

Headlong, heedless, we rush
... to blast down the hills,
bulldoze the trees, scrape bare the fields
to build predestined slums

—NANCY NEWHALL
This Is the American Earth

Still One Dam Too Many

We applaud the Bureau of the Budget's refusal to recommend immediate authorization of Bridge Canyon dam. But the Bureau of Reclamation is pushing a "compromise" under which construction of Marble Gorge dam would begin soon. One unnecessary dam in Grand Canyon is less bad than two, but one dam is still one too many.

Marble Gorge dam is devoid of any functional engineering justification. Financed with tax money, at interest rates lower than the government pays when it borrows, the dam's only purpose would be to produce revenue from the sale of electricity. (A *Life* editorial calls it a "cash register dam.") Revenues would be used to offset some of the cost of physically unrelated water projects. Other ways to finance the movement of water would save money, save water, and save some of the most remarkable canyon scenery on this or any other continent.

To condone Marble Gorge dam would not be a compromise, it would be surrender. Could we be sure the Bridge Canyon project would not be revived? Or that the Bureau of Reclamation's dream of diverting the Colorado River through a 40-mile tunnel bypassing Grand Canyon National Park would remain a dream? The Bureau has made promises before. Remember its promise to protect Rainbow Bridge?

Sierra Club Population Policy

At their March meeting, the Directors of the Sierra Club adopted the following policy statement:

"The 'population explosion' has severely disturbed the ecological relationship between mankind and his environment. It has caused an increasing scarcity of wilderness and wildlife and has impaired the beauty of whole regions, as well as reducing the standards and the quality of living. In recognition of the growing magnitude of this conservation issue, the Sierra Club supports a greatly increased program of education on the need for population control."

Overpopulation is often viewed as a threat that is almost, but not quite yet, upon us. The Board of Directors, however, has not made this mistake. Note the significance of the past tense in the club's new official policy: overpopulation "has disturbed . . . has caused . . . has impaired." Anybody who has seen fields, forests, orchards, and meadows obliterated to provide sites for ticky-tacky housing, such as that shown on this month's cover, should realize that overpopulation is today's problem as well as tomorrow's.

Reluctance to face the population problem squarely may stem from reluctance to face its corollary: that a constantly accelerating consumption of unrenovable resources cannot be sustained indefinitely. If we insist upon making a virtue of an "expanding economy" (i.e., increasing per capita consumption), and if population continues to double every forty years or less, the earth's carrying capacity will be prematurely curtailed. Man's habitat is finite, and cannot support infinite numbers any more than a marsh can support infinite numbers of wildfowl or a range can support infinite numbers of deer.

Population control would not insure attainment of the club's conservation objectives, but it would make them attainable. There would be no hope of attaining our goals in a world with too little of everything except people.



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... TO EXPLORE, ENJOY, AND PROTECT
THE NATION'S SCENIC RESOURCES ...

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THE SIERRA CLUB,* founded in 1892, has devoted itself to the study and protection of national scenic resources, particularly those of mountain regions. Participation is invited in the program to enjoy and preserve wilderness, wildlife, forests, and streams.

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More Debate on a Redwood National Park

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR Stewart L. Udall has asked two of his bureau directors to formulate a firm proposal for a Redwood National Park. Drawing on the preliminary report of the National Park Service issued last September, Director of the National Park Service, George B. Hartzog, Jr., and Director of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, Edward C. Crafts, are to join in fashioning a final report for submission to Mr. Udall and the President. They are hoping to have their report ready by June.

Since issuance of its preliminary report, the National Park Service has been reviewing public comments and discussing its recommendations with interested groups. A majority of the comments received have been favorable, with widespread support expressed for a Redwood National Park in the Redwood Creek-Prairie Creek area. Joining the Sierra Club in finding this area to be suitable are the National Parks Association, the Save-the-Redwoods League, The Wilderness Society, the National Audubon Society, The Nature Conservancy, the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, Citizens for Natural Resources, Citizens for a Redwoods National Park, Trustees for Conservation, and the Men's Garden Clubs of America. The National Wildlife Federation also expressed general support for a Redwood National Park.

The position of the State of California is unclear. State Senator Fred Farr has introduced a resolution in the legislature asking Congress to establish an ample Redwood National Park (SJR 29). Hugo Fisher, administrator of the state's Resources Agency, on the other hand, has opposed locating the National Park in the Redwood Creek area and has instead proposed Del Norte County's Mill Creek area, or, as an alternate, a National Parkway through the redwood region. Little public support has developed for his proposals. The Sierra Club agrees that there are natural values in the Del Norte County area deserving park protection, but along with the National Park Service, it believes that a superior opportunity for a Redwood National Park exists in Hum-

boldt County in the much larger valley and relatively undamaged watershed area of Redwood Creek.

The club and the state joined in finding that another attempted "compromise" proposal contributed little. The American Forestry Association suggested in February that Humboldt Redwoods State Park might be re-labeled as a national park. The Association may have hoped that such a move might satisfy the demand for a park without antagonizing the lumber industry. The club pointed out, however, that this sleight-of-hand in changing entrance signs "would serve no conservation purpose whatsoever. A park," the club stated, "should help solve the conservation crisis that exists in the drainages of Redwood Creek and Mill Creek. Important opportunities still remain to protect parts of major ecological units in those areas. There also, especially in Redwood Creek, the National Park Service has identified the best combination of features for a significant Redwood National Park: large blocks of unbroken forest, record-height bottom stands, sunny, spacious flats for campgrounds, superior types of slope redwoods, and a wild sweep of ocean beach with herds of Roosevelt elk." State Resources Agency administrator Hugo Fisher also observed that since no more virgin redwoods would be protected by the A.F.A. proposal, he saw no improvement resulting.

AT A CONFERENCE held by the A.F.A. in early April, another proposal was unveiled. A group speaking for the redwood lumber industry and calling itself the Redwood Park and Recreation Committee, offered to open 230,000 acres of lumber company lands to recreational use, and it reiterated its offer to sell some 6000-8000 acres of prime groves to the state for inclusion in parks. These offers were generally welcomed, though acceptance of them would not reduce the need for a Redwood National Park to conserve remaining major units of redwood forest.

As the debate has continued, the lum-

ber companies have filed 1965 plans for logging areas in the very heart of the proposed National Park on Redwood Creek. Plans filed with the California Division of Forestry show cutting planned near the Tall Tree Grove and in highly prized Lost Man Creek. To combat this, the Assistant to the President of the Sierra Club, Michael McCloskey, recently proposed to federal authorities an interim plan to protect the trees until Congress can act. He proposed that the federal government purchase cutting rights in the area of the proposed park on a year-to-year basis for the next few years while Congress debates. "Unless this is done," he said, "the very values a park is designed to display can be destroyed before Congress can even vote." McCloskey said the price paid should be adequate to recompense the lumber companies for the inconvenience it causes them. "In cases where they can easily cut elsewhere, the price will be low. In cases where alternate log supplies are not available, the price will be higher."

To help provide information on these emerging issues, the club has a number of publications available, beginning with its exhibit-format book, *The Last Redwoods*. Subsequent publications include: Outdoor Newsletter #6, Volume 2 (May 1964), reviewing reactions to the book; Outdoor Newsletter #7, Volume 2 (November 1964), on the threat freeways pose to parks; Fact Sheet #1 (February 1965), on proposals for a Redwood National Park; and Outdoor Newsletter #3, Volume 3 (March 1965), on the effects of floods and the urgency of establishing a national park.

To supplement its newsletter on floods the club in March wrote to the members of the Interior and Public Works committees of Congress. It stressed that major flood damage was caused by silt and debris loosed by logging and that curing watershed abuse should be a first consideration in plans to minimize future flood damage. The club urged that parks, including a Redwood National Park, be regarded as an important means of providing protection for watersheds. ■

Who Owns A River?

By

Alfred D. Stedman



The Dalles area of the St. Croix River, just below St. Croix Falls. Photo by Ken Dequaine

Alfred D. Stedman has recently retired from the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch, where he was at various times Washington correspondent and associate editor. Mr. Stedman was for five years assistant administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; he has written widely on conservation. This article, which first appeared in the December 21, 1964 issue of The Nation, is reprinted here with the permission of that magazine.

UNTIL IT LOSES ITSELF in the foul and polluted Mississippi a few miles below Minneapolis and St. Paul, everything about the St. Croix River is lovely: its source in cold northern Wisconsin springs and lakes, its long quiet southward meanderings that for 100 miles form the boundary between Minnesota and Wisconsin, its incoming trout brooks and bass streams, the overlooking hills, the gorge near its midpoint known as the Dalles, and the broad expanse called Lake St. Croix that lazes for more than 20 miles from the fine old historic Minnesota town of Stillwater to the mouth.

And it is right here on this beautiful lower expanse that a fight presently centers between the onward push of industry and the stubborn defenders of a river and valley they love. More and more people among the Twin Cities' 1½ million feel

a deep personal appreciation of their great luck in having so fine a stream so near at hand. It is called the cleanest large river left in mid-America, with Stillwater (1960 population 8,310) as the largest center on its whole course. To it come more and more visitors from Wisconsin as well as Minnesota to sail and swim and water-ski and fish and play. More and more year-around or summer homes peep from the timbered hills. Right now the upper reaches of the St. Croix and its main northern tributary, the Namekagon, are among twelve U.S. streams being studied by a team of national experts for possible designation as "wild rivers," suitable to be preserved for recreation in the years to come.

That study may be extended to include the lower St. Croix. But cutting across the beginnings of plans for tomorrow's conservation needs there is today a Northern States Power Company project that opponents say (and backers deny) would open a door to industrial degradation of the lower St. Croix valley. At the village of Oak Park Heights on the Minnesota shore just below Stillwater, the company is petitioning to build an enormous coal-burning electric generating plant at a cost of \$68 million. This would be a 550,000 kilowatt station, larger than any that had been installed anywhere in the United States prior to

1961. Later a second unit of even larger capacity would be added.

It is sad that the same cool clean waters where thrive game fish like walleyed pike and smallmouth bass, and which outdoorsmen love best for boating and bathing, are especially prized by power companies. The cooler and cleaner the water, the more efficiently it will cool electric generators.

The St. Croix runs consistently cooler and far cleaner than either the Mississippi or the Minnesota that joins the murky Father of Waters near the Twin Cities. But if the power project wins official approval, the lower St. Croix valley and Lake St. Croix will never be the same. Homes dotting the hills below Stillwater will look down on a power plant 350 feet long and 200 feet high, flanked by a coal pile nearly half a mile in length, with the layout to be vastly expanded later. A stack of 600 to 800 feet tall will belch smoke into the sky. To bring coal upstream from the Illinois coal fields, those placid waters will be plied each week through the navigation season by three huge tows of fifteen barges per tow, or by larger numbers of smaller tows. Though the company promises to hold barge traffic to a minimum on summertime holidays and weekends, the question of barge-traffic dangers to boaters and bathers is a live issue.

In times of lowest water, when the weather can also be the hottest and natural water temperatures the highest, the amount of water to be drawn from Lake St. Croix to cool the power plant might equal most of the river's flow into the lake. The record low-average flow for July is 783 cubic feet per second, and the maximum use by the proposed plant (first unit) is placed at 660 cubic feet. At the point of their return to the St. Croix, the waters would be warmed 10° to 17°—up to hot weather maximums of 84° to 99°.

Every major effect on aquatic life and human recreation of both the warm-up of waters by the plant (thermal pollution) and of air pollution from the stack is in dispute. Scientific studies by federal, state and power company experts are under way.

The economic push to get official sanction for the plant is tremendous. The need for additional power in the Twin Cities area has hardly been challenged, and the business and political interests of Stillwater would be more than human if they didn't thrill to the promises of a \$7 million construction payroll, an annual operating payroll later for sixty employees of \$500,000, and a 64 per cent jump in local tax revenues.

Backing the project are nearly every chamber of commerce in the immediate Washington County area of Minnesota, nearly all official governing bodies of county, towns and villages, luncheon clubs, veterans' groups, the county unit of the National Farm Organization and the central labor union, AFL-CIO.

But the opposition also is militant and sturdy; in number and in scope as well, it is rising. It is led by an organization called Save the St. Croix, Inc., made up of valley residents and people from Wisconsin, Minnesota and elsewhere who cherish the river. Save the St. Croix now has several hundred members and is raising funds for attorneys' fees and other costs of fighting the project. More than twenty groups, including the Minnesota division of the Izaak Walton League of America and the Minnesota Society of Architects, have expressed concern about the project or have come out against it. Petitions of protest are declared to have gained more than 10,000 signatures.

Right now supporters and opponents are scrambling to be ready for concurrent hearings by two Minnesota agencies be-

ginning January 13. University of Minnesota thermal pollution studies financed by the Northern States Power Company are due to be presented. The company asks one permit from the Minnesota Department of Conservation for continuous diversion from the St. Croix River of water in an amount that in a year could cover to a 1-foot depth an area of 631,000 acres, or nearly 1,000 square miles. It asks a second permit from the Minnesota Water Pollution Control Commission to discharge the same water back into the river in a heated and chlorinated condition.

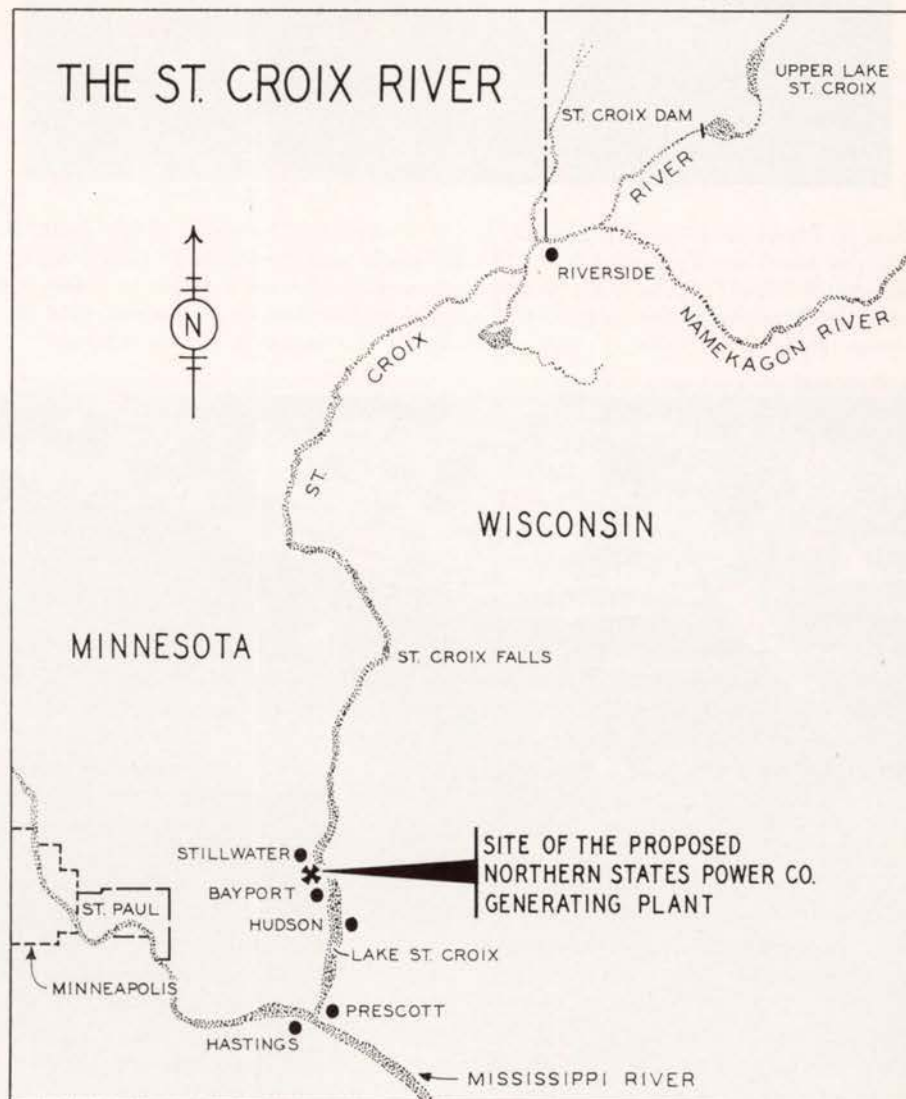
The opposition centers, not against building such a plant somewhere near the Twin Cities, but specifically against the St. Croix as a site. It contends that since the plant could be located on the Mississippi, already polluted by human and

industrial wastes, it is not necessary or excusable to contaminate the only major stream hereabouts that is still cool and clean.

The Northern States Power Company makes a sweeping defense of its first unit plan. "We are convinced," it says, "that operation of such a plant as we propose to build will not be detrimental to the interests of residents of the St. Croix valley nor detract from the pleasures of those who use the valley for recreation. We would not be building a plant here if we thought it would mar the beauty of the valley or restrict or interfere with activities in the area."

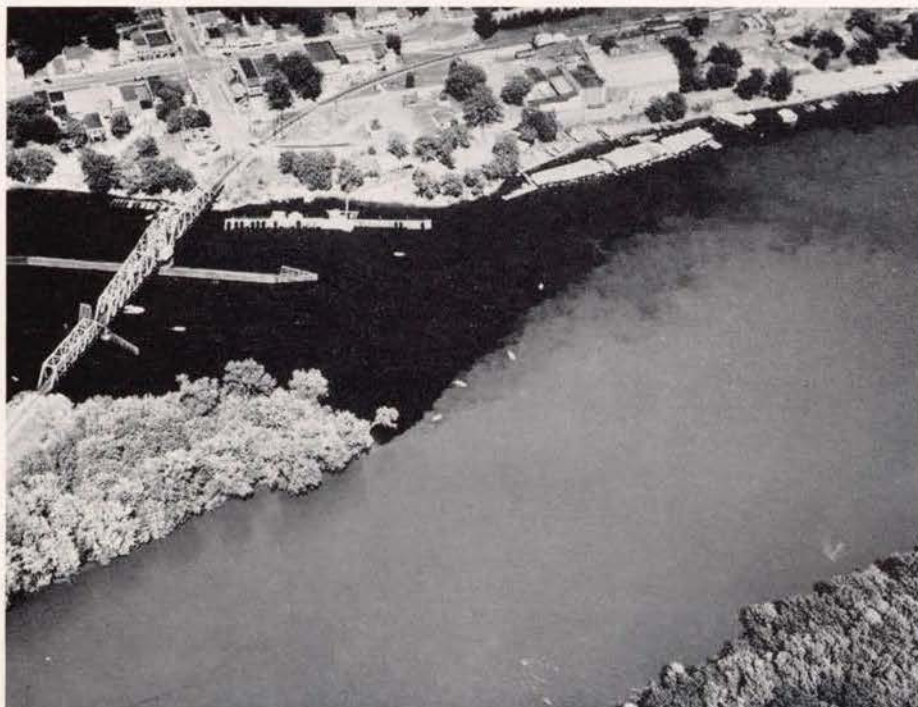
Concerning the feared effects on fish life or other river biology, the company says that the rise of temperature will average only about 10° and will decrease sharply within a short distance down-

Map by Alan Macdonald





From its source in northern Wisconsin, the St. Croix River meanders slowly south, its shores in places heavily wooded banks, in other places sandy shoals and beaches, and for one stretch below St. Croix Falls slab-like rock walls that reach a height of nearly 200 feet. The above photograph by Robert Uppgren shows the river on its journey south; the photograph below by Walter Wettschreck shows the Mississippi-St. Croix confluence.



stream as the discharge mixes with the river water. It asserts that there will be no pollution from the cleaning of the barges, and that the initial barge traffic of 2 million tons of coal a year won't disturb boaters or swimmers. As to air pollution, it says that 98 per cent of the fly ash will be removed from the smoke and that the stack exhaust, mostly water vapor, will be dissipated high in the atmosphere.

But opposite views as to the initial plant's effects are argued by champions of the St. Croix. They contend that warming the river is sure to multiply nuisance fish, hurt game fish, and spur growth of green scum algae. In summer, they say, the waters will be made too warm for swimming on such nearby beaches as Bayport. They point out that on the Mississippi and Minnesota warm water checks freezing for considerable distances below power plants, and foresee that the St. Croix will be lost to winter sports for comparable distances below any new plant that warms this river. They warn that leaching of sulphur from the huge coal pile could produce dangerous acid pollution.

As to air pollution, Save the St. Croix describes the real danger to people and vegetation as arising from poisonous gases, especially sulphur gas, which can be converted to acids and brought back to ground levels with the rain.

On such immediate effects of the new plant, the power company has gained a degree of avowed or unannounced support in official conservation circles. Some agree that injury to the river will be minimal, and a few say openly that, as between more business and beauty or recreation on the St. Croix, they vote for business.

But overshadowing all issues of immediate effects on recreational and scenic values of this first power unit is the great question of whether its location on the lower St. Croix would start a march of heavy industry through the valley that in the long run could be revolutionary. If this huge plant attracts an influx of heavy industry, still graver troubles with water and air pollution and serious shrinkage of outdoor values would be the prospect. The power company acknowledges that it will have no control over what other industries may do about following it into the valley, but it makes two comments.

One is that the St. Croix has been his-

torically a commercial stream, with some industries operating there now. True, long ago the fur traders used it as the shortest water route from the Mississippi to Lake Superior, canoeing all the way north to Upper St. Croix Lake, then portaging to the Bois Brule and descending that tumbling stream to the Greatest Lake. True, also, the lumbermen made a shambles of the region's forests before their sawmills vanished, along with the logs that once jammed the St. Croix, and nature began a century-long job of re-clothing the denuded lands. So, though perhaps open to other interpretations, history along the St. Croix seems to suggest that unguided exploitation of nature's bounties can lead to public costs as well as private profits.

But the company also doubts that it would lead other heavy industry into the valley. In its experience, the company says, "our power plants do not attract other industrial establishments to their immediate area. As far as power rates or service are concerned, there is no advantage in being located next to a generating station. In the nearly twelve years that it has been in existence, our (Minnesota River) Black Dog plant, for instance, has not attracted industrial plants as next-door neighbors."

Opponents answer that the Northern States Power Company itself, by planning now to follow up its first generating station with another unit of even greater capacity, is already taking an important step toward industrializing the lower valley. They add that, once the company wins a test case for its first station, chances of heading off that next step toward more industry will be poor. As for the Minnesota River, they describe industrial development there as having been well advanced before the Black Dog power plant was ever built. Whatever special factors may be keeping other industries at a distance from the Minnesota River plant area, they are regarded as unlikely to apply on the St. Croix.

Instead, if once the mammoth new power operation gets under way on the St. Croix, strong forces toward further industrializing are considered by Save the St. Croix spokesmen as almost certain to be generated. They foresee that the heavy upstream coal movement will induce the barge operators to seek cargo for the downstream haul. That in itself could attract industries, and the enlarged barge traffic would almost certainly pro-



Below St. Croix Falls and Taylors Falls, the lower St. Croix River becomes peaceful and slowly flows through heavily forested country. Photograph by Walter H. Wettschreck

duce enterprises for the cleaning, servicing, loading and fueling of the tows.

"In actuality," says State Representative William J. O'Brien of St. Paul, a staunch conservationist with deeply rooted interest in the St. Croix, "I am not terribly concerned about the power company project itself. The number of cement plants, oil refineries and other

industrial establishments which I fear would undoubtedly follow a new power plant give me great concern."

Not the wastes of a vast human population but industrial wastes would seem the most likely threat to the now cool and fresh St. Croix. Twin Cities people know that one in every twenty oil barges is a "leaker," and they commonly see oil



slicks on their rivers. They hear that far down the Mississippi any fish caught taste of petroleum. They know that industrial accidents happen, that last year, for example, two oil spills killed 8,000 ducks and greased bathing beaches for 100 miles along the stream. They know that the Minnesota River, like the Mississippi, is heavily polluted by industrial wastes.

And all this devastation occurs despite the fact that most industries cooperate with the Minnesota Water Pollution Control Commission and that the total bill for building sewage systems in the Twin Cities area is expected to exceed \$200 million in about thirty-five years. So far as industrial wastes are concerned, what has happened before can reasonably be expected to happen on the St. Croix.

Thus momentous questions arise out of the fight over the fate of the St. Croix. Essentially similar questions are coming up in other struggles to save for general enjoyment some natural treasures: remnants of giant redwoods in California, the Indiana Dunes, Storm King Mountain on the Hudson, the Great Falls of the Potomac, Fire Island of New York, tracts of wilderness and wild rivers elsewhere.

What limits are to be placed on industrial invasion in America? What guidelines are to be established? Who is to determine where, when, and how a public resource can be used by industry? Is that to rest with the industry or local municipality immediately concerned? Or should final decision be reserved to a national or interstate agency?

On the St. Croix, as elsewhere, defenders of natural resources find that no general forum exists for hearing and deciding such questions. To be sure, as to all effects on navigation, the Northern States Power Company will require a permit for its project from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. And as to the effects on recreation, the Corps will be "advised" by the Interior Department's Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wild Life. But these are not general forums for broad decisions on the questions at stake.

Some Minnesota officials are fond of saying that nobody can stop the Northern States Power Company from building any plant it wants on St. Croix shore property it already owns. Smoke rising from the stack will float around in Wisconsin as well as Minnesota skies, but as yet the only public body having legal power to control air pollution by the

plant is the village council of Oak Park Heights, with a 1960 population of 332. Federal and state agencies by the dozen are now empowered to study, to report and recommend state or local controls of air pollution, but none has power to decide, to act and to enforce.

Northern States Power, up to this writing, has not acknowledged any Wisconsin jurisdiction over its project. Yet the St. Croix rises and flows for a fourth of its course in that state. Half of the water to be used would seem to belong to Wisconsin. And that state has never admitted that issues of pollution on the St. Croix should be decided on one side of the river alone.

In fact, Wisconsin Governor John W. Reynolds, before his defeat for re-election, directed a task force of four state agencies to study the power project's effects on the St. Croix basin as a natural resource and recreational asset. And Governor-elect Warren P. Knowles says that "I would expect to continue the investigation and make every effort to see that the recreational values of the St. Croix River are fully protected, and take such further steps as may be required to safeguard the interest of boaters from pollution of the river."

"If the [Save the St. Croix] charges should be proved," said Wisconsin Sen. Gaylord Nelson in calling a public hearing by his Senate Air and Water Pollution subcommittee in Stillwater on De-

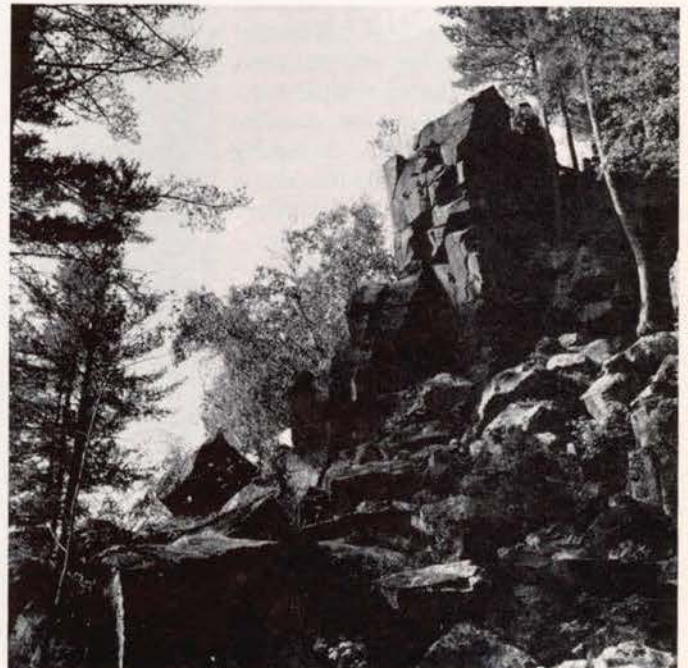
ember 10 and 11, "I cannot believe that Wisconsin should be powerless to act in this case."

Thus the groundwork for interstate action is already laid. In fact, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare is specifically empowered by the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to draw up programs and support interstate compacts for water-pollution control.

Against a backdrop of hurry, hurry to get Minnesota's January 13 hearings over and the Northern States Power plant under construction on a basis of permits from one state only, Congress itself is being urged to establish a federal authority with powers to act and to define clear guidelines for decisions on questions like those about the St. Croix. Senator Nelson seems to be moving in that direction.

"Isn't it about time," asked *The Washington Post* recently in an editorial that drew commendation from Senator Douglas of Illinois, "that Congress and the Administration took a systematic look at this problem?" And it said that "If and when choice recreation areas and unspoiled lakes and rivers are wholly invaded by industry, it will not be because anyone planned it that way. It will be simply because in area after area long-term conservation interests are subordinated to short-term commercial interest." ■

There are many places along the St. Croix that offer, as does this spot, fresh air, quiet, and solitude.



Trees Don't Vote

By David E. Pesonen

David E. Pesonen was formerly Conservation Editor of the Sierra Club and the Executive Director of the Northern California Association to Preserve Bodega Head and Harbor. In the latter capacity, he gained much practical experience in politics at state and local levels. In this article, Mr. Pesonen develops the thesis that the Dirksen Amendment would tend to perpetuate rural domination of state legislatures, and that this would be inimical to the cause of conservation nationally.

AN AXIOM MULLED OVER at every Sierra Club Wilderness Conference is that the power of the conservation movement in America has swelled in proportion as the Nation has become urbanized. But imagine the following circumstances:

- The location of new dams on the Colorado River is decided largely by Utah and Arizona reclamationists.
- U.S. Department of Agriculture policy on the use of pesticides is drawn principally by the Agricultural Chemists Association.
- The final decision on building a trans-Sierra highway lies with the Fresno and Mono County Boards of Supervisors.
- Reclassification of remaining Primitive Areas under the Wilderness Act is chiefly influenced by local timber and mining interests.
- Legislation affecting air and water pollution is controlled by the Farm Bureau Federation.
- The selection of freeway routes through redwood groves follows the recommendations of the Humboldt and Del Norte County Boards of Supervisors.

- The location of powerplants on the California coast is decided mainly by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company.

Most conservationists would call this state of affairs a catastrophe. An astute political observer would also recognize it as the ultimate effect of the Dirksen Amendment to the United States Constitution. What is the Dirksen Amendment?

One Man-One Vote

In the summer of 1964 the United States Supreme Court handed down the last of six decisions that challenged the constitutionality of state legislative apportionment by criteria other than population. In retrospect, these cases were historically inevitable. Until this century, America was predominantly a rural, agricultural nation; but population and urbanization have accelerated over the years until about 70 per cent of the citizenry now lives in urban areas. Representation of this majority in state legislatures has not kept pace with the shift.

Chief Justice Warren's opinion in what have come to be called the 1964 Reapportionment Cases, stated the Court's argument this way:

"Legislators represent people, not trees or acres . . . A citizen, a qualified voter, is no more nor no less so because he lives in the city or on the farm . . . As a basic constitutional standard, the Equal Protection Clause [of the 14th Amendment] requires that the seats in both houses of a bicameral state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis . . . one man, one vote."

The Dirksen Amendment (Senate Joint Resolution 2), currently before Congress, seeks to amend the Constitution—with

the explicit objective of overturning the "one man-one vote" rule—by adding the following language:

"SECTION 1. The right and power to determine the composition of the legislature of a State and the apportionment of the membership thereof shall remain in the people of that State. Nothing in this Constitution shall prohibit the people from apportioning one house of a bicameral legislature upon the basis of factors other than population, or from giving reasonable weight to factors other than population in apportioning a unicameral legislature, if, in either case, such apportionment has been submitted to a vote of the people in accordance with law and with the provisions of this Constitution and has been approved by a majority of those voting on that issue."

The enormous implications of this amendment, I believe, have not been fully recognized by conservationists or, for that matter, by the general urban public. Note that under the amendment (1) both the "right" and the "power" to determine the "composition" and the "apportionment" of state legislatures is vested exclusively in the state. And (2) the amendment is *not limited to one house* of a bicameral legislature; conceivably both houses could be apportioned on factors other than population.

Some scholars feel that, regardless of the merits of the one man-one vote rule, the Supreme Court has ventured to the limit of its powers in interpreting the Constitution and that a curtailment of those powers is in order. Indeed, the Court itself split 6-3 in the Reapportionment Cases, largely on the issue of jurisdiction. Although I do not share the view that the Court has gone too far, I recog-

nize it is a point on which reasonable men may differ. There is no question, however, that the Dirksen Amendment goes far beyond rescinding the Reapportionment Cases. It would throw out the democratic baby with the jurisdictional bath by freezing into the Constitution a principle that is repugnant to every vestige of democratic theory. Under the term "factors other than population," for example, could be encompassed voting criteria based on sex, property, income, religion, race, or annual rainfall.

The population standard in apportionment is of course a guarantee that each person's vote carries equal weight with every other person's vote—where these votes ultimately count—in the chambers of the legislature. The practical need for the one man-one vote rule is suggested by a recent study, which found that there is some rural domination in both houses of almost every state in the Union: "ninety-seven of the ninety-nine state legislative bodies [Nebraska's legislature is unicameral, accounting for the odd number], as of 1960, were so apportioned as to give an advantage to the rural population." (17 *Western Political Quarterly* 724, 726)

In California, for example, one state senator represents a district with 14,000 people, while another is elected from a district with 6.5 million people. Each vote in the smaller district is, in effect, 565 times as powerful as each vote in the more populous district. In Alabama, only one-fourth of the total population elects a majority of the members of both the House and Senate; a vote in the state's smallest district is 15.6 times as powerful as one in the largest district.

As any candid lobbyist will testify, it is generally much easier to influence the vote of an elected representative who comes from a small district with a few dominant economic interests than it is to swing a representative from a large, pluralistic and often more articulate urban constituency. (This is only a general rule; California happens to enjoy quite a few enlightened senators from rural districts, but there is no assurance of this state of affairs in the future.) It is the lobbyist's business to know the pressure points of legislators. He will also admit that control of one house in a bicameral legislature amounts to a veto over the entire body. The shelves groan with political science theses documenting these facts, which are the bread and butter insights of legislative advocacy.

The Vested Interest Theory

Supporters of the Dirksen Amendment point out that it permits apportionment on criteria other than population only after a vote by the people; this provision, it is argued, insures democratic control. They point out that in one of the Reapportionment Cases the Supreme Court overturned a state senate apportionment plan in Colorado that had been approved by the voters.

In 1943, Supreme Court Justice Jackson wrote in an opinion: "One's right to life, liberty, and property, to free speech, a free press, freedom of worship and assembly, and other fundamental rights may not be submitted to vote; they depend on the outcome of no elections." (Emphasis added.) It is hard to imagine a right more fundamental than the right to equal representation—which is simply the other half of the right to vote. And when the Court struck down the Colorado apportionment plan in 1964, it said: "A citizen's constitutional rights can hardly be infringed simply because a majority of the people choose to do so." As a practical matter, it is no secret that the outcome of a referendum can be powerfully influenced by money.

But what has this to do with dams on the Colorado River or reclassification of Primitive Areas under the Wilderness Act?

The theory behind the Dirksen Amendment can be described as the "interest theory of representation." It states that abstract (economic) *interests* have rights on a par with people and that these rights must be defended from people; these interests are more closely allied with the economic viewpoint of rural than of urban populations. The theory says: since an "interest" has no legal vote, the best defense is to vest a bigger vote in the hands of a rural person than in the hands of an urban person. And one needn't look far to identify these interests; they are what used to be called "vested interests," the same ones that blocked passage of the Wilderness Bill for eight years—lumber, mining, reclamation, agriculture, grazing, petroleum, hydroelectric power.

These are the interests that continue to maintain that wilderness areas are enjoyed only by a "small minority of urban zealots," that a reservoir in Glen or Grand Canyon "would be a tremendous recreational asset to the region," that it is a waste of resources and a "blow to the

economy" to "lock up" mature redwood timber. And they are the interests that on the whole shake their heads at such unrealistic prose as David Brower's description of a conservationist: "—and by *conservationist* I mean a man (or part of him) concerned with what natural resources do for his spirit, not his bank balance."

Abstractions and generalities on a constitutional scale always have their exceptions, for which we should be thankful. But does anyone seriously doubt that conservation legislation would have much tougher sledding, both nationally and on a state level, if a system of rural domination were sanctioned for all time by an amendment to the United States Constitution?

Amiable Platitudes

When a resolution was introduced in the 1964 Congress to delay enforcement of the Supreme Court's ruling, most urban spokesmen tended to discount its chances of passage. But it was defeated only after the national Council of Mayors belatedly opposed it, followed with a marathon filibuster by 15 senators from urban states.

The forces promoting the Dirksen Amendment are better organized in 1965. They have hired the public relations firm of Whitaker and Baxter to propagandize the issue in California. They are well financed and quite sanguine about their prospects. Red-white-and-blue brochures have been printed and distributed by the thousands with the two-point theme: Fight Reapportionment—to protect "minority rights" and to maintain the "time-tested" system of "checks and balances" in government.

The *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, one of the most reliable barometers of the rural viewpoint in California, editorialized along these lines on April 9: "The fundamental right of minorities to have their viewpoint heard and considered has been struck down, and action to restore that right is overlong in emerging from Congress." This seems to imply that rural districts will be stripped of all representation in the legislature. Obviously, however, the Supreme Court has not deprived rural citizens of the right to be "heard and considered"; it has simply guaranteed that they will no longer speak louder or carry a bigger legislative stick than their numbers justify.

A different argument against the Supreme Court's decision contends that the wisdom of unequal representation in one house is supported by the Constitution's provision for two senators from each state, regardless of population. The analogy is spurious; it fails to distinguish the difference between a state, which is a constitutionally recognized and originally sovereign political unit that existed before the Constitution was written, and an election district whose boundaries are fluid and can be redrawn at will by the legislature.

Very little reflection is required to see that the "minority rights," "checks and balances," and federal analogy arguments behind the Dirksen Amendment are not fundamental—they are derivatives that boil down to amiable platitudes masking the interest theory of representation.

Strategy

California affords an excellent example of the strategy to promote the Dirksen Amendment. The *Sacramento Bee* reports a "hurried conference" on the evening of April 9 in the Senate Lounge of the State Capitol, by the "Citizens Committee for Balanced Legislative Representation," attended by five state senators from northern California, one from Los Angeles,* Mr. Whitaker of Whitaker and Baxter, and the following well-known conservationists: Albert J. Shults, lobbyist for Standard Oil and other major oil companies, and A. Ruric Todd, lobbyist for the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. According to a separate report, several other groups represented were the California Farm Bureau Federation and the California Bankers' Association. The Chairman of the "citizens committee" is James Mussatti, former general manager of the California State Chamber of Commerce. The committee's latest report quotes Mussatti as follows:

"In all, 25 or one-half of the states have petitioned congress for reapportionment action in one form or another and it is our belief that at least another 10 states will take action in the near future. It is time that all interested persons make their voices heard on this issue to their senators

* Senators Hugh M. Burns, Fresno County; John F. McCarthy, Marin County; George Miller, Jr., Contra Cost County; Howard Way, Tulare County; Joseph A. Rattigan, Sonoma County; Thomas M. Rees, Los Angeles County.

and congressmen. *This critically important issue can be won if all of us, to whom the decision is so important, do our part.* (Emphasis added by the author.)

Senator Hugh Burns of Fresno County, president pro tempore of the Senate, who attended the meeting, said that the United States Senate "is for the [Dirksen] Amendment generally but work needs to be done on the representatives." As a result the "citizens committee" is arranging "a series of small social affairs in Washington for members of the House of Representatives." The committee is sending spokesmen (aboard the oil companies' private aircraft) to testify before state legislatures that are considering resolutions on the Dirksen Amendment—Louisiana, Oregon, Florida, New Jersey, and New York.

Ratification

If the amendment were passed by Congress it would still require ratification by 38 states to become the next amendment to the United States Constitution. What are its chances?

Splendid.

Virtually every state is now subject to the Supreme Court's reapportionment mandate. In 1964 alone, the apportionment plans of thirty-two states were held to violate the one man-one vote rule. Only a handful (perhaps four or five) are so balanced as to avoid reapportionment today, and the courts have shown an increasing willingness to grant delays in compliance with reapportionment orders. It is hardly to be expected that this willingness would diminish if an amendment affecting apportionment were to pass Congress and go to the states for ratification.

Therefore, a constitutional amendment passed by the Congress this year would be submitted for ratification to the very same rurally skewed legislatures that are currently fighting reapportionment!

There is a further joker in this setup. State legislatures draw the boundaries of Congressional Districts.† And under present conditions a state legislature can use the power to redraw district boundaries with great persuasion on congressmen now in office. It has been reliably reported that this is precisely what the

† The Supreme Court's one man-one vote rule in no way affects this power of the legislatures.

California State Senate is now doing—flying its representatives to Washington with a sheaf of very interesting maps of possible new congressional district boundaries for the edification of congressmen who have dragged their feet on the Dirksen Amendment.

Congressman Harold T. Johnson of Roseville, California, who favors reapportionment, is reported to have taken an informal poll during the first week of April in Washington: the poll found that 60 Senate and 240 House votes could be enlisted for the Amendment right now. And a *Newsweek* poll a few weeks earlier also showed this type of amendment to be close to passage. According to Representative Johnson's poll, the "citizens committee" has six senators and fifty congressmen to go before this magnificent monument to the rotten borough is well on its way toward being written into the Constitution.

Coalition

At the 1965 Wilderness Conference, a widely reported address by University of California Professor of Political Science Albert Lepawsky urged a coalition between civil rights organizations and conservationists whenever they had common cause. It is not difficult to imagine the effect of the Dirksen Amendment on President Johnson's voting rights bill. As the President said in his address on March 15: "Every device of which human ingenuity is capable has been used to deny this right." And the Dirksen Amendment would deliver into the hands of southern legislators a razor-sharp device to gerrymander into subservience any area with a substantial Negro registration. This same ingenuity can be used by rural legislators on behalf of the logger's chain-saw, the prospector's jeep road, and the sheepman's flocks. If there is any issue before the American public where conservation and civil rights organizations find common cause, opposition to the Dirksen Amendment is it.

So far, the mail to Congress has reflected urban apathy on this issue. But like most apathy it is the sin of oversight. There is precious little time to shift our sights. This is a watershed issue with profound implications for all further conservation legislation. If the Dirksen Amendment is to be stopped, it must be stopped in Congress. Your congressman and senators may be interested in your views on the subject. ■

Pesticides and Public Policy

By Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff

Mr. Ribicoff was formerly governor of Connecticut and from 1961 to mid-1962 was Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. He was elected to the Senate in 1962 and currently is chairman of the Subcommittee on Government Operations of the Re-organization and International Organizations Committee.

AS WITH MOST technical and complex scientific problems the basic pesticide policy questions are relatively simple. We really have only to ask ourselves—

First, are pests and insects a threat to our well-being? And, second, if so, how do we meet the threat without creating new and potentially more dangerous hazards?

Let's look first at the pest and insect threat to our well-being. I do not think man should close his eyes to the fact that pests destroyed or ruined crops last year valued at more than \$13 billion and that these losses are passed on to the individual consumer in the form of less food, of lower quality and higher cost.

The ability of pests and insects to cause or spread disease is the second major consideration here. The frightening rate at which the rat or mosquito or, some say, even the lowly cockroach can spread pestilence and sickness has scourged mankind throughout history.

And you do not have to go back to the plagues of the Dark Ages for reminders of this fact. Today malaria is still the disease responsible for the largest number of deaths in the world each year. Although malaria cases are rare in this country we need look no further than Houston, Texas, to find evidence that deadly sleeping sickness is still transported by the mosquito despite our best efforts at control.

I believe the great majority of our citizens understands and accepts the principle that a method of controlling pests to assure our food supply and prevent disease is necessary for our way of life. Accepting the fact, then, that pest control is essential, how do we do the job without creating new hazards?

This is the question which must be answered in order that society or the people can make rational decisions and valid judgments. If we ignore it as a fundamental consideration, as I think we have to date, we will have created, as we are creating, a situation described by C. P. Snow in his book *Science and Government* where—

“... some of the most important choices about a nation's physical health, are made, or not made, by a handful of men, in secret, and again, in legal form, by men who normally are not able to comprehend the arguments in depth.”

This is what I consider to be the real heart of the pesticide problem. It is really a question whether, when we find out some answers, we can communicate them to the public so that they can make the necessary decisions.

At the outset, we must clearly understand what we know and what we do not know about pesticides—their use and side effects. My subcommittee has conducted a two-year hearing on this subject. The amount of material is mountainous. We have

eight printed volumes of hearings covering over 2,000 pages already. Four additional volumes of nearly 1,000 pages are ready for the printer. An additional 10 volumes covering yet uncounted pages are in preparation.

And yet the single most important thing I have found to date is the fact that on many of the tough questions the data are either inadequate or nonexistent. It is disturbing enough that in so many instances we do not have the right answers. What is even more disturbing is that very few people have even asked the right questions.

We must accelerate the process of asking the right questions and filling in our knowledge gap before it is too late. We can't afford to let the brilliance of our technology discourage our inquiries about its effects. Since the end of World War II that technology has given us some potent killers, but what do we know about them?

What do we know about resistance, for instance? The problem of resistance showed itself early in the history of the use of poisons in agriculture. The farmer has been able to switch and turn to newer killers as they were developed.

But in one area of pesticide use this is easier said than done, and that is in the case of stored products. Today malathion and pyrethrum are considered safe enough to use on or near stored food and feed. Only recently has the resistance to these chemicals developed. If they become ineffective there are no approved insecticides to be substituted for them. But only now are we beginning to study adequately how insecticides affect stored products.

This is but one example of what causes me great concern. Faced with a problem of pest control for stored products we discovered a poison that worked and now, years later, we're going to find out how.

There are other examples. We found we could protect our clothing by adding a little poison to it, either at the factory or at the dry cleaners. You can walk right downtown and pick up a sweater with 400 parts per million DDT in it. (The legal tolerance for DDT on food is seven parts per million.) The Department of Agriculture now tells us that it would be cheaper to develop new, nontoxic treatments than to “... learn more about the dangers of toxic treatments already in use” as mothproofing agents!

According to the Department of Agriculture's own testimony, we know “little” of how pesticides, after they are applied to crops, interact, persist in, and adversely affect different kinds of soils. We need to know, the Department tells us, the processes whereby soil micro-organisms alter and decompose pesticides so we can develop sound methods of preventing excessive accumulations. Practically no information—and those are the Department of Agriculture's words—exists on how and to what extent the various materials move or accumulate in different soil layers. A basic understanding of these processes—we are told—is essential to the *development of sound recommendations for the use of pesticides.*

Did you know that the method of movement of pesticides into the massed water supplies of streams, farm ponds, reservoirs, and wells that constitute the major sources of water for livestock, farmstead use, and irrigation is essentially unknown? That's what the Department of Agriculture says. The nutritionists among you would be interested to know that we are going to *start* finding out whether the over-all nutritional value of the food supply of the nation has been significantly altered through the use of pesticides.

And after listing these and other unknowns regarding the effect of the use of pesticides since the end of World War II, the Department of Agriculture ends its plea for funds to conduct the necessary studies with these words:

"The public is called upon to make public decisions governing the use of chemicals. These decisions should be based not on emotion but objective evaluation of scientific facts on all sides of these issues."

Never in the history of human endeavor have so many been asked to do so much on the basis of so little. Thank goodness we have at last organized our asking of the right questions—and started some research aimed at getting the answers.

There are other signs of progress, I am happy to say.

A year ago pesticides considered unsafe by the Department

of Agriculture could be marketed "under protest." Today only products approved as safe can be sold.

A year ago there was a total lack of co-ordination between the various agencies regarding questions of pesticide registration. Now those agencies have entered into a formal agreement to share registration responsibilities.

A year ago the work of the Federal Pest Control Review Board was limited strictly to pest control activities engaged in by only the Federal Government, comprising only five per cent of actual pesticide usage. Today the role of that Board has been greatly expanded and strengthened.

A year ago pesticides were marketed under regulations that had not changed basically since 1947. Today we operate under a new set of rules established on the basis of the needs of today and not yesterday. It comes in the form of speedier action by federal and state agencies. And it comes in the form of a request to Congress from the White House for additional funds for research to seek new and nontoxic ways of controlling pests.

It could well be that through the storm and fury of the past two years a consensus has formed and a public policy has in fact developed in the traditional way of a free society. We are now consciously looking toward the day when we can reduce and eventually eliminate the need for using hazardous chemicals in agriculture. ■

Board Actions

Thirteen members of the Board of Directors met in San Francisco on March 13. (Directors Ansel Adams and Wallace Stegner were unable to attend.) Internal club affairs were first on the agenda.

Club Matters

The President was requested to appoint a special committee to plan for suitable commemoration of the Sierra Club's 75th anniversary on June 4, 1967.

The Board approved the petition for formation of a chapter in the Rocky Mountain region, referring to the Sierra Club Council the matter of name and boundaries. (See page 18 for the report of the Council Boundary Committee.)

The following committee appointments, made by President Will Siri, were confirmed by the Board: as chairman of the Clair Tappaan Lodge Committee, F. Theodore Malm; as chairman of the Conservation Committee, Southern Section, Robert T. Ives; as chairman of the committee on Outings Impact on Wilderness, Ned Robinson; as chairman of the Winter Sports Committee, Francis R. Shoemaker.

Other Actions

Population Problems—passed the following resolution: "The 'population explosion' has severely disturbed the ecological relationships between mankind and his environment. It has caused an increasing scarcity of wilderness and wildlife and has impaired the beauty of whole regions, as

well as reducing the standards and the quality of living. In recognition of the growing magnitude of this conservation issue, the Sierra Club supports a greatly increased program of education on the need for population control."

Pest Control—considered a report by the Advisory Committee on the Biological Sciences, which became the basis for a resolution on pesticides. At the request of the chairman of the Advisory Committee, who had not been present at the meeting, the Board later agreed to withhold publication of its resolution pending further consideration. A report on the Board's action on pesticides will appear in a later issue of the *Bulletin*.

North Cascades National Park—heard reports by Rodger Pegues, Northwestern Conservation Representative, and by his predecessor Michael McCloskey (now assistant to the president) about a new plan of Region VI of the Forest Service to establish an "Eldorado Peaks Recreation Area" of more than 500,000 acres between the Glacier Peak Wilderness Area and the North Cascades Primitive Area. The proposed recreation area is within the area now being studied as a potential national park. Establishment of a North Cascades National Park is one of the top priority objectives of the club.

Wilderness Act Classification Procedures—requested that Bestor Robinson and

Michael McCloskey review proposed regulations of the federal land administering agencies for implementing the Wilderness Act and report recommendations to the Executive Committee for action.

Mount McKinley National Park—urged the National Park Service to maintain the Mount McKinley park road between Mile 26 and the park boundary with its original simple standards, which fit into the landscape and the mood of the park.

Humboldt Redwoods State Park—resolved that "Where a town on a river flat of the Eel River has been damaged by flooding, and is adjacent to the Humboldt Redwoods State Park, the Sierra Club requests a study as to relocation of the town, with addition of the land to the State Park system."

Condors—supported California Senate Bill 261 to increase the penalty for taking or injuring a condor to "imprisonment in the county jail for a term not exceeding one year, or a fine not exceeding \$1,000, or both." The higher penalties are supported by the California Department of Fish and Game.

Dredging on the Lower Colorado—urged "that all dredging and channelization of the Lower Colorado River be stopped until these projects have been studied in accordance with the Wildlife Co-ordination Act, and altered to guarantee minimum damage to wildlife, scenic, and recreation values."

The next meeting of the Board was held May 1-2 in the Empire Room of the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, San Francisco. ■

Sierra Club Trip to the Alps 1966



Muttentalpe, or alpine tourist house, in the Tirolean Alps

PLANS FOR THE EUROPEAN TRIP in 1966 are beginning to gel and although by no means complete or unchangeable, can now be described with more accuracy and detail.

Type of Trip

This trip is conceived as a hiking trip into the mountains, and calls for the same effort and stamina as a similar trip into our own Sierra, as, for instance, a High Trip. It is not primarily a mountain climbing expedition, and most of the offerings will be scaled for the trail hiker. We hope, however, to offer also a trip principally organized for mountain climbing and conducted to various outstanding areas by Royal Robbins.



The hikers will stop at mountain huts where food and shelter is offered. They will be required to carry their own personal clothing and equipment against rain as well as their sleeping bag, if they wish to use it instead of the offered blankets, or at such times as they would prefer to sleep outside the huts. Hiking distances vary from a few to eight or nine miles but should be well within the capabilities of the average person.

The Mountain Trips will include visits to areas away from roads and the usual tourist centers on the assumption that the Outing Committee is attempting to offer club members a trip different from one that could be arranged through a travel agent. For this reason, visits to some of the outstanding but well travelled and supplied areas such as Zermat and Chamonix will not be included, but ample time is given for persons to arrange privately for such visits if they wish.

Format of Trip

The transportation will be obtained by charter air flight from either San Francisco or Los Angeles (with a stop in New York to pick up those from points further east) to Zurich, Switzerland. It will be a six weeks affair, leaving approximately on the weekend of July 16, and returning the week before Labor Day.

The Bernese Oberland has some of the most spectacular mountains in Switzerland and offers to the mountain climber many opportunities to use his skills. Photograph appears through the courtesy of the Swiss National Tourist Office, San Francisco.

On arriving in Zurich the group will disassemble; those going on the Mountain Trips (limited to 25 persons each) will disperse in different directions. Others will wish to arrange their own mountain trip or make visits to other areas and not be involved with any of the club offerings. All they need to do is to be back in time for the trip home. Those going on the Mountain Trips will have a choice of trips, from two to four weeks in length, conducted by the Outing Committee. This will allow each person from two to four weeks of unscheduled time depending on his choice. How each person uses this time is entirely up to him.

While on the club-conducted Mountain Trips, travel between the arrival area and the mountains, and between various mountain areas will be by train or bus, although if a member wishes to have his own automobile, he may use this at his own expense. The Mountain Trips will be a full expense paid tour except for private purchases or other expenses the member elects.

The Mountain Trips

These will be trips of approximately two, three, and four weeks duration. Except for the mountain climbing trip, which may be scheduled after the conclusion of all the other trips, the hiking trips will be conducted about concurrently so that only one choice is available. They are:

- Trip 2* (two week) to the Innsbruck Area and the Bernese Oberland.
- Trip 3A* (three week) to the Innsbruck Area, the Bernese Oberland and to the Dolomites (Italy).
- Trip 3B* (three week) to the Innsbruck Area, the Bernese Oberland, and

to the Swiss National Park (Engadin).

Trip 4 (four week) to the Innsbruck Area, the Bernese Oberland, the Swiss National Park, and to the Dolomites with a visit to Lake Como.

Trip 5 the Mountain Climbing Trip, as yet unplanned and unscheduled, but would be dependent on skills and experiences of the group.

Description of Areas

Innsbruck Area—well known as the Austrian Tirol, the Brenner Pass lying to the south and Garmisch-Partenkirchen to the north. This is the area of the Inn Valley with famous tributary valleys each with equally famous mountain ridges separating these valleys. This is the homeland of one of the leaders, Max Knight, and he will lead the group to many little known beauty spots.

Bernese Oberland—one of the most spectacular mountain areas of Switzerland, south from Interlaken. The Jungfrau is the central point of this range, and our trip will take us around the Blumlisalps from Kandersteg to Lauterbrunnen and back on a seven-day walking tour.

Swiss National Park—near the town of Zuost in the Engadin district of eastern Switzerland situated on the road between St. Moritz and Innsbruck—this reserve is patterned after our National Parks except for the presence of huts. "No tree can be felled here, no beasts allowed to pasture, no new roads can be made, no hotels built, and who comes here as a high-powered executive goes home deflated, a man changed by the great spirit of the mountains. Not only are there here the rarest flowers, and also stags, chamois, marmot, steinbock, and eagles, but all sorts of small birds and beasts in great numbers for those who possess the seeing eye." The area is "softer," gentler, more forested, and not so abounding with peaks and glaciers as other parts of the Alps.

Dolomites—in northern Italy, a range separated from the main crest of the Alps, situated between Trento, Bozen and Cortina—different in geological formation and

structure from the other Alps and reputed to be less subject to storm as they lie more southerly. This region is noted for its bucolic scenery surrounded by sharp and rugged crags, a climber's paradise.

In general the weather in the Alps is noted for its unpredictability; there can be days of fog and rain in mid-summer. This is said to be less so in the more southern ranges such as the Dolomites. Visitors should be prepared with proper clothing and wet weather gear.

Eligibility for Participation

All persons who wish to travel on the charter plane must be Sierra Club members for at least *six months* before leaving the United States. Those persons who join the mountain trips in Europe are acceptable under the usual rules for participation in Sierra Club trips (see Outing Announcement, February, 1965, SCB).

There are no physical qualifications for those travelling on the charter plane. For those who plan to join the Mountain Trips (exclusive of the Climbing party) no previous climbing experience is needed, but persons should be in reasonably good condition to enjoy an eight or ten mile hike with a light pack.

Costs

Costs cannot be definite, but it would appear that the round trip plane fare will be about \$450 from the West Coast and \$380 from the East Coast. Until return of the scouting party at the end of September this year, definite cost of the mountain trips



This fisherman is trying his luck on one of the mountain streams in the Swiss National Park, Engadin district of eastern Switzerland. Photograph courtesy of the Swiss National Tourist Office, San Francisco

cannot be given, but we feel that the charge will not be greater than what the average tourist spends in Europe for the equivalent time.

A \$100 deposit will hold your place on the plane. Cancellation up to February 1, 1966, can be made with \$85 returned. Thereafter, no cancellation will be accepted unless your place can be filled from the waiting list. In such event the full \$100 deposit will be returned.

H. STEWART KIMBALL
MAX KNIGHT



This panorama of Alpine peaks, valleys and lakes shows part of the area within the Swiss National Park.

Photograph courtesy of the Swiss National Tourist Office, San Francisco

Rocky Mountain Chapter Formed

At its March meeting, the Board of Directors approved the formation of the eighteenth chapter of the Sierra Club. The name and the boundaries of this new chapter will be determined by the Sierra Club Council at its May meeting. In the meantime, the Executive Committee of the Council has recommended that the chapter be named the Rocky Mountain Chapter and that its boundaries be those described below.

With the formation of this new chapter, and if the boundaries are approved as proposed, we will have chapters covering all but five of the fifty states and covering two provinces of Canada. The rapid growth of the chapters outside of California reflects the increasingly stronger national stature of the Sierra Club. These chapters give us more strength and place chapter leadership closer to many conservation issues.

The rapid expansion of the club also gives us greater problems in internal communication and administration. Many of these internal problems are discussed and acted upon by the Sierra Club Council. This body is composed of delegates from each chapter and from the major club committees. In the Council there are thus represented the geographic areas of the club and the major spheres of interest.

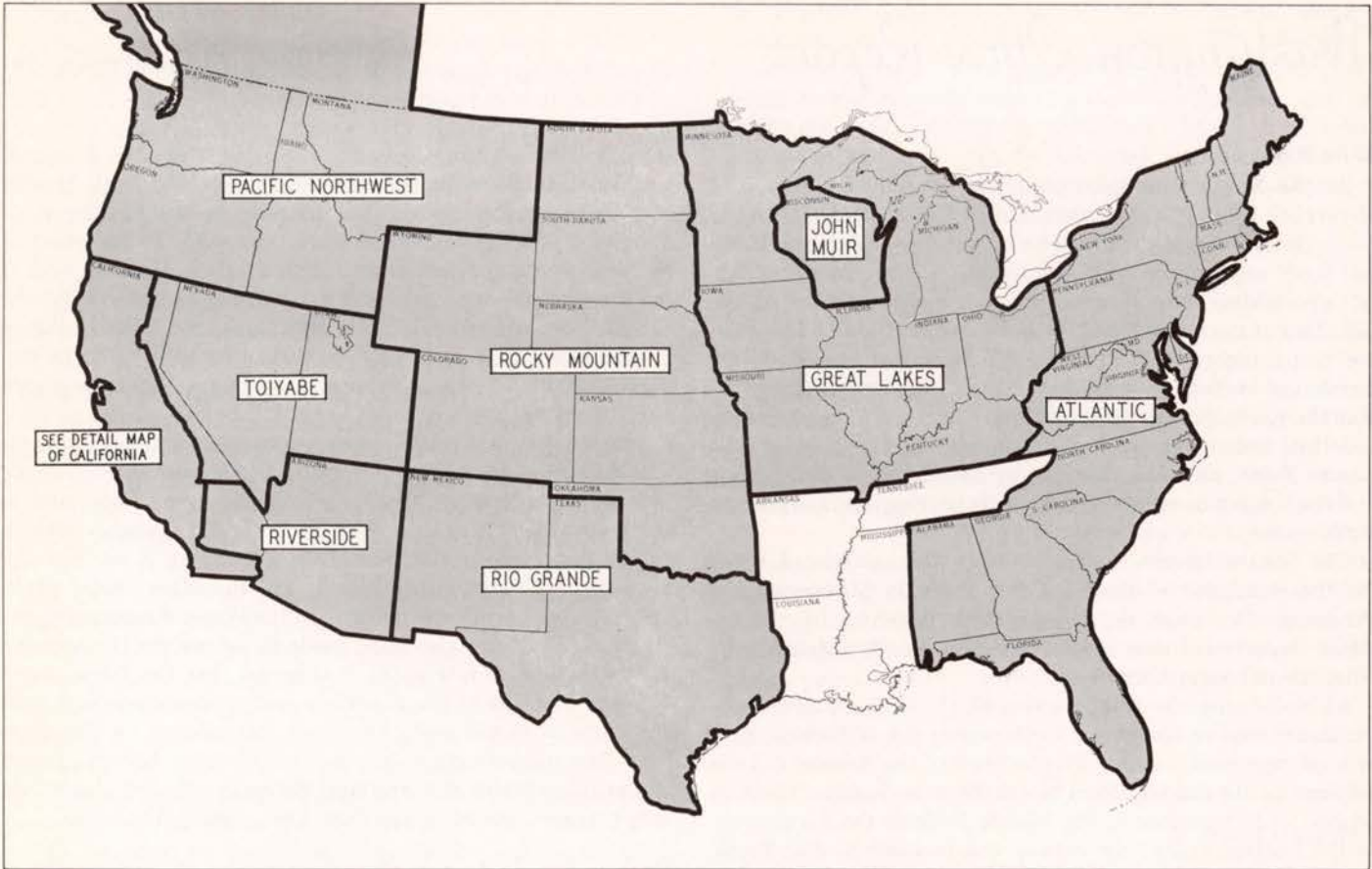
Some of the boundaries of the chapters were revised by the Council at its meeting last October. The present boundaries of all chapters (including the proposed boundaries of the new chapter) are shown on the accompanying maps. In the table of the chapter boundaries, the chapters are listed alphabetically. Following each chapter name is listed the year of formation of the chapter.

New Definitions of Sierra Club Chapter Boundaries

[The Sierra Club Council approved the name of the new chapter and the following boundaries at its May meeting.]

1. Angeles (1911)—Los Angeles and Orange Counties.
2. Atlantic (1950)—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, District of Columbia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida.
3. Great Lakes (1959) — Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota.
4. John Muir (1963)—Wisconsin.
5. Kern-Kaweah (1952)—Kings and Kern Counties, and the portion of Tulare County south of the point of intersection of Fresno, Kings, and Tulare County boundaries or within Sequoia National Park.
6. Loma Prieta (1933)—San Mateo, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and San Benito Counties.
7. Los Padres (1952)—San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, and Ventura Counties.
8. Mother Lode (1939)—Shasta, Tehama, Glenn, Butte, Colusa, Sutter, Yuba, Yolo, Sacramento, Amador, San Joaquin, Calaveras, and Stanislaus Counties; the portions of Sierra, Nevada, Placer, El Dorado, and Alpine Counties west of the Sierra Crest; the portion of Tuolumne County not within Yosemite National Park; the portion of Siskiyou County east of Duzel Rock; and the portion of Solano County east of Napa County.
9. Pacific Northwest (1954) — Alaska, British Columbia, Alberta, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana.
10. Redwood (1958)—Del Norte, Humboldt, Trinity, Mendocino, Lake, Sonoma, and Napa Counties; the portion of Solano County west of the most eastern corner of Napa County; and the portion of Siskiyou County west of Duzel Rock (approximately 5 miles west of U.S. Highway 99).
11. Rio Grande (1963)—New Mexico and Texas.
12. Riverside (1932)—San Bernardino and Riverside Counties, and the State of Arizona.
13. Rocky Mountain (1965)—Colorado, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma.
14. San Diego (1948)—San Diego and Imperial Counties.
15. San Francisco Bay (1924)—Marin, Contra Costa, Alameda, and San Francisco Counties.
16. Tehipite (1953)—Mariposa, Madera, Merced, and Fresno Counties; the portion of Tuolumne County within Yosemite National Park; and the portion of Tulare County north of the point of intersection of Fresno, Kings, and Tulare county boundaries, but not within Sequoia National Park.
17. Toiyabe (1957) — Modoc, Lassen, Plumas, Mono, and Inyo Counties; the portions of Sierra, Nevada, Placer, El Dorado, and Alpine Counties lying east of the Sierra Crest; and the States of Nevada and Utah.
18. Ventana (1963)—Monterey County.

PETER J. HEARST, *Chairman*
Council Boundary Committee



Maps by Alan Macdonald

Notes on the maps

Alaska, not shown, is part of the Pacific Northwest Chapter. There are as yet no chapters in Arkansas, Hawaii, Louisiana, Mississippi, or Tennessee.

Bylaw provision on chapter formation

Article XII, Section 1. Members of the club who reside in the same region may, with the approval of the Board of Directors, form a chapter of the Sierra Club. No chapter shall be approved unless an application signed by at least fifty members of the club in good standing, all residents of the designated region, shall have been filed with the board. The application shall state the proposed boundaries of the region and the name chosen by the applicants. If the proposed boundaries include territory already assigned to an existing chapter the application must be accompanied by a waiver duly authorized by said chapter.



Washington Office Report

By William Zimmerman, Jr.

Wild Rivers

At the Senate Interior Committee hearings on the Wild Rivers bill it became clear that substantial amendments would be needed, mostly in the direction of stating more clearly in the bill itself criteria for wild, semi-wild, or free-flowing rivers, but also adding to or subtracting from the rivers listed in the bill. Two of the rivers listed for study are likely to be placed in the first category, defined in the bill as wild rivers. The state legislature of Tennessee has asked the Congress to include the Buffalo River in the priority list. The Army Engineers, in a formal statement, appear to concede that a dam on the Eleven Point, which has been under consideration for 25 years and the subject of at least eight public hearings, is not economically sound.

The Senate Interior Committee has also considered a bill for the protection of the St. Croix River in Minnesota and Wisconsin (see page 4), and has been informed by the Interior Department that special bills will be submitted for the Allagash and some other rivers.

As introduced, the Wild Rivers bill (S. 1446) establishes a "national wild rivers system" comprising the following rivers or river segments: (1) the Middle Fork of the Salmon and the segment of the Salmon from North Fork to Riggins (both in Idaho); (2) segments of the Middle Fork of the Clearwater, of the Lochsa, and of the Selway (all in Idaho); (3) Rogue River (Ore.), from Grants Pass to the ocean; (4) Rio Grande (N. Mex.), from the Colorado state line to a point near Pilar, and also the lower four miles of the Red River (N. Mex.); (5) Green River (Wyo.), from its origin in the Bridger Wilderness Area south to the confluence with Horse Creek; (6) Suwanee River (Ga. and Fla.), from its source in Georgia to the Gulf of Mexico.

The rivers listed for study are the Buffalo in Tennessee; Cacapon (a tributary of the Potomac) in West Virginia; Eleven Point in Missouri; Hudson, downstream as far as Lucerne, New York (well above Storm King, the site of the disputed Consolidated Edison plant), and several tributaries; Missouri, upstream from Fort Peck Reservoir in Montana; Skagit in Washington, a segment, together with several tributaries; Susquehanna in New York and Pennsylvania, a segment below the dam at Cooperstown; and the Wolf in Wisconsin, a segment mostly in the former Menominee Indian Reservation.

Hudson River—Storm King

The fight to preserve part of the scenic Hudson River may not be lost. Early in March the Federal Power Commission announced its decision to grant a license to the Consolidated Edison Company for the Storm King power plant. On April 8, the last permissible date under the Commission's rules, the attorney for the Scenic Hudson Preservation Conference filed a petition for a re-hearing. As the Commission voted 4 to 1 for the license, the answer to this petition is likely to be negative. Meanwhile, however, seven bills have been introduced in the House of Representatives and one in the Senate to establish the Hudson Highlands National Scenic Riverway, and a hear-

ing has been set tentatively for May 10 before the Fisheries and Wildlife Subcommittee of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. The purpose of the hearing is to determine if adequate studies have been made of the effect of the proposed construction on fish life in the Hudson, and if existing federal laws protecting the fisheries were fully observed. The only biologist to testify before the Federal Power Commission was provided by the Consolidated Edison; he saw no danger in one, two, or even more pumped-storage plants along the river.

One other avenue is open to the opponents of the power plant. The attorneys of the Scenic Hudson Preservation Conference plan action both in the Orange County Supreme Court and in the Federal District Court. One action would probably seek to enjoin the town of Cornwall from conveying a part of the townsite to Consolidated Edison, and the other would probably seek to overrule the decision of the Water Resources Commission. Efforts are also being made to induce the Department of the Interior to intervene; it is hoped that the Department will urge creation of the Riverway and oppose construction of any dams or power units. Governor Rockefeller, on the other hand, has publicly approved the Consolidated Edison project on the grounds that it would help the local economy and would supply power needed by the New York metropolitan area.

Project Long Shot

Early in March the Defense Department announced that an 80-kiloton nuclear bomb will be set off 2,300 feet below the surface on the island of Amchitka, in the Aleutian Islands. The project seems to have the approval or concurrence of the Alaska Congressional delegation and the Interior Department. The stated purpose of the detonation is to show the way to a more accurate differentiation than is now possible between man-made underground explosions and natural earthquakes. The Defense Department points out the importance of such tests in the Aleutians, first because of their proximity to the Kamchatka and Kuril regions in the USSR, and second because of their seismological similarity to those regions. The ability to detect accurately man-made disturbances would reduce the number of "suspect disturbances."

Defense Department officials have said that even if the proposed "shot" were five times as powerful as planned, the blast would be completely "contained." The blast would raise the surface level six to eight feet. The Aleutian Islands average 60 earthquakes a year, ranging in power from one-third to three times the power of Long Shot, which will be under six on the Richter scale. One point that has been bothering many people is the possible damage to marine life, particularly the sea otter. It is stated that no damage to the sea otter will occur: "... a plan is now being explored for patrolling the waters around the island to remove any stray animals to an area outside the immediate vicinity." Fish and Wildlife officials will be present on the island at all times during the project. These precautions at first glance seem ineffective. No exact date for the detonation has been set, but it will probably be late in the autumn.

Assateague Island

Assateague Island was the subject of four days of testimony before a Senate Interior subcommittee headed by Senator Alan Bible of Nevada. About 80 witnesses were heard, including Secretary Udall and other Interior Department officials, the governor of Maryland, the two senators and two representatives from Maryland, one senator and several representatives from Virginia, and numerous private citizens who had purchased lots

on the island. Some 5,000 lots, each 100 by 200 feet, were laid out; these are now in the hands of about 3,000 owners. Virginia wants to run a road through the existing federal wildlife refuge to connect with a road on the Maryland end, thus providing access for automobiles to the entire length of the island. The road, supported only by the local Virginia interests and their representatives, was opposed by Secretary Udall and the Interior's Fish and Wildlife Service. ■

Book Reviews

DOWN THE COLORADO. By Robert Brewster Stanton. Edited and with an introduction by Dwight L. Smith. Illustrated with photographs and sketches. 237 pages. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1965. \$5.00

In 1889, Denver's Frank Mason Brown was intrigued with the canyons of the Colorado River as an easy rail grade for hauling Colorado coal to California. With engineer Frank C. Kendrick in charge, a reconnaissance soon started from Grand Junction, Colorado, and completed the one hundred and sixty-one miles to the mouth of the Green River.

As president of the Denver, Colorado Canyon and Pacific Railroad Company, Brown headed the major survey party of sixteen men that embarked in six overloaded boats from Green River, Utah. Brilliant and spunky Robert Brewster Stanton carried the title of Chief Engineer. The survey party picked up the Kendrick line and went on to Vasey's Paradise, 32 miles below Lee's Ferry in Arizona. Brown, Peter M. Hansbrough, Henry Richards and three boats were sacrificed to inadequate planning, skills and equipment.

Headed by Stanton, a reorganized party embarked again near the mouth of the Dirty Devil River late in 1889. Scant improvement in the factors for success inevitably brought more adventure, although good fortune narrowly spared the loss of life. After completing history's second water transit of the Grand Canyon, the river survey carried on to the Gulf of California. No rail lines were laid.

Stanton's next Colorado River enterprise failed in an effort to extract the sparse fine gold from Glen Canyon's river bed. His third quest for fame and fortune from this river was the preparation of a comprehensive history of its basin including a narrative that detailed

the tragic 1889 Brown survey. Until his death in 1922, Stanton refused offers to publish this survey section of his manuscript, a refusal that seems to be part of a life pattern in which Stanton planned his own defeats.

Several times since Stanton's death, the struggles of his daughter, Anne Stanton Burchard, to put the story into print were close to success. The Colorado River buff owes her a debt for her years of effort. Thanks should also go to Professor Dwight L. Smith for his preface and introduction, and to the University of Oklahoma Press for the very fine format. The book is a must for any reader who is interested in the region's history.

Helen J. Stiles' *Down the Colorado in 1889* in the summer, 1964, issue of *The Colorado Magazine* should be a required supplement.

Stanton's narrative is based largely on his extensive journal and provides a normally biased record of the series of adventures. This edited version of the journal does nothing to reduce Stanton's charges of bumbling by Brown and even includes Stanton's admission of some blame in his decision to continue the cruise after Brown's death. The narrative displays his lack of leadership in joining John Hislop in the responsibility for this tragic lack of judgment, and his ignorance in asking who might be in a position to say he was wrong in this decision, a decision that led to the drowning of Hansbrough and Richards. His hindsight misrepresents the events. He accepts no guilt for the wrecking of the *Marie* in Grapevine Rapid, nor for the defection of Harry McDonald at Crystal Creek. The presentation is buttered with the usual clichés of grandeur, treacherous waters, bowels of the earth, and expressions of claustrophobia and depression.

Editor Smith used wisdom in avoiding

anything but minor changes in Stanton's manuscript. But since a major part of the survey's reconnaissance depended on a series of photographs for which many of the captions were inaccurate, Smith, by failing to correct some of the few that are reproduced in the book, sustains the confusion. The rapid pictured as Soap Creek is Badger Creek Rapid. The great mid-stream boulder caption "Below Marble Canyon" is located eighteen and a half miles down in the 61-mile Marble Canyon. Since only about a thousand persons have traveled this stretch of the river, these and similar errors will disturb few.

O. DOCK MARSTON

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Due Process and the Tote Gotes

By Fred Eissler

WHEN THE NOISE of motor scooters was heard several years ago in the trail country of Southern California's Los Padres National Forest, a clamor of protest immediately resounded throughout the bordering communities. Ranchers, equestrians, conservationists, cattlemen, sportsmen and hikers closed ranks to oppose the two-wheeled vehicles that were chewing up the trails. With the press, county government, and civic leaders supporting its cause, the new affiliation asked forest officers to curb the motor invasion.

For three years, as the controversy increased, the Forest Service failed to enact any measure of control over the misplaced machines. Then in October, 1964, after a month's notice, a vehicle closure order designating which trails could be used by the scooter bikes was abruptly adopted at the height of the dry and hazardous fire season. With the forest locked to public entry, citizen

groups were unable to inspect, on the ground, the trails affected by the order.

Individuals, community organizations, and other groups, including the Sierra Club, appealed for a vehicle plan hearing scheduled with sufficient notice to permit field studies when the forest was open again. Reaffirming earlier editorial statements, Santa Barbara's Pulitzer Prize-winning *News-Press* strongly stated its conviction that trail motor vehicles are "foreign to, and fatal to, the true climate of a forest—the primitive beauties, silences and wildlife patterns so prized by nature lovers. Before the malignancy grows," the paper continued, "before the trail bike roar penetrates too deeply into our riding and hiking trail system, into the vitals of the forest experience, there should be further consideration and full public expression of contending views."

Petitioners for the hearing were surprised to learn from the official reply to their requests that the October Los Padres vehicle decree already "reflected conflicts between user groups and expressions from a great many individuals and organizations." A follow-up letter from higher Forest Service echelons echoed the first response. "Our review indicates that during the past several years a sincere and wide-ranging effort was made to gather opinions from many experienced sources, and that there was good collaboration with the authorities of all affected counties. We are aware, of course, that both Santa Barbara and Ventura counties have recently enacted ordinances which support and facilitate administration of the closure action announced by the Forest Service." The official correspondence, however, neglected to mention that clauses in both ordinances disclaimed either approval or disapproval of the forest vehicle closure plan. Both counties stressed the incompatibility of vehicle use with hiking and riding trail experience by adopting ordinances that prohibit scooter travel on county-administered trails.

A host of specific questions is being asked about the Los Padres closure plan. Why was the forest in San Luis Obispo and Kern counties, and one-third of Ventura county, not covered by the order?

On what basis are some trails closed and others left open? Will Indian pictographs be increasingly subject to vandalism, and the California condors to wanton shooting, as the result of concentration of vehicle use on certain trails? Conservationists claim that the order permits machine pre-emption of portions of three potential wilderness-type zones as well as segments of the State Riding and Hiking Trail, existing and prospective.

A public review of the vehicle plan might produce answers to some of these questions. There are other questions, however, that a single hearing cannot answer, questions asked by more and more people as each request for a review of the plan was officially rejected. Such questions are concerned with the citizen's basic right to participate in land management decisions.

Yale law professor Charles A. Reich, in his pamphlet "Bureaucracy and the Forest," has defined the broader issue: ". . . with only a few exceptions—important but limited—decisions are made wholly within the executive agencies without notice to or participation by the public . . . the power to create fundamental policy for the publicly owned forest has fallen to small professional groups. They make bitterly controversial . . . choices between basic values, with little or no outside check." As though he were speaking of the Los Padres Forest situation, he continued: "Before raucous gasoline-powered tote gotes are allowed to shatter the forest calm . . . the public might well be given the opportunity to express non-technical views. . . . Adequate public notice of major long-range plans and significant decisions including road and other construction, lumbering and changes in use, would not seem likely to hamper or delay the agencies unduly. Yet this single reform would be an important step toward giving the public time to act and toward preventing arbitrary or ill-considered decisions. . . . The value of a hearing before an agency is much the same as the more general value of free speech in a republican government. A hearing cannot insure a wise decision, but it can provide the opportunity for a wise one." ■



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Book Awards

Sierra Club publications continue to attract tributes from every part of the country. It has always been club policy that the importance of its mission deserves and is most effectively served by a publishing program that uses only the finest "ingredients." There is abundant evidence as to the publishing program's success as a conservation tool; it is nice to be able to report that it is equally successful on its own level, as a book publishing venture.

The 1964 Carey-Thomas Award "for a distinguished project of book publishing carried forward during a calendar year" was given to the Sierra Club for its Exhibit Format series. The award is sponsored by R. R. Bowker Company, which produces *Publishers' Weekly*, *Library Journal*, *Books in Print*, and many other periodicals and directories serving the book industry. No award in the field is more highly prized.

Most recently, three Exhibit Format books, *The Eloquent Light*, *Gentle Wilderness*, *Glen Canyon*, were among the books to win a place in the Western Book Publishers' Association first biennial book design competition. The winner's show is on view in the rare book room of the San Francisco Public Library during the month of May.

During the early spring *Gentle Wilderness* was given a Rounce and Coffin Club "Award of Merit" and about the same time the Book of the Month Club picked *Time and the River Flowing: Grand Canyon* as its alternate selection for May. If the book club's initial printing is sold out, 27,000 readers will have paid for the privilege of absorbing the Sierra Club's message. The book club's announcement brochure featured *Time and the River Flowing* more prominently than the regular May selection, and it devoted a page to the Sierra Club and its conservation objectives.

All four Sierra Club entries in the 9th Annual Book Jacket Design Competitions were Winners: *Gentle Wilderness*, *The Eloquent Light*, *The Place No One Knew*, and *Time and the River Flowing*. Among 23 winning publishers, only four had more winning entries: Macmillan, Simon & Schuster, New American Library and Farrar, Straus. Among 34 artists and studios responsible for winning designs, only four designed more winners than the club's David Brower.

State Parks and Freeways

The outcome of the effort to protect redwood state parks from invading freeways may be affected by two recent developments. The administrator of the federal Bureau of Public Roads implied not long ago that federal matching money to build freeways would not be provided until the California Highway Commission sympathetically considers the need to protect redwood parks. And following hearings in 1964, bills have been introduced in both houses of the California legislature, by the chairmen of the Natural Resources Committees, to require concurrence of the State Park Commission before park lands can be condemned for freeways. A.B. 1442, introduced by Assemblyman Edwin Z'berg, follows the

approach advocated by the Sierra Club Board of Directors at their December, 1964 meeting. SB 714, introduced by Senator Fred Farr, provides, in addition, that if the Park Commission fails to concur, the Governor must decide the question of routing.

To help promote these and related bills to reform the freeway planning process, a new organization has been formed in California. It is an alliance of groups interested in planning, conservation, architecture, and neighborhood improvement, that feels that freeway routing and design tends to neglect values other than engineering and motoring ones. The group calls itself the Planning and Conservation League for Legislative Action.

Some Additional Summer Outings

Several new trips have been added to the club's program of Wilderness Outings for 1965. These include another two-week Base Camp (*Sierra 3*) at Rush Creek, August 8-19; another 10-day River Trip down the Grand Canyon of the Colorado (*Grand Canyon 2*) following the same route as Trip 1, June 13-22, Monroe Agee, leader; another one-week *Family Burro Trip*, with central commissary, to go from Mammoth Lakes to McGee Creek, July 24-31, Merritt Robinson, leader. See your February *Sierra Club Bulletin*, or write to the club office for additional information.

The Sawtooth High-Light Trip will be an 11-day outing, moving every other day, August 2-13, Rick Polsdorfer, leader. The Sawtooth is a unique mountain range in central Idaho near Sun Valley. Its thin jagged skylines, its abundance of alpine lakes and fields of wild-

flowers, its red and black granite bejeweled with crystals of smoky quartz are some of the reasons why this might become Idaho's first Wilderness Park. High-Light trip members will cover all of the spectacular part of this range, traveling about 50 miles through its center and crossing its crest four times. The variety of things to do is limitless. The lakes are warm enough for swimming; the fishing should be good; the peaks beckon climbers to their jagged crests. Knapsack trips from camp are planned.

See the March *Bulletin* for information about New Zealand, January 29-February 27, 1966, Al Schmitz, leader. (\$100 deposit, \$85 of it refundable to December 15, 1965.

See page 14 of this *Bulletin* for information about our trip to The Alps, July 16 to early September, 1966, H. Stewart Kimball and Max Knight, leaders.



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Letters

Something Besides a Name

Editors:

In the recent election, I voted against Petition Three because it seemed to me to be a poor law. But I fully agree with the underlying principle that the membership should know something about the views of people it is asked to elect to the Board of Directors.

Perhaps each candidate, whether an incumbent or not, could answer briefly a few questions; these answers, in turn, could be included in the pre-election mailing to members. Each year the club is faced by vitally important problems and controversies—the exhibit format book program, population control, use of insecticides, etc. Perhaps a committee — it could be the nominating committee — could choose the questions to be submitted to candidates. The answers might be a lot more important than the number of clubs a person belongs to or the number of years he has belonged to them.

Admittedly, such a questionnaire is not a panacea. Nothing can take the place of a face-to-face question-and-answer meeting. But, of course, this is impossible in Sierra Club elections. And yet we need something else besides the familiarity of the name when we put our little crosses on the ballot.

(MRS.) CYLA STECK
Berkeley, California

Lake Tahoe Parkway Plan

Editors:

I am a member of the Sierra Club writing on behalf of the "Committee to Save the West Shore of Lake Tahoe" to report our progress in preventing a destructive Freeway from ruining Emerald Bay, and to ask for your help in securing appropriate legislation in this session.

As a result of many interviews with Senators Collier, Farr, Lunardi; Assemblymen Chappie, Z'berg and Porter; Governor Brown and his highwaymen, we have outlined a bill drafted in legal form by the Conservation Law Society that we hope to have introduced shortly. This bill would allow a Parkway to be built at Lake Tahoe (and elsewhere) in accordance with the Lake Tahoe Regional Plan which I authored for the Planning Commission. This legislation sets up a committee composed largely of recreation interests, to design Parkways in California following upon legislative resolutions selecting routes. A companion measure is a resolution for the Legislatures of California and Nevada memorializing

Congress to pass the Tahoe Parkway Bill to be introduced by Bible and Kuchel.

While we were able to get a substantial turnout and a useful budget last year, as a result of our long campaign leading to the Freeway protest at the Lake, this year has caught us with a specific program of legislation too late to develop a publicity and fund-raising drive before the end of the session. We are, therefore, soliciting any support you or your members would be willing to tender until we have succeeded in getting a reversal of the Highway Commission's ill-considered action in adopting the Freeway route in violation of the Tahoe Master Plan.

GEORGE S. GATTER
Committee to Save the
West Shore of Lake Tahoe
P.O. Box 3049
Stanford, Calif.

Some Praise and Some Suggestions

Editors:

The 1964 *Annual* is indeed a happy surprise. From the sensitive, thought-provoking essay by Loren Eiseley to the awesomely beautiful Wild Cascades in color and the call to action on the Colorado, the population problem, forest malpractices, and others, the entire issue arouses a deep feeling of pride in what the Sierra Club has accomplished and is seeking still to accomplish.

The resounding success of this first attempt in the new format should call forth an enthusiastic response from the membership. Let us each do our part in reaching out for new listeners.

A few suggestions: ask each member to give a subscription to the *Bulletin* to a public library or high school library; offer a quantity discount for five gift subscriptions to friends; in addition to a paperback edition of *This Is the American Earth*, put out paperbacks, probably in black and white, on the Grand Canyon, the Cascades, and the Redwoods, so that those of us with moderate incomes can buy copies to help spread the message now, and then later when the battle (we hope) is won, buy the permanent editions to enjoy for ourselves; send out printed forms to the membership, with a wide choice of things we might do.

This next may not be a very good idea in itself, but it might spark a good idea from someone else. For some time I have been thinking that with increasing numbers of club members retiring or soon to reach retirement, why couldn't a group of members pool part of its resources, buy as large a piece of land as it could afford, live on as

small a part of it as it can, and use the rest for a natural area, a wildlife refuge, or a wild area, depending on its distance from an area of dense population.

This kind of arrangement could make possible any number of exciting projects—a center for ecological studies, a practical demonstration of watershed protection on a small scale, good forest practices, soil conservation, an experiment in developing new kinds of community living which are in harmony with their surroundings, or many others. We need new approaches to old problems, and this kind of combination think and action factory could perform a useful community service.

Again, congratulations on the new *Annual*, and here's to many more of them.

RAMONA M. OSBURN
Hempstead, New York

Club Books and College Libraries

Editors:

The publications program is fine. The wilderness conference series and the exhibit-format series strike a good balance, and both are needed, because they serve different purposes.

Sierra Club chapters would do well to insure that every forestry college library in their respective regions has a complete set of the conference books, because they are among the best sources of objective discussion of the club's philosophy. I am in the process of completing the set in the Utah State University library.

The club's publications are being read here, and during the past year and a half the club's position has become better known to students and faculty of U.S.U. forestry college. Mike McCloskey also deserves credit for the favorable impression he left after a



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visit last spring. The real need in connection with forestry schools is to demonstrate that the Sierra Club *is* interested in serious, rational discussion of conservation issues. The emotional appeals are what create the *bête noire* image. Although people in the forest industries (and in the public service branches of forestry) are guilty of demagoguery, too, they have a violent reaction when anyone else uses the same technique—just as we do!

GEORGE ALDERSON
Logan, Utah

Tehipite Valley and Cedar Grove

Mr. Will Siri, President
Sierra Club:

Thank you for your welcome letter, received March 29, expressing the continuing support of the Sierra Club for my bill, H.R. 903, to add Tehipite Valley and Cedar Grove to Kings Canyon National Park.

Now that opposition to this proposal has been withdrawn by the Kings River water people and the State Chamber of Commerce, I am hopeful of obtaining expedited and favorable action by the House Interior Committee.

It would be most helpful if members of the Sierra Club would indicate their support of this legislation to the chairman of the House Interior Committee, and to their individual Congressmen. With my kind regards and appreciation,

B. F. SISK
Congressman
16th District, California

The Sierra Club in Ireland

The following letter was written by a member of the Irish Ramblers Club, Ireland's newest outdoor club. A recent story in the Dublin Irish Press says, "The club, which takes as its motto, 'to enjoy, explore, and protect the countryside,' caters to those who wish to walk and climb on Sundays only. Already they have more than 150 members and have associations with a number of American counterparts, notably the Sierra Club. . . ."—Editors.

To David Brower:

On behalf of the executives and members of the Irish Ramblers Club, I wish to thank you for your kindness in sending all the literature and information on the Sierra Club, and for your letter.

We have found all the matter to be of great value. We have just finished drafting our constitution and we expect to have our first Annual General Meeting quite soon. I found the chapter Schedule of Activities to be of great value, and we hope to be



Some members of the Irish Ramblers Club. Photo from the Dublin Irish Press

able to plan on such a scale in the future, though it may be a couple of years away yet. However, you have put us on the right 'road' and we have incorporated *conservation* as one of our main objectives.

I also found your list of books very interesting and I enclose a draft for one pound

for a copy of *Going Light with Backpack and Burro. . . .*

We wish you continued success in your work, and please give our best wishes to all your members and staff.

MICHAEL O'DOHERTY
Dublin, Ireland

Montana Protects Its Fishing Streams

According to Oscar Godbout's "Wood, Field and Stream" column in the April 29 issue of *The New York Times*, Montana has passed a model statute providing protection for its fishing streams. (See Jan., 1964, *SCB*, p. 4.)

The new law, passed unanimously by the Montana State Senate and opposed by only one vote in the House, requires that plans for highways or hydraulic construction be submitted first to the Montana Fish and Game Commission. The commission, within a month, must tell the applicant if the project will, in the words of the statute, ". . . obstruct, damage, diminish, destroy, change, modify or vary the natural existing shape and form of any stream or its banks or tributaries," or adversely affect the fish or game habitat. If the commission finds that damage will occur, then it must submit its recommendations and alternative proposals to prevent such damage.

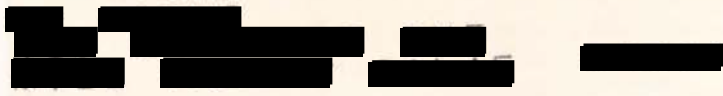
The applicant may reject the recommendations, in which case a three-man board of arbitration appointed from the

county or counties in which the construction is planned reviews the application. Within ten days of being appointed, this board must meet and hear testimony from the concerned parties, then hand down its decision, which must be signed by at least two members.

The basic principle of the statute is that Montana's ". . . fish and wildlife resources, and particularly the fishing waters within the state, are to be protected and preserved to the end that they be available for all time, without change, in their natural existing state except as may be necessary and appropriate after due consideration of all factors involved."

Editor's Note

The second and concluding part of President Johnson's "Message on Natural Beauty," which began in the March issue, will appear in the May issue of the *Bulletin*.



Shattering the Wilderness Myths

By Harold Gilliam

The following article is reprinted by permission from the San Francisco Chronicle of Sunday, April 11, 1965. Mr. Gilliam, as final speaker at the Wilderness Conference, summarized the proceedings of the conference. He is a conservation columnist for the Chronicle and author of several books, among them, the Sierra Club publication, Island In Time.

THE WILDERNESS CONFERENCE held in San Francisco April 2-4, sponsored by the Sierra Club, was a disillusioning experience.

It was disillusioning in the literal sense. Rather than dealing in the usual conference clichés, speaker after speaker punctured popular illusions, shattered whole batteries of common assumptions, and laid to rest battalions of myths, including these:

The myth that the need for park and wilderness areas increases at the same rate as the population.

Actually it increases about four times as fast as the population, owing to increased leisure, higher incomes and the growing popularity of outdoor recreation. (Lincoln H. Day, Harvard.)

The myth that the U.S. population explosion, which threatens to leave Standing Room Only in parks and wilderness areas, can be controlled by handing out birth control information.

"Our rapid population increase derives hardly at all from unwanted children. It comes, instead, from those third, fourth, fifth children whose parents want them. . . . It is motivation, not techniques, that is the key to population control.

"What we must work toward is a society . . . in which couples limited their families to but two children because that was the accepted pattern of behavior." (Lincoln H. Day.)

The myth that the wilderness is of use only to the rugged few.

Wilderness areas are of immeasurable value to science as natural laboratories where man can learn from nature the lessons necessary to his own survival. (Albert Burke, TV commentator.)

And access to nature is essential to everyone's mental health in an age of increasing urban tension. "We should be shouting from the rooftops that the parklands of America are the greatest mental health guardians we have." (Psychiatrist William C. Gibson, University of British Columbia.)

The myth that it is possible to save the wilderness by saving wilderness.

Population pressures will wipe out the wilderness unless we also provide a whole range of alternative recreation areas, from city and regional parks to such vast playgrounds as Northern California's proposed 250,000-acre Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area, now before Congress. (James K. Carr, San Francisco Pub. Util. director.)

The myth that wilderness can be preserved by leaving it alone.

In some cases it may be necessary to counteract the effects of man's past activities by actively restoring the natural balance, as in the National Park Service's program to reduce Yellowstone's overpopulation of Elk.

What Engineers Can't Do

The myth that the engineers can calculate what's best for everybody.

Engineers justify dams and highways in wilderness areas (and elsewhere) by elaborately calculated "cost-benefit ratios," showing that the dollar benefit is greater than the dollar cost. These calculations are gobbledygook. They do not include non-monetary values, and even in adding up the dollars and cents, the engineers can select the figures that will justify what they have already decided to do.

Yet these kinds of calculations are being used to justify freeways through the redwoods and destructive dams in the Grand Canyon and on the Yukon.

Glen Canyon dam on the upper Colorado has already destroyed some of the most spectacular river landscapes on the continent, just as San Francisco's Hetch Hetchy dam long ago wiped out the val-

ley that was a twin to Yosemite, because costs were reckoned on the narrow engineering basis.

The engineers fail to calculate what may be the greatest value of all—the value of natural beauty left alone. "The emphasis on least cost as it is presently interpreted does not provide society with an adequate choice." And it reduces "flexibility of choice left for future generations." (Luna Leopold, US Geological Survey.)

"We do not have to believe what the engineers tell us about highway construction costs and benefits. The fact is that they can calculate the cost of the concrete and the saving on automobile wear and tear. They cannot calculate the far more important cost of destroying the wilderness and therefore they ignore it . . .

"What right have they to decide what weight ought to be given our social life, environment, political organization, esthetics, recreation, pleasures, scenic view and other intangibles?" (J. B. Condliffe, Stanford Research Institute.)

The myth that dams on our rivers are necessary to produce essential power.

"The preservation of a river as a thing of beauty, rather than as a dam site, hastens but infinitesimally the time which must inevitably come in any case, the time at which all power will be derived from nuclear energy." (James Bonner, Cal Tech.)

The myth that conservationists are fighting inevitably losing battles against the bulldozers.

If the conservation movement continues to grow, it is conceivable that it may become one of the leading political coalitions in the country and the "wildlife vote" may one day become as important to politicians as the farm vote, the business vote and the labor vote.

Conservationists might well make common cause with the anti-poverty and civil rights movements and convince potential political allies that they are "concerned not merely with plants and animals but with the integrity of life as a whole." (Albert Lepawsky, UC.) ■