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"TOWARD A BALANCED NATIONAL GROWTH FOR THE
UNITED STATES"

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

COMMONWEALTH CLUB

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

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MAY 26, 1972

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I HAVE BEEN A FORTUNATE PERSON.

I HAVE BEEN PRIVILEGED TO SERVE THE PEOPLE OF MINNESOTA AND THIS NATION FOR OVER 25 YEARS, FIRST AS MAYOR OF A GREAT CITY, AS SENATOR, THEN AS VICE PRESIDENT, AS MY PARTY'S CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, NOW ONCE AGAIN AS SENATOR FROM MINNESOTA.

L PUBLIC SERVICE HAS BEEN MY CAREER.

L THIS COUNTRY HAS BEEN MY LIFE -- AMERICANS AT WORK,
PRODUCING, BUILDING, A LAND OF PROGRESS, A LAND OF HOPES --
A LAND IN WHICH A FREE AND COMPASSIONATE PEOPLE HONESTLY AND
OPENLY TRY TO BLEND THEIR DIVERSE NATURES INTO ONE NATION.

L AND, AS A NATION, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE COME FAR.

L WE ONCE HAD A POPULATION OF ONLY 4 MILLION; NOW WE

STAND 220 MILLION STRONG.

ONCE, OPPORTUNITY WAS ONLY A FAR DREAM -- BEYOND
THE REACH AND BELIEFS OF MOST PEOPLE.

NOW, OPPORTUNITY HAS BEEN EXPANDED. THERE IS
GREATER DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY IN OUR LAND.

AMERICAN LIFE HAS BEEN MARKED BY BOTH LOG CABINS
AND SKYSCRAPERS, BY THE HORSE AND BUGGY AND SLEEK, FAST
CARS: BY RADIOS, STEREOS, SUBWAYS, HIGHWAYS, AND MOON
FLIGHTS.

WE, AS A NATION, HAVE GIVEN MUCH OF OURSELVES --
IN BOTH WAR AND PEACE.

BUT, THERE IS A NEW UNEASINESS IN OUR LAND.

L AMERICAN YOUTH ARE UNSETTLED AND SOMETIMES
ANGUISHED ABOUT THEIR FUTURE AND THE PROBLEMS IT PRESENTS.

THEIR ELDERS ARE FACED WITH NEW INSECURITIES AS
 OUR ECONOMY ^{future} ~~FILES~~ AND TRADITIONAL VALUES ARE CHALLENGED,
~~Nothing seems to work correctly,~~
Feel neglected + forgotten

L GOVERNMENT HAS BECOME TOO BIG TO PROVIDE PERSONAL
 ANSWERS.

L AND, OUR PEOPLE ARE CONFUSED -- ABOUT THEMSELVES,
 THEIR FAMILIES, THEIR JOBS, AND THE DIRECTION OF THIS
 NATION.

GENERATIONS AGO, WE COULD LOOK TO THE PAST TO HELP
 US INTERPRET OUR LIVES, BUT TODAY, THE NOSTALGIA OF OUR
 MEMORIES FAIL US.

AND, ALL THE WHILE, LIFE CONTINUES, SWIRLING
ABOUT US.

↳ IT MOVES AT A PACE SO QUICK THAT PEOPLE ARE
BEWILDERED. - "Future Shock" - Alvin Toffler

AND, WE ARE PRONE TO QUESTION: IS IT POSSIBLE
THAT IN SPITE OF OURSELVES, IN SPITE OF OUR ABUNDANCE,
WE AS A NATION HAVE LOST OUR WAY?

↳ ~~WHAT HAS HAPPENED... I BELIEVE... THAT~~ OUR LIVES
ARE CAUGHT IN A MOVEMENT OF GROWTH -- A MOVEMENT AS
IMPERSONAL AS IT IS COMPELLING, AS RAPID AS IT IS ELUSIVE,
AND AS EPHEMERAL AS IT IS DISTURBING.

↳ THE RAPID GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THIS NATION
HAS LITERALLY OVERPOWERED US.

~~THE CENTRAL FACT OF OUR TIME IS THIS: FOR THE
 PAST TWO HUNDRED YEARS, THIS NATION AND ITS PEOPLE HAVE
 GROWN WITHOUT ANY SENSE AS TO WHAT GROWTH MEANS.~~

THE CENTRAL CHALLENGE OF OUR TIME IS THIS: IN
decade, or century
 THE NEXT ~~TWO HUNDRED YEARS~~, CAN WE, AS A PEOPLE, CONTINUE
standards
 TO GROW WITHOUT ANY ~~SENSE~~ AS TO WHAT GROWTH MEANS?

NEVER BEFORE HAS OUR NATION FACED SUCH TRYING AND
 DIFFICULT CHOICES AS THE FUTURE PRESENTS US.

CALIFORNIA, BECAUSE IT IS A GROWTH STATE,
 EPITOMIZES MANY OF THE TOUGH CHOICES.

A RECENT REPORT OF THE POPULATION COMMISSION NOTES
 THAT BY THE YEAR 2000, OVER 85 PERCENT OF NATIONAL POPULATION
 WILL LIVE ON LESS THAN TWO PERCENT OF THE LAND.

IN THAT SAME YEAR, CALIFORNIA WILL HAVE BETWEEN
 35 AND 40 MILLION PEOPLE -- ONE OUT OF EVERY EIGHT AMERICANS
~~LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES~~ WILL LIVE IN THIS STATE.

L THE FUTURE ASKS US: HOW WILL THESE PEOPLE LIVE?
 WHERE WILL THEY WORK?

*quantity of goods - but
 quality of life.*

L ~~2~~ CONSIDER THE AIR AND ENVIRONMENT OF OUR
 COUNTRY. L TWO YEARS AGO, THE AIR IN 36 URBAN REGIONS HAD
POLLUTANTS CONCENTRATED ABOVE THE ACCEPTABLE STANDARDS.

L TOXIC WASTE
 OVER 173 TONS OF ~~CONTAMINANTS~~ ARE EJECTED INTO THE ATMOSPHERE
 EVERY YEAR. L AND, NEXT YEAR ALONE, OVER 90 PERCENT OF OUR
 URBAN POPULATION WILL NEED SECONDARY SEWAGE SYSTEMS.

L CALIFORNIANS ARE NOT STRANGERS TO THE POLLUTION
 PROBLEM. L SMOG IS FOUND IN ALMOST EVERY COMMUNITY OF OVER

40,000 PEOPLE. ✓ MANY OF THE MAJOR RIVERS, BAYS AND ESTUARIES
 ARE POLLUTED. ✓ AND MORE THAN THIRTY PERCENT OF THIS STATE'S
 POPULATION SUFFERS EYE, RESPIRATORY IRRITATION AND ALLERGIES.

Future!

✓ THE FUTURE ASKS US: WHAT ARE WE DOING TODAY TO
 MEET THESE PROBLEMS? AND, WHAT ARE WE DOING TODAY THAT
 MIGHT MAKE MEETING THESE PROBLEMS IMPOSSIBLE?

✓ CONSIDER ENERGY—WHAT WILL TOMORROW'S ENERGY
 REQUIREMENTS BE? THE UNITED STATES CONSUMES 15.5 MILLION
 BARRELS OF OIL A DAY. AND, NATURAL GAS ALREADY IS VIRTUALLY
 RATIONED.

✓ YET, ESTIMATES ARE THAT IN THE NEXT FIFTEEN YEARS,
 OUR ENERGY NEEDS WILL BE DOUBLE THOSE OF TODAY. AND BY THE
 YEAR 2,000, AMERICANS WILL BE USING 76 TRILLION HOURS OF

ENERGY, MORE THAN FOUR TIMES THE PRESENT RATE.

✓ YET, WE ARE PRESENTLY FACED EVERY NIGHT BY THE
THREAT OF BLACKOUTS, BROWNOUTS, AND RATIONING.

✓ WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO BUILD A NATIONAL GRID
SYSTEM OR DEVELOP SOLAR OR NUCLEAR ENERGY adequately ADEQUATELY.

✓ TODAY IS THE TIME TO THINK ABOUT TOMORROW'S
ENERGY PROBLEMS. }~~~~~

Health ✓ OUR HEALTH NEEDS ARE NOTHING SHORT OF MASSIVE.
THE BLUNT FACT IS THAT 30 MILLION AMERICANS DO WITHOUT
ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE BECAUSE THEY CAN NOT AFFORD IT OR
IT IS NOT IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE.

✓ ~~1977~~ ¹⁹⁸⁰ BY ~~1977~~ ¹⁹⁸⁰ WE WILL NEED OVER 400,000 MORE PHYSICIANS ?
AND ONE MILLION MORE NURSES.

L AND, WHILE WE SPEND MILLIONS ON HEART TRANSPLANTS,
THOUSANDS OF CHILDREN DIE EACH YEAR BECAUSE THEY LACK A
SIMPLE VACCINATION.

Jobs
L OR CONSIDER JOBS.

L OUR PEOPLE NEED WORK. TO BE PRECISE, THIS NATION
MUST CREATE THREE AND A HALF MILLION NEW JOBS EVERY YEAR.

L YET, THERE ARE FEWER JOBS BEING CREATED TODAY
THAN THERE WERE FIVE YEARS AGO -- WHILE AT THE SAME TIME
THERE ARE MORE UNMET HUMAN NEEDS THAN EVER BEFORE. THIS
IS THE ULTIMATE IRONY OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

L ~~4~~ OUR METROPOLITAN AREAS ARE IN TROUBLE. THE DEBT
OF OUR CITIES AND COMMUNITIES IS NOW OVER \$44 BILLION AND
INCREASING AT ABOUT \$4 BILLION A YEAR.

L BASIC SERVICES SUCH AS SANITATION, PARKS AND
RECREATION, FIRE AND POLICE PROTECTION, HAVE JUMPED BY \$2
AND \$3 BILLION IN LITTLE LESS THAN FOUR YEARS,

L AND UTILITY RATES AND LOCAL TAXES HAVE BEEN
INCREASING ABOUT \$1.2 BILLION A YEAR -- PLACING AN INCREDIBLE
STRAIN ON THE TAXPAYER AND FORCING AN UNPRECEDENTED FISCAL
CRISIS UPON OUR URBAN GOVERNMENTS,

L BY THE END OF THIS FISCAL YEAR, WE WILL HAVE SPENT
IN THE LAST DECADE, \$160 BILLION DOLLARS ON URBAN AREAS,
TRYING TO SOLVE URBAN PROBLEMS,

L YET, WHAT WE HAVE NOT DONE IS NOTHING SHORT OF
MASSIVE. L IN URBAN RENEWAL, THERE IS A \$3 BILLION BACKLOG:
A \$350 MILLION BACKLOG IN PUBLIC HOUSING: A \$7.5 BILLION
BACKLOG IN EMERGENCY PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS: A \$5 BILLION

BACKLOG IN SANITATION AND WATER QUALITY CONTROL: A \$500
MILLION BACKLOG IN OPEN SPACE PROGRAMS: AN \$8.3 BILLION
BACKLOG IN MASS TRANSIT, AND A \$1.7 BACKLOG OF UNMET
NEEDS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT.

JUST ONE EXAMPLE. HERE IN CALIFORNIA, 500,000
NEW UNITS OF HOUSING ARE NEEDED IN THE METROPOLITAN AREAS.

HOMES MUST BE BUILT FOR THE LOW AND MODERATE INCOME
FAMILIES. YET THE AVERAGE PRICE OF A HOME IN CALIFORNIA'S
POPULATION DENSE COUNTIES IS CLOSE TO \$27,000 -- OUT OF THE
REACH OF MANY PEOPLE.

THESE, THEN, ARE BUT SOME OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF
THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, OF THE NEXT THREE TO FIVE YEARS.

L THE NEEDS OF THE NEXT DECADE ARE EVEN GREATER.

I ASK: WHAT ARE WE DOING TODAY THAT WILL ALLOW
US TO MEET THOSE NEEDS? WHAT ARE WE DOING TODAY TO SHAPE

AND DESIGN OUR FUTURE? - *Test of Leadership!*

L THERE ARE TWO COURSES OUR NATION AND OUR PEOPLE
COULD FOLLOW.

WE CAN CONTINUE AS WE HAVE IN THE PAST -- WITHOUT
PLANNING, WITHOUT NATIONAL GOALS, WITHOUT ANY ATTEMPT TO
DETERMINE WHAT OUR PEOPLE WANT, HOW WE ARE GOING TO LIVE
OR WHERE WE ARE GOING TO LIVE.

WE CAN CONTINUE TO GROW UNPLANNED, UNDEFINED, AND
UNORGANIZED.

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AND IF WE CONTINUE IN THAT COURSE, WE SEE ITS

RESULTS:

L--MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WILL GO WITHOUT EMPLOYMENT.

L--LAND WILL CONTINUE TO BE DEVELOPED, RAVAGED,

SPOILED, AND MISUSED.

L--GREAT CITIES AND URBAN REGIONS WILL CONTINUE
TO SWALLOW PEOPLE AND CARS, AND HOMES AND LIFE, INTO AN
INDISTINGUISHABLE MASS -- CREATING A DRAIN ON PUBLIC
SERVICES AND LOCAL TAX REVENUES THAT WILL EVENTUALLY
MAKE THE CITIES UNINHABITABLE, UNMANAGEABLE, AND
UNCONTROLLABLE.

L--JOBS WILL BE SEPARATED FROM HOUSING, CREATING
BOTH SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DISTORTIONS IN OUR COMMUNITIES.

L--INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES WILL CONTINUE TO
impersonal
BE BIG, HARD, CUMBERSOME TO ADMINISTER AND IMPOSSIBLE
TO UNDERSTAND,

--THERE WILL CONTINUE TO BE GHETTOIZATION OF
NEIGHBORHOODS, RENEWAL PROGRAMS THAT DEAL ONLY WITH
PHYSICAL BLIGHT, HEALTH CARE SYSTEMS THAT HAVE BECOME
TOO IMPERSONAL, REMOTE, TOO COSTLY, AND TOO LATE.

--THERE WILL CONTINUE TO BE RURAL TO URBAN
MIGRATION OF THE UNSKILLED AND THE PSYCHOLOGICALLY
UNEQUIPPED -- SOME 600,000 A YEAR TO OUR CITIES IN SEARCH
OF A JOB.

--AND, THERE WILL CONTINUE TO BE A FURTHER
ALIENATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS FROM HIS GOVERNMENT --

MORE CYNICISM, MORE SKEPTICISM, AND MORE DISTRUST.

↳ THIS IS THE PRICE WE WILL HAVE TO PAY FOR
UNPLANNED, UNCOORDINATED GROWTH.

THIS CAN BE OUR FATE IF WE, AS A PEOPLE, DO
NOTHING. ↳ BUT, WE HAVE A CHOICE. THERE ARE ALTERNATIVES.

↳ ~~I SEE LITTLE REASON WHY THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY~~
~~MUST BE ONE WITHOUT VISION.~~

THERE IS, I BELIEVE, A SECOND, MORE POSITIVE
COURSE BEFORE US.

↳ IT IS THE COURSE OF PLANNING AND DESIGNING OUR
FUTURE, OF UNDERSTANDING GROWTH, OF CONTROLLING IT, OF
GUIDING THE UTILIZATION AND ALLOCATION OF OUR RESOURCES
TO MAKE OUR INSTITUTIONS RESPOND TO THE KIND OF FUTURE WE

To direct the Coordination of all Fed Programs,
to evaluate, to assess national needs



Council on National Growth
& Development

multi-State Regional offices

multi-State and Regional
Planning Commissions

Inter Governmental Council
on National Growth
to Admin Exec & Congress

In Congress,

Joint Committee on Nat. Growth
& Development,

a Foundation on National Growth
and the American future.

AS A PEOPLE WANT,

IT IS THE COURSE OF BALANCED NATIONAL GROWTH AND
DEVELOPMENT.

*(1800's. R.R. Canals. Homestead Act
Railroads - Land Grant College -
Rural Free Delivery)*

I WILL SOON INTRODUCE IN THE CONGRESS, THE
BALANCED NATIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1972.

THIS BILL IS THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS THINKING
ABOUT THE FUTURE TODAY.

IT WILL PROVIDE THE MECHANISMS TO HARNESS THE
ENERGY, THE TALENT, THE INTELLECT OF THE BEST MINDS IN

OUR COUNTRY, SO THAT WE CAN ~~SEE~~ *Lay out some guide lines as to* HOW WE ARE GOING

TO LIVE, WHERE THIS NATION IS GOING, AND HOW IT IS GOING

TO GET THERE.

*Tax Policy, monetary Policy,
Public works, Social
Policy*

~~THIS LEGISLATION IS PROBLEM ORIENTED.~~

~~IT IS NO IVORY TOWER EXERCISE.~~

IT WILL ALLOW US TO ADDRESS OURSELVES TO THE
FUTURE -- TO ASSESS THE EFFECT OF PRESENT PROGRAMS ON
TOMORROW'S NEEDS, AND BRING THE GROWTH OF THIS NATION
INTO MANAGEABLE, UNDERSTANDABLE FORM.

*Goals, Priorities,
Timeframes, Resources*

THE ~~ENACTED~~ NATIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT ACT
~~WILL~~ WILL PROVIDE THE TOOLS NECESSARY FOR US TO MAKE
RATIONAL PROGRAM CHOICES TODAY, SO THAT PROBLEMS DO NOT
BECOME IMPOSSIBLE TO SOLVE TOMORROW.

And *it is designed to*
THE LEGISLATION WILL HELP BALANCE ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL GROWTH IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS.

*Urban-Rural
Balance*

IT WILL REQUIRE FEDERAL AGENCIES TO ASK QUESTIONS
ABOUT PROGRAMS THAT HAVE NEVER BEEN ASKED BEFORE. IT WILL

REQUIRE AGENCIES TO THINK ABOUT THE IMPACT OF PROGRAMS ON
PEOPLE AND ON THEIR LIVES -- NOT JUST TODAY, BUT IN THE
NEXT FIVE, TEN, AND 50 YEARS.

L POLICY FORMULATION, PLANNING, AND GUIDED
 DEVELOPMENT -- THAT IS WHAT BALANCED GROWTH IS ALL ABOUT.

~~That Domestic Development Bank -~~
~~THAT IS WHY I FEEL AS STRONGLY AS I DO ABOUT~~
~~THE Policy - Environmental Protection -~~
~~THIS SUBJECT~~ THAT IS WHY WE MUST CHOOSE THE SECOND

COURSE BEFORE US, AND NOT THE FIRST.

ALL ACROSS THE COUNTRY, PEOPLE ARE WORRIED ABOUT
THE FUTURE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR COMMUNITIES.

and THEY EXPECT POLITICAL LEADERS TO BE CONCERNED
ABOUT GROWTH PROBLEMS.

THEY ARE TIRED OF HIDDEN POLICIES THAT PRESERVE
 FOR THEM THE ILLUSION OF CHOICE BUT IN FACT PREVENT THEM
 FROM MAKING A CHOICE. — Budget Process! open

PEOPLE WANT THINGS IN THE OPEN,

THEY WANT CONTROL OVER THEIR LIVES AND THEIR
HOMES — Local planning — Local Resource
Revenue Sharing
 and THEY WANT THAT CONTROL NOW!

✓ "TIME" SAID ST. AUGUSTINE, "IS A THREE-FOLD
PRESENT, THE PRESENT AS WE EXPERIENCE IT, THE PAST AS A
PRESENT MEMORY; AND THE FUTURE AS A PRESENT EXPECTATION".

BY THAT CRITERION, SOMETHING LIKE THE VERY
 SALVATION OF THE NATION IS AT STAKE,

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AND HOW THIS NATION GROWS, IS AT THE NUB OF IT

ALL.

~~THIS IS OUR PROBLEM,~~

~~AND, IF GUIDING HOW WE GROW SEEMS INSURMOUNTABLE,~~

~~LET US REMEMBER THAT WE HAVE HEARD THE VOICES OF THOSE WHO~~

~~SAY IT CANNOT BE DONE BEFORE,~~

~~THESE ARE THE VOICES OF THOSE WHO LIVE IN THE PAST~~

~~AND WANT OTHERS TO DO SO ALSO,~~

*Politics of memory
Politics of hope*

~~THEY ARE FALSE VOICES,~~

~~THEY WOULD RATHER SAY NO AND GIVE A THOUSAND~~

~~REASONS WHY NOT, THAN TO SAY YES AND GIVE ONE REASON WHY.~~

THE FUTURE AND ITS PROBLEMS CANNOT BE SOLVED OR

UNDERSTOOD BY LAMENTING THE PAST OR THE PRESENT.

*Politics of memory
Politics of hope*

THESE PROBLEMS WILL BE SOLVED BECAUSE REASON,
UNDERSTANDING, RESOURCES, AND THE COMMITMENT OF PEOPLE
WERE APPLIED TO THEM,

THE FUTURE OF THIS COUNTRY CAN BE SHAPED,

~~WE CAN HAVE A BALANCED NATIONAL GROWTH POLICY~~

~~BECAUSE OUR PEOPLE HAVE AGREED THAT THINGS IN THIS NATION~~

h we do ~~CAN BE BETTER, THAT~~ CONDITIONS OF LIFE CAN IMPROVE, AND

~~THAT~~ MAN CAN SHAPE HIS LIFE AS WELL AS REACT TO IT.

~~THIS IS WHAT I WANT TO HELP OUR NATION ACHIEVE,~~

~~THIS IS WHY I SEEK THE PRESIDENCY,~~



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