

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AIR POLLUTION  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
DECEMBER 12, 1966

I am not your keynote speaker this morning. Nor am I an expert in air pollution -- except when it comes to smoke-filled rooms, and I'm not really all that expert there.

I am the man who is supposed to get things underway so that the experts can take over.

Old Samuel Johnson was right: "Nothing concentrates a man's mind like the imminence of his hanging (or in this case, choking)."

It seems to be our American habit -- in both our domestic and foreign affairs -- to wait until things get really bad before we rouse ourselves to action.

I cannot help but feel that we are just about 6 to 10 years behind time in seriously getting down to work on the problem of air pollution.

I do not want to overdraw the current state of the problem. But one prominent meteorologist, Morris Neiburger of UCLA, has predicted that -- if things continue as they are now -- "the world's atmosphere will grow more and more polluted until, a century from now, it will be too poisonous to allow human life to survive."

Air pollution seems already to be taking a serious toll of human life. Emphysema -- a disease associated with air pollution -- is the fastest growing cause of death in this country today. Among American men, the death rate from emphysema is almost 10 times what it was in 1950.

Each month, one thousand more workers are forced prematurely onto the Social Security rolls because of the crippling effects of this disease. Significantly, deaths from emphysema are twice as high in the cities as in rural areas.

Like emphysema, other major respiratory diseases -- bronchitis, asthma, and lung cancer, not to mention the common cold -- are clearly linked with air pollution, even though the link is incompletely documented as yet.

It is on this basis that, in the four years since the last Conference on Air Pollution was held, the American Medical Association, the American Thoracic Society, and a number of other organizations interested in public health have called for national action to control air pollution.

I agree with them. Unless we tackle air pollution in real and deadly earnest, we shall be taking an intolerable risk with the lives and health of innocent people.

Now, however, we have begun to move. The Clean Air Act was an important step forward. Many communities and states have already taken advantage of the financial incentives, the technical assistance and the research back-up that the federal government can now provide. But we have far to go before we can say we have the problem in hand.

All of us contribute to air pollution; therefore all of us must do our part in its control.

Not very long ago, air pollution was regarded as strictly a local problem. Neither the states nor the federal government played a significant role in dealing with it.

Some people believe that the problem can be solved locally.

Others suggest that we have come full circle, and that the federal government must assume the full responsibility.

I submit that neither approach is adequate by itself. What we need here is a working partnership among all levels of government -- federal, state, and national -- and with private industry as well.

Therefore, in your discussions here, I urge you not to feel bound by any outworn notions about who should do what to control air pollution, based upon who used to do what in the past.

I hope you will think instead about who can do what most effectively, from this time forward. I assure you that there will be plenty of work to go around. Air pollution will not yield to anything less than a determined and a coordinated effort by all sectors of our society.

Everyone seems to agree that the most efficient and effective way to control air pollution would be on a regional basis. In the words of Scripture, "the wind bloweth where it listeth."

It has no regard for the lines we mortals draw upon our maps, separating one state from another or cities from the surrounding suburbs.

Just as we need a non-proliferation treaty among nations, so we need non-diffusion treaties between states that share the same airshed.

Yet, if there is a single, effective inter-state regional air pollution control program anywhere in this nation, I have not heard of it. I think we ought to give serious and sober consideration to this hard fact. We should ask ourselves how we can bring into being these regional programs that we all agree are much needed.

Air pollution is a challenge to the vision and responsibility of private industry as well. Industry is the source of a great deal of air pollution. It has -- or should have -- a very real interest in upgrading the quality of the communities in which it functions. Moreover, if present trends continue, the costs of polluted air to industry itself are likely to mount.

I must admit to disappointment that proper control of air pollution has thus far too often been seen as a nuisance to be endured -- or to be postponed -- by some industrial firms, and even by units of local government, when any number of reasonable accountings have already revealed that the long-run costs of pollution are far greater than those of its control.

There is another problem. Standards of control vary greatly from city to city and from state to state.

Is it realistic to expect industries in one city to give zealous support to the enactment of stringent regulations locally if they have no assurance that their competitors elsewhere will have to make commensurate expenditures? And how can that assurance be given?

These are very real problems which industries -- and the communities in which they function -- confront in any coordinated and effective effort to clear the air. Your government is currently and actively concerned with them, in the hope that it can achieve a solution.

I realize there are still problems remaining to be solved in air pollution control technology. Some of the most ubiquitous and damaging gaseous pollutants, the sulphur oxides, remain uncontrolled, because we have not developed the technology to deal with them.

The same is true of fumes from diesel trucks and buses. But I cannot believe that this nation, which is preparing to land a man on the moon, is not capable of devising ways to control sulphurous gases and diesel fumes here on earth.

As you know, I am Chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council. This nation has achieved, through a working partnership of industry, science, and government, remarkable successes in space. I am confident that, with the same kind of teamwork, we can do equally well with innermost space -- this thin but infinitely precious envelope of atmosphere in which we live and breathe and work.

When we launch astronauts into space, we equip them with special suits, put them in costly capsules, and take every precaution to ensure that they will survive their strange and hostile environment. . . It seems to me that, here on earth, we have a right to breathe free and easy in the open air -- and enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness without resorting to smog masks.

Above all, we have the right to be free of the haunting fear that disaster may any day strike any one of a large number of our cities.

This is our task -- this is our challenge. The American people want to know what we must do to "Control Now - for Clean Air." They look to us for answers -- it is our responsibility to have them.

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4 Clear the Air in D.C.  
REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AIR POLLUTION

WASHINGTON, D. C.  
DECEMBER 12, 1966

*John Charles Daly / what's my line!  
Ed Muskie*

*John  
Seet Gardner  
Mr. Stern  
William  
Dr. Stewart*

L I am not your keynote speaker this morning.

Nor am I an expert in air pollution -- except when it comes to smoke-filled rooms, and I'm not really all that expert there.

L I am the man who is supposed to get things underway so that the experts can take over.

L Old Samuel Johnson was right: Nothing concentrates a man's mind like the imminence of his hanging. <sup>! And</sup> in this case, choking, coughing, crying & dying

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*and even today -*  
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air pollution

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②

Just as we need a non-proliferation treaty among nations, so we need non-diffusion treaties between states that share the same airshed. — Regional Compacts!

Yet, if there is a single, effective inter-state regional air pollution control program anywhere in this nation, I have not heard of it.

↳ I think we ought to give serious and sober consideration to this hard fact. <sup>now</sup> We should ask ourselves how we can bring into being these regional programs that we all agree are much needed.

↳ Air pollution is a challenge to the vision and responsibility of private industry as well. ↳ Industry is the source of a great deal of air pollution. ↳ It has -- or should have -- a very real interest in upgrading the quality of the communities in which it functions. ↳ Moreover, if present trends continue, the costs of polluted air to industry itself are likely to mount.

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Local, State responsibility enforcement!

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Clean Environment.

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Now - for Clean Air." They look to us for answers - it is  
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*We better gear  
up for action on a whole  
series of fronts -  
Cities, Poverty, Pollution,  
Education etc.*

# STENOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPT

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AIR POLLUTION

Address by

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice president of the United States

Washington, D. C.

12 December 1966

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AIR POLLUTION

Address by

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,  
Vice President of the United States

*Sheraton*  
~~Franklin~~ Room,  
Sheraton Park Hotel,  
Washington, D.C.,  
Monday, 12 December 1966

[Delete items in brackets]

1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.  
 2 Thank you, Mr. Stern, Secretary Gardner, [and] Dr. Stewart, <sup>and all</sup>  
 3 the guests and delegates to this, the <sup>Third</sup> National Conference  
 4 on Air Pollution.

5 I can't think of <sup>any other</sup> [a] place <sup>where</sup> you could come to  
 6 where the environment is better to discuss air pollution  
 7 <sup>right here</sup> than in Washington, D.C. Congress is out of session, but  
 8 <sup>^</sup> there is still a little hangover. And those of us in the  
 9 Executive Branch, or those of us that are hybrids between  
 10 the executive and legislative <sup>Branches</sup> -- like a Vice President --  
 11 <sup>too</sup> we contribute our fair share to air pollution.

12 I am very pleased to say that Dr. Stewart is here  
 13 this morning to take care of any casualties that may come  
 14 along during this conference, <sup>in</sup> light of what I have been  
 15 reading in the press about the many dangers <sup>here</sup> --

16 And I am delighted to know <sup>that</sup> my friend, <sup>Senator</sup> Ed Muskie,  
 17 is going to be your speaker at your banquet tomorrow night,  
 18 and that you are going to have John <sup>h</sup> Charles Daly as the  
 19 <sup>toastmaster</sup> [master of ceremonies.] And if any of you have any doubt  
 20 what Ed Muskie's line is, let me tell you <sup>that</sup> it is air pollution,  
 21 <sup>before you start</sup> along with his Chamber of Commerce  
 22 descriptions of lobsters from Maine and all of the other  
 23 many wonders of that part of America.

24 Well, I am here this morning, I suppose, in the  
 25 role of a sort of keynote speaker, even though I do not

1 want to claim that dubious honor. I am not here as an ex-  
 2 pert <sup>on</sup> [in] air pollution except when it comes -- according to  
 3 some people -- to smoke-filled rooms <sup>and</sup> and, in light of the  
 4 results of the recent elections, I am really not an expert  
 5 <sup>on</sup> [in] that, either.

6 (Laughter.)

7 So maybe I should just take my stand once again  
 8 as a general practitioner, and that is about what I  
 9 consider myself to be in the organizational structure of  
 10 our Government. With some sixteen years in the United  
 11 States Senate, and now these two years as Vice President,  
 12 you become not a specialist, <sup>and</sup> [or] not an expert, but hopefully,  
 13 a man that has a wide range of interests, and possibly one who  
 14 without considering himself a technician, can at least  
 15 arouse your curiosity, so <sup>you'll want to listen when</sup> [that you put] the technicians <sup>go</sup> to  
 16 work.

17 [Now] I am supposed to be the fellow that gets  
 18 things started or under way so that the experts can take  
 19 over. Somebody once said that experts should be on tap  
 20 and not on top. And I think that is <sup>also</sup> [still] a good axiom  
 21 in politics and in all matters of public policy. Old Samuel  
 22 <sup>Johnson</sup> [Adams] had some advice for us this morning <sup>or</sup> [or] I should say,  
 23 Samuel Johnson.] You remember that great philosopher and  
 24 writer, <sup>who</sup> [and] at times almost a cynic, but in a delightful  
 25 manner. He said, "Nothing concentrates a man's mind like

1 the imminence of hanging."

2 [Laughter.]

3 And I suppose that no matter how you reword it,  
4 that [it] is just about as precise as you can get it.

5 I might add that this morning we should concen-  
6 trate our minds on the problems that we face in terms of  
7 the atmosphere that surrounds us, the air that we breath<sup>e</sup>,  
8 and the fact that more people have their eyes filled with  
9 tears today due to smog than at any other time in our  
10 national history -- there is more coughing -- that is right --  
11 [or] <sup>more</sup> hacking, and more crying, and more dying, due to air  
12 pollution than <sup>ever before</sup> [at any other time.] So let's concentrate  
13 our attention before we have no attention left to concentrate.

14 It seems to be our American habit in both domestic  
15 and foreign affairs to wait until things get really bad  
16 before we arouse ourselves to action. I hear every day in  
17 Washington: "Well, before things get better, they will have  
18 to get worse." And the real test around here is whether  
19 or not you have enough judgment to know when they are worse  
20 enough before <sup>you</sup> [they] start to <sup>make them</sup> [get] better. Or whether they will  
21 get so bad that there is no way <sup>at all</sup> to redeem the situation.

22 [Now,] I cannot help but feel that we are just  
23 about six to ten, maybe even fifteen years, behind time in  
24 seriously getting down to work on this problem of air  
25 pollution. What an amazing situation this is. Waters in

1 our lakes and streams polluted, <sup>here in</sup> a nation that is blessed  
 2 with more fresh water than any other nation on the face  
 3 of the earth. And the air that is the atmosphere, <sup>most vital feature of</sup> [or is] the  
 4 environment in which <sup>have to</sup> we live, even more polluted, in a  
 5 nation that prides itself on having more scientific ad-  
 6 vances and technological achievements than any other nation  
 7 on the face of the earth.

8 I have been delivering <sup>of late</sup> a series of lectures [of  
 9 late] on what we call the scientific and technological gap.  
 10 This ever-widening gap that separates the United States,  
 11 with its advanced technology, with its tremendous develop-  
 12 ments in science and discovery, the gap that separates us  
 13 not only from the underdeveloped or the developing areas  
 14 of the world, of Asia, Africa, <sup>and</sup> Latin America, but <sup>also</sup> even  
 15 from Western Europe. And yet, with all of this achievement,  
 16 with all of these institutions of higher learning, with all  
 17 of our high-paid corporate executives, with all of our  
 18 Government officials, there is no nation on the face of the  
 19 earth that lives in <sup>so badly</sup> [a] polluted environment as <sup>an</sup> much as we  
 20 do.] <sup>ours</sup>

21 We have the number one air pollution problem. It's  
 22 nice to be first. Except when it comes to <sup>being first in</sup> misery. And I  
 23 suggest that we ought to be willing to <sup>in this contest</sup> [yield to] <sup>put up with</sup> second or  
 24 third place. [in this.]

25 I don't want to overdraw <sup>the seriousness of</sup> the current state of

1 the problem. And possibly I am just like many of you --  
 2 the victim of what I read and what I hear. But one  
 3 prominent meteorologist, Morris Nieberger, of the University  
 4 of California<sup>at</sup> Los Angeles, has predicted that if things  
 5 continue as they are now, the world's atmosphere will grow  
 6 more and more polluted until, a century from now, it will  
 7 be too poisonous to allow human life to survive.

8 I can only say <sup>that</sup> we don't intend to let that  
 9 happen. But that is sort of the shock treatment that you  
 10 get and need, and it tells us what could happen unless man  
 11 puts his mind to <sup>this</sup> [the] problem.

12 Air pollution seems already to be taking a serious  
 13 toll of human life. I think we can point out this morning --  
 14 and you will during this conference -- that air pollution,  
 15 first of all, is unnecessary; science and technology can do  
 16 something about it; number two, that it is physically, from  
 17 a health point of view, very dangerous; <sup>that</sup> industrially and  
 18 from an economic point of view, <sup>it is</sup> very costly; and <sup>that</sup> from the  
 19 point of view of human relations and democratic government,  
 20 it is intolerable.

21 People are entitled to live in a wholesome  
 22 environment; <sup>e</sup> hopefully, to have a job, hopefully <sup>at</sup> least,  
 23 to have a decent home in which to live; hopefully to have  
 24 a decent community with good streets and parks and play-  
 25 grounds. But above all, they are entitled to have what God

1 Almighty gave them, and <sup>we</sup> [you] have no right to rob them of --  
2 fresh air to breath<sup>e</sup>.  
3 ^

4 It is bad enough for [a] man to destroy the earth,  
5 but to destroy the atmosphere, I think, [he] is reaching  
6 beyond his jurisdiction. And it is about time that we  
7 called a halt to it.

8 [Now,] I said that there is a serious toll of human  
9 life involved. And there is. And the nation that suffers  
10 the most is ours. From emphysema, <sup>for example,</sup> a disease associated  
11 directly with air pollution. It is the fastest-growing  
12 cause of death in this country today. Among American men  
13 the death rate from emphysema is almost ten times what it  
14 was in 1950. Each month 1,000 more workers are forced  
15 prematurely on to the Social Security <sup>rolls</sup> [roles] because of the  
16 crippling effects of this disease. Significantly, deaths  
17 from emphysema are twice as high in our cities as in [the] our  
18 rural areas.

19 Now, if there happens to be a coincidental rela-  
20 tionship between the filthy air of the urban area, and the  
21 relatively clean air of the rural countryside, then the  
22 coincidence only underscores what anybody with an eighth-  
23 grade education already knows. What a pity it is to think  
24 that we can build glistening towers, magnificent buildings,  
25 incredible designs <sup>for</sup> [of] machines and devices, and yet we don't  
know how to control the smoke that comes out of a smokestack.

1 Like emphysema, other major respiratory diseases --  
2 bronchitis, asthma, lung cancer, not to mention the common  
3 cold -- are clearly linked with air pollution, even though  
4 the link is incompletely documented as yet. However,  
5 there seems to be a growing body of evidence that all of  
6 these diseases, or all of these disturbances of the lung  
7 and the throat, are related at least indirectly to the  
8 atmosphere that surrounds us, [and] the air that we breathe.

9 It is on this basis that in the four years  
10 since the last <sup>national</sup> conference on air pollution was held, [that]  
11 the American Medical Association, the American Thoracic  
12 Society, and a number of other organizations interested  
13 in public health, have called for national action to control  
14 air pollution.

15 [Now,] <sup>we</sup> if we will get as excited about air pollution  
16 as we [do] about cigarettes, and do twice as much about it,  
17 I think we will make some progress at this conference. I  
18 happen to agree with these great associations -- the Medical  
19 Association and the Thoracic Society -- <sup>that</sup> unless we tackle  
20 air pollution in real deadly earnest, we shall be taking  
21 an intolerable risk with [the lives and <sup>the</sup> health and <sup>and the lives</sup> of innocent  
22 people. And <sup>let every one of us keep in mind</sup> [you know most of us are well aware of] the  
23 mandates of the Constitution. Every officer on this platform  
24 has taken an oath to uphold the Constitution, to defend it  
25 against all foes, domestic and foreign. <sup>As most of you are well aware,</sup> there are just

1 two mandates in the Constitution; the rest of it is  
 2 optional; just two things <sup>are</sup> required of the Federal Government:  
 3 To provide for the common defense, and to promote the general  
 4 welfare. Everything else in <sup>the Constitution</sup> [there] is optional.

5 I think we are providing for the common defense <sup>o</sup>  
 6 in terms of the external threat of a military force, But  
 7 to promote the general welfare [I think that] is what this  
 8 conference is for. And we settle down to the task in  
 9 these days ahead now, to try to find some answers. We  
 10 can say that we have begun to move. [And] <sup>as I said earlier,</sup>  
 11 [moving and] <sup>and moving</sup> beginning in America <sup>we</sup> [is] generally tied to some  
 12 moment of crisis. I don't know what we would have done if  
 13 the Russians hadn't come up with Sputnik. I think our  
 14 educational system would still have been in the doldrums.  
 15 They scared the living daylights out of us, and today we  
 16 have a better educational structure. Not because of men  
 17 of good will alone, not because only of men like [Mr.] Secretary  
 18 Gardner, who believes in the doctrine and the application  
 19 of [the] standards of excellence, but <sup>also</sup> because the American  
 20 people became frightened.

21 We do something finally about our cities when  
 22 there are riots, regrettably. We do something about most  
 23 problems because we are afraid. It has been said, jokingly,  
 24 but all too often with <sup>enough supporting</sup> [a degree of] evidence [that] proves  
 25 the point, that if a nation can come up with a few Communists,

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they can get foreign aid. Fear of the Communist threat precipitates action, even though you and I know that there ought to be a world in which people are well fed, clothed, educated, <sup>even</sup> if there had never been a Communist.

I don't happen to think that we ought to be motivated all through our lives by the fear of evil consequences. It would seem much better that we do what is right because it is the right thing to do, and because it generally adds up to being the most profitable and <sup>the most</sup> constructive thing to do.

But we have begun. The Clean Air Act was an important step forward. But, my, how long it took to get it! And all of the struggle that went on for air pollution control and water pollution control. You would think that some people thought they owned the air and that <sup>control</sup> [it] was an invasion of private property or private rights, <sup>and</sup> [or] that some <sup>other</sup> people owned the waters of the rivers <sup>and</sup> [or of] the lakes.

Many communities and states, fortunately, have already taken advantage of the limited financial incentives, the technical assistance, and the research backup <sup>which</sup> the Federal Government can now provide.

I believe that this conference underscores one fact above all others -- that the Federal Government is now involved in air pollution control, and it will have to be involved. But <sup>air pollution control</sup> [it] needs [to have] more than involvement on [its]

1 <sup>of the Federal Government</sup>  
 2 part -- <sup>also</sup> it needs the working cooperation of every element,  
 3 every segment, of the American society.

4 We have to go a long way ~~X~~ before the problem  
 5 that confronts us is in hand. We are late in getting  
 6 started; our resources that we have to apply <sup>to it</sup> are limited,  
 7 and the problem is immense.

8 <sup>Certainly,</sup>  
 9 [Now,] all of us contribute to air pollution.  
 10 Therefore, all of us must do our part in its control. And  
 11 in your panels in this conference you will undoubtedly  
 12 outline for us how each and every one of us can do his or  
 13 her part.

14 Not very long ago, air pollution was regarded  
 15 as strictly a local problem. I remember when I was Mayor  
 16 of Minneapolis in 1945 -- I had a big struggle trying to  
 17 get an air pollution control officer appointed in the city  
 18 government. We finally got someone that was given the  
 19 title. He had ability, but he had no authority. We  
 20 Americans always feel a little better, when we see a problem  
 21 <sup>after</sup> [and] the reformers come along and call it to our attention,  
 22 if we can just pass a law.

23 <sup>At times,</sup>  
 24 We are not so much worried [at times] about the  
 25 enforcement of the law or even <sup>about its</sup> [the] observance, if we just  
 26 pass the law.

27 Well, we passed laws, <sup>we</sup> passed ordinances at the  
 28 local levels, and in some <sup>we passed some</sup> states, good <sup>state</sup> laws. But

1 neither the states nor the Federal Government <sup>have</sup> [has] played  
 2 a significant role up until now in dealing with this  
 3 problem. Most of the approach to the problem of air  
 4 pollution thus far has been on a city-by-city, <sup>a</sup> local basis.  
 5 And most of the time, ineffective.

6 Some people believe that the problem can be  
 7 solved locally. And they believe it very strongly. Others  
 8 suggest that we come [the] full circle, and that the  
 9 Federal Government [must] assume the full responsibility.  
 10 Well, I am not like that old fellow <sup>who said, when he</sup> [that] was asked to take  
 11 a stand on an issue in the local election: [and he said:]  
 12 "Well, I have friends on both sides, and I stand squarely  
 13 with my friends."

14 (Laughter.)

15 But I think there is a rather realistic and  
 16 <sup>e</sup>maningful approach to our problem. It is my view that you  
 17 can't do this locally, and it is my view that the Federal  
 18 Government <sup>on</sup> [in] every single problem that confronts this  
 19 nation today, while it must assume a sense of direction,  
 20 or coordination, and do its part <sup>that</sup> [that] [it] can't do it all.  
 21 And even if it can, it shouldn't.

22 I happen to believe in what we call creative  
 23 Federalism. I happen to believe in our system of govern-  
 24 ment. I happen to believe that social responsibility is  
 25 not only the duty of government -- it is <sup>also</sup> the duty of citizens.

1 I happen to believe that one of the ways <sup>in which</sup> [that] you can  
 2 strengthen local and state government is to bring about  
 3 a partnership of the three levels of government, Federal,  
 4 state, and local.

5 So what I say is that neither approach of local <sup>alone</sup> control  
 6 or Federal <sup>alone</sup> is adequate by itself, and what we need  
 7 is ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> working partnership among all levels of government,  
 8 Federal, state, and local, <sup>a partnership that must also include</sup> [along with] private industry <sup>as</sup>  
 9 well.]

10 Let me repeat, as I <sup>shall</sup> [will] once again when I  
 11 conclude my address, that every problem that confronts the  
 12 American society today requires the mobilization of our  
 13 resources, all of them -- Federal, state, local, and private.  
 14 You can't <sup>get</sup> [rebuild] your cities <sup>rebuild</sup> by the Federal Government,  
 15 or by the local government, <sup>alone</sup> or by the state government, <sup>alone</sup> or  
 16 by private industry alone. You can do it working together.  
 17 And if we can't perfect a formula to do that, then our democ-  
 18 racy is a failure.

19 But I think that we in our democracy know how to  
 20 put together a working plan, and I <sup>have a few suggestions that</sup> [think I can show you].  
 21 <sup>may help you to put together a working plan here.</sup> [Therefore], <sup>in</sup> your discussions here, I urge you not to feel  
 22 bound by <sup>those</sup> [these] outworn notions about who should do what to  
 23 control air pollution. <sup>If you have expressed such a point of view before,</sup> Quit reading your own propaganda. [if  
 24 you have a point of view.]

25 I think we ought to cast aside that which we found <sup>have</sup>

1 didn't work in the past, and do some fresh thinking. I  
2 hope you will think instead about who can do what most  
3 effectively from this time forward.

4 How do we divide up this responsibility? How  
5 do we share the burden? How do we do it, knowing that  
6 each partner <sup>is to carry</sup> [carries] his full share of the load?

7 Air pollution will not yield to anything less than  
8 a determined and coordinated effort by all sectors of our  
9 society. We have to declare total war on air pollution.  
10 And that means that we have to ask every part of our society  
11 to engage in the struggle.

12 Everyone seems to agree that the most efficient  
13 and effective way to control air pollution would be on a  
14 regional basis. In the words of the Scripture: "The wind  
15 bloweth where it listeth."

16 [No 4] The wind or the air has no regard for the lines  
17 that we mortals draw upon our maps, separating one state  
18 from another, or cities from the surrounding suburbs.

19 In the month of October, I flew over a great  
20 metropolitan area in the United States, in the Upper Midwest,  
21 in the Great Lakes area, and I saw smokestacks belching forth  
22 sulfurous gases that filled the air with poison. And I  
23 asked the local officials: "Don't you have an ordinance  
24 about this?" "Oh, yes." "What are you doing about it?"  
25 We didn't get an answer. But I want to tell you, if the

1 local law enforcement officials would be as active in  
 2 enforcing their air pollution ordinances as they are the  
 3 traffic ordinances on those traffic tickets, we would get  
 4 something done.

5 (Applause.)

6 And I don't know why it is any more illegal to over-  
 7 park <sup>our cars</sup> [a car] and clog the streets than it is to violate an  
 8 air pollution ordinance and clog the air.

9 As a matter of fact, I think that -- well, I won't  
 10 make any judgment on that, I will be a little careful.

11 [But] I <sup>do</sup> recognize the problems that are involved  
 12 in local jurisdictions in this matter. But just as we need  
 13 a nonproliferation treaty relating to nuclear weapons  
 14 among nations, [no further nonproliferation, so we need a  
 15 nondiffusion, or so] we need nondiffusion treaties between  
 16 states that share the same airshed, regional compacts,  
 17 <sup>conforming to</sup> [within] Federal standards, backed up by Federal law, and  
 18 <sup>strengthened by cooperation</sup> [cooperating] with [the] Federal agencies.

19 But I must say, in all candor, if there is <sup>now</sup> a  
 20 single effective interstate regional air pollution control  
 21 program anywhere in this nation [now] that works, I have not  
 22 heard of it. But that doesn't mean <sup>that such a program</sup> [it] can't work, because  
 23 it can.

24 We have made regional compacts work in other areas,  
 25 and they can work in this, providing that they are within

1 the framework of uniform standards. I think we ought to  
 2 give serious and sober consideration to this hard fact of  
 3 regionalism in cooperation with Federalism. We should ask  
 4 ourselves how we can bring into being these regional  
 5 programs that we all agree are much needed.

6 Air pollution is a challenge to the vision and  
 7 the responsibility of private industry as well as <sup>to</sup> Govern-  
 8 ment. In fact, it is the private sector which makes a  
 9 major contribution to the pollution of the air. Industry  
 10 is the source of a great deal of air and water pollution.  
 11 It has, or it should have, a very real interest in upgrading  
 12 the quality of the communities in which it functions. No  
 13 industry has the right to dirty the curtains of the  
 14 housewife. You didn't get that privilege when you set  
 15 your plant up.

16 I <sup>put it then in terms of one of</sup> [am putting it in] the least of the little  
 17 problems of air pollution. <sup>let me add that</sup> But no industry has a right to  
 18 shorten your life, none whatsoever.

19 [(Applause.)]

20 The purpose of industry is to extend your life.  
 21 And I think industry wants to. <sup>extend your life</sup> I happen to be one <sup>who</sup> [that]  
 22 believes that American business is highly socially  
 23 conscious, that it recognizes <sup>its obligations</sup> [itself] as a working partner  
 24 in community life. <sup>Industry</sup> [It] sometimes doesn't quite know what  
 25 to do, because the pattern hasn't been designed that <sup>yet would permit</sup> [permits]

its operations

1 [them] to fit into [a pattern]. That is where the public  
 2 official comes in, working with his private brother to  
 3 find [a formula and] <sup>such</sup> a pattern, *to find a workable formula.*

4 Not only does industry have a real interest in  
 5 upgrading the quality of the communities in which it  
 6 functions, <sup>but also,</sup> [moreover] if present trends continue, the costs  
 7 of polluted air to industry itself are likely to mount.

8 [Now,] I must admit to disappointment that proper  
 9 control of air pollution has thus far too often been seen  
 10 <sup>by some industrial firms</sup> as a nuisance to be endured, or to be postponed, [by some  
 11 <sup>this attitude is even shared by some</sup> industrial firms,] and [even by] <sup>units of local government,</sup>  
 12 <sup>although</sup> [when] any number of reasonable accountings have already  
 13 revealed that the long-run costs of pollution are far  
 14 greater than the cost of its control.

15 So I appeal this morning, as a fellow citizen,  
 16 for local and state responsibility. I ask the law enforce-  
 17 ment officers -- who are perfectly willing to go around and  
 18 arrest a drunk, or someone <sup>who</sup> [that] is molesting someone else,  
 19 or someone <sup>who</sup> [that] threatens someone else, or someone [that] who  
 20 overparks his car -- <sup>equally</sup> I ask them to be [as] vigilant on other  
 21 [ordinances] *transgressions against the public welfare.*

22 Of course, one of my weaknesses is that I always  
 23 digress in these speeches <sup>on some one public issue.</sup> But when I think of the slum  
 24 areas of our cities, there are ordinances in every city  
 25 that say, "You are not permitted to put the garbage all

1 over the lawn." There are ordinances that require you to  
 2 have safe wiring and good plumbing. And I want to say that  
 3 if the law enforcement officers of state and local  
 4 government were as interested in the slum tenements, as to  
 5 their safety and their <sup>fitness for human</sup> occupancy, as they are in a night  
 6 club, where <sup>they put ^</sup> [you have a] signs <sup>saying that</sup> "only 400 people can occupy  
 7 this room"; <sup>^</sup> and where they run in a public health officer  
 8 about three times a week to see that the dishes are being  
 9 cleaned right, and where they are checking the sewer and  
 10 checking the men's room, and checking the wiring; if they  
 11 would do a little of that <sup>kind of checking</sup> in the slums, we wouldn't have  
 12 so many slums.

13 I know. I tried it. It works. You would be  
 14 surprised what you can do by a <sup>e</sup> timely call upon some people,  
 15 particularly if you have authority. One of the advantages  
 16 of having served in local government -- and I did serve for  
 17 two terms as the Mayor <sup>of Minneapolis</sup> -- <sup>is that</sup> you know where the bodies are  
 18 buried. <sup>^</sup> [you know.] You <sup>have</sup> even buried a few yourself.

19 [(Laughter.)]

20 There are very few tricks that some people have  
 21 tried that you haven't at least observed.

22 [Now,] there is another problem relating to our  
 23 local government, however, that needs to be faced <sup>in air pollution controls</sup> ~~x~~ standards  
 24 of control vary greatly from city to city and from state  
 25 to state. And I think we can ask the question, and I know

1 industry does, "Is it realistic to expect industries in  
2 one city to give zealous support to the enactment of  
3 stringent <sup>local</sup> regulations [locally] if they have no assurance  
4 that their competitors elsewhere will have to make  
5 commensurate expenditures?" And how can that assurance be  
6 given? That is a question that you need to face here.  
7 If the city of Denver [Colorado] is to insist that every  
8 industrial plant abide by the law and has strict enforcement,  
9 what about the city of Minneapolis, my city, or the city  
10 of Detroit, or Chicago, or St. Louis? Because most of  
11 American industry today is highly competitive, and it has  
12 its competitive plants in [these] many cities.

13 These are <sup>some of</sup> the very real problems which industries  
14 and the communities in which they function must face in any  
15 coordinated and effective effort to clean the air or to  
16 clear the air. Your Government is currently and actively  
17 concerned with these problems, in the hope that it can  
18 find a solution, and the purpose of consultation in a  
19 conference like this is not [to have] <sup>for</sup> the Federal agents <sup>to</sup> tell  
20 you what to do, but for you to advise and counsel the Federal  
21 representatives as to what you think will be best to do  
22 so that the individual citizens, the representatives of  
23 local and state governments <sup>and</sup> of private industry, working  
24 together with the Federal representatives, may come to  
25 an agreement, a consensus, yes, a <sup>concerted</sup> feeling of what can be done



1 (Applause.)

2 But I might say, I think we will do better on  
3 the Moon, because we are not going to have any vested  
4 interests <sup>there</sup>. There will be no one carrying placards or  
5 petitioning us, or standing in the way, according to what  
6 we hear, at least.

7 Now, I happen to be Chairman of the National  
8 Aeronautics and Space Council. It is ~~X~~ very interesting  
9 work. The Congress has seen to it that the Vice President  
10 has new duties from time to time. You might be interested  
11 in knowing that two of the more recent duties within the  
12 past six years have been to <sup>appoint</sup> [assign] the Vice President as  
13 Chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council,  
14 commonly known as the Space Council, dealing with the  
15 infinity of outer space; and only this last summer, to  
16 <sup>appoint</sup> [assign] the Vice President to be Chairman of the Council on  
17 Marine Resources and Engineering Technology, known as  
18 oceanography. Any assignment I get is out of this world,  
19 or <sup>down on</sup> [in] the bottom of the ocean.

20 (Applause; laughter.)

21 But I can stand before you and tell you <sup>that</sup> my domain  
22 is less polluted than yours. From what I hear of the seas,  
23 they are in some danger, but not as yet as bad in pollution  
24 as certain areas on earth; and space, they tell me ~~X~~ when I  
25 talk to my friends, the astronauts, <sup>that</sup> [it] is beautiful,

1 magnificent. In fact, if you get up high enough, 100 miles or So  
 2 you can take a better picture of the earth than you can if  
 3 you are up <sup>only</sup> 40,000 feet.  
 4 ^

5 This nation has achieved [ through a working  
 6 partnership ] -- and this is where we get down to the practical-  
 7 ities, <sup>-- many of its greatest advances through working partnerships</sup> I ~~talked~~ <sup>spoke earlier</sup> about creative Federalism, working partnership,  
 8 and I looked at the audience and saw some people <sup>who seemed to</sup> say, "I've  
 9 heard that stuff before." So have I. But then the question  
 10 comes -- does it work? Are there any examples? I am here  
 11 to tell you <sup>that</sup> there are.  
 12 ^

13 There is a working example of what I am talking  
 14 about, a working partnership <sup>among</sup> ~~among~~ <sup>between</sup> the National Aeronautics and  
 15 Space Agency (NASA), ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> the Department of Defense, the  
 16 Atomic Energy Commission, just to mention three great  
 17 Federal agencies, working together [with private industry] ~~and~~  
 18 with a host of contractors <sup>in private industry</sup> that employ today over 400,000  
 19 skilled professional workers, with <sup>more</sup> [better] than fifty great  
 20 universities spread across our land, with great banking  
 21 institutions <sup>So here we have</sup> finance, <sup>the</sup> university scientific community,  
 22 private industry, government, all working together in what we call the space  
 23 program.  
 24 ^

25 Government couldn't do it alone, or if it did, it  
 26 would not be within our <sup>traditional</sup> system. Industry obviously couldn't  
 27 do it alone. The university <sup>ies</sup> couldn't do it alone.

So we put them all together, and we have asked our

1 great universities, their schools of technology and science  
2 and engineering<sup>x</sup> and the life sciences, and we have had  
3 interdisciplinary work; we have asked them to find answers  
4 to problems that only ten years ago seemed impossible to  
5 solve. And we have found out how to solve them.

6 Well, I am confident, with that same kind of team-  
7 work, that we can do equally well with innermost space,  
8 this thin but infinitely precious envelope of atmosphere  
9 in which we live and breathe and work.

10 When we launch astronauts into space, we equip  
11 them with special suits, put them into costly capsules,  
12 take every precaution known to modern man, to insure that  
13 they will survive <sup>in a</sup> [their] strange and hostile environment.

14 And I want to tell you one thing about a space  
15 capsule, <sup>that's one place where</sup> there is no air pollution. We have found out what  
16 to do about that. It seems to me that here on earth we  
17 have a right to breathe free and easy in <sup>the</sup> open air, and to  
18 enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, without  
19 resorting to smog masks.

20 I would put it another way, that any nation that  
21 is willing to make the investment that we are <sup>making</sup> to put a man  
22 on the moon ought to be able to find ways and means, and  
23 be willing to make an adequate investment, to help <sup>keep</sup> [put] a man  
24 on his feet right here on earth. And to [make him live a good,  
25 permit him to live a good life. <sup>here</sup> That is really what we are  
1

1 talking about.

2 As your Vice President, I am here to tell you <sup>that</sup>

3 we can do anything that this nation wills to do. We have

4 proven it. We are going to build a supersonic transport --

5 we are going to solve every problem involved in it -- the

6 engineers say we can. We are going to be able to desalinate

7 the water of seas. We are already working <sup>up</sup> [now] to a point

8 where we <sup>the</sup> [are able to] <sup>can</sup> control genetics. We are going to

9 be able to [have] transplant <sup>an</sup> [of] [one] organ from <sup>the</sup> [a] body of one

10 person to <sup>the body of</sup> another on a regular basis. We are studying [even]

11 the secret of life itself, <sup>hidden in</sup> the cellular structure, and even

12 <sup>close</sup> coming to the point of ~~the~~ artificial creation of life.

13 We are doing fantastic things whenever we will

14 to do it. We are going to be able to put into orbit a man-

15 orbiting laboratory; we will construct that laboratory in

16 orbit; we will put it together; we will nail it together,

17 so to speak. We will have men going in and out of that

18 laboratory just as they go in and out of an underground

19 plant or factory, or a factory on earth, and it will all

20 be within the next five to ten years. We know that.

21 We are able to do [anything] <sup>anything</sup> practically that we

22 want to do, if we <sup>really</sup> want to do it. And if we are willing to

23 dedicate the <sup>necessary</sup> resources to it.

24 We are talking now about building huge buildings

25 under the sea. I am Chairman of oceanography; I have been

1 involved deeply in this. We can now mine the seas; we  
 2 can build a building bigger than this hotel on the bottom  
 3 of the ocean; live in it; mine the manganese, copper, the  
 4 gold; we can do <sup>down there</sup> these things. <sup>all</sup>

5 We can discover more ~~from a satellite orbiting~~  
 6 ~~300 miles above the earth~~ <sup>by flying above it</sup> about what is in the earth than  
 7 ~~we can by going around and~~ digging in it. The <sup>second</sup> largest  
 8 gold <sup>deposit</sup> [mine] in the world was discovered only recently by an  
 9 [space satellite.] ~~high flying~~ airplanes. (7)

10 We will be communicating all over the world <sup>through</sup> [with]  
 11 communication satellites. We will be able to have the  
 12 university of the world in ten years, [an instantaneous trans-  
 13 lation] so that students at our great universities will  
 14 be able to hear the greatest philosophers and teachers  
 15 in the world in ten different countries on the same day,  
 16 and have the <sup>message</sup> [language] brought to them in their native tongue.  
 17 We can do all this. Don't tell me you don't know how to  
 18 control some fumes coming out of a bus.

19 [(Applause.)]

20 Don't tell me that we are incapable of doing  
 21 something about sulfur, <sup>f</sup> <sup>gaseous sulfur</sup> [gas sulphur] oxides. Don't tell  
 22 me this. I don't believe it. I tell you what we ought  
 23 to make up our minds to do <sup>this</sup> [is], <sup>we</sup> we have to do it, or do we  
 24 have to just list [out] the casualties every day, <sup>as</sup> [like] they  
 25 do in Vietnam?

Steno.  
 Check with  
 Tom Williams

1 As a matter of fact, my dear friends, there are  
 2 more people dying from emphysema than there are on the  
 3 field of battle. And I have a feeling that there <sup>is</sup> [are] some  
 4 guerilla <sup>warfare</sup> [warriors] [going around] that we are letting loose  
 5 in this country without doing anything about it, <sup>a hidden enemy</sup> known as  
 6 air pollution.

7 We ~~we~~ have the right, I think, to be free of the  
 8 haunting fear that disaster may any day strike in any one  
 9 of a large number of our cities. <sup>To free ourselves from this fear</sup> [This] is our task, and this  
 10 is our challenge. The American people want to know what  
 11 we must do to control now for clean air, not twenty years  
 12 from now <sup>....</sup> <sup>^</sup> now.

13 Somebody once asked an old scientist, "What is  
 14 the difference <sup>between</sup> [in] the long run and the short run?" He said,  
 15 "In the long run, you are all dead." I am a short-run  
 16 man.

17 [(Applause; laughter.)]

18 I enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happi-  
 19 ness. So I say, let's gear up for action. And I know  
 20 there are going to be people here that <sup>will</sup> <sup>^</sup> say, "Well, we have  
 21 got to wait for more information." I have been <sup>engaged</sup> <sup>^</sup> in [the]  
 22 academic pursuits myself. And you can sit around waiting  
 23 for more information all of your life -- there is always  
 24 more information <sup>to wait for</sup>.

25 I boarded yesterday the replica of the Santa Maria.

1 Christopher Columbus could have been waiting right now,  
 2 right on up to the Queen Mary, if he <sup>had</sup> waited for more  
 3 information.

4 (Applause.)

5 One thing about Christopher Columbus, he didn't  
 6 have much of a ship, but what he had, he got in and he <sup>set sail</sup> [went]  
 7 and he got across the ocean. Of course, he didn't get to  
 8 where he was planning, but at least he made the trip.

9 So what the Vice President is saying to you this  
 10 morning, in my characteristic style, is <sup>this:</sup> "Let's get with it."  
 11 This is where the action is. Here is where we need the  
 12 job to be done. And we need to take action on a whole  
 13 series of fronts. [And] I know there will be those <sup>who will</sup> [that] tell  
 14 you, "Well, we just need to plan the whole thing out. We  
 15 can't move until we have a massive plan for everything."

16 Well, <sup>as</sup> I have said earlier, our problems are  
 17 massive; it is going to take a massive effort; it is going  
 18 to take [the] coordination <sup>such as</sup> [like] we have never known before;  
 19 it is going to take [the] pooling of the resources of America,  
 20 and maybe of the world. But at least of America, without  
 21 the loss of identity <sup>of</sup> of any of these resources. The  
 22 cooperation of public and private, <sup>elements</sup> without ever in any way  
 23 diminishing the importance of either, without anyone be-  
 24 coming a monolith.

25 But let's not keep waiting for the day <sup>when</sup> [that] somebody

1 comes in with a master plan. Because I have news for you--  
 2 every master plan has already been altered, and <sup>your master plan</sup> [it] will be  
 3 altered <sup>too,</sup> before <sup>you</sup> [they] get the ink dry on the first page <sup>of</sup>  
 4 the master plan.]

5 What this country needs right now from you is a  
 6 plan of action to meet the problem that is here in this  
 7 year -- 1966 -- and the year 1967, and the immediate years  
 8 ahead. And I charge this great conference -- and it is  
 9 a fine one, and my goodness, how grateful we are <sup>that</sup> you are  
 10 here -- I charge this great conference with the responsi-  
 11 bility of helping our country, not just our Government, but  
 12 our country, our fellow Americans, to have an environment  
 13 that is healthy and decent, in which they can live.

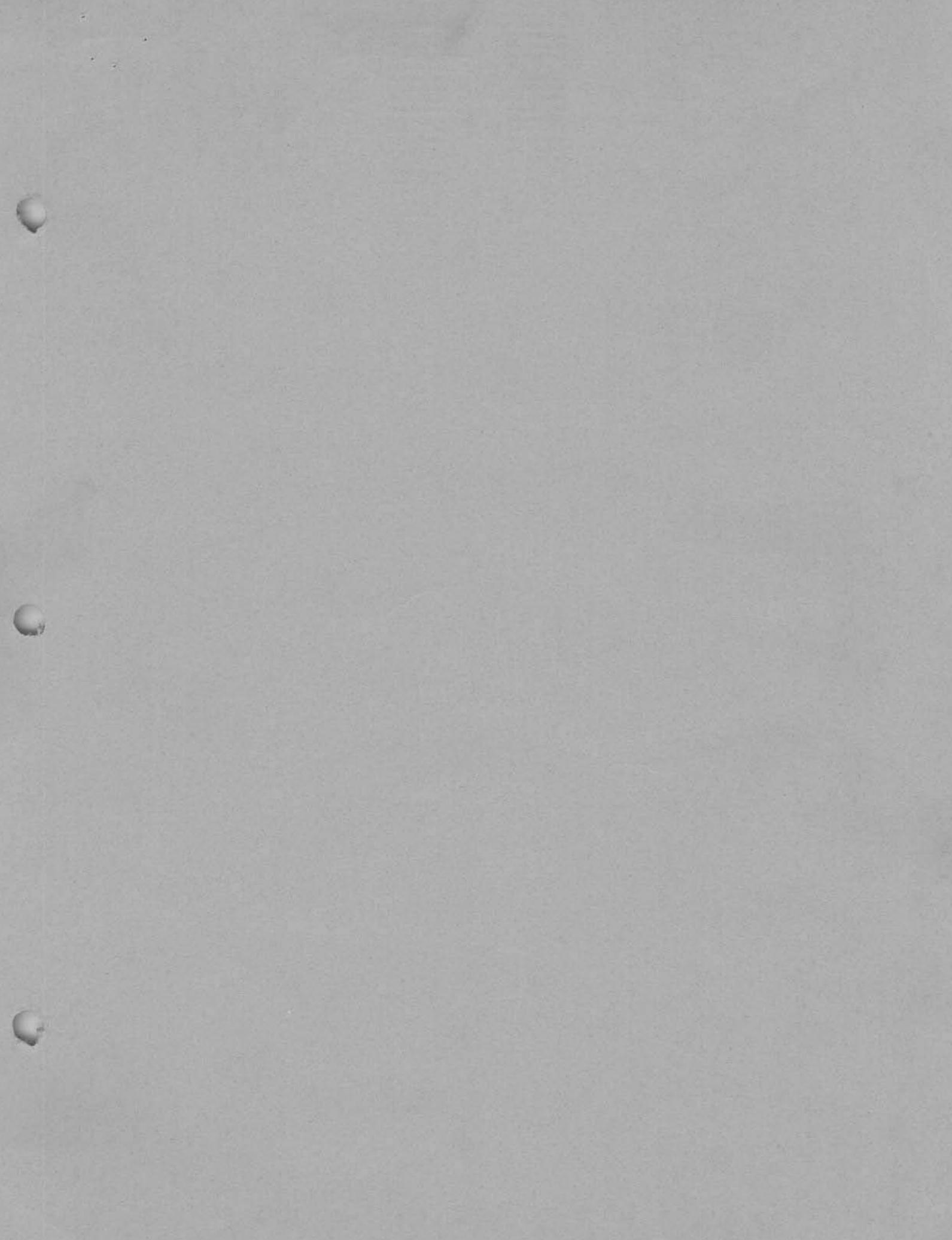
14 And you can make your contribution by seeing to  
 15 it that one of God's great gifts to mankind, the air [that]  
 16 he breathes, is as pure as God Almighty intended it to be  
 17 for his children.

18 Thank you.  
 19 [ (Applause.) ]

20 (Whereupon, at 11:30 a.m., the address  
 21 was concluded.) ]

22 \* \* \* \* \*

23  
 24  
 25





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