year 2003.

12 As I indicated, the Committee recommends the
13 adoption of a significant new policy of the environmental
14 management of federal facilities. And I'd like to express
15 our gratitude to Governor Andrus' strong initiatives and the
16 excellent report that his task force produced on that very
17 critical subject that affects many many of our states.

18 The Committee also adopted Governor Branstad's
19 recommendation on environmental education. And finally, the
20 Committee recommends a resolution consistent with existing
21 policy, calling for the development of regional fuel
22 reserves. Many of our states, both in the northeast and the
23 midwest and in other parts of the country, during the cold
24 December, experience real price hikes, shortages. And we're
25 asking the Congress to act as deliberately and speedily as

1 possible in implementing these so fuel reserves will be of
2 assistance.

3 I'd like to, at this point, thank the Committee
4 for its fine work. And I believe Governor Bangerter has a
5 few words to say.

6 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Bangerter?

7 GOVERNOR BANGERTER: I'll just second the motion.

8 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: We've got a motion from
9 Governor Kunin, seconded by Governor Bangerter for the
10 approval of the policies in the resolution.

11 GOVERNOR BLANCHARD: Mr. Chairman? I'd like to
12 be able to make a comment on this policy.

13 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Blanchard?

14 GOVERNOR BLANCHARD: I'd like to congratulate the
15 Committee. I think the Chair and the others have worked an
16 awful long time on this, and I plan to support it. But I do
17 want to make one little mention of something related to the
18 phase II tailpipe emissions. There was a possibility that
19 went on again, off again, on again, off again, that the
20 second phase of the tailpipe standards be deemed, or should
21 be deemed to be cost effective and technologically feasible.
22 That language was left out. I'm not sure of all the
23 reasons, but I'd like the language modified to make it a
24 little more reasonable. My concern is that there is some
25 debate as to whether what we mandated will be

1 technologically feasible and cost effective.

2 And in addition, I'm worried that leaving those
3 two phrases out, erodes our credibility with Congress, which
4 is, I hope, to enact meaningful clean air legislation. It's
5 not enough for me to offer an amendment, but I do want to
6 render that opinion because I think it takes the edge off
7 what could otherwise be a stronger resolution and one given
8 more credibility with our friends in Congress.

9 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Ashcroft?

10 GOVERNOR ASHCROFT: I want to second what
11 Governor Blanchard said. I think the deletion of those few
12 words of reasonableness will erode the resolution and make
13 it less acceptable.

14 Thank you.

15 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Further discussion?

16 (No response.)

17 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: We have a motion which has
18 been seconded, to approve the policies and the resolution
19 coming from the Committee on Energy and the Environment.

20 Those in favor of the motion signify by saying,
21 aye.

22 (Chorus of ayes.)

23 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Opposed?

24 (No response.)

25 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: It is approved.

1 And now, with the consent of the other governors,
2 I would take Governor Castle's report on public safety out
3 of order and recognize Governor Castle from Delaware to
4 present the report and the resolution from the Committee on
5 Justice and Public Safety.

6 GOVERNOR CASTLE: Thank you very much, Mr.
7 Chairman. I appreciate you taking this out of order. I am
8 trying to do my part for the environment by taking a train
9 back to Delaware this afternoon, and trains don't wait for
10 governors, I learned some time ago.

11 The Committee on Justice and Public Safety
12 actually had a very interesting meeting with four mayors
13 from the Mayors' Conference, concerning national drug
14 strategy and the differences, obviously, in funding that
15 exist with the states and some of the urban areas and local
16 governments who are concerned about the funding going
17 through these states. It was a good exchange, both in terms
18 of the information with respect to what they are doing, what
19 we need to do, as well as some of the issues with respect to
20 the working relationship and the monetary aspects with which
21 they are concerned.

22 But, obviously, they had the exact same concern,
23 perhaps even a larger concern, because it is so significant
24 on their agenda, fighting drug abuse and trafficking in
25 their cities. Any state that has a large urban area or is

1 near one, knows what that means, the impact of the drug
2 problem on their states. So it was a good discussion, and
3 we did agree to continue to have that dialogue further to
4 discuss these problems.

5 We have one resolution before you. It's under
6 the goldenrod cover for this Committee; it's a resolution
7 which is based upon our current NGA policy, B-12, on habeas
8 corpus proceedings, concerns reform of federal procedures
9 for collateral review of state court judgments.

10 I move the adoption of this resolution.

11 VOICES: Second.

12 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: We have a second.

13 Discussion?

14 Governor Celeste?

15 GOVERNOR CELESTE: Mr. Chairman, Governor Castle,
16 I wonder, in considering this resolution, it is clear that
17 we are not endorsing any particular pending legislation in
18 Congress. I have received several calls from people in my
19 state who are troubled by some of the implications they see
20 in the resolution, if it were interpreted as a resolution
21 supporting particular pieces of legislation pending in
22 Congress.

23 GOVERNOR CASTLE: I believe the answer to that,
24 Governor Celeste, is that it is not intended to do that, and
25 does not. But I'm going to defer to Governor Martinez, who

1 is the sponsor.

2 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Martinez of Florida.

3 GOVERNOR MARTINEZ: Governor, that is correct,
4 there is no endorsement of any bill that's pending before
5 the Congress; simply the Anti-drug Act of 1988, created to
6 the commission to study habeas corpus for a later report to
7 Congress and then Senators and House members who would
8 proceed to develop legislation. This urges Congress to go
9 about making the decision on habeas corpus; it has no
10 endorsement of any bill.

11 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Further discussion?

12 (No response.)

13 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: All in favor of the motion
14 from Governor Castle for approval of the resolution B-12
15 from the Committee on Justice and Public Safety, signify by
16 saying, aye.

17 (Chorus of ayes.)

18 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Those opposed, signify by
19 saying, nay.

20 (No response.)

21 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: The ayes have it. The
22 resolution is approved.

23 The Chair now recognizes Governor Celeste from
24 Ohio for the report of the Committee on Human Resources.

25 GOVERNOR CELESTE: Thank you very much, Mr.

1 Chairman.

2 While much of our time was spent, yesterday, in
3 discussion of the issue of health care, how do we assure
4 access and how do we control costs. What we have before us
5 today from the Committee on Human Resources, are three
6 proposed policies of the health care issue, we recognize as
7 one that's going to be a continuing matter of discussion
8 both when we are together, Governor Hunt, in Mobile this
9 summer, and next year as Governor Gardner assumes leadership
10 of NGA. So I'd like to simply note that the policies on
11 which we propose to vote include a new a policy which
12 updates our current stated policy on the food stamp program,
13 a new policy on literacy which Governor Carruthers helped us
14 to fashion and is consistent with our efforts in the
15 education arena, and a health policy statement on chronic
16 fatigue syndrome.

17 I would like to move these policies in bloc on
18 behalf of the committee, Mr. Chairman, and then with your
19 permission, talk about something else when we finish.

20 GOVERNOR CARRUTHERS: Second.

21 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Celeste moves and
22 Governor Carruthers seconds the end bloc policy positions
23 from the Committee on Human Resources.

24 Discussion?

25 (No response.)

1 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Are you ready to vote?

2 If there's no discussion, all in favor, signify
3 by saying, aye.

4 (Chorus of ayes.)

5 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Opposed, signify by saying,
6 nay.

7 (No response.)

8 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: The ayes have it. It is
9 approved.

10 Governor Celeste?

11 GOVERNOR CELESTE: Thank you very much, Mr.
12 Chairman.

13 Also, if I could take one moment, I'd like to
14 call the attention of the governors to a packet of
15 information which is in front of you with a cover letter
16 from me. This is information on the earned income credit.
17 It contains new materials which you can use to publicize the
18 availability of this credit in your states.

19 I call it to your attention because the earned
20 income credit is a tax credit for working poor families with
21 children. It's designed to offset the regressive burden of
22 payroll taxes on low income working families, and the credit
23 was greatly expanded in the 1986 Tax Reform Act. This
24 credit is pro-family and pro-work where the parents work and
25 support at least one child living at home in order to

1 qualify. In addition, the credit is targeted to low income
2 workers.

3 Each of us, as governors, can play an important
4 role, reaching out to help these working families understand
5 they qualify for this earned income credit. It really is
6 important that we, in each of our states, devise a strategy
7 of outreach to alert these folks to this credit of which
8 they're entitled. So I encourage you to use the materials
9 in your packet to let low income families in your state know
10 about the availability of this credit.

11 Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

12 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Thank you very much. That's
13 very helpful to the governors.

14 GOVERNOR PERPICH: Governor Branstad?

15 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Yes? Governor Perpich?

16 GOVERNOR PERPICH: I want to take the opportunity
17 to thank Governor Celeste for presenting the resolution
18 chronic fatigue syndrome on my behalf. I wasn't able to be
19 here yesterday. And I want to thank him publicly for
20 presenting that resolution to the Committee.

21 Thank you very much.

22 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Thank you.

23 And now the Chair recognizes Governor Tommy
24 Thompson from Wisconsin, the Chair of the Committee on
25 International Trade and Foreign Relations Policies.

1 GOVERNOR THOMPSON: Thank you very much, Mr.
2 Chairman. Let me also, along with many other governors,
3 congratulate you on doing an outstanding job at this winter
4 meeting.

5 Before turning to our policy positions, Mr.
6 Chairman, I would like to mention that the Trade Committee
7 had an excellent meeting with Ambassador Carla Hills to
8 discuss the GATT. She asked me to inform the governors that
9 if they have any questions, especially dealing with
10 intellectual property, agriculture or service organizations,
11 as it relates to the GATT and the discussions that are going
12 on now with the Uruguay round, that they should get those
13 information either to me, the NGA, or Carla Hills, directly.

14 We also had the opportunity to hear from Curtis
15 Kammon, a first class professional at the State Department,
16 dealing with Eastern Europe.

17 Governor Waihee, our Vice Chairman, led a very
18 interesting exchange on tourism. There's legislation in
19 Congress right now supporting the United States travel and
20 tourism administration. Congressman Luken was there to
21 advise us that if we were interested in this subject, that
22 we should be contacting our respective representatives to
23 support his legislation.

24 The NGA is also, as you know, Mr. Chairman,
25 planning a trip to Europe to discuss what governors can do

1 to prepare for EC '92, and to assist emerging democracies in
2 Eastern Europe. Our current plan is that we would be at
3 Brussels on May 29th through the 31st; and would travel to
4 Eastern Europe June 1st through 5th. Each governor, I know,
5 has a letter on the subject but it would be nice if the NGA
6 would be able to be advised as soon as possible what
7 governors want to attend this. It's going to be very
8 interesting and informative and it should be very helpful
9 with respect to the states as it relates to EC '92.

10 Finally, Mr. Chairman, the Committee on
11 International Trade and Foreign Relations approved two
12 policy positions. The first emphasizes the importance of
13 air service to states in economic development and tourism
14 programs. It says that increased air service should be the
15 primary goal of the United States International Aviation
16 Policy.

17 The second proposal relates to an area where we
18 now have no policy whatsoever. That deals with the USSR and
19 Eastern Europe. When President Bush met with us in Chicago,
20 he called the governors, America's economic envoys and
21 ambassadors for democracy. He urged us to take an active
22 role in Eastern Europe. Our proposal urges states to
23 increase their contact with these countries. It also
24 supports granting the most-favored nations status to the
25 USSR and to those Eastern European countries that do not

1 already have that designation. It's a departure from NGA
2 policy but something that I think we should adopt.
3 Prerequisite is their clear commitment, however, to human
4 rights.

5 Curtis Kammon, who represented the State
6 Department at the meeting, indicated that the text is
7 directly in line with current U.S. policy and something that
8 he urged us to adopt.

9 I would like to thank Governor Cowper for his
10 leadership on these two policy positions and the work that
11 he did. And I'm pleased, Mr. Chairman, to move the adoption
12 of these two proposals in bloc.

13 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Thompson moves the
14 policies of H-3 and H-5.

15 Is there a second?

16 GOVERNOR WAIHEE: Second.

17 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Second, Governor Waihee.
18 Discussion?

19 (No response.)

20 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: All in favor of the motion,
21 signify by saying, aye.

22 (Chorus of ayes.)

23 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Opposed, signify by saying,
24 nay.

25 (No response.)

1 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: The ayes have it. It is
2 approved.

3 The final committee report will be presented by
4 Governor Kay Orr from Nebraska, Chair of the Committee on
5 Transportation, Commerce, and Communications.

6 Governor Orr?

7 GOVERNOR ORR: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 Yesterday, the Transportation, Commerce and
9 Communications Committee approved two sets of amendments for
10 consideration by the full body today.

11 Let me use this opportunity to thank Governor
12 Tommy Thompson and Governor Jim Thompson and Governor
13 O'Neill for the leadership they provided in developing these
14 proposals.

15 The first amendment is F-3, that's Air
16 Transportation, would add a second that's identical to the
17 Trade Policy Amendment just mentioned by Governor Tommy
18 Thompson. A policy that says a primary goal should be to
19 expand the international air service through the opening of
20 additional gateways for both passengers and cargo.

21 Amendments to F-1, transportation policy overview
22 and offered ten principles for national transportation
23 policy that would serve as a basis for the next multi-year
24 highway reauthorization. It also outlines priorities in the
25 areas of highways and transit.

1 We've been talking quite a bit the last few days
2 about highway trust fund obligation ceiling and this
3 proposal that we offer reiterates our support for the full
4 utilization of the trust fund monies for highway projects.
5 And says that, at a minimum, annual highway obligation
6 ceilings should be set at receipts plus interest. That
7 would mean about \$15 billion for the next fiscal year for
8 state highway programs.

9 Vice Chair Governor Wilkinson of Kentucky, and I,
10 are going to be emphasizing this message to Congress over
11 the next few months, as they consider this year's
12 appropriations and next year's reauthorization. And I
13 encourage each of my fellow governors to work with us in
14 this area that is of vital importance to all states.

15 I now move the adoption of these proposed
16 policies, as outlined.

17 GOVERNOR O'NEILL: Second.

18 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Governor Orr moves and
19 Governor O'Neill seconds the proposed policy positions from
20 the Committee on Transportation, Commerce and
21 Communications.

22 Discussion?

23 (No response.)

24 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: All in favor of the motion,
25 signify by saying, aye.

1 (Chorus of ayes.)

2 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Opposed?

3 (No response.)

4 GOVERNOR GARDNER: The ayes have it. It is
5 approved.

6 We have one suspension. Governor Ada from Guam
7 has a proposed suspension for consideration of a resolution.
8 And let me point out that this will require he's going to
9 introduce it. There will not be an opportunity for debate
10 because suspensions are not debatable. It does require a
11 three-fourths vote to suspend. If the suspension prevails,
12 then it requires a three-fourths vote for approval.

13 At this time, the Chair recognizes Governor Ada
14 from Guam.

15 GOVERNOR ADA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

16 The reason for this resolution is requesting
17 consideration from this body for the consolidation of
18 military air facilities in Guam. Guam, given the reduction
19 of military activities, has severely under-utilized the
20 Anderson Air Force Base on the Air Force stationed in Guam.

21 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: I'm told by the
22 parliamentarian that you can only move the suspension. I
23 think the resolution has been passed out. You cannot
24 explain it until the body votes on whether to suspend the
25 rules to consider it. That's the advice of the

1 parliamentary. So you --

2 GOVERNOR ADA: I move the suspension, Mr.
3 Chairman.

4 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: We have a motion to suspend
5 the rules for consideration of this resolution.

6 Is there a second?

7 VOICE: Second.

8 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: It's not debatable. It
9 requires a three-fourths vote.

10 All in favor, signify by saying, aye.

11 (Chorus of ayes.)

12 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Opposed, no.

13 (Chorus of no's.)

14 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: The ayes appear to have it
15 and the suspension is agreed to. You can now explain the
16 resolution.

17 GOVERNOR ADA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 For many years, Guam has been affected by the
19 military reduction and most recently the B52s were
20 deactivated in Guam. As a result of that, it has cost us
21 approximately \$200 million in gross national product impact
22 and approximately 1500 military personnel may be effected as
23 a result of this action. And, of course, a lot of our local
24 people will be displaced as a result of the deactivation of
25 the B52s.

1 The naval air station is very under-utilized.
2 There are approximately only six choppers in operation at
3 that facility, which is adjacent to our Guam International
4 Airport facility. And in that respect, we need the
5 expansion of our Guam International Airport facility to meet
6 the growing demands, as well as to establish a maintenance
7 facility to make sure that the safety of the passengers is
8 taken care of.

9 We don't have a strong maintenance facility to
10 service air carriers in Guam, and it is important that we
11 make sure that we have the necessary facilities and the real
12 estate to expand into this particular area and other airport
13 related concerns.

14 I want to note for the body here that there are
15 two other military airport facilities in Guam that are not
16 being used and can be used in case of a potential pullback
17 from the Philippines' negotiations, in case it doesn't
18 become a favorable condition for the U.S. Government. The
19 people of the territory are mindful of the fallback and
20 we're willing to do our share. But there is ample space up
21 at Anderson Air Force Base that is grossly under-utilized.
22 As a matter of fact, the general that runs the activities at
23 Anderson Air Force base, specifically, General MacPeak, has
24 publicly stated that they have no problem in the
25 consolidation of the naval air station with Anderson Air

1 Force Base, so we have gotten support from the Air Force
2 General for this move.

3 Secretary Cheney, as well, was in Guam recently
4 and saw the need, and is also proceeding with some
5 discussion on this particular matter. So I would like the
6 governors here to please consider our position here. It
7 will help cut the budget deficit and, as well, would help us
8 grow on the private sector.

9 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: We have a motion to adopt the
10 resolution. Is there a second?

11 GOVERNOR WAIHEE: Second.

12 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Second from Governor Waihee.
13 Discussion?

14 (No response.)

15 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: All in favor, signify by
16 saying, aye.

17 (Chorus of ayes.)

18 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: Opposed?

19 (Chorus of no's.)

20 GOVERNOR BRANSTAD: The ayes have it. The
21 resolution is approved.

22 I want to thank all of you for your active
23 participation in this winter meeting of National Governors'
24 Association, for the fine work of the standing committees,
25 and especially I'm proud of the work of our task forces on

1 education and the two environmental task forces. We are
2 indeed making a difference in building a consensus for
3 change. And I'm proud to say the National Governors'
4 Association are in a forefront position of helping move this
5 nation forward, meeting two of the most challenging issues;
6 that of education, and the environment.

7 Have a safe trip home.

8 The Winter Meeting of the National Governors'
9 Association is hereby adjourned.

10 (Applause.)

11 (Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., the meeting was
12 concluded.)

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