

JOHN FLANNERY: Elk on winter range

Sierra Club Bulletin

DECEMBER 1968

President's Message

Elections and Electioneering

The coming Sierra Club election is the first in the club's history for which organized electioneering has been officially sanctioned by the Board of Directors. Each candidate for the Board will make a 300-word statement to be circulated with the ballot. Each candidate is now free also to make further statements whenever, wherever, and however he wishes. Although the Bulletin will not carry "political ads," it can be expected that various chapter publications will. And while the use of the club's mailing lists is not authorized, there is nothing (except the cost) to stop mass mailings otherwise.

Thus the time-honored democratic practice of campaigning-with all its potential for good and for not-so-good-is now with us in the club. It may be constructive or highly destructive, depending upon how it is used in this election. With a total of some 70,000 members, most of whom are unacquainted with the candidates running for the Board, unbiased information as to where each candidate stands on club issues and why he takes the stand he does can be of real help to the voter. On the other hand, politicking based on personalities, pressure, and power-plays will in the long run be of service to no one.

Members are urged to examine and evaluate carefully the campaign material they may receive. As the club grows in size and complexity, its directors must assume more and more responsibility. They must be willing and able to assume it, and this means many long hours of work. They must be able to work together, and with the membership. The Nominating Committee, after careful deliberation, has prepared a slate of candidates for your consideration. The right of petition is being exercised, and further candidates will be nominated. It is most important that you consider them

During recent months, serious differences among club leaders have come to the surface and have been widely aired. This may be a necessary part of our growth, and a necessary expression of the democratic processes enjoyed by the club. It is also a costly one. To date, it has amounted to thousands of dollars-a good percentage of that to pay for the Xerox Circuit. It has lost us inestimably more in the hours and hours of time, energy, and thought. It has also clouded our image in the eyes of the public.

The coming election can help resolve our differences and bring us more closely together. It can demonstrate-particularly in the kind of electioneering that it engenders-that we have come of age, as we like to think we have. It can help us get on with the job that needs so desperately to be

Or it can do none of these things. It can drive the wedge deeper and render us ineffective.

We remind you again, the world is not waiting on us. Problems are proliferating hourly. A vigorous, effective, united Sierra Club is needed as never before.

Your vote has never been more important. As a member, you will determine the future of the club. EDGAR WAYBURN



Sierra Club

DECEMBER 1968 Vol. 53 - No. 12

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

COVER: Bull elk graze on winter range in photograph by John Flannery. (See report of Advisory Board on Wildlife Management, beginning on page 6.)

President's Message	2
News	3
Conservation Agenda for 1969	
Michael McCloskey	5
NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGES	
Advisory Board on Wildlife Management	6
THE SIERRA CLUB FOUNDATION	
Edgar Wayburn	12
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	13
Book Reviews	14
Washington Report	16

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

DIRECTORS

Edgar Wayburn Paul Brooks Phillip Berry William Siri Patrick Goldsworthy	60			V.			100		. Secretary
Ansel Adams Lewis Clark Frederick Eissler	Ri	lartii chare una aure	l Le	eon: opol					Eliot Porter Richard Sill David Sive
Aubrey Wendling .			Ch	air	ma	n,	Sier	ra	Club Council
David Brower . Michael McCloskey Hugh Nash Julie Cannon . Connie Flateboe .			4	100		Co	nse	rva	tion Director Editor

Published monthly by the Sierra Club, 1050 Mills Tower, San Francisco, California 94104. Annual dues are \$9 (first year \$14), of which \$3 is for subscription to the Bulletin. (Non-members: one year \$5; three years \$12.00; single monthly copies, 50c; single Annuals, \$2.75.) Second-class postage paid at San Francisco, California. Copyright 1968 by the Sierra Club. All communications and contributions should be addressed to Sierra Club, 1050 Mills Tower, San Francisco 94104.

* Reg. U.S. Pat. Off.

NEWS OF CONSERVATION AND THE CLUB

Major water pollution bill killed by adjournment

Still "open season" on endangered wildlife

Another dam on the Snake – government and utilities to compromise on joint venture

The Water Quality Improvement Act of 1968, which passed the House by a vote of 277 to 0 was returned to the House by the Senate with 30 amendments. According to the Wildlife Management Institute, Congress adjourned "only minutes" before a final agreement on the bill could be reached by the two chambers. The bill was designed to stimulate and accelerate the construction of waste treatment works, extend research, provide an expanded program of lake pollution control, conduct new programs of research on controlling acid mine water pollution, provide for the adequate treatment of sewage from vessels, and cope with oil spills. "Possibly the most serious immediate loss was the failure of Congress to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to enter into 30-year contracts to pay the federal government's share of the cost of constructing sewage treatment facilities," reports the Wildlife Management Institute. The 30-year installment plan would have helped to overcome the budgetary restrictions that are preventing full appropriation of amounts authorized in 1966 for the construction of municipal waste treatment plants. The bill is expected to be introduced in the new Congress next year; however, conservationists are disappointed at the time lost in getting the reforms and new programs underway.

In the rush for adjournment of the 90th Congress, furriers, pet dealers, and trade unions were apparently instrumental in blocking passage of H.R. 11618, a bill which would have prevented the importation of endangered species of wildlife or products derived from these animals. In 1963 conservation organizations began their appeal to world governments to restrict the import and export of jaguar, leopard, serval cat, and cheetah pelts. Since then, five more species of spotted cats have been decimated by the needs of the fashion industry. H.R. 11618 was passed by the House and approved by the Senate Commerce Committee and, if signed into law, would have been the signal for 66 other nations to prepare similar legislation. Despite the fact that the bill was amended extensively in committee in an effort to resolve the problems that prompted opposition of furriers and associated unions, concern about their continued opposition was sufficient to keep the bill from being brought to the floor of the Senate for a vote. By next year, conservationists can hope these groups will think about what future their business and jobs will have if these species become extinct.

In 1968 the Sierra Club worked hard to block proposals for construction of two hydroelectric dams in the country's widest gorge, the Grand Canyon; in 1969 the club faces a battle to preserve the country's deepest gorge, Hell's Canyon on the Snake River. Further dam building on the Middle Snake in the Pacific Northwest had been delayed until recently by the rivalry among the Department of Interior, the Pacific Northwest Power Company, and the Washington Public Power Supply Service. But, according to a story in the Washington Post on November 3, the three groups have reached a compromise on a plan to build a \$260 million hydroelectric project at the Appaloosa site and will announce the proposed project sometime after the election. "The rumored final plan calls for the Interior Department to build and operate the dam with the private (PNP) and public (WPPSS) power interests splitting the electricity 50-50 and paying for it in advance. The power facilities, about 80 percent of the cost of the project, would be used mainly for

Interior and Agriculture propose increase in federal grazing fees

A highway Magna Carta in the making

Ban on campaigning for club elections lifted

Tupling elected official of Natural Resources Council

peaking purposes—quick production of extra electricity during times when demand rises rapidly," the Post reports. The jointly financed project would be part of a cooperative plan by public and private utilities to build \$15 billion in new power facilities in the Northwest in the next 20 years.

Agriculture Secretary Freeman and Interior Secretary Udall have signed proposed regulations to increase grazing fees on lands administered by the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service. The decision to increase grazing fees resulted from a two-year study by the USDA Economic Research Service and also from instructions issued by the Bureau of the Budget that "fair market value" be obtained for resources provided the public. Currently ranchers pay only about 25 to 35 percent of what forage would cost on private lands. Under the proposed regulations for BLM lands the present 33 cent fee per animal unit month would eventually be raised to \$1.31; under the proposed regulations for national forest areas the average 55 cent fee would go to about \$1.50. Many conservationists have opposed efforts of ranchers to obtain vested rights to graze upon public lands at low rates. They contend that grazing permits should be issued only as a matter of privilege, not as a right, and that rates should fairly reflect actual value. Artificially low rates foster over-grazing and hinder good range management. Comments about the fees can be sent to the Secretaries of Interior and Agriculture.

The Federal Highway Administration has proposed "new procedures to ensure full public participation in the development of federal-aid highway projects." Two hearings—one on routing, the other on design—would be held on each federal-aid project undertaken by a state highway department. The hearings would consider environmental effects of routes and designs, specifically including conservation and esthetics. In addition, "any interested person" who believed that a route or design was "not in the public interest" could appeal to the FHA Administrator. These proposed procedural reforms are being published in the Federal Register, and the Federal Highway Administrator will probably issue the policies in final form sometime in December.

At its May 1968 meeting the Sierra Club Board of Directors unanimously voted to repeal its policy decision against permitting organized campaigning in club elections. In December 1967 the Board, on the recommendation of the Sierra Club Council, had adopted the following resolution: "The following practices shall be observed in connection with all Sierra Club elections: (1) No Sierra Club lists, files, facilities, or personnel, in any location, shall be made available to or used by anyone for purposes of electioneering. (2) Organized campaigning in any form for any nominee is contrary to club policy. (3) A petition to submit a question to the membership shall identify its sponsor or sponsors, and one of these shall be required to prepare arguments in favor of the question." Only item (2) was repealed in the action taken by the Board in May; items (1) and (3) still remain club policy. The Sierra Club Board of Directors consists of 15 members, five of whom are elected annually by the membership to serve three years. The list of candidates put forward by the Nominating Committee for the 1969 election was published in the November Bulletin. Members will receive their ballots by mail in March.

Lloyd Tupling, Sierra Club Washington Representative, was elected to the executive committee of the National Resources Council of America at the Council's annual meeting in October at Everglades National Park, Florida.

A Conservation Agenda for 1969

Legislative successes of 1968 have rekindled predictions that conservationists may soon have nothing left to do. These predictions assume that we know more than we really do about what we should save, and they forget that we shall always have to defend our gains against the appetites of a covetous economy.

These predictions, in any event, are clearly premature. A heavy backlog of projects awaiting action has been building up during our long preoccupation with major campaigns. Some belong to the unfinished business of the 1960's, while others mark a transition toward a confrontation with new challenges of the 1970's. Together they constitute a conservation agenda for the years just ahead.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

At the mid-point of the ten-year study of wilderness, only five of the units studied have been added to the National Wilderness Preservation System; more than two dozen additions will be up for consideration in the 91st Congress. Acts creating systems of wild rivers and trails will call for repeated Congressional review and action. In a year, Congress will receive a study of ways to establish a national system to preserve estuaries. Last-minute failure of the bill to ban the sale of products from unprotected and endangered species, such as the alligator, leaves extension of the Endangered Species Act before the next Congress too. Finally, failure of conferees to agree on long-term funding for water pollution prevention also puts the future of that program up to the next Congress.

Compromises of the last Congress, and preceding ones, have left the boundaries of a number of national parks far short of what we know they should be, notably those of the Redwood, North Cascades, Grand Canyon, Canyonlands, Mt. McKinley, and Mt. Rainier national parks. Efforts will be made to extend them all.

NEW BUSINESS

Competing for attention in the 91st Congress will be a growing list of new projects. Highest on the calendar are: Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore (Mich.), Apostle Islands National Lakeshore (Wis.), Big Thicket National Monument or Recreation Area (Tex.), Voyageurs National Park (Minn.), Gulf Islands National Seashore (Miss., Ala., Fla.), and Florrisant National Monument (Colo.). Bills for a Channel Islands National Park (Cal.), Buffalo National River (Ark.), Potomac National River (Md., Va., W. Va.), and Connecticut National River (Conn., Mass., Vt., N.H.) will also be introduced. Most likely, bills will also be introduced to establish a Kauai National Park in Hawaii, a Sawtooth National Park (Ida.), an Oregon Dunes National Seashore, a Cumberland Island National Monument or Seashore (Ga.), a Snake-Hells Canyon National River (Ore., Ida.),

a Lewis and Clark Wilderness Waterway (Mont.), and measures of some kind to provide protection for New Jersey's Pine Barrens.

Legislation introduced in the past by Senators Henry Jackson and Gaylord Nelson to establish a Presidential Council of Environmental Advisors and to encourage national ecological surveys will probably be pushed. Still awaiting decision also are federal regulations to control strip mining. Senator Edward Kennedy's bills for coördinated planning to group new power plants and transmission lines and to keep them out of sensitive landscapes will also receive attention, as will bills to prevent thermal pollution. A continuing effort will be made to develop policies that will lead to population stability for this nation, and to encourage population control abroad. Growing awareness of the environmental consequences of the supersonic transport is prompting more and more members of Congress to question our commitment to the SST.

DEFENSIVE ACTIONS

While affirmative proposals are before Congress, defensive efforts must continue. Allerton Park (Ill.), Big Walnut Creek (Ind.), Red River Gorge (Ky.), the St. Johns River (Me.), and some of California's northern streams are threatened by dams. Spirited contests continue to save some of Alaska, Oregon, and Washington's national forests, with Chichagof Island, French Pete Creek, and Alpine Lakes as focal points. Problems of getting and keeping enough water plague Everglades National Park, San Francisco and Upper Newport bays (Cal.), and Pyramid Lake (Nev.). The fight against harmful channelization of the Lower Colorado continues, as does the struggle in the Great Lakes region to keep the last of the relatively pure lakes, like Superior, from being degraded. The next Congress will be asked to ratify the compact between Nevada and California designed to save Lake Tahoe from eutrophication. Elsewhere in California, efforts persist to keep Mineral King from being overdeveloped as a Disneyland resort, to defend the John Muir Trail at Minaret Summit from a transmountain highway, and to save the Kern Plateau—the Sierra's last great, unprotected wilderness. In Utah, conservationists are charting plans to protect more of the vast canyon country. Throughout the northeast, conservationists worry about the ubiquity of snowmobiles and other off-road vehicles. Encroachment on salt marshes, swamps, and river fronts by freeways, jet ports, and dumps also concerns conservationists there, as does the vulnerability of the Adirondacks.

Public support for conservation is growing, but there is no chance that our work will shrink. For as smog, pesticides, predator poisons, and new technological assaults spread across America, we keep learning how many more things we must defend.

MICHAEL McCloskey

The National Wildlife Refuge System

A report of the Advisory Board on Wildlife Management

A. Starker Leopold, Chairman

Clarence M. Cottam Ian McT. Cowan Ira N. Gabrielson Thomas L. Kimball

Appointed by Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall, the Advisory Board on Wildlife Management earlier issued influential reports on national parks and on predator control. Because of space limitations, we have had to make some omissions (indicated thus: * * *) in publishing the Board's report on wildlife refuges.

In 1903 President Theodore Roosevelt designated Pelican Island in Florida as a federal refuge to protect the nesting pelicans, herons and egrets from molestation by plume hunters and fisherman. From that humble beginning there developed in the ensuing 65 years a National Wildlife Refuge System comprising 317 major units and additional small acreages with a combined area of nearly 29 million acres. The system is administered by the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, under the Secretary of Interior * * *

As of July 1, 1967, the refuge system comprised the following units:

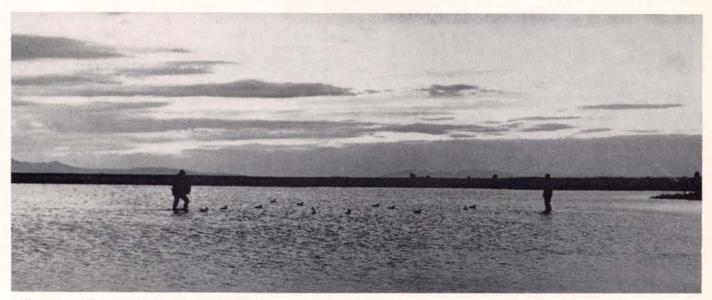
	Number	Approximate Acreage
Migratory Bird Refuges (waterfowl) established primarily for wild ducks and geese	250	3,783,000
Migratory Bird Refuges (General) for migratory birds other than waterfowl, including colonial	TO ME	
nesting species and some endangered species	. 45	3,717,000
established by acts of Congress or purchased Game Refuges, primarily for big game species,	. 14	5,191,000
withdrawn from the public domain	. 5	4,005,000
riety of wildlife		11,185,000
Additional Waterfowl Production Areas (N. and S. Dakota, Minn., Neb.)		677,000
	317	28,558,000

There is no ambiguity regarding the desire or intent of Congress to perpetuate the National Wildlife Refuge System. The Inter-American Treaty of 1942 committed the United States to a continuing program of wildlife protection and husbandry, and refuges were specified as one of the protective devices. The Endangered Species Preservation Act of 1966 provides for a program of conservation, protection, restoration, and propagation of endangered species, including refuge units to protect vanishing vertebrates. It goes on to redefine the National Wildlife Refuge System as including all lands administered by the Secretary of Interior that are now designated as wildlife refuges, protection units for endangered species, wildlife ranges, game ranges, wildlife management areas, and waterfowl production areas.

What is still lacking, however, is a clear statement of policy or philosophy as to what the National Wildlife Refuge System should be and what are the logical tenets of its future development. This report suggests a viewpoint to guide refuge administration and management.

A PHILOSOPHY FOR THE REFUGE SYSTEM

Nearly everyone has a slightly different view of what the refuge system is, or should be. Most duck hunters view the refuges as an essential cog in perpetuation of their sport. Some see the associated public shooting grounds as the actual site of their sport. A few resent the concentration of birds in the refuges and propose general hunting to drive the birds out. Bird watchers and protectionists look upon the refuges as places to enjoy the spectacle of masses of water birds, without disturbance by hunters or by private landowners; they resent any hunting at all. State fish and game departments are pleased to have the federal budget support wildlife areas in their states but want maximum public hunting and fishing on these areas. The General Accounting Office in Washington seems to view the refuges as units of a duck factory that should produce a fixed quota of ducks per acre or of bird days per duck stamp dollar. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation sees the refuge system as 29 million acres of public playgrounds. All of these views are valid, to a point. Yet the National Wildlife Refuge System cannot be all things to all people. In America of the future, what are likely to be the highest social values that the refuges can serve?



Hunters and decoys on Ogden Bay Refuge, Utah

This Board recognizes the primary importance of protecting and perpetuating migratory waterfowl, as subjects of hunting and as objects of great public interest. Public shooting on parts of the refuges is another important function. Likewise we acknowledge the significance of refuges in serving the needs of rare or endangered species. But beyond that we view each National Wildlife Refuge in the old fashioned sense of a bit of natural landscape where the full spectrum of native wildlife may find food, shelter, protection and a home. It should be a place where the outdoor public can come to see wild birds and mammals in variety and abundance compatible with the refuge environment. It should be a "wildlife display" in the most comprehensive sense.

For each refuge there will always be some primary or transcending function that receives and deserves major attention. The duck breeding refuges like the Upper and Lower Souris are managed mainly as production areas. Wintering refuges like the Sacramento or Bosque del Apache are developed to shelter and feed wintering waterfowl. The Kofa Game Range is operated to favor perpetuation of the desert bighorn. And so on. But additionally, without impairing primary functions, virtually all refuge areas can be so managed as to produce a wealth of secondary wildlife values. A mudflat maintained for shorebirds, a woodlot supporting a heron colony, a tule border left for yellow-headed blackbirds or a thicket for transient warblers represents a value over and beyond the cloud of ducks and geese that occupy the central ponds. The number of Americans concerned with viewing or photographing wildlife is increasing at least exponentially with population. Their interests should be served by the refuges, along with the interests of the hunting public.

In essence, we are proposing to add a "natural ecosystem" component to the program of refuge management. Wherever a fragment of some native biota remains on a refuge it should be retained or expanded and restored insofar as this is prac-

Photographs by John Flannery

ticable and in conformance with the primary function of the refuge. Native plants would be as much a part of this concept as native animals, and should where possible be used in landscaping and in development of wildlife coverts.

With this broad view of refuge function in mind, we urge the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife to reappraise the goals of the National Wildlife Refuge System and to provide for maximum value of the system to the broadest possible spectrum of interests. Director Gottschalk recently made this excellent statement of the objectives of the Bureau in managing migratory birds:

"The Bureau's general policy is to assure the management and perpetuation of the migratory bird resource for the benefit and enjoyment of all the people and as an important component of a healthy environment. Such management will provide, when possible, optimum hunting recreation of some species in adequate supply. . . . The Bureau will continue to work to safeguard the ecological, recreational, cultural, scientific and economic values of game and non-game migratory birds and their habitats, including raptorial species. The Bureau will seek to preserve endangered birds so that no species or subspecies will knowingly be allowed to become extinct through man's actions."

If this enlightened point of view characterized the management of all the national refuges there would be no problem. But such is not the case, as will be shown presently. A redefinition of refuge goals and objectives is very much needed.

DEVELOPING AND FINANCING THE REFUGE SYSTEM

The nature of a refuge system is quite naturally influenced by the manner of its origin and of its financing.

Most of the original units in the National Wildlife Refuge

System were islands designated as sanctuaries for colonial nesting birds, or game ranges intended to prevent extermination of native big game mammals. Thus on Jan. 24, 1905 Congress authorized the President to set aside a portion of the Wichita National Forest for the protection of game animals and birds * * *

The first refuge to be specifically authorized by Congress was the National Bison Range by the Act of May 23, 1908

The Act of March 4, 1913, authorized the establishment of the National Elk Refuge * * *

The first waterfowl unit of the system to be authorized and funded by Congress was the Upper Mississippi River Wildlife and Fish Refuge. In 1924 Congress appropriated 1.5 million dollars for purchase of bottomlands along the Mississippi River between Wabasha, Minnesota, and Rock Island, Illinois, primarily to preserve waterfowl habitat. In the next decade several more refuges were created by Congress, and in the period of the New Deal a great expansion of the refuge system occurred, supported by direct appropriations and by emergency relief funds.

In 1934 the Migratory Bird Hunting Stamp Act was passed, imposing a tax of \$1.00 on waterfowl hunters, the income of which was earmarked for marshland purchase, development and administration. At this point in history waterfowl management became a dominant objective of the National Wildlife Refuge System. Concurrently, Congress shifted the burden of financing the refuges from general tax revenues to the tax on waterfowl hunters. In the ensuing three decades the cost of the duck stamp was raised to \$2.00 and then to

\$3.00; the current annual income of about 5 million dollars is still marked for acquiring waterfowl habitat.

But it seems that marshland drainage still proceeds faster than marshland restoration, so in 1961 Congress authorized a seven-year accelerated program of purchasing duck marshes with the understanding that funds advanced for this purpose would ultimately be repaid from future duck stamp sales. The seven-year accelerated program was designed to add 2.5 million acres of waterfowl habitat to the refuge system at an estimated cost of 105 million dollars additional to current duck stamp revenues. Only 46 million dollars have been appropriated, however, and 1.1 million acres purchased—far below target. In 1967 Congress extended the funding authorization another eight years, so that repayment is scheduled to begin in 1977.

Since the pattern of financing growth of the refuge system is harnessed closely to the hunting tax paid by waterfowl hunters, it follows that all lands purchased with these funds are expected to be of maximum value to waterfowl. Other interests and values are entirely secondary. Duck stamp funds are insufficient to acquire needed marshlands—especially production areas—with current escalation of land prices. Aside from limited funds to acquire habitat for rare and endangered species, there is no support nor clear authority for the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife to extend the refuge system in relation to wildlife needs other than for migratory birds.

In viewing the refuge system as a network of wildlife habitats, each serving many public interests, we are suggesting that more support from general funds is called for. Duck



Rocky Mountain bighorn sheep



Snowy egret and great blue herons

stamp money should indeed continue to be used for purchasing waterfowl management areas, but that allotment of itself supplies only part of the total refuge need.

MEETING WATERFOWL HABITAT NEEDS

Some difficult questions, raised by Congress and by the General Accounting Office, are: When will the federal refuge system be complete? What portion of the continental waterfowl population should it support? How much more land is needed? How much more money will it cost?

As regards migratory waterfowl numbers, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife has chosen as a management target the continental population in the period 1956 (high) to 1962 (low), with an average fall population of about 150,000,000 ducks. To provide permanently for such a population will require preservation of considerable habitat now in private ownership and subject to drainage. Especially is this true of breeding habitat in the north-central prairie states and the adjoining prairie provinces of Canada. Allocation of funds in the accelerated wetland habitat preservation program has placed great emphasis on breeding ground preservation (80 percent of acreage in the prairie states). The program has two aspects. The larger and more permanent potholes and lakes are purchased outright. Smaller, temporary wetlands are left in private ownership but are protected as duck breeding habitat by perpetual easement under which the owner agrees, for a single payment, not to drain, burn, fill or level his wetlands. Under this program a substantial number of breeding marshes have been protected. In autumn they serve additionally as hunting grounds. In

Canada there are parallel though less extensive programs to preserve breeding marshes, conducted by the Canadian and provincial governments and by Ducks Unlimited. But it is by no means assured as yet that the total endeavor in both countries is adequate to maintain an average fall population of 150 million ducks. For the moment therefore the reply concerning breeding grounds preservation and restoration is that the end is not in sight. Considerable help could be rendered by land and water use agencies whose agricultural programs affect the future status of prairie marshlands.

The problem of supplying refuge habitat along flyways and on the winter grounds is not so acute, but may be critical for some subpopulations, especially of geese * * * The accelerated purchase program allocates about 7 per cent of the acquisition acreage to additional stop-over points and 13 per cent to more wintering grounds. Brackish bays and estuaries for diving ducks are still poorly represented in the National Wildlife Refuge System; new units might be added as wintering areas.

Even though the ultimate dimensions of the federal system of waterfowl areas are still obscure, it would seem timely for the Bureau to make further rigorous analyses of land needs as a guide to long-range planning. Habitat shrinkage is still proceeding faster than habitat restoration. Further expansion of federal holdings, especially of breeding grounds, will clearly be needed * * *

MANAGING WATERFOWL REFUGES

When a refuge property is acquired it rarely is in a stage of optimum development to serve as waterfowl habitat. Levees and water control structures are usually needed, roads must be built to facilitate patrol and other aspects of management, and agricultural crops may be grown to provide food for the migrant birds. An active and ambitious staff of engineers and managers attend to these aspects of development.

But because some engineering and agricultural development is good, it does not necessarily follow that more is better. On many refuges the Board noted a tendency to equate any development with improvement. Some refuge plans were stronger in principles of agricultural engineering than of wild-life ecology. The refuges are intended to serve certain biological and social objectives, and their development should be guided primarily by the professional managers who are to make them function. Ecological engineering is needed, rather than strictly agricultural engineering. Frequently the same techniques are involved, but the ecological framework maintains and blends natural relationships with man-designed improvements.

In the light of our plea for naturalism in refuge management, we suggest thoughtful moderation in physical development of terrain. A refuge property can be overdeveloped. For example, it is not necessarily the best practice to impound every possible acre foot of water to serve the needs of waterfowl. Some meadows and swales may better be left in puddles rather than be escalated into lakes.

Ducks and geese are attracted to grain, but a waterfowl feeding regime based solely on grain culture may have serious drawbacks. Some of the most difficult management problems with Canada geese have arisen when concentrations gathered on refuges where generous quantities of corn were grown to attract the birds. This happened first on Horseshoe Lake Refuge in Illinois in the eary 1940's and was repeated in much the same form on Horicon Refuge in Wisconsin in the mid-1960's. Despite these lessons, many other midwestern goose refuges are competing in the corn feeding derby. Some, like Squaw Creek Refuge in Missouri, have cleared additional woodlands to increase the acreage of corn and other grains.

One of the effects of refuges is to dictate the distribution of waterfowl. This is accomplished in part by protection from disturbance, but likewise by the food regime on the refuge. A well managed network of refuges should serve to achieve a general spread or distribution of waterfowl over wide regions. As presently operated, refuges seem to be competing with one another to concentrate waterfowl. Undue concentration of birds may lead to crop depredations, excessive hunter kill, or spread of disease * * * We strongly recommend that excessive concentrations of waterfowl, such as the Horicon goose flock, be purposefully scattered to encourage earlier migration and wider distribution of the population. Reducing the intensity of the feeding program would seem to be an initial step in this process, along with regulated hunting on the refuge itself and possibly drawdown of water levels * * *

In the long run, a more varied and low-key feeding program may be in the best interests of waterfowl. A number of

agricultural crops are attractive and nutritious for waterfowl, and in appropriate marshlands, natural foods can often be grown with forage yields approaching those of the agricultural crops. A good stand of smart weed (Polygonum) or of pond weed (Potamogeton) may yield a surprisingly high poundage of seed per acre. Alkali bulrush (Scirpus paludosus) is one of the most productive of all waterfowl foods where it occurs on western marshes. Variety in foods will meet the nutritional needs of many species. It is impossible to write a generalized formula for food management on waterfowl refuges. But on any area, a varied offering would seem to have advantages over a one-crop diet, however palatable the single crop might be * * *

MANAGING REFUGES FOR WILDLIFE OTHER THAN WATERFOWL

Each refuge, though part of a network, should be viewed as an independent microcosm with many biological features and values of its own, all of which should be appreciated and if possible sustained in some harmonious combination. This overview of the refuge as an oasis for wildlife in general has not been especially evident in the management of the National Wildlife Refuges to date.

Management of the rough upland portions of waterfowl refuges (non-marsh, non-agricultural) is sometimes sadly neglected. Native wildlife that could be supported on these upland areas is often scarce or absent. To cite two examples: (1) Malheur Refuge in Oregon has been mentioned as a case of excellent management of waterfowl nesting habitat; yet the upland sagebrush areas constituting a substantial portion of the 181,000-acre area are largely sterile of wildlife. Antelope and sagehens occur on the adjoining ranches but rarely are seen on the refuge. This curious situation may relate to the intensive grazing program. Whatever the cause, it is probably subject to correction. (2) When the Necedah Refuge in Wisconsin was taken over from Resettlement Administration it was excellent range for prairie chickens and sharp-tailed grouse. Until very recently little effort was made to maintain the openings. As a result of rigid fire exclusion the area is now a thicket of little value to prairie grouse. A general policy urging and supporting management of the total wildlife resource on all refuges would lead to identification and solution of many problems such as these.

The national refuges should stand as monuments to the science and practice of wildlife management. To do so they should display wildlife in its greatest diversity, as well as in reasonable abundance.

MANAGING GAME RANGES AND OTHER TYPES OF REFUGES

By comparison with the waterfowl refuges, the intensity of management on game ranges, island refuges, and preserves for rare species is very low indeed—perhaps too low in some situations. For these areas collectively, present management consists largely of protection from undue disturbance of change.

In the case of the bird islands, protection or isolation is indeed the crux of management. This is true also of islands harboring oceanic mammals and sea turtles.

On mainland game refuges, where ungulate populations are concerned, there is often required some control of numbers. Bison, moose, elk and deer are all likely to exceed the capacity of their ranges, especially on refuge areas. Nothing can be more deleterious to the habitat and to the animals themselves than carrying too many on the range. Reduction normally is accomplished most effectively through public hunting, although removal of small numbers may be more easily done by refuge personnel. In wilderness-type areas still supporting a reasonable quota of predators one may hope for homeostasis in the predator/prey interaction, but it rarely lives up to expectations because predators are seldom prey-specific. The gun is usually needed in management sooner or later.

Intrusion of exotic ungulates may constitute a major management problem on some ranges and refuge areas. Trespass cattle, burros, goats and pigs often need control or elimination.

Whereas there is general recognition of the need to protect big game ranges from overgrazing, there is much less attention paid to the possibility of raising range capacities for wildlife through plant manipulation or water development. We are aware of some experimental burning on the Kenai Moose Range in Alaska and the National Bison Range in Montana. Some modest reseeding trials have been attempted on several other game ranges. But the point of view toward range management has been predominantly one of protection rather than manipulation. For example, on the Desert National Wildlife Range in Nevada, carrying capacity for bighorn sheep could be greatly increased with development of some well-situated water holes, but little effort has been made

to assist the sheep in this manner. Presumably the game ranges could receive at least locally more intensive habitat management than in the past.

Development of food resources on wildlife refuges is a logical way to attract and support wildlife. But there is a fine line between supporting wild animals and prostituting them. One example of the latter will suffice here.

The National Elk Refuge was created in Jackson Hole in 1913 to perpetuate an elk herd whose winter range was largely expropriated for cattle ranching. To hold elk on the refuge, a program of hay feeding was begun which has become a fixed ritual. The elk stream down from South Yellowstone and the Tetons, to gather on the feeding grounds where they spend all winter without making any effort to find natural forage. The daily arrival of the hay sled signals the only activity, namely, a jostling among the animals to be first in line as the bales are dropped. Tourists ride among them on sleighs. These elk have lost their independence. Like the Canada geese at Horseshoe Lake, and more recently at Horicon, they have developed a tradition of dependency. Fear of man is lost. Wildness is forfeited.

A cooperative program is underway between the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, the Park Service, the Forest Service and the State of Wyoming to rehabilitate this herd by breaking the hay habit. Limited hunting on the refuge is eliminating the earliest arrivals and pushing the main herd back into the hills where good winter forage is available. Hopefully the herd can be weaned to natural foods, precluding the need for the feeding program.

Again, the lesson to be derived seems to be, avoid excessive artificiality in refuge management.

The report of the Advisory Board on Wildlife Management will be concluded in the January 1969 Bulletin.



Mallard drake

The Sierra Club Foundation

IN Springfield, Illinois, a retired farmer turns the pages, one by one, of the Sierra Club Exhibit Format book, *Gentle Wilderness*, and, in the quiet of the library, he walks John Muir's Range of Light.

Youngsters in a sixth grade class in Roanoke, Virginia, make a field trip to a city park near the school. When the students return to their classroom each will write an essay, as suggested in the Sierra Club booklet *How To Teach Wilderness Conservation*, on what there is to do and see at the park and what the feeling of open space means.

The luncheon program for a fraternal service organization in Los Angeles, California, features "The Redwoods," the Sierra Club's Academy Award winning documentary film. The members, some for the first time, see the tall, proud trees enveloped in fog and watch as ponderous lumber trucks haul away a cargo that cannot be replaced for hundreds, even thousands, of years.

Each of these events is typical of the Sierra Club's charitable, scientific, literary and educational effort to make people all over America aware of the importance and the necessity of protecting the scenic resources of our country. However, because the Internal Revenue Service has revoked the club's tax deductible status, the club can no longer pursue its 76-year-old charitable, scientific, literary and educational program without help. To provide this aid, if and when it might be needed, the Sierra Club Foundation was established eight years ago. It was the Foundation that placed Exhibit Format books in all the state libraries, supported publication of a conservation education handbook for teachers, and underwrote the redwoods film.

The Foundation was established in July 1960, and bylaws were adopted providing for a 15-member Board of Directors. The Board consists of the 13 living past presidents of the Sierra Club, the current club president, and honorary vice-president Charlotte E. Mauk. Officers of the Foundation are: Richard M. Leonard, president; Lewis F. Clark, vice president; Edgar Wayburn, treasurer; and Bestor Robinson, secretary. The fifth member of the Executive Committee is Nathan C. Clark.

The Foundation made 15 major grants totalling \$69,880 from 1960 to September 1968. In October 1968 the Foundation announced seven additional grants amounting to \$50,750 (see November Bulletin). It is hoped that contributions may make it possible for the Foundation to award \$250,000 to \$300,000 annually. Donations may be made either to the general fund of the Foundation or may be earmarked for specific purposes.

Since its creation in 1960 the Foundation has been ready to help with the Sierra Club's non-legislative activities; with the 1968 IRS denial of the club's appeal for re-instatement of its tax-deductible status, the Foundation must handle a major share of fund-raising for the charitable, scientific, literary and educational purposes permitted under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. The club itself has applied for a tax exempt status under Section 501(c)(4) of the Code, which will permit the club to seek to influence legislation but will not allow it to offer charitable deductions to large gift donors.

The role the Sierra Club Foundation must now assume in the conservation effort is an important one. In 1964, two years before the IRS first announced the probable revocation of the club's tax deductible status, 41 percent of the club's income for conservation (excluding publications and outings) came from dues and admissions, 54 percent from contributions, and 5 percent from other sources. In 1967 dues and admissions accounted for 61 percent of the club's conservation income, contributions fell to 36 percent, and other sources brought in 3 percent. As 1968 draws to a close leaving the Sierra Club clearly ineligible for 501(c)(3) status under the present ruling, raising and disbursing monies for non-legislative purposes depends more and more on the Foundation.

An individual considering a tax-deductible gift to the Sierra Club today should consider the Sierra Club Foundation. The Foundation holds a 1962 ruling of full tax exemption and deductibility and its status is not jeopardized by the recent attack on the Sierra Club. Donors, therefore, are assured of full protection in making gifts and bequests to the Foundation. Furthermore, until the club is successful in regaining its tax-deductible status either through the courts or by legislative action, it would be wise for those who have already provided for the Sierra Club in their Wills, assuming continuance of its tax-deductible status, to substitute the Sierra Club Foundation.

Contributions to the Sierra Club Foundation in 1968 can be deducted from the donor's adjusted gross income in computing his income tax for 1968. In addition, gifts to the Foundation are exempt from the provisions of the Federal Gift Tax Law. Gifts of securities that have appreciated in value are especially useful, since their present value can be deducted by the donor for income tax purposes, and the donor need not pay a capital gains tax on the increase in value.

The Sierra Club Foundation's address is Suite 1500, 220 Bush Street, San Francisco, California 94104.

In planning your contributions and bequests, please remember this: the Sierra Club depends on the Foundation and the Foundation depends on you.

EDGAR WAYBURN

Letters.

"Hells Canyon on the Snake" by Brock Evans in the September issue of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* presents very well the case for preserving the middle Snake as a living river.

The Hells Canyon Preservation Council was established in the summer of 1967 to mobilize support, through education, for a free-flowing middle Snake. Our fast increasing membership affirms the extent to which this unique part of the American landscape has captured the public interest both regionally and nationally.

More financial help is needed to tell the story of this little known canyon. To help preserve those values Brock Evans so effectively identifies, come aboard the HCPC by writing for our literature and sending your membership fee of \$2 or more to The Hells Canyon Preservation Council, P.O. Box 691, Idaho Falls, Idaho 83401.

The opportunity is at hand to prevent Hells Canyon from suffering the same fate as Glen Canyon.

Russ Mager, Chairman Hells Canyon Preservation Council

WHAT THE CLUB IS TRYING TO SAVE

I AM AN ITALIAN GRADUATE STUDENT at the University of Chicago. I had heard of the Sierra Club and its work, and many times I have gone through its beautiful books. I find that for people living in cities and who don't have much chance to get out in the wild, this is a great way to give them an idea of what the club is trying to save. I was very excited when I saw that the club started publishing paperback copies of these books, as I feel that many more people will be able to afford them and realize what is at stake. I, myself, have this way been able to give these books to some friends on various occasions and they have been very much appreciated.

About two weeks ago, I sent for some information about becoming a member of the club, and I was very pleased with how quick I received an answer.

CLARA COEN

Chicago, Illinois

A CORPORATE MERGER FOR CONSERVATION

As I look at the corporate world around me, one thing keeps repeating itself: merger. One company joins, or is taken over, by another. Yet as the Sierra Club grows, it seems to move in among and around other existing organizations. This worries me. I have been a member of the Colorado Mountain Club and the Adirondack Mountain Club, and I see these as good, closely-working organizations helping the cause of conservation while they enjoy their programs of activities.

If the Sierra Club has more to offer a Coloradoan or New Yorker, it is *national power*. The Sierra Club is the unquestioned leader in this respect, but how much stronger we would be if we were all under one banner: I do not doubt that resistance to a merger would appear, even as it does in corporate merger plans. (Perhaps the government would in-

The Eleventh Biennial Wilderness Conference, sponsored by the Sierra Club with assistance from other organizations, will be held in San Francisco on March 14–16. Speakers and program will be announced later, but the traditional Sunday field trip will be a five-hour cruise on San Francisco Bay with Harold Gilliam narrating. Make a note of the dates and watch for future announcements.

stitute anti-trust action!) But, as conservation issues grow more complex and as the demand for suitable times and locations for outings increases, I feel some such action will be necessary.

I observed a past attempt in the Federation of Western Outdoors Clubs. But I feel we need more than federations, we need union.

John J. B. Miller College Park, Md.

Members with a knack for writing and photography are encouraged to submit articles or photo essays to the Bulletin dealing with conservation problem areas or reliving outdoor experiences. Token payment in cash or Sierra Club books. — Ed.

THEY'RE QUERCUS KELLOGGII

ISN'T THERE ENOUGH SORROW in this world already without your filling a caption for the Ansel Adams Castle Rock picture (September SCB) with the "live oak" business?

Those, my friend, are *Quercus kelloggii* or black oaks which are deciduous trees common to great areas of California and southern Oregon.

RALPH CONDON
San Jose, Calif.

Dues Increase on Ballot

By action of the Board of Directors, a long-postponed dues increase will be proposed on the ballot of the April 1969 club election. One-third of new dues revenue would be allocated to chapters. A two-thirds majority is required for passage of the proposed increase. Further information will appear in subsequent issues of the Bulletin.

As mentioned in the November *SCB*, the ballot will also include the names of eight candidates for election to the Board: Nicholas Clinch, August Frugé, Charles Huestis, Maynard Munger, Jr., Raymond Sherwin, David Sive, Sanford Tepfer, and Edgar Wayburn. These candidates were proposed by the Nominating Committee. Other candidates may be nominated by petition.

The deadline for nominating petitions and petitions to place referendum questions on the ballot is December 31. Ballots will be mailed in mid-March, 1969.

Book Reviews

WILD SANCTUARIES: Our National Wildlife Refuges – A Heritage Restored. By Robert Murphy with Foreword by Stewart Udall. Illustrated, 250 plates, 288 pages. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1968. \$22.50.

Buffalo once roamed the United States from Cape Cod to California. During the Civil War a herd of four million covered one 50-mile area in Kansas. By 1830 they had all disappeared from east of the Mississippi. In a 30-year period, herds of thirty million buffalo were reduced to zero. Some sixty million beaver were exterminated. Passenger pigeons whose flight darkened the sky with their millions were slain in such numbers that none were left after the last one died in a Cincinnati zoo in 1914. Now on their way to extinction unless they can be saved in our national wildlife refuges are the timber wolf, grizzly bear, nene goose, larger whales, whooping cranes, Everglades kite, California condor, puma, alligator, and musk ox.

The story of how mankind in the new world, for greed or to subdue nature, managed to accomplish the above in a period of less than 200 years, is not a pleasant one. Cognizant of past mistakes, enlightened and dedicated people are trying to correct them now in areas where it is still not too late.

Wild Sanctuaries takes the reader on a journey clockwise around the United States. Starting in Bombay Hook, New Jersey, Robert Murphy goes south to Georgia and Florida, west to Texas and Arizona, north again to the pothole country, to the Pacific Northwest, Hawaii, and Alaska. These refuges are habitat re-creations, intended to replace despoiled areas where herds and flocks were once allowed to complete their normal life spans. The refuge system is part of man's current efforts to cooperate with, not conquer, nature.

An estimated twenty million people per year now visit the more accessible refuges—Florida's swamps, Okefenokee in Georgia, Bear River in Utah, Malheur and Hart Mountain in Oregon. Photographers are always welcome but are kept at a distance during nesting seasons. Mr. Murphy's reports of birds and animals living in complete compatibility in all types of refuges may come as a surprise to many readers. The prairie chicken, opossum, coati and armadillo share quarters with the whooping crane at Aransas. Arid refuges in New Mexico and Arizona are the retreat of bighorn sheep and coyotes, among others. Pronghorn, bison and buffalo are found in Montana sanctuaries.

Flight patterns of the Atlantic, Mississippi, Central and Pacific flyways are shown in diagrams. An appendix lists all the National Wildlife Refuges with addresses of regional offices responsible for their administration. A two-page layout in Chapter One illustrates the migratory, big game, game refuge and wildlife range of more than 300 refuges. The sign of the flying goose is the key to finding these when travelling across the country. It is a safe bet that one who has come

eyeball to eyeball with an alligator or a bear, watched beaver work, marveled at gyrations of birds in flight, viewed rare animals at close range in their own habitat, will look with disfavor on fur garments and reptile bags and shoes.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, in his preface to this excellent book, reminds the reader that refuges are managed for wildlife but to benefit man. "If we are to have a balanced existence in this nation, man and wildlife must learn to live together, not exclusively."

LUELLA K. SAWYER

MAN AND THE CALIFORNIA CONDOR. By Ian Mc-Millan. Illustrated, 191 pages. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1968, \$5.95.

Man and the California Condor have coinhabited the central coastal ranges of California for 10,000 years, and throughout this period, first the Indian and then the white man prized and slaughtered them. Now the pollution of the land and life within the Condor range threatens to eradicate quietly and efficiently the remainder of the largest birds in North America.

Ian McMillan and his brother Eben conducted the field work for the last Condor report published by the National Audubon Society. In this book he gives a fine account of the habits, habitat, history and conservation of the Condor.

In the chapter on the Sespe Sanctuary, whose proper management is crucial to the conservation of the species, the reader may not be as sanguine as Mr. McMillan in his hopes for the Condor's survival. With careful documentation and restraint the author writes of the failure at times to operate the sanctuary as such and the conflict of interests within its management. There are also the too-frequent stories of eager sportsmen ignorant of the laws protecting California wildlife, and the ubiquitous proposals to build roads and dams in and around the preserve. The Condor population is now estimated at 46 birds. This leaves no more room for mistakes. The suggestion, commented on by McMillan, that the remaining Condors be captured and preserved in zoos leaves the familiar bad taste of man's failure to live with his environment.

The book is illustrated with excellent photographs, a map and short bibliography.

Kenneth Daniels

WILDLIFE BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

MAMMALS OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. By Ernest Sheldon Booth. Illustrated, paper, 99 pages. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968. \$1.75.

CAPTIVE WILD. By Lois Crisler. Illustrated, 238 pages. New York, Harper & Row, 1968. \$5.95.

THE WORLD OF THE CANADA GOOSE. By Joe Van Wormer. Illustrated, 192 pages. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1968. \$5.95.

WORLD OF THE GRIZZLY BEAR. By W. J. Schoonmaker. Illustrated, 190 pages. New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1968. \$5.95.

THE COMPLETE WALKER. By Colin Fletcher. 353 pages. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968. \$6.95.

Manuals like this are usually inhuman creations, full of dogma and cant over the current vogue, with the writer finally sounding like the editor of a Sunday morning women's section. I liked this book from the start, not only because Fletcher avoided calling it "The Compleat Walker" but because he also avoided most of the dangers inherent in an equipment manual.

Like all of Fletcher's books, The Complete Walker turns out to be more about him than his subject. This is a difficult thing to do with an equipment book, and it has its disadvantages, but at least the reader remains a friend with a sympathetic ear.

Fletcher, for instance, admits at the beginning that he has tested nowhere near all the proliferate makes of camping gear. Almost all of his basic equipment, in fact, comes from one source, The Ski Hut in Berkeley, and the reason for it is hardly scientific: he lives only a few blocks away.

And hence the fun of the book. There are arguable points

on every page, and at times Fletcher ends up arguing with himself; at other times he all but gives up. The section on survival begins: "A book like this should obviously have something to say about survival, but I find . . . that I can rake up precious little. . . ."

All of which is not meant to imply that Fletcher does not know his subject. If it would not sound too pompous *The Complete Walker* should probably be called the definitive work on camping and hiking. In comparison to most equipment books, and especially to the Sierra Club's *Wilderness Handbook*, with its dated information, bubble-gum sentimentality, and folksy advice, *The Complete Walker* is a rare gem.

It is one of those books that seem endless. There is far too much in it to digest at once. The book is like an old and familiar topographic map; sit down with it for a few moments, even in the stink and noise of the city, and you've escaped to some better place.

ROBERT A. JONES

The Sierra Club Wilderness Handbook, mentioned above, is a Sierra Club-Ballantine paperback whose first edition of 75,000 copies sold out in short order. A second, revised edition is now available at paperback outlets. The Handbook contains the entire text of a perennial Sierra Club bestseller, Going Light — With Backpack or Burro, which is now in its eighth printing. — Ed.

Washington Report continued from outside back cover

The election raised questions about the Executive Branch, but the outcome left the make-up of Congress essentially unchanged. Both the House and Senate remain in control of the Democrats, making Mr. Nixon the first President since Zachary Taylor to come into office with both bodies of Congress in the hands of the opposition party. The House will have 243 Democrats and 192 Republicans, a net GOP gain of four seats. The Senate will have 58 Democrats and 42 Republicans, a net GOP gain of five seats.

Democrats will retain committee chairmanships. The increase in Senate Republicans, however, will bring about a realignment of party division within committees. For instance, the Senate Interior Committee, which had 11 Democrats and six Republicans in the 90th Congress, will have 10 Democrats and seven Republicans in the 91st. There will be numerous personnel changes within the committees since the election carried 13 freshman Senators plus veteran Barry Goldwater into office. Senator Carl Hayden's retirement opens up chairmanship of the powerful Appropriations Committee to Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, who is next in seniority. Russell's chairmanship of Armed Services would go to Senator John Stennis of Mississippi.

Representative Wayne Aspinall of Colorado will again head the House Interior Committee, with Representative John Saylor of Pennsylvania as ranking minority member. Two GOP members of the House committee did not run for reëlection and another Republican moved to the Appropriations Committee, so three vacancies will be filled during the early days of the new Congress. Some vacancies may also occur on the Democratic side if members change committee assignments.

The Senate Interior Committee will again be under the chairmanship of Senator Henry Jackson of Washington, but the ranking minority post held by California Senator Thomas H. Kuchel will be filled by Senator Gordon Allott of Colorado. (Kuchel was defeated in the primary, and his Senate seat was won by Alan M. Cranston, a Democrat.) One vacancy will exist on the Democratic side of the Interior Committee and two Republican seats will be open. Senator-elect Mike Gravel of Alaska is a candidate for the Democratic spot, and Senator Goldwater is a likely prospect for one of the Republican vacancies. (Mr. Goldwater was formerly a member of the committee.) Senator Allott's move to the minority leadership will bring changes on the minority staff of the committee.

How the Democratic-controlled committees will function in Mr. Nixon's administration is, of course, a matter of much speculation. However, recent legislative advances in conservation have come about through bipartisan activity, and neither party can claim dominance in the formation of natural resource policy. Mr. Nixon should have the political mix in Congress, therefore, to pursue the "strategy of quality" suggested during his campaign.

Washington Report

by W. Lloyd Tupling

Uncertainty blurs the course of national policy on conservation and environmental problems under the new administration of President-elect Richard M. Nixon.

Many factors contribute to the uncertainty:

- The mandate of the voters in November was for a change in administrative direction without any significant shift in Congressional decision-making.
- New personnel must fill the upper echelons of key departments like Interior, Agriculture, Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, and Health, Education and Welfare.
- Mr. Nixon's own philosophy on natural resource management received scant attention during the election compaign, and his record as Congressman and Senator from California provides few clues.
- 4. His administration succeeds one that achieved landmark advances in the protection of wilderness and scenic areas and for enhancement of outdoor recreation, advances that eclipse the sometimes controversial record of the Eisenhower-Nixon administration. Will the momentum be sustained?

There is little on the record by which to form a judgment. A careful review of Mr. Nixon's six-year record in Congress (1947–52) discloses little involvement in key conservation issues because the period of his Congressional tenure came when the focus of national attention was on internal security, veteran problems, and transition from war. The resources issues were not too relevant. For instance, Mr. Nixon voted to exempt independent gas producers from Federal Power Commission jurisdiction and for assigning to the states the mineral rights to tidelands.

As Senator from California, Mr. Nixon joined with Senator William Knowland in opposition to the Central Arizona Project, which was viewed at that time as a threat to his state's water supply. One thing that emerges from his voting record is that his partisanship declined with the passage of years. During his first year in the House, he voted 91 percent of the time with his Republican colleagues. When he left the Senate, the party-unity factor had dropped to 70 percent. In 1952, for example, he left the majority of Republicans and joined Democrats in turning back an effort to trim National Park Service funds by \$7 million.

Although the President-elect had a role in conservation

policies of the Eisenhower administration, he was not a presidential spokesman in this area as was Vice President Hubert Humphrey in the Johnson regime. Mr. Humphrey has served as chairman of the President's Council on Recreation and Natural Beauty. Mr. Nixon's part in developing such programs of the Eisenhower years as the Mission '66 program of the National Park Service is unclear.

During the campaign, Mr. Nixon spoke infrequently about resources and environment. During Oregon's May primary, he delivered an address on "Natural Resources and Human Resources." He said that in fixing priorities for trimming federal expenditures, "those that should escape the budget knife are appropriations for conservation and education, for the preservation of natural resources and for the development of human resources."

He also commented on resource problems in a statement to the Republican Platform Committee in August, and on October 18, he delivered a national radio broadcast on "A Strategy of Quality: Conservation in the Seventies." In it he declared: "We are faced with nothing less than the task of preserving the American environment and at the same time preserving our high standard of living. It would be one of history's cruelest ironies if the American people, who have always been willing to fight and die for freedom, should become slaves and victims of their own technological genius. The battle for the quality of the American environment is a battle against neglect, mismanagement, poor planning and a piecemeal approach to problems of natural resources."

Despite the difficulty of assessing what may lie ahead with Mr. Nixon in the White House, some developments augur well. Initial appointments to his personal staff have been of high caliber—men of experience and ability. He has indicated an intention to give members of his Cabinet broad policy-making authority and to minimize intervention by White House staff members in departmental activities. But at this writing, there is no indication whether his Secretary of the Interior would be the kind that would favor consumptive users of resources, as did Secretary Douglas McKay and Undersecretary Ralph Tudor of the early Eisenhower years, or administrators like Secretary Fred Seaton and Undersecretary Elmer Bennett who sought some balance between potential multiple uses.

Continued inside back cover