SIERRA THE MAGAZINE OF THE SIERRA CLUB - SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1994

Conspiracy of Silence how three corporate giants covered up their toxic trail

Beyond Pills and Condoms a <u>sierra</u> roundtable

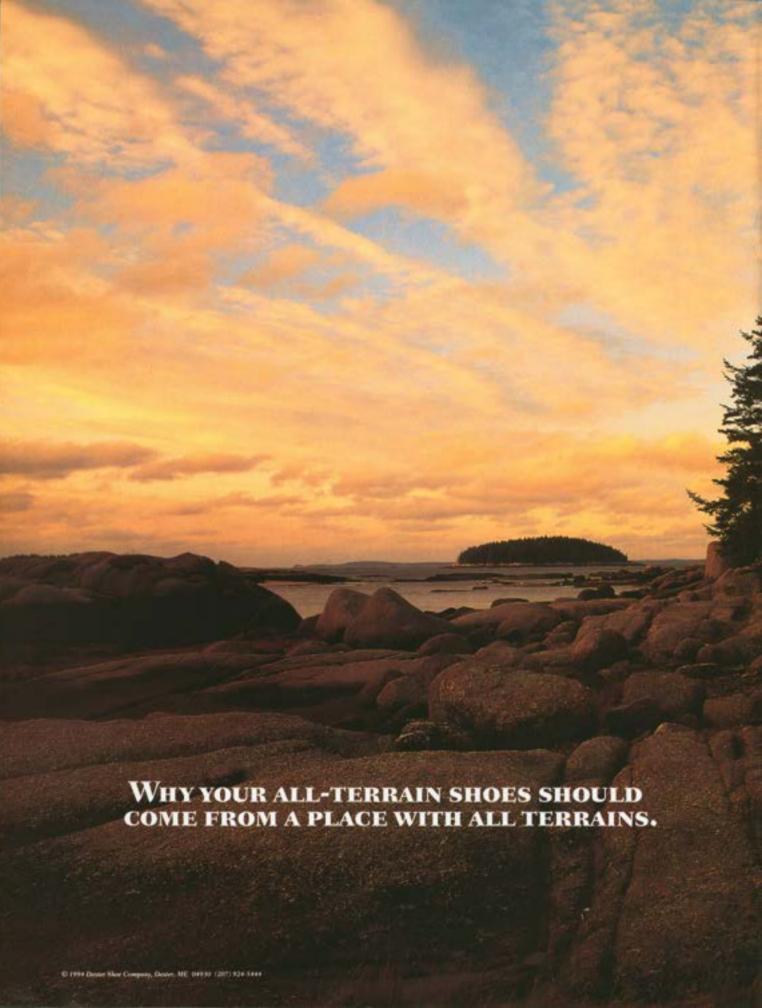
A SIERRA ROUNDTABLE ON GLOBAL POPULATION GROWTH

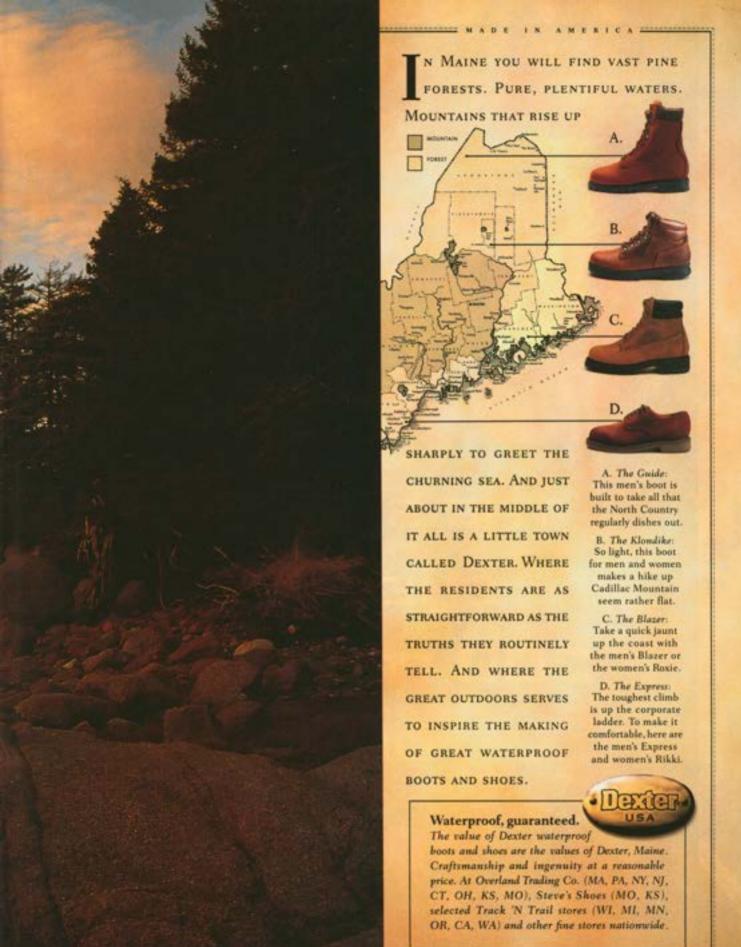
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FEATURES

40

PANDORA'S POISON

Your body may bear a toxic burden of PCBs—thanks to Monsanto, General Electric, and Westinghouse, who knew the truth but chose to remain silent. by Eric F. Coppolino

46

AN ENDURING WILDERNESS?

The promise of the Wilderness Act was "country big enough to have a beyond to it, and an inside." Thirty years later, wildlands protection is still a work in progress. by Bruce Hamilton

50

SILENT SPRINGE

THEBIRDS. WHAHAPN 2EM? Taking literary license with a classic. by Daniel Nussbaum

52

A FUTURE OF THEIR CHOOSING

Our planet suffers from too many people, many of whom suffer from too little freedom. A roundtable discussion on population and emancipation.

60

VIEWPOINTS

Natural light and magic: the winners of Sierra's 15th annual photo contest.

SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1994 • VOL. 79/NO. 5

SIERRA



In the woods of Maine, page 24

AFIELD

18 - HEARTH & HOME

Down the drain no more Ray Carter

19 . HAND & EYE

Artful translations

20 . BODY POLITICS

Old folks at home Michael Castleman

22 . GOOD GOING

Underwater Maine David Howard Day

24 - WHEREABOUTS

The remorse of conscience Richard Flanagan

DEPARTMENTS

8A . THE SIERRA CLUB BULLETIN

A new voice for the Club (member copies only)

10 . LETTERS

16 . WAYS & MEANS

One nation, two countries Carl Pope

26 . PRIORITIES

- · Campaign reform or bust
- Republicans abandon their roots
- . The Black Caucus shows its colors

78 · IN PRINT

84 - CLUBWAYS

Rachel Carson's gifts

86 . RESOURCES

88 . WAY TO GO

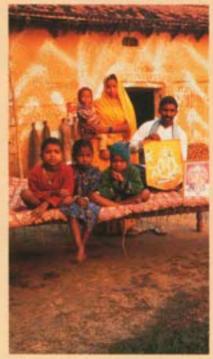
Beartooth Mountains, Montana

104 - LAST WORDS

Policies of choice

COVER

John Day Fossil Beds, Oregon: the first-place color winner in the "Landscapes" category of this year's Siena photo contest. Photo by Darwin R. Wiggett



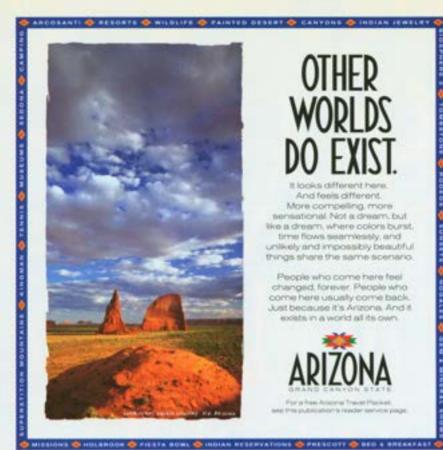
Worldly goods, page 80.

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Facing death by avalanche, why did I choose to be buried in these clothes?

-Jeff Lowe

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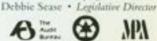
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BULLETIN

THE NEWS FORUM FOR SIERRA CLUB MEMBERS

Reaching Out in Mississippi: "The Issue Is Justice"

ne by one on a recent muggy afternoon in rural Columbia, Mississippi—in the blessedly cool interior of a gymnasium-size meeting hall—members of lesus People

Against Pollution rose to bear witness to the misery wrought in their lives by

hazardous wastes.

"In January I lost my son," one middle-aged woman said grimly, gripping a facecloth as she stood in her summer dress in the center of a circle of people seated on folding chairs. "Then in February I lost my husband. In March I lost my brother. My older sister started breakin' out in pimples, then a sore started takin' over her nose until finally she died." She paused a moment to scan her audience before letting her anguish explode: "Why did they die? I believe it's a

BEARING WITNESS -

Members of Jesus People Against Pollution, including JPAP President Charlotte Keys (center), lead a Club delegation on a tour through a neighborhood contaminated by toxins. Sierra Club representatives include President J. Robert Cox (at left), Board member Carolyn Carr (behind him), and grassroots organizer John McCown (at right).

chemical that's takin' my family from me, and I feel like somebody should know, and somebody should hay."

Listening intently were Sierra Club leaders from throughout the Southeast, including J. Robert Cox. president of the Club, and more than 20 delegates from the Gulf Coast Regional Conservation Committee (GCRCC) representing the Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Delta (Louisiana). Mississippi, South Carolina. Tennessee, and Lone Star (Texas) chapters. Also attending were staff members from the Club's Southeast and Southern Plains field offices, including grassroots organizer John McCown. who had called this meeting as part of the Club's ongoing effort to combat environmental racism.

Four years ago, the Sierra

In partnership with minority communities, the Sierra Club is working to end the scourge of environmental racism.

by Mark Mardon

Club began actively reaching out to grassroots minority groups to assist them in winning environmental justice. Since then, Club organizers and activists have been lending a hand to minority communities throughout the South and across North America as they struggle to protect themselves against toxic threats.

The Sierra Club's presence in Columbia was one

example of the organization's concerted effort on behalf of people of color. Club leaders came to the community to reaffirm a commitment they had made to Jesus People Against Pollution (IPAP, pronounced "JayPap") a year earlier, when Cox, McCown, and others vowed to assist the group in freeing the town's mostly African-American. politically disenfranchised citizens from the yoke of a hazardous-waste site that has been strangling them for 17 years.

Evidence of their suffering was plain to see from the ugly rashes that covered many people's swollen arms, legs, and torsos. Locals told of themselves or family members being stricken with cancer, nervous disorders, chronic nosebleeds, breathing problems, birth defects, and miscarriages.

The dump in our community has brought on a major health crisis that a lot of us do not know how to deal with," said JPAP President Charlotte Keys. "The people of Columbia need help for relocation and medical treatment. I know that God has doctors who know how to treat patients exposed to toxins. But we don't have them here in Columbia, Mississippi, We're looking forward to getting them.

"The issue here is justice—the lack of justice," said Nick Aumen of the Florida Chapter, who chairs

continued on page 8G

Letter from the PRESIDENT

Regular readers of
Sierra have no doubt
already noted that
this issue is different.
You're now reviewing the
fruits of months of planning,
the new information resource
for all Sierra Club members
—The Sierra Club Bulletin.

If that title sounds familiar, it should: It was for many years the name of the Club's membership publication (rechristened Siera in 1977). From its first issue in 1893, the Bulletin was a beloved forum for thousands of Sierra Club members. Though the organization, and the world, have grown enormously more complex over the past century, the need for members to keep up with the Club's activities is undimin-

Rebirth of the Bulletin

ished, it is, if anything, more essential than ever before.

As the Club's flagship publication, Sierra enjoys a continent-wide readership. But not every reader is also a Sierra



by J. Robert Cox

Club member. It's vitally important to keep our halfmillion environmentally concerned citizen-activists informed about the Club's work, its accomplishments and successes, in a more direct and timely manner than the magazine possibly can. That's why the emphasis in the Bulletin will be on news of special interest to our members and supporters, all of whom have a stake not only in our work together, but in how that work gets done, and in the people who do it.

For it is people who make the Sierra Club unique. It is as close to a perfectly representative democracy as any organization of its size that I have ever encountered. No other major environmental group in North America is organized, from the bottom up, around its members the way the Sierra Club is. Even our professional staff—in San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and 20 field offices around the U.S. and Canada —work to fulfill the goals and priorities established by the Club's hundreds of volunteer leaders. And those leaders have themselves risen from the ranks of local groups and regional chapters.

It is this integration of effort, across the spectrum of environmental issues, that most distinctively characterizes the Sierra Club. And it is what will inspire the editors of the Bulletin to reflect the special nature of the Club in each and every issue. I'll have something to say in this space on a regular basis for the duration of my term as Sierra Club president. I look forward to sharing my thoughts with you. Please feel free to reciprocate: You can write to me c/o the Sierra Club, 730 Polk Street. San Francisco, CA 94109.

Why GATT's a Bad Deal

s every schoolchild knows, the American people, through their elected representatives in Congress, determine the kind of laws they want. If we demand tougher environmental safeguards than most other nations—and we emphatically do—then we can simply enact tougher laws.

That's what the textbooks say. But a trade proposal being pushed by the Clinton administration would change all that. It would not only rewrite the book on American democracy, but subject existing U.S. environmental laws to brutal editing by "trade experts" in Geneva.

"Nothing is more likely to pull down our present U.S. consumer and environmental protections and derail future advances," Ralph Nader has said, "than the proposed expansion of a global trade agreement called the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade."

The agreement, better known as GATT, has been likened to the North American Free Trade Agreement. But the differences are dramatic. While NAFTA gave just two countries the right to challenge U.S. laws as barriers to trade, GATT extends that right to more than 100 foreign powers. While NAFTA had too few environmental protections, GATT has virtually none. And while the environmental

EDITORIAL

GATT spells trouble for our air, water, health, and democratic principles.

community was split over NAFTA, it is united in its opposition to GATT.

The Sierra Club opposes
GATT for three reasons:

It would declare open season on vital U.S. environmental laws. The European
Union has already targeted
dozens of American laws for
destruction, including dolphin-safe-tuna and automobile fuel-efficiency laws.

It creates a powerful new World Trade Organization, which will greatly increase

the leverage of our trading partners to undermine U.S. laws. It's fine to support free trade. But it's a mistake to let the WTO weaken environmental standards under the guise of setting trade rules and under a cloak of secrecy. GATT encourages nations to compete in the world market by lowering environmental standards. It lacks even NAFTA's minimal protections against an international bidding war at the expense of the environment.

GATT's a bad deal for America. To add insult to injury, Congress will be asked to consider GATT under so-called fast-track rules, which prohibit any amendments. Take it, in other words, or leave it.

The answer to that is easy. Congress should say "no" to GATT. by Amy Wilson

Pick one issue that interests you—and pursue it." That's Sierra Club volunteer Vicky Hoover's advice to budding activists. It's a simple strategy, but her accomplishments confirm its wisdom.

Hoover and her family moved to California from the East in the mid-1960s, and were immediately drawn to the wilderness of the Sierra Nevada. Together they joined the Sierra Club to participate in its backcountry outings to John Muir's beloved "range of light."

Two years later Hoover was leading national wilderness outings. In the mid1970s, she began leading
San Francisco Bay Chapter outings as well. She also earned a reputation as a formidable "peak bagger". Between 1968 and 1981, Hoover and her family scaled 246 different Sierra Nevada peaks.

In 1985, however, the desert called. Hoover was a fledgling member of the Bay Chapter's wilderness subcommittee when the California Desert Protection Act was introduced in Congress.

To me, this was a oncein-a-lifetime opportunity to save an enormous wilderness," she recalls. "That's what I seized upon."

With the dedication she'd applied to hiking the Sierra, Hoover devoted herself to learning the intricacies of both the law and the desert. She credits much of her education to three veteran Club activists: Elden Hughes, Judy Anderson, and Jim Dodson. "They have been my teachers and my mentors on desert preservation," she says of

Volunteer SPOTLIGHT

For Vicky Hoover, scaling Sierran peaks led naturally to desert activism.



the trio, who head the nonprofit California Desert Protection League.

For nearly a decade, Hoover, now chair of the Sierra Club's Northern California Desert Task Force, has worked with California activists to get local government resolutions supporting the desert bill. She also organizes phone banks and letterwriting campaigns, and presents slide shows to groups throughout the region.

And—merging the business of conservation with
the pleasure of exploration—she leads trips to
the desert several times each
year. Taking her cue from
John Muir himself, Hoover
says helping people experience first-hand the subtle,
otherworldly beauty of the
desert is among the most effective ways of inspiring
them to join the fight to
preserve it.

The years of hard work are finally paying off. Almost a decade after the bill was first introduced, the Senate in April approved the California Desert Protection Act, and the House was set to pass its own version in July. When it's finally signed into law, the bill will permanently safeguard nearly 7 million acres of wilderness.

Hoover's work on behalf of the desert has also engendered a new breed of wilderness trip, known as "activist outings." Since 1993, she has been working with the Sierra Club's outing department to give members the opportunity to learn the techniques and strategies of advocacy while exploring the scenic, geologic, biological, and cultural features of areas in need of protection.

"I'm very keenly aware that there's too much separation between outings and conservation people," Hoover declares. "Outings should have a conservation focus, while conservation activists should get out of their meeting rooms and into wilderness and experience the places they're working to preserve.

"I would like my chief contribution to the Sierra Club," she adds, "to be the achievement of that balance."

Club Joins Labor, Rights Groups in Boycott of Texaco

The Sierra Club has joined the Los Angeles-based Labor/Community Strategy Center and an Ecuadoran human-rights group in a boycott of Texaco.

Texaco's Wilmington,
California, refinery annually spews some 250,000
pounds of toxins and carcinogens into the surrounding area, whose residents are largely people of color.
The company has dumped over 17 million gallons of crude oil and 20 billion gallons of toxic waste water in Ecuadoran rain forests and rivers. Texaco has also ignored requests by the Sierra

Club and other groups to stop doing business in Burma due to that country's record of human-rights abuses.

To take part in the boycott:

- Don't buy Texaco gasoline or Star Mart products.
- Don't buy Havoline motor oil.
- Don't use Star Lube oil change stations.
- Cut up your Texaco credit card and mail it with a letter explaining your action—to Alfred De Crane, CEO of Texaco, Inc., 2000 Westchester Ave., White Plains, NY 10650.

A Greener Congress in '95? Only With Your Help

Will Congress help save the nation's environment, or speed its destruction? That depends largely on us—on whether we succeed in electing environmental champions

like the eight on these pages.

The next Congress is likely to face industrial-strength efforts to weaken the Endangered Species Act, the Clean Water Act, and a host of other key environmental protections. Without the votes of our allies in 1995, many of our proudest, most important achievements could be rolled back or overturned.

That's why the Sierra Club will endorse some 225 House and Senate candidates this year, and assist them by making phone calls, walking precincts, and contributing to their campaign chests.

Needless to add, special interests will outspend us by more than 50 to 1 in hopes of defeating our friends and electing enemies of the environment.

But you can help balance the political scales. The Sierra Club urges you to write a check directly to the political campaigns of one or more of the candidates below. All face difficult races. All are on our "most endangered" list of staunch environmental allies.

Wherever you live, you can vote for these environmental leaders by contributing whatever you can afford. (Be sure to write "Sierra Club" on the bottom of your check to make clear the reason for your support.) Your aid is crucial. After all, every "green" vote we can count on in Congress is one we don't have to lobby for. And in the next Congress, we're going to need all the votes we can muster.

Help us shift the balance of power toward the nation's environment. Please be as

generous as you can to ensure a greener Congress in '95.

(Note: Individuals may donate up to \$1,000 per election to each candidate. Contributions to candidates' committees are not tax-deductible as charitable contributions.)

Frank Lautenberg

Senate-New Jersey

New Jersey, the Garden State, is also an industrial basin rife with severe air, land, and water-pollution problems. Democratic Sen. Frank Lautenberg has



shown outstanding leadership in efforts to clean up New Jersey and prevent the same

situation from developing elsewhere.

Lautenberg has put his imprint on nearly every piece of major environmental legislation of the last decade. Environmental bills Lautenberg has authored include the air toxics provisions of the 1990 Clean Air

Act and the Community Right to Know Act, which has helped cut New Jersey's toxic emissions by half and the nation's by almost onethird. Lautenberg has also used his seat on the Senate Appropriations Committee to secure funding to protect the Sterling Forest in the New Jersey highlands.

He faces a tight general election against Chuck Haytaian, who, as speaker of the state Assembly, has participated in the weakening of New Jersey's landmark environmental protections. Lautenberg will need help from environmentalists if he is to compete in New Jersey's costly media market.

Lautenberg Committee 1 Gateway Center, Suite 1701 Newark, NJ 07102 (201) 623-1994

Dianne Feinstein

Senate-California

In her brief time in the Senate, Dianne Feinstein (D) has proved tenacious in her leadership for the environment. The California Desert Protection Act suffered 10 years of gridlock until Feinstein took up the legislation and drove it to victory in the Senate in April.

Since winning a two-year term in 1992, she has also supported grazing and mining reform, and a bill to permanently safeguard the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Re-electing Feinstein to a full six-year term is critical to winning passage of a host of environmental initiatives currently backed up in Congress. In November, Feinstein faces freshman Rep. Michael Huffington, who has attacked her environmental priorities.

Huffington has said he is willing to spend \$15 million



of his own money on the campaign—a sum that Feinstein, whose war chest is de-

pleted after three campaigns in six years, will be hardpressed to match without the support of environmentalists.

Feinstein for Sonate 2211 Corinth Ave., Suite 310 Los Angeles, CA 90064 (310) 478-7944

Tom Andrews

Senate-Maine

The retirement of Senate majority leader George Mitchell has set off a scramble in Maine to replace him. Both of the state's U.S. representatives, Democrat Tom Andrews and Republican Olympia Snowe, have



thrown their hats into the ring in what promises to be a close contest. Andrews

is a true champion of the environment, boasting a perfect lifetime pro-environmental voting record. He has proved an effective leader in the battle to clean up contaminated sites at military and other federal facilities, and he is working to ensure the sustainability of marine ecosystems and to protect Maine's northern forest and fisheries.

Andrews' first task is to gain name recognition in Snowe's district, the largest east of the Mississippi. He has always run grassroots campaigns, so individual environmentalists' contributions are essential to help elect this worthy successor to George Mitchell.

Friends of Tom Andrews P.O. Box 4400, Station A Portland, ME 04101 (207) 874-1994

Maurice Hinchey

House-New York

Freshman Rep. Maurice Hinchey (D) won the Sierra Club's endorsement in 1992 based on his record as a



state assemblyman working on acid rain, toxic waste, illegal dumping, and ground-

water and wetlands protection. He has earned our endorsement this year because of a near-perfect environmental voting record in Congress.

Hinchey is a lead sponsor of the Utah Wilderness Act, co-sponsored the California Desert Protection Act and the Pollution Prevention Incinerator Control Act, and supported much of the important environmental legislation introduced in Congress during 1993.

This election is a rematch for Hinchey and Bob Moppert, a conservative county legislator. Hinchey squeaked past Moppert in 1992, and the race is expected to go down to the wire again. In such a close contest, environmentalists' contributions could make the difference.

Friends of Maurice Hinchey PO. Box 4497 Kingston, NY 12401 [914] 338-8890

Dan Hamburg

House-California

Considering that his district includes the timber communities of California's North Coast, freshman Rep. Dan Hamburg (D) has staked



out a brave, if politically risky, environmental agenda to encourage sustainable logging and

ensure protection for oldgrowth forests.

Hamburg co-authored the Headwaters Forest Act, which would protect 44,000 acres of North Coast redwoods, and introduced the Russian River Fisheries and Riverbed Restoration Act.

Hamburg's bid for re-election is bitterly opposed by the timber industry. After winning a tough primary, Hamburg faces former Rep. Frank Riggs, whom he edged out in 1992 by 6,000 votes. Riggs, supported by the timber industry, has attacked Hamburg's "extreme" environmental record.

We need Hamburg to continue his work on the environmentally crucial Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and the Public Works and Transportation Committee. To win re-election, Hamburg will need our help to counter Riggs' timber-industry donations.

Hamburg for Congress Committee 2977 Jefferson St. Napa, CA 94558 (707) 252-1050

Bill Wheeler

House-Mississippi

Bill Wheeler, who has provided a rare example of environmental leadership in the Mississippi Legislature, offers a fresh approach in the race for the open seat left by Rep. Jamie Whitten, who is retiring after more than 50 years in Congress.

Wheeler (D) would bring solid environmental credentials to Capitol Hill. At the



state level, he has helped kill "takings" legislation and consistently opposed efforts to site

hazardous-waste facilities in predominantly African-American Nauxubee County.

The race is rated a tossup as Wheeler squares off against a key conservative target, Republican state Sen. Roger Wicker, who has a poor environmental record. Wheeler's funds were drained by a tough primary runoff, so he needs help from environmentalists to go the distance.

Wheeler for Congress P.O. Box 343 New Albany, MS 38652 (604) 534-0560

Anthony Beilenson

House-California

For nearly 20 years, Rep. Anthony Beilenson (D) has proved a steadfast friend of the environment, achieving



an almost perfect career voting record.

He has also singlehandedly carried en-

vironmental campaigns to victory. Under his leadership, funding for international family planning has more than doubled in the past four years.

Beilenson faces a tough battle for re-election. His opponent, Republican
Richard Sybert, a wealthy
businessman, has already
sunk nearly a half-million
dollars of his own money
into the campaign. Because
Beilenson does not accept
political action committee
donations, contributions
from individuals are essential
to his re-election.

Beilenson Campaign Committee P.O. Box 571945 Tarzana, CA 91357 (818) 999-1990

Sherwood Boehlert

House-New York

Rep. Sherwood Boehlert, the leading Republican environmentalist in the House, has been a valuable ally over the past 12 years.

Boehlert has taken the lead on a wide range of en-



vironmental issues. He championed the inclusion of acidrain controls and ozone pro-

tection in the Clean Air Act of 1990. And he authored the legislation to elevate the Environmental Protection Agency to Cabinet status.

In addition to voting the right way on the environment, Boehlert exerts an immeasurable influence on his fellow Republicans. But he faces tough opposition in both the primary and the general election. Support from environmentalists now, especially before the mid-September primary, could make the difference. We need to re-elect this friend of the environment in 1994.

Friends of Sherwood Boeblert P.O. Box C Utica, NY 13503 (315) 733-8825

Activists Leading the Way in Salmon's Race to Survive

by Mark Mardon

anvassers with the Fund for Public Interest Research, contracted by the Sierra Club to recruit new members and deliver the Club's conservation message, went door-to-door in the Northwest this spring, getting word to the public about the plight of wild salmon. The effort was part of a nationwide program spanning 24 cities in 14 states.

In Seattle, Eugene, and other cities, the canvassers presented residents with the facts about how dam operations and habitat destruction have left coho and other salmon on the verge of extinction.

Though few considered themselves environmental activists, most residents expressed concern over the situation and were glad to receive pre-printed post-cards they could send to their governor and legislators, asking them to act to protect habitat and give anadromous fish a fighting chance to migrate freely.

'One focus of the Sierra Club's salmon campaign." says Julia Reitan of the Club's Northwest field office. "is to mobilize public support for the enactment of salmon recovery plans." Already several salmon stocks in the Snake River have been designated as endangered, a step that requires the National Marine Fisheries Service to prepare formal recovery plans. "Our activists are working to see that the plans succeed," says Reitan.

A principal objective for the Club is to ensure that the Columbia and Snake rivers are allowed to run swiftly during smolting season—as nature intended. If juvenile salmon are delayed in reaching salt water by barriers as they head down freshwater streams, they die. As Reitan points out, utility dams have turned the Columbia and Snake into chains of lake-like, slackwater reservoirs, which retards the smolts' down-

stream progress, killing them in their infancy.

Getting the smolts out to sea won't save the species, though, if the adult salmon have no spawning ground to return to. "Salmon runs have



been devastated by bad logging practices, pollution, and loss of habitat from urban sprawl," says Reitan. The Club's Northwest office has been helping activists to organize "salmon action committees" in major cities and in each chapter in the region. They produce slide shows for civic meetings, call press conferences, testify at hearings—whatever it takes to make saving the salmon a top government priority.

"It's not just the Sierra Club that believes there are threats to the salmon and that solutions need to be tried," says Reitan. "As our canvassers found, the general public agrees, and looks to the Club for guidance."

A Writer Takes Aim at "War Against the Greens"

uch of the negativity and disinformation about environmentalism these days flows from the so-called Wise Use movement. This corporate-funded "backlash" not only harms efforts to pass and enforce environmental legislation, it also inspires violence against those who speak out for the Earth.

In The War Against the Grees, published this month by Sierra Club Books (\$25, cloth), David Helvarg presents a painstakingly researched report on the dangers facing grassroots activists, particularly in rural areas. The journalist, who is also a licensed private investigator, interviewed people on both sides of the conflict, traveling to the Pacific Northwest, New England, the Great Basin, and

Washington, D.C., to speak not only with environmentalists but with the miners, ranchers, loggers, and Wise Users arrayed against them.

"I was surprised by the level of violence out there," Helvarg says. Over the past half-dozen years, there has been a noticeable increase in assaults, arson, dog killings, vandalism, and even rape directed against activists. In addition to the hundreds of incidents of physical violence, Helvarg says, there have been thousands of telephone threats and other attempts at intimidation.

Unfortunately, he notes, these acts never get wide public attention because, looked at one by one, they seem like isolated incidents. The real story is their cumulative impact, which mainstream reporters tend to miss. Re-



sponse by police and the FBI has also been less than satisfactory, Helvarg says, "except in the Adirondacks, where violence was escalating until Governor [Mario] Cuomo ordered the police in."

One of the effects Helvarg hopes The War Against the Gross will have is to force the issue of anti-environmentalist violence into the media and lawenforcement spotlight. "I prefer that happen through this book than to have half a dozen people killed out there," he says.

For ordering information, call the Sierra Club Store at (800) 935-1056.

Reaching Out

the GCRCC. 'That's why the Sierra Club is here. We're going to face the problem with you side by side, in partnership."

The plight of Columbia's residents began in 1977, when the nearly new Reichhold Chemical Company plant near downtown Columbia exploded and caught fire. The accident destroyed the operation, but left behind more than 4,500 drums of chemicals, which Reichhold subsequently interred in an 81-acre field at the site.

Unbeknownst to the residents, the drums were leaking, allowing chemicals to seep into the groundwater supplying Columbia's artesian wells. Over the next several years, a series of floods flushed toxins from the site and spread them into surrounding farmlands, rivers, swimming holes, and streets.

In 1984 the Environmental Protection Agency began investigating the site, and two years later placed it on the Superfund priority list for hazardous-waste cleanup. Then came workers, decked out in protective clothing, to perform the arduous task of removing the barrels and decontaminating the immediate area.

With that mission now accomplished, the EPA has indicated it will soon take the site off the Superfund list—a move JPAP and the Sierra Club say is premature. To prove the point, JPAP led the Sierra Club delegation to a nearby farm where some two dozen drums reeking of chemicals—the remainder of a

150-drum lot sold dirtcheap in 1978 to a farmer who used the unidentified contents as bush killer—lie strewn on a hill next to a county road.

"Why is the EPA about to delist the Reichhold site," asks Cox, "when barrels like these are still lying around, leaking stuff labeled dangerous, flammable, and corrosive?" The Sierra Club is calling for the EPA to conduct expanded cleanup efforts in the area, Cox said, and has asked the agency to provide mobile medicaltesting units for the community.

"I strongly believe we're being tested here," said Mc-Cown, who successfully campaigned against the siting of hazardous-waste facilities in his hometown of Sparta, Georgia, and whose father was a prominent civil-rights leader in the deep South. 'For so long we've allowed industry to divide us on the basis of race and class. We're going to have to come together as brothers and sisters-as human beings-to stop this problem of environmental injustice.

"As John Muir said, there's a connectedness between all things. If people in Columbia, Mississippi, are suffering, then something is ailing European-Americans from North Carolina to California as well."

For more information about the Sierra Club's campaign against environmental injustice in the South, contact Senior Regional Staff Director Jim Price or grassroots organizer John McCown at the Sierra Club Southeast office, 1330 21st Way South, 100B, Birmingham, AL 35205; phone (205) 933-9111.

Hikers, Bikers Move to Common Ground

some common ground on the use and mis-

The burgeoning popularity of mountain bikes has added to the traffic on hiking trails and, in some cases, to environmental damage due to erosion. Competition for space led first to complaints and then to trail

Sierra Club leaders met recently in Park City, Utah, with representatives of the International Mountain Bicycling Association, a Colorado-based advocacy group founded in 1988. The two groups agreed to work for greater access to trails for both hikers and cyclists while protecting environmentally sensitive areas and promoting trail-user courtesy.

The summit produced a joint statement of principles that recognized mountain bicycling as legitimate transportation on trails so long as it is done "in an environmentally sound and socially responsible manner," adding that "not all trails should be opened to bicycle use."

"The Sierra Club and IMBA both want to provide recreational opportunities for cyclists while protecting the land," said Rudy Lukez, chair of the Sierra Club Public Lands Committee. "Sierra Club members are mountain bikers, too."

A 1992 survey found that nearly seven of every 10 Sierra Club members own bicycles—one-third of them mountain bikes.

Club leaders also note a strong precedent for cooperation between environmentalists and bike enthusiasts. Following talks in Utah, the Utah Wilderness Act, which would set aside 5.7 million acres for protec-



tion, was endorsed by the largest mountain-bicycle user group in the state.

"The underlying problem," explained Mark Bettinger, associate representative in the Sierra Club's Northeast field office, "is a sharp increase in trail use by all users—hikers, equestrians, and cyclists. The number of new trails and the budget for trail maintenance has not kept pace with demand. This is really a population issue."

The two sides also agreed to work together to educate trail users and to protect and promote wilderness, parks, and open spaces.

The two-day summit culminated a four-month mediation project funded by Seattle-based Recreational Equipment Inc. (REI).

In 60 chapters and hundreds of local groups spanning 21 ecoregions and two nations, Sierra Club members are hard at work for a healthier planet. What follows is a small sampling of recent activities.

To share news from your ecoregion, send it to the Bulletin clo the Sierra Club, 730 Polk St., San Francisco, CA 94109.

Alaska Rainforest

ALASKA Legal arguments and pressure from grassroots activists persuaded the Clinton administration to cancel a breached 50-year contract with the Alaska Pulp Corporation, 17 years shy of its 2011 expiration date. To meet the terms of the contract, the U.S. Forest Service routinely allowed logging in the Tongass National Forest at biologically unsustainable levels



American Southeast

GEORGIA Sierra Club activists were instrumental in turning back an attempt to rezone for highrise development 33 acres of land adiacent to the Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area. Volunteers from the Georgia Chapter's Atlanta and Centennial groups cooperated in this effort.

LOUISIANA The Club's Atchafalaya Preservation Campaign began at its first meeting in June to develop a concrete strategy that would achieve protection of the

Atchafalaya River Basin wetlands within four years.

Ecoregion ROUNDUP

Atlantic Coast

NOVA SCOTIA The first Sierra Club group in Canada's Maritimes was formed this spring in Halifax, Nova Scotia's capital city. Calling itself "Sierra Club-Atlantic," the new group's priority is to join the fight against a polluting Halifax incinerator.

Colorado Plateau

CUAH Over 700 people gathered earlier this year at a Salt Lake City rally organized by the Sierra Club. The rally's purpose was to show the federal government that most Westerners are in favor of conservation measures such as grazing and mining reform.

Great Lakes

WASHINGTON D.C. Phirty Great Lakes activists convened in the nation's capital for the eighth annual Great Lakes Washington Week They met with Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol Browner, attended a House hearing. with a panel of victims of contaminated water, and paid numerous lobbying visits to Capitol Hill.

Ottawa Ottawa area Sierra Club members recently held their third activist-training workshop for Club members as well as members of other grassroots groups

WISCONSIN The Sierra Club's Southeast Gateway group coordinated efforts this year to provide computers for Russian scientists studying Lake Baikal in southern Siberia, which con-

tains about one-fifth of the world's fresh water.

Great North American Prairie

A half-dozen Club members from the Illinois River Prairie group met with a total of 18 state representatives and senators in May to lobby for environmental measures up for consideration in the state Legislature

Great Northern Forest

NEW YORK Members of the Sierra Club's Hudson-Mohawk group launched a lakeshore-cleanup effort this spring at Cascade Lakes near Lake Placid. The volunteers cleaned up litter and evaluated ways to abate salt and sand runoff into the lakes from a nearby highway.

Mississippi Basin

OHO Sierra Club volun teers launched a statewide clean-water campaign to strengthen weak Ohio water laws and develop a Clean Water Act for the state.

Oleo A Sierra Club workshop on "local carrying capacity" in Columbus this spring was attended by 60 people. Workshop speakers included Michael Mc-Closkey, the Sierra Club's chairman, and Brian Hinman, national coordinator of the Club's Local Carrying Capacity Campaign.

KENTUCKY Sierra Club members participated in the kick-off of an effort to clean up McConnell Springs, a creek in Lexington. The volunteers removed brush, hundreds of concrete blocks, tires, and car seats from the banks of the creek.

Pacific Coast

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Sierra Club volunteers have joined with the California Department of Fish and Game to gather biological data about local creeks for California's first Community Creek Watch program.

LOS ANGELES Over 100 Sierra Club hikers gathered April 21 at Trippet Ranch in the Santa Monica Mountains for the culmination of a series of hikes in celebration of John Muir's birthday.



Pacific Northwest

WASHINGTON Two new groups of the Sierra Club's Cascade Chapter were formed this spring in Washington state, the Tatoosh group, covering Pierce County, and the Snohomish group, covering Snohomish County.

BRITISH COLUMBIA STORTS Club of Western Canada successfully challenged in the courts the practice of commercial logging in the drainage area of the Victoria, British Columbia, water district

Southern Appalachian Highlands

WEST VIRGINIA Twenty-five activists participated in a May "Citizen Science" workshop co-sponsored by the Sierra Club. Workshop participants learned how to monitor tree health in local forests. The data they collect will help determine the effects of air pollution on forests in the region.

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UNDER THE GUN

You have chased another potential member away. Paul Rauber's article on hunting in the proposed Mojave National Park ("Home on the Rifle Range," May/June) turned out to be nothing more than a caustic diatribe against the National Rifle Association.

I realize there can be value to restricting or prohibiting hunting in specific areas. But I also know that the NRA is the only organization that works effectively to defend certain freedoms deemed politically incorrect by the urban media against cheap, meaningless measures by political prostitutes such as Bill Clinton.

Siems's editors seem to be making us choose between support of an organization that fights for environmental responsibility on a broad scale and one that supports both conservation and freedom, albeit in more specialized areas.

Howard L. Martin, Jr. Eagle River, Alaska

It is misleading to suggest that wellregulated hunting, managed by wildlife biologists, is destructive to the land. It would be a slap in the face to state and federal biologists to suggest that they could not manage the Mojave as a preserve (rather than as a national park) while protecting or enhancing the environment.

David W. Liedlich Southbury, Connecticut

Your article seems to be another misguided attack on those whose environmental agenda should be the same as yours. If hunters and fishermen, the original environmentalists, and organizations such as the Sierra Club would work together, perhaps we could combat the real enemies of the desert: the grazing, mining, and military interests who have so easily won concessions in this otherwise admirable legislation. Sid Dutcher

Huntington Beach, California

You note the decline in the number of hunters in California over the past decade, pointing out that only 1.3% of the population of that state still holds hunting licenses. Therein lies the tragedy. Remember that it is the hunter who supports the vast majority of wildlife research and conservation projects in this country. The Sierra Club should be encouraging its members to purchase hunting licenses even if they don't plan to hunt.

I agree that a national park is not the place for hunting. But neither is your magazine the place for antagonism toward the oldest (123 years) and largest (3.5 million dues-paying members) civil-rights group in America.

Michael L. Foreman, M.D. Dallas, Texas

If you want to stereotype all hunters as slobs, you should look carefully at the stereotype of conservationist snobs this sort of writing reinforces. The Sierra Club must want a very select membership indeed if it chooses to alienate large groups of individuals in this fashion.

Alex Mamourian, M.D. Lebanon, New Hampshire

As a hunter, I resent the implication that all of us are irresponsible yahoos who can't wait to get out in the desert and shoot an endangered species and maybe a hiker or two. Most hunters would no more shoot an ancient petroglyph than the average hiker would deface one with spray paint.

I also take issue with the impression given that the number of animals killed is the sole measure of the success of a hunt. Very few deer may be taken per year in the Mojave, but that doesn't mean a hunter can't have a quality experience there.

Don't fall into the trap of self-righteousness by bashing the NRA for doing their job. They are an advocacy organization exactly like the Sierra Club. Their funding appeals are no more lurid or scary than some I receive from the Club, and their membership deserves the same respect that Club members deserve, whether you agree with their goals or not.

Charles H. Wilson, Jr. Newport News, Virginia

Paul Rauber responds: The subject of my article was not the moral rectitude of hunting or hunters. As explicitly stated, the Sierra Club is not opposed to hunting; neither, for that matter, am I. The issue, rather, was the vehement opposition of the National Rifle Association to national-park status for the East Mojave, which has been a top priority of the Sierra Club for many years.

If the NRA is in fact the conservationist organization that its members claim, why is it opposing us on this issue? It has not even attempted to claim any ecological benefit of hunting to the desert. Instead, its only argument is for "no net loss of hunting opportunities," for the sake of which it is willing to obstruct the establishment of any new national park. Members of the NRA are of course free to choose political dogma over concern for the environment—but it is a mystery to me why they think this should exempt them from criticism.

OIL-SPILL DRILL

We were disappointed to read "Dress Rehearsal for Disaster" by Dashka Slater in the May/June issue of Sierra, about the oil-spill-response exercise we conducted in Port Angeles, Washington, last year. We at ARCO Marine take our commitment to spill-response preparedness very seriously, periodically exercising all aspects of our response capabilities, including the ability to respond to the media and the public.

The Port Angeles exercise was selected as the Pacific Northwest's first test of the Joint Information Center concept of public, government, community, and media-relations response to a crisis situation. Through the simulation we hoped to explore all aspects of this unique collaborative effort, undertaken by the industry, state and fed-

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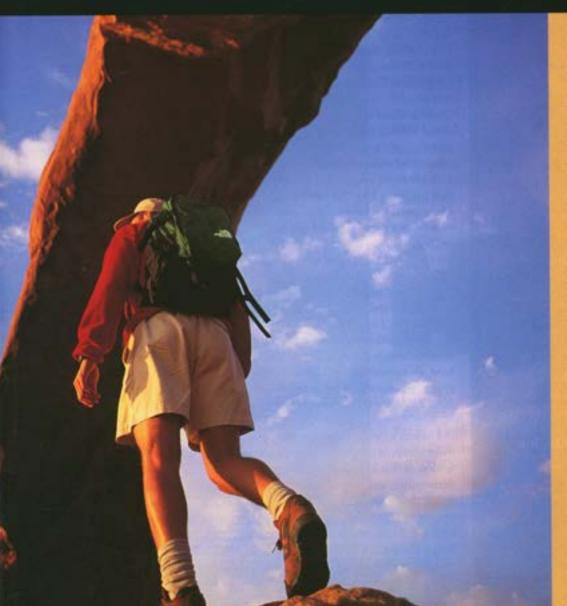
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Genesis" by Legends" 2665-D Park Center Drive Simi Valley, CA 93065 800 726-9660 / 805 520-9660 eral regulatory agencies, and local community representatives, in meeting the information needs of all stakeholders in an oil spill incident in a consistent and timely manner.

While not perfect, we learned a great deal from the experience and will apply these lessons in the future. If it is perceived that spill-response exercises are anything but an opportunity to take risks, try new approaches, make mistakes, and learn from those mistakes, the value of the exercise decreases significantly.

We respect Ms. Slater's right to her opinion regarding our response capabilities, but take offense at her mean-spirited descriptions of our effort to communicate information, and question the ethics of a contractor, hired to help us test different approaches to problemsolving under difficult conditions, who criticizes us for doing just that.

J. A. Aspland, President ARCO Marine, Inc. Long Beach, California

Dashka Slater responds: Far from criticizing ARCO for testing different approaches, my article simply pointed out what the oil industry already knows—that it's easier to put a happy face on an oil spill than it is to clean up after one. What I criticized was the refining of public-relations vacuity, and if Mr. Aspland had read my article carefully he would have noticed that my own profession of journalism came in for as much criticism as his.

If, as Mr. Aspland contends, the purpose of the Port Angeles drill was to learn from any mistakes, I would think ARCO would welcome a participant's observations about what these mistakes were. If, on the other hand, the purpose was to fine-tune the company's post-disaster PR campaign, Mr. Aspland's huffiness makes perfect sense.

I object to your propensity to refer to members of the public-relations profession as "flacks." That is a derogatory, demeaning, and prejudicial representation that no more accurately characterizes public-relations professionals than the use of quack, mouthpiece, or holy roller accurately characterizes doctors, lawyers, or clergy. Journalists cannot do their job without the assistance of thousands of competent, credible public-relations professionals whose usefulness to their employers is a function of providing accurate and truthful information to the press, not just the official party line. No doubt some PR people are incompetent, but far fewer are knowingly attempting to deceive the press and the public at the behest of unscrupulous corporate interests. To do so would be both unethical and counterproductive. John Miller

Los Gatos, California

SECRET NO MORE?

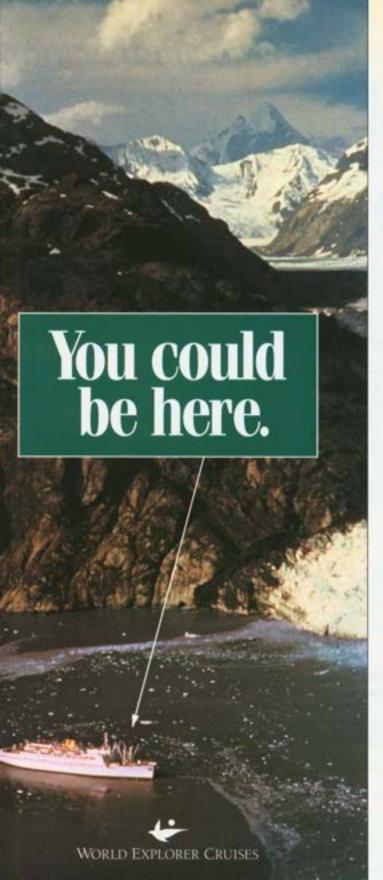
I take issue with Jeff Wallach's article on Utah's Escalante River ("On River Time," May/June). If Wallach's sense of isolation was "shattered" by a few backpackers, and if he "wholeheartedly" discourages anyone from visiting the area, why did he write this travel advertisement? The idea that the Escalante is seldom visited is a joke. It has become one of the most popular areas in the Southwest, and floating contraptions on the river contend with one another for passage through the numerous beaver dams.

It's also discouraging to see Sierra taking the same approach as the Utah Travel Council in its promotion of southeast Utah. Aren't there enough publications pushing America's "last great secret places"?

Stan Ferris Moab, Utah

The Escalante River faces threats not mentioned in Jeff Wallach's article. Logging on Boulder Mountain and a huge coal project proposed on the Kaiparowits Plateau (which looks down upon the river) are but two examples.

Wallach might have squeezed into his travel piece a reminder of the continuing battle to designate as wilderness the upper Escalante and its side canyons. Those areas and others in the Book Cliffs, Canyonlands, Cedar Mesa, and San Rafael regions of southern Utah are part of a 5.7-million-acre bill, H.R.1500, now pending in Congress. Each of these places finds oil



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1994 Recipients: Marie Ault, Dayton, Ohio; Finderick L. Brown, Midland Michigan: Finsly H. Earley, Madison, Woceroint, John H. Kaofmann, Guinerville, Florida, and Joseph H. Williams, Tuba, Oklahoma. development, off-road vehicles, military operations, and other indignities degrading not only the wilderness but the viability of the ecosystem.

With the number of visitors skyrocketing over the past decade, people seem aware of the experiences to be had in southern Utah's magnificent redrock splendor, but are possibly less clear on how to help safeguard that natural heritage. When publishing an article that will inevitably lead to increased visitation (with its consequent impacts), you should also encourage your readers to write their members of Congress asking them to cosponsor H.R.1500. Mike Matz, Executive Director Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance Salt Lake City, Utah

Page Stegner's feature in our March/April issue, "Red Ledge Province," described the pressures on Utah's desert wildlands in detail, and emphasized the extent to which H.R. 1500, by creating millions of acres of new wilderness in the state, would address them. A similar message was included in the July/August "Resources" listing for Jeff Wallach's article. The political struggle over the future of southern Utah has been a focus of our coverage quite often in the past, and we will continue to chronicle it until the fight is won or lost.

As for the dilemma inherent in describing the wonders of one or another "secret place" to a national readership, we note only that the problem is as old as the conservation movement itself. The Sierra Club was founded 100 years ago with the explicit goal of advertising the glories of the Sierra Nevada-then quite remote and difficult of access to everyday Californians-to as many people as possible, so that a constituency might emerge to lobby for its preservation. The situation is not dissimilar in southern Utah today, If visitors from across North America do not see for themselves the splendor so at risk there, and speak up on its behalf, what might conceivably motivate their representatives to do the same?

The choice for us as editors is between maintaining a code of silence about threatened areas (which would guarantee their development and degradation), or exposing their virtues to the masses (which risks their

Continued on page 85

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Carl Pope

A Tale of Two Countries

s I shuttle back and forth across the land as the Sierra Club's executive director, I often feel as though I live in two countries. One is in Washington, D.C. In this country, many people believe that Americans no longer care about protecting their environment. White House staff tell me that taking environmental leadership would hurt the President. Members of Congress sympathetic to environmental issues tell me that all they hear about is "unfunded mandates," not the quality of rivers, lakes, or drinking water.

Forty-nine members of the U.S. Senate sign a letter suggesting that they are opposed to any action to prevent toxic run-off from contaminating streams and lakes. Every Republican member of the Senate Environment Committee lines up against a reasoned Superfund proposal; many say they will vote for no bill that holds those who dump waste responsible for cleaning it up. The "national" newspaper, The Washington Post, editorializes that environmental protection is costing too much.

The other country is where everyone else lives—the folks who deted the
administration and the Congress. Out
in this greener land, few people claim
that a clean environment is too expensive or politically risky. A Montana poll
shows that the most popular proposal
for that state's wilderness is the one that
protects the most land. Newspaper editors in Columbus, Georgia, and
Tuskegee, Alabama, thunder against repeal of clean-water mandates. A jury in
Alaska finds that Exxon is indeed liable
for the devastation it wrought on
Prince William Sound.

Joined by the Sierra Club, local antitoxics groups all over this country want the Superfund to retain liability for dumpers. In more than 30 separate court cases on private property "takings" issues, the public good wins in all but three.

There's nothing new in finding a "disconnect" between Washington and the rest of the country. What is different now is that Washington is callously moving away from its citizens. This is the result of two very corrosive forces.

First, money talks louder than ever in politics. "This is the first Congress where most members know nothing of politics but the influence of money. They just have no history of bucking their donors," says a staff member of a key committee. "The President simply cannot stand up to money," a senior House Democrat and early Clinton supporter tells me.

The second force is public alienation. People don't think the federal

A wall of money and doubt separates politicians from the citizenry

government represents them, and they don't trust it. The government is supposed to protect them, and they're angry that it doesn't. This is reflected in declining voter turnout, volatile opinion polls on elected leaders, and increased receptiveness to negative campaigning.

These trends isolate Washington from the rest of the United States. Why vote if the candidates are in hock to the same big contributors? Why vote if the choice is between two sleazy cheats?

Americans tired of seeing Washington, D.C., as a distant country—and Sierra Club members dismayed by Washington's dearth of environmental leadership—can no longer leave governing to the government. We must commit ourselves to several endeavors.

First, we must weaken the link between money and politics. Campaigncontribution laws have created the present stranglehold, and new laws can break it. (See "Under the Influence," page 26.) At the same time, we should not advance our agenda by tapping into public hostility. People are worried about the future; they may be suspicious of government, but they don't believe that business on its own will take care of tomorrow either. Part of the Sierra Club's task, then, is to revive trust in the potential of government.

Government, after all, is the engine of democracy. Flawed as it may be at times, we cannot afford to give up on it. Instead, we must demonstrate that, when held accountable, it can and sometimes does provide the security that people demand-not just protection from criminals, but protection from toxic hazards and assaults on the natural world as well. Examples from recent Congresses are the passage of a comprehensive Colorado wilderness bill, legislation eliminating millions of pounds of lead emissions, and the reprieve granted the American bald eagle by the Endangered Species Act. In the latter case, popular pressure on Congress resulted in a law that pulled the eagle back from the brink of extinction. This is how government can and ought to work.

The country where most of us live is more vibrant, more healthy, and more committed to the future than our own capital. It's time for the Sierra Club to make that energy felt inside the Beltway. It's time for the District of Columbia to rejoin the United States.

CARL POPE is the executive director of the Sierra Club.



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HEARTH & HOME



Trickle-Down Economy

RAY CARTER

he United States is a thirsty nation: every day 400 billion gallons of water pour out of our pipes, hoses, and faucets, much of it going to such nonessentials as swimming pools, decorative fountains, and lawns and golf courses kept green in arid climates. Often areas with the smallest natural supply use the most water: Las Vegas, Nevada, gushes more than 325 gallons per person daily, three times the national average. Some hotels in that desert city use a million gallons of water a day.

People are learning to conserve water, especially in drought-ravaged western and southwestern states. While this is helpful, water demand is still outpacing supply. Western water reserves are being mined at a rate 22 percent higher than that at which they are being replenished; at present levels of use, reserves in some states will be depleted 25 percent by the year 2020.

The Ogallala Aquifer, stretching underneath the Great Plains from Texas to South Dakota, is North America's largest natural reservoir, containing a quadrillion gallons of water. Even so, the average level of its water table fell 10 feet between 1940 and 1980. Countless irrigation wells each pump out more than a thousand gallons a minute. Were the Ogallala to dry up completely, it would take 6,000 years to replenish. So much water has been pumped from an aquifer under Las Vegas that the downtown area has sunk five feet in the last 60 years. In Florida, large sinkholes caused by groundwater depletion have gobbled up entire houses.

During the past decade, local governments and homeowners alike have begun to explore a way of taking some of the pressure off aquifers (and lakes, rivers, and reservoirs). The idea is a simple one: recycle.

Used water that has been processed at a sewage-treatment plant is called "graywater" (as distinguished from "blackwater," untreated sewage). For years this graywater has been dumped into rivers and bays. Large urban areas discharge staggering amounts of water: New York City disposes of 300 million gallons every day; Chicago, 180 million gallons; Miami, 90 million gallons. Although some communities have diverted a portion of their graywater to irrigate municipal golf courses, city-hall lawns, and median strips, an abundant source of nonpotable water remains untapped.

Image is a part of the reason recycled water hasn't seen wider use. Many people think that water that has passed through a sewage-treatment plant is unclean. Graywater is not considered clean enough to drink, but all studies to date indicate that municipal graywater can be safely used for industrial purposes, car washing, lawn care, and crop irrigation. Right now, more than 60 percent of our fresh water goes to such uses.

Many state and local governments have begun investigating graywater as an alternative to costly, environmentally destructive water projects such as new dams, reservoirs, and pipelines from water-rich regions to water-poor ones. The state of California wrote guidelines for graywater in 1993; the 1994 Uniform Plumbing Code has

> The water you save can be your own

HAND & EYE

guidelines for graywater use in 22 western states. According to the EPA, more than 500 graywater projects have been in operation for at least ten years. Studies have shown no increase in harmful contaminants or health risks, and no disease outbreaks due to graywater use have been reported.

In the home, water from sinks, washing machines, and dishwashers can also be recycled. Although an inexpensive retrofit to reroute used water isn't yet available, homeowners can still keep a lot of it from going down the drain. If your plumbing system is accessible from your basement, you can easily redirect your secondhand water, for a cost of between \$100 and \$300, and use it to maintain your lawn and garden. (But don't use graywater directly on fruit or foliage that will be picked and eaten.) In a house built on a slab foundation, most pipes will be enclosed, but you can still redirect and reuse your laundry water.

Graywater recycling can be designed into new construction; when compared with total building cost, a graywater-recovery system looks very economical. For less than \$1,000, you can install a system that will cut water consumption substantially, paying for itself in as little as two or three years.

A word of caution here: check local plumbing codes—many areas don't allow graywater reuse. If you do reuse your old water, use only biodegradable soap and laundry products that won't harm plants or groundwater. And don't store graywater; storage may allow pathogens to flourish.

Using graywater won't solve all our shortage problems, but it will help. Water recycling has the potential to be more than just a drop in the bucket.

RAY CARTER is a freelance writer living in Sarasota, Florida.

► For more information, see "Resources," p. 86.

Brushstrokes

HANNAH HINCHMAN

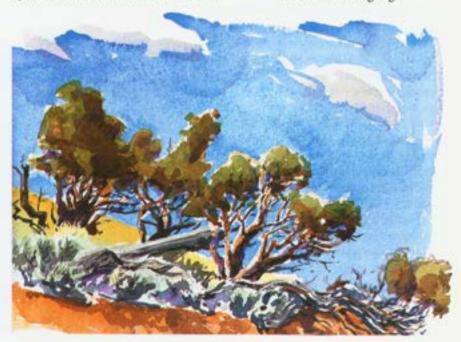
wenty brushes are fanned out on my canvas brush-carrier, and I'm holding two between the fingers of my right hand and one between my teeth. In my mind I hear the frenetic Slavic music that accompanied the troupe on the Ed Sullivan Show that kept dozens of plates spinning on top of long sticks. I'm experiencing the panic of painting with watercolors.

This morning, before setting out into the badlands with a dozen little sheets of heavy watercolor paper, I opened a book to study Winslow Homer, John Singer Sargent, and Edward Hopper, three of America's master watercolorists. Both Homer and Sargent seem to have constructed their transparent seas and sunlit surfaces out of random slashes of paint, a skill I regard with envious annoyance. The speed of the brushstrokes is obvious;

they couldn't possibly have had time to think and plan and mix each color carefully. But there are the palm fronds in a very specific wind and light, there is the ripple on the lake surface catching the last of the Adirondack sunset, correctly amplifying the light that is fading from the sky.

I can at least feel some deliberation in Hopper. The pencil drawing is visible underneath the paint. It's clear that he's worried. He flows the color into an area carefully, trying to maintain control. And once it's down, he wants to keep doing things to it, as an oil

> Add a little color, risk a backrun, learn a new language



BODY POLITICS

painter would typically stroke, smooth, and blend colors. Watercolor often resents that kind of treatment, but Hopper pulls it off.

Now, in the heat, I want to paint too fast for thinking, but I can't. I need the songs of the rock wrens to help me handle the tension. I'm interested in a group of twisted junipers on a hillside. My mind chatters: "It's the bright edges you want, so create little lakes of water and pigment that will dry crisply. How blue is that shadow? Don't be afraid of strong colors. Don't get opaque. Think about freedom. This isn't a coloring book."

The painting is taking shape. Though I long to slow down, draw the exact outline of each twisting juniper branch, get lost in the crenellations of the juniper foliage and the sage-brush's feathery fans, this is about larger unities. Textures and patterns are not the theme—this kind of painting is about light, how it strikes shapes and changes colors. It's also about the act of translation: turning nature into patches of paint that contain the grace and liveliness of the reality.

In the thicket of junipers on the hillside before me is a maelstrom of visual information; my mind goes to work to select and translate it. It's not the same kind of thinking that I use for a botanical illustration, which requires far more planning and control. It's analogous to musical improvisation at its best: skills and knowledge have become second nature, they don't need to be lead by a musical score or, in this case, a careful drawing.

The flaw in this scenario is that I'm a novice; I haven't gained the skills of a Sargent or a Homer. So I succumb to fear, or retreat to safe repetition, or just simply blow a series of sour notes. But what does it matter? The junipers are still there, and the colors in my palette just as brilliant. The act of translation itself, no matter how terror-filled, still carries its primal thrill.

Aging Issues

MICHAEL CASTLEMAN

hen elevated lead levels turned up in Chicago drinking water last year, city officials told the public there was no cause for alarm. "Relax," one said. "To have any problem, you'd have to drink a half gallon a day for 70 years." It probably never occurred to him that thousands of elderly Chicago residents had consumed the lead-tainted water every day for 70 years or more. His remark sums up the environmental-health plight of America's 30 million senior citizens, for until quite recently, no one had given much thought to the consequences of such lifelong exposures. Fortunately, a small

but growing number of health experts and environmentalists has begun to focus on the many health hazards facing the elderly.

Last year a journal of internal medicine described the case of a 79-year-old woman who suffered severe physical and mental deterioration six months after her husband's death. She complained of dizziness, exhaustion, poor coordination, memory loss, and disorientation. A battery of standard medical tests showed nothing wrong. Her physician and family assumed she was growing senile, and agreed that the best place for her was a nursing home.

Then, by chance, a physician wellinformed about environmental health reviewed the woman's case. Despite her grief, she had remained healthy for the first four months following her husband's death. Then she sold their

> home and moved into a new condominium; her symptoms appeared after living there for two months. Further investigation revealed that she had high blood levels of toluene, a toxic chemical used in construction materials, the rapid off-gassing of which can contaminate the indoor air even of adequately ventilated new buildings. On the advice of the reviewing physician, the woman moved out of the condo and into her daughter's older home.

We never run out of reasons to mind our elders





Within three weeks she was back to her healthy self.

This story is by no means unique. The elderly spend about 80 percent of their time indoors, and as a result suffer greater-than-average exposure to indoor air pollutants. Swirling around our older family members are carbon monoxide from gas appliances, volatile organic compounds from paints and polishes, and formaldehyde from new carpets, drapes, paneling, and furnishings. Complicating things further, compared with most adults in the prime of life, the elderly are more sensitive to low-level toxic exposures.

A particularly insidious—and ubiquitous—hazard for the elderly is lead. Lead paints and leaded gasoline were banned 20 years ago, but this neurotoxic can still be found in much of the nation's air and water. High levels are known to cause learning disabilities in children, and also increase an elderly person's risk of memory loss, kidney problems, and cardiovascular disease. These ailments are often considered "inevitable" in old age, so their appearance rarely arouses suspicion of lead poisoning. It should. Here's why:

The body accumulates lead in bone tissue. After age 50, bone begins to break down. The process, osteoporosis, affects both sexes, but it proceeds more quickly in women. Lifelong exercise along with consumption of calcium-rich dairy products plus supplemental calcium, vitamin D, and minerals can slow osteoporosis. but most of the elderly suffer some of its effects: loss of height, stooped posture, and increased risk of fractures. In addition, as bone deteriorates, the lead stored in it is released into the bloodstream, giving many older people high lead levels in their blood even if they live in notably lead-free environments. To date, efforts to control lead exposure have focused on children, and the elderly have been largely forgotten.

Sixty-year-old John Grupenhoff is not accepting the situation gently. A former federal official who helped draft the 1967 Clean Air Act, Grupenhoff recently founded the Senior Environment Corps, a Maryland-based national organization dedicated to alerting doctors, the elderly, and the public to the special environmental hazards faced by the older population. The group is still in its formative stages, with just two chapters—one in Charlottesville, Virginia, which recently sponsored a skin-cancer-screening program for local elderly, the other in Missoula, Montana, where members have focused on the respiratory hazards caused by large-scale wood-burning, an important source of home heating in that area.

Another new environmental organization devoted to the elderly is the Environmental Alliance for Senior Involvement, launched in 1991 as a joint project of the American Association of Retired Persons and the Environmental Protection Agency. Until this year, EASI coordinators devoted their energies to recruiting environmental organizations; The Nature Conservancy and the National Wildlife Federation are among the 16 groups that are members of EASI. Now, says spokesman Paul McCawley, an environmental educator at the U.S. Department of Agriculture, EASI intends to launch educational programs with "environmental health issues a high priority." Water pollution is EASI's probable first target, particularly water-borne lead's effect on older people.

This modest groundswell of elder activism represents an important new step for environmentalism. But the elderly will never get the respect they deserve until Americans shake the tenacious notion that most late-life disabilities result from "old age." Problems like memory loss, difficulty concentrating, and deterioration of sight and hearing can be natural results of the aging process. But before we dismiss old folks as senile, we should take a careful look at their surroundings, especially the water they drink and the air they breathe. •

► For more information, see "Resources," p. 86.

GOOD GOING

In Lighthouse Cove

DAVID HOWARD DAY

decide to enter the water on the sheltered side of the lighthouse, in a cove where brilliantly painted lobster buoys nose into a light wind. I drop the heavy backpack containing my diving gear on a flat expanse between two upright granite slabs.

Suiting up is a not-so-minor ritual. First there's an underwater tuxedo, the skintight, two-piece wetsuit that will shield me from the cold waters of the Gulf of Maine by admitting a thin layer of water to warm between my skin and the suit itself. Then comes the diver's hood, resembling a piece of medieval chain-mail, that protects the nerves at the back of my neck from low marine temperatures; almost paralyzing, such cold can take one's breath away even in mid-summer. Gloves permit me to approach barnacles and crabs and to handle various other crustacea with surprising dexterity. Chosen with great care, the goggles become a picture-window on the sea, and I clean and adjust them for several minutes. I then put the ungainly snorkel in my mouth. Finding a seaweed-covered perch, I finally pull on the fins.

All this yanking and tugging has taken a quarter of an hour. Fully suited under the hot sun, I feel like some mutant penguin ready to slip and slither. I look for my spotter's goodluck smile and, with a wave, slide comfortably down into the ginger-ale bubbles beneath me.

Within seconds I am surrounded by enormous subaquatic canyons, ledges, and dark kelp forests. Gliding over boulders the size of small cottages shingled with mermaid's tresses, I feel

> Romping with the relations in the salty, star-filled deep



like Saint Nick flying over the roofs of sleeping houses. But there is no whiteness here, rather the green, brown, pink, and ochre of an equally wondrous landscape I can neither taste nor smell.

To get my bearings, I look up and scan the shore for my diving buddy. I give him another wave, take a deep breath, and plunge almost vertically into an arroyo littered with hundreds upon hundreds of sea stars. Literally huddled together, some are pinkorange and medium-size. Others, grav, larger, and older, cling to each other in the icy solitude of deep crevices that may also harbor a forbidding lumpfish or sculpin. I am amazed to see the tiny young stars at all, so great is the strength of these currents, brushing them back and forth, at once feeding them and testing them.

Much less streamlined, the sidewinding crabs scuttle about, intimidated, I suspect, by my approaching shadow; like everything here, it too is larger underwater than topside. We seem to learn from small children how to pick up crabs; when grasped gently from behind by their carapace, they flail their pincers and legs in all directions and finally stiffen. Neighbors of the crabs and sea stars, the turbanlike sea urchins scarcely seem to move at all, yet even through my gloves I can feel them pulsating.

The pace quickens out by the point, where waves whipped by a southeast wind have begun to crash against the granite fingers. If I get too close I'll be tossed, sliced, or diced in this briny soup. Kelp wands wave frantically, alerting me to the spooky outcrops they hide. For as long as I care to linger I am afforded a visual taste of an undersea storm, momentarily lost in a smokescreen of bubbles and rocked hypnotically by enormous swells.

Veering outward from these foam laps and sloshings, I am propelled into a rain of dustlike particles, a phytoBoot: Ultimate WTC+*: Weather Tight Construction Plus* technology combines Merrell's unique Aqua Shield.* liner and waterproof, nonwicking components to keep feet dry and comfortable. Prime Weather Tuff leather, Dual Density Footbed, PU Footframe/Air Cushion** Midsole, full-length PVC/Texon Insole, and Traxion Sole.

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plankton bloom illuminated by clongated triangles of sunlight filtering down from the surface above. Occasionally, larger strands turn, twist, and jerk, careening noiselessly into the lens of my mask. Golden, balletic shadows cast on a nautical movie screen, they vanish as I turn my head. All part of

Now the ocean bottom simply drops away. Too deep here; I cannot see it and there is no point in snorkeling in bottomless bouillabaisse. I allow myself to drift with the tidal surge back toward my spotter, making out the faint forest of rockweed straining at its holdfasts on the chocolate ledges, waving eerily. This and the longer golden kelp strands always give me pause; tangled, beckoning, they are the beguiling sirens of the sea.

Suddenly, out of nowhere, a swarm of silversides appears—more than I can count—and for several moments we hang motionless together. Then, in a flash, the small fish vanish into the mazy depths, perhaps tens of thousands of them, gone in an instant. Although I probably looked to them like a clumsy seal, I feel that I belong with all these fish, right here at the edge of immensity.

I'm joined by a school of sea bass; they are larger, brownish. I take a breath and plummet silently right through them, then roll over so that I am looking up at their undersides, aloof silhouettes against the almost indescribable aquamarine at the ocean's surface, the very bottom of the top of the sea.

Despite my wetsuit, I begin to chill. I plunge straight down, gently lift a sea star, and swim to the shore where a small boy crouches, peering into the water. With a gloved hand, I offer him the pink and wriggling creature.

DAVID HOWARD DAY teaches anthropology at Monroe Community College in Rochester, New York.

Stumpage

RICHARD FLANAGAN

n our meadow off the back deck to the west are an old apple tree and a L large rock, a glacial erratic covered with lichens and moss. The boulder's been there forever or ten thousand years. The tree, in the lee of the boulder, looks a century old, its planting some bird's doing, perhaps. Without the boulder's protective bulk, the apple tree might not have withstood the westerlies that turn our Maine meadow into the Russian steppe four or five months of the year. The tree dapples the boulder when the sun is high. Morning and evening the sunlight slips under the low branches and sets aglow the boulder's lichen mosaic.

I love those two. I didn't know it at the time, but they are one of the reasons I moved to Maine seven years ago. They speak my aesthetic and my politics better than I can: the complementarity of opposites, the grace of interdependence.

I resent them, too. Their durability rebukes me. The tree's unencouraged fecundity year in and year out taunts my barrenness, which knows no season. The boulder, gorgeously stable, chides me for my wanderlust. It's as though I had moved back in with nagging parents.

Philosophers and ecologists have written persuasively of what our resentment of nature can drive us to do. We have a despoiled continent as testimony. What will we not do, I sometimes ask myself, to punish the earth for her beauty, her obstinate, mocking stamina? Mortality and envy might drive me mad: sawing down the apple tree, dynamiting the boulder.

Knowing this line of thought, feeling it in my gut, I wonder about what I have caused to happen across the meadow. Some guys are working in our 40 acres of woods. I call it "wood-lot management"; they call it "selling stumpage." It was a mess before they started, nature's wrack and ruin, blow-down everywhere, erosion in the gullies, firs permanently distorted from snow weight. And human mess in the form of ubiquitous dumpsites, past generations of farmers managing their inventory the easiest way.

I never heard the expression "selling stumpage" before I came to live in
Maine. Weird words. The woodsmen
and I split half the proceeds; truckers
get the other half. Now and then they
put a wad of cash in my hands. Not
much cash, actually, and I wonder how
they get along, the three of them, on
such returns. They smile a lot, and I
wonder if they're cheating me. I see
the mill receipt slips, but I have to
trust I'm seeing them all.

They agreed to use only a farm tractor to haul the logs, but after a few weeks I discovered a monstrous yellow skidder sitting down there. I didn't even ask about it. The work is so hard, the machinery so undependable, I didn't have the heart. We are, after all, in business together. My interest is in clearing out the dead trees, making some space, and allowing some sunshine in. I want to trust the woodsmen to be selective and as careful as they can be of young growth. A half dozen

Letting daylight shine on some tangled territory



folks hot to saw down our woods have come to our door over the past seven years, and I didn't like the way they looked or talked. Or I just wasn't ready for chainsaws.

My suspicions are rooted in guilt, because of the saws and the cash, and because of my murky motivation. What I want to call woodlot management changes, when the wads of cash arrive, into a sale. The mess we've made in the woods indicts me. Sometimes I think only scale and guilt separate me from the timber barons. Like them, I even insisted on a beauty screen, no cutting in the part we see from the house.

I told a friend I was going to do this. He said, "Can't you just leave it alone, let nature do the managing?" But there's no way back to the virgin state. Old stumps are everywhere. An ancient woman appeared at our door one day to tell us that she had been born in this house. There were no trees out there then, she said; it was all pasture and sand hills. Nor were the grasses of her girlhood the original landscape. How many times might the trees have been taken—and new ones come—going back to when Maine was still Massachusetts and the need for masts and casks and clapboards previewed today's demand for paper in all its forms?

If the woods are wrecked, the money becomes a bribe and a troubling consolation. Will I have gone mad staring at the apple tree and boulder, running my hands over the roughness of bark and lichen, perplexed and angry over my plain and transient status? Woodlot management—so reasonable-sounding a concept—comes to seem, when I'm feeling low, like the Vietnam War practice of destroying a village in order to save it. Am I pacifying some barely imaginable rage of my own?

I rehearse the theory: the woods are better off for selective cutting. Almost every one of the large logs awaiting the truck has rot in it, cores of rusty dust you can pull out with your hand. They tell me the trees become diseased from growing up too close to one another. I leap to understand. People

are susceptible in the same way-it's another reason I moved to Maine.

Still—machinery yonder in the woods: skidder, chainsaws, trucks. There are new, broad paths that will be good for skiing, but we did all right without them. Yes, nature will replenish the area, but she would have done it her way if I'd just let it be.

In the end, it will be for future owners to decide if another cutting will be done. I just hope to live long enough to feel good about the way things go in there, to gain some measure of grace in the interdependence between the woods and me. •

RICHARD FLANAGAN teaches at Bahson College in Wellesley, Massachusetts. He has published two novels and is at work on a third. Edited by Reed McManus

Under the Influence

et's say you're in court.
The judge walks in; all rise. The opposing attorney approaches the bench and hands his honor a fat wad of bills. The judge stuffs them up his sleeve, then gavels the court into session.

Outrage! The lawyer is disbarred, the judge disgraced. Case closed.

Then you go to a ball game. After the anthem, the visiting team's manager gives the umpire a handful of Krugerrands. The ump slips them in his pocket, pulls down his mask, and yells "Play ball!"

Scandal! The Commissioner bars the manager from the game, and the umpire is busted down to the Peewee League.

Then you go to a reception to buttonhole your member of Congress. While you're waiting, the lobbyist for the polluting factory you're trying to shut down strolls in, writes your representative a check for \$5,000, and walks out with a wink.

Outrage? Scandal? Hardly—that's just how Washington works today. And when greenbacks govern, green issues are pushed into the background. Despite a nominal friend in the White House and theoretically supportive Democratic majorities in the House and Senate, the best environmentalists can do on most issues is to keep Congress from dismantling the gains of the past.

What's gone wrong? Simply put,



Congress is bought and paid for—and not by us. The influence of money today is greater than ever, says Ellen Miller of the nonprofit Center for Responsive Politics. (As one member of Congress famously put it, "My vote isn't for sale, but it can be rented.") The reason is the skyrocketing cost of campaigns. It now takes hundreds of thousands of dollars to win a seat in the House, and millions for the Senate; this year's California Senate race between

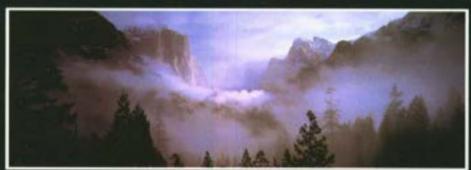
PAUBER Dianne Feinstein and Michael Huffington may eat up as much as \$50 million.

The only sources for that kind of money, says Miller, are wealthy contributors, who can individually give \$1,000 per candidate (as can their children, spouses, and in-laws), \$5,000 through a political action committee (PAC), and unlimited amounts in "soft money" to the political parties. "The system of private financing of elections determines who will run, who will win, and the range of pol-

As long as politicians are for sale, green will be the color of money only.



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icy options we will have," says Miller.
"As long as this system is in place, activists will be at a fundamental disadvantage, and will be fighting the same battles year after year."

Campaign-finance reform is a critical issue for the Sierra Club, which devotes more resources than any other environmental organization to lobbying Congress. The Club, in fact, contributes roughly half of all proenvironment funds to congressional campaigns: \$680,000 in the 1991-92 session, out of a \$1.3-million total. That amount is dwarfed, however, by the \$21.3 million that energy and natural-resources companies alone kicked in during the same period.

So why bother at all? The answer is access. "Access is something that money can buy," says Club Political Director Daniel J. Weiss. "The more you can talk to legislators, the more you can influence them, and from that influence come policy decisions." Without a foot in the door, the Club's arguments would often never be heard at all. Yet our voice grows softer with each election. For example, Weiss says, during the 1990 deliberations around the Clean Air Act, the vice-president of General Motors got to meet with a key congressperson for four hours, while the Sierra Club got 30 minutes. Buying influence, he concludes, "is an arms race that the environmental community can never win."

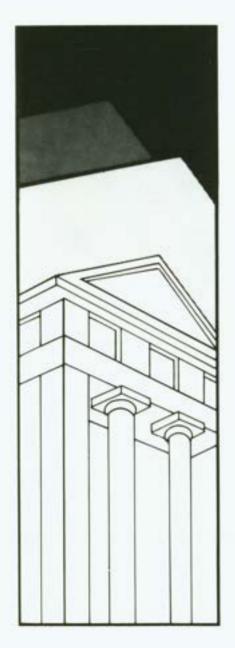
Agreement is general among publicinterest organizations (and most members of Congress, if you can get them off the record) that the system has to change. The question is how. "If we do not reduce the level of campaign spending," warns Sierra Club Executive Director Carl Pope, "I genuinely fear that our experiment in democracy may be doomed."

Randy Keeler of the Massachusettsbased Working Group on Electoral Democracy identifies three general approaches to reforming the campaignfinance system. The first is the incremental strategy exemplified by the reform legislation currently before

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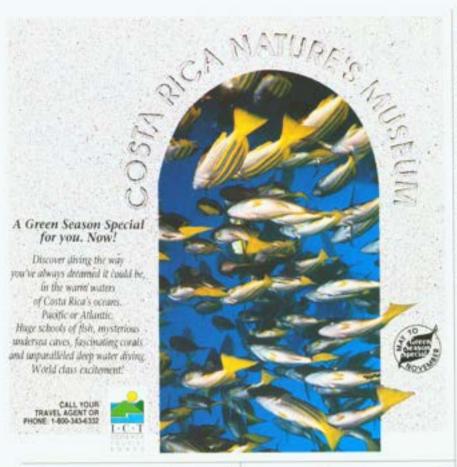
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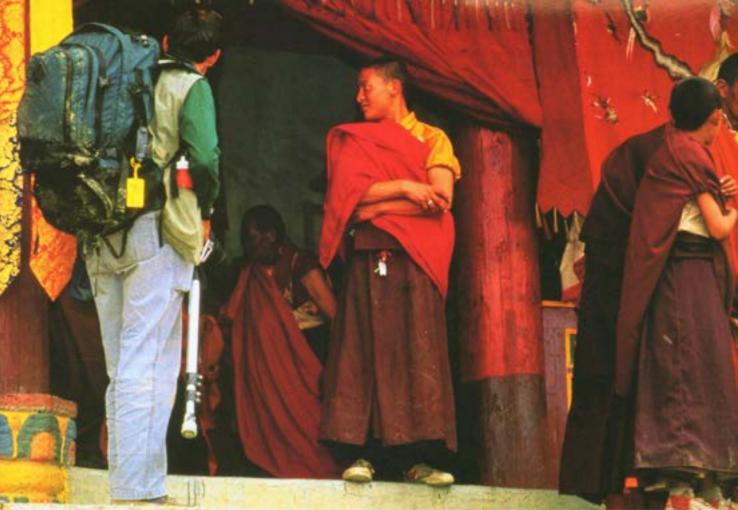
PRIORITIES

Congress. While still in flux at press time, it will likely include campaignspending limits, a ban on gifts (no more golf trips), and some weak form of public financing. Its advocates, such as Common Cause, believe that modest reform is better than none. Miller calls it "reshuffling," not reform, "You can plug up some holes in the bucket," she says, "but what we need is a new bucket."

The second approach is what Keeler calls the "bomb blast" strategy-a state or local ballot initiative that limits all campaign contributions to \$100. Bomb blasts have the populist effect of making politicians seek money from a larger number of people, but do nothing about wealthy candidates like Ross Perot and Huffington, who individnally bankroll their own campaigns. (This, in fact, is a stumbling block for any kind of reform, since the Supreme Court has ruled that caps on individual expenditures limit free speech.) Finally, Congress is bomb-proof, as its members make their own rules and are unlikely to condemn themselves to spending even more time groveling for funds.

Which brings us to the whole enchilada: full public financing for any candidate able to meet an arbitrary benchmark of popular support. (In congressional races, for example, candidates might first have to gather 2,000 individual \$5 contributions.) Big money's advantage would be climinated, and environmentalists would finally have a fighting chance. Unfortunately, full public financing is hobbled by its facile characterization as "food stamps for politicians." Keeler admits that "democratic financing of elections" is a long-term strategy, but one that raises the big question: "Who is enfranchised and who is disenfranchised when we make money the medium of political democracy?"

Keeler estimates that public funding for all elections at all levels would cost approximately \$500 million a year. If that sounds like a lot, he suggests, consider the social cost of net doing it. The



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Gerry Soifer is a veterinarian in Encinitas, California. When he is not treating patients Gerry and his wife Nancy are visiting a remote monastery in Tibet, rafting the Zambezi River in Africa, or biking the backcountry in China. Gerry and Nancy's choice of travel gear is Eagle Creek. Eagle Creek makes a



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S&L scandal, for example, which was fueled by campaign contributions to members of the House and Senate banking committees, may end up costing the taxpayers half a trillion dollarsenough, Keeler points out, to finance all congressional elections for the next thousand years. Other high costs of allowing public elections to be privately funded are the enormous subsidies showered on donating industries. In 1992, for example, the oil industry contributed \$23 million to electoral campaigns, but got \$8.8 billion back in subsidies and tax breaks. The alternative to food stamps for politicians is welfare for industry.

The Sierra Club supports campaignfinance reform, although it has not yet embraced any particular strategy. "Anything that reduces the role of money in politics helps our cause," says Weiss. That done, the Club's endorsements and active volunteers could make an even bigger difference than they do now. "After all," says Weiss, "no one brags about being endorsed by Exxon, but they do brag about being endorsed by the Sierra Club."

► For more information, see "Resources," p. 86.

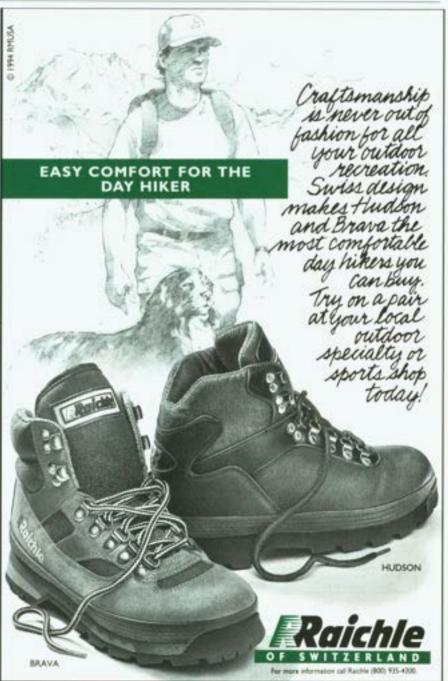
Why Conservatives Aren't Conserving

Rough riding for Republican environmentalists.

n the first Earth Day in 1970, Richard Nixon is said to have looked out a White House window at thousands of well-dressed environmentalists and said with satisfaction, "Those are Republicans."

It was more than wishful thinking. Conservation is, after all, about conserving land, air, and water—in other words, protecting our ecological capital. Some Republicans have been exceptionally good at it. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, established 5 national parks, 18 national monuments, and 51 federal bird reservations, and added 150 million acres to the national











PRIORITIES

forests before his term ended in 1909. Nixon was no tree-hugger, but even he appointed thoughtful conservationists like Rogers C. B. Morton, Russell Train, and William Ruckelshaus to high positions. As Nixon's presidency slunk to its ignominious end, these appointees could hold their heads high for such admirable acts as stopping the Cross-Florida Barge Canal and banning DDT.

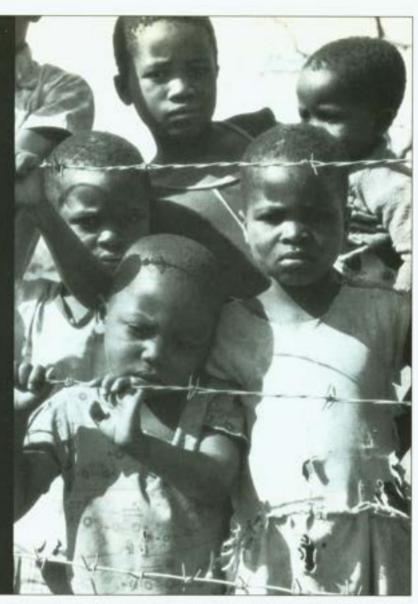
But times have changed. Ronald Reagan's election in 1980 helped congeal elements of the Republican Party that gladly sought to squander the nation's ecological capital in pursuit of a quick buck. "Roosevelt challenged and KO'd the profiteers," says outdoor columnist and disgruntled Republican Ted Williams. "Reagan hired them."

Environmentalists hoped for better from George Bush. Bush had an affinity for the out-of-doors that Nixon lacked, but he had so little conviction that he soon caved in to the despoilers. By the end of his term, Bush sounded as callously anti-environmental as Reagan, warning that if Bill Clinton and "Ozone Man" Al Gore were elected, the country would be "up to its neck in spotted owls."

Today anti-environmentalists occupy all the Republican leadership positions in the House and the Senate. Especially in the Senate, hostile attitudes toward conservation predominate, leaving Rooseveltians cowering in the shadows. While Senate Republicans cast pro-environment votes about 40 percent of the time in 1985 and 1986, they do so only 16 percent of the time today, according to the League of Conservation Voters. (Senate Democrats' average hovered around 70 percent in both decades.) All senators scoring 100 percent in the 1993 LCV ratings were Democrats; all scoring 6 percent or less were Republicans.

While some of the low scores are attributable to long-held Republican ties with big money, partisan politics also drives Republican leaders to work simply to discredit a Democratic administration that has an environmental-

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ist image. Even moderate Republicans who have helped environmentalists in the past have grown more intractable and partisan—people such as senators Robert Packwood of Oregon, William Roth, Jr., of Delaware, and David Durenberger of Minnesota. The LCV's scores for each of these senators have dropped by almost 20 points or more since 1990.

The Sierra Club is left trying to fig-

ure out how to get vital legislation passed. Once we could count on convincing roughly two-thirds of the Democrats and one-third of the Republicans to vote our way. That's no longer a reasonable expectation—because the Republican votes aren't there. Even government-shrinking initiatives with intrinsic bipartisan appeal, like reducing federal subsidies to ranchers and miners, have been successfully filibustered by ultraconservative senators—and Democrats and moderate

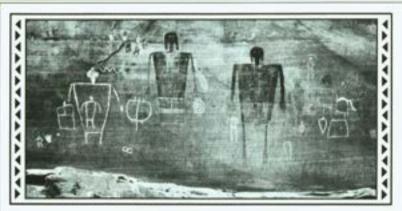
Republicans haven't been able to muster the votes to stop them.

"The Republicans have become an obstructionist force," concludes a House Natural Resources Committee staffer. "It doesn't matter whether the issue is mining, timber, or endangered species—you don't get any help. When they do offer legislation, it contains whatever industry wants."

The Republican Party endorsed many of the goals of the environmental movement in less-polarized times. but no longer. While environmentalists push for mining reform, the 1992 Republican platform declares the party's "deep and abiding commitment to America's mining industry." While we try to keep population growth in check, Republicans "reject the notion that there are limits to growth." And while we toil to protect the nation's wild, scenic, and biologically rich public-land legacy, their platform calls for reducing "the amount of land owned and controlled by the government, especially in the western states."

A few dissident Republicans are brave enough to speak out and vote their consciences. "I wanted to throw up about every five minutes in Houston," says Representative Sherwood Boehlert of New York of the strident right-wing speeches at the 1992 convention. A loyal Republican and longtime Bush supporter, Boehlert has been a consistent friend of the environment even when his party has not. So has Senator John Chafee of Rhode Island. the ranking Republican on the Senate Environment Committee, who has helped write nearly every environmental law passed during the last 12 vears.

Ironically, Republican voters' values are more like those of the dissidents than those of the leadership. Nine out of ten Republicans declared themselves environmentalists in a 1994 poll conducted for the LCV. In a tougher test of loyalty, a majority of GOP voters (52 percent) still agreed that the environment must be protected even if it meant a loss of jobs in their community, according to a 1993 CBS News/ New York Times poll.



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So far, though, the Republican leadership has gotten away with ignoring its own constituency. Perhaps it is cynically betting that voters aren't paying attention, that environmental support will vaporize in the heat of concerns like crime and taxes, or that special-interest money will buy reelection when the time comes. The current gridlock will ease only if voters let these politicians know that none of these suppositions is true.

Sierra Club political activist Chuck McGrady ruefully remembers helping Georgia Republican Newt Gingrich win his first House seat in 1978. A mere eight years ago, Gingrich, Democratic Representative Henry Waxman (Calif.), and the Sierra Club were working together to pass strong acidrain-control legislation. But around the same time, Gingrich was immersing himself in the Reagan revolution. Today, as minority whip in the House, Gingrich is more partisan attack-dog than environmentalist. An "insistent, impolite, and persistent battering ram" according to The Almanae of American Politics, Gingrich has gone a long way toward destroying the formerly cooperative atmosphere of the House.

When asked about his own party affiliation, McGrady takes a deep breath. "I used to be a Republican—and I still have Republican leanings," he says. But after years of trying to work with Gingrich and other southern Republicans on environmental issues, McGrady feels betrayed: "Now I'm a registered Democrat."—Joan Hamilton

► For more information, see "Resources," p. 86.

Unsung Allies

The greenest group in Congress is black.

ometimes it's easy to take your best friends for granted. While few white environmentalists would guess it, the best environmental voting record of any interest group in the U.S. Congress belongs to its largest voting bloc—the Congres-



PRIORITIES

sional Black Caucus. According to the environmental voting scores tabulated by the League of Conservation Voters, the 40 Black Caucus members have an average score of 76 percent compared to an average Democratic score of 70 percent, and an average Republican score of 24 percent.

"The Black Caucus should be given its due," says Bunyan Bryant, a professor of natural resources at the University of Michigan and an LCV board member. "Historically, I think, environmental organizations have defined the environment basically as a white issue. Here are congresspeople who time and time again have voted in the right direction, yet they have not received any recognition for their work."

What accounts for the Black Caucus' verdant voting record? "It's because of the communities we represent," says Representative John Lewis (D-Ga.). "Many have been victimized by individuals and firms that have very little regard for the environment."
Black Caucus members generally represent urban and rural low-income areas, which have a disproportionate amount of pollution dumped in their communities. Another factor, says Lewis, is the coming of age of many Black Caucus members in the Civil Rights movement. "Many of us come from a period of struggle," he says. "It's part of our being."

Now a chief deputy whip in the House, Lewis was elected in 1986 with crucial support from the Sierra Club. More recently, the Club was among the first groups to endorse the bid by Missouri Representative Alan Wheat (a key environmental vote on the House Rules Committee dubbed an "environmental hero" by the LCV) to run for the U.S. Senate; it also strongly backed African-American representatives Lucien Blackwell (D-Pa.) and Craig Washington (D-Texas) against primary challengers this spring.

While the latter two lost, historically Black Caucus members have had extremely safe seats. This reduces the amount of special-interest money in their election battles (polluters aren't going to waste their dough in hopeless challenges to strong incumbents), allowing them to continue to vote their consciences more often than their colleagues.

(Redistricting caused Caucus membership to jump from 26 to 40 in 1992; Bryant says it remains to be seen how the new districts will affect the Caucus' remarkable voting record.)

African-American members of Congress are, unsurprisingly, at the forefront of the fight against environmental racism. (See "A Place at the Table," May/June 1993.) "Remember that all politics is local," says Allen Hill, legislative aide to Representative Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.). "All of the Caucus members have, from personal experience, a strong interest in environmental justice issues." This local focus helps shape the bills they sponsor, like Towns' H.R.2488, which would limit the introduction of new



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polluting facilities into communities that already have a disproportionate number of them. H.R.1924 by Barbara-Rose Collins (D-Mich.) would require the Centers for Disease Control, when doing its health surveys, to record the ethnic status and income level of those it questions. And John Lewis is sponsoring the Environmental Justice Bill, H.R.2105, which would focus government efforts on protecting public health in the 100 most polluted counties in the country—most of which are predominantly minority.

And yet Black Caucus members' interests go far beyond their own backvards. Towns' H.R.3706 would ban U.S. exports of toxic waste, such as the attempted shipment last February of mercury wastes to a smelter upriver from the "KwaZulu Homeland" in South Africa. John Convers (D-Mich.), chair of the powerful Government Operations Subcommittee. is the principal champion of elevating the Environmental Protection Agency to cabinet status. Melvin Watt (D-N.C.), representing a state not known for environmental activism, has focused on public transportation, recycling, energy efficiency, and renewable energy. And the Black Caucus as a whole joined the Sierra Club in opposing the North American Free Trade Agreement, which besides weakening environmental protections robs manufacturing jobs from African-American communities.

While relations between the Black Caucus and the major environmental organizations are generally warm, there is some sense that the relationship has been less than reciprocal. John Lewis calls on the environmental movement to take up the issues of minority communities-like the cigarette and liquor billboards that target innercity neighborhoods. "If the environmental movement is going to bring about change," Bryant says, "it can't go it alone. It's going to have to form some coalitions, and probably the most viable movement in this country right now is the environmental justice movement." -PR.

► For more information, see "Resources," p. 86.



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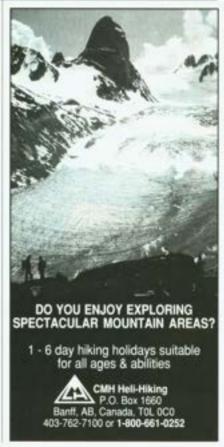
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FOR MORE THAN 50 YEARS, THREE OF AMERICA'S

LARGEST CORPORATIONS HAVE KNOWN THAT

PCBS ARE DEADLY. BUT THEY

WERE TOO BUSY MAKING

MONEY TO TELL YOU.

n the blackness of a freezing morning in December 1991, a driver lost control of her car on an isolated road in upstate New



spread, and thousands of students living and studying in contaminated buildings continue to be exposed to dangerous chemicals.

York and slammed into an electric-utility pole. Two miles away, the electrical system at the state-university campus at New Paltz went haywire. Minutes later, a Westinghouse electrical transformer cooled with supposedly non-flammable polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) exploded and burned, pouring deadly white smoke through Gage Residence Hall. Volunteer firefighters, thinking they were handling a routine electrical fire, searched the dorm for students—all of whom, fortunately, were away on winter break.

The chain reaction continued. Within minutes, PCB transformer explosions, ruptures, and fires rocked six campus buildings, including four residence halls that normally house 1,000 students. Polychlorinated biphenyls and their even-more-toxic by-products, dioxins and dibenzofurans, poured through the buildings and spilled outside, contaminating groundwater, storm sewers, utility manholes, lawns, and roads at levels up to a million times the state's legal limit.

Decontamination crews wearing respirators and moonsuits soon swarmed over the campus, filling thousands of 55-gallon drums with toxic waste. Within weeks, 560 students were returned to two of the dormitories. Now, nearly three years and \$35 million later, decontamination work is still not complete, underground toxic plumes continue to Some have filed class-action lawsuits against the state, alleging that the campus was reopened prematurely.

The New Paltz disaster is often referred to as an "accident," as are similar fires and explosions in San Francisco, Santa Fe, Chicago, Shreveport, and many other cities. It was not, however, a surprise to the country's largest manufacturers of products that use PCBs. A 1974 General Electric in-house memo reveals that both GE and Westinghouse were secretly aware of the possibility of transformer explosions ten years before the EPA issued warnings about it.

"As you know," GE engineer T. L. Mayes cautioned his colleagues, "Westinghouse had a network transformer explosion recently, resulting in two fatalities." Mayes also mentioned that some grades of PCBs apparently create an explosive gas when transformers malfunction—a danger the company concealed from its customers. Neither were customers informed that when burned (as in an explosion), PCBs create dioxins and dibenzofurans—although the manufacturers knew this by 1970 at the latest. In fact, PCBs were aggressively marketed as safety products; the manufacturers even convinced insurance companies to require their customers to use PCB transformers.

Across the country, utilities, workers, and consumers are

BY ERIC F. COPPOLINO . ILLUSTRATION BY RICHARD BOWNS

suing those who profited from PCBs for their failure to warn them of the chemical's fatal hazards. The million pages of internal memos, correspondence, lab reports, and private studies made public through these lawsuits show that three of the largest corporations in the United States have known since the 1930s about many of the horrible health effects associated with PCBs—and yet concealed this information from the government, the media, the public, and their own customers.

Moreover, Monsanto (the source of all PCBs in the United States), Westinghouse, and GE publicly denied those problems. Monsanto even went so far as to falsify cancer research and use the fudged results to delay the federal regulation of PCBs, which did not occur until 1976. While the companies stonewalled, thousands of workers were exposed to high levels of PCB contamination, and are now dying of cancer at a higher-than-average rate. Millions of pounds of PCBs were used around the country in everything from electrical transformers to french-fry cookers, yet for decades the companies did little or nothing to warn the public of the danger.

On the contrary, great effort was spent covering it up.

While an internal Monsanto "Pollution Abatement Plan" in 1969 admitted that "the evidence proving the persistence of these compounds and their universal presence as residues in the environment is beyond questioning," it warned that "the corporate image of Monsanto as a responsible member of the business world genuinely concerned with the welfare of our environment will be adversely affected with increased publicity." More to the point, "direct lawsuits are possible" because "all

customers using these products have not been officially notified about known effects nor [do] our labels carry this information." Now that such lawsuits are being filed across the country, we are getting our first glimpse of what happens behind the scenes when a poison is too profitable to give up.

eter Montague of the Environmental Research Foundation describes the invention of PCBs as an outgrowth of this century's infatuation with the automobile. "As gasoline was extracted from crude oil," he writes in Hazardous Waste News, "great quantities of other chemicals, like benzene, were left over. Chemists started playing around with these chemicals, to see if something useful could be made." Heating and pressurizing chlorine and benzene under the right conditions, they found, yielded PCBs, a range of compounds (209 in all) that generally take the form of a heavy, syrupy liquid. Because PCBs are stable, conduct heat but not electricity, and are not water-soluble, they proved extremely useful, most prominently as insulation fluid in electrical transformers and capacitors. They have

also been made into plastics and mixed with adhesives, inks, paper, paints, and fabric dyes, with many more tons employed as hydraulic liquids, heat-transfer fluids, and lubricating oil in everything from natural-gas pipelines to food-packing plants. They were once the heating medium of choice in the coils of industrial deep fryers for fish and potato chips, and were even mixed with pesticides and sprayed directly onto crops.

When Congress regulated the manufacture of PCBs in 1976, it merely closed the lid on Pandora's box. The evil is still loose in the world: up to two-thirds of all PCBs ever manufactured remain in use, and much of the rest has escaped into the environment. Since PCBs are fat-soluble, they bio-accumulate as one species eats another, passing up the food chain in magnified form. These poisons are now ubiquitous, and are especially concentrated in the flesh of predators. Potentially dangerous levels of PCBs can be found in the fatty tissues of seals, whales, eagles, many fish, and virtually every human on earth.

This summer, crucial sections of the EPA's fundamental reassessment of PCBs and their chlorinated-chemical

cousins, dioxins, were leaked. The judgment is dire. Once lodged in the human body, PCBs are implicated in breast cancer, brain cancer, malignant melanoma, non-Hodgkin's lymphoma, and soft-tissue sarcomas. Even at current background levels, the EPA found, PCBs can damage the body's immune and reproductive systems. The average amount of dioxin-like substances in the body is 9 nanograms (a nanogram is a billionth of a gram) per kilogram (ng/kg), although burdens vary

widely due to diet, workplace exposure, proximity to toxicwaste dumps, and so on. At 13 ng/kg, sex hormones are diminished in men; at 47 ng/kg, decreased growth is observed in children.

The latter effect is now held to be the chemical's most serious danger, because PCBs mimic natural hormones such as estrogen and can severely disrupt the body's endocrine system, resulting in birth defects and sterility. (Among other species, raptors and large marine mammals are particularly vulnerable to the hormonal effects of PCBs, which have been linked to catastrophic crashes in their populations.) Some 42 varieties have been identified in human fat, and the 65 varieties polluting breast milk are passed on to nursing infants at crucial stages of their development, causing learning disorders and disrupting the child's developing immune system.

Scientific knowledge about the dangers of PCBs has advanced along two tracks, one private and one public. The secret studies began in 1936 when many workers at the Halowax Corporation in New York City exposed to PCBs (then called chlorinated diphenyls) and related chemicals



called chlorinated napthalenes started coming down with chloracne, a painful, disfiguring skin disease. Three workers died. Autopsies of two revealed severe liver damage. Halowax asked Harvard University researcher Cecil K. Drinker to investigate.

Drinker presented his results at a 1937 meeting at Harvard attended by Monsanto, GE, Halowax, the U.S. Public Health Service, and state health officials from Massachusetts and Connecticut. Like the Halowax workers, Drinker's test rats had suffered severe liver damage. "These experiments leave no doubt as to the possibility of systemic effects from the chlorinated napthalenes and chlorinated diphenyls," he concluded.

Minutes of a discussion held later that day include a telling remark by GE official F. R. Kaimer: "We had 50 other men in very bad condition as far as the acne was concerned," he told the group. "The first reaction that several of our executives had was to throw [the PCB] out—get it out of our plant. But that was easily said but not so easily done. We might just as well have thrown our business to the four winds and said.

GE's "Warm, Caring Impression"

n 1989, when Steve Sandberg went to work for General Electric's processing plant in Anaheim, California, he had never heard of PCBs or the Toxic Substances Control Act, the federal law that banned their manufacture 13 years earlier. He had never heard of dioxins or dibenzofurans, super-toxins created when PCB oil burns or ages. Put to work in highly toxic areas without protective clothing or a respirator, Sandberg says he was given no warnings about the chemicals.

Instead, GE told him—and maintains to this day—that PCBs are essentially harmless. At GE's PCB training school in Cincinnati,

Sandberg says, he and other new workers were given an article from the magazine Hippocrates suggesting that exposure to PCBs is less risky than exposure to the toxins naturally occurring in peanut butter, beer, or raw mushrooms. "They showed us a video with Walter Cronkite saying PCBs were as toxic as table salt," Sandberg said.

Sandberg's job was to clean out hundreds of exploded, burned-up PCB transformers in preparation for shipment to incinerators or landfills. He was sent to the scenes of PCB transformer explosions, operated waste-drum crushing machines, and pumped

black, burned PCB oil and other chemicals out of the destroyed transformers. His work put him in direct contact with dioxins and dibenzofurans, chemicals so toxic they are measured in parts per trillion and parts per quadrillion.

Yet at the GE Anaheim plant, barrels and burned transformers were left out in the rain; the drum-storage room contained a couch, desks, and an eating area; and everything was covered by a film of PCB oil and soot. Sandberg says that Mike Nagle, who was in charge of PCB operations at the plant, wouldn't let him move his desk out of the PCB drum-storage room: "He laughed at us and said, 'Oh, this stuff don't hurt ya.'"

Eighteen months into his career at GE, Sandberg started to show signs of systemic poisoning, beginning with severe chloracne. A quarter-inch-thick coating of dead skin covered the bottoms of his feet. One day, Sandberg found a fat folder on his boss's desk containing numerous documents on the dangers and health impacts of PCBs. He confronted his boss, who assured him that PCBs were essentially harmless to humans. It wasn't until several months later, when he read in Business Week about the lawsuits containing allegations of badly exposed PCB workers at a Westinghouse capacitor-manufacturing plant in Bloomington, Indiana, that he finally began to warm his co-workers of the danger.

General Electric was also spurred to action. An October 28, 1991, memo from GE attorney Bill Thornton outlines a plan for dealing with Sandberg, who, he wrote, "seems to be escalating the situation day by day." General Electric established a public-relations team and called an all-employee meeting at which medical experts flown in from around the country presented GE's side of the story. One such expert was Marie Johnson, an industrial-hygiene nurse from GE's plant at Hudson Falls, New York—best known for its massive PCB discharges into the Hudson River. Johnson is described in the memo as someone who "is very knowl-

edgeable and gives a warm, caring impression,"

"It is not expected that we could win the heart and mind of Sandberg," Thornton wrote. "Rather, the meeting is intended to prevent him from infecting the others. Depending on how he reacts, Sandberg could be seen by his fellow employees as someone who is off the wall." Ironically, on the day of the allemployee meeting, Sandberg was moved out of the PCB area of the operation on orders from a GE physician, who concluded that he could not tolerate any further exposure to PCBs.

Yet his managers stuck by their story that PCBs were harmless. Mel Dinkel, a GE manager who insisted that the plant was in full compliance with all PCB regulations, dared Sandberg to go to the state and federal authorities. "He gave me the phone numbers, addresses, everything," Sandberg says. "He said, 'If you feel this company is not in compliance with all the laws and regulations, feel free to call these numbers.' And I did. Boy, did all the shit hit the fan."

Two days later, EPA officials showed up at the door, flipped out their badges, and walked through in yellow moonsuits with sampling kits. Sandberg describes the reactions of the other employces: "They were just in shock. They just stood still. Everything just stopped. All work, all noise, it was silent. All you could hear was the hum of the lights."

In February 1992, the plant's PCB-handling license was suspended by the EPA because further acceptance of waste into the plant posed "an unreasonable risk to human health and the environment." In November the plant was shut down by state and federal authorities, and in March 1993 the EPA fined General Electric \$353,000, one of the highest PCB fines ever levied by the agency.

"They lied to us, that's the bottom line," says Sandberg. His civil suits against GE, Monsanto, and other chemical suppliers are still pending. —E.C.



PCB victim Steve Sandberg

'We'll close up,' because there was no substitute and there is none today in spite of all the efforts we have made through our own research laboratories to find one."

Sanford Brown, the president of Halowax, concluded the meeting with another thought that would echo through the next five decades. Brown stressed the "necessity of not creating mob hysteria on the part of workmen in the plants" where chemical-safety inspections were being made. Problems with PCBs and napthalenes, he predicted, "may continue, probably will continue for years." The silence of those at the meeting ensured that effect.

Meanwhile, the damning evidence continued to spill out of corporate laboratories. A 1938 study of PCB-oil mixtures manufactured by Westinghouse and GE demonstrated that liver damage could be caused by skin contact alone, and called for the "greatest personal hygiene" in minimizing exposure. In further research for Monsanto, Drinker warned that adequate ventilation was necessary when handling the chemicals. By 1951, Monsanto also had in its files a 1947 scientific finding that there was "need to give warning" about PCBs because "the toxicity of these compounds has been repeatedly demonstrated."

Yet this "need to give warning" was ignored. A 1950 GE instruction manual for PCB transformers assured utilities that "transformer Pyranol [GE's trade name for PCBs] may be handled in the same manner as mineral oil." Even though by 1956 GE's own files contained a bibliography of 43 references on the health dangers and possible lethality of PCBs and PCB component chemicals, the company seems never to have retracted this statement.

Monsanto also knew by 1956 that PCB products could be

contaminated with dioxins and dibenzofurans from the time they were shipped from the factory—a piece of information it sat on until the late 1960s, when independent researchers discovered this hazard. According to the record of one lawsuit, new PCB oil can be contaminated with dibenzofurans at concentrations of up to 10 parts per million. As the oil ages, according to documents from Monsanto's files, the concentration becomes considerably higher. The company knew in 1965 that dioxin "can be a potent carcinogen."

It is curious, in this light, that Monsanto's R. E. Keller should have noted in an October 20, 1970, internal memo that specially prepared PCB samples sent to a lab for animal toxicity testing were free of troublesome dibenzofurans "which might bias the results." As an aside, he added that they were free from dioxin contamination as well. According to attorney Paul Merrell, "The implication is that the PCBs they tested did not contain the toxic material, but that it was common in their product. It's evidence of a cover-up."

Merrell is an attorney in a far-reaching lawsuit challenging the informed silence of the PCB manufacturers. His
client, the Nevada Power Company, is charging GE, Westinghouse, and Monsanto in federal district court with fraud
and deliberate failure to warn the utility and its customers
about product defects and negative health effects associated
with PCBs. The companies' initial defense was to argue that
the utility was aware of the dangers long before it filed its
suit in 1988 and should have suspected fraud earlier, but that
the statute of limitations had now passed. "Nevada Power
actually knew of the product defects and of facts contrary to
those represented" by the PCB manufacturers at the time of
sale, argued Monsanto attorney Bruce Featherstone in 1991.

Where There's Smoke . . .

crhaps it was a mistake, or maybe it was leaked—but somehow, a 22-page Westinghouse Electric evidence-destruction plan found its way into the hands of attorneys suing the company. Signed by Jeffrey Bair, an in-house Westinghouse lawyer, and Wayne Bickerstaff, an industrial-hygiene manager, the proposal boldly recommends the destruction of "smoking gun" evidence that might be used against the corporation in PCB and related hitigation—litigation the writers say "shows no signs of abating in the near future."

"The majority of the documents in Industrial Hygiene's files are potential 'smoking gun' documents," they write. "The files are filled with technical information which critiques and criticizes, from an industrialhygiene perspective, Westinghouse manufacturing and nonmanufacturing operations. This documentation oftentimes points out deficiencies in Westinghouse operations and suggests recommendations to correct these deficiencies. The files contain many years of employee test results, some of them unfavorable.... In our opinion, the risks of keeping these files substantially exceed the advantages of maintaining the records."

Westinghouse attorneys testifying in a Texas case, including Bair himself, said that the memo was only a draft. "The decision was made not to implement this at all," says Westinghouse spokesperson Jay McCaffrey.

Yet other evidence in the record contradicts this assertion. "Informed Wayne to begin discarding documents," says a March 2, 1988, note on Bair's letterhead. On March 8, Bair writes that "Wayne Bickerstaff and his staff are currently discarding documents as per our retention guidelines."

When the evidence-destruction proposal surfaced in asbestos-related litigation in Texas in November 1992, Westinghouse fought to keep it out of the record, claiming that because it was co-signed by a lawyer, it was an "attorney-client work product" and therefore privileged. But Judge Paul R. Davis ruled that the document "described a plan to commit fraud on the courts of this nation," and was thus admissible as evidence.

Asked under oath what the words "smoking gun" meant to him, Bair's boss, Ronald Lawrence, responded, "If you're asking me with regard to a television program, I assume that it means right after a probable murder was created, somebody found the gun still smoking, ... I know that phrase is used in this memorandum, but it didn't have that kind of content or meaning from the television program. What I understood it to mean ... was the kind of document from which an attorney such as yourself could try to draw some inferences adverse to Westinghouse."—E.C. "They had actual knowledge of the facts constituting a fraud."

In more-recent pleadings, the manufacturers have taken an alternative tack, denying that they committed fraud or failed to warn their customers, and maintaining—numerous scientific studies to the contrary—that their products pose no genuine threat to human health.

"Monsanto's actions involving PCBs have always been responsible," spokesperson Diane Herndon wrote in a 1993 statement. According to GE's Jack Batty, "Public perception about the health risks of PCBs and the scientific facts are in conflict. Most scientists agree that PCBs are not the hazard to human health that was feared in the 1970s." [Actually, the EPA's reassessment found them to be a greater hazard than was feared then. | "PCBs have produced tumors in some laboratory animals, but there is no proof-based on human exposure of more than 40 years-that PCBs cause cancer or any other serious health problems in people." Substitute "cigarettes" for "PCBs," and it could be the tobacco industry talking.

Sierra Club Fights PCBs in the Great Lakes

hile transformer explosions account for the most dramatic incidences of PCB poisoning, the main source of human exposure in this country is the toxic muck at the bottom of the Great Lakes. Entering the food chain through bottom-dwelling organisms, PCBs work their way up in increasingly lethal concentrations. In some heavily contaminated waters, four out of five bottom-feeding fish have cancers or tumors. Great Lakes coho salmon exceed the EPA's PCB threshold 70-fold, Great Lakes ducks contain PCBs at levels 60 times the health standard for domestic poultry, and cormorants suffer from cross-bill syndrome, a PCB deformity, at 42 times the natural occurrence. In one study, mink fed a 30-percent diet of Lake Michigan salmon failed to produce live young.

What does this mean for Great Lakes humans? Children whose mothers regularly consumed two or three meals of Great Lakes fish a month before and during pregnancy weigh less at birth and have smaller head circumferences, weaker reflexes, and slower movements than their unexposed peers. In 1991, the EPA estimated that exposure to PCBs in the Great Lakes ecosystem would cause more than 38,000 cancers. The risk is particularly acute among subsistence anglers like the Ojibway and Hmong, whose chances of developing cancer from PCB exposure may be as high as one in 250.

Combating PCB contamination is a major focus of the Sierra Club's Great Lakes Ecoregion Program. The Club is championing S.1183, introduced by Ohio senators Howard Metzenbaum (D) and John Glenn (D), which would fund five more pilot projects like the recently completed PCB cleanup at Waukegan Harbor, Wisconsin, which once contained more PCBs than any site in the world. "Our experience shows that we have to clean up PCBs now, or we'll have sick children and toxic fish tomorrow," says Brett Hulsey, the Sierra Club's Great Lakes regional representative. "That's why we're pushing the government and polluters to develop cost-effective technology and just do it." —Paul Rauber

DDT. Jensen knew it wasn't a pesticide, though, because he found it in wildlife specimens collected in 1935, years before chlorine-based pesticides were in general use. All of Sweden and its adjacent seas were contaminated, he discovered; even hair samples taken from his wife and three children showed traces of the compound, with the highest levels in his nursing infant daughter. The mystery pollutant was everywhere he looked.

Eventually, Jensen says, "I was convinced that what I had to deal with were chlorinated biphenyls, but I didn't have the faintest idea where such compounds were used in the society." Searching the literature, Jensen learned of PCBs' industrial uses. A German chemical manufacturer provided Jensen with a sample, which he analyzed and found to match the "peaks," or chemical readings, found in a massively contaminated white-tailed eagle.

"The circle was closed," Jensen said. "There was no doubt that the unknown peaks came from the use of polychlorinated biphenyls, which I gave the name PCB."

Jensen's discovery, first reported in 1966 in the English

journal New Scientist, set in motion the chain of events that Monsanto, GE, and Westinghouse had hoped to avoid. The European press took notice immediately, and other scientists soon began investigating PCBs. Industry also took note: by January 1967, according to Monsanto telephone logs, Shell Oil had called to inform the company of the Swedish press reports, and to ask for PCB samples for its own analytical studies.

Widespread PCB contamination of the food chain in the United States was first demonstrated in 1969 by Dr. Robert Riseborough of the University of California at Berkeley, who happened upon it in the course of his research on peregrine falcons. San Francisco Chronicle reporter David Perlman learned about Riseborough's findings; his story, "A Menacing New Pollutant," ran on February 24, 1969, and was

Continued on page 74

or three decades, the PCB problem remained invisible to the public—and indeed to everyone except the top managers of the companies that produced and used the chemical. That changed suddenly in 1966 with the accidental discovery of global PCB pollution by Swedish chemist Sören lensen.

In 1964 Jensen was trying to study DDT levels in human blood when a mysterious group of chemical compounds kept recurring in his samples, interfering with his analyses. The chemical was so pervasive that his first task was to determine whether it was natural or synthetic. Finally concluding that it was some sort of artificial pollutant, Jensen set to work to find out what it was.

A two-year investigation established that the mystery compound was chlorine-based and chemically similar to

AN ENDURING WILDERNESS

BRUCE HAMILTON

n 1957, Sierra Club Executive Director David Brower suggested that the nation revive the practice of tithing, ■ by passing legislation that would set aside 10 percent of its wildlands for the future, "Not 10 percent of what this generation received from the last," he told the congressional committee that was considering Hubert Humphrey's first draft of the Wilderness Act, "but a tithe of what was here, on our best estimate, when the white man began to spread over this continent. If that sounds overgenerous, remember how many generations will need what is left, to leaven their otherwise ersatz world."

The idea of preserving wildlands for future generations had powerful enemies, as it does today. But it also had strong advocates like Brower and The Wilderness Society's Howard

Zahniser and Olaus Murie, who were undaunted by the opposition. "We can measure the need for the wilderness bill by the very intensity of the effort to defeat it," Brower said. Sixty-six drafts later, the Wilderness Act of 1964 was signed by President Lyndon Johnson-30 years ago this September.

The law was nothing short of revolutionary. In the past the dominant philosophy had been to use every acre of public land possible. The new legislation eloquently defined a new ethic. "Inorder to assure that an increasing population, accompanied by expanding settlement and growing mechanization, does not occupy and modify all areas within the United States and its possessions, leaving no lands designated for preservation and protection in their natural condition," the act stated, "it is hereby declared to be the policy of the Congress to secure for the American people of present and future generations the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness."

Some compromises had been made.

Livestock grazing and, until 1984, even new mining claims were allowed inside wilderness areas. In all other ways, though, the chosen lands were to be totally outside the commercial realm, regions "where the earth and community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain." Congress directed the U.S. Forest Service to place 9 million acres in the system immediately, and outlined a process for identifying lands worthy of future protection.

No other statute aimed at protecting wildlands has proven as effective. National parks can be developed to accommodate motorists; wildlife refuges can be logged, or drilled, or ravaged by speedboats and snowmobiles; wild-river designation protects only narrow bands of habitat. But

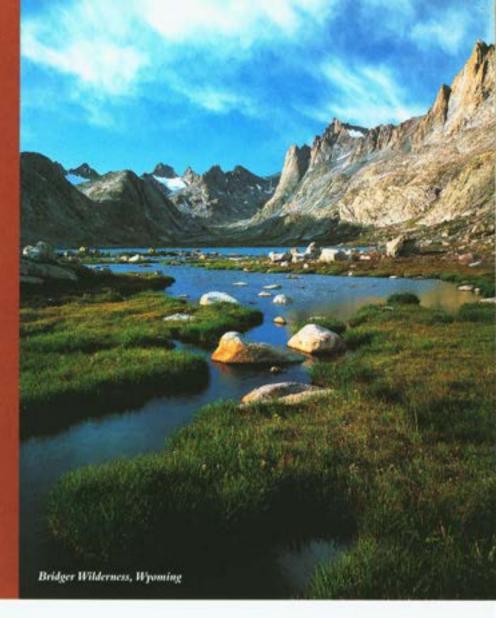
> areas are diverse and inviolate. No roads, no logging, no drill rigs, no speedboats. Like almost no other place on the planet, a wilderness area must. by law, "retain its primeval character and influence, without permanent improvements or human habitation."

congressionally designated wilderness

birty years after passage of the Wilderness Act, the United States has a large and splendid collection of protected places. But what about the lands that Congress forgot?

t first the archetypal wilderness was an aerie in the clouds, with crystalline lakes, sculpted granite, and icy peaks. It offered inspiring views for backpackers, but because it failed to encompass entire ecosystems, it provided inadequate wildlife and watershed protection. Wilderness advocates often fought for more, but when the final boundaries were drawn, the lower-elevation forested and mineralbearing sites coveted by commercial interests were frequently excluded. Some activists at the time didn't even consider these losses important. The scientific reasons for protecting whole ecosystems were not well understood, and largely ignored by Congress.

You like wilderness, let us suppose, and you want to see some of it saved. Not just a thin strip of roadside with a sign saying, 'Do not pick the flowers.' Not just a wild garden behind the hotel or a pleasant woods within shouting distance of the highway...



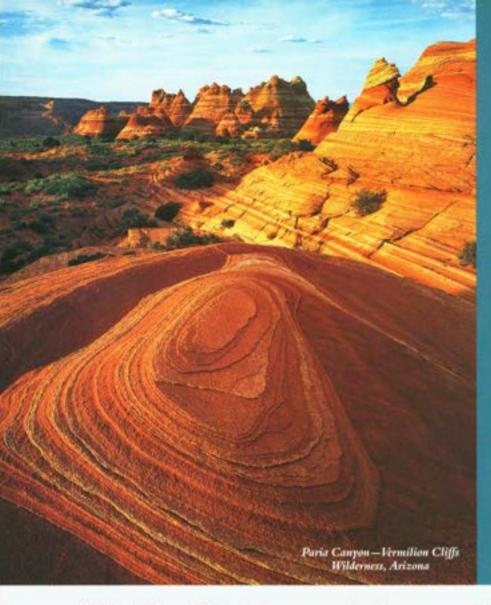
Today we know that the act's mandate to preserve wilderness requires protecting biologically rich low-elevation lands as well as the awe-inspiring heights. We now know that wild areas need to be linked with biological corridors, because isolated "island" populations of wildlife are in the long run doomed to extinction. We know that many wilderness areas are too small and isolated to guarantee the survival of their native plants and animals.

As the biological imperative for wilderness designation has grown clearer, the system has grown more diverse. Today wilderness wanderers can ply the waters of a South Carolina swamp, raft a wild river in Idaho, or explore one of Oregon's temperate rainforests; they can ski across an Alaskan glacier, hike over Hawaiian lava flows, or camp out amid cacti and coyotes in Arizona; they can hunt waterfowl in North Dakota or stalk a white-tailed deer in Missouri, or paddle the route of the voyageurs in Minnesota.

Included are areas all across the nation, from the Moosehorn Wilderness on the coast of Maine to the Philip Burton Wilderness on the coast of California. Some are small, like 6-acre Pelican Island Wilderness in Florida, and some mammoth, like 8.7-million-acre Wrangell-St. Elias Wilderness, which spans an entire Alaskan mountain range. Legislation poised to pass Congress at our press time would establish dozens of new wilderness areas in the California Desert, totaling more than 7 million acres.

All told, we've protected more than 100 million acres. Yet the National Wilderness Preservation System is far from complete. At 4 percent of the nation's land, 100 million acres falls far short of the tithe envisioned by Brower. It also leaves vulnerable approximately 80 million acres of roadless land that meet the act's criteria but haven't yet won a nod from Congress. Many of these forgotten wildlands are lowerelevation country vital to wildlife and watersheds. What wilderness visionary Robert Marshall said some 60 years ago still applies: "The universe of wilderness is disappearing like a snowbank on a southfacing slope on a warm June day."

Though portions of more than 80 types of ecosystems are represented in the system, whole ecosystems have only rarely been protected. As a result, many wilderness-dependent wildlife species in these habitat fragments are in jeop-



big wilderness — country big enough to have a beyond to it and an inside. With space enough to separate you from the buzz, bang, screech, ring, yammer, and roar of the 24-hour commercial you wish hard your life would not be . . .

ardy. In the Northern Rockies, for instance, even a 2-million-acre wilderness is proving inadequate for grizzlies, wolves, and other wide-ranging predators. Goshawks are disappearing from the Southwest, red-cockaded woodpeckers from the Southeast, martens and fishers from the Sierra Nevada, spotted owls from the Pacific Northwest. The warning signs are everywhere: existing wilderness, parks, and wildlife refuges aren't enough to sustain the "enduring resource of wilderness" called for by the Wilderness Act.

A new generation of wildlands advocates, as passionate as the old-timers but much more scientifically savvy, has begun going after the next 80 million acres. They tend to view wilderness not only as a cultural amenity, but as an essential tool for saving ecosystems. This idea first gained congressional attention in the debate over the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, signed by President Carter in 1980. Here the Sierra Club and its allies in the Alaska Coalition convinced lawmakers of the need to protect entire watersheds and mountain ranges.

Today wilderness preservation is the bedrock of the Sierra Club's new Critical Ecoregions Program, particularly in the West (Sierra, March/April). Wilderness designation alone can protect whole ecosystems in Alaska, because intact wild systems still exist there on public lands. Elsewhere, though, where roadless land is rarer and there are more state and private lands interspersed with federal holdings, a patchwork, approach is required. While roadless areas deserve wilderness status, adjacent roaded lands can be shielded from harm in other ways. In the Northern Rockies, for instance, the Sierra Club and other conservation groups are promoting the Northern Rockies Ecosystem Protection Bill in Congress. This visionary proposal, which includes 16 million acres of new wilderness in five states, also establishes wilderness recovery zones and biological corridors to link the ecosystem fragments.

Our other wilderness opportunities are smaller, but still compelling. Lawmakers have barely begun to consider designating wildlands in national parks, in wildlife refuges, and on lands administered by the Bureau of Land Management. Guaranteed protection is still lacking for such obvious wilderness candidates as the redrock canyonlands of Utah, the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, and the mixed-grass prairie in North Dakota.

Keeping destruction at bay is never easy, however. When

the Sierra Club asks for ecosystem protection with core wilderness preserves, Congress and the federal agencies often balk—wilderness designation forecloses too many commercial options, they say. After years of vigorous debate, major national-forest bills for Montana and Idaho have yet to pass. The Utah BLM wilderness bill has also been stymied. Every year, wilderness advocates from these states line up against equally determined foes in what is becoming a ritualized standoff.

In lieu of wilderness protection, the federal land managers sometimes suggest a non-legislative alternative: "ecosystem management." The phrase may sound like something new, perhaps a promise to avoid the tangled roads, bald clearcuts, and gaping open pits inflicted on public lands in the past. But all too often such fuzzy lingo is used to justify logging, grazing, and mining as usual.

The Clinton administration's "ecosystem management" of the Pacific Northwest has failed to grant inviolate protection to a single acre of old-growth forest, Similarly, the federal government's Yellowstone Vision Document, supposedly designed to forge a new way to protect the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem, has ended up long on management,

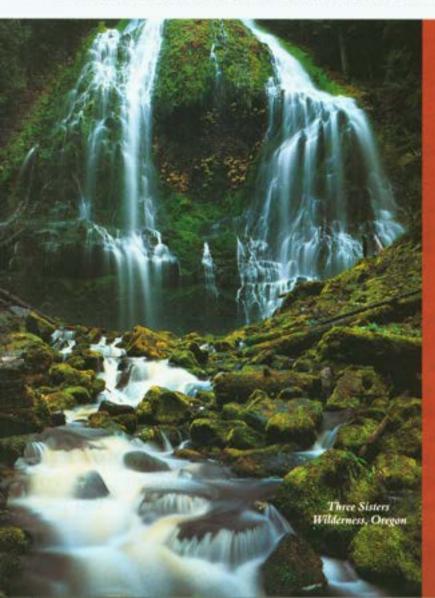
and noticeably short on permanent ecosystem protection.

For wildlands that qualify, there's no substitute for wilderness protection. "The wilderness holds answers to more questions than we yet know how to ask," Nancy Newhall wrote in *This Is the American Earth*. We enjoy wilderness for recreation, but we need it—as much of the remaining 80 million acres as we can possibly get—to preserve a sample of the past and a template for the future. The timeless majesty of wilderness inspired awe in our ancestors, as it will in our grandchildren—if we have the wisdom to preserve it.

Such are the reasons for wilderness advocacy, past and present. Yet the biggest challenge lies not in the knowing—we are all inundated with information—but in the doing. Everyone who has scaled a peak, explored a canyon, walked through a forest, or been eye-to-eye with a grizzly or a wolf needs to speak up for the next 80 million acres—or they will soon be gone. "Wilderness needs no defense," Edward Abbey once wrote, "only more defenders."

BRUCE HAMILTON is the Sierra Club's conservation director.

► For more information, see "Resources," p. 86.



beautiful piece of world,
a place where you can
be serene, that will let you
contemplate and connect
two consecutive thoughts,
or that if need be can stir
you up as you were
made to be stirred up,
until you blend with the
wind and water and earth
you almost forgot you
came from."

- David Brower





BY DANIEL NUSSBAUM

ILLUSTRATIONS BY MARY LYNN BLASUTTA

very culture has its classic mode of expression. Ancient Sumerians had cuneiform epics; Elizabethans had blank-verse drama; modern America has the personalized license plate. What follows is a retelling of Rachel Carson's familiar story in that medium: every word is from a genuine California vanity plate. If the monkeys who randomly type out the works of Shakespeare learn to drive, this story might zip past in the fast lane on the Hollywood Freeway. Lest readers fear that Sierra has been seduced into celebrating internal combustion, we hasten to point out that proceeds from the sale of California personalized license plates go to the state Environmental Protection Program, where they have funded research on the northern spotted owl, monitoring of sea otter populations, conservation and management of bighorn sheep, and restoration of urban creeks. This year the state's 1.3 million vanity plates are expected to contribute almost \$30 million to the cause of environmental protection. Their value to the cause of modern literature is obviously incalculable. • More of author Daniel Nussbaum's handiwork can be found in PL8SPK: Vanity Plates Retell the Classics (HarperCollinsWest, 1994). Nussbaum is a Sierra Club member who lives, naturally, in Los Angeles. For readers unfamiliar with the genre, he suggests thinking phonetically and reading aloud. Remember what you learned in the second grade: when in doubt, sound it out.

ITHAPNZ INA TOWN, MAYBEE SOMTING
LYKE URTOWN. LIFE DUZ KARRYON ISEASON
FOLLOIN ANOTHER. HAPPI SUMMRS
CUMNGO. AUTUMN DAZZLES, ITDOES
AMAZE. WNTRTYM, WEEE CRITTES
KNOWHOW TO FIND BERRIES INSNOW.

SPRINGE. LONBHLD THIS SPELL, ANEVILI, DUZZ TAKEOVR. WEREVIR FOLKS LOOK AROUND: DEDDUX, DDED CHIXX, NOCOWS YN ZAT MEADOW OUTHERE, SHEEP GETSICK ANDIE. AA STRANGE BLIGHT CHANGEZ EVRYTNG.

WEIRDED OWT MDS SEE PATIENS GOUNDAR INA2ND, XUBRANT KIDDOZ GGONE LIKEDAT, THEDOCS SED, "UMM, DONTASK MMMME II CNTXPLN IT."

ITSO QUIETT, INONE NOTKOOL SORTOF WAY. THBIRDS, 4EXAMPL. WHAHAPN 2EM? NONE ARRIVE AT BAKYARD FEEDERS. DIS SPRNG HAZ NNNOE VOICES. AMS B4 DYD THROB WYTHE THA DAWNNNN CHORUS:
ROBINZZ, JJAYZ, DOVES, WRENS ETALIA DDID
4MERLY SINGOUT. THSTIME NADA. SILENCE,
DATSALL.

WITCHS DIDIT ORR 4N AGENTS ORELSE PERVRSE ALIEN BEINGS. UTHNKSO? NOPE. ZEE FOOLISH PEEPLE MADE THEIR OWN AGONEE.

AFTER WWII AMERIKA WENTMAD 4AAA NEWTOY: KLORNSD HYDRO CARBON INSECT KILLER POISONZ. SUDDNLY ALLOVER THEUS THE HIEST VALUE CAME2 BE THIS1: DEDBUGS. NOTHING MUST GET NTHEWAY OFD PERSONN WITH DA SPRYGUN, IPH PETS DROPDED AND RAKOONZ, BARNYRD

DETROIT, POWDER LIKE DDT ONLY ALOT WORSE, FELL INNA DREDFUL BLZZZRD. MEANTYM MANYA CHEMICL DEALER GOES, "HUCARES! WERRICH!"

BYYYY SEEKING 2CONQUR JUSTA HANDFUL OF UNWANTD SPECIES, INTLGNT PEOPLE DIDD ALLOW POYZYN 2B SPREAD EVRYWHR ONEARTH. H20, SOIL, PLANTZ, AMEBAS, ZE REMOTE ARCTIK PLRBAER: ALLOFEM TAINTD. EVN THEMOST LLITTLE NEON8 CHILDE HAS CHMICLS INSYDE.

AAAAA DEDLY TOXXIC RAIN FALLS DOWN NONSTOP ALLTHAT KILLN. 4WHAT? UPNCOMN INSECTE STRAINS LAFF OFF WWHATT USED2B LETHL DUSTEM 2DMX



ANIMLZ, LARKS, POSSUMM, PHEASNT PLUS
SALMON DO2, THENN TUFFF, WEDID TURN
OUR F8 OVER2EZ 2SOME GUYZ ONA
DETHTRP WHOO KEEPON SPEAKIN 2WORDS:
SPRAY MORE.

WAR ONTHE FIREANT BRINGS DVST8TN 2TEXAS, LUZIANA, ALABAMA, GEORGIA ANNDE FLORIDA. ONE ALLOUT REKLISS CAMPAIN TTO ELIMN8 JAPNEEZ BEETLES SHATERD ECOLOGI INTHE MIDWST. NN ISUMMER; NXTYEAR, THERBAK.

SUPREAM COURT MEMBER WILLYUM OH DOUGLAS WROTEIT: 4A SOCIETI 2BJUST, WEHAVE2 SUPPORT HUMNRTS, NOTT 4GETN OURRRR RITE2 ANATRL NVRNMNT.

ENUFF AROGANT THINKN. ENUFF BEHAVIN CAVEMAN STYYLE. IF WEDONT GETOVER THISS FIX8TED NEED 2CONTRL NATURE, SMDAY SOON RPLANET WILLL BEDEAD. •

A Future of Their Choosing

A SIERRA

ROUNDTABLE ON

POPULATION GROWTH

& FAMILY PLANNING

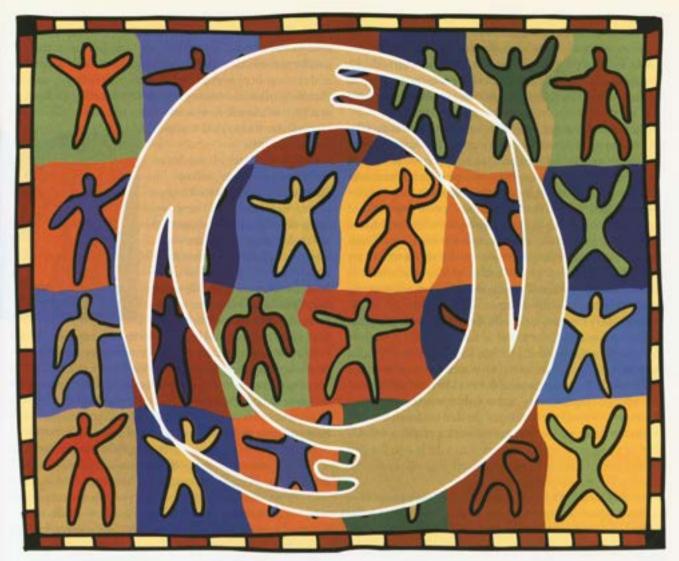
ILLUSTRATION BY JOSÉ ORTEGA PHOTOS BY ALEXANDRA WOODRUFF In DEBATES ABOUT POPULATION GROWTH, ENVIRONMENTALISTS are often accused of being anti-people; our insistence that there are too many of them is perceived as misanthropy. Too often, unfortunately, this exchange centers on numbing, depersonalized statistics: 175 babies born in the time it takes you to read this page; a quarter million more people by tomorrow, 90 million more a year from now, for a total of 12 billion midway through the next

century. (And that's the optimistic scenario, assuming that global birthrates continue to decline. If they stay as they are, world population will reach 22 billion by 2050.)

Also, sadly, the history of "population control" (as it used to be called) is tainted by accusations—sometimes justified—of genocide and racism. Many early population programs consisted largely of First World academics and bureaucrats telling Third World women what to do—and sometimes forcing them to do it. From the distance of an airconditioned think tank, it is all too easy to see overpopulation as a disease, of which children are the symptom and sterilization the cure.

We are all learning. For years, population planners and environmentalists have ignored the most elementary question: Why do people have children in the first place? Among the myriad reasons—some cultural, some biological—one truth stands out: having children reflects the way men and women feel about their roles in the world, and the way they feel about their futures.

To help us explore the population issue in this broader context, Sierra invited to San Francisco four people who wrestle with it on a daily basis. Rather than the doom and gloom that so frequently accompanies such discussions, what emerged in ours was a sense of hope. Stabilizing the world's population, we find, is not a matter of reducing choices but of expanding them, of providing people—especially women—the opportunity to control their lives and their environment. It is, ultimately, about freedom: the freedom to determine not only how many children to bear, but what kind of future those children will have.



Claudia Ford is senior vice-president of Pathfinder International, a Boston-based family-planning organization with offices in Africa, Asia, and the Near East. Trained as a midwife, Ford spent 15 years in Asia and Latin America administering health, family-planning, and human-rights programs. Anne Firth Murray is president of The Global Fund for Women, which grants financial support to women's groups around the world. She was previously director of the Hewlitt Foundation's population and environment program. Richard Cornelius developed policy and conducted demographic research in the population office of the United States Agency for International Development for 19 years. He is now deputy coordinator for population at the U.S. State Department. Judith Kunofsky was employed by the Sierra Club for ten years, during which she directed its population program. For the past four years she has chaired the Club's volunteer Population Campaign Steering Committee. Carl Pope, who moderated the discussion, is the Sierra Club's executive director. He served as a Peace Corps volunteer in a familyplanning program in India, and was political director of Zero Population Growth from 1970 to 1973.

Carl Pope: Many people are aware of and concerned about population issues, but for the most part they're not technically informed or close to the field. If you could correct one misperception that muddles questions of population for the general public, what would that be?

Judith Kunofsky: When people hear that the world's population is growing, they often think that birthrates are rising. The fact is that the current surge in numbers is a result of declining mortality, not of rising fertility. Women all over the world are having fewer children—but because more people are surviving to childbearing age, the total number of births is soaring. That's why it's so crucial that we continue to lower birthrates.

But more important, emotionally and politically, is that too many people feel that the population problem is hopeless, and that there's nothing they, or the United States, or the world can do to make a difference. It's that sense of hopelessness that makes people throw up their hands and decide to work on other issues.

Richard Cornelius: Another common misconception is that the population problem is strictly a matter of too many people in the Third World. That certainly is one dimension of it. But another crucial dimension is the unsustainable level of consumption in the industrialized countries.

Anne Firth Murray: I agree. Though population growth obviously has an effect on the environment, we really have to look in our own backyards to solve that problem at a global level.

The other point that I think is not well known is that the population problem may be more one of quality of life for individuals than it is of numbers. The importance of women managing their own lives in order to cope with environmental and population issues is not fully understood.

Claudia Ford: I think there's a misperception that those of us who are advocating high-quality reproductive health and family-planning services are not concerned with the health of the ecosystem. In fact, at the service-delivery level, we are concerned with the recipients' quality of life, which includes their reproductive-health needs, their environmental concerns, and a host of other things.

Pope: There's been a lot of talk about the relationship between fertility and direct access to family planning, fertility and overall maternal/child health, fertility and the role of women, fertility and the role of economic development.

Obviously, birthrates around the world in the last 20 years have changed significantly, and not always in the same way. We're now seeing in the former Soviet Union what is, I think, the first example in peacetime of a catastrophic decline in living standards being linked to a decline in fertility. It turns out that de-development as well as development can dramatically decrease birthrates.

What can we learn from all this? What do we know now about why people have children, or about the relationship between fertility and broader social issues?

Cornelius: During the 1970s, I know that USAID, at least, approached fertility from a purely medical perspective.

Pope: You handed out condoms.

Cornelius: Right. The director of the program then, Rei Ravenholt, used to argue that if you provide contracep-

ANN FIRTH MURRAY
THE GLOBAL FUND FOR WOMEN

tives you don't know whether people will use them, but if you don't provide them you know they won't. His philosophy was to get high-quality services out to as many countries as possible. Keep in mind, this was during a period when access to family planning simply didn't exist.

We've learned over the last 25 years, though, that fertility is a very complex phenomenon. It's guided not only by desire for the

well-being of one's family, but by an individual's income, education, and ethnic and cultural background. It's influenced by whether one's children are surviving or not; for example, in countries that have a very high incidence of child mortality, women have fairly large numbers of children, hoping that at least a few will survive to maturity.

Fertility is also guided very much by women's roles. In many countries, a woman's main role has been to bear children. Girls are often denied equal access to education and economic opportunity. On the other hand, countries that have made the most progress in educating girls, such as Thailand, South Korea, and Colombia, have also experienced the most rapid declines

in their fertility.

Ford: I remember being in an extremely remote village in Bangladesh, a place it took a couple of days to reach, crossing many rivers and walking several miles. We talked with an obviously malnourished woman there who had five kids and was using modern contraceptives. We asked her, "Why are you using family planning?" "I'm tired," she said. "I



have many children and I don't want to have any more. I have this much rice and I have to feed this many people. If I have more people to feed, then I have to have more rice and I can't see where more rice is going to come from. Our community is very crowded. And there are too many people." This was an illiterate, poor woman whose childbearing decisions didn't have anything to do with sophisticated policies.

Murray: One of the most interesting things about this issue is that the success of our policies—those made by foundations, or the State Department, or the Sierra Club—is entirely dependent upon the decisions people are making in their own homes. Therefore those people, it seems to me, have to be empowered to make those decisions. And the power has to be real. It can't be just rhetoric. To actually change the numbers requires a major shift in the way we do business.

One more point: we talk about women having children, but I want to add that we need to empower men to take responsibility for their own sexual behavior. We keep focusing on women having children, but men have children too.

Ford: Yes, we do need to involve men, because men are still the power brokers at the community and household level. While women bear the children, they do not make most of the decisions about how many children they have.

In the United States, when a couple gets married, we always ask, "Are you going to have children? If so, how many, and when?" In most parts of the world, the decision to have children or not is not made by the woman herself. The mother-in-law often makes that decision, and certainly the husband's family. A woman must have a certain amount of freedom to decide how many children she's going to have and when she's going to have them—or if she's going to have them. I would like to see that freedom put in the hands of more families around the world.

Murray: We're getting a lot of attention now for the empowerment of women and for broader education programs because we can argue that these improvements result in smaller family size. I don't like that argument. Why aren't we interested in the empowerment of women for its own sake? I think we're twisting our values when we use women for our population policy.

Kunofsky: What you're saying presents a challenge for the Sierra Club. Population stabilization is essential to everything the Sierra Club has ever worked for and cared about. We're interested in empowerment because the only way the planet will survive is if people have the freedom to protect their own environment. However, to be effective in Congress we have to be very specific and limited in what we ask for. Members of Congress aren't interested in why we're concerned about family planning—they just want to know what we want them to do. So we say, "We want you to cosign Representative Beale's letter asking for \$800 million for family planning for fiscal year 1995."

Consequently we've gotten some heat because we don't bear witness to the truth or express our entire philosophy; but, on the other hand, we've been extremely effective. That's a dilemma for us: we want to be effective, and we also want others to understand that we see the big picture.

Ford: It's not necessary for one organization to do all things on this. It's a complex issue. Your role may be to get Congress to move, as opposed to bearing witness; there are others of us who have time to do that.

Murray: I've been thinking here that we can advocate

huge amounts of money for family planning, and that's great. Certainly, more money will help, in one way or another. What we're doing is fine, I guess. But the way we're doing it is not.

So we talk about millions of dollars going into family planning; wonderful. But who's deciding how that money is to be spent? Where is the agenda being set? By whom? Until we devise ways for people on the ground, in their own communities, to make decisions about how that money is spent, we are not going to solve our population problem. The trouble is that policymakers are unwilling to delegate decision-making, especially when it involves money.

Ford: Not only are our partners in the Southern countries, women in particular, saying, "We have to be involved in the decision-making," they're saying, "We have to directly lead it." This is very difficult for many Northerners to take.

We also have women looking at the United States and saying, "But when you introduced X technology, you made us feel like guinea pigs. And you experimented here first, not in your own country." They're also saying, "Look at the way you treat ethnic minorities in the United States. How can we trust you to have our interests uppermost in mind?"

We need to understand why there's so much mistrust, and why many of our partner countries are critical of how the United States in particular, and Northern countries in general, have framed the issues of population and family planning around the world, especially for countries of color.

Cornelius: There's a difference between decision-making at the level of U.S. foreign policy and the decision-making that happens on the ground. Our job at the State Department is to define our basic approach to population assistance. But then we also need to look at how this translates into programs in the field. The point that Anne and Claudia are making is that unless people in the countries we're working in feel a sense of ownership of the programs that are in place, they aren't going to work. Anyone who's been in the field quickly learns that if Americans swoop in on a 747 and implement some paternalistic program that they concocted back in Washington, D.C., it's not going to take root.

I remember working some years ago on a project to expand primary health care to rural villages in northern Tanzania. We began by sitting with village leaders and dis-

SEEKING ACCESS FOR ALL

If the precarious balance of life on our planet is to be maintained, the Sierra Club believes, every nation must stabilize its population at a sustainable level as quickly as possible. Among other improvements in quality of life, such as increasing educational and economic opportunities, this requires that every woman in the world have access to familyplanning services by the year 2000.

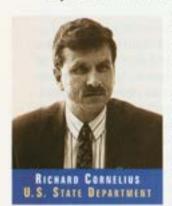
For the past four years, the Sierra Club has conducted a major campaign to increase U.S. contributions to voluntary international family-planning programs to \$1.4 billion within the next five years. Our success has been gratifying: thanks to our activists' hard work, U.S. foreign assistance for population programs has almost doubled from \$270 million in 1990 to \$506 million in 1994. The Senate Appropriations Committee has recommended \$605 million for the 1995 fiscal year. This funding is made available to the Agency for International Development and to the United Nations Population Fund.

After the long leadership drought of the Reagan-Bush years, the Clinton administration has declared its dedication to the goal of global population stabilization. Led by Tim Wirth, Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs, the United States will have the opportunity to act on that commitment at the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, Egypt, September 5 to 13. Earlier this year, Wirth announced his support for doubling the U.S. population-assistance contribution by the year 2000, and endorsed the goal of universal access to family-planning services by that time.

Two staff members and three volunteers from the Sierra Club will be attending the Cairo conference. The Club is working to see that the conference endorses a formula specifying the contributions each donor nation will make to population programs.

To get involved in the Club's work on population stabilization, contact Karen Kalla, Director, Sierra Club Population Program, 408 C St., S.E., Washington, DC 20002. Most chapters have an active population committee that will welcome your participation. cussing their health problems and how they might be addressed. The solution that bubbled up from the discussion was to train community health workers to make periodic visits to households to provide basic medicines for common illnesses such as diarrhea, malaria, worms, and conjunctivitis, and to refer people to health clinics for more serious problems. These health workers needed to be paid, and villagers were willing to pay them because this was "their" project.

Pope: But can that backfire? I can imagine some countries



or governments saying, "Oh yes, we're for equality. But our vision of equality is that women should be protected from having to go out into the workplace. They should not have to learn all of these modern skills because it gets in the way of bringing up their children in our traditions." What's the appropriate or effective response to that?

Ford: This does get said, and not just by countries or govern-

ments but by women themselves. I think we need to be very respectful in these cases. We're not trying to export an American view of a woman's role. We're just saying there are some core values in terms of a woman's freedom to receive good reproductive-health care, to have some say about when and how many children she has, to educate her girl children, and to live free of fear and violence. These are values that women all over the world are agreeing on. I'm not trying to frame it so that every woman feels like she lives in San Francisco and has the range of choices that we have. Many women are saying, and I think rightfully so, "We don't want that many choices. This is fine for us. This is what we want." The crucial thing is that freedom to choose.

Pope: That freedom is going to be a major issue at the UN Conference on Population and Development in Cairo. Representatives from 171 nations and from nongovernmental organizations—as many as 8,000 individuals—will be gathering this September to adopt a program that will guide global population policy for years to come. Many pre-conference meetings have been held in preparation. What can we expect to see in the final document?

Murray: There's a broad base of support among women's groups for a document that addresses reproductive rights, sexual health, and gender equity. We also hope to set in place accountability mechanisms that really involve those who are supposedly being served. And, finally, women want an acknowledgment of human rights as the center of the population issue.

Pope: Can we expect to hear in Cairo a clearly articulated, if not governmental, voice that says, "Gender equity is the key to the process"?

Cornelius: On the whole, there's a great deal of consensus around gender equality and equity. The most contentious issues now relate to subthemes, such as sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights.

It's politically difficult these days, I think, for any government to stand up and say, "We're against the empowerment of women," so it's easy to achieve consensus on that. But what happens in terms of actually involving women in decision-making, in opening options for greater political and economic involvement by women? Whether the actual conditions in countries change is the really important thing to look for.

Kunofsky: The Sierra Club sees the Cairo conference as an opportunity not just for debate about the quality of the programs—which is important—but also to have donor nations make a financial commitment to the goal of universal access to family planning by the year 2000.

That's why we're focusing on the need for a formula that says: "We will give X amount of money each year." This conference is a prime opportunity to pressure the donor nations to give more and to give differently. The United States, by the way, might contribute close to \$600 million this coming year; the Sierra Club believes it should be \$800 million.

Cornelius: I agree that one of the most crucial things we can do in the Cairo document is to set funding goals. The document now calls for \$17 billion annually, an amount that includes not only core family-planning efforts but additional reproductive-health services, education around AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases, and the social, demographic, and biomedical research that supports these efforts.

Up until now, donor nations have provided only about 25 percent of the global funding for population programs. The Cairo document proposes that the proportion increase to one-third—recognizing, I think, that with the tremendous increase in resources that is going to be needed, it's going to put an unmanageable burden on many developing countries to continue to pay three-fourths.

Putting those elements together, it does call on donors to really step up to the table. Where I disagree with Judy is that I don't think we ought to use the Cairo process as a country-

by-country pledging conference. I think we should use Cairo to gain the momentum to work with other donors to increase their support. But it has to be done quietly and diplomatically. I don't think you'll get countries, in front of the whole world, agreeing to double or triple their funding, because donors don't want to commit to something they can't deliver.

Kunofsky: But everything else is private persuasion. At the Cairo

conference you have the eyes of the world on you. What better moment for leverage?

Pope: Will any nations at Cairo disagree with the goal of universal access to family planning?

Murray: Some may, to ally themselves with the Vatican,



which is, incidentally, a government that represents a nation in which there are no women or children. The Vatican is opposing not only abortion but contraception, condoms, and voluntary sterilization even for health reasons. And governments have gone with them.

Cornelius: It's important to remember that the bloc of nations that opposes some of these concepts represents 5 percent or less of the nations that are represented at the Cairo conference. Also, surveys show that in the United States and much of Latin America, contraceptive-use rates among Catholics and non-Catholics do not differ significantly.

Pope: Let's move now from the international arena and talk about the situation within the United States. We went through a period in the early 1970s during which fertility fell lower than it had ever been, but there's evidence that birthrates are on the rise again, despite our contraceptive use. What can we do to stabilize our own population?

Kunofsky: The Sierra Club has long believed that the United States is the most overpopulated nation on earth. If you look at worldwide consumption patterns, the average family in the United States has the equivalent of 40 children. Clearly the same things we have been talking about in

the international sphere, namely universal access to family planning and the related issues of education and empowerment of women. are as relevant in the United States as they are in other countries. Also, if the United States is to achieve sustainability, then its overall population size and resource-consumption levels will have to be much lower than they are now. The Sierra Club has many strong positions on fertility, and is currently debating what position to take on immigration.

Ford: In the United States we have basically three groups: minority Americans, mainstream Americans, and recent immigrants. I think each

group is making fertility decisions for very different reasons, and we are not taking their differences into consideration in designing the nation's collective health care. This is especially true in inner-city communities where you see the same thing that you see in developing countries: women who have children because many of them are not going to survive.

Pope: If we dealt with some of these Third World kinds of problems in all communities here in the United States, would our population stabilize?

Cornelius: To follow up on Claudia's statement, we need to remember that we are a diverse nation. In middle-class, white America, fertility has hovered somewhere between 1.8 and 2.2 children per family on average for the last 15 or 20 years. Recent migrants, however, who are predominantly of childbearing age and come from cultures that have higher fertility, often have more births, at least for a generation or two, until they begin to take on the U.S. pattern. I suspect that we may never get to replacement or below-replacement fertility like you have had in France or Germany or some other parts of Western Europe.

Ford: You're absolutely right. We are an increasingly diverse society. I'm very fearful that we don't even have a new American dream. What is the basic level of rights, responsibilities, and entitlements we want all Americans to have? We haven't even set that goal, let alone figured out how to make sure everybody reaches it.

Pope: What would you set as that goal?

Ford: Many of the things that we've been talking about around this table. Certainly the reproductive-health and -freedom rights, the gender-equity rights, the access to health care, the equitable system of justice, the human rights that we so easily talk about in the international scene. I'd like to see that we have all of this for our own people.

Pope: But meanwhile, what should we be focusing on?

Cornelius: I think we should focus on three things here in the United States and around the world. Universal primary education would be one area, for boys and girls equally. The second area would be an extensive program of basic primary health care. And the third area would be an integrated program of family planning and reproductive health. But these things can happen only if we're willing to reorder our spending priorities.

> Murray: These suggestions are excellent. Once again, however, the problem is that the way we are educating children, the way we are delivering health care, and the way we are educating people in general is not getting at the structures of society that have to be changed. We need to relearn how we treat each other, how whites treat blacks, how men treat women, how rich treat poor, how educated treat uneducated. The patterns of dominating the oppressed-under which we currently work virtually everywhere in the world-will not serve us in the future.

Kunofsky: I'm concerned because, as I said early on, one of the basic problems is that people feel that the population/environmental dilemma is hopeless. And now you're essentially saying that it is. The problems you are describing have been around for thousands of years, and we don't even have a hundred in which to make this stupendous change. The easily available petroleum will be gone by, what, 2050? Resource shortages and population-driven problems are already causing violence throughout the world as people retreat into their own ethnic/religious/national groups for some measure of security. The earth's ecological system, on which we depend for survival, is already threatened. The sustainable population of the United States, even at solar energy/recycling/ everybody-using-mass-transit, is between 50 and 150 million. That's one-sixth to half the current population. We really have very little time to make very dramatic transitions.

Murray: I know that we can't just stop everything and wait until we are all good and kind to each other. But if we have enough people who are prepared to take a stand, then individual people can make a difference. There are thousands of

Continued on page 70



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ADVANCED SIMPLE



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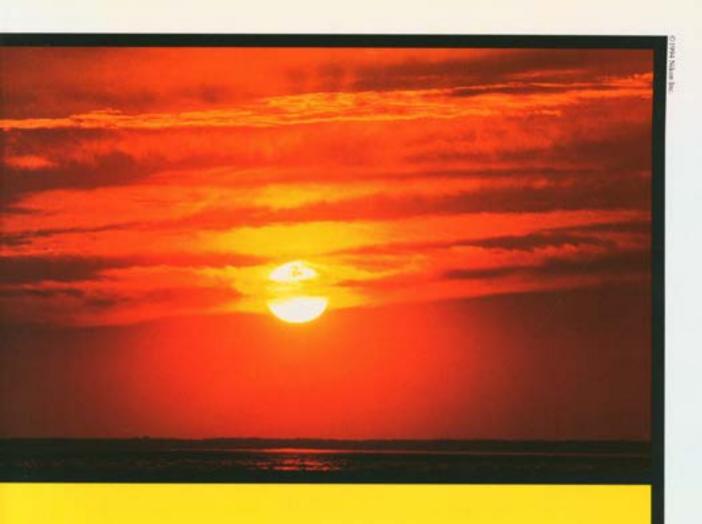
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SWERS

SECOND PLACE

Abstracts in Nature (Color) PATRICIA FREEMAN Glendora, California

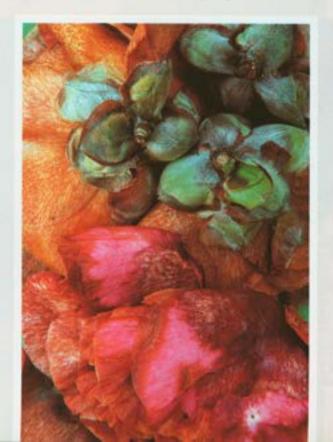
Fragmented Blossom Descanso Gardens, California (RIGHT)

VIEWPOINTS

THE WINNERS OF SIERRA'S 1994 PHOTO CONTEST

he sheer volume of photography that pours into our offices every spring at contest time is somewhat overwhelming. That so many people see so much of the world, so variously and so well, is cause for both wonder and celebration. We are always reminded that the beauty of the natural world is one of the chief reasons for defending it. The photographers whose work is gathered here offer moving testimony to that beauty; Sierra is grateful for their ability to fix the transient lovelinesses of air, land, and water in patterns of light. We extend our gratitude to many others: to our judges, Christine

Alcino, Heather Joiner, William Neill, and Pamela Roberson; to our sponsors, Nikon, Bausch & Lomb, and Buck Knives; to contest coordinators Tracy Baxter, Mark Kotschnig, and Liz Sizensky for their remarkable organization and efficiency. And to this year's entrants, all 1,753 of them, for their gifts of sight.





SECOND PLACE
Nature in Bloom
(Color)
JOAN CASE
Chester, New Jersey

Peace Lily



SECOND PLACE

Wildlife (Color)

RICHARD SCHOOLMASTER Hudson, Michigan

16

Gannet Colony
Bonarenture Island, Quebes
(BOTTOM, LEFT)

FIRST PLACE

Nature in Bloom (Color) JOHN ANDERSON New York, New York

Letus Blossems Bronx Botanical Gardens (maxow)



SECOND PLACE

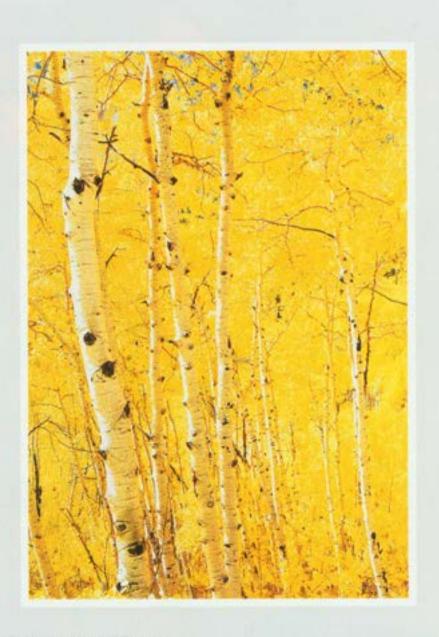
Landscapes of the World (Color) DAVID GREENBERG Fairfield, Connecticut

> Yellow Aspen Colorado (RELOW)

FIRST PLACE

Abstracts is Natura (Color) PENNY BERGLUND Crystal River, Florida

A Pair of Stars Anna Maria Island Florida (BIGHT)

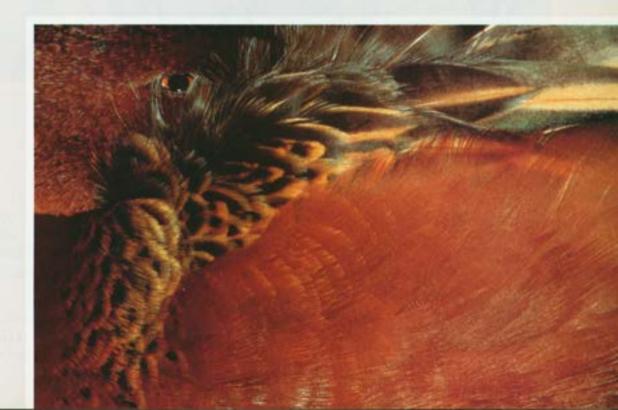


FIRST PLACE

Wildlife (Color) JOHN A. DUKES Richardson, Texas

> Cinnamon Teal Arizona (argum)







SECOND PLACE

Abstracts in Nature (Black and White) KEITH AXELSON Los Angeles, California

Morning Bew on Gull Feathers Santa Clara River, California (ABOVE)

SECOND PLACE

Landscapes of the World (Black and White) JACK WASSERBACH Bremerton, Washington

Grass Patterns
Cape Cod, Massachusetts
(TOP, REGRE)

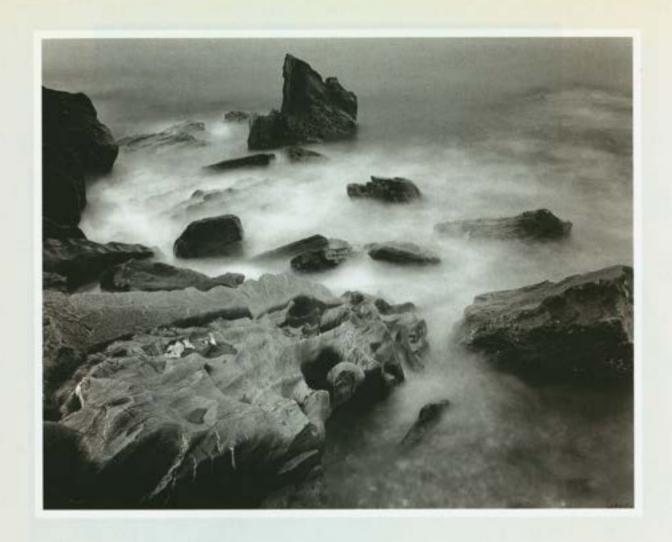


FIRST PLACE

Wildlife (Black and White) MARK RITTER Altamonte Springs, Florida

Elaphant family
Lenya
(RIGHT)







FIRST PLACE

Nature in Bloom (Black and White) INEZ ROBERTS Santa Barbara, California

Calla Lily

FIRST PLACE
Landscapes of the World
(Black and White)
MITCHELL RUSSO
Hamilton, Massachusetts

Haunted Waters Barnabaus Beach, Ireland (LEFT) FIRST PLACE

Abstracts in Nature (Black and White) JERRY SAXON Homewood, Illinois

Crystal flowers Chicago, Illinois (BELOW)



POPULATION ROUNDTABLE

Continued from page 57

people around the world who are doing good work in their communities. This is why I am optimistic.

Ford: The danger, though, and it's especially true in this country, is that you now have people who think, "Oh, the environment? I separate my cans and bottles. I'm doing my part." And there is a tendency to simplify it to a level that allows us to go to sleep at night and not feel guilty.

Pope: Another contentious issue bedeviling the population/environment question is abortion. The Sierra Club, incidentally, is the only major environmental organization that has a position on abortion, and in fact has been prochoice since long before the Supreme Court's decision legalizing abortion. As far as domestic policy is concerned, what will it mean if, in the process of developing national health care, the administration decides not to cover abortion services?

Cornelius: I think that the impact, frankly, would be limited whether we include it or not. I say that because even though more than 170 countries around the world permit legal abortion at least under some circumstances, the de facto situation is that in most countries there are restrictions even to basic access to abortion services, let alone government funding of abortion. And one of the clear messages that has come through in the Cairo process is that governments view abortion as a matter of national sovereignty that has to be governed by applicable national laws. I don't think most countries are ready to provide funding for abortion on demand regardless of U.S. national policy.

Ford: I disagree. I think it would have a tremendous influence. First of all, if we don't include it in our national health care we're saying one thing and doing quite another. That kind of hypocrisy does not go unnoticed in the rest of the world.

Second, it would be an absolute tragedy if we continue to treat abortion as a separate ethical issue and not a health-care issue. Very few countries in the world do not realize that it is the greatest health-care issue facing them. If you go to most developing countries and visit a public hospital, you find 40 to 70 percent of the beds taken up by women who have incomplete and septic abortions. You think they have enough public resources to handle that?

Pope: We've talked a lot about the set of factors that influence fertility, and we've talked about how people treat each other. We've particularly talked about the way men treat women. The United States has a very powerful global commercial culture; our commercial culture is one of our main exports. What kind of messages are we sending to the world about the issues that influence fertility?

Murray: The media perpetuates violence. It's too long a topic to go into here, but I think it is the seminal issue, because the message of violence is, "If we have a problem, here's how we deal with it. I'm stronger than you are and I

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Going to Hell in a Handbasket

That headline may not be scholarly, and the tone is perhaps too flippant for a deadly serious matter. Still, it would be hard to find a more apt description of where our country is heading as a direct result of the relentless growth of our population.

The arguments for first halting, then reversing, U.S. population growth would seem so compelling as to raise the question "Why isn't it being done?".

Line A shows where our population is headed with current

levels of fertility and immigration— to nearly 400 million by 2050, and to nearly a half billion by the end of the next century!

Such population growth would surely lead to disaster for future generations of Americans. It would have profound impacts upon the environment, on renewable resources like farmland, forests and water, and on our society itself.

A smaller population would help the nation deal with the social, environmental and resource problems that confront us, yet very few of our politicians and pundits even consider the idea.

On the assumption that they are held back by unwarranted fears, we will try to explain briefly by what relatively gentle adjustments we could turn U.S. population growth around.

Line B shows what could be achieved with the "two child family" and with immigration reduced to the levels that prevailed for much of this century.

If parents indeed "stop at two" it would lead to a total fertility rate (TFR) of about 1.5 children, because not all women have children, and some have only one. A national TFR of 1.5 would make possible a gradual turnaround in the population growth that drives our social and environmental problems.

We Need to Reduce Immigration

But the two child family alone will not enable the nation to reach a smaller population size. It would need to be accompanied by a substantial reduction in current levels of immigration.

In 1900 we were a nation of less than 76 million. Almost half of the population increase since then has been post-1900 immigrants and their descendants. The Census Bureau projects that our present population of some 260 million will increase by 2050 to 392 million (middle projection), or even to 522 million (high projection).

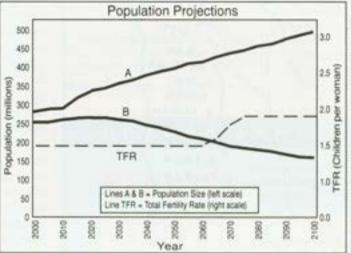
Of the population growth anticipated for the 21st century, nearly 90 percent will be post-2000 immigrants and their descendants. In other words, immigration is the driving force behind a disastrous surge of population growth.

The average annual level of recorded gross immigration from 1924 through the 1960s was 198,000. Immigration is now over a million per year. If we were willing to bring net immigration down to 200,000 a year, our demographic future would improve dramatically.

If we moved now to the "two child family" and concurrently brought immigration under control at an annual level of 200,000, it would lead in the next century to the population projection shown in the graph (Line B).

> By the middle of the next century parents could even be encouraged to have more children, for a total fertility rate of 1.9 (Line TFR). That rate would allow our nation to maintain a constant population size of around 150 million.

> If, at the same time, we change our lifestyles to reduce unnecessary consumption, and use energy and materials far more efficiently, such a population size should be sustainable for the very long term.



The Choice Is Ours

We need to choose the path leading to a sustainable U.S. population of around 150 million. To get there we would need the combination of the two child family and a moderate net immigration of 200,000 a year. What would be so difficult about that?

We need, above all, the courage to make now the decisions that would safeguard our demographic future. We urge Third World nations to bite the bullet and face up to their demographic problems. How about doing it ourselves?

NPG has recently published a paper titled, <u>The Two</u>
<u>Child Family</u>, documenting the case made here. To become
a member, and receive our papers on a regular basis, please
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We are a nonprofit, national membership organization established in 1972. Contributions to NPG are tax deductible to the extent the law allows.

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Things To Do...



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- outings
- public affairs es education
- SIERRA magazine
- your chapter
- lobbying

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Caleb B. Rick, J.D. Director of Planned Giving & Charitable Gift Counsel Sierra Club 730 Polk Street San Francisco, CA 94109 (415) 923-5639 beat you over the head or I bomb you."
Maybe we don't really believe that we can solve problems in other ways. People all over the world are changing their ideas about this, and I just hope that enough of them get into powerful positions in the media to begin to change what's being exported.

But let's not forget that we are not just exporting. Governments are buying. In many countries governments own the outlets, and they buy what comes into their countries. So those decisions are theirs to make.

Pope: I want to toss in one comment. here about population programs and violence against women. It's one thing to say you have family-planning services; it's another thing to be able to use them without a fear of being beaten up. I think the U.S. media is sending the message that it's acceptable for men to dominate women through violence, that it's cool and modern. And in many of these cultures, maybe it's not cool but it is traditional. This is something left over from the past-and in the modern sectors people are beginning to changebut I think the U.S. media is actually reinforcing the notion that violence against women is okay.

Cornelius: I think the messages being broadcast to the world from the United States are definitely part of the problem. In addition to violence one could add immorality and materialism. This is the view of U.S. culture that people around the world are getting.

But information technology is potentially part of the solution. The world is smaller than ever now because people have access to television, and radio certainly. If we can package the right messages it's possible now to reach even the most remote areas of the world. But that's the challenge: to get the messages right.

Pope: To wrap this up, I'd like to ask each of you what you believe is the most important thing the Sierra Club can do to help achieve a sustainable global population. And then, what can individual members do?

Kunofsky: The most important thing that individual Sierra Club members



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can do is to not have more than two children.

In terms of our work as an organization, I think we have played a unique role in the last four years in doubling the level of U.S. family-planning assistance. The Sierra Club has used its impressive grassroots strength to put concrete pressure on members of Congress. I want us to continue to do that until there is such worldwide commitment to universal access to family planning that we're not needed anymore.

Cornelius: One cannot possibly overestimate the potential influence that environmental groups like the Sierra Club can have on this issue. And I think it's for many of the reasons Judy alluded to: the grassroots infrastructure and the ability to put real pressure on legislators. So the Sierra Club can first of all let legislators know that population is an issue that people care about, and that it's an issue that demands additional resources, not only because of the need to reduce population growth around the world, but because we're dealing with human beings here.

Individuals can do two things. One is to get educated. Understand why population is something that affects the quality of our own lives. And then walk the talk. If we're advocating responsible childbearing decisions, if we're advocating empowerment of women or denouncing violence against women, we need to live in a way here in the United States that's consistent with what we're preaching overseas.

Murray: I think the Sierra Club should keep doing what it's been doing. In addition, it can try to become a model business. Wouldn't it be wonderful if an organization with the values of the Sierra Club could do good work, but also look at itself and ask, "Is this an organization that could stand up as a model for what we want to see around the world?" That would be exciting.

There are a lot of things that individual Sierra Club people can do. They can speak to the men in their lives if they're women—or if they're men they can think of it themselves—and take more responsibility around men's sexual behavior. They can speak to their male friends about violence in society, because let's face it, men are perpetrating violence all over the world, basically. If I were a man I wouldn't want to be in that group, and it would be nice to change that stereotype. So individual people can talk about this with each other and change their behavior. They can support organizations that are working on these issues.

Ford: I agree that the population issue should be part of the Sierra Club's advocacy role, and I applaud the focus on getting votes changed in Congress. I would urge the Club to continue its commitment to environmental justice and diversity in its staffing and policymaking.

I think it's important for us as individuals to keep our eyes on the prize. To me that means that within our families and communities we must establish and work toward certain goals that are consistent with our beliefs. And then we must think of ourselves as role models for the next generation, remembering that everything we do is our legacy to the world's children.

Pope: I'd like to share one incident that I think reflects much of what we've been talking about today. When I was in India as a family-planning volunteer more than 20 years ago, I was bicycling along the road one day and an old man waved me over. We began a conversation in Hindi. He wanted to know who I was, I said I was a Peace Corps volunteer from the United States. He wanted to know what I was doing, and I told him I was working for the Health Department. He wanted to know what I was doing there, and I said I was working for a family-planning program. "Do you know about family planning?" I asked. "I know what a family is," he answered. "That's a mother and a father, a sister and a brother. But what does that word 'planning' mean?" In his village dialect, the word did not exist, because the sense of life was that one did not plan for things. And I think, as everyone here has noted, that the most basic step we have to take if people are to control their own fertility is to ensure that they control their own lives. .

► For more information, see "Resources," p. 86.

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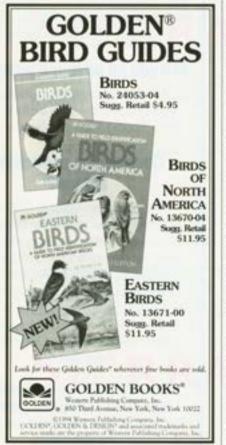
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PANDORA'S POISON

Continued from page 45

picked up by numerous other papers.

Monsanto launched its public-relations defense the next day by denying that the chemicals were PCBs. "The Swedish and American scientists . . . imply that polychlorinated biphenyls are 'highly toxic' chemicals," Monsanto said in a statement widely distributed to its customers and the press. "This is simply not true. The source of marinelife residue identified as PCB is not yet known. It will take extensive research, on a worldwide basis, to confirm or deny the initial scientific conclusions."

Monsanto, however, had all the information it needed to confirm or deny the claim itself. Shortly after Jensen's 1966 discovery, Monsanto executives visited him in Sweden, and company records indicate that Monsanto obtained an unpublished 1968 paper he wrote with two colleagues detailing the analytical method for detecting PCBs in the environment. Neither did Riseborough's findings take the company by surprise: a January 18, 1968, internal memo about PCBs in shorebirds warns a Canadian colleague to "expect publication from California." Riseborough's results were published a year later.

There was also plenty of evidence by this time that PCBs were "highly toxic." The first known mass food-poisoning by PCBs occurred in Japan in February 1968, when PCB fluid leaked into a batch of rice-bran oil, or vusho. More than 1,600 people were initially exposed, with many showing immediate symptoms including severe chloracne, respiratory ailments, and failing vision. It was from the "Yusho Incident" that scientists would soon document birth defects, low birth weights, and numerous other chronic effects from PCB exposure. Nine years after the Yusho Incident, there was a sixfold increase in liver-cancer deaths among affected men and threefold among women.

Despite international attention to the Yusho Incident, just two months later Monsanto's corporate-development committee set a four-year goal of increasing by 20 times its sales of Therminol heat-transfer fluid—essentially the same PCB product that poisoned the Japanese victims. In the United States, Therminol was used as a heating medium inside the coils of deep-fat fryers.

In 1969, while publicly denying the problems linked to PCBs, Monsanto privately acknowledged them in its internal "Pollution Abatement Plan," which admitted that "the problem involves the entire United States, Canada and sections of Europe, especially the United Kingdom and Sweden. . [O]ther areas of Europe, Asia and Latin America will surely become involved. Evidence of contamination [has] been shown in some of the very remote parts of the world."

The Pollution Abatement Plan (really more of a liability abatement plan) proposed three options, with charts showing their potential profits and liabilities. Should Monsanto "Do Nothing," profits would likely decline and liability extend into the future. "We cannot deny the findings and the accusations of various agencies," the plan said. "If we took no action we would likely face numerous suits."

Under the "Discontinue Manufacture of PCB" option, profits would cease and liability would soar because "we would be admitting guilt by our actions."

But with the "Responsible Approach," which involved acknowledging certain aspects of the problem, tightening restrictions, and continuing to manufacture and sell PCBs, profits theoretically would increase and liability slowly decline, all but vanishing by the mid-1970s. It was this latter approach that Monsanto chose, making some adjustments to its business practices but going to battle with the government to keep PCBs on the market, despite growing scientific evidence that they constituted a public-health menace and an environmental nightmare.

Henceforth, Monsanto required its customers to sign indemnity agreements to hold it harmless from any future liability. Monsanto also vowed to

sell PCBs only to customers who would use them in "totally enclosed systems"-even as it continued to market PCBs in products that directly contacted food. On March 30, 1970, Monsanto physician Emmett Kelly revealed to W. B. Papageorge (who would eventually take on the role of Monsanto's PCB czar) that tons of cattle feed from several Ohio silos had been contaminated by leaching and flaking paint based on the company's Aroclor 1254 PCB-oil. As a result, the milk from three herds was tainted. Kelly estimated that up to 50 other silos in the state were painted with the same PCBbased formulation.

"All in all, this could be quite a serious problem, having legal and publicity overtones," the Monsanto doctor warned. "This brings us to a very serious point. When are we going to tell our customers not to use any Aroclor in any paint formulation that contacts food, feed, or water for animals or humans? I think it is very important that this be done. . . . I think we should make a blanket recommendation against these uses." Despite years of discovery in lawsuits, the manufacturers have not produced any evidence that such a warning was issued.

Between July 1969 and August 1971. at least nine major PCB contaminations of food occurred. Shredded wheat contaminated by packaging material was shipped all over the country; in upstate New York, Campbell Soup had to destroy 140,000 tainted chickens. Monsanto continued to view the crisis as a public-relations problem. In 1971, Papageorge addressed a special committee of the American National Standards Institute that was searching for ways to extend the use of PCBs. "We cannot overlook the emotions that have set in." he said, "and believe me, there are many and they are deep. As you know, the references in the popular press to hazardous poisons and birth defects. which have not been substantiated, are most difficult to overcome."

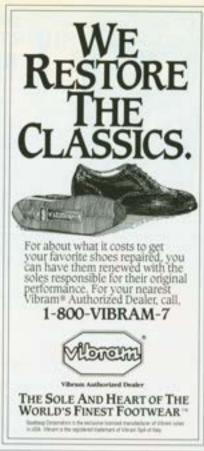
At Westinghouse, another special committee met to discuss the growing PCB crisis. The December 28, 1971, minutes of the meeting (stamped "PROPRIETARY CLASS 1—DESTROY BY BURNING OR SHREDDING") acknowledged the problems of PCB accumulation in wildlife, and indicated that PCBs caused reproductive disorders in chickens and birth defects in victims of the Yusho Incident. They also acknowledged that Yusho might have involved dibenzofurans, which are created when PCB oil is heated.

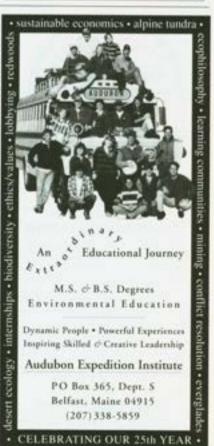
At this point the crisis entered its darkest hour. In order to maintain its 1971 position that "PCBs are not and cannot be classified as highly toxic," Monsanto engaged Industrial Bio-Test Labs of Northbrook, Illinois, to do safety studies on its Aroclor PCB products. Seven years later, IBT Labs would be at the center of one of the most farreaching scandals in modern science. as thousands of its studies were revealed through EPA and FDA investigations to be fraudulent or grossly inadequate. One of IBT's top executives was Dr. Paul Wright, a Monsanto toxicologist who took a job at IBT Labs in part to supervise the PCB tests, and then returned to Monsanto. Wright was eventually convicted of multiple counts of fraud in one of the longest criminal trials in U.S. history-with his legal fees paid by Monsanto.

While fraud on the PCB tests was not raised in the IBT trial, it is strongly suggested by memos and letters that came to light in later civil lawsuits. Several of these show how, at Monsanto's request, IBT Labs customized its studies. "I think we are surprised (and disappointed?) at the apparent toxicity at the levels studied," Monsanto's Elmer Wheeler wrote in March 1970 to IBT president Joseph Calandra. "I doubt that there is any explanation for this but I do think that we might exchange some new thoughts."

In a letter to IBT Labs two months later commenting on a set of PCB test results, Wheeler wrote, "We would hope that we might find a higher 'no effect' level with this sample as compared to the previous work."

In later years, Monsanto's requests would become even more blatant. "In two instances, the previous conclusion of 'slightly tumorigenic' was changed





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to 'non-carcinogenic,' " Monsanto wrote in July 1975. "The latter phrase is preferable. May we request that the Aroclor 1254 report be amended to say 'does not appear to be carcinogenic.' "

Two weeks later, Calandra responded: "We will amend our statement in the last paragraph on page 2 of the Aroclor 1254 report to read, 'does not appear to be carcinogenic' in place of 'slightly tumorigenic' as requested." Testimony about the IBT Labs scandal in a Texas lawsuit against Monsanto indicates that IBT was aware that PCBs caused extremely high numbers of tumors in test rats, with 82 percent developing tumors when fed Aroclor 1254 at 10 parts per million and 100 percent at 100 parts per million. Yet with a stroke of the pen, IBT Labs certified PCBs a noncarcinogen.

Working behind the scenes of such scientific miracles was Paul Wright. In July 1976, after returning to Monsanto, he was given a \$1,000 award for "forestalling EPA's promulgation of unrealistic regulations to limit discharges of polychlorinated biphenyls." A year later, IBT Labs was found out, and Wright, Calandra, and another IBT exec were eventually convicted of federal fraud charges.

The first proposal for a total ban on PCBs was made by Representative William Fitz Ryan (D-N.Y.) in 1970. But partly due to the IBT tests, the substance stayed on the market until the Toxic Substances Control Act of 1976. Before the lid clamped down, industry continued to minimize reports of PCB toxicity. "The low order of toxicity to man is supported by several decades experience in the U.S. electrical industry," GE wrote the EPA in November 1973, urging the agency not to regulate PCBs. In its comments, Monsanto stated that "PCB has always been considered less hazardous than many other chemicals in everyday use."

Denials of the dangers would continue even after the ban. "There has never been a single documented case in this country where PCBs have been shown to cause cancer or any other serious human health problems," said Monsanto toxicologist John Craddock in a January 30, 1981, speech. "In the classical short term exposure, or acute toxicity sense, PCBs are classified as 'slightly toxic' by oral ingestion." Their toxicity was similar, he said, to table salt. "Monsanto, the government and the electrical industry together concluded that the benefits to society of continued PCB use far outweighed the risk." Decades after the Drinker study demonstrated PCBs' toxicity, 25 years after Monsanto's files indicated that dioxin and dibenzofurans were contaminants in PCBs, and with a former Monsanto official standing trial for fraud, Monsanto still claimed that PCBs were safe.

Six days after Craddock's speech, a PCB transformer from GE filled with Monsanto's Aroclor 1254 exploded and burned in Binghamton, New Yorkthe first such U.S. explosion that was publicly acknowledged to involve PCBs, "Binghamton's tallest building, centerpiece of a modern, multi-million-dollar downtown government complex, is now a landmark of the Chemical Age, an empty monolith filled with deadly dioxins," wrote the Associated Press. "What started out as a routine electrical fire eventually released some of the most toxic chemicals on Earth throughout the interior of the 18-story structure." Thirteen years later, the building is still closed to the public.

Although sale of PCBs has been banned in the United States for 18 years, billions of pounds are still with us: in electrical transformers, leaking from landfills, and lodged in the fatty tissues of humans and other animals, passed on to new generations through mother's milk and contaminated food, causing cancer, birth defects, and sterility. For the few extra years of profit for Monsanto, GE, and Westinghouse, we are all now paying the price.

ERIC F. COPPOLINO is a New York-based investigative reporter specializing in PCBs and related issues. Additional research assistance was provided by Hilary Lanner and Brenda Shawley.



REVIEWS

Tracking the Vanishing Frogs

by Kathryn Phillips St. Martin's Press; \$22.95

Amphibian populations the world over are in steep decline, and biologists are racing to discover why. These are the plot elements in a real-life ecological detective drama whose protagonists are a colorful assortment of herpetologists, a generally underappreciated breed of zoologist specializing in reptiles and amphibians. Formerly low in the scientific pecking order, they're now grabbing headlines and gaining serious attention from the National Academy of Sciences.

Journalist Kathryn Phillips focuses on the work of these sleuths. She combs California creeks and marshes with Marc Hayes and Mark Jennings as they search for clues to the fate of missing red-legged frogs, and interviews Martha Crump and others who are investigating the disappearance of golden toads from Costa Rica's Monteverde rainforest. In the process, Phillips raises several of the Big Questions herpetologists and other scientists are grappling with. Are frogs, toads, newts, salamanders, and caecilians dying off because of drought caused by global warming? Are they being poisoned by pesticide and fertilizer runoff? Exposed to lethal doses of ultraviolet radiation due to the ozone layer's thinning? Or are gourmands' demands for delectable frog legs placing too big a burden on certain species?

The book's only disappointment is its inability to come to a definite conclusion. We're left to surmise that some combination of factors is playing havoc with amphibians, which is more or less where we started. But this murkiness is not Phillips' fault; it's up to researchers to deliver findings to us once they've sorted out the evidence. Phillips does well by setting the reader up for the eventual denouement, when the slippery mystery will finally be declared solved. Until then, her narrative skill has us sitting on edge, enthralled by the desperate attempts to learn whether human folly or a quirk of nature is doing amphibians in.

-Mark Mardon

The Geography of Childhood: Why Children Need Wild Places

by Gary Paul Nabhan and Stephen Trimble Beacon Press; \$22

In alternating essays, naturalist buddies and fellow fathers Gary Paul Nabhan and Stephen Trimble plumb their early years and the lives of their children for evidence of the virtue of a childhood spent in close contact with nature. Both are sure that it's a good idea, although neither finds it easy to say why. "By forging connections with plants, animals, and land," attempts Trimble, "by finding ways to experience some relationship to the Earth, individuals can gain a sense of worth."

Both daddies fuss about a poll asking kids their primary source of information about nature: 53 percent identify the media, and 31 percent cite school. Only 9 percent learn about nature by being in it. "To counter the historic trend toward the loss of wildness where children play," suggests Nabhan, "we need to find ways to let children roam beyond the pavement, to gain access to vegetation and earth that allows them to tunnel, climb, or even fall."

Yet there seems to be more to it than opportunity. To his dismay, Nabhan discovers that even many children living in the middle of the Arizona desert spend more time watching nature shows on the Discovery Channel than playing in the nature show outside. Children suckled on television, it seems, often find the real thing lacking in drama.

The secret ingredient, it is suggested, is an adult willing to teach appreciation of the wilderness; to name names, suggest paths, and to get out of the way and let kids make discoveries for themselves. To judge from the book's sometimes excessive anecdotage, the authors' own children have little to worry about in this respect—although the reader is left fearing that the kids may disappoint their poppas terribly if they don't all grow up to be nature writers.

-Paul Rauber

Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement

by Robert Gottlieb Island Press; \$27.50

In this version of the environmental movement's history, Robert Gottlieb proposes to heal historic rifts between wilderness preservationists, who dominate some of the more conservative national organizations, and the many local, grassroots activists who struggle against toxic hazards in their neighborhoods. Unfortunately, Forcing the Spring's polarized view of the movement indulges in so much biased, gratuitous bashing of the "mainstream" groups that one wonders if the author isn't more intent on fomenting civil war than on creating harmony.

Gottlieb has loaded the book with examples selected to support his thesis that mainstreamers are insensitive to local concerns—and to women, minorities, and students. Conveniently ignored are the many cases where the mainstreamers have collaborated with

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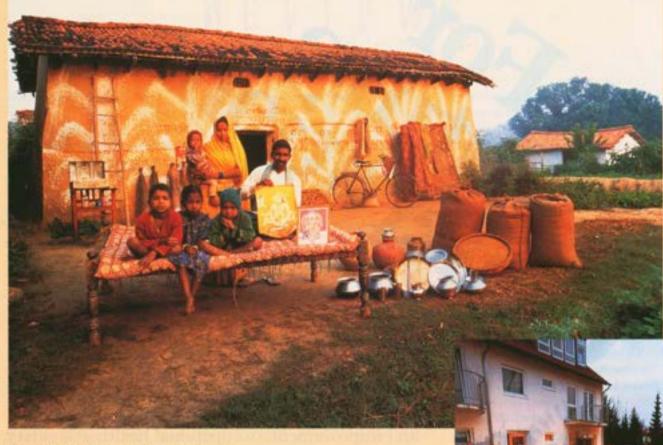
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AT A GLANCE



Material World: A Global Family Portrait by Peter Menzel text by Charles C. Mann, with an introduction by Paul Kennedy Sierra Club Books; \$30

To help depict living conditions around the globe at this moment in history, a team of photojournalists composed portraits of "statistically average" families (along with all their possessions) in more than 30 rich and poor nations. The resulting images highlight not only the obvious differences between life in, say, India (above) and Germany (right), but the more subtle contrasts as well: the glow of health versus the pall of poverty, the number and condition of children, the composition of nuclear versus extended families, and so on. The cumulative impression is one of a few rich nations whose citizens enjoy the "good" life, in contrast with (and largely at the expense of) a great many poor people with little wealth to display, and rather less reason to smile for the camera.

locals, or reached out to the previously excluded. He seems barely aware that some national organizations, like the Sierra Club, are actually a federation of local groups. While neglecting these local folks, Gottlieb at the same time romanticizes other grassroots activists, who appear immune to parochialism, narrow-mindedness, or NIMBYism.

The result is that, despite significant differences among mainstream environmental organizations, they appear lumped together in a caricature: a self-serving, bureaucratized machine so co-opted by business and government that it undermines local grassroots activism and indulges in federal policy-making primarily to nuzzle up to power. There is little appreciation of the diversity and vitality of mainstream groups that, after all, helped create the legal and cultural context that gives the grassroots a fighting chance.

-Bob Schildgen

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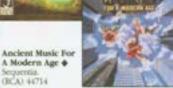


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READINGS

The Sierra Club Natural Traveler Series of guidebooks to the wild places of Europe is designed for those who want to venture beyond the cathedrals and museums of the cities into the Old World countryside with its endless paths for hikers and naturalists. Personal narratives (such as excerpted here) combine with practical advice and resource listings to make "natural travel" planning easy and rewarding.

From Wild France,

edited by Douglas Botting.

France's longest river, the Loire, nearly cuts the country in two. Some 950 kilometers (600 miles) of woods, vineyards and châteaux line its banks as the river grows from a swift-flowing stream to wind ever more slowly through the flood plain on its journey down to the Atlantic. The wide agricultural valley of the lower Loire is not the wildest part of France. But nature has kept back a

few treats which are well worth seeking out.

Some treasures are buried behind the châteaux and the tourists, such as the wooded wetland of the Sologne. And east of the valley of the Loire, in Burgundy, lie the Morvan hills, a rural fastness where birds of prey such as merlin and buzzard still thrive.

For most of the time the Loire is deceptively placid and languid as it meanders shallowly between the levees, the raised embankments that attempt to contain its course. Herons poise on banks in the middle of the river while kingfishers dart up and down its length. But the river is capricious and in full flood an awesome sight. The waters, swollen by the melting snows of spring far upstream in the Massif Central, angrily swirl around the piers of Decize's medieval bridge. Downstream the river sometimes breaks its banks. swelling on to riverside pastures and forcing sheep and cattle (and people) to retreat to higher ground.

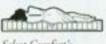
Local ecologists say the Loire is the last truly wild river in Europe. It remains, apart from the shorter rivers of Brittany, the country's last breeding place for salmon.

Between Nevers and Orléans the river sweeps around to the west, crossing the limestone plateau of Berry and forming the border of two sides of a triangle of the Sologne. This sharp change in direction is unusual; geologists believe that the Loire did once flow north, joining up with the Seine.

The Alps may be higher and more theatrical, what with the Jungfrau, Matterhorn, Mont Blanc and so on, but the Pyrenees are more isolated and forbidding, which has served to keep them wilder and far less touristed. They form, moreover, a truly formidable barrier to cross-mountain traffic. The Alps, by contrast, have a great many convenient passes that lead across the great chain of mountains at far lower levels than those of the flanking peaks. Not so the Pyrenees. The two main routes from France to Spain lie at

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the western and eastern extremities of the range; in the center, until modern times, there were only two passes that could, with great difficulty, be used by wheeled traffic. The age of tunnels and superhighways has made things a lot easier for vehicles, yet the Pyrenees remain remote and wild,

With few exceptions, the valleys of the Spanish Pyrenees all run more or less at right angles to the east-west thrust of the principal chain. As a result there is no easy way to get from the Catalan Pyrenees to the Basque Pyrenees unless you descend to the lowlands of the Ebro Valley. East-west travel in the mountains involves a complicated series of twisting, narrow roads that lead from one cross-compartment to another.

I am always grateful for these impediments to travel, since they have served to protect vast areas from development. Tucked away in inaccessible valleys are innumerable quiet corners that are surprisingly untouched by the fell hand of the late 20th century. For alpinists and expert skiers there are the high mountains; for hikers and backpackers, lush meadows and magnificent forests; for families with small children, village inns on the banks of shallow mountain streams where toddlers can splash and float toy boats. Sadly, many Pyrenean mountain villages have been abandoned by their inhabitants and now stand in ruins. But where the villages are still inhabited, the conjunction of peasant architecture and mountain scenery is often nonpareil.

From Wild Britain by Douglas Botting.

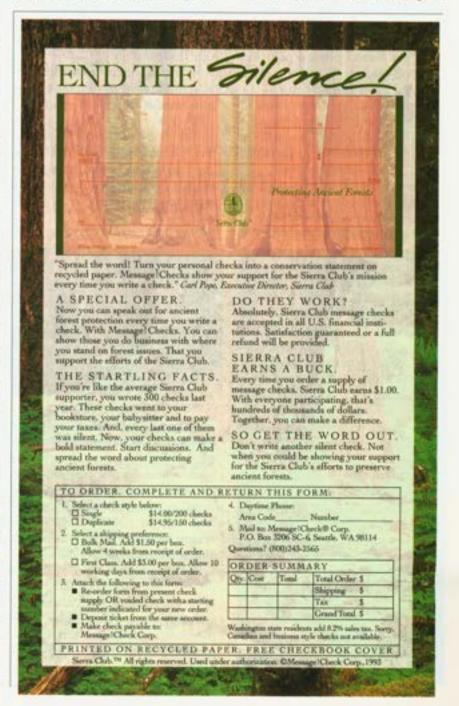
Hen Cloud is a distinctive mass of rock rising 1,240 feet (378 meters)

out of the English lowland plain like a mini Rock of Gibraltar. To the traveler heading north this sudden upward heave of the landscape is both exciting and significant. For Hen Cloud is not only a sentinel guarding the approaches to the open and relatively unspoiled territory known as the Peak, but one of the first bastions of Highland Britain. Here you leave the placid plains and gentle rises of the South and Midlands and enter the starker, more rugged uplands of the North Country. The 150mile Pennine spine of England is a geologically complex world of gritstone, plateaus, limestone dales, rocks and crags, great moors and vast peat bogs. The Peak District occupies the first 40 miles of this upland chain. Here you can find some of the wildest, least tamed landscape in Britain.

The change in the environment is obvious almost at once. Hedges give way to dry-stone walls, arable fields to rough hill pasture, green slopes to moors and tracts of bog.

The Peak was the first national park in Britain and is still the most popular. Half the population of England is within day-trip distance of it. It is small enough to cross on foot in a day, big enough to get lost in. For the climber it offers hard rock, for the caver an underground wonderland, and for the walker miles of rambling and riding country both on and off the beaten track.

► For more information, see "Resources," p. 86.



Mark Mardon

A Gift for the Future

hen author and marine biologist Rachel Carson died of breast cancer in 1964, at the age of 56, she left a substantial bequest to the Sierra Club that included royalties from sales of Silent Spring, the landmark book that exposed the ecological and health hazards of DDT and other chemical pesticides. That gift continues to help support the Club's conservation campaigns. Her legacy also led the Club to create the Rachel Carson Society, designed to bonor individuals who invest in the environment's future by including the Sierra Club in their estate plans.

Carson's shocking revelations galvanized the modern environmental movement, inspiring thousands to become involved. Chief among her converts to the cause was her longtime friend and editor, Paul Brooks, who joined the Sierra Club in 1962-the year Silent Spring was published. Brooks went on to serve as one of the organization's directors from 1966 through 1972, became a trustee of the Sierra Club Foundation in 1974, and in 1989 earned the Club's coveted John Muir Award, its highest honor. During those years he also authored several books, published by Houghton Mifflin, including The House of Life: Rachel Carson at Work (1972), The Pursuit of Wilderness (1980), and Speaking for Nature (1983; reprinted by Sierra Club Books).

Though long retired from Houghton Mifflin, where he spent 25 years as editor-in-chief, Brooks has continued to lecture and write on Rachel Carson. This spring in San Francisco, at a gathering of Sierra Club leaders from across North America, Brooks helped inaugurate the Rachel Carson Society by reading sections from The House of Life, in which he noted that Silent Spring did much to spark widespread public support for federal regulations on the use of agricultural chemicals. Carson's belief that human welfare depends on the health of the environment was revolutionary for its time, Brooks pointed out. What so infuriated and frightened Carson's detractors was that she dared to question "the basic irresponsibility of an industrial, technological society toward the natural world. That was heresy. That is why her work endures."

Part of the reason Carson was able to capture a large and fiercely loyal audience, Brooks believes, was that she "used words to reveal the poetry which is to say the essential truth and meaning—at the core of any scientific fact."

Typical of Carson's style in Silent Spring is this sentence, in which she broadly characterizes her complaint

The editor of Silent Spring tells how Rachel Carson made her mark on the Sierra Club.

against pesticides: "Sprays, dusts, and aerosols are now applied almost universally to farms, gardens, forests, and homes—nonselective chemicals that have the power to kill every insect, the 'good' and the 'bad,' to still the song of birds and the leaping of fish in the streams, to coat the leaves with a deadly film, and to linger on the soil."

Passages such as this had critics from the pesticide industry calling Silent Spring "unscientific" and "emotional." Certainly Carson's accessible prose style wasn't what the public usually expects of "serious" scientists. Yet underneath her lyricism lay a solid body of research, and her carefully mustered scientific facts spoke for themselves.

"When Carson suggested that pesticides might spread to the uttermost parts of the earth," Brooks wrote in the preface to the 1989 edition of *The House of Life*, "she was ridiculed by her detractors; such an assumption, they claimed, was obviously nonsense and proved that her work was unscientific. Later they learned differently, when traces of these poisons were found in the Antarctic ice."

"Since DDT was released for civilian use," Carson observed of a fact that has been confirmed repeatedly, "a process of escalation has been going on in which ever more toxic materials must be found. This has happened because insects, in a triumphant vindication of Darwin's principle of the survival of the fittest, have evolved super races immune to the particular insecticide used, hence a deadlier one has always to be developed—and then a deadlier one than that."

In the wake of the celebrity that followed Silent Spring's appearance, and after enduring repeated attacks by agribusiness and the chemical industry on her writing and character, Carson was exhausted. Even so, Brooks says that just months before Carson died, she managed a journey to California, where she realized a lifelong dream. Confined to a wheelchair, in the company of Sierra Club Executive Director David Brower and his wife, Anne, Carson visited Muir Woods to bask in the aura of a redwood grove. That experience sealed her affection for the Sierra Club, and her gift to the organization, given with the assurance that the Club would carry on her crusade to protect the earth, is a worthy symbol of generosity for those who are considering leaving behind their own environmental legacy. .

► For more information, see "Resources," p. 86.

LETTERS

Continued from page 14

being "loved to death" before they can be formally protected). Perhaps influenced by the loss of the Escalante's spectacular neighbor, Glen Canyon, to hydro development in the 1960s, we prefer not to mourn yet another "place no one knew" if we can do something to prevent it.

DIVERSE OPINIONS

It is with regret that I learn that you foster deviant membership ("A Club Without Closets," May/June). Please cancel my membership in your "club." I'm sure you can find a new queer in California to replace me.

F. T. Pope Dallas, Texas

Many think our gay lifestyle should be kept quiet. But our lives are central to our commitments to loving life, the outdoors, and who we are. We are a despised, misunderstood minority because we have been invisible. We will not remain so. The Sierra Club celebrates the diversity of life and will survive accepting the diversity of its membership.

Seth Adams Oakland, California

CORRECTIONS

In May/June's "Way to Go" story about British Columbia's Kitlope watershed, our lack of facility at converting square kilometers to hectares to acres led us to misstate the area's size at 4 million acres. The correct number is 778,990.

One of the photographs accompanying Jeff Wallach's May/June article about the Escalante was a shot of the confluence with Coyote Gulch—a point below the one at which our author and his companion left the river. The photo was taken on another expedition, and should not have been part of this package.

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Join activists working on issues that concern you. Contact the Campaign Desk, Sierra Club, 730 Polk St., San Francisco, CA 94109; phone (415) 776-2211.

AFIELD

"Hearth & Home," page 18

How to Get Water Smart by Buzz Buzzelli et al. (Terra Firma, P.O. Box 91315, Santa Barbara, CA 93190; 1991) has a useful section on recycling household water. The Natural Gardening Book by Peter Harper with Chris Madsen and Jeremy Light (Simon & Schuster/Fireside, 1994) details a way to clean graywater by filtering it through a planting of reeds before using it on your garden.

"Body Politics," page 20

To find out more about the work of the Senior Environment Corps, contact John Grupenhoff at 6410 Rockledge Dr., Suite 203, Bethesda, MD 20817. Write or call the Environmental Alliance for Senior Involvement (EASI) at P.O. Box 368, The Plains, VA 22171; (703) 330-5667.

DEPARTMENTS

PRIORITIES

Campaign Reform, page 26

With or without campaign-finance reform, this November's congressional elections are crucial to the Sierra Club's goals. To help elect Club-endorsed environmentalists to the House and Senate, contact the Club's Campaign Desk at the address above.

The Center for Responsive Politics has

just started a free newsletter, Capital Eye: A Close-Up Look at Money in Politics. To receive it, write the Center at 1320 19th St., N.W., Suite 700, Washington, DC 20036, or call (202) 857-0044.

The Working Group on Electoral Democracy is seeking groups and individuals to endorse its call for democratically financed elections. The organization may be reached at Keets Road, Deerfield, MA 01342; (413) 773-8187.

Green Republicans, page 33

To find out how your senators and representative scored on environmental votes in 1993, contact the League of Conservation Voters, 1707 L St., N.W., Suite 550, Washington, DC 20036; (202) 785-8683. For a copy of the 1992 Republican platform, write to the Republican National Committee, Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center, 310 First St., S.E., Washington, DC 20003; (202) 863-8500.

Black Caucus, page 37

For more on the Black Caucus, see Bunyan Bryant's Race and the Incidence of Environmental Hazards (Westview Press, 1992), which devotes a chapter to the Caucus' environmental-voting record.

IN PRINT

Readings, page 82

Four volumes have appeared so far in the Sierra Club Natural Travelers Series: Wild Britain, Wild France, Wild Italy, and Wild Spain. The guidebooks are \$16 each, paperbound; you can order them, and other Sierra Club Books, by phone (Visa or MasterCard); call (800) 935–1056.

CLUBWAYS

Rachel Carson, page 84

A bequest or life-income trust to benefit the Sierra Club is a commitment to the environment—a plan today for an investment tomorrow. The Planned Giving staff of the Sierra Club provides confidential assistance to aid members and friends in shaping an enduring legacy suitable to their needs. For more information, contact the Planned Giving Program, Sierra Club, 730 Polk St., San Francisco, CA 94109; (415) 923-5639.

FEATURES

PCBs, page 40

For more on the Sierra Club's Great Lakes program to clean up contaminated sediments, including PCBs, see Clean Lakes, Clean Jobs, a 50-page report available for \$10 from the Club's Midwest Office at 214 N. Henry St., Suite 203, Madison, WI 53703.

Wilderness, page 46

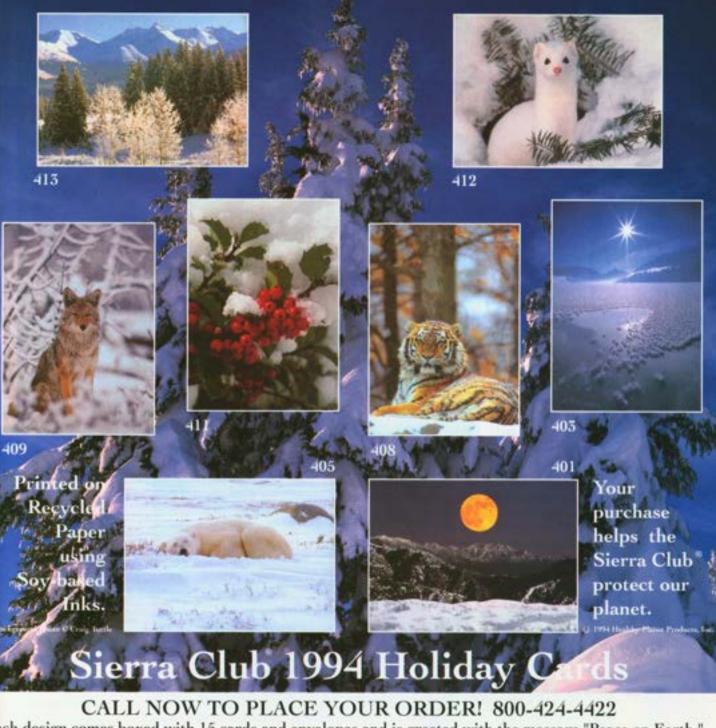
Ask your congressional representatives to support Sierra Club-endorsed legislation that will be introduced next year to protect wilderness in Utah, the Arctic, and the Northern Rockies. Club chapter and group wilderness committees can receive periodic updates on wilderness and other land-protection legislation; send the committee contact person's name and address to Leslie England at the Sierra Club's Washington office, 408 C St., N.E., Washington, DC 20002.

Population, page 52

The Global Fund for Women, headed by Anne Firth Murray, has granted more than \$3 million to women's groups in 97 countries. Contact the Fund at 2480 Sand Hill Road, Suite 100, Menlo Park, CA 94025; (415) 854-0420. Pathfinder International, represented at Sierra's roundtable by Claudia Ford, is at 9 Galen St., Suite 217, Watertown, MA 02172; (617) 924-7200. Pathfinder provides financial support, technical assistance, and contraceptive supplies to organizations throughout the world.

For a wide-ranging exploration of the population debate, consult Beyond the Numbers: A Reader on Population, Consumption, and the Environment (Island Press, 1994) edited by Laurie Ann Mazer. Questions of immigration are debated in Sierra Club Books' just-published How Many Americans? by Leon F. Bouvier and Lindsey Grant.

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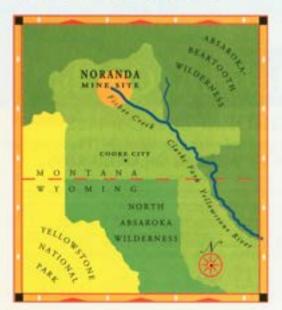
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Reed McManus

New World, Old Story

hat's the best use for a 10,000-foot-high chunk of land wedged between the world's first national park and a federal wilderness area, a place where the streams flow into a national wild-andscenic river? Preservation and recreation, environmentalists say; it's habitat for bighorn sheep and threatened grizzlies, smack in the middle of some of the most spectacular hiking, fishing, and

skiing in the northern Rockies. Excavation, says Noranda Minerals: that same real estate could produce \$800 million worth of gold and other minerals over the next 15 years. One group proposes to leave only footprints; the other, 5.5 million tons of tailings in a ten-story heap.





Noranda's New World Mine site sits on private land surrounded by the granitic ramparts of Montana's Beartooth Mountains. At immediate risk is the 944,000-acre Absaroka-Beartooth Wilderness, the border of which lies only 1.5 miles from the mine. Glaciers, lakes, and high tundra make the Absaroka-Beartooth

the state's most-visited wilderness area. Threefourths of its acreage is above timberline, capped by Montana's highest mountain, 12,799-foot Granite Peak. Within shouting distance of the mine are sublime alpine routes leading to 9,712foot Daisy Pass, Lake Abundance, and the upper Stillwater River.

New World would have repercussions well beyond the excavation itself. A 68-mile power line would cut a swath through grizzly habitat, and trucks rumbling along the St. Joseph Highway would share the road with visitors tooling along a National Forest Scenic Byway leading to Yellowstone Park, only 2.5 miles from the mine site.

But tailings, not tailgating trucks, are the main

Federal protection will mean little to a river that lies just downstream of a mile-long toxic pond (top). The Beartnoth's Daisy Pass — before ventilation shalts and underground explosions (bottom).

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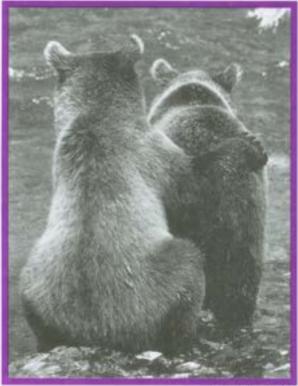


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Members receive discounts on all Sierra Club logo items including our distinguished books and celebrated calendars.

Worldwide Outings Program

Travel to the far corners of the earth — paddling or pedaling, ski touring or trekking. We offer hundreds of exciting outings, from the tundra to the tropics. Members can even build trails, preserve archeological sites and help clean up the environment on our exhibitating Service Trips!

Local Chapter Membership

Members receive up-to-date news on local conservation issues and invitations to chapter events, and can also volunteer for local or national conservation campaigns.



TEACLOSE MEMBERSHEP FORMES, WITH CHECK OR MONEY ORDER, IN THIS POSTAGE PAID ENVELOPE.

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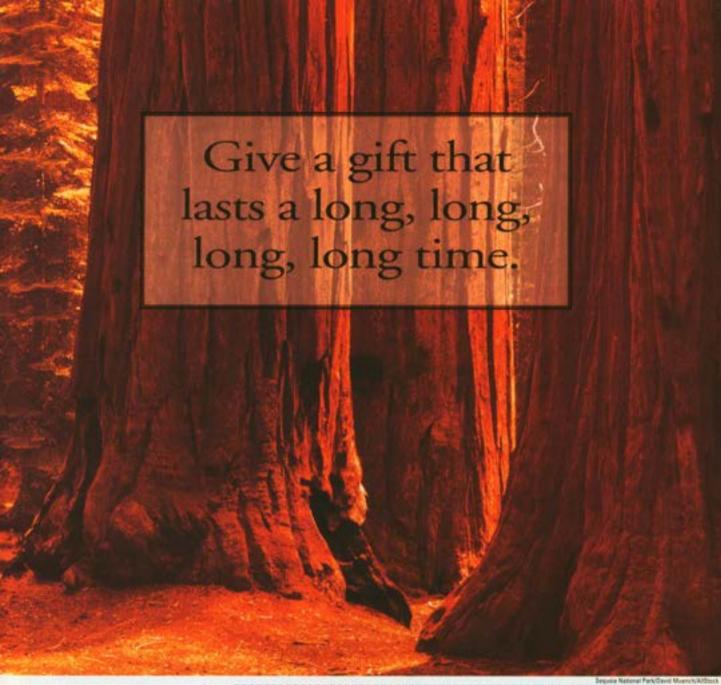
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Sierra Club Attention: Membership PO Box 52968 Boulder, CO 80321-2968





One of the most lasting gifts you can give is a membership in the Sierra Club. It's a present that will help protect everything from our thousand-year-old ancient forests to the air quality of our future.

Your Sierra Club gift membership will include a one-year subscription to our awardwinning Sierra magazine, discounts on Sierra Club books, a chance to experience our worldwide outings program and a voice in the environmental issues that affect us all.

And when you give a Sierra Club membership, we'll include our beautiful 1995 Engagement Calendar absolutely free. It's yours to keep or give to a friend.

This year, give a gift that saves a lot more than it costs. Give a Sierra Club membership.

Gift From: A goft announce for your use.	uncement card will be
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AUDRESS	
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Give a Sierra Club membership and we'll give you our 1995 Engagement Calendar free!



Please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery. Supplies are limited. Substitutions may be recessary. This offer is only available for new gift memberships. Offer expires V/DVB. Allow 6-8 weeks for first issue of Sierra respectie.

Contributions or gifts to the Sierra Club are not tax deductible as charitable contributions. Annual dues include subscription to Sierra magazine (\$7.50) and chapter publications (\$1), and other member-only benefits.



One Chance.

Enclose check, money order or credit information and mail to:

Sierra Club

P.O. Box 52968 Boulder, CO 80322-2968 worry. If New World opens, the fates of the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River (Wyoming's only national wildand-scenic river), the Stillwater River (which flows through the Absaroka-Beartooth), and Soda Butte Creek (which drains into Yellowstone) will be determined by a plastic lining holding back 74 acres of toxic tailings. The impoundment is an experimental design, untested in extreme alpine conditions.

To the Sierra Club and the Greater Yellowstone Coalition, this New World looks too much like the old one. The immediate area is still suffering the effects of far smaller mining operations begun a century ago and now abandoned. More importantly, the mine is a cavernous hole in the 18-million-acre doughnut, the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem. That broad area, composed of Yellowstone and Grand Teton national parks and the seven national forests that surround them, is home to a richness of wildlife unmatched elsewhere in the Lower 48. Some things are worth far more than gold. .

NUTS & BOLTS

WHO'S INVOLVED

Greater Yellowstone Coalition

P.O. Box 1874 Bozeman, MT 59715 (406) 586-1593

Sierra Club Montana Chapter

Whipps Bldg., Suite 25 14 Third St., East Kalispell, MT 59901 (406) 755-9453

The coalition, the Sierra Chib, and seven other environmental organizations have sued Noranda Minerals over existing water-pollution problems at the New World site. A draft environmental impact statement on the current mine proposal, prepared by the U.S. Forest Service and the Montana Department of Lands, is expected in early 1995.

WHAT TO KNOW

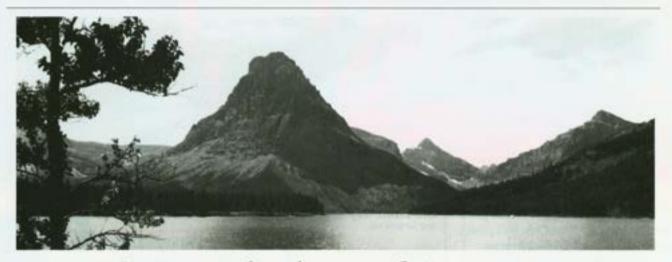
Summer season in the Beartooth Mountains is brief at this altitude (8,000 to 10,000 feet). The alpine lakes may not be free of see until mid-July, and the first snowstorms can hit in late August.

Mosquitoes can be prodigious in the high tundra all summer, and everywhere in early summer. Still, the wilderness gets a lot of visitors. Practice low-impact camping, and consider using stoves instead of fires at all elevations. Access to the area goes with the seasons: many roads are impassable October through May.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

The Cooke City (Montana/Wyoming)
USGS topographic quadrangle is available
from the U.S. Geological Survey, 345
Middlefield Rd., Menlo Park, CA 94025;
(415) 329-4390. The Custer National
Forest Map (Beartooth Division) is
available for \$3 from the District Ranger,
Beartooth Ranger District, Custer
National Forest, Route 2, Box 3420,
Red Lodge, MT 59068; (406) 446-2103.

Guidebooks to the region include Bitterroot to Beartooth: Hiking Southwest Montana by Ruth Rudner (Sierra Club Books, 1985) and The Hiker's Guide to Montana by Bill Schneider (Falcon Press, 1994).



Saving the best of America.

From the Atlantic to the Pacific, the Arctic to the Gulf, our land is constantly under attack from the polluters and despoilers.

That's why Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund attorneys are pursuing dozens of cases nationwide in defense of wildlife, rare habitats, the air we breathe and the water we drink.

Most of our support comes from individual contributors like you. Please help us win. Because we're saving the best of America.

Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund 180 Montgomery St., Suite 1400 San Francisco, CA 94104

Earth Share...

Would you spend \$5 to feel like a million?*

*And get a free gift too?

We're so sure MDR Fitness Tabs will make such an important difference in your life, we'll give you a free gift - an AM/FM Sports Radio, just for trying them.

After all, how much is your health worth? What would you spend to feel energized, strengthen your immune system, revitalize your skin, hair, and nails, and improve your overall health? If you're like most people, you've probably tried vitamins in the past without seeing any results.

Wby most vitamins don't work.

The fact is many vitamin formulas aren't properly balanced. This can hinder their absorption. (For example, too much calcium may decrease the magnesium in your system.) Also, some nutrients are best taken in the morning and others at night, so a multivitamin taken once a day is not a good idea.

Many other vitamins contain dves and unproven ingredients (like molybdenum), yet they lack important nutrients that are depleted by stress, birth-control pills, physical exertion, smoking, and drinking.

The MDR Fitness Tabs formula is based on the latest research to supply the right amounts of the right nutrients at just the right time. Plus, MDR has all the nutrients in the news today, like chromium picolinate, beta carotene and other important antioxidants.

Developed by Doctors.

A group of doctors (the Medical Doctors Research Group; hence MDR) assembled a team of leading nutritionists, dieticians, biochemists, and physicians to research how vitamins could be more effective.



AM and PM formulas.

Together, the team developed MDR's unique AM and PM Fitness Tabs system. With one formula for women. And another for men.

Taking one Fitness Tab in the morning and one at night, both men and women noticed impressive results. In a survey of thousands of regular MDR users, dieters benefited. Smokers felt better. People under stress had more energy. Pilots felt more alert. Athletes noticed improved

performance. And women taking birthcontrol pills sensed a new vitality. Many doctors now use and recommend MDR Fitness Tabs, which are listed in the Physicians' Desk Reference. It's easy to see why MDR is now a

recognized leader in vitamin formulations.

Free gift.

try MDR Fitness Tabs and receive this great AM/FM Sports Radio - FREE. Lightweight and compact, it includes a handy belt clip and built-in turbo speaker! It's perfect for workouts, the beach, sporting events, or anywhere you want news and music on the go.



Direct from the research labs.

We send MDR Fitness Tabs directly to you so we can guarantee maximum freshness and assure optimal purity and potency. We also continually update the formulas so you benefit from the latest scientific findings.

Discover a new bealth insurance.

With stress, pollution, and viruses that plague us today, why gamble with your health? Try to eat right, and take MDR Fitness Tabs as insurance.

To order MDR Fitness Tabs call-

1 800 MDR-TABS

or mail the coupon below. You'll receive a 10-day trial supply, MDR Travel Case, and free AM/FM Sports Radio gift - all for only \$5.* And if you call now and order with your credit card, we'll even include an extra little gift - free!

If pleased, every 2 months, at just the right time, you'll continue to receive a fresh 60-day supply for only \$3.50 per week, billed to your credit card bimonthly. Cancel at anytime. There's no obligation or minimum purchase. Your satisfaction is guaranteed. And no matter what the gift is yours to keen!

OYE	S! I want i	to try MDR f	ior just \$5°	+83
		Fitness Tabs		
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-	0	HSF C	1	
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		nd Avenue.		

SIERRA CLUB FINANCIAL REPORT

Pursuant to provisions of sections 6321 and 6322 of the California Corporations Code, the following information is furnished as an annual report:

The Club's complete financial statements for the fiscal years ended December 31, 1993 and December 31, 1992, together with the report of KPMG Peat Marwick, independent auditors, are available on request from Sierra Club headquarters at 730 Polk Street, San Francisco, California 94109:

The membership list of the Sierra Club is on file at the Club's headquarters at 730 Polk Street, San Francisco, California 94109; There are no transactions to disclose that constitute a conflict of interest involving directors or officers; no member has voting

power of 10% or more;

The books of account and minutes of meetings of the Board of Directors are available for inspection by members on written request at the Club's headquarters at 730 Polk Street, San Francisco, California 94109.

INDEPENDENT AUDITORS' REPORT

The Board of Directors Sierra Club:

We have audited the accompanying balance sheets of Sierra Club as of December 31, 1993 and 1992, and the related statements of revenue, expenses and changes in fund balances and changes in cash for the years then ended. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Club's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audits. We conducted our audits in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements. An audit also includes assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation. We believe that our audits provide

a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of Sierra Club as of December 31, 1993 and 1992, and the results of its operations and its changes in cash for the years then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

KPMG Past Marwick

San Francisco, California May 14, 1994

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SERRA CLUB.

Nucroon ninery-three provad to be another challenging year for the Sierra Club. Several programs that had been planned to continue the fiscal recovery started in 1992 did not materialize as quickly or at the level budgeted. As a consequence, the Club experienced a significant operating deficit, much as in 1991. Operating expense controls continued to be well managed, and the principal concerns came from falling reverses.

Despite these revenue concerns, tight management and a good sense of our priorities by your sensor volunteer and staff scan enabled as to maintain program continuity both in our national campaigns and in our support to the Clab's local Chapters and Groups. As part of a more to a leaner and more focused Sierra Clab, our program efforts in influencing public policy and providing infarmation and education increased both in percentage and actual deliars. Allocations to our chapters increased by over 12 percent. At the same time, our cost of fund-raising and our general and administrative costs experienced real decreases.

Although a new Board leadership team was elected in the spring, and a new treasurer was required later in the year, several aggressive actions were begun as these focal problems became evident, and they will be yielding at improved financial position as they are implemented. Perhaps the most critical area being addressed is the recruitment and retention of our members. An in-depth study of why some longtime members were leaving spurred a number of new efforts to communicate the Club's mission and achievements more effectively with our grassroots as well as the public as a whole. We have launched a face-to-face canvassing program in many communities across the country to bring our message to prospective members and donors in a more personal manner. A long-planned move to have our membership data processing done by an able and experienced constactor will make our contacts for renessals and fund appeals more efficient and in tune with our members' interests, which will also help improve the effectiveness of these messages.

Many other innovative programs both to keep the Sierra Clob a membership-based and -driven organization and to capand our resinue base are responding to this need for change. The newest arm of the Clob, the Sierra Student Coulition, is bringing our message to high school and college youth as we find the nest generation of environmental actions. As I write this note, a dynamic self-examination of our internal structure is occurring across the Clob as we seek to redefine ourselves to respond to the chillenges of our second century.

Saturated by Jim Dodson, Treasurer



STERRA CLUB BALANCE SHEETS Balance Sheets December 31, 1993 and 1992

ASSETS		
	1993	1992
Cash and cash equivalents Reprivables: Trafe accounts, less allowance of \$486,000 in 1993	\$ 1,076,400	2,011,200
and \$399,400 in 1992 Advertising and newstand, less allowance	85,700	7,600
of \$266,900 in 1993 and \$200,900 in 1992 Grams Other, Iesu allowance of \$100,000 in 1990	136,400 711,400	137,200 564,100
and \$75,300 in 1992.	947,386	475,900 907,300
Inventories	951,000	
Prepaid expenses Advances, less allowance for uncarned revalues	1,339,200	1,150,000
of \$153,800 in 1993 and \$116,000 in 1992	511,900	385,800
Investments - endowment fund	9,219,600	8,702,700
Property and equipment, net	5,465,400	3,122,900
Total assets	\$ 18,344,300	17,464,500

LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES

	1993	1000
		1992
Accounts payable:	3,296,400	2,432,100
Accrued expenses	3,761,200	3,259,600
Line of credit	1,200,000	-6-
Deferred revenue:		
Unrestricted	.500,200	537,200
Restricted	407,200	128,700
Long-term debt	1,443,700	1,522,400
	10,626,000	7,880,000
Find bilance:		
Unrotricted deficit	(3.682.300)	(858,900)
Net investment in property and equipment	1,956,000	1.507,900
Endowment		111111111111111111111111111111111111111
Quui-endowments		
Life memberships	8,100,800	7.546,700
Other	1,256,000	1,256,000
Endownwitt-income rounced	75,600	32,800
Term endowment	10,000	10,000
Commitments and contingencies	7,716,300	9,584,500
Consumments and contingencies	7,716,300	1,584,50

Total Substitutes and fund balances

\$18,344,300 17,464,500

SIERRA CLUB STATEMENTS OF REVENUE, EXPENSES AND CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES

Year ended December 31, 1993 and fifteen-month period ended December 31, 1992

		1	993			B	992	
	Untransisted	Endowment	Restricted	Tetal	Unrestricted	Endowment	Restricted	Total
REVENUE	T-100 (1971) 11/1/17		THE SECURIOR		- NOTE 1	ATTENDACTOR		7700
Member dun: Aneral dues	4 13.526,600		- 0	13.526,600				
Life memberships	8 13.525,000 -th-	908,100	4	908,100	54,444,000	1.052.000	-0-	1,062,00
Contributions and grants	11,781,000	43,000	2.647,300	14,671,400	9.220.500	-0-	5,206,800	14,427,50
Ourings and lodge reservations and fees	2.830,700	-0-	-0-	2.620.700	2.604,400	-0-	-0-	7,604,40
Book sales	4,148,600	-0-	-0-	4.148,600	4,590,500	-0-	-6-	4,590,50
Roultin	1,674,900	-0-	-0-	1,674,900	2.086,900	-0-	-0-	2,186,90
Advertising, investment and other income	4,184,500	-11-	-4.200	4,598,700	4.420,300	-0-	4,300	4.424.60
Reinfortement:								-
Capital campaign	895,700	0-	-0-	895,700	1.323,200	-0-1	-0-	1.123,200
Other	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	65,400	-0-	-0-	69,49
Total revenue	39,032,000	981,100	2,851,500	42,634,700	38,659,200	1,062,000	5,211,100	44,932,300
XPENSES:								
Program services:								
Studying and influencing public policy	10,226,100	-0-	2,794,000	12,420,100	9,189,100	-0-	2,429,300	11,619,400
Information and education	10,007,600	-0-	449,400	10,437,000	7,818,900	-6-	2,623,000	20,441,90
Outdoor activities	3,087,700	-0-	200,000	3,297,780	2,633,500	-0-	156,700	2,792,30
Chapter allocations	3,112,400	-0-	-0-	3,112,400	2.7tA.000	-0-	-0-	2,766,00
	26,433,900	-0-	2.643,400	29,277,200	22,409,500	-0-	5,211,000	27,620,500
Support services:								
General and administrative	2,987,700	-0-	8,100	2,995,800	3,785,800	104,200	300	3,3990,100
Membership	7,756,490	354,000	-0-	8(110),400	7,310,400	-0-	-0-	7,316,600
Fundraising Sierra Club	A street from		-0-	N Street Street	on the second	14	7.24	The state of the state of
Affiliates	2,598,500	-0-	-0-	2,596,580	2,700,000	-0-	-6-	2,700,800
America	1,721,000			1,721,000				
	15,063,600	354,000	8,100	15,425,700	15,462,600	104,200	100	15,566,900
Total expenses	43,497,400	354,000	2,651,500	44,702,900	37,872,186	104,200	5,211,100	43,187,400
(Deficit) excess of revenue over expenses	(2.465,300)	597,100	-0-	(1,868,200)	797,100	957,900	-di-	1,744,900
and balances at beginning of period	739,000	8,845,500	-0-	9.564.500	(48,100)	7.667.700	-6-	7,839,60
and balances at end of period	\$ (1,726,300)	9,442,600	-0-	7.716,300	799,000	9.945.500	-0-	9,564,518
	T-AMILTONICOL.			-				

SIERRA CLUB STATEMENTS OF CHANGES IN CASH. Year ended December 31, 1993 and fifteen-month period ended December 31, 1992

	1993	1992
Southers of cash: (Deficial) excess of revenue over expenses Add (deduct) non-cash terms; Depociation and amortization Amortization of (discount) promises on investments Total cash (until its) provided by operations	\$ (1,968,200) 489,000 (342,200) (1,721,400)	1,744,900 582,200 703,500 3,030,600
Docume in trade accounts receivable Docresso in advertising and newsstand receivables Docresse in proposal expenses Docresse in advances Proceeds from manarity of investments Increase in accurate payable Increase in accurate agentuse Increase in fore of oredit Increase in first of oredit Increase in deferred resenue - unrestricted Increase in deferred resenue - restricted	-0- 800 -0- -0- 305,300 864,300 901,600 1,201,000 -0- 278,506	1,200 155,700 49,900 50,900 1,380,100 216,000 521,800 -0- 2,200 -0-
Total acoroes of cash	1,509,100	5,407,800

	1993	1992
Uses of cash: Increase in trade accounts intervables Increase in grants increaded Increase in other receivables Increase in inventories Increase in prepaid expenses Increase in prepaid expenses Increase in selvances Prachases of investments Acquisitions of property and expapsions Decrease in deferred revenue – unerstricted Decrease in deferred revenue – exercised Decrease in deferred revenue – exercised Decrease in deferred revenue – exercised	76,300 147,300 371,400 40,700 199,200 136,300 540,000 831,500 37,300 -0.0	-0- 117,000 55,500 85,600 -0- -0- 3,647,200 356,600 -0- 116,900 55,000
Total uses of cush	2,445,900	3,834,600
(Decrease) increase in cash and cash equivalents Cash and cash equivalents at beginning of period	(454,900) 2,011,200	1,573,400 437,800
Cash and cash equivalents at end of period	\$ 1,076,400	2,011,300

SIERRA CLUB NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS December 31, 1993 and 1992

NOTE 1 - Summary of Significant Accounting Policies

(a) Organization
The Serris Chib (the Chib) is a nonprofit soluntary membership organization enableshed to explore, ringer and protect the wild places of the artific to practice and promote the responsible use of the rath's competent and enables the rath's econystems and resources; to educate and cultot humaning to prove that and restore the quality of the natural and human environ-

nums, and no nie all lawful means to carry our these objectives. The Club operates many continuous study, conscious programs which benefit the public interpret. The studying and influencing public policy programs consents of staff and influences regigged in legislative and modegulative activities, including research, robustion, believing, legisland policy developments, Information and obstaction include the literary programs of Nerra Club books and Seerie, the Club's

oragatine. Outdoor activities include national and international out-ing programs, criminating of approximately 155 tups during the year mided December 51, 1945. The convolvedup programs series approxi-mately 535,000 torrollers and socioales support and funding of \$2 volunteer chapters and 500 groups, and the development of a broad-based columnic amountership.

Continued

SIERRA CLUB NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS December 31, 1993 and 1992.

(ii) Basic of Presentation The fitters of expressents melode the accounts of the Club. The fi-

manufacturements do not include the financial activities of the Chief's various will-directed chapter and group organizations. The Series Chief Potendarium the Frennslations and Series Chief Legal Defroirs Fund (the Legal Defroirs Pound) are suprante legal emi-tion and, thus, are not meladed in the Chief's financial statements.

Legal Defense Fund (the Legal Defense Fund) are suparate logal entities and, thus, are not metabolic in the Childr's framestal struments.

The source observance of limitations and reservations placed on the one of recursors modable to the Childr's the accounts of the Childr are maintained a accordancy with the prescripts of first according. This is the prescripts are strained as accordancy with the prescripts of the accounts of according. This is the prescripts are strained as accordancy and reporting proposes test strained according to their nature and proposes. Separate accounts as maintained for each fanal, however, in the accompanying financial summaries. Each of that have similar share territories have been recorded and reported by fand group.

The assets, liabilities, and fanal balancy of the Chilt are reported in three soft-labalisation for final groups at fishers.

Uncorrected funds reported by fand group.

Each settlement in property and apapeaeses of superabolic transitions are studied for support of the Chilt's operation, in liading the Chilt's according to the property and apapeaeses parameted to prove the Chilt's according to the chilt of the property and apapeaeses parameted in period for shorter have operated by the desire that the principal to maintenanced in preparation, with the incorne cannot be used to support original provisions, with the incorne cannot be account at the store to recognize the recursor for the store the recognized as recommend to the store to remark to it in the field as quant-redowners from a convent and to the store that the principal to maintenanced in prefer to the child to be presented to the send to support original provisions and for certain down specified activities. The socone from their retains to the send to the send to the sends to the socone and the foreign of the child the provision of the child the provision and also before the sends to account and the sends to the sends to the sends to the sends to the sends to the sends to the sends to the sends to the send

own hand is assessived.

Reserved funds represent completions and grant which by down specification are restored in the aid are recorded as deferred research in the period received. Such deferred funds are not considered earth at they have been expended in accordance with their

(ii) Dental Services
Many recollects of the Clab have durated significant animoms, time to both the Clab and its chapters, groups and operations in Residenting the Clab and its chapters, groups and operations in Residenting the Clab's programs and objectives. No assessments have been included in the financial statements for designed automotive or volumeer services since no objective basis is produble to recure the

(ii) Cash and Cash Equivalents

(d) Carb and Cash Equinolists.
For gargeous of expering changes in cash, cash and cash equivolents include cash on brand, decreared deposits with forancial contractions and training similar accounts. The Clab's policy is no invest cash in excess of operating requirements in account which yield the highest observators requirements in society which are visual to highest observators requirements in tocomy which you had the highest observators from the sense in motion of the property market account of the SEC 900 and 5945, 200 and 1992, cash and cash opportunity included \$1279, 480 and \$142,900, ecoportunity, of endowement fundaments years account for the survey market accounts, \$42,900 of which is restricted by domest as their use.

(c) Thair Accessite Receivable. The Clair with the books it publishes to retailers and grams crofs to netation decreased slightle. The allowance for publication returns and the allowance for had debt are decrement using histograph and.

(f) Inventories (f) Jaconisotic horizontal primarily of books and are stared at the lower of cost or market on the form-in, first-cost frain. Unit costs for horizontal costs for him to the form-in, first-cost frain. Unit costs for him for and a hiddren's books are found on paper, printing and brinking changes such. Predaction costs for adult looks, which include reconstructing development costs such as plates, representing and arriver's applied by the publisher, are an encodated in investment during the development stages and are expensed at the time of publication. Production costs for children's books are capitalised and amortised over animals, for the first privingle are capitalised, the amortisation period is not longer than the first reverse-four months of sales.

(b) Advances

(c) Alesmore

Boyaltes are advanced to audions of the Club's publications. An affersator is provided against such advances for estimated known-suching from meanand resultins using booms and time.

sulting from toncernul resolutes using homercal taxes.

(b) Property and Equipment in stand at cost at the date of acquisitions or fair value at the date of gift or bequies. Distanting pastrongs photography and books are not reflected in the assemptorying frontial statements (pase 9). Depreciation and assertionism expense is provided on a straight-line time over the criticated next fairn flows of the related asserts, generally 3 or 32 years, or the related lines terms whichever in shorter. When assets are extend or otherwise disposed of, the cost and related accumulated depreciation or amortization are removed from the account, and any straining gain or loss is every interfal in the property of the cost and related as to the cost of trainitivation and depreciation for appears in charged to expense as incorrect, significant measures and departs in the graphisms. nacion, per capitalizad

(i) Deferred Recesse

The Clob defers reverse from ourings, grams and other dosor re-strated activities used the period the trip is completed or the dosor

(i) Monder Duce

ship does are recognized as revenue when received.

(k) Contributions

All constitutions are considered available for uncontricted one un-less specifically contricted by the dosor Bentracial contributions are

recognized in revenue as the matrixions are one.

Disacted high services performed on behalf of the Chib by the
Light Deferme Fund are recorded as commissions with equivalent
amounts changed to express (more 8).

awaresti charged to expense (now 8).

(f) Allowation of Expense
The Chat's expenses are presented on a functional hases, showing basic program activates and repport services. The Chat allocates expenses to program and repport services haved on the organizational cost creater of concentral strengt in solucio basic expenses are incurred. In correct organization, expenses are allowed between suggest functions and programs services based upon a defined afficiation methodology.

The Chat's activates of intendisting and incenderable persons in mans cases include purposes or common related to a program service American Intention of Certified Public American Intention of Certified

ters should be allocated between fundrationing and the appropriate groups or general function if it can be demonstrated that a program or general function has been performed to conjunction with the ap-peal for funds. Although the Clair has the ability to give evolution the such combined activities, it does not allocate those particular from in-fundationing and interahending activities to program services.

(to) Redardfortine Certain 1992 bilaters have been redardful to confere with the 1990 ance

NOTE 2-Investments -- Endowment Fund

Investments of the endowment find are stated at assessment core. The assortized cost and market values at Diccredict 31, 1905 and 1992 were as follows:

	1993		1992	
			Amortand	
J.S. Government				70 to 10

spricy hands 80,279,600 9,852,100 8,742,700 9,120,000 Investment income amounted to \$6,50,000 to \$990 and \$654,500 to \$992, and to included to adopte ting, investment and other income in the statement of revenue, experies and changes in fand balance.

North 3-Property and Equipment

A squeezary of property and equipment is of December 31, 1995 and 1992 follows:

	1993	1990
Land Buildings and Iraschold	3 503,300	563,300
improvements Furniture and equipment	2,544,500 4,259,500	2,476,500
	7,367,500	6,536,000
Less accurrentesed dependence and acceptance	(3,902,100)	(3,413,390)
	\$ 5,405,400	3,122,900

Depreciation and amortization expense was \$400,000 and \$500,200 for the years ended Develober 33, 1993 and 1992, respectively. Accountated dispressioned for fused expansions on \$7,00 and \$5,000 as of December 31, 1993 and 1992, respectively.

NOTE 4 Long-term Debt and Credit Agreement

NOTE 4—Lang-term Dibb and Credit Agreement. In August 1990, the Cub removed into a least agreement for \$1,620,000 with a bank to provide frequency for the practition of an office building in Washington, D.C., in accommodar the Chab's local separations. The delse was occurred to a deed of fract or in the office building, In 2991, the Clob executed a revised loses agreement with the bank that required the Clob to pledge as additional configuration portions of the quasi-explosioner front inventments with a transmissi specified market value of \$1,590,000. In addition, the bank agreed to refer the color of \$1,500,000. In addition, the bank agreed to refer the color of \$1,500,000.

specified market value of \$2,590,000. In addition, the bank agreed to reduce the interior rate on the hant to be prime rate place. She reduce the interior rate on the hant to the prime rate place. She The revised agreement allows the bank to call the hant at the rate of call free year period consensation, deapant 3, 1998, and expires at the rate of 33 years. As the end of the 15-year period the terminant plates is that in the forms of a hallown personen. The revised agreement also states that when the 4.3th overts certain transmission found between the states that when the 4.3th overts certain transmission found between the consensation of the forms of the processor of the processor of the states of the processor of the states of the processor of the states of the processor of the states of the processor of the states of the processor of the states of the processor of the proce

You ended December 31:

2994	8 34,000
1995	29,300
1996	59,300
1907	\$9,300
29%	1,166,000
Thoratie	47810000000
Total Seg-term delte	\$.L463,200

The Chib has wealable, used October 31, 1994, a revolving line to tende with a hash which persons bureassings of up in \$3,000,000 at the bank's process surveit state. The line is secured by a postiont of quasi-codewinest find insectations with a minimum specified using least state of \$3,500,000. At December 31, 1990 and 1992, assessment statements with good of \$3,500,000 at December 31, 2900 and 1992, assessment and an artistation on the revolving line of result rotated \$1,200,000 and \$3-45, nespectively.

Note 5-Lene

NOTE 5—Leases Leases are for office facilities (more 8), computer equipment, system software and other apapears. Certain leases provide for extensions and additional result payments based on expenses. Future minimum payments into all interactivability operating leases with totant prount than one year at December 31. 1985 are as follows:

Year ended December 11

1994	\$ 1,532,100
1995	1,317,000
19%	80,200
1907	21,200
Total from parents	6.2329.000

Maximum future sexuals recovable under noncauculable operating sublesses at December 31, 1993 are as follows:

Year ended December 31:

1994		\$.102,000 86,800
	Total remain receivable	\$ 196,900

Best copens for operating losses was \$1,525,900 in 1995 and \$1,497,700 in 1992. Reneal success on sublicaves was \$165,200 in 1992 and \$152,500 in 1992.

NOTE 6-Income Tax Status

PACHE 19—HIGHME JAN MARKE The Childry principal arrivers are exempt from frideral accorde and California Franchise Lauri. The Childris the portioner in a procunting in the U.S. The Gream, in which it is appealing an inemnal Reverse Service audit decremination that income derived from marking list manual; and afform card markets are subject to constant business in-come tax. These revenues may obtainably be decremined to be sub-

ject to merilated functions for one tag.

The Clade recorded a tag provision of \$20,2,100 in 1995 and \$464,500 in 1992 which is included in unrestricted general and administrative expresses. The balance in the related accrossed tax habilities account was \$1,900,000 and \$2,200,000 as of December 31, 1990 and 1992, respectively herhaded in this section is a smooter than habities provided for potential liabilities related to unrelated basiness.

Contributions to the Clob are not deductible by the denor as a

Constitution to the Cost are not con-thereadile contribution for the purposes.

Membership thus are not deflurable by the Clob's members as made or business expresses for tan purposes, because of the liableing. efforts undertaken by the Club

North 7-Position Plan

(Sc) 13 :— **Creation Plans**The Clob has a defined benefit permise plan (the Plan) overring solventially all of the englishers. The hencits are based on years of soverce and the couplinger's compression history.

The following actuabile sets forth the Plan's status as of September 30, 1993 and 1992:

	1993	1992
Actuarial present value of lemels obligations. Accommissed benefit obligation all of which is vested.	10,000,000	2,890,300
Proposed benefit obligation for service rendered to date Plan assets at far value, which consist	13/75/200	3,400,400
of a position investment account	3,713,900	3,672,3988
Plan assets in excess of these from proposed benefit obligations. University of the service need University of the service need University of the service need University of the service need Outside 1, 1967 being asserticed.	(111,300) (120,200) (1,300)	172,800 132,300 (232,500)
over 15 years	(94,500)	[50,600]
Prepaid persoon liability mongreered on the balance short.	\$(17.50)	(21,200

Not persons over for 1983 and 1982 included the following

Herboccan	1995	1992
Service cont	\$ 540,900	396,400
Interest cost	299.338	297,800
Actual return on plan assets	(200,500)	(322,100)
Net assortisation and defiresal	(152,900)	154,300
Net periodic persion com	8 267,480	277.8X

The weighted average discount rate and rate of increase in future compensation levels used in determining the actuarial present value of the projected benefit obligation were PA and ITs, respectively. The expected large seems rate of remain on access was PS. Compileations to the Plan were \$111,400 to 1990 and \$200,200 in 1992.

NOTE 8-Transactions with Affiliates

NOTE 8—Transactions with Affiliates
The Club provides fundationing acresses for the Frontianem, Reimbursed costs roland to fundationing and the Capital Campaign noticed \$605,700 on 1993 and \$1,156,000 in 1992. The Club montes observe grains from the Frontianism in support of various programs than to-laid \$3,007,200 in 1993, and \$4,300,200 in 1992. Of the proceeding amounts, \$711,000 and \$504,000 were included on grains receivable at Thorosologica \$1,000 and \$504,000 were included in grains receivable at Thorosologica, \$1,000 and \$504,000 were included in grains receivable and Thorosologica, \$1,000 and \$504,000,000 in 1993, and \$795, suspectively. The Lagal Defines Fund performs legal currency on behalf of the Club. The value of these services resided \$4,007,000 and \$6,315,000 in 1993 and \$795, suspectively, in addition, the Club in receivable control of the Club in the behalf of the Lagal Defines Fund. As December 31, 1993, and 1993, accounts psychological behalf of the Lagal Defines Fund.

The Club's whodly unused advantage, Sarris Club Property Managements, for, in the grainest paramet of National Behalfquesters Associated in the capital for performed parametring and relationating at office handling the lease by the Club in operating lace has a refrequency of acquiring and including the completed and increment in transactions for changes in the limited parametrists of street on the property, repairs and maintenancy, and distant resistancy, and types of the parametrist posts with the limited parametrists on the property, propose and maintenancy, and distant resistancy, and the property property and maintenancy, and distant resistancy, and the property property and maintenancy, and distant resistancy, and the property property and maintenancy, and distant resistancy, and the property property and maintenancy, and distant resistancy on the with the heatest parametrists.

NOTE 9—Parietings, Photographs and Books
Sone in sureprise, the Claft has been the recipient of turnous detuned pointings, photographs and rate books. During 1987, the Claft
had certain paintings and photographs appealed for streamers purposes. The approximal results to take of these paintings and photographs totaled \$550,000 at that time. The books have not been apprised for several years, however, the last appoint infinited as a
market value of \$50,000. There is no value assigned to these terms in

the formula terms and the property of the pr

NOTE 10—Commitments and Contingencies The Club is involved so a possible of lawsein, results The Cale is worked on a consider of learning residing from the op-erations of its Outring program and other lengation among thering, the normal course of operation. Management, in consultation with high control, dues not helicite under leavests will have a material ad-verse effect on the financial position of the Clob.

NOTE 11-Subsequent Events

The Club entered into a collective bargaring agreement with Local 2005, Increasional Union, United Antomobile, According

Local 2003, International Union, United Automobility, Aurosque's and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, APL-CO, for service resplaces on February 8, 1994. Appreciatable half of the Club's 246 crapkoyous are represented by the agreement. The Club's due represent into an agreement, effective Jamasey 1, 1994 with the Legal Defense Food which established the rights of the Legal Defense Food which established the rights of the Legal Defense Food which established the rights of the Legal Defense Food which for the Legal Defense fund as perfume high services for the Club during the facine period of right principant for continued financial support. The materiates con-tingent ladulary of the Club to provide continued financial support mode this agreement is appreciated by 3.2 million over an eight year period.

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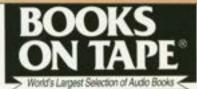
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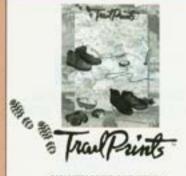
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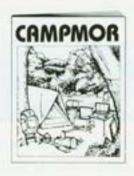
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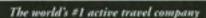
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Yes, and abortions should be covered under any new health-care plan. We don't need a million and a half more births yearly to mothers who don't want more children. This only puts more stress on our already overcrowded planet and porous ozone layer. Marian Shapiro

Hays, Kansas

As a Christian environmentalist, I believe in the sanctity of all life—animal, plant, or human—adult or fetus. Yes, we do need to curb population growth, but abortion is not the answer. Abortion is merely a destructive way of shunning our duty to responsibly (and compassionately) manage our families and environment.

Kenneth Liu McLean, Virginia

Abortion results in only a slight dip in population growth. Ending immigration and establishing a "you want 'em, you pay for 'em" policy on childbearing could trim our population to a sustainable level.

Leland Smith Bullhead City, Arizona

A national study by the Allen Guttmacher Institute in 1988 showed that 30 percent of pregnant women choose to abort. Without this option, which results in 1.6 million abortions per year nationally, the population would increase by an additional 0.6 percent annually. This may sound minimal, but it alone would cause the population to double in only 115 years. It is of utmost importance, now that the planet is filled up, to make sure that each and every birth is a wanted one.

Marianne Wurtele Siller Lago Vista, Texas

Certainly no mother and father—or woman on her own—start out planning to have an abortion; circumstances regrettably sometimes make it necessary to abort a child when it cannot be part of a functioning family or is conceived by force. Still, abortion is the "family-planning" option of last resort and should remain so—an emergency procedure.

Judith Amber Portland, Oregon

The nation's family-planning strategy should empower women and men to control their fertility and the size of their families. A woman's right to choose abortion was guaranteed over 21 years ago, but if a HOULD ACCESS TO
ABORTION BE PART OF
A NATION'S FAMILYPLANNING STRATEGY?

woman cannot enter a clinic because it is being blockaded, her right to choose abortion is about as good as my right to fly to the moon.

Jennifer Coburn Planned Parenthood San Diego, California

As a woman, a registered nurse, an environmentalist, and a human-rights proponent, I ask, is abortion acceptable birth control? The destruction of human life should not be part of a nation's population-control strategy. Instead, family planning should include, among other things, education in moral sexual responsibility, behavioral consequences, pregnancy prevention, and counseling to explore abortion alternatives. Kathy Varnam

Fallbrook, California

Readers of Sirna are constantly being challenged to view themselves as members, not masters, of an all-encompassing, systematic nature to which they must conform if they wish to remain within it. We know that there is a price to be paid for asserting our individual, immediate, short-term interests over and against nature. Resorting to abortion rather than accepting the discipline of a more integral approach to sexuality is a prime example of such self-assertion.

Paul Murray Pocatello, Idaho

An abortion is the failure of a family-planning strategy; it is population control, not contraception. As such, it should be con-

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DO YOU SHOP, COOK, AND EAT IN KEEPING WITH YOUR ENVIRONMENTAL VALUES? IF NOT, WHY NOT?

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Richard A. Whipple Algodones, New Mexico

North Americans generate more waste, consume more resources, and add more pollutants to the air and water than any other people—ever. To complicate matters even more, our birth rates are back to high levels. Let's get serious. We need more and better sex education, more contraceptive availability, and a choice for women with unwanted pregnancies.

Bill Denneen Nipomo, California

Human life is a continuum from conception to death. While one can truly say, for example, "now mature, then young," or even "now born, then unborn," there is no rational point at which one can say "now human, then not." If one judges human life as greatly valuable, there is no rational or proportionate ground for taking it, except to protect another human life, equally valuable. Making abortion more "accessible" as part of "a nation's family-planning strategy," accordingly, is to succumb to irrationality and disproportionality.

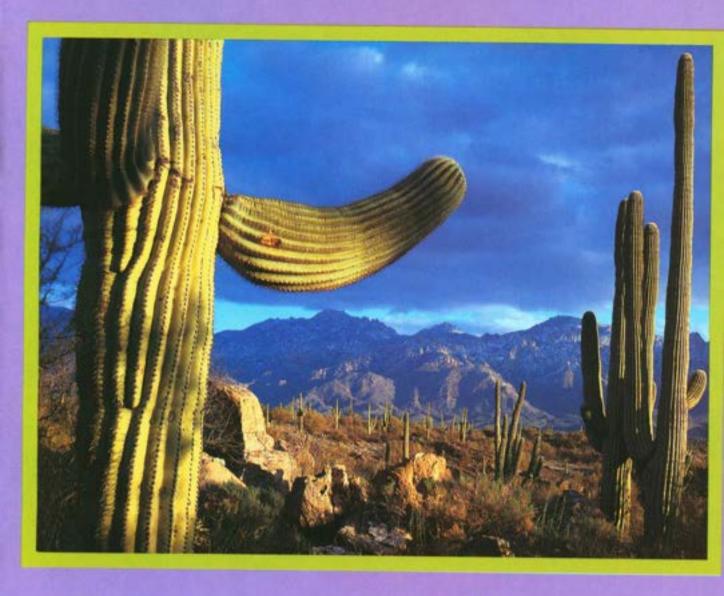
Quentin L. Quade Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Birth control before conception is obviously preferable to abortion, but we all know that birth control can fail, so compelling a woman to add to the growing population if she prefers not to is not in the best interest of threatened ecosystems.

Audrey Burns Oaklyn, New Jersey

"Family planning" is most often used as a cuphemism for contraception. Both terms imply an up-front and beforehand approach to the exercise of birth control. Therefore the use of abortion is a bit like offering to replant an old-growth forest that has just been clearcut. It's a little too late.

Peter T. Mackprang Chino, California



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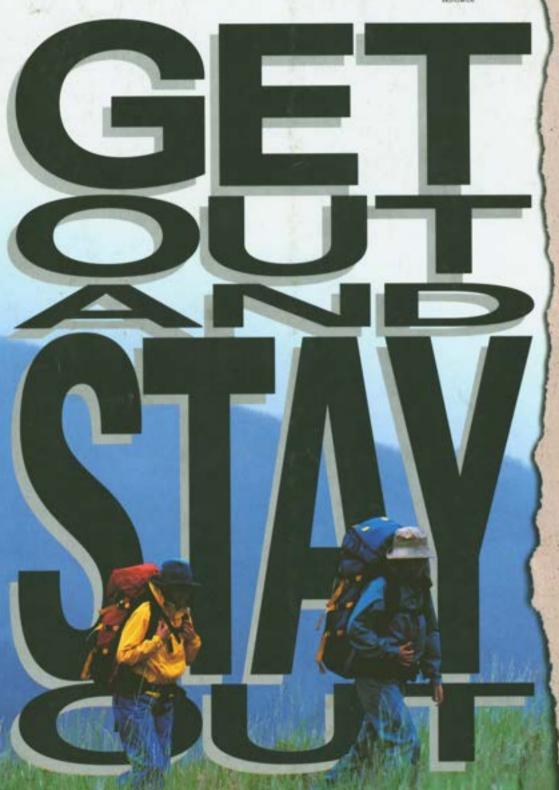
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