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# Sierra Club Bulletin

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Cover: Flukes of a humpback whale diving in Glacier Bay, Alaska. This photo, by Olaf Sööt, is one of 14 full-color lithographs in the 1973 Sierra Club wall calendar listed in the 12-page Sierra Club Christmas book catalogue which begins on page 15 of this issue.

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# "run like life itself"

# WILD HORSES OF THE WEST

WILLIAM BRANDON

THE WILD HORSES live under the biggest sky in the West, in the emptiest back rooms of the wilderness. They sweep in small bands, a stallion and his half dozen mares and a colt or two—up the most inaccessible ridges, graze the nearest thing to the pastures of heaven, silhouette their shaggy heads against the blazingest of sunsets. Maybe the juniper really is greener and the rimrock richer red in wild horse country, or maybe it only seems that way because the wild horses, more than any other symbol alive or dead, reflect some vision in our mind of the spirit and the glory of the West—and the traditional male chauvinism of the West: the stallion now and then giving his mares a savage snap in the rump just to see them jump.

It became apparent in recent years that they might not be around much longer, the wild horses—their numbers were estimated at more than 50,000 in 1930, at about 18,000 some ten years ago, and the latest unofficial guesses put the present figure at less than 10,000 and still declining as if on greased skids, rather clearly on the last steep downdrop to extinction, which in the way of such things gets very sudden along toward the end.

The threat of the disappearance of our last wild horses—or of the last of our wild horse country—began to penetrate the public consciousness several years ago and finally stirred up so much hullaballoo that no less than 54 wild-horse protection bills were put before Congress; these were amalgamated into one that was overwhelmingly passed by the House and Senate and signed into law by the President shortly before Christmas, 1971. The hullaballoo was genuinely puzzling to various of the principal users of our public domain, such as elements of the livestock industry. Why this obsession with a handful of buck-kneed cow-hocked burr-tailed good-for-nothing left-overs from our raggedy frontier past, why "all the big to-do," as a bewildered rancher asked at a Cattle Association convention a couple of winters ago, "over a few thousand pot-bellied worthless mustangs?"

Why indeed? What use can they be to our public lands, what usefulness can they add to our public resources? If none, if truly their usefulness is ended, can any legislation, no matter how well meant, stop the clock and enforce their survival?

Such questions may conceivably have something serious to say to us. The reality of the wild horse story, past and present, turns on the basic fact that wild horses are not a breed but a state of being, "Those who want to see the public lands devoid of all wildness and inhabited exclusively by dollars would like nothing better than to lock up a few mustangs in the least profitable areas, to be designated sanctuaries, and then exterminate the rest."

William Brandon is an bistorian and author best known for his American Heritage Book of the Indian. This is his first contribution to the Bulletin.

a state of wildness, a state precisely opposed to control in any way exploitative. Perhaps we can begin to appreciate this wildness by looking at this story, which is, in many ways, the story of the American West itself.

The wild horses have never been much of a cash-register resource, although they have been around, in varying numbers and under varying identities as to looks and lineage, for some 400 years. They gallop through the folklore of all the wild west languages—Lakota, Creek, Navajo, Spanish, English, French, and half a hundred more. In English they have most usually appeared under the billing of mustangs, a word either from the Spanish mesteno, meaning a runaway

years ago. All present-day American horses, wild or tame, are therefore descended from imports, the earliest being, of course, horses imported by the Spaniards in the early 1500's. They fanned out over the entire New World, distributed by war and theft and accident as well as trade, mixing with breeds imported somewhat later by the English, French, Dutch, Swedes, storms, pirates, and other acts of God; in a remarkably short time the whole hemisphere could echo to their drumming. Horses were being owned and ridden by Indians far beyond the frontiers of Spanish settlement by at least the 1590's, when a missionary exploring northern Mexico reported, with no indication of thinking it in any way

colonial times.

Runaways and abandonments are often noted in early diaries and journals, eventually resulting in the previously mentioned bands of horses running wild. For numbers of these, the Texas plains seemed to outshine other regions, a few travelers speaking of herds of several thousand head thereabouts in the 1700's. The total for the entire West may have reached at its highest point as much as a couple of million, in the opinion of the late J. Frank Dobie, modern mustang authority. Philip Nolan, 18th Century beau ideal of the romantic Westerner, was by ostensible profession a wildhorse hunter, riding with his crew of Natchez toughs as far as San Antonio



For many years free-roaming feral borses of the western range were mercilessly bunted down to be converted into cheap chickenfeed or more recently, dog food. The method of capture is simple: stampede the animals with a low-flying airplane, rope them from a pursuing truck and let them run themselves to exhaustion dragging the old tires tied to the end of the lariat.



horse gone wild, or from the Spanish mostrenco, meaning wild, rough, freerunning; in any case the great sound of the word "mustang" adds in itself a fine stinging touch.

A few early travelers who could write, mentioned wild horses: For example, St. Denis in 1691 and Fray Morfi in 1777, both in what is now Texas, and the explorer Zebulon Pike saw a few bunches of horses, presumably wild, on the high plains in 1806, but most of the mustang tales in English, from Washington Irving (writing in the 1830's of the fabled White Stallion of the Prairies and his "sleek seraglio of mares") onward for the next hundred years are based mainly on hearsay, as best befits legend, dream, and symbol.

The horse family originated in the Americas some 60 million or so years ago, and after spreading into the Old World became extinct in America at the close of the last period of glaciation, the Pleistocene, about 15,000

unusual, that a welcoming Lagunero chieftain rode forth from his village on horseback. The Indians got their first horses from the mayordomos of Spanish ranches and missions, who trained Indians as vaqueros in spite of occasional security regulations forbidding such a dangerous practice—dangerous because when an occasional Indian serf escaped he took that new secret weapon, his horse, with him.

In the late 1600's La Salle found horses common among the people of what is now eastern Texas, and by the 1700's new breeds were being developed in various Indian communities from coast to coast, from the "most beautiful and sprightly" Chickasaw horse in Mississippi and environs to the Appaloosa bred by the Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Palouse people of the far Northwest. A Virginia gentleman named Patrick Henry bought a Spanish horse from New Mexico, doubtless delivered across the plains by Pawnees, the great Santa Fe traders of

rounding up the scrubby Texas mustangs known at that time as Opelousas. Some say he also did a little spying along the way for, among others, Thomas Jefferson—Texas at that time being Spanish territory. Jefferson, though, wrote Nolan most innocently, in 1798, asking for data on the "large herds of horses in a wild state, in the country west of the Mississippi. . . . You will render to natural history a very acceptable service if you will enable our Philosophical Society to add so interesting a chapter to the history of this animal. . . ."

From long before Jefferson's time to the present day there's been considerable debate about the breeding, or lack of it, of our "native" Western wild horses, and over the question of what constitutes a "wild" horse anyway—in other words, as with any of our natural resources, what is it "worth" and who can claim it?

Spanish horses in the West and in Florida were "more Barb than any-

thing else" (in the words of the foremost authority, Angel Cabrera), and the Barb was a smallish, agile, deepbodied close-coupled critter with a good topline, rounded croup and tail set low (the same expert still talking), carrying some touches of Arabian blood but very distinct from the dishfaced, delicate-muzzled Arabian.

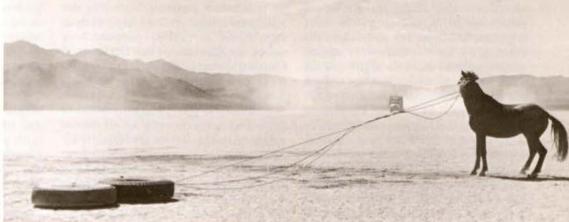
To this base came admixtures from all the other hundred-and-one varieties, imported and locally developed, from Basque and Norman horses of early French coureurs de bois to English thoroughbreds to the localized Virginia specialization known as quarter horses (i.e., bred to race a quartermile), and many more. The mixing was sometimes long-range and full-tilt, as

the commonest type has usually been described as small, wiry, heavy-headed ("the head large and not proportionate with the neck," wrote a French traveler in Texas in the 1700's), quick, smart, and incredibly hard and durable, with more bottom to the hand of height than anything else in a hide.

Romantic tales of the noble beasts of the prairie have always been more than counterbalanced by reports of wild mustangs that were ugly to look at, chronically underfed, and undersized, if not dwarfed and deformed, by "inbreeding." Several hundred years ago when I was a little kid in New Mexico, an Arizona cowboy told us about a locked-in box canyon someplace in the Arizona Strip country the august House Committee on the Judiciary in 1959, when reporting out the famous Wild Horse Annie Law designed to protect wild horses from inhumane roundup methods. "The word 'wild' refers to horses and burros existing in a wild or free state on public lands. . . . It would be noted that this classification does not rest upon the origins of the horses in terms of bloodlines or similar technical limitations. . . . "

This leaves a blurred area of privately owned range-bred horses whose owners haven't happened to get around to branding them-or in many cases to paying grazing fees for them -sometimes mixed in with wild horses on the public range. The Bu-





Photos by Gus Bundy

when a gang of mountain-man horse thieves galloped some 3,000 stolen California horses eastward over the Old Spanish Trail in 1849 and lost nearly all of them along the way in Nevada and Utah, country still noted today for mustang hideouts.

When the farming frontier moved west in the 19th Century, "coldblooded" draft stock came to the range in large numbers - Teddy Roosevelt introduced classy but strapping French coach horses on his Dakota ranch-but above all the great little Morgan was brought out from Vermont, about the soundest, sensiblest, nicest using citizen of the horse nation to be found, as handy as a pocket in a shirt around the kind of poor little ranch that filled up the West, where a man might have to make a crop and tail down a brush-popping steer all with the same little horse.

Such a mingled ancestry as this means that wild horses can and do come in any size or conformation, but where he had seen full-grown horses no bigger than puppy dogs and tiny deer that could stand on the palm of your hand, with antlers like bits of twig. My brother and I were charmed by the picture and took it for truth, as maybe it was.

There's much talk about the get of the old Spanish horses having one less vertebra in the backbone-23 instead of the usual 24. More likely this might mean an Arabian graft somewhere in the family tree, Arabians generally bearing this short-backed distinction. It's not too uncommon in Morgans also, giving some partial clue to their unknown forebears. An ancient legend says the Arabian breed was founded in a cross with the onager, a wild horse of Asia (often called, erroneously, a wild ass) that was once, long ago, domesticated for a time-and from the prepotent onager came the 23-vertebrae back.

As for what defines a wild horse: a wild horse is a horse that is wild, said reau of Land Management range chief for Oregon recently reported, for one example, that an estimated 1,000 horses were grazing certain BLM lands in his district-possibly 850 of them privately owned but trespassing without permit. Nor, of course, does wild horse country have to be public land. Nobody knows how many wild horses may be running free on various Indian reservations (some of the last wild horses left in Arizona are on the Pima-Maricopa reservation along the Gila River, where a six-mile-square refuge, a private project organized by the U.S. Humane Society, is being planned for them). There are other large landowners, such as some nonagricultural industries, who don't object to wild horses on their landscape, Curtiss-Wright, for one, in western Nevada, or the California Portland Cement Company with land in California's Tehachapi Mountains, where numerous bands of wild horses, maybe several hundred head, paw deep

snow for winter browse and run like life itself through the oak-dappled springtimes no more than a hundred miles north of the living (or dying) hell that is smogbound, traffic-choked Los Angeles.

Horses born wild, owned or unowned, played a running role of sorts in the winning and losing of the West. Trap corrals were common features of the landscape in frontier days in wild horse country, and besides businesslike use by grownups, many a kid, Indian and white, trapped a few likely foals and raised up his own (sometimes dearly beloved) mustang saddle string.

But when the country began to grow money, stockmen came to regard poor crossbred horses, ownerless or otherwise, as range robbers, helping themselves to water and grass that could otherwise be turned to profit. State legislatures obediently authorized the destruction of "unclaimed" horses, cattlemen shot them on sight and organized county-wide roundups to "get rid of . . . this serious menace to the public range," as Walker D. Wyman summed up their sentiments in his The Wild Horse of the West. Many a rider collected a bounty from the boss for bringing in horsehides or even horseears, and one old timer wrote of how "after a snow fall ten of us went out and run 250 over the ledge killing all as they fell 300 feet, got them to milling on the edge of the bluff till they got on sleek rocks covered with snow and all slid off. . . . "

When the depression of the early 1890's hit the cattle business, "it was impossible," so said later the Breeder's Gazette, "to get any sort of a remunerative price for a range-bred horse . . . Then an enterprising genius established a cannery in Oregon and thousands of horses were slaughtered and made up into salt meat for export. From \$1 to \$2.50 was paid per head and the owners thought themselves lucky to get so much. . . ." Even at these prices this plant went broke because of the shipping costs. The railroads did cooperate with the chickenfeed industry that got under way in California in the 1920's (grinding up horsemeat for chickenfeed) by offering a special "chickenfeed rate" for their horse shipments, with the agreement that at this special rate the railroads would have no obligation to give the chickenfeed horses humane treatment, that is, feed, water, or rest

en route. Under this deal horses were bought for one cent a pound, trackside loading-pen delivery as far east as the Dakotas. They must have had some trip west.

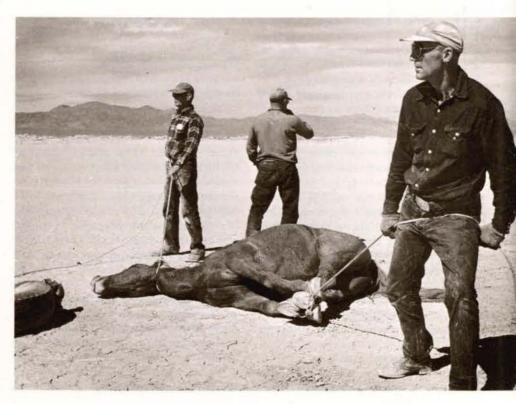
Money, goes an old farm saying, is the crop that kills the land, and by the end of the 1920's the condition of the public range, wrung dry for every nickel it had in it, "was a national scandal," in the words of a history prepared in 1968 for a Congressional commission reviewing public land laws. The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934, written by the stockmen themselves, applied some controls to the use of the public lands with the aim of keeping them from getting worn out while still giving the utmost in dollar yield. To get this utmost all predators preying on the dollar yield obviously should be eradicated, certainly including the wild horse, who "brings in no return, and serves no useful purpose," as stated the director of the Division of Grazing set up in the Interior Department to operate the Taylor Grazing Act.

The federal government thereupon joined with ranchers in an all-out attempt at wild horse eradication by rifle, roundup, and even machine gun. The daughter of an Arizona Strip rancher remembers from her child-hood the panicked mustangs hung up in barbed wire, cut literally to rib-

bons by the wire and the guns, "such an ugly sad thing to see." In certain regions the Bureau of Land Management, currently administrator of the Taylor Grazing Act, hired hunters expressly to hunt down wild horses.

Pet food "processing" came along as a major business (it's a billion dollar business today) just in time to become the strongest ally in this liquidation project. Packers pay six or seven cents a pound for live horses delivered at the plant, meaning \$50 or \$60 a head for average-sized wild stuff. Most of the horsemeat horses are old used-up dobbins or privately owned culls. But the big attraction of the wild horses is they're absolutely free. It doesn't take much of a computer to see that a hundred or two hundred head put five or ten grand in your pocket. Even so, the delivery is costly and it does require a sizeable bunch of horses to make a really profitable gather, more than the few head at a time produced by a trap corral at a water hole.

Large-scale roundups by truck and airplane offered one answer—a rough and bloody answer, the horses insane with panic, plenty of violent injuries, especially if they've been stampeded (as they often are) by shotgun fire from the airplane. A truck shipment of such horses might jam a couple of dozen bleeding and terror stricken



animals into space for six, with one or two down and trampled, here or there a splintered leg or a hoof torn off or a ripped belly trailing a loop of guts, perhaps one with half his face shot away. The packing houses pay only for live delivery but the condition, as long as the meat is still in fact alive, is immaterial.

That there are any wild horses at all left outside the dogfood canneries may be credited in at least some measure to the determined career of a Reno, Nevada, secretary named Velma Johnston, better known as Wild Horse Annie. A horsewoman who had owned, loved, and ridden mustangs of her own, Mrs. Johnston happened to see, some 20 years or so ago, one of those truckloads of wild horses bound for the slaughterhouse. Wild Horse Annie was born at that moment and has been on the warpath ever since.

She stormed up public sentiment that persuaded her county in Nevada to outlaw wild horse drives by airplane or motor vehicle (1952), persuaded the state of Nevada to pass a similar law (1955), and persuaded the United States Congress to pass a similar law (1959).

These laws look pretty on the books but have never been enforced. No one anywhere has ever yet been convicted under any of the Wild Horse Annie Laws, while airborne roundups go merrily and bloodily on—being still technically legal for a private owner ostensibly gathering his privately owned stock from the open range, and can he help it if a few wild horses insist on coming along?

So Wild Horse Annie, with the organization she formed, the ISPMB (International Society for the Protection of Mustangs and Burros) attacked from two new angles. First, to put a crimp in dogfood mustanging in the Nevada area at least, the organization helped California state senator Anthony G. Beilenson put through a new law in the summer of 1970 prohibiting the sale of wild horses in whole or in part, alive or dead, in California, and since nearly all dogfood mustangs from Nevada have gone to packing plants in California, this could take some of the jingle out of the business thereabouts. Secondly, the ISPMB pushed for national legislation to give wild horses some actual and effective protection, resulting in the new law of December, 1971. The gist of this law requires that "bands of wild freeroaming horses and burros shall be protected from capture, branding, harassment, or death... as an integral part of the natural system of the public lands" and besides maintaining refuge ranges the Interior Department (and the Agriculture Department where National Forest Lands are concerned) shall "protect and manage wild freeroaming horses and burros as a component of the public lands... in such a way as to achieve and maintain a thriving, natural, and ecological balance among fauna and flora on the range..."

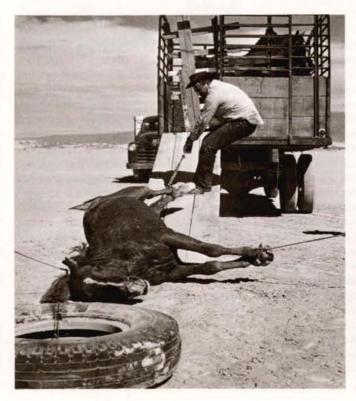
But recalling the total nonenforcement of all previous protective laws, and recognizing that the new law is particularly weak in funding for enforcement, Wild Horse Annie and associates are by no means resting their case on this apparent victory. They have instead formed a new organization, known as WHOA! (Wild Horse Organized Assistance, Inc.), a foundation that will assist in providing surveillance patrols, research and field studies, and related activities designed to insure the effectiveness of the new law.

Mrs. Johnston is gracious, softspoken, a gentlewoman, a lady, except you wouldn't believe a gentlewoman, a lady, could possess so much moxie and plain persistent toughness. Next to a Mormon steak she might just be the toughest article in the West.

Problems in genuine wild horse protection are immensely complex. Nobody knows this better than Wild Horse Annie and her co-workers, particularly her close associate, Dr. Michael Pontrelli, Nevada wildlife biologist and a principal adviser in drafting the new wild horse law. Wild horses not being "game" animals, how to manage them under "game management" programs? The quality of wildness being the critical issue, how to effect reasonable controls if they are still to remain wild?

No one denies that wild horse herds should be kept within certain limits, but what limits? What controls would be "reasonable" controls? Strict and severe, like wiping them out, say many ranchers, if we don't want to find ourselves up to our cowlicks in wild horses. And what about range damage from the wild horses, what might be its actual cost? Plenty, say plenty of the same ranchers—"everybody knows" wild horses wreck wells with their horseplay, paw up springs, ruin graze worse than sheep.

The first necessity is serious study of wildhorse habits, lifeways, population, and range. Dr. Pontrelli instituted a program of mustang research at the University of Nevada that attracted national interest, with evidence, for example, that wild horses, like many



Dog-food canneries demand delivery of live borse flesh, but the "harvesting" of free mustangs is a cruel and bloody enterprise. Although recent California legislation banning the use of feral borse flesh bas stifled the practice, some enemies of the wild borse work to destroy the breed by the depraved method of shooting them in the belly which produces a lingering, agonizing death days later.

other forms of wildlife, seem to follow in some mysterious manner some sort of population control, which might indicate a need for less "management" than has been supposed. Experts generally suspect that horses may be more useful in reseeding range than harmful in damaging it, and that far from wrecking wells and springs are more likely to improve them by pawing them out, in some instances thereby rendering them more useful to other stock. Solid answers to all these questions are needed, but unfortunately the mustang research project at the University of Nevada was discontinued when, at the height of the wild horse controversy in Nevada in 1971, Dr. Pontrelli was summarily fired.

Wild horse refuges or reserves, several of which have been set up during the last ten years in response to public pressure, are a necessary measure but only a partial answer. Those who want to see the public lands devoid of all wildness and inhabited exclusively by dollars would like nothing better than to lock up a few mustangs in the least profitable areas, to be designated sanctuaries, and then exterminate the rest. And there are complex difficulties in managing reserves, or even managing to keep them reserved, as in the case of the first (established in 1962) and still the largest refuge, 435,000 acres in the backyard of the vast Nellis Air Force Base Bombing and Gunnery Range near Las Vegas, Nevada. The Nellis refuge was set aside for wild horses and wildness exclusively, but in fact is said to be populated less by wild horses than by the cattle of various of the ranchers thereabouts-even though neighboring ranchers have been paid a fair piece of change (something more than a half million dollars altogether) to surrender grazing permits and keep their cows out. A federal court injunction was issued in 1964 ordering the removal of illegal cattle from the wild horse refuge but the cattle, and perhaps some of the ranchers, evidently can't read. The Nellis wild horse refuge is therefore to date something of a horse laugh. The public agencies involved say they have done all they can -while complaint after complaint is filed in vain against continuing viola-

Not all ranchers, by any means, are hostile to wild horses. The Pryor Mountain refuge, northeast of Yellowstone National Park, was set aside largely as the result of a long fight to save Pryor Mountain wild horses put up by 80-year-old Bessie Tillett and her sons, Royce and Lloyd, a ranching family in the Pryors from early times —Mrs. Tillett's parents settled there less than 20 years after General Custer's celebrated error, which took place over the next ridge east.

Stockmen, though, and particularly operators of the giant agro-industrial complexes that have become the "principal users" of the public domain, are in the forefront of opposition to effective wild horse protection. Giant ranches customarily include grazing rights to giant tracts of public lands, paid for by grazing fees that are a tiny



fraction of the land's actual value as pasturage. Some 700 giant ranchers, out of a total of 14,000 Bureau of Land Management permittees, account for more than 50 percent of the public grazing lands. The use of these public lands amounts to a rich subsidy given by the public to the agro-industrialist who in many cases has been enriched thereby for many years, and not unnaturally has come to regard the public lands rather as his private property. The livestock industry's argument is simply that the public must decide whether it wants to give up a percentage of its groceries for the thrill of knowing some hammer-headed cayuse is somewhere up there waiting for the grass to put out so he can grab it. But since only one percent of our food beef, and six percent of sheep, come

off the public lands, obviously the food production of said lands can't be critically important to the general public, although perhaps quite important to those 700 principal permittees.

The previously mentioned Public Land Law Review Commission, set up by Congress to devise guidelines for future public land policy, was assisted by an advisory council made up of spokesmen for the sheep and cattle business, state wildlife management agencies, timber, mining, utilities, banking, oil, and so on through the "principal users," the business interests of the western states. The commission spent six years studying the use of our public lands during our two centuries as a nation and brought in a report in the summer of 1970 recommending that we continue to use the public lands pretty much as we always have-for the highest dollar value for the biggest business interests.

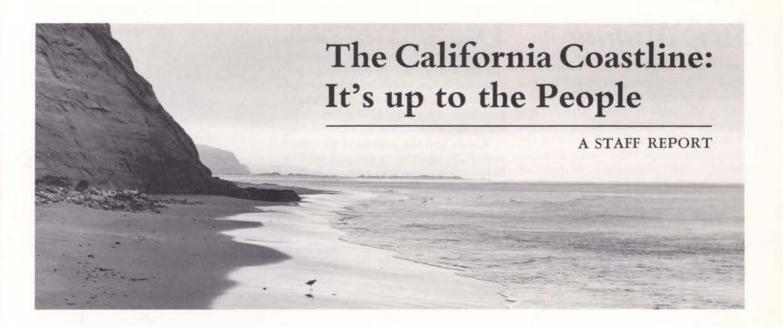
A history of public land law, its principal author the best expert available, Paul Wallace Gates of Cornell University, was prepared for the commissions's guidance and was in large part an indictment of the merciless ravaging of our land in the past by big business for the big dollar—to which the commission responded with its report recommending pretty much more of the same.

The report engendered a great deal of protest, repeating the argument no one nowadays seems to disagree with out loud but few seem prepared to put into action, that our public resources have important values beyond what can be counted in dollars, and that it is explosively urgent to replace the mindless, money-hungry plundering of the looted past and polluted present with real conservation, the honestly balanced real conservation essential to our future if we're going to have one.

It may be that the last remaining wild horse bands symbolize better than anything else this strictly non-commercial area of spiritual value in what is left of our outdoors. Orthodox wildlife, as any state's fish and game department loudly proclaims at budget time, is a valuable economic asset. So is recreational use, in some tourist states a leading industry. But the wild horse, if he's not going to be turned into dog food, really is worthless, truly worthless, as the man said.

There is no question, it should be noted, of preserving an endangered

Continued on page 37



N THE November 7th ballot, Californians will have the opportunity to vote into law Proposition 20, an initiative measure that provides protection to the California coast from further development of a socially or ecologically undesirable character until a comprehensive California Coastal Zone Conservation Plan can be adopted by the state legislature in 1976. It has been necessary to carry this act to the people in the form of a popular initiative because the fast-buck pushers of the Pacific shore have been able to bottle up coastal protection bills in the state senate since 1970.

The Sierra Club is providing its unqualified support of Proposition 20which is not just another well-meaning environmental act, but is the distillation of several years of legislative give-and-take. This initiative is a carefully and thoughtfully worked out measure that would probably pass through the legislature right over the protests of special interest groups and their kept politicians if it could ever break through to an honest floor vote. There is not, in other words, any doubt that some day a bill like this one will be passed. But time is running out for the California coast and it has become necessary for the people to take the initiative by presenting Proposition 20. It is of the utmost importance that Sierra Club members in California not only rally behind this initiative measure, but also assist in rounding up the votes needed to save the shoreline now.

Proposition 20 will create a 12member California Coastal Zone Commission, together with the decentralized planning initiative of six regional commissions having a membership balanced equally between elected representatives of the cities and counties of their regions and "public members" (i.e., citizens who have no conflict-of-interest relationship to coastal planning) who would be appointed alternately by the governor, the Senate Rules Committee, and the Speaker of the Assembly. The central commission and the regional commissions would be given three years and \$5 million to come up with a California Coastal Zone Conservation Plan that would establish policies and regulations for coastal use from the sea to the crest of the first mountain range and throughout the intervening watersheds (except in south coast areas, where the watershed is more than five miles from the coast). The plan would move from the regional councils to the state council to the legislature for final approval.

During the period that the plan is being developed, the state commission and the regional commissions will control permits for all new development-from tree cutting to oil drilling to subdivision to resort construction except in the case of reasonable (up to \$7,500) improvements of singlefamily residences. Permit applications obviously in line with the general development of the plan should be easily granted; useful coastal improvement will not be suspended (even to the building of power plants in acceptable locations); anyone claiming real injury as the result of decisions by

the commissions will have the usual recourse to law (as in the case of city and county planning and zoning ordinances). What will happen is that speculative development will be subjected to the closest scrutiny, and that proposals at obvious variance with the long-term public interest will have little chance of being rammed through while the public plan is still in the making. It is this feature of Proposition 20 that scares the wits out of the speculators. They know that a plan is coming sometime, but they want to stave off any kind of public control until they can turn their profits.

Proposition 20 is a needed law because it is absolutely impossible for some 15 counties and 45 cities along the coast to make all of their various plans and regulations amount to any coherent plan for coastal use. Some local governments are doing a fine job—and *local* ordinances will take precedence over the regional and state commissions when they are tougher—but most have too many special interest pressures on them to act effectively.

Proposition 20 is a needed law because California's coastline is rapidly being sealed off from public access. Soon there may be only crowded public strips for most of us and expansive strips for those who can afford to hire an architect for the second home. Some funny figures are going to be bandied about in this Proposition 20 campaign, including such misleading quotations as that which tells us that 65 percent of the coast is undeveloped and that 54 percent is in public owner-

Continued on page 37

# Strip Mining

# The Biggest Ripoff

PETER BORELLI

O CONSERVATIONISTS oppose all strip mining? If strip mining means destroying or diminishing the availability of public and private land for recreational, commercial, industrial, agricultural and forestry purposes, by causing erosion, landslides and subsidence, by contributing to floods and the pollution of waters and air, by destroying fish and wildlife habitat and impairing natural beauty, by frustrating efforts to conserve soil, water and other natural resources, by destroying public and private property and by causing hazards to life and property-then conservationists most certainly oppose strip mining.

If strip mining means scalped hillsides, jumbled mounds of debris, pools of stagnant water, burning coal wastes, slabs of slate and sandstone, shattered tree trunks, rivers and streams choked with sediment and destroyed by acid yellow water-then conservationists are opposed to strip

mining.

If strip mining means desolation and ruin and waste-then conservationists are opposed to strip mining.

If strip mining means contempt for the land and the people-then conservationists oppose strip mining.

Conservationists and the public at large are not convinced that there is any other way of strip mining for coal. They know that coal companies have turned to the perverted technology of strip mining in recent years primarily because it is cheaper to strip mine than to deep mine. And they fear that the mayhem that has so disfigured the face of Appalachia and the spirit of its people will be allowed to spread throughout the country like a cancer.

Given the enormous projected demand for coal and today's technology, they have good reason to be concerned. Coal is by no means a scarce resource. U.S. reserves alone are estimated to be in excess of 3 trillion tons, of which, 671 billion tons have been specifically located. But of these coal reserves, the geological survey estimates that 128 billion tons are now obtainable by strip mining. This does not mean that this coal can only be strip mined but the spectre of that possibility represents a grave problem. Nor does it mean that if strip mining were prohibited altogether there would not be abundant reserves available by advanced, innovative underground mining methods. Nevertheless, the inherent economic attraction of strip



ypt, which is slowly chewing its way across the face of Ohio, is the property of the Hanna Coal Company.



Photo by Robert J. Seljan

mining (the "diseconomics" of scale) continues to make this situation a grim reality.

Consider the prospect: the Geological Survey estimated in 1970 that a total of 2,450 square miles of land has already been ravaged by strip mining in this country. Given present production practices and projected demand, some 4,287 square miles will be taken by stripping by 1980. That is the equivalent of four-fifths of the entire state of Connecticut. If the rest of what is now thought to be recoverable strip coal is taken, 71,000 square miles, the combined size of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, would be turned upside down. The prospect of such geologic upheaval makes any discussion of "conservation and coal mining" academic, for given the extant technology, regulations, controls and corporate motivations the two are mutually exclusive.

The public's experience with strip mining has made it plain that the present way we gouge the land for coal is an enterprise that is beyond effective public control. Most states, even those with relatively strong regulations, have not begun to substitute a sense of the total public interest for the will of the private and enormously powerful coal companies. The public is without a voice in controlling strip mining. The federal government has no regulatory program, although some weak versions are under Congressional consideration. Moreover, the government itself, through the coal purchases of the Tennessee Valley Authority and through the leasing practices of the Interior Department is actually spreading and increasing strip mining. The web of energy policies that directly affects coal markets is a tool of convenience for the energy companies, not a coherent policy designed to produce power at reasonable and equitable cost.

A very basic part of the problem is that the damage caused by strip mining extends well beyond the boundaries of the actual mining areas. This is true of contour stripping in mountainous regions in particular. Lands affected by mountain stripping include: those areas isolated above strip mines and cut off from use; those lands directly

Peter Borrelli is the Sierra Club's Eastern Regional Representative. His article is based on a speech given at a seminar on conservation and coal mining sponsored by Ohio University in August. below the mined area which are subject to land slides and continued sedimentation; and those lands directly opposite the strip mine which are affected in an esthetic sense. The destruction of watersheds also extends the harmful effects of strip mining. According to a recent study, contamination caused by both deep and surface mining has substantially altered the water quality of some 10,500 miles of streams, reducing or eliminating aquatic life. Annual erosion losses from freshly-stripped areas in Appalachia are as high as 27,000 tons per square mile, or up to 1,000 times greater than for undisturbed lands.

The Appalachian Regional Commission has illustrated the "multiplier effect" of mountain stripping with a series of high-level aerial photographs. One area representative of the problem is that north of Stone Mountain near the town of Appalachia in southwestern Virginia. The land stripped in this area (see photograph) represents about seven percent of the land area. The commission, however, noting that mountain stripping is not concentrated in a specific area, but rather is a ribbon of mining activity banding the mountains, estimated that an additional 69 percent of the land area is affected. Thus we find that this community is virtually hemmed in by mines, with nearly 76 percent of the land area affected by mining. The American Mining Congress and the interests they represent assume no responsibility-legal or moral-for the total impact of this industrial vandalism. Case in point: among its recent suggested amendments to the federal legislation now pending is a proposal to limit the jurisdiction of the legislation to only those lands "actually disturbed by mining activities." The residents of this derelict landscape are not fooled. They know their land is dying. They know that reclamation is a lie.

The total economic and social costs associated with strip mining are for the most part unknown. The reason for this is quite simple: American mining practices have been traditionally based upon exploitation, not conservation. To understand the degree of this exploitation consider how little is spent to protect the environment. Coal can be strip-mined at an average cost of about \$1.50 per ton less than deep-mined coal, though coal mined by both methods sells for about the

same amount. The strip-mined coal is cheaper largely because coal producers are getting away with little reclamation work. And as for the "hidden costs" economists like to talk about, they are measured out in daily doses to the innocent victims of this corporate numbers game.

The money the industry does spend to cover up its mess averages about \$300 to \$600 per acre. (TVA estimates the costs to be as low as \$200 to \$500 per acre.) Based on a productivity of 3,500 to 5,000 tons per acre (common in the East), this range of costs implies an added charge of about 10 cents per ton. If we were to increase the cost of reclamation by a whole order of magnitude—to the \$3,000 to \$6,000 range—strip-mined coal would in most cases maintain its competitive position with respect to deep-mined coal.

Here in Ohio and elsewhere where mining conditions are relatively benign owing to the general topography and geology of the region, it is somewhat encouraging to sometimes find a more realistic economic commitment to reclaiming the land. The commitment, however, is not widespread as is evidenced by the American Mining Congress' attitude with respect to the pending federal legislation. The AMC, for example, considers proposals for modest bonding requirements for the establishment of a National Reclamation Fund to be burdensome and excessive. The industry has been anxious to remind us that the consumers ultimately will bear the cost of protecting the environment, but it has been reluctant to make the new economics part of law or policy.

There is no doubt in my mind that there are sincere, honorable men who given time, intelligence and experience could prevent this ruin. But at present the plunder outweighs the stewardship. The standards of individual coal operators may be praiseworthy and the subject for honest appraisal, but the standard of the handful of rich corporations controlling this industry is profit. Stewardship is not synonymous with names like Consolidation Coal, Peabody, Island Creek, Pittston. Nor is it synonymous with giant corporate entities such as Continental Oil, Kennecott Copper or Occidental Petroleum, which now dominate the entire energy industry.

The companies that strip mine unregulated by federal law are the same companies that deep mine regulated by federal law. And these same companies have acquired the worst record of disregard for human value of all the world's leading coal producers. How much human tragedy and environmental disaster does it take to see the truth?

Consolidation Coal calls itself "the responsible company." During the first six months of 1972, however, Bureau of Mines inspectors found thousands of violations of the 1969 Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, and in 104 cases the violations were serious enough to warrant ordering all the men out of the mines. In four years 165 miners have died in Consol mines. That same "responsible" company is the top strip-mined coal producer in the U.S. "They are," also, according to one senior Bureau of Mines official, "the same arrogant bastards as always, and they would rather spend their money wheeling and dealing in Washington than cleaning up their mines."

The number four producer of stripmined coal is the Pittston Company. Recently it informed its stockholders that "throughout the company at all operating levels we have active programs designed to protect the environment." In Logan County, West Virginia, the active program involved building a dam on Buffalo Creek out of slime on a foundation of dead trees, bushes, loose rocks and mine refuse. The dam could not hold, did not hold and cost the lives of at least 118 persons. The stockholders of the Pittston Company have been told that the company is "heavily committed to natural resources . . . aware of our responsibility to preserve the air, water and land we use." The survivors of the flood have been told that what happened at Buffalo Creek "was an act of God."

These same "responsible" companies are working hard toward passage of a so-called comprehensive and equitable surface mining law. While we gather here in good faith to discuss objectively and without passion such things as hydrology and geology of strip mining, the American Mining Congress and the National Coal Association are lobbying Congress with more than 100 amendments to the pending legislation. The bills being considered are too tough, they argue. "Past suspension of a permit or license

Continued on page 33



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#### Floor of the Sky: The Great Plains

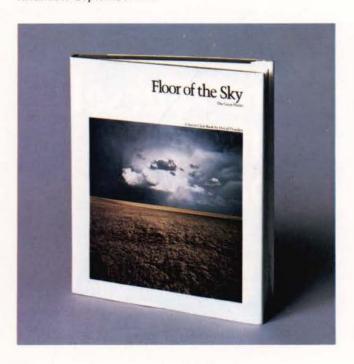
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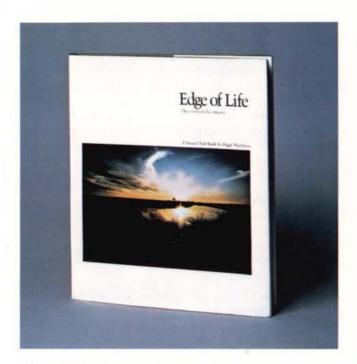


David Plowder

Misunderstood and unappreciated, the Great Plains represent the most left-behind land form in the United States. People have been hurrying across the plains for 120 years, often confusing them with the long-grass prairie to the east, always eager to leave both regions for the gold and glamour of the transmontane West. Yet to such a sensitive eye as David Plowden's, there is more than enough to understand and appreciate between the ninety-eighth meridian and the Rocky Mountain wall. For here is a piece of authentic America-a raw country dominated like none other by the awesome beauty of the sky, a place of short grass and tall grain, of windmills silhouetted against rain clouds, or pronghorns and prairie dogs, on indomitable people living out their lives in Broken Bow or Wild Horse or Plentywood or Last Chance or Sundown. With notebook and Hasselblad, Plowden has pieced these essential elements into a powerful photographic and reportorial mosaic of the past and present of the Great American Plains.

Floor of the Sky is more than a loving tribute to this forgotten landscape. It is also a transcript of man's unending war against nature. Almost from the time of the earliest buffalo hunters and sodbusters, the plains have been subjected to chronic abuse: rangeland overgrazed, semiarid soils depleted by humid-country farming techniques, aquifers mined, species slaughtered. Now, as the introduction to this volume points out, agricultural irresponsibility is to be replaced in the northern plains by industrial folly as plans proceed to strip mine the region's coal deposits.

David Plowden is the author-photographer of The Hand of Man on American and A Farewell to Steam. His photographs have appeared in Life, Newsweek, and Audubon, among other periodicals.



Edge of Life: The World of the Estuary

By Peggy Wayburn A Landform Book (10½" by 12") 36 full color photographs by Dennis Stock Cloth. 144 pages. Available November 25. Regular price: \$14.95 / Member's price: \$12.95

The estuary is a fascinating land form, complex, dynamic, and full of magic. Maps rarely capture its character. A good atlas shows long narrow islands lying parallel to our southeast coast, for instance, but fails to hint of the vast marshlands and tidal flats that lie behind them. A small-scale map of Alaska hardly conveys the fact that two-thirds of its coastline is estuarine.

All this is not entirely the fault of the mapmaker, for an estuary is difficult to delineate. Its margins, as may be seen readily from the air, are likely to be curiously illdefined. Unlike the clean-cut shore of sandy beaches outlined by a white curve of surf, its shoreline is more likely blurred. And the estuary may look entirely different at high tide and low tide; what appears in the morning to be a vast wetland of mud and marsh braided through with channels of shining water may be seen in the afternoon as a widespread shallow bay. This is because rivers (except in fjords) rarely enter the sea directly or tidily: they sprawl out over the land, scoop out bays, or butt against spits or barrier sand bars. And the sea is never still. The estuary, being the place where these two active landforms encounter one another, is itself in a state of never-ending change....

From the vantage of a small slow-moving boat (preferably silent), however, one gets a different view of the estuary. Then the channels offer pathways from the ocean to the river and higher land.... And in almost any estuary one feels in the quieter reaches the deep mysterious rhythm—the relentless, elemental, lift and drop—of the tide. But not many people view the estuaries from small slow-moving, silent boats....Too often we approach our estuaries as the ancient Egyptian assessors did and, finding them difficult to travel, we avoid them. Then we turn to maps, or look down from a plane, or more recently, we form conclusions from what we see out a car window as we race across a seemingly monotonous swampland on a freeway built on fill.

It is small wonder, then, that we so often consider our estuaries useless, even unpleasant places, "unfit for human habitation" and waiting to be put to some good use. On this assumption, we have diked and drained—and destroyed—a great many of our estuaries, "reclaiming" them for farmland or pastures or subdivisions. We have dredged countless others for harbors of various kinds, and rimmed their shores with concrete. We have also used them, whenever convenient, as cesspools for the cities that we have built around them, and we have piled our solid garbage high on the "wasteland" of their marshes.

And why not, one may well ask? Why not put the estuary to good human use as we do the rest of the earth? What is so special about this particular land form? Why should we leave it alone or give it particular care?

The answers pour out almost too fast. Because the estuary is the most naturally productive place on earth. Because it is a trap for nutrients essential to life. Because it is a place where these nutrients are put to work, exchanged and cycled and employed by many life forms. Because it is a spawning ground, a nursery, and a home to many creatures of the sea. Because we, ourselves, depend upon many of these creatures for our food. Because it is a place where our water and the air we breathe are naturally cleansed. Because it has played a vital role in the evolution of many different forms of life. Because, indeed, life itself may first have sparked into being in the estuary and been nurtured there. From the Prologue



ennis Stock

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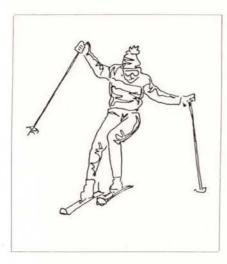
Some 200 trail-tested recipes for those traveling by shank's mare, raft, canoe, pack animal or dog sled. Or just pacifying palates in the old backyard.

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Wilderness Skiing

By Lito Tejada-Flores and Allen Steck Totebook. Sketches by Tejada-Flores. 276 pages Regular price: \$6.95/ Member's price: \$5.50 Available November 1.

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11. Endless Winter

(Images of Wilderness Skiing)

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A. Lists, Tables, and Charts

B. Bibliography

C. Useful Addresses



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Dennis Stock is the author-photographer of Jazz Street and California Trip. His photographs appear also in

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"I first saw Clyde standing in the sun in front of Glacier Lodge, a jut-jawed, blue-eyed, ruddy complexioned, animated block of granite, somewhat resembling a soldier—mainly, I think, because of his campaign hat, which never (as I learned) left his head. My impression was that here was a man who had made up his mind what he had to do and would never swerve from his objectives. But, I asked myself, 'How could a man with a build like Norman's be such a good mountain climber?' I was soon to find out..."

From the prologue by Jules Eichorn

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87156-064-x	Member's price \$3.40. MOUNTAINEER'S GUIDE TO THE HIGH SIERRA, Smatko & Voge, Totebook. \$7.95. Member's price \$6.95.	
	BATTLEBOOKS (PAPER)	
87156-059-3 87156-055-0	STRIPPING, Stacks, Battlebook. \$2.25. Member's price \$2.00. ENERGY, Holdren & Herrera. \$2.75. Member's price \$2.50.	\$
87156-054-2 87156-050-x	CLEARCUT, Wood. \$2.75. Member's price \$2.50. MERCURY, K. and P. Montague. \$2.25. Member's price \$2.00.	
87156-046-1 87156-056-9	OIL ON ICE, Brown. \$1.95. Member's price \$1.80. OILSPILL, Marx. \$2.75. Member's price \$2.50.	

#### CLOTH

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87156-043-7 87156-016-x 87156-017-8 87156-030-5 87156-018-6 87156-019-4 87156-026-7 87156-053-4	Member's price \$7.50.	r. \$15.00. Member's price \$12.50.  ND OF REDWOOD CREEK, Leydet. \$8.50.  A, Colby, ed. \$4.95. Member's price \$4.25.  Member's price \$6.95.  us. ed. \$5.95. Member's price \$5.00.  Jones. \$10.00. Member's price \$7.95.	
	GUI	DES	
87156-041-0 87156-040-2 87156-022-4 87156-025-9	ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO YOSEMITE, MANUAL OF SKI MOUNTAINEERING	R BURRO, Brower. \$3.50. Member's price \$3.00 V. & A. Adams. Paper. \$3.95. Member's price , Brower, ed. \$4.95. Member's price \$4.20. TRAIL, Starr. Paper. \$2.00. Member's price \$1.	<b>\$</b> 3.40.
	WILDERNI	ESS SERIES	
87156-036-4 87156-035-6 87156-044-5 87156-039-9	WILDERNESS: AMERICA'S LIVING HI WILDERNESS IN A CHANGING WOR WILDERNESS: THE EDGE OF KNOWI WILDERNESS AND THE QUALITY OF	ERITAGE. \$5.75. Member's price \$4.80. LD. \$5.75. Member's price \$4.80. LEDGE. \$6.50. Member's price \$5.50.	
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# The Exhibit Format Series

Fourteen exquisite volumes that deserve a place under every Christmas tree.

For a decade, the Sierra Club's Exhibit Format Series has reflected the highest level of craftsmanship in the bookmaking arts. Each big volume (10½" by 13¾") is sumptuously illustrated, meticulously lithographed and bound in a style calculated to celebrate the beauty and wonder of America's wild places.

**Slickrock.** By Edward Abbey and Philip Hyde. 144 pages. Regular price: \$27.50/Member's price: \$24.00

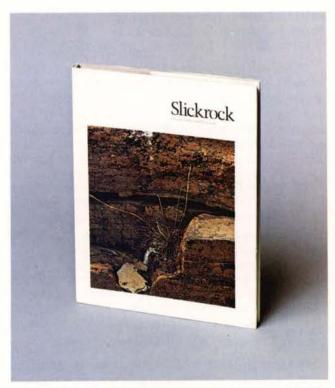
Twenty-second in the award-winning series and "...both the most spectacular and the most militant one yet" (Roger Jellinek, *The New York Times*), *Slickrock* celebrates the endangered wildlands of Southeast Utah with 68 striking full color photographs by Hyde and a brilliant, biting essay by Abbey. "...The most beautiful of that beautiful series...Its photography, color reproduction, layout and printing are nothing less than superlative, while its text is poetic, anecdotal, vigorous, often agry, always informed..." (Wallace Stegner, *Natural History*).

Everglades. By Patricia Caulfield. 144 pages. Regular: \$27.50/Member's: \$24.00.

Accompanying Ms. Caulfield's 65 color photographs are selections from the writings of Peter Matthiessen and an essay in six chapters by John G. Mitchell. "... A generous array of dazzlingly beautiful photographs..." (Wall Street Journal). "With this volume, Sierra Club books strike an elegant blow in the fight for environmental action..." (Newsweek). "I found in the text a more lasting, vivid experience of the Everglades than my mere presence. And so I argue that the essay is worth several trips..." (Monroe Bush, American Forests).

Not Man Apart: Photographs of the Big Sur Coast. With lines from Robinson Jeffers. Foreword by Loren Eiseley. Introduction by Margaret Owings. Edited by David Brower. 160 pages. Regular: \$25.00/Member's: \$22.00.

"The most beautiful book the Sierra Club has published...one can almost hear the roar of the breakers and smell the wild sea breeze. Lines from Robinson Jeffers' poetry give the added depth of emotion that man can feel for nature." (Oakland Tribune).



One of the classic Exhibit Format volumes, and newly reprinted because of great demand, this beautiful, vibrant book is a translation of one of America's most spectacular coastal areas into a moving visual and emotional experience.

Gentle Wilderness: The Sierra Nevada. Text from John Muir. Photographs by Richard Kauffman. 168 pages. Regular: \$30.00/Member's: \$25.00.

Here, nearly a century later, is the Sierra Nevada that John Muir wrote of so vividly in My First Summer in the Sierra. But now Muir's notes and sketches are enhanced by the photographs of Richard Kauffman. The gentle wind blows through Mr. Kauffman's color photographs; the gentle light radiates from the pages. Now you can share John Muir's awe and fully understand why he write: "And after ten years spent in the heart of it, rejoicing and wandering...it still seems to me above all others the Range of Light..."

Glacier Bay: The Land and the Silence. Text and photographs by Dave Bohn. Foreword by L. J. Mitchell. 166 pages. Regular: \$17.50/Member's: \$12.00.

Glacier Bay National Monument is a new-born land still emerging from the Little Ice Age. It is a land filled with the roar of violent winds and thundering avalanches, and yet at times there is an incredible silence. In Alaska, where spectacular natural scenes are commonplace, Glacier Bay is perhaps the most awe-inspiring of all. Dave Bohn recreates for us the full gamut of beauty of this superb wilderness park.

**Baja California:** And the Geography of Hope. Eliot Porter and Joseph Wood Krutch. Foreword by David Brower. 160 pages. Regular: \$17.50/Member's: \$12.00.

"If one had to choose the single outstanding gift book," wrote Robert Kirsch of the *Los Angeles Times*, "it would almost certainly be this one. It is a meld of art and craft, form and content." 72 full color photographs by Eliot Porter and selections from the writings of Joseph Wood Krutch.

**Kauai and the Park Country of Hawaii.** Text and photographs by Robert Wenkham. 160 pages. Regular: \$17.50/Member's: \$12.00.

The exotic beauty of this legendary island paradise is captured by a man intimately involved in creating on Kauai one of the nation's newest and most unusual national parks. 72 full color plates.

Navajo Wildlands. By Philip Hyde and Stephen C. Jett. 160 pages. Regular: \$25.00/Member's: \$22.00.

The Navajo tribal lands contain some of America's most spectacular wilderness areas. Yet the Navajos, a people with an ancient tradition of closeness to the land, today face the increasing pressures of modern day living—and a style of life that is not always compatible with wilderness.

In 1957, the tribe created a Tribal Park Commission, charged with the identification of scenic areas and the creation of Navajo parks. With the finest text and photographs available, the Sierra Club describes the crucial problems that lie ahead—problems involving all America—and explains our stake in their proper solution.

**Summer Island:** Penobscot Country. By Eliot Porter. Foreword by Carl Buchheister. 200 pages. Regular: \$25.00/Member's: \$22.00.

One of America's most renowned color photographers, for half a century a summer resident of Great Spruce Head Island in Penobscot Bay, shares his years of discovering the beauty of the Maine coast. Porter's photographs in his four other Exhibit Format books have made book history. His genius here is focused on the water, rocks, forests, and wildlife in a region that for generations has been a classic American vacation land.

**The Eloquent Light:** Ansel Adams I. By Nancy Newhall. Edited by David Brower. 176 pages. Regular: \$20.00/Member's: \$17.50.

Because of Ansel Adams the camera arts have progressed rapidly in recent years. But also because of Ansel Adams, the wilderness of America is safer. It is a tribute to the genius of this artist that two fields of such magnitude can be so greately affected by one man's presence.

"If there remains a doubt in anybody's mind that photography is an art form, a few moments spent leafing through this unusual beautiful and appropriately titled book should dispel it forever."—The New York Times

**The Place No One Knew:** Glen Canyon on the Colorado. By Eliot Porter, 184 pages. Regular: \$25.00/Member's: \$22.00.

Glen Canyon died in 1963. This is the Sierra Club's requiem for a great place that is no longer. For those who did not know the canyon—and for those who did—The Place No One Knew is a lasting monument to the heritage that should have been allowed to endure. In the canyon's last days, Eliot Porter followed the winding river recording in 72 color photographs the intimate character of this lost wildland.

"A sumptuously beautiful volume...supported by a sensitive and almost devotional text" (Freeman Tilden, *Natural History*).

"In Wildness Is the Preservation of the World." By Eliot Porter. Selections from Henry David Thoreau. Edited by David Brower. 168 pages. Regular: \$25.00/Member's: \$22.00.

This is probably the book for which color photography was invented. In the introduction to this book of photographic interpretations of New England matched with superb selections from Thoreau, Joseph Wood Krutch writes: "Eliot Porter makes no attempt merely to document the selected passages. Instead — guided by pure artistic instinct—he has realized that the way to add to what Thoreau had written was to catch Thoreau's spirit... As a result, Porter's pictures are truly in the spirit of Thoreau."

Words of the Earth. By Cedric Wright. Foreword by Ansel Adams. Edited by Nancy Newhall. 96 pages. Regular: \$15.00/Member's: \$12.50.

Cedric Wright—poet, photographer, naturalist—reveals his belief that every man's spiritual horizon can be expanded by his contact with nature. "It is Mr. Wright's gift to show us 'the unmarked fact' of America's wilderness with such clarity, grandeur, and intimacy that one dwells for a time in the scene and can return to it again for refreshment" (Edward Weeks, *The Atlantic*).

This Is the American Earth. By Ansel Adams and Nancy Newhall. 112 pages. Regular: \$15.00/Member's: \$12.50.

"Although Thomas Jefferson argued that no one generation has a right to encroach upon another generation's freedom, the future's right to know the freedom of the wilderness is going fast. And it need not go at all..."

—From the Foreword by David Brower.



**Snake Wilderness** 

By Boyd Norton 8 color photographs. Map Cloth. 176 pages Regular price: \$7.95 / Member's price: \$6.95

Available September 25.

This side of Alaska, the largest contiguous wilderness in the United States lies athwart the watershed of the Snake River in Idaho. Drained also by the fabled Salmon and Clearwater, this vast land of forest and mountain today is under constant pressure from mining and logging interests; and along the great streams themselves rise the specters of more and more dams. Boyd Norton traces the natural and human history of the region, defines the values at stake and issues an eloquent plea for a policy of land use in which there is room for ecological peace as well as economic prosperity.

Norton, a former Wilderness Society field representative, has published numerous articles and photographs

on western conservation problems.

Snake Wilderness: the full story of Hell's Canyon, the White Clouds and the Magruder Corridor.

# The Survival Songbook lives!



Survival Songbook

Edited by Jim Morse and Nancy Mathews 26 line illustrations by Jos. A. Smith With an introduction by Pete Seeger, guitar chords and an LP record guide.

Paper. 144 pages.

Regular price: \$4.95 | New special member's price: only \$2.00.

Available now.

Songs, says Pete Seeger, "won't save the planet." Still, songs can help, just as books can. And the Survival Songbook offers a big helping of the best environmental songs in America today-songs calculated to exercise the smog-filled lung and levy some lumps on the baddies. Songs such as Don McLean's Tapestry and Orphans of Wealth, Malvina Reynolds's Cement Octopus and DDT on My Brain, Tom Lehrer's Pollution, Bill Steele's Garbage, Jimmy Collier's Lead Poison on the Wall, Jean Ritchie's Black Waters, Tom Paxton's Whose Garden Was This, Pete Seeger's My Dirty Stream and The Song of the World's Last Whale, and 48 others.

# **Battlebooks**

On wilderness, watersheds and imperiled parks.

Battlebooks are the Sierra Club's response to the most urgent needs in purposeful environmental publishing: substance and speed. Substance, because too often important issues are relegated to footnote status in some unwieldy tome. Speed, because at the normal pace of book production, a crucial issue can be lost even before it is explained. This season, the Sierra Club announces four new titles:

#### Action for Wilderness

Edited by Elizabeth Gillette Paper. 176 pages Regular price: \$2.25/Member's price: \$2.00. Available September 25.

Action for Wilderness presents some key guidelines for identifying and protecting wildland resources. From the Sierra Club's 12th biennial Wilderness Conference, editor Gillette has assembled a provocative collection of tips on landsaving techniques. Now the philosophy of preservation is largely put aside as the contributors to this volume concentrate on the difficult action processes that are prerequisite to any successful preservation effort.

James Bay: The plot to drown the North Woods By Boyce Richardson Paper. 176 pages
Regular price: \$2.75/Member's price: \$2.50.
Available October 15.

James Bay is a hard-hitting report on the multi-billion dollar scheme to dam and squeeze hydroelectric power from seven wild rivers in the North Woods of Quebec's James Bay watershed. One of the last great wildernesses in eastern North America, the northland of Quebec is a glittering mosaic of spruce-rimmed lakes and surging streams. It is also the homeland of the Cree Indian, whose way of life has changed but little since the first white men sailed down from Hudson's to James Bay some 350 years ago. Now, the author reports, the provincial government of Quebec plans to invade the North Woods to dam and divert the region's rivers in an energy sellout to the watt-wasting metropoli of the United States. Worse, the dikes and reservoirs constructed would inevitably drown the habitat of wildlife, disrupt the ecosystem of a quarter of all Quebec and destroy forever the traditional lifestyle of the Cree Indians.

#### Parks in Peril

By Jack Hope Paper. Illustrated. 176 pages. Regular price: \$3.25/Member's price: \$2.75 Available November 1.

Parks in Peril is a critical review of the National Park System—and of the values that threaten it. In the one hundred years since Yellowstone was dedicated as the country's—and the world's—first national park, increasing numbers of Americans have been flocking to the park system's preserves and monuments. Now, the author reports, these parks are in peril: too many people, and too much pressure to accommodate them in ways incompatible with park preservation. While saluting the National Park Service for its efforts to cope with these problems, Jack Hope also finds flaws in the service's own policies, and calls for a new direction in the management of these showcases of America's natural heritage.

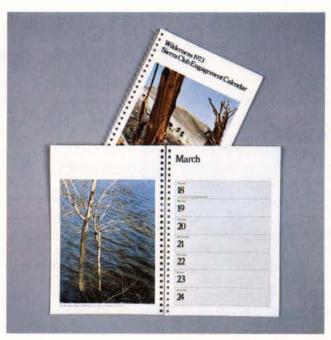
Stripping: The surface mining of America By John F. Stacks
Paper. 176 pages.
Regular price: \$2.25/Member's price: \$2.00
Available now.

Stripping: the surface mining of America presents a timely report on the ravages of this exploitative practice. Stacks, former press secretary to Senator George McGovern, traces the tragedy of landscapes tattered and of people trapped between expanding national energy demands and the shovel scars in their own backyards.

(For other titles pictured on this page, please see The Backlist, page C12.)







#### The 1973 Sierra Club Wilderness Calendar (wall)

14 full color lithographs suitable for framing (8½" by 11")

Boxed

Regular price: \$3.95/Member's price: \$3.50

Available now.

Last year, the incomparable Sierra Club wall calendar was a sellout by Thanksgiving. This year, give thanks: we're printing a larger quantity. And for good reason. The 1973 wall calendar features stunning color photographs from such new or forthcoming Club books as Floor of the Sky, Edge of Life, The National Parks Centennial Portfolio, Snake Wilderness, plus a preview (via the camera of Philip Hyde) of a work-in-progress on the Alaskan wilderness.

#### The 1973 Sierra Club Engagement Calendar (desk)

53 photographs in color and black-and-white gravure Boxed

Regular price: \$3.95/Member's price: \$3.50. Available now.

If the natural environment is out of sight, it might be out of mind. Make it a daily reminder with a 1973 engagement calendar featuring photographs by Philip Hyde, Bruce Barnbaum, Ansel Adams, Ed Cooper, Howard King, Eliot Porter, Boyd Norton, Ernest Braun, Robert Wenkam, Richard Kauffman, and others. While you're at it, you can discover some interesting calendar coincidences (May 28, for example—Memorial Day and the Sierra Club's birthday).

# The Backlist

# Cloth

Aldabra Alone. By Tony Beamish. Foreward by Julian Huxley. 222 pages. Regular: \$7.95/Member's: \$6.95. "Aldabra Alone is an exciting story of exploration and a dramatically successful conservation campaign. It is both a reassurance and a challenge."

-From the Foreword

Almost Ancestors: The First Californians. By Theodora Kroeber and Robert F. Heizer. 168 pages. Regular: \$15.00/Member's: \$12.50.

The Sierra Club has celebrated the American Wilderness in earlier books; now, with this affectionate work of scholarship, we have a book strictly about the Indians who inhabited the wilderness.

Last Redwoods and the Parkland of Redwood Creek. Text by Francois Leydet. Introduction by Edgar and Peggy Wayburn. Photographs by James D. Rose and others. 160 pages. Regular: \$8.50/Member's: \$7.50. This makes movingly clear exactly how important the redwoods are to us and what is happening now to this irreplaceable natural resource.

On The Loose, T. & R. Russell. 128 pages. Regular: \$7.95/Member's: \$6.95.

If a young person lives in your house or in your heart, here is a book to present as a gift for graduation, a birthday, or "just because." It is a chronicle of triumph and tragedy—the triumph of gaining an insight about oneself through an understanding of the natural world; the tragedy of seeing the splendor of that world increasingly threatened by men who don't know or don't care.

**Population Bomb.** By Dr. Paul Ehrlich. 192 pages. Regular: \$5.95/Member's: \$5.00.

Water Hustlers. By Robert Boyle, John Graves and T. H. Watkins. 254 pages. With Maps. Regular: \$7.95/Member's: \$6.95.

# **Battlebooks**

**Energy.** By John Holdren & Phillip Herrera. 256 pages. Regular: \$2.75/Member's: \$2.50.

The clash of growing power demands and their cost to environmental values, as seen by a scientist and an environmentalist.

Clearcut. By Nancy Wood. 176 pages with 16 photos. Regular: \$2.75/Member's: \$2.50.

Nancy Wood examines this continuing raid on our forest resources and challenges both government and industry to provide, through forestry reform, a guarantee that America shall forever have wilderness as well as wood products. **Mercury.** By Katherine and Peter Montague. 160 pages. Regular: \$2.25/Member's: \$2.00.

A startling, fresh account of how U.S. public health officials looked the other way while quicksilver infiltrated the food chains leading to man. "Well worth the time of anyone concerned with the facts behind a current scare."

—Los Angeles Times.

Oil On Ice. By Tom Brown. 160 pages with map. Regular: \$1.95/Member's: \$1.80.

One of Alaska's foremost journalists explores a leading threat to the delicate ecosystem of our largest state, as the proposed oil pipeline controversy nears a final decision.

Oilspill. By Wesley Marx. 144 pages. Regular: \$2.75/Member's: \$2.50.

The author of "Frail Ocean" describes the ecological impact of spilt oil, the vulnerability of supertankers, the hazards of coastal refineries, the flaws in our fumbling technology for cleaning up after industry's mess.

# Guidebooks

Going Light—With Backpack or Burro. Edited by David Brower. Regular: \$3.50/Member's: \$3.00 Cloth. A Lighthearted, informative treatment of wilderness traveling and camping.

Illustrated Guide to Yosemite. By Virginia and Ansel Adams. Paper. Regular: \$3.95/Member's: \$3.40. Presenting the important new section: "Ansel Adams on Mountain Photography."

Manual of Ski Mountaineering. Edited by David Brower. Cloth. 256 pages. Regular: \$4.95/Member's: \$4.20. A valuable how-to-go guide with informative sections on each phase of ski mountaineering.

Starr's Guide to the John Muir Trail. By Walter Starr, Jr. Paper. 125 pages with map. Regular: \$2.00/Member's: \$1.80.

# Wilderness Conference

Wilderness: The Edge of Knowledge. Edited by Maxine E. McCloskey. Regular: \$6.50/Member's Price: \$5.50.

Wilderness in a Changing World. Edited by Bruce Kilgore. Regular: \$5.75/Member's price: \$4.80.

Wilderness: America's Living Heritage. Edited by David Brower. Regular: \$5.75/Member's price: \$4.80.

Catalogue insert cover photograph by Charles Curtis. Climbing equipment courtesy of Kreeger & Son, Ltd., 30 West 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10036. Claus costume courtesy of The Volunteers of America, E. Houston Street, New York, N.Y.

# Sierra Club COMMENTARY

# News View

# Hydro-Quebec, Con Ed sign power agreement

Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa has announced that Hydro-Quebec, the provincially owned electrical utility, has signed an agreement with Consolidated Edison of New York to provide electrical energy over a 20-year period during the peak demand months of the summer. Hydro-Quebec said it will guarantee the availability of 800,000 kilowatts of generating power at all times during the summer months beginning June 1, 1977.

The Canadian utility will earn \$132 million during the first five years of the contract by providing 14.14 billion kilowatt hours of electricity, although it reserves the right to withhold power in case of necessity to its customers. During the last 15 years, H-Q has made no commitment to supply power, but Con Ed must return in the winter all the energy it purchased for the summer, unless the Canadian utility has enough power to spare. Bourassa pointed out that the East Coast experiences its peak demand for power in the summer, while Quebec's peak demand occurs in the winter.

He said the agreement will open the U.S. market to Hydro-Quebec for temporary power surpluses the provincial network will have in future years. The contract calls for construction of a 765,000-volt power line between Quebec and New York, which one report estimated will cost Quebec \$25 million and Con Ed \$125 million.

Bourassa said the agreement doesn't presently anticipate that the energy will come from the controversial multi-billion-dollar James Bay hydro-electric project, but from existing generating stations and those already under construction. However, conservationists fear that the contract lays the basis for the purchase of James Bay power should it become available.

# Club wins preliminary injunction against Forest Service

In response to a Sierra Club lawsuit, the Federal District Court in San Francisco issued on August 6th a preliminary injunction forbidding any new developments on 34 million acres of national forest lands until the U.S. Forest Service submits adequate environmental impact statements. The suit contends that the Forest Service's recent "roadless area inventory" was conducted without adequate public participation and that it was done too hastily to adequately study the areas in question. The Club requests that detailed environmental studies be made, as required by law and federal regulations, to determine which of our forest lands will be preserved as wilderness and which will be logged, mined or otherwise developed.

The preliminary injunction will maintain these 34 million acres in a condition that will qualify them for inclusion in the wilderness system pending the outcome of the Club's suit. Under the order, the Forest Service may not conduct any new timber sales, construct any new roads or permit any other developments that would destroy the natural character of these lands and disqualify them for wilderness designation. Normal management activities, as



provided by the Wilderness Act of 1964, may be continued for the duration of the preliminary injunction.

This suit is the first to apply the provisions of the National Environmental Policy Act to questions of timber sales in national forests. It is scheduled for trial on November 6, 1972.

# Power plant controversy surfaces in Midwest

On July 31, the Sierra Club joined with Businessmen for the Public Interest and other parties to intervene before the Atomic Energy Commission in licensing proceedings involving two major power plants in Illinois and Michigan.

The power plants are Zion, units one and two, in Zion, Illinois, to be operated by the Commonwealth Edison Corporation, and Donald C. Cook, units one and two, in Bridgeman, Michigan, to be operated by American Electric Power. All units are currently under construction, and although some are more than two years from completion, the AEC recently announced hearings on the granting of an operating permit.

Sierra Club Midwest Representative Jonathan Ela termed the intervention a "major action in defense of the environment," and stressed that the Club will go to any length to prevent further degradation of Lake Michigan. "It is unthinkable in this day and age, after the overwhelming

# **Editorial**

WAS TALKING about books the other day with a geologist from Oregon, who expressed a certain uptight antagonism toward what he called a proliferation of rock and mineral field guides. "What's wrong with that?" I asked. "Your colleagues are spreading the word." Apparently it was not the best response, for suddenly his eyes went sort of hard and flaky, like flint chips.

"They're spreading it, all right," he said.

Will success spoil the rock hunter? In effect, our friend was simply touching on a fear we have encountered in our own field ever since nature and wilderness became fashionable subject matter on the bookshelf, which was not so long ago as rocks. And the geologist's words reminded me of a line from Philip Hyde's splendid preface to Slickrock. "I have some hesitation," wrote Hyde, whose color photographs adorn that unhesitant book, "in showing more people (wild Utah's) delightful beauty—hesitation born of the fear that this place, like so many others of great beauty in our country, might be loved to death even before being developed to death."

The photographer gets the picture, for therein lies the clearest statement of the thorniest dilemma facing the Sierra Club today. To explore, enjoy and protect the nation's scenic resources is no longer that solid triad of a goal it once was. Today's explorer too often discovers a resource of prior arrivals; and more and more, with decreasing joy, we begin to wonder at what point just being there—no longer in splendid solitude but in head-banging battalions—

dulls the very qualities we are pledged to protect.

The question of loving the land to death has already been directed at the Club's Outings program (which is in the process of developing some hard and responsible answers). Curiously, the question has not been openly directed at the Club's Publications program. Yet in ways less direct but immeasurable, Club books are also piping people to the back country of America. Of some nine new titles listed as Fall books on the Christmas catalogue order form in this issue of the *Bulletin*, at least four are saying overtly of wilderness: *Come and get it*. And that, one way or another, is what Sierra Club books have been doing effectively for more than 20 years.

As much as I may side with Hyde in acknowledging the inherent danger of popularizing wilderness, I must acknowledge as well the perils of popularizing nothing. Wilderness needs friends, more than the Club alone could ever muster. And while the old Club motto may at times seem self-defeating in practice, it still retains a fundamental logic one is loathe to ignore. For how can a person work effectively to protect wilderness if he has never tasted its flavor, if not directly, then at least vicariously from the pages of a book? And if the book should make a rambler of the reader, so much the better. Better a head-banging on the trail than a path of asphalt across the back country. Or as William H. Whyte put it in *The Last Landscape*:

"Use it or lose it."

I prefer to believe we will not lose it. I prefer to dwell not on the rusty sardine cans that use has brought to the top of the mountain, but on the fact that sardine cans are preferrable to open pit mines. I prefer to believe that such books as Hiker's Guide to the Smokies and Snake Wilderness will let people know there are mountain trails beyond the familiar sardined ones. I prefer to believe that the Club, through a sense of social responsibility as well as in its own enlightened self-interest, will continue to share its knowledge of the back country with any and all who would love the land wisely. And I prefer to believe that while there can never be enough wilderness, through diligent legislative and editorial effort there could be wilderness enough to disperse and absorb a growing number of hikers, mountaineers, river-runners, desert rats, canyon freaks, spelunkers—yes, and rock hunters—so that all might explore with some joy. And love without killing.

John G. Mitchell, Editor/Books

scientific evidence that has been accumulating, that any utility would plan on once-through cooling for an enormous nuclear power plant," said Ela, "yet this is precisely what the companies around Lake Michigan are doing. We hope that our intervention will force these utilities to make the modest investment required for cooling facilities, and that the lake will not be subject to this further insult."

# Michigan enacts state wilderness preservation act

Michigan has enacted a state wilderness and natural areas preservation act which empowers the Natural Resources Commission to set aside one percent of the state's "beautiful peninsulas" in their undisturbed natural state for recreation and study. Dan Weber, Sierra Club Mackinac Chapter chairman, described the new law as a model he hopes other states will copy.

He pointed out that the Wilderness Act passed by Congress in 1964 protects only federal land, but Michigan's new system protects state-owned lands. It will consist of three kinds of areas: 3,000-acre-or-larger "wilderness areas" and smaller-than-3,000-acre "wild areas"—both primarily recreational designations—and "natural areas," with emphasis placed on scientific research and education.

All will be open to the public, although access, particularly to the scientific areas, may be restricted to protect natural values. Recreational activities are permitted, so long as no motorized or mechanical equipment is used. Roads, permanent structures, logging and mining are prohibited. It is anticipated, Weber said, that the first areas dedicated will be 75,000 acres (including much of Porcupine Mountains Wilderness State Park) already set aside by the commission as natural areas under less formal procedures used prior to passage of the new act.

# Third CEQ report goes to Congress

President Nixon has sent to Congress the third annual report of the Council on Environmental Quality.

# Science for the layman.

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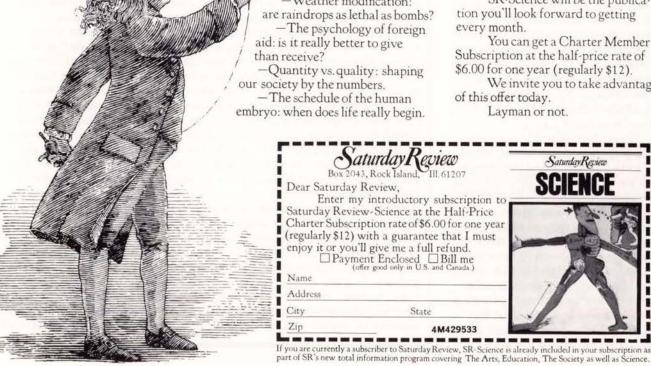
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In his message of transmittal, Nixon called for a "sober realization that we have not done as well as we must, that changes in laws and values come slowly, and that reordering our priorities is difficult and complicated." The report noted gains in curbing air pollution, but acknowledged no improvement in water quality despite stepped-up abatement efforts.

Chairman Russell Train estimated pollution control costs-both public and private-in the fields of air, water, noise, radiation, solid waste and land reclamation would total \$287 billion between 1971

After the report was issued, CEQ disclosed that three draft chapters on energy, solid waste and Delaware River development had not been included, but were available to the public for inspection. The energy chapter raised questions of nuclear power plant safety.

The 450-page report (stock number 4111-0011) can be obtained for \$2.00 from Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

## Timber cutting in national forests increased

The latest episode in a long series of pro-timber industry moves by the Nixon Administration came July 17 when, in an attempt to moderate the upward trend of softwood lumber prices, the Department of Agriculture directed the Forest Service to increase thinning and salvage sales of timber from the national forests. The increase will amount to about 300 million board feet in the next six months, or three percent of the annual allowable cut of about 12 billion board feet.

Three days after the announcement, Representatives Henry Reuss and John Dingell urged the administration to stay the order, calling it a "potential conservation fiasco." In a letter to Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz, the congressmen said: "In our view, an additional 300 million board feet of timber will have little effect on the supply of lumber in fiscal year 1973, particularly when the Forest Service is already planning to sell 10 to 11 billion board feet in fiscal '73. This additional 300 million board feet will be merely a drop in the bucket on the supply side, but it could have a devastating effect on the national forests."

To support their position, Reuss and Dingell cited the response of deputy chief of the Forest Service, Edward Schultz, to an OMB inquiry as to "what effect an immediate increase in national forest timber sales" would have on lumber prices. Schultz stated: "It is our conclusion that a short-term increase in timber sales has little or no effect on shortterm lumber pricing, because it does not affect the short-term lumber supply." "Why then," asked the congressmen, "is it necessary to increase timber cutting in national forests in 1972 when there will be 'no effect' on short-term lumber pricing?"

# Alaska oil leak goes uncontrolled for 18 months, charges Aspin

Representative Les Aspin of Wisconsin has charged that an oil leak at an Alaskan pipeline construction camp has gone uncontrolled for 18 months, adversely affecting the fishery resource of the state's Sagavanirktok River. Aspin sent a letter to Interior Secretary Rogers Morton

# Washington Report

◆HE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC conventions have passed into history. Looking back, one would have thought that our nation's leading politicians could have given more attention to the status of our public lands as a basic issue in the 1972 presidential elections. Neither presidential candidate nor leading party spokesmen delved into the deterioration of our public land resources.

For instance, look at the national forests. They are supposed to be managed on a multiple-use, sustained yield basis. Yet, timber harvesting in high production areas of the West exceeds the annual growth rate and reforestation lags far behind. President Nixon has aggravated this condition with a recent order for an increase of 300 million board feet in 1972 Forest Service sales, an insignificant amount measured against the annual programmed cut of about 12 billion board feet, but nonetheless a turn in the wrong direction when over-cutting is becoming apparent. Moreover, Nixon's budgeting for reforestation is at a level that requires 40 years simply to catch up with the backlog.

While ostensibly increasing the rate of harvesting so as to increase the supply of lumber for needed housing, the administration has opposed a ban on softwood log exports, which are moving overseas at a rate in excess of two billion board feet annually. Over the past ten years, softwood log exports have equaled one year's annual allowable cut of federal timber. Exports of logs, lumber, plywood and pulp have a profound effect on American forest resources. The U.S. is exporting enough wood to supply one-half of the nation's requirement's for housing at the present rate of construction. Yet, major lumber companies claim more publicly-owned timber must be cut to meet housing demands.

Exports of lumber and unfinished forest products from both public and private lands should be forbidden unless the President finds that the nation's projected timber supply needs for five consecutive years can be entirely satisfied by domestic supplies-without sacrificing the principle of sustained yield with-

in the constrains of multiple-use.

The major share of Forest Service funds goes to timber management, roadbuilding and sales for the benefit of private industry, an industry dominated by a dozen large corporations. While they obtain the major share of fruits from the public's forests, these corporations also have the benefit of a special tax loophole. A report of the Joint Economic Committee, entitled "The Economics of Federal Subsidy Programs" (July 15, 1972), states that "The federal tax system extends an important indirect subsidy to the timber industry-virtually all instating that "if the Interior Department can't even correct a relatively minor spill in one of Alyeska's camp sites before construction has even begun on the Alaska pipeline, how is it going to prevent much larger, potentially catastrophic spills from occurring?"

The Interior Department reported it was asking the pipeline company to send absorbent material to Alaska to blot out the spill, which affects the spawning area of Arctic char and grayling.

According to the *Tundra Times*, an Alaska Native newspaper, the leak first occurred in December 1970, when a two-inch fuel line cracked inside a utility building at Happy Valley Camp. An estimated 200 gallons of oil escaped inside and outside the building; some was frozen in the tundra, and as the ground thawed in the summer of 1971, oil continued to drain out of the surrounding soil, spilling into a tributary of the Sagavanirktok River.

Despite the installation of collection cans and a floating boom across the creek, from one to two gallons continued to flow into the creek last August. When the temperature dropped to sub-zero, the ground froze and retained the oil,

W. Lloyd Tupling

come from growing timber is eligible for taxation at the preferential capital gains rates.... The tax subsidy is estimated to reduce federal revenues by \$130 to \$140 million per year, an amount equal to one-fourth of the direct federal expenditures for timber programs. The tax subsidy program reverses the pattern of most direct subsidy programs because it favors the large integrated timber company and gives almost nothing to the small woodlot farmer.... There is no compelling evidence that the timber tax subsidy is effective in increasing the supplies of timber or in encouraging conservation."

Provisions of the Revenue Act of 1943, which make virtually all income derived from the increase in value of standing timber eligible for capital gains

treatment, should be repealed.

Forests are the source of the bulk of our water supply, home of our wildlife, scene of much of our recreation, and a major resource base. However, it is open to exploitation by the few at the expense of the many. Besides the benefits to large timber corporations, the Forest Service grants special grazing privileges to cattle and sheep-raisers who pay for forage and land use at rates far below the fair market value. In addition, miners gain fee title to public forest land under terms of the Mining Act of 1872. The mining act should be repealed and replaced with a reformed system of mineral leasing, and grazers should be required to pay fair market value for forage without gaining any preferential rights to the public lands through their grazing permits.

The Bureau of Land Management administers 451 million acres of public land, over half of it in Alaska; but has no organic act delineating its management objectives and priorities, as do the Forest Service and National Park Service. Priority must be given to enactment of a BLM Organic Act, giving a statutory direction to conservation goals and priorities in the national interest. BLM now operates under a hodge-podge of statutes inherited from predecessor agencies, and is lower on the national priorities funding totem-pole than is the Forest Service. For each four dollars that BLM returns to the treasury, there is a tax investment of about one-half cent. The lack of funding for this major land agency runs through its entire jurisdiction, for wildlife management, fire control, range improvement, forest management and recreation. For example, BLM has jurisdiction over 15,586,982 acres in the State of Oregon, but has only 752 acres developed as recreation sites.

What happens to one-third of this country is a major issue. We should force the candidates to face up to it.

and the drainage problem recurred with this summer's thaw. A new leak was finally located in a fuel line, although neither the BLM nor EPA has any records of the leak.

# Club seeks names for upcoming Board election

The 1972-73 Nominating Committee of the Sierra Club is now accepting names of potential candidates for election to the Board of Directors. Next spring's election will add at least four new faces on the 15member Board because of a recent change in Club bylaws, which restricts Board members to two threeyear terms. If you want to run for the office of Director, or if you wish to suggest the names of potential candidates, write to George Shipway, Chairman, Nominating Committee, 1327 Toledo Way, Upland, California 91786. Other members are Kathy Bjerke, Midland, Michigan; Lowell Smith, Los Altos, California; Ken Watson, Gainesville, Florida; and Walter Wells, Summit, New Jersey. Alternates are Dick Cellarius, Olympia, Washington; and Norm O'Neill, Wauwatosa, Wisconsin. You may also submit names to any of these individuals.

"It is up to the membership to help constantly renew and revitalize the operating effectiveness of the Club," said Club President Ray Sherwin in announcing the Nominating Committee. "Assisting the Nominating Committee in its work in identifying active members as potential candidates for the Board is an essential part in maintaining the Sierra Club as the strong and effective organization which it has become."

## Club questions priorities of Michigan Energy Commission

The Sierra Club has commended Michigan Governor William G. Milliken's creation of a new state Energy Commission, but at the same time expressed displeasure at some of the directives and priorities given to it.

In a letter to the governor on August 2, Mackinac Chapter Chair-Continued on page 36

# Regional Rep's Reports

#### SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

There is little doubt that the Santa Monica Mountains are the key to retention of some degree of environmental quality in the greater Los Angeles region. Los Angeles has grown like bamboo during the past 35 years. Subdivisions, commercial facilities, industrial complexes and smog have filled the coastal plain and inland valleys until there is precious little space for anything else in the basin. However, there are 100,000 acres of remaining undeveloped land in the western part of the Santa Monica Mountains, which extend from downtown Los Angeles to Point Mugu in Ventura County. The mountains are variously described as "the lungs of Los Angeles," "a magnificent recreation area," and "the one significant remaining open space in the Los Angeles basin.'

However, there are forces and circumstances at work which will change all that. Most of the undeveloped acreage in the Mountains is in private ownership and an unfortunate pattern of real estate speculation, land assessment practices that mandate development and lack of leadership by Los Angeles County government is threatening to turn the undeveloped portion of the Santa Monicas into another 100,000 acres of urban sprawl. Everyone in Los Angeles will be the loser if this occurs.

Presently the westerly breezes which come from the Pacific Ocean over the Santa Monica Mountains provide some relief for the overburdened airsheds of the San Fernando and San Gabriel Valleys. Substantial development in the mountains would mean that the pollutants from those developments would be added to the daily air pollution load in the valleys. If the Santa Monicas go to development, the last chance for a substantial park in the Los Angeles area will have been irrevocably lost.

Congressmen Alphonzo Bell and Barry Goldwater, Jr., and Senators John Tunney and Alan Cranston have recently introduced H.R. 16310 and S. 3907 to establish the Santa Monica Mountain and Seashore National Urban Park. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation of the Department of the Interior has just released copies of the preliminary draft of their Santa Monica Mountains Study to the public. The study recognizes the fact that the maintenance of the mountains as open space is crucial to the welfare of the residents of the Los Angeles basin and recommends acquisition of at least 35,000 additional acres as public parkland. The study also recommends that stringent zoning controls be established in the entire Santa Monica Mountain region. These are exactly the tasks that are addressed in H.R. 16310 and S. 3907. So it is imperative that we have action on this legislation in the near future.

The present national administration has shown little interest in the Santa Monica Mountains. The significant expense of a meaningful park in the Santa Monicas has apparently kept the President cool to this proposal despite the crying need. Only election year politics seem capable of releasing adequate federal funds for a Santa Monica Mountains and Seashore Park. If enough mail supportive of protection for the Santa Monica Mountains and H.R. 16310 and S. 3907 reaches President Nixon during the next month, he may well make an adequate commitment of funds to guarantee federal participation in an adequate park program here. Please make your letter one of those he receives. Larry E. Moss

#### SOUTHWEST

The release of the Senate Interior Committee report on the "Problems of Electrical Power Production in the Southwest" was a disappointment to those who had hoped for strong recommendations that would prevent further environmental degradation by coal-fired power plants in the Four Corners area. The report was based on six days of hearings in 1971—five in the Southwest and one in Washington, D.C.

The controversy originated with the notorious Four Corners power plant near Farmington, New Mexico. More recently a second plant has gone into operation at the southern tip of Nevada. Construction is continuing on three additional plants in Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico amidst predictions by the Environmental Protection Agency that their operation will violate federal air quality standards. One hopeful sign in this regard is the recent court decision requiring the administrator of EPA to disapprove state air quality implementation plans which permit significant deterioration of air quality.

The report notes that most past decisions concerning these developments have been made with inadequate information, a deficiency that still exists. Recommendations are made for further study and research. Perhaps, at least, the disaster will be well documented. One can hope that the studies will contain fewer biases than the preliminary draft of the Interior Department's Southwest Energy Study released last spring.

The report also finds fault with the haphazard and uncoordinated planning with minimal consideration of environmental effects that has characterized the Four Corners developments to date. Appropriately, the report includes an endorsement of several much-needed pieces of legislation under consideration by Congress—land use planning and power plant siting.

Few would dispute the report's findings that "The existing and proposed power plants are and will be major sources of man-made air pollution in the Southwest," that "It is probable that the ultimate transmission grid contemplated will pose severe esthetic insults to the region," or that "Emissions of existing power plants have measurably degraded air pollution control technology; development of proposed additional plants probably will result in further degradation."

Yet with findings such as these, the report contains virtually no recommendations that would halt the construction of future plants or even significantly ameliorate their impact. In other words, there is little in the report to keep this heretofore unspoiled and scenic region from becoming the utility backyard for southwestern metropolitan areas.

The fault lies in the growthoriented assumptions which are the basis for the entire report. Senator Jackson in the transmittal letter refers to the "Tremendous growth in

energy demand in the southwestern region." Another committee member, Senator Frank Moss of Utah, stated "Of paramount importance is a recognition of an incontrovertible need for electrical energy in the Southwest." The result is, of course, that the report finds "A requirement for a substantial amount of coal-fired generating capacity to be developed in the region before 1980 and probably between 1980 and 1990." Fortunately, such growth-oriented assumptions are being increasingly questioned by knowledgeable persons throughout the country.

Observers of the energy crisis controversy can at least all agree on one of the report's recommendations: "There is abundant evidence that as large coal-fired power plants are proposed and come under development in the states of the Upper Colorado Basin, in Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and in other regions of the country, many of the issues found in the Four Corners area will be duplicated throughout a vast portion of the nation." John McComb

### Ripoff (continued)

[to strip mine] should not work to the detriment of an applicant," they argue. The lobbyists also find that it is burdensome to require an operator to obtain written permission from every legal owner of property to be mined.

It is not illogical, in the face of this absence of any rein on the coal companies, to ask that strip mining be stopped-now. Perhaps not stopped for all time and in all places, but stopped until we can create even the most rudimentary means of making strip miners accountable to a broader public standard of care and caution. Would anyone object if there were selected strip mining in non-mountainous areas consistent with a comprehensive land use plan, with provisions for the reconstruction of the wasted land? I think not. But we must face the fact that it is the companies, and not the government nor the people, that now make the decisions affecting the land and the lives of Americans. Realistic state controls like Pennsylvania's would offer an effective control mechanism, but it is virtually impossible to insulate the enforcement of such controls from local political and economic influence. As a result state controls are of necessity more prescriptive than preventative in nature. The damage is frequently done before the law is enacted. Federal reclamation laws would help -if they were enforced. It is not strip mining as such that is so objectionable, it is the way it is done and the way in which decisions are made about how and where it will be done that is the major cause of concern.

In recent years industry apologists

have pointed to the relatively successful experience of West Germany and Great Britain to justify the continuation of strip mining in this country, without understanding the fundamental difference between these nations' attitude toward the land and our own. The key to the West German and British experience in land restoration lies in meticulously detailed planning.

Aside from Pennsylvania's belated efforts, there is no American control comparable to the European systems. Even in the relatively advanced Pennsylvania arrangement, decisions are still left to individual, privately owned and privately controlled companies as to when and where to strip mine. The state still exercises only partial control over the fate of its land. The regulatory efforts in other states are primitive in comparison to Pennsylvania's; set against the European model, they are primeval.

I know of only two prevailing philosophies of land use. The first holds that the land is to be possessed, subdued and robbed of its riches. It is characterized, in the words of Gifford Pinchot, as the American colossus "grasping with both hands, reaping where he had not sown, wasting what he thought would last forever."

"I brought you into a fruitful land to enjoy its fruit and the goodness of it;" said Jeremiah, "but when you entered upon it you defiled it and made the home I have given you loathsome." The scene throughout the coal fields of this nation would be all too familiar to him today.

The model of good land use is based upon the belief, as Stuart Udall has written, that "Each . . . generation has only a temporary rendezvous with the

land; despite fee titles and documents of ownership we are no more than brief tenants on this planet. By exercise of choice, or by careless default, we shape the land legacy of our descendants. We can either abuse the land and squander its bounty with physical and spiritual loss to ourselves and to them, or we can strive for an economy in which physical affluence and richness of spirit go hand in hand."

The more we analyze the problems of strip mining in America the more we come back to one fundamental concept: responsibility. Responsibility is not a product of coercion, or of propaganda or of conscience. "Responsibility," wrote philosopher Charles Frankel, "is the product of definite social arrangements."

In devising a policy of land use for the nation we must seek those social arrangements which instill a sense of caution, care and commitment. We must seek to replace arrogance with modesty.

Any serious national effort in this direction would among other things prohibit the destruction long associated with strip mining. It would prohibit strip mining in mountainous regions and where prompt and complete restoration of the land cannot be achieved. It would incorporate such regulation within an overall regional development plan. It would provide for open, public involvement in formulating detailed requirements for mining and land restoration and in determining the future use of the land. It would impose a severance tax on future mining to finance reclamation of America's ghastly backlog of plundered acreage.

# The Sierra Club Foundation: A Strong Right Arm

#### STEPHEN R. WHITNEY

WHILE THE Sierra Club is certainly the best known conservation organization in the country, its most important ally, the Sierra Club Foundation, is scarcely known at all outside the Club. Yet crucial Club activities depend on Foundation grants because membership dues and other income are barely sufficient to pay the costs of overhead, salaries, membership services and the Club's legislative program. This year the Foundation has provided \$750,000 through grants to support a remarkable number of Sierra Club programs, including such wellknown ones as the Club's legal program, its book-publishing operation and scientific research. The Foundation also supports the Club's film program, Club conferences, wilderness studies, trail maintenance projects and educational programs, to name only a few.

For example, Foundation grants to various Club programs for the 1971–72 fiscal year include the following: over \$151,000 to the Club's legal program; \$60,000 to the book publishing program; over \$4,000 to the Bulletin for non-legislative articles; over \$3,500 to the Club's Colby Library for acquisitions; \$13,000 to Parson's Lodge at Tuolumne Meadows in Yosemite for maintenance and repairs; \$3,000 for the Sierra Club Roadhead Cleanup program; and about \$40,000 for the production and distribution of Sierra Club films.

The Foundation also assists Sierra Club chapters with local programs. In Alma, Michigan, for example, the Foundation helped the Nipissing Group of the Mackinac Chapter raise \$25,000 to purchase 34 acres of wooded land for use as a city park. Similarly, the Foundation has donated about \$4,500 to two inner-city outings programs, sponsored by the San Diego and San Francisco Bay Chapters. Under these programs, Sierra Club leaders work with community groups to provide inner-city youth the opportunity to experience the fun and beauty of wilderness outings. A complete list of Foundation grants to the Club would take several pages, but these examples are typical and indicate how important the Foundation is to the Club's continued success. Yet such was not always the case.

From its founding in 1960 until 1968, the Foundation played a relatively small role in Club finances. This situation, however, began to change in 1966 when the Internal Revenue Service declared that the Club, because of its legislative activities, could no longer accept tax-deductible contributions. The Club challenged this decision, but after a two-year delay its appeal was turned down in 1968 when the IRS decision was upheld. Obviously, a decision of this kind normally would be disastrous for a non-profit organization dependent on contributions for its support. The Sierra Club Foundation, originally organized by Club leaders on a volunteer basis with a limited program, expanded its operations to fill the breach created in the Club's conservation and educational programs by the IRS action by hiring an executive secretary and small staff to seek funds on a comprehensive basis. Its income, which totaled only \$117,000 in 1968, grew in one year to \$350,000 in contributions, which were substantially used for Club programs. This growth has continued, and Foundation staff members estimate that revenue will be almost \$1.5 million by the end of 1972.

The Foundation helps the Sierra Club in four major ways: first, by grants from its general fund; second, by receiving and disbursing contributions to specific non-legislative Club programs; third, by hiring consultants whose work may supplement that of Club staff members employed on various projects; and fourth, by holding and managing various properties open to use by both Club members and the general public for hiking and recreation. The general fund consists of contributions and grants made to the Foundation itself without any

strings attached insofar as how the money is to be used. Within the limits of the law, the Foundation may use the general fund to finance any project it considers worthy of support.

The restricted funds consist of contributions made to the Foundation on behalf of a particular program or organization. For example, if you want to contribute, say, \$10 to support the Club's Mineral King or Overton Park (Memphis, Tennessee) litigation, you would send your check to the Foundation with the proviso that it be used for this purpose alone. This is how the Foundation helped the Nipissing group collect \$25,000 to purchase that park in Alma, Michigan. As part of the Club, the Nipissing Group could not accept tax-deductible contributions, so it asked the Foundation to accept them on its behalf. In providing this service, the Foundation works with potential donors who wish to lend their support to particular programs or organizations. This procedure has been particularly effective in supporting the Club's legal program because many people like to give \$5 or \$10 to support a particular Club lawsuit in which they have taken a personal interest.

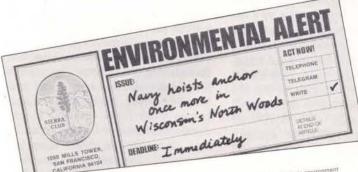
The Foundation also helps the Club by hiring consultants for research or work on particular programs when the Club may not be financially able to do so. The Foundation now retains 20 such consultants. For example, this arrangement has been made to establish an Office of International Environmental Affairs, which was recently established at UN Headquarters to cope with problems, such as pollution of the world's oceans, that transcend national boundaries. The head of this office is a full-time Foundation consultant. Using all of these methods, the Foundation can support many Club programs other than those involving general Club expenses or attempts to influence legislation.

The Sierra Club Foundation is a "public foundation" under the 1969 Federal Tax Law. This means that the Foundation's funds come from the public at large, rather than from an individual estate, which is the case with "private" foundations such as the Rockefeller or Carnegie Foundations. Unlike private foundations, a public foundation is not required to pay taxes on a percentage of its assets or to donate a specified amount each year to charitable programs; but its money

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# capital summary

NO Wednesday, the Nouse passed 176 to 6 N.R.14146, the Coastal Sone Management Act, after adopting 261 to 112 an amendment giving administration of the program to the after adopting 261 to 112 an amendment giving administration server. Before enactment, the secretary of Interior rather than the Secretary of Commerce. Before enactment, the secretary of Interior rather than the Secretary of Commerce. Secretary of Interior rather than the secretary of Commerce. Secretary of Interior secretary amendment of the secretary secr

As Congress headed for the Republican Convention recess on Aug. 18, prospects deterior-beth of the Congress headed for the Republican Convention recess on Aug. 18, prospects deterior-ted for enactment of national land use Policy legislation at this session. House In-land the Constitution of the Constit

Meanwhile, in the Senate a jurisdictional dispute intensified over 5.632, the consurva-linist-supported hill for national land use planning. Sen. Edmind Mackson's Interior posed a motion to have the bill, reported 45 days ago by Sen. Benry Jackson's Interior Committee, referred for Consideration by the Senate Fullic Works Committee. Conservationists regarded the move for further consideration of 5.632 as an attempt, the Kill national land use planning legislation for the remainder of this Congress, Jackson's Kill national land use planning legislation for the remainder of this Congress, Jackson and Senate Male Maintain Senate Sena

The Senate Public Works Committee is currently working on the Federal Aid to Highways Act which includes outrageous proposals such as a new Scenic and Recreational Highways System, prohibiting future legal challenges to freeway construction, overturning court orders which are now halting construction of highways through urban parks, and many other systems which are now halting construction of highways through urban parks. SCENIC HIGHWAYS SYSTEM PROPOSED



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must be used within the restrictions set out in the law. For this reason, all transactions between the Foundation and the Club are verified by invoices, which specify the Club programs for which Foundation money is to be used.

All Foundation grants must be approved by the Board of Trustees, which meets once a quarter for this purpose. The trustees consider between five and 20 grant applications each session, including a number from individuals and from organizations other than the Sierra Club. Consistent with its status as a public foundation, the Sierra Club Foundation provides substantial grants to other organizations. For example, between 1960 and September 30, 1970, the Foundation awarded over \$190,000 in grants to organizations other than the Sierra Club for various conservation programs. These include grants for the popular book, Mani, for a film on Arctic wildlife and another on DDT; to the Hastings Law Library for the purchase of books on environmental law; to several organizations for purposes of conducting environmental litigation; for several independent research projects, for various youth projects; and for wilderness protection and open space acquisition. Such grants may come from the general fund or the Foundation may accept contributions to be used by a particular organization other than the Sierra Club. In this way, it has established itself as an active supporter of numerous environmental organizations.

Recently the Foundation has also broadened the scope of its staff's activities. For example, it has worked with several large corporations in the San Francisco Bay Area to donate funds for and participate in a paper recycling program. A Foundation consultant heads this program and meets once a month with representatives of the participating corporations to discuss ways of recycling their paper and of making use of already recycled paper. Hopefully, the experience gained through this program will be applicable to similar programs that may be established in other parts of the coun-

Another program is the Foundation's Heartline Fund, which is oriented toward problems concerning American Indians. In New Mexico, for example, the Heartline Fund is financing a water inventory for the Jicarilla Apaches to determine how much water they are supposed to receive and how much they in fact get after the Bureau of Reclamation has diverted a portion for irrigation purposes outside the reservation. The fund is also helping the Paiutes of Pyramid Lake fight to prevent the disastrous lowering of the lake's level that has resulted from diverting its waters into croplands of the nearby Fallon Valley.

The Foundation also maintains a separate fund called Frontera del Norte, which is headed by its own executive director. Frontera del Norte is concerned with social and environmental problems afflicting New Mexico and other southwestern states. Since its founding over two years ago, Frontera has provided over \$150,000 for a variety of projects. These include, among others, support for important legal actions relating to environmental problems in the southwest, for various research projects and for programs to enable local Indian tribes to maintain their economic and cultural integrity in the face of pressures from white society.

Individuals and organizations may contribute to the Foundation's general fund or to any one of many specific programs for which the Foundation receives funds. In either case the gift will be deductible for income, gift and estate taxes. Some have given money outright; some have mentioned the Foundation in their wills; and some have donated land instead of money. Much of the Foundation's money comes from large donors, either individuals or other foundations, but it also depends on those many small donations that comprise the remainder of its income. And for donors. whether large or small, the Foundation provides a marvelous way for them personally to participate in and contribute to the Sierra Club in particular and the environmental movement in general.

#### Where There's a Will There's a Way

Many generous members have provided for the Sierra Club in their wills. Since its loss of tax deductibility due to legislative lobbying for conservation, the Sierra Club is no longer free from gift and estate taxes. This means that a sizeable portion of gifts from wills is affected by federal and state inheritance taxes. However, the non-legislative work of the Club can be supported through the Sierra Club Foundation. As a charitable, 501 (c) (3) organization, the Sierra Club Foundation receives gifts that are not subject to gift and estate taxes.

A change in wills can easily be accomplished in most of the United States by a simple "codicil" wholly written, dated, and signed by the testator, all in his own handwriting, stating that the Sierra Club Foundation, 220 Bush Street, San Francisco, 94104, is substituted for the Club in the will. It is always wise to check with your attorney to be sure of the law in your state.

If you have already included The Sierra Club Foundation in your will you should check with your lawyer to be sure that it still carries out your wishes under the Tax Reform Act of 1969. This act sets up new rules not likely to have been anticipated in earlier wills and trusts. It allows until October 9, 1972, for persons to change their wills to conform to the new law.

### News View (continued)

man Dan Weber questioned the creation of a commission designed to study future energy consumption when "nowhere (is it) directed to study or question present energy uses or allocations. A prerequisite to recommending a future course is a comprehensive review of present energy uses in order to chart the origins of the present crisis," Weber wrote.

He also questioned a postulate in the commission directive that "the need for energy is certain to increase," and said such an increase "is eminently designed to become a selffulfilling prophecy and is an inappropriate assumption to be given to a supposedly objective commission as a basis for its study."

The Club's other objections ranged from "lack of understanding of the interrelationships in the environment' to the specific choices for the commission's membership. Although directed to relate energy requirements to future land-use patterns in Michigan, it lacks interdisciplinary representatives from the natural sciences, ecologists, and someone with evident expertise in land-use planning.

## Rockefeller proposes plan for Adirondack Park Reserve

Governor Nelson Rockefeller has approved a plan to guide the management of 2.27 million acres of state-owned land in the Adirondack State Park in New York. The plan, which was substantially endorsed by the Sierra Club and other New York state conservationists, places state-owned land in four broad categories: wilderness, 997,960 acres; primitive, 75,670 acres; canoe area, 18,000 acres; and wild forest, 1,150,300 acres.

The remaining 3.5 million acres of the park which are privately owned will be the subject of a later land-use plan to be submitted to the governor and the state legislature.

# Agriculture Department reneges on parathion warning program

The Department of Agriculture has backed down on a program initiated last year to encourage farmers to post public warning placards in fields sprayed with parathion, a highly poisonous chemical pesticide. Elimination of the program came in response to a lack of cooperation and to protests from farmers who objected to posting the warning signs because they were "like waving a red flag."

Some observers have conjectured that the failure of the USDA to pursue the program could be a backlash move in retaliation for the banning of DDT, for which parathion is a substitute, especially for use on tobacco and cotton crops.

# EPA proposes curbs on power-plant emissions

Acting under provisions of the Clean Air Act, the Environmental Protection Agency has proposed regulations to curb sulfur dioxide emissions from smelters in six western states and from power plants in four states. The rules would require 13 smelters in Arizona, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Nevada and Utah to install equipment to remove gases from smokestack emissions at a cost estimated at \$544 million. EPA also proposed regulations to reduce by 70 percent the sulfur dioxide emissions from the Four Corners plants in Utah, Nevada, New Mexico and Arizona.

# Wild Horses (continued)

species of our original native fauna— American horses per se are not threatened with extinction, only the wildness is in danger; American horses, wild and tame, are both Equus caballus, and both, as mentioned before, are descended from imports—"exotics" in the language of wildlifers—and so are not technically native anyway.

Nor is it a question of preserving the "type"-let alone a breed. The Spanish Mustang Registry, founded by "Mr. Bob" Brislawn of the Cayuse Ranch in Wyoming, has been working for some years toward preserving the basic type of the western wild horse, although whether "Spanish" or not is beside the point: the mustang is a "historic horse and one with highly admirable traits of his own," as the distinguished zoologist George Gavlord Simpson wrote some 20 years ago in calling then for action to head off the mustang's extinction. The mustang "breed" or physical type can probably be preserved by such an operation, but protecting the wildness is a different and more weighty matter, involving not horses only or any other specific wildlife but in a real sense our entire world. As the British poet Gerard Manley Hopkins wrote a hundred years ago in what could still serve as an ecological motto, "What would the world be, once bereft/Of wet and of wildness? Let them be left,/ Olet them be left, wildness and wet...."

Nothing, consequently, can better represent the crux of two basically opposed concepts of "usefulness" as the utterly useless—if measured by money—wild horse. Neither a trophy animal nor gourmet game, stripping graze that might support profit-making sheep or cattle or domestic horses of "tag-crop" big game, the wild mustang is from any balance-sheet angle more

of a liability than an asset.

His presence, simply our awareness of his seldom-seen wildness in the back rooms of our West, might thus seem to be representative of the spirit of our wilderness at its most non-negotiable—worthless except as spirit, which is positively unspendable.

And indeed, if thus worthless in the face of cold-cash economics, can any legislation enforce, thus "unrealistically," their survival? Probably not unless the public really wants to measure its cash balance in a new and different coin. Whether, therefore, the last wild horses will ultimately live or die depends not so much on the new protection law as on this feeling of the public, all the people of the public, now that the law is passed.

In this sense the wild horses may represent better than ever at this moment the flickering inner spirit of our resources, all our resources, maybe even including some we don't yet know we have.

## California Coast (continued)

ship. Stripped down to coast that is actually accessible—area that is not in military reservations, port facilities, and other special uses—you find that only about a quarter of our shoreline is accessible to potential public recreational use. Needless to say, much of this 25 percent is not very accessible. And it is also obvious that most of the shoreline destined to be gobbled up by shortsighted private development in the next few years will represent the best of the remaining areas that should be a public heritage.

Proposition 20 gets right to the heart of what the Sierra Club is all about. Our opponents on this vital issue are going to mount a huge campaign to beat Proposition 20. The real estate and oil interests have combined with the building trades and power companies to put together the money to hire the public relations firm of Whitaker and Baxter (well-known for its anti-conservation flackery) to discredit Proposition 20.

It is going to take a lot to save the coastline from those who see quick fortunes in California's shore, and the following are some of the things that Californians can do to get Proposition 20 into the law of the land:

Whom Can I Call? Call your chapter office or chapter chairman to find out where the program stands today and what you can do to pass Proposition

20. If you agree with this initiative, it is important that you do something. We are not going to pass the initiative over a million dollar oil company campaign to beat it without your support. There are 70,000 Sierra Club members in California, and they can swing this election if they get out and tell their neighbors the truth of the issue.

To Whom Can I Write? By all means write to your local members of the state senate and state legislature as well as to your local newspapers. What you have to say during this great effort to save the coastline is going to be noted by influential people and will contribute to the victory—now or later—of the cause.

To Whom Can I Send Money? The Club seeks to raise about \$100,000 to spend in advertising and other direct out-of-pocket costs. That is not much to ask of 70,000 members in California. Put a check for a few dollars made out to the Sierra Club in an envelope today and send it to: California Coastal Campaign, Conservation Department, Sierra Club, 1050 Mills Tower, San Francisco, California 94104.

What Can I Do Myself? Find out from your local chapter how you can participate in the precinct and telephone work that it is going to take to get Proposition 20 passed. The coastline cannibals have the advertising money—but the Sierra Club has the people. Every person can do something, even if it is just rounding up the vote of a single neighbor. The future of the California coastline, of its accessibility and use by you and your children, is up to you.

#### Conservation Teaching Aids

The Sierra Club has assembled a packet of teaching aids for conservation education. Included are a comprehensive booklet of printed source materials and films, a handbook for persons or groups involved in action programs for ecological change, reprints of many Sierra Club Bulletin articles, and selected materials which are timely. The packet is available from the Sierra Club office for \$3.00, including tax and mailing costs. Please address requests to VOLUNTEER CO-ORDINATOR, Sierra Club, 220 Bush St., San Francisco, CA.

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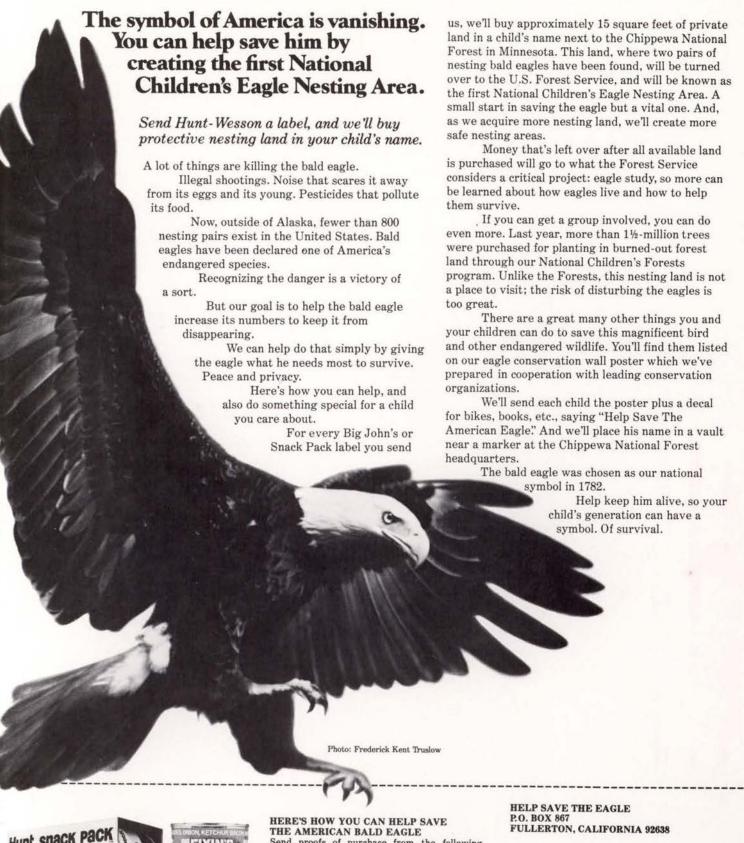
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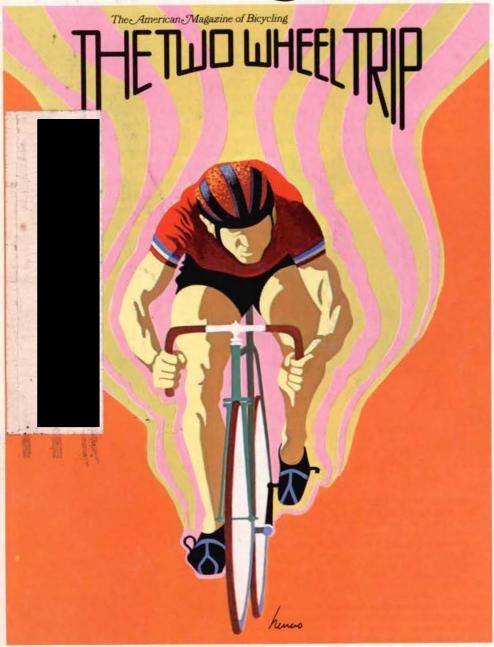
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