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ENV - electronic

DEPARTMENT of the INTERIOR

news release

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

For Release Upon Delivery 8 p.m. EST April 18, 1982

SECRETARY WATT EXPRESSES CONFIDENCE IN PEOPLE AND STATES
TO MAKE SOUND CONSERVATION DECISIONS

Reaffirming his strong commitment to conservation, Interior Secretary James Watt said today the conflict over natural resources policy is in fact a debate over the how, who and where of government decision-making.

"It should be made crystal clear at the outset that the conflict today is not over whether we protect the environment," Watt said in keynoting the 8th Annual Aiken Lecture Series at the University of Vermont. "The conflict is not over whether we should conserve resources for our own future or for future generations. I do not know of anyone who is opposed to environmental protection and conservation.

"The conflict is over how we protect the environment.

"The conflict is over who makes decisions on resource management.

"The conflict is over where decisions are made.

"The immediate conflict concerns the extent of use of the lands the government holds in the name of the American people."

Watt said the policy changes he has made in the first 15 months at Interior were designed to protect the environment, help economic recovery, enhance national security, and return power and responsibility to states, local government and the people where possible.

Outlining some of the major policy changes he has made to bring about improved stewardship, Watt said the Department is now committed to taking care of the national parks and other lands managed by the Federal government and to the safe development of economic resources on multiple use Federal lands to help create jobs and protect U.S. security.

Watt noted that Congress, including the Vermont delegation, has been very supportive of the changes in policy.

(more)

"The Reagan Administration, in cooperation with Congress, sought to bring about significant change of policy and priorities through the budget and appropriation process," Watt said. "These changes were discussed in demanding detail in hearing after hearing. The changes were the subject of all the critics' writings, but in the end all of our proposed changes were adopted. Again, the Vermont delegation--all three of them--supported the changes in priorities, programs and policies set forth in our appropriations package."

A major element in the new policy is the return to states of authority and responsibility for conservation where appropriate, such as in mining reclamation and in the meeting of local park and recreational needs, Watt explained.

"We have not changed the Nation's commitment to conservation and to environmental protection," Watt said.

"We believe in people.

"We believe in the states--in the rights of states and in the responsibilities of states to provide all but a few of the services of government.

"We believe in the individual and in the private sector.

"We believe in a balanced program that will provide for our national security, enhance the environmental qualities and create jobs in the private sector.

"We believe that our revitalized natural resources policies are essential to economic recovery and essential to liberty now and in the future.

"We believe these policies which have the support of the Congress will help restore America's greatness."

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Excerpts of Remarks by Secretary Watt
For The Aiken Lecture Series
University of Vermont, Burlington
April 18, 1982

THE REAL ISSUE

From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to Mexico, America is a Nation of conservationists.

New Englanders love this beautiful land -- this land claimed and conquered centuries ago by ancestors who paid with blood and sweat, this land which has been used to sustain generation after generation.

My home state of Wyoming is several thousand miles distant, with terrain and history in sharp contrast to Vermont. But those of us who grew up in the West on the land settled by courageous parents and grandparents also cherish the land.

My mind is filled with vivid memories of lessons learned long ago from parents and other family members as we worked the High Plains, battling blizzards in winter and drought in summer.

James, they told me, we have to take care of the land so that it will take care of us. We may own the land, but we have no right to abuse it. With hard work and respect, the land will provide. But just as the land was passed along to us to use and enjoy, we must pass it along to future generations for their use and enjoyment.

In my youth, I thought they were teaching me just about one relatively small portion of land, the land my parents and grandparents homesteaded.

As I grew older, and especially after I first went to the Department of the Interior a dozen or so years ago, I realized the lessons taught in Wyoming were about much more than just modest homesteads. The lessons applied to the land in general; the lessons applied to all the natural resources of America.

The greatness of a nation depends on two factors -- how it manages its human resources and how it manages its natural resources. We must use both wisely if we are to be a strong and prosperous Nation.

When the Reagan Administration took office in 1981, we inherited a hurting Nation. We had not been doing well enough in caring for and managing the great wealth of our land. There was too much air and water pollution, the national parks had been allowed to deteriorate, our wildlife ranges and refuges had been neglected, and our multiple use lands had not been managed properly for the taxpayers and consumers of this generation and those yet to come.

Even though our public lands have tremendous potential for meeting our people's energy and strategic minerals needs, we were importing from foreign sources almost 40% of our crude oil needs and the majority of our strategic minerals needed for military might and industrial strength.

If you care -- if you care about America -- if you care about the land -- if you care about the water, the air, the parks the wildlife, the forests -- if you care about people -- you will want to bring about change.

But change does not come without conflict and controversy.

Anything of value has a price.

Change is needed and it costs.

Change comes as a nation sets new and different priorities and programs. To implement the change, leaders must pay the price in terms of expending personal energy and enduring personal abuse in order to set the stage for solving the problems.

If the cause is right and the leadership is strong, change can be realized to restore the greatness of the nation.

It should be made crystal clear at the outset that the conflict today is not over whether we protect the environment.

The conflict is not over whether we should conserve resources for our own future or for future generations.

I do not know anyone who is opposed to environmental protection and conservation.

The conflict is over how we protect the environment.

The conflict is over who makes decisions on resource management.

The conflict is over where decisions are made.

The immediate conflict concerns the extent of use of the lands the government holds in the name of the American people.

The first issue to be considered is, how much land does the Federal Government own.

The Federal Government owns about one-third of the land in the United States, over 750 million acres, an area 129 times larger than the State of Vermont.

-- More than 75 million acres of national parks to be preserved for the enjoyment of Americans today and forever;

-- More than 84 million acres of wildlife refuges, an area twice the size of the six New England states, to be managed for the enhancement of wildlife and for recreation;

-- More than 340 million acres, an area twice the size of Texas, largely multiple use lands under management by Interior's Bureau of Land Management.

-- And more than 190 million acres of national forests which we all love because they provide us not only with timber for homes but with magnificent opportunities for camping, fishing, hunting, hiking, skiing, snowmobiling, and many other chances to enjoy the scenic wonders of America.

Within the 750 million acres of Federal land is a wilderness system. There are about 80 million acres of designated wilderness. More than 120 million additional acres are being managed to preserve wilderness values until decisions are made as to their future use. That's roughly 200 million acres where man is to be considered a visitor, where virtually all economic activity, and America's most common recreational activities, are forbidden.

The one-third of America managed by the Federal Government contains some of the most scenic landscapes and greatest recreational areas in the world. As Secretary of the Interior, it is my job to protect these values. I am the Nation's chief environmentalist, chief park ranger, chief refuge manager, chief purchaser of wetlands for migratory bird habitat.

But I wear many other hats as well. This one-third of America also contains an estimated 85% of the crude oil yet to be discovered in the United States as well as 40% of the natural gas, 35% of the coal, 80% of the oil shale, nearly all of the tar sands, substantial portions of uranium and geothermal energy, and vast, untapped supplies of minerals vital to our economy and our national defense. There are many laws which mandate the Secretary of the Interior to administer mineral leasing, mining, and western water use and to serve as steward of our relations with Indian tribes.

This makes me the Nation's chief coal miner, chief leasing agent for oil and gas and other energy resources, chief dam builder in the West, and also the trustee for Indian tribes and their natural resources.

With all these conflicting responsibilities, the Secretary of the Interior is the point man in most of the important public debates concerning private and public rights to use the land.

Some critics argue that I should carry out only my preservationist functions and ignore my responsibilities for development of energy, minerals and other economic resources.

America became a Nation of conservationists because we used our resources to develop an economy which can support a strong environmental ethic.

Forests in this part of America were decimated in our early history as land was cleared for farming and as firewood was used as our principal fuel. Then with the development of concentrated energy resources -- coal and petroleum -- and with development of efficient transportation and more efficient farming, the stage was set for the reforestation of the Eastern United States.

Unless we can restore the American economy, we will not be able to maintain a strong environmental ethic. Poor nations make poor stewards of natural resources, witness what is happening in Africa, in South America, in any area where people have to scratch for a living and search for firewood. We should not be so arrogant as to think it could not happen here.

Balanced development is a safety valve which provides environmental protection in the long run. By providing for orderly development, we ease the demand for energy, minerals, timber and other resources. Wise, phased development can avert the day when pressures create a future energy crisis or minerals crisis which explodes in demands for wide-open development of our domestic resources. Such crisis development would be disastrous for the environment and for our personal liberties.

Let's look at what we have done to bring necessary change to resource management.

During the 1970s the Federal Government aggressively acquired land and increasingly restricted public use and public access to the public lands and ignored the responsibilities of stewardship -- the taking care of the land and waters.

On one hand, advocates of Federal acquisition pointed to growing use of national parks and said more land was needed for the Park System. At the same time, these same people stood by and watched our existing national parks deteriorate shamefully. In the fall of 1980, the General Accounting Office, an arm of the Congress, issued a report citing the need for \$1.6 billion in restoration to correct public health and safety hazards in our parks. Wildlife refuges likewise were deteriorating while attention was focused on acquisition.

When I took over as Secretary of the Interior, one of my first actions was to change the focus to provide responsible stewardship for lands already under Federal jurisdiction, especially the parks.

I launched a five-year, billion dollar program to restore our national parks so that people can visit them without unnecessary hazards to health and safety. Our program is aimed at serving the people rather than adding acres. We do not need more acres to neglect; we do need to allocate more of our funds to properly caring for the parks we have, to developing facilities on acres we already own so that people can visit the parks without endangering themselves or diminishing the natural or historical values for which the parks were established.

Congress has been very supportive. The Reagan Administration, in cooperation with Congress, sought to bring about significant change of policy and priorities through the budget and appropriations process. These massive changes were discussed in demanding detail in hearing after hearing. The changes were the subject of all the critics' writings, but in the end all of our proposed changes were adopted. Again, the Vermont delegation -- all 3 of them -- supported the changes in priorities, programs and policies set forth in our appropriations package.

We have curtailed programs which put the Federal Government into acquiring new responsibilities for urban parks, playgrounds and the like. We don't think that you in Burlington, Vermont, should be saddled with financing parks for Boston, Houston, New Orleans or even for Chugwater, Wyoming -- if I may stick in a plug for my hometown.

The Reagan Administration trusts the citizens of Vermont to do the right thing in taking care of the natural, historical and cultural resources of Vermont. We trust you to decide what kind of parks and recreational facilities you want.

We think that you are willing to pay for projects which are truly worthwhile -- you will not forego projects simply because Uncle Sam isn't standing by to hand you the money and dictate to you how it will be used.

Revisions in administration of the Federal mining reclamation program also reflect our confidence in state government and in the people. The preceding Administration constructed an elaborate, costly system whereby the Federal Office of Surface Mining would abscond with powers Congress clearly intended to rest with the states. As dictated by Congress in 1977, we have turned these powers over to the states, but we are committed to full and effective enforcement of the law.

We believe state government with approved programs will act competently and in good faith to carry out enforcement programs tailored to their states. Should any of them fail, however, we are ready to step in to see that the Federal standards are enforced. But we begin by assuming the best, not the worst, from the states.

Champions of big government are especially livid about our reforms in the surface mining program.

The facts are that under our new program, there are more inspectors to enforce reclamation of mined lands than ever in the history of the program. This cooperative state and Federal program is becoming a real success.

Let's look at another critical issue, wilderness.

When wilderness legislation was enacted in the 1960s, a deal was struck to give miners, oil drillers and other such developers 20 years in which to explore for minerals. That 1964 law allows for mining, road construction, power lines, cutting of trees, etc., in the wilderness.

With the December 31, 1983, deadline for exploration quickly approaching, pressures were growing for me to live up to the bargain under which development in wilderness could take place this year or next -- or never. We did not desire development in the wilderness at this time. I asked Congress to resolve the issue, but nothing was done.

After two self-imposed moratoriums on leasing for energy development in wilderness, I proposed legislation which would prohibit all leasing in wilderness until the year 2000 when our country would make a new determination on future management of wilderness areas.

Under my proposal, very reasonable deadlines are set for deciding whether some 53 1/2 million acres under consideration for wilderness in the Lower 48 states will be included in the system. We desperately need to return the non-suitable areas to their former management status. The basic formula set forth in the proposal is similar to what Congress adopted in December 1980 for 85 million acres in Alaska.

My proposal calls for an on-going inventory of natural resources in wilderness areas so that we can make future judgments based on facts rather than on blind guesses. Inventories are supposed to be made before wilderness status is made official, but these have been far from adequate.

Another provision in my legislation would allow the President to open up specific areas of specific wilderness areas to obtain specific minerals in case of an urgent national need. I don't see how anyone can oppose such a provision. Surely no one is going to argue that a small portion of a wilderness area is more important than the survival of the Nation and its people.

The primary objective of my wilderness protection plan is to cool emotions and give the Nation a chance to gather sound information and scientific data upon which to make rational decisions for wilderness management in the 21st Century.

I am a strong supporter of wilderness -- it serves very important purposes by protecting wildlife habitat and watershed, by saving natural areas essential to the Earth's life renewal systems, by providing recreational areas for those hearty enough to hike or ride horseback into the wilderness.

I also believe that we should have all the facts at hand so that we can make intelligent decisions weighing all values. Opponents of this approach apparently have no confidence that people in the future will decide for wilderness if all the facts are known. I trust future generations to be as intelligent and as caring as people today -- hopefully even more so.

A forum such as this can serve an extremely useful purpose if it better defines exactly what the conflicts are and what the facts are. In participating in programs around this great Nation, I have found that people who understand the Reagan Administration's conservation and environmental program support our approach.

We have not changed the Nation's commitment to conservation and to environmental protection.

We believe in people.

We believe the people of Vermont are wise enough and care enough to be good stewards without thousands of pages of marching orders from Washington, D.C.

We believe the people of New England are every bit as smart as your run-of-the-mill Federal bureaucrat -- smarter even. You don't need my Department to tell you how to take care of your land, your rivers and streams, your forests. You have that expertise right here, in Vermont, in this university. If perchance you do need direction, give us a call -- we still have Federal employees on standby who will be overjoyed to tell you what they think you should do and how to do it.

We believe in the states -- in the rights of states and in the responsibilities of states to provide all but a few of the services of government.

We believe in the individual and in the private sector.

We believe in a balanced program that will provide for our national security, enhance the environmental qualities and create jobs in the private sector.

We believe that our revitalized natural resources policies are essential to economic recovery and essential to liberty now and in the future.

We believe these policies which have the support of the Congress will help restore America's greatness.



DEPARTMENT of the INTERIOR

news release

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

For Release 8 p.m. EST, Tuesday, March 9, 1982

SECRETARY SAYS ADMINISTRATION CONSERVATION PHILOSOPHY IS
"USE THE RESOURCES AS THOUGH WE LOVE THEM"

Secretary of the Interior James Watt said today that Americans should "use the resources as though we love them, harming them as little as possible so that the resources will continue to help us meet our economic needs, help us to enjoy life more fully and help us to survive on Earth."

In addressing the Izaak Walton League in Des Moines, Iowa, Watt said that the Reagan Administration philosophy of conservation is in tune with the hunters and fishermen of America.

"The natural resources of America are here for us to use for our needs -- our economic needs, our recreational needs," Watt said. "Wise use will not diminish these values, but will enhance them. We are not destroyers but builders. We do not wantonly harvest the riches of the land. We do not decide resource questions without regard for our future or for the future of generations yet unborn."

Watt noted that hunters and fishermen are an essential part of a sound program of natural resources management. He said that there is no need for the Federal Government to lock up large areas of the Nation to protect the land and wildlife from sportsmen.

The Secretary said the proposal he has made to bar mining and drilling in wilderness areas for the remainder of this century was designed to cool emotions and provide time to gather better information.

"We are a Nation of environmentalists, but we must base our resource management decisions upon facts, upon good and complete information," Watt said.

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Excerpts of Remarks by Secretary Watt
To The Izaak Walton League
Des Moines, Iowa
March 9, 1982

First, is there anyone here who does not consider himself or herself an environmentalist? Anyone who raises a hand at this point is in the wrong meeting.

Now, how many hunters do we have here?

How many fishermen -- fisher persons?

Now, for a couple more questions.

How many of you hunt because that is the only means you have to put meat on the table? If you don't bag some birds or bring home the venison, the family goes hungry?

How many of you fish because that is the only means you have to put meat on the table? If you don't reel in some bass, catfish, crappie or whatever, the family goes hungry?

One of the major reasons you belong to the Izaak Walton League is that you like to fish and hunt and enjoy the outdoors in your leisure. Perhaps because it satisfies instincts within us all which hark back to times when our ancestors had to hunt and fish for survival. Perhaps it is just an excuse to get out of the hassle of everyday living and to be close to nature.

You are able to hunt and fish and hike in the outdoors for pleasure, for recreation or re-creation. You can do so because you have adequate incomes to provide you with the time and the means to pursue these enjoyable, healthful and constructive pastimes.

I, too know something of the lure of field and stream.

My own experiences in hunting and fishing began on the family ranch in the High Plains of Wyoming where I grew up. My parents saw hunting and fishing as an essential part of life. It was a part of learning to appreciate the land, a part of learning that we have to take care of the land, its wildlife and its resources so the land in turn will continue to take care of us, and our children, and generations beyond.

When the time came, I taught my children this same appreciation for nature.

Most of my hunting was done as a youth. The game was not very abundant in Wyoming in those days because of droughts and other calamities. When I reminisce about hunting, it is mostly my youth I talk about. I haven't even had much time for target practice in recent years. I spend too much time dodging the political pot-shots of my critics. That isn't easy since most of them use scatterguns.

But I do go fishing when I get a chance. As a boy I fished with a willow stick and a string, and later I started trout fishing. In addition to fishing the lovely creeks, streams and lakes of Wyoming, I've taken advantage of occasional opportunities to drop a line for bass in Louisiana, for salmon off the coast of the Pacific Northwest and up in Alaska, for flounder in the Chesapeake, marlin in the seas off American Samoa, and even for bottom fish in the Red Sea. As time passes, the number and size of fish caught on these outings grow. That's one of the joys of fishing.

I'm not going to try to tell you that I am in a class with any of your outstanding fly or lure fishermen here in Iowa. But skill is not required to love the activity.

Hunters and fishermen were the original conservationists -- environmentalists long before that word became fashionable. Organizations such as the Izaak Walton League were established by people who realized that if we are to continue to use our land, we have to do so in ways that will assure that the land and its wildlife renew themselves. J. N. "Ding" Darling -- one of your members -- was following this philosophy when he launched the Federal Duck Stamp Program almost a half century ago. This is one of the ways we have to give nature a helping hand to assure that these resources are cared for properly.

This certainly sums up my philosophy of stewardship -- use the land and water resources as though we love them, harming them as little as possible so that the land and water will continue to help us meet our economic needs, help us to enjoy life more fully, help us to survive on Earth.

The stewardship philosophy of the Reagan Administration -- my stewardship philosophy -- is in tune with the hunters and fishermen of America. The natural resources of America are here for us to use for our needs -- our economic needs, our recreational needs. Wise use will not diminish these values, but will enhance them. We are not destroyers but builders. We do not wantonly harvest the riches of the land. We do not decide resource questions without regard for our future or for the future of generations yet unborn.

Where this Administration differs from our critics is in our belief in the full stewardship equation --

*** We believe that use is a part of the equation, that you who hunt and fish can contribute to conservation, not undermine it.

*** We believe in management of natural resources and that hunters and fishermen are part of sound management.

*** We believe in your right of access to the public lands; your right to responsibly use and enjoy these lands. We don't think that we have to buy up and lock up huge parts of America and post it to keep you out to protect these lands. We trust you, and we believe that you and organizations like yours have been remarkably successful in instilling the environmental ethic in America.

I pledge to you that the Reagan Administration will oppose and fight those forces in Washington who would seek to halt hunting and fishing in our wilderness areas. Some of those purists that oppose my every move don't want explosions, like rifle shots, in the wilderness areas. I'll fight them.

*** We don't think that Washington, D.C., is the fountain of all wisdom. We don't think that the Federal Government need dictate fish and wildlife management for Iowa or Illinois or Missouri or wherever. When you want a program or policy changed, you should be able to take your case down the road to the State Capitol to demand action -- not travel hat-in-hand to Washington, D.C.

When I became Secretary of the Interior some 13 months ago, we were not using our natural resources wisely. We were not being good stewards.

There was too much air and water pollution, the national parks had been allowed to deteriorate, our wildlife ranges and refuges had been neglected, and our multiple-use lands had not been managed properly for the taxpayers and consumers of this generation and those yet to come.

Even though our public lands have tremendous potential for meeting our people's energy and strategic minerals needs, we were importing from foreign sources almost 40 percent of our crude oil needs and the majority of the strategic minerals needed for military might and industrial strength.

America was on a starvation diet even though our pantry of natural resources was overflowing. We were rapidly losing the economic vitality needed to sustain the environmental ethic which I believe in, which all of us here believe in.

Poor nations make poor stewards.

We can be a nation of environmentalists only if our citizens have jobs and incomes to support wise conservation. If you suffer economically to the point where you can no longer hunt, fish, hike -- or even travel to the forests and streams -- then your burning desire to conserve is going to dim quickly, and understandably so.

So I was determined to make changes at the Department of the Interior that would restore balance, so that we could begin making better use of natural resources in order to maintain the economic strength that is fundamental to sound environmental stewardship.

These changes have been made, and this has brought howls of protest from a few conservation organizations, including your paid staff in Washington. Fewer than a dozen -- out of the 220-plus groups which deal with Interior -- are trying to nail my pelt to the wall. I call them commercial environmentalists because they make a living off of being what you folks are out of a love for the land and its natural life.

It should not be surprising that some of these commercial environmentalists want a government which dictates from Washington. They become supporters of central government because it is in their self-interest to have power concentrated in Washington. Their prestige is diminished when decisions can be made in Des Moines, or even when we discuss issues with and listen to the states and citizens.

Let me give you a very quick summary of some of the major changes we have made at Interior these past 13 months.

One of the most important changes we have made is to refocus stewardship responsibilities on taking care of what we have.

For example, we have launched a program to repair and restore our National Park System which was neglected to a shameful degree. As the government reached out for more and more land, it did less and less to care for the parks we already had.

I said, let's begin taking care of the parks we have and go slow for a while in acquisition of parkland. While virtually all programs in the Federal Government were being cut back this year, I got a big increase in funding for park repair and maintenance. In the coming fiscal year, I am asking for \$191 million for this effort. That is \$36 million more than Congress gave us last year and more than twice what the Carter Administration asked for in 1982.

I have improved programs for the exploration and production of oil and gas both on land and under the sea, for coal leasing, for oil shale development, for tar sands, and for geothermal resources. In every case, we have been careful to maintain environmental protections.

These improvements are important because the Federal Government controls some 730 million acres -- about one-third of America -- and well over one billion acres of Outer Continental Shelf. Estimates are that 85% of the crude oil yet to be discovered in America is likely to come from the 540 million acres of public lands open to multiple use, as will 40% of the natural gas, 35% of the coal, 80% of the oil shale, nearly all of the tar sands, and substantial portions of uranium and geothermal energy.

We simply must have an orderly, phased development of these resources not only to meet our current economic needs but to avert crisis development in the future which would be devastating to the environment and to our liberties.

Already we are seeing results. We are cutting back on the drain of American dollars and jobs which occurs when we import huge amounts of energy.

During 1981, oil production on Federal lands rose from 427 million barrels to more than 470 million; natural gas production increased slightly to 5.8 trillion cubic feet, and coal production was up 31 percent to about 94.6 million tons.

We launched a good neighbor policy to work closely with the states and with users of public lands. Bureaucrats who once ran roughshod over state and local officials and over resource users have either changed their ways or have been asked to find other means of earning a livelihood. And when I say users of public lands, I mean hunters and fishermen and hikers and birdwatchers, as well as ranchers, loggers, oilmen and miners.

In addition to the 540 million acres of multiple use public lands, the Secretary of the Interior has responsibility for managing 72 million acres dedicated to national parks, 84 million acres set aside as wildlife refuges and ranges (an area twice the size of the six New England States). The Secretary also has responsibilities for various aspects of the 80 million acres of the Federal lands set aside as wilderness.

Recently I proposed to Congress a new approach for settling the muddled and overly-emotional debate about our wilderness system.

The 1964 law establishing the wilderness system provided for mineral leasing of such areas for 19 years. Under the bargain struck when the law was passed, the economic interests were to have their chance to locate and produce energy and minerals before areas were locked away forever. The Secretary of the Interior was supposed to deliver on this bargain, and over the years only about 50 leases have been granted in wilderness areas -- about 10 by my immediate predecessor and five by me.

None of the leases approved since I became Secretary allows access or occupancy of the surface in the wilderness areas. The wilderness values cannot be disturbed.

Because of the furor over wilderness leasing, I imposed two moratoriums to give Congress time to sort out exactly what national policy changes should be adopted. When Congress did not respond, I proposed a solution. A change is needed because under present law, mining and drilling is permitted in the wilderness. There is no legal reason to deny a lease if proper environmental safeguards are in place.

In essence, we are asking that all wilderness areas and wilderness study areas be withdrawn from drilling or mining activity through the remainder of the century.

We are proposing some deadlines on wilderness decisions so that the process on Forest Service lands will be completed. Where Congressional deadlines are not met, areas under consideration for wilderness would be returned to their prior use which might include primitive areas, natural areas, wildlife management areas, or possibly multiple uses. They would not necessarily become available for mining or oil and gas drilling.

Our proposal is an effort at a compromise between two extreme positions -- those who want wilderness closed now and forever and those who want another 20 years of exploration. As a compromise, there is the risk it will please no one, but it should.

Until the end of 1983, wilderness areas generally are open for mineral entry. Further, even after closure, any future Congress can decide to reopen. We propose a compromise: close wilderness NOW and specify a date, January 1, 2000, and leave Congress the choice of what to do thereafter. The date, we believe, would make it harder to reopen wilderness between now and the 21st Century.

Further, it is clear that wilderness areas would continue after the year 2000 with or without Congressional action and entry thereafter, while permissible, would require the Secretary of the Interior to promulgate regulations before that would occur.

The compromise we have proposed is similar to the one hammered out and adopted in December of 1980 in the Alaska Lands Act covering 56 of the 80 million acres in the Wilderness System. We thought it might be fair to apply the basic formula to the 24 million acres in the "Lower 48."

Our proposal calls for a continuous study of wilderness and proposed wilderness provided the means of doing so will not diminish the wilderness characteristics of the areas. By the end of the century our country should have acquired substantial data upon which to make rational decisions about how to better protect the wilderness and at the same time meet our national needs for energy and minerals in the 21st Century.

This proposal also provides an essential safety valve to protect our national security. In the event of "urgent national need," the President could issue an order for the entry into a specific few acres of wilderness areas for the production of specific needed energy or minerals. Congress, of course, could countermand that order and is given time to do so.

This proposal would tone down the rhetoric and give time for emotions to cool so that we can better manage and protect these wilderness areas for the rest of the century. It gives this Nation time to clarify how we are to continue stewardship of these important areas in the 21st Century.

Of course, people who are making hay out of this issue do not want the rhetoric toned down; do not want emotions to cool; and, most of all, they seem to want to forestall the possibility of future deliberations based upon better information and more facts than we now have. They fear they may be proven wrong.

I am willing to trust the future generations of Americans to make wise decisions, especially if we take steps to see that they have better information upon which to make decisions. There's no reason for any of us to think that we are smarter or morally superior to those who will be the decisionmakers of the next century.

We are a nation of environmentalists, but we must base our resource management decisions upon facts -- upon good and complete information.

A study conducted for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service demonstrates that many Americans -- despite the good work of organizations such as yours -- still do not know much about animals or wildlife conservation issues. For example, only slightly over half the people surveyed knew that veal does not come from lamb. Seventy-five percent of the people surveyed did not know that the coyote is not an endangered species.

Residents of large cities showed extremely little knowledge of wildlife and conservation issues. People in large cities who knew the least about wildlife were the most opposed to hunting.

Unfortunately, there are those who play to the emotions of people who know little about wildlife. This makes it difficult for your organization and for me to do our work. We have to do a better job of educating people about wildlife and about conservation in general so that there is an understanding that managed use of resources -- whether use be hunting, fishing, grazing, mining or drilling -- is an essential part of the equation of stewardship.

My job as Secretary of the Interior requires me to play many roles. I am the chief environmentalist, the chief oil and gas driller, the chief wildlife manager, the chief coal leaser, the chief national park ranger, the chief dam builder, the chief purchaser of wetlands for migratory bird habitat, and even the chief Indian trustee, for America.

In other words, I must try to consider the broad public interest in all decisions I make.

It is my job to ask everytime we are faced with a resource management decision: How will this affect the environment? How will this help create jobs? How will this impact on our national security?

In response to these questions, I have brought a year of change to the Department of the Interior, just as President Reagan has brought a year of dynamic change and progress for the entire government.

These changes are crucial so that we can restore America's greatness, so that we can protect our liberties, so that we can maintain our economy and our environment for ourselves and for untold generations to come.

BAMBI GOES TO WASHINGTON

The Greening of James Watt

 NANCY SHUTE

ON DECEMBER 1, 1982, barely two years after Ronald Reagan's election, hundreds of Washington lawyers and lobbyists munched pears and cheese and sipped Bloody Marys under the sparkling crystal chandeliers at the Organization of the American States headquarters, just two blocks from the White House.

The conversation turned on politics, as all Washington cocktail-party conversations do. But the women in pearls and men in dark suits who shouted to be heard over the seven-piece dance band represented not Exxon or U.S. Steel or General Motors, but the nation's environmental lobby, celebrating the tenth birthday of the Environmental Policy Center, an influential Washington lobbying group and research institute.

In the 13 years since Earth Day, the environmental presence in the capital has grown from a ragtag band dedicated to saving trees and whales to a formidable Washington institution. The nation's environmental groups have at their disposal annual corporate budgets totaling more than \$92 million. Their five million members come in every political stripe: the blue-collar Midwesterners of the National Wildlife Federation (NWF) and the Izaak Walton League, the old-money affluence of the National Audubon Society, the young professionals of the Sierra Club, the rabid activists of Environmental Action. Together they managed to squelch almost all of President Reagan's environmental efforts in the 97th Congress, stop or slow many planned Administration changes in federal programs like strip-mining and air-pollution controls, and raise public awareness of environmental issues to an all-time high.

In changing public policy, the environmentalists themselves have also changed. In the last two years they have pulled in more money and members than ever before. While other not-for-profit groups were tightening their belts and searching nervously for new funding sources, the Sierra Club racked up a 46 per cent membership increase in 1981, even larger than its membership increase after Earth Day in 1970. The Audubon Society increased its budget by 100 per cent—to \$21 million—for 1982. The NWF, the Wilderness Society, Defenders of Wildlife, Friends of the Earth—all saw their memberships and contributions soar.

Much of the environmental windfall has been spent on sleek new offices, on high-profile lobbyists like former Senator Gaylord Nelson and Carter Administration Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus, on \$20,000 full-page advertisements in the *New York Times*, on high-priced economists and law-

yers, and on millions of direct-mail pleas for more cash. Michael MacLeod, vice president of Craver Matthews Smith and Co., a leading direct-mail organization, says the environmental direct-mail business has tripled since President Reagan took office, to 25 million pieces in 1982, with as much as ten times the usual response rate.

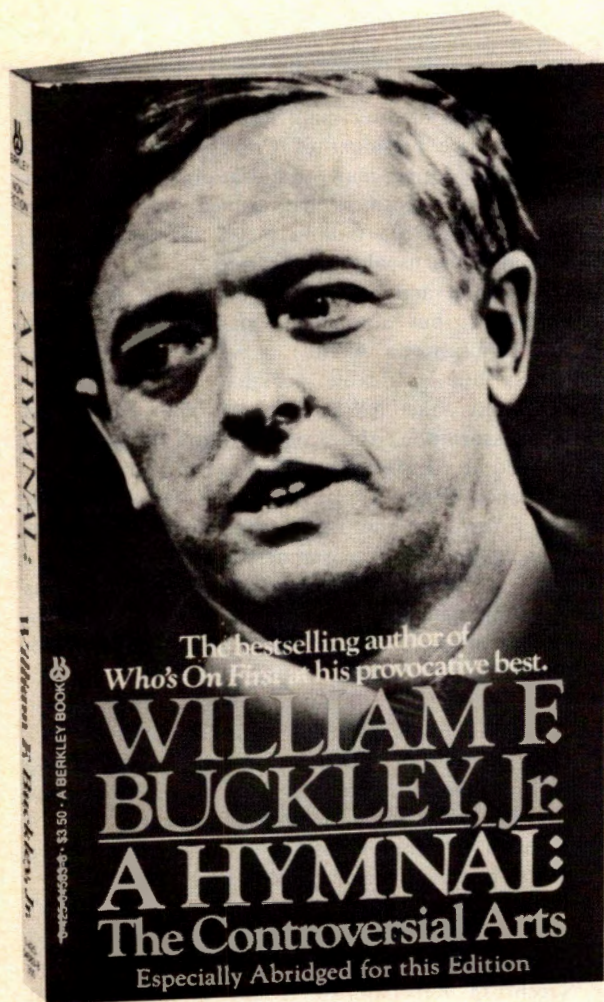
The environmental action is no longer at Big Sur or in the Brooks Range, but among the slab-sided steel office buildings on Pennsylvania Avenue, a venue with precious little wilderness but invaluable proximity to power. The Wilderness Society, the NWF, the National Parks and Conservation Association, the Izaak Walton League, Defenders of Wildlife, Environmental Action, and the Environmental Policy Center are all based in Washington; the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, the Natural Resources Defense Council, and the Environmental Defense Fund all field large D.C. offices. Washington power-brokering has proven so alluring that the board of the National Audubon Society voted to move its headquarters, with a staff of 125, from Manhattan to the capital. Although the initial justification for the move was a \$20-a-square-foot rent increase in New York, Audubon president Russell Peterson cites access to the government, other conservation groups, and the national environmental press as key reasons for going through with the migration. The downtown area's glut of office space, with developers willing to forgive rent for a year in order to lure new tenants, didn't hurt either.

Two years ago, Washington's environmental future didn't look nearly so verdant. Ronald Reagan, the man who said trees cause more air pollution than automobiles and who told the Sagebrush Rebellion to "count me in," had just been elected President. A clutch of New Right congressmen was en route to Capitol Hill. James Watt had left Colorado to head the Interior Department.

Panicked, Washington's most influential environmental groups formed the self-dubbed "Gang of Ten" in a last-ditch survival effort. To their astonishment, the private quarterly meetings of the Gang's chief executive officers

Miss Shute has covered legal and natural-resource issues for several years. Her work has appeared in many publications, including the Washington Post, the Boston Globe, the Chicago Tribune, and The New Republic. She is now a features editor of Network News, Inc., an independent newspaper syndication service based in Washington, D.C.

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sue orientation. The "activist reference list" now contains sixty thousand names, 87 per cent of whom vote, and 78 per cent of whom have at least a bachelor's degree; many are active in local environmental causes. When the Sierra Club asks them to write their congressmen, they write.

If the energy and commitment were drooping somewhat by the end of the Carter years, they revived quickly enough when the Reagan Administration came on the scene. "You need a devil," says Michael MacLeod of Craver Matthews. "President Reagan makes a better devil than Carter." But if some of Reagan's environmental views gave the green lobby an attractive target, his personal popularity made it hard to attack him directly. "People still want to give the guy a chance," says MacLeod. "That's not true with Watt." So Sierra & Co. trained their guns instead on the Interior Secretary, and on Anne Gorsuch Burford, head of the Environmental Protection Agency, who resigned under fire in March.

The two-year-old campaign, fed by hyperbolic mass mailings breathlessly detailing the latest transgressions of Watt and Mrs. Burford, is responsible for much of the influx of cash and the new visibility of the mainstream environmental groups. The scare-and-dare tactics also polarized the

**A newspaper poll showed that 60 per cent
of those quizzed believe the
environment should be protected even
if it means slowing the economy**

environmentalists and Administration officials to such a degree that, by the time Mrs. Burford resigned, Reagan's political appointees had virtually no direct contact with environmentalists of any political persuasion. The isolation had been so complete that when Mrs. Burford's successor, William Ruckelshaus, met with 32 environmental representatives in April, the meeting was heralded by the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* as an environmental coup.

Watt, meanwhile, has not taken the abuse lying down. He has consistently blasted the organized environmentalists, and particularly the Washington species. "I call them commercial environmentalists because they make a living off of being what you folks are out of a love for the land," Watt told the Izaak Walton League, a conservative fishermen's association whose leadership has become increasingly critical of him. "It should not be surprising that some of these commercial environmentalists want a government that dictates from Washington. They become supporters of central government because it is in their self-interest to have power concentrated in Washington."

The press has played a key role in the greening of K Street. Apart from the direct-mail appeals, press coverage has been the environmentalists' strongest tool in criticizing the Reagan Administration, a role that has exposed reporters to Administration charges of favoring Bambi over the GOP elephant.

Many of the environmental groups' most successful forays against Administration policies have made use of elaborate and expensive media campaigns, including a 1981 Dump Watt petition drive. The press responded enthusiastically—and the environmentalists learned that headlining

a national event can be fun. Friends of the Earth president Rafe Pomerance spoke at a Capitol Hill rally convened for the purpose of handing 1.1 million anti-Watt signatures over to House Speaker Tip O'Neill. Pomerance now points proudly to a framed, full-color picture of the ceremony on the wall of his threadbare Seventh Street S.E. office. "There were forty mikes there! It was the biggest environmental media event ever."

The people, meanwhile, faced with inflated rhetoric and questionable documentation on both sides, are left with little choice but to sit back and hope the political fray subsides before toxic wastes appear in their backyards. Lew Crampton of the EPA admits that many of the environmentalists' criticisms have been valid. "Sometimes I think we react too harshly to the things that are said about us," Crampton added. "But as the environmental groups have enjoyed some successes up on the Hill, they've also seen that this strident approach has helped them in their fund-raising. It was a helluva lot easier to compromise with these people two or three years ago than it is now."

The 1.7-million-member National Wildlife Federation, whose conservative blue-collar members voted 2 to 1 for President Reagan, strained mightily to avoid joining the anti-Watt partisans, but finally grimaced and signed up. "We'd prefer that it not be that way," sighs NWF executive vice president Jay D. Hair, a 38-year-old former zoology professor who arrived in Washington at the same time as the Reagan Administration. "We've tried very hard to stay away from personalities. The biggest mistake this Administration made and continues to make is that above everything else this is a nation of committed environmentalists."

Several members of the NWF's conservative board vehemently opposed the decision to call for Watt's resignation, and that disagreement has caused a rift within the NWF staff over the continued politicization of the organization. Said the head of another conservation group, "They keep Jay Hair on a pretty short leash."

The Izaak Walton League of America, a fifty-thousand-member fishermen's group that has been based in Rosslyn, Virginia, since it left its Chicago digs in 1971, has become increasingly critical of Administration policies on acid rain, although Watt has assiduously courted its members as brother sportsmen. Executive director Jack Lorenz says he isn't worried that the league hasn't had the influx of new members that the NWF has, crediting its low-key reaction to Wattism to a difference in style. "We're about as down-home an organization as you can imagine."

If polls are to be believed, the green lobby captured public sentiment exactly right when it pilloried James Watt. A February 1982 Lou Harris poll reported that 83 per cent of those surveyed back strict enforcement of the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts. A mid-1982 poll found the number of supporters had increased to 85 per cent, despite climbing unemployment. In a September *San Francisco Chronicle* poll, 60 per cent of those quizzed believe the environment must be protected even if it means slowing the economy.

Environmental campaign groups, led by the 13-year-old League of Conservation Voters (LCV), hoped the 1982 elections would demonstrate conclusively the power of the "green vote." Environmental PACs sank \$2 million into last fall's campaigns, the most ever, and were delighted with the results: LCV executive director Marion Edey says 73 per cent

were soon being devoted to assessing a streak of congressional victories: stifling amendments intended to weaken the Clean Air Act; halting a pro-industry rewrite of the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act; crushing Administration proposals for oil and gas leasing in wilderness areas; saving the Department of Energy from extinction; finessing re-authorization of an intact Endangered Species Act; protecting park acquisition funds from budget cuts.

In fact, the environmental lobby was becoming far more successful than better-funded business lobbies in the delicate business of influencing Congress. According to Rafe Pomerance, president of Friends of the Earth, what has happened is that the green lobby has grown up. "The biggest gain of the movement is as a legitimate political force in the country. We have a lot more credibility, ties to politicians, media, academia: You have more power when you have a stronger set of institutional relationships."

Mark Schneider would have put it a bit differently. Schneider, former legislative assistant to Senator Ted Stevens (R., Alaska), saw one of his pet projects, transfer of the Alaska Railroad from the Federal Government to

**The congressman has not been invented
who will publicly favor dirty
air or ducks coated with crude oil. 'How
do you fight clean air?'**

the state, stalled by the Sierra Club's lobbying of Senator Howard Metzenbaum. He says: "They're basically another large, well-financed organized lobbying campaign, not much different from the National Rifle Association, the American Petroleum Institute. They can take you out to lunch—it might be ham-and-cheese croissants instead of Dominique's, but you can eat sprouts and drink white wine with them just like with any other lobbying group."

Business lobbyists attribute the environmentalists' success to public support, to well-heeled backers like Robert Redford and Laurance Rockefeller, and to the gaffes of corporate lobbyists trained more in engineering or corporate ladder-climbing than in shaping public opinion. Environ-

mentalists, they say, excel in framing a byzantine issue like the Clean Air Act in abstract terms that are easy for the public to grasp: wilderness, wildlife preservation, clean air. The product they sell is irresistible. The congressman has not been invented yet who will publicly favor dirty air, ducks coated with crude oil, or killing off a bald eagle or two for the sake of a few thousand more board-feet of spruce. Moans one oil-industry executive, "How do you fight a concept like clean air?"

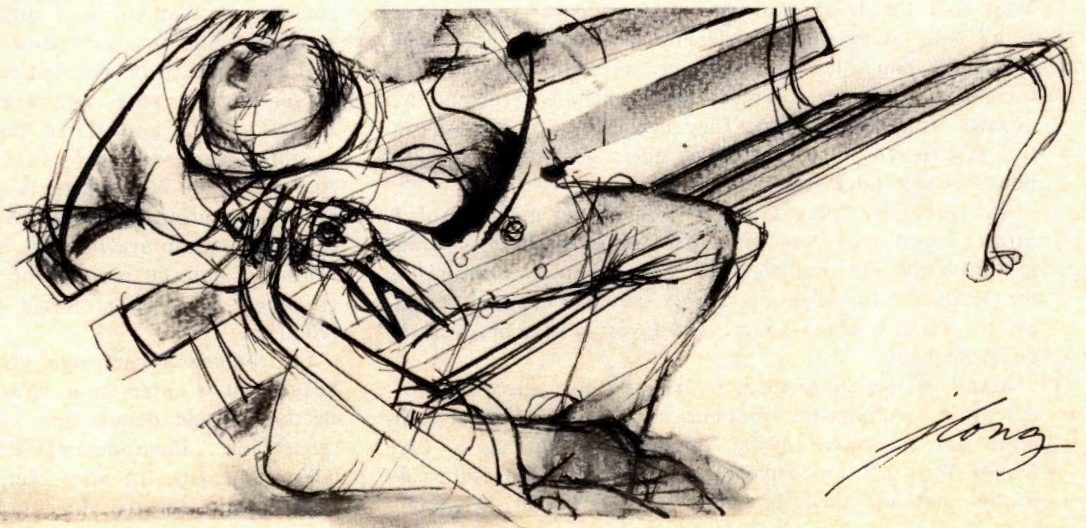
The masters of congressional clout, at times almost in spite of themselves, have been the groups with the largest grass-roots constituency—the NWF, Audubon, the Sierra Club.

"There are two different kinds of power in Washington," says Brock Evans, a former Sierra Club lobbyist and now a vice president in Audubon's Washington office. "One is money, the National Coal Association's ten-story building, the \$300,000-a-year lawyer for Exxon, the six hundred employees at the American Petroleum Institute. We can't do any of those things, but we do have the power of the vote. We whip 'em every time. I'm just amazed."

The Sierra Club can make Congress feel the power of the vote like nobody else. Although its 314,000 members are only a fraction of the numbers claimed by the NWF, Sierra's intricate network of local activists is one of the country's most powerful grass-roots lobbying machines. Executive director John Michael McCloskey says frankly, "This is an organization focused on influencing public policy." Fiercely democratic, its membership dictates policy to the Washington lobbying staff on every environmental issue imaginable, from nuclear waste to geothermal leasing to wilderness protection.

Sierra's Washington office is one of the few environmental headquarters with vestiges of the old Seventies granola. At its cluttered suite on the second floor of a Capitol Hill brownstone that was once the Naval Lodge, a receptionist in a lavender bandana, Indian-print skirt, and Birkenstock sandals directs visiting volunteers to the Alaska Room for an orientation session. Staffers in from the San Francisco headquarters stay at the funky Tabard Inn, not the Madison or the Four Seasons.

Behind the funk is a formidable enterprise. Sierra was the first environmental group to computerize its membership mailing list according to congressional district and is-



of the league's largely Democratic slate won. However, while winners like New Mexico's Jeff Bingaman raved about the performance of environmental campaign volunteers, senatorial candidates Toby Moffett of Connecticut and Jerry Brown of California also received strong environmental support, and lost. In the 1982 elections, the "green vote" may have been a nice thing to have, but it was hardly enough to swing an election.

For Sierra, getting the vote out was a question of stoking up a formidable populist machine already roaring in the hinterlands. For other groups, the greening of K Street has been more a question of growing up out of the emotion-laden Earth Day environmentalism of the 1970s into a new image of environmental advocacy as profession rather than as religion.

Both the Wilderness Society and Audubon have radically remolded themselves in the image of the professional Washington lobbying corporation. Were it not for the occasional pro-wilderness pamphlet in the two glossy offices, a visitor would be hard pressed to tell if the companies promoted Japanese trade tariffs or deregulation of used-car dealers.

The Wilderness Society shuns grass-roots organizing and concentrates on influencing the top of the decision-making elite—Administration officials, congressmen, prominent edi-

**The environmentalists' success has raised
a series of complex questions
about how to carry out their grand ideals
without derailing the economy**

tors. Five years ago, the 48-year-old public-lands-policy watchdog group was gloomily contemplating a bank balance heading down toward zero; its young, poorly paid staff was full of dedication to the cause but had few professional skills.

Enter Bill Turnage, a forty-year-old Yale Forestry School graduate recruited to resuscitate the moribund group. Over the next two and a half years, Turnage fired or drove out thirty members of the staff (out of a possible 31). A media-relations department was added, as were an economic-analysis department and a forest-management program. Today Turnage commands a staff of 65 in sleek offices at 19th and Pennsylvania N.W. On the west wall of Turnage's corner office, past the photos of Alan Cranston and Ansel Adams, a large oil painting of James Watt peeling back the skin of the globe stares down: the art for a 1981 *Newsweek* cover story on the Interior Secretary. "That cost \$2,000," Turnage chuckles. "I bought it with my own money. I didn't want Watt to be able to accuse me of buying it with Wilderness Society money."

Other acquisitions: Turnage hired former Wisconsin Senator Gaylord Nelson as Wilderness Society chairman. Former Virginia Congressman Joe Fisher signed on to start an economic-policy program for the society after he lost his seat in the 1980 elections, and former Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus is a paid consultant. Turnage and Andrus now spend one or two days a month chatting up corporate chairmen of the board like Clifton Garvin of Exxon, Otis Chandler of Times Mirror, and Harold W. McGraw of McGraw-Hill on the economic benefits of conservation, as

part of Wilderness's new corporate outreach program. Turnage sums up: "What's happened here is only a microcosm of what happened in the conservation movement. The stereotype of the zealot is no longer apt."

If Turnage laundered the Wilderness Society of its zealotry, Russell Peterson took the helm of the Audubon Society hoping to put some starch into it. A former DuPont chemist with a reputation for brilliance, Peterson served as governor of Delaware before heading the Council on Environmental Quality during the Nixon and Ford Administrations. In 1979 he came to the nation's second-largest conservation group, a 78-year-old bird-watchers' organization, lampooned by *Doonesbury* cartoonist Garry Trudeau for its genteel disdain of politics. To the horror of Audubon's conservative board, Peterson shoved the august society into the bloody battle over passage of the Alaska Lands Act. What would Dick and Lacey Davenport think?

Dick and Lacey loved it. A discreetly worded anti-James Watt fundraising appeal sent out to Audubon's 60 per cent Republican membership shortly after the installation of the Interior Secretary netted \$1 million in contributions, ten times the usual response. "We were surprised," says Bill Butler, director of Audubon's Washington office. "What we've found is that the membership is way out ahead of the board."

Peterson has expanded Audubon's Washington staff from five to twenty since Reagan's arrival. Butler, a 43-year-old Harvard PhD and Yale Law School graduate who successfully litigated the ban on DDT while at the Environmental Defense Fund, became the first practicing staff attorney in Audubon's history. He hired 14 new staff members with Ivy League credentials similar to his own, many of them from key Interior and Justice Department positions. From its stark new quarters at Seventh and Pennsylvania S.E., Audubon is attempting to nurture the grass-roots activist potential of its 480,000 white, affluent, educated members—a Chivas Regal Sierra Club. A new direct-mail computer system, modeled on Sierra's, lists forty thousand members' names for the Citizen Mobilization Campaign. Says Audubon vice president Brock Evans, "You couldn't ask for a better time to organize a fairly conservative membership, because of the unceasing assaults of this Administration."

Butler does not entirely agree. Audubon's new energy, he says, has been expended in fighting fires started by the Reagan Administration instead of being invested in long-term stability. "I'd take issue with Mr. Watt that he's the best thing that ever happened to Audubon," Butler explains. "We've been on the defensive ever since they came in. Whatever extra money has been raised has been spent. We've thrown all the bodies into the fray."

Even so, all that extra money has given the environmental groups the luxury of being able, for the first time, to play revolving door, one of Washington's favorite games. With many career bureaucrats who are sympathetic to their cause bailing out of government, the eco-groups had their pick of highly qualified recruits, and the money to pay them. The Natural Resources Defense Council, Audubon, the Wilderness Society, and the NWF now offer lobbyists and attorneys salaries in excess of \$50,000—okay for Washington, but fabulous for environmentalists.

Former Senator Gaylord Nelson, the moving force behind Earth Day 1970, now lobbies former colleagues and

(Continues on page 956)



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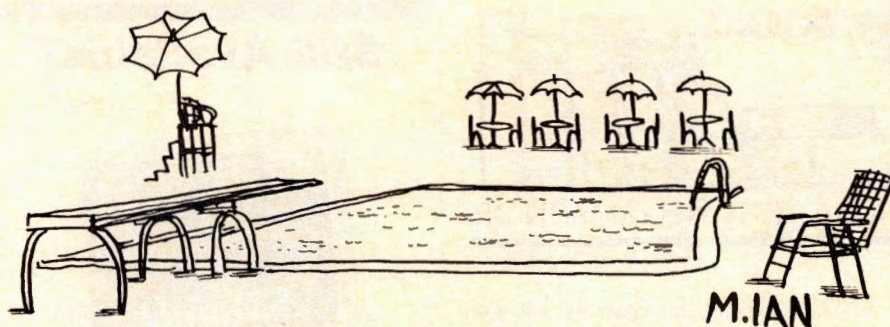
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and aberrations of the Surrealists, World War II, and finally to the present time. But the present cannot beat the extraordinary lucidity of Ponge and Guillevic, or the more persuasive results of Frénaud, Jean-Paul de Dadelsen, and René Char:

*Brief harp of the larches
On mossy spur of stone crop
—Façade of the forest,
Against which mists are shattered—
Counterpoints of the void in which
I believe.*

—"To friend-tree of counted days,"
R. Char

The present is dull: faced with the cryptic threnodies of Dupin, Marteau, and Deguy, or the deconstructionist acrobatics of Anne-Marie Albiach and Daive, the reader feels cheated, or bored. NEREO E. CONDINI

REQUIEM FOR A SPY, by Alberto Giovannetti (Doubleday, 288 pp., \$14.95). Monsignor Giovannetti was called the Permanent Observer for the Vatican at the United Nations, but in fact after nine years (1964 to 1973) he gave it up and retired altogether from the papal diplomatic service. This readable novel (translated from the Italian) certainly conveys the flavor of his experience. It might well be the writing of a younger, cleverer Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli (John XXIII), the voice and viewpoint—unpretentious, disarming, simply human, very shrewd—strikingly like those of the aging Roncalli, with whom the youthful Giovannetti once played cards for days on end in the nunciature in Paris. Ostensibly this is a novel about the conversion to Catholicism of a Communist impostor who poses as a priest, and who happens to have the job that till 1973 was Giovannetti's. In fact it seems to deal with the problems (weariness, a sense of futility) of a clear-sighted, honest man living in a world of impostures and intrigues, endless lies, some transparent and some successful; of men trusted by no one, better known to other double agents than to themselves, buried in paperwork that is interminable and largely pointless. In spite of this, no doubt a sign that the book was written by a priest, the characters are generally nicer than in most novels. A few of them are wooden and unconvincing, and we hear too much about them. But

there are two vivid characters whom the author knew well, observed long and closely, and successfully brings to life: Pope Paul VI and the city of New York. The Pope appears briefly, but the diverse, much-loved, overwhelming city is displayed under one aspect or another through most of these pages—somewhat as it is in another book about a discouraged, sharp-eyed innocent, *The Catcher in the Rye*.

FARLEY CLINTON

THROUGH JOY AND BEYOND: *A Biography of C. S. Lewis*, by Walter Hooper (Macmillan, 160 pp., \$15.75). J. R. R. Tolkien once said of C. S. Lewis, "No Oxford don was forgiven for writing books outside his field of study. It was considered unforgivable that Lewis wrote international best-sellers, and worse still that many were of a religious nature." Lewis, a professor of English, was writing about religion when he was supposed to be writing about fiction. Perhaps it would have been acceptable if Lewis had written about religion as if it were fiction, which is the way a number of modern academics approach the subject. But, horror of horrors, not only was Lewis prolifically publishing books on Christianity, he was actually in favor of the darn thing, in a period when religious feeling was considered, you know, impolite. Father Walter Hooper documents in this biography (written in conjunction with the documentary film of the same title, which Hooper, once secretary to Lewis, put together and narrated) Lewis's encounters with the secular world, through his writings and radio talks. Hooper records Lewis's rapid ascent at Oxford, his sudden and abiding fame, and the lively wit that enabled him to endure the academic life. Once Hooper pointed out to Lewis an epitaph that read, "Here lies an atheist, all dressed up but nowhere to go." To which Lewis remarked, "I bet he wishes that were so." DINESH D'SOUZA

BROOKHISER

(Continued from page 937)

active nationalists. The effect of the crimes on the morale of the Croatian community was devastating. "People didn't have any trust in their own po-

lice," remembers Joe Vrbich, a journalist in the Bay Area; they were "scared to go to picnics." The general public, on the other hand, to the extent it noticed the bloodshed at all, cannot help thinking of Croats as murderous lunatics.

Croats, who blame everything worse than bad weather on Udba, see Yugoslavian infiltration. Though there is no evidence, a few of the FBI agents who have worked hardest on the case feel they might be right. "If you're looking for an agent provocateur," one said to me, "Primorac fits the mold." (The defendants and their supporters, meanwhile, blame the prosecution on Udba. One rumor holds that the trial verdicts were arranged on Haig's September 1981 visit to Belgrade.)

Meanwhile, the one million Croatian-Americans who know nothing of the other uses of pipes and books continue with their lives. Many of them came to this country because it was unlike Croatia—unlike Europe, the stockyard, where every grain of dirt has been soaked in the blood of some slaughter. Yet, because they were born there, they still think fondly of it. Some would like to return; some, more thoroughly transplanted, wish it well from afar. And the violent and the duped, temporarily baffled, await their chances to prey upon all of them.

"Give them a year or so," an FBI agent told me. "They will be back." □

SHUTE

(Continued from page 928)

speaks on the rubber-chicken circuit. Nelson passed up three law-firm partnerships to join the Wilderness Society. He's delighted with his decision. "I was happy to lobby for the Lord's work instead of lobbying for some corporation on tax law. I didn't need the money anyway—what good is the money if you're not enjoying your work?"

In traversing the rocky and contentious path of the last two years, the nation's environmental leadership has become newly strong, but also strangely isolated from the politicians and agencies it came to Washington to influence. John McComb, Washington director of the Sierra Club, says he's doing a land-office business in sensitive government documents delivered over the transom and late-night phone calls at home from upset bureaucrats. "The level of paranoia is incredible."

THE RIGHT BOOKS

CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

IN 1962 MILTON FRIEDMAN, in his book *Capitalism and Freedom*, made the case for the flat-rate income tax; for twenty years afterward not much was heard of the idea. Then, in December 1981, the *Wall Street Journal* published an article by two Stanford University professors, Robert E. Hall and Alvin Rabushka, proposing a flat-tax system, the forms for which would fit on a postal card. In their book *Low Tax, Simple Tax, Flat Tax* (McGraw-Hill, \$9.95, paper), the pair recount the surprise with which they followed the interest generated by the piece; a spate of phone calls and letters to the paper; editorial endorsements by the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*; articles in other dailies and financial papers; pieces by syndicated columnists; the introduction of nearly a dozen flat-tax bills by members of Congress; and finally, last July, a statement by David Stockman that President Reagan might propose flat-tax legislation in his 1984 budget message.

Hall and Rabushka's plan, simply stated, calls for an across-the-board tax of 19 per cent—a uniform low rate at which all income would be taxed once, and only once, under the category either of business income or of wages and salaries. "Our simple flat tax," the authors write,

puts taxation onto a new philosophical basis. Today, the tax system puts tax rates of 50 to 70 per cent on the most successful members of our society, but at the same time it lets many of them wriggle out of paying these heavy taxes. In the process, it seriously distorts their economic behavior. A minority among the successful who give in to heavy taxation face badly diminished incentives for further success. Others pursue shelters instead of productive effort. As a comprehensive remedy, our simple flat tax puts the same low tax rate on everybody's income above a standard personal allowance. At the outset, it collects somewhat less revenue from the successful and necessarily more from the average taxpayer. But as economic energies are re-directed into productive activities in place

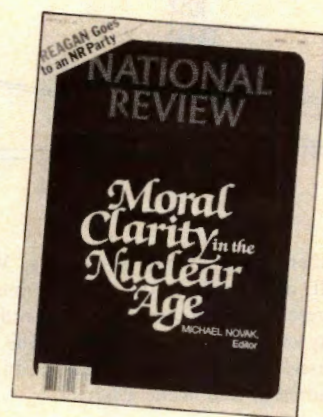
of tax avoidance, the economy will grow more rapidly to a new higher level of income and well-being. By 1990, every income group will be unambiguously better off from the economic benefits of tax reform.

Hall and Rabushka have based their plan solidly on the theory of supply-side economics (which, they argue, has yet to be tried by the Reagan Administration) as the remedy for the "terrible" state of the U.S. economy, for which the federal tax system deserves "an important part of the blame." The present income tax is costly in other ways as well (the enormously complicated processing of returns, and the expense of pursuing tax evaders; revenue lost to the so-called "underground economy"; more revenue lost to the sheer confusion of taxpayers who, lacking a college-level ability to read, are unable even to comprehend which instructions apply to them).

Nevertheless, the authors warn, their claims for the economic impact of their scheme are less grandiose than those of the Kemp-Roth plan. "We foresee a gradual improvement of the economy for a whole decade after enactment of tax reform, culminating to [sic] an increase in real incomes of perhaps 9 per cent."

NOTING THAT the federal tax code has been revised nine times since 1954, Hall and Rabushka argue that the desire for tax reform is endemic among all classes, interests, and parties. Everyone, they claim, from Friedmanite to Keynesian to country-club Republican to radical leftist, will find something in it for him—which in the long run perhaps is the second-best reason for wondering whether the plan can ever be agreed upon. Here is the first best: "Until a response to improved incentives takes place, it is an obvious mathematical law that lower taxes on the successful will have to be made up by higher taxes on average people. . . . Tax reform is not immediately a good thing for the majority." □

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Meanwhile, the battle against a common enemy has given the capital's environmental community new unity. Quarrels over which group gets its name first on a lawsuit have subsided. Inter-group coalitions have been formed on the Clean Air Act, pesticide legislation, and energy conservation. Whether the Gang will stick together after the Reagan Administration has left town is an open question. Income to the Wilderness Society and other groups will drop, Turnage predicts, but the environmental institutions will benefit by no longer having to dedicate most of their cash to expensive anti-Administration tactics. "The post-Watt period could turn out to be the very best period we ever had. This concern could give us a new impetus."

The 1980s have brought a fundamental change in the mission of the environmentalists. The huge initiatives of the 1970s—air and water pollution control, wilderness protection laws, toxic waste dumping restrictions, and the massive Alaska National Interest Lands Act—have succeeded and have brought in their wake a series of complex questions about how to carry out those

grand ideals of environmental protection without derailing the economy.

The environmental institutions' challenging of the Reagan Administration has brought about greater public awareness of the importance of environmental protection—and its costs—than at any other time in this country's history, but it has also politicized environmental protection to the point that few Americans know what effects, if any, Reagan's two years in office have had on the quality of the environment.

In fighting Reagan the environmentalists gained full membership in the vast corps of professional Washington power brokers. They also lost a fundamental innocence: They may be tougher, wiser, and richer, but they will never again be able to say that they have only the best interests of Mother Nature at heart, or, as Gaylord Nelson put it, that they do "the Lord's work." The exercise of power in Washington accomplishes many things, but rarely do those accomplishments include the work of the Lord. □

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The Protestant minister was impressed when he was shown over Father Quinn's new residence. . . . He said, "This is far better than what my wife and I have at the parsonage." "That's logical," said Father Quinn. "Protestant ministers have better halves and Catholic priests have better quarters." [Actual title: *Five Hundred Best Irish Jokes and Limericks*.]

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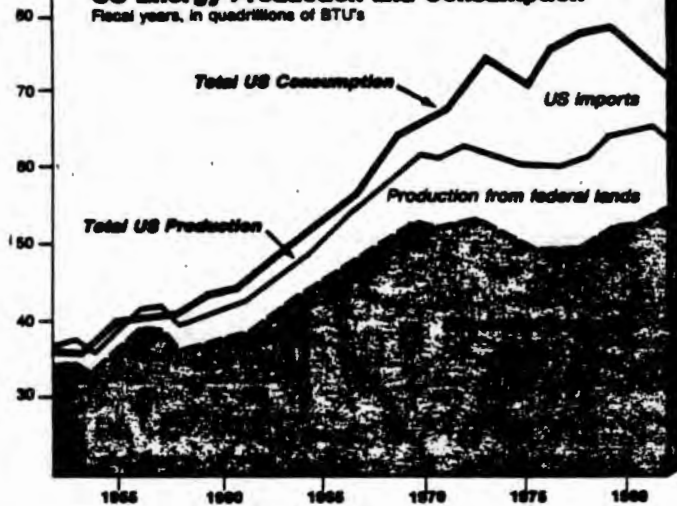


One Man's Charts

These charts are based on graphic materials and figures presented by Interior Secretary Watt at the ASNE convention on May 11, and by additional information provided by the Interior Department. These have been redrawn by The Globe editorial design department.

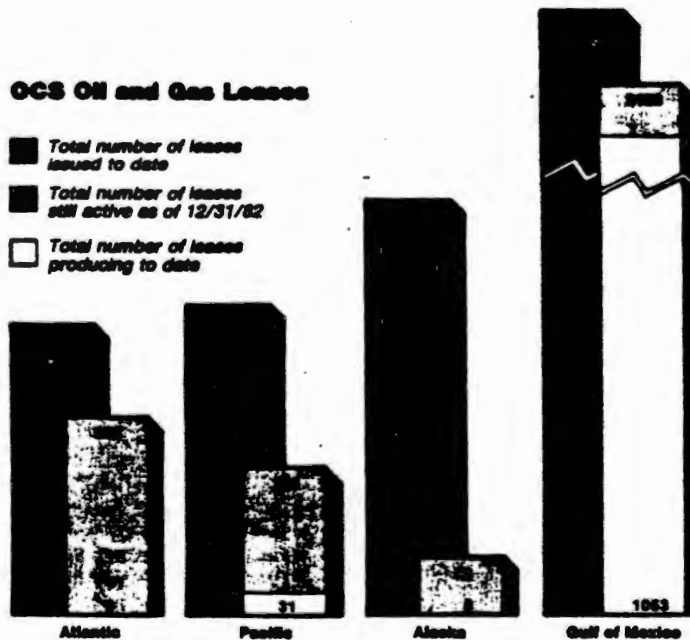
US Energy Production and Consumption

Fiscal years, in quadrillions of BTU's



OCS Oil and Gas Leases

- ☒ Total number of leases issued to date
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- ☐ Total number of leases producing to date



From Boston 5/29/83

ENV-PHOTO 10

CECIL ANDRUS

A steward is not
a real estate salesman or an
auctioneer. This Administration
says if you can't dig it up
or cut it down, it has no value.

I have no charts. I have no handouts. I have no graphs, no staff and no bodyguards. I'm sorry I missed Mr. Watt this morning. It doesn't make a good candle burn any brighter to blow out somebody else's, but I thought we were to be back to back today and he was going to have the opportunity to listen to me and I'd have the opportunity to listen to him, but the schedule was changed. I did search around and found a tape of the proceedings. So I've changed the comments I had prepared before I got here and if anybody thinks it's unfair, why I'm not the one who changed the schedule.

[Watt] implied that if you didn't agree with him, you were un-American. And another great phrase that he used today was that he inherited this mess from his predecessor. And that the National Parks were in a shameful condition, a national disgrace. And then he has the humility to say that he is the greatest environmentalist to ever hold the office of Secretary of the Interior.

It's true that the national wealth of America

comes from the public domain. All of our wealth - I used to tell Mike Blumenthal, first Secretary of the Treasury of the Carter Administration, "Mike, you might think you're Secretary of the Treasury, but you're a bookkeeper. The Secretary of the Interior is also the Secretary of the Treasury because he has the stewardship and the custodial responsibilities of the great wealth of America."

Two hundred years ago, if you stood on the banks of the Potomac and looked to the West we could see an unending supply of natural resources. If we squandered it, if we polluted the waters or if we denuded the hills of timber or sterilized the topsoil for some reason, all we had to do was go over the next horizon and there again was an unlimited supply of natural resources. It was just unending.

In those years, 200 years ago, we were trying to build a strong, new nation. In order to do it we had to get people to move to the West, to populate the West, to develop those resources. We had every kind of gimmick and give-away program there was

ANDRUS, Page 59

why
wasn't
there
charts

4

Andrus

Continued from Page 57

[to encourage that]. We had the land rush, we had the Homestead Act, we had the Desert Entry Act, we had the mining law of 1872, we gave the railroads all of the public land along their right-of-way to induce them to build their railroads from the West. Frankly, I don't find any fault with that. We were trying to build a strong nation - and we did it.

But now, 200 years later, we no longer can stand on the banks of the Potomac River and look to the West and see an unending supply of natural resources. Many of them are finite.

It wasn't by accident that we decided that we had to become better managers. The Congress of the United States studied for years during the '60s and the early '70s what should be done. They made the decisions that we should no longer continue to divest ourselves of the resources. No longer would we give these away. It would be custodial and managerial. These were assets that belonged to all Americans.

[These matters have] never been partisan. There was never any distinction between the elephants and the donkeys in the role [of Secretary of the Interior]. If you look back at my predecessors, [former Interior Secretaries] Tom Kleppe, Stanley K. Hathaway, Rogers Morton, Stewart Udall, you'll find that they were not the partisan members of the crew. A steward is not a real estate salesman or an auctioneer.

This Administration appears to have a different philosophy. It's a "sell, sell, sell" philosophy that says, if you can't dig it up or cut it down, it has no value at all.

Now let me touch on three areas. First, of all, coal. The Surplus Mining Act of 1977 was passed; it was opposed by industry. So who did this Administration appoint to head it up but a man from Indiana who

had opposed this legislation all the way through the Congress. Then, [they] filed suit against it to test its constitutionality and then opposed all of the regulations that came down through. He was appointed head of the Office of Surface Mining. Now it's true, they haven't destroyed that office. But they sure cut the budget and the area they cut was the enforcement officers so that the examinations are not being done the way the law calls for. And what's the answer to that? Oh, we turned that over to the states. Well they also cut out of the budget the [federal] money to finance the inspectors at the state level.

Now let's take a quick look at the OCS [Outer Continental Shelf] leasing. Congress passed [a new law] in 1978. It said that the Secretary had two years to come up with a new leasing proposal, a five-year leasing plan. We did that, we continued on with the sales, there were hearings held, the industry came in.

Now, after I was long gone, in 1981, I'm back in Boise, Idaho, tending to my knitting. The question came up, could more leasing go on beneficially? There was a hearing held. Many of the oil companies came in and said, no, don't fuss with this program. It's got adequate acreage. We might have liked some of the sales in Alaska to be given at a different time. But we will take it the way it is because all the environmental impact statements have been completed, it's jumped through all the hoops, leave it alone. A couple of the majors [major oil companies] said, "No, no, give us more."

The Administration is giving them more. More than they can consume. There are now 4500 drill rigs in America available to explore. Eighteen-hundred of them are working today. Only 1800 out of 4500. There's millions and millions and millions of acres that are under adequate current lease that aren't being developed. It's market conditions that are [the key], not the lack of availability.

Let me give you the sales that took place, in the Atlantic and off the Alaska coast about a year ago. They put up 4000 tracts for sale. Only 40 of those tracts, 1 percent, 40 out of 4000, even received a bid. And then the total number of bids was 53. That's slightly more than 1 bid per tract.

When I was Secretary of the Interior one of the criteria for determining whether you did, in fact, have an acceptable bid was the amount of competition. And if you only had one bid - we liked to see at least three bids - but if we had more than one bid on a tract then that did show competition. If we had one bid on a tract, then we would look at the appraised value. They had 53 bids on 40 tracts out of 4000. The appraised price for that sale - what they thought it would bring in - was \$979 million. You know how much they brought in? \$87 million. You might say they creamed the area.

Third, the parks. I've heard the parks are in a shambles. [Watt says] "my predecessor did a miserable job of maintaining them," and those charts that I assume you saw here this morning were used by President Reagan a short time ago to say [that] in his first two years he spent more money on parks and acquisition of parks than the [Carter] Administration in the entire four years. Well that same afternoon the White House retracted that statement because it simply isn't true. But it comes from looking at some of those charts.

Land and water conservation fund money: [Congress] authorized us \$900 million, [and we spent] around anywhere from \$460 to \$710, depending on the budget, but we had a program. It is now zeroed out. [Watt says] that when [he] came in raw sewage [was being flushed] into the streams and the lakes of the national parks. So the question was put to the director of the National Park Service. And when he was asked for the documentation of where, he said there are no cases of raw

SURFACE

9

sewage flowing into parks, streams and lakes. Watt testified that the Congress had cut the park's appropriation the four previous years. [Rep.] Sidney Yates (D-Ill.), chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee in the House [that deals with the Interior Department] took to the floor of the House and said, "Any resemblance between Mr. Watt's testimony and the truth on that day is purely coincidental"...

I'll give you one more exhibit for the defense. I picked up today this Department of the Interior news release that you were given. Carefully crafted... On the back side it says "worked with the newly created Protect Our Wetlands and Duck Resources task force to propose new legislation designed to save these vital natural re-

sources." Man, that's super. I am for that. It sounds great. Until you look beyond the rhetoric to what actually takes place.

Yeah, they read it right. The people want to protect the wetlands of America. So [the Administration] said, we're gonna put a bill in and we're gonna call it POWDER, it's Protect Our Wetland and Duck Resources. The bill proposes to eliminate all federal subsidies for projects that convert wetlands to dry lands. And all of that rhetoric is in there that you like to hear except there's also a clause in it - a little old clause that exempts all of agriculture, all of public roads and bridge building, all oil and gas development. Who is it that goes in there and uses up the wetlands for the most part anyway?

ANDRUS: IN SEARCH OF BALANCE

When he became Jimmy Carter's Secretary of the Interior in 1977, Cecil Andrus stated, "The domination of the department by mining, oil, timber, grazing and other interests is over." And he quickly set out to shift Interior from a pro-development stance to a posture that put greater emphasis on conservation and protection of public resources.

Though a Westerner and twice-elected governor of Idaho, Andrus viewed the sagebrush rebellion - the campaign by Western states to assume more control over federally owned land - as an attempt by special economic interests to hornswoggle all Americans out of a unique land heritage. His goal, he said, was to "try to establish a balance."

Though mining is important to Ida-

ho, he opposed a gigantic open-pit molybdenum mine that would have destroyed Castle Peak in the White Cloud Mountains. "We must not allow irreplaceable natural resources to be destroyed for temporary economic gain," he told voters in his 1970 gubernatorial campaign.

While his actions as Interior Secretary rankled many westerners and fueled the sagebrush rebellion, Andrus also encouraged development of energy resources. "If I am faced with a question of development with adequate safeguards for the environment, I'll come down on the side of development," Andrus said when Carter was calling for increased coal production. "But if the choice is development without safeguards, I'll come down on the side of the environment."

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 22, 1983

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

On this thirteenth anniversary of Earth Day, I applaud the progress that this Nation has made in protecting and enhancing the quality of the environment. Air quality in the United States today, especially in the cities, is much better than it was thirteen years ago. Streams, rivers, and lakes all across the country are becoming cleaner. The Congress has enacted legislation which stringently regulates hazardous waste and has created a special fund to clean up abandoned hazardous dump sites. Expenditures by businesses and government to comply with environmental laws were almost \$55 billion last year, or more than \$230 per man, woman and child in the United States. We can be proud of the actions we have taken as a nation to protect the quality of the environment for ourselves and our children.

Our Nation has also been a wise steward of our natural resources. Beginning 75 years ago with President Teddy Roosevelt and Foresters John Muir and Gifford Pinchot, our Nation made a clear commitment to conservation. That commitment continues today. Our national park system has grown to 74 million acres, and almost 7,000 miles of river are included in our National Wild and Scenic River System. We have some 413 wildlife refuges, totaling some 86.7 million acres. This record cannot be matched by any other nation.

Private businesses and public interest groups, Federal, State and local governments and private citizens of all philosophical persuasions all recognize that our future is bound up inextricably with our management of the environment. By working together, we can achieve our environmental goals and manage our abundant natural resources wisely. Earth Day provides an opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to the environment.

#

Environmentalists: More of a political force

They are joining consumer, labor, and civil rights groups to gain clout in Congress

Three months before the 1982 election, the heads of five of the country's most influential environmental organizations met in the downtown Washington office of the Democratic National Committee as part of a new task force to develop strategies on energy and environmental issues for the 1984 Presidential campaign. Although such groups have convened before, the willingness of the independent and often fractious components of the environmental movement to participate is certainly novel. In fact, it marks a key stage in the movement's evolution from a loosely knit coalition of single-interest groups to a national power capable of influencing economic, foreign, and social policies.

As if to demonstrate that they are serious about coalition politics, the environmental groups plan to test their clout in the new Congress by lobbying for such broad issues as jobs and immigration reform and against natural gas de-control and funding for the MX missile. Moreover, a group of 14 environmental organizations is mounting a direct court challenge to Administration proposals for siting the MX. The charge: Washington has failed to comply with the National Environmental Policy Act.

'A greater objective.' These initiatives stretching environmental concerns beyond traditional boundaries are only the most recent and most dramatic examples. In fact, the trend has been gathering steam for some time. A year ago, for example, 19 state and national environmental organizations helped form something called the Global Tomorrow Coalition—a 73-member alliance with consumer and population-control groups.

Such coalitions are a long way from West Germany's Green Party, an environmental movement that in the late 1970s blossomed into a political party advocating the elimination of a variety of targets ranging from nuclear weapons to large corporations and commercial advertising. But it is precisely the Greens' persistent tendency to

ON THE COLLAPSE OF THE ENVIRONMENT BY GARY K. HARRIS, N.Y. TIMES COLUMNIST



ward negativism—if not nihilism—that worries observers of the way the U.S. environmental movement is developing. And in California, at least, an embryonic party is taking the Greens as its model. Huey Johnson, an environmental official in the administration of former Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr., has raised \$25,000 and is designing a direct-mail campaign. Johnson hopes to create an organization with the bargaining power of, say, New York State's Liberal party.

Interior Secretary James G. Watt, the most frequent target of U.S. environmental groups, charges that his critics in those organizations use environmental concerns "as a tool to achieve a greater objective." That objective, he claims, "is centralized planning and control of the society." He adds: "Look what happened

to Germany in the 1930s. The dignity of man was subordinated to the powers of Nazism. The dignity of man was subordinated in Russia.... Those are the forces that this thing can evolve into."

Learning to lobby. Even Watt, however, admits that U.S. environmental groups are not nearly that fearsome yet. Despite their epic successes in the 1970s, environmental leaders contend that they only now are beginning to understand how to lobby Congress effectively. Sierra Club lobbyists still shake with anger when reminded of their inability to win support for increases in the Environmental Protection Agency budget. "We learned our lesson from that," says Lawrence F. Williams, a Sierra Club lobbyist and former official of the Council on Environmental Quality.

Much of the environmentalists' coalition strategy is an effort to turn to good use hostility of liberals to the Reagan Administration's social and military agenda. As this hostility has come to the fore, environmentalists have redefined their turf. "A good economy and full employment are prerequisites to doing anything environmentally," says Patrick A. Parentheau, lobbyist for the National Wildlife Federation.

Thus, an effective coalition



The Sierra Club's McComb: "We underestimated grass-roots interest" in the last election.



The Policy Center's Dunlap: "We try to persuade [economic interests] to work with us."

that was established in 1981 by environmental, labor, health, and consumer groups to defend the Clean Air Act now monitors the Administration's enforcement of the Occupational Safety & Health Act. Another ad hoc coalition, formed by the Environmental Policy Center with unlikely allies in the utility industry, stopped legislation that would have allowed reprocessed nuclear fuel from power plants to be used for producing weapons. "We try to identify which economic interests will benefit and try to persuade them to work with us," says Louise C. Dunlap, a founder and president of the EPC.

Carter alumni. In Congress' recent lame-duck session, environmental groups expanded their interests noticeably. Claiming that certain highway-legislation provisions would encourage the use of larger trucks that would harm the nation's roads, environmental groups lobbied unsuccessfully against the 5¢ increase in gasoline taxes. And, teaming with major unions, they argued effectively against a proposal to lift certain duties from Caribbean imports. The goal, of course, is power.

So far the environmental penchant for working with nonenvironmental groups is not nearly as striking as the environ-

mentalists' new ability to work effectively with each other. That is a function of an enhanced political sophistication. The movement, after all, now has the benefit of a cadre of Carter Administration officials who grew up in the environmental cause and have returned to it. The list includes not only Williams of the Sierra Club but also Barbara Blum, formerly deputy administrator of the EPA and now EPC chairman, and David G. Hawkins, former EPA assistant administrator and currently an attorney with the Natural Resources Defense Council.

"We provide a road map to Washington, and we know what makes it tick," says Hope M. Babcock, a National Audubon Society attorney and a high-ranking Interior Dept. official under President Carter. "We're a lot savvier now."

The environmentalists also have more money. President Reagan's bid to ease environmental constraints has heightened environmental concerns among the American public (page 87). Membership in virtually every environmental organization has grown since Reagan's election; in activist groups such as the Sierra Club, it has doubled.

'Part of the dialogue.' Perhaps the most striking example of the environmental movement's new strength came during

the 1982 elections, when the five groups that have political action committees spent more than \$1.5 million. By contrast, environmentalists in the early 1970s were content with war by press release—most notably the "Dirty Dozen" list of legislators who environmentalists hoped would be defeated. In 1982, although they lost two key Senate races (Brown in California and Toby Moffett in Connecticut), environmentalists did fairly well: 34 of the 48 candidates they backed won. More than 700 volunteers worked in New Mexico to help Democrat Jeff Bingaman defeat incumbent Senator Harrison H. Schmitt.

"One real surprise in the last election was that we underestimated the level of grass-roots interest by Sierra Club volunteers," says John C. McComb, director of the group's Washington office. In fact, volunteers worked in 159 races, three times as many as expected.

In short, the environmental movement has established a substantial beachhead in American electoral politics. "Environmental issues have now become a permanent part of the political dialogue," says Gaylord Nelson, president of the Wilderness Society and a former Democratic senator from Wisconsin. "And Congress now knows it." ■

Secretary Watt fires back at his critics

In the course of an interview with BUSINESS WEEK, Interior Secretary James G. Watt expressed a number of opinions on the nature and motivations of the environmental movement. Here is a sampling:

On broadening the movement:

Their real thrust is not clean air, or clean water, or parks, or wildlife but the form of government under which America will live. The environment is a good vehicle to achieve their objectives. That is why you see the hard-line left drifting toward that interest. If [environmentalists] really were concerned about resources and environmental issues, they would support this Administration because...we have brought about such significant change. The federal lands—the national parks, the national refuges, the wetlands, the coastal barriers, the national forests—are much better managed today than they were two and three years ago.

On environmentalist successes:

The environmentalists were very successful in the public works process in 1982. In the House lame-duck session, they succeeded against the Garrison Diversion project in North Dakota. As a result, the Democratic leadership refused to bring out the appropriations bill for the public works program. Thus



Watt: The hard-line left is drifting toward the environment issue.

the Bureau of Reclamation was denied the 23% increase we'd asked for water resource development. The irony of it is that each congressman thinks that he can vote with the environmentalists and keep his state immune from environmental attacks.

On environmental philosophy:

It's all that social planning concept. Their basic feeling is that we're sharing scarcities, and we don't believe that. We're sharing wealth and trying to let the marketplace bring it about.

On jobs and the environment:

When we campaigned in a university town with high employment, we had ugly demonstrations. When we went into a community with high unemployment, we had no ugly demonstrations.... There isn't anything I can do for those college kids—they are the elite. But there were those destitute men who had to feed their families and pay their mortgages and buy their gasoline.... They want to have the housing industry restored so they can cut timber.... They want things to happen. I can do something for them. I'm committed to them. When there are two lines and one is an ugly group of elitists demonstrating against America and another group trying to seek jobs, I'll go help the job searchers.

2/13/83 - WJW

ENV-MFO/A
ENV-RHETUPIC
GI-RHETUPIC

AROUND THE REGION

Watt Cancels Anne

Interior Secretary James Watt has made a last-minute decision not to speak at an Anne Arundel County Republican Party fund raiser, but an environmental group plans to proceed with a counter-rally nearby.

County GOP officials announced that Watt has been replaced by Secretary of Labor James Donovan as keynote speaker for the Lincoln Day dinner, which is scheduled for Tuesday evening in Glen Burnie. Party leaders declined to give a reason for the change.

"I am not surprised that Watt backed off," said Joanne Musselman, a spokesman for the Maryland League of Conservation Voters. "The Republican Party, nationally and locally, knew he was not going to get a roaring reception in Maryland. It's great if we intimidate Watt so he won't come to Maryland."

Musselman said her group will go ahead with a "Watt's Wrong" fund-raiser a few blocks away from the Republican dinner.

DR. JAY D. HAIR

Executive Vice-President

NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION

CHEVRON ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS CONFERENCE

San Francisco, California

October 7, 1982





JAY D. HAIR

THIS BUSINESS CALLED CONSERVATION

Dr. Jay D. Hair
Executive Vice President
The National Wildlife Federation
Washington, D.C.

I want to thank the people at Chevron, particularly Ed Mertens, for inviting me to appear at this Annual Environmental Affairs Conference. I want to thank Chevron for providing the opportunity to visit an operating off-shore oil-production platform off the coast of Santa Barbara earlier this week. It was a fascinating experience, and an educational one ... it gave me a new appreciation for some of the technical considerations of off-shore energy production. They are significant structures, and my hat is off to all those people who make those machines work -- particularly those of you in the industry who make them work without damaging sensitive marine ecosystems.

Last week I had another fascinating experience involving an off-shore platform, this one a retired oil and gas structure owned by Tenneco. The 500-ton platform was towed 275 miles from Louisiana and submerged in 175 feet of water off the coast of Pensacola, Florida, where it will become an artificial reef attracting all forms of marine life -- including important species of sport and commercial fishes. I joined officials of the Florida Department of Natural Resources and others in Pensacola to witness Tenneco's novel, and sincerely appreciated, contribution toward enhancing marine habitat. I hope we can work with the petroleum and other industries to find appropriate economic incentives for investing in similar types of conservation programs in the future.

Today, I am especially pleased to have this opportunity to share some of my thoughts on this business called conservation. You are an appropriate audience for this discussion, because despite differences in places of employment we share many interests in the environment and its proper use in resource development.



NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION
1412 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

We share with corporate America common goals, too. We are for jobs and we are for a private enterprise system as unfettered as possible by unnecessary regulations. It does not contradict any of that to say we are also committed stewards of our lands and waters, dedicated to the continuation, not the destruction, of our natural resources, of our wildlife and all God's creatures.

When I took over this job just about a sixteen months ago, I said, "I see the National Wildlife Federation continuing its role as a broadly based, highly responsible conservation organization working for the wise management and multiple use of all our natural resources in the best interests of the resources, as well as of benefit to the greatest number of people."

I believe that even here today, and what I know beyond question is that we cannot succeed in that goal without the ability to work with corporate America. I also said as I began that I believe in being both responsible and responsive to the over-all needs of our nation. There are two ways to solve conflicts -- through cooperation or confrontation -- and I am going to see that we always pursue cooperation first.

I simply do not think all differences need be settled by litigation and adversarial relationships. The fact is that the National Wildlife Federation rarely loses in court. It is, and I don't say this in arrogance, not that we avoid the tough cases because we don't, but that we have the law clearly on our side in virtually every argument we enter. So I tell you from a position of strength ... indeed, great strength ... that we prefer always to seek cooperation ... fair-minded resolution and even-tempered dialogue. Litigation is our last resort.

Because of that, one of my first acts in office was to initiate what we call "corporate détente." I am convinced that we at the Federation can do far greater good for America by working together with our nation's industrial leaders, by working with mutual understanding and respect, than we can from an eternal, costly, angry confrontational relationship.

We are not about to be co-opted by anyone, but we are not about to reject the wisdom and experience of those who provide jobs for our people, energy for our homes and industry, and stability to the most productive and resilient industrial system in the world. The fact is that we are strong enough to enter into dialogue without fear of being compromised.

In this spirit of examining shared goals, we have established the National Wildlife Federation Corporate Conservation Council. Its first meeting will be soon -- October 13th, in Washington, D.C. Already, over a dozen different industries, including the petroleum industry, are represented on the Council. The Council's purpose is to create a closer relationship with a wide variety of American businesses and groups. Its focus will be on the future ... we must go forward, not backwards. The Council will provide a forum for corporations and the National Wildlife Federation to exchange ideas about common future problems ... a forum where we examine the framework for how we, as shareholders in the nation's resource base, can develop and utilize the fuels and fiber necessary to maintain a nation of consumers without destroying the resource base ... the very foundation of our existence. Our common goal must be to achieve and maintain a sustainable society. That, I hope and expect, will be the ultimate goal of the Corporate Conservation Council.

The Council cannot, of course, replace the Federation's structure for policy formulation and over-all direction. Under our charter, the Federation's policy is set by its members through resolutions adopted by delegates to our annual meetings. My job is to implement these policy directives. That we are doing, and that we will continue to do.

But in the formulation of policy both at the National Wildlife Federation and in the board rooms of corporate America, there are issues that we -- all of us -- constantly encounter. Under the heading of achieving and maintaining a sustainable society, questions loom over what should be the principles that guide our search for, and our development, production, transportation and use of fuels and materials ... and what principles should guide consumption policies and practices? Our challenge, in short, is to attempt to define the framework for proceeding with development and utilization in a manner that recognizes sound and rational conservation practices and principles.

How the Corporate Conservation Council will tackle its agenda ... indeed, how it develops its agenda ... will be initially determined at the first Council meetings. It has been said that every great journey begins with a single step. The Council will soon take its first important steps on a trail that is not always marked.

The petroleum industry, of course, long ago created, under the guidance of the American Petroleum Institute, a Conservation Liaison Committee and it has for 22 years provided a place where negotiation replaced aggravation, where resolution without litigation was

the goal. Many of you may not be aware that one of the founding fathers of that Committee was Mr. R. G. Follis, then chairman of the Board of the Standard Oil Company of California. It is now under the chairmanship of Mr. Ray Burke of Union Oil.

We intend to continue to work with that committee as we have in the past. We don't want to compete or try to replace it, but I felt it important to have direct contact with key corporate leaders to discuss, in a forward-looking manner, topics of mutual interest. I also wanted a forum where the exchange of information could take place in a relatively detached atmosphere free of the pressure to resolve immediate disputes and of the need to attack or defend positions already taken by the participants.

Where disputes do arise, we will look for alternative means of resolving them. A recent example is the comprehensive Cooperation Wildlife Program now under way to protect the valuable wildlife resources of the Overthrust Belt in a five-county area in Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho. It is the product of negotiations undertaken by the National Wildlife Federation in cooperation with its state affiliates, the Overthrust Industrial Association and the wildlife agencies of the states and two federal land management agencies.

Chevron, as many of you know, has been one of the principal partners in developing and funding the OIA and in designing the study and bringing together the various parties, with their varied interests. There are 37 energy firms involved and funding for the three-year program is \$800,000. That is a tremendous commitment -- both financially and in terms of corporate stewardship.

One of the study's tasks is to develop as complete a list as possible of management options for mitigating, reducing, or preventing adverse secondary impacts on fish and wildlife resources. The list could be used to develop a "toolbox for planners" which would consider such factors as costing and technical feasibility for various mitigation methods. Such a partnership to protect the wildlife resources in an environmentally responsible manner, is the kind of program we can all endorse.

In searching for ways to resolve disputes such as we encountered in the overthrust case, you must understand that our flexibility is limited by the expectations of our membership. For example, 73 percent of our members believe that there are too few environmental regulations; 97 percent feel that the federal government should continue to restrict development that damages wetlands; more than 90 percent believe that the Congress should require utilities to reduce sulfur emissions that form acid precipitation, even if it means increasing electric rates.

Polls show that our membership is in step with the opinion of the rest of the public on questions of environmental protection. Every credible poll taken recently has confirmed and reconfirmed the nation's overwhelming desire to protect the environment, to clean the air and water and to maintain wildlife habitats. That feeling is stronger today than it was at the time of Teddy Roosevelt. And we are proudly committed to advocate these views in a reasonable and responsible manner.

But, just as we respect that special obligation, we also tell you, as we tell our own members, that we are pro-utilization of resources. America's resources can and, indeed, must be utilized, though certainly in a manner consistent with conservation principles and sound environmental management. We can -- we must -- have economic growth and recovery and a healthy environment. And let me emphasize that we believe that within that growth there is a respectable and necessary place for the extractive industries. The petroleum industry stands as one of the key leaders in corporate environmental responsibility. Unlike some, your operation procedures, your sensitivity to the environment, your genuine interest in applying the latest technology and in working with the advice of environmental professionals have resulted in a well-earned, favorable reputation.

We understand that we do not live in a risk-free society and accidents do happen and precautions must be taken. And I recognize, for example, that the day may come when we may have to go into sensitive wilderness areas and marine sanctuaries for minerals and hydrocarbons. The American people expect their natural resources to be utilized in an orderly and responsible manner. But sensitive and important ecosystems must not be the first to be developed -- if ever, they must be the last. Just like the National Wildlife Federation, the petroleum industry should also stand four-square behind that same principle.

Further, we believe that development must occur in a way that insures long term productivity and diversity of wildlife and protection of other natural as well as human resource values. All of these values should be considered in our decisions regarding how and when to develop them. We, like other business leaders, want predictability. We want to know what's coming at us so that we can understand and deal with the implications of development. So do you. Flip flops, 180-degree turns, and political whips are not the foundation for wise business decisions. Nor is a national policy of giving away the public's resources. Whether it's oil on the continental shelf, coal under our

federal lands or water impounded behind federal dams, the public has the right to expect that its assets will be managed in a business like manner with due regard for our obligations to future Americans.

Unfortunately, that is not happening in Washington, D.C., today. For example, this administration has proposed to lease virtually the entire Outer Continental Shelf -- over a billion acres -- under a crash, five-year effort, far surpassing our capacity to adequately manage the development in an environmentally sound manner.

We oppose this massive lease because it lacks any sense of order and is premature.

We oppose it because budget cuts have made the Department of the Interior less able to measure the impact of OCS activities on areas of high biological productivity and less competent to provide needed mitigation studies.

We oppose it because the leasing program fails to balance orderly energy resource development with the protection of the human, marine, and coastal environments.

We are not alone in pleading for caution. In this state, California, among the administration's fellow Republicans, voices of reason say proceed with caution, don't let the undertow of a rush to develop pull us all under a deadly surface.

I wish this administration would listen to the wisdom of Thomas Jefferson who said, "The care of human life and happiness, and not their destruction, is the first and only legitimate object of good government."

We in America have grown ever more interdependent and we cannot any longer afford the luxury of going our own ways without concern or respect for the fragile environmental health of this country and the world. We must work together ... and I suggest to you that the National Wildlife Federation is prepared to join with you in the first and crucial step ... seeking and developing energy sources that are clean, safe, renewable and technically and economically efficient.

We want to join with you, and we invite you to join with us, in developing the framework for achieving and maintaining a sustainable society. It is right for America ... and that must always be our common goal.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 24, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM:

DANNY J. BOGGS

SUBJECT:

Critique of Russell Peterson Article in the
New York Times Magazine

Almost all of the 1990 "parade of horrors" are simply wrong, or highly implausible. This hypothetical gloom and doom scenario is in the great tradition of numerous others that have enlivened the literature with no basis in fact as well. One of the best was Paul Erlich's "Eco-Catastrophe" which had everything in the ocean dying by 1980 as a result of the runoff of chlorinated hydrocarbons, as well as a number of other catastrophes, such as falling food production, energy exhaustion, etc. Similarly, the famous book "Famine-1975" published in 1967, indicated starvation in the hundreds of millions by 1975. I understand they now have a new edition coming out to be called "Famine-1995!"

Hardly anyone believes that the difference between our current posture and even the full acid rain program being pushed in the Congress would be any significant change by 1990 in the measures cited, as imprecise as they are. Such terms as "sterilized," "stricken," etc. show that imprecision.

In most instances, our policies, even if adopted (or especially if adopted), would reduce the actual amount of pollutants in the air. Incidentally, the number of sulphur related deaths can be reduced by using nuclear instead of coal to produce electricity, as well as allowing more burning of clean western coal, which is prevented by the economics of current regulations. Similarly, the notion of vastly increased "devastation" from mining, logging, etc. is simply at variance with the fact that what is going on now is not devastating. Similarly, the complaints about oil and gas drilling ignore the fact that we currently have a vast number of wells off-shore producing large amounts of oil and gas with essentially no persistent effect from oil leakage or oil spills. In fact, oil imports result in more oil going into the ocean than the off-shore production of equivalent amounts.

It is possible that by changes in Clean Water Act regulations (or even under the current Clean Water Act), wetlands could be turned to other productive uses. On the energy item, it is simply wrong

that our policy will make us significantly less "energy independent" than some alternative set of subsidies and regulations that he might favor. Indeed, our current level of energy independence is well beyond that that would have been projected under many of the similar Carter proposals.

The remainder of the article primarily is a rehash of standard environmentalist objections to almost everything the Administration has done, particularly any and all of those things which involve allowing private initiative and development, or any market mechanism for environmental protection.

It is particularly interesting to note his laudation of the report for the transition by "some of the Nation's most respected and influential Republican environmentalists" (a few ringers like me apparently were slipped in) versus the Heritage Report. I am attaching a copy of the report made by the illustrious group, and you will note there is nothing in it which is significantly incompatible with what the Administration has in fact done. It is true that such members of the group as Russ Train, Nat Reed, etc. were not favored with Administration jobs.

It is also interesting to note his perception that "the natural balance between human beings and the rest of nature was thrown out of whack by a century of rapid industrial expansion and population growth." This presumably means that human beings were in much better harmony with nature in 1880 when they lived, in general, without indoor plumbing, without electric lights, with a far shorter life span and far higher infant mortality than they do now.

There is a pervasive jobs argument made which seems to indicate that more people are employed because of pollution controls. This is the same kind of static analysis which says that if we replace tractor-trailor trucks with coolies, we could have employment for vast additional millions, because it would take a lot more labor to carry the same goods. The real question is whether the controls themselves are economically justified and appropriate, not whether they create visible jobs (even while destroying jobs throughout the rest of the economy, if they are not so justified).

The list of assaults on individual Reagan appointees is notable for the charge made against Mr. Burford that he "believes that public land should be in private ownership." Presumably Mr. Peterson believes the opposite and that all farming in Iowa should be collective, housing in Kentucky should be owned by the state, etc.

The reference to Watt as "Cabinet counsel to the Committee on Natural Resources, Energy and Environment," indicates the shallowness of his specific knowledge of the issue.

Similarly, the quotes from Jay Hair, President of NWF, on his hopes for Reagan are almost totally disingenuous, as he was the leading organizer of the explicit endorsement of Carter during the election.

In summary, this article is simply a straightforward compilation of the major charges being made by the environmental movement generally, emphasizing again their desire for authoritarian policies, prevention of development and enterprise, and preservation of taxpayer property for their benefit, without cost to them. While this is almost all balderdash, we have not been very successful in promoting the opposing point of view publicly. Essentially, it seems to me we have a number of alternatives:

1. Fiat justitia, ruat coelam. This translates as do justice, though the heavens fall. In other words, hunker down and do what's right, and take our licking as we have been getting for the past two years.
2. Have a try at getting some more credible or perceived as credible spokesmen in visible positions in this issue area. I think Hodel will be of some help here.
3. Get the President involved in making the case more aggressively. I presume that this would be in general contraindicated by many because of the fear of getting him involved in controversies generally.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

show me 11/16
Date 11/12

TO:

R. Porter
D. Boggs
R. Carleson
W. Gunn
K. Hopkins
V. Montoya
M. Uhlmann

ACTION: ☒

FYI: ☐

- ☐ Comment
☐ For your handling
☐ Draft response

Due Date _____

REMARKS:

*He gave me a
critique of this article*

EDWIN L. HARPER

Administration's deregulatory policies go unchecked, they will lead to a radical decline in the quality of our natural resources.

COLLIER & CONNOT/STOCK BOSTON

LAISSEZ-FAIRE LANDSCAPE

By Russell W. Peterson

The crystal ball I am gazing into is murky, not from the cloudiness usually associated with crystal balls, but from polluted air.

The year is 1990. The darkest fears of environmentalists have been realized. Ronald Reagan, elected for a second term in 1984, was able to complete his program of "regulatory reform" before riding off into the smog-shrouded sunset. His public-lands policies have been fully carried out. His "New Federalism" is firmly in place. Environmental protection laws are less stringent; agencies charged with implementing the laws have been reduced in size and scope, and actions needed to address pollution and resource problems have been largely deferred.

My crystal ball shows that acid rain is causing widespread ecological disruption. By 1990, the sulfuric and nitric acids formed in the atmosphere from industrial and auto pollutants, causing acid rain, have sterilized 273 additional lakes in New York State's

Adirondack Park and killed the forests of red spruce that once cloaked the mountains' upper slopes. But the problem of acid rain is no longer just a regional one as in the 1970's, when the first serious damage in this country was being documented in northern New York.

The lakes and forests of Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire are suffering the same fate. The Appalachians, Rockies, Sierra Nevadas and northern Cascades, the lake country of Minnesota and Wisconsin, the north woods of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, and the reservoir containing the drinking water for Boston have all been stricken. To the north, in Ontario, 10,000 lakes are now dead; 40,000 more are expected to succumb by the year 2000. In Nova Scotia, 18 rivers that once teemed with spawning salmon are devoid of all fish.

The same sulfur emissions from power plants and smelters that cause acid rain have also aggravated respiratory and heart disease in many Americans. The number of premature deaths attributed to sulfur-related air pollution in the United States

and Canada was estimated at 51,000 a year by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment in 1982; instead of being reduced through mandated use of the best available pollution controls, that number has increased by several thousand annually as a direct result of the Reagan Administration's policy of regulatory relaxation.

The nationwide decline in air quality is most dramatic in the wide-open spaces of the West, where a 78 percent increase in sulfur-dioxide emissions has turned the Big Sky Country of Montana into the Dirty Sky Country. For half the days of the year, smog now blankets the Grand Canyon.

After an eight-year relaxation of Federal strip-mining controls, the Appalachian landscapes of Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky resemble a battle- (Continued on Page 30)

Russell W. Peterson, president of the National Audubon Society, was Republican Governor of Delaware from 1969 to 1973 and headed the Council on Environmental Quality under Presidents Nixon and Ford.

Increased air pollution, the author contends, could leave the Grand Canyon, top right, blanketed by smog half the days of the year. It is imperative, he argues, to restore the balance between industry, exemplified by the plant at left, and nature.

tel
rfect,
p
ck.



venue, New York, N.Y. 10022 212-888-7000
August 17, 1982

...telling me how delighted you were to pick
on as you returned home to learn that we found
58,000 pin—before either of you even realized
the day maid, discovered it in your room and called in
people, who, in turn, called you.
relieved that your visit to New York had a happy ending,
you'll be staying with us again soon.
Considering all the places in New York where you could
st your pin, we're pleased it was on the floor of your
—though I never thought I'd have to apologize for our thick
eting

Cordially,

Leona M. Helmsley
Leona M. Helmsley,
President

*The
Park Lane*

A HELMSLEY HOTEL
36 CENTRAL PARK SOUTH
NEW YORK, NY 10019

Continued from Page 27

field where local residents and nature have taken a terrible beating. Mountain tops have been removed to get at the coal. Wastes have been dumped down mountainsides. Streams are clogged with sediment. Acid drainage has contaminated wells. Landslides frequently dam streams and cause flooding in the hollows. Many families, even entire communities, have been forced to move.

Our national forests have also changed. Logging activity has doubled since 1980. What remained of the virgin forests, and the complex communities of life that they supported, has been largely replaced (where reforestation was feasible) with single-species tree farms. Elsewhere, steep mountainsides lie bare and eroded, centuries of accumulated soil and decayed matter on forest floors having washed into streams that previously supported trout, small-mouth bass and annual runs of salmon.

What was left of unprotected wilderness in the lower 48 states (23.5 million acres of wild lands had statutory protection in 1982, but 36.7 million acres did not) has now been criss-crossed with logging roads and thus permanently disqualified — by dint of no longer being "roadless areas" — for inclusion in the wilderness preservation system.

Our National Park and Wildlife Refuge Systems, as envisioned by Congress in the 1970's, will remain forever incomplete. Many of the hundreds of thousands of acres once slated for permanent protection as new parks and refuges — or needed to round out existing units in the system — have been lost to development. Meanwhile, full-scale economic activity on the National Wildlife Refuges, such as logging, grazing and mining, has taken precedence over the original and primary purpose of these Federal sanctuaries: wildlife and habitat protection.

Because of changes in the Clean Water Act regulations, by 1990 some six million acres of formerly protected wetlands have been drained and converted to soybean cultivation, housing developments and other commercial uses.

and a modest (and temporary) increase in domestic oil and gas production. But the price of not considering the full consequences of energy development in offshore areas has been high. Chronic oil leakage and several major oil spills have seriously affected Alaska's commercial fishing, marine mammals such as the bowhead whale and waterfowl.

The energy picture in 1990 is not bright. By stressing fossil fuels and nuclear power while ignoring the potential of the sun's renewable energy and the savings to be gained from more efficient use of energy, the Reagan Administration has set the country back a decade in its pursuit of energy independence. A comment made to me and other environmental leaders by the President's counselor, Edwin Meese 3d, at a White House meeting back in 1982, has returned to haunt the country.

"What can a few windmills do?" Mr. Meese asked, when we had pressed the case for solar energy.

Indeed, an Audubon energy study showed that we could have been meeting one-quarter of our national energy requirements with solar power, and with greater energy efficiency, by the year 2000. Now, in 1990, our crystal ball shows, that vital goal, on which our economic health and national security depends, is still almost two decades away.

Of course, crystal-ball gazing is not an exact science, and the foregoing, based on the best available projections, are estimates, not iron-clad predictions. But the exercise does reveal some of what could happen if all the Administration's environmental policies were carried through to completion. However, my crystal ball has not taken into account the strong public support for environmental protection and the growing opposition to the Administration's efforts to weaken legislative protection of our air, land, water and wildlife, as reflected, for example, in a 1981 Harris poll that showed 80 percent of those questioned wanted a strong clean-air act. If that opposition continues to grow, I believe this worst-case scenario will not become reality.

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50 years, B&G has
keeping good
ny with wine lovers.



1981
SAINT-LOUIS
CHARDONNAY
MAÇON
APPELLATION MAÇON CONTRÔLÉE

BOTTLED BY

ADELARD CRESTIER

1985, on commercial whaling, and helped to stop Federal spending for a hydroelectric dam that would needlessly flood vast forested areas in northern Maine and destroy what many consider the finest wild river in the eastern United States, the St. John.

Overall, however, Ronald Reagan gets an F when it comes to the environment. No other President in my experience has seemed to be less caring about the need to protect the nation's natural beauty and natural resources, less aware that over the long run a sound economy depends on a healthy environment. No President has seemed less concerned about the quality of life we pass on to future generations.

President Reagan has cut environmental programs more vigorously than almost any other part of his budget. He has filled key environmental posts with people who have previously worked against environmental regulations. In an approach that seems more radical than conservative, Mr. Reagan has repudiated what I hold to be a Republican tradition of conservation and protection of natural resources that goes back to Theodore Roosevelt.

During the transition from President Jimmy Carter to Mr. Reagan, some of the nation's most respected and influential Republican environmentalists served on a task force that had been asked by the President-elect to make recommendations for an environmental program. The task force sought to maintain the momentum of environmental protection while allowing for some easing of regulation and for economic incentives for pollution control.

Its report was ignored. The Administration listened instead to the recommendations of the Heritage Foundation, an extremely conservative research group, which proposed all-out offshore oil development, transfer of Federal lands to the states and the private sector, a reduction in air-quality controls and faster licensing of nuclear power plants. These recommendations fit in better, apparently, with the new President's determination to "get government off the backs" of the states and to

Moving to correct the imbalance, Congress passed the first air- and water-pollution control acts and then, in 1969, the National Environmental Policy Act, which declared a Federal intention to encourage "harmony between man and his environment." During the Nixon, Ford and Carter Administrations, a series of laws was passed to achieve this goal. Together, these measures add up to one of the great bipartisan legislative achievements of the 20th century, and they serve as a model for other countries trying to balance material progress with environmental quality.

Our air and rivers and lakes gradually became cleaner in many parts of the nation. Thousands of acres of parkland and wilderness — remnants of our magnificent natural heritage — were preserved for present and future enjoyment.

The free-enterprise system responded to the new market for clean air and clean water. Laboratories and factories produced the processes and products to meet the demand, and hundreds of new companies, providing hundreds of thousands of new jobs, were created.

The natural balance between human beings and the rest of nature, thrown out of whack by a century of rapid industrial expansion and population growth, was beginning to be restored.

All this has abruptly changed, however, with the arrival of a new Administration that regards environmental regulation as nonproductive and as a drain on the economy. Vice President George Bush, chairman of Mr. Reagan's Task Force on Regulatory Relief, vowed to reduce environmental restraints in order to "increase productivity and provide more jobs."

Yet a study in 1979 by the Council on Environmental Quality, which advises the President and Federal agencies on environmental issues, showed that the benefits of measured improvement in air quality since 1970 could be valued at \$21.4 billion a year. Of this total, \$17 billion represented reductions in death and disease; \$2 billion reductions in cleaning costs; \$700 million increases in agricul-

Chloé



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of human lives prolonged and human suffering prevented.

A study by the Environmental Protection Agency estimated that 524,000 jobs would be created by 1987 if existing environmental standards were maintained. In 1981, the E.P.A. estimated the total employment in water-pollution control at 220,000 (half of these jobs in the private sector), and the Department of the Interior estimated that more than 120,000 people were employed in air-pollution control.

The federally funded Solar Energy Research Institute, whose funds were sharply cut by the Reagan budget ax, had reported last year that a concerted national effort to improve energy efficiency and to increase the use of renewable power could, over the next two decades, help the country "achieve a full-employment economy and increased worker productivity, while reducing national energy consumption by nearly 25 percent." The Industrial Union Department of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. estimated that 600,000 new jobs could be created by 1990 in the conservation and solar industries.

On the other hand, the cost of environmental controls was estimated by the Council on Environmental Quality in 1978 to be \$26.9 billion. Employers have reported that a total of 32,611 workers have lost their jobs because of environmental laws, according to an E.P.A. survey earlier this year.

Richard Kazis and Richard L. Grossman point out in their new book "Fear at Work: Job Blackmail, Labor and the Environment" (Pilgrim Press) that many more jobs have been created by the national cleanup than have been eliminated by it. The net gain in employment is probably even greater than indicated, since some of the reported "lost jobs" resulted from plant closings for which Federal air-pollution restrictions were blamed, but where the basic problems turned out to be obsolescence and poor management.

But the Reagan Administration has chosen to ignore these findings and to reject the lessons of the past. Instead, this new team of top national officials professes an

necessary, this doctrine holds, should be the business of state and local governments — even though it was the very failure of state and local governments to assume this responsibility that necessitated a Federal regulatory role in the first place.

The Reagan budget cutters have consistently singled out environmental programs for the biggest slashes: for example, a total of 33 percent cut for the Environmental Protection Agency adjusted for inflation, a proposed 94 percent cut for energy conservation and a planned 83 percent cut for park land acquisition. President Reagan's appointments of antienvironmentalists to the nation's top resource-protection posts have also been remarkable for their consistency.

Mr. Watt, to take the most conspicuous example, previously headed a legal foundation financed by Western businessmen to fight Government regulations. Robert F. Burford, director of the Bureau of Land Management, believes that public land should be in private ownership; James R. Harris and J. Steven Griles, the director and deputy director of the Office of Surface Mining, who are entrusted with administering the Federal statute that controls strip mining, previously supported suits in Indiana and Virginia to have this law declared unconstitutional.

Another of the new stewards of our public lands is John B. Crowell Jr., former head lawyer for the Louisiana-Pacific Corporation, one of the country's biggest private cutters of the national forests. Mr. Crowell is now Assistant Secretary of Agriculture in charge of protecting these same forests. His concept of stewardship is to reduce rare plant and animal species, including the spotted owl in the Northwest and the red cockaded woodpecker in the Southeast, to what he terms "minimal viable populations" as he seeks to convert the last great stands of primeval forest into board feet of lumber. Overall, Mr. Crowell plans to increase timber sales by 50 percent in the national forests. The Forest Services' estimated expenditures for 1983 show more than \$271 million slated for



**ODY'S DRINKING
LA SOAVE.
ME A**

wildlife protection intensifies, making the funding imbalance even more lopsided.

Anne M. Gorsuch, appointed by President Reagan to head the Environmental Protection Agency, had previously fought air-pollution controls as a state legislator in Colorado. Other top E.P.A. appointees hail from the oil, steel, chemical, coal, auto and paper industries, all of which are subject to E.P.A. controls. Typifying the new look at E.P.A. are the chief of staff, John E. Daniel, former lobbyist for the Johns-Manville Corporation (a leading manufacturer of asbestos) and the American Paper Institute; Kathleen M. Bennett, former lobbyist for the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, a paper manufacturer, now assistant administrator for air, noise and radiation; Robert M. Perry, former Exxon lawyer, now general counsel responsible for E.P.A. enforcement; Rita M. Lavelle, formerly with the Aerojet-General Corporation of California (whose liquid fuel plant in Rancho Cordova was placed by the E.P.A. on the Federal Priority list of 115 toxic waste sites that constituted the most serious problems among the thousands of such dumps around the country), now assistant administrator for solid waste and emergency response.



Another weapon in the President's war against environmental protection is "doublespeak," of which Mr. Watt is the most notable practitioner.

"I am the nation's chief environmentalist," Mr. Watt says of his role as Interior Secretary, and in almost every public address he stresses a commitment to "good stewardship." Yet, under Mr. Watt's stewardship, the National Park System, which is getting 10 times more use today than in 1950, would cease growing. Much of the privately owned property within park boundaries may never be publicly acquired. Other urgently needed open spaces, particularly near metropolitan areas, may be permanently lost.

Shortly after taking office, the Interior Secretary told a

tional park proposed for the Santa Monica Mountains adjoining Los Angeles, an extraordinary, near-wilderness region within a day's drive of 10 million urban dwellers, an area that might have been one of the most widely enjoyed of all our national parks, is about to be lost to subdividers. Much of what was intended by Congress to become the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area may instead be posted off limits to the public.

Many conservationists identified Mr. Watt early on as the Administration's leading villain when he announced his plan to eliminate park acquisition funds, vowed to "open up wilderness" and lease fragile coastal areas for oil drilling, and denounced all who challenged his policies as "extremists" and "left-wing cultists." As Cabinet counsel to the Committee on Natural Resources, Energy and Environment, Mr. Watt's influence in the new Administration seemed pervasive; for environmentalists, he was the force to be reckoned with.

But it soon became clear that Mr. Watt was no maverick Cabinet officer whose zealous policies might embarrass the President. Mr. Watt was clearly one of Mr. Reagan's most admired aides. By his own admission a "lightning rod" for the President's least popular environmental policies, the Interior Secretary was doing exactly what he had been hired to do. As Friends of the Earth, an environmental group, declared in a full-page advertisement, "Ronald Reagan is the real James Watt."

"Almost 70 percent of our members voted for Ronald Reagan," Jay D. Hair, executive vice president of the National Wildlife Federation, the nation's largest environmental group, announced last June.

"We cheered when candidate Reagan said that his Administration would hit the ground running," Hair said. "What we did not expect was that they would hit it running backward." In a recent survey of the federation's largely Republican membership, 86 percent rated President Reagan's environmental record as less than good and

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LANDSCAPE

Continued from Page 38

"good science" on which to base environmental regulations. At the same time, the Administration, through its budget cuts, is making it impossible for the Federal Government to obtain needed scientific data. The 1983 budget (corrected for inflation) would cut E.P.A. research by nearly 40 percent from 1981, while the funding for outside research, done under contract by universities and private laboratories, would be cut by 53 percent.

"When people become aware of their increased exposure to environmental toxics — and when they discover what these things are doing to their health — they are going to demand immediate corrective measures," according to William Drayton, a top official of the Environmental Protection Agency during the Carter years. "E.P.A. will be right back where it was in its early days, forced by Congressional deadlines to make decisions without the scientific basis to do so. It took a decade to build the research staff and network of research affiliates that was in place in 1960. It will take another 10 years to rebuild it."

"The E.P.A. budget cuts will slow to a crawl the process of screening chemicals that may endanger human health," Jonathan Lash, staff attorney of the Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental group, told Congress at a hearing this year. "It will be decades before we even learn what is dangerous. By then, it will be too late for many Americans."

In the relatively few instances where there is enough scientific information to determine that a particular pollutant is dangerous to human beings, the Administration has shown a tendency to play down the risks. In some cases, more concern seems to be given to "regulatory relief" than to protecting public health.

On the basis of animal tests, E.P.A. scientists concluded early in 1981 that formaldehyde, to which human beings are widely exposed through many house-

been reported to cause respiratory problems, skin irritation, nausea, headaches and dizziness. E.P.A. scientists recommended quick action to determine appropriate regulation of formaldehyde. Dr. John A. Todhunter, formerly a Washington representative for the American Council on Science and Health, an anti-regulatory panel generally supportive of industrial positions on health regulation, who is now in charge of the E.P.A.'s toxic control program, rejected the recommendation after consulting with representatives of the Formaldehyde Institute. Because the danger of formaldehyde to humans had not been conclusively proved, Dr. Todhunter explained, no immediate action would be taken.

"The Reagan Administration needs a body count before it'll move," according to Jacqueline M. Warren, senior staff attorney of the Natural Resources Defense Council. "The concept of preventive action has been rejected. A toxic chemical is now presumed innocent until human suffering and death can be directly traced to it." And even when a toxic substance has been proved guilty, Mrs. Warren charged, the new E.P.A. can be remarkably reluctant to act.

Resisting heavy Congressional pressure, the E.P.A. has determined that it will not require schools to correct hazardous asbestos conditions in walls and ceilings. And the Administration has not requested the funds needed to provide assistance to the many schools that want to remove the danger but cannot afford to. The result: At least three million children and teachers continue to be exposed to an undisputed carcinogen.

In the Reagan Administration, when science conflicts with ideology, science usually loses out. Last year, the National Academy of Sciences issued a study recommending that action be taken to reduce emissions of sulfur dioxide from power plants and of nitrogen oxides from power plants and automobiles. The academy identified these as

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whelming," the report noted. "Many thousands of lakes have already been affected. At the current rate of emissions of sulfur and nitrogen oxides, the number of affected lakes can be expected to more than double by 1990."

This was a message the Reagan team did not want to hear. So it cut off funds to the academy for some of the research on acid rain. The Administration has continued to advocate the view of the utility industry, which maintains, not surprisingly, that much more needs to be known about acid rain before expensive steps are taken to deal with it.

Further study of acid rain will be done by an outside group of scientists, selected and supervised by the President's science adviser, Dr. George A. Keyworth 2d. It is "eminently reasonable" for the President to want scientific panels that share his political philosophy, Dr. Keyworth explained.

So much for scientific objectivity in the pursuit of truth.

On June 15, 1981, Mr. Watt complained during an interview that "every year there's a money-making scare. This year it's acid rain."

The outgoing Energy Secretary, James B. Edwards, takes a more positive view, characterizing acid rain as a natural phenomenon that benefits the environment.

"I don't want to stop acid rain, because 99.9 percent of all rain is of an acid nature," he asserted. "In some areas, it's good for crops, because the fields are alkaline and a little acid rain helps to neutralize the soil."

David A. Stockman, the Administration's budget director, sees acid rain from another perspective. In a 1980 speech to the National Association of Manufacturers, Mr. Stockman said:

"I kept reading these stories that there are 170 lakes dead in New York that will no longer carry any fish or aquatic life. And it occurred to me to ask the question: How much are the fish worth in these 170 lakes that account for 4 percent of the lake area of New York? And does it make sense to spend billions of dollars controlling emissions from sources in Ohio and elsewhere if you're

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"Only buy a designer fur when you know who made mine"



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that fishery losses in northern New York and New England from acid rain now amount to \$20 million to \$50 million annually, including damage to the travel and recreation industries. Maximum total losses from acid rain, including damage to forests, crops, buildings, statues and other property, were put at \$2.5 billion a year.

North of the border, where the eco-

nomic effects of acid rain could be catastrophic, John Roberts, Canada's Minister of the Environment, calls the acid-rain-producing pollution from this country the "single greatest irritant to the U.S.-Canadian relationship."

Meanwhile, the Administration continues to press for changes in the Clean Air Act that would allow an in-

crease in sulfur pollution from power plants and other sources. Aside from the environmental consequences of such a move, human lives will be affected. The Office of Technology Assessment estimates that the annual death toll from sulfur emissions could rise to 57,000 annually by the year 2000. And a National Audubon Society study released in June found that a

weakening of sulfur-emission standards, as the Administration proposes, could result in 2,200 premature deaths a year in the western United States alone, starting in the year 2000.



The Reagan Administration has, paradoxically, given the environmental movement a shot in the arm. During and after the Sierra Club's successful campaign to gather a million signers on "Dump Watt" petitions, the club's membership jumped from 180,000 to 320,000. The Wilderness Society has pulled out of a long slump, its membership growing by almost 50 percent, to more than 60,000, since the new Administration arrived. The National Audubon Society raised nearly \$1 million in its 1981 appeal to members — 10 times the response of the previous year — in a letter that called for a Citizen Mobilization Campaign, which is now working to counteract the Administration's assault on the environment.

The nation's leading environmental organizations have banded together to meet the current challenge. Earlier this year, 10 national organizations issued a report titled "Indictment: The Case Against the Reagan Environmental Record," laying out 220 charges of actions detrimental to the nation. A follow-up investigation has just been completed which identifies scores of specific cases of "trickle-down" environmental damage in states and communities around the country.

In recent months, word has come from the White House that the Reagan Administration is, after all, deeply concerned about the environment. But not, it appears, because of what may be happening to our natural assets and to public health. What apparently concerns the President is that his environmental record could harm Republican chances in this week's Congressional elections. James Watt has been noticeably less contentious. Mrs. Gorsuch has hired a public-relations expert to improve her image. And what's left of



"After only a couple of hours in Bermuda,
we felt more relaxed than we'd been in months."

Nancy Coleman and Phyllis Klein talk about their first visit to Bermuda.

"It's totally beautiful...the beaches,
the flowers, the people."

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"Some of the polls made the White House concerned that our programs are not being explained to the public," said the council's spokesman, W. Ernst Minor, to a reporter. "Therefore, we jolly well better explain them. Not change them: Explain them."

"If they simply change their rhetoric, the confrontation will continue," says Gaylord Nelson, a former Wisconsin Senator who is now chairman of the Wilderness Society. "What we



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"It's totally beautiful...the beaches,
the flowers, the people."

for
Bermuda."



Couldn't you use a little

✓ Fantasy islands: Will crowds and hotels spoil the charm?

An empty stretch of beach is getting harder to find on nation's barrier islands

By Robert M. Press
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Hilton Head, S.C.

Children and adults ride bikes slowly along curving paths that border plush golf courses, tennis courts, and elegant homes on this resort island. Miles of wide, white sand beaches offer a chance for a quiet walk alone.

But it is getting harder to find an empty stretch of beach. And the view along the beach is increasingly of homes and apartments and hotels. There is even a rush hour here each workday as commuters from off-island jobs return home, and vice versa.

For years no one worried too much about the crowds. But today, as on many of the nation's barrier islands — fragile nature spots with shifting shorelines — there is growing concern that the crowds are getting too big.

Like a necklace of gems, barrier islands stretch from Maine to Texas. And development is increasing rapidly, as more Americans head for one of the gems to retire or vacation.

But changes are in the wind.

• A new federal law that goes into effect in October 1983 effectively ends federally subsidized insurance for new homes and businesses on barrier islands. Already this is having an effect, says Sharon Newsome of the National Wildlife Federation.

Developers are racing ahead on projects to beat the deadline. But banks are growing more hesitant to make loans on projects that will not be finished before the deadline.

• Congress is moving closer to approval of a law ending a wide range of federal subsidies for development of barrier islands, including money for bridges, roads, and sewers. The bill, which has strong bipartisan support, would likely add another brake to development of barrier islands.

• Officials on islands such as St. Simons, off the coast of Georgia, and Hilton Head have begun to impose controls on the kind of development they will allow.

"People have come here for the island's beauty," says a Hilton Head community leader, Martha Baumberger. "I've felt increasingly appalled that lots of other people want to come, too."

So in early July, for the first time ever, the county council that governs the area including the island, passed a temporary building control ordinance for Hilton Head.

St. Simons Island passed a tighter building control ordinance last year.

An undeveloped Georgia barrier island...

Ossabaw, was sold in 1979 to the state for perpetual use as an education and research center. It can not be developed, says the former owner, Eleanor T. West, who says she sold it "at a bargain price" after turning down much more attractive offers from potential developers. But the private Ossabaw Foundation, which she runs to allow educators, writers, artists, and others to use the island for their projects, is nearly bankrupt and may have to be ended, she says, unless she finds additional support soon.

The new building controls on Hilton Head were prompted by concerns that less-than-attractive development might spoil some of the island's charm and too much development might overtax its sewage and water facilities. Some island wells already have had intrusion of salt water, but county officials see no shortage problems for 10 to 20 years. As demand grows, facilities to treat water will have to

grow, they say. Already some of the 18 golf courses on the island are being watered with treated sewage water, which helps address two problems at once.

Officials also are concerned that in case of a hurricane, evacuation over the single, two-lane bridge would be a problem even if development stops now.

But opposition from some developers and county residents opposed to land-use controls may dilute some provisions of the final development controls, says county administrator Mike O'Neill.

Under the temporary controls, building height is limited to six stories. Special impact statements from developers are required for new construction with more than four living units per acre for homes and for more than 15 for apartments, says county council member Gordon Craighead, an island realtor. And to

combat pollution of local waters, new construction property must retain the first inch of rainfall. Runoff from yards, parking lots, and driveways currently rushes oil, grease, and fertilizers into nearby waters, posing threats to wildlife.

Hilton Head's resident population is about 12,000, but up to 50,000 tourists are on the island in peak months, says Mr. Craighead.

To a large extent, Hilton Head has become an island for the affluent, says council member Morris Campbell. There is only one low-cost motel (\$23 a night) on the island.

Most hotel rooms cost between \$55 and \$125. A time sharing condominium — each with a number of owners who individually use the facility for one week a year — may sell for several thousand dollars up to about \$18,000, says Craighead. Some apartments rent for \$300 to \$350 a week for up to six people, and villas cost \$800 and up a week.

19

Park rangers and gawkers
keep bathers from goal:
To be left alone and nude.

Nudists get citations, stares on Jersey shore

From Herald Wire Services

SANDY HOOK, N.J. — A small but determined band of nudists staked a claim to a public beach in a national park Saturday, but were forced to put on their clothes by park rangers who threatened to arrest them.

The group of about 20 nude bathers attracted a crowd of reporters and photographers, 25 park rangers, about 18 protesters, more than 100 onlookers and an offshore fleet of more than 25 fishing and pleasure boats, which made a beeline to the beach at the first sight of skin.

Five of the "naturists" were cited for violations of state public lewdness laws after National Park Service officials, stymied by the lack of a federal law against nudity, ruled that New Jersey law applies in the Gateway National Recreation Area because the state helps to run the park.

All five decided to put on their swimsuits after rangers warned them that they faced arrest on disorderly persons charges if they ignored the order to dress.

The leaders of the Tri-State Metro Naturists vowed to contest the ruling in the courts.

"It's a joke. It'll never stand up in the courts," said Michelle Handler, 21, a sales representative from Rhode Island. "I'm not lewd, I'm not lascivious. All I want to do here is take off my clothes and spend the day at the beach."

No citations were issued until Joseph Hawley, 25, an independent Third District congressional candidate, filed a complaint. He contend-

ed the courts had to stop the group before the concept of nude sunbathing spread to other areas.

"It's immoral. This is a public beach," said Hawley, who wore a white shirt, a tie and shoes for his battle with the nudists. "You have families coming here. With children. And they don't want to be subjected to this type of exhibition."

The protesters, many representing church groups and three carrying 8-foot wooden crosses, gathered at a nearby ranger station. But despite a few derogatory remarks by a pack of teenagers, the nudists were generally well-received by beach-goers, who pushed and shoved in search of a better view.

"It's sad that you come from such depressed backgrounds that you have to come to get joy from watching us," Handler told one wisecracking onlooker.

"I don't have any trouble with it," spectator Jerry Higgins, 42, of East Keansburg, said of the naturists' outing, part of their quest for a place to legally sunbathe nude in New Jersey. "If they want to, let them, although I don't really think kids should see it."

"It's publicity over a big nothing," said one of the disrobed sunbathers, who identified himself only as Jack. "With all the ... wars and bombs, it is amazing that people come out for a little thing like this. People are getting killed in Beirut and people here are more concerned because someone wants to take his clothes off."

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1982

Dear Chris:

I appreciate your sending me your May 27 speech to the AGA.

I think you say a number of very sensible things there. I am particularly impressed with the private enterprise activities that you discuss on pages 7-8. I have always believed that one of the major failings of Ralph Nader-type organizations has been a tendency always to "preach" and never to "do." In Nader's case, since his usual theme is that the "evil companies" could provide the same services cheaper, or better services for the same price, there was always an overwhelming temptation to retort "If you're so smart, why ain't you rich?" The public acceptance of a Ralph Nader oil company or a Ralph Nader insurance company would have been very great if the product was at all competitive. Your willingness to enter the competitive arena in this way is laudable.

I would also be interested in any material you may have on the history and details of the Rainey Marsh oil and wildlife connection.

I would also make a few additional points in a slightly critical vein.

On page 3, the John Muir quote can sometimes be used as an excuse for never doing anything. Decision-making under uncertainty is something we all have to learn to live with.

On page 5, you should note that numerous attacks have been made on big business when they have attempted to become involved in such activities as solar energy. Of course, they are also attacked if they don't, but that is another indication of the reason that businesses are a generally wary toward consumer-environmental groups.

At the top of page 6: I have always thought that the "job-creating" aspects of pollution control is really a red herring. If the society were to decide on a massive program of state religion, leading to the construction of large temples and the employment of thousands of "temple tenders," I really do not consider that to be an indication that state religion is not a "burden on the economy." If pollution control is justified, it has to be justified on its results, not on the number of people employed doing unjustified things.

On page 7, your example of environmental alliances with business in lobbying for money for the business forms an interesting counterpoint to your page 6 attack on business for its disloyalty to the faith in the free enterprise system. In this instance you are certainly allying yourself with that same tendency.

On page 9, I think we need to distinguish carefully between true externality problems (pollution, climate change, etc.) and simple resource depletion problems. Your line that it is wrong to take the tack "that the regions of the earth are ours to plunder" can easily be made into an assault on the ownership of anything.

Finally, your statement on "accepting responsibility for the world we will leave behind" can easily overlook the fact that the "we" may encompass many people of differing sensitivities. Your "accepting responsibility" for my activities can look a lot like totalitarian control of those activities, to someone who doesn't agree with you.

In sum, I thought it was a rather useful speech, and if it is any consolation, my dealings with Congressman Chappie indicate that he talks that way to everybody, not only environmentalists!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Danny", with a stylized, cursive flourish extending from the end.

DANNY J. BOGGS
Assistant Director
Office of Policy Development

Christopher N. Palmer
Director of Energy and Environment
National Capital Office
National Audubon Society
2000 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

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ENVIRONMENTALISTS VERSUS BUSINESS PEOPLE
Speech to the American Gas Association
in Key Biscayne, Florida

on
May 27, 1982
by Christopher N. Palmer
Director of Energy and Environment
National Capital Office
National Audubon Society

Chm

The Washington Post recently reported what happened when a lobbyist from the Sierra Club visited Congressman Gene Chappie from California. The conservative congressman grabbed him by the necktie and said "Listen, wimp, if you ever set foot in my office again I'm going to break your bones!".

A few weeks after that incident, I gave a talk at an industry conference sponsored by the Energy Daily. When I had finished a man in the audience got up and said he remembered me when I worked on Senator Percy's staff. He said "You were a Luddite then and you are a Luddite now". A Luddite is a hater of new technology. My admirer went on "I'm forming a society of Luddites and I'm going to give you our first annual award: a four-sided wheel".

When I got back to my office after that speech, I cleared out my "In" box and found several interesting items. One was a newspaper story reporting that Assistant Secretary John Crowell at the Department of Agriculture had suggested that the Audubon Society and the Sierra Club are infiltrated by socialists and communists.

A second item was a Washington Post article reporting that a memorandum from a senior official in the U.S. Geological Survey had contained the following statement: "Words such as disturbed, devastated, defiled, ravaged, gouged, scarred and destroyed are words used by the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, environmentalists, homosexuals, ecologists and other ideological eunuchs opposed to developing mineral resources".

A third item in my "In" box was a special report from the Republican Study Committee chaired by Representative Badham from California. It stated that "Environmental groups are engaged in a systematic campaign intent on promoting environmental interests largely to the detriment of energy development and economic prosperity." It concluded that "Environmentalists are liberal and self-motivated and intent on preserving their privileged status."

Finally, I found a letter from Mr. Robert Koehler, Senior Vice President of the Marriott Corporation, who had read the Audubon Energy Plan -- all 100 pages of it -- and said that he found it "laughable in its naivete".

All these stories and reports illustrate the tension, distrust, and contempt which business, industry and conservatives have for environmental organizations such as the National Audubon Society.

Environmental groups, of course, are not perfect. We have flaws, as does business. By candidly examining the flaws on both sides we may be able to defuse the destructive animosity and mutual misunderstanding between environmentalists and business people, and even find areas where we can make common cause. Let me first focus on the weaknesses of environmentalists, both real and perceived.

One of our problems is that we tend to assume a tone of arrogance when talking to business. When I gave the Energy Daily speech I mentioned a moment ago, I got a call afterwards from Joe Browder, who used to work for an environmental group and now works for industry. Joe said (and he was right) that I had failed to get my message across because I had been "too preachy". When we environmentalists act as though we talk to God and as though we have all the answers -- as I suspect I did at that conference -- then industry, even those business people who are inclined to be sympathetic, will be understandably irritated.

We call ourselves "public interest" groups -- the implication being that we look after the "public interest" while everyone else is pursuing their own selfish goals. There is an element of truth in this, but it doesn't justify the tendency of a minority of environmentalists to assume that anyone who disagrees with us is either stupid, misinformed, or greedy for profit.

This tendency of a few of us to assume that we know all the answers is matched by a tendency to be rigid and unyielding -- to be unwilling to compromise or negotiate. Churchill once said of DeGaulle that he was "too weak to bend". Environmentalists sometimes are afraid to bend and be flexible. The newsletter Washington Balance published by the National Environmental Development Association said in its January, 1982 issue that "environmental activists see any compromise as loss".

This unwillingness to compromise comes across to business people as self righteousness, and tends to make business less willing to compromise. Joe Browder, whom I mentioned earlier, was quoted in the magazine Environment a year ago as saying that "some environmental groups do their cause a disservice by taking extreme positions and refusing to make realistic compromises".

One reason for this attitude is that perhaps we don't always see the full complexity of the issues we are involved in, but tend to see choices in terms of black and white. We have a tendency to think the arguments made by industry are totally self-interested and exaggerated. Clearly some of them are, but not all. Companies are properly concerned about the complexity of the regulatory process, the cost of future environmental requirements, and the lack of coordination among government regulatory agencies.

I don't know where this long-standing mistrust of business and industry comes from. We have a tendency to presume that business is pursuing a very narrow definition of self-interest. Business -- in turn -- accuses us of being anti-technology. This explains the "Luddite" charge.

Too often environmentalists think of profits as dirty. We don't always appreciate the effectiveness of the free market. Too few of us have ever worked as entrepreneurs and consequently lack an appreciation of just how hard it is to succeed in business. We are much more expert at grantsmanship. While many of us do value the free market and talk, for example, about the need for replacement cost pricing to conserve energy, we are often timid on the subject for fear of offending our close colleagues in the consumer movement.

Business tends to assume that environmental and consumer groups, who often do have the same interests, always have the same interests. But we diverge sharply on the issue of price controls. Consumer groups believe in subsidizing consumption through price control, whereas environmental groups want prices to reflect replacement costs, as well as externalities such as pollution.

Some environmentalists are -- like business people -- probably not concerned enough about the harsh impact of high prices on poor people. Few of us know anything about the degradation and pain of poverty. While the image of us -- in Michael Kinsley's words -- as a "clique of rich people attempting to protect their backyard" is an exaggeration, nevertheless we are probably over-sensitive to the desires of the upper and middle class and insufficiently sensitive to the desires of those less well off.

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analysis? While we give ostensible allegiance to John Muir's famous dictum, "When we try to pick out anything by itself we find that it is hitched to everything in the universe", we do not attach enough importance to vital non-environmental values such as jobs. The traditional issues of soil, wildlife, forest and park policies have to be expanded not only to include issues like energy, population and Global 2000, but also to include full employment, nurturing communities, price stability and so on. Russ Peterson, President of Audubon, calls this a "holistic" approach and it is the only approach which makes sense.

Environmental goals should not be pursued without regard to their consequences elsewhere. Social and economic goals need to be blended with environmental goals and not ignored. Preserving wilderness is important but it is only one of a number of important national goals. For example, energy policy should not be based on environmental values alone. Anybody who does this is an environmental extremist. Developing a sane, forward-looking energy policy requires a much broader perspective. I think I could convince you that the best energy policy is also the best environmentally, but a clean environment is just one of many results we want in an energy policy, not the central driving force. Environmentalists have to accept the fact that occasionally -- hopefully rarely -- they may have to compromise some environmental goals for more important ones such as jobs.

This brings me to economic growth and productivity. Too often environmentalists give the impression of wishing economic growth would somehow go away. But economic growth and increased productivity are needed to create new jobs, to increase our investments in energy efficient housing and our investments in new less-polluting industrial processes.

There is also a second dimension to economic growth which environmentalists too easily forget. Economic decline corrodes environmental sensitivities. As the economy declines and standards of living fall, fewer and fewer people will be interested, for example, in protecting wilderness areas. The political pressure to weaken environmental standards will grow.

Environmentalists tend to devote inadequate attention to economics, even though this is the strongest weapon in their arsenal. The Environmental Defense Fund has shown compellingly how powerful a weapon economics can be in their work on utility growth. Using a computer model which has been thoroughly tested again and again in adversary hearings, EDF has shown that energy alternatives and conservation measures can produce just as much energy as conventional sources such as nuclear power -- and can do so just as quickly and at a significantly lower cost.

But how weak environmentalists are on economics was illustrated by the work we did on the Alaska Gas Pipeline. In the rush to get the pipeline bill approved and to persuade the President to approve the most environmentally beneficial route in 1977, very little attention was given to financing. And yet those who would prefer that there be no gas pipeline for environmental reasons would have been better off looking at this pivotal issue. The Achilles' heel of projects such as the Alaska Gas Pipeline, the Clinch River Breeder Reactor, and the Garrison Diversion Unit is their economics. They are most forcefully attacked on the basis of economics rather than on the basis of, say, the preservation of the snail darter.

Senator Lugar of Indiana sent a letter to his constituents last November in which he pointed out the great extent to which environmental and economic concerns can support each other. Remember that Lugar is a conservative Republican. He opposed the SRC-1 Coal Liquefaction Demonstration plant, the Alaska Gas Pipeline, the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, a federally-financed Away-From-Reactor nuclear waste storage facility, as well as the Clinch River Breeder Reactor. He saw them all as a waste of the taxpayers' money -- as do environmentalists.

Another of our problems is our tendency to focus on symptoms rather than causes. We spend enormous resources trying to mitigate the consequences of energy growth, for example air pollution, coal mining and nuclear waste. But we would all be much better off if more of our lobbying resources were devoted to doing something about the causes of these problems. Last year I took a trip with a dozen or so other environmentalists to Colorado to see new energy developments on the Overthrust Belt. Some environmentalists were hugely impressed by the revegetation efforts of the oil companies on the vast amounts of waste from these projects. But they should have questioned the need for the synfuel plants in the first place.

Another tendency is for our left hand not to know what our right hand is doing. For example, our advocacy of restrictive access to public lands may have inadvertently created pressure for a premature and environmentally destructive synthetic fuel industry.

Nor do we speak up strongly enough for an alternative to those energy sources we dislike, such as synthetic fuels and nuclear power. It is true we advocate energy conservation, which is the best energy source of all, but we need to go beyond this and advocate deep gas and heavy oil production.

Environmentalists, like other human beings, can suffer from parochialism. A recent issue of a major environmental magazine contained a long and detailed editorial on how domestic cats are not a threat to birds. We voraciously consume each other's newsletters but tend to neglect Business Week, Forbes and Fortune. We talk primarily to ourselves, reinforcing and cementing our own prejudices, and have little idea what business and industry is thinking behind their public statements. And on the greatest environmental issue of the decade, nuclear warfare, we have been only minor participants.

You can all probably think of many other problems and weaknesses of environmental groups. Not all environmentalists suffer from these faults, but a few do. The reason for admitting them is to try to open up lines of communication with you. These faults hurt our effectiveness and credibility. We must correct them if we are going to do anything other than bang our spoons on the highchair of economic progress.

* * * * *

Lest you think I have been too self-critical, let me now turn to steps that business could take to gain a better understanding of us and to help win our confidence and trust.

One is that there should be a greater realization on the part of business of the extent to which their future growth and profits depend on a healthy resource base. You cannot have a healthy economy unless there are long-range efforts to preserve land, air and water. Erosion control aims at maintaining the productivity of soils, essential to sustaining U.S. agricultural output. Wetlands protection serves the purpose of assuring habitat to fish and shellfish that depend on wetlands for a critical part of their life cycle. Forest conservation and reforestation are essential to the protection of soils and watersheds. Reduced pollution means fewer work days lost to environment-related illnesses.

Thus conservation and environmental protection make direct contributions to economic productivity. Sound environmental management is not a fringe cause irrelevant to our basic economic battle of increased productivity, more jobs and lower inflation, but rather a key component of the long term economic health of the private sector.

Another step that business could take would be to show greater appreciation of the tremendous market opportunities in energy conservation, solar energy, and environmental pollution control. Business Week reported in their April 6, 1981 issue that the market for energy conservation investments was growing phenomenally fast and could reach \$30 billion by 1985. The Harvard Business Review in an article by Michael Royston in November/December, 1980 concluded that alert companies can turn pollution prevention into profit and make economic growth and environmental protection go hand in hand.

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Pollution control programs should not be viewed just as a burden on the economy. They have helped to create a whole new business -- the business of manufacturing and servicing the control equipment. There are now over 600 companies in the business of manufacturing air and water pollution control equipment, including cooling towers, scrubbers, precipitators, and catalytic converters. Firms producing air and water pollution control equipment constitute a multi-billion-dollar industry employing hundreds of thousands of people round the country. Other environmentally-supported programs are providing business opportunities too: in processing recycled materials, building solar collectors, rehabilitating older housing, and installing energy conserving equipment.

"Temple -
TENDING"

Another problem that businesses have is disloyalty to their own professed faith in the free enterprise system. Business people are quick to object to price controls and welfare for the poor, but less quick to object to subsidies which also distort the market. The most brazen example of this is nuclear power which continues to receive massive government subsidies at a time when we ostensibly have a free market energy policy.

Environmentalists would like to see business give more recognition to the fact that the environment is not a fringe interest but an issue of genuine concern to millions of Americans. There are close to 12,000 environmental groups around the country, working on just about every environmental subject imaginable, almost all of them run by volunteers, and not the so-called "hired guns" in Washington.

Environmentalists would also like to see business recognize what the current administration is doing to polarize the national debate over the environment. President Reagan's strident anti-environmentalism is creating an atmosphere in which reasoned debate between business and environmentalists is impossible.

Finally, business people must recognize that there is an impulse in each of us -- both those of us in business and those of us employed by environmental groups -- which yearns for a life in which we can make a daily contribution to the common good. We yearn to be committed to a cause larger than ourselves, to be inspired by goals beyond increasing our personal wealth. The way to attract people to work for business as opposed to against business is to talk about business goals in terms which include, but go beyond, profits. Jobs in business invoke a weak commitment compared to the appeal of jobs in the public interest sector which promise to satisfy a broader public good. People want a calling, not just a job. Business must offer jobs which respond to people's deepest values and their desire to contribute to the good of society in general. The businessman who whispered "plastics" to Dustin Hoffman in the film "The Graduate" didn't understand this.

"R'RUN
COPY IN
INTERNAL"

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Both environmentalists and business people can do much more than simply correct their flaws. The key to environmentalists' future success is forming alliances with business and other non-environmental groups. The environmental

politics of the 80's must be the politics of alliance-building. We are most effective when we are able to carry others with us. We have to seek opportunities to develop links with key business groups. Only in this way can we overcome the label of being anti-growth, anti-business, and anti-free enterprise.

I recently sent my father the Audubon Energy Plan. He is now retired after a very distinguished career in the British Royal Navy. He wrote back and said "I am completely unconvinced by the Audubon energy proposals -- they have the hallmark of coming from a group who are strongly biased and have no responsibility for seeing that there will be enough energy for America's needs in the future". That was the reaction of a reasonable and level-headed person. If we don't establish links with industry and business, environmentalists will continue to run the risk of lacking credibility.

There are three broad areas where we could form alliances with business. First is the area of lobbying. Recently United Technologies and Audubon formed a lobbying team to promote increased federal funding for fuel cells. As you all know, fuel cells are an exciting technology with great potential. I don't remember business and environmentalists lobbying together once during my four plus years working on the Hill for Senator Percy. The combination is powerful and persuasive. Why can't we do this on other issues such as adoption of user fees, elimination of pork barrel public works projects, termination of government subsidies for the development of Barrier islands, establishment of rational natural gas pricing, or elimination of unnecessary government bureaucracies like the Synthetic Fuels Corporation?

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The second area where environmentalists can form alliances with business is in defining public policy. The National Coal Policy Project, led by Larry Moss, a well-known environmentalist and former Chairman of the Sierra Club, and Jerry Decker, of the Dow Chemical Company, is a good example of an attempt by both environmentalists and industry to explore common ground in their conflict over coal policy. Another example was written up in the Washington Post on April 3rd: the Sierra Club and the National Association of Homebuilders have issued a joint statement on proper land use. Yet another example is a soon-to-be-released study on energy pricing which has been jointly authored by the Conservation Foundation and the Council on Economic Development.

The third area where we could form alliances with business is to enter into business partnerships. Now that may seem a little strange at first. But is there any reason why environmental groups have to be limited to testifying, writing, and lobbying? Why shouldn't they help to market pro-environmental products? Audubon has recently been exploring this, and as a result we have established an arrangement with an energy management company to promote energy efficiency in commercial buildings. This company manufactures and installs computerized energy control systems. They have demonstrated to us that investments in energy efficiency are cost effective and will have a positive effect on corporate cash flow. Companies who take advantage of this new Audubon service would not only be improving their profits and productivity but would also be helping to solve the nation's energy problem. So far the program has resulted in proposals being submitted to a large office building

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in New York as well as the main plant and corporate headquarters of a major east coast newspaper. Both proposals demonstrate dramatic returns on investments -- paybacks of under two years in one case and under one year in the other, results which are guaranteed by the energy management company.

The opportunities for business partnerships are immense. Why shouldn't we, for example, work with manufacturers of water heating heat pumps to develop a packet of information which would help our half-million members -- especially those who heat their homes with electricity -- to become more familiar with this technology? Why shouldn't we produce an investment newsletter which contains information about profitable companies in solar, conservation, and pollution control equipment, which Audubon members can use in purchases and sales in their own portfolios?

We are vigorously exploring all these ideas and would welcome your suggestions. We seek to join the advantages of our large, environmentally-conscious membership with businesses who are marketing expertise and products which protect the environment.

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The basic idea behind all these projects is that they are practical means for Audubon to implement a productivity-centered energy and environmental strategy in a fashion which will benefit the country, benefit Audubon members, and benefit the National Audubon Society financially. They are projects which show that Audubon supports an efficient, productive economy and a vigorous, competitive private sector, and that these values are compatible with environmental protection.

These ideas for environmentalists and business people to work together present all of us with exciting and challenging opportunities. If we were to sit down with business and industry we could probably come up with many more projects which could help both of us.

* * * * *

Both business people and environmentalists must try to move beyond criticism of each other to a greater understanding of each other's viewpoints. There is much on which we can make common cause, and I urge you to seek out those in the environmental movement with whom you can work. Don't lump us all together. And we should also not treat industry as a monolith. Both movements are immensely ramified, far-flung and fragmented, working on thousands of projects and issues. Generalizations -- and this speech has been full of them -- will surely prove to be wrong in many individual cases.

The Sierra Club's motto is "Not blind opposition to progress but opposition to blind progress". I can't imagine a responsible businessman who wouldn't support that motto. Even though the Sierra Club has already grabbed it, why shouldn't it also be the motto of the gas industry? We should all be seeking the right kind of growth, growth which does not degrade the environment that others must share. Environmentalists are not opposed to business enterprises, nor to those who seek a return on invested capital. We are only opposed to mindless growth which demands a narrow advantage regardless of social costs.

ENV. AS A POLITICAL CLUB,

The best moments between environmentalists and business people are the quiet ones. One-on-one discussions where we discover the human being in each of us, where we go beyond the stereotypes, and find out each other's life stories, successes, aspirations, and disappointments. Under certain circumstances, we can draw strength and wisdom from each other, and not just invective, resentment, and distrust.

Both environmentalists and business people share a distaste for waste, for inefficiency, for large bureaucracies, and we also share an attraction for innovation, new technologies, decentralization, the competitive free market, individual initiative and environmentally responsible economic growth to provide jobs.

Both groups realize that the earth and its thin blankets of air and water are precious and finite resources basic to life itself. Both groups realize that the attitude that the riches of the earth are ours to plunder or carelessly destroy is wrong. Both groups realize that it is important to build for future generations, and not steal from them. Both groups realize that our nation has at last accepted the fact that the environment is not a vast sink for the disposal of industrial and human waste. Both groups realize that Americans have begun to accept responsibility for the world we will leave behind for future generations. And finally, both groups realize that we need a broader definition of environment, one which includes a sensitivity to jobs, inflation, national security, capital availability and urban blight, as well as the traditional environmental concerns. John Muir, the founder of the Sierra Club, was right: everything is hitched to everything else.

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LACK OF
RESPONSIBILITY

Both environmentalists and business people must leave room during their negotiations and discussions for the possibility of their own ignorance or error. Both sides must recognize the other as fellow citizens, and not as political enemies. Both sides must pursue ideas, rather than ideology.

Perhaps it is the role of environmental groups, as Elizabeth Drew recently wrote in the New Yorker, "To sound the alarm, to give the worst-case analysis of what anyone who differs with them is trying to do, and to take the most adamant positions". But I think we can do much better than that. William Butler Yeats said of his own generation that "The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity". If we seek each other's counsel and assistance, perhaps we can achieve a more positive assessment of our own generation.

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DTB

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 6, 1982

TO: EMILY ROCK
FROM: NANCY MALOLEY
SUBJECT: Environmental Remarks for the President

Attached are my comments to EPA's latest draft of the "Remarks by the President on the Environment." Also attached is the first draft and my remarks on that draft.

Attachment

✓ Fantasy islands: Will crowds and hotels spoil the charm?

An empty stretch of beach is getting harder to find on nation's barrier islands

By Robert M. Press
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Hilton Head, S.C.

Children and adults ride bikes slowly along curving paths that border plush golf courses, tennis courts, and elegant homes on this resort island. Miles of wide, white sand beaches offer a chance for a quiet walk alone.

But it is getting harder to find an empty stretch of beach. And the view along the beach is increasingly of homes and apartments and hotels. There is even a rush hour here each workday as commuters from off-island jobs return home, and vice versa.

For years no one worried too much about the crowds. But today, as on many of the nation's barrier islands — fragile nature spots with shifting shorelines — there is growing concern that the crowds are getting too big.

Like a necklace of gems, barrier islands stretch from Maine to Texas. And development is increasing rapidly, as more Americans head for one of the gems to retire or vacation.

But changes are in the wind.

• A new federal law that goes into effect in October 1983 effectively ends federally subsidized insurance for new homes and businesses on barrier islands. Already this is having an effect, says Sharon Newsome of the National Wildlife Federation.

Developers are racing ahead on projects to beat the deadline. But banks are growing more hesitant to make loans on projects that will not be finished before the deadline.

• Congress is moving closer to approval of a law ending a wide range of federal subsidies for development of barrier islands, including money for bridges, roads, and sewers. The bill, which has strong bipartisan support, would likely add another brake to development of barrier islands.

• Officials on islands such as St. Simons, off the coast of Georgia, and Hilton Head have begun to impose controls on the kind of development they will allow.

"People have come here for the island's beauty," says a Hilton Head community leader, Martha Baumberger. "I've felt increasingly appalled that lots of other people want to come, too."

So in early July, for the first time ever, the county council that governs the area including the island, passed a temporary building control ordinance for Hilton Head.

St. Simons Island passed a tighter building control ordinance last year.

An undeveloped Georgia barrier island...

Ossabaw, was sold in 1979 to the state for perpetual use as an education and research center. It can not be developed, says the former owner, Eleanor T. West, who says she sold it "at a bargain price" after turning down much more attractive offers from potential developers. But the private Ossabaw Foundation, which she runs to allow educators, writers, artists, and others to use the island for their projects, is nearly bankrupt and may have to be ended, she says, unless she finds additional support soon.

The new building controls on Hilton Head were prompted by concerns that less-than-attractive development might spoil some of the island's charm and too much development might overtax its sewage and water facilities. Some island wells already have had intrusion of salt water, but county officials see no shortage problems for 10 to 20 years. As demand grows, facilities to treat water will have to

grow, they say. Already some of the 18 golf courses on the island are being watered with treated sewage water, which helps address two problems at once.

Officials also are concerned that in case of a hurricane, evacuation over the single, two-lane bridge would be a problem even if development stops now.

But opposition from some developers and county residents opposed to land-use controls may dilute some provisions of the final development controls, says county administrator Mike O'Neill.

Under the temporary controls, building height is limited to six stories. Special impact statements from developers are required for new construction with more than four living units per acre for homes and for more than 15 for apartments, says county council member Gordon Craighead, an island realtor. And to

combat pollution of local waters, new construction property must retain the first inch of rainfall. Runoff from yards, parking lots, and driveways currently rushes oil, grease, and fertilizers into nearby waters, posing threats to wildlife.

Hilton Head's resident population is about 12,000, but up to 50,000 tourists are on the island in peak months, says Mr. Craighead.

To a large extent, Hilton Head has become an island for the affluent, says council member Morris Campbell. There is only one low-cost motel (\$23 a night) on the island.

Most hotel rooms cost between \$55 and \$125. A time sharing condominium — each with a number of owners who individually use the facility for one week a year — may sell for several thousand dollars up to about \$18,000, says Craighead. Some apartments rent for \$300 to \$350 a week for up to six people, and villas cost \$800 and up a week.

19

Park rangers and gawkers
keep bathers from goal:
To be left alone and nude.

Nudists get citations, stares on Jersey shore

From Herald Wire Services

SANDY HOOK, N.J. — A small but determined band of nudists staked a claim to a public beach in a national park Saturday, but were forced to put on their clothes by park rangers who threatened to arrest them.

The group of about 20 nude bathers attracted a crowd of reporters and photographers, 25 park rangers, about 18 protesters, more than 100 onlookers and an offshore fleet of more than 25 fishing and pleasure boats, which made a beeline to the beach at the first sight of skin.

Five of the "naturists" were cited for violations of state public lewdness laws after National Park Service officials, stymied by the lack of a federal law against nudity, ruled that New Jersey law applies in the Gateway National Recreation Area because the state helps to run the park.

All five decided to put on their swimsuits after rangers warned them that they faced arrest on disorderly persons charges if they ignored the order to dress.

The leaders of the Tri-State Metro Naturists vowed to contest the ruling in the courts.

"It's a joke. It'll never stand up in the courts," said Michelle Handler, 21, a sales representative from Rhode Island. "I'm not lewd, I'm not lascivious. All I want to do here is take off my clothes and spend the day at the beach."

No citations were issued until Joseph Hawley, 25, an independent Third District congressional candidate, filed a complaint. He contend-

ed the courts had to stop the group before the concept of nude sunbathing spread to other areas.

"It's immoral. This is a public beach," said Hawley, who wore a white shirt, a tie and shoes for his battle with the nudists. "You have families coming here. With children. And they don't want to be subjected to this type of exhibition."

The protesters, many representing church groups and three carrying 8-foot wooden crosses, gathered at a nearby ranger station. But despite a few derogatory remarks by a pack of teenagers, the nudists were generally well-received by beach-goers, who pushed and shoved in search of a better view.

"It's sad that you come from such depressed backgrounds that you have to come to get joy from watching us," Handler told one wisecracking onlooker.

"I don't have any trouble with it," spectator Jerry Higgins, 42, of East Keansburg, said of the naturists' outing, part of their quest for a place to legally sunbathe nude in New Jersey. "If they want to, let them, although I don't really think kids should see it."

"It's publicity over a big nothing," said one of the disrobed sunbathers, who identified himself only as Jack. "With all the . . . wars and bombs, it is amazing that people come out for a little thing like this. People are getting killed in Beirut and people here are more concerned because someone wants to take his clothes off."

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1982

Dear Chris:

I appreciate your sending me your May 27 speech to the AGA.

I think you say a number of very sensible things there. I am particularly impressed with the private enterprise activities that you discuss on pages 7-8. I have always believed that one of the major failings of Ralph Nader-type organizations has been a tendency always to "preach" and never to "do." In Nader's case, since his usual theme is that the "evil companies" could provide the same services cheaper, or better services for the same price, there was always an overwhelming temptation to retort "If you're so smart, why ain't you rich?" The public acceptance of a Ralph Nader oil company or a Ralph Nader insurance company would have been very great if the product was at all competitive. Your willingness to enter the competitive arena in this way is laudable.

I would also be interested in any material you may have on the history and details of the Rainey Marsh oil and wildlife connection.

I would also make a few additional points in a slightly critical vein.

On page 3, the John Muir quote can sometimes be used as an excuse for never doing anything. Decision-making under uncertainty is something we all have to learn to live with.

On page 5, you should note that numerous attacks have been made on big business when they have attempted to become involved in such activities as solar energy. Of course, they are also attacked if they don't, but that is another indication of the reason that businesses are a generally wary toward consumer-environmental groups.

At the top of page 6: I have always thought that the "job-creating" aspects of pollution control is really a red herring. If the society were to decide on a massive program of state religion, leading to the construction of large temples and the employment of thousands of "temple tenders," I really do not consider that to be an indication that state religion is not a "burden on the economy." If pollution control is justified, it has to be justified on its results, not on the number of people employed doing unjustified things.

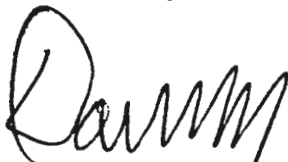
On page 7, your example of environmental alliances with business in lobbying for money for the business forms an interesting counterpoint to your page 6 attack on business for its disloyalty to the faith in the free enterprise system. In this instance you are certainly allying yourself with that same tendency.

On page 9, I think we need to distinguish carefully between true externality problems (pollution, climate change, etc.) and simple resource depletion problems. Your line that it is wrong to take the tack "that the regions of the earth are ours to plunder" can easily be made into an assault on the ownership of anything.

Finally, your statement on "accepting responsibility for the world we will leave behind" can easily overlook the fact that the "we" may encompass many people of differing sensitivities. Your "accepting responsibility" for my activities can look a lot like totalitarian control of those activities, to someone who doesn't agree with you.

In sum, I thought it was a rather useful speech, and if it is any consolation, my dealings with Congressman Chappie indicate that he talks that way to everybody, not only environmentalists!

Sincerely,



DANNY J. BOGGS
Assistant Director
Office of Policy Development

Christopher N. Palmer
Director of Energy and Environment
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ENVIRONMENTALISTS VERSUS BUSINESS PEOPLE
Speech to the American Gas Association
in Key Biscayne, Florida

on
May 27, 1982
by Christopher N. Palmer
Director of Energy and Environment
National Capital Office
National Audubon Society

Chm

The Washington Post recently reported what happened when a lobbyist from the Sierra Club visited Congressman Gene Chappie from California. The conservative congressman grabbed him by the necktie and said "Listen, wimp, if you ever set foot in my office again I'm going to break your bones!".

A few weeks after that incident, I gave a talk at an industry conference sponsored by the Energy Daily. When I had finished a man in the audience got up and said he remembered me when I worked on Senator Percy's staff. He said "You were a Luddite then and you are a Luddite now". A Luddite is a hater of new technology. My admirer went on "I'm forming a society of Luddites and I'm going to give you our first annual award: a four-sided wheel".

When I got back to my office after that speech, I cleared out my "In" box and found several interesting items. One was a newspaper story reporting that Assistant Secretary John Crowell at the Department of Agriculture had suggested that the Audubon Society and the Sierra Club are infiltrated by socialists and communists.

A second item was a Washington Post article reporting that a memorandum from a senior official in the U.S. Geological Survey had contained the following statement: "Words such as disturbed, devastated, defiled, ravaged, gouged, scarred and destroyed are words used by the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, environmentalists, homosexuals, ecologists and other ideological eunuchs opposed to developing mineral resources".

A third item in my "In" box was a special report from the Republican Study Committee chaired by Representative Badham from California. It stated that "Environmental groups are engaged in a systematic campaign intent on promoting environmental interests largely to the detriment of energy development and economic prosperity." It concluded that "Environmentalists are liberal and self-motivated and intent on preserving their privileged status."

Finally, I found a letter from Mr. Robert Koehler, Senior Vice President of the Marriott Corporation, who had read the Audubon Energy Plan -- all 100 pages of it -- and said that he found it "laughable in its naivete".

All these stories and reports illustrate the tension, distrust, and contempt which business, industry and conservatives have for environmental organizations such as the National Audubon Society.

Environmental groups, of course, are not perfect. We have flaws, as does business. By candidly examining the flaws on both sides we may be able to defuse the destructive animosity and mutual misunderstanding between environmentalists and business people, and even find areas where we can make common cause. Let me first focus on the weaknesses of environmentalists, both real and perceived.

One of our problems is that we tend to assume a tone of arrogance when talking to business. When I gave the Energy Daily speech I mentioned a moment ago, I got a call afterwards from Joe Browder, who used to work for an environmental group and now works for industry. Joe said (and he was right) that I had failed to get my message across because I had been "too preachy". When we environmentalists act as though we talk to God and as though we have all the answers -- as I suspect I did at that conference -- then industry, even those business people who are inclined to be sympathetic, will be understandably irritated.

We call ourselves "public interest" groups -- the implication being that we look after the "public interest" while everyone else is pursuing their own selfish goals. There is an element of truth in this, but it doesn't justify the tendency of a minority of environmentalists to assume that anyone who disagrees with us is either stupid, misinformed, or greedy for profit.

This tendency of a few of us to assume that we know all the answers is matched by a tendency to be rigid and unyielding -- to be unwilling to compromise or negotiate. Churchill once said of DeGaulle that he was "too weak to bend". Environmentalists sometimes are afraid to bend and be flexible. The newsletter Washington Balance published by the National Environmental Development Association said in its January, 1982 issue that "environmental activists see any compromise as loss".

This unwillingness to compromise comes across to business people as self righteousness, and tends to make business less willing to compromise. Joe Browder, whom I mentioned earlier, was quoted in the magazine Environment a year ago as saying that "some environmental groups do their cause a disservice by taking extreme positions and refusing to make realistic compromises".

One reason for this attitude is that perhaps we don't always see the full complexity of the issues we are involved in, but tend to see choices in terms of black and white. We have a tendency to think the arguments made by industry are totally self-interested and exaggerated. Clearly some of them are, but not all. Companies are properly concerned about the complexity of the regulatory process, the cost of future environmental requirements, and the lack of coordination among government regulatory agencies.

I don't know where this long-standing mistrust of business and industry comes from. We have a tendency to presume that business is pursuing a very narrow definition of self-interest. Business -- in turn -- accuses us of being anti-technology. This explains the "Luddite" charge.

Too often environmentalists think of profits as dirty. We don't always appreciate the effectiveness of the free market. Too few of us have ever worked as entrepreneurs and consequently lack an appreciation of just how hard it is to succeed in business. We are much more expert at grantsmanship. While many of us do value the free market and talk, for example, about the need for replacement cost pricing to conserve energy, we are often timid on the subject for fear of offending our close colleagues in the consumer movement.

Business tends to assume that environmental and consumer groups, who often do have the same interests, always have the same interests. But we diverge sharply on the issue of price controls. Consumer groups believe in subsidizing consumption through price control, whereas environmental groups want prices to reflect replacement costs, as well as externalities such as pollution.

Some environmentalists are -- like business people -- probably not concerned enough about the harsh impact of high prices on poor people. Few of us know anything about the degradation and pain of poverty. While the image of us -- in Michael Kinsley's words -- as a "clique of rich people attempting to protect their backyard" is an exaggeration, nevertheless we are probably over-sensitive to the desires of the upper and middle class and insufficiently sensitive to the desires of those less well off.

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analysis?
While we give ostensible allegiance to John Muir's famous dictum, "When we try to pick out anything by itself we find that it is hitched to everything in the universe", we do not attach enough importance to vital non-environmental values such as jobs. The traditional issues of soil, wildlife, forest and park policies have to be expanded not only to include issues like energy, population and Global 2000, but also to include full employment, nurturing communities, price stability and so on. Russ Peterson, President of Audubon, calls this a "holistic" approach and it is the only approach which makes sense.

Environmental goals should not be pursued without regard to their consequences elsewhere. Social and economic goals need to be blended with environmental goals and not ignored. Preserving wilderness is important but it is only one of a number of important national goals. For example, energy policy should not be based on environmental values alone. Anybody who does this is an environmental extremist. Developing a sane, forward-looking energy policy requires a much broader perspective. I think I could convince you that the best energy policy is also the best environmentally, but a clean environment is just one of many results we want in an energy policy, not the central driving force. Environmentalists have to accept the fact that occasionally -- hopefully rarely -- they may have to compromise some environmental goals for more important ones such as jobs.

This brings me to economic growth and productivity. Too often environmentalists give the impression of wishing economic growth would somehow go away. But economic growth and increased productivity are needed to create new jobs, to increase our investments in energy efficient housing and our investments in new less-polluting industrial processes.

There is also a second dimension to economic growth which environmentalists too easily forget. Economic decline corrodes environmental sensitivities. As the economy declines and standards of living fall, fewer and fewer people will be interested, for example, in protecting wilderness areas. The political pressure to weaken environmental standards will grow.

Environmentalists tend to devote inadequate attention to economics, even though this is the strongest weapon in their arsenal. The Environmental Defense Fund has shown compellingly how powerful a weapon economics can be in their work on utility growth. Using a computer model which has been thoroughly tested again and again in adversary hearings, EDF has shown that energy alternatives and conservation measures can produce just as much energy as conventional sources such as nuclear power -- and can do so just as quickly and at a significantly lower cost.

But how weak environmentalists are on economics was illustrated by the work we did on the Alaska Gas Pipeline. In the rush to get the pipeline bill approved and to persuade the President to approve the most environmentally beneficial route in 1977, very little attention was given to financing. And yet those who would prefer that there be no gas pipeline for environmental reasons would have been better off looking at this pivotal issue. The Achilles' heel of projects such as the Alaska Gas Pipeline, the Clinch River Breeder Reactor, and the Garrison Diversion Unit is their economics. They are most forcefully attacked on the basis of economics rather than on the basis of, say, the preservation of the snail darter.

Senator Lugar of Indiana sent a letter to his constituents last November in which he pointed out the great extent to which environmental and economic concerns can support each other. Remember that Lugar is a conservative Republican. He opposed the SRC-1 Coal Liquefaction Demonstration plant, the Alaska Gas Pipeline, the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, a federally-financed Away-From-Reactor nuclear waste storage facility, as well as the Clinch River Breeder Reactor. He saw them all as a waste of the taxpayers' money -- as do environmentalists.

Another of our problems is our tendency to focus on symptoms rather than causes. We spend enormous resources trying to mitigate the consequences of energy growth, for example air pollution, coal mining and nuclear waste. But we would all be much better off if more of our lobbying resources were devoted to doing something about the causes of these problems. Last year I took a trip with a dozen or so other environmentalists to Colorado to see new energy developments on the Overthrust Belt. Some environmentalists were hugely impressed by the revegetation efforts of the oil companies on the vast amounts of waste from these projects. But they should have questioned the need for the synfuel plants in the first place.

Another tendency is for our left hand not to know what our right hand is doing. For example, our advocacy of restrictive access to public lands may have inadvertently created pressure for a premature and environmentally destructive synthetic fuel industry.

Nor do we speak up strongly enough for an alternative to those energy sources we dislike, such as synthetic fuels and nuclear power. It is true we advocate energy conservation, which is the best energy source of all, but we need to go beyond this and advocate deep gas and heavy oil production.

Environmentalists, like other human beings, can suffer from parochialism. A recent issue of a major environmental magazine contained a long and detailed editorial on how domestic cats are not a threat to birds. We voraciously consume each other's newsletters but tend to neglect Business Week, Forbes and Fortune. We talk primarily to ourselves, reinforcing and cementing our own prejudices, and have little idea what business and industry is thinking behind their public statements. And on the greatest environmental issue of the decade, nuclear warfare, we have been only minor participants.

You can all probably think of many other problems and weaknesses of environmental groups. Not all environmentalists suffer from these faults, but a few do. The reason for admitting them is to try to open up lines of communication with you. These faults hurt our effectiveness and credibility. We must correct them if we are going to do anything other than bang our spoons on the highchair of economic progress.

* * * * *

Lest you think I have been too self-critical, let me now turn to steps that business could take to gain a better understanding of us and to help win our confidence and trust.

One is that there should be a greater realization on the part of business of the extent to which their future growth and profits depend on a healthy resource base. You cannot have a healthy economy unless there are long-range efforts to preserve land, air and water. Erosion control aims at maintaining the productivity of soils, essential to sustaining U.S. agricultural output. Wetlands protection serves the purpose of assuring habitat to fish and shellfish that depend on wetlands for a critical part of their life cycle. Forest conservation and reforestation are essential to the protection of soils and watersheds. Reduced pollution means fewer work days lost to environment-related illnesses.

Thus conservation and environmental protection make direct contributions to economic productivity. Sound environmental management is not a fringe cause irrelevant to our basic economic battle of increased productivity, more jobs and lower inflation, but rather a key component of the long term economic health of the private sector.

Another step that business could take would be to show greater appreciation of the tremendous market opportunities in energy conservation, solar energy, and environmental pollution control. Business Week reported in their April 6, 1981 issue that the market for energy conservation investments was growing phenomenally fast and could reach \$30 billion by 1985. The Harvard Business Review in an article by Michael Royston in November/December, 1980 concluded that alert companies can turn pollution prevention into profit and make economic growth and environmental protection go hand in hand.

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Pollution control programs should not be viewed just as a burden on the economy. They have helped to create a whole new business -- the business of manufacturing and servicing the control equipment. There are now over 600 companies in the business of manufacturing air and water pollution control equipment, including cooling towers, scrubbers, precipitators, and catalytic converters. Firms producing air and water pollution control equipment constitute a multi-billion-dollar industry employing hundreds of thousands of people round the country. Other environmentally-supported programs are providing business opportunities too: in processing recycled materials, building solar collectors, rehabilitating older housing, and installing energy conserving equipment.

"Temple -
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Another problem that businesses have is disloyalty to their own professed faith in the free enterprise system. Business people are quick to object to price controls and welfare for the poor, but less quick to object to subsidies which also distort the market. The most brazen example of this is nuclear power which continues to receive massive government subsidies at a time when we ostensibly have a free market energy policy.

Environmentalists would like to see business give more recognition to the fact that the environment is not a fringe interest but an issue of genuine concern to millions of Americans. There are close to 12,000 environmental groups around the country, working on just about every environmental subject imaginable, almost all of them run by volunteers, and not the so-called "hired guns" in Washington.

Environmentalists would also like to see business recognize what the current administration is doing to polarize the national debate over the environment. President Reagan's strident anti-environmentalism is creating an atmosphere in which reasoned debate between business and environmentalists is impossible.

Finally, business people must recognize that there is an impulse in each of us -- both those of us in business and those of us employed by environmental groups -- which yearns for a life in which we can make a daily contribution to the common good. We yearn to be committed to a cause larger than ourselves, to be inspired by goals beyond increasing our personal wealth. The way to attract people to work for business as opposed to against business is to talk about business goals in terms which include, but go beyond, profits. Jobs in business invoke a weak commitment compared to the appeal of jobs in the public interest sector which promise to satisfy a broader public good. People want a calling, not just a job. Business must offer jobs which respond to people's deepest values and their desire to contribute to the good of society in general. The businessman who whispered "plastics" to Dustin Hoffman in the film "The Graduate" didn't understand this.

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Both environmentalists and business people can do much more than simply correct their flaws. The key to environmentalists' future success is forming alliances with business and other non-environmental groups. The environmental

politics of the 80's must be the politics of alliance-building. We are most effective when we are able to carry others with us. We have to seek opportunities to develop links with key business groups. Only in this way can we overcome the label of being anti-growth, anti-business, and anti-free enterprise.

I recently sent my father the Audubon Energy Plan. He is now retired after a very distinguished career in the British Royal Navy. He wrote back and said "I am completely unconvinced by the Audubon energy proposals -- they have the hallmark of coming from a group who are strongly biased and have no responsibility for seeing that there will be enough energy for America's needs in the future". That was the reaction of a reasonable and level-headed person. If we don't establish links with industry and business, environmentalists will continue to run the risk of lacking credibility.

There are three broad areas where we could form alliances with business. First is the area of lobbying. Recently United Technologies and Audubon formed a lobbying team to promote increased federal funding for fuel cells. As you all know, fuel cells are an exciting technology with great potential. I don't remember business and environmentalists lobbying together once during my four plus years working on the Hill for Senator Percy. The combination is powerful and persuasive. Why can't we do this on other issues such as adoption of user fees, elimination of pork barrel public works projects, termination of government subsidies for the development of Barrier islands, establishment of rational natural gas pricing, or elimination of unnecessary government bureaucracies like the Synthetic Fuels Corporation?

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The second area where environmentalists can form alliances with business is in defining public policy. The National Coal Policy Project, led by Larry Moss, a well-known environmentalist and former Chairman of the Sierra Club, and Jerry Decker, of the Dow Chemical Company, is a good example of an attempt by both environmentalists and industry to explore common ground in their conflict over coal policy. Another example was written up in the Washington Post on April 3rd: the Sierra Club and the National Association of Homebuilders have issued a joint statement on proper land use. Yet another example is a soon-to-be-released study on energy pricing which has been jointly authored by the Conservation Foundation and the Council on Economic Development.

The third area where we could form alliances with business is to enter into business partnerships. Now that may seem a little strange at first. But is there any reason why environmental groups have to be limited to testifying, writing, and lobbying? Why shouldn't they help to market pro-environmental products? Audubon has recently been exploring this, and as a result we have established an arrangement with an energy management company to promote energy efficiency in commercial buildings. This company manufactures and installs computerized energy control systems. They have demonstrated to us that investments in energy efficiency are cost effective and will have a positive effect on corporate cash flow. Companies who take advantage of this new Audubon service would not only be improving their profits and productivity but would also be helping to solve the nation's energy problem. So far the program has resulted in proposals being submitted to a large office building

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in New York as well as the main plant and corporate headquarters of a major east coast newspaper. Both proposals demonstrate dramatic returns on investments -- paybacks of under two years in one case and under one year in the other, results which are guaranteed by the energy management company.

The opportunities for business partnerships are immense. Why shouldn't we, for example, work with manufacturers of water heating heat pumps to develop a packet of information which would help our half-million members -- especially those who heat their homes with electricity -- to become more familiar with this technology? Why shouldn't we produce an investment newsletter which contains information about profitable companies in solar, conservation, and pollution control equipment, which Audubon members can use in purchases and sales in their own portfolios?

We are vigorously exploring all these ideas and would welcome your suggestions. We seek to join the advantages of our large, environmentally-conscious membership with businesses who are marketing expertise and products which protect the environment.

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The basic idea behind all these projects is that they are practical means for Audubon to implement a productivity-centered energy and environmental strategy in a fashion which will benefit the country, benefit Audubon members, and benefit the National Audubon Society financially. They are projects which show that Audubon supports an efficient, productive economy and a vigorous, competitive private sector, and that these values are compatible with environmental protection.

These ideas for environmentalists and business people to work together present all of us with exciting and challenging opportunities. If we were to sit down with business and industry we could probably come up with many more projects which could help both of us.

* * * * *

Both business people and environmentalists must try to move beyond criticism of each other to a greater understanding of each other's viewpoints. There is much on which we can make common cause, and I urge you to seek out those in the environmental movement with whom you can work. Don't lump us all together. And we should also not treat industry as a monolith. Both movements are immensely ramified, far-flung and fragmented, working on thousands of projects and issues. Generalizations -- and this speech has been full of them -- will surely prove to be wrong in many individual cases.

The Sierra Club's motto is "Not blind opposition to progress but opposition to blind progress". I can't imagine a responsible businessman who wouldn't support that motto. Even though the Sierra Club has already grabbed it, why shouldn't it also be the motto of the gas industry? We should all be seeking the right kind of growth, growth which does not degrade the environment that others must share. Environmentalists are not opposed to business enterprises, nor to those who seek a return on invested capital. We are only opposed to mindless growth which demands a narrow advantage regardless of social costs.

ENV. AS A POLITICAL CLUB,

The best moments between environmentalists and business people are the quiet ones. One-on-one discussions where we discover the human being in each of us, where we go beyond the stereotypes, and find out each other's life stories, successes, aspirations, and disappointments. Under certain circumstances, we can draw strength and wisdom from each other, and not just invective, resentment, and distrust.

Both environmentalists and business people share a distaste for waste, for inefficiency, for large bureaucracies, and we also share an attraction for innovation, new technologies, decentralization, the competitive free market, individual initiative and environmentally responsible economic growth to provide jobs.

Both groups realize that the earth and its thin blankets of air and water are precious and finite resources basic to life itself. Both groups realize that the attitude that the riches of the earth are ours to plunder or carelessly destroy is wrong. Both groups realize that it is important to build for future generations, and not steal from them. Both groups realize that our nation has at last accepted the fact that the environment is not a vast sink for the disposal of industrial and human waste. Both groups realize that Americans have begun to accept responsibility for the world we will leave behind for future generations. And finally, both groups realize that we need a broader definition of environment, one which includes a sensitivity to jobs, inflation, national security, capital availability and urban blight, as well as the traditional environmental concerns. John Muir, the founder of the Sierra Club, was right: everything is hitched to everything else.

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OWNERSHIP"
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Both environmentalists and business people must leave room during their negotiations and discussions for the possibility of their own ignorance or error. Both sides must recognize the other as fellow citizens, and not as political enemies. Both sides must pursue ideas, rather than ideology.

Perhaps it is the role of environmental groups, as Elizabeth Drew recently wrote in the New Yorker, "To sound the alarm, to give the worst-case analysis of what anyone who differs with them is trying to do, and to take the most adamant positions". But I think we can do much better than that. William Butler Yeats said of his own generation that "The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity". If we seek each other's counsel and assistance, perhaps we can achieve a more positive assessment of our own generation.

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DTB

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 6, 1982

TO: EMILY ROCK
FROM: NANCY MALOLEY
SUBJECT: Environmental Remarks for the President

Attached are my comments to EPA's latest draft of the "Remarks by the President on the Environment." Also attached is the first draft and my remarks on that draft.

Attachment

Comments to Second EPA Draft

I have read EPA's second draft and believe that it is less defensive, and more positive, upbeat and to the point. It is better organized than the earlier draft in that it clearly covers four areas: budget, management, regulations and law. It also eliminates some of the bureaucratic language in the earlier draft which was unnecessary and redundant. Below are some specific recommendations for the latest draft and some points from the first draft which you might consider retaining.

- o Page Two - First paragraph: "preserving the quality of our natural resources" is only part of EPA's mission. The most important mission of EPA is protecting the public health from the ill-effects of environmental pollution.

Budget

- o It would be useful on page four to incorporate language from the earlier draft about acid rain research. It is up \$18 million in 1982 from \$11 million in 1981. (Note that the earlier draft says \$12 million. This is incorrect.)
- o This draft incorporates my recommendation in the earlier draft that we should emphasize that all agency's budgets were cut, and EPA is no exception.

Management

- o Page Five - First paragraph: EPA has said in the past that as many as 1,000 SIP revisions were pending last August, not 600.

Regulations

- o Page Eight - Sewage treatment: the point should also be made that the money we were spending was not producing the environmental results we desired -- the cleaning up of the nation's waterways.

Laws - Clean Air

- o Page Nine - Overall, this is a better approach than the first draft. However, I would caution against use of the word "modest" to describe the changes we are seeking. Some are "modest," and some are not. I suggest deleting "modest adjustments," and replacing with "necessary reforms."
- o Page Ten - Regarding the NOx standard, I would recommend adding to the nitrogen oxide discussion the argument that "only seven areas of the country are not in compliance with the NOx standard, and five are in California which has the option of setting its own, stricter standard, as it has in the past."

I recommend mentioning that we are, in no way, undermining the laws fundamental purpose, as suggested in bullet six of my comments to the first draft.

2nd EH
Draft

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE ENVIRONMENT

When I came to Washington to serve as your President, I promised that my Administration would change the way in which the Federal government operates. I expressed to you my concern that the Federal government had grown to have far too dominant an influence over our lives. I told you that I would move quickly and decisively to transfer appropriate decisions of government back closer to the people most directly affected by them. And many of you agreed with me that this job is important, because so many of you responded with your votes.

I do not mean, of course, that the Federal government should somehow disappear. But we must bring its influence into a more appropriate balance with that of States and localities which, with the national government, make up the federal system founded in the Constitution. One Agency which is moving quickly to strike the right balance is the Environmental Protection Agency.

Let's be absolutely clear about something: this Administration is unreservedly committed to maintain and improve the quality of the environment which we all share. I point this out only because there seem^s to be some who persistently refuse to understand that protecting the environment is part of my job, and that I am

sworn to do my job faithfully and well. When we take action to improve the efficiency of Federal programs, these people prefer to see a clever plot to destroy our air and water. Well, honest, folks, Republicans breathe the same air and drink the same water as do Democrats. You may recall that the EPA was begun under a Republican Administration. This nonsense that I and the people I have invited into public service are out to destroy the environment is just that: nonsense.

When I asked Anne Gorsuch to be Administrator of EPA, I did so because she shared my judgment that preserving the quality of our natural resources is among our most important responsibilities. She also had in mind a clear and creative view of how to use the entire federal system, including localities, States, and the Federal government, to execute our laws effectively at a lower cost than we had been investing. Since her appointment, Mrs. Gorsuch has done an outstanding job in reforming the Agency on four major fronts: its budget, its management, its regulations, and the laws which are the basis of its authority.

In reviewing the task before her, Mrs. Gorsuch was aware--to a degree which sets her apart from her predecessors--that EPA is simply the tip of the iceberg of national resources to protect the environment. Having been a State legislator, she realized some things that workers at the Federal level easily lose sight of. For example, States now spend more of their own dollars for environmental programs than they receive from EPA for those programs. Since 1970, State staff involved in environmental programs have increased tenfold; as their numbers have increased, so have their training, skills, and experience. Then, too, there

are more local employees engaged in air quality monitoring than there are State and Federal employees combined performing this service.

The strides we have made in the United States over the past ten years or so in reversing a self-destructive trend toward foul air and water are remarkable and precious. But I think you will agree that the credit for this progress goes to you, the American people, who demanded results from all levels of the federal system--local, State, and Federal--and got them. EPA's role, I am glad to say, has been, and will continue to be pivotal. But like all Agencies of the Federal government, EPA can use some shaping and trimming while it comes to learn what is obvious to anyone who looks objectively at who really protects the environment: that States are the equal and indispensable partners of the Federal government in this work.

I have come before you at other times to tell you of the urgent need to slow the rate of Federal spending. If we are to revitalize our national economy, we must cut down the drag which Federal spending places on our industrial productivity. My budget proposal, therefore, calls for substantial reductions in nearly all non-military areas. EPA is no exception to this rule. In reducing EPA's budget we have acted with responsibility and moderation. In fact, EPA will retain a higher proportion of its funding than will a number of other Agencies. The reduction I have requested for EPA in the fiscal year beginning in October adds up to only 7% as a percentage of its current budget. You may have read a rumor in the press that EPA is firing as much as 50% of its staff. I would dismiss that rumor for what it is, irresponsible baloney,

except that some people who should know better keep asking if it's true. The fact is that since I took office, fewer than 100 of EPA's more than 10,000 employees have been let go because of budget restrictions. Staff cuts are being handled through normal turnover, and Mrs. Gorsuch has promised that no employee will lose his or her job for budget reasons through the rest of this fiscal year.

Because we believe in environmental protection, we are not going to make damaging cuts in EPA's budget. But Mrs. Gorsuch believes, and I agree, that EPA can do a better job of its most important functions, even with reduced resources. For example, my 1983 budget shows a reduction for programs under the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act amounting to 4%, compared with 1981 funding. But this takes into account the fact that the States have adopted the workload involved with locating and designing sanitary landfills for solid waste. We have actually increased resources by around \$5 million for the more urgent program under that Act, control of the handling and disposal of hazardous waste. In this Administration, EPA is targeting its resources on the part of the job where its role is unique and irreplaceable.

Mrs. Gorsuch is also tightening up management within the Agency. One reason we can appropriately reduce Agency staffing and budget is that EPA is improving its systems for controlling the flow of work. Some jobs have simply been burning up more staff time than is necessary. Quicker, better designed administrative procedures mean less work, better and more timely

decisions, and the freedom to reassign staff to other functions. And EPA is doing this with no loss of environmental quality.

For example, States manage most aspects of the air program under State Implementation Plans approved by EPA. By law, when a State wishes to change its Plan, it must submit an amendment to EPA. Until now, even the simplest revision to a Plan has required a full rulemaking process within a State, followed at some later date by another full rulemaking process within EPA. The average time to get such a revision approved has been 425 days, well more than a year. In August, more than 600 of these requests were backed up, waiting for action. Any businessman would recognize this as a management nightmare and wonder how anyone could have let it get this way.

In fact, Mrs. Gorsuch, having inherited the problem, solved it quite simply. EPA now conducts much of its air program rulemaking at the same time the State does. If the rule proves uncontroversial, which is often the case, EPA allows it to proceed on a fast track, still allowing for full and complete public involvement. Even controversial revisions are now subject to a no-nonsense management tracking system which makes sure they move through policy review and public comment with a minimum of delay. Thanks to this sensible approach, many State Plan revisions now take less than half the time in process, and the backlog, once 600, is now under half that, and declining daily.

EPA's new emphasis on management and accountability is paying off for the environment. Because of the Administrator's

insistence on taking care of the important work first, EPA is doing a careful and thorough job of identifying and classifying abandoned hazardous waste sites in order to select those which will yield the greatest environmental benefit from the expenditure of Superfund cleanup dollars. In the last year EPA has identified over 9000 abandoned dump sites, and examined 6000 of them for environmental damage and susceptibility to cleanup. In October, the Agency designated 115 sites throughout the country for priority treatment. Since then, Mrs. Gorsuch has approved over \$58 million for cleanup at 90 of these sites. Of course, Mrs. Gorsuch might have made herself more popular if she had just taken that money and thrown it at the first 90 projects she saw. If she had, we could have been sure of just one thing: the money would have been spent. As it is, by carefully targeting these essential funds, we believe we will see some important environmental benefits as a return on investment.

Another important management step at EPA is to increase the delegation of program activities to State governments willing and able to carry them out. EPA has had this authority for a number of years, but the pace of delegation has been slow. We believe that States can usually make better, more responsive environmental decisions when applying national program rules within their own borders. Therefore we want to provide them as much responsibility as the law allows to manage major portions of our traditional air and water programs. States do much of the work now, as it is. They deserve the trust, which the Federal establishment has long denied them, to do the job properly without persistent second-guessing on technical details from Federal reviewers. As States take over

more of these responsibilities, EPA staff can turn to the development of essential new programs, such as Hazardous Waste control, which we intend eventually to delegate to States as well.

EPA is also moving quickly to reform its regulations so that they are simpler, easier to work with, and more in line with the explicit requirements of statute. For example, in EPA's program of grants to municipalities for the construction of sewage treatment systems, EPA has recently proposed new regulations which eliminate 75% of their length, and which provide States the management flexibility they need to set up efficient programs of their own design. EPA's concern is not with detailed procedures, but with environmentally beneficial results--in this case, cost-effective sewage treatment plants which meet the requirements of their permits.

EPA's "bubble" policy for control of air emissions is another area of sensible regulatory reform which saves money while protecting the environment. Under this simple concept, the air emissions of an entire industrial plant are considered together, as if they were enclosed in a giant bubble. What EPA cares about is the total amount of polluting emissions entering the bubble. This is quite different from the old method, which treated each stack in the plant as a single source that had to be controlled to a stringent standard. Under the bubble principle, a plant manager may choose to remove relatively more of a pollutant at a stack where this is cheap, and relatively less at a stack where removal is quite expensive.

EPA had begun to experiment with this policy before Mrs. Gorsuch took over, but she has made its application broader and more

efficient by allowing States to grant bubble requests under general rules set by EPA. Under Mrs. Gorsuch's program rules, we foresee the saving of literally billions of dollars with no loss of environmental quality whatsoever.

For EPA to make the most of its determination to do more important things with fewer resources, certain changes in the law will be needed. As a matter of fact, the Congress has already taken major steps to bring this about. Recently, the Congress enacted significant changes to the program providing grants for sewage treatment plants. The program, originally enacted in 1972, was at first projected to cost about \$19 billion over its lifetime. That's a lot of money by anyone's count. By 1980, however, we had already spent more than \$30 billion, and projections of future needs had grown to \$120 billion. We could not see how the Federal treasury could continue to put out money at that rate, especially since much of the money was actually going to subsidize lengthy networks of sewer pipes to promote local growth. Remember that the original purpose of the program was not to promote growth, but to make possible the treatment of municipal sewage so that it would not pollute the nation's streams. Over the years the program had become less an environmental program than a massive public works program.

We proposed to the Congress, and they agreed, that we should reduce our annual spending on the program from as much as \$5 billion to \$2.4 billion, still a generous budget. We further

decided that we should no longer fund far-flung pipe systems, but concentrate scarce Federal funds on the environmentally essential treatment plants themselves. We also agreed that we should concentrate on those plants which would make a significant improvement in water quality, granting lower priority to projects which would make only a marginal difference in stream quality. In December, the Congress passed just such an Act, and I was proud to sign it. In addition to these features, the Act had still another benefit for the States which manage the program: EPA no longer funds, nor does it set up clumsy procedural requirements for the planning and design of these plants. Such requirements used to add years to the time it took to get a project built and working so that its environmental benefits could be realized. Now States can design and manage the system as they see fit, so long as the result is a project which EPA can support as cost-efficient, and likely to meet its permit limitations. That's making a silk purse out of a pork barrel.

Another area for statutory revision is the Clean Air Act. Overall, nearly everyone recognizes how successful this statute has been, and how much it deserves our support. But as good as this law is, I believe we can fine-tune it in line with our basic principle: to do more of the important things at a lower overall cost. We are now negotiating with the Congress some modest adjustments to the Clean Air Act which will keep us on the road to cleaner air, while allowing us some flexibility in areas which experience suggests do not work so well as others.

One such area is deadlines. Current target dates in the Act are proving impossible for many States to meet, in spite of their best efforts. It is clear to me that these deadlines, while well-intentioned, are simply too optimistic. But the legal penalties for any State missing a deadline are enormous. We think these deadlines are not only unfair to the States, but that they also reduce the credibility of other features of the Clean Air Act which are in fact reasonable and appropriate. We need to make these deadlines more flexible, while retaining our full-faith commitment to cleaner air.

Another change is needed in our control of automobile emissions. For example, the current law requires automobiles to reduce emissions of carbon monoxide from the 1980 standard of 7 grams per mile to a level half of that. To give you an idea of what this means from practical standpoint, cars built in the late 1960's used to put out an average of 86 grams of carbon monoxide per mile. The cost of controlling down to 3.4 grams per mile is more than three times the cost of controlling down to the 1980 standard. And, what is most important, under either standard, we will have met our national air quality goal for carbon monoxide by the end of the decade. The situation with another pollutant, nitrogen oxide, is similar. In this case the law requires us to go from 2 grams per mile down to 1 gram per mile, at substantial cost and for no equivalent benefit. That seems to me a bad bargain, and I bet you look at it the same way.

I have heard from some critics, though, that any attempt by this Administration to change the Clean Air Act is really

an attempt to destroy it, along with all our hard-won gains in air quality. Well, everyone is entitled to his opinion, but that particular charge is plain silly on the face of it. Even beside the fact that clean air and water are essential to all of us, no President of any party would try to weaken a law and a program which has been so generally successful and which has earned so much popular support. All I am asking is that we be allowed to maintain and improve environmental quality at less cost to government and to the public where we can find workable ways to do it. To my mind, that's good sense, that's good government, and that's good environmental protection.

I want to leave you with one basic idea which underlies our entire approach to government and the environment. EPA is now committed to achieving environmental results, not to dictating the specific procedures by which others must achieve those results. For years EPA, like other Federal Agencies, was so concerned with controlling the process that it lost track for a while of the main reason for its existence. For years, too, EPA convinced itself that it was a voice crying in the wilderness, that without its suspicious supervision of every environmental action, whether by State or by industry, scullduggery would triumph. The fact is that EPA has prospered under widespread public support for the environment, even as it has formed the curious opinion that no other group is equally motivated to protect the environment and to do the job right.

In this Administration, EPA makes the opposite assumption. States are well-motivated, and can do. The majority of business interests are concerned with building good will through good

citizenship. If concern for the environment was not a conspicuous element of good citizenship ten years ago, it most certainly is now, and most businesses understand and respect this reality. Those who do not will be found out, and more quickly by States and localities than by a Federal Agency far removed from the scene.

So, as I see it, we have entered a new era, a return to the balanced federal system which is the focus of the Constitution, a reform of the runaway paternalism which has for so long infected Federal/State relations. EPA has a unique, irreplaceable role in environmental protection. Only EPA can define and advocate national solutions to environmental problems which are national in scope. But States are the obvious and most efficient administrators of those solutions within their own borders.

Humility is the ability to recognize both one's strengths and one's weaknesses, and to behave appropriately in light of that realistic appraisal. It is in many respects a most refreshing and useful virtue. Anne Gorsuch has brought a new spirit of realism to EPA, one which has caused that Agency, in all true humility, to bring States into a fuller and more genuine partnership with the Federal Government. I believe the nation, the federal system, and the environment are already the better for it.

Watt, After Year of Battling Environmentalists, Sees Respite Ahead

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 14 — His missionary zeal is still intact, but after more than a year of continuous combat, Interior Secretary James G. Watt is looking forward to a respite.

"We feel we've put behind us all the tough issues," he said in a recent interview. "We feel the clouds have lifted."

Indeed, there are signs that the storm clouds that surrounded him and into which he seemingly plunged with glee are starting to recede.

For one thing, the nation's environmental and conservation groups have shifted their attention to President Reagan. These groups had maintained unrelenting criticism of the Interior Secretary because of what they said were his efforts to give away public lands and resources to industry instead of protecting them.

Last month 10 leading environmental groups issued a 35-page indictment of the Reagan Administration's "betrayal" of environmental protection, calling the President responsible for all the alleged misdeeds of Mr. Watt and other Cabinet officials.

A Compromise With Congress

Earlier last month, Congress dropped contempt proceedings, which theoretically could have sent Mr. Watt to jail, after a compromise was reached on Congressional access to Administration documents.

But most of all, Mr. Watt said, he is feeling relieved because all of his major policy changes have now been introduced and there will be no new battles to fight, at least through the end of the

year. His department has put forth its positions on such "explosive" issues as the fate of the wilderness system and the Endangered Species Act, he said, and it is up to Congress to take action.

"There is only one issue left, the personality of Jim Watt," Mr. Watt said, with a broad grin.

He apparently intends to try to defuse that issue by spending a lot of time away from Washington campaigning in the West for Republican Congressional candidates and raising funds for the Republican Party.

The conservationists, despite their change in focus, are not breathing easily about Mr. Watt's environmental

plans. They are particularly concerned about his efforts to carry out the President's proposal to sell off unwanted Federal land.

Fear of a Larger Plan

Organizations such as the Wilderness Society, the National Audubon Society and the Sierra Club have expressed fear that the proposal is part of a larger plan by Mr. Watt and the Reagan Administration to turn public lands and resources over to private interests.

Mr. Watt, in fact, said that while he planned no major initiatives, he intended to "ride herd" on decisions already made, including the leasing of on

and offshore lands for energy exploration.

"This is not a struggle over the environment," he said. "It is not about resources. This battle is over the form of government we will have in America. We are battling over the future of America."

Mr. Watt reiterated his belief that "the greatness of America" depended on the use it made of its natural as well as human resources and that "the marketplace is the key to allocating" those natural resources.

"The critics I contend with seek a form of government that would centralize the allocation of resources and thus

our well being," he said. "I feel strongly that is wrong and if we are to improve our military strength, create jobs and improve environmental qualities, we have to improve, over the long haul, the freedom that comes with the marketplace and a limited form of government."

Environmentalists Challenged

On several occasions Mr. Watt has questioned the motives and patriotism of those who challenge his approach.

Earlier this year, in a speech to farmers, he made a distinction between "liberals and Americans," which he later said was intended as a humorous remark. In an interview with a publication called Forest Industry Affairs Letter, he said that the environmentalists who criticized him were not interested

in the environment.

"They are political activists, a left-wing cult which seeks to bring down the type of government I believe in," he went on.

Mr. Watt is not the only one in government today to hold these views. A recent special report issued by the Republican Study Committee, a group of 150 Republican members of the House of Representatives, said that "the specter of environmentalism haunts America by threatening to inhibit natural resource development and economic growth."

Mr. Watt, however, said he had become the particular "symbol" of the effort to decentralize control of the nation's resources.

"I am the lightning rod for this Administration," he asserted.

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ENERGY

BY MICHAEL J. CONLON

NEW ORLEANS (UPI) -- INTERIOR SECRETARY JAMES WATT SAID WEDNESDAY THE ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO A VIGOROUS DEVELOPMENT OF COAL DESPITE LOWER OIL PRICES.

"WE ARE NOT GOING TO BE LULLED BY THE SO-CALLED OIL GLUT," WATT SAID IN AN ADDRESS TO THE INTERSTATE MINING COMPACT COMMISSION. "THIS IS A TEMPORARY SITUATION WHICH WILL CHANGE QUICKLY WHEN OUR ECONOMY AND OTHER ECONOMIES AROUND THE WORLD MAKE THEIR RECOVERY.

"AND WE CONTINUE TO LIVE WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF DISRUPTIONS OF FOREIGN ENERGY SUPPLIES. WE ARE NOT GOING TO RELAX OUR EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE FULLER DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN ENERGY RESOURCES."

WATT SAID THAT UNDER PRESIDENT REAGAN'S POLICIES, THE BURDEN OF COAL DEVELOPMENT FELL ALMOST TOTALLY ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF POLICING DEVELOPMENT FELL LARGELY ON THE STATES.

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