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REMARKS
OF
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Population, Pollution, + Peace

Ecologists recently have popularized the phrase "chain of life".

The phrase --- as used by the ecologists --- is essentially a biological one. As you know, it refers to the interrelationship of all life on this planet. Plants are eaten by animals; other animals eat the animals that ate the plants; men eat animals that ate the other animals that ate the plants --- and so on. This is the chain of life that has kept living organisms on this planet for millions of years.

More recently, we have seen some harmful aspects of the chain of life: DDT that is sprayed on crops in Minnesota is washed by rain into streams. It ultimately goes into the ocean where it is consumed by fish. Men eat the fish and the traces of

DDT can then be found in men.

That, for today, will be the last of my ecological pronouncements. I don't think I have to tell you that I am not an ecologist.

But I thought today that I might talk about some different "chains" that also affect our environmental situation. (These are "chains" that perhaps ecologists do not know enough about, and yet, like the "chain of life", they are phenomena that must be clearly understood if we are ever to get real and lasting environmental progress of this little spaceship we call earth.

↳ The chains I refer to might be called the "economic chain" and the "political chain".

↳ The economic chain has a very real --- and sometimes devastating --- effect on efforts to create a better environment.

↳ Look, for example, at a ~~typical~~ ^{manufacturing} industry. (The management is not composed of ogres or villains. These business executives have a sense of social conscience, they love their children, they attend church and they have no particular desire to pollute the air or water.) But, in order to produce widgits, there is a chemical waste produced and that waste is dumped in to the river that runs alongside

of the widget plant. And downstream from the widget plant --- fish are dying and swimming is prohibited.

— / The President of the corporation is asked to treat the chemical waste so as to render it relatively harmless. The President replies: "I would like to, but the process you describe is extremely costly. / If I installed the necessary equipment I would have to raise the price of my widgets. If I raised the price of my widgets, then my competitors --- who did not install the equipment --- would undersell my widgets, I would soon have no customers, and I would soon have no business ~~left~~."

— / Thus are forged the first links of the economic chain: the manufacturer or the industrialist is chained to the cost of producing his product.

~~now~~ / The length of the chain grows when it is suggested to the industrialist that the city or county will establish and enforce pollution controls. "So be it," says the industrialist, "I'll just have to take my plant downstream a ways; beyond the city line, beyond the county line."

— / The chain continues if the industrialist is threatened with a stiff state law. "I'll have to take my plant out of state," he says.

The last link in the chain is one that we haven't fully faced yet, but one that we will. When the industrialist is faced with stiff national laws, he will say, "Sorry, but I can't face the competition; I'll have to move my plant overseas in order to compete successfully."

That, expressed perhaps in an over-simplified manner, is the economic chain.

∠ The political chain follows a similar course. The mayor of the city wants clean air and clean water --- but he also wants a city where industry provides jobs and where power plants (which pollute) produce enough power so that people can use air conditioners in the summer and elevators all year round. When faced with a choice between swimming or jobs, the mayor will most typically opt for jobs.

∠ On a state level, if a governor must choose between power for elevators and air conditioners or clean water for fishing and swimming --- he will probably opt for the fishing and swimming. But, if the choice comes down clearly between jobs or swimming, the choice will be jobs.

On a national level the equation will be similar when it develops fully in the years to come. A President faced with a loss of American competitiveness in world and domestic commerce *may very well* ~~will~~ think twice before backing any but the most immediately essential pollution measures. A loss of competitiveness, he will note, would mean Americans thrown out of work.

There, then, are the two chains that interact with each other, and, in our modern world, that interact with the ecological chain of life.

And in the meanwhile our automobile exhausts poison the air, we are filling our great waterways with fetid pollutants, the fish are dying in our marvelous fresh water lakes, and the once unchartered seas are becoming great garbage pits.

And so, just as the ecologists must study their chain in order to cope with the factors that abuse it, so too must men in public life study the economic and political chains in order to cope with the elements that abuse the goal of a decent environment for men.

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As I have thought about this in recent years, two basic thoughts have grown in my mind.

~~The first is that~~ there must be action at every link in the political/economic chain.

✓ The first links are at a personal level.

(1) We should call on every youth organization in the state to make improvements of the physical environment their number one task. Boy Scouts, Boy's Clubs, Future Farmers and other organizations such as *Girl Scouts*, Girl Guides, Cubs, Bluebirds, must be enlisted in this effort.

(2) Each community should have at least one appointed officer, voluntary or paid, that would serve as a local conservationist or environmental officer.

(3) In addition, I would propose a community coalition for a clean environment - a mobilization of public and private efforts of all age groups and all segments of the society.

(4) To coordinate all of the essential efforts in such a program, we need state action. I suggest that the state establish a citizens' advisory board on environment, conservation and recreation. This state board would work with similar boards organized in each community

throughout Minnesota to establish local standards, as well as to provide guidance, information and direction to its local citizens and industry. This is what we really mean by "citizen participation" in the political and social life of the country. Let's take politics to the people --- let the people form public policy and let them be active in implementing public policy.

(5) I propose a special honors program for our communities where the state of Minnesota would present an "E" award for "excellence in environment".

(6) There should be a regular report issued out of the governor's office as to results in beautification and environment protection of our state... the results of what local communities are doing in their parks, around city hall and in the neighborhoods... including how we are cleaning up the automobile graveyards, how we're cleaning up along roadsides.

(7) The Department of Conservation in this state --- together with the water quality lab in Duluth --- should ~~provide a weekly published~~ ^{publish} ~~a monthly~~ report of water pollution in the lakes, streams and rivers of this state.

(8) *The State Legislature should review every law regarding pollution control and protection of the environment. These laws should be upgraded & new ones -*

(8) On a national level, the Congress should review every law regarding the environment that is now on the books. These laws should be updated... making sure the penalties for polluters are strong enough... and equally important, making sure the incentives to take corrective measures to stop pollution are realistic in terms of today's long range corporate planning.

(9) We ought to establish a new national research facility --- along the lines of the National Institute of Health --- to deal with environmental study. This could be a three-rpanged operation: a national laboratory, state laboratories at the great state universities, and a private-contract research operation with private industry.

(10) Most critically, we must call upon the Congress to establish strict standards on all forms of pollution...

standards that would prevent the familiar economic
blackmail *of a company threatening to move a plant*
~~we have been exposed to here in Minnesota~~ *to another state.*

Such standards would prevent a major employer from casting aside the public interest and putting a gun to the community's head by threatening to close his plant and put thousands of people out of work if made to conform to even minimum state pollution abatement measures for

air and water. With tough federal legislation, companies such as this, whose prime interest seems to be their annual profit, would find no haven of pollution privilege by moving to another state where pollution requirements, if governed only by state law, might be less demanding.

✓ On a federal level, then, the job that faces the President and the Congress in the years to come is enormous. Because of the links-in-a-chain effect that I have described here today, federal legislators and the executive branch must be prepared to accept the fact that they can not pass the buck. ✓ As Harry Truman said, "The buck stops here." ✓ I think there have been encouraging signs in recent weeks. Particularly noteworthy was the action taken last Thursday by the Senate Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution. This proposed legislation, pressed for by Senator Muskie, called for industry-wide pollution standards in the U. S. This action, I believe, can go a long way toward breaking the economic and political chain reaction that hinders efforts at positive environmental action. This same sub-committee action put the

automobile manufacturers on notice that they must develop a clean internal combustion engine by 1975 --- or face the music and come up with a new type of clean engine.

So I am generally optimistic about our domestic efforts and although this is not a political occasion, I will use just once those ancient political words: "...if elected, I promise." I would tell you that if elected I promise to work as hard and as effectively as I know how to keep up the momentum that we have just begun to achieve within the United States over the last few years.

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I hope you will excuse me if I don't dwell in detail now on the local, state and federal programs that I feel are necessary. There are many and I have spoken about them before and will again in the weeks to come. But I wanted today to explore with you in some depth what seems to me to be the next logical step in the progression we must follow if we are to re-establish a decent environment on our planet.

Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

The time has come, I believe, when we must seek action on an international level. I say this knowing full well that the United Nations has been far less than a total success in recent years. But I say it also knowing that unless we human beings begin to make the United Nations function better than it now does, we may perish not from pollution of the air and water, but perish first from the pollution of international power politics.
/ Today, there are 150 nations each pulling their own way, snorting and shooting at each other in a world where the piles of nuclear weapons still grow.

Start
/ I believe that we must act on the global aspects of pollution for two basic reasons, each of which concerns the future of men on earth.

Insert until last page
/ First, because pollution is a form of aggression. When the soot from English factories turns the snow of Sweden black --- that is a form of aggression. When American wastes foul the ocean so that explorer Thor Heyerdahl sees garbage and oil slicks in mid-ocean --- and the ocean is international property --- then that is a form of aggression. / And international aggression requires international action.

My second reason is that we must always be on the lookout for turning potential adversity into realistic progress. The ways of political progress are sometimes strange. The tragedy of the Depression in the United States gave birth to some long-term legislation (such as Social Security) that has benefitted Americans long after the Depression passed. The tragedy of the war in Vietnam turned American thought toward --- among other things --- the massive amounts of money that is directed toward military spending. Today, as a result of that sort of awakening, military spending is being reduced.

In a similar fashion, I believe that the potential ecological crisis may provide mankind with an opportunity to get off the dime and make one small step toward a system of world law.

Here, specifically, is my proposal.

< In 1971, a special White House Conference ought to be convened to consider a plan to create, through the United Nations, a body of international law directed toward protection of the environment, and a U.N. Commission on Pollution Control to enforce the law. This Commission's first function --- once established by the U.N. ---

would be to create international pollution codes and quality standards that will insure a safe environment. The White House Conference in 1971 ought to propose guidelines for such standards.

Then, in 1972, the American delegation to the Stockholm U.N. Environmental Conference ought to propose the establishment of such a U.N. Commission. Hopefully by 1973, a plan for a Commission, with a model set of standards could be presented to the U.N. General Assembly for approval.

The United States should then exercise all of its political muscle in the United Nations to establish this Commission. Furthermore, we should actively aim our work in the U.N. to see to it that this new Commission be given a rare and crucial commodity in the realm of U.N. organizations: power. The new U.N. Pollution Control Commission will be effective only if its charter has teeth in it to enforce its codes.

As a first step, the Commission ought to be given power to impose forms of commercial sanctions on nations who violate the pollution codes.

This may prove difficult, but this is an unprecedented undertaking. The issue at stake is not in the familiar realm of power politics --- which ^{of the} brings out the worst in each of the member nations. The issue we are talking about involves the very survival of the species of man. It is an attempt to let the species of man live in dignity on this beautiful planet created by his Maker.

This issue transcends regional or ideological rivalries. Polluted oceans will wash the shores of nations both communist and capitalist. — *old + new = Rich + Poor*

And so, this effort must be expanded to include the nations that are not now members of the United Nations: the two Germanies, the two Vietnams, the two Koreas and Communist China, should be invited to attend the Stockholm conference. These nations are as involved in the problem as we are. China has a grave pollution problem and a grave population problem and they are attempting to cope with both problems. We can do nothing but help ourselves if we help the Chinese solve these sorts of problems.

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Similarly, the Russians now have major pollution problems as do the Communist nations of East Europe. Properly approached, I believe they will be willing to co-operate in this endeavor. Moreover, because of the gravity of the situation, I believe they would co-operate by putting teeth in this particular United Nations' endeavor. If the leading nations of both the free and the communist world are willing to make sanctions work, I believe they will be effective.

I must admit that no one knows if such an ambitious --- even visionary --- proposal will bear fruit.

But I believe we must try. The stakes are too high not to try. The cause is mankind. The cause is our posterity *and* There is no greater cause.

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