

INTRODUCTION

...the purposes and direction so significant in our
history and so vital to the substance of our future --
Senator Humphrey

SENATOR HUMPHREY

Well, its a very special pleasure to be invited to
participate in your session. When I received the letter
inviting me here, I understood that Mr. Erlichman was going
to come up from the White House -- and I said let's go!!

Since I couldn't get at the principal, I was willing
to take on one of the subordinates. But, I understand that
all of that is by the boards now and that you have given
me the privilege of this platform. I also am informed that
possibly if it is your desire, we can have some questions,
and hopefully I might be able to make a response worthy of
your attention.

I have been with you before -- and I am pleased to come
back and talk to you about the things of the future because
that's what you're here to discuss. I have been told that
you are deep in the discussion of the subject of national
development policy and I want to encourage you to give your
wholehearted attention and thought to it. And as you listen to
me today, I am sure you will understand why I feel so strongly
about it.

Planning has in the past been a word that was almost
called unAmerican insofar as Government was concerned. Very
few men in public life even dared mention it lest it appear
to be foreign in its derivation, totalitarian, socialistic
or any other adjective or term of derision that could be
applied to it. I think that we are beginning to under-
stand that that kind of cheap talk and demagogary has no
place in a society that is as perplexed and as troubled as
ours. In fact, when I came here today and was walking
through the lobby and saying hello to members of your Board
and your Executive Director and others and your President,
Mr. McGraff, I said -- "Gee, how can we be in such a mess
and have so many planners?" Maybe that question ought to be
the topic of the day -- but possibly it is because there are
some of us in Congress and other legislative bodies, and other
areas of Government that have not been willing to listen
to some of your more practical suggestions. So, I've cast
myself today in the role, not as a politician or the political
advocate, but rather may I say, as a person who would like
to engage in some dialogue and to seek your counsel and
advice to present to you some of my views and they are just
my views. Hopefully -- to get some of your observations --
if not now, later on.

The first question that I would put to you is quite simple. Shall we design or shall we resign ourselves to our future? Are we going to have something to say about our lives or are we going to be the creatures of accident. We Americans have relied for years and generations upon just the vitality of our people -- what appeared to be the boundless -- well, the unbelievable limits or treasures of our resources. As somebody said, we rely on good luck and the Lord. Now, you can't always rely on good luck. I found that out a couple of times in my life and while I do believe in the power of prayer, I think you ought to know there are other people that need to be heard too. Sometimes, even divine providence can be overworked. So we face the basic question -- do we design or resign ourselves to our future?

And, we are in the process today of making decisions that are determining the kind of a nation -- the kind of a country that we are going to have. It's in our hands to create the kind of a nation we want or that we wish to leave to future generations.

For what we do, or to put it another way, what we fail to do today clearly commits and fixes future patterns of life in this nation as well as on this planet that is our home called Earth. Now I hope that it is generally agreed that we can no longer afford the luxury of approaching the future of our country and its relationships to the rest of the world and indeed, the relationships amongst ourselves, haphazardly. There are limits to our resources. We are beginning to have some understanding of that and we face incredibly difficult problems. They are mounting like a storm coming out of the West. Difficult and potentially dangerous problems -- population explosion -- the morning press carries the story that the developing countries are losing the battle of providing food for themselves. As I flew into this beautiful city, and I have been here many, many times, I noticed that level of smog and filth and dirt that hangs over this great historic city of Boston. And frankly, dear friends, it's worse now than it was a year ago and much worse than it was ten years ago. And, yet we have the best scientists in the world and the best technicians -- we have planners, we have experts and we stand here like a stunned ox -- either incapable of doing what we ought to do, or unwilling to do it. And, I tend to think it's the latter.

We face the problems of how to balance off economic growth and environmental protection. In every part of our country we face problems of urbanization--some of you in this room may know that I spent some time the past two years in developing what we call a rural development program. Because you see I happen to believe that there is no solution -- none whatsoever, to the problems of our cities by dealing only with the problems of the cities. You have to remember that the other side of the urban coin is rural America. There has to be an urban-rural balance and quite honestly, those of you that are professionals in this room -- if you've known it -- if you believe it -- if you've given of your professional talent and capability to it -- you've been hiding your light under a bushel.

I guess what I'm really trying to say to you is that you'd better get out and fight! I love ya as planners, but why don't you get a little noisier! Why don't ya talk up! (APPLAUSE)

There's no reason that you have to be so sedate --

professionalism does not require that you be meek and lowly and humble. (APPLAUSE)

School teachers found out that they had to fight for their rights and their profession. There's not a thing wrong with it at all and frankly, we need you. We not only need what you write -- some of us don't have that much time to read -- we need to hear what you want to say. And, every community needs you. Every county -- every city -- every legislature. You can do so much out there on the frontiers of what we call our democracy -- our representative government -- at the local levels, to inspire people into planning -- to lead the fight. And, if you see a Mayor who doesn't want to plan, defeat him! If you see a councilman who doesn't want to do something about looking ahead in terms of the kind of Government policy and kind of planning -- go on out and see that he doesn't get elected. Because, I don't have much time for professional people who are willing to sit back and say "well, it's not my business." What kind of a doctor would it be that wasn't interested in research to fight disease? What kind of a planner is it that is just willing to sit around and talk to planners?

I've got to get you aroused -- I'm not telling you which party to support. Let me tell you -- there's plenty of room for improvement in both! (APPLAUSE)

You won't need to worry about that! (APPLAUSE)

Now, we've learned a good deal these last few years. We haven't put it all to work, but we've learned a lot about it. We learned that the world we live in had shrunk to such a size that the men on one side of the earth could completely destroy men on the opposite side in less than thirty minutes through a new and devastating means of modern warfare. The space program has taught us that this little satellite that we are on called earth is vulnerable and primarily vulnerable to its own inhabitants and through its own inhabitants.

More recently, we have come to realize that even the natural resources of this earth and of our nation are finite and in many cases threatened with total depletion. This country right now is wondering what to do about natural gas -- we're talking about what kind of a deal we can make with the Russians to get it in a solidified, liquified form and then do something with it. We are in serious difficulty on energy -- just to mention one area. And, today you are approaching a new realization -- one which was stated eloquently by Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos in their recently published book "Only One Earth." Most of you, I'm sure have read it. If you haven't, it's good reading -- take it with you on the plane -- take it with you to your office. Listen to these words of these two remarkable scholars: "The establishment of a desirable human environment implies more than a maintenance of an ecological equilibrium, the economical management of natural resources, and the control of the forces that threaten biological and mental health. Ideally, it requires also that social groups and individuals be provided with the opportunity to develop ways of life and surroundings of their own choice. Man not only survives and functions in his environment -- he shapes it and he is shaped by it."

We see it every day. We see what happens with the children of the ghetto -- we send them off to nice schools, after a good battle is put up to get what they call a good school. And then they we remove him and throw him right back into the same misery and filth and degradation and violence and fear from whence they came. And we have experts from Harvard and other places writing that apparently it didn't do them much good to go to Head Start or to go to elementary and secondary schools or middle schools or high schools -- it just didn't seem to do them much good! Of course not! Because the education experience starts on day one -- it isn't just the school -- and some people are trying to get a ride out of this problem of the ghetto by just building schools or putting kids on buses and sending them all over, thinking that that's the answer. That's part of the answer to give a child a chance for a quality education in school, but let this Senator ring his voice today -- you can build schools until you have a monument in every block in America, and until you clean up the neighborhoods; until you provide people with decent health care; until people feel they are wanted; until there is respect for a person, regardless of race, creed or color; until you have at least accepted people as human beings -- all the education in the world is not really going to change very much -- until we ourselves change before we start put him in what we call formal education.

Now, planners need to get involved in that. We need the interdisciplinary mix of the behavioral sciences on the one hand and the socio-economic and physical planners on the other. Let's bring them together. I know of no other way. I happen to believe for example that you ought to put the best schools in the poorest neighborhoods. I believe that's one way to help out. But I'll tell you what's a better way -- build new neighborhoods and new neighborhoods include much more than new houses because a neighborhood has to have the spirit of community and community means trust, acceptance, the willingness to share and to take on responsibility. Now none of that was here -- I just tossed that in as I was going along here in my remarks because these are the things I believe. (APPLAUSE)

So, I say to you as members of the planning profession -- you have a very distinct and major role to play in helping the people of this nation shape their future -- to provide them with the opportunity, as Lady Jackson and Mr. Dubos put it -- "to develop ways of life and surroundings of their choice." This is a great challenge to us. Now your role then is not merely one of providing a method of state and local government to carry out such projects as urban renewal, water and sewer or transportation systems, even though I might say, we haven't even accomplished that. Don't you get a little weary about hearing how the water is polluted and knowing that we can do something about it and still not doing it? We battle out in our State of Minnesota to protect our lakes -- some people think they have the right, just to poison them. I don't have much time for polluters. I don't like people who dump garbage in my front lawn and that's exactly what people do when they dump industrial waste in our rivers -- because they're my rivers and your rivers. They don't belong to industry. That's exactly what happens when people put their sewage and human waste in our lakes.

They're contaminating something that is the common property of all of us and I want you to get angry about it. There is something right about righteous indignation and you've got to start to stand up and bark at them and do something about it and don't leave it to just those of us who are elected to political office because apparently not many people are listening to what we say. And, not many people believe what we try to say or do. Do you play a leading role in national policy planning and development? Indeed you should! At all levels and branches of government. I'm not just talking Federal policy now. Yes, as it relates to all the combinations of political, economic, social and environmental concerns. In addition to being one of our major policy sciences, planning is also an art. It demands of you the sensitivities that are required in assessing and responding to the myriad of subtle changes and developments that our complex world of technological advancement thrusts upon us daily. You must therefore lend your talent and if you have it, your genius and above all your insight into helping people to design their own futures. Just help them a little bit! Not in the form of any master plan or blueprint that we force on people, but rather in helping them create for themselves the processes, the institutions and the mechanisms to make it possible for individuals to plan their lives -- to understand and anticipate and to bring about orderly change. You must help people avoid and minimize what Mr. Alvin Tofler so aptly refers to as future shock. I wish everybody would read that book, at least the first half of it because it has a great message. Now the truth is that as of today this great Republic with its science and technology, with all of its brilliant students and colleges and universities -- with everything we have -- we are back in the stone age when it comes to planning.

We don't have any plans at all! At the national level -- the last planning body at the Federal level was the National Resources Planning Agency or something like that in the Roosevelt administration and that was abolished in a wave of anti-intellectualism and a wave of -- well, everybody was a socialist, so we had to get rid of it. And they did. Our nation today lacks the processes and the mechanisms needed by modern government and individual citizens to develop and choose alternative futures. We have no plans, no goals and no priorities. Just let that sink in -- I've been in government a long time. The only time I had anything to do with planning was when I was mayor of Minneapolis. We did plan. We planned for the future Loop Development that you see there today -- the lower Loop Development. We made some plans. But the very agency in government -- HUD -- that demands that you come up if you are a municipal official with plans that would make Michaelangelo and Leonardo De Vinci dizzy. That same agency has no plans of its own -- doesn't know what it's doing. (APPLAUSE -- APPLAUSE)

Go down and ask the agency what its plan is for the next 25 years for this country. (APPLAUSE)

But they expect the county seat in Wright County, Minnesota to have a plan. I deal a little more directly with them than some of my local citizens back home because I don't have that much fear and trepidation of a Federal Agency any more. (LAUGHTER -- APPLAUSE) No matter who's in charge. So let me suggest that as we approach our nation's bicentennial -- and that's a good benchmark for us -- it's very essential that we look anew at the question

of what kind of a future we are now creating for ourselves, and future generations by our decisions now or our lack of decisions. As opposed to what we should be doing to move more toward that goal of human relationships based upon the Greek idea of balance or moderation or nothing too much. This whole subject of growth is going to be in the forefront of this decade. Growth is seen by many as the opposite of stability, yet both are desired. Novelty is prized, but man is overwhelmed by too much change. Technology is feared and yet it is indispensable. We have this constant dichotomy in America of liberty versus tranquility -- defense versus welfare -- change versus order -- present versus future -- the dichotomist terms that have expressed American goals and problems and challenges since the beginning of this Republic. We are a kind of schizo people and understandably so. It was Alfred North Whitehead who said "The art of progress is to preserve order amid change and to preserve change amid order." It's a difficult assignment. We generally see that change is like birth -- it has a certain amount of pain and unpredictability. Our challenge then is to reach out for the balance -- that balance in human relationships that many of us believe to be attainable between conflict and cooperation -- between growth and stability. We strive and we should strive for the delicate balance between individual free choice and common good. And, that's a tough one -- very difficult.

Can everybody do his thing without regard for the common good? Is that liberty -- is that freedom? It's a philosophical question which people have fought over and argued over for centuries. We strive for that delicate balance between economic needs and environmental protection. Be a politician for a while and go on out and talk to factory workers and tell them that the factory has to close down because there is an ecological impact and then run for office. (LAUGHTER) Try it for size dear friends. Oh, you folks give us elected officials a rough go. But I've been both appointed and elected and I want to let you in on something. It's more comfortable to be appointed -- any day! I know what tenure means as a professor. Now what a blessing. It is the only eternity of which I am positively sure. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE) And how you can flail at the false gods if you have it and even the true ones! But you just run for office for a change -- and be very bright if you want to be too. I've gone to college enough to scare three people right out of their cloths. That didn't exactly equip me for public office. It didn't hamper me too much. I've overcome it. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

I just want to say quite candidly to you that when you are out discussing the problems that we are talking about now, it's not easy and particularly that subject of economic expansion -- jobs on the one hand and the environmental protection on the other. Read Peter Drucker's article in Harpers (January) of this last year. It's a very good piece for us to look at. And I don't have any answers. If I did, I wouldn't have maybe time to be here with you right now. But were going to work them out together. We are trying to find a delicate balance between urban and rural; between old and new ; between national policy and state and local policy planning and development. But the "how" and "through what means" can we reach out for that balance. What mechanisms and processes do we now have that will permit and encourage us to develop these policies and plans that will be

needed if we are to create, to design and to shape our country's future and the human environment. I suggest that there are none, as I said earlier, at least none explicitly designed in this country to deal with our nation's long range future in education, in health, in energy, in transportation -- you name it -- there are none.

The last time we had somebody work on goals for this country was when Mr. Eisenhower (President Eisenhower) appointed a Commission and they came up with a list of goals and quickly put it over in the Archives. It hasn't seen the light of day since. Each political party has a platform and readily admits that after they've written it, don't pay too much attention to it. There's something wrong in this country. And that's why we are spinning our wheels all too often and that's why we are wasting billions of dollars and that's why I say to you that the taxes will go up and up and up until we start to get some rationalization -- some reasonable balance between what we can do and what we want -- until we place things within a time frame and start to plan what we want for ourselves now and in days to come.

And somebody has to say these things -- the President can tell you there'll be no tax increase. But I'm here to tell you that nation cannot survive long privately rich and publicly poor. (APPLAUSE)

The one instrument that we have today at the Federal level that indicates some possibility of forward thought is the Federal budget. I know a little bit about these things. You'll have to bear with me, this is my time -- you're not even paying me to come up here -- I think this is on me -- so I'm just going to talk to you about it. Of course, you are through your taxes -- thanks much. (LAUGHTER) But let me just say a word about the budget -- I've helped work on the Federal budget -- I've had some unique experiences. I've been a mayor, I've been a Senator, I've been a majority whip, I've been back as a professor, I've been a Vice President -- now I'm back as a junior senator, proving that recycling does work to a degree. (APPLAUSE AND LAUGHTER) But, the big hullaballu down in Washington right now about a Federal spending ceiling. That's not the problem. The problem is how do we put together that budget -- that's an annual budget for a country like this. By the time we get through working on it, the annual is already gone through. We were supposed to finish that budget by the 30th day of June. At least a third of the time would have been consumed before we are even through with the budget for Fiscal 1973. It's the only planning tool in this government and who makes it up? People that have a passion for anonymity. (LAUGHTER) That's really a contradiction -- how can you be anonymous and have passion? (LAUGHTER)

Now I know a little bit about this budget business. The Office of Bureau of the Budget -- they changed its name -- now its the Bureau of Budget and Management (something like that) -- it didn't change anything -- just the name. They are good people -- very good people -- and they are top grade governmental officials. But let me ask you something. Do you know anybody from the Bureau of the Budget who ever went out to see a county official to see what ought to be in that budget -- or a legislator -- or a labor leader or a business leader or a governor -- or a mayor -- or a city councilman? Not on your life! The most secret document in this government! Nobody knows what's in it until the day that it hits the Congress. It's wrapped up in paper with sealing wax and gold ribbon and a President must have a ring

or something he puts on that wax. It comes over there to Congress looking like 6 Sears and Roebuck catalogues in one package and everybody is worried about the Pentagon Papers -- that's not the secret document that you need to worry about. (APPLAUSE) Believe me, the document you should be worried about is the budget because that budget involves \$245 to \$250 billion -- almost a quarter of the total gross national product and it has a tremendous impact on this nation. On everything -- physical, social, economic, political, environmental -- it's there. And yet it is conceived if you please in quiet and silence and secrecy, and presented as the finished instrument like it's a divine and holy writ to the Congress of the United States. And, if we tamper with it a bit, some of you have been led to believe that we are just down there monkeying around with something that shouldn't be touched. And, the columnists and the editorial writers are on our backs. Well let me tell you, I've been in the executive branch and the legislative branch -- I've sat with cabinets and I've sat with Presidents and any day you want to know where I think the most wisdom is to be found, I think there is more collective wisdom to be found in the Congress of the United States than in any Executive Department of the Government, without a doubt. And, by the way, I said that when I was Vice President and I was still able to be invited to breakfast. (LAUGHTER)

But you don't believe it -- really you don't! The country has had the Congress ridiculed and yet you ought to be fighting to give that Congress the tools to really fashion the budget. I am tired of a handfull of people on top telling us what we ought to have. I think that it's fine to get their ideas but to have the propoganda mechanism turned upon us as if somehow or other nobody can change it and this has been done by every President -- it's not just Mr. Nixon. So today we've got a big battle in Congress on the spending ceiling. We are going to have to put a spending ceiling on which is a way of saying that there are children only in the Congress that have no sense of responsibility and the only big brother in over on 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Well I happen to believe in separation of powers. I am not about ready to vote to give the President of the United States item veto and retro-active item veto. I don't care who he is. I think the elected peoples representatives have a right even to make mistakes. That's what the election process is about -- to make both great forward movements as well as to make some mistakes. We have to stand up before the public every two years. A third of the Senate, every two and all the Members of the House. And now we see a President who wants to pick the people and all Presidents do the same -- I'm not just picking on Mr. Nixon. People that he likes on the court; his philosophy. A President that has his philosophy as how the foreign policy of this country ought to be conducted and where the troops ought to be sent. The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, a pre-declaration of war. Give the President the authority. And now we want a domestic Gulf of Tonkin. Give the President the authority to reduce budgets and appropriations to do what he wishes. Not with my help! Not with my help! (APPLAUSE)

Some of you may say, well he's just a Democrat up here -- now that's not the case. I taught several courses in American government long before I came to you as well as in public administration. I am opposed to the

proposing of that kind of power in the hands of the Chief Executive. Because he doesn't make those decisions. They are made by people that I don't know and you don't know that have no accountability to the public whatsoever. They are made by people down in the bowels of the government and then they are fed on up when the President is busy talking to China or Russia or India or Canada or someplace else.

I am trying to get down to where we do something on planning besides an annual budget and if we have an annual budget, I want some hearings on it, field hearings. If we can have field hearings as to whether or not an airline ought to be located in Peoria, Illinois and then the trial examiners report to the CAB -- if we can have field hearings on a labor dispute -- if we can have field hearings on a tariff question, why can't we have field hearings to go on out and hear what the people have to say about the Federal Budget before it comes down there looking, as I said, like its a new copy of holy writ? (APPLAUSE)

You know, Abraham Lincoln gave the planners the best argument in your professional behalf that was ever stated. In that famous speech of the House Divided. You remember those lines? "If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we would then better judge what to do and how to do it." If we had just planned a little in the 50's we wouldn't have had as much trouble in the 60's. This is what has always worried me even as much as I want this war to come to an end as of this minute. Many people have told me and many times it's been said that if we just ended the war we would sure solve our problems. We ended our participation in the war in 1945 and we didn't solve our problems. We ended our participation when President Eisenhower came in in Korea and we didn't plan -- Our cities got worse -- the housing problems more difficult -- the health needs of this country more demanding -- there is no evidence, my fellow Americans that ending a war releases capital at the public level to do anything about anything unless you will it -- unless you're willing to put it on the line. Just to end the war, important as it is, and I think it is vitally important, does not assure us that we will correct the problems of pollution or that we will plan the development of this country or that we will stop this imbalance between urban and rural america. To the contrary, what it generally is -- everybody leans back and says I want ten years of rest and we go into a period of intellectual depression with a lack of initiative and imagination. So what we're having to do as I see it, is to try to forge and form some kinds of national policies that will compel us to think ahead -- literally compel us. And it is for this reason that I will be dedicating much of my future energies in the Congress to the task of forging legislation that will help provide some of the processes, the mechanisms and the institutions needed to help us design our nation's future and achieve and reach that balance that I referred to.

On May 26 of this year, I addressed the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco. I outlined there the general provisions of what I call my Balanced National Growth and Development Act. Regretably I didn't accuse anybody of anything and it didn't get much attention. I wish that we could do something about projecting constructive purpose in this country through mass media. And if it's critical, then it's critical. But we generally wonder why politics gets so

disorderly and at times seems so abusive. I'll have to tell you why -- it's the only way you get attention. It's not right -- it's unfortunate. The proposal that I give to you, and I'm going to see that you have it, provides for the establishment of an Office of Balanced National Growth and Development within the Office of the President.

Now, it is important that it be in that office, otherwise it gets left and lost. Its duties and functions would include developing specific national policies, guidelines, suggestions, broad outlines relating to future population growth and distribution patterns. Economic growth along with environmental protection, income distribution, energy and fuels, transportation, education and health care, food and fiber production, employment and housing and recreation and cultural opportunities -- the whole area of communications, land use and welfare, technology assessment and transfer and monetary and fiscal policy. It's a big assignment! But somewhere it needs to be brought together. This new office also would provide the means to develop those specific national policies in such a way as to reflect the appropriate inter-relationships that obviously exist between and among such policies. Today we don't do that. The only coordinating agency we have today is the environmental impact -- now we have that. Before you can do anything now days of any consequence through governmental funds, you at least have to have an environmental impact survey. That's the only coordinating mechanism that we have. This new office would tie together and coordinate the work of the Council of Economic Advisors, the Office of Management and Budget. You would think they were in different countries, speaking foreign languages to illiterate people and the environmental quality council. Literally, dear friends, the Office of Management and Budget and the Council of Economic Advisors frequently find themselves in diametrically opposite courses as they testified before the Joint Committee on Economic Report. Because there is no mechanism except one man called the President to bring them together. And he has other things to do. This new Office would be empowered to bring about more uniform and workable federal assistance programs to streamline the Federal delivery system now involving hundreds of categorical programs. Programs, that many a local official doesn't know about and doesn't understand.

The bill also establishes new uniform planning requirements for federal grants in aid. We have so many planning requirements and different federal grants in aid that it's impossible to keep up with them. It would transfer to the new Office of Balanced Growth and Development the comprehensive planning assistance program authorized by section 701 of the Housing Act administered by HUD. The bill creates a national system of multi-State planning, regional planning and development commissions. Just like we have multi-county bodies at the state level, it would involve Governors and the state legislatures to help link up and facilitate proper coordination at the Federal, state and local level. This nationwide regional commission structure would be directly tied to the new office that is in the Office of the President.

In addition, my bill would create a joint congressional committee on balanced national growth and development. There is none today. The Interior Committee goes one way. The Commerce Committee goes another way. The Public Works Committee goes another way. One after another, we see opposite programs, programs working in opposition to each other and this Committee would be supported by a new

Congressional office of policy and planning within the Library of Congress, staffed by adequate professionals and experts on national growth and development policy matters.

New requirements pertaining to the location impact of federal facilities and federal activities and procurement are specified in the bill. We are the only developed nation in the world that totally ignores the critical question of Federal procurement, federal activities in federal facilities in public decision making. Yet our budget has a tremendous impact upon us. This bill creates a new National Research Institution to monitor, measure and forecast developments in all of the major sciences, soft and hard and to report its findings with possible alternatives. It provides for a more detailed and continuous analysis of population and demographic trends and finally, it provides for an annual report by the President, detailing where we are, whither are we tending in our pursuit in developing and implementing national policies. That report would be made to the Congress and to the public at large. It would become a national working document for the entire nation to reflect its concerns and desires and a document in which state and local people could in a sense balance off their planning -- compare it to what seems to be at least in the national scheme.

A draft of this bill will be made available to you and many others between the end of this session of Congress and next January. I want you to look it over. Don't look upon it as a finished document. Quite honestly it's almost in conceptual terms rather than in the details that I agreed we ought to have. I'm not smart enough -- I don't have enough background to be honest with you to design this kind of all comprehensive measure without your cooperation. I came here today to tell you what we have in mind -- to get your advice and counsel -- your observations -- your criticisms -- to make your recommendations and propose your alternatives. And, if you will do that and review that and study it in the spirit that I have drafted it, namely as a beginning towards building a better America and a start towards balanced national growth and development policy, I think then that we can do something worthwhile.

We cannot change what has been. But we can change what will be. I still believe in that childlike phrase that today is the first day of the rest of your life. So let me close by saying that whatever may be the outcome of the travail of the present and our hopes and fears for the future, it is well to be mindful of the sober and powerful injunction of the poet Walt Whitman who wrote: "Now understand me well, it is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition of success no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary." That is the ferment of change.

Thank you very much.

(APPLAUSE)

000756

National Development Policy

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

OCTOBER 11, 1972

Planning - Courage

Planners

President McGrath

Sorry Mr. Erlesman
not here

000757

L SHALL WE "DESIGN" OR "RESIGN" OURSELVES TO OUR ~~NATION'S~~
FUTURE?

L THAT IS THE BASIC QUESTION UNDERLYING DECISIONS WE MAKE
TODAY IN DETERMINING WHAT KIND OF NATION WE WANT TO CREATE
OR LEAVE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.

L FOR WHAT WE DO -- OR FAIL TO DO -- TODAY CLEARLY COMMITTS
AND FIXES FUTURE PATTERNS OF LIFE IN THIS NATION AS WELL AS
ON THIS PLANET EARTH.

L I hope that is generally agreed --
WE CAN NO LONGER AFFORD THE LUXURY OF APPROACHING THE
FUTURE OF OUR NATION -- AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE REST OF

THE WORLD -- HAPHAZARDLY -- There are limits to our
resources, and we face incredibly
difficult & potentially dangerous problems
in the pollution of our environment,
the growth of population, and ~~the~~
urbanization

-2-

A FEW YEARS BACK, WE LEARNED ~~AT THAT TIME~~ THAT THE WORLD WE LIVE IN HAD SHRUNK TO SUCH A SIZE THAT MEN ON ONE SIDE OF THE EARTH COULD COMPLETELY DESTROY MEN ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE WITHIN 30 MINUTES THROUGH NEW AND DEVASTATING MEANS OF MODERN WARFARE.,

↳ MORE RECENTLY WE HAVE COME TO REALIZE THAT EVEN THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF THIS EARTH AND OF OUR NATION ARE INDEED FINITE AND IN MANY CASES THREATENED WITH TOTAL DEPLETION.,

↳ AND TODAY WE ARE APPROACHING A NEW REALIZATION, ONE WHICH WAS STATED SO ELOQUENTLY BY BARBARA WARD AND RENE DUBOS IN THEIR RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOK: ONLY ONE EARTH.

~~I QUOTE:~~

"THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DESIRABLE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT IMPLIES
MORE THAN THE MAINTENANCE OF ECOLOGICAL EQUILIBRIUM, THE
ECONOMICAL MANAGEMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES, AND THE CONTROL
OF THE FORCES THAT THREATEN BIOLOGICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH.

L IDEALLY, IT REQUIRES ALSO THAT SOCIAL GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS
BE PROVIDED WITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP WAYS OF LIFE AND
SURROUNDINGS OF THEIR OWN CHOICE. MAN NOT ONLY SURVIVES AND
FUNCTIONS IN HIS ENVIRONMENT, HE SHAPES IT AND HE IS SHAPED
BY IT."

-4-

L AS MEMBERS OF THE PLANNING PROFESSION ~~OF THE FUTURE~~ YOU
HAVE A MAJOR ROLE TO PLAY IN HELPING THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION
"SHAPE" THEIR OWN FUTURE, "TO PROVIDE THEM WITH THE OPPORTUNITY
AS LADY JACKSON AND DR. DUBOS SAY, "TO DEVELOP WAYS OF LIFE AND
SURROUNDINGS OF THEIR OWN CHOICE."

L YOUR ROLE IS NOT ONE OF MERELY PROVIDING A METHOD FOR
STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO CARRY OUT PROJECTS SUCH AS URBAN
RENEWAL, WATER AND SEWER OR TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS.

L YOU MUST ALSO PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN NATIONAL POLICY
PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT AS IT RELATES TO ALL LEVELS AND
BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT ^{yes,} AS IT RELATES TO ALL COMBINATIONS
OF POLITICAL, ECONOMICAL, SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS.

-5-

IN ADDITION TO BEING ONE OF OUR MAJOR POLICY SCIENCES,
PLANNING ALSO IS AN ART, DEMANDING OF YOU AS THE SENSITIVITIES
THAT ARE REQUIRED IN ASSESSING AND RESPONDING TO THE MYRIAD
OF SUBTLE CHANGES AND DEVELOPMENTS THAT OUR COMPLEX WORLD OF
TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCEMENT THRUSTS UPON US DAILY.

YOU MUST LEND YOUR TALENT, GENIUS, AND INSIGHT TO HELPING
PEOPLE TO "DESIGN" THEIR OWN FUTURE -- NOT IN THE FORM OF ANY
MASTER PLAN OR BLUEPRINT, BUT RATHER IN HELPING THEM CREATE
THE PROCESSES AND MECHANISMS TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO
UNDERSTAND, ANTICIPATE, AND TO BRING ABOUT ORDERLY CHANGE. YOU
MUST HELP THEM TO AVOID AND MINIMIZE WHAT MR. ALVIN TOFFLER SO
APTLY REFERS TO AS "FUTURE SHOCK."

~~Annual Budget - only to do
no input!!~~

⁻⁶⁻
But the truth is that

AS OF TODAY, OUR NATION ~~STILL~~ LACKS THOSE PROCESSES AND
MECHANISMS NEEDED BY GOVERNMENT ~~AT ALL LEVELS~~ AND ~~THE~~ INDIVIDUAL
CITIZENS TO DEVELOP AND CHOOSE ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

no Planning
no Goals
no Priorities

AS WE APPROACH OUR NATION'S BICENTENNIAL, IT IS ~~NECESSARY~~
~~APPROPRIATE, BUT~~ ESSENTIAL THAT WE LOOK ANEW AT THE QUESTION OF
WHAT KIND OF FUTURE WE ARE NOW CREATING FOR OURSELVES AND
FUTURE GENERATIONS BY OUR DECISIONS -- OR LACK OF DECISIONS --
AS OPPOSED TO WHAT WE SHOULD BE DOING TO MOVE MORE TOWARD that
GOAL OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS BASED UPON THE GREEK IDEA OF

"BALANCE," OF MODERATION, OF "NOTHING TOO MUCH,"

GROWTH IS SEEN BY MANY AS THE OPPOSITE OF STABILITY, YET

BOTH ARE DESIRED. NOVELTY IS PRIZED, BUT MAN IS OVERWHELMED

BY TOO MUCH CHANGE. TECHNOLOGY IS BOTH FEARED AND INDISPENSABLE.

change with order
+ order with change

000763

LIBERTY VERSUS TRANQUILITY, DEFENSE VERSUS WELFARE, PRESENT

VERSUS FUTURE, ARE DICHOTOMOUS TERMS THAT HAVE EXPRESSED

AMERICAN GOALS SINCE THE BEGINNING OF OUR REPUBLIC.

OUR CHALLENGE THEN IS TO REACH OUT FOR THE "BALANCE" IN

HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS THAT MANY OF US BELIEVE TO BE ATTAINABLE

BETWEEN CONFLICT AND COOPERATION—BETWEEN GROWTH AND STABILITY

We strive for that delicate balance

^ BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL FREE CHOICE AND COMMON GOOD—BETWEEN

TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY—BETWEEN ECONOMIC NEEDS

AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL, BETWEEN

THE OLD AND NEW, AND BETWEEN NATIONAL POLICY AND STATE AND

LOCAL POLICY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT.

*"The art of Progress is to preserve order
amid change. art to preserve
change amid order" - Alfred North
Whitehead*

L BUT "HOW" AND THROUGH WHAT "MEANS" CAN WE REACH OUT FOR
THAT "BALANCE"?

L WHAT MECHANISMS AND PROCESSES DO WE NOW HAVE THAT WILL
PERMIT AND ENCOURAGE US TO DEVELOP THE POLICIES THD PLANS THAT
WILL BE NEEDED IF WE ARE TO "CREATE," TO "DESIGN" AND TO "SHAPE"
OUR NATION'S FUTURE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT?

Budget
I SUGGEST TO YOU THAT THERE ARE NONE — AT LEAST NOT ANY
— EXPLICITLY DESIGNED TO DEAL WITH OUR NATION'S LONG RANGE FUTURE.

L WE HAVE NO — INSTITUTION, — PROCESS OR — MECHANISM TODAY THAT
IS DEDICATED TO OR CONCERNED WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE
— RAPID AND POTENT CHANGES ~~IN OUR NATION'S~~ RESULTING FROM THE
— ONRUSH OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

L WE HAVE NO NATIONAL EFFORT TODAY CONCERNED WITH THE NEED
 FOR BETTER TECHNIQUES OR MEASUREMENT TO HELP OUR SOCIETY ANSWER
 FOR ITSELF THE CLASSIC QUESTIONS POSED BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN
 HIS HOUSE DIVIDED SPEECH, ~~WHICH I WISH TO QUOTE:~~

"IF WE COULD FIRST KNOW WHERE WE ARE, AND WHITHER WE ARE
 TENDING, WE COULD THEN BETTER JUDGE WHAT TO DO AND HOW TO DO
 IT." ? - ~~the~~ 1950s - Problem 7/1960s

AT THIS CRITICAL STATE IN OUR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WE
 MUST PROVIDE THE MEANS AND PROCESSES REQUIRED TO ANSWER SUCH
 QUESTIONS, TO IDENTIFY AT AN EARLY POINT THE VITAL QUESTIONS
 LIKELY TO CONFRONT OUR NATION AS THE FUTURE UNFOLDS. ~~SO THAT~~ *only then*

can
 1 ACCOMMODATION TO CHANGE ~~CAN~~ BE A DELIBERATE, CONSCIOUS AND
 RATIONAL PROCESS INSTEAD OF A VIOLENT REACTION.

L AND IT IS PRECISELY FOR THIS REASON THAT I WILL BE
DEDICATING MUCH OF MY ~~MY~~ ENERGIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SENATE TO THE TASK OF FORGING LEGISLATION THAT WILL PROVIDE

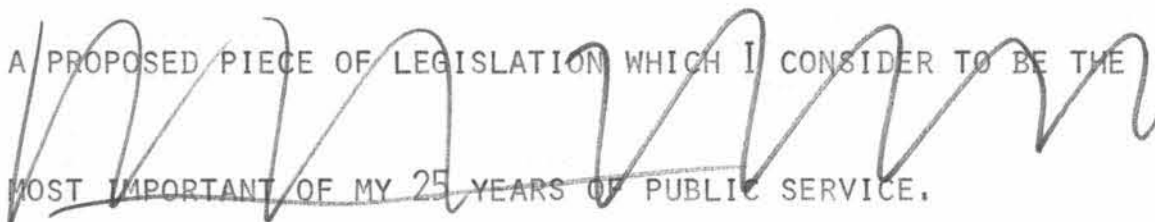
~~THESE~~ ^{the} ~~PROCESSES~~ PROCESSES, MECHANISMS AND INSTITUTIONS, ~~WHICH~~ ^{needed}

~~WILL~~ TO HELP US "DESIGN" OUR NATION'S FUTURE AND

ACHIEVE AND REACH THAT "BALANCE" I REFERRED TO EARLIER.

L ON MAY 26 OF THIS YEAR IN SAN FRANCISCO BEFORE THE
COMMONWEALTH CLUB, I ^{outlined} ~~outlined~~ THE GENERAL PROVISIONS OF WHAT

I CALL MY "BALANCED NATIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT ACT," ^o

A PROPOSED PIECE OF LEGISLATION WHICH I CONSIDER TO BE THE

MOST IMPORTANT OF MY 25 YEARS OF PUBLIC SERVICE.

-11-

proposed
THIS BILL PROVIDES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN OFFICE

OF BALANCED NATIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT. *Its duties and functions would include*

Developing

-- ~~DEVELOP~~ SPECIFIC NATIONAL POLICIES RELATING TO

FUTURE POPULATION *growth* AND DISTRIBUTION

PATTERNS, ECONOMIC GROWTH, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION,

INCOME DISTRIBUTION, ENERGY AND FUELS, TRANSPORTATION,

EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, FOOD AND FIBER PRODUCTION,

EMPLOYMENT, HOUSING, RECREATION AND CULTURAL

OPPORTUNITIES, COMMUNICATIONS, LAND USE, WELFARE,

TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT AND TRANSFER, AND MONETARY

AND FISCAL POLICY.

-12-

THIS NEW OFFICE ALSO ^{would} ~~WILL~~ PROVIDE THE MEANS TO DEVELOP
THESE ^{Specific} ~~GENERAL~~ NATIONAL POLICIES IN SUCH A WAY AS TO
REFLECT THE APPROPRIATE INTER-RELATIONSHIPS THAT OBVIOUSLY
EXIST BETWEEN AND AMONG SUCH POLICIES.

↳ THIS NEW OFFICE ^{would} ~~WILL~~ TIE TOGETHER AND COORDINATE THE
WORK OF THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISORS; THE OFFICE OF
MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET; AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY COUNCIL.

↳ THIS NEW OFFICE ^{would} ~~WILL~~ BE EMPOWERED TO BRING ABOUT MORE
UNIFORM AND WORKABLE FEDERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, TO
STREAMLINE THE FEDERAL DELIVERY SYSTEM NOW INVOLVING HUNDREDS
OF CATEGORICAL PROGRAMS THAT SO BEWILDER AND CONFUSE MANY
STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS.

-13-

THE BILL ALSO ESTABLISHES NEW UNIFORM PLANNING REQUIREMENTS
FOR FEDERAL GRANTS-IN-AID ^{It would} ~~BE~~ TRANSFERRED TO THE NEW OFFICE ^{of Balanced}
^{Growth + Development}
THE COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING ASSISTANCE PROGRAM AUTHORIZED BY

SECTION 701 OF THE HOUSING ACT AND ADMINISTERED BY HUD.

THE BILL CREATES A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF MULTI-STATE
REGIONAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONS, INVOLVING
~~BOTH~~ GOVERNORS AND STATE LEGISLATURES, TO HELP LINK-UP AND

FACILITATE PROPER COORDINATION AMONG FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL

UNITS OF GOVERNMENTS. THIS NATIONWIDE REGIONAL COMMISSION

STRUCTURE WOULD BE DIRECTLY TIED TO THE NEW OFFICE WITHIN THE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT. ~~RATHER THAN TO A DEPARTMENT.~~

-14-

IN ADDITION, ~~THIS~~ ^{my} BILL WOULD CREATE A JOINT CONGRESSIONAL
COMMITTEE ON BALANCED GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT THIS COMMITTEE
WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY A NEW CONGRESSIONAL OFFICE OF POLICY
AND PLANNING WITHIN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, STAFFED BY
PROFESSIONALS AND EXPERTS ON NATIONAL POLICY MATTERS
NEW REQUIREMENTS PERTAINING TO THE LOCATION IMPACT OF
FEDERAL FACILITIES, ^{Federal} ACTIVITIES AND PROCUREMENT ARE SPECIFIED
IN THE BILL. WE ARE THE ONLY DEVELOPED NATION IN THE WORLD THAT
TOTALLY IGNORES THIS CRITICAL QUESTION IN OUR PRIVATE AND
PUBLIC DECISION-MAKING —

Yet, our federal
budget has a tremendous effect
& impact on all areas of the
nation.

THIS BILL CREATES A NEW NATIONAL RESEARCH INSTITUTION
TO MONITOR, MEASURE AND FORECAST DEVELOPMENTS AND HAPPENINGS
IN ALL THE MAJOR SCIENCES -- SOFT AND HARD -- AND TO REPORT
ITS FINDINGS, WITH POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES THAT MIGHT BE PURSUED.

IT ALSO PROVIDES FOR MORE DETAILED AND CONTINUOUS ANALYSIS
OF POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS, ~~WITHIN THE U.S. BUREAU~~
~~OF CENSUS.~~

AND, FINALLY IT PROVIDES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ANNUAL
REPORT BY THE ~~EXECUTIVE BRANCH~~ ^{President} DETAILING "WHERE WE ARE," AND
"WHITHER WE ARE TENDING" IN OUR PURSUIT OF DEVELOPING AND
IMPLEMENTING NATIONAL POLICIES. THAT REPORT WILL BE MADE
AVAILABLE TO AND ASSESSED BY CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE OF THIS
NATION.

✓ IT WILL BECOME A NATIONAL WORKING DOCUMENT FOR THE ENTIRE
NATION TO REFLECT ITS CONCERNS AND DESIRES CONCERNING NATIONAL
GOALS, PRIORITIES AND POLICIES.

✓ A DRAFT OF THIS BILL WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO YOU AND
MANY OTHERS ~~THROUGHOUT THE NATION~~ BETWEEN THE END OF THIS
SESSION OF CONGRESS AND NEXT JANUARY.

✓ I HOPE YOU REVIEW AND STUDY IT IN THE SPIRIT THAT I HAVE
DRAFTED IT, NAMELY, AS A BEGINNING TOWARD BUILDING A BETTER
AMERICA AND A START TOWARD A "BALANCED NATIONAL GROWTH

AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY" ~~TO HELP OUR NATION GUIDE AND PREPARE~~

*We cannot change what has been -
ITSELF FOR TOMORROW.
We can shape what will be.
Today is the first day of the rest
of your life. Let's use it*

-17-

LET ME CLOSE BY SAYING THAT WHATEVER MAY BE THE OUTCOME
OF THE TRAVAIL OF THE PRESENT AND OUR HOPES AND FEARS FOR
THE FUTURE, IT ALSO IS WELL TO BE MINDFUL OF THE SOBER AND
POWERFUL INJUNCTION OF THE POET, WALT WHITMAN, WHO WROTE:

"NOW UNDERSTAND ME WELL -- IT IS PROVIDED IN THE ESSENCE
OF THINGS THAT FROM ANY FRUITION OF SUCCESS, NO MATTER WHAT,
SHALL COME FORTH SOMETHING TO MAKE A GREATER STRUGGLE
NECESSARY."

#

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

October 19, 1972

M E M O R A N D U M

FROM: Senator Humphrey

SUBJECT: Planning for Nation's Future Needs

Enclosed are two documents which may be of interest. One is a copy of a speech, which I made on October 11 in Boston before the American Institute of Planners on the need for our nation to begin planning for its future. You will note in this speech that I made reference to a "Balanced National Growth and Development Act," which I will soon be circulating for comment and plan to introduce at the beginning of the next session of Congress.

I regard this Act as one of the most important of my 25 years of public service. And I plan to devote much of my future energies in the United States Senate to the task of forging legislation of this type to plan adequately for the nation's future needs.

The other enclosed document, entitled TOWARD A NATIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY: LEGISLATIVE ACTIONS IN 1970 and 1971, is a review of both national and state happenings relating to growth and development that occurred during those years. This report places these individuals actions in the larger context of interrelated national, rural and urban development objectives set forth by Congress.

I hope to have a similar report covering 1972 actions available in January or February, including significant court decisions that have been issued which may affect the future growth and development of our nation.

Enclosures (2)



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Senate

S 18375

TOWARD A BALANCED NATIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY—ADDRESS BY SENATOR HUMPHREY

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, in the past, people have considered "planning" a little known science dealing with abstract ideas of how the future should be organized. A planner was someone who drew fanciful glass skyscrapers in the desert for the year 2000 and showed little concern for the year 1973.

Planning is, however, a science that can greatly benefit America if properly used. If we are to conserve our rapidly disappearing natural resources and yet still maintain a viable economy, we need to develop a national growth policy based on the world as it is and the forces that exist rather than the world as we wish it were and forces that we would conjure up if we could.

In an October 11, 1972, address before the American Institute of Planners, the distinguished Senator from Minnesota (Mr. HUMPHREY) outlined his ideas for developing such a policy. Because of his long interest in the problems of urban and rural America, I believe that Senators will find his remarks most interesting.

I ask unanimous consent that Senator HUMPHREY's remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOWARD A BALANCED NATIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Shall we design or resign ourselves to our nation's future?

That is the basic question underlying decisions we make today in determining what kind of nation we want to create or leave for future generations.

For what we do—or fail to do—today clearly commits and fixes future patterns of life in this nation as well as on this planet earth.

We can no longer afford the luxury of approaching the future of our nation—and its relationship to the rest of the world—haphazardly.

A few years back, we learned almost overnight that the world we live in had shrunk to such a size that men on one side of the earth could completely destroy men on the opposite side within 30 minutes through new and devastating means of modern warfare.

More recently we have come to realize that even the natural resources of this earth and of our nation are indeed finite, and in many cases threatened with total depletion.

And today we are approaching a new realization, one which was stated so eloquently by Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos in their recently published book, "Only One Earth."

I quote:

"The establishment of a desirable human environment implies more than the maintenance of ecological equilibrium, the economical management of natural resources, and the control of the forces that threaten biological and mental health. Ideally, it requires also that social groups and individuals be provided with the opportunity to develop ways of life and surroundings of their own choice. Man not only survives and functions in his environment, he shapes it and he is shaped by it."

As members of the planning profession of our nation you have a major role to play in helping the people of this nation shape their own future, "to provide them with the opportunity" as Lady Jackson and Dr. Dubos say, "to develop ways of life and surroundings of their own choice."

Your role is not one of merely providing a method for state and local governments to carry out projects such as urban renewal, water and sewer or transportation systems.

You must also play a leading role in national policy planning and development as it relates to all levels and branches of government—as it relates to all combinations of political, economical, social and environmental concerns.

In addition to being one of our major policy sciences, planning also is an art, demanding of you all the sensitivities that are required in assessing and responding to the myriad of subtle changes and developments that our complex world of technological advancement thrusts upon us daily.

You must lend your talent, genius, and insight to helping people to "design" their own future—not in the form of any master plan or blueprint, but rather in helping them create the processes and mechanisms to make it possible for them to understand, anticipate, and to bring about orderly change. You must help them to avoid and minimize what Mr. Alvin Toffler so aptly refers to as "future shock."

As of today, our nation still lacks those processes and mechanisms needed by government at all levels and by individual citizens to develop and choose alternative futures.

As we approach our nation's bicentennial, it is not only appropriate, but essential that we look anew at the question of what kind of future we are now creating for ourselves and future generations by our decisions—or lack of decisions—as opposed to what we should be doing to move toward a goal of human relationships based upon the Greek idea of "balance," of moderation, of "nothing too much."

Growth is seen by many as the opposite of stability, yet both are desired. Novelty is prized, but man is overwhelmed by too much change. Technology is both feared and indis-

pensable.

Liberty versus tranquility, defense versus welfare, present versus future, are dichotomous terms that have expressed American goals since the beginning of our Republic.

Our challenge then is to reach out for the "balance" in human relationships that many of us believe to be attainable between conflict and cooperation, between growth and stability, between individual free choice and common good, between technology and social responsibility, between economic needs and environmental protection, between urban and rural, between the old and new, and between national policy and state and local policy planning and development.

But "how" and through what "means" can we reach out for that "balance"?

What mechanisms and processes do we now have that will permit and encourage us to develop the policies and plans that will be needed if we are to "create," to "design" and to "shape" our nation's future human environment?

I suggest to you that there are none, at least not any explicitly designed to deal with our nation's long range future.

We have no institution, process or mechanism today that is dedicated to or concerned with the consequences of the rapid and potent changes in opportunities resulting from the onrush of science and technology.

We have no national effort today concerned with the need for better techniques or measurement to help our society answer for itself the classic questions posed by Abraham Lincoln in his House Divided speech, which I wish to quote:

"If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do and how to do it."

At this critical stage in our national development we must provide the means and processes required to answer such questions, to identify at an early point the vital questions likely to confront our nation as the future unfolds, so that accommodation to change can be a deliberate, conscious and rational process instead of a violent reaction.

And it is precisely for this reason that I will be dedicating much of my future energies in the United States Senate to the task of forging legislation that will provide these needed processes, mechanisms and institutions, which will begin to help us "design" our nation's future and achieve and reach that "balance" I referred to earlier.

On May 26 of this year in San Francisco before the Commonwealth Club, I unveiled the general provisions of what I call my "Balanced National Growth and Development Act," a proposed piece of legislation which I consider to be the most important of my 25 years of public service.

This bill provides for the establishment of an Office of Balanced National Growth and Development within the Office of the President to "develop specific national policies relating to future population settlement and distribution patterns, economic growth, environmental protection, income distribution, energy and fuels, transportation, education, health care, food and fiber production, employment, housing, recreation and cultural opportunities, communications, land use, welfare, technology assessment and transfer, and monetary and fiscal policy."

This new Office also will provide the means to develop these individual national policies in such a way as to reflect the appropriate inter relationships that obviously exist between and among such policies.

This new Office will tie together and coordinate the work of the Council of Economic Advisors, the Office of Management and Budget, and the Environmental Quality Council.

This new Office will be empowered to bring about more uniform and workable federal assistance programs, to streamline the federal delivery system now involving hundreds of categorical programs that so bewilder and confuse many state and local officials.

The bill also establishes new uniform planning requirements for federal grants-in-aid and transfers to the new Office the comprehensive planning assistance Program authorized by Section 701 of the Housing Act and administered by HUD.

The bill creates a national system of multi-state regional planning and development commissions, involving both governors and state legislatures, to help link-up and facilitate proper coordination among federal, state, and local units of governments. This nationwide regional commission structure would be directly tied to the new Office within the Office of the President, rather than to a Department.

In addition, this bill would create a Joint Congressional Committee on Balanced Growth and Development. This Committee would be supported by a new Congressional Office of Policy and Planning within the Library of Congress, staffed by professionals and experts on national policy matters.

New requirements pertaining to the location impact of federal facilities, activities and procurement are specified in the bill. We are the only developed nation in the world that totally ignores this critical question in our private and public decision-making.

This bill creates a new national research institution to monitor, measure and forecast developments and happenings in all the major sciences—soft and hard—and to report its findings, with possible alternatives that might be pursued.

It also provides for more detailed and continuous analysis of population and demographic trends, within the U.S. Bureau of Census.

And, finally it provides for the development of an annual report by the Executive Branch detailing "where we are," and "whither we are tending" in our pursuit of developing and implementing national policies. That report will be made available to and assessed by Congress and the people of this nation.

It will become a national working document for the entire nation to reflect its concerns and desires concerning national goals priorities and policies.

A draft of this bill will be made available to you and many others throughout the nation between the end of this session of Congress and next January.

I hope you review and study it in the spirit that I have drafted it, namely, as a beginning toward building a better America and a start toward a "Balanced National Growth and Development policy" to help our nation guide and prepare itself for tomorrow.

Let me close by saying that whatever may be the outcome of the travail of the present and our hopes and fears for the future, it also is well to be mindful of the sober and powerful injunction of the poet, Walt Whitman, who wrote:

"Now understand me well—it is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary."



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