

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
JOINT ENGINEERING LEGISLATIVE FORUM OF  
NATIONAL SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS

Washington, D. C.

Washington Hilton Hotel

February 27, 1973

This evening I'd like to talk to you about change.

About national change and personal change.

You, more than most, are aware of how changes in national priorities bring about changes in peoples' lives.

You are on the forefront of technological change -- achieving breakthroughs in electronics, in aeronautics, in civil engineering.

So I can think of no better group to talk to about the need for having bureaucrats and politicians learn to think about change.

You are -- as I am -- concerned about the government's failure to establish policies which assist people affected by economic change.

This neglect has a long history to it. The government failed to assist millions of poor rural blacks who were driven out of Mississippi and Alabama and other points south by economic forces of automation and large-scale farming. Meanwhile, the government itself was accelerating those forces by means of its agricultural policies.

The urban crisis of our northern cities is the tragic result. People without skills, unprepared for urban life, wandering to the same city that an uncle or cousin went to, rather than relocating on a more rational economic or social basis, with adequate information and preparation and skills.

Engineers and scientists are at the mercy of another kind of shift in economic activity.

Federal funds for R&D have dropped from 2.6 percent of GNP in 1963 to 1.6 percent in 1971 -- a \$10 billion reduction. That's not the end of it, either.

-- The Office of Science and Technology is being folded up.

-- The space program continues to decline

-- The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration is budgeted for shrinkage.

So we have another kind of crisis -- a professional crisis for thousands of unemployed scientists and engineers.

And what is the government's response to the human problems of unemployment which result from this shift away from space and defense spending? What is its response to the unused resource which unemployed engineers and scientists represent?

Basically, it is the same response it had to rural displaced people. The government believes that the marketplace will take care of you.

Heaven forbid that there should be any planned effort to match up human resources with the pressing problems of the nation.

That attitude and policy must change.

On January 4, the first day of the 93rd Congress, I co-sponsored a bill with Senator Kennedy and others called the National Science Policy and Priorities Act. Your program for tomorrow includes a panel on this subject, so I won't go into great detail. But let me outline the major provisions.

This bill states as national policy:

-- first, that federal funds for science and technology are an investment in the nation's future economic and social well-being;

-- second, that civil research and engineering normally should be given at least the same funding as military research and engineering;

-- third, that this civil work should be focused on our practical social needs, such as improved health care, housing, crime prevention, pollution abatement, energy, and transportation.

The bill proposes to achieve these goals by establishing a Civil Science Systems Administration within NSF. About 1.2 billion dollars would be spent over three years for research and development in our national priority areas.

It would also authorize 560 million dollars, mainly to communities with large pools of unemployed technical talent. Community Conversion Corporations would employ them to apply technology to local problems.

The bill also aims, incidentally, to protect the pension rights displaced from their jobs by adverse federal procurement decisions.

Taken together, these provisions would put our high-level man and woman power back to work and effect a wholesale re-orientation of science toward the practical, everyday problems that plague our country.

At its peak, this bill should provide work directly for some 41,000 scientists, engineers and other technical personnel, and of course, it would employ several times this number of supporting personnel.

Equally significant, it would mean that the research and development industries would no longer need to depend so heavily on defense and space spending for their livelihood.

The Senate passed this measure overwhelmingly last August by a vote of 70 to 8, but the House failed to complete action by the end of the session.

Senator Kennedy, as mentioned, has re-introduced it and plans to hold hearings early in this session before his Subcommittee on the National Science Foundation. I think we can hope for enactment this year.

Let me step back for a moment from the details of this bill to examine the importance of the Kennedy bill in general terms, as an instrument for the government to deal with change.

The point to be made here is that this bill will be a giant step in the direction of assisting people who are adversely affected by shifts in economic activity -- economic changes which were caused by the government in the first instance.

Clearly the government bears the responsibility for assisting those adversely affected by these changes.

But I come now to my second theme of the morning -- that there are other changes occurring in this nation which demand an even more ambitious approach.

These are changes so vast and so profound, that programs to remedy their adverse effects at some later date will be useless.

Instead, we must take preventive action to prevent certain changes from occurring, and to stimulate others to occur.

I am talking about the basic changes, the basic variables which shape our country's growth, such as:

- economic distribution;
- population distribution;
- transportation;
- energy resources.

I am talking about a policy which prevents the nation from growing in a way we don't want it to grow.

And a policy which ensures the nation will grow the way we do want it to grow.

This nation now has failed to develop such a policy.

I submit to you that this failure underlies the nation's underutilization of the rich human resources represented by engineers and scientists -- as well as other groups.

Everyone is in favor of employing your brains to solve the problems of the nation. But when it comes down to brass tacks, there is no consensus as to exactly what problems you should be working on, because there is no consensus as to what direction the nation should move in.

No consensus, in other words, as to how the nation should grow.

Should we design new transportation systems and build more mass transit?

Should we design more sophisticated medical technology?

Should we redesign our cities to make them more human, more liveable?

Should we push ahead full speed with broad-band communications and cable TV?

Should we try to redistribute economic growth to rural areas?

Should we push full speed ahead on developing new energy sources?

Is there a way we can do this without harming the environment?

It is easy to say yes to all these questions.

The difficult part is to implement policies which translate that "yes" into actions -- actions which modify other current actions which say "no" and go in the opposite direction.

Only when this is done will the nation have a comprehensive growth policy.

Only when this is done will there be a sense of purpose, a sense of movement, as to what our best brains should be doing -- the same sense of purpose that underlay our space exploration.

Only when this is done will there be a public commitment to employ our best brains on these problems.

How do we go about fashioning a growth policy?

Once upon a time, this nation had growth policies.

We have promoted various types of growth policies throughout our national history. These have been mainly directed at expansion and settlement of the interior and western regions of our country.

Some of these policies were pursued with the aid of military force--this was true of the Mexican War. It was true of our treatment of the Indian population.

Other policies were pursued through large land buys, such as the Louisiana and Gadsden Purchases, and later, Alaska.

In the first half of the 19th Century our national government encouraged many specific improvements such as canal construction and turn-pike building.

Later, with the passage of the Homestead Act and the cession of publicly owned lands to the railroads, the interior of our nation was deliberately opened to settlement and development.

These were growth policies specifically promoted and supported by our national government. In effect, the government was utilizing its resources to stimulate the private sector to support goals for which there was substantial national agreement.

Now I ask you: Who played the central role in carrying out these earlier growth policies?

Who surveyed the land? Built the canals? The turnpikes? The railroads? Who planned and built the basic communications and transportation systems which made growth possible?

The answer, of course, is the engineers and technicians of earlier eras. They had that exuberant mixture of brains and energy and common-sense that the world marveled at and called "American know-how."

Let's keep this very much in mind as we talk about the need for new growth policies and your role in shaping and implementing them.

Now, beginning early in this century, national growth and development became much less clear, less consistent and more fragmented. National growth trends became more the accident of technology than the result of deliberate national policy.

Perhaps this was due to the closing of the frontier -- which created the belief that there was no more need for growth policies.

If this was the belief, it was an illusory one. For growth within our frontiers is obviously of major concern.

This growth is unbalanced -- geographically, economically, and environmentally unbalanced.

Some biologists are looking for the internal mechanism that controls human growth, assuring that a boy's arms and legs grow evenly; that one side of the tree is not twice the size of the other.

Surely it's time to recognize that the nation's growth lacks just such a balancing mechanism.

Which is why 70 percent of the people are crowded into one percent of the land.

Which is why rural areas are dying from underdevelopment, while urban areas are choking from overdevelopment.

Which is why suburbs grow endlessly without any sense of shape, identity or community.

Which is why environmental destruction had to reach the critical stage before we began to do anything about it.

Just look at the environmental area, for example.

The sad fact is that we still have no process at the national level of government to help answer the critical questions --

-- To what extent will an all-out push on environmental control eliminate jobs?

-- To what extent does the need for new energy sources mean that we need to be less stringent on certain environmental controls?

I say it is time to create a process in government to look at these and other policy trade-offs.

Such a process would have forewarned us 20 years ago of the environmental destruction that was forthcoming, and we could have prevented it.

Such a process today can look at the environment as one vital dimension of national growth, yet also take into consideration other vital dimensions such as employment and energy.

In this Congress I will be introducing legislation for a National Balanced Growth Act, to create the balancing process I've been describing. And to articulate national growth policies.

This bill would establish an Office of Balanced National Growth and Development within the Office of the President.

Its purpose would be to plan and develop specific national policies, not in a vacuum, but in the context of overall growth goals:

- policies for future population settlement and distribution patterns;
- for economic growth;
- for environmental protection;
- for communications
- for energy and fuels;
- for housing;
- for transportation;
- for technology assessment and transfer
- for land use, and for other policy areas fundamental to growth.

Such an Office would provide a new sense of direction to the nation by coordinating the work of the new often disparate policy functions of the Council of Economic Advisors, the Office of Management and Budget, and the Environmental Quality Council.

The bill would provide a new sense of rationality to government by establishing new uniform planning requirements for federal grants-in-aid, and streamlining the present hodge-podge of categorical programs.

It would make regional planning and development a reality, by creating a national system of multi-state regional planning and development commissions.

By linking this new system (which will closely involve governors and state legislatures) directly to the office of the President, a new and vigorous interplay between

national goals and regional ones can take place going far beyond the piecemeal and segmented efforts now run by the departments.

The impact of federal facilities and procurement on local and regional growth would also be much more rationally considered under this bill.

Right now we are the only developed nation in the world that fails to do this.

Under my bill, Congress as well as the Executive, would be given new mechanisms to deal with problems of national growth:

-- A Joint Congressional Committee on Balanced Growth and Development would be created.

-- And to provide both Congress and the Executive with the most sophisticated planning data available, a new national research institution would be created to monitor, measure, and forecast developments in all the major sciences, soft and hard, and analyze their implications for future national growth.

Finally, the bill provides for the development of an annual report by the Executive Branch detailing "where we are" and "whither we are tending" in our national policies. This will become a national working document for the entire nation to reflect its concerns for national priorities.

I would very much like your comments on this bill. I think it is the most important bill I have introduced in my 25 years in government. I believe that change has accelerated to the point that we need new institutions to make change work for us. I believe that the human resources of the nation can be utilized fully, only if there is a vision of what our society can become.

Let us start developing such vision.

Les Weaver  
RIP

Recycling

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WASHINGTON, D. C.  
WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL  
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Technology  
assessment

001135

*TODAY*  
THIS EVENING I'D LIKE TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT CHANGE. —

ABOUT NATIONAL CHANGE AND PERSONAL CHANGE,

YOU, MORE THAN MOST, ARE AWARE OF HOW CHANGES IN

NATIONAL PRIORITIES BRING ABOUT CHANGES IN PEOPLES' LIVES.

*most* → YOU ARE ON THE FOREFRONT OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE --

ACHIEVING BREAKTHROUGHS IN ELECTRONICS, IN AERONAUTICS, IN *space*  
*technology - in*  
CIVIL ENGINEERING.

SO I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER GROUP TO TALK TO ABOUT THE  
NEED FOR HAVING BUREAUCRATS AND POLITICIANS LEARN TO THINK  
ABOUT CHANGE.

YOU ARE -- AS I AM -- CONCERNED ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT'S  
FAILURE TO ESTABLISH POLICIES WHICH ASSIST PEOPLE AFFECTED BY  
ECONOMIC CHANGE.

THIS NEGLECT HAS A LONG HISTORY TO IT, THE GOVERNMENT  
 FAILED TO ASSIST MILLIONS OF POOR RURAL BLACKS WHO WERE  
 DRIVEN OUT OF the Cotton belt ~~MISSISSIPPI AND ALABAMA~~ AND OTHER POINTS

~~SOUTH~~ BY ECONOMIC FORCES OF AUTOMATION AND LARGE-SCALE

FARMING. MEANWHILE, THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF WAS ACCELERATING

THOSE FORCES BY MEANS OF ITS AGRICULTURAL POLICIES.

THE URBAN CRISIS OF OUR NORTHERN CITIES IS THE TRAGIC  
 RESULT PEOPLE WITHOUT SKILLS, UNPREPARED FOR URBAN LIFE,  
 WANDERING TO THE SAME CITY THAT AN UNCLE OR COUSIN WENT TO,  
 RATHER THAN RELOCATING ON A MORE RATIONAL ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL  
BASIS, WITH ADEQUATE INFORMATION AND PREPARATION AND SKILLS.

(Cuban Refugees)

*Today many*  
ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS ARE AT THE MERCY OF ANOTHER

KIND OF SHIFT IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY.

*h* FEDERAL FUNDS FOR R&D HAVE DROPPED FROM 2.6 PERCENT OF GNP IN 1963 TO 1.6 PERCENT IN 1971 -- A \$10 BILLION REDUCTION. THAT'S NOT THE END OF IT, EITHER.

-- THE OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IS BEING FOLDED UP.

-- THE SPACE PROGRAM CONTINUES TO DECLINE

-- THE NATIONAL OCEANIC AND ATMOSPHERIC ADMINISTRATION

*faces a declining budget -*  
~~IS BUDGETED FOR SHRINKAGE.~~

SO WE HAVE ANOTHER KIND OF CRISIS -- A PROFESSIONAL

CRISIS FOR THOUSANDS OF UNEMPLOYED SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS.

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AND WHAT IS THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO THE HUMAN

PROBLEMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT WHICH RESULT FROM THIS SHIFT AWAY *Rural*

*and Development -*

FROM SPACE AND DEFENSE SPENDING? WHAT IS ITS RESPONSE TO THE

UNUSED RESOURCE WHICH UNEMPLOYED ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS

REPRESENT?

BASICALLY, IT IS THE SAME RESPONSE IT HAD TO RURAL

DISPLACED PEOPLE. *L* THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT THE MARKETPLACE

WILL TAKE CARE OF *the situation. There seems*

*To be a determined effort saying in substance -*

HEAVEN FORBID THAT THERE SHOULD BE ANY PLANNED EFFORT

TO MATCH UP HUMAN RESOURCES WITH THE PRESSING PROBLEMS

OF THE NATION. *L*

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THAT ATTITUDE AND POLICY MUST CHANGE,

~~Too Cruel.~~

It's too costly

ON JANUARY 4, THE FIRST DAY OF THE 93RD CONGRESS, I

CO-SPONSORED A BILL WITH SENATOR KENNEDY AND OTHERS CALLED

THE NATIONAL SCIENCE POLICY AND PRIORITIES ACT. YOUR PROGRAM

FOR TOMORROW INCLUDES A PANEL ON THIS SUBJECT, SO I WON'T GO

INTO GREAT DETAIL. BUT LET ME OUTLINE THE MAJOR PROVISIONS.

THIS BILL STATES AS NATIONAL POLICY:

FIRST, THAT FEDERAL FUNDS FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY  
 ARE AN INVESTMENT IN THE NATION'S FUTURE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL  
 WELL-BEING;

SECOND, THAT CIVIL RESEARCH AND ENGINEERING NORMALLY  
 SHOULD BE GIVEN AT LEAST THE SAME FUNDING AS MILITARY RESEARCH  
 AND ENGINEERING;

-- THIRD, THAT THIS CIVIL WORK SHOULD BE FOCUSED ON OUR PRACTICAL SOCIAL NEEDS, SUCH AS IMPROVED HEALTH CARE, HOUSING, CRIME PREVENTION, POLLUTION ABATEMENT, ENERGY, Communication and TRANSPORTATION.

THE BILL PROPOSES TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS BY ESTABLISHING A CIVIL SCIENCE SYSTEMS ADMINISTRATION WITHIN NSF / ABOUT 1.2 BILLION DOLLARS WOULD BE SPENT OVER THREE YEARS FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN OUR NATIONAL PRIORITY AREAS.

IT WOULD ALSO AUTHORIZE <sup>over</sup> 500 MILLION DOLLARS, MAINLY TO COMMUNITIES WITH LARGE POOLS OF UNEMPLOYED TECHNICAL TALENT. COMMUNITY CONVERSION CORPORATIONS WOULD EMPLOY THEM TO APPLY TECHNOLOGY TO LOCAL PROBLEMS.

THE BILL ALSO AIMS, INCIDENTALLY, TO PROTECT THE PENSION  
*OF EMPLOYEES*  
RIGHTS <sup>^</sup>DISPLACED FROM THEIR JOBS BY ADVERSE FEDERAL PROCUREMENT  
DECISIONS.

TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE PROVISIONS WOULD PUT OUR HIGH-  
LEVEL MAN AND WOMAN POWER BACK TO WORK AND EFFECT A WHOLESAL  
RE-ORIENTATION OF SCIENCE TOWARD THE PRACTICAL, *everyday*  
PROBLEMS THAT PLAGUE OUR COUNTRY.

~~AT ITS PEAK~~, THIS BILL SHOULD PROVIDE ~~WORK DIRECTLY~~ *when employment*  
FOR ~~SOME~~ *about* 40,000 SCIENTISTS, ENGINEERS AND OTHER TECHNICAL  
PERSONNEL, AND OF COURSE, IT WOULD EMPLOY ~~SEVERAL TIMES~~ *should stimulate employment*  
*several times* THIS NUMBER OF SUPPORTING PERSONNEL.

EQUALLY SIGNIFICANT, IT WOULD MEAN THAT THE RESEARCH  
AND DEVELOPMENT INDUSTRIES WOULD NO LONGER NEED TO DEPEND  
SO HEAVILY ON DEFENSE AND SPACE SPENDING FOR THEIR  
LIVELIHOOD.

THE SENATE PASSED THIS MEASURE OVERWHELMINGLY LAST  
AUGUST BY A VOTE OF 70 TO 8, BUT THE HOUSE FAILED TO COMPLETE  
ACTION BY THE END OF THE SESSION.

SENATOR KENNEDY, AS MENTIONED, HAS RE-INTRODUCED IT  
AND PLANS TO HOLD HEARINGS EARLY IN THIS SESSION BEFORE HIS  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION. I THINK  
WE CAN HOPE FOR ENACTMENT THIS YEAR.

LET ME STEP BACK FOR A MOMENT FROM THE DETAILS OF THIS  
 BILL TO EXAMINE <sup>ITS</sup> ~~THE~~ IMPORTANCE OF ~~THE KENNEDY BILL~~ IN  
 GENERAL TERMS, AS AN INSTRUMENT ~~FOR THE GOVERNMENT~~ <sup>TO</sup> DEAL  
 WITH CHANGE.

THE POINT TO BE MADE HERE IS THAT THIS BILL WILL BE A  
 GIANT STEP IN THE DIRECTION OF ASSISTING PEOPLE WHO ARE  
 ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY <sup>drastic</sup> SHIFTS IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY --  
 ECONOMIC CHANGES WHICH <sup>often</sup> WERE CAUSED BY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE  
 FIRST INSTANCE.

CLEARLY THE GOVERNMENT BEARS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR  
 ASSISTING THOSE ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY THESE CHANGES.

BUT I COME NOW TO MY SECOND THEME ~~OF THE MORNING~~ <sup>namely</sup>

~~THAT~~ THERE ARE OTHER CHANGES OCCURRING ~~IN THIS NATION~~ WHICH  
DEMAND AN EVEN MORE AMBITIOUS APPROACH.

↳ THESE ARE CHANGES SO VAST AND SO PROFOUND, THAT PROGRAMS  
TO REMEDY THEIR ADVERSE EFFECTS AT SOME LATER DATE WILL ~~BE~~ <sup>not</sup>

~~NECESSARY~~ <sup>be effective or adequate</sup>

↳ INSTEAD, WE MUST TAKE PREVENTIVE ACTION TO PREVENT  
CERTAIN CHANGES FROM OCCURRING, AND TO STIMULATE OTHERS  
TO OCCUR.

I AM TALKING ABOUT THE BASIC CHANGES, THE BASIC  
VARIABLES WHICH SHAPE OUR COUNTRY'S GROWTH, SUCH AS:

-- ECONOMIC DISTRIBUTION;

-- POPULATION DISTRIBUTION;

-- TRANSPORTATION;

-- ENERGY RESOURCES.

I AM TALKING ABOUT ~~A POLICY WHICH PREVENTS THE NATION~~ *how we can develop*  
~~FROM GROWING IN A WAY WE DON'T WANT IT TO GROW.~~ *policies and priorities that will*  
~~AND A POLICY WHICH ENSURES THE NATION WILL GROW THE WAY~~ *permit us to use our physical*  
~~WE DO WANT IT TO GROW.~~ *and human resources in a more*  
~~THIS NATION NOW HAS FAILED TO DEVELOP SUCH A POLICY.~~ *rational and consistent manner*  
~~I SUBMIT TO YOU THAT THIS FAILURE UNDERLIES THE NATION'S~~ *how we can plan and design*  
~~UNDERUTILIZATION OF THE RICH HUMAN RESOURCES REPRESENTED BY~~ *growth*  
~~ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS AS WELL AS OTHER GROUPS.~~ *and development. Today, we*  
*have no mechanism at the governmental*  
*level for planning - for the use*  
*use of our resources.*

*Oh yes,*

EVERYONE IS IN FAVOR OF EMPLOYING

*skills + competence to*

*and using your professional*

SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE NATION. BUT WHEN IT COMES DOWN TO

BRASS TACKS, THERE IS NO CONSENSUS AS TO EXACTLY WHAT SOLUTIONS

YOU SHOULD BE WORKING ON, ~~BECAUSE~~ THERE IS NO CONSENSUS AS TO

WHAT DIRECTION THE NATION SHOULD MOVE.

L NO CONSENSUS, IN OTHER WORDS, AS TO HOW THE NATION

SHOULD GROW \_\_\_\_\_

L SHOULD WE DESIGN NEW TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS AND BUILD

MORE MASS TRANSIT?

L SHOULD WE DESIGN MORE SOPHISTICATED MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY?

L SHOULD WE REDESIGN OUR CITIES TO MAKE THEM MORE

HUMAN, MORE LIVEABLE?

SHOULD WE PUSH AHEAD FULL SPEED WITH BROAD-BAND  
COMMUNICATIONS AND CABLE TV?

SHOULD WE TRY TO REDISTRIBUTE ECONOMIC GROWTH TO RURAL  
AREAS?

SHOULD WE PUSH FULL SPEED AHEAD ON DEVELOPING NEW ENERGY  
SOURCES?

IS THERE A WAY WE CAN DO THIS WITHOUT HARMING THE  
ENVIRONMENT?

IT IS EASY TO SAY YES TO ALL THESE QUESTIONS. ~~but the~~

~~problem is how~~  
THE DIFFICULT PART IS TO IMPLEMENT POLICIES WHICH

TRANSLATE THAT "YES" INTO ACTIONS -- ACTIONS WHICH MODIFY

OTHER CURRENT ACTIONS WHICH SAY "NO" AND GO IN THE OPPOSITE

DIRECTION.

ONLY WHEN THIS IS DONE WILL THE NATION HAVE A  
COMPREHENSIVE GROWTH *and Development Policy.*

~~ONLY WHEN THIS IS DONE WILL THERE BE A SENSE OF PURPOSE,  
A SENSE OF MOVEMENT, AS TO WHAT OUR BEST BRAINS SHOULD BE  
DOING -- THE SAME SENSE OF PURPOSE THAT UNDERLAY OUR SPACE  
EXPLORATION.~~

~~ONLY WHEN THIS IS DONE WILL THERE BE A PUBLIC COMMITMENT  
TO EMPLOY OUR BEST BRAINS ON THESE PROBLEMS.~~

*But*

HOW DO WE GO ABOUT FASHIONING A GROWTH POLICY?

ONCE UPON A TIME, THIS NATION HAD GROWTH POLICIES.

WE HAVE PROMOTED VARIOUS TYPES OF GROWTH POLICIES THROUGHOUT OUR NATIONAL HISTORY. THESE HAVE BEEN MAINLY DIRECTED AT EXPANSION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE INTERIOR AND WESTERN REGIONS OF OUR COUNTRY.

SOME OF THESE POLICIES WERE PURSUED WITH THE AID OF MILITARY FORCE--THIS WAS TRUE OF THE MEXICAN WAR. IT WAS TRUE OF OUR TREATMENT OF THE INDIAN POPULATION.

OTHER POLICIES WERE PURSUED THROUGH LARGE LAND BUYS, SUCH AS THE LOUISIANA AND GADSDEN PURCHASES, AND LATER, ALASKA.

↳ IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGED MANY SPECIFIC IMPROVEMENTS SUCH AS CANAL CONSTRUCTION AND TURN-PIKE BUILDING.

LATER, WITH THE PASSAGE OF THE HOMESTEAD ACT AND THE  
 CESSION OF PUBLICLY OWNED LANDS TO THE RAILROADS, THE  
 INTERIOR OF OUR NATION WAS DELIBERATELY OPENED TO SETTLEMENT  
 AND DEVELOPMENT.

*Land Grant College -  
 Federal Land Bank etc  
 Rural free Delivery - County Agent*

↳ THESE WERE GROWTH POLICIES SPECIFICALLY PROMOTED AND

SUPPORTED BY OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. / IN EFFECT, THE GOV-

ERNMENT WAS UTILIZING ITS RESOURCES TO STIMULATE THE PRIVATE

SECTOR TO SUPPORT GOALS FOR WHICH THERE WAS SUBSTANTIAL

NATIONAL AGREEMENT.

↳ NOW I ASK YOU: WHO PLAYED THE CENTRAL ROLE IN CARRYING  
 OUT THESE EARLIER GROWTH POLICIES?

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WHO SURVEYED THE LAND? BUILT THE CANALS? THE TURNPIKES?  
THE RAILROADS? WHO PLANNED AND BUILT THE BASIC COMMUNICATIONS  
AND TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS WHICH MADE GROWTH POSSIBLE?

THE ANSWER, OF COURSE, IS THE ENGINEERS AND TECHNICIANS  
OF EARLIER ERAS. THEY HAD THAT ~~UNIQUE~~ MIXTURE OF BRAINS  
AND ENERGY AND COMMON-SENSE THAT THE WORLD MARVELED AT AND  
CALLED "AMERICAN KNOW-HOW."

LET'S KEEP THIS VERY MUCH IN MIND AS WE TALK ABOUT THE  
NEED FOR NEW GROWTH POLICIES AND YOUR ROLE IN SHAPING AND  
IMPLEMENTING THEM.

Now, BEGINNING EARLY IN THIS CENTURY, NATIONAL GROWTH  
AND DEVELOPMENT BECAME MUCH LESS CLEAR, LESS CONSISTENT  
AND MORE FRAGMENTED. NATIONAL GROWTH TRENDS BECAME MORE  
THE ACCIDENT OF TECHNOLOGY THAN THE RESULT OF DELIBERATE  
NATIONAL POLICY.

PERHAPS THIS WAS DUE TO THE CLOSING OF THE FRONTIER --  
WHICH CREATED THE BELIEF THAT THERE WAS NO MORE NEED FOR  
GROWTH POLICIES.

IF THIS WAS THE BELIEF, IT WAS AN ILLUSORY ONE FOR  
GROWTH WITHIN OUR FRONTIERS IS OBVIOUSLY OF MAJOR CONCERN.

*and* THIS GROWTH IS UNBALANCED -- GEOGRAPHICALLY, ECONOMICALLY,  
AND ENVIRONMENTALLY UNBALANCED.

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SOME BIOLOGISTS ARE LOOKING FOR THE INTERNAL MECHANISM THAT CONTROLS HUMAN GROWTH, ASSURING THAT A BOY'S ARMS AND LEGS GROW EVENLY; THAT ONE SIDE OF THE TREE IS NOT TWICE THE SIZE OF THE OTHER.

SURELY IT'S TIME TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE NATION'S GROWTH LACKS JUST SUCH A BALANCING MECHANISM.

*We see*  
~~WHICH IS WHY~~ 70 PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE ~~ARE~~ CROWDED *onto*

*two*  
 ONE PERCENT OF THE LAND.

*We see*  
~~WHICH IS WHY~~ RURAL AREAS ~~ARE~~ DYING FROM UNDERDEVELOPMENT,

WHILE URBAN AREAS ARE CHOKING FROM OVERDEVELOPMENT.

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We see~~WHICH IS WHY~~ SUBURBS GROW ENDLESSLY WITHOUT ANY SENSE

OF SHAPE, IDENTITY OR COMMUNITY.

We see~~WHICH IS WHY~~ ENVIRONMENTAL DESTRUCTION ~~HAD TO REACH~~ <sup>ing</sup>~~a~~ CRITICAL STAGE BEFORE WE BEGAN TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT.

~~it~~

L JUST LOOK AT THE ENVIRONMENTAL AREA, FOR EXAMPLE.

THE SAD FACT IS THAT WE STILL HAVE NO PROCESS AT THE  
 NATIONAL LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT TO HELP ANSWER THE CRITICAL  
 QUESTIONS --

-- TO WHAT EXTENT WILL AN ALL-OUT PUSH ON ENVIRONMENTAL  
CONTROL ELIMINATE JOBS?

-- TO WHAT EXTENT DOES THE NEED FOR NEW ENERGY SOURCES  
MEAN THAT WE NEED TO BE LESS STRINGENT ON CERTAIN ENVIRONMENTAL  
CONTROLS?

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I SAY IT IS TIME TO CREATE A PROCESS IN GOVERNMENT TO  
LOOK AT THESE AND OTHER POLICY TRADE-OFFS.

~~SUCH A PROCESS WOULD HAVE FOREWARNED US 20 YEARS AGO  
OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL DESTRUCTION THAT WAS FORTHCOMING, AND  
WE COULD HAVE PREVENTED IT.~~

~~SUCH A PROCESS TODAY CAN LOOK AT THE ENVIRONMENT AS ONE  
VITAL DIMENSION OF NATIONAL GROWTH, YET ALSO TAKE INTO  
CONSIDERATION OTHER VITAL DIMENSIONS SUCH AS EMPLOYMENT AND  
ENERGY.~~

↳ IN THIS CONGRESS I WILL BE INTRODUCING LEGISLATION FOR  
A NATIONAL BALANCED GROWTH ACT, TO CREATE THE BALANCING PROCESS  
I'VE BEEN DESCRIBING. AND TO ARTICULATE NATIONAL GROWTH  
POLICIES.

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THIS BILL WOULD ESTABLISH AN OFFICE OF BALANCED NATIONAL  
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT.

ITS PURPOSE WOULD BE TO PLAN AND DEVELOP SPECIFIC  
NATIONAL POLICIES, NOT IN A VACUUM, BUT IN THE CONTEXT OF  
OVERALL GROWTH GOALS:

-- POLICIES FOR FUTURE POPULATION SETTLEMENT AND  
DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS;

-- FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH;

-- FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION;

-- FOR COMMUNICATIONS

-- FOR ENERGY AND FUELS;

-- FOR HOUSING;

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-- FOR TRANSPORTATION;

-- FOR TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT AND TRANSFER

-- FOR LAND USE, AND FOR OTHER POLICY AREAS FUNDAMENTAL

TO GROWTH *and development.*

↳ SUCH AN OFFICE WOULD PROVIDE A NEW SENSE OF DIRECTION  
TO THE NATION BY COORDINATING THE WORK OF THE ~~THE~~ OFTEN  
~~DISPARATE~~ POLICY FUNCTIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC  
ADVISORS, THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET, AND THE  
ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY COUNCIL.

↳ THE BILL WOULD PROVIDE A NEW SENSE OF RATIONALITY TO  
GOVERNMENT BY ESTABLISHING NEW UNIFORM PLANNING REQUIREMENTS  
FOR FEDERAL GRANTS-IN-AID, AND STREAMLINING THE PRESENT  
HODGE-PODGE OF CATEGORICAL PROGRAMS.

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IT WOULD MAKE REGIONAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT A  
REALITY, BY CREATING A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF MULTI-STATE  
REGIONAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONS.

L BY LINKING THIS NEW SYSTEM (WHICH WILL CLOSELY  
INVOLVE GOVERNORS AND STATE LEGISLATURES) DIRECTLY TO THE  
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, A NEW AND VIGOROUS INTERPLAY BETWEEN  
NATIONAL GOALS AND REGIONAL <sup>Goals</sup> ~~PLANS~~ CAN TAKE PLACE GOING FAR  
BEYOND THE PIECEMEAL AND SEGMENTED EFFORTS NOW RUN BY THE  
DEPARTMENTS.

L THE IMPACT OF FEDERAL FACILITIES AND PROCUREMENT ON LOCAL  
AND REGIONAL GROWTH WOULD ALSO BE MUCH MORE RATIONALLY  
CONSIDERED UNDER THIS BILL.

RIGHT NOW WE ARE THE ONLY DEVELOPED NATION IN THE WORLD  
THAT FAILS TO DO THIS.

UNDER MY BILL, CONGRESS AS WELL AS THE EXECUTIVE, WOULD  
BE GIVEN NEW MECHANISMS TO DEAL WITH PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL  
GROWTH:

-- A JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON BALANCED GROWTH  
AND DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE CREATED.

-- AND TO PROVIDE BOTH CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE WITH  
THE MOST SOPHISTICATED PLANNING DATA AVAILABLE, A NEW  
NATIONAL RESEARCH INSTITUTION WOULD BE CREATED TO MONITOR,  
MEASURE, AND FORECAST DEVELOPMENTS IN ALL THE MAJOR  
SCIENCES, SOFT AND HARD, AND ANALYZE THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR  
FUTURE NATIONAL GROWTH.

FINALLY, THE BILL PROVIDES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ANNUAL REPORT BY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH DETAILING <sup>W</sup> WHERE WE ARE <sup>W</sup> AND "WHITHER WE ARE TENDING" IN OUR NATIONAL POLICIES.

THIS WILL BECOME A NATIONAL WORKING DOCUMENT FOR THE ENTIRE NATION TO REFLECT ITS CONCERNS FOR NATIONAL PRIORITIES.

I WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE YOUR COMMENTS ON THIS BILL. I THINK IT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT <sup>measure that</sup> ~~BY~~ I HAVE INTRODUCED IN MY 25 YEARS IN GOVERNMENT. ~~I BELIEVE THAT CHANGE~~ <sup>Change</sup> HAS ACCELERATED TO THE POINT THAT WE NEED NEW INSTITUTIONS TO MAKE CHANGE WORK FOR US <sup>and</sup> I BELIEVE THAT THE HUMAN RESOURCES OF THE NATION CAN BE UTILIZED FULLY, ONLY IF THERE IS A VISION OF WHAT OUR SOCIETY CAN BECOME.

LET US START DEVELOPING SUCH VISION.



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