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Richard M. Leonard
MOUNTAINEER, LAWYER, ENVIRONMENTALIST
Volume II

With an Introduction by
Francis P. Farquhar

An Interview Conducted by
Susan R. Schrepfer

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Newton B. Drury and Richard M. Leonard immediately following their election by the Council of the Save-the-Redwoods League as, respectively, Chairman of the Board and President of the League, August 28, 1975.

Photograph by David Swanlund

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THE SIERRA CLUB AND THE UNITED STATES FOREST SERVICE

Lyle Watts and Sanitary Cuts in the Parks

Susan Schrepfer: Do you feel that the Forest Service has had more freedom than other government bureaus, and, if so, has this freedom been good or bad?

Richard Leonard: I think it may certainly have had more freedom than the National Park Service as a bureau. One reason is that the forests were first set aside by Congress in 1897, and this was, by the way, after urging by the Sierra Club. In the Sierra Club Bulletins of 1895 and earlier in every single issue we had full, several-page articles on forestry problems written by high level foresters from Yale, Michigan, and California, all on the subject of the need for a policy to stop the give away of national forests.

We have to realize that all of our redwood lands that we are now buying back at ninety-two million dollars for fifty-eight thousand acres of the Redwood National Park were given away for fifty-eight thousand dollars about a hundred years ago. Probably a large proportion of those grants were fraudulent, but the problem is that the present owners are not guilty of frauds. You can't roll back history in that way. The same thing happened with other forests.

The 1897 Organic Act reserved the remaining public forests, but only on paper. So the Sierra Club continued to work to get a bureau set up that was expressly given the responsibility for protecting those forests against trespass by logging in spite

RL: of the fact that the loggers were inside the boundaries of the new forest reserves. By the way, that still goes on today to some extent. Finally, in 1905 the act was passed that gave the Forest Service that authority.

I have known all of the chiefs of the Forest Service since Lyle Watts, who became chief forester in 1943. I was in the army at the time, but he served until 1953. The interesting thing about Lyle Watts was that after he retired in 1953 he became a member of the executive committee of the Pacific Northwest Chapter of the Sierra Club. Watts testified, in connection with some of the logging in the Olympic National Park, that nobody should log timber in a protected area, such as a national park, even for what was called sanitary reasons.

They call them "sanitary" cuts because the alibi for the cut is that the bugs will get the trees if the logger doesn't get them first. The superintendent of the Olympic National Park, Fred Overly, was originally a logging superintendent before he went into the National Park Service. So when a tree died or was blown down by a violent windstorm, as did happen several times, he would immediately cut it up and sell it for cash. I will say that he used the cash to buy some of the in-holdings along Crescent Lake and some other beautiful areas within the park that Congress did not, in those days, give him money for.

The Sierra Club--I was president then--objected violently. We thought that it was a dangerous precedent to be logging timber within the national parks for any reason and, particularly, to provide money to buy in-holdings in that way. Congress would say, "Heck, why should we appropriate money for parks when we have other things to pay for? We'll just continue to high-grade the timber in the parks."

In Yosemite National Park they did the same thing about 1950. They cut the beautiful sugar pine around Aspen Meadow between Yosemite Valley and Hetch Hetchy Valley. Aspen Valley was a privately owned meadow that had been logged around the edges, and the Park Service wanted to acquire it. So they made a deal to log and sell sufficient sugar pines over five feet in

RL: diameter near Aspen Valley to pay for it. In other words, they didn't take the little trees, which weren't valuable, they took the beautiful big ones that were valuable--five to eight feet in diameter. They were proud of the fact that they took only a relatively few of the big ones with which to get the money to buy Aspen Valley.

Conrad Wirth, who was director of the Park Service at that time and I knew him well, was told by me that this was an extremely dangerous precedent. The Sierra Club and The Wilderness Society both objected very strongly to it. We saw the need for it in connection with the purchase of Aspen Valley, but, again, I felt that to use park timber for that purpose would mean that you wouldn't get appropriations from Congress.

Lyle Watts, former chief of the Forest Service, testified that any forester can make an excuse for logging any tree he wants to because there will always be bugs on it or it will get to an age where it is going to have bugs. When sugar pines get up to about eight feet in diameter, they have maybe another hundred years left. In order to avoid the chance of their dying in fifty years the foresters cut them this year and keep the bugs from getting into the other trees. In a producing forest, it is all right to take out the ones that are overmature. The thing that hurt Overly was to see a tree that was worth a thousand dollars die or fall down and rot without being used.

In Yosemite Valley at the same time the Park Service used to cut down trees when they would get bugs--beautiful old ponderosa pines five or six feet in diameter. They would cut them down fifty years or more before they would die naturally. They would skin all the bark off so the trees would lie there naked. The only good thing was that the Park Service never sold those for dollars, but the rangers cut them up into firewood for people to use for campfires. Under pressure, more ecological experience, and under the help of people like Lyle Watts of the Forest Service, we have finally gotten park regulations so that the Park Service does not log Olympic National Park and Fred Overly is no longer the superintendent and they

RL: do not log Yosemite National Park, not even Yosemite Valley where there are just as many ponderosa bark beetles as ever before.

Richard McArdle and the Gila National Forest

RL: In 1953, Lyle Watts was succeeded by Richard McArdle. Dr. McArdle came from the research branch of the Forest Service, rather interestingly. I emphasize that because the present chief of the Forest Service-- John R. McGuire--who came in 1972, also came from research.

The year after McArdle was appointed chief, 1954, was the thirtieth anniversary of the first wilderness area in the National Forest Service. It was created in 1924 by Aldo Leopold, who was the regional forester in Santa Fe, New Mexico. He set aside 80,000 acres as the Gila Primitive Area.

So in 1954, thirty years later, we were meeting there with the council of The Wilderness Society to celebrate that. Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico, who was then chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, was there as was Richard McArdle, chief of the Forest Service. McArdle was with us for two days of long discussions. Then we went for about a week on horseback into the interior of the area. An incident that occurred on this trek shows, I believe, the very progressive thinking of the Forest Service when you explain things to them. The council of The Wilderness Society goes to so many different areas to explore problems there and so that the board of directors will become acquainted with wilderness in different parts of the United States clear up into Alaska.

This time we went into the Gila National Forest with the regional forester, the supervisor of the national forest, and some of his forest rangers. We went way into the heart of this wilderness, some twenty-five miles from the nearest road, to a cluster of a half a dozen buildings. There were barns and housing and so forth and fifty head of mules and

RL: fifty men. They said that these were necessary to fight the fires in this wilderness area. Then we climbed to the top of the area's highest peak of about 10,800 feet, called Mogollon Baldy. And there was a big galvanized iron fire-lookout, and we climbed up and looked out over the country.

Howard Zahniser, who has an immense knowledge of wilderness and wild country, was there. He pointed out over the beautiful wilderness and said, "What are those pretty looking light green streaks running up the sides of those ridges?" The forest supervisor said, "Well, Zahnie, those are strings of aspen." Zahnie said, "Gee, how did they get there?" He knew, of course. The supervisor said, "Zahnie, those are the results of old fires." And Zahnie said, "Gee, pretty, aren't they?" [Laughter.] And the supervisor and the regional forester both clapped their hips and said, "Zahnie, you've got something there."

The result was that before we were through we persuaded them that the 800,000 acres of forest was totally surrounded by desert so fire couldn't go anywhere. These fires had been burning here for the last million years or so. This area has more lightning fires in that part of New Mexico than in any other part of the United States, that is, "dry" lightning fires that don't have rain so it hits a tree that catches on fire and there is no rain to put it out and so that fire burns a lot of the country.

Well, they took out all the mules, all the men, and the fire lookout tower. It is now 800,000 acres of beautiful wilderness where fires can go on just as they always have for the last million years. It doesn't burn the whole area up. It just burns out streaks here and there, a few patches, but even a big burn results in a new succession of wilderness species.

It is to my mind an illustration of something that was repeated a number of times on our trips with the Forest Service. They will protect an area from an ecological point of view when they realize that newer and more modern thinking leads to that conclusion. So there you have the case with a research forester.

Edward Cliff: A Responsive Forester

RL: Next was Edward T. Cliff, who became the chief forester in 1963. In 1950, The Wilderness Society had decided to go into the Flattops Primitive Area in western Colorado. The spruce budworm had killed ninety-five percent of all the trees in that 300,000 acre wilderness. Ed Cliff, at that time was the regional forester in charge of the forests of Colorado and Wyoming and headquartered in Denver. He and Claire Hendee, who was the chief of Lands and Recreation for the region, came along with us on a twenty-five mile ride into the interior of all of those dead trees. I mention Hendee's name because he became regional forester of California later.

We found the dead trees fascinating. They had been killed about five years earlier, and it was extremely interesting to see what species were coming up to take the place of the ones that had been killed. It was, of course, an excellent chance to see the country recover.

Well, the Forest Service men were going to log the area from the inside out. They were going to cut roads next year into the center of this wilderness in order to start logging it on out to the outside.

I said to Ed Cliff, the regional forester, "Ed, most of your fires start out on the outside where the people are, don't they?" He replied, "Yes." I then suggested, "Gee, you ought to start logging from the outside, then, and work toward the center and then you'll cut yourself a ring of fire protection around the outside." He said, "Gee, Dick, I never thought of that." And so they decided to do that.

Then, as so often happens, if you can stop something for one reason, another reason will turn up that saves it permanently. In this case, the paper company that was going to buy all this dead timber to make paper went bankrupt, and so there wasn't anybody to buy the timber. So the timber was left. It was never logged and there were no fires.

RL: Cliff had been worried about fires, and I said that in Yosemite we've had half the trees killed by the needle miner, which burrows into the needle, and we have never had a fire in Yosemite in the fifty years that I have seen it. Anyway, they did not log the Flattops Primitive Area. It has recovered and it is now officially a wilderness area by act of Congress and protected against all roads and all logging. Again, you see, Ed Cliff was a regional forester who had the ability to put confidence in such people as the board of directors of The Wilderness Society and Howard Zahniser, Olaus Murie, and others who were there.

Cliff went on to become chief of the Forest Service in 1963. In that year I was representing the Sierra Club at the world assembly of the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, which was meeting in Nairobi, Kenya in Africa. Ed Cliff was representing the U.S. Department of Agriculture at that meeting. We were together for a couple of weeks there, and I have kept in touch with him ever since through a great deal of correspondence.

To show you the type of people we have had as chief of the Forest Service; in 1969 or 1970, Cliff sent out a memo to all the foresters of the United States pointing out that the Sierra Club was suing the Forest Service far too often. He said there must be a reason for it; that's the thing I admired. He said there must be a reason for the suits--we are not that perfect--and I am going to find out why. He made a grant of \$75,000 to the Michigan State University at Lansing, Michigan, to study why the Sierra Club was suing the Forest Service.

Rather interestingly, the university appointed a Ph. D. candidate to make the study. He was Rupert Cutler, who had been ten years with the staff of The Wilderness Society and before that was with the National Wildlife Federation and before that was a forester with the U.S. Forest Service. He had gone back to Michigan State to get his Ph. D.

He made this study his thesis. He produced two volumes of about three hundred and fifty pages each.

RL: I read both of them in detail. He studied each of the major cases against the Forest Service. One of the cases was Mineral King. Another one was East Meadow Creek in Colorado, where the Forest Service was going to log a beautiful wilderness valley that was adjacent to wilderness.

The wilderness study for the East Meadow Creek Primitive Area was coming up before Congress, but the Forest Service was going to log this adjacent wild valley before Congress could decide. The trial court and the court of appeals both agreed with the Sierra Club that the Wilderness Act required land to be kept as it was until Congress could make its decision. The service appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, which refused to hear the case, thus affirming the Sierra Club on that point.

What Cutler concluded from his seven or eight hundred pages of material, a study of four cases in detail, was that the Forest Service needed to provide better procedures for public hearings of each of these questions before they got to the inflammatory point of litigation. In every case, including Mineral King, the Forest Service refused to have a public hearing, although the Sierra Club had requested it in writing several times. The conclusion was that if the Forest Service could have better communication with the conservation groups and the public before a decision was finally made, there would be a good chance of working out a solution that would not require litigation.

American people, including the leadership of the Sierra Club, do have a feeling that if an agency has heard their side fairly and completely and has actually honestly analyzed it, then they feel they have had a fair hearing and if the agency decides adversely, the people don't feel too bad.

For instance, once Ansel Adams and I, in connection with the Tioga Road location, tried to avoid having the main traffic of transcontinental travel come right by the shore of Tenaya Lake by routing it through some rather immaterial canyons to the north. Connie Wirth, director of the Park Service, spent seventy-six thousand dollars, to his credit, for a

RL: survey of that route to see if it were possible. He found it was a perfectly good route. He finally decided, however, to have the road go along the shores of Tenaya Lake because, he felt, the people of the United States traveling across the country ought to be able to see the beauty of Tenaya Lake.

Ansel and I both feel that it would be much better for the people of the United States if they didn't have all those cars going by there. But that was a national park question, and Wirth was basing his decision on national park principles of trying to present the beauty to the people rather than saving dollars or some other administrative convenience. Hence Ansel and I have never criticized the Park Service for that decision. It is the same way with respect to public hearings.

The Forest Service Today

RL: The current chief of the Forest Service is John R. McGuire, appointed in 1972. I had met him the year before in Washington at the time of the Sierra Club Wilderness Conference. He again comes from the research side of the Forest Service. I think this is encouraging because research should and can have a much broader point of view than just the production of timber, animal units, dollars, and so forth, that has often been the philosophy of lower people in the Forest Service.

I don't feel that the difficulties between the Sierra Club and the Forest Service over the last few years have been because of the policies of Ed Cliff. I think they have been policies imposed by the secretary of Agriculture at the direction of the President.

I think that is the case today, and McGuire is going to have a great deal of difficulty because the present secretary of Agriculture, Butz, is so high up in the Administration that Nixon has put him over the Department of Interior, and Secretary Morton has to coordinate with Butz on matters of general concern

RL: that effect both the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture.

That wouldn't be so bad if Butz was a good man, but he has in public statements ridiculed the environmentalists very severely and in a vicious manner that is totally uncalled for on the part of a cabinet official. Essentially, he goes back to the old posey-pickers--the daffodil fringe--that are holding up the progress of the country and by their worries about DDT are destroying the food of the poor people of America. Things of this sort.

I think we can expect a lot of really basic trouble with the Forest Service from now on. In the past I have felt that every time I have presented a matter where I felt strongly that something should be done in a certain way with respect to forest policy, the Forest Service has done so. It has not done so in the last few years, with respect to clearcutting and other problems of that kind. I feel this has been directed by the secretary of agriculture and not Ed Cliff.

Forest Service Wilderness Policy

SS: How involved were you with the Cascades question?

RL: Not as much as many others. Harold Ickes almost had the Cascades National Park between 1933 and 1938. That was the time he was able to arrange for the Olympic National Park, and I guess accomplishing that used up all of his bargaining ability between the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture. I never knew Henry Wallace, the secretary of Agriculture, but apparently, Wallace and Ickes were able to agree on quite a bit of conservation. If we had not obtained the Kings Canyon National Park from the Forest Service at that time, we would not have the political power to accomplish it today. Ickes did not quite have the political strength to get the Cascades National Park at the

- RL: same time as the Kings Canyon and the Olympic National Parks.
- SS: Didn't the Sierra Club membership feel for some time that having more scenic areas of the Cascade Mountains in a designated wilderness area under the Forest Service was acceptable, perhaps even better than a national park?
- RL: The Sierra Club did feel that way for many decades, and the Sierra Club strongly supported the Forest Service in its wilderness policy. I think the change finally came in the late 1930s and early 1940s when we began to realize that as fine as the Forest Service policies were they were pretty much personal policies of people like Aldo Leopold and Bob Marshall and some of the early chiefs of the Forest Service, such as Lyle Watts. But the Forest Service did not give indication to us that they could be relied upon in the long-range future. In other words, as you changed personnel you might lose stability.

Then there were technical questions, such as the water rights in Kings Canyon National Park, where the Park Service had the legal power to prevent all additional water filings. The Forest Service did not have that legal power. Secondly, the Park Service has legal power to prevent mining and logging. The Forest Service could prevent logging on its own, by wilderness classification, but it had no power whatever to prevent mining.

The leadership of the Sierra Club finally concluded that it might be easier to control the development policies of the Park Service than to control the outside pressures from mining people, water power, and other interests that could be harmful to the forest even when the forest administrators, such as Lyle Watts, were sympathetic to a preservation point of view.

- SS: Wasn't there some feeling more recently that the Forest Service was betraying the preservationists by drawing wilderness boundaries around what were only high, barren mountain areas?

RL: Yes. In the early days there really was more of a tendency within the Forest Service to provide full ecological protection than there is now. One reason is that prior to World War II land that was more than ten or twenty miles from a railroad was rather useless for logging because it was too expensive. There was so much timber close to railroads in Oregon, California, and Washington that loggers didn't need to go further back, and the Forest Service could be more generous with wilderness.

Today, I have the feeling that the Forest Service is definitely trying to restrict the land to just rock, ice, and snow. This has been particularly true up in Alaska where they have been unwilling to even have small amounts of timber in wilderness area designations. They say, for example, that the Glacier Bay National Monument was taken away from the Forest Service and made a national monument and that should be enough forest for Alaskan wilderness. Actually the amount of forest at Glacier Bay is very small. Most of the area consists of spectacular glaciers and high mountain country that has no timber value at all. I have felt that Ed Cliff, chief forester for the last ten years, has been sympathetic to wilderness and has been willing to provide for actual low land forests as in the Cascades. But the men in the Forest Service, particularly the field personnel, such as regional foresters in the northwest,.....

SS: Like J. Herbert Stone?

RL: Like J. Herbert Stone, exactly [laughter.] Stone would log any timber that would provide as many dollars as it cost the federal government to build the roads and get the land ready for logging. For instance, he has sold timber on the east side of the Cascade Range in desert country around Bend, Oregon. It is small lodgepole pine for pulp. It is going to take two hundred to two hundred and fifty years to re-grow to merchantable size again. That just doesn't make sense; there is pumice in the soil that is going to be severely damaged in that two hundred and fifty years. Yet, the foresters insist upon cutting it.

RL: I feel that the forest supervisors in many forests, too, have deliberately decided to log prematurely to wreck the good wilderness. One clear case was East Meadow Creek in Colorado. It was a beautiful wilderness creek next to an area that had been declared primitive in its earlier days under Bob Marshall. The Wilderness Act was passed in 1964 and expressly provides that any wilderness that is contiguous to an established wilderness area should be reviewed by Congress and the President to decide whether it should be added to the wilderness area or logged. The forest supervisor and the regional forester there decided that to save themselves trouble and provide additional cutting they would log it without even offering the alternatives to Congress and the President.

The Sierra Club filed suit and got a really fantastic victory in the courts. The trial court held that the Meadow Creek watershed was of wilderness character and adjacent to a wilderness area, and, therefore, the final decision had to be made by the President of the United States and Congress and not by a forest supervisor. That was appealed by the government and the circuit court upheld the Sierra Club. It was appealed again to the Supreme Court of the United States, which held, in effect, that it was a correct decision and refused to reverse it. So that is now the law.

Getting back to the Cascades, the East Meadow Creek decision of the Forest Service illustrated the problem of the Glacier Peak Wilderness. This is magnificent high country of snow, ice, and cliffs, where all the lowland valleys that lead up to this beautiful country were to be logged. It is country as beautiful as anything in all of North America. It is of real national park calibre.

I don't know just when the organizations were able to get to the Cascades battle intensely, but it was certainly after World War II. It was led, to a great extent, by a group called the CCC, the Cascades Conservation Council. Pat Goldsworthy, who was a director of the Sierra Club, was president for most of the years that led up to this. They handled it very well. Dave Brower made a fascinating film,

RL: "Wilderness Alps of Stehekin," of his children going through this magnificent country.

You are absolutely correct when you point out that the Sierra Club opposed the Kings Canyon National Park and the Cascades National Park initially, or at least did not support them. The Sierra Club leadership felt that the developmental tendencies of the Park Service went too far and would harm the park.

The Forest Service under Bob Marshall, on the other hand, had a very strong philosophy of wilderness treatment and had agreed never to develop those areas and to never have roads in them. That seemed much superior. I must say that The Wilderness Society had that same view very late. I can remember that the people who lived up there at the edge of the wilderness of the Cascades opposed the national park very sincerely because they felt that it would overdevelop their beautiful country.

Those who lived in Stehekin on Lake Chelan strongly fought the national park. Chelan is a glacier lake about fifty miles long, two or three miles wide, and one of the deepest lakes on earth. Stehekin is a little village at the head of the lake, fifty miles from the nearest road. These people sincerely opposed the national park because, again, they feared it would overdevelop their country. I kept pointing out to them that unless you put the land into public ownership, it would be overdeveloped totally without control. You are going to have things as bad as the worst development in California if it is on private land without control.

At least, the conservationists of America have the ability to try to influence the Park Service to restrict development to a proper amount. Having served on the Master Plan Team of Yosemite for the years since 1967, I feel that the Park Service is very sensitive to the question of overdevelopment. In Yosemite they are reducing the development continually. Although there are some complaints from the public, I think the public is accepting this reduction of development. With a governmental agency you can try to influence the agency; whereas

- RL: with private property everybody has the right to do anything they want except as restricted by the zoning laws, which are a type of governmental control.
- SS: Would you say that, today, the conservationists have less control over the Forest Service than over the Park Service?
- RL: That's an interesting way to put it. I think they do have more influence with the Park Service. We don't know as to the new director, Ronald Walker, (appointed January 1, 1973), but so far his statements are very good. We hope that with guidance that he will be willing to ask for, all will be well. He came out and met with Newton Drury, as one of the former directors of the Park Service, to try to maintain continuity and contact.
- SS: He has no background in park administration, does he?
- RL: None, whatever. He was in charge of Nixon's trips to Moscow and Peking. But when Pat Nixon went to Yellowstone for the National Parks Centennial Conference, I don't think Walker knew anything about it. [Editorial note: He resigned December 31, 1974.]
- SS: You mentioned that Ed Cliff tried to expand the wilderness system into some of the lower areas. Did Richard McArdle do anything as chief, particularly when the Cascades and the Three Sisters in Oregon were in question?
- RL: The Three Sisters Wilderness Area has gone through some extremely careful studies. I have felt that the Forest Service and the Department of Agriculture have leaned over backwards to be totally fair in that case. I must say, with a little bit of apology, that I did not support, emotionally at least, Brock Evans, a young attorney from the northwest and the Sierra Club's northwest representative, in his efforts to renew the controversy and even to file suit to get another study of it.

The Three Sisters Wilderness Area was planned carefully with a great deal of public hearings and public input at the time when it was first decided how large the wilderness should be. A very beautiful

RL: lowland drainage called French Pete was deliberately omitted because it had heavy timber at low elevations. The Forest Service and Agriculture felt that there was enough timber and enough beautiful country in the rest of the Three Sisters Wilderness Area. It is a very large wilderness area, but the French Pete watershed was left out.

Since then the issue of French Pete has gone to the chief of the Forest Service twice and to the secretary of Agriculture twice. The last I remember there was a bill in Congress, sponsored, I think, by Senator Packwood of Oregon, to make it part of the wilderness area by act of Congress, which is, of course, perfectly proper.

SS: So you would feel that, during the 1960s, the Forest Service has acted in good faith?

RL: I think they did in that case. In other cases Herb Stone, as I said before, would try to log everything that was commercially available.

SS: Several years ago, Grant McConnell said to me that if Stone or the Forest Service, in the drawing of the boundaries in the Northern Cascades, had not alienated some of the conservationists, they would have continued to support the Forest Service. In other words, the Forest Service wouldn't have lost the area to the Park Service if they hadn't alienated some of the conservationists. At least he felt he would have stayed with the Forest Service even that late.

RL: You have a lot of knowledge of these subjects, which is fortunate for this interview. Grant McConnell had a home at Stehekin, right in the center of the beautiful eastern part of the Glacier Peak Wilderness and the Northern Cascades. He originally had strongly opposed the national park because of a fear of overdevelopment.

As you indicate, he finally came to the point of view that a park could protect the area in ways that the Forest Service wouldn't. For instance, back of Stehekin there is a long valley of beautiful forest that would have been logged by now or in the

RL: next ten years if it had not been put into the park as a recreation area. Now it is protected. Grant McConnell was very expert in that field and a very active conservationist with the Sierra Club. He is professor of geography at the University of California at Santa Cruz.

SS: You evidently went up there and campaigned locally on behalf of the Sierra Club?

RL: No, I was there on behalf of The Wilderness Society. The Wilderness Society was there twice. The Board of Directors of The Wilderness Society tried to meet each year in an area that is particularly controversial so they can see the problem on the ground.

In 1958 we had our meeting at Stehekin and went on a three-day pack trip back onto Park Creek Pass, which is a beautiful pass about five thousand feet high. From this pass you get a spectacular view of the glaciers and wild country to the north. In 1961 we met up on the East Cascades Primitive Area to the north of Lake Chelan. So we have been in twice on the east side.

SS: Would you add anything to your remarks about the Cascades?

RL: I feel that the final decision in the Cascades was politically sensible. To some extent the result balances out the different theories of land management. The most beautiful and magnificent part of the country, in the northern Cascades, became a national park.

Ross Lake, a long fluctuating power reservoir dating back several decades, was set aside as a national recreation area under the management of the Park Service. The village of Stehekin and the private land at the head of Lake Chelan were also set aside as another recreation area under Park Service control. Hence, these areas that are contiguous to the national park but not of the same high quality are still subject to coordinated park management.

On the other hand, the Forest Service was rewarded for its foresight long ago in establishing

RL: the magnificent Glacier Peak Wilderness Area. With improved boundaries to protect more of the heavy forest at lower elevations the wilderness area was confirmed under continuing jurisdiction of the Forest Service. So also, the fine East Cascades Primitive Area on the Okanagon National Forest was confirmed as the Pasayten Wilderness Area stretching from Lake Chelan to the Canadian border.

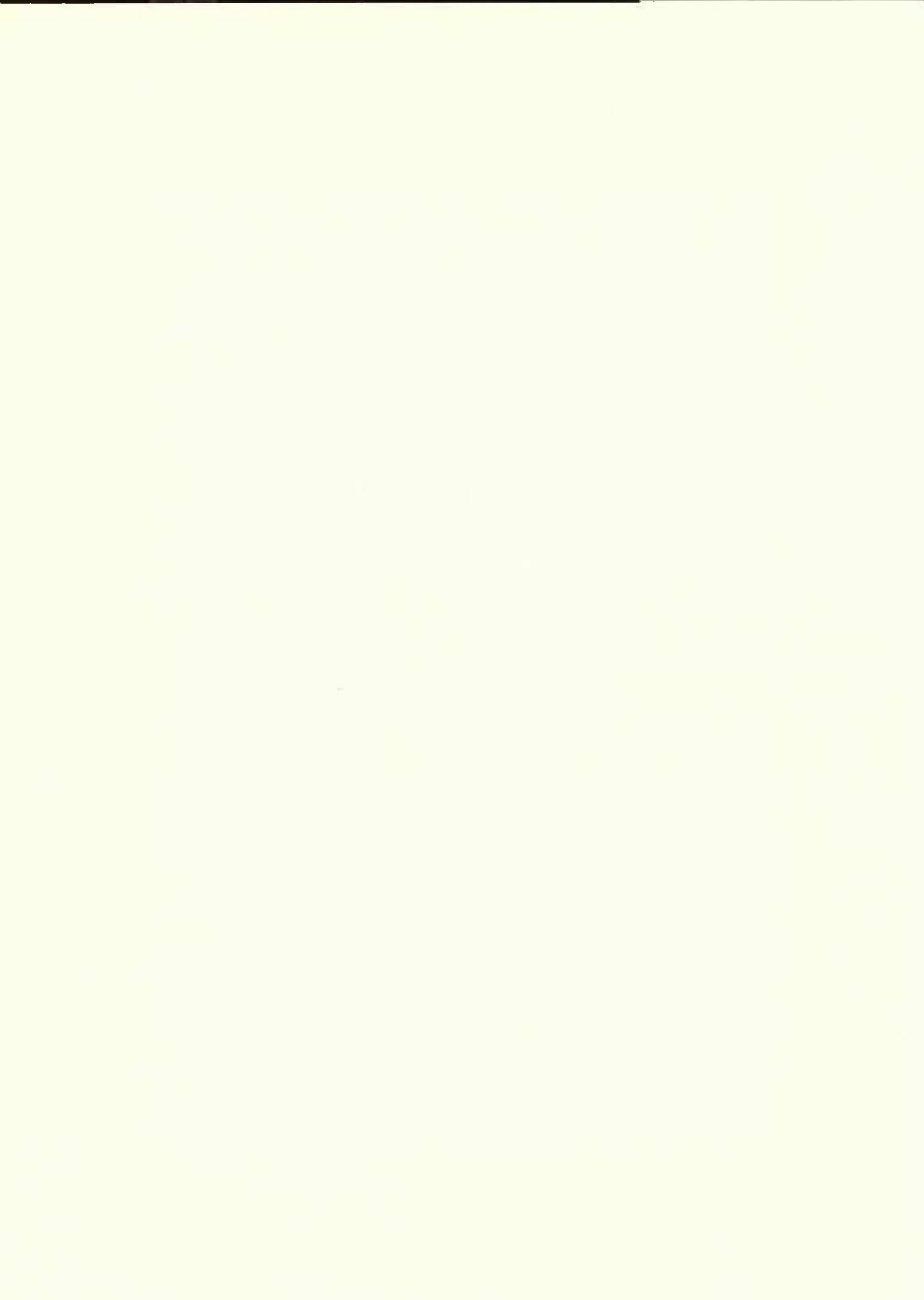
At the time of this Cascades battle in Congress the conservation organizations had become so disillusioned with Forest Service management that they tried their best to get the entire area into the national park, even including Mount Baker on the northwest. I feel, however, that the compromise by Congress was politically realistic and wise. The fine wilderness that was left under Forest Service control is now protected under the Wilderness Act against possible later changes in Forest Service policy.

The Pitfalls of Clearcutting

SS: What is your reaction to the U. S. Forest Service's multiple use policies?

RL: Multiple use is, I think, one of the most brilliant political slogans that a land agency has ever worked out. Unfortunately, however, it has been wrongly used, somewhat like the Democratic People's Republic of China or the Democratic People's Republic of Korea where democracy is used in ways that are totally opposite from our definition. I think this is the same with the slogan multiple use. The Forest Service talks about multiple use, but when they get into clearcutting they do single-use logging only. The water quality of the watershed, which was to be one of the prime purposes of national forests, is sacrificed.

This is particularly true in northern California where, in the case of the redwoods, loggers have even dragged the logs downhill into the streams because that was the cheapest and easiest way to do it.



RL: The streams then were choked with all the soil and debris, slash, cuttings, and everything else, and so they were dammed up and nothing could live in the streams. Then the next heavy flood or winter rain would wash all of that downstream and bury the spawning beds of the fish in the lower part of the stream and, finally, out into the sea.

I think that true multiple use is a fine principle. If land can be used for timber, wildlife, and recreation, it is a good idea. Selective logging, as we have in most of the California Sierra, often leaves the land after four or five years looking as if it had not been cut. The trees are just smaller in diameter because the larger trees have been taken out. The cutting of timber usually improves conditions for wildlife because it permits the growth of new shrubs of various kinds that the wildlife live on, both birds and deer and other animals.

In clearcutting, not only does the soil go into streams from the dragging of logs, but there is nothing whatever to protect the soil from the force of rainfall. So a type of soil damage called sheet erosion occurs, where the rainfall makes a little sheet of water on the land that gets filled with soil from the impact of raindrops in such concentrations that the soil in the rainwater runs off, kind of like a little river of mud. There are no leaves or pine needles or anything else to stop that flow of soil on down to the streams.

I must say, however, in fairness to the Forest Service, that Bernard Frank, the assistant chief of the Forest Service for Research, was one of the founders of The Wilderness Society and was on the council for a great many years. He pointed out to us that in the Douglas-fir country of Washington and Oregon clearcutting provided more trees over the long run than any other economically feasible method of logging.

One thing that the clearcutting people point out to us is that if an area is clear cut once you don't have to go back in and wreck the young trees and soil over and over. But in selective logging if part



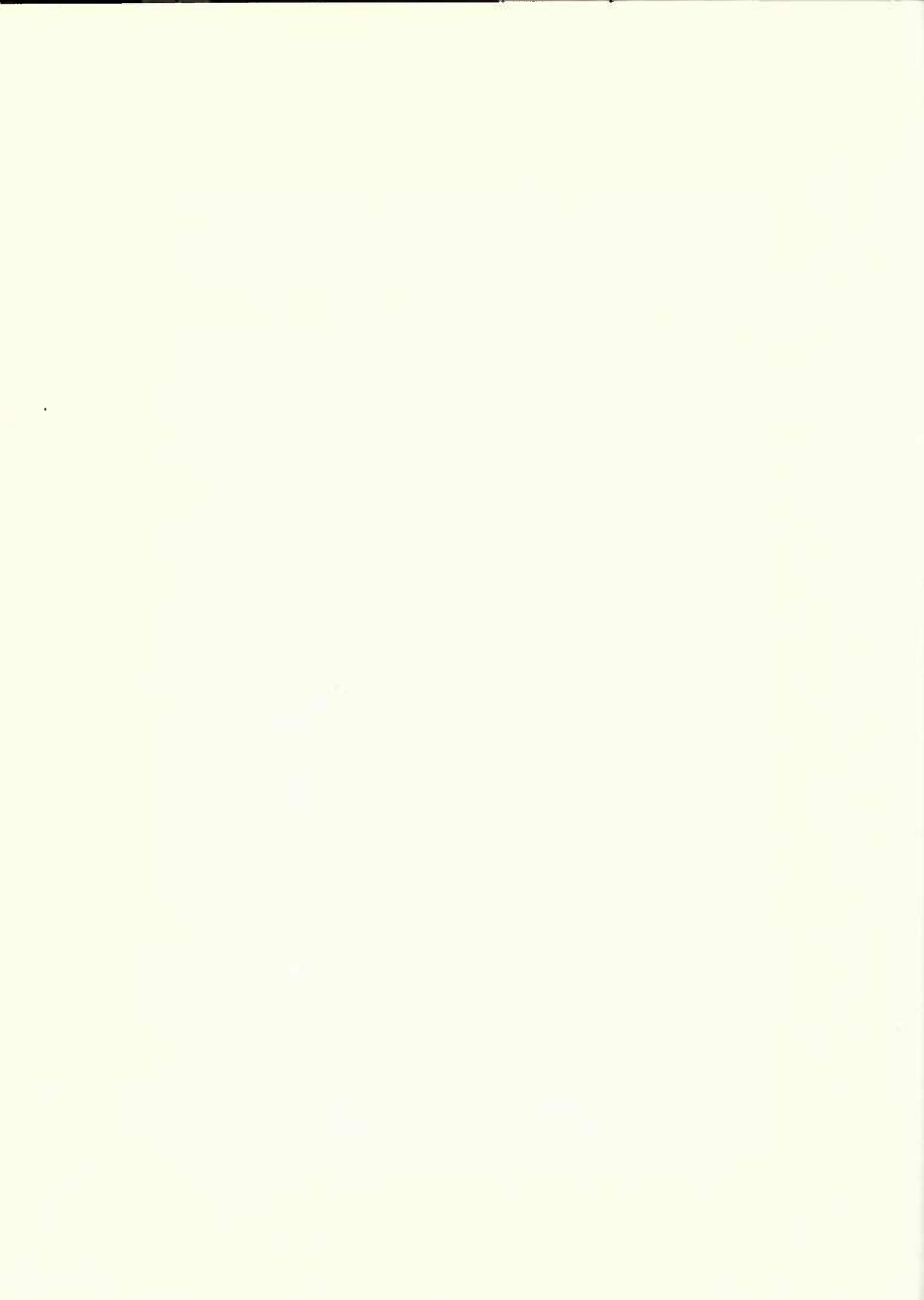
RL: of the trees are taken out, say, those over three feet in diameter, and then ten years later the loggers go back for the additional growth they are tearing up the soil and the young trees that have grown up since the first cutting only ten years earlier.

Clearcutting may be good under certain conditions. But, like many other things, when they say pesticides do no damage if they are properly used, the question is, what is used properly? When clearcutting is started, are those who are doing the clearcutting going to be willing to take into account the soil, slope, and rainfall characteristics of a particular area?

A good illustration is the clearcutting of the Douglas-fir above the Bull Creek redwoods, although this logging was done on private land, not Forest Service land. There the Save-the-Redwoods League, through the Rockefellers, had been able to save the huge trees--ten to twenty feet in diameter--on the flood plains down below, in very deep soil. After World War II the Douglas-fir was clearcut, and then two floods came and washed much of the soil and gravel from the clearcutting down into the stream where the big trees were. The stream then blocked, cut into its banks, and undercut about five hundred trees of four feet in diameter and larger. The problem of clearcutting is whether or not it can be done under proper controls, and there is still a lot of argument as to applying it to other species than Douglas-fir, such as the hardwoods of West Virginia. The Sierra Club has devoted one of its best-selling "Battle Books" to the dangers of clearcutting.

Far more important, in late 1973 the Sierra Club won a decision of the federal court that clearcutting in any national forest violates the original Organic Act of 1897.* That act of Congress was intended as a

*West Virginia Division of the Izaak Walton League of America, Sierra Club, et al., vs. Butz, 367 F. Supp. 422 (1973). Affirmed August 23, 1975, by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit.



RL: reform of the "Rape of the Forests" that John Muir and the young Sierra Club had been fighting against. The act was therefore quite detailed in order to try to stop the past abuses of the forests. The act provided that, "For the purpose of preserving the living and growing timber" the secretary of Agriculture "may cause to be designated and appraised so much of the dead, matured or large-growth trees found upon such national forests" as "shall be marked" individually and sold. The court ordered the Forest Service to comply with the Sierra Club's three contentions: First, all trees to be cut in the national forest must be individually marked; second, only mature or dead timber may be removed; third, all slash remaining after cutting must be removed from the forest.

This shows the great value of environmental lawyers who can and will read the law. It is hard to believe that for seventy-five years no one else had taken the time to read the Organic Act of the Forest Service. It is probable that the answer is that the old-timers of the service were educated properly and did follow sound sustained-yield service management. It has only been recently that clearcutting has become a serious threat to the national forests. Unless Congress in 1974 gives the Forest Service a free hand in timber management, the Organic Act of 1897 clearly prohibits clearcutting.

Multiple Use: Fact or Propaganda?

SS: I gather you do not feel that multiple use has been practiced successfully by the Forest Service. Dave Brower and Grant McConnell have referred to multiple use as a disguise for having no policy. There seems to be a question as to whether or not the Forest Service has talked about multiple use and not practiced it simply because they are not capable of dealing with this complex problem, or whether they have advanced multiple use as a cover-up.

RL: I feel that originally the men of the service were completely sincere, and, as I said, it was a



RL: brilliant political slogan. In fact, a little before the Wilderness Act, the Forest Service was brilliant enough to get the Multiple-Use Act of 1963 passed. It was kind of a counterattack so that the Wilderness Act would not be needed.

Zahniser was able to get into the Multiple-Use Act the amendment that wilderness was one of the multiple uses because people like Herbert Stone, regional forester for the northwestern United States, always said that wilderness was a single use. Of course, we feel very strongly that is not true. Rather wilderness covers wildlife, watershed, protection of forests, and all those other great principal values for which our national forests were first reserved. It does not include logging and should not include grazing, although the Wilderness Act does permit it. Still the Wilderness Act does cover a number of multiple uses.

Nearly everybody on both sides of the multiple-use argument agrees that you can't have multiple use on every acre. You can not have all uses on any of the acres. Some acreage will be devoted to wilderness, some will be devoted to wildlife, some to water storage, some to old-growth forest, and some for clearcutting--if Congress permits it.

I may be prejudiced, but I feel that the clear-cutting arguments are saying that you have clearcutting at one place and not another and that is not quite true. Within their cutting circle and their cutting cycle of fifty years or whatever it happens to be, they plan to clearcut every acre every fifty years. This is essentially a single use, ending up in forest monoculture with intervals of brush for certain types of wildlife. There won't be any woodpeckers any more in such a forest because there would not be any old trees for them. The recreationists will never have a large tree to look at outside of protected areas.

I am doing a study for an organization called the Institute for the Future. One of the papers is a questionnaire on which they ask me to answer, What do environmentalists feel about spraying the forests with pesticides and fertilizers? I pointed out a



RL: long time ago that with the loss of forest acreage to civilization and population we have to be more efficient. One way to be more efficient in growing timber is to fertilize it and kill all the bugs. I pointed out that conservationists would object vigorously to aerial spraying of either fertilizer or pesticides in any forest. They would try to keep the forests natural as long as they could.

I also stated, I think realistically, that forests will be managed as a crop everywhere outside of wilderness or parks. That is one of the reasons that I feel very strongly, and so does the Sierra Club and The Wilderness Society, that parks and wilderness must be as large as possible in this next decade because outside of those protected areas there will never be a natural forest again after this first clearcutting cycle has been completed.

I think the wilderness policy of the Forest Service has been excellent, and they have provided for multiple uses in wilderness areas of everything except logging. Many foresters, such as Stone, tend to use multiple use as lip service and as propaganda that isn't really true.

SS: The Sierra Club opposed the Multiple-Use Act, didn't it?

RL: I don't think so. I know The Wilderness Society did not, and I know that Zahniser was the one able to persuade Congressman Saylor of Pennsylvania to put in the provision that wilderness was one of the multiple uses.

Remember, the Forest Service had always claimed that a national park was a single use and that such a selfish single use contrasted with their philosophy of multiple use for public good. Again, that is a semantic distortion because a national park has all the uses except for logging, mining, and grazing. All except those three commercial uses. The other activities of a national park are probably greater in man-days of citizen use and greater in economic dollars than those excluded.



- SS: I think it is "use" that is the question. I asked a number of Forest Service personnel, and use in their mind means manipulation of the resources. The existence of an old forest on a hillside is not really watershed use even though it serves a watershed function, which is why, I think, that some people argued for "multiple benefit" or "multiple values" or some term other than "multiple use." I am only speculating. That is your opinion?
- RL: I can see that the word use is kind of a word of art to the Forest Service. Your point explains quite a bit because it does fit in perfectly with the philosophy of Gifford Pinchot, Herbert Stone, and some other foresters that everything should be used and that conservation is wise use. They would like to use everything.
- SS: When you were mentioning Zahniser, I was thinking that Ed Crafts was very bitter about the way Zahniser got the word wilderness included in the act. Evidently, he felt it was not honorable that the conservationists sprung it on the Forest Service and him. Apparently, he and Richard McArdle were sitting there when, all of a sudden, a congressman, at the prompting of Zahniser, said to put the amendment in. Crafts had had no prior knowledge of this. I guess the Forest Service would have opposed it, if they had had prior knowledge.*
- RL: Yes, and they might have had enough political ability to block it.

I happen to be a purist in the sense that wilderness has value in itself even if it is never used by a human. And I strongly reject the philosophy that:

*Edward C. Crafts, Forest Service Researcher and Congressional Liaison: An Eye to Multiple Use. Tape-recorded interview in 1971 by Susan R. Schrepfer. Forest History Society, Santa Cruz, California, 1972.



RL: "The desert hath no beauty, but a human eye to
see it;
And music hath no sound, but a human ear to
hear it."

To my mind, music and wilderness and the rights of animals, birds and others of the environment are absolutely sacred of themselves and do not need to be useful to humans to justify their existence. I feel that very, very strongly [laughter.]

SS: I think Bestor Robinson mentioned that [laughter.]

RL: Bestor feels exactly the opposite. He and I have fought, not bitterly as we are good friends, but violently over this point of view at some of the club director's meetings [laughter.] Bestor is just the opposite. He feels that nothing on earth has any value except to man. It does relate to that definition of multiple use and how it is applied.

Restricting Executive Discretion in Public Land Policy

SS: Do you think that the discretionary powers of the Forest Service have been too broad, that it needs more legislative control? When I read over the history of the last twenty years, I wonder if the diminishing of legislative control hasn't led to an increase in judicial control.

RL: I think it has, and, you will notice, the Forest Service tried to justify its granting of additional acreage in the Mineral King case on the ground that they had general discretion to manage the forests.

The Department of the Interior tried to use that same justification for the 154 foot right of way for the pipeline case, the court of appeals held that no matter what the general discretion may be the agency has to follow the act of Congress. The Supreme Court refused to hear the case, so, at the present time, that is the law.



RL: I feel that the Forest Service has done quite well, considering the fact that their authority under the original Organic Act of 1897 dates back more than three-fourths of a century. The act was very detailed as to protective timber management, as was noted in the discussion of clearcutting. However, the Forest Service Act of 1905 transferring the forest reserves from the Department of the Interior to Agriculture simply said that the secretary of Agriculture shall make rules and regulations for governing the forests. That's about all there was in the authority.

I have felt that the chiefs of the Forest Service and the service itself in the early days had an excellent innovative wilderness policy. But the danger was that it was subject to a change in personnel, particularly at the top. When you get a man like secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz, who is violently opposed to wilderness, no matter whether or not Chief John McGuire is for wilderness intellectually, he is going to be ordered to take contrary steps, and he could have been ordered to abolish all the wilderness areas. They were only created by the chief of the Forest Service and, therefore, they could be abolished by him. Actually, that is the reason that the conservationists, particularly Zahnie, insisted that the wilderness act was necessary.

I said before in this interview that every director of the National Park Service from Albright to Hartzog has opposed placing the national parks under the Wilderness Act as strongly as he could because they said, "father knows best." I kept telling them that, sure you are fine people but someday we may get a Ronald Walker; Walker may be a fine administrator, but we don't know what his policies will be with respect to wilderness. It is the same with the Forest Service. You change the secretary and you change the chief and you could have changed the whole wilderness philosophy of the service.

I think acts of Congress are essential and basic objectives of that kind. We are fortunate, indeed, that we do have the act of Congress on



RL: wilderness because otherwise I think we would have lost much of the dedicated wilderness of the forests and all of the de facto wilderness. We might have lost some in the parks, although Yellowstone and Yosemite are almost as wild as one hundred years ago.

I have been one who has felt that Ronald Walker should be given an opportunity to become acquainted with the parks and to do a good job as an administrator in compliance with the acts of Congress, which are essentially preservationist in point of view. I did not oppose Walker as the Sierra Club has. I think it was very wrong of the Sierra Club to oppose him immediately as he was appointed. From a political point of view, it doesn't make sense to greet a new man that way.

Newton Drury, to his credit, recommended a national wilderness policy twenty-five years ago. In November, 1945, he wrote, as director of the National Park Service, to the Library of Congress in response to an inquiry from the Legislative Reference Service. Drury wrote, "The National Park Service . . . believes that the few remaining areas in the United States qualifying for such [wilderness] status should be preserved and that they should be preserved inviolate by Congressional mandate rather than by administrative decision." Drury was sixteen years ahead of the Wilderness Act of 1964.

The Dismal Future of America's Timber Supply

SS: What is your prognosis for the future of America's timber supply?

RL: It was unfortunate that Chief McGuire, just last week, had to state in the public press that he was ordered to increase the supply of lumber. So he was directing an increase in the cut, and he states that will still be within the sustained yield of the United States. But environmental foresters, such as Gordon Robinson, consultant to the Sierra Club, and Bob Jasperson, of the Conservation Law

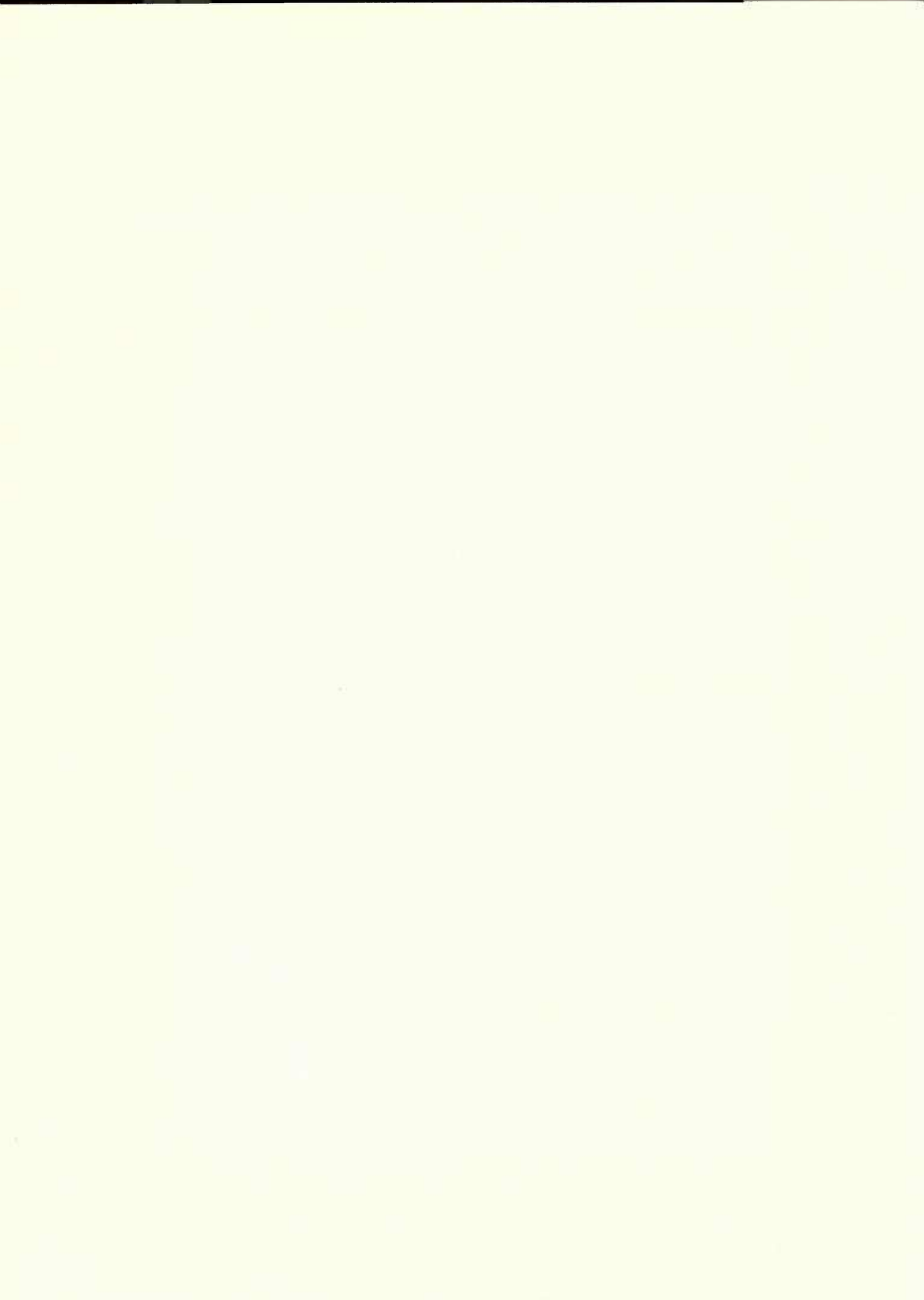


RL: Society who has his degree in forestry, feel that this order was entered by the secretary of Agriculture as a political move to control economics. The control of the price of lumber in 1973 may have disastrous effects on the price of lumber in 1983 because at the present time there is overcutting.

Every ten years the Forest Service puts out an inventory of the forest resources of the United States. It has been doing that since just before the Olympic National Park battle. Dave Brower and I used the Forest Service inventory in the Olympic battle in 1947. The most recent inventory showed that the service had overestimated in earlier years the amount of timber that was available. The service had included in its inventory all the land that had trees even if the land was too steep for practical logging or was so steep that it would erode seriously and lose soil so as to have diminished ability to regrow in the future. We are losing seven hundred thousand acres of forest land every year to highways, freeways, dams, suburbs, and so forth. The expansion of the population is gradually taking the land.

We must grow trees by more efficient methods, as we grow corn. We would never think today of planting wild corn--the grain that the Aztecs had--or wild apples, or wild plums, or peaches, but every tree that we allow to grow or plant in the forest is just a wild tree. Yet I incorporated the Forest Genetics Research Foundation in 1950, and we raised one hundred and forty thousand dollars for research on tree genetics. We were able to show that you can grow twice as many cubic feet of pine of better, straighter quality per acre with proper hybrid crossing just as you do with corn. Borlaug was awarded the Nobel Prize for developing hybrid rice and wheat that would grow twice as abundantly in India and other areas.

Still after twenty years the forest industry is not using genetics at all. Timber owners are selecting seed from extra-good trees, but they have not applied the genetic work that has been done. The result is that, as we continue to lose acreage to civilization because of population growth, we are going to have less timber acreage.



RL: It is for those reasons that the experts in the environmental movement feel that to increase the cut to reduce the cost of lumber is wrong. By the way, increasing the cut of timber won't reduce the price in 1973, anyway. It will be at least 1975 before anything we do today will affect the price of lumber. But it may have longer range consequences that can be seriously adverse.

Brower's Baby: The Recreational Resources Review

SS: Do you want to say anything about the Recreational Resources Review Commission?

RL: I will say this; Dave Brower was the one who thought up the idea. Dave and I had used the Timber Resources Review of the Forest Service in our 1947 successful defense of three hundred thousand acres of magnificent timber within Olympic National Park. Dave noted that the Forest Service put out this Timber Resources Review every ten years. One of the purposes of this tabulation was to try periodically to have as much of these "Timber Resources" dedicated at an early date to "multiple use." Dave felt that a "Recreational Resources Review" was equally necessary in order to dedicate that increasingly rare resource to recreational purposes.

In 1949 I was elected as a national director of the Izaak Walton League of America and served the full six-year term. Joe Penfold was the very competent conservation director of the league. He felt that Dave's idea was brilliant, and since the Sierra Club was busy on other matters, the Izaak Walton League carried the Recreational Resources Review through to a great success. Joe Penfold became the chairman of the volunteer review commission.



The Public Land Law Review Commission

SS: What is your opinion of the Public Land Law Review?

RL: The present review, which started under Aspinall, was extremely dangerous and shows again the importance of individuals, because Aspinall would have had the political power to get a very bad law enacted. I think that the law can now be much fairer than it would have been under Aspinall.

This history should note parenthetically that Aspinall was defeated after twenty-six years in Congress. He had been serving as the chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the House, and he was from a logging, mining, grazing region southwest of Denver. Through active campaigning by Dave Brower's League of Conservation Voters--I contributed twenty-five dollars from clear out here--Aspinall was defeated on conservation grounds. I think the new review can be good.

SS: How would you evaluate the Review Commission's report of three years ago?

RL: It was pretty much slanted by Aspinall towards a utilitarian view, where all the grazing lands would go at extremely low prices to grazing people, timber lands would go to loggers, and each special interest would be able to take title to the land its members were interested in.

SS: The conservation groups were not able to marshall a large enough force, were they?

RL: It was much too large a program for the conservationists to handle. There would be hearings for the sheepmen and cattlemen, and there would be other hearings on mining. Each of those groups could afford to have highly paid lobbyists with really expert witnesses and knowledge. The conservationists could not afford to meet that much information equally at all those hearings. It was always my feeling that it was kind of an unfair job. Of course, unfortunately, the conservationists asked for it.

RL: It is the same thing with the review of wilderness. The Sierra Club brought suit to force the Forest Service to review all of the areas that were still de facto wilderness. So the service said, "Fine," and published a lengthy list of them. All of the conservationists--McCloskey and the rest--were horrified. They said that they could not possibly study that many in six months. They have been trying to get more time.

I think there can be a little tongue-in-cheek on both sides. The Forest Service knew pretty well it could swamp the conservationists with all of those wilderness areas at once. Then it could say, "Well, you didn't say anything about this one or that one, and, therefore, we will go ahead and do as we please." The service kind of turned the tables on us. I think it was a fair thing to do, except that it wouldn't have been done if the service was truly sympathetic.

Had it been sympathetic, the service would have continued to hold land like East Meadow Creek from logging until Congress had decided what the total wilderness in the area of East Meadow Creek should be. But that particular forest supervisor and his regional forester were determined to log that area and save themselves the problem of deciding about wilderness value, because after the logging there wouldn't be any wilderness there.

SS: That concludes the questions I have on the Forest Service. Would you have any closing remarks?

RL: I would conclude this way: In general the Forest Service has done an excellent job and has been completely sincere in leadership in trying to provide good wilderness policy and good grazing and timber policies. I think that they have had, from time to time, individuals within the Forest Service who were shortsighted, but most of them have been really sincere people who have been trying to do a good job. That is particularly true of the local supervisors. I do feel that under modern conditions they are being forced by pressures from Washington D.C. to do things that are not sound from a forest standpoint and there can be real danger from that in the future.

RL: The conservationists have to get sufficient technical knowledge to demonstrate that the Forest Service's technical arguments are not correct. This pertains to sustained yield, for instance. What is sustained yield? Is it proper for the Forest Service to be ordered by a politician, Secretary Butz, to risk the future of the forest in order to try and affect today's price of lumber? That is a dangerous thing to do.

PROFILE OF THE MODERN CONSERVATIONIST

Daffodil Fringe or Technical Experts?

Susan Schrepfer: Do you feel that the Sierra Club and other conservation organizations have handled the technical questions of timber supply and clearcutting well?

Richard Leonard: I think they have. The Sierra Club has taken the pains to retain an experienced forester, Gordon Robinson, as a consultant. He is on The Sierra Club Foundation's payroll as an expert to it and has contributed his knowledge to the club and to the conservation movement. He is a very strong writer, rather intense, but my own feeling is that he is justified in what he says.

I have been encouraged very much by the fact that conservation organizations today are getting far more expert in their discussions of the energy crisis, nuclear energy, or forestry, and similar technical subjects. We have both volunteer and professional people now who devote their full time to scientific fields. I do believe that the organizations now speak with substantial knowledge rather than just emotionally.

Ever since The Wilderness Society was founded, its council has had a member very high up in the Forest Service. Originally it was Bob Marshall. Then Bernard Frank, assistant chief of the Forest Service in-charge-of Research.

The present president of The Wilderness Society, Thurman Trooper, was supervisor of the Bitterroot

RL: National Forest in Montana when we were there with The Wilderness Society in 1955. He feels that the clearcutting of the Bitterroot was a tragic misuse of forest knowledge. He is now president of The Wilderness Society.

We have always also had one of the top men of the National Park Service on the Wilderness Society's Board of Directors. At present it is Theodor Swem. But Ted Swem, under the new director of the Park Service, Ronald Walker, has just been appointed as the Washington, D.C., head of all park matters for Alaska and also as the assistant to the director of the Park Service in charge of environmental matters. He has been on the board of directors of the Wilderness Society for many years. He is vice-president at the present time.

There has never been any fear on the part of The Wilderness Society or the Forest Service or the National Park Service that those relations are harmful. I have known these men personally for twenty-four years, and I know that their position in the service has never softened their criticism of the services in any way. They have been such high type of personnel that their criticism as a member of the board of The Wilderness Society or criticism by the society of actions of the services have not harmed those people personally.

Now we must all recognize that when you come to the question of what is sustained yield for a particular acreage of forest, there could very properly be a great difference of opinion. So I do not say that the Forest Service is deliberately wrong on these things. I do feel that Chief McGuire had his press statement with a feeling of hurt that he was "ordered" to increase the supply of lumber and that therefore he had obeyed the orders. He stated that he felt it was within sustained yield, but that sounded like rationalization. He did not indicate that he had made the decision on the basis of expert knowledge of the service; he was ordered to do it.

That is the thing that worries me, because Secretary Butz unfortunately is extremely bitter against environmentalists. He has said that

RL: environmentalists are plain stupid and that they are contributing to the starvation of many people in the world by eliminating DDT and by their silly controls on wilderness. He is against everything that the Sierra Club, The Wilderness Society and the other environmental groups stand for. Unfortunately, Butz as a "super cabinet officer" has also been placed in charge of the Department of the Interior, in effect, because Morton reports to him. Butz is, more or less, secretary of conservation, which Harold Ickes tried to be. Congress has refused to allow Nixon to reorganize government in that way, and so Nixon has done it by executive order without the approval of Congress.

Fraternizing with the Enemy

SS: You mentioned that there were several outstanding Forest Service people who were also on the governing Council of The Wilderness Society. We talked sometime ago about the fact that within the Sierra Club there were leaders in PG&E, Standard Oil, and such, and you felt that these people were being forced out as the result of a kind of polarization. Has this affected government personnel, also?

RL: It has affected us in the Sierra Club very definitely. The chief naturalist of the Park Service, Lowell Sumner, was a member of the board of the Sierra Club. He finally resigned from the board in 1959 because he said he could not continue within the Park Service with the very strong statements of the Sierra Club against the service.

The Sierra Club is more strident than The Wilderness Society. It is probably the most strident conservation organization in the United States or maybe the world except for Friends of the Earth, which is David Brower [laughter.] I think the Sierra Club sometimes tries to imitate him. We will come to that later.

The type of men who were on the council of The Wilderness Society were men who did not have to be

RL: worried about criticism within the Forest Service. Bob Marshall or Bernie Frank were secure enough individuals that they didn't feel that they had to apologize for being on the Council of The Wilderness Society.

Justice Douglas was a member of the Board of Directors of the Sierra Club from 1960 to 1962. Fortunately, he withdrew. Interestingly, he did not consider that being on the board of the club once would disqualify him from participating in cases involving the Sierra Club. In the Mineral King appeal to the Supreme Court, he spoke up very strongly in favor of the environmental point of view. He felt, I thought properly from a legal standpoint, that he was not deciding in the Mineral King case for the Sierra Club or against the Forest Service or the Park Service, he was deciding for the environmental point of view.

He was raising the question that the appellate court has more recently decided on the Alaska pipeline, that when an agency, such as the Department of the Interior, violates an act of Congress over a period of many years, that does not make it right. The act of Congress controls, and it has to be obeyed until it is changed. It was that kind of decision that Douglas was rendering and not a decision of the Sierra Club versus the Forest Service.

The Volunteer

SS: You mentioned that you thought the conservation groups were becoming more skilled in dealing with technical questions. Do you think that conservation as a whole is moving from a volunteer movement into the realm of professionalism where there is no room for amateurs?

RL: The technical contributions of volunteers is getting relatively smaller. But that is only because the very active controlling volunteers are retaining experts in various fields on an attorney-client relationship. The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund is a

RL: good example. The fund is an independent corporation. Both the fund and the club insist that all policy decisions be made by the club as the client. A similar relationship exists between the volunteers of the club and their staff of scientific, professional consultants. The technical advice is furnished to the volunteer committees and board of directors, but the volunteers are free to disregard such advice and sometimes do.

It must be remembered that the Sierra Club has been a volunteer organization from the very beginning. For the first sixty years there was no professional staff whatever. I would estimate that we have perhaps two to three thousand individuals who are members of all the various committees throughout the fifty states and who generally build up conservation policy.

The Sierra Club, with one hundred and forty thousand members, simply has to decentralize. There are dangers in decentralization. The Massachusetts Audubon Society, for instance, is a separate corporation from the National Audubon Society, and the two of them were on opposite sides of one bill in Congress at the time. That was long ago, and I don't think it has occurred since then. Anyway, I have always stated that, although there is the danger in decentralization that control is lost, the much greater danger is that without decentralization the organization becomes so unwieldy that it can't operate or be effective with only one head.

The Sierra Club is coming much more under the control of volunteers than it has been in the last ten years. I think that was part of the Brower problem, because at that time there was an increasing trend to have decisions handled by the professional staff without consultation with the volunteers. That was one reason why the volunteers got together and finally removed Brower. They feared that that type of control by staff would end the volunteer type of organization.

The Wilderness Society, the National Parks and Conservation Association, and many others are autocratic in the sense that the board of directors is

RL: self-perpetuating; all of the vacancies are filled by the board. They are very effective, and they are essentially staff organizations.

The Wilderness Society does not have the help in committees, that a volunteer organization can produce. The society has a membership of about seventy thousand, maybe half the size of the Sierra Club, and yet the society has perhaps two hundred active volunteers, instead of the two or three thousand that the Sierra Club has. I think that the Sierra Club has gained strength through its very strong volunteer form of organization.

When I say that control has passed back to the volunteers, I mean it is becoming clearer and clearer to the Sierra Club Board of Directors that the regional conservation committees that have been set up by the board in about six different regions of the United States should decide all conservation decisions first, particularly on local matters. They recommend to the board of directors whether a particular issue needs national action.

When it comes to something like energy, I have been very pleased at the sober, careful way in which the large Energy Committee of the Sierra Club has approached the question. It was decided very early by the members of the committee that they were not going to recommend that the club be against nuclear power or for thermal power or against hydro power, or to go out on a limb for solar power and nothing else.

We have had some very competent scientists on the energy question, and the Sierra Club Foundation put in about twenty thousand dollars financing a national conference on energy at a university in Vermont. It had experts from all the utilities, power companies, gas, oil--everybody involved in both industrial and commercial energy--and governmental and environmental representatives. The basic conclusion of the conference was about like that of the Club of Rome with respect to the limits of growth, that we have to cut down on the use of energy. We have to use energy more efficiently.

RL: [The following is a written insert made by Richard Leonard during the editing of the manuscript.]

After the above comments were recorded, the Board of Directors of the Sierra Club held a two-day meeting in January, 1974, to decide the energy policy of the club. Unfortunately, the volunteer directors overruled the careful work of their committee and the advice of the scientific consultants. The directors decided against nuclear power for the present, voting nine to five to seek a moratorium against all nuclear power plants not yet operating. Although some directors demanded an end even to research, the board made it clear that research to remove possible danger was necessary and welcome.

This action of the board of directors is most interesting after the prior discussion of volunteer control. President Moss and Treasurer Swatek, both highly informed on the subject of nuclear energy and both recently elected as strong leaders of the club, argued vigorously against the action taken. Nevertheless, the volunteers disregarded their leaders and scientific consultants and decided, on emotional grounds, an extremely complex matter. I feel that this action will harm the credibility and effectiveness of the Sierra Club.

In spite of that, it is most important that the volunteer members of such an organization have the power and the means to maintain full control of their organization. I believe that the members would sustain that decision on nuclear power if it were to be submitted to them. [End of written insert.]

I admire Mike McCloskey's search for expert knowledge on difficult technical problems. Tonight, for instance, McCloskey and a group of Sierra Club experts on air pollution are meeting with Dr. Edward L. Ginzton, who is the chairman of the board of directors of Varian Associates, which is one of the large electronic firms of the United States and which did about two hundred and thirty million dollars in business last year in very technical electronic fields.

RL: Congress in the Clean Air Act of 1970 had specified that the National Academy of Sciences should appoint a committee to determine whether or not the standards of reduced pollution that Congress established for 1975 cars could be met. Ginzton was appointed the chairman of the committee, and the committee concluded that the standards could be met in 1975. In fact, in 1973, three different foreign cars--Mercedes diesel, the new Wankel rotary engine, and the new little Honda--already have met them.

But the committee also concluded reluctantly that, although it was technically feasible, nothing had been done for three years by the auto industry and so you could not have ten million non-polluting cars per year by 1975. They could not be produced. So the Environmental Protection Agency's administrator, Mr. Rucklehaus, reluctantly concluded that he would have to give the industry one more year to work it out.

Of course, the environmentalists are not sure whether the industry is going to use the year for propaganda or whether they are really going to do something. That is why McCloskey and the Air Pollution Committee of the Sierra Club are meeting with Ginzton, the chairman of the special committee, to obtain more technical information and get his viewpoint and to see what the Sierra Club can do towards influencing his viewpoint so that the next time he might make a little tougher recommendation. Ginzton has been a Sierra Club member for thirty years or so. I have been with him twenty-five years. I incorporated Varian Associates and serve on the board of directors with Ginzton.

Confidence through Know-How

RL: I am encouraged by the fact that as the conservation groups gain knowledge, they gain confidence, and with more confidence they are willing to communicate and to talk with industry when before they were not willing to. That has been one of my serious criticisms

RL: of the Sierra Club in the last few years and particularly under Dave Brower.

Dave seemed to lack assurance in his own ability so that he was not willing to talk to PG&E or to nuclear scientists. He was afraid they might brainwash him. But, heck, if you've got the brains, you brainwash them. It is a question of who is going to do the brainwashing. It's an opportunity for the Sierra Club to do it.

SS: You see it as a question of security?

RL: Yes, and that's why I feel that the more security the Sierra Club--McCloskey, and others--get with their technical knowledge, the more they will be willing to meet and argue these things out on the merits because they know the answers to, most, at least, of the questions.

There really isn't anything in modern civilization that is black or white. When we talk about questions of multiple use, sustained yield, or the energy crisis, we ought to know the arguments on both sides. A lawyer can't possibly represent his client effectively unless he knows as many of the arguments as possible on the other side as well as his own arguments.

ALTERNATIVES TO A NUCLEAR REACTOR AT NIPOMO DUNES,
1958 to 1973

Nipomo Dunes Rescued

Susan Schrepfer: We might go on to Diablo Canyon now.

Richard Leonard: Diablo Canyon is an alternate site for a nuclear power plant of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company [Hereafter referred to as P.G. & E.] that had been planned for the center of Nipomo Dunes. These dunes are also called the Oceano and Santa Maria Dunes because they are near the little tiny village of Oceano, which is just north of the town of Santa Maria, which is just north of the city of Santa Barbara.

In 1958 the San Luis Obispo County Master Plan of Shoreline Development stated that these dunes adjacent to Pismo Beach State Park, "should be acquired first." George L. Collins, chief of Land Use Planning for the National Park Service Pacific Coast Recreational Survey, wrote in 1959, "this sand area is unexcelled." Actually, the area is of international significance.

In 1960 Collins retired after thirty years in the Park Service and became a partner of Conservation Associates. The other two partners are my wife, Doris, and our long-time conservationist friend Dorothy Varian. Her late husband, Russell, had been coming to the Dunes ever since he was a small boy. In later years Dorothy and their children also enjoyed their wild beauty. So the first major project of Conservation Associates was to save the Nipomo Dunes.

RL: Doris and George went down there, flew over the dunes, walked them, and got acquainted with them. They went back to Boulder, Colorado, to consult a professor who is the highest authority in the world on sand dunes. He had just completed a book called Dunes of the World. The Nipomo Dunes are unusual in that they are forming today the cross-bedding, where one set of sand dune layers goes in one direction and another set of layers would be at right angles to it. You can see those in the ancient dunes of Zion National Park, which are now sandstone about 140 million years old. People have always wondered how on earth those sand dune strata could go at right angles to each other. Well, that is happening today at Nipomo, and that is one of the reasons they are so important.

Then in 1960, the California Public Outdoor Recreation Plan recommended that the dunes be acquired as a park. In 1964, the California legislature "directed" the California Department of Parks and Recreation to study the dunes for acquisition under the hundred million dollar state park bond act. In 1966, the Department of Parks and Recreation recommended acquisition of the dunes as a state park.

In 1972, the P.G. & E., which owned the dunes, leased them to the State of California for park purposes for the nominal rental of payment of the realty tax. In 1973, P.G. & E. has agreed, in writing, to sell the dunes to the State of California for park purposes. [Editorial note: Nipomo Dunes was completed as a state park in 1974.]

Going back, I would like to give chronologically what happened because the Nipomo Dunes battle was one of the most serious divisions within the Sierra Club since Hetch Hetchy in 1913. It resulted in the resignation of Dave Brower as executive director and polarized the board of directors into two opposing groups that have voted in identical fashion on most conservation issues since then.

In 1962, without knowing that the dunes had been recommended for park acquisition in 1958, 1959, and 1960, P.G. & E. decided to buy the dunes and therefore took an option. At that time the Nipomo

RL: Dunes were zoned M-2, which is heavy industrial. They were owned by Union Oil Company as an industrial area; there is oil under them. The dunes had no park value as far as P.G. & E. knew. So the company decided that this area would be marvelous. The land was worthless. It was just a bunch of sand dunes that could never be used for industrial purposes, houses, or anything else.

The dunes were an excellent site for nuclear power. Nuclear plants require a very large exclusion space. The fenced boundaries of the area must be at least a thousand feet from any part of the plant itself. With something on the order of five hundred to a thousand acres of vacant space around a nuclear plant if something goes wrong at least there won't be people close to the plant who might be harmed. This reflects an uncertainty as to risk because we haven't had enough nuclear plants in operation yet. Some of the conservationists feel that nuclear plants are just terrible. Dave Brower, in particular, says that they will destroy all humanity and all life on earth.

Kathleen Jackson, the first chairman of the Sierra Club Council and a former chairman of the local Los Padres Chapter, opposed the plant in the dunes because of their park value. So in March, 1963, she introduced P.G. & E. to Conservation Associates as a line of communication with the conservation movement.

This line of communication was necessary because Dave Brower refused to talk to P.G. & E., despite the company's efforts to get appointments with Brower. So when they came to Conservation Associates, P.G. & E. representatives started a kind of crying session, pointing out that every time P.G. & E. picked a plant site for one of their nuclear plants, it turned out that it was in a proposed state park site. They had just been ousted from Bodega Head, which has now become a state park. So here they were again in trouble with the park people.

Doris said, "Well, did you check the Master Plan of the county?" No, they never had. "Did

RL: you check the Master Plan of the State Division of Beaches and Parks?" No. "Well, they have already recommended park status for the dunes and so has the county. Did you check with the National Park Service?" No. "Well, the National Park Service has recommended it, also. You folks in the P.G. & E. haven't any right to cry about it, you just haven't done your homework; you never checked these things ahead of time." So she said that Conservation Associates would help achieve an understanding with conservation groups.

The company took her advice and started catching up on their homework. Their staff studied ten possible sites for a nuclear power plant all the way from Santa Barbara northward for 250 miles to the powerful fossil fuel plants at Moss Landing. The company concluded that the Nipomo Dunes were still the best site from an engineering point of view and location at the southwest corner of their power grid.

On May 4, 1963, the Board of Directors of the Sierra Club referred the recommendation from the Los Padres Chapter for preservation of the dunes to the executive committee of the board of directors for careful study and decision.

On June 9, 1963, while I was secretary of the club, the executive committee, on my motion, seconded by Bestor Robinson, decided,

The Sierra Club recommends preservation of the shoreline and upland area south of Oceano, bounded by Los Berros Creek and the contour of the Santa Maria Dunes, including the dune lakes, bordered on the east in the vicinity of the Southern Pacific Railway tracks, including the region between Black and Oso Flaco Lakes and the sand dune territory down to and including Point Sal, for scenic recreation purposes under the management of the California Division of Beaches and Parks.

That resolution was based upon maps and boundaries that had been proposed by the indigenous Los Padres Chapter. The resolution was unanimously

RL: adopted by Wayburn, as president, Robinson, as vice-president, Lewis Clark, as treasurer, and Dick Leonard, secretary. I quote that in such detail because they became highly disputed in appeals to the membership of the club.

On July 24, 1963, President Wayburn and conservation chairman, Randall Dickey, met with President Robert H. Gerdes of P.G. & E. in an extended discussion of the proposed power plants at Nipomo Dunes. Wayburn reported to the executive committee of the Sierra Club that, "P.G. & E. seems willing to review possible alternatives for the Nipomo-Oceano project."

In September, 1963, the P.G. & E. reported that their engineering studies showed that to move the plant back one and an eighth miles from the beach, as the Sierra Club had proposed to save the beach, would cost twelve million dollars. Then on September 7, 1963, the directors of the Sierra Club decided, "The Sierra Club is opposed to the construction of power plants along ocean and natural lake shorelines of high recreation or scenic values."

P. G. & E. is the largest gas and electric utility in the world. Therefore, although alternate site discussions were going on with management, the Lands Division on October 28, 1963, recorded a deed to P.G. & E. for approximately 1,100 acres of the Nipomo Dunes at a cost of approximately one million dollars.

In February, 1964, the Los Padres Chapter and the P.G. & E. investigated alternate sites, especially Wild Cherry Canyon near Avila State Beach.

In June, 1964, P.G. & E. met at the dunes with Conservation Associates and officials from the Department of Beaches and Parks to review the alternate site.

In August, 1964, Hugo Fisher, secretary of the Resources Agency of the State of California appointed a joint task force of Fish and Game and other agencies of the state, including Beaches and Parks, to review alternate sites for a nuclear power plant.

RL: In September, 1964, the legislature directed the Department of Beaches and Parks to study the dunes for a park.

On November, 19, 1964, the Sierra Club again recommended preservation of the dunes, but did not oppose a nuclear plant there if it was far enough back. This was a letter from President Will Siri to the P.G. & E.

On December 12, 1964, the Sierra Club board referred the matter of the dunes to the conservation committee to gather further data and report back.

On January 14 and 15, 1965, President Siri and Doris inspected the dunes with the Los Padres Chapter and the P.G. & E. and urged preservation of the dunes.

In February, 1965, the Resources Agency expressed concern over possible future harm to the dunes that would be caused by the location of a power plant there.

On March 2, 1965, President Siri of the Sierra Club and President Gerdes of P.G. & E. met to discuss environmental problems.

On May 1 and 2, 1965, the Sierra Club Board of Directors, at the request of Kathleen Jackson, coordinator of the Nipomo Dunes Preservation Group, made the geographic limits of its recommendation for park status more precise.

On April 30, 1966, Conservation Associates approved the alternate site of Diablo Canyon "without equivocation."

On May 7 and 8, 1966, the Sierra Club board took action on the proposed Diablo Canyon site, which then started the big fight within the Sierra Club. By a vote of nine to one the directors stated that,

(A) The Sierra Club reaffirms its policy that the Nipomo Dunes should be preserved, unimpaired, for scenic and recreational use under state management, and considers Diablo Canyon,

RL: San Luis Obispo County, a satisfactory alternative site to the Nipomo Dunes for construction of a Pacific Gas and Electric Company generating facility provided that (1) marine resources will not be adversely affected; (2) high voltage transmission lines will not pass through Lopez Canyon located in the same county anywhere north of parallel 35°15'; (3) air pollution and radiation will not exceed licensed limits.

Frederick Eissler, a director from Santa Barbara, voted against it.

(B) The Sierra Club does not endorse or oppose the construction of nuclear power plants.

Part (B) of the motion was passed unanimously.

On June 14, 1966, the Resources Agency "finds no reason why the proposed plant could not be built at Diablo Canyon."

On June 21, 1966, Chairman Gerdes, in a letter to the Sierra Club, offered to lease or sell the dunes to the California Department of Beaches and Parks.

On September 17, 1966, the Sierra Club board asked for a moratorium of at least one year on the construction of coastal power plants but added "this resolution does not revoke the board's May, 1966, action on Diablo Canyon." The vote was still divided on the subject, an eight to three vote in favor of the motion.

On September 21, 1966, the P.G. & E. announced that it had leased six hundred acres of land in the vicinity of Diablo Canyon.

In October, 1966, the director of the California Department of Parks and Recreation wrote to P.G. & E.'s Chairman Gerdes requesting park status for Nipomo Dunes.

On December 6, 1966, the Resources Agency of the State of California, after study by its Nuclear Plant Siting Task Force composed of fish and game, parks

RL: and recreation, water resources, geological and other agencies, entered into a formal agreement with P.G. & E. setting the terms upon which the Resource Agency would approve a nuclear power plant at Diablo Canyon.

Schism within the Sierra Club over Diablo Canyon

RL: In January, 1967, a petition was filed with the secretary of the Sierra Club by two-tenths of one percent of the members of the Sierra Club requesting that all the members vote on the following two alternative proposals:

- a. "I desire...the Diablo Canyon region remain unaltered...."
- b. "I favor the construction of power generating plants at the Diablo Canyon region...."

Well, on January 18, 1967, the Sierra Club board held a special meeting to consider this proposal and concluded that the two alternatives were not equal and were improperly phrased. So the board re-stated the proposal to go on the ballot to the membership:

"Should the following policy of the Sierra Club established in May 1966 and September 1966 be sustained?"

The proposal to the membership on the ballot then quoted the Sierra Club resolutions of May and September, 1966, which I have quoted before.

On February 18, 1967, the issue was still so hot that those directors who were opposed to a plant at Diablo Canyon called another special meeting of the board of directors. But the board reaffirmed the above action.

On February 19, 1967, the Sierra Club Council, which represents all of the chapters of the Sierra Club, supported the board of directors by a vote of twenty-seven to one. The Los Padres Chapter, whose area at that time included Diablo Canyon, and six

RL: other chapters took action by resolutions of their own executive committees in support of the board of director's plan to save Nipomo Dunes by approving some reasonable alternative.

On April 8, 1967, the annual election for the board of directors and ballot on proposals was held. The membership of the Sierra Club sustained the board's policy as to Diablo Canyon as an alternative site to Nipomo Dunes by a vote of 11,341 for and 5,225 against. A bit more than a two to one vote supporting the policy that the board of directors had adopted.

At the next election of April, 1968, a strong campaign was put on by those who were opposed to a power plant at Diablo Canyon. They elected four new directors who they called, "Aggressive, Brower-type Conservationists." The initials formed the acronym "A-B-C," which they campaigned on. This gave the opponents of Diablo Canyon a majority of nine to six on the board of directors instead of only five votes, which they had had in the preceding years.

So in May, 1968, at the organizational meeting of the new board of directors a resolution was offered opposing a power plant at Diablo Canyon. But the president, Wayburn, ruled it was not on the agenda, therefore it was not voted upon.

On June 11, 1968, a letter was sent to the P.G. & E., apparently drafted by Dave Brower over the typed names of eight directors. The letter states to P.G. & E. that the Sierra Club was now opposed to a power plant at Diablo Canyon. That letter was also sent to all the newspapers against the restriction of the president.

On July 9, 1968, President Wayburn wrote to the entire board of directors reporting this action by Brower and stating, "This is a hell of a way to run a railroad!"

The first opportunity for strong action by the opponents came at the next quarterly meeting of the board of directors of September 15, 1968. At that

RL: time the new Sierra Club board reversed the previous action of May, 1966, by a vote of nine to five, stating,

The Sierra Club Board of Directors regretfully acknowledges its belief that it made a mistake of principle and policy in attempting to bargain away an area of unique scenic beauty, in its prior resolutions in regard to Diablo Canyon and environs.

It then adopted another resolution opposing all power plants on all coasts of the United States.

The next day, September 16, 1966, Phil Berry, as secretary of the board, wrote to President Shermer L. Sibley of P.G. & E. reporting the motion of the board but emphasizing that it did not reverse the earlier action of the membership of the club which had approved a power plant at Diablo Canyon.

Then on October 19, 1968, the Sierra Club Executive Committee confirmed and approved Berry's letter to P.G. & E.

On December 14 and 15, 1968, the Sierra Club board approved the executive committee action by a vote of eight to six. The motion by Litton was submitted to a vote of the membership as follows:

The Sierra Club opposes the construction of any proposed and/or projected electrical power plant or pertinent structures or works at, in or near, Diablo Canyon in the county of San Luis Obispo, California, and will take all lawful means to save, conserve, and restore the integrity of the San Luis Range.

The board of directors voted eight to six in favor of the motion to submit that to the membership, with President Wayburn abstaining as he did on each vote.

In April, 1969, at the next election, after a very heavy campaign--which I will give details of in the discussion of the resignation of Dave Brower--Brower's nomination to the board and his slate to accompany him were all defeated. The motion to oppose a power plant at Diablo Canyon was also defeated by a vote of 10,346 to 30,579. So you see, in that period of time the membership of the

RL: club had supported the alternate location of the power plant at Diablo Canyon by raising their vote from two to one to three to one.

The importance of the whole Diablo Canyon controversy, as I have said before, is that it shows that if you are willing to offer reasonable alternatives then it can be worked out with industry and the membership of the Sierra Club. I think that the efforts of Dave Brower, Martin Litton, and young Eissler were all harmful. I am afraid that same type of ideology seems to continue in the Sierra Club and other activist organizations to just absolutely oppose any development of any kind.

I do not feel that is the proper way to handle the matter, because since then the dune park proposal has moved ahead until, as I pointed out, the P.G. & E. has now offered to sell 847 acres of Nipomo Dunes to the state for approximately P.G. & E. costs. The remaining acres have been reserved along the railway for industrial sites a long ways from the beach, because the county insisted upon that as their political price for agreeing to the sale.

The county has no legal right to prevent the state from acquiring a park, but the State of California is very sensitive, properly so, to local counties. In Santa Cruz County, for instance, there haven't been many new parks for quite some time. That county has opposed new parks although Doris has worked through Conservation Associates very effectively with the County of Santa Cruz in getting them to at least not oppose additional acquisitions of land at Big Basin State Park and Castle Rock State Park.

The counties do have a problem because San Luis Obispo County, for instance, was getting a rather large tax from 1,100 acres of P.G. & E. land, but with 847 acres of the dunes as park the county loses three-fourths of the tax there. Of course, when a nuclear plant is built the cost is a very high figure, up in the hundreds of millions of dollars, and the tax on that is very fine for the county, but Diablo is in a different school district. That

RL: is why sometimes you have to choose in the same county, if possible, the alternate site that you are willing to accept.

Conservation Associates Works with P.G. & E.

RL: Conservation Associates took the Nipomo Dunes on as one of their first objectives when the organization was formed in 1961. Russell Varian had been frequently to Halcyon, a little town right at the edge of the dunes, so his widow, Dorothy Varian, one of the three partners of Conservation Associates, had wanted to see the area preserved as a state park.

The interesting thing to my mind is that the Sierra Club opponents of Diablo Canyon--Litton, Brower, and Eissler--all opposed the P.G. & E., but they never did a doggone thing to save Nipomo Dunes. The same way with the Point Arena plant more recently. They opposed the plant but never offered any protection for the land, either county, state, or national park. Similarly here, the national office of the Sierra Club has not taken any steps to create a state park at Nipomo Dunes. That has been entirely the work of Conservation Associates and Kathleen Jackson of the local Los Padres Chapter.

SS: Do you have any comment on this, Mrs. Leonard?

Doris Leonard: No, I think the statement is correct. We took this on at the request of Dorothy to do something about getting protection for the dunes. Shortly after the Bodega matter, P.G. & E. asked for an appointment with Conservation Associates because they said, "We have to talk to some conservationists. The Sierra Club will not talk to us." We talked to them and found out, of course, that they had purchased 1,100 acres in the dunes because they did not realize the value of the dunes. As they said to me, "Well, it is just one great, big sandbox. Who wants to build anything in a sandbox." And I said, "Who indeed?"

DL: They were complaining. They said that it seemed to them that they were just the scouts for state parks. Every time they went into land acquisition anywhere, the park people came up and said, "Well, we want to put a park in here." I said, "Well, doesn't that give you a message that you should go up to Sacramento and find out what the master plan is for the area you wish to acquire or perhaps go to the federal government to find what they have done?" I asked if they had done either of these things. They said, "No." Whereupon I said, "I think you need help."

P.G. & E. could no longer be king of the mountain as they had been in the past. There were too many other needs, for beach areas particularly, and they all had to work together in a master plan. I think you were right, Dick, in saying that Conservation Associates has been the organization that has stayed with it and has tried to steer through the maze into creating a state park.

RL: You can see that the last vote of the Sierra Club membership was in 1969, which is now four years back, so that the Sierra Club has not taken any action in those four years. I have tried several times to get the club to do something. The members have simply been in favor of the state park in the abstract, but they have not worked actively for it.

Conservation Associates has kept in touch with both the P.G. & E. and the Department of Parks and Recreation every single month. The associates have Nipomo Dunes on their calendar, and every month they call both sides and ask who has the ball and who is holding it up. Then Conservation Associates would get after the one that was holding it up and say, "Okay, now you move it along." [Editorial note: Finally this perseverance has brought success. In January, 1974, the deed to the state was recorded and the Nipomo Dunes are now protected as a state park.]

I feel that if you work things out in that way you can get something positive accomplished. Sometimes people will say that there shall not be any more power plants. That is what Martin Litton says.

RL: He says that we don't have to worry about any power plants on the coast, because there should not be power plants anywhere because they do harm where ever they are.

I will say this for the Sierra Club Energy Commission, that their modern energy policy has been carefully and scientifically prepared. The Committee states in 1973 that it does not choose between nuclear power or hydro power or fossil fuel power because each one does serious harm to the environment. [Editorial note: Unfortunately--in my opinion--the board of directors overruled the energy committee after lengthy debate on January 12-13, 1974. By a vote of nine to four, with one abstention on each side, the directors resolved that "The Sierra Club opposes the licensing, construction, and operation of new nuclear reactors utilizing the fission process pending" ... the solution of global energy overuse and resolution of safety problems with adequate regulation of them.]

The Energy Committee had decided not to oppose nuclear power because all alternate sources of energy also had serious environmental and technical problems, at least for the next few decades. The committee pointed out that hydropower uses up beautiful scenic valleys, like Hetch Hetchy, and in other national parks such as the threats to the Grand Canyon. Fossil fuel production causes great harm to land and sea. In burning, fossil fuel creates immense air pollution with sulphur, mercury, soot and other particulates. Nuclear power has radiation problems, not only during its operation, but, of even greater concern, how to care for the radioactive products for about two hundred thousand years into the future.

I personally do not feel that nuclear power is as serious a problem as many other conservationists do. I do not feel that radiation from a nuclear plant that does not exceed the amount of natural radiation we are already getting from granite cosmic rays, and everything else, is dangerous. We get far greater natural radiation from all sources today than we do from artificial sources. The principle

RL: artificial source of ionizing radiation is our own medical X-rays, which we can control and do without if we would rather.

Man has lived with radiation for more than five million years, and many people feel that it has helped our evolution. I realize that many geneticists insist that mutations are generally bad and most of them are harmful, but they do provide enough change so that evolution has brought us to where we are today.

SS: Obviously, you did a lot of work in the six years before the Nipomo Dunes-Diablo Canyon matter came before the Board of Directors of the Sierra Club. Were the other people--Litton, Eissler, and Brower--aware of what you were doing or was there simply no communication, so that they felt railroaded at the May 19, 1966, meeting?

RL: That meeting was a little unfortunate in that Litton was on the Colorado River. He runs a river touring service there. By the way, he is quite consistent there, because he does it without motors in natural conditions with no noise pollution, no air pollution, and no gas pollution. Anyway, he was on the Colorado River, and two of the other people who were on his side were absent, too. The original resolution was a nine to one action with only Fred Eissler of Santa Barbara, a high school teacher, dissenting.

Eissler fought it all the way through. As a credit to his sincerity--although I think it was wrong in the long run--he did form an organization called the Scenic Preservation Conference. I have some of their publications, which I will turn over to Bancroft Library, on this subject.

After the Sierra Club had decided to approve Diablo Canyon as an alternate site, Eissler filed suit and went clear to the Supreme Court of California and was turned down. He sued on the grounds that the plant would do immense damage to the country and that it was dangerous from an earthquake standpoint. There is an old earthquake fault out in the ocean near there that has never been

RL: active in the last fifty thousand years. All of the objections that people can make and do make to nuclear plants, Eissler did. He was turned down by the Supreme Court, and Unit No. 1 started construction.

P.G. & E. plans to put six plants of about a million kilowatts each at this location because the power company and the conservationists agreed that it is better to have them all together. As far as the conservationists are concerned, you harm only one natural area instead of six. And so as No. 2 was to go in, Fred Eissler, again, filed suit and tried to block that one. He was turned down again.

DL: When Conservation Associates decided that they would like to help P.G. & E. get off the dunes, the company said, "Where do we go?" About that time, the State of California formed its Nuclear Plant Siting Committee, composed of various agencies that would be involved. We went on many of the survey trips to look for sites.

Many people do not realize the necessities of a nuclear plant. They have to have easy access from the ocean to the area because of the enormous weight of the equipment used. If there wasn't to be a high standard road and some of the sites wouldn't accommodate such a road, they would have to lighter the equipment in by sea. Therefore, we had to look up and down the area within the power grid that was involved, to find a place on our coast that had easy access, was free of kelp--necessary because of the suction of the water going in to cool the steam--and was relatively flat. There are not many such places on our coast. We have steep cliffs, and there is a lot of kelp. So we searched and looked at more than ten possible sites within the power grid area.

When Conservation Associates decided that P.G. & E. should be off the dunes, we knew we were going to be asked the question, "Why?" We knew that the dunes were unique, but we really didn't know why they were unique until we went to Colorado to talk to the expert, a geomorphologist, on dunes. He was in the act of writing a book, one or two paragraphs of which were on Nipomo Dunes.

DL: We asked him about the value of the dunes. He gave us tear sheets from his manuscript on the dunes. They are unique in the world and certainly on the coast. That was the reason number one; that was good enough for us. We are not experts in the field of geomorphology, but we will go to the expert to find out.

We then went to Sacramento, because Conservation Associates was the organization that did the most to get Montana de Oro, the state park to the north, into the state park system. I think it is fair to say that. We raised the money to buy the park. It is just four miles north of Diablo Canyon. We went to the state many times to see if they wouldn't extend their boundaries down to Diablo Canyon. They said no, time and time again, no. Then we felt that the state doesn't want Diablo Canyon and the dunes are unique. We had these two things to go by.

Diablo Canyon, at first, was not available. None of us even knew about it because it was seven miles up the coast from the dunes on private land and not accessible without permission. We didn't know it existed. Wild Cherry Canyon near the dunes was a possible site. But the owner wouldn't permit its use. However, he was also the owner of Diablo Canyon and so came forward and offered it to the P.G. & E. as a site. We went to see it. We looked at it from Montana de Oro to see if a power plant would be visible; it would not be. Then it was our decision that we would go ahead and do all we could to move the P.G. & E. off the dunes and up to Diablo Canyon.

The opponents said, and rightly so, that it was a magnificent oak valley, a beautiful canyon. And so it was, but it was a decadent forest. It had been heavily grazed, and the side slopes coming down to the stream were broken. We had many, many pictures to show that. It was not going to last long as a forest. There are many oak forests in California and many oak canyons right alongside of it and just as beautiful in the nearby Montana de Oro State Park. Of all the places we looked at, this was the ideal alternate power site, if it had to be.

RL: I think it has to be emphasized that it is technically important to have nuclear plants in California on the coast. The ocean is about 15,000 feet deep just off of Diablo Canyon. At that depth it is thirty-eight degrees in temperature--almost to the point of freezing of fresh water. The rotation of the earth forces that thirty-eight degree water up to the surface as it hits the underwater cliffs of the Santa Lucia Range. After mixing with warmer waters it reaches the surface at about fifty-two degrees.

Constantly and forever, that thirty-eight degree water comes up through the rotation of the earth. That cold water can go through the steam condenser of the nuclear or fossil fuel plant and cool it. When it goes back to the sea, it is only about twenty degrees warmer at the point of discharge than the surrounding water. The discharge is in deep water, a long ways offshore.

They will have kept records for about five years of what the conditions were before the plant goes into operation. Then they will determine what the temperatures and other conditions are afterwards. It turns out that it will mean a difference at the surface of about four degrees for an area of about five to ten acres. As many of the marine biologists have pointed out, that simply means that some of the species that are two hundred to five hundred miles further south will like that warmer water and some of the colder water species might be forced to move further north. It doesn't make a drastic enough difference to be called thermal pollution.

Thermal pollution is extremely serious in a stream. The P.G. & E. has plans for a plant at Collinsville which is opposite Pittsburgh on the Sacramento River. It will take one half the entire flow of the Sacramento River to cool that plant. The water that comes out will be as much as twenty to thirty degrees hotter. Since it does not have the natural cooling of this thirty-eight degree water on the seacoast, that water will, more or less, raise the temperature all the way down the river. It will change the conditions for the fresh

RL: water and anadromous fish that live in that part of the river.

People have said, Why don't you go into the interior valleys? Well, it takes 30,000 acre feet of water--enough water to cover 30,000 acres one foot deep--to cool one of these thousand megawatt plants for one year. Therefore, in semiarid country we can't afford that amount of water except for one nuclear plant that is now using it in Sacramento. But by the time you get a lot of plants, you won't have enough fresh water in the state of California to cool them.

Then they talk about going to air cooling. This is very carefully researched in the scientific journals of the industry, Scientific American, AAAS, and all the others. A dry-cooling tower has to be about 800 feet high, which is a huge building, and they tend to run the cost of the plant ten million dollars more for that kind of cooling.

None of Conservation Associates or I, who are in favor of using coastal cooling, object to spending more money for electricity produced inland. We feel that the more money people spend for electricity, the less electricity they will use. At the present time, people use too much. We feel that the rate schedule for electricity should be changed so that those who use the least electricity would pay the least for it and as you get up into industrial and heavy uses of electricity, it should cost more, or else people waste it.

The principle argument that Litton and the extremists have as to power plants along the coast is that, at the present rates of growth, if power is going to double every ten years, as it has for the last thirty years, it will require one of these huge nuclear power complexes about every five to ten miles along the entire coast, from Canada to Mexico.

I agree that would be terrible. So I do support the Sierra Club and did vote for the moratorium on additional industrial plants of any kind anywhere on the coast until this could be studied more

RL: carefully and determined what is best in the long run.

Proposition 20, which the Sierra Club sponsored with other groups and had passed as an initiative at the last election, in November, 1972, stops all power plants or any other kind of construction along the coast for a period of four years. At that time the legislature is to receive a master plan that may extend quite a long ways into the future. So we now have the effect of the 1966 Sierra Club resolution, when we asked for a moratorium on construction. It is in effect now until 1976.

SS: You said that you searched a power grid. Was this set out by P.G. & E.?

DL: As I understand it, the state is divided into grids indicating which plant is supplying the power where. This particular plant would supply to such-and-such an area. They call them grids.

RL: That San Luis Obispo plant is at the extreme southern limit of the P.G. & E. territory. They go down to Santa Barbara County, but do not go into it because that is Southern California Edison territory. All private power is on a controlled monopoly basis, regulated by the Public Utilities Commission. The areas are divided by the commission.

DL: And there is an intertie; they all are tied in to form a main unit.

RL: Yes. Doris is correct, and it is an important point because the power at San Luis Obispo, which is only about five miles from Santa Barbara boundary line, is not greatly needed in that area. P.G. & E. will furnish those millions of kilowatts down to Los Angeles and will pick up that much power from the Columbia River at the north. In other words, it is what they call "wheeling." P.G. & E. will use power from the Columbia River up in Redding and Shasta and the northern part of the state. Then P.G. & E. will take some of the power that they produce at Pitt River in extreme northern California and take it down to the Sacramento and San Francisco area. Then the power that is generated at Pittsburgh may go down to Fresno.

- RL: It keeps moving on south that way until, finally, the Diablo Canyon plant will, to quite an extent, be "wheeling" some of that Columbia River power to Los Angeles. But those electrons which started at the Columbia won't go all the way to Los Angeles, since that would be a waste of energy. The energy in those moving electrons is used closer to the Columbia River, and power in equal amounts is transferred on down south.
- DL: This is to avoid the type of power failure they had on the east coast a few years back. The full power isn't needed all the time, but they do need it at peak times or in times of emergency, and then they can call on these various units.
- SS: This area you searched, then, must have been roughly from the counties along the coast?
- DL: Yes, it included Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo.
- RL: And clear up to Moss Landing in Monterey County. The reason for that tie up to Moss Landing is that they already have some very large fossil fuel plants there. Under modern conditions, these fossil fuel plants have gotten into trouble because at higher and more efficient operating temperatures they produce nitrous oxide, which then causes a bright yellow smog very harmful to the eyes.
- DL: There was one area that they possibly could have gone into, but it was Vandenberg Air Force Base and therefore off limits.
- SS: Would you think that some type of better communication between the board of directors who supported your position and Eissler, Brower, and Litton could have abated the situation? Or was this an ideological difference that simply had to come out eventually?
- RL: I think an ideological difference. Eissler, Brower, and Litton just felt that there were no alternatives. They felt there should not be power plants, period.
- DL: Conservation Associates very definitely tried. Each time there was a new president of the Sierra Club during all these years, Conservation Associates set

DL: up a meeting with the president of P.G. & E., the chairman of their board, and the new president of the club to get a dialogue between these two groups.

RL: That was an important contribution of Conservation Associates. The associates did have excellent relations with the P.G. & E., who came to them, in the first place, for communication. Conservation Associates understood the conservation point of view thoroughly and worked effectively in saving the Nipomo Dunes.

The associates also realized that, politically, a company as large as P.G. & E.--even though the president in 1963, Bob Gerdes, was a very sympathetic conservationist himself--couldn't be effective if the great majority of the board of directors felt that the conservationists were unreasonable. If the president is for you and you can give him enough support and reasonable alternatives, then we felt we could save the dunes. Otherwise, P.G. & E. is the largest combined utility in the entire United States, and it is used to going ahead without consulting anybody. They had until this time. We felt that it was important to try to offer alternatives.

I still felt that as to the Point Arena nuclear power plant fight in Mendocino County that it was important to try to offer alternatives. There it was to be sited on an open grassy beach that was not really of park caliber for county, state or national park. None of those agencies, nor the Sierra Club, had any intention whatever of protecting that area. And yet the Sierra Club Board of Directors voted fourteen to one to oppose the plant, with no alternatives. I, alone, argued that we should, at least, try to work out alternatives to that location. I will say, however, that the Sierra Club won the battle and the Point Arena plant has been abandoned, at least for the next five or ten years, simply by the Sierra Club opposing it without alternatives.

DL: Dick, I don't believe it was the Sierra Club that won the battle. I don't think it was the Sierra Club as such that won the day.

DL: Out of all of this, it seems to me that we should try to get a different procedure for locating atomic plants. The United States Geological Survey is a consultant to the Atomic Energy Commission. It seems to me, long before the project goes down the track as far as Point Arena has gone, before the U.S.G.S. came out with its report on the earthquake fault they had located--a small offshoot of the San Andreas that they felt could give trouble--hundreds of thousands of dollars had been poured into this whole thing. Why wasn't the U.S.G.S. consulted and allowed to speak long before the P.G. & E. spent that amount of money?

It wasn't the U.S.G.S.'s turn. The A.E.C. didn't ask for this report. U.S.G.S. couldn't speak up until the A.E.C. did on one of the permit requests. This is wrong. And it was when this report came out that P.G. & E. decided. They had said that if it proved out that way, they would back away. They have not abandoned it. They will, in the future, apply again, I am sure, after more study has been given to this. I don't think that the Sierra Club, as such, stopped the Point Arena plant.

RL: Probably not. Ten years earlier the plant would have been approved without any question and P.G. & E. would have gone right ahead. But after Bodega and Nipomo the Sierra Club opposition to a plant at Point Arena was taken very seriously.

DL: Well, I think it is the new attitude of the A.E.C., brought about by a general public awareness, a part of which is of course the Sierra Club.

RL: I am not trying to give the Sierra Club credit for stopping the plant at Point Arena. I am just saying that when they voted fourteen to one against me at the board meeting in Denver, it turned out that they were right that they did not need alternatives to stop that plant.

DL: The Sierra Club didn't know at that time about the U.S.G.S. report.

RL: They knew that they felt it was too dangerous. The Point Arena plant was to be within three to five

RL: miles of the San Andreas Fault. It is close enough so that this other fault--the one that the U.S.G.S. found--turned out to be about two miles offshore in the ocean, so the plant was sort of half way between the two. The Sierra Club had raised the seismic questions very seriously in all its arguments. In fact, I felt they rather exaggerated it.

DL: True, but they had no proof at that time. It was just a general statement.

RL: It was a good scare tactic to try to stop a plant they did not approve of.

The reason for going into the Diablo Canyon controversy with this much detail is that it so severely split the Sierra Club. It was the first time since Hetch Hetchy, in 1910, that the Sierra Club membership had voted on a controversial decision of the board of directors.

The Diablo Canyon controversy in part led to the 1968 election, which gave Dave Brower a nine to six majority on the board and then the next year reversed it again, partly because of Diablo Canyon being on the ballot again. People were stirred up over the attempt to reverse the Sierra Club's position. The San Francisco Examiner and the San Francisco Chronicle came out with big headlines and editorials about the inconsistent Sierra Club and stories about how the Sierra Club had approved Diablo Canyon in 1966 and then, in 1968, a new board had attempted to reverse the decision. The papers said that the credibility of the Sierra Club could never be relied upon if it was going to switch actions on such an important subject from one election to another. That is why I have gone into so much detail on the Nipomo Dunes-Diablo Canyon matter.

SS: You mentioned meetings between the P.G. & E. and the presidents of the club. Were these meetings generally successful? Did the Sierra Club attend?

DL: Oh, yes. They were cordial. I wanted them to at least be able to pick up the telephone and say, from president to president, "Look, we have a problem here, let's sit down and talk it out." I don't believe they ever did this.

- RL: I think Siri did.
- DL: Yes, Siri was the only one. I really think that he did, and he followed through consistently.
- RL: Wayburn talked to them once, but I don't think he really initiated it.
- DL: No, and the last president, Sherwin, certainly did not. When I tried to set up meetings between the lead people in the nuclear area at Bechtel and Judge Sherwin, he did not follow up.
- SS: Brower and the others must have known that the Diablo Canyon question was coming up on the agenda for the May, 1966, meeting.
- RL: Yes.
- SS: But they still felt that they had not been given notice early enough, that they had been railroaded?
- RL: I think probably it was more a rhetorical argument than that they were really convinced of it. As I say, it was unfortunate that everybody on their side except Eissler was away. Directors Martin Litton, John B. Oakes, and Eliot Porter were absent. They would almost certainly have voted with Eissler against approval of Diablo Canyon but only for a vote of four against to nine in favor of approval. Ansel Adams, Lewis Clark, Nathan Clark, Jules Eichorn, Dick Leonard, George Marshall, Charlotte Mauk, Will Siri, and Edgar Wayburn voted for the resolution. Paul Brooks and Polly Dyer abstained.

Ideology of Environmental Alternatives

- SS: The objection of the opponents was that the club had not previously used a policy of choosing alternate sites and that by doing so they were sanctioning power plants. Was this a change in established policy? Had an instance like this come up before?

RL: Only at Hetch Hetchy. A month ago in New York at a meeting of the Sierra Club's International Committee a question came up as to alternatives to action in international affairs. Georg Treichel, who was one of the supporters of Dave on this issue of alternatives and quite a well-known international conservationist, was present. He said it is very dangerous to choose alternatives, because if you choose alternatives you may be stuck with them; whereas, if you oppose it completely, you may win and not have any alternatives.

Well, as a lawyer, I feel it is wrong. One ought to try to get sensible alternatives. I will say this. Bestor Robinson twice recommended environmental compromises that made sense to him as a lawyer. When he was suing for a hundred thousand dollars and he could get seventy-five thousand dollars for his client, he would always take the seventy-five thousand.

In 1947, there were seven bills before Congress to divide up the Olympic National Park and to take the finest forest of ten to fourteen foot trees out of the park and log them. The bills were so well supported that the secretary of the Interior and the director of the National Park Service had both approved one of the bills, which removed about two hundred thousand acres of trees, because some of the bills asked for three hundred and fifty thousand acres.

Bestor Robinson was president of the Sierra Club at that time, and he also approved that compromise. But Dave Brower and I fought it on the board of directors. The board agreed with us and decided to fight all seven of the bills and not make any compromise at all. Dave and I led the fight and wrote arguments for it in the Sierra Club Bulletin and got magnificent photos from Lowell Sumner, who at that time was the chief naturalist for the National Park Service and a fine pilot and aerial photographer.

We put all this together and sent it to the regional forester. My philosophy was that I wanted the Forest Service to know in advance what I was saying. I told him I wanted him to check the facts

RL: and let me know before I published it. He wrote back and said, "I don't like your adjectives, but your facts are correct."

At any rate, we won the battle. And the huge saws that could handle ten to fourteen foot trees were dismantled because there weren't any more trees that size available there for logging. Now the Olympic Park is safe because the logging companies can't handle anything more than about twelve inch trees for wood pulp.

The other instance was in the battle of 1956 on the Dinosaur National Monument. The principal dam was to be at Echo Park and about six hundred feet high. Every time you have a huge dam, you have another dam below it to regulate the sudden fluctuations in the flow of water. Bestor decided to compromise the whole controversy over dams in a national park by suggesting that they allow the regulating dam at Split Mountain but the Sierra Club would still oppose the main Echo Park Dam.

Again, Dave and I felt that was plain silly; you don't need a regulating dam of two-hundred feet unless you have a six-hundred foot dam up above. If you once have the regulating dam in the national monument, then you have just about said that the integrity of the park system is not at issue, it is just a matter of figures--two hundred feet or six hundred feet. Bestor was not president at that time, but he was chairman of the Advisory Committee on Conservation to the secretary of the Interior.

He published this article in his own name, not as chairman, not as a Sierra Clubber. Everybody said, Bestor, you just can't say those things without people knowing that you are chairman of the Advisory Committee and a past president of the Sierra Club.

At any rate, we fought it out and licked both dams. I cite those examples to show that it is not true that compromises, such as Diablo, are always valid and proper.

On the other hand, I don't think that we would have ever gotten the P.G. & E. off of Nipomo Dunes

RL: and obtained that as a state park if we had refused to accept any other power plant within the power grid that Doris spoke of, on the southern edge of the P.G. & E. system.

I guess really the answer is that you have to judge every case on its own facts and on the political situation at the time. Even in law, you don't always give up the hundred thousand dollars, if you think you've got a good case.

SS: So there is no question of really making Sierra Club policy on this type of compromise?

RL: No, but I believe today the basic philosophy of the Sierra Club is no compromise. On the other hand, as I said before, I think the members of the Energy Commission have been very intelligent concerning energy. What they are really saying is that we should use less energy and do that in various ways, including the economic system of pricing.

SS: Zero population growth?

RL: That helps a great deal. The U. S. Bureau of the Census has now cut down its forecast of the number of people in the United States by the year 2000. So the power companies will have to cut down their figures on load. Perhaps they can get people to start reducing the amount of power they are using-- something like the meat boycott.

We had a very excitable meat boycott for one week. I know in our family we have gotten used to it, so we now eat, maybe, one-third to one-half less meat than we did before. When people start into power saving, I think they will do that. I'll certainly use a smaller car as soon as some of the larger cars are off the highway so I don't get squashed in between two five thousand pound cars. I approve of little cars, but I also see what happens to them on modern freeways.

SS: Doesn't approval of a nuclear site bring responsibility? If anything went wrong, the group that sanctioned the site would share the responsibility.

RL: That's what Georg Treichel was saying last month, that he still thinks it was tragic to lose Diablo Canyon. Concerning that, I think there is something that we have not sufficiently emphasized before in this discussion: that Diablo Canyon is essentially the same as all the canyons of Montana de Oro State Park, which is just to the north. The Montana de Oro is a huge area of 4470 acres and has easily two dozen magnificent canyons with oaks.

Diablo Canyon was beautiful, but the point again is that Doris had carefully checked it out to make sure that the state, the county, and the Sierra Club itself had not plans to protect it. That is one other very important thing that annoys me immensely. All these years, during the battle and today, Treichel, Brower, Litton, and Eissler have never tried to protect Diablo Canyon.

DL: We said over and over again, Where are these people in Sacramento? We go up and down the halls and we don't see them. They are not up there.

RL: Doris carefully checked out in advance the matter of possible park status for Diablo Canyon. Whereas, the P.G. & E., when they first came to her and said that they were always finding the parks for the parks department, they had not checked the record with the National Park Service, the state, or even the county. As I quoted at the beginning, San Luis Obispo County in 1958 said that the Nipomo Dunes should be protected. That was four years before P.G. & E. took the option to buy the dunes.

SS: Is this a case within the Sierra Club of the staff versus the membership, which became an issue with Brower?

RL: It became that, in part, because Brower was the executive director and he has violent feelings about nuclear energy. In fact, he has gone on to the point where at a board meeting about a year ago--with about two hundred people present--he said he had just discovered that atomic energy was going to kill all of us on earth. All of us were going to be wiped out by atomic energy. Did we know that? He didn't know that. He never knew until he read something just

RL: recently about how dangerous it is and we were all going to be wiped out. He became hysterical in his talk. He feels that very, very strongly and sincerely, so he is opposed to all nuclear power under any conditions whatever anywhere.

The Sierra Club is not opposed to it as such. A lot of people speak for the Sierra Club and say that the Sierra Club is opposed to nuclear power or give their impression, but that is not the case. Through 1973, the board of directors has been very careful to state that the club does not oppose nuclear power any more than it opposes fossil fuel or hydro power. All of them have such harmful side effects that many say that we should have no more power. But the Energy Committee of the Sierra Club is realistic enough so it does not say that there shall be no more power, period. It urges us to take various economic and other educational steps to get people away from the exponential increase in the use of power.

SS: Early in 1967, there was a vote by the Sierra Club to have an economic study done of Diablo Canyon. Was that carried out?

RL: No. I think it has been one of the weaknesses of some of the earlier arguments. Dave Pesonen was the young attorney who filed suit against Bodega Head and lost it in the Supreme Court of California. But he did stir up enough difficulty so that, as Doris said, by the time the P.G. & E. started thinking about the San Andreas Fault, which, in that case, is less than a quarter of a mile away, they had to give up because of the fault.

DL: Pesonen was not an attorney at that time. Charles Gary was the attorney.

RL: You are right. Pesonen prepared the papers; he was a law student then.

After he became an attorney he handled the suit against the proposed plant at Point Arena. He made up quite a large brochure--forty or fifty pages--on Point Arena. I think some of his arguments were wrong again. He stated that 10,000 people would be

RL: killed in San Francisco by a core meltdown at Point Arena, which is 110 miles to the north.

I objected very strongly to that in a letter to President Sherwin, who replied that he had just read a statement that said there would be a million people killed in San Francisco from something going wrong at Point Arena, 110 miles away. He therefore considered Pesonen's statement to be moderate. I feel that is the same as Brower's feeling that everybody would be killed. Or the same as Gofman and Tamplin, who say that any radiation above the normal background is going to be harmful. I realize that adding radiation probably is harmful, but we also have to realize the alternatives again.

The Sierra Club and many others, particularly John Milton of the Conservation Foundation, have stated that the Aswan Dam of Egypt is the greatest ecological tragedy on earth. M. Kassas, Professor of botany at the University of Cairo, and I were members of the Resolutions Committee of the International Union for Conservation of Nature, which had its World Assembly at Banff in September, 1972. He stated that the trouble with that kind of conservation thinking is that it is less than half true.

There are about five thousand cases a year of Schistosomiasis, a disease that comes from a small fluke that lives in irrigation canals and enters the feet through the pores and then infects the abdominal organs. It is killing, perhaps, five hundred to a thousand people a year. The point is, though, that the dam is also saving about 150,000 who otherwise would die of starvation, lacking the water that the dam makes available. That happens so often in many of these arguments.

I think that often those presenting radiation hazards come into the same problem where they can get statistics to show half a dozen or maybe a couple of dozen or more people have actually been harmed by various types of radiation, but they don't count the good accomplished with the product. It is a question of relativity. That's why I do not believe that everything in life is black and white as so many in the ecological field seem to think.

DL: At the time the radiation-hazard folk were making that point, I said to Dick, they don't see the other point. When that dam went out in Tennessee or Kentucky a year or so ago and killed so many people, they don't take that into consideration in saying we should have more hydro and more dams. The number of people who are killed there versus the number of people who may be killed with the nuclear plants. Many people are killed with dams going out, but they don't seem to think about that.

SS: Do you think the Sierra Club's activities have weakened the position of Conservation Associates with P.G. & E.?

DL: Oh, no. It has been strengthened. We have said to the P.G. & E. and we still do say that if you are doing something that we think is wrong, we will be the first to tell you. We have gone along on that basis ever since the beginning. No, I don't think our position has been at all harmed by the Sierra Club.

SS: Has the club still credibility with P.G. & E.?

DL: Oh, yes. They still would like to have the backing of the Sierra Club in everything they do. The club is a power, you know, and if they can have the backing of the Sierra Club they are going to try to get it.

Pros and Cons of Nuclear Power

SS: Would you say that the club's credibility with P.G. & E. is strong at all?

RL: It was strengthened a good deal by the second vote when the membership came in with a three to one vote in favor of the club's first position in approving the alternative site. I did not feel in my discussions with P.G. & E. that they felt badly about the Sierra Club's opposing Point Arena. I think they just expected it.

RL: They do have a much more difficult time, and Doris has told them, also, at Davenport, near Santa Cruz, because that is to be one of these huge reactors that they plan to put there, because it is so close to the San Francisco power load. It is a beautiful area, but I don't think it will harm the coast. I do know that with the population so close, until some of these safety questions are cleared up, they will not be able to build it.

One trouble is that the Atomic Energy Commission has been running both the promotion of nuclear energy and the control of the safety of it. There has been far too much information published in very respectable journals, such as that of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, quite objectively, that there have been fantastic errors made in the safety of nuclear plants, but, fortunately, without human damage thus far.

In fact, they discovered about three years ago, when they ran a small scale test for the first time, that the system won't work that they are planning on in case the water for cooling the plant fails. What they planned was that if the normal city circulation system fails for any reason or the plumbing of the plant fails, then another big tank, kind of like a sprinkler system, would then immediately cut in and put water in its stead. But in that period of thirty seconds or so after the old water fails and before the new water can get in, the temperatures get so high that when the new water comes in it flashes into steam immediately and pushes all the new water out again. So the result is that so far that type of protection has failed.

It is true that the test was made only on a small scale mock-up. But the big scale test of a full-size nuclear reactor has been delayed by Congress and the Atomic Energy Commission. The earliest date that they expect it to be tested is 1975. But in the meantime they are constructing additional power plants on that old system, and plants are actually operating in various parts of the United States, including Humboldt County and San Onofre in southern California, and those core-cooling questions have not been settled.

RL: There have been serious questions about the strength of the metal used in nuclear plants. Yesterday I was at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Western Gold and Platinum Company, and I was telling one of their scientists about how Russell Varian of Varian Associates had invented the magnetometer. It can find things by magnetic effect, and it had found the submarine Thresher, a nuclear submarine that had sunk in 7,000 feet of water. The U.S. Navy sent one of those research submarines down to find out what went wrong. Beautiful monel metal tubing of high quality nickel and stainless steel had been specified and then the Navy put them together with old-fashioned naval brass fittings. The contractors had protested against that and said that it should be monel metal fittings.

Well, the monel fittings were about five times more expensive than the old Navy brass ones. The Navy said, "We have used these for the last hundred years, and that's what we'll use." Those had failed. And so the nuclear submarine was destroyed with all the men on it, simply because of a little thing like that--just putting in a brass fitting on a nickel stainless steel pipe.

The Atomic Energy Commission has lost the faith of a large number of the American people, and that's where people like Gofman and Nadar can get a lot of sympathy. Brower's Friends of the Earth has an article every month in their publication on why nuclear power is so extremely dangerous. Doris and I have been members of FOE ever since the beginning, so we get their Not Man Apart. I think it is a very good publication, except I feel it goes overboard on nuclear hazards.

However, I am charitable enough to feel that you need extremists to keep people digging into some of these things to find out what is wrong with the safety. If everybody believed the Atomic Energy Commission, then the A.E.C. would not have the benefit of constructive criticism. Some of their improvements have been because Brower and National Intervenors have raised such extreme charges.

- SS: It seems very often that government regulating bodies become pawns or allies of the group that they are regulating.
- RL: Yes, and the Sierra Club is strongly opposed to that. As a general principle, there should be a clearer separation of power between those who are regulating and those who are regulated. It is almost insoluble in the long run. You can't have people regulating the power industry who don't know the inside economic and technical factors of power. When you get those kind of people, they also tend to sympathize with the power company. They are willing to make decisions more favorable to the power companies than would someone who didn't know so much about it. It is a basic principle of democracy that has to be solved but hasn't been solved yet. California has been trying for more than a century. I think our system is, however, better than any dictatorship.

Aftermath: Polarization within Preservationist Ranks

- SS: The people who sided with Brower and Litton during the Diablo Valley affair were basically the people who formed the Brower faction later. Was this the first time that the factions had crystalized in such an obvious fashion within the club?
- RL: They did so in 1910 when the members voted three to one to support John Muir and William Colby in fighting the Hetch Hetchy dam. It was the first time in my thirty-five years on the board that the Sierra Club had ever been so polarized between opposing factions on the board that they voted eight to seven on almost all views. They hardly ever voted unanimously.

At the new board of directors meeting three days ago, on May 5, 1973, a new president was elected, Laurence I. Moss, who was a Brower man. He was a very strong supporter of Brower, and he was elected in that 1968 election when they campaigned vigorously for one slate and there was no campaigning on the other side. One thing that was very encouraging, at

RL: this meeting three days ago the directors decided all things unanimously. They didn't have any polarization within the board, at least at this first meeting. I hope that continues.

I noticed that in January, 1967, one of the early publications on Diablo Canyon was signed by David Brower, Polly Dyer, Jules Eichorn, Fred Eissler, Martin Litton, Daniel Luten, David Pesonen, Eliot Porter, and Georg Treichel. That was in the Sierra Club Bulletin, 1967. It was the first vote that came out two to one in favor of the alternative site at Diablo Canyon. I'll be turning that over to Bancroft.

That article also started part of the polarization because the editor of the bulletin published only the Brower side of the argument, nothing from the other side. He used as an alibi that he hadn't received anything. In fact, it was published early. That was when George Marshall was president. He reacted very severely and took control of the bulletin to try to prevent unfair reporting from then on.

DL: Of that group, David Brower, I am sure but not positive, had never been to Diablo Canyon, nor had Polly Dyer, nor Jules. Martin Litton, yes; Fred Eissler, yes; Daniel Luten, no; Dave Pesonen, no; Eliot Porter, no. George Treichel got up to the edge of it but was not allowed on the property. So they had not been into Diablo Canyon. They might have been where they could see to it, but they had not walked the canyon.

RL: They charged at one point in their campaign that the board of directors had never seen Diablo Canyon. I had been there as well as Siri and some of the others.

DL: We organized a plane trip and took them down there.

SS: They had not been there as of May, 1966, or did they not go there at all.

RL: Most of them have never been there.

Construction of the Diablo Canyon Reactor

SS: Has P.G. & E. kept to the scenic and water requirements stipulated at the time the Sierra Club originally gave its approval?

DL: Yes, I think as best they can. We feel that they did a poor job in their immediate transmission lines out of the plant before they get to the high tower ones. Their road foreman, I felt, went off the deep end. They know it; I told them about it.

As is often the case--we find this in our work in the Arctic--the higher-ups have a certain level of care they wish to maintain, but when they subcontract out and it gets down to the workman in the field, he hasn't always read the manual of instruction. Particularly in the Monterey shale--that white Monterey sand you see so much--when they started building their maintenance roads they just dumped the stuff over the side and that white debris shows up forever.

The Forest Service down there, too, did a very poor job. At San Luis Obispo you can look off in the distance and see a bad scar going across the hillside. Well, that's a Forest Service road. The P.G. & E. tried to do some cosmetic recovery, which even made it worst. They sprayed it green and that sort of thing and thought they were doing good. We took them to task.

We in Conservation Associates have been urging P.G. & E. to try, at least, using the big Hercules helicopters that they use in the Arctic to put in their towers. This would do away with these access roads in that kind of situation. Well, the old story, it costs so much and it's dangerous. But we kept after them over and over again; and they finally did on some of the steeper areas. After they made the mistakes, they finally did use helicopters. The difference is beautiful to see. And they painted the towers to blend with the background. When you fly over it now, unless you knew where the towers were, you couldn't see them. The other part was bad.

- DL: I think the P.G. & E. has tried. Of course, they have various agencies of the State of California watching them all along.
- SS: These are the large transmission lines that were not to run through Lopez Canyon?
- RL: Yes, they met with the Sierra Club and changed the lines to go along with the Sierra Club's recommendations. This was a particularly scenic area of de facto wilderness that the Sierra Club wanted them to avoid. That is why Siri put in the provision in the resolution of being north of 34° 15' latitude, and the P.G. & E. has done that. Conservation Associates has been down there twice since construction has started.
- DL: Twice? I have been down to Diablo Canyon about a dozen times since construction started. P.G. & E. has an advisor there at all times to bird-dog the construction.

DORIS LEONARD AND CONSERVATION ASSOCIATES

Formation and Initial Work of the Associates

Susan Schrepfer: I recommend that we talk about Conservation Associates.

Richard Leonard: I would like to do that. They have been exceptionally competent in this field. Doris joined the Sierra Club in July, 1933, and on July 14, 1934, I married her for her money. I was earning seventy-five dollars a month as a young lawyer at the depths of the depression, and she was getting one hundred and twenty dollars a month as my legal secretary. She had two years experience, and I had only two months experience.

She has been in conservation ever since. In 1955, 1957, and 1959, she was in charge of the Sierra Club's Wilderness Conferences. And in 1959, her co-chairmen at the conference were George L. Collins of the National Park Service and George James, the assistant regional forester of the U. S. Forest Service.

In 1960, after thirty-three years in the National Park Service, Collins retired, at age fifty seven, from his position as chief of land use planning of the western region of the National Park Service. He felt that he could be more effective outside the Park Service than inside with all of its red tape and policy restrictions. I work so closely with the Park Service, I know it is true.

RL: On November 10, 1960, Collins, Doris, and Dorothy Varian signed articles as an unincorporated association called Conservation Associates. It was to be effective January 1, 1961. On June 21, 1962, they received their tax ruling of deductibility under section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Their first big job was to save the Nipomo Dunes, which ran from 1960 to 1974. When they first started in 1960, because of Russ and Dorothy Varian's interest in the dunes, they went down and flew over the area, checked it over carefully, and became familiar with it. This was even before the P.G. & E. came into it. Conservation Associates were the principal catalyst--using catalyst in the chemical sense of putting things together--in working out a state park of eight hundred acres at a cost of approximately one million dollars [effective in January, 1974].

Another major project, Point Reyes National Seashore, started in 1959, while George Collins was still in the National Park Service. He made the recreation surveys there and, by the way, also at Nipomo Dunes, for the Park Service. Conservation Associates obtained a loan of a hundred thousand dollars to hold 2,400 acres of the Lake Ranch at Point Reyes for the national seashore, at a potential value of four million dollars.

In 1962, they were the co-chairmen of the first World Conference on National Parks, the first that has been held anywhere on earth. They had to raise their own money for it, because the Park Service didn't have enough funds. They raised a hundred thousand dollars and had 262 delegates from 63 nations. It was decided at the first World Conference to hold the next conference in 1972, ten years later, to coincide with the one hundredth anniversary of Yellowstone National Park, the first national park on earth.

At the Second World Conference Doris and Dorothy Varian were guests with 410 representatives from 82 nations. It does show how interested the world has become in national parks. It has been very pleasant

RL: for me that we have taken three trips around the world to visit the national parks of the earth. In every country, the national park service knows and loves Doris, and I get to go along like Phillip goes with Elizabeth. We get to see the parks in a way that we never could otherwise.

Six More California State Park Projects

RL: In 1963, Conservation Associates had a marvelous opportunity when the Forest of Nisene Marks, 9,779 acres of redwoods, was offered to the State of California as a state park. The state appraised it at \$2,600,000.

Doris Leonard: It was worth about four million; Herman Marks had had several offers from Los Angeles subdividers at four million.

RL: It would have been worth it. It is right next to Santa Cruz. However, it still had a four hundred thousand dollar loan on it owing by the old folks who had gotten the property together to protect it. The state didn't have the money to pay off the loan. Doris and I, Dorothy Varian, Walter Starr, and Put Livermore--the brother of Ike Livermore and son of Norman--personally signed a note to Wells Fargo Bank for \$400,000, paid off the loan, and acquired title through The Nature Conservancy, George Collins being then the president. Finally the state was able to buy this forest as a state park, with a gift of two to four million extra.

Then in 1965, they were able to carry out a similar situation at Montana de Oro, where again the state came to Conservation Associates for help. The associates were able to obtain a loan of \$100,000 to hold this property of 4,470 acres on the coast of San Luis Obispo County just north of Diablo Canyon. It was appraised at \$2,900,000, but the state was finally able to get it at a substantially reduced figure.

RL: Then again, in 1968, the ability of this group to act as a catalyst gave an opportunity to save the Andrew Molera State Park down near the Big Sur on the coast. There they raised \$40,000 to hold the land and were able to obtain 2,154 acres as a state park, appraised at two and a half million dollars, with a gift of one and a half million dollars.

Since 1971 they have been very actively working on preservation of land on the shores of Tomales Bay. There, at the request of a legislator, they were able to obtain a special state appropriation of \$500,000. They acquired 583 acres for the Department of Fish and Game. This was swampland at the head of Tomales Bay. There is a lot more underway. The Audubon Canyon Ranch has been buying up a lot of land there. The Nature Conservancy, through the generosity of some friends of Doris at the Nut Tree, has acquired about four hundred acres. They are continuing there.

Then Conservation Associates personally signed a \$15,000 note and are raising the funds to buy a key piece, called the Bender property, for the Point Reyes Bird Observatory. That also is at the head of Tomales Bay on the slope up towards the Point Reyes National Seashore.

Over a period of ten years--from 1963 to 1973--they have been working very effectively at Big Basin Redwoods State Park. This, in 1902, was the first state park, but only about one third of it was purchased and about two-thirds were inholdings. I don't think anything would have been done about it today, if a handful of friends hadn't come to Conservation Associates for help.

The associates revived the old Sempervirens Club of 1900, which was the sparkplug for the Big Basin State Park. The club members were very prominent people at that time, but by 1935 they were getting elderly and the club faded away. It had an excellent elder name and history, and it was a corporation. So I suggested, through the Conservation Law Society, that we revive the corporation, change the name from Sempervirens Club to Sempervirens Fund, and continue. Conservation Associates had operated two

RL: or three years before we were able to do that as the Sempervirens Fund of Conservation Associates with full tax deductibility.

Conservation Associates and the Sempervirens Fund raised approximately \$400,000, excluding the Save-the-Redwoods League, for Big Basin. The Sempervirens Fund had its annual meeting last week on May 4, 1973, and had \$160,000 dollars available for additional acquisitions.

Equally important was the fact that they persuaded the Save-the-Redwoods League to become interested in Big Basin. The league had concentrated its efforts in the far north, where the largest, finest redwoods were. The league felt that Big Basin was already taken care of, so they weren't concerned with it. In fact, the league president, Ralph Chaney, who died a few years ago, would never have allowed any money to be spent south of, say, Mendocino county. But through the work of Conservation Associates, the Save-the Redwoods League put up more than \$900,000 for purchase of inholdings within Big Basin Redwoods State Park.

Another factor, which was very important, was that Conservation Associates participated at the request of a legislator, as a consultant on legislation last year that appropriated two and a half million dollars for the twenty-five hundred acres of key inholding in Big Basin along the major stream of Waddell Creek. It is beautiful open space with some redwoods on the edges. It is absolutely the most beautiful part of Big Basin, excluding the big trees up above. That money is earmarked for acquisition of that inholding.

Conservation Associates are highly respected by the California Department of Parks and Recreation, the National Park Service, the U.S. Forest Service, the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Bureau of Land Management, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, and the Fish and Game Department of California. Conservation Associates work closely with the heads of all of those organizations at least once a month continuously and, therefore, get a lot accomplished.

- DL: I hope you are going to comment on Castle Rock.
- RL: No, I hadn't planned to because that is primarily funded through the Varian Foundation. But it was Conservation Associates who put in the hard work to locate the properties and to work out contracts with the owners to buy several hundred acres for Castle Rock State Park. It was an idea of Russ and Dorothy Varian. In 1959 Dorothy, Russ, and I went down to San Jose a week before we left for six weeks in Alaska, where Russ died. We obtained an option to buy twenty-six acres that are the summit of the mountain, which has the beautiful Chico sandstone that forms the caves of Castle Rock.

Doris and George, with their technical knowledge, put together the boundaries for a reasonable park and spent a great deal of time with the people from the State Division of Beaches and Parks at the Monterey, Big Basin, and Sacramento offices. Finally, in appearances before the State Park Commission, they obtained approval of the Castle Rock State Park.

- DL: The park was to include 2,180 acres. This was the difficult part, getting the state to accept it as a gift. It is not easy to give to the State of California. Immediately, they think of the bodies and the dollars it will take to keep the park going. They rejected it for a long time. It took eternal patience to get it through.

Arctic Preservation, 1959 to 1973

- RL: I would like to mention briefly the studies and conferences that Conservation Associates were involved in. In 1961, the National Park Service gave them a \$10,000 contract to make a recreation resource study of Puerto Rico. They went there for three weeks. They took with them the internationally famous photographer, Phillip Hyde, and his wife. The Hydes stayed on several weeks longer and got very fine photos to back up the report that Doris and George made on the recreation needs and resources in Puerto Rico.

RL: In 1965, they were asked to make an equivalent study of Alaska. They were three weeks at the Washington, D.C., office of the director of the National Park Service, George Hartzog, to make a study for the future plans of the National Park Service for the State of Alaska.

In 1959, we flew to Prudhoe Bay, on the Arctic Ocean, ten years before oil was discovered. I played chess with a geologist of Royal Dutch Shell at Point Barrow when we were fogged in. He said that there was lots of oil around there, but his company wouldn't allow him to drill because the oil was totally worthless because the company couldn't get it to market. Even today, he is absolutely correct. There is lots of oil there, and it hasn't yet gotten to market.

In 1969, the year after they discovered oil at Prudhoe Bay, Dorothy, George, and I decided we ought to go up there. We chartered a plane at Anchorage and saw all of the oil operations of the Cook Inlet and the Kenai Peninsula. Then we flew up to Prudhoe Bay. It took us three days to get over the lofty Brooks Range because of storms and our little plane didn't have de-icing equipment and couldn't fly in clouds in the Arctic.

We finally got over and were given an excellent review of all of this because we took along, as our guest at our expense, the conservation director for the Humble Oil Company, which is one of the major oil companies that had discovered oil at Prudhoe Bay and is a subsidiary of Exxon, formerly Standard Oil of New Jersey.

We had reservations to spend the night at Inuvik, near the mouth of the MacKenzie River in Canada, on the Arctic Ocean. But the storm closed in, and when we radioed there, they said the airstrip was closed because of the storm. So we radioed over to the west, to Point Barrow, and that was closed because of storm. We couldn't get back across the Brooks Range. So Dorothy and Doris became the first women ever to spend the night at Prudhoe Bay. To keep peace among the men up there, they do not permit liquor, women, or guns there. Wine, women, and song [laughter.] They could have the song on the

RL: radio, but no women or guns or liquor. Ever since, we have been closely in touch with Arctic oil matters.

In November of that same year, 1969, Doris and George went to a Conference at Edmonton on the Conservation and Productivity of Circumpolar Lands. That's a long name, and it was shortened to the Tundra Conference, because tundra goes all the way around the pole. There were quite a large number of Russians, Norwegians, Finns, Swedes, Danes, Canadians, and Americans--all the countries around the pole were there--to discuss Arctic problems. Doris and George there selected one whom they thought would be a very competent person to lead a new venture to set up a wildlife range in Arctic Canada.

Going back a little to 1957 at the North American Wildlife Conference in San Francisco, Olaus Murie and his wife Mardy, who was the first woman graduate of the University of Alaska, Doris and I, Dave Brower, Howard Zahniser, George Collins, and Lowell Sumner, who was from the Park Service and an expert on the Arctic, met to set up a large wildlife range in northeastern Alaska along the Brooks Range and to the north. We worked out the boundaries and Doris typed them out, with Old Woman Creek and some of the other interesting names.

We knew that the creation of a large Arctic wildlife range had to come by a request from Alaska to be politically possible. Mardy Murie was going up for some kind of anniversary of her graduation from the University of Alaska. We arranged with Mardy to get a resolution from Alaska asking for an Arctic wildlife range. Mardy worked with the Tanana Valley Sportsmen's Association at Fairbanks, and they passed a resolution asking the secretary of the Interior to set aside a wildlife range. With that we then put the Sierra Club on record as supporting the Tanana Valley Sportsmen's Association of Alaska.

DL: Ed Woosley, director of the Bureau of Land Management, was also at our conference in San Francisco and the request had to go to him.

RL: That's right. At this conference, Doris had the heads of all the land management agencies--chief of the Forest Service, director of the National Park Service, and director of the Bureau of Land Management--participating in the conference because they believed in wilderness, also.

Finally, after quite a campaign, in the last weeks of his term in office, Secretary Fred A. Seaton, under Eisenhower, in December, 1960, set aside 9,000,000 acres in Alaska as the Arctic National Wildlife Range. It has never been challenged. The present Administration can't challenge it because it was a Republican who set it up.

At the same time as that was set up by Secretary Seaton, Doris and George tried to get the Canadian people to set aside an equal area on their side of the line. The Porcupine herd of Caribou winters in Canada and then crosses the Brooks Range to the Arctic Ocean slope, where the calves are born and raised on the Alaskan part of the wildlife range.

But in 1960, when that range was created in Alaska, all of northern Canada was a wilderness and a wildlife area, so there wasn't any sense, as far as they could see, to set something aside. The Arctic was worthless, no one was ever going to bother it, and it would always be the same for thousands of years. But as soon as oil was discovered at Prudhoe Bay, Doris and George decided something had to be done to protect the Canadian side.

That is why they attended that Tundra Conference the next year and selected Andrew R. Thompson, professor of law at the University of British Columbia. He is a fine person, deeply interested in conservation, and also one of the world authorities on petroleum law. He agreed to call a conference at Whitehorse, the capital city of Yukon Territory.

Conservation Associates raised money and carefully arranged and paid for the transportation of Chief Alfred Charlie of the Old Crow Band of Indians and Roland Shingatok from Aklavik, on the Mackenzie delta, who was representing the Eskimos and is a

RL: very fine, brilliant young man, a college graduate. Then they arranged for a representative of every one of the major oil companies and a representative from the mining people in Yukon Territory.

The conference was held at Whitehorse, the capital of Yukon Territory, because the nine or ten million acres that would be set aside for Canada would be in Yukon Territory, a sort of colony with semi-independent administration, but not like British Columbia, a full province. That meeting in October, 1970, was very successful. Dorothy Varian, George Collins, Doris and I participated actively in the conference. We had about sixty-five people altogether.

DL: They were mainly Canadians. There were, I think, thirteen or fourteen from the United States. We wanted to keep it heavy on the Canadian side.

RL: We had the chief of the Western Region of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, which handles all of Alaska and the Pacific Coast. There were several very competent scientists from the United States. As I said, representatives from the major oil companies, such as Humble Oil, attended. The president of the Alyeska pipeline was there as well as representatives of the gas companies that furnish gas to the United States from Alberta.

Jean Creti n, the minister for Indian Affairs and Northern Development, who is equivalent to the secretary of the Interior of the United States, attended and approved the program to set aside approximately ten million acres of the Northwest corner of Yukon Territory, right against the nine million acres of the United States, to make nineteen million acres of an international Arctic wildlife range.

The next year Professor Thompson incorporated the Arctic International Wildlife Range Society, under the laws of Yukon Territory, again, so it would be a good, authentic, local corporation. Dr. Thompson is the president; George is vice-president.

RL: At the World Assembly of the International Union for Conservation of Nature, in September, 1972, at Banff, Doris and I were able to get an Arctic resolution adopted by the entire group of the twenty-four nations and nearly eighty organizations that were there. This resolution urged Canada and the United States to carry out the Arctic international wildlife range.

We are still trying to carry it through, but it has become involved in politics now. The natives of Canada are, of course, deeply impressed by the huge amount of money that the natives of Alaska have obtained, and so they want something of an equivalent nature. Therefore, most land decisions involving native people are held up for an indefinite time into the future.

Now a change is coming to Conservation Associates. George Collins retired from the Park Service at age fifty-seven, and now his seventieth birthday comes on May 31, 1973. So Conservation Associates are going into what George calls "active retirement," where he will take his books and papers to his home in Ross in Marin County to avoid the increasingly difficult commute to San Francisco. Doris will take the typewriter and her files to Berkeley. Dorothy will operate from Cupertino. They will continue with the Arctic, Tomales Bay, Castle Rock, Sempervirens Fund, and the Point Reyes Bird Observatory. I think they have accomplished an immense amount of good over the years.

And Nature Conservancy

DL: I would like to bring in our participation for six years in Nature Conservancy as a contribution from Conservation Associates. Early in the sixties, the Nature Conservancy was practically unknown here in the West. It was a rather small eastern scientific group involved in setting aside remnant pieces of America, small two to ten-acre portions of the East and some in the Middle West. They were unknown out here, and they wanted to be known. So they had set

DL: up a western administration board. It was not doing too well, so early in the sixties they asked Conservation Associates if we would become a part of the board and help them in their problems here. We did.

We thought the first problem was to dissolve the western administration board. There was too much competition. The Rocky Mountains seemed to be the dividing line and neither the east nor the west should cross over. In order to make it a national organization, we got rid of the western board.

George and I then went on the national board of governors of the Nature Conservancy. He served as president and then as vice-president. I was on as a governor for six years. They have the same policy as the Sierra Club has now of serving two terms of three years and then phasing off, which we have done. We are on the national advisory council of the Nature Conservancy. This is one of the things we have done over the years to assist other groups. We have loaned ourselves to them.

The Philosophy behind Conservation Associates

SS: It has only been the three of you?

DL: Yes, we have always been just three. No membership. We have worked on a volunteer basis.

SS: Your husband commented earlier that your mode of operations is quiet.

DL: We feel that we could accomplish more working in the background all along. We have many requests to come forward and speak out, but as long as we were actively operating we felt we could be much more effective working in the background, putting people together with problems. We knew the problems around the world. We knew the people around the world. Our objective was to put the right people with the problem to solve it.

SS: Then public opinion or publicity has played no role?

- DL: No, it certainly hasn't.
- SS: Is this particularly helpful in international dealings?
- RL: Not so much. We found that there is a great deal of ego in international conservation. They immediately will call you doctor. I know that they called George doctor, while he does not have a doctorate. When I said to someone from one of the foreign countries, "He is mister," he said, "Well, he finished high school?" I said, "Well, of course." Then he said, "Well, he is doctor." They have a different idea of these things.
- SS: So everyone likes to get some publicity?
- DL: They like to get publicity.

The World Conference on National Parks

- DL: When we were on our first trip around the world-- just before Dick and the girls and I left on our own family trip--George and I were appointed, under the United Nations, to this post as the secretariat for the first World Conference on National Parks.

Dr. Coolidge made the trip here to discuss with me the people that I should call on during this world trip. He said, "You can't go off on a world trip and not work, you know." This was something he had not anticipated--that we were just about to take a trip and could, therefore, try to round up business for the World Conference eighteen months away. So he gave me a list of people to talk to, and we did cover most of them.

We found that they would say, "Well, we can't go to such a conference. We cannot go there for only one reason." My very easy answer to that was, "But your country, I am sure, is going to be represented at the World's Fair." "Oh, yes. Oh, yes." "Well, then, your country goes to the World's Fair and you go along and go to the conference." Well,

that was fine. That was the World's Fair in Seattle in 1962, and we held the conference in that area for that very reason. We could use the fair and the fair could use us in getting nations involved.

- RL: The reason we took this trip was that Doris had helped to establish the national park system of Thailand. The government of Thailand had asked us if we would like to see the national parks that she had established. We had started out on that trip, and it happened to fit in beautifully with her appointment to head the World Conference on National Parks.
- DL: My husband and my partner, as well as I of course, had said that I was becoming possessive of the Sierra Club Wilderness Conferences. I had had them a long time by 1959. They were my conferences, and when you start thinking of them that way, you had better get someone else and get a fresh look. So they agreed with me that I should not take it on again. The Wilderness Conference had grown from fifty to about a thousand by 1959. It was a huge, huge job. I said all right, "I'll step back." It wasn't very much later, you see, that we were asked to do the World Conference. That conference was fine with George and Dick [laughter.]
- RL: Well, she had the experience, and she did handle the World Conference beautifully. There is a huge amount of protocol in a conference of that kind--to treat the ambassadors properly. There were a lot of interesting amusing incidents that I don't think we have time to get into now.
- DL: Warm friendly things. People to people, forgetting protocol and treating people as people. This is just basic, and it works out the world around. You must treat people as human beings and forget all of the titles and wraps they come in when they come to this kind of situation.

So many of them were frightened. It was particularly true at that First World Conference because the African nations were just coming out of colonialism, just emerging as world figures. They were just beginning to realize that their wild animals

DL: were of value to them alive and not to be shot at. They were fearful, these ambassadors, of saying the wrong things, so they were very proper.

If they came from a French speaking area, they spoke only French. Although I knew they had to know English, they spoke only French. They didn't communicate with those people who didn't communicate with them in French. They were looked upon as snobs. They weren't snobs. They were just human beings being very careful not to disgrace their title or their country.

RL: At the second World Conference, ten years later, we found that we knew about two-thirds of the delegates. If they had been to the first one, they made sure they were coming to the second one, if they were still in office.

THE SIERRA CLUB AND THE BROWER AFFAIR

Dave Brower: the Man and the Dinosaur

Susan Schrepfer: Today we will discuss David R. Brower, his contributions to conservation and the basic difficulties that led up to his leaving the Sierra Club and founding Friends of the Earth.

Richard Leonard: I have at home over thirty-three inches of files on this subject, and I am turning all of those over to Bancroft Library as further detail for anyone who wants to go into it. I do not feel that the details are pertinent, however, in this history of the Sierra Club, because there were charges and countercharges, both ways. The final election in 1969 was highly contested with every effort made to try to influence the voters.

I think that it will have to be historical judgment over a period of maybe twenty years to determine whether it was better for conservation in the long run for Dave to have left the Sierra Club.

It was a very severe test of the survival of the Sierra Club. As I will indicate, it went into extremely difficult financial problems. But four years after Dave left, his strongest supporter, Laurence I. Moss, was elected president of the Sierra Club on May 5th, 1973.

Now, to get to some of the information about Dave. He was born July 1, 1912, in Berkeley, California. He was first listed in Who's Who of America in 1964. He received the honorary degree

RL: of doctor of ecology from the University of San Francisco in 1973, one of the earliest of such degrees ever granted.

The New Yorker in March, 1971, carried a superb series of stories that later were made into a book called Encounters with the Archdruid.^{*} The first incident related in the series was on a trip with Professor Charles Park, a brilliant mining professor at Stanford University, up to the magnificent deposits of copper on Glacier Peak, in one of the most beautiful parts of the wilderness of North America. The Kennecott Copper plans to mine that ore eventually, and it will destroy much of the beauty there. The second story was with respect to a meeting between Dave and Charles Fraser, the developer of Cumberland Island off the coast of Georgia.

The third, and possibly the most outstanding of all, was the dialogue between Dave and Floyd Dominy, the commissioner of Reclamation. The New Yorker had arranged a trip with Dave to each of these locations. In this one they were on a boat trip, floating down the Colorado River, a wild free river below the great Glen Canyon Dam on the Colorado. They debated back and forth as to whether dams should be put on the Colorado River.

All three locations that the New Yorker covered in 1971 have been saved. Cumberland Island and the Colorado were saved by acts of Congress. Cumberland Island was made a part of the national park system. Dams in the Colorado were prohibited by Congress, and it is probable that that portion of the Colorado River below the park will be made either a national monument or part of the park. Bills to that effect are now pending in Congress.

Glacier Peak has been protected, all of it except the mining claim, as an established wilderness area, under the Wilderness Act. Kennecott Copper has

^{*}John McPhee, Encounters with the Archdruid (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1971).

RL: been sufficiently impressed by the desire of the conservationists to protect the beauty of the area that they have, to their credit, refrained from mining in that area, giving time, we hope, for new methods of mining to be developed to take it out underground.

The articles were magnificent in their point and counterpoint. One of these men would give a dollar value, the economic value, of the copper or the river or the island as a subdivision, and Dave would give his side--back and forth.

To my mind, having known Dave for forty years, the quotations from Dave are very accurate. The writer interviewed me for a couple of hours, and the report that he made was completely accurate as to my comments.

Dave joined the Sierra Club, through me as his sponsor, forty years ago. He was mostly interested at the beginning, as I was at that time, in research and instruction of safety in rock-climbing, that is, difficult climbing of extremely high angles. The European theory was that, since one could not hold the fall of the leader, the climbers should get rid of the leader if he fell because he had then violated his duty to the others on the climb. We felt that was wrong and tried our best to teach others how to climb safely. Dave and I have never had a fall in all of our climbing. We did many high angle climbs together with our lives mutually interdependent. In other words, if I had been careless he would have been killed or vice versa, or both of us.

He participated in World War II as a member of the Tenth Mountain Division, the first and only Alpine Division of the United States Army. To show his abilities, he rose from buck private in the beginning to captain of Combat Intelligence in Italy and finally to major of Army Reserve.

Dave was a popular leader of the Sierra Club outings for thirty years. He is an evangelist with great persuasive powers. He is reminiscent of Muir. Life magazine had his picture on the cover with a title, "The Greatest Conservationist of America."

RL: Because of his difficulties with the board of directors of the Sierra Club, many people have forgotten that he was a member of the board of directors for twelve years, from 1941 to 1953. But to his credit, by his own initiative, he resigned from the board of directors when he was appointed, by me as president, as the first permanent executive director of the Sierra Club. He fully agreed to the separation of power between the board as to policy and his position as executive director or administrator of the club.

Dave was at that time superb as an executive and a magnificent conservationist. He stated many times that he had two thousand volunteers on the committees of the Sierra Club to do his work for him and that if he ever got to the point where he tried to do things alone, he would be the only one doing it instead of the two thousand helpers with the broad breadth of experience that he had available at that time.

In 1950, the secretary of the Interior authorized the Bureau of Reclamation to put a bill into Congress to build a dam in the Dinosaur National Monument at Echo Park. I was there with the board of directors of the Wilderness Society one week later. Dave carried the battle for the protection of Dinosaur. The battle started in Congress while I was club president and continued to a victory three years later. It was a national battle for the integrity of the national park system. It was the first congressional battle over national parks since Hetch Hetchy was lost in 1913.

Dave provided hard-hitting leadership. Most of his statements were in the name of the Sierra Club. I pointed out particularly that he was courteous to the opposition, including Senator Watkins of Utah, who, of course, wanted the dam badly for his state. Watkins had initially introduced the legislation for the Echo Park dam in the Senate.

Dave pointed out that the Bureau of Reclamation had made amazing errors in planning. For instance, their evaporation figures were drastically off. Not

RL: a matter of a few percent, but of the order of one or two hundred percent.

Dave showed the effects of high evaporation as a powerful argument against the dams. He used his environmental expertise to demonstrate that the dams were not needed. He did not state that the Bureau of Reclamation was using falsehoods; he did not state that the bureau's men were incompetent. He did not state they were wrong.

The battle was won in 1956 by persuading the sponsors of the entire upper Colorado project of over a billion dollars that if they would put a clause providing for protection for national parks and monuments, then they could have the rest of their dams. This agreement made a switch of so many votes from no to yes that the bill passed by one hundred and twenty votes to provide the series of dams for the use of water in the upper Colorado, but with the provision that no dams or reservoirs should ever adversely affect a national park or national monument.

Metamorphosis of a Conservationist

RL: This success provided a totally new role for the Sierra Club. Brower saw the opportunity and the need to save the world. However, it was not possible immediately so, sad to say, he entered upon a feeling of paranoia. He used to state, rather bitterly, to the board of directors and to others, "The enemy will get me by turning the board of directors against me." By "the enemy" he meant the United States Forest Service, the National Park Service, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. I told him "No one will get you, Dave, but you."

For instance, about 1957 the Forest Service ordered the Inyo National Forest to log a beautiful, scenic area at Mammoth Pass. There large Jeffrey pines were growing on pumice that was only 1200 years old. The growth cycle of the trees was approximately 200 years. If you cut them, it would be 200 years

RL: before you'd ever, ever have another crop. There were great scenic values in the area, but because the Forest Service in Washington ordered every forest to cut a percentage of the total timber, the Inyo National Forest also had to cut that particular amount.

The local people felt that it was so illogical to cut the timber in that area that bribery of the Forest Service had to be the reason that it was being logged. In other words, they charged that the local forest ranger, the forest supervisor, the regional forester in San Francisco, and the chief of the Forest Service were guilty of accepting bribes to log it. The local people worked up an article along this line and gave it to Dave to publish.

Dave--this was fairly early, you see, in 1957--fortunately took it up with me as a member of the executive committee. "Well Dave," I said, "this is libelous if the facts are not true. If the facts ARE true, then it is your duty as an American citizen to present the facts to the United States attorney in Los Angeles and have the Forest Service people indicted for acceptance of bribery. Otherwise, you just cannot publish it in the name of the Sierra Club."

Well, much to my unhappiness, Dave went ahead and published it anyway, but instead of saying, "published by the Sierra Club," he printed on the flyleaf "distributed by the Sierra Club." Of course, to the Forest Service it made no difference at all if it said "published by" or "distributed by," it still was a statement of the Sierra Club implying that the Forest Service officials, clear up to the chief, were guilty of criminal acts relating directly to their duties in managing the forests.

The Forest Service never complained because unfortunately, as I told Dave and maybe I shouldn't have told him, public bodies normally cannot afford to challenge matters of this kind because if you start fighting with a skunk pretty soon you start smelling like a skunk.

Twelve years later in his resignation as executive director he stated his philosophy. "We cannot

- RL: be dilettante and lily-white in our work. Nice Nelly will never make it." In other words, trying to persuade the Forest Service or the Park Service by reasonable arguments, such as he used so very effectively in the fight with the Bureau of Reclamation on the Echo Park dam, he didn't feel was going to work. He felt that he had to be tougher and meaner.
- SS: Did he lose any battles by being "Nice Nelly"? Didn't success with Dinosaur reinforce the earlier approach?
- RL: He seemed to feel, I guess, that he was lucky in winning Dinosaur and that when it came to things like Mammoth Pass he wasn't getting anywhere by being persuasive. I felt, as a lawyer, that that was the wrong way to handle things.

So in 1959, Bestor Robinson, who was also a lawyer, and I proposed a motion to the board of directors which provided in essence that the Sierra Club could be most effective by gathering the facts and analyzing and presenting them with strong arguments in support of the club's position. However, no representative of the club was to make any statements impugning the competence or integrity of any public agency or official, either directly or by reasonable implication. After substantial debate by Brower, the resolution was unanimously adopted.

- SS: Can I ask you a question about this Inyo National Forest crisis? When Brower talked to you, did he lead you to believe that he believed that the Forest Service had actually been guilty of bribery?
- RL: I'm not sure. The difficulty is that Dave agreed with the negative reasoning of the local people that bribery was the only reason that could explain it. In other words, it was so illogical on environmental grounds, and even on the grounds of forestry, that they felt that it had to be bribery in order to explain it. They didn't have any facts for that, because I asked Dave specifically if they had any facts and he said, "Well, they just think they do."

I replied, "Then you've got to take it to the United States attorney and present those facts, and

- RL: if the facts don't add up to a clear case against them, then you shouldn't charge or imply a criminal act. They either add up or they don't." To my mind it was black or white in that way.
- SS: Did he say why he didn't take it to the U.S. attorney?
- RL: No, he just finally said, "Well, they wanted to go ahead with it, and so I went ahead." That's when I brought it to the board of directors, and we passed this resolution that provided that no Sierra Club representative should question the motives or integrity of any public agent or official.

Now, the reason I bring this up this early in this discussion of Dave is because there was a continuing battle for the next ten years over this specific resolution. Dave, over and over again, said that this resolution was not fair and tied his hands and that you couldn't argue against plans of the Park Service or the Forest Service without being violent enough to fire people's imaginations. My philosophy, as I told Dave, was that if you keep on with making criminal charges of that kind, then people will say you are crying wolf.

Another incident, similar to that, involved Dave and Conrad Wirth, director of the National Park Service, at the time that the Park Service wanted to put the new Tioga Road in past Tenaya Lake. Dave insisted that Connie Wirth had lied to Dave about the location of the road, that Connie had agreed to one thing and then the engineers had done another thing with Connie's approval.

I knew Connie very well. And I told Connie, "I know you didn't lie, but I opposed your location of that road, and I support Dave in his argument about that point in the road." The road should not have gone across that Glacial polish. It could have gone down another hundred feet and missed the glacial polish, which was an unusual, beautiful exhibit. Ansel Adams and I tried to get Wirth to avoid Tenaya Lake altogether by going up the canyon behind Polly Dome to the North, through some unknown country that was not very pretty.

RL: Connie to his credit spent \$75,000 for a survey of that route. The survey found that it was technically feasible and not too expensive to avoid Tenaya Lake. But he decided for national park reasons that the people of the United States coming across the continent should have the opportunity to see something as beautiful as Tenaya Lake. I said, "Well, they can go down a side road for two miles to see the lake." Connie said, "No, most people won't do that, and therefore they'll miss that beautiful scene."

Well, I don't object to that kind of a decision that is made on the basis of reasonable judgment as to what is best for the people of the United States and whether everybody should see the lake or not. That is a decision that Wirth had the responsibility and the technical ability to make. I would have objected vigorously if he had made it on the basis of dollars and cents--that it was cheaper to go by way of Tenaya Lake--or if he had never thought about it. But you see, that is my reaction. But Dave's tactics were to charge that Wirth was lying about the detailed route that the road was to go.

SS: Connie couldn't have changed his mind after talking to Dave?

RL: I don't think so. No, I think that it was mostly a matter of misunderstanding that Dave had thought he had convinced Wirth to make the change, and Wirth had probably said, "Well I'll check into it, Dave," or soothing words to that effect. And then, of course, Dave could say, "Well, he was lying to me, for he never intended to look into it," you see, that type of charge of lying. My point is that it was a public charge of a moral wrong and that's not the way to handle a debate.

Martin Litton was one of Dave Brower's foremost supporters on the board of directors. Litton carried that same view, and I think it was his philosophy that encouraged Dave to take this very, oh, demagogic, hysterical, wrong line. At a public meeting of the board of directors with a large audience present, including people from the National Park Service and the Forest Service, Martin Litton charged publicly

- RL: that Newton Drury had destroyed more redwoods than any lumber company ever had. It was, of course, a stupid statement to make. Fortunately, it didn't make much impression because everybody knew that it was so outrageous. But I object very strongly to people making statements like that or to Dave calling the director of the National Park Service a liar in public.
- SS: It seems a lot like the Uncle Tom racial complex, where the man who stands in the middle and attempts to be reasonable is more hated than the racial bigot whom you can simply hate and deal with easily.
- RL: It sure does, because there is nothing you can do about the bigot, but you could try to harm or defeat the reasonable person. Of course, that is exactly what Martin meant, that Drury never called the lumber companies SOB's or all sorts of names for cutting their own timber that they spent their own money for.

Drury feels, and I always have, that private industry has the right to log up to a point where the public is willing to pay to make the area a park. We've had some of them, who have been cooperative. Pacific Lumber Company kept the Avenue of the Giants for forty years without cutting the trees because the league didn't have the money to buy them. The company cut all around the Avenue of the Giants, way up on the slopes where it is hard to log, but they did not cut the magnificent trees on the flats, where it is easiest to log. Of course, they didn't do it for free; [laughter.] they were paid about \$60 a thousand board feet, when it would have been worth maybe a dollar a thousand if they had logged it in the earlier days. But the point is that they did protect the museum pieces until the league had enough money to buy them. But Litton was not of that point of view.

The First Crisis, 1967

RL: There was a continuing struggle with the board of directors, with Dave insisting that the 1959 resolution forbidding him to impugn the integrity of his opposition hampered him too much. The principal struggles over the years were: first, the most effective campaign tactics; second, the finances of the club; third, publication finances.

This culminated when in April, 1967, seven past presidents of the Sierra Club two honorary vice-presidents, a former treasurer, and the chairman of the natural sciences committee, wrote to the Board of Directors of the Sierra Club. This letter charged that Brower had "used biased, emotional, and irresponsible statements in Club correspondence and publications . . . impugned the motives and good faith of public officials . . . and had lost the trust of many key persons both in and out of the Club."* This letter ended with the statement, "Let us not continue to compromise with integrity."

SS: When you listed these things--conservation tactics, club finances, and then publication finances--is that in order of importance?

RL: I feel so, yes. I am going to expand on that later. So these seven presidents were demanding that at the May meeting of the board of directors retake firm control of the policy of the club and its publications. They said that they loved Dave, but that he was no longer right for the club unless strictly controlled.

*To all members of the Board and Council of the Sierra Club from Horace M. Albright, Phil S. Bernays, Harold E. Bradley, Harold E. Crowe, Francis P. Farquhar, Clifford V. Heimbucher, Alexander Hildebrand, Joel H. Hildebrand, Milton Hildebrand, Bestor Robinson, Robert G. Sproul. 28 April 1967. See Appendix D, pp. 444 through 446 .

RL: Brower, in Washington just prior to the meeting, wrote back a very conciliatory letter. He said that he and the board had to get together and work things out, that there were too many important recent accomplishments to be concerned with, such as Grand Canyon.

There was also some very strong support for Dave from all the major chapters at that time. They didn't have any information to the contrary. So on May 5, 1967, on motion by William Siri, seconded by Ansel Adams, and unanimously carried, "the Board reaffirms its determination to vigorously carry on its conservation program as in the past, and confirms its support for David R. Brower its Executive Director."

The Campaign of 1968 and the Brower Board

RL: I feel that the basic difficulty from then on was not Dave, but his overzealous supporters. They were the ones who harmed Dave. In December, 1967, the board of directors by a formal resolution ruled that, "organized campaigning in any form, for any nominee, is contrary to Club policy." However at the next election in April, 1968, by a mail and advertising campaign Brower supporters elected four out of five of their nominees. These included Phil Berry, president only a year later, Luna Leopold, Eliot Porter, and Larry Moss.

They defeated former presidents Nathan Clark and George Marshall. They were defeated by this election campaign that the board had disapproved. So that gave Dave a majority of nine to six on the board of directors, so that he then had control of the board, or his supporters did, actually. I really should say his supporters, because again I emphasize that I am not at all sure that Dave organized these things. I don't believe he did. I think that his supporters did.

SS: Did this campaign utilize an advertising firm?

RL: No. The advertising was in the Bay Chapter publication, a little schedule of hikes. It was a small advertising campaign, plus mail and telephone, but it was the only one. The other nominees were following the orders of the board and did no campaigning. So that campaign changed the board drastically by eliminating two of the former presidents and brought in nine to six majority to support anything that Dave wanted. So that made the next year, 1968, a very difficult one.

At the quarterly directors meeting on September 14, 1968, Adams, Leonard, and Sill presented a motion to dismiss the executive director on the grounds of financial and administrative irresponsibility. The motion was defeated eleven to three without any debate. You notice that I said that Brower had a nine to six majority, but he still [laughter] picked up the additional votes of those who didn't feel that we had enough backing yet to be able to justify to the membership his dismissal.

SS: You didn't believe that you would be able to get it through, did you?

RL: I didn't think so but I felt that we had to start and the interesting thing was that it was without debate. Larry Moss, now president, shut off debate before it started by a motion that debate be closed. That passed on a ten to four vote. They didn't even hear our reasons.

We raised enough of a row over that refusal to debate the evidence that a month later we got five directors to call a special meeting of the board. On October 19, 1968, we had a full trial at which we presented in great detail our reasons as to why Brower should be removed. This was defeated again by a nine to three vote. Lewis Clark and President Wayburn abstained from voting. Leopold was absent.

The minutes of the meeting made it clear that, although we charged attempted secret diversion of royalties to an uncontrolled "discretionary fund" to be spent by Brower, we "were not charging the executive director with an attempt to benefit himself personally. . ." The nine to three decision

RL: of the board clearly found that no attempt had been made by Brower to divert club funds to his personal benefit. But as to our charges of attempted secret diversion to his discretionary fund, financial irresponsibility, and refusal to follow policy set by the board, the resolution simply referred them to a future "committee." That was the reason Ansel, Sill, and I voted against simply sweeping those serious charges "under the rug."

On January 28, 1969, three months later, President Wayburn suspended the financial authority of the executive director because of the ad which Brower had placed in the New York Times, at a very heavy cost, without the knowledge or authority of the president or the board of directors. The ad was suggesting an earth national park. It was an interesting ad, but we were concerned about the fact that the club was losing money heavily at the time, as I will show. It was financial irresponsibility.

On February 8, still with this board of nine to six theoretically in favor of Brower, the board by a vote of seven to six "approves and confirms the action of the president in suspending the financial authority of the executive director." Brower then took leave-of-absence until the election of 1969 in April. Do you have a question?

Compromise Attempt

SS: At the October 19, 1968, meeting there was some discussion of a compromise measure, the creation of a new position. You voted for it, and Brower said that he could live with it. What happened to that effort?

RL: We were talking about a financial vice-president to handle all finances, and Dave could handle the conservation work. Brooks and Berry made a motion to create the position of "administrative vice president" and when that position was filled Brower would be designated "executive vice president." In the vigorous debate that followed, Goldsworthy said that

RL: he understood that Brower could live with the proposal. But the minutes show that Dave argued against the proposal to create the new office. He felt the division of authority between vice-presidents at the same level would create organizational chaos. The motion to establish a new controlling financial officer passed by the lopsided vote of eight to two with only Litton and Moss voting against it in accordance with Brower's adverse views.

Final Defeat within the Club

RL: We were to the point where he had been suspended and took a leave-of-absence to campaign for himself as a director. Again, I feel that this was really the work of Dave's supporters in kind of pushing him or urging him on into fighting the battle more directly, because they nominated Dave by petition for the board of directors and a slate of four to support him.

Now you see this is exactly the opposite of Dave's action in 1953, when he was on the board of directors but resigned because he considered the policy-making and executive positions incompatible. I should make it clear at this point that the positions are not actually incompatible except in so far as policy is concerned. In the Save-the-Redwoods League, President Drury is on the board of directors, and that's true in The Wilderness Society, also.

Although the board was usually nine to six in support of Dave, he still had lost some key votes. Therefore, if he and four close supporters could be elected there would no longer be a problem of voting control. This resulted in a very heavy and bitter campaign, because it was agreed by the board of directors that the prohibition against campaigning wasn't practical and really wasn't American [laughter.]

The board had tried in the 1968 election to keep the club as an old timer's club as it used to be. That had become completely out of date and had gotten us into more trouble, because younger minds had

RL: campaigned and upset the balance of the board of directors when Dave's supporters elected such a heavy majority in 1968. So this next campaign was very heavy and bitter. I won't go into the details because I don't feel they are important, except the basic questions. The records will be at Bancroft Library.

At the election on April 12, 1969, all of the Brower slate were defeated. All five of them. All of the opposing slate, the Concerned Members for Conservation, were elected. Brower himself received only fifty-seven percent of the vote for Ansel Adams and Ed Wayburn. Brower received only seventy-three percent of the lowest vote that elected a director. So you see that Dave's defeat was very severe, changing the probable vote on the board from nine to six in his favor to the reverse of only five still for him.*

How the Presidents Have Been Elected

SS: There was evidently an April 18, 1969, meeting.

RL: No, I don't think there was.

SS: Well, there is a note in the Minute Books, and it says there was such a meeting and that no minutes were kept. Since that is at such a crucial time, just after Brower's leave expired and before the big meeting in May, I was wondering if you could recall.

RL: Oh! That note probably refers to an informal caucus of the newly elected directors at Will Siri's home the evening of April 19. Seven directors were present: Frugé, Leonard, Munger, and Sherwin of

*Randal F. Dickey, Jr., (chairman, Judges of Election) to Phillip Barry (sic) (Phillip Berry, secretary, Sierra Club). 22 April 1969. See Appendix E, pp. 447-48.

RL: Concerned Members for Conservation, plus Berry, Siri, and Wayburn who had supported Brower during most of the previous year and a half. Ansel Adams in Carmel, Paul Brooks in Massachusetts, and Dick Sill in Reno could not attend. We met again at my home on April 23, at Phil Berry's home, and then a caucus of all fifteen directors until 1:00 A.M. of the organization meeting of the board on May 3, 1969.

Brower had forced substantial changes in the membership of the board who then had to plan carefully for serious changes in leadership of the club for its most effective management.

I am including in the appendix a copy of my letter of April 20, 1969, to the CMC directors reporting on the tentative conclusions of the seven directors at the caucus of the evening before.* The letter will be of interest in describing the internal politics of that tense period of several years.

Sierra Club politics were much simpler up to 1946. Colby, LeConte, Huber, and Farquhar simply decided such matters on their own. Presidential leadership progressed in an orderly, almost predictable manner. For instance, those four leaders wanted me to serve as president in 1948. I told them that Lewis Clark was five years my senior on the board and could feel seriously hurt if he were to be bypassed. They felt he was not quite ready to serve as president. So Lewis was elected vice-president, and Farquhar was brought back as president. Lewis studied hard and made a fine president from 1949 to 1951 with Harold Crowe, of Los Angeles, as vice-president. We called it the "Clark-Crowe" administration after the delightful Nutcracker at Timberline. Ansel definitely would not accept the burdens of the presidency. So, in 1953, with seniority and southern California protocol out of the way, I accepted nomination as president.

*Richard M. Leonard to CMC Directors, 20 April 1969. See Appendix F, pp. 449-50.

The Resignation of David R. Brower

RL: The May 3rd, 1969, organization meeting of the board of directors was described by the New Yorker fully and accurately. Everything he reported was completely accurate, and it was fascinating to me to see how observing he was.

Dave knew that the board was ten to five against him, and therefore he offered his resignation as a courtesy. Litton and Goldsworthy introduced a motion to reject the resignation. That was defeated ten to five. Then Siri made a very lengthy motion to accept the resignation of the executive director. Voting for the motion to accept the resignation were ten directors: Adams, Berry, Brooks, Frugé, Leonard, Munger, Sherwin, Sill, Siri, and Wayburn. Voting against the motion and in favor of Brower were five directors: Goldsworthy, Leopold, Litton, Moss and Porter. Then upon a motion by Moss, now president, seconded by Leonard, the following resolution was adopted:

Dave Brower has served the club with dedication and brilliance first as a director and then since 1952 as Executive Director. More than any other person he has involved the public in our fight to preserve a livable world. He has pioneered in the effective use of films, Exhibit Format Books, paperbacks, posters, full page newspaper ads and other of the mass media. He has sought to expand the concerns of the club to include all of the environment. Dave Brower has been a leader. He has tried to bring along those who have lagged behind, not always with success. And now his role in club affairs must diminish. We are saddened by this prospect. We wish him well in his new efforts to save and restore the quality of our environment. We salute David Brower and wish him to know that his unique contribution to the Sierra Club is appreciated.

Brower's New Organizations

RL: Dave then founded a new organization, which he called by a very charming name, Friends of the Earth. This was founded as a New York corporation in July, 1969. Doris and I joined as charter members. It is rather interesting that Dave's acronym is FOE. Because, he said, it was a foe of all those who wanted to harm the environment.

FOE has local organizations throughout the world, usually local corporations in the language of the local country. In England, France, Sweden, Germany, Holland, Yugoslavia, Ireland, South Africa, and Kenya.

From his experience in the Sierra Club, Dave set up the new organization deliberately as non-tax-deductible so that it would be fully free to lobby. I don't believe I have mentioned anywhere that Dave was fully authorized by the board of directors to risk the tax-deductibility of the Sierra Club in 1966.

SS: Yes, you did.

RL: I covered that earlier, on the Colorado matter?

SS: Yes.

RL: Because it's important here, you see. He had learned after the club lost its deductibility--Dave was the executive director for three years more--that he was much freer to try as hard as possible to be substantially effective in lobbying.

He also organized, with a rather interesting name and purpose, the League of Conservation Voters. This name, of course, is kind of plagiarized from the League of Women Voters. It has attempted to influence the actual election campaigns of members of Congress who are particularly bad or particularly good for the environment. In the 1972 election they went into sixty-six contests and won forty-four. Of course, you can't say that they alone accomplished all that, but still they did have an effect.

RL: The one they were after the most vigorously was Congressman Aspinall, chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the House. Aspinall had opposed a great many conservation measures. They were able to lick him in the primary after more than twenty years seniority.

 Then Dave went ahead still further, and set up the Friends of the Earth Foundation, which was granted full tax-deductibility by the Internal Revenue Service in September, 1972. Most of his Sierra Club staff went with Dave, and most of them are still there.

 FOE is an activist organization. They hold many press conferences. They joined with The Wilderness Society in a suit to block the building of the Alaska pipeline. They have been completely successful in that, all the way to the Supreme Court of the United States. They have stopped the pipeline for four full years. I am telling this in October, 1973, when Congress hasn't yet resolved the differences between the House and Senate bills for the pipeline and while the injunction by the court still stands. If Congress finally decides that the Environmental Protection Act has been complied with, the court still has to decide whether Congress can make such a decision.

 The Friends of the Earth also sued the Bureau of Reclamation and the secretary of the Interior to enforce the provision in the 1956 Upper Colorado Project that no dam or reservoir, such as Lake Powell, could adversely affect a national monument. Well, the water is already backing up in to the Rainbow Bridge National Monument.

 The trial judge in Utah held that the act of Congress in 1956 meant exactly what it said, that the lake should be kept low enough so it wouldn't go into the monument or that a dam should be built to keep the water from going into it. The court of appeals however, held that the fact that Congress had refused for sixteen years to appropriate the money for the protection of the monument meant that Congress had implicitly amended the 1956 act. I

RL: think that the appellate court was wrong on that. I feel that the Supreme Court will probably reverse the decision. It was going on up to the Supreme Court now. [Editorial note: In 1974 the Supreme Court declined to review the appellate decision.]

Well, FOE and Dave Brower have done an immense amount of good. Neither has criticized the Sierra Club in anyway or opposed it in any of the campaigns throughout this entire period of four years. In an interview with Brower published in the April, 1973, issue of the Environmental Quality Magazine, Dave stated that, "The Sierra Club since I left has grown faster than when I was there. It is very good, a very powerful conservation influence, particularly in litigation; and Friends of the Earth has occupied its own niche quite well."*

In the earlier years with Dave as executive director, Ansel was his strongest supporter. He felt that Dave's ideas and financial policies could not harm in anyway. Ansel's early powerful affection and support for Dave has now become extremely bitter. I mention that because I never got up quite so high, and so now I haven't gotten down quite so depressed as Ansel about it. But I have always admired Dave's creative ability and I still do.

Dave has always needed financial control, and he still does. [Editorial note: FOE was \$179,000 in the red in 1973.] I tried for sixteen years to provide financial support and control for Dave. Since the board of directors had the legal authority it could, in 1967, have tightened the financial controls instead of firing Brower as the seven former presidents had suggested. But the improper election in 1968 ousted two of the former

*Charles N. Conconi, "An Interview with David Brower, Founder of the Friends of the Earth," Environmental Quality IV, no. 4 (April 1973): 19-26, 69.

RL: presidents and gave Dave a nine to six majority on the board. So in September of 1968, I voted for his dismissal.

Perspective: Continued Financial Crisis

RL: I'd like to give some broader perspective as to financial conditions before and after Dave's dismissal or resignation. Details, as I said, are in the thirty-three inches of files that I am turning over to Bancroft. As an example of the before and after problems, there were three principal charges at the October, 1968, trial of Brower by Adams, Leonard, and Sill before the board of directors.

First was the attempted secret diversion of royalties. This attempt was not to provide money for Brower but to an uncontrollable discretionary fund, the diversion not being known to or authorized by the board. I stated at the trial and then in the New Yorker interview that, knowing Dave as well as I did, that I was sure that no Sierra Club money had ever wrongfully been taken by Brower. He lived high on travel and entertainment expense accounts, but he never took money for personal use.

After he left the Sierra Club, he apparently cleared this matter of royalties with Friends of the Earth in advance. Because the October, 1973, issue of its monthly paper, Not Man Apart, stated, "Mr. Brower's overseas travel expenses are not paid by FOE, but by Mr. Brower's personal income largely derived from lectures honoraria and royalties."

The second charge against Dave was the heavy publication losses. In the four years from 1965 through 1968, Brower lost approximately \$60,000 a year. This brought the board of directors to a financial crisis. But the reason I mention it here is that in the three years after Brower left the Sierra Club lost \$150,000 per year on publications. Two and a half times Dave Brower's rate of loss. So the publication losses under new management are not

- RL: reduced at all. Some of the continuing losses were the result of Brower's methods and commitments. Moreover, the unlimited "International Series" of exhibit format books demanded by Brower could have brought bankruptcy.
- SS: What are the causes of the financial crisis then? They must be deeper?
- RL: Good, you've stated an excellent question. That is what I am coming to.

The third charge was financial irresponsibility, the serious overall losses in the finances of the Sierra Club. In 1967 and 1968, the two years just before Dave left, he lost over \$100,000 per year-- maybe we shouldn't say he lost, the Sierra Club lost it. But in the three years after Dave left the losses were \$200,000 per year, approximately twice as much as they were during Brower's time.*

On March 31, 1972, at the half year, the Sierra Club was at its all time financial low, the lowest in its eighty year history, with \$286,700 more debts than assets. So it was truly bankrupt, as I had charged in October, 1968, could happen if the losses continued. The details of the Sierra Club finances are given in the tables in the appendix.**

I cite the above, not to blame or to excuse Dave Brower, nor to blame the new management that took over, but to show the trend of losses that forced the board of directors to take full financial control in May, 1969. There were many reasons for the heavier losses under the new management. First were the Brower

*Sierra Club Finances Before and After Resignation of Brower; Sierra Club Publications Before and After Resignation of Brower. See Appendices G and H, pp. 451-452.

** Sierra Club Finances; Richard M. Leonard to Sierra Club Board of Directors, 18 February 1972. See Appendices I and J, pp. 453-59.

- RL: commitments and the rate of expense in prior years. Second was the competition with Brower so as not to be charged with being "soft" on environmental matters.
- SS: Was it the staff who stayed who worried about being charged?
- RL: Yes. Particularly Phil Berry, who was a great admirer of Dave's who split principally because of the royalty question. Berry felt that he had to go ahead with the very vigorous program because Dave's principal argument in the election was that the new management was going to be soft and save dollars instead of the environment. Berry didn't dare allow that charge to be substantiated by not going ahead as vigorously as Dave had.
- SS: McCloskey must have been in agreement with Berry on this?
- RL: Yes. Unfortunately, I felt, both McCloskey, Berry, and Sherwin believed they had to be just as mean as Dave in the type of statements and the approaches they made.
- SS: They must have believed that it was the right approach, too.
- RL: Yes, I think that they did. I still do not believe that it is the correct approach.

The third item in the list of why the losses continued under the new management was that the income budget for the fiscal year ending in September, 1971, was based upon the proven average membership growth of twenty-five percent per year for the previous eight years. In fact, the year of Earth Day, 1970, the Sierra Club had a growth of thirty-two percent.

This is amazing, as a sideline, that the Sierra Club argues so vigorously and rather meanly for zero population growth, zero energy growth, zero oil growth, zero automobile growth--all zero--except twenty-five percent planned growth for the Sierra Club.

RL: So the budget was based upon that growth rate. The expenses in 1971 were budgeted at one million dollars more than they were in 1970, the year after Dave. The income for 1971 was \$450,000 more than in 1970, but since the expense for vigorous conservation work was a million dollars more, there was a \$550,000 deficit as compared to the year before.

The computer has ruined more small companies that haven't had the financial strength to take care of the period of six months to two years that often occurs in working out the bugs in a particular application. Many companies have gone bankrupt. The Sierra Club almost did, because the computer got as far as six months behind in reporting to the controller and the directors about the leveling off in the number of members and income coming into the club. Although the club had twenty-five percent annual growth in the eight years prior to 1971, in that year growth was only a little more than three percent, dropping to two percent in 1973.

At the same time, however, the Friends of the Earth also lost members between 1970 and 1971. So did the National Parks Association. But it was not a complete environmental backlash, as so many have said, because The Wilderness Society gained about ten or fifteen percent in 1971 and so did the Save-the-Redwoods League.

But the Sierra Club came out with zero growth, which they maybe should have, [laughter], instead of a twenty-five percent growth in income. But the computer didn't show it! It didn't even show that the income was dropping off. Those were the reasons that the Sierra Club went \$286,700 below zero at March 31, 1972, less than three years after Dave resigned as executive director.

SS: Now, what happened after Brower left was the result of either forces that were larger than him or his continued influence through Berry and the others who were acting out what they had learned from Brower.

RL: It's a combination of both. As I have indicated, when you have a staff of a certain size and programs going on with regional representatives and offices

RL: in various parts of the country helping the volunteers, it's hard to cut back.

If you do cut back then you are simply answering Dave's charges by confirming them--that the Sierra Club is going soft, it's retrenching, it's giving up the battle against the environment. Berry just philosophically could not do that.

I was on the board at that time and made the mistake of feeling, as the rest of the directors did that, if we had this twenty-five percent additional income, we could continue with what we thought was about a fifteen percent increase in the various programs and thus had plenty of leeway. Furthermore, we had computer service which should tell us instantly what changes were occurring. It didn't work out. On hindsight, I guess, we should have kept hand figures concurrently with the computer for a long time to be sure that the computer was actually taking over accurately. To his credit, the hand figures of Cliff Rudden, the controller, finally proved the computer to be wrong.

The Ideology of Preservation

SS: I have a question to ask, and I suppose you have been asked it many times. You agree, I gather, that Dave was largely responsible for saving the Grand Canyon.

RL: Yes.

SS: You obviously objected to his approach as well, but isn't it perhaps worthwhile and necessary that rules be broken in order to save the Grand Canyon?

RL: That was exactly Dave's very sincere feeling. I agree that he felt that the Grand Canyon was more important than the Sierra Club itself, more important than his own career. Of course, after the board's decision in 1959 that we weren't to call names anymore, he realized that eventually he would come into conflict, that he couldn't win, and that he would be out.

RL: I believe he deliberately risked the tax deductibility of the Sierra Club, as he was authorized to do; he risked his own reputation; and he risked the club's reputation to save the Grand Canyon. He got quite strident in the campaign. He had some fantastic and successful ads, such as the one of flooding the Sistine Chapel, which made many people extremely angry. As a director, I got more criticism of that ad than anything else Dave did, but I don't feel so badly about it as the people who criticized me for it.

You see, I am in the interesting position even today of catching hell from influential people throughout the country for what the Sierra Club does. They can't write Brower or Sherwin or Moss and get any sympathy. But at least they hope that they can get some sympathy out of me.

Usually I sympathize with them. But on that Sistine Chapel ad, for instance, they complained bitterly that it was stupid to imply that the Grand Canyon was going to be filled four thousand feet deep. I said, "Of course, not. It was just a figure of speech. You talk about how wonderful that reservoir is going to look from the top. How would it look if you flooded something as holy as the Sistine Chapel. Dave felt most sincerely that the Grand Canyon was just as sacred."

I have had bitter criticism from the redwood lumber people and the forestry professors, too, about the book that Dave called The Last Redwoods. They tell me, "Dick, these are not the last redwoods, the redwoods are going to be here forever!" I replied, "Of course, there will be redwoods, but not the huge scenic redwoods in private hands that are not yet protected." I said the adjective "last" is completely correct in that sense, that is the way it was intended, and that is the way it looks to most people who read it. We are concerned with the people who read it, not a technical forester who may interpret it to mean whether or not there is going to be a ten inch redwood planted a thousand years from now. It is that type of criticism that comes up. I don't remember anything of Dave's in the Grand

RL: Canyon campaign, though, that I ever felt was really false.

I do remember the exchange that you probably ran across between Morris Udall, the congressman from Arizona, and Brower. Udall had been, in general, a good conservationist, and we still consider him so today. He is sponsoring one of our bills to add this area threatened by dams into the Grand Canyon National Park. (By the way, Senator Goldwater of Arizona is also sponsoring this.) But Udall felt very badly when Dave, in one of his fits of impatience, blasted Udall unmercifully, because Udall, as a politician elected in Arizona, couldn't agree fully with all of Dave's adjectives and all of Dave's statements.

SS: So when you said that one of the issues that you opposed Dave on was that of conservation tactics, you were referring to the Nipomo Dunes crisis and his dealings with federal agents such as Udall rather than the ads for the Grand Canyon or the book on the redwoods. Perhaps you are referring, in a position sense, however, to relations between the Sierra Club and the league.

RL: I always felt badly about the relationship between the Sierra Club and the Save-the-Redwoods League on the Redwood National Park. I don't believe that differences in conservation tactics between the club and the league are solved even today. I think they are still just as far apart, and it's going to come up in the later sessions of Congress because the league is not in agreement with the Sierra Club. The Sierra Club wants to get into certain litigation and the league has refused to join. This is litigation to try to force the secretary of the Interior to exercise discretionary power that was granted to him by the act of Congress to protect the Redwood National Park. But the league hasn't felt that is the way to accomplish it.

I find it very difficult to judge Dave adversely just on the extremism of his statements. You see, Litton can do much worse, and I have already commented that Sherwin, Berry, and Moss follow that abrasive philosophy, too.

RL: I will say this. Russell Train is formerly the chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, former president of the Conservation Foundation, and now the administrator of the Environmental Quality Administration. Train made this comment, "Thank God for Dave Brower. He makes it so easy for the rest of us to be reasonable. Somebody has to be a little extreme. Dave is a little hairy at times, but you do need somebody riding out there in front."

The Izaak Walton League, about ten years earlier, made that same comment in their publication. They said that he made the Izaak Walton League look so reasonable. As a lawyer I know that if you are expecting to get \$100,000 you had better ask for \$300,000 or \$500,000 [laughter.]

SS: Then it was really the combination of financial problems with the question of tactics; I mean, if the club had not been losing money would you have opposed Brower?

RL: The majority of the board finally concluded that Dave was completely uncontrollable. That's what Ansel, Sill, and I had charged. I think that others felt even more strongly than I, opposed to Dave's tactics of conservation, but they also felt that the finances were uncontrollable.

When we gave him direct orders not to spend money except by budget, he went out and put that ad in the New York Times on the Earth National Park. That was the final straw that made us realize that he could not be controlled.

Then again, I feel that it was Dave's supporters who harmed him by putting him up for election to the board with the implication that with election of his slate of five he was going to take over the board of directors and would then have complete control of the club. We felt emotionally, but sincerely, that if he did win the election, he would be the first paid president of the Sierra Club. Then it would operate forever after with Dave as president so long as he was effective and able to keep the board behind him.

RL: You see, after Ansel, Sill, and I had made those charges--which then brought the problems to all the members so that they understood them better--we were not in control any longer as to ousting Dave. He was in control with his 1968 majority of nine to six. I suppose that in May, 1969, when it was clear that we had a ten to five majority, we could then have relaxed and felt that Dave was controllable. The difficulty with our feeling with that was that only four months earlier he had published that expensive ad without approval, even when he had been forbidden to do so. So our having control of the president and the board in 1969 didn't really accomplish anything as to control of Brower.

It has been an extremely unhappy period, from 1959 on. The only reason for that 1959 resolution was because there was such a strong difference of opinion between Brower and the board as to what was the most effective way to conduct conservation affairs. And then all of us tended to be rather conservative financially. But Dave had built up to a high net worth, as those figures show, of about \$560,000 in 1966 under his administration.* So he had handled the financial affairs very well in the early days. And, as I indicated, in the Dinosaur campaign he was totally courteous to the Bureau of Reclamation and to Senator Butler, and he still won the battle.

SS: Let me ask you a question, perhaps you can't answer, about what you think was going on in Brower's head. At a meeting during the crisis over Brower's international program, in December of 1968, there's an exchange where Brower explained why he had opened the London office. He remarked that the executive committee at its meeting in March had authorized the establishment of a separate Sierra Club entity in London and that this entity could be used as a tool to forward the program. Wayburn stated that no such authorization had been given. Now obviously these men were not looking at the same thing at all.

*Sierra Club Finances, Appendix I, p. 453

RL: That was one of our ideological difficulties. Dave felt that when he had received authority to accept a gift of \$70,000 to assist in financing two volumes on the Galapagos Islands that he then had authority to take all subsequent steps. The gift was in blocked sterling, which meant that it had to be spent in sterling countries and could not be returned to the United States. When he was authorized to accept that gift, that meant to Dave that he was authorized to set up a corporation over there because only a British corporation could accept the blocked sterling. He then needed, and established, a London office complete with staff to publish the books in London. With all that extra expense and Dave's frequent trips to Europe, the Galapagos books came out with a loss of \$29,000.

One of the great difficulties between the board and Dave was that Dave bragged to the board of directors that the books would never have been published if he had not gone ahead without authorization and borrowed \$10,000 from Director Eliot Porter to send Porter and some of the other photographers down to the Galapagos, even though the publications committee had forbidden work on the project. Dave said that many projects of the Sierra Club would not have gone through if he had not forced them through.

Which, again, gets back to your question about the Grand Canyon. Dave felt that the importance of getting a series of books out on such a magnificent environmental area as the Galapagos was worth risking his relationships with the board of directors and worth risking a financial loss.

Dave told the board that the money had always come in and always would and that he didn't see what we were worried about. We were worried more about the trend, you see, where he had built up to the \$560,000 net worth and that was dropping off at \$100,000 a year at the time that we finally came to the showdown.

SS: So you think that he consciously knew that he was violating the rules but felt that the end justified the means?

RL: Yes, he frequently followed that policy.

SS: You must have had, over the years, personal encounters with Brower where you discussed the situation. Do any of these discussions stand out in your mind?

RL: No. I don't think that we ever discussed them personally except at board meetings. Dave used to be in our home constantly from 1934 till about 1957, and we were very close. Dave was extremely generous with praise. He used to tell the board of directors with great praise how much money Dick Leonard had given to the Sierra Club by his free legal work. Dave was very proud of what I was doing and was very generous with his statements, and I was very proud of Dave. We worked together magnificently all the way through the Dinosaur campaign, as I indicated earlier.

I believe Dave changed. He felt that he had won the first major national battle against the Bureau of Reclamation, had protected the national parks of the nation, and could go on to do all the other things that ought to be done. And, of course, as I used to tell him, the amount of good that needs to be accomplished is absolutely unlimited. So you have to decide what your finances and your time will permit.

But Dave's weakness was that he was unable to budget either finances or time. He was always trying to accomplish too much. Thus many important matters were never completed on time. Dave frequently traveled to New York and London. It was not only the expense of the trips, which was not too bad, but the fact that he was gone for long periods of time. The club at that time did not have a large enough organization to be able to have someone almost as capable as Brower to handle things while he was gone. So often things would not get done if he were gone.

Brower's Publication Program

RL: The Galapagos books, for instance, were delayed. Every bulletin was delayed around three months. I tried to get him on schedule, but he'd never catch up. The same with the books for sale for Christmas. All books have to be in final print usually by August 1st or September so that they can be shipped to the bookstores throughout the country to get the Christmas trade, especially a big \$25 exhibit format book. He delayed the Galapagos books, and they became available in London about the first of December. So he had to ship four thousand of them by air from London to New York and San Francisco in mid-December.

Things like that I don't think were really so much bad financial management as they were bad management of his ability. He could not do everything at once, but he would try to. The losses in time, and the frequent financial losses, were not important to Dave compared with his admirable goal of perfection in the book.

Dave would never allow anything to be delegated. For instance, at one period, the Southern California Chapter proposed an amendment to the bylaws to require all applicants for membership to sign a non-communist oath that the applicant was not and never had been a member of the Communist Party.

SS: That was in the 1950s.

RL: Yes. Of course, essentially all of us on the board and Dave were strongly opposed to it, and it was defeated quite severely. But we darn near missed the timing for the ballot because Dave was off on travels and without our knowledge had required that the material, which Lewis Clark as the secretary of the club had responsibility for, be sent to Dave, and Dave did not have time to take care of it. The result was that we almost didn't get the ballot material out to the members on time to vote on, simply because even a little thing like working up the final details of the presentation of a ballot could not be handled unless Dave personally saw it and personally okayed the final proof. Furthermore,

- RL: Dave changed some of it, which made Lewis unhappy because Lewis as secretary had the responsibility to provide the wording.
- SS: Getting back to the Galapagos books as well as all the Exhibit Format books. Was the publication of those books an effective use of that quantity of money?
- RL: Yes, I think it was. They lost very heavily, but as I pointed out a few moments ago, the publication program after Dave with very few Exhibit Format books lost even more heavily. I have had a running argument with the publications department and the board of directors for a great many years on this. I gave you some of the material and detail on it. It should not be included in the text here because it is too much detail and part of it is confused by the question of overhead.*

During the ten years period when the publications program lost \$800,000, from 1963 through 1972, they also were charged \$800,000 for overhead. So they claim they had not lost any money at all because it was all that doggone head office that was causing the \$800,000 loss.

Well, if the publications committee didn't pay its share, then some other part of the club had to pay it; the overhead expense had to be paid. Those arguments are, in essence, questions of accounting principles, that is, allocation of expense. Except for those arguments, however, I think that the books brought the Sierra Club more publicity and more favorable notice than anything that the club did. They were well worthwhile for that purpose.

My principal arguments to the board, in the two or three times that I proposed that they set up a separate book publication corporation was that we would then have a clear financial picture of how much it was costing us. Because I had to dig these figures

*Sierra Club Publications Before and After Resignation of Brower. See Appendix G, p. 451.

RL: out of the financial reports with a great deal of effort, and most of the board didn't know that the publications were losing that much until I brought it up. So I felt that if the publications were worth \$800,000, we ought to know it, and we ought to know that it was costing us \$800,000.

Based on the trend when Dave was losing \$100,000 a year in overall finances and \$60,000 a year in publications, I could see that club finances were going to go down below zero. It went even more rapidly after Dave left, down to \$286,700 below zero.

The only reason the club did not go bankrupt at that time was because a friend of the club loaned \$100,000 personally to the club and the bank loaned really more than they had a right to under banking regulations. I was attorney for the superintendent of banks for four years so I know what banking requirements are. The bank was unusually kind to the Sierra Club during that period.

SS: Do you want to put in the bank's name?

RL: No.

SS: Wouldn't that be a matter of public record?

RL: No, but even if it were I don't think that it ought to be mentioned because of a possible violation of bank rules. But it carried the club through.

People often wonder, if you quote \$250,000 in the red, "How did the Sierra Club survive?" Well, in the next year club finances improved \$400,000 in only twelve months. But of that \$400,000, \$340,000 of it was nonrecurring.

Silver medals of all sorts of things like Presidents, endangered species, birds, and so forth seem to be quite the fad nowadays. Longine made so much money from silver medallions of endangered species of wildlife that they gave the Sierra Club \$179,000 for "expert advice." Phil Berry voted against it all the way through because of the use of the Sierra Club name for commercial purposes.

- RL: Another \$110,000 was a bequest to the Sierra Club in that year. In a legal settlement with the harmful computer firm a \$50,000 reserve was not needed. So the above items total \$340,000 which was just kind of lucky.
- SS: The reason I asked about the publications was that Phil Berry charged that the publications weren't worth it, that Brower took the money away from the conservation committee.
- RL: He definitely took \$800,000 away from the conservation activities of the chapters and the regional representatives. Since Brower left, the club has probably doubled the number of offices throughout the country and the number of staff people.

The Role of Volunteerism

- SS: Would you agree or disagree that one of the more fundamental issues behind the Brower affair was the question of club centralization in Brower and the San Francisco staff versus decentralization?
- RL: That was the strongest point that won the election against Brower. Brower was arguing for a personalized organization, as Friends of the Earth pretty much is. Friends of the Earth is now establishing some chapters, but they are kind of fuzzy in my mind, as a member. I don't know what support they have or whether the chapter members really get together like they do in the Sierra Club chapters or not. The fear was that Dave would be the paid president of the Sierra Club and would never change and that because he had a large staff to run things, the volunteers would be left out.
- SS: You quoted Brower earlier in our discussion a number of times to the effect that he had two thousand volunteers.
- RL: Yes.

- SS: You said what ultimately happened was that he tried to do everything himself. Did the involvement of the volunteers in the club actually decline in the late fifties?
- RL: No it did not. In fact it increased to the point where the deciding factor in the 1969 election was that the active members were strong enough so that they could and did vote him out by a very heavy margin.

Then the real test came up, as you probably remember, two years later. Phil Berry had been president for two years and had worked so well with Mike McCloskey, that Dick Leonard and the rest of the board of directors naively thought that, if everything was so successful with Phil Berry serving the club only half the time, wouldn't it be extra good if he were the full-time president. Yet you can see that, ideologically, it was the exact opposite of what we had been arguing for in the 1969 elections two years earlier.

The board of directors was opposed very severely by the chapters. Around thirty of the chapters took the trouble to attend the May, 1971, organization meeting at which that was proposed. We had to postpone the proposal for a paid president until a special meeting in late June. At that meeting, it was made very clear that the chapters were in control of the Sierra Club, that the members were in control of the chapters. They insisted upon primarily volunteer effort with a minimum of staff help.

That is coming to another test, I believe, under Larry Moss. Larry was one of Dave's nominees to the 1968 board, and he has always been for a strong staff position. I know that Sherman and others are now quite disturbed. They feel that the club is being run too much by staff and that the volunteers are not being given proper attention.

The real question as to whether or not volunteers are given enough attention relates strangely to whether they are given enough staff assistance at the volunteer level so that the volunteers can be

- RL: more effective. Since volunteers have only so much time per week to devote to it, even at the local level, say in Chicago or in Phoenix, you need somebody to keep things going during the week and to write the principal letters, arrange meetings, and all sorts of things. So under Berry and Sherwin the regional offices were expanded and the money that had previously gone into the Exhibit Format book now went to facilitate volunteer work. But we still lost as much on "Battle Books" and other publications.
- SS: So it's professionalism versus volunteerism and centralization versus decentralization.
- RL: That's a good way of putting it. I think professionalism is a better term than staff.
- SS: And undoubtedly there was an element of the clash of ambitions and possibly jealousy, no? Maybe the media played the staff up?
- RL: Yes. That could be. The media took part very vigorously in the 1969 campaign, as you will see in the files that I will send over to Bancroft Library.
- SS: We have discussed what made you oppose Brower. I was going to ask you next what you think swung the membership. Evidently there was a strong element of localism.
- RL: It was the issue, as you put it, of professionalism versus volunteer control. To my mind that was established so clearly two years later with the matter of Phil Berry as a possible paid president. Volunteer control can not be destroyed at the present time, even if anybody would wish to.

We set up the Sierra Club Council in 1956, originally composed of representatives of the ten chapters existing at the time and representatives of each of the major committees. There are now forty-four chapters as of October, 1973, and the Council is so large that committees have been frozen out, with the approval of the board, so that the committees attend the meetings for coordination but do not vote on issues. The Sierra Club members elect the chapter

RL: executive committees, which in turn elects the person to represent the chapter on the council. You thus have what amounts to a house of representatives within the Sierra Club, and then the board of directors might be considered a senate, with both being elected.

In my mind, the council is going to be just as important as the house of representatives and eventually it will have certain parts of administrative control that will be its exclusive or at least major province. Now I believe that's good. I am very strongly in favor of that. Some of the old-timers in the club felt rather badly about the council taking over so much authority.

I feel that it is inevitable and wise. I think it protects the organization against a take-over in any way, either by professionalism or by some outside agency that might in some way get control of the board. Brower used to fret that the P.G. & E., the Forest Service, or the National Park Service was going to subversively infiltrate and take over the board. It couldn't be done then, and it is impossible now.

Youth, the 1960s, and the Brower Approach

SS: Obviously, what the Sierra Club went through was part of a much broader movement.

RL: Yes.

SS: How do you see this with respect to what the rest of the country went through in the sixties--the anti-war movements, perhaps the hippie movement?

RL: This culminated in the Earth Day of 1970, which was so exciting that the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, and many others gained membership immensely at that time. It was a very good movement; it got Friends of the Earth firmly established.

RL: I feel that FOE has done an excellent job as another warrior in the battle and has not competed with the Sierra Club in any way, either for members or finances. I believe that it is new money that comes to it.

Many very sincere people have felt that there are too many conservation organizations and that we ought to boil it down to just two or three. But I have felt that this was wrong. I told you this with respect to redwoods. There are people who will give money for redwoods who would never give money to the Sierra Club. They will give money to the foundation that they wouldn't give to some other group, Audubon, for instance. So each one has its own appeal for new money. I feel that the money that Dave has been able to raise has been money not available to the Sierra Club.

Rumors are that Dave has raised around a million and a half dollars of new money. But, if so, he has spent more than a million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, for at June 30, 1973, Friends of the Earth was \$279,000 in the red according to FOE's own report. Dave has been writing his members frequently for money, and he has reduced the deficit from \$317,000 at June 30, 1972.*

SS: Do you think that there is any substance to the charge, which some of Brower's supporters made at the time, that there was a generation gap involved, that Brower was leading a youth movement within the club?

RL: I think that could be true. Of course, Dave is only four years younger than I. But, as he said in his interview this April, he is clearly in the next generation. Dave's ideas were young, vigorous, and exciting. He is one of the most appealing evangelists in the conservation movement.

*"Friends of the Earth, Inc., Statement of Assets, Liabilities, and Fund Balance. 30 June 1973 and 1972."

SS: Do you think that being surrounded by younger people and a very active staff shaped his image?

RL: I'm not sure whether it was just from the young staff. I feel that the staff today is probably younger than it was at his time.

But Dave changed. He said at the beginning that he had two thousand volunteers to do his work. But later he was a loner, supported by staff. He definitely changed after the Echo Park victory. The change in Dave was reflected in the fact that only three years later the board had to pass an almost insulting resolution to state, indirectly, that the staff had done badly by impugning the motives of other people.

You can see that was the first time that there had really been a clash between the board and Dave. It came on ideology and not on finances. The ideology battle continued all the way through to the time that the financial problem became severe. I was able to accept most of his ideological views, except some of his actions such as the libel of the Forest Service, which was clearly erroneous.

I spent quite a bit of time defending Dave, such as I mentioned concerning The Last Redwoods. I remember another incident when the regional forester for the states of Washington and Oregon was at the Wilderness Conference. He knew me well. He came up to me and said, "Dick, Dave Brower and the Sierra Club are just plain libelous. They are unfair, look at the picture here."

He had a Sierra Club Bulletin with a picture of a clear-cut forest area and in the background was Mt. Rainier. Dave had pictured the contrast, you see, between the clearcutting and a beautiful forest alongside with Mt. Rainier in the background. The regional forester said, "That is not Forest Service land; it is private land."

Fortunately, I knew enough about forestry and the Mt. Rainier region to know that it was checker-boarded ownership. When the railroad went through, every other section was given to the railroad and then the lumber was sold by the railroad.

RL: So I said, "Well, isn't that next Forest Service section clearcut, too?" He said, "Yes." I said, "What difference does it make which section it is as long as they both look exactly alike? Both of them are clearcut, and there is the national park in the background. I said, "I'm not going to blame Dave. You don't expect us to get a surveyer crew out to determine what is Forest Service and what is private land out of the whole checkerboard of several miles of clearcut land in front of a national park."

 In another case Dave had published a color picture of a beautiful stream coming out of Sequoia National Park and an extremely dirty little side stream coming into it. The text pointed out that the dirty little stream was coming from the Sequoia National Forest and the clear stream was coming from Sequoia National Park.

 The local regional forester here, Charlie Connaughton, jumped on me. He said, "This is outrageous; that is private land that is causing the erosion." I replied, "Well don't you cut your own forest in the same way?" He said, "Yes." "Well allright Charlie, you can't argue about the photograph then. The photograph shows the kind of damage that is coming from logging the forest there. It doesn't matter whether it is private land or Forest Service land. If it is the same type of logging, it is going to produce the same results where the two streams meet."

 I have always defended that strong type of presentation by Dave. I think a strong presentation of the facts is absolutely essential and you have to be hard hitting. Again, in the Dinosaur campaign Dave was extremely effective with very powerful arguments, but they were always on facts and not on the reputation or the motives of the Bureau of Reclamation.

The International Program

- SS: In the final meeting--I don't mean the May, 1969, meeting, but the February, 5, 1969, meeting--the club opposed the International Series on the basis that the bylaws did not provide for such. Do you think that ultimately the directors would have agreed to the International Series?
- RL: I think that they would have, and they have now. Rather ironically I am now vice-president for international affairs. We have amended the articles of incorporation to provide for world-wide international concern. That was forced upon us in part by the decision of the Court of Appeals of the United States in the San Francisco litigation over the Yerba Buena Center.

The Sierra Club entered the suit because as the redevelopment was planned it would have overcrowded the inner-city. The court said that the Sierra Club articles did not permit it be concerned with city matters, because we were only to explore and enjoy the beautiful wilderness. Furthermore, we had no authorization to proceed by litigation. They decided, however, that the other plaintiff in the suit did have that authority. So then they went on with the case. Fortunately, the decision of this high appellate court was rendered one week before the May, 1972, directors meeting and so we amended the bylaws and at the same time provided for international authority.

So a lot of these things are ironic. That is why, in all fairness to Dave, I have pointed out so thoroughly how the financial losses were doubled after he left and how many of the policies with respect to professionalism were carried on much as he would have carried them out.

- SS: Yes. It is almost all the way down the line--his conservation tactics and his international program were furthered, the involvement of youth was strengthened, the publications program was certainly continued, and the issue of total environment involvement was strengthened. When the directors

- SS: refused to approve an international program, what was their reasoning?
- RL: The principal concern was the financial one, which I think is still the only important one. The legal argument, that we didn't have authority under the bylaws, was raised by Phil Berry as a lawyer. I feel that it was more of an excuse, just makeweight to add a little bit more argument to the objection on the financial ground.
- SS: It sounds like an obsession with petty rules when actually Brower did have a brilliant idea.
- RL: It would also justify a charge of too narrow an outlook on the part of the directors, because you cannot really protect the environment of the United States if we can't protect the other parts of the world. Nevertheless, the directors correctly ruled that the club was not then financially able to take on that huge additional losing publications program.

Staff Electioneering

- SS: A question relating to the election, I hope that I am not jumping around too much.
- RL: No.
- SS: August Frugè requested, among other people, that the staff not be allowed to campaign in the final election.
- RL: Yes.
- SS: Did you agree that this was a necessary move?
- RL: We felt that it was morally correct that, with their inside knowledge of a lot of matters and with their full time, they shouldn't be working to keep their boss in office.

Now, I think probably August's point of view, the rest of the directors would agree, was naive,

RL: it was not possible to carry out. It was like our prohibition against electioneering in the first place, in 1968. We would have been better off to acknowledge the fact that everybody ought to have a right to get into the election whether professional or otherwise.

It was very much like the Hatch Act in the federal government, which a federal court recently held unconstitutional. That act prohibited political activity by federal employees. I don't know whether the case will get to the Supreme Court or not. It will probably have to. But I think views are changing as to whether prohibition of electioneering is proper.

People have been worried about the fact that, if you do not prohibit electioneering by the staff, then the staff might be under unfair pressure from the boss to work hard for the election of the boss, even though they feel that the boss isn't doing a good job and that it would be better to have a change. It's that point of view that I think August was referring to.

SS: This must be a continuing problem.

RL: It will go on forever. I think, actually, in Brower's case, though, that the staff was so strongly behind him that it wouldn't be a question of Brower forcing the staff to work for him. They were just doing it with the greatest enthusiasm.

A Matter of Integrity?

SS: There has never been a question of Brower's integrity?

RL: I don't believe so. I have stated that emphatically over and over again, and I will do so right now. I have felt that Dave was completely honest in his convictions when he charged the Forest Service personnel with bribery. He feels all his extreme statements are substantially true.

SS: In essence, if not in fact?

RL: Yes. I feel that he has never taken any Sierra Club funds for personal use.

SS: I have a vague recollection about Ansel Adams being particularly upset about a trip to Frankfort.

RL: I think Ansel's concern there was first, financial and, second, the time involved. Actually, Brower is there this week again and that's what his paper, Not Man Apart, was referring to. He's in London, Frankfort, and Moscow, and they made it clear that FOE is not paying for these trips. Brower is paying for them from his royalties.

The Sierra Club royalties were the principal question of Brower's integrity though. I believe Dave on that, but Ansel Adams, Phil Berry, and Dick Sill did not. Dave had secretly arranged for royalty payments by writing into the book contract, without knowledge of the board, the president, the treasurer, or anybody else, that he was to get a ten percent royalty on the Galapagos books. That would have been about \$5,000, and to have done it secretly just totally destroyed Phil Berry's admiration for Dave.

Since the beginning of Brower's service as executive director, Berry was just as strong for Dave Brower as was Larry Moss or Litton, but Phil swung over completely against Dave because of that one incident. I think it was like Ansel again, where Ansel and Phil were so strongly committed to Dave that, when he did anything that they felt was improper, it hurt them so deeply that they were filled with hatred.

I don't believe I am being either naive or soft in saying that--although I admired Dave immensely and still do--I was never so deeply committed that a charge like this would drive me to the opposite extreme. I still believe Dave when he stated that the money was not to be used for him personally but for his discretionary fund for the benefit of the club.

SS: What about the integrity of some of his supporters, like Eliot Porter?

RL: Eliot was totally honest and committed to Dave's action policies.

SS: Even though Porter made a lot of money?

RL: He did, but I don't see anything wrong with that. I don't think Ansel felt it was wrong either, because Ansel, as a photographer, understood that a photographer has to live by his photos because that is his whole source of income. But others in the club did criticize Eliot. It played a part in the elections. They felt that it was improper for him, as a member of the board of directors, to be receiving money from the organization.

The Sierra Club is more commercial than most other environmental organizations. Take National Audubon, I doubt if there are any of the directors there that receive anything from their own organization. I know that in The Wilderness Society and in the Save-the-Redwoods League there are none.

SS: What was the role of Edgar Wayburn?

RL: Very strange, I felt at the beginning, and many others did, that Ed was too soft on Dave, that he allowed Dave to do things that the rest of us felt very badly about. Then as president he did not force a debate at the September, 1968, meeting on the issue of whether or not the executive director should or should not be fired.

Then, you see, we forced him into such a debate by constitutional means, through the bylaws, by calling a special meeting of the board a month later for that purpose. He responded very bitterly and unfairly in the news media. But when he presided at that meeting he was totally fair. The transcript of that meeting shows he was impartial.

Then, to his credit, just three months later in January, 1969, he suspended Dave's financial powers, and Dave bitterly abused Wayburn publicly. But putting that expensive ad in the New York Times

RL: without even consulting the president was the last straw for Ed.

Wayburn was awfully slow in controlling Brower. But this should be considered to Ed's credit as being careful to give Dave enough rope to hang himself, or at least that the president would not be considered premature in trying to shut him off. Wayburn favors an activist program, but he also favors strong disciplinary control.

A Matter of Finances!

RL: In the continuing contest between Dave Brower as the executive branch of the government of the Sierra Club, you might say, and the board of directors as the Congress, the principal concern of the board of directors was to save the extremely brilliant conservation ability of Dave and his dramatic evangelism and yet keep it within financial control, so the the organization could keep going for the big problems that would arise in the future.

Dave used to say that the money had always come in and always would and that what we save today is all that ever will be saved. I used to point out, yes, but if we had gone bankrupt ten years ago, we wouldn't be here to fight the Grand Canyon and the other battles at this time.

In any event the directors did try to get tighter and tighter control, and in the December, 1969, meeting of the board of directors a resolution was passed which provided in essence that no books or advertising programs could be undertaken without the approval of the publications committee or the president. Partly that was to try to determine that the material was really within the policy of the club and, second, that it was of adequate quality. If Dave was trying to publish a book, for instance, on the Arctic, we wanted to be sure that whoever wrote it had adequate expertise, so that it would be a credit to the club.

SS: Were there ever any problems with that in books that were projected? I noticed that some books were cancelled.

RL: Some were cancelled, but mostly on the grounds of inadequate finances. Maybe the publications committee did reject some for inadequate content, and so they never became a public issue even before the board of directors.

The principal one that was cancelled was the Galapagos Islands project, and that was principally because it was to be a \$55 set--two volumes. It is a marvelous place but so remote that probably ninety-nine percent of the people of America have never heard of it. It was doubtful that people would pay \$55 for a place they have never heard of, whereas they quite probably would pay \$25 for the Arctic or for many places that they had not heard of in order to learn about them. It is a question of degree. So the Galapagos books were prohibited.

Dave went ahead with them anyway. Later he either bragged or confessed, depending upon your point of view, to the publications committee that there would not be many Sierra Club books if he had not used similar leverage in the past, i.e., continuing with a project after being ordered not to. The Galapagos books finally did lose \$29,000 plus the \$79,000 gift.

SS: Won't it eventually make up that?

RL: No. They have all been sold. The Book-of-the Month Club took the last ones.

That resolution as to presidential control was passed by the board in December, 1968, and only a month later, January the 14th, Dave published a magnificent ad on the "Earth National Park" in the New York Times. The ad cost \$10,500 for the newspaper and about \$6,000 to Freeman, Manders, and Gossage, the very brilliant public relations firm in San Francisco that, with Dave Brower's work, made up the text for the ad.

- SS: Can Dave Brower be considered an innovator in the use of professional advertising firms in conservation battles?
- RL: Very definitely. Dave should be and is given very high credit for that, because it has continued to influence the conservation movement ever since.
- SS: Does this change the character of the conservation movement, changing it from a citizens' involvement movement to a more professional one?
- RL: Possibly. It has only been done by Dave's organizations, such as the Sierra Club while he was with it and continuing on after Dave left. For instance, the Sierra Club Foundation financed an ad on Alaska at the time that the eighty million acres were under consideration for park and wildlife reservation by the secretary of the Interior. That ad cost about \$33,000, but it was carefully planned in advance with four of the major conservation organizations of the United States--the Sierra Club, The Wilderness Society, Trout Unlimited, and the National Audubon Society.

This ad carried on an excellent innovation of Dave's, which was to have a whole series of coupons on the side of the page, with two at the bottom making a gift to the Sierra Club and a membership application to help pay for the ad. On the Alaskan ad we got about \$7,000 more in contributions than the ad had cost. Dave had figured, completely in sincerity, that the Earth National Park ad in the New York Times in January, 1969, would bring in more money than it cost. As I said, it cost about \$16,000, and the last figures I had for 1970 indicated that it had brought in maybe \$12,000 towards that. Maybe it cost only about \$4,000 net. So Dave felt that he was justified in making the investment in the ad.

The board of directors, very much like Congress, feels that on matters of policy and risk it did not want substantial expenditures above the budget to be undertaken without consultation. Normally, even with Dave, we worked out a compromise whereby we would publish a book or an ad in maybe a bit more of a conservative way or maybe agreeing totally with Dave that the fight is worth the risk.

RL: But the "Earth National Park" ad was done without authorization. As a result, two weeks later President Wayburn suspended Brower from all financial authority. Dave announced to the press that the president had no power to suspend him. The club's legal committee upheld the president, a special meeting of the board of directors was called to review the matter on February 8, 1969. In the past year Dave had controlled the board; at least about eleven to three would always vote for Dave. But the board concluded,--by a vote of seven to six, the president abstaining--that Dave had deliberately violated the orders of the board in publishing the ad.

One thing that had disturbed the directors was his proposal in the upper right hand corner of the ad for a great international series of one hundred Exhibit Format books. The retail selling price of each book would be about \$25. Twenty thousand copies of one hundred books totals two million copies. The cost, of course, would therefore be in the order of millions of dollars. So that was a very serious risk. On the Galapagos books we spent something over \$200,000, and the loss was \$108,000, including the gift. When you are getting up in the millions, a loss could be so great that the Sierra Club couldn't stand it and would go bankrupt.

SS: I have one question to ask you, if I may quote a sheet that you prepared, dated February 10, 1969. It is entitled, Concerned Members for the Conservation of the Sierra Club. You stated, "Brower takes leave of absence for two months to campaign full time as a candidate. It is understood that he is being well financed by one or more publishers on the east coast who will profit handsomely if they put Brower in command of the Sierra Club." Would you like to elaborate on that a little?

RL: I guess that was a campaign statement based on rumors that we had that Dave had stated that he was going to put out the International Series of Exhibit Format books. It was to be a long series of about a hundred books that he wanted to publish concerning places throughout the earth. Someone in the Atlantic Chapter

RL: had stated to us that this financing seemed to be possible. I'll have to say that I do not know and never had any evidence that any financing was furnished. I don't know that Dave had even been promised any at that time. Looking back on it, it sounds to me like an unsupported campaign statement.

SS: What would the publishers have to gain, his promise of future books?

RL: Yes. That they would get the hundred books of the International Series. That was one of the breaking points, you see. His ad on the Earth National Park was to start the advertising for the series.

SS: Were the publishers actually vying for it to that extent?

RL: I think they were. But then publishers never intend to lose money. The Sierra Club has always had to pay the full costs of publication, and to take the full risk of loss. The publisher of such books has no risk of loss and is always paid full profit on their business of publication.

[Interviewer's Note: At the session following the preceding exchange, Dick Leonard said he had been greatly distressed at the possibility that he had ever made "an unsupported campaign statement." His distress had impelled him to research in the interim to refresh his memory. At the October 23, 1973, session he added the following information regarding campaign financing. In order that the transcribed text remain faithful to the spontaneity of the taped session, he allowed his original response to be retained.]

RL: Immediately prior to the meeting of the board of directors on February 8, 1969, we had received information through the grapevine from the Atlantic Chapter of the Sierra Club that a certain Perry Knowlton had bragged or stated that he had worked out a program for providing advance royalties to Brower on some of the new international books, the hundred books that were to be put out. Advance royalties are often given and can amount to from \$10,000 to \$25,000. That's to keep the author alive

RL: and going while he is writing a book. If a person has sufficient, proven reputation in this field, like Hemingway or Steinbeck, he could get \$100,000 or more in advance royalty. Of course, the publisher often takes out life insurance for that amount, just in case the poor guy gets hit by a truck or has a heart attack before he completes it.

So Tom Jukes was a very active Sierra Club member. He had been the founder of the Atlantic Chapter a number of years ago and was the first chairman of the chapter. He phoned to a friend of his in New Jersey, Bob Shull, and asked him for information about Perry Knowlton. So on February the 7th, the day before the board meeting, Shull wrote air mail to Tom Jukes and said, "Here is as much information as I have been able to get on Knowlton...:" he gave Knowlton's business address as "President, Curtis Brown Ltd., 60 East Fifty Sixth Street, New York, New York. Literary agents for writers."

That was the basis for the statement which I made on February the 10th, summing up "Recent activity of the executive director." I started in with the decision of the board of directors in December, 1968, with respect to the study of new books by the publications committee and the board and the placing of the "Earth National Park" ad. I then stated that, as a result of the confirmation by the board of the suspension by the president, "Brower takes leave of absence for two months to campaign full time as a candidate. (It is understood that he is being well financed by one or more publishers on the east coast, who will profit handsomely if they can put Brower in command of the Sierra Club. His campaign is also being professionally managed, at Sierra Club expense thus far, by the public relations firm of Freeman, Manders, and Gossage, paid \$20,000 a year by the Sierra Club)."

You had asked before we got on the tape, what interest the publishers would have in a book that was as risky as that. Well, the interesting thing is that the publisher gets paid in full by the people who want to publish the book. Say it costs \$12 a volume to produce a book. The Sierra Club pays

RL: that promptly to the publisher. Then over the years the club sells them to bookstores throughout the United States and the world, and the bookstores add their markup and sell it at \$25 retail. So there is not any risk to the publisher; unsold copies are left over or come back to the club.

The Sierra Club has just now had to write off the Sierra Club songbook, which was after Dave and not his fault, but it shows the risk. I don't know how many copies we published, but it doesn't matter. The principle is the same, that they published too many copies, more than could be sold in a reasonable time, and so they had to remainder the rest by selling them at a huge discount of half price or less.

In other words, you don't even get your cost out of it; you get much less than the cost and the difference you have to write off. Of course, publishers who buy the manuscript and actually sell the books have that same risk. But if they are good judges of what the public wants and good judges of writers, then they will have more successes than failures and will be profitable.

It is interesting to compare Sierra Club publications finances with the Sierra Club's outing program. Will Colby, the secretary of the club, started that at the request of John Muir in 1901. We have only had three chairmen in this century. Colby had it for thirty-six years; I had it for seventeen years; and Dr. Kimball had it for the next twenty years. Colby turned over to me \$2,800 in 1936; that was the amount left over on what he had planned as break-even trips for thirty-six years. He didn't intend to make any money on the trips. I didn't either. I just tried to build up a little reserve--five or ten percent of a year's expenses--so that if we lost ten percent we'd be protected. The figures as of March 31, 1973 show that the outing reserve is now \$70,000, and prepaid trip fees total \$318,000.

The reason that I mention this in connection with books is that people paid into the Sierra Club last year between \$800,000 and \$900,000, in advance, before we ever had to spend it for the airlines, the packers, for food, insurance, or any other costs of

RL: the trips. When I was treasurer of the Sierra Club for a few years, I used to take that money and buy U. S. Treasury bills at a high rate of interest so that they would mature one month at a time during the period that I'd have to spend the money, which would be in September and October after the summer trips were over with.

You see, it's a totally different type of risk from publications, because if the people cancel the trip, you give them back their money, but then you don't have that person's expense on the trip. Sometimes you have some reservation fees you have to pay for on the airlines or something. But you don't have the great risk or maybe one-fourth of a publication of books that the club has paid for left over because they won't sell anymore.

Even if you figure you will sell fifty to one hundred slow books a year, it's not good economics to keep them because it costs too much for a small volume of books to do the bookkeeping, accounting, wholesaling, warehousing, and everything else. That's why the policy usually is finally to get rid of them completely.

But Dave did a magnificent job, I think, in getting this newspaper advertising program going. As I pointed out, this type of program has been very successful since then, particularly this year in the Alaskan campaign.

SS: How is it that Brower got Freeman, Manders, and Gossage to do his campaign? Why didn't the advertising firm campaign for the opposition directors?

RL: I've never met any of them, but I've heard many people speak of them with great admiration. I guess they are a liberal, active, and somewhat young group of fellows that have wonderful ideas like those ads. They are the ones, for instance, who with Dave dreamed up the ad about filling the Grand Canyon as though it were the Sistine Chapel. Then they had ads of a similar nature with respect to redwoods. Everyone of them have been extremely shocking ads. The headlines are about two inches high, as they are on the "Earth National Park." They shock you so much

- RL: that you then have to look to see what is going on. A great many people get to the end of the ad and do provide the money, because Dave said repeatedly that it costs money to save the wild places and won't you help. And they have.
- SS: Why did Freeman, Manders, and Gossage go on helping Brower? How did this come about?
- RL: Well, because they sympathized with his point of view. And you see they were still being paid by the Sierra Club on an annual retainer.
- SS: But Brower had been more or less
- RL: Removed.
- SS: Yes.
- RL: He was removed as far as entering into any new contracts were concerned. But what I mean by their managing his campaign was that they would help him write some very striking material that he used in his little publications. They were kind of a small pamphlet.

Those supporting the board also put out similar material that was mostly done by another journalist, Jim McCracken, who has been editor of the Yodeler for a great many years and has been editor of some of the bulletins recently. He edited the Outing Bulletin. I don't know quite what his position is, but he is with the Independent Journal, a newspaper in Richmond, California. It has quite a large circulation. So there were good journalists on both sides.

My point was that Dave's journalists were being paid by the Sierra Club through the retainer fee to Manders, Freeman, and Gossage; whereas our man, Jim McCracken was entirely a volunteer. And everybody else was a volunteer. Most of the money that was raised by the group, Concerned Members for Conservation was raised by appeals to the membership and then spent mostly for address labels, envelopes, postage, printing, and mimeographing. You see, we used 55,000 labels each time we mailed. We had to pay the printing cost, but I put out quite a bit of mimeograph material

- RL: through a public stenographer, which I paid for personally, and it totaled up to about \$1,000 all together. I sent the information out to about 150 key people that we knew would pass it on.
- SS: How did Brower get money? Even though he had the free services of the advertising firm, he must have sustained rather large expenses.
- RL: I've never known what his expenses were. The only place that I know of, as I say, is through the possibility of advance royalties. The international books have come out through Brower. One of the very good new books is Earth and the Great Weather, a strange name. It is of the Arctic and the Brooks Range of Alaska. I have to admire Dave and Kenneth Brower, his eldest son, immensely for this book. Doris and I are very deeply involved in the Arctic and have been up there a lot trying to save ten million acres of wild Arctic land for the caribou on the Canadian side of the nine million acres that have been preserved in Alaska.

In this book Dave and Ken Brower use the writings of Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Knud Rasmussen, and some Eskimo writers. More than sixty years earlier these Arctic people had written excellent accounts of the social organization and life of the Eskimos. So Ken Brower took those, which were in the public domain because the copyrights had run out, and gave credit to the authors. Nobody was reading them anymore because they were so long out of print. You could get them in research libraries but nowhere else.

Accompanying this text were the pictures that Dave was so famous for and which he got from quite a number of different photographers. He produced a big \$25 exhibit format book that is fascinating to read. I read it all the way through and loved it.

With this book Dave has brought forward some excellent writings that are sixty years old and by putting in modern pictures has made them alive again. I think that is a fine contribution to the Arctic.

- SS: So these companies were willing to back Brower, fearing that if he left the Sierra Club permanently, he might not write the books.
- RL: Yes, but he can still write; this book was published by Friends of the Earth. He is planning to go on with this whole one hundred books.
- SS: So they weren't really backing his campaign, but they made money available to him that he could use for his campaign, if he chose to do so.
- RL: Yes. But if he were successful then they would be sure of the fate of future books. There would be less risk. They didn't know, I doubt if Dave even knew, what would happen after he left. He knew he was going to continue in conservation, but he didn't know how. I think the choice of the name Friends of the Earth was exceptionally appropriate. It fits so well into the language of all other nations. I can't speak French, but it's Friends of the Earth in French, in German, and Swahili, and in the language of many other people.
- SS: You mentioned that you opposed Dave primarily on ideological grounds. Would you have opposed Brower if it had not been for the financial difficulties?
- RL: No, I don't feel that I would, and I am sorry if I gave that impression. I have stated many times throughout this interview that I admire immensely, and still do, the creativity of Dave in working out new methods for carrying his message across. He invented something, I think, entirely new and something that actually has not been used by National Audubon or other organizations except the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth.

The National Audubon and The Wilderness Society did join the Sierra Club on the Alaskan ad, but that was only at the request of the Sierra Club and the stimulation of the Sierra Club. The ad was really straight out of Brower, although he was with another organization. Dave's exhibit format books are acknowledged throughout the world to be superb in their quality and beauty, and they were new.

RL: It has saddened me that Dave's books have been somewhat spoiled a bit by cheaper competition from Life magazine, National Geographic, and some of the others that have huge quantities of colored photographs. They put them together with nine-tenths photographs and one-tenth text and sell them in lots of two to five million copies, therefore at a very low price, compared to \$25 for a twenty thousand copy publication. Apparently the Arctic book on the Great Weather is selling well.

I am a charter member of Friends of the Earth. I joined as soon as Dave formed it and wrote him of my appreciation and admiration for what he is doing. Whenever we do meet at conferences Dave and I are cordial to each other. Anne Brower is cordial now, so that I don't feel that we have any ideological animosity. We do differ strongly on alternative sources of future power.

SS: You've mentioned all the way through how much you admire him; how necessary his approach is in maintaining the balance between black and white; that Brower was a victim of forces that were larger than him, and that these forces have been triumphant within the Sierra Club subsequent to his departure. What does that make you think when you look back at the Brower affair? That it was necessary, unavoidable, regrettable?

RL: [Pause.] I suppose that some time in our work together I lost the ability to be able to convince him that my efforts at financial control were not really an indirect way of blocking his ideological point of view. I tried to present that, but, as a father knows with a young teenager and his allowance, it's hard to make the distinction clear to a person. I don't blame Dave for it in the slightest. I have felt very strongly, as your question would tend to imply, that if I had been skillful enough, I should have been able to save Dave for the good work.

Dave and I worked so closely together up to about 1957 or so, that Dave was constantly bragging how much good I was doing with him. While I was club president, all of the pronouncements on the Dinosaur National Monument battle were put out in the name of the

RL: president. In all the battles since then it has always been: Dave Brower saving the Grand Canyon, Dave Brower saving the country. It is no longer the Sierra Club nor the president of the Sierra Club. It became much more personal.

I said at one time that Parkinson's Law finally got to him with respect to his two thousand helpers. He started to try to do it all. After that he became fixed with the idea that he had to save the world. As I said, he became terribly obsessed with almost a paranoia--I don't mean that in a libelous sense of a charge of an infamous disease--he just did fear terribly that P.G. & E., the U.S. Forest Service, and the National Park Service were out to get him because he fought them very bitterly. I did differ with him strongly on that as a matter of the most effective means of accomplishing the end. There is more than one way to skin a cat, and as long as a campaign is ethical I don't object to the language that is used nor the strength of it because that tends to be true on both sides. Somehow we lost our contact.

Then you can see that with Ansel Adams it went so far that Ansel never forgave Dave. Ansel, of course, is much older than Dave. He's, well, not much older. Ansel is seventy-one, born February 20, 1902. Dave is sixty-one, born July 1, 1912--ten years difference. Sometimes it seems like a lot, but I forget that Dave is growing up also. Ansel, you see, got so bitter that he can't go back. I've never gotten that far. But somehow I did get separated from Dave, and I think that is wrong for both of us.

To answer your real question, I'm not so sure that it has been harmful to conservation, because it has given Dave the freedom now to do things the way he would like to. For instance, he may use the royalties and the lecture honoraria for his own personal income, so then he can travel all over the world and do that without having somebody fretting back at home about the finances, except maybe his poor little wife Anne. But she is totally loyal to him, so loyal that she wouldn't talk to Ansel or me for at least two years after our first motion to

RL: dismiss in 1968. Dave always would, but Anne Brower wouldn't. In the past year or so Anne has been cordial, too. Quietly so.

In his new position Dave has created a new fighting organization, a new ally of the Sierra Club. I quoted earlier Dave's statement in the April, 1973, issue of the Environmental Quality Magazine in which he said, in effect, the Sierra Club is a great organization with a very powerful conservation influence. He continued, "Friends of the Earth has occupied its own niche quite well."* The word niche comes from the ecological principle that each living organism has a place where it can be most effective. So Friends of the Earth has fitted into its niche very well and has a place in conservation that no other organization was fulfilling.

SS: It was like the loss of the club's tax status, which seemed catastrophic at the time but actually in the long run was an improvement.

RL: That is an important observation of yours. The Sierra Club board has decided formally that the club will never become tax deductible again under the present tax laws. The directors do not wish to be restrained by interpretations of the very obscure question of what are "substantial" efforts to influence legislation. They want to lobby just as substantially and vigorously as possible. There is no doubt that many times something tragic turns out to be a blessing.

SS: As we talk about the Brower affair, it sounds to me like each man of the opposition--you, Adams, Sill, and Berry--reached the breaking point with Brower at a different moment. Almost like a series of dominoes going down.

*Charles Conconi, "Dave Brower--An Exclusive Interview," Environmental Quality IV, no.4 (April 1973): 19-31.

RL: Almost all of his former friends, every living president of the Sierra Club, turned against him. Most of the rock climbers, the people that he had climbed with, turned against him. Very few people that he had known for more than fifteen or twenty years stayed with him. And yet Doris, my wife, who knows this whole subject as well as I do, has said in advance that she felt that I would be too soft with Brower in this interview. I do not intend to be. I don't feel that is correct history.

We all tried for fifteen years to keep Brower but to get some control over his actions so that he would operate within financially reasonable limits and that he would cooperate with the Park Service and the Forest Service without making public, libelous statements. So it was those things that hurt us. We recognized his good qualities, and that's why this battle continued for so long. It seemed to build up more and more. The more restrictions we placed on Dave, the more efforts he would make to try to get around the restrictions.

SS: It seems like each man in the opposition objected to something different. Berry objected to the royalties. Adams evidently found something at an earlier time that was his breaking point in the issue. You didn't all decide at the same time on the same issue.

RL: No. And often not for the same reasons. But Dave did have a very strong, loyal following of many of the people close to him. I think that maybe that's the difficulty; as you can see, when it came down to the vote of the membership of the club; most people felt Dave had gone too far. And I don't think it is entirely the campaigns on both sides; I don't think that is true even in the presidential campaigns of the nation. The people somehow seem to make their own judgements--wrong judgements lots of times, I think--but their own.

Since 1969

- SS: A lot of Brower's supporters continued to be very active in the club.
- RL: Yes. Most of them did not become disaffected. Hardly any resigned. Even those who are very close to Dave and on his board of directors now are still very active in the Sierra Club. One in particular is Alfred Forsyth, later a regional vice-president of the Sierra Club. [Editorial note: In 1974 he was honored with the very high Colby Award of the Sierra Club.]
- SS: Has there been continuing friction within the club? I know we talked earlier about Adam's and Brower's honorary vice-presidencies. Have there been other incidents betraying continuing friction?
- RL: I think the friction with respect to Brower has about disappeared. I feel though that there is friction building up again, which may go in cycles. It is a continuing contest with those who feel that an organization with a very large paid staff can be more effective than a democracy of a lot of volunteers. It is an age-old argument. Most everyone acknowledges that the dictatorships of the world, theoretically, can be very efficient, though as a practical matter they often are not.

The government of Japan was a dictatorship before World War II. I was on Japanese intelligence in the last year of the war in Burma. One of the reasons we won the war is that, in spite of all the stupid things that we did, the Japanese did much more stupid things. They are a brilliant people, and I admire them immensely, and I like them. They did stupid things often because one man would make the decision and nobody could question him or discuss the alternatives.

I think that one of the problems of a staff organization is that it sometimes gets to the point where the head of it, whether it is Brower or anybody else, becomes all-powerful, omnipotent, and unquestionable. I like Mike McCloskey immensely, and I still believe, perhaps naively, that he is

RL: totally honest in not wanting the unlimited power that is being urged on him. I think that President Moss would like that, but I don't know yet. Moss hasn't been in office long enough to judge, and he is off the board at the end of his first year as president.

SS: Do you mean more power for Moss or McCloskey?

RL: Well, for both. Or, I guess, for the staff really. There is a fear building up on the part of a number of the directors that the staff organization is being built up and that the volunteers are being put aside and will be given gentle things to do that won't interfere in any way. So my judgement is that this is a kind of contest that goes on forever. It goes on in the United States right now. At the time of Watergate, the government was under very tight control by a few men who kept everything secret so that nobody could know what was going on.

That is the fear of the Sierra Club now. There has only been one board of directors meeting since Moss was elected. This one meeting will be next weekend, October 20th and 21st, five and a half months from the meeting on May 5th. Other directors feel that is too long a period. [Editorial note: Another on January 12th and 13th, 1974.] There were two meetings of the executive committee. Since directors have authority to go to the executive committee meetings, that gives them contact. But the Sierra Club is a large organization with many difficult problems. So a group in the Sierra Club is beginning to feel that the members are not being allowed to participate sufficiently in reaching decisions. The decisions are not made by fifteen people or even by five people, but only by, say, two people.

SS: I see. Many of the things that Brower wanted were passed subsequently. We talked about them. The by-laws were changed so that the environment as a whole could be the domain of the club and that books could be published for purely literary reasons, this type of thing. Were these changes pushed by Brower supporters, or did they represent the totality of what the club wanted?

RL: I feel that they were carried out simply because Brower was right. His ideas were sound ideologically. That's why I say that I do not oppose them and don't feel that I have ever opposed them from the ideological point of view. I did oppose some of his methods when they became a matter of the end justifies the means. But I do not feel that his ideas were unsound, except for his recent extremism on the dangers of nuclear power.

For instance, his international programs--you have to think of the earth as a whole. The bylaws were used as an excuse at that time to avoid the financial expense which we could not afford. The bylaws did not authorize international programs, so that was a convenient way to object to publication of international books. Brower objected back that the outing committee had had international trips. "Yes," I said "[laughter] they had, and until we get the bylaws changed, why, probably we had better soft-pedal all of this."

I was asked last night by the chairman of the Council of the Sierra Club to be the chairman of the bylaws committee of the Sierra Club. I said I would be willing to serve as a member of the committee, but I could not be chairman until I had edited the material for the Bancroft Library. I figured that would take me another year [laughter].

SS: Oh, don't say that.

RL: The editing should take more than the dictating, which has run from November 10, 1972, through October 19, 1973.

SS: In June of 1970, professors from the University of California introduced a motion proposing that the Sierra Club pass a resolution of the board opposing the Vietnam War. The directors chose not to make a statement. The staff, however, circulated a letter after the directors' meeting opposing the war, and the majority of the staff signed. But I can't see where any of the directors signed.

RL: No. I don't think they did.

SS: What was your reason for not signing?

RL: I was not asked to, for one thing. I personally opposed the war in 1970. I approved of it in the first stages, say, for the first six months. I did feel that, through former Presidents, we had made a pledge that we would protect the Vietnamese against invasion. Then I felt that when we had done our best and really had put in everything except nuclear warfare, that we had carried out our obligation and that we should not carry it out any longer.

I feel, for instance, that the Japanese War was a war of defense of the United States. I feel that if the Japanese had been smart enough to take Hong Kong and Singapore and leave the United States alone, that the people of the United States today would still be arguing as to whether Roosevelt pulled the English chestnuts out of the fire by declaring war on Japan, because Roosevelt would have done so.

Then it would have been very difficult for the people of the United States ever after. It would have been very much like Vietnam. But when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and deliberately murdered three thousand Americans without warning, that made all Americans united and there was no question that we had to go into that war. It was a different kind of a war than Vietnam.

I only hope that the United States and Russia don't go any further than an annual \$75 billion each to be prepared to mutually annihilate each other. Each country thus wastes billions of dollars that could be available for national parks and other good things. The superintendent of Yosemite National Park, Lynn Thompson, was in my office for an hour and a half yesterday, finally bringing me up to date on the 1970 master plan.

I said, "How is that wonderful plan to get all those buildings out of Yosemite?" He said, "It is dead." I exclaimed, "Dead? It is the finest thing that should be in a master plan. It ought to be done." He said, "Well, it will cost too much." I

RL: replied, "Yes, I know it would. But it should be the ideal. Anytime that we stop this huge expenditure of so many billion dollars a year in defense, then we will have the money to do that easily, and we ought to have the blueprints there."

He said, "Well, neither you nor I are ever going to stop the defense budget." Yet eventually if Brower, my sister, my daughter, and others and I do enough voting we will get Congress to override a veto by Nixon on many of these things. Now when he vetoes that bill restricting his war powers the veto will probably stick. Congress won't pass one over his veto. So we get the government that the majority deserve.

SS: Do you have anything to add in terms of your perspective looking back now on the departure of Dave Brower from the Club?

RL: Well, we should summarize. As I said quite a while ago, it's only history that is really going to judge Brower's contributions. And I think history is judging those to be greater and greater as time goes on. I believe that will continue to be true. I think history may judge that Dick Leonard and some others on the board were somewhat unequal to the task that they should have been able to do if they had been really brilliant in working out some type of financial support for Dave rather than financial control. Yet I have had a lot of experience in this field and in fund raising, and I don't see what we could have done. Whatever funds we could raise Dave would always spend. At Friends of the Earth, he has spent \$279,000 more than he has received in just three years. So it is that kind of question. Certainly, his place in history is assured.

DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE CLUB

Nuclear Power Policy

Susan Schrepfer: Do you want to go into some of the controversies that have occurred since the Brower affair? We did cover Point Arena, but you might want to add something.

Richard Leonard: As I referred to in the Grand Canyon battle, Dave fought very bitterly, but his delay brought the proposed dams to the point where power from strip-mined coal was cheaper than hydro power from the Colorado River. That saved the Grand Canyon.

David E. Pesonen, who was one of Brower's close friends and a very capable attorney, brought suit to stop the proposed Bodega Head nuclear power plant of P.G. & E. The Supreme Court of California turned him down, but again his delay in that suit allowed time for a change in public opinion and brought it to the point where P.G. & E. realized that they were building within a quarter of a mile of the surface indications of the San Andreas Fault. P.G. & E. abandoned the project and has turned the land over to the county as a park. [Editorial note: Later a state park.]

Then P.G. & E. moved up to an area in Mendocino County, open pasture land along the sea. Nobody in the Sierra Club or the state had any intention of preserving the land. But the Sierra Club was opposing the nuclear plant on the grounds, first, of the beauty of the coast and, secondly, on the very scary

RL: theory that maybe a million people in San Francisco would be wiped out if something went wrong at the plant a hundred and ten miles north of San Francisco.

I did not approve of the Sierra Club's fighting that plant without protection for the land. I did not approve of Dave Pesonen's extremely violent statements. But President Sherwin supported Pesonen on those statements and said that he had read reports of the Union of Concerned Scientists that indicated that a million people might be killed in San Francisco. At any rate, in that case he also brought suit, which failed, but he was able to dig up evidence that P.G. & E. was still close to the same fault, about three miles away from it. The safety group of the Atomic Energy Commission that has to license the plant concluded that it was too close to such a powerful fault. So the P.G. & E. has given that up, also.

Now, I understand, the company has just about given up planning for any power plants on the coast of California except the possibility of some additional units at Diablo Canyon. They are going into the foothills near Modesto in the interior valleys, where they will use water if it is available. If it is not available, they will build those twenty-seven-story cooling towers.

I did not approve of Pesonen's extreme statements, and I did not approve of some of Dave's methods in defense of the Grand Canyon. However I have to admit that in both cases they delayed things and got the public stirred up enough so that finally the dams in the Grand Canyon and the two nuclear plants at Bodega Head and Point Arena were stopped, I think permanently in all three cases.

SS: In the interview in the 1973 Environmental Quality magazine, Brower stated that the major difference between the Sierra Club and him was nuclear policy.

RL: He was talking about Diablo Canyon, where Will Siri, as club president, and Doris successfully persuaded the P.G. & E. to give up the Nipomo Dunes to become a state park. Dave overemphasized his feeling that nuclear power was the issue that forced him out.

- RL: The directors later agreed with him on that. But the membership of the club sustained the board of directors in 1967 and 1969 in those two referendums we had on Diablo Canyon. The issue was not on nuclear power, it was on the relative natural values of the two locations. Dave's dismissal finally came on financial grounds, primarily because Dave would not submit to control.
- SS: That was what I was wondering, whether or not you agreed with him and whether he was referring to Diablo or the whole issue of nuclear power?
- RL: Dave has later said that he was wrong in opposing the power plant because of location, he now realizes he should have opposed the nuclear plant itself. He is now talking about nuclear power as a supreme danger to the world. Dave can be immensely dramatic. He is one of the most exciting speakers and writers in the whole conservation movement. In early 1972 Dave spoke to a large audience at a meeting of the Sierra Club Board of Directors. He said, "Oh my God, I was stupid. I was stupid for not realizing before how terrible nuclear power is. Nuclear energy is going to wipe out millions of us. I just never knew it before. I never knew it until I read these new articles."

Dave is the type who tries to emphasize a point by saying that he was stupid for not realizing it before so that he can get people to agree with him without having to feel that they also were stupid in not knowing it before. It is a type of persuasiveness that is very dramatic, but I just do not agree with it.

[Editorial note: It should be noted that in early 1974 the Sierra Club directors came much closer to Dave's position on nuclear power. By a split vote, and against the advice of the energy committee, the directors voted for a moratorium on nuclear power plants until certain safety criteria could be met.]

Do Ends Justify Means?

SS: You mentioned in our earlier interview sessions that so many of the things that Brower was custed for have come about even after his departure from the club and that he was, perhaps, a victim of larger forces. What are these forces?

RL: Somehow they were his own supporters, those who campaigned and advertised for the slate of five directors in 1968. Then those supporters put Brower up as a contestant for the board with four additional nominees, with the declared intention of gaining ten out of fifteen votes on the board of directors. Thus Brower would have his international series of books without financial restraint and would have the international organization, travel, and everything else, that were just not financially sound so suddenly.

As I have explained before, I strongly support the international program as a whole, and we now have authority from the amendment of the articles of incorporation to get vigorously into that field. The Sierra Club is one of the leaders in the conservation field of the United States. In the United Nations it is working as a non-governmental organization recognized by the United Nations Education and Scientific Council (UNESCO) as one of the organizations that UNESCO can work with. The National Audubon Society is one, also, and, of course, Friends of the Earth. I still do not feel that Dave actually went so far as to organize those campaigns in 1968 and 1969 for control of the board. I just don't know.

SS: The forces you spoke of, then, were actually people?

RL: Well, people and a different philosophy. I would say this, Dave was the spokesman for the activist group within the Sierra Club, and maybe the activist philosophy brought him along and forced him into these things. You can see that I have said here several times that Dave Brower and Dave Pesonen both accomplished magnificent conservation objectives by being more activist than I [laughter], as an older type of conservationist, had felt was proper.

- RL: Of course, that gets to the question of the end justifying the means, which is the whole story of Watergate today and probably the theory of Nixon when he has, in effect, told the Supreme Court that he is not answerable to the court as long as he is President. If he is impeached, then he is answerable, as is any citizen. But as long as he is President, then nobody can touch him except Congress.
- SS: When you refer to the older type of conservation versus the philosophy of the end justifies the means, I was thinking of the Save-the-Redwoods League and whether or not it doesn't represent an older type of conservation.
- RL: It does, very definitely. Newton Drury, the whole board of directors, and I [laughter], I have to admit, are all older. I guess the average age of the whole board of directors is about seventy years. But the world changes, and I do not say that the activist group is wrong. I believe in the activist philosophy. As you can see from this whole interview, I tend, however, to feel that it is not quite decent or fair to fight these battles in certain ways, to fight them by charging that Newton Drury destroyed more redwoods than anybody else--that type of approach. It seems to me that you can still be active and push things, without that type of ridicule. Yet, you see, Brower and Pesonen engaged very severely in ridicule and very inflammatory statements in all their nuclear arguments. Dave is still very strong on that. But, on the other hand, so is Sherwin.

Doris had very carefully arranged a meeting with Kenneth Davis, who has been a Sierra Club member for forty years. He is the same age as Doris and I, and we have known him since he was a young fellow. He was in charge of the nuclear power work of the Atomic Energy Commission for about fifteen years. Then, like most people in government, after they have been at it long enough, they look around to find where is a good place to light on the outside. So he became vice-president for nuclear operations for the Bechtel Power Corporation. He has more knowledge of nuclear plants, their safety and their dangers, than most anybody in the United States. He is well known to all of us as a loyal Sierra Club member.

RL: So Doris set up a luncheon meeting with Kenneth Davis and asked me to attend along with club President Ray Sherwin, Mike McCloskey, and the chairman of the Northern California Regional Conservation Committee at that time. We had a long discussion.

Davis had with him the man who was in charge of Bechtel's nuclear plant construction and who used to be in charge of a nuclear plant on the shores of Lake Michigan. He objected that the Sierra Club was stretching the truth when it said that the plant on Lake Michigan was going to change the temperature of Lake Michigan and harm it greatly.

I said, "Doggonit, you yourself are exaggerating the facts in an unfair manner. The bottom of Lake Michigan is six hundred feet below sea level. It is one of the largest bodies of fresh water on earth. The Sierra Club knows that you can not change the temperature of that entire body of water by more than a tenth of a degree or so. What we are talking about, and what you very well know we are talking about, is the little estuaries and the streams that come into it and the bays at the edge of the lake. It is the same thing as the ocean. What the conservationists are concerned about is thermal pollution in the places where the water is shallow enough that the nuclear plants can make a substantial difference in the temperature of the water." I did that because I don't stand for industry making wrong statements either.

When it was all over, Doris asked Sherwin how it went and whether or not he would like to have another such meeting. He said, "No, there is no use talking to those people. They tried to tell us how to build nuclear plants." Doris said, "Well, that was what it was for, so that you could have their technical background and experience; and so that you would have the opportunity to indoctrinate them and infiltrate them with your conservation ideas. This was an opportunity for you, unless you are scared of them and think that they are pushing you. You should be pushing them."

That philosophy was new to the Sierra Club. It was on the defensive and seemed to be afraid of the nuclear industry or even of the utility industry,

RL: just as Dave was afraid of the Forest Service, Park Service, and P.G. & E.

SS: When was this meeting?

RL: About a year ago, last October [1972]. But it has never been repeated. On the other hand, the Sierra Club does have real experts in the nuclear field. What Doris and I were trying to do was to get the Sierra Club to communicate with Ken Davis as an expert on their side who knew the nuclear field. Same way with the oil industry. Alex Hildebrand was on the board of directors of the club for thirteen years and president of the club. I tried to get the Sierra Club to set up a committee on oil and put Alex on it, not as chairman, but just as a member. He is retired now, but he was in charge of all underground research for Standard Oil. He knows why the oil well in the Santa Barbara Channel blew up and what you can and can't do safely.

But, despite his background in the Sierra Club, none of the presidents of the club, including Wayburn, Berry, Sherwin, and Moss, have been willing to trust him on a committee on oil. My question is, how in the heck do you expect to be able to influence the oil companies if you do not have somebody on your oil committee who really understands the problems and the weaknesses of the industry?

SS: You have commented that the expertise of the club has improved over the years.

RL: It has. But the individuals they seem to choose are top experts but persons who are opposed to industry. Most of them in the nuclear field have been with the Atomic Energy Commission and had differences of opinion with the commission and were fired or left. Or they had experience at universities or sometimes in manufacturing concerns. They have a lot of knowledge, but they are almost all totally opposed to the nuclear industry as a whole. So their expertise is almost entirely slanted toward stopping industry. I think that is true in a lot of other fields, too.

Proposition 9--The Environmental Initiative

- SS: Do you wish to comment upon the club's position in 1972 on Proposition 9?
- RL: That was an initiative vote of the people that would have frozen highly technical and rapidly changing environmental controls into law that would be almost as hard to change in the future as the constitution. I felt very strongly that the Sierra Club should oppose Proposition 9, but I was not able to get that decision. So that is another case where Martin Litton and I were on the same side of a motion but for opposite reasons. We finally came to the position where the Sierra Club directors felt that the initiative was badly worded and would do more harm than good, but they hesitated to "oppose the environment." Litton found he could not get a vote of the directors favoring Proposition 9, and I was fighting for the board to oppose it. Both of us, after two hours of debate, found that neither could win, so Litton made a motion, and I seconded it, to the effect that the club take no position.

Wilderness Philosophy

- SS: Would you like to briefly discuss your philosophy of wilderness and the sources that you drew upon or were influenced by in the development of this philosophy?
- RL: I think the principal difference between my philosophy and that of so many other conservationists is that I strongly oppose the man-made philosophy that, "A bird hath no song but a human ear to hear it--a flower no beauty but a human eye to see it."

I feel that Muir would have agreed with me, but Colby would not. For instance, Colby finally resigned from the board of directors after forty-nine years because, as I mentioned earlier in the interview, Dave Brower and I were able to get a vote of eight to seven to oppose the extension of the road

RL: into Kings Canyon National Park. Colby felt that Muir had wanted millions to see and enjoy the high mountains. Dave and I felt that Muir was an intelligent and capable person and that he would have recognized by 1949, and even more so today, that a large number of people would destroy the beautiful country that he wanted them to see.

Some environmentalists oppose me in this. For instance, Dr. Stewart Kimball was a director of the Sierra Club for twelve years and was chairman of the Outings Committee for twenty years. He resigned from the board of directors in 1961 because he strongly disagreed with the Sierra Club's increasing philosophy of favoring nature over man. I feel that the Sierra Club board is becoming stronger and stronger in that view, which I believe in very earnestly.

Bestor Robinson was a director of the Sierra Club for thirty-one years, and he felt exactly the same as Kimball, that the wilderness was made for man alone and that if man could not enjoy it then there was no point in preserving wilderness. I believe Bestor felt that just on practical grounds. But Kimball felt it on religious grounds, since he is a trustee of the Presbyterian Church.

TAX-DEDUCTIBLE CONSERVATION CORPORATIONS

Sierra Club Land Fund

Susan Schrepfer: Would you like to go on to the Sierra Club Land Fund?

Richard Leonard: The Sierra Club Land Fund is really a California corporation by the title of Sierra Club Land Trust. It was incorporated about 1969. The purpose of it was to set up an independent organization that would be able to receive tax deductible gifts of large sums of money or be able to receive gifts of land acreage that might be worth a hundred or two hundred thousand dollars or more. For those reasons it had to be a tax-deductible organization. The Sierra Club wanted to be sure that it could control the organization.

As I explained earlier in this interview, I incorporated The Sierra Club Foundation in 1960, nine years earlier, for this express purpose. The difficulty became that the Sierra Club felt that they could not control the actions of the foundation because it had an independent board of trustees. As original trustees I selected the thirteen living past presidents of the Sierra Club, the current vice president Wayburn, and treasurer Heimbucher. I wanted to make it very clear to Sierra Club members and other donors that the trustees would be sympathetic to the purposes of the Sierra Club. But it was to be an independent organization.

At the same time that the Sierra Club formed the Sierra Club Land Trust, the directors also

RL: incorporated the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, again for the same reason that they felt that they could have a tax-deductible organization under their tight control by naming the new board of directors and thus be able to decide policy. In 1963 I had incorporated the Conservation Law Society of America to perform those same services for the Sierra Club and other organizations. It was the first public interest law firm in the United States. It handled for the next ten years only matters for the Sierra Club, The Sierra Club Foundation, Nature Conservancy, the Save-the-Redwoods League, and other tax deductible organizations.

I mention all this to illustrate the Sierra Club's fetish or bias of being concerned as to control of the board of directors and therefore the policy of the organization that they want to cooperate with. For instance, they were affronted very much when they set out to establish a redwood national park and found that they could not control the board of directors of the Save-the-Redwoods League. They were disturbed by that.

In 1970, about a year after the Sierra Club Land Trust was established, they created the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund and sent the articles of incorporation in to the Internal Revenue Service. The service refused to approve tax deductibility because IRS said it was a fraud and a delusion for a non tax deductible organization such as the Sierra Club to control a deductible organization. So they would not grant deductibility to the Legal Defense Fund. Well, the Sierra Club had been able to work out a grant on a matching fund basis of about a hundred and twenty thousand dollars a year from the Ford Foundation, so the Legal Defense Fund had to have tax deductibility. (By the way, The Conservation Law Society had tax deductibility from 1964.) The Sierra Club tried to control the board of directors of the Legal Defense Fund and failed.

As a result, the Legal Defense Fund formed an entirely independent board of directors, and it was far better for the fund. It improved its strength, because it then attracted some of the leading environmental lawyers and professors from the

RL: leading law schools of America, such as Harvard, Michigan, Princeton, Stanford, Yale, and others. Those men are the directors of the Legal Defense Fund. It has worked out very well.

The first project for the Sierra Club Land Trust was 3,000 acres of Bear Harbor beach land near Shelter Cove on the northern coast. It was proposed that it be given to the Sierra Club Land Trust. Ed Wayburn worked very hard on it, but it fell through. Norman Roth had made a large loan to make a payment on the mortgage that was due on the property in order to keep the property available to be turned over to the Land Trust. Although the Land Trust was not able to get the property as a gift, the project was later successful in becoming a state park, with redwoods purchased by the Save-the-Redwoods League. So Wayburn's hard work was well worthwhile.

The Sierra Club Foundation

RL: In March, 1972, the finances of the Sierra Club went down to \$275,000 below zero. So when the club was sued for six million dollars by some lumber companies and for twenty million by some other defendants on cross-suits, the directors worried about a judgment against the club. The Sierra Club would then lose all that beautiful land in the national parks--as in Yosemite and Kings Canyon National Parks, and some of the other scenic land--purchased only as protection for open space and carried on the Sierra Club books at zero. So in 1971, when this financial difficulty became clear, the Sierra Club decided to deed all this land over to the Land Trust.

Since I was still on the board of directors of the Sierra Club at that time, I knew of this proposal to turn open space lands over to the Land Trust. I also knew from my service with the Sierra Club that it cost the club about twenty thousand dollars a year for supervision, taxes, maintenance, and keeping the water supply up and sewage properly handled. Since there was not that much money in the Land Trust, it would require a fund raising

RL: appeal to the same people that The Sierra Club Foundation would be appealing to. That would be confusing and self-defeating.

So I appealed to the board of directors of the club and the trustees of the foundation for the Sierra Club to turn the lands over to the foundation, which would accept responsibility for taxes and for preserving these lands in natural condition. The lands were deeded over in 1971.

Things went along smoothly then, and it was concluded that the Land Trust had no more purpose.

Tuolumne Meadows

RL: The foundation had agreed before the transfer to grant to the Sierra Club twenty thousand dollars for the provision of a new water supply at Tuolumne Meadows. The number of campers at the meadows had grown so large that the water supply from the river was no longer safe and the Public Health Service would not allow the river to be used any more as a water supply as we had when we used to camp there. There was a little spring on the property with a flow of about a gallon a minute, and it had finally dried up. So we had to provide safe water.

The chairman of the Lodges and Lands Committee of the Sierra Club, who was managing the meadow property for the foundation, was an electrical contractor for the city of Oakland. He got the excellent idea that, since we had to dig a ditch to bring in water from the Park Service lines, we ought to also put in the ditch cables for light for an exhibit of Ansel Adams photographs and a telephone for possible emergencies. I signed the application for a special-use permit from the National Park Service that provided on a map, very clearly, that the ditch was to go down the center of the gravel road. We hired a contractor. The chairman of the committee went to Europe.

RL: The contractor got up there and, using good engineering sense, said, "Gee, if I go down the middle of the road I will tie up traffic for the entire summer, which is terrible. If I just go out here about ten feet, it will not bother anybody." So he put the ditch in the meadow! Well, the Sierra Club, the foundation, and the National Park Service all caught hell from the newspapers which said that the Sierra Club always preaches, holier than thou, with their philosophy of environmental preservation and then look what they do. All the major newspapers had photographs of it, particularly in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. Then the Sierra Club members started jumping on the foundation for putting in telephone and power for radio, television, and such frivolous things in the wilderness.

 Then we tried to control the number of people camping on the property because the land was being harmed by overuse. We tried to set a limit of two weeks that one could stay there. But some of the young climbers came and stayed the whole summer. We tried to get them to go, but they would tell the custodian, "To hell with you." And they were six feet tall! We tried to get the Park Service to enforce our rule, but the service said that they had no jurisdiction over private land.

 I proved to them that was not legally correct, because over this protest Eivind Scoyen, superintendent of Sequoia National Park, was made mayor of Wilsonia by decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. He had to handle all the prostitution, liquor licenses, gambling, and everything else in this little subdivision within the park. In Yosemite, Sequoia, and Kings Canyon National parks, the entire jurisdiction of the State of California has been turned over to the federal government. Then the Park Service got worried and said they did not like to be enforcing regulations on private land and maybe it was about time that they had bought the land.

 We said wonderful. Here we are spending twenty thousand dollars for water, and now we are going to have to spend another five thousand for toilets. We

RL: used the old pit toilets, in different locations all the time. With increased use we had to change to the new airline toilets that permit removal of the effluent from the watershed. We welcomed the chance to sell. Wayburn as president and I as treasurer had meetings with the superintendent of Yosemite and the regional director of the Park Service and agreed upon the sale. They had it appraised at about five hundred dollars an acre. It came out to two hundred and eight thousand dollars.

Rather interestingly, we are now under a lot of fire from Sierra Club members who used to go up there and use it as a private camp; they now object that they have to be in with all the other tourists of Yosemite. My answer to that is that we cannot any longer have a private club in a national park. We are insisting that all private land within the national parks be purchased by the Park Service.

Now we have another problem. The Sierra Club turned the Tuolumne Meadows property over to the foundation as a gift. But the foundation received two hundred and eight thousand dollars for it, and so the Sierra Club wants the money back. We said there is no chance of them getting all of it back. It would be illegal from a tax standpoint; and there are other reasons why it would not be a good idea. The Sierra Club board has asked the foundation to return at least half of it. The foundation has it on the agenda for its next meeting of the trustees.

Lowell Smith, former chairman of the Northern California Regional Conservation Committee of the Sierra Club, suggested that the proceeds of the sale to Yosemite ought to be used as a revolving fund to buy land near Wawona and other places in Yosemite when property became available and the Park Service did not have the money to buy it.

I may have indicated earlier in this interview, that I have purchased a number of times, as secretary of the Sierra Club, pieces of property where a lady would die and leave a building lot in the subdivision in Wawona and the relatives in the East did not want the land at all and would be willing to sell it. Often when we bought it at the appraised value of the

RL: estate, the federal appraisers were more conservative, and so the Sierra Club would have to take a loss. So starting with a two hundred thousand dollar revolving fund would be good.

We have felt, and I have said a great many times to the Park Service whenever they have asked me about the Tuolumne Meadows property, that we would never give it to the Park Service. We felt that with three hundred million a year for the Federal Land and Water Fund, that we could use the money from Tuolumne better for the acquisition of land when their red tape would not allow them to get it. We would agree to keep the money for acquisitions. I think the trustees of the foundation may even broaden it to cover state parks as well as national parks.

The Role of Tax-Deductible Groups

SS: Evidently in about 1969 there was friction between the foundation and the club. Were there any incidents that you can recall when this friction came to a head?

RL: No, I can't. I do know that it annoyed me immensely as president of the foundation that from 1960 to 1968 the Sierra Club would never allow the foundation to solicit funds from club members. The Wilderness Society has exactly the same view. I have been trying since 1960 to urge The Wilderness Society to set up a foundation that would be tax deductible. As a result of not doing so, they had to go through an Internal Revenue Service investigation about three years ago. They came out of it successfully since the Service concluded that the legislative force of the society had not been "substantial."

The statute allows an organization to have tax deductibility provided that no "substantial part" of its activities are related to attempting to influence legislation. The Wilderness Society did attempt to influence legislation; it worked very hard for Alaska and the Wilderness Act, for example. But it cost the

RL: society fifteen thousand dollars in staff time and attorney's fees over a three year period to beat that attack by Internal Revenue. They still don't know if an investigation for the next three year period would conclude that legislative efforts had been "substantial" or not.

So The Wilderness Society's management--Howard Zahniser when he was alive, Stewart Brandborg--like to control the funds themselves. I think that is the reason that, when Wayburn was president of the Sierra Club, even though he later became president of the foundation, he would not allow the foundation to use the Sierra Club's mailing list.

I have always felt that people will give more to a foundation than they will give directly to an organization, such as the Sierra Club or The Wilderness Society, because they feel that if they give directly to such an organization the money will be used for salaries, postage, rent, and other operating expenses. Given to a foundation the money must be used primarily for substantial projects like saving land or saving redwoods or educating people and such.

There is friction coming up right now between the club and the foundation. The new president of the club, Larry I. Moss, (May 1973) has started a deep inquiry into exactly how much money the foundation gets from Sierra Club members, how much it costs the foundation to get that money, and how much money comes back to the club. His philosophy seems to be that the club should have one hundred percent of the money that the foundation raises from Sierra Club members after the minimum sum necessary to raise the money is subtracted.

SS: Wouldn't that be illegal?

RL: We think so, and we think it would be wrong from a moral standpoint and from the conservation point of view. Because the foundation has granted so much to the Sierra Club, we are concerned that the foundation might be considered to be just a tool of the Sierra Club. Of course, if that should be the ruling

RL: of Internal Revenue Service the foundation would lose its tax deductibility.

In order to demonstrate that we are independent, we have made grants to the Friends of the Earth Foundation, Point Reyes Bird Observatory, Sempervirens Fund, and a number of other organizations for independent work but along the same environmental policies of the Sierra Club.

But the club's president would like to establish in his own mind the priorities of how the foundation spends its money. If the foundation receives a million and a half dollars in a year then he would like to get the whole amount and spend it as he wants. So it is still back to the old Sierra Club plans for the Legal Defense Fund, where they would like a separate organization for tax purposes but one that they could control for spending.

"Laundered" Funds

SS: Wasn't there very recently a crisis about how the foundation spends its money? At least it made the headlines.

RL: [Laughter.] Yes, that was a fascinating one, sensationalism patterned after the Watergate "laundering" of funds. There the checks for presidential campaign contributions were sent to Mexico where they do not keep photostatic copies of checks and where the records of banks are not available to the United States. The checks were cashed there, and the proceeds sent back to the United States in one hundred dollar bills of United States currency--several hundred thousand dollars worth. Thus they called it "laundering" because the cash was then "clean" and one could not trace the source of money.

William Randolph Hearst, senior and junior, have done more damage to America, I feel, than any other Americans, because of their extreme positions on most all subjects. They feel that progress is the Bible, the religion of America, and that anybody who opposes unlimited progress, as does the Sierra Club,

RL: is harming the nation. So with that point of view, his editor put headlines on the front page of the Sunday Examiner, clear across the front of the page, "Sierra Club Lauanders Funds."

Well, the funds were from a group of about fifty people, many of them from the Telegraph Hill area, who had brought suit to try and stop the building of three twenty-five-story apartment houses in the Golden Gate resettlement area of San Francisco. They felt that the plans would overload the area with cars without enough garages and that the whole concept was too crowded. They had good legal grounds, since the plans violated the master plan of the city and were contrary to the city ordinances.

The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund had been handling the litigation. These fifty people had sent in checks to The Sierra Club Foundation to support the suit. The largest check was about a hundred dollars; the average check was fifty dollars. So there were no large ones. They had a small neighborhood organization to represent them. The funds were used to pay the attorneys handling the litigation, and I think they have been able to work out some compromises in the garaging and such things. If the developers have to they will be willing to work out compromises on such things; many times they don't even think of them.

At any rate, what the paper said was that the forty checks came into the foundation, were cashed to hide the identity, and then were turned over to the organization. The Examiner charged that was "laundering." Well, the only purpose of using the word was the dramatic harmful effect it would have just at that time because of Watergate.

The foundation, the Save-the-Redwoods League, the Sierra Club--all major conservation organizations--photograph every check that comes in and then the bank photographs it again when deposited. So we have complete records, names and addresses, and we furnished that and told the paper that we would turn it over to the court, if the court wished it.

- RL: Since I am a lawyer and treasurer of the foundation, I take careful steps to make sure that the foundation does not do anything that is prohibited by it. We are audited every single year by the Internal Revenue Service, I assume because of the name "Sierra Club."
- SS: Most foundations and tax-deductible organizations are not audited every year?
- RL: No. The Save-the-Redwoods League has not been audited for about five years now.

With respect to these kinds of funds to support litigation, if we receive a check for a thousand dollars or more, we investigate it and demand a certification that the donor is not providing the money for his own benefit, in other words, that the value of his property will not go up if the suit is won. We had a case where a man had about five hundred acres that he wanted to subdivide and the power company of Michigan proposed putting a nuclear reactor right next door. So he offered us ten thousand dollars to help fight it.

The Sierra Club was going to fight it but just on general environmental principles. We said that we could not accept the money because it was for his own benefit. When you are at the fifty dollar level, however, as with the Telegraph Hill episode, you do not have any substantial worry. But we do keep tightening up our procedures, as we discover problems like this.

The Sierra Club Foundation Staff

- SS: The foundation must have some staff?
- RL: A very small staff. We have been able to operate the past five years at less than ten percent of the total income, which is quite a low figure. The average is about twenty-five percent for good charities. Some of the bad charities will take as much as seventy-five to eighty percent for operations and salaries and only about twenty percent gets to

RL: children or whatever the charity is. Of course, the attorney generals of all the states, the better business bureaus, and the Internal Revenue Service are very severe on those and are trying to stop them. The Save-the-Redwoods League is about twelve percent. The league has more of a problem because it has to buy land itself and give it to the state. It is as much effort to give it to the state as it is to buy it.

SS: Is the staff here?

RL: The staff is about ten people, maybe less; we have first a professional fund raiser, Colburn S. Wilbur, who is the grand nephew of Ray Lyman Wilbur, who was president of Stanford University, secretary of the Interior, and one of the founders and honorary vice-presidents of the Sierra Club. Cole Wilbur has been extremely successful.

When the Sierra Club first allowed the foundation to raise funds from its members, the foundation raised a hundred thousand dollars in the first year; three hundred and fifty thousand the next year; seven hundred thousand the next year; a million and three the next; and a million and a half this year. So I have felt that, if the Sierra Club had allowed the foundation to start raising funds even before it lost its tax deductibility, the total funds available to the Sierra Club would have been much greater than it was. There were eight years that were lost. I point that out to The Wilderness Society.

SS: Those are all the questions I have on the Land Fund and the foundation.

RECENT SIERRA CLUB SUCCESSES

Hudson River Cases

Susan Schrepfer: Would you like to discuss the course of the Sierra Club after Dave Brower's departure?

Richard Leonard: In the April, 1973, issue of Environmental Quality magazine, Dave, in an interview, stated, "The Sierra Club is very good, a very powerful conservation influence, particularly in litigation." I quoted that before, but I am quoting it again at this time as a credit to the Sierra Club for its work in litigation.

The first of the very important suits that went to the Supreme Court of the United States concerned Consolidated Edison, the great power company of New York. Consolidated Edison had planned to build a pumped storage plant on Storm King Mountain on the bank of the Hudson River near West Point. The Sierra Club sued on the ground that the powerful pumps would be harmful to the fish life and the action of carving a power plant into the face of that beautiful cliff and then putting a storage reservoir on top would be harmful to aesthetic values which should be considered as well as the question of the number of kilowatts.

Pumped storage is considered a very fine, modern way of getting power because if you have a plant with coal or nuclear power it is more efficient if it runs twenty-four hours a day. Since people do not use power twenty-four hours a day, if you could take the power at night time and use it to pump water up five hundred feet to a reservoir above, the next

RL: peak power period you could run that water downhill again and get the power back. You have some losses, twenty percent or so, but it is a way of getting additional power when it is needed most without having to build additional plants for peaking power only.

In this case it was held that the Sierra Club had standing to sue because the Federal Power Act provided, "Any person interested had standing to sue." I mentioned before, that in my appearance before the Federal Power Commissioners in the Kings River case, they would not allow me to speak up about the harm the dams would do to Kings Canyon National Park. They simply were concerned with economic interests. When I showed them the cup of Kings River water, then I had a dollar interest. Maybe it was only a penny, but it was enough to give the Sierra Club economic standing in the Kings River if nowhere else.

Well, that question of standing had never come up before in an appellate court; so the Hudson case went to the United States court of appeals in New York, which affirmed the Sierra Club's position. Then the case went clear up to the Supreme Court of the United States, which refused to hear it, which meant essentially that they did not disapprove of the decision.

The next case was the Hudson River throughway, for which the Division of Highways of the State of New York proposed to fill in part of the Hudson River itself near the bank of the river. On this fill the state planned to build several miles of eight-lane freeway right in the Hudson River. It just seemed preposterous that anyone could plan such a thing. So the local citizens and the Sierra Club sued to stop it. The suit brought up the fact that in 1790 the Rivers and Harbors Act had provided that no dike could be built in any river or harbor without the consent of Congress, because the new government did not want people putting up their own piers, etc., interfering with commerce. The Division of Highways had never thought of its throughway as a dike, but, of course, it had to have a dike to hold it in.

RL: Again, the matter went clear up to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Supreme Court upheld the Sierra Club. So all the state of New York had to do was get an act of Congress to authorize the "dike." But the delay--again, similar to P.G. & E. and Point Arena--gave time for a change in public opinion to the point where Governor Rockefeller concluded that he was not going to ask Congress for it, killed that route completely, and that proposal is now gone forever.

Overton Park Case

RL: I feel that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States relating to Overton Park in Memphis, Tennessee, is one of the most important legal decisions of the conservation movement. It held that the Sierra Club had standing to sue to prevent the secretary of Transportation from providing federal funds to build a freeway through a beautiful park in Memphis. The Division of Highways, as usual, had concluded that the park was free land. They did not have to pay for it, and they did not have to demolish any houses, so they chose it.

It went to the Supreme Court of the United States with favorable decisions to the Sierra Club all the way up. The Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision written by Justice Thurgood Marshall, held that aesthetic and environmental values were so important that the act of Congress that provided that a freeway should not go through a park unless there was no other route, really meant what it said. There absolutely had to be no other way.

The Division of Highways said that any alternate route would take the homes of the little people, the black people, the poor people. Justice Marshall answered that very clearly; he said it is the little people who need the park most. The houses can be replaced in some way, and the act of Congress provides for payment of resettlement costs.

Mineral King

RL: Mineral King is an important case that has been to the Supreme Court and will probably be back again. It came to me as president of the Conservation Law Society of America. The Sierra Club wanted to sue to stop the Walt Disney \$35 million ski resort project in Mineral King, which was a game reserve extending far into Sequoia National Park. It had been left out of the national park in 1890 because there were some mines there. But although the mines have been there nearly a hundred years they have never been successful, so the area is pretty wild at the present time.

I stated to the Sierra Club that I would not allow the Conservation Law Society to become involved in a suit just for the purpose of delay, that the suit had to be on substantial legal grounds. Bob Jaspersen, our general counsel, did excellent research and found fifteen pages, which I have referred to before, in the congressional debate to the effect that Forest Service leases for ski resorts could be eighty acres and no more. Furthermore, roads in national parks could be built only for park purposes.

The Sierra Club therefore felt that a lease to Disney and a park road to it were clear violations and that, if the secretary of the Interior and the secretary of Agriculture did not control the Forest Service and the Park Service, somebody in the United States ought to be able to do so. So we brought suit on those grounds. The trial court found that the Sierra Club was right, that they were clear violations. The Sierra Club deliberately sought the general power to be able to challenge the administration of the Executive Branch when it was not following the law of Congress.

The Supreme Court held that the Sierra Club did not have standing to sue in that broad sense. I feel that the Supreme Court majority was concerned that they would have so many suits by so many citizens trying to have the courts tell the executive branch how to run things, that it would not be fair to the executive branch and it would not be practical for the courts to attempt it. So it held that the Sierra

RL: Club did not have the standing to sue on those grounds. However, it allowed the Sierra Club to amend its complaint to show that on the basis of the Overton Park case the aesthetic and environmental values had great importance and should be considered in the litigation. So it was sent back to the trial court, and it is now up for trial, the Sierra Club is moving ahead, and I think it will be successful.

Air Quality Case

RL: Probably the most important and the most exciting case in the Supreme Court of the United States was the air quality case. The big utilities could not any longer add additional pollutants in New York and Los Angeles, so they got the brilliant idea that they would simply move out to Wyoming, Montana, and New Mexico, where the air was completely pure. Then by burning low cost strip-mined coal in those areas they could have the money that would be required to eliminate the pollution by simply making the pure air of the mountain states as dirty as the air of Los Angeles and New York.

The Sierra Club brought suit, and the trial court agreed with the club and ordered that the Environmental Quality Administration require all the states to keep their air just as clean as it was at that time and seek to improve it from then on. It should not get worse; it should always get better. That went up to the appellate court, which sustained the Sierra Club, much to the amazement of the administration, which took it up to the Supreme Court. The Court split four to four, which means that the decision was upheld. So now the order of the courts is that the air of all the states has to remain as pure as it now is, and that New York and Los Angeles have to get better. There is now a movement in Congress to amend that law, and that is where the Sierra Club will have to work very diligently.

Legislative Successes

RL: In the land planning field, the Sierra Club tried for years to get the legislature of California to protect the coast from unregulated development. Environmentalists finally obtained 475,000 signatures--by volunteers, not by paying for them--and they achieved a fifty-five to forty-five victory at the voting booths against a million and a half dollar campaign against the Sierra Club and the other conservation groups that worked to pass the California Coastal Initiative.

Now the problem is whether or not the commissions will be tough enough. Certainly, things are much better than previously. Probably a lot of bad things will not be projected because the proponents may feel that they would probably not succeed or it would be embarrassing to try. So I think that overall the coastal initiative has been successful.

The Sierra Club, The Wilderness Society, and others persuaded Secretary Morton to set aside a hundred and twenty-six million acres in Alaska for study. The decision is to be made on December 18, 1973, as to the recommendation of the secretary of the Interior to Congress specifying how eighty million acres are to be allocated to national parks, national forests, wildlife preserves, and wild rivers. The information I have by grapevine sources is that the secretary has decided to recommend seventy-nine million acres for those purposes. He might have recommended only twenty million acres. He had the authority to go up to eighty million. The Sierra Club and The Wilderness Society have been very effective.

SS: Weren't the crisis and your activities relating to Aldabra Island another example of delaying action?

RL: You have a fascinating memory. The conservationists were able to delay the British air base long enough so that the devaluation of the pound, and of the dollar, to finance the air base, made it impossible to build it. So an island with extremely rare wildlife in the middle of the Indian Ocean was saved.

RL: That is why the Park Service, the Forest Service, and the Department of Transportation never allow the environmentalists to know what they are planning if they can avoid it. They realize that if we know beforehand the battle will be started and things will be delayed and that even if they finally get to build it, it will be after three or four years of delay and inflation of costs.

CLOSING REMARKS

Susan Schrepfer: So in general the club has moved in a direction you approve of?

Richard Leonard: Yes, basically. But in the early days after Brower left I was still troubled by extreme statements and a seeming continuation of the philosophy that the end justifies the means. In his campaign for election to the board of directors, Dave and his supporters had repeatedly charged that his opponents would be "soft" in conservation battles and would not follow the hard line of charges that Brower had been famous for. I have concluded that presidents Berry and Sherwin therefore felt compelled to demonstrate that they could be just as tough as Dave ever had. President Moss, as one of Brower's strong supporters since the upset election of 1968, quite naturally followed that philosophy. However, as so often happens when an extremist comes to power, the responsibility of the position forces a moderation in tone and action. Moss was thus a good president of the Sierra Club but had only one year as president because of the six-year limit on his term as director, which he had initiated three years before. [Editorial note: I feel that Kent Gill has been an excellent president for the two year term 1974-76.]

SS: Can you cite any specific examples that you objected to?

RL: Well, in the Sierra Club's battle against the proposed Point Arena nuclear plant, attorney David Pesonen was retained by the Sierra Club to oppose the P.G. & E. application to the California Public Utilities Commission. Don Harris, the chairman of

RL: the Legal Committee of the Sierra Club gave Pesonen specific instructions that at that time, in 1971, the Sierra Club directors did not oppose nuclear power as such and that Pesonen was only to oppose the location of the plant. Nevertheless, Pesonen went ahead and published a scary eight-page pamphlet against nuclear power, claiming that a major accident at Point Arena would result in 17,000 fatalities in San Francisco, 110 miles away.

I immediately protested to the chairman of the Legal Committee,* with copies to Sierra Club leaders. However, the irresponsible action of Pesonen, a known extremist, wouldn't have been so bad by itself. But President Sherwin replied to me, supporting Pesonen, and stating that he had read that the fatalities would be approximately a million!

Another incident of that nature was the first month of Sherwin's presidency. He wrote an abusive editorial in the May 1971 Sierra Club Bulletin charging, in essence, that all corporations were evil, and the petroleum corporations particularly so.

Sherwin and Pesonen accomplished their purpose. The Point Arena nuclear plant was defeated. As I have said several times in this interview the victories of extremism almost seem to justify it. However, I am still of the old school that believes that the use of improper means to accomplish a good result, still does not justify doing it that way. As a lawyer, I do not believe that such methods are effective in the long range. Organizations must have credibility just as nations should.

Fortunately, Mike McCloskey never seems to reflect or use such extremism. I have read innumerable releases by Mike for many years and his statements before the Atomic Forum, the American Mining Congress, the American Cattlemen's Association, the Petroleum Institute, the National Woolgrowers, and similar

*Letter August 12, 1972, from Richard M. Leonard to H. Donald Harris, Jr., Appendix K, pp. 460-61.

RL: economic groups. Mike is hard hitting and pulls no punches. But he does not ridicule nor resort to extreme statements. Nor have I ever felt that he has violated any of the policies or controls of the board of directors. The Sierra Club is fortunate indeed to have an executive of such experience, knowledge, and temperament as Michael McCloskey.

Your original question was whether in general the club has moved in a direction I approve of. I do approve, very strongly. The leadership of the club is becoming increasingly well informed on extremely complex issues. The major ones such as energy, population, water, and food are under continuing study by "task forces," each of which is made up of several highly qualified individuals. The foundation provides funding to permit national representation and meetings. This breadth of participation and debate tends to avoid the unintentional bias, prejudice, or lack of broad knowledge that may afflict an individual.

Similarly the membership of the board of directors is now [1975] widely distributed, with directors from Arizona, California, Georgia, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio, Oregon, South Carolina, Utah and Washington. Since ten out of fifteen directors are outside of California, it is now practical to have meetings on a national basis throughout the country. With almost fifty chapters, including those in British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario, the Sierra Club has great strength as a national organization of approximately 150,000 members.

In contrast to directors Francis and Marjory Farquhar, I have long supported the geographic expansion of the Sierra Club. It is interesting to note that Australian, Canadian, and other nationals wish to form Sierra Club chapters in their countries because of the worldwide reputation of the Sierra Club for powerful intervention with governments in support of environmental principles.

John Muir and Will Colby can indeed be given great credit for founding and leading so well a small conservation group that has grown in eighty

RL: years to become one of the most effective environmental organizations on earth.

It has sure been a pleasure to work with you, Susan. Your exceptionally deep knowledge of so many of the subjects has made this interview and oral history far more effective.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

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Sierra Club Board of Directors resolution, January 13, 1939,
endorsing a wilderness national park in the Kings Canyon region

The Directors of the Sierra Club, at a special meeting held January 13, 1939, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The Sierra Club, a conservation organization of over three thousand members, founded in 1892, endorses the bill being introduced during the present session of Congress to establish a new national park to be known as the "John Muir National Park." This endorsement is given after careful study and is based upon the following considerations:

1. The region to be set aside lies north of Sequoia National Park and includes the South and Middle forks of the Kings River, with their great canyons comparable in grandeur to Yosemite; the main crest of the Sierra Nevada from the Kings-Kern divide north to the Palisades, the Evolution Range and Mount Goddard. This territory has long been recognized as of national park calibre, not only by John Muir and the other great conservationists but even by those who at times have opposed its park status on other grounds.
2. The just claims of residents of the San Joaquin Valley upon the waters of the Kings River for irrigation and flood control are fully recognized.
3. The primeval, roadless character of the region is to be guaranteed. The present state highway leading into Kings Canyon is not to extend beyond the canyon floor. Although practically the same territory has already been set aside by the Forest Service as a wilderness area, and we have only commendation for its administration by that service, it should be recognized, however, that alteration of a wilderness area established by the Forest Service requires merely an order by the Secretary of Agriculture; and the wilderness status of this region is at present far less secure than it would be under the proposed bill, according to which it could be altered only by Act of Congress.
4. The present use of this region is overwhelmingly and properly for recreation, camping, fishing, and mountaineering. The amount of commercial timber is negligible; grazing is already limited to very few places, and existing commitments are recognized in the bill. The annual kill of deer is small, and we believe that the interest of hunters would be served fully as well by setting aside the whole area as a game reservoir, thereby increasing the outflow of game into the adjoining territory.
5. No exclusive privileges are to be given for packing or any other service within the park.
6. The provisions of this bill remove the objections which led the Sierra Club to withhold its endorsement from the bill introduced in the last session of Congress and the bill as now proposed meets our approval as a full conservation measure.

We earnestly recommend that all individuals and organizations interested in the preservation of this priceless natural heritage join us in this endorsement and so inform the press and members of Congress.

APPENDIX B



SOME OF THE ORGANIZATIONS HELPING REALLY TO SAVE THE REDWOODS

There are so many conservation organizations that the ordinary citizen is likely to wonder why; to ask why they don't get together, merge, come up with a common positive program. Or words to that effect.

There are several answers.

Diversity has its own great value. A diverse forest cannot be wiped out by a single disease, and a diverse conservation movement cannot be controlled by the force it seeks to control. Of the organizations listed below, each has a specialty. Go to the National Audubon Society for birds and the land they cannot live without. Go to the National Parks Association for help in the defense of national parks and monuments and seek out the Wilderness Society for the detailed understanding of the meaning of wilderness. Ask the Trustees for Conservation or the Citizens' Committee on Natural Resources for help on conservation lobbying. Try the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs for the clubs who know their respective regions well, especially the trails. The Sierra Club is oldest and has tried not to let its age show the wrong way.

One big organization would end up with one small group of active leaders. A dozen organizations have almost twelve times that many. The big one might get \$5.00 each from a hundred thousand people. The small ones get ten times that much collectively to finance a kind of work that will probably never be financed enough.

Perhaps all the organizations will merge the day all the states from Maine to California dissolve their borders and their state and county governments and become one big United State. But not much sooner.

This list omits many organizations, dozens of the national groups, but not because they don't serve a good purpose but because they aren't vitally interested in the Redwood National Park or are too tired in their espousal of it—so far. The rest of us are trying to encourage them—and are seeking your encouragement in the effort.

January 5, 1966

David Brower
Executive Director
Sierra Club

William E. Siri
President

The Sierra Club

John Muir founded the Sierra Club

—to help people explore, enjoy, and protect parks, wilderness, waters, forests, and wildlife.

—to rescue places that made America beautiful and can keep it beautiful, places only as safe as people, knowing about them, want them to be. The club lets people know.

to explore, enjoy, and protect

The club is of, by, and for people of all ages, all over. If you can be active, fine. Or you can support the club's conservation effort. The non-profit, public-service program includes:

River and ski touring, mountaineering, local walks, knapsacking, rock climbing, educational talks, films, exhibits, and conferences; a publishing program, including a monthly Bulletin, a library, and discussion groups in some 200 volunteer committees.

Annual wilderness outings are conducted all over the West and sometimes much farther afield. They are of great diversity, one to two weeks long, usually between mid-June and September, daily costs \$3-\$20.

Several chapters—in Nevada, the Northwest, the Midwest, Southwest, the Atlantic Coast, and a number in California. All publish newsletters.

We are proud of the record

Wildlands can and should exist in our civilization; they will persist only if man sees to it that his rising tide does not engulf his last islands of wilderness, but flows around them instead.

John Muir knew this in 1892 when he founded the club. Since then it has helped establish several national parks and wildlife refuges, national forests, the National Park Service, the Forest Service, state, regional, and local parks, and wilderness areas in national forests.

The club has sponsored research and books, films, and exhibits on many subjects, with emphasis on wilderness. All Sierra Club publications are part of the nonprofit effort the club carries on as a public trust.

. . . and concerned for the future

We need more parks, more dedicated wilderness, some nature next door in our more crowded future. Technology, operating with conscience, can supply our material needs by making better use of the land already disturbed.

America can remain beautiful. People who want it to are probably in the majority—too often the silent majority. Several organizations try to give voice to this majority and we have named a few, most of them affiliated with the Natural Resources Council of America.

The Sierra Club, one of these voices, is also affiliated with the International Union for Conservation and the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs.

. . . a future including you

All the voices are needed, sometimes for solos, sometimes just to hum in the background. Each voice has its own range, and the Sierra Club would like you to support as many voices as you can. We make no drives for membership, but want you to know we are here, and why.

Generosity is needed to help the organizations that strive to keep a vital part of America living. For about a penny an hour you could probably support a dozen that are really acting to keep the world beautiful for everybody's children. If you think your generosity can include the Sierra Club and you know a member (and you are over twelve), please tell him you're ready. If you know none, write the club's president, secretary, or executive director. Address: Mills Tower, San Francisco 4. Dues and contributions are deductible.

National Parks Association

The National Parks Association is an independent, private, nonprofit public service organization, educational and scientific in character, with more than 30,000 members throughout the United States and abroad. It was established in 1919 by Stephen T. Mather, the first Director of the National Park Service. It publishes the monthly *National Parks Magazine*. The Association is concerned primarily with the protection of the national parks and monuments of America—in which it coöperates with the National Park Service, while functioning also as a constructive critic—and secondarily with the protection and restoration of the natural environment generally.

The Association seeks preservation of redwoods through a Redwood National Park, and has recently worked for preservation of Everglades National Park, passage of the Wilderness Act, the Land and Water Conservation Fund to finance acquisition of lands for national parks, forests and wildlife refuges, and for numerous additions to the national park system from coast to coast. A current major project is opposition to the construction of Bridge Canyon and Marble Gorge dams, which threaten Grand Canyon National Park and Monument.

Dues begin at \$6.50 per year. Contributions and bequests are also needed. Dues in excess of \$6.50 and contributions are deductible for federal gift- and estate-tax purposes. President and General Counsel is Anthony Wayne Smith, 1300 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

The Wilderness Society

The Wilderness Society is a national conservation organization formed to secure the preservation of wilderness, to carry on an educational program concerning the value of wilderness, to make and encourage scientific studies, and to mobilize public coöperation in resisting the invasion of wilderness. Organized in 1935, the Society now has about 35,000 members. Its long-time broad purpose is to increase the knowledge and appreciation of wilderness, wherever found, and to see established enduring policies and programs for its protection and appropriate use. It publishes a quarterly, *The Living Wilderness*, and conducts an outing program, "A Way to Wilderness."

The Society under the leadership of the late Howard Zahniser, fought for many years to obtain passage of a Wilderness Bill, and has now begun the ten-year study and review of the plans of government agencies for wildlands to be added to the National Wilderness Preservation System. Other projects are the protection of the Boundary Waters Canoe Area, establishment of a Redwood National Park, opposition to Rampart Dam on the Yukon River in Alaska, and to Bridge and Marble Canyon dams which threaten the Grand Canyon of the Colorado.

Dues begin at \$5 per year. Contributions and bequests are deductible for federal tax purposes. Executive Director is Stewart M. Brandborg, 729-15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

National Audubon Society

The Society was organized in 1905 to advance public understanding of the value and need of conservation of soil, water, plants and wildlife, and the relation of their intelligent treatment and wise use to human progress. Membership in the Society supports Audubon Camps, Nature Centers, Junior Clubs, Wildlife Sanctuaries in many parts of the nation, Wildlife films and publications, wildlife research, public information, branches and affiliates of the Society in more than 300 communities.

A leader in the study of problems growing out of the indiscriminate use of pesticides which endanger water and wildlife, the Society has also conducted campaigns to preserve such endangered species as the California Condor against the encroachment of man-made structures into wildlife refuges, and has been active in the campaign to establish a Redwood National Park which would include spectacular Gold Bluffs beach, habitat of the Roosevelt elk. It has also joined in opposition to the destruction of the living Colorado River and its unique ecological balance through construction of proposed Bridge Canyon and Marble Gorge dams.

Minimum dues are \$8.50, and all dues are tax-deductible. Contributions and bequests are also welcomed. President is Carl W. Buchheister, 1130 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Trustees for Conservation

The organization was formed in San Francisco in 1954 by a group of prominent conservationists, acting as individuals, primarily to advocate conservation legislation. TFC seeks financial support for conservation efforts that are not tax deductible. It supports the legislative activities of a Washington representative who registers under the federal lobbying act to alert members and other conservationists to seek the support of Members of Congress. Since its funds are from nondeductible donations, they are at least twice as hard to get—and at least doubly important.

TFC began its legislative activity during the fight to keep Echo Park and Split Mountain dams out of Dinosaur National Monument. Since that time, it has supported and urged legislative action on such vital conservation legislation as the Wilderness Bill, a North Cascades National Park, and protection for Rainbow Bridge. Current projects are the establishment of a Redwood National Park, and opposition to the proposed Grand Canyon dams.

Contributions to Trustees may be mailed to William J. Losh, Executive Secretary, 251 Kearny Street, San Francisco. Officers and Trustees: Lewis F. Clark, president; Stuart Dole, treasurer; Robert C. Miller, Secretary; Dorothy Varian, Paul Brooks, and David Brower, Vice Presidents; Ansel Adams, Horace M. Albright, David Bradley, Harold C. Bradley, Joseph Bradley, Harrison Brown, J. F. Carithers, Hilary H. Crawford, Jr., Harold E. Crowe, M.D., Jay A. Darwin, Newton B. Drury, Pauline Dyer, Thomas D. Eliot, Francis P. Farquhar, C. M. Goethe, D. Hanson Grubb, Weldon F. Heald, Clifford V. Heimbucher, Kenneth A. Henderson, Edward H. Hilliard, Jr., Thomas H. Jukes, Alfred A. Knopf, Joseph Wood Krutch, Richard M. Leonard, Edward Mallinckrodt, Jr., George Marshall, Otis R. Marston, Frank E. Masland, Jr., Max McGraw, Leslie A. Miller, Nancy Newhall, Karal Onthank, John Osseward, J. W. Penfold, Wallace Stegner, Theodore A. Waller, Edgar Wayburn, William H. Whyte, Jr., and Charles G. Woodbury.

Citizens Committee on Natural Resources

A nonprofit organization formed in Washington, D.C. in 1955, the principle objectives of which are to advance conservation, restoration, and sound management of natural resources in the public interest through working with civic-minded people to further public understanding of major conservation issues, and to encourage the expression of public opinion to legislators; working to supplement the educational activities of all other conservation groups, organizations and individuals, and striving to attain such goals by authorized means. Its program is primarily legislative and it registers under the Federal Lobbying Act.

Membership consists of Voting Members, and contributors who are elected to join. Annual dues are \$10. Contributions are not tax-deductible, so are especially welcome since they are hard to get. *Address:* Spencer N. Smith, Secretary, Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D.C.

Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs

The Federation was formed in 1932 to provide for member clubs a cohesive central organization for the furtherance of conservation, to disseminate informa-

tion concerning the activities and aims of its members, to enlist support and cooperation of the people and governmental agencies in preserving the forests, wildlife, and natural features of this country, and to assist in the acquisition and preservation of desirable lands for state and national parks. Present membership is 42 clubs with a total of 43,470 individual members.

For many years, the Federation has actively supported a North Cascades National Park. Through its representatives, its members have worked for the Wilderness Bill, a Redwood National Park, and have opposed the Marble Gorge and Bridge Canyon dams. It holds annual conventions that help coordinate the individual club's programs in conservation.

Dues for individual members are from \$2 per year. The Federation's publication is the *Western Outdoor Quarterly*. *Address:* President, Clark H. Jones, 3340 Mayfield Avenue, San Bernardino, Calif., Secretary, Mrs. James S. Hughes, 616-15th Avenue, San Francisco, and Treasurer, Miss Una Davies, 13641 S.W. Fielding Road, Oswego, Oregon.

Citizens for a Redwood National Park

The organization was formed early in 1965 by citizens of Humboldt and Del Norte counties in California to provide a clear local voice of citizens in favor of a Redwood National Park, to develop and promote information on the park issue, and to disseminate such information to all interested citizens, and to exercise influence upon park proposals so that the Northern California communities would have the greatest benefit from the creation of an optimum national park. One of its first actions was to send to Secretary Udall a petition urging a national park signed by more than 2,000 citizens of Humboldt, Del Norte, Mendocino, Shasta, and Trinity counties.

CRNP receives contributions to achieve its goal, and has printed and mailed information to all senators and congressmen, and to over 1300 national organizations. Additional activities have included appearances before such local organizations as churches, political groups, and service clubs. Members have appeared at State Park Commission meetings, California Senate National Resources Committee hearings, and Redwood National Park hearings in Washington, D.C.

Membership dues are from \$5 and contributions are badly needed. Secretary is Dona Johnson, P.O. Box 713, Arcata, California.

HOW YOU CAN HELP REALLY SAVE THE REDWOODS

The destruction of much of California's virgin forests of coastal redwood has been a grim record at best. The devastation of the last of these great forests, and with it the last chance to preserve them in a national park, is an inexcusable act. It can still be prevented, but citizens must speak out in numbers so that the decision-makers, and the opinion-makers who influence them, will react. Though the decision will be made in Washington, D. C., it will be responsive to opinion throughout the country.

The only great redwood forest that remains to be protected is on Redwood Creek south of Prairie Creek Redwoods State Park. Here the world's tallest trees are enfolded in a valley of virgin forests. A 90,000 acre Redwood National Park would be established there to protect these forests under the terms of legislation now before Congress, H. R. 11723. This bill must be moved through Congress quickly if these forests are to be saved from the quickening saws of the lumber companies that are felling them.

The engines of government move surely only when fueled by the insistence of public demand. If the public remains passive, it is certain that the last virgin forests will be logged. There are many things that you can do, however, that will create the demand that can bring a Redwood National Park into being. Here are some of them (*use the box to check your performance*).

Study the information that is available on the redwoods and their last peril. Borrow *The Last Redwoods*, by François Leydet, from a friend or library. Leydet's book develops the case for saving redwoods at greater length than is possible here. Having obtained a copy of the book and absorbed its message, lend the book to people you wish to influence. It is a powerful persuader. (A big book with many gravure and color photographs, it is necessarily expensive. But if you are deeply interested, you may want to own it. It costs \$17.50.*)

Tell your Senators and Congressman that you feel there should be a Redwood National Park on Redwood Creek. Your letter, and countless others, will help them form their judgment.

Write to key members of the Senate and House committees that will report to Congress on bills to establish a Redwood National Park. Ask for hearings in this session of Congress.

Hon. Wayne N. Aspinall, Chairman

House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Senator Henry M. Jackson, Chairman

Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Encourage President Johnson in his intentions to seek a Redwood National Park. Write him to let him know you support the maximum effort for such a park while time remains.

Write the editor of your local newspaper. The fate of the redwoods is a "local issue" in every city and town in America. Write also to the editors of national magazines, to columnists, to radio and TV commentators.

Propose resolutions in support of a Redwood National Park on Redwood Creek in clubs and groups to which you belong. Send copies of resolutions that are adopted to your Congressman and to the chairmen of the Interior Committees.

Obtain a print of the 16 mm. sound-and-color film, "The Wasted Woods," as well as the CBS Report film (16 mm. B & W) "Bulldozed America." Show the films to clubs, civic organizations, and other groups. (Obtainable from the Sierra Club for a suggested \$5.00 rental fee; "The Wasted Woods" is also available for purchase at \$275.00 per copy.)

If you are qualified and able to do so, make it known that you are available to fill speaking engagements in your community.

Consider how opinion is formed and how things get done in your particular community. Consult with your most active and knowledgeable acquaintances. Use your imagination.

Support the efforts of organizations that are fighting to really save the redwoods. These include: The National Audubon Society, the National Parks Association, The Wilderness Society, Wildlife Management Institute, Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, Citizens for a Redwood National Park, Citizens Committee on Natural Resources, and Trustees for Conservation.

Get as many people as you can to do as many of these things as they can.

***Thanks to the generosity of a friend of the Redwoods, a few copies of THE LAST REDWOODS have been set aside as awards for energetic effort on behalf of an adequate Redwoods National Park. When you have completed this checklist, write to the Sierra Club's Executive Director telling him about what you have done on the Park's behalf. You may win a copy of THE LAST REDWOODS.**

Sierra Club, Mills Tower, San Francisco 4

Date.....

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I wish to support your purposes and enclose \$..... (admission and dues)

Print name and address

Birth date (if under 21) and signature

I sponsor the applicant and believe him to be interested in advancing the club's purposes. (Sponsor must be over 21 and a member for a year.)

Signature

Print name and city

- Dues, \$9
- Spouse, \$4.50
- Junior, \$3.50
- Life, \$150
- Admission, \$5

REDWOOD PARKS SPECIAL STUDY COMMISSION

11/14/72

Upon motion by Commissioner Leonard, seconded by Commissioner Sokolov, the following resolution was adopted with one abstention:

Since it has become apparent in the last four years that dual management of the Redwood National Park and the Redwood State Parks has not been effective for the general public good; and

Since it also appears that the fee title to the Redwood State Parks and the Redwood National Park cannot be deeded to a single jurisdiction at this time; and

Since the Department of Parks and Recreation of the State of California has long provided excellent management and knowledge of the redwood parks,

The Redwood Parks Special Study Commission recommends that management of the Redwood National Park and the Redwood State Parks by the State of California be negotiated with the federal government on a cooperative basis.

AYE - Commissioner Black
Carter
Leonard
Rusher
Sokolov

ABSTAINING - Commissioner Merriam

LAW OFFICES OF

LEONARD & DOLE

RICHARD M. LEONARD
STUART R. DOLE
STANLEY R. DICKOVER, JR.

15TH FLOOR MILLS TOWER • 220 BUCH STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 94104 • TELEPHONE (415) 981-7800

November 5, 1972

Redwood Parks Special Study Commission

Re: State and Federal Park Cooperation

Gentlemen:

In preparation for our meeting on Tuesday, November 14, I am enclosing a copy of a press release of October 25, 1972, from the National Park Service.


This outlines excellent financial and management cooperation between the State of Wisconsin and the federal government in connection with the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve.

This could apply equally well to the Redwood National Park. The State administers the parks, with 75% federal financing for development and 50% for annual operating expense.

While this would require additional congressional action, a variation of it should provide a good solution to the split management of the Redwood National Park.

See you soon.

Cordially,



Enclosure

cc: Norman B. Livermore, Jr. (w/NPS release)
William Penn Mott " "bcc: Drury (w/encl)
Conservation Associates (w/encl)

7-60

Leonard

DEPARTMENT of the INTERIORnews release

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

For Release October 25, 1972

T. Wilson (202) 343-5562

ICE AGE NATIONAL SCIENTIFIC RESERVE
AGREEMENT SIGNED BETWEEN WISCONSIN AND INTERIOR

Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton announced today the signing of a cooperative agreement between Wisconsin and the Department of the Interior covering the land acquisition, development, management, and maintenance of the Ice Age National Scientific Reserve. The plan was developed jointly by the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources and the National Park Service.

The Reserve is composed of nine separate areas scattered across Wisconsin, totaling 32,500 acres. Each area represents outstanding examples of different types of formations of the continental glaciation period that ended 10,000 years ago.

The National Scientific Reserve was authorized by Congress in 1964 and was officially established in May 1971. It represents a unique concept of cooperation between the Federal Government and Wisconsin for the development, operation, and maintenance of the nine components. It is the only unit of the National Park System to be administered through this type of cooperative program.

The State will administer the nine units of the Reserve with assistance from the Department of the Interior. The State and the Federal Government will share equally in the cost of acquisition of some 7,800 acres of land needed to complete the Reserve. The State can receive up to 75 percent Federal financing on development projects and up to 50 percent of the annual operating expenses for the Reserve. In addition, the National Park Service will provide direct assistance with master planning, and development of interpretive services and informational materials.

The Reserve includes about 18,000 acres in Kettle Moraine State Forest and the Campbellsport drumlin areas just northwest of Milwaukee; 8,800 acres in the Devil's Lake State Park north-northwest of Madison; about 3,000 acres in the Blocmer areas of Chippewa County north of Eau Claire, and the remaining acreage in smaller areas which range from the shore of Lake Michigan north of Manitowoc to the St. Croix River south of St. Croix Falls.

Complete development of the Reserve is a long range project and will progress as funds are available. When completed the Reserve will include trails, picnic areas, campgrounds, wayside exhibits, and interpretive centers. Several of the areas already in State ownership are now providing some visitor facilities and services.

-NPS-

Letter from former Sierra Club leaders to
Sierra Club officers urging strict controls
on Executive Director David Brower

April 28, 1967

To all members of the Board and Council of the Sierra Club

HORACE M. ALBRIGHT

From: Phil S. Bernays Alexander Hildebrand

Harold C. Bradley Joel H. Hildebrand

Harold E. Crowe Milton Hildebrand

Francis P. Farquhar Bestor Robinson

Clifford V. Heimbucher Robert G. Sproul

Dear Friends and Friends of the Sierra Club:

It appears to us that the Sierra Club must choose now between responsible and effective leadership by the elected representatives of the membership and irresponsible and uncompromising leadership by the Executive Director and his sympathizers. The break between the factions is long standing, deep, irreconcilable, and is critically damaging the Club. The situation is deteriorating; the chance to opt for responsible representative government will probably be lost by default if postponed.

We believe that resolute action is needed to restore to the Board full control of Club affairs and to reestablish confidence in the integrity and wise counsel of the Club's leadership. We expect you to take such action and wish to indicate the general steps that seem to us to be imperative. We offer our support for these actions and toward that end authorize the Board to use this letter in any way that would strengthen its hand.

We will endorse such solution to our problems as you may propose (we recognize that we are somewhat out of touch with the immediate situation)

provided that the Executive Director be completely removed from the production of the Bulletin and other news media, the establishment and direct implementation of policy, and the control of funds other than such special budgets as the Board might determine. We have been fond of the Executive Director, bear him no personal malice, recognize his many talents, and wish him well, However, our greater loyalty must be to the Club and its objectives. The Executive Director has campaigned against policy established by the Board, repeatedly used lofty objectives to excuse undignified means, disregarded admonitions from the Board, refused to abide by majority rule, used biased, emotional, and irresponsible statements in Club correspondence and publications, exercised firm and unwarranted control over editorial policy, made unauthorized expenditures, impuned the motives and good faith of public officials, in effect established Club policy by official acts prior to consideration by the Board of the relevant questions, resorted to political maneuver within the Club to promote his own ambitions, and has lost the trust of many key persons both in and out of the Club. Let us not continue to compromise with integrity.

We urge the Board to take immediate steps to gain full control of the Bulletin. We believe that a new Editor should be appointed and made directly responsible to the Board. Hopefully the Board will adopt an editorial policy similar to that presented to the Board in June, 1965 (but not considered at that time). The Bulletin should, we believe, openly report enough of the present crisis, and any subsequent developments, to acquaint the electorate with the nature of our problems, still rumor, and counter the formation of factions within the membership. Assumption of control over the Bulletin doubtless must accompany or precede any change in the status of the Executive Director.

It is our understanding that consideration is to be given to changes in the ByLaws that would (1) specify that no Board member may serve on the staff and (2) increase the number of signatures required for referendum. We support these reforms and hope that the Board will initiate the necessary steps at an early date.

Actions such as the above will be difficult for a divided Board to adopt. We take the liberty to remind you that a Board is a legislative body, not a forum. When each principal argument has been presented and minds are made up, it is time to vote. The minority should be fairly heard but should not be allowed to prolong discussion beyond reason or advantage.

We address you in this manner with regret but with conviction. The Club urgently needs your leadership. We support you in your difficult task.

Very sincerely,

Signet - H. M. A.

Phil S. Bernall

Alexander Hildebrand

Harold C. Bradley

Joel H. Hildebrand

Dr. Paul E. Brown

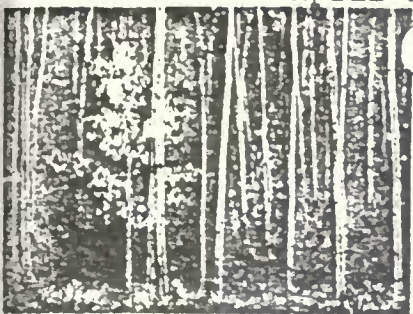
Milton Hildebrand

Francis P. Larcher

Robert Robinson

Cross Hildebrand

Robert G. Sprout



SIERRA CLUB

Mills Tower, San Francisco 94104

by Ansel Adams in *This Is the American Earth*

April 22, 1969

Mr. Phillip Barry, Secretary
Sierra Club
Mills Tower
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Barry:

I hereby certify the results of the Sierra Club election of April 12, 1969, as follows:

Vote for Directors (in order of total votes received):

Edgar Wayburn	28,120
Ansel Adams	28,028
August Fruge	24,750
Raymond J. Sherwin	24,131
Maynard Munger, Jr.	22,404
David Brower	16,253
Dave Sive	14,394
Frederick Eissler	13,217
George Alderson	12,689
Pauline Dyer	11,937
Sanford S. Tepfer	10,230
Virginia L. Prentice	7,030

On the basis of the above tally I declare that the 5 individuals elected to fill the 5 vacancies on the Board of Directors are Wayburn, Adams, Fruge, Sherwin and Munger.

1. Vote for Proposed Amendment to the By-laws of the Sierra Club:

YES - 22,733

NO - 16,639

On the basis that 2/3rds majority is required to adopt the Amendment, I certify that the Amendment failed to be adopted.

2. Proposal for an increase in Sierra Club dues:

YES - 33,989

NO - 8,116

On the basis of the above vote I hereby certify that the dues increase passed.

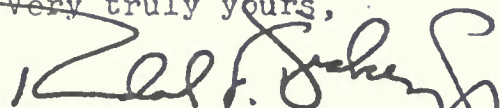
3. Diablo Canyon Policy:

-2-

The closest estimate of the total number of ballots cast is approximately 43,767 votes.

I believe it is the usual policy for the Secretary of the Club to furnish each of the candidates for election with a copy of this information.

Very truly yours,



Randal F. Dickey, Jr.
Chairman, Judges of Election

RFDJr:MN

cc: Dr. Wayburn

cc: Mr. Cliff Rudden

Report from Richard M. Leonard to directors of Concerned Members
for Conservation on post-election caucus to reorganize club leadership

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RICHARD M. LEONARD

STUART R. DOLE

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April 20, 1969

CMC Directors

Adams - Fruge - Munger
Sherwin - Sill (Leonard)
Tom Hoeffler (Chairman)

The caucus yesterday with Berry, Siri and Wayburn plus four CMC was excellent. With 40% CMC representation on the Board of Directors, we have been offered 60% on the Executive Committee. This is voting control.

For Ansel's information, the tentative agreements were as follows:

1. Brower will be fired by at least a 9-5 vote, "effective immediately" 5/3/69, financial details to be settled by the Executive Committee. (Motion by Ansel, second by CMC freshman.)
2. Nash, Schanhaar, et al. are to be fired by Executive Committee.
3. ABC will not this year be permitted on Executive Committee. Too much reorganization required.
4. Siri and Leonard stated that they are not available for the Executive Committee.
5. Berry and Wayburn wish to be on the Executive Committee.
6. Sill should be a member because of his excellent Chapter and Council leadership, and his previous experience on the Executive Committee.
7. Fruge is essential because of the great importance of total reorganization of the Publications Program.
8. Munger and Sherwin are each excellent for the fifth place. Munger for youth and Chapter leadership, Sherwin for maturity and broad membership leadership.

CMD Directors, et al

April 20, 1969

9. Treasurer will be Huestis, since the long-range capital and cash-flow planning are extremely serious, and require professional ability. Daily administration will continue to be very competently handled by Rudden, with check signing by L. Clark, Siri, Wayburn and Leonard. (This will also provide one more vote for two-thirds control of the Board, in case of absence of one of the present 10.) Because of distance, the Treasurer would not be included on the Executive Committee.
10. Vice President's title is strongly desired by Wayburn, for national prestige in handling conservation matters. I feel strongly that no title, except that of President, is worth the chance of going back to 6-4-5 voting, with periodic voting of "middle" 4 with ABC block of 5. Also, once voting control of the Executive Committee is in the hands of CMC, even the President cannot substantially harm CMC principles.
11. President is going to catch hell from both sides for the entire first year. There may very well be deliberate secret sabotage from minor staff, not detectable for several months. ABC will raise all the trouble it can, and many idealists in CMC will be vocally critical because "progress" and reorganization are not as swift and deep as desired in the long run. After firing all the senior staff except McCloskey, Rudden, Brock Evans and Tupling, the President will require close daily contact to get things going again.

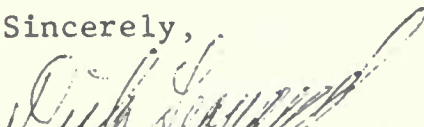
Whoever is in charge after bursting of a financial "bubble" is in for a lot of trouble. I recommend that CMC stay out of this as President, but accomplish the same long-range results by voting control of the weekly meetings of the Executive Committee.

12. Secretary has historically been the second most effective position in the Sierra Club. All four available CMC Directors could do an excellent job. I recommend Sill because of experience, and his keen analytical ability.
13. Titles for the other two positions on the Executive Committee can be provided, if desirable.

Hope to see most of you Wednesday, 4/23, at 7:30 P.M. at my home.

Sincerely,

cc: Director Lewis F. Clark



Sierra Club financial position before and after the resignation
of David Brower

SIERRA CLUB FINANCES

(Before and After Resignation of Brower)

12/31/66 - \$563,000 net worth
12/31/68 - 352,000 " "

LOSS (\$211,000) in 2 years with Brower

3/31/72 (\$286,700) Negative net worth

LOSS (\$638,700) in 3½ years after Brower

THUS LOSS was \$100,000 per year with Brower

" " " \$200,000 " " after Brower

BUT

3/31/72 (\$286,700) Negative net worth

3/31/73 113,400 Positive " "

GAIN \$400,100 in 1 year

Extraordinary Income (Near 3/72-3/73, but not all in that year)

\$179,000 Longines "Endangered Species" medallions

113,000 Squire Estate

50,000 Reserve not needed in computer settlement

\$342,000 Extraordinary Income

APPENDIX H

Financial losses of Sierra Club publications before and after the resignation of David Brower

SIERRA CLUB PUBLICATIONS

(Before and After Resignation of Brower)

LOSS \$ 223,000 in 4 years 1965-68 under Brower

LOSS 492,000 in 3 years 1969-71 after Brower

LOSS \$ 715,000 in 7 years

BUT \$ 803,000 charged above for general overhead

LOSS \$ 13,300 in 1 year to 9/30/72 without \$174,000 overhead

GAIN \$ 63,000 in 6 mths. to 3/31/73 without \$119,000 overhead

SIERRA CLUB FINANCES
(Dollars in Thousands - Losses in Parentheses)

<u>Audit Date</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Expense</u>	<u>Net Income</u>	<u>Permanent Fund</u>	<u>Net Worth</u>
12/63	\$ 908	\$1,001 (Auditors - Farquhar & Heimbucher)	(\$93)	\$254	\$282
12/64	1,340	1,146	+ 194	254	518 ⁽¹⁾
12/65	1,480	1,508 (Auditors - Price Waterhouse & Co.)	(28)	291	497
12/66	1,814	1,757	+ 57	347	<u>563</u> (HI)
12/67	2,321	2,387	(66)	387	496
12/68	3,112	3,271	(159)	428	352
9/30/69	2,048	2,168 (Nine months on change of Fiscal Year.)	(120)	466	254
9/70	3,120	3,035	+ 85	499	313
9/71	3,571	4,041	(470)	535	(157)
3/72	(Half Year)				<u>(287)</u> (LO)
9/72	3,763	3,663	+ 100	552	(58)
9/73	3,976	3,723	+ 253	564	+196
9/74	4,432	4,467	(35)	575	+161

(1) Because of other accounting factors, "Net Worth" changes do not exactly follow changes in "Net Income."

(Tabulated by Richard M. Leonard from Audit Reports)

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Started 2/14/72

Mailed 2/18/72

Sierra Club
Board of Directors

Re: Sierra Club Publications Program

Abstract

Sierra Club publications have lost approximately \$800,000 in the last nine years. The 1971 loss was \$196,000. The projected operating loss for 1972, even with a "curtailed" program, is \$79,000. A separately financed Sierra Club Books Corporation, physically separated, could clarify management and accounting. It would not have to finance the current inventory and receivables of \$600,000. However, it would have to have new financing of approximately \$500,000 in operating capital to finance it during buildup of its own inventory and receivables. The publications program has been extremely valuable to conservation and the Sierra Club. However, the club no longer has the assets to absorb the continuing losses. New financing must be found by the May directors meeting, or the Sierra Club Publishing Program must be liquidated, with resulting paper losses.

Statement

Detail of publication losses during the last nine years is as follows:

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Loss</u>	<u>Balance</u>
Audit	12/31/62	\$ --	\$ 32,194
"	" 63	14,665	17,529
"	" 64	17,119	409
"	" 65	15,680	(15,271)
"	" 66	119,144	(134,415)
"	" 67	63,475	(197,890)

Report from Richard M. Leonard to the Sierra Club Board of Directors recommending a separately financed Sierra Club Books Corporation

Sierra Club

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Loss</u>	<u>Balance</u>
Audit	12/31/68	\$ 36,612	\$(234,502)
"	9/30/69	237,956	(474,854)
Controller	" 70	55,849	(530,703)
"	" 71	196,417	(727,120)
"	12/31/71	50,674	(769,468)
Beginning balance		32,194	(801,662)

The new fiscal year ending 9/30/69 was a short year, without the usual profitable Christmas sales. Note, however, that the full fiscal year ending 9/30/71 was almost as bad, and that the annual rate for the "profitable" Christmas sales of 1971 would be another loss of over \$200,000.

I sympathize with Fruge as to accuracy of the figures and proration of General Overhead. On 4/29/68, Brower wrote the directors that ". . . in the aggregate, for the exhibit format years, . . . the publications operation (is) \$230,000 in the black, not the \$220,000 in the red Dick Leonard arrives at."

But the sad facts are that altho Dave presented his views to the auditors, none of the independent auditors have agreed to any change in these figures, nor in the allocation of overhead. Moreover, Sierra Club publication finances are worse now than ever before.

A separately financed publications program would at least help clarify the accounting. The clearest and cleanest separation would be a new corporation with physically separate operations. As has been recognized for many years, the principal problem would be capitalization.

Invested capital hit an audited peak at 12/31/68 as follows:

\$ 540,878	Books on hand
54,736	Books in process
34,629	Advance royalties
<u>665,338</u>	Accounts receivable
\$1,295,581	<u>Invested Capital</u>

Sierra Club

Fortunately, this diversion of capital has now been reduced to approximately the following as at 12/31/71:

\$334,007	Inventory of publications
27,527	Advance production
94,152	Advance royalties
<u>296,198</u>	Accounts receivable
\$751,884	<u>Invested Capital</u>

The Sierra Club Books Corporation (referred to hereafter as "B/C") would not have to finance the third of a million dollars now in inventory. That could remain physically where it is, and an asset on the books of the club. When a \$25 book at an inventory cost of \$7 is sold by the B/C at a 40% discount, the Sierra Club would be paid the \$7 cost, and the B/C would have the "profit." (Some financing would be needed during the collection period of the B/C receivables.)

Similarly, the Sierra Club would gradually collect its own \$296,000 in receivables, and the B/C would accumulate its own receivables as books are sold. The more successful the B/C becomes, the greater the capital required to cover the new inventory and receivables. However, that can be accomplished gradually, and if truly "successful", then "nothing succeeds like success," and additional capital should be obtainable.

The \$121,679 in Sierra Club "Advance Production" and "Advance Royalties" could be gradually liquidated by B/C as B/C produces and sells those planned books. If B/C decides not to publish any of those books on which advances have already been paid, then the Sierra Club would have to write off the advances as additional losses. An early evaluation would be advisable.

The more difficult problem is that of operating capital. On the proposed 1972 publications budget of \$401,000 sales, the expenses (excluding overhead) are projected at \$468,000. That would result in another loss of at least \$67,000. The anticipated "subsidiary net income" of \$100,000 would be a Sierra Club asset (not B/C), derived from past books, and offsetting a bit the \$800,000 of accumulated losses in producing those books. Even if in some way that \$100,000 could be rationalized as going to the new "separate" B/C, it would be more than offset by the current reduced 18% "allocated overhead" of \$106,000 due on the same budget.

So, no matter how you figure it, with or without the subsidiary income and reduced overhead, the loss is projected at \$67,000 (or more) for the year, with \$38,000 loss already in the

"profitable" Christmas quarter of 1971.

It is difficult to visualize how anyone (or group) would put up an operating budget of \$468,000 on such a 9-year record and current optimistic projections. The Sierra Club can no longer do so, since the 30% growth that permitted it to continue such deficit financing in the past has now "slowed" to an excellent growth rate of 10%. So now the cumulative effect of the \$800,000 in losses has exhausted the financial reserves and flexibility of the club.

Kenneth M. Turner, former Chairman of the Mother Lode Chapter, wrote on 1/16/72:

"To end under capitalization and thereby restore reserves, I suggest that the publishing business be separately incorporated and financed by either debentures or preferred stock to be offered for direct sale to SC members. The proceeds would then be used to purchase the inventory of books, plates, copyrights, etc. from the Sierra Club. Also, the exhibit format series should be phased out (too much competition) and replaced with a series of conservation text books."

However, the Commissioner of Corporations of the Department of Investment of the State of California probably would not permit such a sale, on such a financial record. He would have to be convinced that such a sale was "fair, just and equitable" to the purchasers.

The only hope would be to convince a generous "angel" (or a group of five or less) that the benefit to conservation would justify putting up operating capital of at least \$500,000 on a reasonable cash-flow chart, before the new separate B/C could be self-sustaining, and start plans for repayment of the capital investment.

If such outside financing cannot be located by the May directors meeting, then the publications program must be liquidated promptly.

The "curtailed" budget of \$300,000 in sales, still projects an operating loss of \$79,000, without the offsetting subsidiary income and overhead.

It must be emphasized that such a loss is a cash loss, adding to the very difficult accounts payable. Most of the liquidation losses that have been predicted would be paper losses, recognizing then that losses have actually been more than the \$800,000 already accounted for. Inventory, for instance, need not be "remaindered at 75% of cost." It can be sold over a period of many years, just as LeConte's "Ramblings" continues to sell today. In the meantime, the

Sierra Club

inventory continues as an asset of the club, subject to continuing audit evaluation.

If Accounts Receivable are actually so bad as to entail "losses @ 75% of value," then, again, losses would have actually been far worse than already accounted for. But unless the book purchasers are all bankrupt, a collection agency would bring in 50%. Again, it must be remembered that instead of a cash loss of \$79,000, adding to already overloaded accounts payable, a loss on accounts receivable would be only a paper recognition of losses already incurred in earlier years. It would make the balance sheet worse, and if the loss turns out to be real, then dollars would be missing which could otherwise be applied to accounts payable.

But keep in mind that even if the publishing program broke even, and had no losses, the dollars from the present accounts receivable would not be available to pay the present accumulated accounts payable, because the dollars received would simply be "recycled" in a continuation of new publication payables and new receivables.

Thus, it is only by liquidation of the publishing program (or obtaining new separate financing) that the Sierra Club can use its \$630,205 of Inventory and Accounts Receivable to apply against the almost equal \$555,000 in accounts payable.

The share of the overhead now allocated to publications would not be covered on separation or liquidation. However, it has only partially been covered by publications, missing it by \$800,000 in the last nine years. In any event, after a period of readjustment, the expenses involved in general overhead should be capable of being reduced because of the absence of the publications load.

Liquidation of a losing program almost always requires recognition of additional unrecognized losses, previously unaccounted for. But it stops the CONTINUING cash loss. Radio Corporation of America was losing \$75,000,000 a year on its computer operation. It liquidated the operation recently at a loss of \$250,000,000. But it stopped the continuing cash loss. Most of the paper loss was a belated recognition of the fact that their computer operations were not as good as they had previously thought.

CONCLUSION: The Sierra Club Publications Program has always been run by loyal, dedicated, competent people, with supervision in recent years by three professionals on the Board of Directors. The publications have been of immense value to conservation and the rapid growth of the Sierra Club

Sierra Club

and the environmental movement. They have probably been worth the \$800,000. But, unfortunately, the Sierra Club no longer has the assets to maintain such continuing losses.

With a projected loss of \$79,000 for 1972, even with a "curtailed" program, the Sierra Club Publications Program must by May 6, 1972, either be capable of separate, new, large-scale financing, or immediately be liquidated.

The Board of Directors can no longer delay. A decision must be made at the May 6-7, 1972, meeting.

Sincerely,



Richard M. Leonard

RML:AL

cc: Publications Committee
Financial Advisory Committee
Executive Director (5 copies)
Controller (5)
Administrative Officer (5)
Editor-in-Chief (5)

APPENDIX K

LAW OFFICES OF

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RICHARD M. LEONARD
STUART R. DOLE
STANLEY R. DICHOVER, JR.

August 12, 1972

H. Donald Harris, Jr.
Lillick, McHose, Wheat, Adams & Charles
311 California Street
San Francisco, Ca. 94104

Re: Point Arena

Dear Don:

In your letter of December 16, 1971, to Dave Pesonen, you very carefully stated the conditions of his legal retainer for the Sierra Club as follows:

"4. The Club has taken a position opposing the PG&E plant at Pt. Arena. This is opposition to the location of the plant, though we recognize that broad fronted objections as to its safety, environmental harms, etc., will be required at the PUC level.

"5. The Club does not oppose atomic power as such. It is important that no position be taken by you or any witness opposing atomic energy as such as a source of electric power.

"6. In order to coordinate the efforts of Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund and your actions in the PUC, Mike would like to have you coordinate through Fred Fisher and James Moorman. Specifically the Club has requested that one of them clear publicity releases and press conference material prior to release, and appear as co-counsel on all pleadings and briefs."

I realize that Pesonen's later appointment by Sherwin as also Chairman of the Sierra Club's Task Force to protect the Mendocino Coast may give Pesonen broader authority in publicity releases. Nevertheless, in view of the care with which you drafted your letter, I am concerned about Pesonen's July 1972 publicity pamphlet "Power at Point Arena."

If that kind of material were to be contained in the brief before the Public Utilities Commission, it would then seem to be a clear violation of the terms of his retainer.

Letter from Richard M. Leonard to the chairman of the Sierra Club Legal Committee regarding club pamphlet, "Power at Point Arena," August 12, 1972

H. Donald Harris, Jr.

August 12, 1972

I agree that the paragraphs as to the beauty of the coast, its possible harm by thermal pollution, and the dangers of the San Andreas Fault are all proper material. But the paragraphs from "Wash-740 Plus," on thru "The Loss of Coolant Accident" all seem to violate the spirit of your careful instructions. Such material was reserved by you for handling by the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund in the hearings before the Atomic Energy Commission.

Furthermore, I wonder if you will be able effectively to control Pesonen.

Is it intellectually honest for him to assert with respect to the "Probability and Consequences of Major Reactor Accidents" that "If we assume that the damages would be 'substantially more' in direct proportion to the size of the reactor, a major accident at Point Arena would have the following consequences: ¹⁵(Based on a straight line extrapolation of the maximum consequences postulated in Wash-740 under the site and meteorological assumptions outlined in footnote 9 above - 'Site characteristics: The reactor is assumed to be located near a large body of water. . . and about 30 miles from a major city. . .')

" 17,000 human fatalities
215,000 human injuries
\$35 billion property damage
2,300,000 persons evacuated . . ."?"

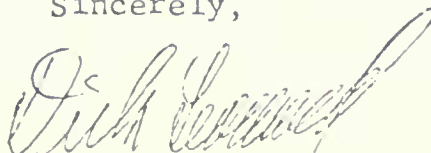
(Emphasis added to the above quotations.)

Those figures of Pesonen are simply a straight multiplication of five times the guesses in the Wash-740 report, because he assumes the Pt. Arena reactor will be five times the size. Pesonen pretends to be objective, but then deliberately disregards the assumed "site characteristic" of "30 miles from a major city," whereas Pt. Arena is approximately 110 miles from San Francisco.

If Pesonen cannot be controlled, he should be dismissed.

Thanks for your own careful work, Don.

Sincerely,



cc: Sherwin
Berry
Siri
McCloskey
Fisher
Moorman
Torre

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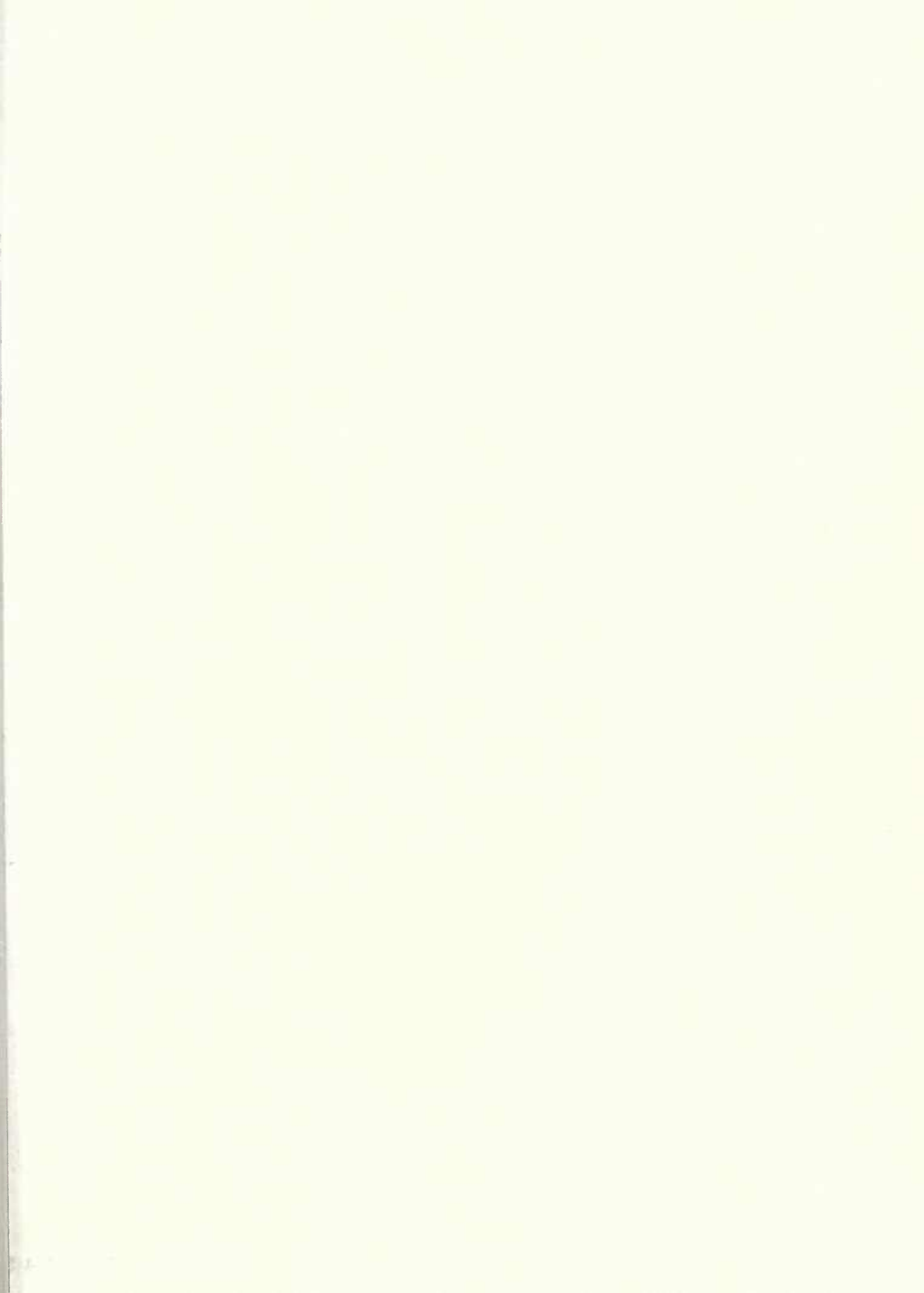
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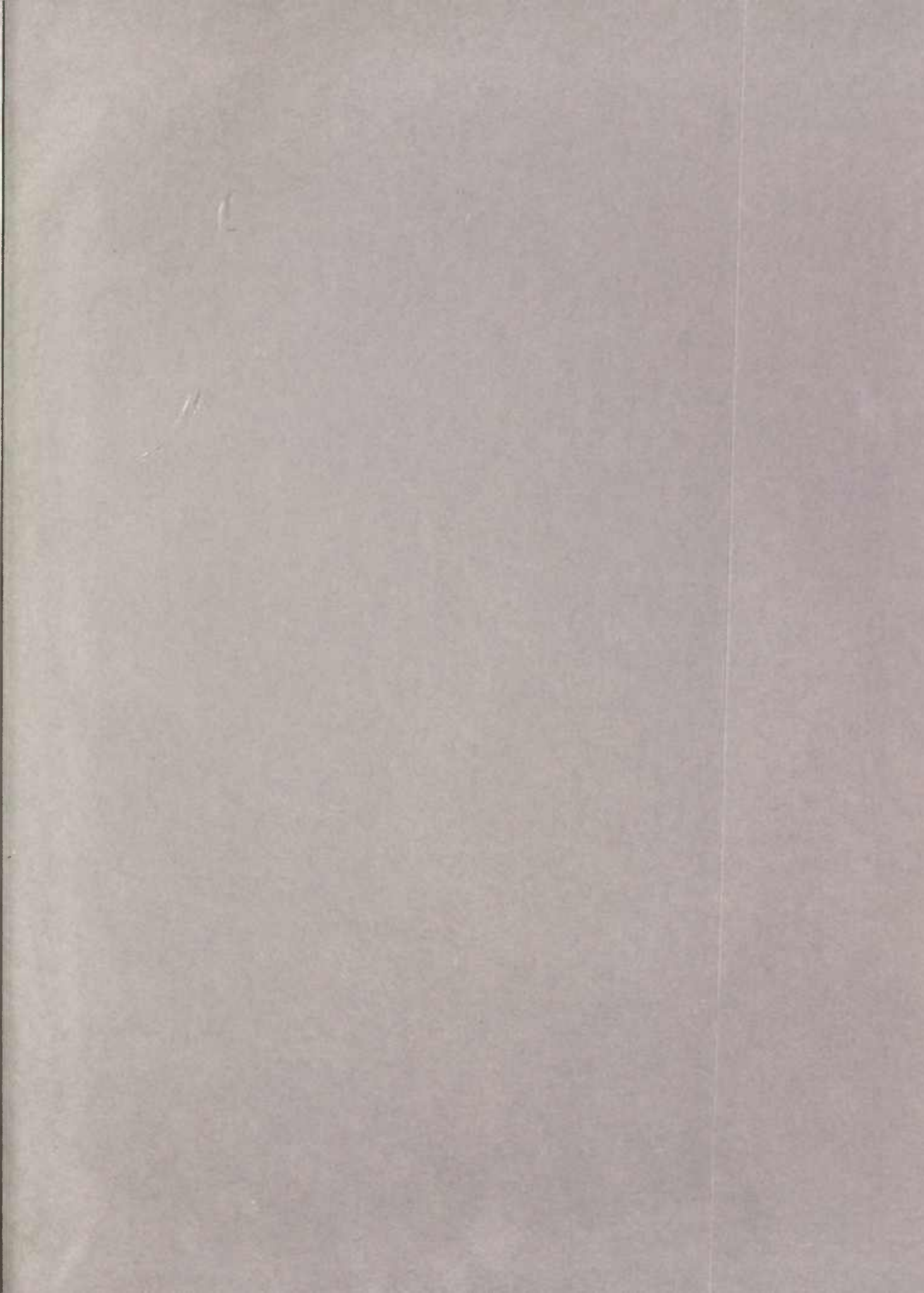
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