

MONDAY PM'S
June 24, 1968

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
INTERNATIONAL AIR POLLUTION CONTROL CONVENTION
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA
JUNE 24, 1968

Your predecessors who established the Smoke Abatement Association in Pittsburgh back in 1907 were a radical lot. Most of their neighbors still sniffed a healthy "smell of prosperity" in the odor of polluted air.

Smoke and fumes stood for flourishing enterprise...jobs...security...a new nation that had siezed world leadership in the industrial revolution.

Today there is no need to dwell on the amount of material prosperity the vast majority of us have come to enjoy...or on the prospect of a trillion dollar economy by the early seventies...or on the implications of 6 thousand dollar personal incomes by the end of this centry. The growth of material prosperity--if we have the courage to manage our financial affairs creatively--can now be considered almost automatic in America.

Abundance has, however, surrounded us with some costly and dangerous by-products: polluted air that can kill...and has; noise that can damage property...and has; dirty rivers that can deny urban water supplies...and have.

The peace of our split level, air-conditioned homes is shattered by the roar of new airliners.

Our increasing leisure is blighted by streams where fish can't live and people can't swim.

Cars are choking our cities--and their exhausts are choking us.

For some time now we have grudgingly tolerated these pollutants as personal annoyances...as aesthetic misfortunes...as moderate threats to health which modern medicine could, after all, combat.

But what is the cumulative effect of these pollutants working together, over time, on our bodies and minds? What is the price of the strain and tension they cause in our families and our communities? How much do they reduce our freedom to live in the way we really want to live.

We don't know the answers.

But the polls are beginning to show that an overwhelming majority of Americans are worried about them--and that there is a growing constituency for clean air, clean water, quiet, and uncluttered outdoors.

I know that constituency has existed for some time in many of the other developed countries represented here--perhaps because they became crowded sooner.

It is quite clear, indeed, that America has reached a new threshold in its industrial revolution--a threshold where the quality of our environment is assuming equal importance with the quantity of goods we produce.

We are crossing that threshold.

We are raising and humanizing the performance standards we demand from our industrial technology and our economy.

We are beginning to turn our technology back upon itself to preserve and enhance an environment which is a suitable home for a nation dedicated to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

And I believe that casual and thoughtless pollution will soon go the way of the sweatshop...or child labor...or slavery.

* * *

This new era in America is only a few years old.

You know its original canons: the Water Quality Act of 1965...the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966...the Clean Air Act of 1963...the Air Quality Act of 1967...and the Solid Waste Disposal Act of 1965.

Pending now in Congress are further proposals--a Safe Drinking Water Bill, a Surface Mining Reclamation Bill, an Oil and Hazardous Substances Pollution Control Bill.

Within the last ten days a new Consumer Protection and Environmental Control Service has been established in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Its purpose is to present a united front in our efforts to control all the contaminants and foreign substances that affect us--the air pollution, solid wastes, radiological and chemical substances.

There has also been major action recently at state and local levels to control air and water pollution. Twenty-five more states have established air pollution control agencies in just the past two years, for a total of 45. Minneapolis, I am proud to say, has an air pollution control program. St. Paul has twenty-five air sampling stations paid for partly with federal funds.

Industry, too, is responding. Who would have expected, five years ago, to see automobile ads touting the efficiency of smog control devices...or newspaper advertisements proclaiming a company's new investments in pollution control...or annual reports assuring stockholders that some of their earnings are indeed going for cleaner streams and smokestacks.

Thus far our concrete achievements add up to no more than a good beginning---a downpayment on the debt incurred by past neglect, and a declaration of intent to catch up.

I am not equipped to speak about the dimensions of the technical task ahead, and I understand you are going to hear over 180 papers on the subject.

But I have had some experience with American government and economics, both as a mayor and in Washington.

And it is clear to me that licking pollution...within the structure of our federal system and free enterprise economy... will be an immense challenge to government at all levels and

private industry. It will depend, above all, on the ability of many of our state and local governments to modernize their operations.

Pollution--like migration, modern transportation and much else that goes with our contemporary society--has little respect for our present jurisdictional boundaries, many of which were drawn in an agrarian age.

Our existing anti-pollution programs recognize the necessity of close regional cooperation.

I believe, however, that we shall need to go farther--to create totally new Regional Pollution Authorities, which would be funded by the states or localities covered and authorized to receive and administer federal anti-pollution funds.

But sustained and efficient pollution control will require more than what are essentially public programs designed to clean up after industry.

In our free enterprise economy, acceptable disposal of wastes should rightfully be a normal part of doing business. Any additional costs involved should be treated as regular operating costs--costs which the man in the street must be prepared to share when he buys a box of stationery or a new car.

What about these costs? Anybody who deals with the United States Congress these days instinctively asks that question.

I don't think we know the answer, but I suspect that clean air and clean water may be one of the few urgent social necessities we can buy rather cheaply today.

In the first place, pollution and inadequate waste disposal cost each of us money today--about 11 billion dollars for air pollution alone.

If a dirty stack now requires each of ten thousand housewives to buy three extra boxes of soap a year, society as a whole will lose very little by investing a few thousand dollars to clean up the stack. The cost of treating pollution would simply be redistributed--and probably be reduced by the greater efficiency of treating the cause rather than the effect.

Federal or state financial assistance might be indicated in a few industries which might be temporarily damaged by a redistribution of costs.

Second, we already know that some of the wastes we disgorge are valuable resources out of place -- raw materials too valuable to be thrown away. I understand that research now underway suggests that sulphur recovered from fossil fuels can be converted -- at a tidy profit -- into sulphuric acid. The Harvard Business Review reports that an 85 thousand dollar air pollution control device installed by American Cyanamid is now recovering 50 thousand dollars worth of carbon each year.

America seems to prosper more every time we raise our standards to meet a new social demand.

It happened with the minimum wage.

It happened with Social Security.

It happened with food and drug inspection.

I should not be at all surprised if what has begun as a social demand for a wholesome environment should soon start to produce important economic returns.

* * * * *

You are dealing with one important facet of a truly revolutionary process that is underway in America today -- a turbulent...irrepressible...sometimes uncomfortable drive toward quality as well as quantity in our lives.

And we are contending with much more than the physical wastes of our great factories...or the tragic waste of our forests and streams.

We are struggling to stop the human wastage which is a legacy of discrimination, inadequate education and poverty -- a by-product left behind by a rapidly developing nation. This human wastage has, to a very real extent, polluted our social environment with mistrust and hatred, much as past neglect has polluted our physical environment.

We are -- all of us -- engaged very directly in an unprecedented effort to build a social, economic and technical environment in which every individual can find dignity, health and hope...where Man shall prevail.

That is what all those dissatisfied Americans who support anti-pollution programs...and all those who support conservation...and all those who want social justice are after today.

Some people diagnose a sickness in our impatience with what is, and in the pressures for what ought to be.

But I am frequently reminded of this passage from Alfred North Whitehead:

"The vigor of civilized societies is preserved by the widespread sense that high aims are worthwhile... Vigorous societies harbor a certain extravagance of objectives."

An environment safe for man is a minimum objective for America.

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Mayor Byrne
Commissioner Holland

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

INTERNATIONAL AIR POLLUTION CONTROL CONVENTION

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

2 years Ago -

JUNE 24, 1968

LSU - Jim

↳ Your predecessors who established the Smoke Abatement Association in Pittsburgh back in 1907 were a radical lot. Most of their neighbors still sniffed a healthy "smell of prosperity" in the odor of polluted air.

↳ Smoke and fumes stood for flourishing enterprise ... jobs ... security ... a new nation that had siezed world leadership in the industrial revolution.

Today there is no need to dwell on the amount of material prosperity the vast majority of us have come to enjoy ... or on the prospect of a trillion dollar economy by the early 'seventies ... or on the implications of 6 thousand dollar ^{Per Capita} personal incomes by the end of this century. The growth of material prosperity -- if we have the courage to manage our financial affairs ^{wisely} ~~creatively~~ -- can now be considered almost automatic in America.

Abundance has, however, surrounded us with some costly and dangerous by-products: polluted air that can kill ... and ^{it} has; noise that can damage property ... and ^{it} has; dirty rivers that can deny urban water supplies ... and ^{they} have.

The peace of our split level, air-conditioned homes is shattered by the roar of new airliners.

Our increasing leisure is blighted by streams where fish can't live and people can't swim.

↳ Cars are choking our cities -- and their exhausts are choking us.

↳ For some time now we have grudgingly tolerated these pollutants as personal annoyances ... as aesthetic misfortunes ... as moderate threats to health which modern medicine could, after all, combat.

But now some serious questions must be answered.

↳ But what is the cumulative effect of these pollutants working together, over time, on our bodies and minds? What is the price of the strain and tension they cause in our families and our communities? How much do they reduce our freedom to live in the way we really want to live.

↳ We don't know the answers.

But the polls are beginning to show that an overwhelming majority of Americans are worried about them -- and that there is a growing constituency for clean air, clean water, quiet, and uncluttered outdoors.

∟ I know that constituency has existed for some time in many of the other developed countries represented here -- perhaps because they became crowded sooner.

∟ It is quite clear, indeed, that America has reached a new threshold in its industrial revolution -- a threshold where the quality of our environment is assuming equal importance with the quantity of ^{our} ~~goods we produce~~.

∟ We are crossing that threshold.

∟ We are raising and humanizing the performance standards we demand from our industrial technology and our economy.

∟ We are beginning to turn our technology back upon itself to preserve and enhance an environment which is a suitable home for a nation dedicated to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

And I believe that casual and thoughtless pollution will soon go the way of the sweatshop ... or child labor ... or slavery.

It is intolerable!

△ This new era in America is only a few years old.

You know its original canons: the Water Quality Act of 1965 ... the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 ... the Clean Air Act of 1963 ... the Air Quality Act of 1967 ... and the Solid Waste Disposal Act of 1965.

△ Pending now in Congress are further proposals -- a Safe Drinking Water Bill, a Surface Mining Reclamation Bill, an Oil and Hazardous Substances Pollution Control Bill.

↳ Within the last ten days a new Consumer Protection and Environmental Control Service has been established in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. ↳ Its purpose is to present a united front in our efforts to control all the contaminants and foreign substances that affect us -- air pollution, solid wastes, radiological and chemical substances.

↳ There has also been major action recently at state and local levels to control air and water pollution. ↳ Twenty-five more states have established air pollution control agencies in just the past two years, for a total of 45. ↳ Minneapolis, I am proud to say, has an air pollution control program. ↳ St. Paul has twenty-five air sampling stations paid for partly with federal funds.

② Urban Planning - Model Cities -
must include Pollution Control -
in fact, the wholesome, safe, &
healthy environment must be at
the center of all plans.

Industry, too, is responding. Who would have expected, five years ago, to see automobile ads touting the efficiency of smog control devices ... or newspaper advertisements proclaiming a company's new investments in pollution control ... or annual reports assuring stockholders that some of their earnings are indeed going for cleaner streams and smokestacks.

*Change
for the good.*

* * *

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Urban Planning +
Model Cities -

- 8 -
Wholesome, Safe + Healthy Environment.

But I have had some experience with American government
and economics, both as a mayor and in Washington.

And it is clear to me that licking pollution ... within the
structure of our federal system and free enterprise economy ...
will be an immense challenge to government at all levels and private
industry. It will depend, above all, on the ability of many of our
state and local governments to modernize their operations.

Pollution -- like migration, modern transportation and much
else that goes with our contemporary society -- has little respect
for our present jurisdictional boundaries, many of which were
drawn in an agrarian age.

Our existing anti-pollution programs recognize the necessity
of close regional cooperation.

Interstate - Compacts

also, on every state an Environmental Dept
or office - at the legislative level
or special committees or joint committees
Illinois - Joint Air Pollution Study Committee
to propose meaningful legislation.

Partnership

new institutions

- 9 -

I believe, however, that we shall need to go farther --
to create totally new Regional Pollution Authorities, which
would be funded by the states or localities covered and authorized
to receive and administer federal anti-pollution funds.

Like
Port
Authorities

↳ But sustained and efficient pollution control will require
more than what are essentially public programs designed to clean
up after industry.

↳ In our free enterprise economy, acceptable disposal of
wastes should rightfully be a normal part of doing business.

↳ Any additional costs involved should be treated as regular
operating costs -- costs which the man in the street must be
prepared to share when he buys a box of stationery or a new
car.

↳ advertising, packaging and
distribution can be included as cost items --
then surely Pollution Control --

↳ Research costs can be in Part
Public Appropriations

↳ What about these costs? Anybody who deals with the United States Congress these days instinctively asks that question. 2

↳ I don't think we know the answer, but I suspect that clean air and clean water may be one of the few urgent social necessities we can buy rather cheaply today.

↳ In the first place, pollution and inadequate waste disposal cost each of ^{us} money today -- about 11 billion dollars for air pollution alone.

↳ If a dirty stack now requires each of ten thousand housewives to buy three extra boxes of soap a year, society as a whole will lose very little by investing a few thousand dollars to clean up the stack. ↳ The cost of treating pollution would simply be redistributed -- and probably be reduced by the greater efficiency of treating the cause rather than the effect. ②

↳ Federal or state financial assistance might be indicated in a few industries which might be temporarily damaged by a redistribution of costs. *↳ He-Way Act on moving Transmission lines!*

↳ Second, we already know that some of the wastes we disgorge are valuable resources out of place -- raw materials too valuable to be thrown away. *↳* I understand that research now underway suggests that sulphur recovered from fossil fuels can be converted -- at a tidy profit -- into sulphuric acid.
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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
SIXTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE
AIR POLLUTION CONTROL ASSOCIATION
at
St. Paul, Minnesota
June 24, 1968

(Introduction by Mr. Robert Stockman, President,
Air Pollution Control Association.)

Thank you, Commissioner Holland. The timing has
been perfect so far. The Vice President walked in the door
exactly when he was supposed to. (Laughter) My notes
tell me that our keynote speaker today needs no intro-
duction, and I think certainly this is the case in St. Paul,
but one bit of information has developed that I thought
I would let you know of. You may recall last year at our
annual banquet, our then-President, Joe Hugett, made quite
a thing of talking about people that went to Louisiana
State University. In fact, he has carried it to the point
where he has made this something of a status symbol, if
you went to LSU and you belong to APCA.

Not long ago, my wife, who, of course, is also

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from LSU, learning that the Vice President would be here, informed me that, indeed, he, too, is an alumnus of LSU, so, Mr. Vice President, you are in. (Laughter)

As President, now, of the Association, I extend you a most cordial welcome. (Standing ovation)

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President Stockman, personally, may I thank you for your words of introduction and mentioning of your wife being a graduate of LSU, as I am, also, a graduate of LSU, but I did like what you said about "I am in." I didn't know whether I was in. (Laughter) I have such a one-track mind lately. (Laughter and applause) You are very kind to let me think that way for just a few moments. (Laughter)

Commissioner Holland, as always, it is good to be with you. We have worked together in these Twin Cities of ours, St. Paul and Minneapolis, for many, many years. I recall, Bud, being with you two years ago, I believe, in Washington, at a conference on air pollution and pollution control, and I believe it was at that time that you started telling me that I ought to come to St. Paul for this Conference. He plans well in advance.

But one of the reasons I am here is because one of

1 one of the most talented and gifted public servants of
2 this country happens to be the Mayor of the Capitol City
3 of the State of Minnesota, the Mayor of St. Paul, Tom
4 Byrne. (Applause)

5 Now, for those of you are from other parts of our
6 great country, and for our visitors from other lands, you
7 will just have to bear with me, but I am very proud of this
8 city, particularly proud of the leadership this city has,
9 both in its public and in its private life, and you are in a
10 very beautiful city and a beautiful state, and you are in a
11 city that is well governed and has had the vision of the
12 future, and cities that have a vision of tomorrow are the
13 cities of tomorrow, and the Mayor and the other members of
14 government here, the Commission, the economic and social
15 community here, has that vision of a better tomorrow.

16 Now, for a former Mayor of Minneapolis, this is
17 some statement to make, believe me. (Laughter)

18 I don't know whether they will let me come back
19 across the river after that, but we are beginning now to
20 enjoy better relationships. One of the reasons that I feel
21 that there is hope for peace in this world is to see how we
22 have progressed between Minneapolis and St. Paul. (Laughter)
23 We know what it is to live in divided cities.

24 Well, this morning, I come to you as your Vice
25 President deeply concerned over the problems that confront

1 our great country, but also deeply convinced that there isn't
2 a single problem but what we can master it if we set our
3 minds to it. I want to open my remarks with you today with
4 a reaffirmation of faith in this land, and I do it because
5 of those many people today who seem to enjoy indulging in
6 the spreading of doubt, confusion about both our purpose and
7 our will.

8 I happen to believe that whatever we need to do, we
9 can do. I happen to believe that we live in the time in which
10 we have more of the resources, the technology and the know-
11 how to overcome our problems than at any other time in human
12 history. I am fully aware that our problems are more
13 difficult. I am well aware that our problems are no longer
14 parochial or local; that the challenges that confront us are
15 world-wide, and that is why this conference, having its
16 international flavor and its international characterization,
17 is so meaningful.

18 If ever there was a subject that defied the old
19 boundaries and, indeed, old ways of doing things, it is
20 this subject of air pollution. We are well aware of what
21 can happen to the atmosphere, those of us who have any
22 knowledge of nuclear power. The great danger of a nuclear
23 holocaust is not only the blast that can literally incinerate
24 the earth, but it is the pollution of the atmosphere which
25 can slowly, agonizingly extract the very meaning of life and

1 life itself from its victims.

2 Now, that is the broad picture as I see it.

3 I thought I would mention this to you early because I want
4 to place my remarks in proper perspective. What we seek to
5 do here is to think together and think out loud about
6 difficulties and problems that have intensified and
7 magnified in geometrical proportion, and we are late, we
8 are very late getting at what we are doing, but the fact
9 that we are late just impresses upon me, and I am sure
10 upon you, the urgency of the task and the necessity of
11 people thinking anew, planning anew, about problems, if
12 not new, at least, that are immense.

13 Now, your predecessors who established the
14 Smoke Abatement Association back in Pittsburg in 1907 were
15 a radical lot. Oh, they really shook them up in that day.
16 Most of their neighbors still sniffed a healthy smell of
17 prosperity in the odor of polluted air, and when anybody
18 mentioned air pollution abatement, it looked as if you were
19 against jobs, opposed to industry, and a dangerous threat
20 to free enterprise. Smoke and fumes have stood for
21 flourishing enterprise. It stood for jobs and security.
22 Smoke and fumes stood for a new nation that had seized
23 world leadership in the industrial revolution. That is the
24 way it was 61 years ago when this association, or its
25 predecessor, was born.

1 Now, today, there is no need to dwell on the
2 amount of material prosperity that the vast majority of us
3 have come to enjoy, or even to dwell on the prospects of a
4 trillion dollar economy by the early 1970's, or to dwell
5 on the implications of a \$6,000 per capita income by the
6 end of this century. The growth of material prosperity,
7 if we have the courage to manage our financial affairs
8 creatively and sensibly, can now be considered almost
9 automatic in America.

10 As a matter of fact, we can't even afford to think
11 of a depression or a recession -- or to let it become a
12 reality, I should say, they are too costly; just like we can no
13 longer afford to sit idly by and watch the pollution of the
14 atmosphere and the earth, it is just too costly.

15 Now, abundance has brought with it many benefits,
16 but it has surrounded us with some costly and dangerous
17 by-products, and I think we have to drive this message home.
18 I know I don't need to do it to you, but possibly these
19 microphones and that lense out there will take this message
20 to people that, as yet, are unaware of what we are considering
21 here.

22 What are these dangerous by-products and these
23 costly by-products of abundant, prosperous America? Well,
24 I will tell you the first one, polluted air that can kill,
25 and it has. Now, we are entitled to live. I suggest that

1 we do something to protect it.

2 Noise, unbelievable noise that can damage property
3 and make life tension-ridden, and it has.

4 Dirty rivers and dirty lakes that can deny urban
5 water supplies, and they have.

6 My fellow Americans, we will stand convicted of
7 gross negligence for a thousand years because of what we
8 have let happen to the Great Lakes. Inexcusable. The
9 greatest body of fresh water on the face of the earth and
10 in less than a century we have practically ruined it. Isn't
11 it, therefore, imperative that before it is Superior that
12 has gone the way of others, that we reverse this trend and,
13 in a sense, repay for the negligence and for the abuse of
14 the past? The peace of our split level, air conditioned
15 homes is all too often now shattered by the roar of new
16 airliners, as if noise abatement was an unknown technology.
17 I live near the National Airport in Washington. We are
18 spending millions of dollars for the new Kennedy Culutral
19 Center. I make a prediction from this platform for the next
20 25 years, noise abatement engineers will be trying to find
21 out how you can keep the roar of the airliners from
22 interrupting the beautiful music of the symphony. Maybe
23 sometime we will find that we have a way even of redirecting
24 the air flights. I have often thought of that, since the
25 liners pass right by my apartment window much of the time.

(Laughter)

1 how to take care of these things if we but will it.

2 And who is there that would not want a new
3 automobile? The automobile industry is one of our greatest
4 industries, and it needs the respect and the attention
5 of the American people. Yet, cars are choking our cities.
6 I read the other day that it costs something like \$22,000
7 per each new automobile that came into Manhattan for parking
8 and for street space. You have to be rich to afford all
9 these things, my friends, and yet we can do something about
10 that.

11 Cars choking our cities and their exhausts are
12 choking us. I walk every morning in Washington and I come
13 up to Pennsylvania Avenue or Constitution Avenue, and stand
14 there, and just as I wait to cross the street, a bus goes
15 by, and I pick myself up five minutes later, after the fumes
16 have engulfed you. Why, ladies and gentlemen? You wouldn't
17 tolerate this for a single minute if somebody put on the
18 label of war, or something like that. You would have
19 demonstrators (laughter), but we stand right there and
20 just breath it on in, and it doesn't need to be.

21 Now, for some time, we have grudgingly tolerated,
22 as I said, these pollutes as personal annoyances, as
23 aesthetic misfortunes, as moderate threats to health which
24 modern medicine could alter, after all, or combat, but I
25 think all of what I have said thus far raises some very

1 serious questions that must be answered, questions that I
2 am not sure any of us really know the answers to as yet;
3 what is the accumulative effect, what is the aggregate
4 accumulative effects of these pollutants working together
5 and working overtime on our bodies and minds? I am sure
6 there are medical men here. I know there are public health
7 officers here from our own University. We have Dr. Harold
8 Paulas, and others, but I wonder if we really yet have
9 charted and put into the computer, as we do almost everything
10 these days, what is the accumulative effect on mind and
11 body of these pollutants, what is the price of the strain
12 and the tension they cause in our families and our
13 communities? How much do they reduce our freedom to live
14 in the way we really want to live? Just how good do you
15 feel when you leave that office and get in your car and drive
16 home, bumper to bumper, breathing deeply noxious fumes, and
17 then you get on home and you take some sitting up exercises,
18 or you walk around the neighborhood, or maybe you just sit.

19 Now, we don't know these answers, but the public
20 opinion polls are beginning to show that an overwhelming
21 majority of Americans are increasingly worried about them,
22 and that there is a growing constituency in this country
23 for natural beauty and recreation.

24 I met this past week with our council and our
25 Citizen's Advisory Conference, and of all the subjects that

1 I am visiting with people about across this country, one
2 of the most compelling and the most interesting on the part
3 of the constituency, the citizen, is how do you provide a
4 more wholesome environment; and there is a growing
5 constituency for clean air and clean water, and for quiet,
6 uncluttered outdoors.

7 Well, Mr. Mayor, we spent a couple of hours last
8 Friday talking about the United States Forest Service having
9 a separate division in the Forest Service for cities.
10 Modern cities are going to need little forest areas. Much
11 more than just the parks of today. They are going to need
12 open spaces as never before, and of all the polluted air
13 that I have ever smelled or tasted, none is worse than in
14 the ghettos and the slums of our cities, where the pollution
15 comes frequently from ungathered garbage, as well as from
16 industrial waste and a poorly kept neighborhood.

17 If ever we rebuild our cities, my fellow Americans,
18 we will have to take at least one-third of the space which
19 is there now, packed with tenements, and make it open space.
20 There will be no law and order in this country as long as
21 you jam people one on top of another with the density of
22 population that makes it humanly impossible for mankind to
23 live a meaningful life. You know, animals know better than
24 that. They know it takes so much space for them to live,
25 and the laws of nature take care of it. Until man does

1 something to interrupt it, you would think that we who are
2 supposed to be more intelligent than animals would know how
3 to do some of this.

4 Well, I know that this constituency that I referred
5 to, for clean air and clean water, and uncluttered outdoors,
6 for open spaces, has existed for some time in many of the
7 other developed countries represented here, and I think
8 I know why, because they became crowded sooner than we did,
9 and it was either to clean up the environment or perish.

10 It is quite clear indeed, that America has reached
11 a new threshold in its industrial revolution, a threshold
12 where the quality of our environment is assuming equal
13 importance with the quantity of our goods. The quality of
14 our environment, equal importance with the quantity of our
15 goods. For what is our wealth? For what purpose is our
16 science and technology if not to improve the quality of our
17 environment? And we are beginning now to cross that thresh-
18 hold, and we are raising and humanizing the performance
19 that we demand from our science, technology and our economy.
20 We are asking the scientists and the engineers, and the
21 technicians, to concentrate their minds, their talents and
22 their brilliance upon how we can live a meaningful life,
23 not just a life piled high with tin cans and equipment,
24 and goods, but a life filled with beauty, with wholesomeness
25 and with health.

1 We are beginning to turn our technology back upon
2 itself, to preserve and enhance an environment which is
3 a suitable home for a nation dedicated to life, liberty
4 and the pursuit of happiness, and we ought to have a bench-
5 mark for ourselves, and I suggest that you adopt here the
6 year 1976, my fellow Americans, to see whether or not in
7 the 200 years of our independence, we have created what our
8 forefathers said was our dream, our goal, our objective,
9 a society where men are endowed with the inalienable rights
10 of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that we
11 have fulfilled those rights. 1976.

12 In the next eight years we can do more to cleanse
13 the air that we breathe, to roll back the tides of pollution
14 that, today, engulf us, than in the preceding 800 years,
15 if we wish to. We have the technology in many areas. We
16 have the know-how. The question is, do we have the will?

17 And, I believe, that casual and thoughtless pollution,
18 if we have the will, will go the same way as the sweatshop,
19 or child labor, or slavery. We tolerated these miserable
20 social habits for centuries as a people, and for generations
21 as a nation, and there were those who said you couldn't do
22 anything about it, but we did something about it. I will
23 just make it clear in my mind, air pollution, water
24 pollution, pollution of neighborhoods and cities is
25 intolerable.

1 Ladies and gentlemen, I am Chairman of the Space
2 Council of your government. We are able to provide a home
3 for an astronaut that is absolutely pure and clean and
4 wholesome. We can send an astronaut to the moon and we
5 will, and I will guarantee you that the air that he breathes
6 and the vehicle in which he travels will be a lot cleaner
7 than anything you have ever known in your life. Now, if
8 you can have clean air on the moon, why can't you do
9 something about it here, right here on earth, where we live?
10 Environment is something that man controls.

11 This new era in America, with this new constituency,
12 and this new concern that I mentioned, is only a few years
13 old, and because it is, there is a certain vitality to it
14 as well, a rather rambuncious vitality. You know its
15 original canons. Think of what we have done in just these
16 few short years: the Water Quality Act of 1965, the Clean
17 Water Restoration Act of 1966, the Clean Air Act of 1963,
18 the Air Quality Act of 1967, and the Solid Waste Disposal
19 Act of 1965. These items have received so little attention
20 and publicity that many an American has no knowledge whatso-
21 ever that they have even taken place, but I venture to say
22 that the legislation that I have just mentioned to you will
23 have more to do with your lives and the lives of your
24 children than almost anything that has happened in the past
25 decade, because all of the research for health care will be

1 meaningless unless these programs that I mentioned take
2 effect.

3 I must say to those who are here, that these are
4 federal laws, and our governmental system is not merely
5 the national government. It goes from national to state, to
6 local, and federal legislation loses its meaning and its
7 impact unless it has a companion with it, at the state and
8 local level. Pending now in Congress are further proposals,
9 a Safe Drinking Water Bill, a Surface Mining Reclamation
10 Bill, and Oil and Hazardous Substance Pollutions Control Bill.
11 When I think of what happens with these huge tankers that
12 break up in storms, those jumbo-sized tankers that leave
13 their fuel oil and leave their pollution on the beaches
14 for mankind to wrestle with for a generation or a decade,
15 I think that we know that we have serious challenges before
16 us.

17 Within the last ten days, a new consumer protection
18 and environmental control service has been established in
19 the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Its purpose
20 is to present a united front in our efforts to control the
21 contaminating and foreign substances that effect us, air
22 pollution, solid waste, radiological and chemical substances.
23 There has also been major action recently at state and local
24 levels to control air and water pollution. Twenty-five more
25 states, as you know, have established air pollution control

1 agencies in just the past two years, for a total of 45; most
2 all of them underfunded, understaffed, as most of you know
3 here.

4 In Minneapolis, Mr. Mayor, I am proud to say there
5 is an air pollution control program. St. Paul has 25 air
6 sampling stations as a cooperative arrangement between the
7 federal government and the city government. These represent
8 the beginnings, but I must be very frank with you, both
9 the federal, state and local governments, all of them, are
10 underfunding, underfinancing, understaffing these vital
11 instrumentalities of health and protection.

12 Now, industry is also responding, and there is no
13 hope without this kind of response. Who would have expected,
14 five years ago, to see automobile ads touting the efficiency
15 of smog control devices, or newspaper ads proclaiming
16 a company's new investments in pollution control, or annual
17 reports assuring stockholders that some of their earnings are,
18 indeed, going for cleaner streams and smokestacks? In five
19 years a whole new attitude, because you have been at it for
20 over sixty years, because you have developed a constituency.

21 Now, thus far, our concrete achievements add up to
22 more than just a good beginning, and that is basically most
23 everything that we are trying to do in this period of change,
24 whether it is Project Head Start, or whether it is air
25 pollution, it is just a beginning. Laboratories, tests,

1 pilot plants, all understaffed, all underfinanced,
2 frequently underemphasized. What we are doing now is but
3 a down payment on the debt incurred by past negligence
4 and a declarative attempt to catch up.

5 Now, I am not a specialist and I am not equipped
6 to pick up the dimension of a technical task. I am one
7 of the few general practitioners left in government. (Laughter)
8 I guess I should give you that old axiom of political
9 science, "Experts should be on tap, not on top." (Laughter)
10 So don't any of you try to get on top. (Laughter) You
11 are the experts.

12 I don't claim to be a technical expert, but I
13 understand that you will have about 175 or 180 papers on
14 this subject at this Conference, and that indicates that
15 there is quite a little bit of expert knowledge, but I
16 have had a little experience with American government and
17 economics, both as a Mayor of a city, and as a Senator,
18 now Vice President, and it is clear to me that wiping out this
19 problem of pollution within the structure of our federal
20 system and free enterprise economy will be an immense
21 challenge. The government, at all levels, and private
22 industry throughout the nation, and I must say, the presence
23 of so many municipal and state officials, and industrial
24 leaders, that as we plan our cities for tomorrow, as we seek
25 to rehabilitate our cities of today, as we start to utilize

1 urban planning techniques, and as we apply model city
2 programs, let us put at the very heart and core of all of
3 it how you develop a wholesome, safe and healthy environment.

4 It doesn't do any good just to go around and replace
5 old buildings with new ones. It doesn't do much good just
6 to widen the street. What we need to think about is the
7 environment in which man lives, and to shape that environ-
8 ment, which we, with our hands and minds, can create, to
9 the needs of man, and we can do it.

10 I think I should forewarn you, that if things should
11 happen this fall that I hope will happen, and I have any-
12 thing to say about this country, that the number one
13 objective that I shall have in mind is how we produce a
14 more wholesome, healthy and safe environment at home and
15 abroad so that life can be protected and that life can take
16 on genuine meaning, and that includes all kinds of
17 pollution control, from war to smokestacks, to noxious
18 fumes and gases, to the density of population in urban
19 areas and all that that means.

20 For what, all this knowledge; for what good, all
21 this wealth, if we are to bury ourselves in smog, and smoke,
22 and filth, and dust, and gas, and water unfit to drink,
23 and an environment where you can't walk the streets safely
24 either in the afternoon or at night? It's about time that
25 we shaped up, my friends, and started to make ourselves the

1 kind of people we were intended to be, a responsible
2 people, a responsive people, and a respectable people.

3 And I happen to believe, also, that much of what
4 we do will depend on our ability of state and local
5 government to modernize their operations. It takes more
6 than money. Pollution, like migration or modern transportation,
7 and much else that goes with our contemporary society,
8 has little respect for our present jurisdictional boundaries,
9 many of which were drawn up in a bygone agrarian age. We
10 just simply have to know the time in which we live, and this
11 is the last third of the Twentieth Century, and there will
12 be people in this room that live to see Century Twenty-One,
13 and the changes in industry and science and technology,
14 and our living habits, in the next 32 years, will be greater,
15 I am sure, than in the last 3,000. Therefore, we must
16 concentrate now our minds on the kind of a life we want to
17 have the next decade, the next generation, between now and
18 the end of this century, and frequently our systems of
19 government, or should I say, the authorities of government
20 and the responsibilities, ignore the realities of what has
21 happened.

22 Our existing anti-pollution programs are beginning,
23 at long last, to recognize the necessity of close regional
24 cooperation. I addressed myself to this subject two years
25 ago. Interstate compacts are being formulated. Also, might

1 I suggest, in every state there should be an environmental
2 department or office, and at the legislative level you would
3 be well advised to establish special committees or joint
4 committees. I believe that your friends from Illinois have
5 done just that with a joint air pollution study committee
6 to propose meaningful new legislation and to strengthen
7 existing legislation. I believe, however, that we shall
8 need to go much further.

9 We will have to create totally new administrative
10 institutions, new regional pollution authorities, just as
11 we have, for example, port authorities, such as the one
12 between New Jersey and New York, as an example. State
13 boundaries do not have any relationship at all to air
14 currents. They have no relationship hardly at all to the
15 problems of pollution or wholesome environment. And,
16 therefore, a man must be ingenious enough to adjust his
17 political institutions to the realities of modern living,
18 modern science and technology, but sustained efficient
19 pollution control will require more than what our essentially
20 public programs design to clean up after industry. In our
21 free enterprise concept, an acceptable disposal of waste
22 should be rightfully a normal part of doing business. Any
23 additional costs involved should be treated as regular
24 operating costs, costs which the man in the street must be
25 prepared to share when he buys a box of stationery, or a

1 new car, and reserve costs can be shared by private industry
2 with federal and state government, and I make a special
3 appeal here today to the representatives of the federal and
4 state levels, let's get up-to-date. Industry is here to
5 stay, and the problem of air pollution is growing and
6 intensifying by leaps and bounds, and every legislator
7 in the land is about two generations behind, with few
8 exceptions, when it comes to dealing with this fact of the
9 by-products of modern industrialization.

10 Now, what about these costs? Well, anybody who
11 deals with the United States Congress these days instinctively
12 asks that question. I don't think we know the answer about
13 all the costs, but I suspect that clean air and clean water
14 may be one of the few urgent social necessities that we can
15 buy rather cheaply today, and what is more, to my elective
16 friends, may I say, that it is something that you can sell
17 from the public platform. Most people do like a clean glass
18 of water. That is a pretty good common denominator. They
19 will disagree on other liquids (laughter) and most people
20 will support good, clean, fresh air. You will get an
21 argument on different kinds of perfumes, colognes, and other
22 items that you purchase, but if I have ever seen a subject
23 that had some sense and meaning to the people, is when
24 people find out that the lake that they bought a house
25 alongside, or were going to put a cottage along, they found

1 out that after they had bought the ground, put the
2 cottage up, that it is polluted; or they find that the
3 water supply is polluted, they find that they have got
4 to spend their time drinking chemicals in order to get
5 what they think is clean water. They don't like it,
6 and I think many a head is going to roll in this country
7 politically because he failed to understand that people
8 have more sense than their public officials; namely, that
9 people want to live. They do not want to be guinea pigs
10 for the latest forms of chemicals, deoderants, antipollutants.
11 They would like to have a chance for clean air, clean water,
12 safe streets, wholesome environment.

13 If there are any two issues today that have
14 meaning to the American public, it's safety, law and order,
15 and clean air, clean water. You put those together and you
16 have yourself something that people are interested in, and
17 they are right because there isn't any good society
18 without law and order, and there isn't any good life without
19 clean water and clean air. It just adds up to good living
20 and I think it is about time we took our stand on all of it
21 and made it quite clear we intend to do something about it,
22 and not let us just drift aimlessly in a permissive society
23 where people think they can get by all too often with almost
24 anything.

25 Think it over. I think it will sell well. What is

1 more, I know it is right.

2 Pollution and inadequate waste disposal costs each
3 of us fantastic sums of money. To date, about eleven
4 billions of dollars, they estimate, for air pollution alone.
5 That is not control, that is just the cost you pay. If a
6 dirty smokestack now requires 10,000 housewives to buy three
7 extra boxes of soap a year, society, as a whole, will lose
8 very little by investing \$3,000 to clean up the smokestack.
9 The cost for treating pollution will simply be redistributed
10 and probably be reduced by the greater efficiency of
11 treating the cause rather than the effect; and, rather than
12 have the soap companies come down on my head, let me tell
13 you, you will still continue to sell a lot of soap.

14 (Laughter) There are a lot of other things that need
15 cleaning up.

16 Now, federal or state financial assistance might be
17 indicated in a few industries which might be temporarily
18 damaged by the redistribution of the costs, and why not?
19 When we passed the Federal Highway Act, we provided for the
20 public utilities of this country to receive federal
21 assistance in the moving of their transmission lines because
22 we needed the interstate highway system and we needed large
23 areas on each side of the concrete. We needed larger areas
24 for safety and for control of the highway itself. So where
25 you have industries that would be temporarily damaged by

1 redistribution costs due to the order of federal or state
2 government, through tax incentives, through cost
3 sharing, through many ways that we have devised, we can
4 help in that payment.

5 We already know that from some of the waste we
6 have discovered valuable resources, raw materials too
7 valuable to be thrown away. They tell us down here at the
8 packing plant they get something out of every part of a hog,
9 even the squeal, and we have learned that there is more
10 truth to that than fiction.

11 I understand that research now underway suggests
12 that sulphur recovered from sulphur fumes can be converted
13 at a tidy profit into sulphuric acid. In other words, those
14 sulphuric fumes that go out of industry can be recaptured.
15 The Harvard Business Review reports that an \$85,000 air
16 pollution control device installed by one company is now
17 recovering \$50,000 worth of carbon each year.

18 So pollution control not only becomes sensible,
19 it becomes profitable in some instances. Where it is not
20 profitable, it is an item of cost, and where it is heavy
21 in cost, it is an item of sharing between federal, state,
22 local and private enterprise.

23 America seems to prosper more every time we raise
24 our standards to meet a new social demand, and yet every
25 time we have stern resistance. America prospered with

1 minimum wage. It happened with Social Security. It
2 happened with food and drug inspection, and I should not
3 be at all surprised if what has begun as a social demand
4 for a wholesome environment should soon start to produce
5 more economic returns. Yes, you are dealing with one
6 important facet of a truly revolutionized process that is
7 underway in America today, a turbulent, irrepressible,
8 sometimes uncomfortable drive towards quality as well as
9 quantity in our lives, and we are contending with much more
10 than the physical waste of our great factories, the tragic
11 wastes of our forests and our streams and lakes, we are
12 struggling, my fellow Americans and fellow citizens, and
13 our friends from abroad, we are struggling today to stop the
14 human wastage which is the legacy of discrimination,
15 inadequate education and poverty, and a by-product left
16 behind by a rapidly developing nation.

17 This human wastage, the greatest waste of all,
18 to a very real extent, polluted our social environment with
19 mistrust and hatred, much as past negligence has polluted
20 our physical environment, and it is possible to do something
21 about this wastage on both fronts, our physical environment
22 to be uplifted, and our human environment, namely, the human
23 spirit and the human mind and body, to be elevated to a new
24 realm of self-respect.

25 We are, all of us, engaged very directly in an

1 unprecedented effort to build a social, economic and
2 technical environment in which every individual, hopefully,
3 can find dignity, health and hope, and where man shall
4 prevail. What is the purpose of all that we have but for
5 the betterment of man?

6 Thomas Huxley once asked this question: he said,
7 "I know of your wealth, I know of your abundance," speaking
8 of America, "I know of your size and I know of your
9 greatness, but the question is, what will you do with these
10 things?"

11 And that is the question. Wealth, power, abundance,
12 prestige, technology, science, know-how, universities, we
13 have it in unbelievable abundance, but what will we do with
14 these things? Their whole purpose is but one; to serve
15 mankind. Now, this is what all those dissatisfied Americans
16 who support antipollution programs, and all those who
17 support conservation programs, and all of those who support
18 social justice, are talking about today. They want a
19 better life. Some people diagnose a sickness in our
20 pressures with what is and the pressures for what ought to
21 be, but I do not find that America is a society that has lost
22 its way. I think that America is a society that is now
23 relentlessly finding its way, looking to new vistas, search-
24 ing out new paths towards a goal of a better life, a more
25 meaningful life, and I am reminded of this passage from

1 Alfred North Whitehead, a passage that tells me what is
2 happening, the vigor of civilized societies preserve, by
3 the widespread sense, that high aims are worthwhile.
4 Vigorous societies harbor a certain extravagance of
5 objectives.

6 My neighbors and fellow Americans, if there ever
7 was a time for this nation to have an extravagance of
8 objectives, it is now, to lift ourselves from this quagmire
9 of confusion and doubt and dissent to the higher ground of
10 purpose and program and direction, and this conference
11 has something more to do than just to talk about physical
12 environment of man, important as that is, because when you
13 improve his physical environment, you condition his
14 spiritual life. When you improve man's world, you permit
15 him to live a better life in that world, and environment
16 safe for man is a minimum objective for civilized man, and
17 an environment safe for man is a minimum objective for
18 America, and I use this platform today to call upon you to
19 help make that environment all that it should be, an
20 environment where lawlessness and violence is treated as it
21 is, crime and criminal behavior, and where respect for the
22 law is taught to the young and is adhered to by the adult,
23 and I call upon you to help us build an environment in which
24 the greatness of our science and invention shall not only
25 add onto our material wealth and power, but shall add to

1 our sense of dignity, decency and idealism; and, if we
2 create that kind of an environment where neighborhoods
3 are safe and wholesome and healthy, I think we will produce
4 a better man, and, after all, that is what it is all about.
5 What kind of character, what kind of man will we produce?
6 One who is the victim of his science and his technology,
7 or one who is its master? One who understands that the way
8 you treat people is the way you treat God, or will it be a
9 man who understands only the ugliness of selfishness and
10 self-indulgence?

11 I am talking to people who can help make this
12 America and, indeed, this world, a safer and better place
13 in which to live. There is no higher calling than to
14 reduce the tensions that beset us at home and abroad and
15 to brighten the landscape for good living, for good people,
16 to keep the air clean and the water clean so that wholesome-
17 ness and decency and dignity may be the hallmark of modern
18 man in this, the last third of the Twentieth Century.

19 I commend this effort to your strong and faithful
20 hands. Thank you. (Standing ovation)

21
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