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The Bancroft Library

University of California  
Berkeley, California

Sierra Club History Series  
Government History Documentation Project  
Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Era

Norman B. Livermore, Jr.

MAN IN THE MIDDLE:  
HIGH SIERRA PACKER, TIMBERMAN, CONSERVATIONIST,  
AND CALIFORNIA RESOURCES SECRETARY

With an Introduction by  
David R. Brower

An Interview Conducted by  
Ann Lage and Gabrielle Morris  
1981-1982

Underwritten by  
The National Endowment for the Humanities  
and the Sierra Club

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## PREFACE

## The Oral History Program of the Sierra Club

In fall 1969 and spring 1970 a self-appointed committee of Sierra Clubbers met several times to consider two vexing and related problems. The rapid membership growth of the club and its involvement in environmental issues on a national scale left neither time nor resources to document the club's internal and external history. Club records were stored in a number of locations and were inaccessible for research. Further, we were failing to take advantage of the relatively new technique of oral history by which the reminiscences of club leaders and members of long standing could be preserved.

The ad hoc committee's recommendation that a standing History Committee be established was approved by the Sierra Club Board of Directors in May 1970. That September the board designated The Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley as the official depository of the club's archives. The large collection of records, photographs and other memorabilia known as the "Sierra Club Papers" is thus permanently protected, and the Bancroft is preparing a catalog of these holdings which will be invaluable to students of the conservation movement.

The History Committee then focused its energies on how to develop a significant oral history program. A six page questionnaire was mailed to members who had joined the club prior to 1931. More than half responded, enabling the committee to identify numerous older members as likely prospects for oral interviews. (Some had hiked with John Muir!) Other interviewees were selected from the ranks of club leadership over the past six decades.

Those committee members who volunteered as interviewers were trained in this discipline by Willa Baum, head of the Bancroft's Regional Oral History Office and a nationally recognized authority in this field. Further interviews have been completed in cooperation with university oral history classes at California State University, Fullerton; Columbia University, New York; and the University of California, Berkeley. Extensive interviews with major club leaders are most often conducted on a professional basis through the Regional Oral History Office.

Copies of the Sierra Club oral interviews are placed at The Bancroft Library, at UCLA, and at the club's Colby Library, and may be purchased for the actual cost of photocopying, binding, and shipping by club regional offices, chapters, and groups, as well as by other libraries and institutions.

Our heartfelt gratitude for their help in making the Sierra Club Oral History Project a success goes to each interviewee and interviewer; to everyone who has written an introduction to an oral history; to the Sierra Club Board of Directors for its recognition of the long-term importance of this effort; to the Trustees of the Sierra Club Foundation for generously providing

the necessary funding; to club and foundation staff, especially Michael McCloskey, Denny Wilcher, Colburn Wilbur, and Nicholas Clinch; to Willa Baum and Susan Schrepfer of the Regional Oral History Office; and last but not far from least, to the members of the History Committee, and particularly to Ann Lage, who has coordinated the oral history effort since September 1974.

You are cordially invited to read and enjoy any or all of the oral histories in the Sierra Club series. By so doing you will learn much of the club's history which is available nowhere else, and of the fascinating careers and accomplishments of many outstanding club leaders and members.

Marshall H. Kuhn  
Chairman, History Committee  
1970 - 1978

San Francisco  
May 1, 1977  
(revised May 1979, A.L.)

#### PREFACE--1980s

Inspired by the vision of its founder and first chairman, Marshall Kuhn, the Sierra Club History Committee continued to expand its oral history program following his death in 1978. With the assistance of a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, awarded in July 1980, the Sierra Club has contracted with the Regional Oral History Office of The Bancroft Library to conduct twelve to sixteen major interviews of Sierra Club activists and other environmental leaders of the 1960s and 1970s. At the same time, the volunteer interview program has been assisted with funds for training interviewers and transcribing and editing volunteer-conducted interviews, also focusing on the past two decades.

With these efforts, the committee intends to document the programs, strategies, and ideals of the national Sierra Club, as well as the club grassroots, in all its variety--from education to litigation to legislative lobbying, from energy policy to urban issues to wilderness preservation, from California to the Carolinas to New York.

Together with the written archives in The Bancroft Library, the oral history program of the 1980s will provide a valuable record of the Sierra Club during a period of vastly broadening environmental goals, radically changing strategies of environmental action, and major growth in size and influence on American politics and society.

Special thanks for the project's later phase are due to Susan Schrepfer, co-director of the Sierra Club Documentation Project; Ray Lage, cochair of the History Committee; the Sierra Club Board and staff; members of the project advisory board and the History Committee; and most importantly, the interviewees and interviewers for their unfailing cooperation.

Ann Lage  
Cochair, History Committee  
Codirector, Sierra Club Documentation  
Project

Oakland, California  
April, 1981

SIERRA CLUB ORAL HISTORY PROJECT  
April 1983

Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library

David R. Brower, Environmental Activist, Publicist, and Prophet, 1980

Richard M. Leonard, Mountaineer, Lawyer, Environmentalist, 1976

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William E. Siri, Reflections on The Sierra Club, the Environment, and Mountaineering, 1950s-1970s, 1979

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Martin Litton, Sierra Club Director and Uncompromising Preservationist, 1950s-1970s, 1982

Raymond J. Sherwin, Conservationist, Judge, and Sierra Club President, 1960s-1970s, 1982

Theodore A. Snyder, Jr., Southeast Conservation Leader and Sierra Club President, 1960s-1970s, 1982

Wallace Stegner, The Artist as Environmental Advocate, 1983

In Process: Ansel Adams, Phillip S. Berry, Claire Dedrick, Brock Evans, J. Michael McCloskey, Stewart Udall, Edgar Wayburn

Sierra Club History Committee

Elizabeth Marston Bade, Recollections of William F. Bade and the Early Sierra Club, 1976

Philip S. Bernays, Founding the Southern California Chapter, 1975

Harold C. Bradley, Furthering the Sierra Club Tradition, 1975

Cicely M. Christy, Contributions to the Sierra Club and the San Francisco Bay Chapter, 1938-1970s, 1982

Nathan C. Clark, Sierra Club Leader, Outdoorsman, and Engineer, 1977

Harold E. Crowe, Sierra Club Physician, Baron, and President, 1975

Glen Dawson, Pioneer Rock Climber and Ski Mountaineer, 1975

Nora Evans, Sixty Years with the Sierra Club, 1976

Francis Farquhar, Sierra Club Mountaineer and Editor, 1974

Marjory Bridge Farquhar, Pioneer Woman Rock Climber and Sierra Club Director, 1977

Alfred Forsyth, The Sierra Club in New York and New Mexico, 1965-1978, 1981

Wanda B. Goody, A Hiker's View of the Early Sierra Club, 1982

C. Nelson Hackett, Lasting Impressions of the Early Sierra Club, 1975

Joel Hildebrand, Sierra Club Leader and Ski Mountaineer, 1974

Ethel Rose Taylor Horsfall, On the Trail with the Sierra Club, 1920s-1960s, 1982

Helen LeConte, Reminiscences of LeConte Family Outings, the Sierra Club, and Ansel Adams, 1977

- Grant McConnell, Conservation and Politics in the North Cascades, 1983  
 John and Ruth Mendenhall, Forty Years of Sierra Club Mountaineering Leadership, 1938-1978, 1979  
 Stewart M. Ogilvy, Sierra Club Expansion and Evolution: The Atlantic Chapter, 1957-1969, 1982  
 Harriet T. Parsons, A Half-Century of Sierra Club Involvement, 1981  
 Ruth E. Prager, Remembering the High Trips, 1976  
 Bestor Robinson, Thoughts on Conservation and the Sierra Club, 1974  
 Gordon Robinson, Forestry Consultant to the Sierra Club, 1979  
 James E. Rother, The Sierra Club in the Early 1900s, 1974  
 Tom Turner, A Perspective on David Brower and the Sierra Club, 1968-1969, 1982  
 Anne Van Tyne, Sierra Club Stalwart: Conservationist, Hiker, Chapter and Council Leader, 1981

In Process: George Alderson, Ruth Bradley, Robert Braun, Estelle Brown, Lewis Clark, Frank Duveneck, Jules Eichorn, Fred Eissler, Joseph Fontaine, Kathleen Jones, Stewart Kimball, Keith Lummis, George Marshall, Susan Miller, Sigurd Olson

California State University, Fullerton--Southern Sierrans Project

- Thomas Amneus, New Directions for the Angeles Chapter, 1977  
 Robert Bear, Desert Conservation and Exploration with the Sierra Club, 1946-1978, 1980  
 Irene Charnock, Portrait of a Sierra Club Volunteer, 1977  
 J. Gordon Chelew, Reflections of an Angeles Chapter Member, 1921-1975, 1976  
 Arthur B. Johnson, Climbing and Conservation in the Sierra Club's Southern California Chapter, 1930-1960s, 1980  
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 E. Stanley Jones, Sierra Club Officer and Angeles Chapter Leader, 1931-1975, 1976  
 Marion Jones, Reminiscences of the Southern California Sierra Club, 1927-1975, 1976  
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 Roscoe and Wilma Poland, Desert Conservation: Voices from the Sierra Club's San Diego Chapter, 1980  
 Richard Searle, Grassroots Sierra Club Leader, 1976

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SAN FRANCISCO BAY CHAPTER INNER CITY OUTINGS:

- Patrick Colgan, "Just One of the Kids Myself," 1980  
 Jordan Hall, Trial and Error: the Early Years, 1980  
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- Helen Burke, Women's Issues in the Environmental Movement, 1980

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- David Jenkins, Environmental Controversies and the Labor Movement in the Bay Area, 1981  
 Amy Meyer, Preserving Bay Area Parklands, 1981  
 Anthony L. Ramos, A Labor Leader Concerned with the Environment, 1981  
 Dwight C. Steele, Environmentalism and Labor Ally, 1981

## INTRODUCTION — by David R. Brower

Jack Tarr, before the name was fixed briefly to a San Francisco hotel, was my roommate in the Tecoyah dormitory in Yosemite Valley, hostel for male singles who worked for the Company. He was also a Stanford man, one of the many who gravitated to the Company, perhaps because Dr. Don Tresidder was its president. Jack knew another Stanford man. "He doesn't like you," he said, "because of something you wrote for the Sierra Club Bulletin that is deprecatory of mules."

The other Stanford man was Ike Livermore, the year was 1936, and the article was entitled "Far from the Madding Mules" and had appeared in the 1935 Annual Magazine Number of the Bulletin. It was my first article, and it had been heavily edited by Francis Farquhar. Far from being deprecatory of mules, even after editing, it praised one mule, named Jiggs, who helped Hervey Voge and me carry a heavy food cache up to the trailhead beneath the North Palisade, dropping the cache there and leaving us to celebrate the freedom of backpackers for the next several weeks.

Within the next three years I was able to persuade Ike (whom I suspect had read the title but not the article) that I really had nothing against mules. By then I was an assistant leader of the Sierra Club High Trip, embarking upon a summertime addiction I would enjoy from 1939 through 1956 (with time out for World War II), throughout most of which I would be pleasantly involved with mules and in argument with Ike.

Among his virtues--and I think there are a great many of them--is one that enabled him to disagree with me often without ever inciting me to be angry with him, or even more than slightly exasperated at worst. The disagreements kept cropping up. Speaking of cropping, I remember that he and the packers he led quite often complained about my tendency to choose High Trip campsites that were up in the rocks rather than down in the croppable meadows. We would also disagree, amicably, about how much the Sierra Club should pay for the services of Mount Whitney Pack Trains or the Mineral King Pack Outfit. We usually ended up with an agreement each of us would willingly have accepted either end of.

I think the High Sierra packing business is the one he would have preferred to stay with, but his family brought pressures to bear against his choosing that profession. So there were other disagreements, especially about which redwoods to cut and which to save. He wanted to hear a good many fall that I thought should remain silent. As Governor Reagan's Resources Secretary he was quoted as being quite



irate with me, to the point of questioning my honesty, a disagreement again stemming from a title I had given something, in this case a Sierra Club book, The Last Redwoods. His brother Putnam entered the breach and things were smoothed over.

Still another disagreement was about my not being militant enough in the battle to prevent trans-Sierra roads. Two proposed roads that were an abomination to Ike Livermore were the Porterville-Lone Pine and Mammoth Pass roads. Both were an abomination to me, too, but it was the diligence of Ike Livermore, not of Dave Brower, that had most to do with their not abominating the Sierra more than they do.

Few introductions to oral histories have celebrated disagreements. Perhaps this is the only one. But it may be worthwhile trying for a minute to see what makes it possible for people to exercise their disagreements agreeably. Perhaps the secret is to start having them around a High Sierra campfire, preceded by a bit of quiet disarmament.

Ike disarmed people by regaling them. His campfire stories twinkled. One might be a story about the man on a saddle trip who was so fat that the saddlehorn wore a blister on his stomach. Or it might be a description of his own travels in the Himalaya, astride a mule (or was it a donkey?) that was big enough for a Nepalese, but not big enough to keep Ike's feet from trailing on the ground as he rode. Or it might be my favorite--about the live chickens taken along on a saddle trip as part of the larder, chickens hobbled at night with rubber bands, all of this successfully managed until the Park Service ranger came along, charged the chickens with not being indigenous, required their immediate execution, and stayed for chicken dinner.

How could you disagree effectively with a man after stories like that? Or even disagree later?

Out of habit, I suppose, and thus it is that I am able to disagree with President Livermore, of the California Fish and Game Commission, about how to rescue the California condor. Japtive breed them, he says. Spare their habitat and protect them from poisons, hunting pressure, overzealous biologists, and leapfrog subdivisions, I reply; give them a chance to breed by themselves, and wildness to inform them and to make it possible for them to be condors. But even in this disagreement, in which I have given more words to my case than to his, there is an underlying accord that through all the years has let the disagreements be painless, perhaps even creative. I suspect that it is this accord that let him dare ask me to write an introduction and that let me be pleased so much to agree to try to.

The accord centers in one thing: our mutual devotion to wilderness. Whether it be Mrs. Malaprop's appreciation of "the place where the hand of man has not set foot," or Wallace Stegner's (that "It was not given to man to make wilderness; but he can make deserts, and has"), or Robert Marshall's (it must be big enough to require your camping out when you cross it), or the antithesis of Emanuel Fritz's ("nature never does anything right"), or Thoreau's ("In Wildness is the Preservation of the World"), Ike Livermore and I are going to agree about it, and know that without wilderness, the world's a cage. Caged people snarl at each other.

David R. Brower

April 8, 1983  
San Francisco, California

## INTERVIEW HISTORY--Sierra Club History Series

"Ike" Livermore, self-described "man in the middle," brings a unique and complex perspective to this series on Sierra Club and conservation history. The first son of a prominent Bay Area family, his interest in conservation was stimulated by his mother, Caroline, one of the founders of the Marin Conservation League, while his father, Norman, Sr., tended to inculcate the business point of view.

As a packer and pack train owner in the High Sierra in the thirties and forties, Livermore developed a deep love for both wilderness and mules, and began a lifelong crusade to keep roads out of the Sierra high country.

As a Sierra Club director in the forties, he maintained warm friendships but also good-humored disdain for the peak-seeking rock climbers who led the club to the top on its outings and in its conservation campaigns during those years and who were often not understanding enough of the business point of view to suit Livermore.

Despite his career as a redwood lumberman and treasurer of Pacific Lumber Company for fifteen years, he understood the public pressures for a meaningful Redwood National Park in the sixties. He played a leading role in winning Reagan administration support for a national park on Redwood Creek, while working to encourage a program of land exchanges to ease the burden on the lumber companies affected.

Appointed California's secretary for Resources by Ronald Reagan in 1967, Livermore faced a cabinet and governor's office of men with little understanding of, or sympathy for, the conservation movement. Nevertheless, his integrity and determination, coupled with strong public pressures, won Reagan's support for the conservationist point of view on several controversial issues, most notably the elimination of the planned Minaret Summit road across the Sierra and the scuttling of the proposed Dos Rios dam in Round Valley. Somewhat impatiently, but with grudging admiration, a fellow cabinet officer noted in the closing days of the Reagan governorship, "The sun never sets on a Livermore argument."

In the following interview, "Ike" Livermore reflects on these experiences in his life, showing how he sought a balance between conflicting pressures from within and without during his careers as packer, timberman, and state Resources secretary. He also comments on his experiences on the Reagan transition team in Washington, D.C.

Preparation for the interview included conversations with Sierra Club leaders, past and present, who had worked with Livermore over the years; and research in the Sierra Club papers and the Robert Marshall papers in The Bancroft Library and in the extensive papers of the Ronald Reagan governorship at the Hoover Institute at Stanford University. In addition to these sources, Mr.

Livermore himself has maintained files of personal papers relating to his family, careers, and conservation interests.

This interview was a cooperative effort by the Sierra Club Documentation Project and the Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Era Project. For the Sierra Club, a series of four interview sessions were conducted in October and November of 1981 at the Livermore's comfortable home in San Rafael, California. Mr. Livermore took a serious interest in the interviews, consulting his papers to refresh his memory when necessary. He obviously enjoyed the nostalgic aspect of recording his life and times as a packer and as Resources administrator. At the same time, his active concern with present commitments is immediately evident. Among other interests and obligations, he serves as president of the California Fish and Game Commission, oversees his family's ranch in Calistoga, pursues his goal of closing permanently the Minarets corridor across the Sierra, and reads widely to keep abreast of current environmental issues.

The Sierra Club portion of the interview was edited for clarity and accuracy by Karen Jorgensen-Esmaili and reviewed by Mr. Livermore with no substantial changes. During the course of the interviews, the Friends of The Bancroft Library invited Mr. Livermore to be guest speaker at the opening of an exhibit on ecology and conservation. The text of this speech, which is referred to repeatedly in the interview, is included as an appendix.

Ann Lage  
Interviewer  
Sierra Club Project

April 20, 1983  
Berkeley, California

#### INTERVIEW HISTORY--Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Era Series

Many of the environmental battles in which Mr. Livermore participated occurred while Ronald Reagan was governor of California and Livermore was secretary of the state Resources Agency. For the concluding chapters of this memoir, Livermore was asked to recall for the Ronald Reagan oral history project his service as a cabinet member. His recollections include a few vivid personal glimpses of Reagan in action. Among them are the High Sierra pack trip they took together and the deciding factor in the Governor's decision not to go ahead with construction of the Dos Rios dam in Round Valley: "The Indians have been pushed around long enough."

In spite of extensive periodic reorganization of the state's administrative structure, Livermore remained resources secretary for the eight years of

Reagan's governorship. He was, in fact, one of the few senior officials to remain in the administration through both terms, and one of the few to have long experience in the program area he headed. Livermore speaks with a clear sense of policy direction that, combined with his amiable manner, may account for the steady progress made in developing the state's environmental policies and programs. Environmental issues were also one of the rare topics on which the governor's office and the legislature were in agreement. Legislators interviewed for the Reagan project have noted that they were receiving considerable pressure in the late 1960s to do something to protect the environment. In contrast, on human services issues the legislature, the governor, and the public were sharply divided.

The group processes of the governor's office and cabinet system that Livermore describes appear to have sat more lightly on him than heading up the Resources Agency itself, which was comprised of traditionally strong departments such as the Department of Water Resources. As Livermore tells of working with the department's independent-minded director, William Gianelli, one gets a sense of the powerful institutional constituencies facing the coalitions of newer citizen organizations involved in the Sierra Club advocacy activities described earlier.

This portion of the interview was edited by the interviewer and carefully reviewed by Mr. Livermore. Preparation for final production was done by Karen Jorgensen-Esmaili.

The Reagan Gubernatorial Era Series of which this interview is a part was begun in 1979 to preserve firsthand recollections of significant issues and events in California state government from 1966 through 1974. Interviews for the series have been recorded with members of the legislature, the governor's office and executive departments, and others concerned with public affairs. Initial support for the project was provided by the state legislature via the office of the secretary of state, and continuation of the project has been made possible by gifts from friends of Ronald Reagan. The project is a segment of the state Government History Documentation Project, which began in 1969 with a study of the Earl Warren gubernatorial administration.

Gabrielle Morris  
Interviewer  
Reagan Project

April 20, 1983  
Berkeley, California

CAPTIONS

above: FAMILY PHOTO WITH MOTHER AND FATHER, 1950

Back row, left to right: Putnam, Robert, John, Norman  
B. Livermore, Sr., Norman B. Livermore, Jr., George

Front left: George's wife Janet and children Richard  
and Thomas

Front center: Mother Caroline

Front right: Norman B. Livermore's wife Virginia and  
children Edith, Pauli, and Norman III (in lap)

below: FAMILY PHOTO ON MOTHER'S EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY AT  
MONTESOL, AUGUST 1963

Back row, left to right: Putnam, John, Norman B.  
Livermore, Jr., Thomas, Robert, Norman III (son),  
Samuel (son), George

Seated, left to right: Richard, Elizabeth, Janet,  
Caroline (mother), Virginia (wife), Jean holding  
Sarah and Robert Jr.

Front row, left to right: William, David (son),  
Lauren, Caroline

## I FAMILY, EDUCATION, AND EARLY OUTDOOR EXPERIENCES

[Interview 1: October 1, 1981]##

Family and Youth in Northern California

Lage: We want to start today by building up a picture of your family life, your early life, to find some of the roots of your interest in the environment, and your other concerns. Do you want to first start with your birthdate and where you were born and then tell us something about your family?

Livermore: All right, I was born March 27, 1911, in San Francisco, the oldest of five brothers. I weighed about eleven pounds, I'm told. My mother was native to Texas; my father is native to San Francisco. I spent about the first twenty years of my life in San Francisco, where two of my brothers still live, on Russian Hill, the old family house, and spent practically every summer until age eighteen on our ranch in northern Napa County (Montesol).

Lage: So that's an old family institution, the ranch.

Livermore: Yes, very definitely. In fact I can give you a hundred year brochure on it, if you're interested. It's something that's very sentimental to a lot of us. It was purchased in 1880 by my grandfather.

Well, it's a big part of our family tradition, certainly and had a great influence on my life, the continuity of it and the beauty, if I do say so, of the place. It's had a great effect on my outdoor background. The early years in San Francisco were typical city living except for the summers. Also,

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## This symbol, indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. For a guide to the tapes see page 238.

Livermore: one important addition, during World War I my father was overseas in the Corps of Engineers and the flu epidemic scared everyone. So my mother took us all up, and we spent a year, through the winter, at the ranch. That was unusual in those days. I was about seven, and that made a great impression on me. It was a great time for a young boy to be in the semi-wilderness, you might say.

Lage: Was it a working ranch?

Livermore: Working, marginally working. It basically was and is a retreat, but we have quite an acreage there. At that time there were about a thousand acres; it's been added to since. There was squirrel shooting, and there was no electricity then. There was a horse setup, and it was pretty remote. It's about eleven miles from the nearest town, and in those days the working men were paid about thirty dollars a month. We had quite a crew there. My mother ran it, and it was exciting. Treeing coons, and shooting squirrels, riding horses, and chopping wood, and talking to picturesque neighbors and so forth.

Lage: Did your brothers respond to it in the same way that you did?

Livermore: Not that winter, because of course my next oldest brother was only four years old, and my third brother, John, was a baby during that winter. So I think I was the only one that remembers it well.

Lage: Tell us something about your parents. I know your mother was quite a conservationist in her time.

Livermore: Well, they were a great pair, if I do say so. My father was an engineer. He spent his early career surveying the High Sierra for water projects. In fact, not long ago I ran across his report on what later became the Sacramento Municipal Utility District Water System, in the Silver Creek area, the Rubicon-American River.

He met my mother through his half sister, my aunt; they roomed together at Vassar College. My mother, a native of Galveston, Texas, was a southern girl. They were, if I do say so, a kind of remarkable pair. She was demonstrative and southern and effusive and outgoing. My father was rather shy, not badly so; he was, for instance, president of the University Club, and he was a prominent businessman. In their later years, after we moved to Marin County, my mother got extremely interested in land-use planning. She and a couple of other ladies started, I guess, planning in Marin. And she got very enthusiastic about that.



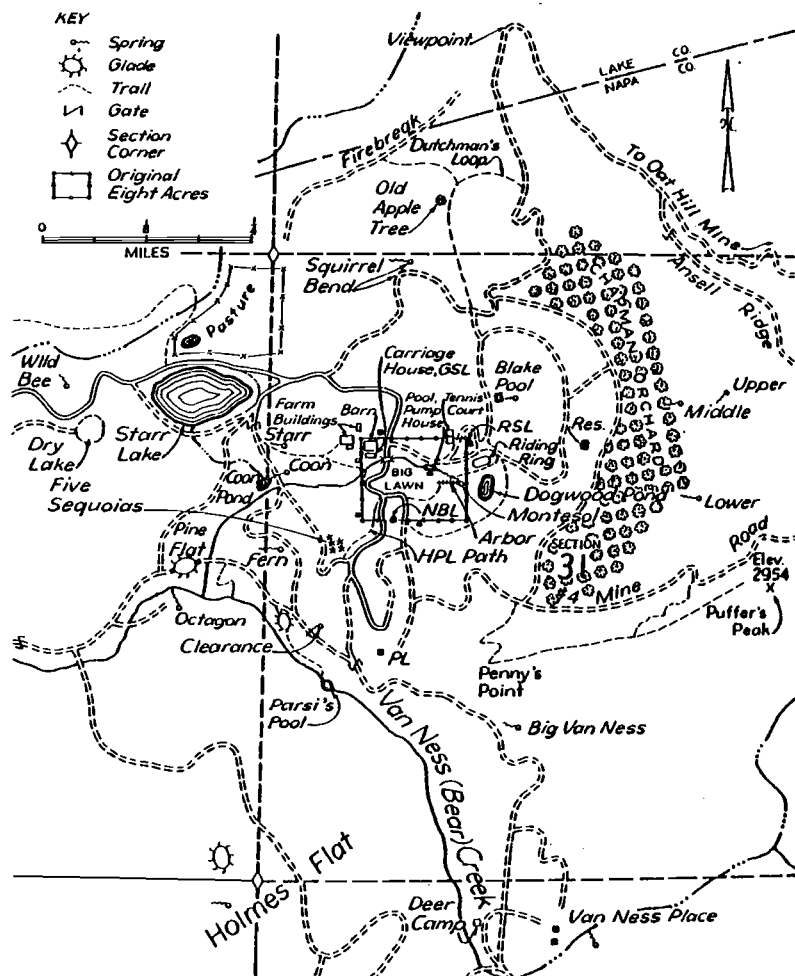
"PLACES TO GO AND THINGS TO KNOW"

PLACES TO GO

ITEMS

Springs	57
Survey markers	22
Oat Hill Area	5
Old Scott Furnace/Chinese Wall/Old Sawmill Site/Old Schoolhouse Site/ Old "Village" Site	
Arcadia-Badlam Area	7
Old Dam/Flume/Fish Ponds/Cow Pasture Fence/Octagon Spring and Pipeline/Old Stone Stairs to Bear Creek/Ice House	
Bear Valley Area	13
Pear Spring/Old Cabin Site and Rock Fireplace Headstone/Bob's Apple Trees/Pocai Camp/"Montesol Postpile"/Gladys Smith Grotto/"Halfway House"/Peregrine Falcon Eyrie/"Poacher's Camp"/Old Rock Wall Road/ Bear Valley Apple Tree/Rookard's Apple Trees	
Back Roads	11
Ansel-Corona/Digger Pine Ridge - Kidd Canyon/Cold Spring Fall - Nessen's Notch/Ansel Ridge - Bear Valley/Holmes Flat - Dyer Canyon/ Old Power Line/Dutchman's - Fire Break/Viewpoint to Buckanort/Girl Scouts - Old Powderhouse/Old Toll Road/Old Calistoga - Knoxville Road	
"Special" Trails (Foot and Horse)	15
Falcon - Rookard's Loop/Horse Trail to Wood Dale/Penny's Point/Ansel - Edith/Wood Dale - Gaut/Wood Dale Towards Jake's/Bear Creek Picnic/ Pig-Rookard Loop/Old road to Jake's (Gaut)/Shakemaker's to Edith Spring/"Cross Trail"/Puffer's Peak to Van Ness Bluff/Stevenson Monu- ment/Holmes Flat to Girl Scouts/Rookard's to Poacher's Gap.	
Gaut-Jake's Area	5
Gaut's Trout Pond/Vegetable Garden at Jake's/Piped Upper Spring/ Original Old Rockwalled Roads (2)	
Miscellaneous	12
Dutchman's Stove/Apples/Parsi's Pool/Shakemaker Cabin/Chapman Cabin Site/Starr-Sutro Fence/Twisted Madrone/"John Muir Tree"/Old Chapman Fence/Old HPL grapevine/Old HPL trail to Graft/Old HPL Reservoir	
Historic Sites	12
Stevenson Monument/Old Silverado Mine/Toll House/Mt. Mill House/ Russell's Cabin Site/Clausen Stone House & Winery/Lillie's Sawmill/ White's Cabin & Water Trough/Connor's Cabin Site/Lapham's House/ Norton's Cabin Site/Lillie's Cabin Site	

CENTRAL MONTESOL 1980



NOTEWORTHY EVENTS

- 1880 First Generation — Horation Putnam Livermore (1880-1916)  
 1880 First Land Purchase - 8 acres from Archibald Davidson  
 1883 Robert Louis Stevenson at nearby Silverado  
 1883 Death of Mattie Banks Livermore at Montesol  
 1883 Marriage to Helen Ellis  
 1885 Mrs. Ellis summers at Ivy Lodge (Chapman Place)  
 1903 Caroline Sealy vials; vials with Tobin and Van Nees families  
 1910 Norman and Caroline Sealy married  
 1916 Death of Horatio at San Francisco
- 1917—N. B. L. in World War I; influenza epidemic; Caroline managed the ranch and kept the family at Montesol through the winter  
 1919 H. E. L. builds house for herself and Beth; purchase of Suro place  
 1920 Edith returns from Europe  
 1923—N. B. L. African hunting trip; purchases Silverado property for George Lyster  
 1924 Last year of Lawley Toll Road operation  
 1925 Frank Johnson retired  
 1926 First electricity;  
 1928 Purchase of Oak Hill and Lake Evis properties  
 1931 First tractor purchased  
 1937 Chester Johnson retired; last use of horses for cultivating  
 1938 "Sixtieth Anniversary" party  
 1942—World War II; Norman and George married; Dina and Pauline Malloy at Montesol  
 1945 Year of heaviest recorded rainfall (95")  
 1946 Big house burns  
 1946—Sawmill operated at Arcadia  
 1949 New house built  
 1952 N. B. L. a 80th birthday
- 1955 Bear Valley purchased  
 1956 Bob and Jean married  
 1959 Williams Sr. retire to Calistoga after 23 years as ranch foreman  
 1962 Top of Mt. St. Helena purchased  
 1963 C. S. L. a 80th birthday; Starr Lake built  
 1964 Great Hanley fire; over 2,000 acres of Montesol burned  
 1969 Paul married to Tom Jeffers  
 1970 Blake house burns; property gift and exchange with Girl Scouts  
 1972 Coon Pond completed  
 1973 Signing of geothermal lease with AMAX Corp.  
 1975 Dick marries Patsy Mulford  
 1978 John Williams retired after 42 years on the ranch; 25 as foreman;  
 1980 Drought; logging of drought - killed timber  
 Centennial Celebration July 20th
- Third Generation — Five Livermore Brothers (1953-1980)

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MONTESOL

1880 - 1916

In June of 1880 Mattie Livermore came to this place, which was then a sanitarium operated by the eminent pioneer scientist and physician, Dr. James Blake, to be treated for her tuberculosis. In July of 1880 Horatio P. Livermore bought 8 acres here adjacent to the sanitarium. After Mattie's death here he brought his four children to spend the summers in the balmy mountain climate. In 1883 he married Helen Ellis and they had a daughter Elizabeth. It is believed that Helen named the place "Montesol". He planted trees and added orchards and more property through the years, and he and Helen spent many happy summers at Montesol with their family and friends.

1916 - 1953

Following Horatio's death in 1916, his only son Norman, who had taken over the management of Montesol, cleared more land and planted additional acres of English walnuts and Bartlett pears. After returning from World War I in 1919, he and his wife Caroline and their children moved into the main house, and Horatio's widow Helen built a house in the woods. In 1946 the main house burned, and a smaller house was constructed nearby which is now occupied by Norman Jr. and his family. During this period Montesol was expanded to include the Oak Hill Mine, and the Lake Evis, Suro and Van Nees properties.

1953 - 1980

Norman and Caroline's sons (Norman Jr., George, John, Putnam and Robert) formed a partnership to run Montesol after their father's death in 1953. More land was purchased, including the top of Mt. St. Helena and Bear Valley, and the orchards were expanded further. Caroline celebrated her 80th birthday here in 1963. In 1969 Bob and Jean built a new house above the tennis court. Paul and Tom were married at Montesol in 1969 and Dick and Patsy in 1975.

Livermore: My father was a little less enthusiastic because he, of course, was a taxpayer, and he broadly represented the businessman's point of view, and my mother the conservation point of view. So I guess you might say that's one reason that I'm a sort of meld between the two. I saw both sides. But he was proud of her. She was not adverse, for instance, to testifying to the board of supervisors, which she did many times. But he himself took a back seat on that.

Lage: Did he let her go her own way, or did he--

Livermore: Oh yes, he very definitely let her go her own way. I think his big avocation was the ranch, as I touched on earlier, and she was very good about that. By that I mean for literally her whole married life, she practically never went anywhere else on vacation except the ranch. One reason was that when my father was a young man he broke his hip twice, riding bad horses, and he was somewhat limited in his physical capacity. It didn't show at all; he was very healthy and lived to a ripe age, but he suffered all his life from a stiff hip. He couldn't, for instance, ride horseback or do much hunting or that type of thing. So that was kind of our early pattern.

Lage: Was your mother an outdoorswoman?

Livermore: No, that's the amazing thing. She definitely was not. She was an organizational person; she was a persuader, a thought leader. She was president of her class at Vassar. She was a great person at--I don't like to use the word manipulating--but influencing others. But she was not outdoorsy, she never rode a horse, she didn't play any sports. In fact, a family story, which is probably not true but which was told, was that when she first came West she was asked if she liked outdoor sports. And she said, "Yes, I just love to rock on the veranda."

So she was interested in the cause, the open space cause and conservation cause. She was very keen on the Audubon Society, but she did not have a bird list. She was very healthy, lived to a ripe age, but she seldom exercised. She was just really a "people person," active in many causes besides conservation.

Lage: When did she become involved in conservation concerns?

Livermore: I think it was when we moved to Marin, which was in about 1930. Prior to that, her main extracurricular activity had been the church. She was a very active Episcopalian, was on various bishop committees and what not. When we moved here my youngest brother was about six years old, so the family was on the way

Livermore: to leaving the nest, to use the old phrase. I don't know how she got started in her conservation. It may have been through a garden club; I don't really know.

Lage: What drew her to it? She wasn't a hiker--

Livermore: I don't really know; I was at college at the time. My first awareness of it was that this group got together a few thousand dollars and they hired a planner. Pomeroy, I think his name was. And one thing led to another, and it just kind of grew like Topsy as far as I'm concerned, in the early thirties.\*

Lage: So they took a very broad approach. Land-use planning.

Livermore: Yes. Land-use planning, and it had to do a couple of years later with the opening of the Golden Gate Bridge. I remember her saying that she figured this would bring a huge influx, which it did. I think it was probably stimulated in part by my father who, as I say, was very much of an outdoorsperson. And the feeling was, that the bucolic, pristine Marin that they had known would be destroyed.

Incidentally, we did come over here summers, when I was very young, before my grandfather died. My father had a place in Ross. And that, obviously, was a precursor of moving here. I don't remember that very well except for a few little, silly childhood accidents, because my grandfather died when I was about six. And when he died then my father inherited the ranch, so that's why we actually sold the first Ross place and moved to the Napa County for the summers. Then it was twenty-odd years later that we left Russian Hill, partly, I think, because of the skyscrapers and all that sort of business.

Lage: Was your father retired at that time?

Livermore: Yes and no. The Depression hit him very hard. He had his own business, first of all, in his most prosperous days. He was in the heavy equipment business, dealing with logging companies and mining companies, mainly, having first been a hydraulic engineer on his own. But he sold out of the business, I'd say-- I can remember dimly--in approximately the middle twenties. He then felt he was prosperous enough to retire, but he only semi-retired. So by the time we moved to Marin County, I think it was 1930, he did not have his own full-time business. But at about that time the Coffing-Reddington Company, which my grandfather had been a partner in, asked him to be, in effect, president. In fact he was president, but his arrangement with them was that he only worked half time. So he went over there

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\* Caroline Sealy Livermore was a founder of the Marin Conservation League.

Livermore: every morning, and then he had his own office in the afternoon. And he continued very active in business and charitable affairs until he died in 1953.

Lage: Am I right that he was a counselor for the Save-the-Redwoods League?

Livermore: Yes, he was a counselor for the Save-the-Redwoods League, and he was the director for the Marin Municipal Water District. I think he was also on the Republican Central Committee in Marin. He was also quite active in the Boy Scouts; he was a very strong believer in the scouts. Other than his corporate directorships, I think those are the main four things he was interested in. But in the strictly conservation field, I think the Save-the-Redwoods was the only thing.

Lage: Would that indicate that he did have some interest in conservation?

Livermore: Oh yes, he had a keen interest in the redwoods, and I remember he admired very much Newton Drury and all the redwoods people. And I think my mother and he were on that together. So in that particular field, saving the redwoods, they were completely simpatico. They never argued about these other things, such as the Marin open space, the Tomales Bay parks and all this and that. But I think being a businessman, he was, let's say, a little chary of anything that hurt the taxpayer.

Lage: Were you yourself involved in scouts?

Livermore: Yes, I was a scout, and very proud of it, for my early years before I went away to boarding school. And one of my minor disappointments in life, is that none of my children became scouts. I think, my own viewpoint is since they took in the young Cub Scouts, which are kind of mother-oriented--I have nothing against the Cubs--but it has sort of detracted from scouting, it seems to me. Also, I think the changing times made a difference. Yes, I was a scout from about age twelve--you had to be twelve, as I recall--from twelve to fourteen when I went away to school. My father's interest stemmed partly from that, I think. Three of us--five brothers--were scouts, and he was very keen on scouts.

Lage: You mentioned your mother being involved in the church. Was religion an important part of the family?

Livermore: Yes it was, but there again a major difference between my mother and my father. His mother, his stepmother actually--the only one he knew--was the daughter of a noted clergyman.

Livermore: Her father, I think it was, was the national head of the Presbyterian Church. But as sometimes happened, she must have been turned off by the church, because she never went to church, nor did my father. But my mother was quite active, and at the ranch in my early days, we sang hymns every Sunday night, and I went to Sunday school, with some reluctance as I guess most boys do. So yes, the church was a definite part of our life, led by my mother and with no antagonism from my father, but I don't remember his ever going to church in all my early memories.

Lage: Have you continued an interest in church?

Livermore: Yes, to a degree. I was a vestryman here in Saint Pauls, and have been, I think, a pretty good churchman. The children leaving and my going to Sacramento were a kind of a curtain, because although we kept up our support of two churches, one in Calistoga and one here, I'm somewhat rueful to say we have pretty much descended into the "Christmas and Easter only" habit.

Lage: Like so many people.

Livermore: Yes, because in the pressure of my Sacramento work, the ranch was frankly a refuge for us. We never moved; we didn't buy a home in Sacramento; we rented for eight years. So three out of four weekends we went to the ranch, and that's twelve miles from any church. I'm a strong believer in the church, but we haven't been as active. Here in San Rafael I was treasurer in charge of, as I remember, canvassing. And we used to blow the horn every Sunday and have the children go to Sunday school, which some survived and others didn't. I think church is a very difficult thing. It's too bad in a way it's lost a lot of influence, but I think that's just part of our modern life.

Lage: Is this the same home that your family moved to?

Livermore: Oh no, the home they moved to was in Ross, and we sold it after my mother died. It was a big beautiful place at one time. There were fifty acres, and there was a marvelous house on it which none of us could afford to keep up. No, we've had this house for almost thirty years. We bought this house [in San Rafael] in 1952. I'd been up running sawmills and things, and for various reasons we had an opportunity to move down to the City. I got a position in San Francisco. This is strictly our own house.

Lage: O.K. Let's just briefly outline your education. You mentioned you went to boarding school, and before that?

Livermore: If it's a criticism or advantage, take your pick, I never went to public school anywhere. I went to Miss Paul's School on Russian Hill until the age of about ten; I went to the Potter School, now extinct, until the age of about fourteen; and then I went to the Thacher School, which has been a great part of my life, in Ojai, for boarding school. Then I went to Stanford, graduated from Stanford in '33. I then went a year to Harvard Business School, decided I didn't want to live in the East and finished at Stanford. So that's a capsule of my education. I have an MBA and my training is basically business training. My father wanted me to be an engineer, and in deference to him I went through calculus and analytical geometry with great pain, but I'm not a mathematician nor an engineer. I majored in business.

Lage: What other goals did your parents seem to communicate to you as you were growing up? What type of future did you feel was in store for you?

Livermore: Well, I think that my father instilled a sort of an unattainable goal, and that is to not work for anyone else, and that affected my packing experience. He was, as I say, self-employed, and he had some rather unattainable objectives, it seems to me. I got out of business school, and he said, "Well, let's sort of start a family business." But he had no family business, it was kind of traumatic for me in a way, and yet it was good as I look back on it. He had retired, in other words from his business, and I spent a couple years playing around in the oil business, dealing in leases and royalties. But I found that, to the extent of my investigation, if I really wanted to succeed in that I'd have to move to west Texas or Bakersfield, and I didn't want to. So that didn't pan out.

As far as my mother's influence goes, I think it was basically integrity and the church and the family tradition and a considerable amount of public-spiritedness. Also there was an instillation of obligations as an older brother to my younger brothers and a strong family feeling. She was one of seven, a very close family in Texas. My father's family was much smaller; he was the only son. He had two sisters and a half-sister. So I had about fifteen Texas cousins and only two Livermore cousins. The family, you might say, was unbalanced socially among the cousins that way. On the other hand, mother was the only one of her family that lived in California, so I didn't see the Texas cousins that often, but we still keep in touch with them.

Lage: You give a nice picture, very cogent.

Livermore: Yes, a very warm family. My mother was a Sealy. They were a prominent family in Texas. They endowed a hospital there, and she used to talk constantly of her father, whom I never knew, who died dramatically after the Galveston flood. He was in a train going to New York--he died from a heart attack--trying to raise money for the flood victims. You know that was a tremendous tragedy in, I think, 1905. We still have cousins in Texas that we keep in touch with.

### Introduction to the Sierra

Lage: What about the Sierra; we haven't mentioned that. How did you get or when did you have your introduction to the Sierra?

Livermore: I'd say the Sierra is traceable to perhaps two themes. One theme is the Thacher School, which was unique in its camping and wilderness experience. It was a school where we did a lot of horse camping, which led me to my, I guess, most interesting memories. I rode horseback from Ojai to Monterey; it must have been 1926. There was then no road on the Big Sur, which was unbelievably picturesque. My aunt had a cabin there.

Lage: There was no road at all?

Livermore: There was about a forty-mile stretch of coast south of the Pfeiffer redwoods that was roadless, and my aunt, my father's half-sister, (in whose San Francisco house one of my brothers is now living) had a cabin there. It still stands [across from Esalen] very picturesque. She willed it to the state park system. So that was our objective.

Another fellow and I rode over the Santa Lucias and ended up at that cabin. And I occasionally tell something to some of my good conservation friends, notably the Owings, whom you probably know, Margaret and Nat Owings. They are very wonderful people and good conservationists. Well, I said, "If you're really pure and sincere wilderness people, you'd vote for blasting that road out. Get rid of that damn road, because it ruined that fabulous coast."

So after that ride in '26, actually I ended up in not the greatest health because we tried to emulate Jim Bridger, and I read somewhere that you could live on bannocks, this frying pan bread. Well, actually I ended up at the ranch not in bad health, but sort of, shall we say, rundown because we were



Livermore: living mostly on soggy bannocks for three weeks. And that's when I first ran across John Muir. I was very impressed with his books.

Lage: So as you were recuperating--

Livermore: Yes, sort of. I was feeling lousy; I was only fifteen.

Lage: And Muir made quite an impression?

Livermore: Yes, it made quite an impression, and then that's when I first was kind of aware of the Sierra. My father used to talk about them. And then that same summer we took a family camping trip up north, on one of our rare motor trips, and I ran across the national forest people.

Then that took me through high school, and then I graduated from high school when I was seventeen. My parents felt I was a little young to go to college, and I didn't object, so they said, "You should take a year out." So I did, I worked up at the ranch for most of that winter--

Lage: The same ranch?

Livermore: The one I'm talking about, our ranch, the Napa County ranch. The point I'm getting at is having previously had the school camping and the John Muir and then the motor trip to the national forest, the height of my ambition at that point was to get a job on a trail crew with the Forest Service, a summer job of course, which was perfectly standard. Toward the end of that time I then graduated to a motorcycle. I had a motorcycle as my own transportation. And the job I'd been promised in Upper Lake, the fellow said, "Too bad. We don't have any budget." He said, "Why don't you try other areas."

So I got on the motorcycle, and I covered really the whole High Sierra, almost. I can't remember my exact route, but it seemed to me I started at Kernville way down there. And I went to various ranger districts, and they all gave me the same story. They said, "Sorry, you're too late; we don't have any budget." So sort of in desperation--I remember it vividly; I think I only had five dollars left--I said, "Well, at least I'll see Sequoia Park, the Giant Forest." So I went in to the gate on the motorcycle, talked to a nice ranger there, and I gave him my tale of woe. And he said, "Why don't you try some of these packers." I'd literally never heard of a packer, I said, "What are they?" He said, "Well, there are a lot of them around here at Three Rivers. They guide people in the

Livermore: high mountains." And I thought, "Oh boy, that's for me!" So I turned my motorcycle right around. And I remember this so vividly, he gave me one name, a fellow named Phil Davis.

So I drove my motorcycle up into this barnyard, and here were these old salts around. They were getting ready for the packing season. This must have been about early June. And so I told them I wanted a job. Well, they asked me a question. I remember it so well. They said, "Can you shoe? That is, can you shoe a mule?" And luckily, in connection with this earlier trip I mentioned, I had learned to shoe my horse for another reason. Because the blacksmith--I won't bore you with the details--got mad at me after a disagreement over the way he'd shod my horse. So the headmaster told me, "Well, I have real bad news for you." This is just before I left on this trip. I said, "What's that?" "Mike," that was the horseshoer, "says he'll never shoe your horse again." Because of the little altercation I'd had with him, he'd put toe and heel calks on my horse--I'm getting a little long-winded here--and I didn't want that, a misunderstanding. So I said, "Is this a money-making proposition?" And that was the wrong thing to say. So that same summer I figured, well if he won't shoe my horse, I'll have to shoe it myself. So I went to the blacksmith in Middletown, a marvelous old fellow named Lionel Tocher and I learned from him how to shoe.

So by happy coincidence, getting back to the Three Rivers, when they asked me that question I said, "Yes." So I shod this mule, and that's what got me the job. That started me in the Sierra, really.

Lage: So you started the job before you'd really had much exposure to the Sierra?

Livermore: Yes, I had never been to the Sierra. It was just a Shangri-la to me, just a myth, a John Muir myth. But that was in the summer of 1929 when I was eighteen years old. It was that summer I worked at a pack station at Mineral King and then I got really hooked on it.

Then several years went by working as a guide and then--

Lage: Did you stay with Phil Davis?

Livermore: No, that was another kind of amusing story. On the strength of my getting a job with him, I got a job for a pretty good friend of mine, who is now back in Cambridge. He's a fellow named Ed Yeomans. He's one of my oldest friends and quite a noted educator. So I said, "I've got a pal, who's also had a lot of

Livermore: packing experience." He'd worked in dude ranches. We'd both, of course, had the experience of shoeing and horsemanship. And so he said, "I can't give him a job, but I'll fix him with an outfit that I've spun off." Davis had a big outfit and sold half of it. So Yeomans, my friend, had a job with Buckman. And then it turned out before the season started that Davis was kicked out of Mineral King by the Forest Service. I hadn't known this, of course. I was completely innocent. He had a sort of a flamboyant reputation. Well, apparently for several years he'd thumbed his nose at the Forest Service. For one thing he had corrals across the main creek in Mineral King. All the stock constantly going back and forth was polluting it. That and other reasons which are obscure to me, I think partly financial, he just lost his permit.

That first summer, sort of with my tail between my legs, I caught on with the Buckman outfit. But they didn't have enough business, and I didn't get back in the mountains. But I worked all summer just shoeing horses and around the corrals as a sort of bullcook and taking out a few day rides.

Lage: What was your word? A bull--

Livermore: Well, a bullcook is a kind of a slang, you sometimes hear, as a bhisti-like thing. In India they call them bhistis, a sort of "cook's helper."

The next summer, though, I was lucky, I got out in the back country for the whole season. It really hooked me because we had a party which required traversing the whole Muir Trail. We deadheaded about eighteen head of stock from Three Rivers. It was all the way up through the foothills to Yosemite, rode down over Glacier Point which I'll never forget, and then picked up this party of five people, and we went the whole length of the Muir Trail ending up at Mineral King. That was in '30, that was the end of my freshman year at Stanford. That really hooked me, and then one thing led to another, and then I wrote that report. I think I gave you a copy of it.\*

Lage: Right.

Livermore: And that's what brought me to the attention of the Sierra Club. Although I've done a lot of packing and hiking with the Sierra Club, strangely enough, my first club friendships developed from skiing. I was not a member of the Sierra Club until 1936, as I recall it.

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\*"The Economic Significance of California's Wilderness Areas."

Trips to India and Germany

Livermore: After Stanford Business School--let's see it was '36--my father again, who was very liberal in those matters, said, "Why don't you take a half a year off." So I went to India. I don't know if I showed you my article on India.\*

Lage: No.

Livermore: Yes, I took a trek in India. I went to Ladakh, the borderline of Tibet, which was in '36, which was another story.

Lage: Was that something that was pretty uncommon at that time?

Livermore: I think it was, yes. I went all by myself. I can show you clippings--

Lage: Did you go with a group?

Livermore: No, I went all by myself.

Lage: Oh, I see.

Livermore: But I have to qualify that amusingly, because I did have a group. I had five servants and six ponies, and it cost me \$5 a day, the whole thing. And I was gone for five weeks in the--

Lage: How did you ever plan this?

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Livermore: Well, that developed in perhaps an amusing way. I had a seat-mate, who later became a professor at the Harvard Business School, a fine fellow named Lombard. He wanted me to go with him on a kind of around the world trip, a rather civilized trip, but for various reasons I couldn't. I don't remember why; I think again it was due to my packing at that point. But he ran across the trek information, in the Himalayas and Kashmir. So that kind of stimulated my interest. And my father said that he and his father had always wanted to go to the Vale of Kashmir. One thing sort of strung together, and then that same summer, 1936, one of my other happy great experiences, I was in the Olympic Games. I was a fairly good baseball player. I was

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\*See Appendix A.

Livermore: captain of the Stanford varsity baseball team. It turned out that the Olympic coach was my Stanford coach. And for reasons I won't bore you with, they were a little shy on money. I wasn't that good a player, but I was, I guess, reasonably good. So he said, "Why don't you bring along your mitt and your shoes, and I'll put you in the Olympic Games." Which he did. We played, incidentally, in front of the biggest crowd that's ever seen a baseball game: 135,000 people, with Adolph Hitler in the stands.

Lage: Was this in Germany?

Livermore: In Germany, in Berlin in '36, a great experience.

Then I tacked the Kashmir trek on to that, after investigating it through this friend I mentioned. And I did, I went to Kashmir and got this outfit. A "bundebust" they call it there. (I've often wanted to go back.) I took about a five-week's trip in Ladakh. Where I went, they now have roads; I've seen several articles about it. I went in toward a place called Leh, and then I took a big circle, took some pictures of Nanga Parbat. It was not a mountain climbing trek; I'm not a mountain climber, but it was a fascinating trek.

#### The Mineral King Packing Company

Lage: I'd like to talk a little bit more about your packing, before we get into the Sierra Club. You did it every summer while you were in school?

Livermore: My first summer was the year after high school, and then I did it with certain interruptions really every year, well into the late forties. The Kashmir trip is pertinent in this way: when I came back from India I had heard of the American Forestry Association Trail Rider Trips, which were then in about their second year. So, having had several years packing experience by that time, I called on the Forestry Association in Washington, and I sold them on my running their first trip in California, which must have been in the year '38.

Lage: And this was on your own as an independent?

Livermore: On my own. Before I went to England (I worked there a few months in a public accounting firm)--incidentally in my early, you might say, struggling for a career, I found the only way

Livermore: I could combine packing, which I loved, and business was to go into public accounting, which I did. In those days public accounting was seasonal, and I actually majored in accounting in business school.

So in '38 they took the first big trip out here. For several years after that I had a small interest--I actually owned half of a pack train in Mineral King, which for various reasons I gradually invested in with Buckman. But I developed, I guess, a reputation for knowing the mountains, so for several years if people asked me to go on a trip I'd take them someplace that I had not been myself. I wouldn't tell them that of course, but I'd usually have a big enough trip, so I'd be the head packer and run everything. But I'd have a fellow with me who knew the country. After a few years of that, of course, I knew practically the whole High Sierra.

Lage: When you took the forestry group you were already a part owner. Was it the Mount Whitney Packing Company?

Livermore: No, that was the Mineral King Packing Company. For many years I was a part owner of the Mineral King pack train, and also of the private land in Mineral King that was later sold to Disney. It was about ten years, from about '36 through '46.

#### Packing for the Sierra Club High Trips

Livermore: When I got onto these bigger trips--this is a little complicated. It involves my organizing the packers, which is another story, into a trade association, and I got to know them all. So I conceived the idea of being a sort of a broker. Oh, I remember now, about this same year, I think it was '38, the Sierra Club came to me. I think it was Dick Leonard who was then the head of the outing committee. They were having trouble with Allie Robinson, because the club then had the custom of every five years they'd go out of the state--this was on their big high trip, and of course that left the packer holding the bag for that year. He'd have a big outfit for four years and then bang, nothing. Their trip was so demanding, in terms of stock. Allie Robinson was the only outfit large enough to handle the club in those days, and he had inherited it from his father at Independence. In effect, well, he was mad at the club because of their not giving him any business in the previous summer. So Dick Leonard, who I'd gotten to know through skiing and whom I'd sent a copy of my packer's report, got in touch with me as

Livermore: a kind of liaison. So that plus the American Forestry Association sort of evolved into my, you might say, being a kind of a broker.

I did this for several years. I didn't in those later years go out of Mineral King myself, although I had an outfit there. I would go to other packers, and I would in effect rent stock from them wholesale, and then I'd charge the people retail prices, and thereby make a margin just, you might say, like any broker. So what launched me into the big trips was the two things: the Sierra Club and the American Forestry Association.

Lage: Those were both large trips that required a lot of stock?

Livermore: A lot of stock, yes. In fact, let me interrupt a second and show you one of my favorite pictures--this is 1940 and these were all people; that was taken by Cedric Wright, whom you've probably heard of.

Lage: Was this a Sierra Club trip?

Livermore: This was a Sierra Club trip--

Lage: Which one is you?

Livermore: I'm here. These are all just packers--

Lage: Who packed on that trip. It did take quite a crew.

Livermore: It took this many; we had as high as 120 head of horses and mules on those trips. So I took those trips and the American Forestry Association trips up until World War II.

Then, a major decision, of course, I got married during the war. I thought after the war I could continue in this packing business, but I soon found it wasn't a very good way to support a family, so I gradually sort of tapered off. But one of my great memories, of course, are these high trips. They were, I thought, marvelous, but times have changed, and of course partly because of the size of it, other people resent it. And then the club leaders felt that the stock was hurting the grazing, which I didn't completely agree with. I guess the high trips lasted up until about 1960, I think, or thereabouts. They gradually diminished in size, but even this wasn't the peak. One of the reasons that I interviewed [William E.] Bill Colby, as I think I told you the last time we talked, was my fascination with even larger trips. I think the biggest trip I was ever on, I think there were about two hundred and

Livermore: twenty people. We had roughly about seventy-five mules and about fifteen horses, roughly, say, ninety head of stock. But I think in Colby's time that they had built up to maybe bigger than that by half again. They were tremendous trips.

Lage: Did you think the large trips were a plus?

Livermore: I felt so, but in those days I loved the horses and the mules; you want to call it the cowboy element, and I thought they were a plus. I'd have to say now that in those days, for instance, we didn't think about fire rings. I can see those were bad. You know, you'd have two hundred people in little groups of eight and ten and having little fires, and that does leave scars. And I think that the grazing in certain areas was bad, certainly now in the high country a very good development is that you seldom see trails routed right through the middle of meadows. They go around them.

But yes, I think they were good, and we packers used to argue vociferously, of course, that they didn't hurt the country. The club was very meticulous about cleanup and litter and so forth, but they did leave their mark. And of course there was jealousy among other packers and other people. I myself, on the first trip I mentioned where we covered the whole Muir Trail, remember we were camped in the beautiful camp. We got in there about 2:00 or 3:00 in the afternoon, and here, all of a sudden, comes about twenty strings of mules. They dumped a whole cache of food right next to us because the Sierra Club was coming through.

Lage: And you were with a group of six?

Livermore: Yes. And so I could see both sides of that question. The other packers resented it; I guess they had mixed feelings about me because, if I do say so, I helped them a lot in this trade association I started and in fighting roads and stuff. But they were envious because the club would go anywhere in the mountains it wanted to. In the years when I was leading the packing that was probably resented by the other packers.

Lage: Why would that be resented?

Livermore: There're still problems in the Sierras. The informal rule from the packers' point of view, is that a trip should either start or end at their pack station, that there's no such thing as a nomadic packer that can just go anywhere he wants. But in effect I did that. But when I did it--

Lage: So you're sort of infringing on others' territory?



Livermore: Well, when I would take the smaller trips and rent different packers they didn't mind it; that was fine. I brought them business, and I would in effect get a commission. But the Sierra Club big trips, before the war there was only one packer that could handle them, that was Allie Robinson. Then after the war, for many reasons, I was the only one. I combined with two other trains, and that's when you heard about the Mount Whitney Pack Trains. That was post-war. I bought two pack trains (Chrysler and Cook and Barney Sears, operating from three different pack stations) and put them all together as the Mount Whitney Pack Trains in order to be able to handle the Sierra Club. I always felt that, frankly, the club never appreciated that, because actually it was not profitable. I ended up by being really very unsuccessful financially on it. It was just a sentimental thing. And not long after I put all this together, of course, the thing started to decline. So it was painful, economically.

But to get back to your first question, I thought the trips were thrilling. The campfires were marvelous, and the people were stimulating. The packers, the old salts that I hired, most of them were not that congenial with the "foot burners," as they called the Sierra Clubbers. They kind of suffered them.

I had a main criticism from the packing point of view. I used to always argue with Dave Brower and others. Of course the club was, and I guess still is, sort of led by rock climber types, and I was definitely not of that fraternity. So of course, they'd always want to camp right up as close as they could get to the cliffs. And that was not the best place for mules and camping and getting wood and feed for the stock. But we were good natured about it.

Lage: I think I read in the Bulletin a few amusing little attacks back and forth between rock climbers and mule people.

Livermore: Oh, yes. The packers always used to say, "Why should I go up that peak? I never lost anything up there." And then when I first got to know Dave Brower, he wrote an article called, I think it was, "Far From the Madding Mules." [Sierra Club Bulletin, February 1930] And so I, it seems to me, wrote a kind of a refutation.

Of course the packing industry has declined now in numbers. When I wrote that report on the packing industry, I think there were seventy-one or seventy-two packers; now there are only about twenty or thirty. And I think the number of pack

Livermore: stock is down to maybe sixty percent of what it was. I think that those that have survived are probably making a better living at it than the packers did in my day.

Lage: Has it declined because of the increasing interest in backpacking?

Livermore: Oh yes, very much so. It's intensive use. I think I read somewhere that the man-days for packing is only 4-5 percent now. The backpackers, the light food and the light sleeping bags and the light equipment have radically changed everything. And a lot of the backpackers, not all of them, resent stock. In fact I've seen Sierra Club reports that urged no stock anywhere in the high country. Well, that brings up another favorite bugbear of mine, and that's helicopters. Because if you don't have pack stock, you've got to use helicopters. And personally I think a mule is a lot less of an impingement on the wilderness than a helicopter. But that's another subject.

#### Organizing the High Sierra Packers Association

Lage: We sort of skipped over this 1936 report, and your organization of the High Sierra packers.

Livermore: That came directly from the Harvard Business School, interestingly. I mentioned earlier that I spent a year at Harvard, and the requirement at Harvard was after your first year you write a business-type report, preferably on one you either knew about or were employed in. And my sole interest then, really, was packing. So that's what I conceived the idea of-- in I guess it was 1934. Again I hopped on a motorcycle; it may have been a different one then. I compiled a questionnaire, and I interviewed something like thirty-five packers. I was interested in their location of business, where they went, their equipment, what their hopes and fears were. And, of course, my main objective, and theirs too, was to stop roads, to keep the High Sierra pristine. Then I wrote up the report. By that time I knew I was not going back to Harvard, so then I just at my own expense had a couple hundred copies made and sent them to various people.

That led to my forming the High Sierra Packer's Association on both sides of the mountains. And the thing I was finally able to get them together on, and I was their executive secretary right up to the war and somewhat afterwards, was liability insurance. That was a big problem. So a good friend of mine

Livermore: from San Francisco, John Metcalf who was incidentally a Thacher [School] friend, was in the insurance business. He and I talked, and he said, "If you can get 1,000 mules, I'll get Lloyd's of London to insure you." And we did. We got 1,000-- there were about twenty-five hundred, I think, that we had in the mountains. And that's when I had to go over to the east side [of the Sierra], and when I first met Robinson. These fellows were paying, I don't know \$4-5 a head for liability insurance. It was very expensive. Since, I'm sorry to say, it's declined pretty badly. I think they've had a couple of accidents; I haven't followed it. But anyway, that was what, if anything, drew the packers together. A lot of them used to talk about price fixing, but I was always very much against that. I said, "Let's stay away from that; you couldn't enforce it anyway."

That, among other things, led to my suggestion for, I guess, the first Wilderness Conference. Because I was at that time interested in the whole back country problem: the trails, the litter, the grazing regulations and the packer problems. I still have that letter somewhere that I wrote to the club suggesting the first conference. In sum, I had a lot of community of interests with the packers, being one myself. I felt they were a picturesque, kind of an endangered species, which they are more or less now.

Lage: That's right. It seems like we're skipping over quickly.

Livermore: Oh, it's my fault.

Lage: No, not at all. I want to clarify the High Sierra Packers Association. The thing that brought you together was that you were able to get liability insurance at a low rate?

Livermore: Well, my report was a catalyst you might say, because I sent it to all the packers, and they were interested in it, and they knew me. My big objective was stopping roads.\* You haven't seen it. I found my old placard which I got all the packers to put around--this was the Porterville-Lone Pine Road. The packers were all deathly against roads, still are. But in enlarging it into a more formal organization, the insurance was, you might say, the most important cohesive thing that kept them together. In order to get this insurance, they had to be members of the association.

Lage: I see. Because I'd imagine they'd be difficult to organize.

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\*See "Roads Running Wild," Appendix B.

Livermore: Oh, terribly difficult, very individualistic. And that's why I said to stay away from the prices. You know they were always complaining about it then. They were like any organization; some of them were very loyal, and they'd come to every meeting. I guess the third main thread was to--they were always cursing the Park and Forest Services. They were never content, mainly about the trails. They always felt that there wasn't enough trail work. We'd meet a couple of times a year. I've got a whole bushel of stuff still on the old Packers Association. We'd meet all day in Lone Pine, Bishop, or Porterville or on ranches on the west slope of the Sierra. And of course, we'd have Fish and Game people and the Forest [Service], and the Park [Service] people, and the local forest supervisors talk to us.

It's still going on. There's still two units: there's the eastern unit and the western unit. I think though, the insurance thing has kind of petered out, but they have a community of interests. They get together and cuss the government. And it's led indirectly, I guess--I don't think I deserve any credit at all except very obliquely--to the Mule Days you may have heard of in Bishop. That's a big celebration, and one of my proud boasts is I was grand marshall at, I think it was, the second Mule Day. And then I got Governor Reagan, now president, to be grand marshall another time. That's quite a to-do. I guess it's the biggest thing of it's type in the world now. It's usually the week just before Memorial Day, and they have mule races and mule packing, and it's a big thing.

Lage: When did that start?

Livermore: That started in about 1970. I have quite a file on that. They just had the tenth. I've been to three of them.

Incidentally, there's a gal--you'd like her if you met her--Ann Johnson. Have you ever heard of her, by chance?

Lage: No.

Livermore: Well, she's writing a book on packing. Her husband was a packer. I know her very well. She works for the Chalfont Press, the newspaper in the Owens Valley. I've sent her some material, and then--

Lage: Is it an historical work?

Livermore: I don't know. I've been meaning to contact her. I think it is historical. I don't really know. I suggested to myself about three years ago, that I would love to do it myself, but I just haven't had the time. I still have a huge file on mules, in general, which appeals to me. But other people apparently have talked to her, and she wrote me a few months ago saying she was doing this. She said it'd take a couple of years to do it, so I don't really know what form it'll take.

But there's no reason you should contact her, I'm just mentioning the fact that in the Mule Days I was quite complimented because in the program about three years ago they phoned the Sierra Club and reprinted an article I'd written for the Sierra Club Bulletin on the life of the packer or some such thing. And that appeared in the Bishop program.\*

Lage: How did the packers take to you, fresh out of Stanford? Was there a kind of a cultural gulf, or was that not difficult to bridge?

Livermore: I think there was a big cultural gulf, but if I do say so, I think they respected me. As I say, I could shoe a mule; I'd handled wild mules. I knew at that point even more of the high country than any of them because I was kind of independent, and I guess they were kind of intrigued with me. I didn't sense any antagonism. When I'm talking about packers, I'm talking mainly--well, I'll qualify that a bit. There are two kinds of packers, of course. There's the, you might say, old salt vernacular cowpuncher, packer, guide that handles the mules in the back country. And then there's the pack train owner. And of course, I was dealing with both in the mountains. Like this picture, I was dealing with these people. But in terms of, you might say, how did they regard me, I was dealing mostly with owners. And the owners were obviously a notch above the average packer in both intelligence and culture, if you want to call it that.

As far as the working packers go, I have to say there was a real gulf. I'm not a poker player, nor a heavy drinker, nor a cusser, and I'd say that was quite difficult. I know on some of my trips I had trouble with some of the packers. Some of them wanted to leave or some of them wanted to go out to get more whiskey for some of the customers. So let's put it this way, I have many acquaintances--now, of course, a lot of them are dead--among the rank and file packers, but I didn't develop any lasting or close friendships.

Lage: But it worked out?

Livermore: Yes, it worked out, sure.

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\* "Oh! For the Life of a Packer!", Sierra Club Bulletin, June 1949, vol. 34, pp. 22-26.

"IKE" LIVERMORE GREETING CARD, CHRISTMAS, 1933

**MERRY CHRISTMAS**

AND

**HAPPY NEW YEAR**

from

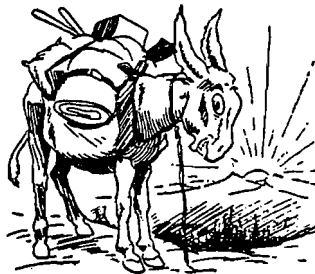
*"Ike" Livermore*

ALSO

**"SADIE" SENDS SALUTATIONS**

from the

**SALUBRIOUS SIERRAS**



Interest in Economic Value of the Wilderness

Lage: I was interested in this 1936 Stanford report. Were there two reports? One on the packing and one on the--

Livermore: Yes, well one was '34, and the other one I think I sent it to Marie Byrne over in Bancroft? Yes, there were two. They were intertwined. What happened was that I did the packer report in 1934. I think it was. Then in '36 I took the trip to the Himalayas, as I already mentioned. No, in '36, that's right, I remember now. 1935-36 is when I was getting my MBA. The reason I'm a little fuzzy on dates is that I interspersed school with accounting works. In other words, I graduated from Stanford in '33. I finished my first year at Harvard in '34, but then I didn't graduate from business school until '36. And the reason for that was, again this love of the mountains. You see I kept postponing the evil day of really going to work by working three months in public accounting, and that postponed my Stanford business school graduation a whole summer, you see. So, in the second report I persuaded a great guy-- he's dead now--a marvelous professor, Paul Holden, to give me credit for a rather unusual subject. Anyway, I took this as my sort of thesis in his course, and the report was titled, "The Economic Significance of California's Wilderness Areas" [1936]. And that was a much bigger report than the 1934 packer's report. I think I sent a copy over to Miss Byrne.

Lage: Right.

Livermore: And that had, as I recall, an appendix, which contained my packer report, but the 1936 report was larger. And that was aimed, as the title would indicate, at trying to analyze the economic value of wilderness.

Lage: So again you're bringing these two strands together, your love for the wilderness and your business outlook.

Livermore: Right, correct. I felt it was important to do that as best I could in, as I look back on it, a pretty feeble way. But I notice now with great amusement and interest, that the Wilderness Society has a grant, I think, of \$600,000 to do the same thing. Of course, I didn't have any such grant, but I did the best I could. I compiled a questionnaire to various resorts and the Forest and Park Services. And I attempted to illustrate the value of the sportsman's dollar, and the fact that all these road-end places were dependent on the wilderness for their business.

Livermore: At that time, it was quite interesting, because in all those packing years before I went to Sacramento many years later, I was almost completely oblivious to the political power of the water people. Of course in the real high country you don't think of all these water projects, but later when the King's Canyon Park thing came up, that was a very real problem. So I didn't pay much attention to that.

Lage: You focused on roads, primarily?

Livermore: On roads, and on the value of road-end industry-resorts, and on sportsmen dependent on the hunting in the high country (which is another story), and on the immeasurable aesthetic thing, which is still a problem. How do you value clean air and the wilderness and clear water?

Lage: They're still trying to figure that out.

Livermore: You just can't. There is no way that I can see.

Lage: Was your report well received at Stanford?

Livermore: Well, I'd say I had a little trouble persuading my professor that it had much value. But it wasn't a major course, I think it was a three or four unit course, and I think it was called, "Business Development."

Yes, he was quite amused by it. And I remember when I was in Sacramento I was asked to give a kind of a major talk to the business school reunion, and I made reference to this and got a good chuckle because who ever heard of an MBA writing a paper on the mule business!

Lage: But it is a coming field.

Livermore: It is. I can't wait to see this Wilderness Society report, because as I say, it seems to me that they've got a half million dollars to do a more complete job on the theme I attempted. And of course, things are much more measurable now. There's still a very fierce debate about the economic value of wilderness--particularly when the wilderness enthusiasts, of which I'm one, get lower and lower in elevation and get into commercial timber, which I have mixed feelings about. I think it's a sign that the wilderness people now have lost me a little bit, in that they're going for quantity rather than quality. Every acre that hasn't a road in it, they want it wilderness. I don't think life is that simple.



## II THE SIERRA CLUB IN THE THIRTIES AND FORTIES

### Initial Contacts with Environmental Groups

- Lage: I did notice one thing in the 1936 report that kind of struck me. You talked about the organizations that might act as defenders of the Sierra. You mentioned the packers, and you mentioned that this new organization that was just starting up-- the Wilderness Society--but you weren't sure what their interests would be, and you never mentioned the Sierra Club in that regard.
- Livermore: Interesting. You mean in the packer report or in the business school report?
- Lage: The business school report.
- Livermore: That's very interesting.
- Lage: This was '36, and I wondered if that was a perception you had of the club?
- Livermore: Well, I can tell you why, now that I reflect on it. That's an extremely logical question. I first skied when in the business school (very poorly!), but then on my Indian trip I met a very fine fellow, Hans Skardarasy, of Zurs, Austria. I've often wondered if he's still alive; he taught me how to ski. That would have been the winter of '36, and it wasn't until after that that I was even aware of the Sierra Club. That would explain it, I was not--
- Lage: You did mention it as an outdoor club that took trips--  
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Livermore: It must have been the winter of 1937-38 that I first went up to Norden. And that's when I got to know Dick Leonard and Dave Brower and those people. So you see that's fascinating, at this point I was really kind of unaware of the Sierra Club.

Lage: O.K., you must have known it existed--

Livermore: Of course, I'd heard of it--

Lage: From your packing. I also noticed the Commonwealth Club had a series on roads in 1936, and there were Sierra Club people there.

Livermore: Yes, I may have well met them; I was active. In fact, I was for a short while chairman of the conservation section of the Commonwealth Club. I was much closer to them than the Sierra Club for the simple reason that they were developing that report. I don't know, did I give you--

Lage: But the Sierra Club as an institution you weren't familiar with? So that more or less explains it.

Livermore: No, I wasn't. I was much more interested in the Commonwealth Club. I'd heard more about them, and they were studying this problem you see, so it was only later that I became aware of the Sierra Club.

Lage: Another interesting thing in the Bancroft papers I thought maybe you could elaborate on a little bit, were some communications between you and the very early Wilderness Society--with Yard [Robert Sterling] and also Robert Marshall.

Livermore: Yes, I have quite a bit of that correspondence, and that stemmed from the proposed Porterville-Lone Pine Road, which I was bitterly against, and it ties into that petition that I sent over to Berkeley. I don't remember--I've never tried to put the correspondence together. It was sporadic, but I had a couple of letters from Robert Marshall, and several from Robert Sterling Yard. Incidentally, have you seen that new book, John Muir and His Legacy?

Lage: Yes.

Livermore: I just finished reading it, and Yard is mentioned there quite a bit. I don't remember the initiation of that as well as I do the Sierra Club. I may have read an article, perhaps in

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\*Stephen Fox, John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement (Little, Brown & Co., 1981).

Livermore: American Forests, which is one of my favorite outdoor magazines, and I think that led me to write to the Wilderness Society.

Lage: They had just formed, and you wrote to see what their purposes were, I think, to see if they might have an interest in this area.

Livermore: That's correct, I remember now. It seems to me the first letter I had from Yard was very, sort of amorphous. It was sort of close to the vest, just a few pals getting together kind of a thing, and they didn't have a magazine or anything. They were a loose knit, sort of a club within a club.

Lage: Did you meet with him later?

Livermore: It seems to me I might have called once on Bob Marshall in his office in Washington, just kind of to pay my respects. I don't remember ever meeting Yard personally.

As an aside I was fascinated with this Stephen Fox book because it mentioned this Rosalie Edge several times. And I haven't had a chance to check my log, but I'm pretty sure I took her into the mountains on a Kings River Park inspection trip. I know there was an unusual gal, but it was just a small trip, which is beside the main subject.

But to get back to your question, I have a couple of carbons, but the memories are sort of fleeting.

Lage: I think these letters in the Bancroft show more than you remember, in a sense, because they're fascinating. You have a couple of letters--these are in the Marshall Papers that the Bancroft has. Letters you had written to Bob Marshall.

Livermore: Oh, I see. Well, they have something that I don't have.

Lage: Right. You had written to him trying to get him to come out and take a pack trip.

Livermore: Oh. What year was that, about?

Lage: It was about '36, I think.

Livermore: Fascinating, yes?

Lage: It was; really, they are fascinating. You'd like to look at them because you don't have them in your files.

Livermore: I would, yes. I don't think I have copies of those.

Lage: George Marshall gave quite a bit of his own papers plus his brother's papers to the Bancroft.

Livermore: Fascinating. Gee, I'll have to spend a day over there--

Lage: It's very small; it won't take a whole day, but it'll bring back memories to you.

Livermore: Yes, I'm sure it will.

Lage: Well, let's go on then to how you did get into touch with the Sierra Club.

Livermore: Well, the big start, as I say, was when Allie Robinson in effect, struck, and Dick Leonard came to me. This must have been in '38, I guess. I'd have to check my records--

Lage: Was this after you'd met them through skiing?

Livermore: Yes. They came to me, as I recall it, because I'd sent them a copy of my packing report, and I was on a first name basis with them mainly through skiing and not, as I emphasize here, through rock climbing.

Lage: Did you ski up at the Clair Tappaan Lodge?

Livermore: At Norden, yes, having cut my eyeteeth, you might say, after my trip to India. The winter of '37-'38 I skied quite often, on weekends and, I think, Easter vacation. Then, I'm just guessing, it must have been after about Easter, '38, that they started negotiating with Robinson, who was mad. And since I knew him so well they called me on the phone and said, "Can you help us?"

Then I went to Independence and, in effect, did persuade him to pack them again, but I feathered my own nest to a degree. In other words, I worked out a commission deal. And then that was for--the years I was on the high trip, I think, must have been '38, '39, '40, and I think '41. And the first couple years I worked just as a packer, and that's when I wrote that article that the Mule Days seemed to think was amusing.

I remember, I guess it was the first trip, it was almost a kind of a joke. It was an extremely heavy snow year, and they couldn't go anywhere because of heavy snowdrifts. So we had all this big problem of movement. I remember it was fascinating, we deadheaded the stock all the way from Lone Pine to Mammoth. And that was before Crowley Lake was built. That was really

Livermore: picturesque country. Then we met the club at Agnew Meadows, and were scheduled to take them, as I call it, to Davis Creek or toward Donahue Pass, but we could only go about three miles, then we hit the snow line. So we sort of parked the club off on this plateau, and the packers loved it because they just retreated down to a meadow down there in the upper San Joaquin and just played poker for about ten days until the snow melted. It was kind of that trip that I wrote the article about, in '38.

Then in '39 I worked just as a packer, in effect, for Robinson. They always had trouble because the packers would often get into camp first, and they'd take the nicest spot. They'd tie their mules right where the commissary should be. So at this point--let's see, I think this picture was taken in 1940--Dick Leonard came to me and said, "Now we want you on a trip this year, but we don't want you to handle a string of mules. You're the boss. You tell the packers--I mean, you know our problem, and you get into camp first, and you say where the packers will be." And that was a slightly difficult task, but it worked out. I loved that of course. I didn't have mules to pack, and I'd just get on my horse and get into camp first, and then I'd decide where the commissary was and so forth. Then, 1941, of course, was the Pearl Harbor year; I'd have to check my log, but anyway that's how I got started.

Then after the war they came to me again because Allie, who's now dead, lost his head over a woman. Ugliest woman you ever saw, and he had the nicest little wife. The woman he met on some high trip. So anyway, with that plus the war, he just went berserk. He left his wife, never married this woman, later went back to his wife. But the point of the story is he sold his outfit during this troubled time. He had these marvelous grey mules, and, of course, the packing went down somewhat during the war. So after the war, the high trip theme and spirit was still strong, so they came to me and wanted me to not only just be an agent but to handle the whole thing. And that's when I made the terrible mistake--but I had a lot of fun out of it--of going over to the east side. And I bought two pack trains, mortgaged my soul, in order to get a big enough outfit to handle the Sierra Club. Which I did, personally for three years; I think it was '46, '47, and '48.

Then with my family growing and being more interested in the lumber business as a way of supporting a family, I farmed it out to a fellow named Bruce Morgan. He continued handling the high trip from, it must have been about '49 through--I don't know I'd have to check--about '60. I know my oldest son

Livermore: packed on two or three high trips, and it went down, down, down in numbers. Anyway that's a capsule of how I got involved in the Sierra Club.

Lage: Could the Sierra Club high trips support--obviously it couldn't support--but you seemed to think it would be able to support a whole summer?

Livermore: No, that was a big problem. That's why the Forestry Association trip was, you might say, the heyday of my packing, the economics of my packing. It worked out fairly well, because I used almost as many head of stock on the trailrider trip, they called it, as in the Sierra Club, although there were more mules in the Sierra Club and more horses in the other.

Also, I got all fired up--we all did--in the first postwar year. On the Sierra Club trips, which had always been two, two-week sessions, I persuaded them--we mutually agreed--we would have three, two-week sessions. That almost killed me because it was a terrible summer in '46. Stock was from different outfits, and they had trouble wrangling, and I had a couple of packers--I remember one of them I think had a criminal record. Then I had just overextended myself. I had three, two-week sessions of the high trip and then a big trailrider trip, and then I think there was the Alpine Club. You know, everybody after the war wanted to go to the mountains.

Getting back to the years for these trips, I think the high trips expired in about '66. I'm just guessing. Then there were the highlight trips. During all this time I had also had quite a number of Sierra Club saddle trips. One of them, if you'd care to research it, might amuse you. This must have been also in about '39. I'm just guessing.

Lage: You started the saddle trips?

Livermore: Yes, I started the saddle trips. I think the first saddle trip was in '39. I took about ten of them. It was kind of amusing. Did you ever hear about Anita Day Hubbard?

Lage: No.

Livermore: Well, she was a woman who wrote a sort of advice to the lover--remember Dorothy Dix, does that name mean anything?

Lage: Yes, that name does.

Livermore: Dorothy Dix, as I recall it, was a nationally syndicated--what do you call that, not advice to the lovelorn. It's sort of "Dear Abby" and whose the other one? It was more pap, shall we call it. More sort of homespun advice, family stuff.

Anyway, Anita Day Hubbard was the local one. She wrote an article. You can find it in the Sierra Club Bulletin. I remember her particularly because she was quite stout, and we had trouble getting her on her horse. She was amusing.

But the thing I remember most particularly, and I've never heard of it before or since, when we ended that trip--which I think was '39 and in Lone Pine--we camped the last night at the road end at Carrol Creek, and the aurora borealis covered the whole sky. I've never seen it before or since in the Sierra. Of course, it's common in the North.

Lage: That's right.

Livermore: Have you ever seen it?

Lage: No, but I read in the Bulletin something that Dave Brower wrote about the saddle trips, and how you had arranged this aurora borealis for them. [laughter]

Livermore: Well, as a matter of fact, it must have been the Pearl Harbor year. One of my great bonds with Dave is that he led a saddle trip. That must have been in '41, yes, or '42. I don't know. I got into the service, I think, before he, and I loaned him my horse. He liked her; she was just a great buckskin mare. He doesn't like to admit he liked her, and people don't like to admit that John Muir rode horses, too. But anyway, Dave Brower did ride a horse on this trip. So anyway, that was Anita Day Hubbard.

#### Recollections: Club Committees and the Board

Lage: Now, you were involved with the club on the outing committee, the trails committee and also on some committees dealing with roads in the Sierra.

Livermore: I was on a special committee--I remember Harold Bradley [Sierra Club president, 1957-1959] asked me about it years later--to sort of study roads in the Sierra. And the records are obscure, this involves one of the great arguments that [Congressman Bernie F.] Sisk--you may have heard of it--argued in favor of the Minaret road, that the Sierra Club was in favor of it. I

Livermore: always pointed out, and I think the record shows this, that they were in favor of it only as the lesser of two evils. Less evil than the Porterville-Lone Pine road. But then I always said, and still say, that since the Porterville-Lone Pine Road went in, the Kern Plateau has been violated, and that released the other contingent agreement [to agree to the Minaret Summit road] which was back in these same years. I was on a Sierra Club committee--I can't remember with who--to report on this. And as I recall it, some of my correspondence shows that the committee never met on account of the war or something. It's a little bit obscure.

The outing committee was the main one I was on. Then there is another thing--I can try to dig it out. In fact, I mean to send it, if I can find it, to the Bancroft. The first Wilderness Conference, as I recall it, was held in '49, but the year prior, Dave Brower and I and a fellow named Art Blake had a wilderness meeting which we promoted in the PG&E [Pacific Gas and Electric] Auditorium in San Francisco. I took a trip down the Salmon River in Idaho, which was sort of unique in those days. Because those were the days before the neoprene rafts, and we had a scow, a thing built out of lumber. That gives the term, "river of no return." I have movies, still have them, quite good of that trip which I showed at this meeting in the PG&E Auditorium. Then there was a fine fellow named Art Blake, and Dave Brower, and we each had segments of this program. So in a way, at least to my knowledge, it was the first wilderness meeting. It wasn't a conference. It was a kind of a conclave.

Lage: Who was involved in that? And what was the--

Livermore: Well, the three of us put it on. I have somewhere a postcard, Blake, Brower and me, and it was just a lecture.

Lage: Who was invited?

Livermore: Anybody that wanted to come, but mainly Sierra Club members. I think they were almost entirely club people. It went out to the club mailing list, and there were maybe, a couple hundred people there.

Lage: Was there a conservation message involved?

Livermore: Yes, it was a praising of the wilderness kind of a thing. And with a strong message to stop the roads, and as I say, some slides and pictures, and a description--which was my part of it--of the Salmon River Wilderness--

Lage: Was there a conservation issue there at the time?



Livermore: Yes, this was an early beginning, at least to my knowledge, of the whole primitive area concept. There was a road projected down the Salmon River. In fact the road was started. I remember it shows in my movies. They did poke it down about ten miles, but to my knowledge it never has been completed.

On the trip I took, we were on the river about ten days. It was a hunting trip, but it was a marvelous scenic trip, too. We, of course, were hunting. We'd stop--I don't remember where. I suppose we could have gone through it maybe in about two days. But yes, it was a wilderness theme.

Lage: With this involvement that you had, would you be able to recall or characterize for us the club in those years, the late thirties and early forties?

Livermore: The club was very "clubby." I mean that in a good way. It was small, and a good part of the whole theme were the outings. I remember being somewhat amused and surprised, because when-- I guess it was Dick Leonard or Dave--put my name up as a director, and I said, "I don't feel I deserve this or am particularly worthy of it because I'm not a rock climber, and I never took much part in the Bay Chapter activities sort of a thing." "Oh," they said, "You'll have no trouble at all; everybody knows you from the high trip." And that's the way it worked out. All the high trip people got to know me because I was always there at the campfire.

So the high trip was very much intertwined with the club leadership--

Lage: People would be elected because they were known from the high trips?

Livermore: Yes, it was sort of word of mouth. And there were only, as I recall it, two chapters then: Los Angeles and San Francisco. They had no paid secretary. It was Virginia Ferguson--is she still alive?

Lage: No.

Livermore: She was a great gal. They had a little small office, and it wasn't, of course, until after the war that Dave Brower was made full-time secretary. It was sort of like the Save-the-Redwoods League: small, first name basis.

In those days too, which this John Muir and His Legacy book clearly points out, the motto or purpose which showed on all letterheads said, "Explore, Enjoy and Render Accessible."

- Livermore: That John Muir book shows, you know, that he was even in favor of highways and automobiles to get people to see it. But the club changed their motto after the war, I think. It was a very close group.
- Lage: There apparently were debates among the directors about how accessible the Sierras should be rendered. Do you remember some of the feelings about that, the different sides?
- Livermore: No, I don't. As I remember it, and I think I was still a director then, it was just all agreed. It just kind of evolved that we did not want to make them more accessible.
- Lage: So there was a general feeling against further roads?
- Livermore: Yes, what we both just mentioned--it seems to me maybe one or two of the directors felt they still should be made more accessible, but I don't remember any major debate on it at all.
- Lage: Was there a debate with [William E.] Colby [board of directors, 1900-1949] at all? It seems to me I heard at one time that was one of the reasons Colby finally retired from the board.
- Livermore: I remember that was in this book. You're right. It's quite interesting. I don't remember any disagreement with him about anything, but it could be. I wasn't one of the most regular attenders. I don't remember how many times a year they met. I remember more outing committee meetings than director's meetings. Although I of course attended a great many director's meetings, and I guess Colby was on maybe just the first year I was on. I just remember him as a kind of a senior citizen, very, very much respected. But I don't remember that flap that's described in the Fox book. Isn't that the reason they said he resigned?
- Lage: Some people say that that had nothing to do with it, that he'd just served out his time, and he felt it was time to turn it over to the younger people. But I've heard a couple of people--and I think the book mentions this--say that the reason was an argument over a road into Kings Canyon or something.
- Livermore: Oh, now that brings up another thing. Well, of course, the Kings Canyon road, I think we all bitterly opposed that. It had to do with a water establishment.

The same trip that I mentioned--I think it may have been this Rosalie Edge that I took, along with Frank Kittredge and Harold Bryant, into the early Kings Canyon. The road was just starting then, and we used to have to go down in the canyon

Livermore: from Horse Corral Meadow, which was a kind of a dusty but very pretty trail. So as I recall it--that's most interesting--about the water establishment. There was a fellow involved named Gearhart, Congressman Bud Gearhart. It was over my head a little bit, in that I was away all these summers. During some of those years I spent quite a little time, as I told you, in the oil activities in Texas and the [San Joaquin] Valley.

As I recall it, they did make, in effect, a deal, and the Tehipite Valley was involved--

Lage: This would be in establishing Kings Canyon?

Livermore: This is Kings Canyon. My recollection is a little fuzzy, but I do remember this very vividly: that I was the only director that was against the Kings Canyon Park.

Lage: Oh, you were?

Livermore: I was against it, and the main reason I was against it was because of my friends the packers, because I couldn't see at that time that it would make that much difference in the high country. But it made a big difference to the packers because it knocked out the hunting, and you see the hunting is a big part of their business.

I remember the fear and trembling with Allie Robinson testifying in Fresno before [Secretary of the Interior Harold] Ickes against the park. But we were just absolutely snowed under. And I guess you might say my interest was selfish but also sincere. To repeat, here was this marginal, to me extremely picturesque business, and like many businesses, it's the top income that's the profit. And they just wiped the whole thing out, you see, with the park. It affected many packers, so I didn't like it. I don't remember any major fights on the board--

Lage: Did you testify against it also?

Livermore: I testified, yes. And it would be interesting, by God, to see whether that got in--I never saw an account. I'm sure either I or Robinson, probably said about three lines in a feeble voice. I remember it was a very packed meeting in Fresno. And Ickes was there. Well, there were others that agreed with us; I think the timbermen did. But as I say, I think the club had made a deal, in a perfectly understandable way, on this water exclusion kind of a business. I remember it was held up for a long time by Gearhart and the water people.

Livermore: But getting back to Colby, that's very interesting. I don't remember him, except for the time of course, I remember vividly, that I interviewed him when he was in his sick bed.\* But I remember going to his office once, and it made me feel good, because he had the most untidy desk that I've every seen in my life. It may or may not have been typical. But I don't remember him leaving the board of directors in any kind of a huff at all, but I could be wrong on that.

Lage: Well, you could be right also. People disagree, and Stephen Fox picked up the account that showed the conflict.

Livermore: My feeling, for what it's worth, is that Colby had given up the leadership of the high trip because, after all, Leonard was a lot younger. Well, first the trip leadership went to the football player--

Lage: Tappaan.

Livermore: Francis Tappaan, whom I never met but heard a lot about. He passed the ball--Colby to Tappaan--for three or four years, and then Leonard took over. I don't think I ever met Tappaan, because he was southern California. So my general feeling was that Colby was ten or fifteen years older than we, and he'd certainly done a stint, and he just wanted to retire. I remember hearing a lot about him, and of course jumping ahead to this interview, I'll just say perhaps the two main reasons I was interested in talking to him were: first the packing history, and second--the theme I'd heard him express, and he repeated it to me--that huts were not necessarily bad. I still tend to feel that way a little bit. If you could extend the wilderness use of the Sierra with Adirondack-type huts, what's wrong with that? Since then of course, they've developed these fabulous light tents and everything. I think probably that's not as pertinent as it was back in the forties.

Lage: Besides there's so much of the Sierra, I can't imagine the number of huts you'd have to have to satisfy--

Livermore: This is an interesting thing; it's always puzzled me a little bit. For instance, one of my early admirations was for the Forest Service Mule Depot in Missoula, Montana. They had something like three thousand mules. You know they covered all that--out in the country.

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\*"Some High Sierra Recollections by William E. Colby," interview by Norman B. Livermore, Sierra Club Bulletin, December 1964.

Livermore: Then the other one was the Glacier Park Saddle Horse Company. They had these chalets--this has been written up, seems to me I saw it in the Forest History Magazine--riding trips and chalets, sort of. Of course, it rains a lot more there. That thing died out completely; large horseback trips in Glacier Park, I think, are almost completely defunct. And of course I know the Forest Service would go in as smoke jumpers and with helicopters.

But anyway, Colby told me that. I can't remember just how he expressed it, but he saw nothing wrong with huts. It tied in a little bit with one of John Muir's quotes that I sometimes mention. In one of his books, I can't remember which, he said that he never could understand these so called tough mountaineers that would sleep on the rocks; that he always spent a lot of time making his bed, with boughs and so on. So when people sometimes talk about hardihood, why I sometimes remember John Muir.

Lage: That's interesting. Any other people in the club in those years that you could characterize for us? You said you had a list here.

Livermore: Yes, I remember vividly many of them. In no particular order, the ones that you have here: Bestor Robinson, Brower, Leonard, Francis Farquhar, of course, I felt very close to. In fact I worked for him for a while as an accountant, just a month or so. Oliver Kehrlein, Walter Starr, Joel Hildebrand. A later bunch: Fred Eissler, [George] Marshall, [Harold] Bradley, Claire Dedrick, [Edgar] Wayburn, [Will] Siri, Phil Berry. These are just names that came to me. The latter ones, of course, are the more modern generation. I got to know Ed Wayburn particularly well, but mainly during and after my Sacramento days because he was not at all a member of the early group. In fact, I'm not sure he was here in California in those early years.

Lage: Not as early as we're talking about.

Livermore: No.

Lage: Can you recall any other points of view the men might have had, or some characterizations of them? The early group I'm thinking of.

Livermore: Well, yes. I felt partly because of the Kings Canyon experience, and the hunting and the packers, that there were really only four people, my recollection is, on that board that were reasonably oriented toward business.

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Livermore: By that I mean they had an economic orientation rather than a professional one. They were myself and Oliver Kehrlein, Walter Starr and, to a lesser extent, Bestor Robinson. Bestor was an attorney. But the four of us, let's say, were more receptive to multiple-use philosophy, the Forest Service philosophy, than the others. In all degrees, Walter Starr, who was devoted to the mountains largely because of his son being killed there and writing the Starr's Guide\* and so forth, was quite senior. And he was retired, and so he wasn't as probusiness as he might have been, in my opinion.

By probusiness I mean aware of the economics, for instance the packing, the timbermen, the development types.

Lage: Was this something you were concerned with at the time? Aside from packing, were you?

Livermore: Yes, I can't think of instances other than that. It might have taken the form, particularly with Dave Brower, much though I respect and like him, of sort of giving hell to the business community. In terms of writing or thought, of the four, Kehrlein was the best from my point of view.

He had been in business. He, and I recall it, had made and lost a modest fortune running movie theaters. He owned some movie houses. He was, as I recall it, a casualty of either the Depression or--let's see, that was before TV.

But other than the Kings Canyon thing, I can't think of any major fights or anything. It was just a kind of a feeling. In the case of Robinson, he tended to be Forest Service-oriented. A little like in the Fox book we just mentioned, the Pinchot versus the Marshall theme.

Lage: Pinchot and Muir, you mean?

Livermore: Well, I was thinking of Bob Marshall.

Lage: Oh, I see.

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\*Starr's Guide to the John Muir Trail (Sierra Club, 1934).

Livermore: Well, Pinchot versus Muir or Muir-Marshall versus Pinchot. As I say, in those days except for the Kings Canyon, I don't remember any really major causes. I guess, of course, the grazing oozed into it with Lowell Sumner and his report sort of damning the high trip for their mule use.\*

But the Muir and His Legacy book, of course, is fascinating because it so clearly describes the evolution of the whole conservation movement. As I recall, first there were concerns just over forests, and you know, Teddy Roosevelt. And then it was the wildlife, and then starting in the forties it was wilderness. And now it's, of course, all over the map. It's pollution and the atomic problems and air, water and solid waste and then open space. That's one reason, actually, that I resigned from the board--which I did in about 1952.

Lage: I think it was '49.

Livermore: Nineteen forty-nine, was it? Well, you'd know, yes, '49. I was on for ten years, I think, excluding the war years. Yes, '49, that would make sense because we moved to Cloverdale. Well, I resigned from the board for two reasons: first of all, I had the packing contract, and I was also on the outing committee. I thought I really should resign because I was deciding my own sustenance, you might say. But the bigger reason was the complexity of it. I remember the Echo Park fight, which is described in the Stephen Fox book. And I felt, incidentally, that club publicity was a little unethical on that, because Echo Park was not a national park. It was a national monument, and there's quite a difference between the two. I felt that dear Dave and all those guys, that are always talking about, "Invasion of the park, invasion of the park, invasion of the park"--well, it was not a park.

So that bothered me a little bit, but more than that, I remember distinctly feeling I had a young family, and I was struggling up north (we lived in Cloverdale then, in the lumber business), and I just couldn't read all the stuff. You know, I was getting two inches of material every month. And I thought, "I just cannot in good conscience be a director and keep up with this material." So those were the two reasons--

Lage: It's interesting to me. I hadn't realized that the greater complexity occurred as early as this.

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\*Sierra Club Bulletin, June 1950, pp. 109-112 and May, 1951, pp. 142-145.

Livermore: Well, the first complexity was more geographic than pollution. It started with the Echo Park thing, but then the club started having a lot more chapters, and it was more complex. The paper work just built up.

Lage: It was more demanding on a board member.

Livermore: Yes. I just didn't feel I could give it the time.

#### Initiation of the First Wilderness Conference

Lage: The other thing I wanted to talk about was your initiation of the idea for the wilderness conference when you were a board member. I saw a copy of the letter that you wrote.\*

Livermore: Yes, I think I have that somewhere. That's something, if I do say so, I'm very proud of. And Brower, more than some of the other things, has given me credit for that. Yes, I guess I really did help light the first spark. But it was more utilitarian than--well, that isn't fair. It was a deep conviction for the wilderness, but I'd have to reread my letter. My main theme, as I recall, was the growing complexity of the wilderness; the increased travel, the trail maintenance, the camping requirements, the grazing problems, and the lack of coordination between the Forest and the Park Service, and partly, I don't think this was major in '49, the hunting decline. It stemmed in part from this PG&E meeting, so I wrote, I guess, the board of directors. I went to every wilderness conference, I think, from then on--with I think, one exception and that was one of the last ones they had in Colorado. I was always very keenly interested in it. As I say, I did have a part in starting it.

I remember Zahniser at a couple of the early ones, and of course that led directly to the '64 Wilderness Act. But in terms of the whole conferences, they soon veered away--I felt, they got a little bit too ethereal for me. Also, and I've always said this, and I think I'm in the minority among conservationists, but I think that the term wilderness has gotten bastardized. Now everything without a road in it is a "wilderness." I remember I went to one conference, and they were talking about a forty-acre swamp being a wilderness. Well,

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\*Sierra Club Board of Directors Minutes, August 1947.



Livermore: to me, and I'm biased obviously by my Sierra experience, the only wilderness is a big wilderness--one that I described, as I recall, as at least 150,000 acres. In fact, I used the simile of a Boy Scout square, I think I called it, because in my day in order to become a first class Boy Scout you had to walk twelve miles. Incidentally, I think that's a sad commentary on our modern society because it's now reduced to five miles, and I'm told it's because you can't get an adult scout master that can walk twelve miles. But anyway, the wilderness conferences have been great, but now I guess they're abandoned, aren't they?

Lage: I don't know if they're actually abandoned, but they're not a regular feature.

Livermore: Yes, they used to be every two years.

Lage: It's not regular; they are held just when somebody gets it together.

Livermore: It's sporadic, yes. That's interesting; I think the reason they've probably lost oomph, if that's the word, is because a large part of the wilderness battles have been won, although we're still, as you know, working on RARE II [Roadless Area Review and Evaluation]. But these other things have come up: the atomic, the solid waste, the pollution, the air, water and the open space problems, and so forth.

But the poor old packers--I call them that advisedly--soon lost out. As I recall it, we had a packer's panel--I'm talking of course about the High Sierra packers--for about the first three conferences. After that we weren't even invited, as I recall it. Our problems were so mundane; they weren't interesting.

Lage: But the original idea was to help solve some of the problems that the packers shared.

Livermore: Yes, that's correct. I think there was some talk, even fairly recently, with Brower and Leonard and others who said, "At least every other year, let's have a sort of a working conference." That has taken form; the Sierra Club, as you probably know, they've had these--they call them, is it TSI? Anyway, they have had various conferences, which I have not attended--

Lage: I and E are you thinking of? Information and Education?

Livermore: Yes, I think that's it. These conferences, I think, flowered--or maybe they're still going--when I was in Sacramento. I just didn't have time to go to them, but they had to do with such

Livermore: things as camp use, restrictions on livestock, trail signs, permit mechanics and all this and that. That is still going on. Now, as you well know, entry over a lot of the major passes is limited. For instance, at Kearsarge Pass now, I think, only fifty people per day are allowed to go through.

So it's just part of life's complexities. I think it was in the Fox book, that I had a mild shock when Rod Nash was quoted as saying that we should now have five categories of wilderness. No, it was in, I think, the Journal of Forestry that I read that. They're now talking, maybe you've heard this phrase, about a no-rescue wilderness. Interesting thought.

Lage: I've heard it referred to.

Livermore: And it's getting to be a problem. I was talking on our Fish and Game pack trip just last week, and one of the members was Brown's appointee. He's chairman of the California Water Commission and a member of the Los Angeles Fire Commission or whatever it is. Apparently there's an off-road vehicle area designated on Mount Alamo, in Southern California. He said that every single weekend they have about three or four serious accidents, so they're just having to budget practically a full-time helicopter just to take care of these accidents. Well, of course, those are jeeps. It's a little different from horses and mules, but it is an interesting problem.

So, getting back to your question of the wilderness conferences, they have evolved into tremendous complexity.

Lage: Right. It's so true.

Livermore: I think it was '49 that I wrote the letter. Wasn't that the first conference?

Lage: Yes.

Livermore: I think my letter must have been in the spring, then, of 1949.

Lage: Well, I think your letter was earlier, and it took a couple of years to get it together.

Livermore: Oh well, you've researched this better than I have myself.  
[laughter]

Lage: O.K., one little anecdote. I talked to Dick Leonard about our interview, and he said I should definitely ask you about the only man in the navy that had a mule.

Livermore: Only man in the navy that had a mule; well, his memory is failing him a little bit. What he probably meant is--oh, now wait a second.

Lage: He said on Cypress you had a--

Livermore: Oh, in Sicily. Well, that's so amusing. No, I think he's a little garbled. Before I got in the navy--well, this is a typical story. I tried very hard to get in the mountain troops, running mules, but I was thirty-one years old then, so I did not succeed in getting in the mountain troops. I had a lot of correspondence about it. I was interested, of course, in the pack artillery. His memory may be better than ours. I had a fascinating experience in Sicily, when I tore around with a jeep, but I don't seem to remember a mule anywhere.

Lage: Isn't that funny, that was very vivid in his mind.

Livermore: Packed a mule? The only thing he might have possibly thought of happened on leave. This is one of my amusing experiences. When I was still in the navy, but I was on leave, I took my wife on one of her first solo pack trips. And we did take a mule out of Mineral King, and the two of us put out a forest fire. And I remember she got a check for the government for something like \$13.22 for the hours. And since I was in the navy they wouldn't give me a check, but they sent one to my wife. I shouldn't have cashed it; I wish I'd framed it. Really, there was a fire--a lightning fire that started at Hockett Meadow. Just after we had set up camp, I looked across the meadow and saw a large column of smoke. I tore over there and put a whole circle around it and put out the fire. The ranger came in the next day and said, "God, this is fabulous. This could have gone to a thousand acres." He insisted on asking about the time I had put in on it, and, as I say, sent us a check.

That wasn't in connection with navy duties. I also tried, toward the end of my navy duty to get into OSS [Office of Strategic Services], unsuccessfully, which used mules in Burma. And I remember calling on Dick and Bestor Robinson. They were in Washington. I think it may have been then that we talked about mules, but I don't remember.

Lage: Well, next time you see him, you can straighten it out with him!

Livermore: Yes, I will because he might remember something that I don't.

Experiences as a Lumberman

Lage: I thought a brief rundown of your career would be helpful. You mentioned you went into lumber in about '49, or was it earlier? Then give a brief rundown of what you did up until '66.

Livermore: Oh, well chronologically, I didn't go into the lumber business until after the war. Let's see, the Olympic Games were in '36 and then '37 through Pearl Harbor was one of the more active times of my packing career. Then I was in the navy from '42 through '45. Well, I was in the army for a while. I was in the army and the navy simultaneously. I'm probably one of the few people that did that, sort of accidentally.

Then in '46 is when I combined the pack trains, and I had a dual career. I knew I wanted to go into the lumber business, and I had a sawmill on the ranch during '46, '47, '48, right up through '51, six years either at the ranch or in Cloverdale.

Lage: Now this was the sawmill operation, and you did packing on the side?

Livermore: Yes, I did a crazy thing. I was logging in the winter, which is wrong and packing in summer, which is right. But anyway, I did--

Lage: Was this working for yourself?

Livermore: Yes, I was working for myself, '46, '47, and '48 with my sawmill and packing. And then '49, '50, '51 and '52 I was in a partnership in Cloverdale. I sold my sawmill, having run out of timber at the ranch, couldn't get more. Then I went into the remanufacturing business, so my main occupation then was in lumbering. We had a dry kiln; we had a remanufacturing plant. Two of us, it was a partnership, a small company. I moved to Cloverdale in '48. Forty-nine is when I resigned from the club, but I still used to go to the wilderness conferences. So I was there basically '49 and '50 and '51.

And then in early '52, I accepted this job with Pacific Lumber Company, which came up through Stanford [University] rather strangely and unexpectedly. And that's when, with much trauma, I left my little business in Cloverdale. It was really a very happy, bucolic existence there, but I just decided this was too good an opportunity to pass up. It was partly that we had the four children at that point, and we thought the schools were better here [in the Bay Area]. Also my father was aging quite a bit, and it was just comforting to him to have me down closer here. They lived in Ross.

Lage: So that's when you moved to San Rafael?

Livermore: That's when we moved here, and then I worked fifteen years for the Pacific Lumber Company.

Lage: You were treasurer?

Livermore: Yes, I was first assistant treasurer and ended up as treasurer. I was on the so-called executive committee, and I was basically very happy there for fifteen years. Until the bombshell hit, and I went to Sacramento.

Lage: And that was a desk job, the Pacific Lumber Company?

Livermore: Yes, more than I would have liked. It ties in with my finance and accounting experience, yes. I got in the field quite a bit. One of my most pleasant jobs was running the timber contract at Butano, back of Santa Cruz. I spent an average of maybe four days a month in Scotia. Yes, it was pretty much of a desk job. I was not a forester or a logger; I was a finance man.

Lage: And was this hard? You really seemed to start out on a different course than one might expect, until you took the Pacific Lumber Company job.

Livermore: You meaning going with Pacific was a different course than I might have?

Lage: No, your earlier career was a different course from what someone might expect of you. You'd really carved out a life that fit your interests.

Livermore: Oh, I see what you mean. Well, the change was purely economic. Packing is just a very marginal business. As I say, I tried public accounting, and I decided that I did not like it enough to want to take a CPA. I mean that's even more bookish, really, than what I did with Pacific Lumber. It was a major disappointment to me, but I just had to accept it. A good part of the reason was because of the decline of the Sierra Club business and the fact that packing was highly seasonable. I never did want to live in Lone Pine, and my education was basically business. And then I had this tremendous pull, you see, the family ranch, which I still have, and where I had the sawmill for two or three years. It's where you might say I cut my eyeteeth in the business, but we have a limited amount of timber at the ranch. In order to prosper in the sawmill business, I would have needed a much bigger body of timber. So I very smartly left that, and then when we were processing, it was a different ball game.

Lage: What's the processing?

Livermore: You take green lumber and dry it and surface it and then grade it, sell it and ship it. There aren't too many of those plants now, but there were a fair number in those days. We had the only dry kiln between Eureka and San Francisco, so we did very well for four years. I perhaps would still be there if it hadn't been for the opportunity with Pacific.

So, I guess there is an anomaly. In fact, I remember one of the clips I have somewhere still, when I went to Sacramento, that said, "This man is a walking contradiction. How can he be a lumberman and a director of the Sierra Club?" Well, as I've sometimes said, I became a director of the Sierra Club, you might say, through the back door. I was not a noted nature lover, or a rock climber. I was a packer--a "mule man."

It ties a little bit with what we were saying earlier, about my mother and father, because I see both sides of so many of these questions. So I was not unhappy. In fact, I was very happy with Pacific Lumber Company. During that time I was not completely inactive environmentally or conservation-wise. First of all, I went in off-time to the wilderness conferences. I wrote a couple of articles during that period.\* Then I was quite active in an organization that still exists, called the Redwood Region Conservation Council. You may have heard of this. This is a kind of--there's no secrets about it--industry supported effort to promulgate good public relations in terms of utilization.

Incidentally, one of the things in my file is quite interesting. I tried very hard to promote a thing. It was locally known as the "Livermore Strip." This predated the redwood park. My idea was to try to get the lumber companies to voluntarily not cut, clearcut, along the highways. It was given quite a lot of thought, but it was voted down. In other words I didn't succeed in putting over my idea. We pleaded with Arcata Redwood not to clearcut right along the highway. We felt they were foolish, that it would lead--which it did, to the redwood park business.

Lage: So they were forewarned?

Livermore: Oh definitely, a lot of us in the industry warned them. The cynics say, and I guess this won't ever come out until somebody dies, but some of the cynics say Arcata cut deliberately because they knew that they could get this huge dollar settlement.

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\*See Appendix C.

Lage: That's a lot of foresight.

Livermore: I just called Washington--as you know I'm giving this little, brief talk on the eleventh--and one of the things I thought I might--I haven't decided yet what to say--but one of the things that still fascinates me is the cost of the Redwood National Park. It looks as though it's going to be almost a billion dollars. In fact, just in the paper this morning I cut this out about Arcata Redwood.

[reading] "Arcata takes steps to go private and said... holders would receive two-thirds of any money paid to the company as part of any future settlement with the US Government." That was '78. Now, I've got another article in the Bancroft file; they still haven't settled the '68 thing!

Lage: So they've made out pretty well financially?

Livermore: Yes, I was going to say (I can't prove it and would certainly not want to be quoted; we may edit it) there was the thought that this might have been done deliberately, knowing that it would cause this furor and that they would have to be bought out. I don't know, I just--

Lage: It's an interesting idea.

Livermore: Yes, it's an interesting thought. They claimed that it was the wind throw. You see the Pacific Lumber still has an excellent reputation; they log selectively. They also, starting with the Bull Creek Flat--a sale to Rockefeller--they withheld cutting from areas they knew were sensitive. That's one thing on which I was very comfortable with the company. They are a very fine outfit. They did not flaunt cutting in a way that would impinge on the scenic value of the redwood highway. And they got along well with Newton Drury, for instance.

Lage: Was that a philosophy they had before you went to them, or did you have any?--

Livermore: I think so. I don't know how much influence I had. Contrary to what some people think, I did not have a large interest in the company. It was a very small one which I gradually accumulated. The Murphy family dominated the company, and they were certainly not Sierra Club types. On the other hand, they were fair and realistic, and practiced very good forestry. I think I helped somewhat in my activity in the Redwood Region Conservation Council and just talking in top management circles.

Livermore: We felt that it was just smart not to do what Arcata had done because we (we being Pacific) hadn't the slightest desire to sell out or anything like that. We wanted to keep going.

The older Murphys are all dead now. That is, the father and son that I worked for and with are both dead. The company's run by the younger generation. I understand there is one Murphy in the company now. But the company has changed now, as so many of them do. It's only about one-third lumber, and the rest is industrial products.

Lage: Diversified. Did your role as a lumber company executive change any of your attitudes toward conservation questions or did it pretty much fit into what your earlier beliefs were?

Livermore: No, I don't think it did. As I say I tended, with some qualifications, to lean somewhat toward the Forest Service philosophy of utilization. I always felt, and still do, based on our ranch, if you're business oriented you can't have massive vistas and not use them. That's one of my thoughts on the redwood park. No, I was never uncomfortable.

I can remember one side issue I was involved with, and that was Point Reyes. That was when I got interested in politics. One reason I ended up in Sacramento, I'm sure, is that I was quite active in Republican politics, and all this Point Reyes thing was coming up. This, of course, was on in about the late fifties or early sixties. I felt, and still feel, that it was a little bit like the Redwood park. In fact, [George] Hartzog, the head of the Park Service, tried to put over the idea of the public taking all the coast but leaving some of the ranchers operating with an easement, a conservation easement.

The thread of conservation was, I'd say, strong through all my years at Pacific Lumber Company. I was not uncomfortable with it.

#### Anecdotes on Club Outings and Leaders##

[Interview 2: October 12, 1981]

Lage: Today's October 12, 1981. At the end of the last interview, you were recalling that you did have some anecdotes about Sierra Club leaders of the forties and the outings. And you mentioned the rock climbing-mule controversy. And then, of



Lage: course, yesterday at the meeting at the Bancroft Library, you had a chance to see Dick Leonard and Dave Brower. I wonder if all of this has brought anything to your mind where you might be able to characterize--

Livermore: Well, I certainly do. On the many high trips I was on, we were always having friendly arguments, mainly about the campsites because in not all cases, but in many cases, when the option was where to camp, of course, I was just an employee. Dick Leonard was the leader, and Dave was sort of assistant, and they wanted to get as close to the cliffs as they could, which often resulted in very high altitude camps where the grass was sparse and where the wrangling was tough. But on a broader scale I always felt, and still feel, that those great leaders weren't fully in tune with John Muir. By that I mean that they seemed to be more interested in rock climbing--or put it this way, there weren't many camp fire programs dealing with flowers or meadows or trees.

As an aside, I think there is something quite amusing that I've thought of since our last talk. Of course, we all read a lot of stuff about [Interior] Secretary Watt, who's anathema to a lot of people. He is quoted as reacting to criticism of him by Ansel Adams, who is also, of course, a great and good friend. Watt said words to this effect: "That doesn't bother me a bit. Ansel Adams never took a picture of a person in his life." And that really rang a bell with me because it's true also of Cedric Wright. This, of course, is a bias. I felt, why don't they take a few pictures of the mules or the packers or the meadows or the flowers, but usually it was the rocks. A typical packer expression, of course, on climbing the peak is, "Why in hell would I want to go up there? I haven't lost anything on top of that mountain!"

Lage: As you tell the story, there seems to be a tie-in between their interest in rock climbing and maybe their point of view towards conservation or even towards life in general.

Livermore: No, I think they were as dedicated as I like to think I am for wilderness, but I think there's a difference of orientation.

Lage: Less people-oriented, is that correct?

Livermore: Yes, somewhat. Oliver Kehrlein, for instance, who is also of that generation on the outing committee, was I'd say, much more people-oriented than either Dave or Dick or I, for that matter. He was at his very best in campfire shenanigans, you might say, and of course that led to the base camp trips.

- Livermore: Incidentally, have you got some copies of those base camp reports he put out?
- Lage: I believe the Bancroft does.
- Livermore: Yes, because they're really fascinating. And that was another squabble, if you want to call it that, because he put out these trip "albums," which were quite ornate without the approval of the outing committee. There was a certain amount of envy because he was so charismatic, and the base camp trips, which were spawned of course by the high trip and which, I think, lasted only about ten years, were very popular and quite different.
- Lage: But there was some little bit of resentment?
- Livermore: Yes, there was a feeling that the high trip was the trip. As I recall it, the second trip historically was the burro trip, which both Leonard and Bestor Robinson, Dave Brower and others spawned, and then the base camp came along. There was a competitiveness, let's put it that way. There was a feeling too, a little tiny bit like the trouble that Dave Brower got into later on the expenditures, about putting out this fancy book. But as I recall it too, and I have to search more records than I have readily available, the embarrassing thing was that the base camp trip used to make more money than the high trip. There was more margin in it because there was less expense to it. And the volume--I don't know, I think Oliver got up to as high as two hundred to two hundred and fifty people.
- Lage: Actually, they do still have base camp trips. They're continuing--
- Livermore: But very much smaller, I think.
- Lage: Right.
- Livermore: Yes, I should have said that. I think they're limited to what, forty or fifty people, and Kehrlein had, I think, as high as two hundred and fifty people.
- Lage: Oh, he did? I didn't realize they were that huge.
- Livermore: Oh yes, it was very big. I never went on a base camp trip because I loved the mules, and I liked the moving trips. And you couldn't be everywhere. But I helped him on some of the packing arrangements as I recall it, and so forth.

Lage: This might be hard to answer, but I've heard many people say how you loved the mules, and you say you loved the mules. Can you say what it was about the mules or the whole experience that was so entrancing?

Livermore: Oh yes, very definitely. I guess it was spawned partly from my early ranch experience, partly from the Thacher School, partly from the uniqueness of the packers, partly from my mule report, partly from a summer I spent on a big Texas ranch. I guess you might say its a partly cowboy attitude, as I think I told you in our last talk when I told you about my getting a job first as a packer. And mules are simply unique. In fact, there's an interesting quote in the Fox book, very fascinating to me of course, quoting the demise of the mule, which of course I am a party to. We all are now. I remember a quote, I think it was on the fiftieth anniversary of the club, by some well-known person that escapes me right at the moment, who gave a tribute to the mules, and said in effect that the mules taught more to the Sierra Clubbers than all the mountain experiences did.

So a mule is interesting. One of my proudest possessions is something which I hope to research next summer. I have a clip that describes a donkey in England, and of course a mule is a hybrid between the horse and the donkey. And this donkey lived to be eighty-six years old, in a little town in England. This was a clipping in the New York Times that was sent to me by someone.

Mules are fascinating. I think they're kind of comical. They're smart; they're very long-lived. Their feet are tougher than horses. They get by on less feed, and they're just interesting. Hyphenated with that were the packers that went with them. They're long gone, but of course many of the packers I had known--which go back to Allie Robinson's day--were pretty rough and tough and full of character.

Lage: That's interesting. In the talk [Livermore's speech to the Friends of the Bancroft Library] yesterday, one thing that struck me was something Dave Brower said. I mean this is a theme that he sounds again and again, but it was highlighted in that discussion you had with him about the condors. He has a sense that nature is really better off without man's interference. Is that an attitude that you would agree with or how would you respond to that?

Livermore: I'd say that primeval nature is. In many of the very moving testimonies we had on the condor, it was all harkening back to the good old days. Lord knows I feel that, and I think one of the most fascinating periods of history--and a good part

Livermore: of my reading--has been about the days of Jed Smith and the trappers following him, the wide open spaces, the country teeming with game. So I think that attitude is understandable but not realistic. As that passage you may recall I read yesterday from the Point Reyes Bird Observatory said, "Man has gotten many of these wild animals into the pickle they're in, and it behooves him to help them pull out of it." So I don't think Dave is realistic on that.

And as I said also in the particular case of the condor, if the 300,000 acre Sespe-Fraser Wilderness is acted on by Congress--which is very difficult, if not impossible politically--then I would be more receptive to his feelings.

Lage: And you favor that wilderness?

Livermore: Very, I very strongly favor it. In fact, I can give you, when we talk next time, one of the most amusing letters that I just received from a man who's written to Sherman Chickerling--an old friend of mine on the Fish and Game Commission--just wildly castigating me for favoring the Sespe-Fraser Wilderness. So there are two sides to all these questions.

Lage: That's right; there sure are. Would you be able to characterize--this is hard to do out of the blue--characterize Brower and Leonard as young men in the forties?

Livermore: Very easily, yes, they still are young to me. Of the two, Leonard was the leader, at least from my point of view. He was head of the outing committee. Brower was always at his elbow, and we had many, many meetings in Leonard's house--Doris and Dick Leonard.

One of my problems, if you might call it a problem, was that not being a rock climber--although I was very friendly with them and still am--the Sierra Club was not as big a part of my social life as it was theirs. I had the feeling, at least in those days, that the Sierra Club was really their whole lives, but I had a lot of other interests. Packing was my big aberration, if you want to call it that. The mind meeting we had had to do with the mechanics of the high trips and, also, I'd say an equally fervent feeling for the wilderness. But as I say, mine was more mules and grass and people, and their was--a little more--climbing. I respect the climbers very much. Obviously it's a thrilling sport, but I just never lost anything up there on those high peaks.

Lage: Did they work well together?

Livermore: I would say so, yes. I can't remember any instance at any time that they didn't work together. I know that after the war, it seems to me, Dave led several high trips. I don't really remember whether they traded back and forth or what, but during all the years I was on the club board of directors, as I recall it, Dick was chairman of the outing committee, which was my main activity of course. Dave was on it but not the head of it.

Lage: In the years following the war, the impression I got is that Dave came back from the war with a great deal of zeal for the environment. Did you pick that up at the time?

Livermore: Yes, although immediately after the war I was starting a young family, and I lived for six or seven years in Napa and Sonoma Counties. So, except for the wilderness conferences, particularly after I resigned from the board which was in '49, I didn't see them that much. I think what happened was, yes, he had more zeal, and also he had the time. Dick, of course, was a very successful attorney. Dave worked for the UC [University of California] Press. When I knew him I don't think he was engaged on a full-time basis by the board until '48 or--

Lage: '52.

Livermore: Was it that late? There was a marvelous person named Virginia Ferguson. You've doubtless heard of her. She was the Dave Brower of her day, and of course she was really just a sort of a super-secretary. She knew everyone, kept all the minutes, and she was a very calm, delightful gal. Dave's evolution into full-time was during a period when I wasn't in that close touch with him.

## III THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REDWOOD PARK

Appointment as Resource Secretary

Lage: Well, why don't we move on now, and turn to the period [1967-1974] of your appointment as secretary for Resources for California. That's a big jump.

Livermore: Well, it was. It was a bombshell to me. I'll never forget it.

Lage: Can you tell us how it came about?

Livermore: I always attributed it to perhaps three factors. One, I was quite active as a Republican. I was finance chairman for the first congressional district for several campaigns. I went through a lot of education, enthusiasm and later, frankly, boredom. So I had that string in my bow, you might say. I was asked early on in Reagan's run for governor to be active in that campaign, but I refused. I felt that I'd sort of shot my wad. I was not interested in state politics, per se.

The other string, of course, was the Sierra Club theme. And the third one was the fact that I was employed by a redwood company, Pacific Redwood Company. So there was perhaps an unusual combination.

Lage: But you hadn't been active as an advisor to Reagan?

Livermore: No, I had not at all. I didn't know him at all. And, of course, I don't know who they approached before me. Some day I may know. I don't really know. At that time the burning issue was the redwoods. So I guess it seemed logical to approach me, someone who had--you might say--a foot in both camps.

Livermore: But it was a complete bombshell to me. I made the decision rather quickly over a period of about a week or ten days. And I always remember, when I first met the then governor, privately in his office for a few minutes, the first thing he said was, "You know, I did not say, 'When you've seen one, you've seen them all.'" He was very emphatic about that.

One thing led to another. When I first left my position with Pacific Lumber I thought I'd be there maybe only a couple of years. But it was so interesting, and I ended up by staying eight years.

Lage: Before you were selected was there any kind of interviewing to find out your points of view overall?

Livermore: Yes, I had two interviews. I remember them very well. One was with a man named Tom Reed, who was then very active politically. He was chairman of the Reagan for Governor Northern California campaign. He lived right here in Marin County, and he's the one who called me. I remember it very well. It was, I think, just after Christmas in '66.

I then went up to Sacramento, about a week or two later. There I was interviewed by him and a man named Phil Battaglia, who was later for several months, to use the modern slang, Reagan's Ed Meese, I guess. He was his right-hand man. I remember one thing particularly vividly. They didn't talk to me very much, five or ten minutes perhaps. There were some others present. I don't remember who other than those two, but the penetrating question that Battaglia asked me about was, "What do you know about water?" And I said, "Nothing." Little did I know how soon I would be plunged into water problems, but that was true at that time. I was oblivious. I remember I said rather lamely, "Well, my father was a well-known hydraulic engineer, and so all I know about water is what I heard him say about the early days in the High Sierra."

Then it was about a week after that, that I was called by Tom Reed who said, "The job's yours if you want it." So I, with considerable trauma, decided. I remember particularly Don Clausen, who is the congressman I referred to earlier, was an old friend. He happened to be here about that time, and we sat right where you're sitting now, and he tried to talk me out of taking it. He said, "I think it would be the greatest mistake of your life. Boy, this is a mighty different world from what you're used to."

Lage: But what did he think?--

Livermore: He just thought there'd be a lot of trauma. It's very different, as you're reading now, the business world from the political world.

But although I was very happy with the Pacific Lumber Company, I felt this was a challenging thing to do. I made considerable financial sacrifice, but I talked to my wife, and it just appealed to me. So I left the company, having been with them fifteen years, and went to Sacramento.

Lage: You don't recall any questions about your point of view on the redwoods or point of view in general towards government?

Livermore: No, not a bit. It's kind of amusing. I remember vividly, of course, my first interview with Reagan, and this leads into the redwood park. I had been quite active in the redwood controversy from the industry point of view, trying to temper things. I don't remember writing any articles, but I remember giving a few talks. This build-up on the redwoods started in about, oh I guess the early sixties. And I remember several of us, including young Stan Murphy, president of the Pacific [Lumber Company] and myself, pleaded with the Arcata Redwood Company not to clearcut along the highways. We thought it was a very foolish thing to do. I think I may have mentioned that in our first talk. But they did, for reasons that were their own.

In our first public appearance with Reagan, which was my first TV exposure, his then conclusion was to accept Don Clausen's solution to the redwood park--

Lage: It was during a TV interview?

Livermore: Yes, I think it was on TV. I think it was in Sacramento. It was a press conference--and I still have the verbatim on this--when the governor introduced me to the public as his secretary for Resources.

Lage: I see. But you hadn't had a chance to discuss--

Livermore: No, the only thing I'd had a chance to discuss was the fact that he said, "I did not say 'When you've seen one, you've seen them all.'" It turned out later he said something quite close to that.

The point of the immediate story is that some of the reporters, said, speaking to me, "Do you agree with Governor Reagan, that the solution to the Redwood park issue is Don Clausen's solution?" I said yes, as I recall it. Then the governor, with his great sense of humor, said, "Well, I was



Livermore: stepping on Ike's foot when he said that." Because I had talked enough to him to indicate that I wasn't very happy with Don Clausen's solution.

Land Exchanges: A Bargaining Tool

Livermore: As the ball game unraveled, I was completely unhappy with Don Clausen's solution to the redwood park. Because, good friend that he is, his solution was basically just to turn over the state parks to the federal government. And I knew, any conservationist knew, and it later turned out that the politicians knew, that the big fight was to preserve more redwoods. And of course the state parks were already preserved. So the first year I was in Sacramento I must have spent perhaps half or even more of my time just on the redwoods, gradually persuading the governor and his cabinet to come more to [Senator Thomas] Kuchel's position, which was again politically difficult because Kuchel's a very liberal Republican and, of course, Reagan was a very conservative one.

Of course my old friends in the timber industry were not very happy with my position. I tried to hit a middle ground as I frequently do, and with some difficulty I think we succeeded. That led to the 1968 legislation.

I could talk all the rest of the morning on the redwood park, the infighting, the misunderstanding and the redwood purchase unit, the companies involved, the trips to Washington. It seems to me I had about twenty cabinet issues on the Redwood National Park. Molly Sturges [at the Hoover Institute] has them. Very interesting.

Lage: I'd like you to expand on the redwood park controversy. When you came into office did you have an idea?

Livermore: Oh, I had many ideas, and perhaps the first idea I had is kind of fascinating. I was presented with the maps of the area. Of course, I knew the area intimately, having been in the business, although I didn't know the northern region as well. The Pacific Lumber holdings were all in Humboldt County at the southern end, more or less, of the choice redwood district. A lot of the argument was up north of Eureka. But the first thing I discovered was that the maps of the various proposed parks didn't even include the redwood purchase unit. And this

Livermore: was owned by the Forest Service. That, as I recall it, was about eighteen thousand acres of very prime, publicly owned, redwood land right up in that area.

So, I said immediately, "Why couldn't this be part of the ball game?" And I was told, "Oh God no, you can't do that. That belongs to the Forest Service. You're crazy to even talk about it." Well, I kept talking about it, and they finally got it on the maps, and the Sierra Club finally agreed with me, and it was part of the bargaining.

Lage: Who first said, "No, you can't do that"? Was that several people?

Livermore: I don't remember any individuals saying it. It was just sacrosanct because it belonged to the Forest Service. Therefore it was not subject to trade. Of course, the principle there is a very fierce one because no federal agency likes to trade land or give it up, least of all the Forest Service to the Park Service. This is what happened in the Kings River Canyon, which was a big part of that fight. The Forest Service fiercely resisted much of the Kings Canyon land going into Sequoia-Kings park. This was a major struggle, you might say.

Jumping ahead a little bit, one of my most fascinating experiences, as we came down the stretch in this, was seeing Stewart Udall and [Orville] Freeman, who were respective cabinet secretaries for President Johnson, arguing against each other in front of [Wayne] Aspinall's committee. That's one thing that we never did in Reagan's cabinet, and they still don't do. You can argue privately but not publicly.

So that was one big thing I discovered, and we, you might say, won on that.

Lage: So this would mean that the companies could, in effect, get land in exchange--

Livermore: Yes, it was meant, in effect, to give the purchase unit--which was done--to the private lumber companies in part payment for their turning loose their other land. In other words, it helped. I haven't seen the arithmetic on it. In fact, I'm a little annoyed. Before our talk yesterday,\*I called [Interior Secretary] Watt's office. I called Ray Arnett in Washington, and I asked if they could send me an update on the double cost--by that I mean '68 and '78--of the Redwood National Park, but I haven't gotten it yet. I think probably the reason is that it's just horribly complicated. And it's still going on, you know, after thirteen years. I don't think they've still paid completely for the first big park addition.

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\*Refers to speech to Friends of the Bancroft Library. See appendix D.

Livermore: But what I did basically was to get up a series of proposals, and they're all, I'm sure, in Molly Sturges' records. In fact, I have a lot of them here. I got the Reagan cabinet to agree on a set of principles. The timber industry, of course, resisted until the very last, but politically they just had to give in--as they later did in '78. On the question of cabinet persuasion, it was frankly my good friend Don Clausen who was a big part of the problem because he kept insisting on this "giveaway" solution. I remember vividly a meeting in San Jose. It seems to me Mike McCloskey was the chairman, and I'd have to check my records, but I think it was a student group. Anyway, they had a typical panel, and they were arguing about the park. Don Clausen was on the platform, so they asked him to outline his park proposal. We had a map which had, you know, the state parks and all this other land. So he came with a crayon, and when he finished his line around the area, why the whole audience broke into boos and huzzahs because there was some but not enough new redwood land.

Lage: He didn't add enough redwoods to satisfy--

Livermore: New redwoods, yes.

Lage: Were you unpopular with the redwood lumber companies for feeling that more redwoods should go into the park?

Livermore: Oh, I think definitely yes. They didn't want one acre to go in, so it was just like the later fights on the forest practices. I lost a lot of friends in the industry, but I felt that in my position as a public servant, I could do no other. I did try to work out compromises, and I resented and still resent the language used--as I think I touched on yesterday--when people say that forest product companies are bad citizens. I think they've been guilty of causing various scenic and erosion problems, but I repeat, it's just like the oil companies. As long as we want paper and lumber and furniture, we need to use wood.

That was one thing. Another was an attempt, which was not successful, to include a factor of in lieu taxes, which I think finally did prevail in 1978. Another provision I remember I--

Lage: I thought the in lieu taxes also prevailed in '68, did they not?

Livermore: No, I don't think so, as I recall it.

Lage: Was that an idea that you presented?

Livermore: Very definitely, yes. And we tried to promulgate it, but it didn't fly in Congress. One of the problems with both the purchase unit and the in lieu taxes was that there were so few precedents for them. There was precedent in, as I recall it, Teton National Park of in lieu taxes, but the park people bitterly resent that. They just don't like the principle. There later has been some evolution on that, I believe.

Again speaking of Don Clausen, I think he was one of the leaders in promulgating in lieu taxes, which are now paid to a degree by all federal lands. In the national forest, I think, 25 percent of the receipts go to local counties, but that is less, I believe, than the comparable taxes would be if the land were private.

So that was one big thing, and the other big thing was the fact that the state parks should not be given to the federal government. And of course on that we had a lot of fun, and Reagan soon agreed with me, and much of the press did. We agreed that if the federal government wants to take over these three state parks they should give the state of California something else. The prime objective there was the marines' camp in southern California, which is--

Lage: Camp Pendleton?

Livermore: Camp Pendleton, which is, as I recall it, fifteen or twenty miles of absolutely superb beach. They use that for amphibious training, and most people felt that they didn't need all that much. Just as we left Sacramento there was a leasing arrangement made on it. We had a package--I still have it somewhere--of all kinds of federal goodies to be exchanged for these redwood state parks.

Lage: I saw some lists and a record of the correspondence, down at the Hoover Institute.

Livermore: I remember calling on the assistant secretary of Defense--deputy secretary, I guess--Dave Packard, who's a good personal friend, and showing him this list. It was so complicated, and it even led into the Minaret fight because one of the suggestions I made was that the Devil's Postpile National Monument be given to the state. And Congressman [B.F.] Sisk, oh, he really hit the roof on that because it was such an obvious ploy of mine to block that [Minaret Summit] road.

Lage: So you got a good package together then?

Livermore: Well, we had an excellent package, and--

Lage: Another one was Muir Woods. Was that the state's idea or was it the federal government?--

Livermore: I don't remember. There was a lot of activity in the Tamalpais region. I think Muir Woods was in one package. Again that was kind of semantic because it was protected anyway. But I don't really remember. I think, as I recall, it was and is a national monument.

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Lage: That idea of land exchanging to the states was a new one, wasn't it?

Livermore: I don't think it was. No, I think it's old but exceedingly difficult to execute. The new secretary of the Interior, Watt, is constantly talking about that, and that's one thing I thoroughly agree with him on. I think the whole redwood park--in fact both '68 and '78--could have been solved by land exchanges. But they are difficult. It's far easier to sock the taxpayer and buy something than it is to exchange it, particularly if it involves a three-way exchange. No, I don't think it's new, and I have noticed the most interesting quote.

I was hoping yesterday [at the Bancroft Library speech] someone would ask me about Watt. No one did, but if they had I really had a lot of ammunition. And one of the chief ones was a quote from Governor Scott Matheson of Utah, who's main theme is these land exchanges. He is very simpatico with Watt on [land exchanges]; Watt is keen for them. I think some of our land patterns are just as phony as a three dollar bill. I mentioned Butano State Park yesterday and the illogical lines that are a result of choosing land based on townships and sections, which is completely understandable cartographically--if that's the proper word--but illogical physiographically.

Lage: It appeared that the land exchange idea--state parks for federal lands--didn't work out too well.

Livermore: It didn't work out at all.

Lage: The feds really resisted that.

Livermore: Well, the only thing that worked out was the redwood purchase unit. It was resisted because it was precedent setting, and on that the conservation groups were split right down the middle. The National Wildlife Federation, as I recall it, and the American Forestry Association were against my idea--very much so, because of their friendship with the Forest Service.

Livermore: The Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society and others favored it. It's fascinating to me--I don't think I'll live long enough to see it--but you know the Redwood National Park now is a hyphenated park. The line that is drawn around the so-called national park includes three state parks.

Lage: And they've never resolved that?

Livermore: They've never resolved that, and my view is that unless they work out an exchange it won't happen. Incidentally, Huey Johnson, my successor now in Sacramento, agrees with me on this. But you can see there isn't that much oomph behind it now because the state parks are open to the public just like the federal. It always kind of annoyed me. Incidentally, one of the things that we ran into, as I recall it (this might be changed now) but the federal ranger salary scales were about 50 percent higher than the state park rangers, and the state park rangers always said that they were much better qualified than the feds, and I think they probably were. So there's a lot of featherbedding up there.

Another important factor in the exchange possibility, which may kill it indefinitely, of course, is the Save-the-Redwoods League. A great deal of the redwoods have been saved thanks to the fund raising of that great organization, the Save-the-Redwoods League, and they have many of these memorial groves. I'm not an attorney, but they have all these kinds of trusts, so I believe certainly morally and politically, if not legally, for an exchange to take place, the Save-the-Redwoods League would have to sign off on it, and I'm not at all sure they would. I think they're proud of the state parks, and they would not be helpful in an exchange.

I've had a few friendly battles with them, too. I was amused later on--this was in '78--while President Ford was in office, the Save-the-Redwoods League was happy for, I think, about a twenty thousand acre expansion [of the Redwood National Park]. This was the addition proposed. But as soon as Carter got in, which is anybody's privilege, he plumped for about sixty thousand acres, so the Save-the-Redwoods League immediately changed their views. I have some correspondence on this. I said, "You know I don't think that's quite right; if you agree to twenty thousand acres in October why wasn't it still good in November?" Anyway, that's I guess understandable politically.

Lage: Was the Mineral King Road part of your trade-off system?

Livermore: Well, I think you asked me that before. The Mineral King Road was a big part of our later discussions. You see, the trouble with the Mineral King Road is that it goes through a portion of Sequoia Park getting to Mineral King, and there's some Gigantea on it. It's a very beautiful, small grove. I'd have to check my records on that to answer that question accurately. We had so many lists that it was, I must admit, confusing.

Lage: The lists I saw sort of catalogued the letters back and forth between the state and the federal government. It looked as if the state hadn't put that Mineral King Road on the list, that the federal government had put it on, that perhaps, Interior's permission for a road would be one of the trade-offs.

Livermore: Well, you're ringing a bell now. I think maybe that Udall at one point thought that might get him off the hook. He finally caved in, as I recall it, on Atwell's Mill. Mineral King had an equally fascinating history. Having run pack trains out of there for ten years, I could also talk all morning about Mineral King.

Lage: That's next.

Livermore: Oh, I see. Anyway, there were several trade lists, and we jimmed them around a little bit. One, as I mentioned, was the Devil's Postpile. One, as you say, may have been Mineral King. Then there was an area that Bill Mott, director of Parks and Recreation, was most anxious to get, and that was in the lower Colorado area. There's a bad checkerboard there. There's a name, kind of a Spanish name; it escapes me at the moment, not far below Needles. There were large parcels, but the plum, the prize was Camp Pendleton. As I said earlier, we did finally end up due to this pressure with a sort of a lease on it, which I suppose still exists. But it was a fascinating package.

Lage: What was Bill Mott's role in this whole redwood park issue?

Livermore: Of course, he wasn't in on the cabinet discussions, but he was basically helpful.

Lage: Did he agree with you?--

Livermore: Well, he was very helpful in retaining the state parks. He naturally was very proud of them. I remember at one point we had kind of an amusing meeting with Bill and one of his chief park people. I was trying to get them to say which park they preferred, Prairie Creek versus Jed Smith. I remember this fellow putting his hands behind his back, and I asked him, I said, "Now which would you prefer?" And the gist of it was

Livermore: that they were a dead heat. I think they were. Most people think that Jed Smith is the most superlative, and I was trying to see which they'd rather lose.

Lage: They'd rather retain or rather lose?

Livermore: Well, six of one, half dozen of the other. Which would they least rather give up.

#### The Controversy over Redwood Creek

Livermore: Prairie Creek versus Jed Smith parks involved a major struggle. This was written up, I think, by Susan Schrepfer in Forest History\* as Kuchel versus the Sierra Club. I may have this backwards, but the big struggle for a long time was the Save-the-Redwoods League versus the Sierra Club. They were not at all enthusiastic--the Save-the-Redwoods League--about Redwood Creek. And I remember dear Newton Drury saying, "That Redwood Creek, that's a joke. It looks like the Battle of Verdun," after the battle of course. His feeling was, and a lot of people felt this (and I was inclined to agree with him), that Redwood Creek was not that superlative. It was largely cutover. And what they wanted, and still want--it shows in the last Save-the-Redwoods report--is Mill Creek. But Mill Creek was really the heart of the backlog for the Rellim Lumber Company, which was the biggest employer in Del Norte County. They had very good lobbyists, and they were violently against taking over Mill Creek. And that situation still exists.

Lage: What position did you take on that? Didn't you come out for the Redwood Creek?

Livermore: Well, this was very difficult. As I recall it--again I could check through these cabinet issues--the first obstacle I had was persuading Governor Reagan and the cabinet that Kuchel was on the right track. And they hated that because Kuchel was--well, he was later defeated. He was a very liberal Republican. He was sort of like Udall, being a Democrat. I mean he was a good conservationist from the Sierra Club point of view. Then, as I recall it, having plumped for that, the pressure--aided

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\*See Susan Schrepfer, "Conflict in Preservation," Journal of Forest History 24(1980):60-76.



Livermore: and abetted by my good friends in the Sierra Club—for Redwood Creek kept mounting. I must say realistically I don't think we deserve that much credit for this any more than Nixon and Ford did for what I mentioned yesterday, in passing all these laws. It was just good political pressure. So that's what ended up in the hybrid, you might say, some land in the Redwood Creek and some sort of up on the skirts of Mill Creek.

Lage: So your feeling that Redwood Creek needed to be included was, in part, just political?--

Livermore: No, I was never that enthusiastic about Redwood Creek. I still am not. In an article I wrote in American Forests ("An Open Letter to Andrus," July 1977) I pointed out that a lot of the slopes of Redwood Creek are not pure redwood; they contain a lot of Douglas fir. To digress, and I've said this publicly, I think it borders on the unethical, the full page ads that the Sierra Club took out saying that there were two million acres of redwoods. The two million acres are redwood-fir, old growth forests.

Lage: Mixed forest.

Livermore: Yes, mixed. The photographs are universally of the grove-type redwoods, and those are typically on the flats, and they are superlative. That's where all the best redwoods are, on the flats, but no one even to this day, to my knowledge, has taken the time and trouble to calculate the grove-type redwoods acreage.

Emanuel Fritz--you've probably heard of him. He was there yesterday, incidentally. Dear old Emanuel, did you meet him?

Lage: No, I didn't.

Livermore: Oh, he's a delightful old gentleman. He's about ninety-two. I haven't seen him for a long time, but he's a forester. This is rambling, but I think interesting. In the Redwood Park fight--he was a much younger man then--but he coined the phrase, "Well, in this whole redwood park fight the Sierra Club is the show horse, but the Save-the-Redwoods League is the workhorse." And I think that's an apt phrase. Newton Drury never antagonized the timber industry. He stuck to his guns, and he was able to

Livermore: purchase land from a willing seller. And if they weren't willing, he kept trying. They're still trying to buy some of the land (Big Lagoon) the Louisiana-Pacific owns. They're dying to get this land, but they can't get it, and they won't try to condemn it. So anyway, the battle evolved as between Redwood Creek and Mill Creek. And the Sierra Club was constantly hollering Redwood Creek, and they prevailed to a degree, as they did again in '78. This is what I mentioned yesterday. I think the cost is approaching a billion dollars, and you just wonder. You just wonder if it's worth it.

Reagan Cabinet Deliberations over the Park

Lage: Can you expand on your discussions with the cabinet to try to persuade them?

Livermore: Yes, Molly Sturges has those. I'd love to see those issues.

This [refers to document] is a recap of all the issues that I submitted to the Reagan cabinet over the eight-year period. I'm looking now at the year 1967, and I submitted 145 issues of which sixteen were in the parks and recreation field, which probably includes the redwood park. But more pertinent to what we were talking about, in 1968 I had only 104 issues of which twenty-one were on the redwood park. So there were twenty-one cabinet issues on the Redwood National Park in 1968.

Lage: Does that mean twenty-one times it was discussed?

Livermore: Twenty-one times it was discussed in the cabinet. Now, some of these, and I may have it here somewhere, some of them we had were what we called "decision" issues and some were "information" issues. The hot ones, of course, were the decision issues. In parks for that year I had eleven decision and four information. But I notice twenty-one under the redwood park, so I have a catchall category called, "Resources, Agency and Miscellaneous," so some of the park ones might have been in that. Then of course, after '68 they declined to zero. In the book here--I guess starting only in '69--I had the actual list of the issues. For instance, in '74, here's the issue number, and it tells everything about it--the cabinet activity. Apparently, to my disappointment, the first two years I didn't do that.

Lage: That's too bad; that looks like a good source.

Livermore: Yes, well I could piece together some, but I thought I could go right to it and tell you how many redwood issues I had in '67 and '68. But that's interesting, the twenty-one in '68, and as I recall it, that was the hottest period. I have copies of my testimony, both in Washington and in Crescent City.

I remember one quite dramatic incident when I was caught off base. This was a hearing in Crescent City presided over by [Wayne] Aspinall, I think it was. The hearing committee was trying to protect lumber interests, particularly Biz Johnson, who was the congressman in the northeast part of the state and who was also very closely tied with the lumber industry and was also a fine fellow. He was recently defeated. He was constantly prodding to protect their interests, as was Don Clausen, understandably. But in the public hearing, it's quite easy of course to have prepared testimony, and I have copies of this--but the Q&A get a little big hairy. So the chairman, I think it was Aspinall, said to me in sort of a large crowd, he said, "Secretary Livermore, what is the state prepared to do?" This involved all these horse trades. And I, as I recall it, I said, "Well, Mr. Chairman, we'll do anything you want us to do."

To backtrack a little bit, Johnson was on the committee (and he may have asked the question), and he of course wanted me to say that the state would donate the parks. I definitely did not want that. We'd discussed that in the cabinet, but I was caught a little off base. But the point of the story, which amused me, is I think I went up to the chairman afterwards or they themselves sent the transcript, and I edited it, I think, in complete honesty. I wanted to show my feelings which I didn't quite espouse. I said, "Mr. Chairman, we will do anything you want us to do in the spirit of partnership." But in the first edition I didn't say, "in the spirit of partnership." In fact, I think Assemblywoman Pauline L. Davis, who's quite a character too, picked that up. She raised a big stink about it: "What is all this business about giving away the state parks?" kind of thing. So it's still a hot potato politically, this giving away the state parks.

Lage: That's right. Was the procedure in the cabinet meetings for a decision to be made on these hot issues at that level, and then the recommendation would go to Reagan?

Livermore: No, he was always there in person when we presented a decision issue to the cabinet. It was in writing. As I say, Molly Sturges probably has all these. I have a lot of them, I'm sure. And we discussed it, and sometimes it was postponed. Sometimes you'd ask for more information. Sometimes there was a hung jury,

Livermore: but basically when the decision was made then it would be written up. Then we would be free to do anything we wanted with it in a speech or a press interview. The decision issues, they were all on one page; they were very succinct. Sometimes they'd have a lot of backup.

So all these issues--I mentioned apparently twenty-one in '68-- were sort of moving along. Partly, it was because of my feelings and persuasiveness, for what it was worth, and partly it was a reaction to political pressures.

Lage: Right. So they finally came around to supporting Kuchel's idea in general?

Livermore: Not entirely. I'd have to, again, check it. Kuchel was basically with the Save-the-Redwoods League, and it seems to me that Kuchel was defeated--well, let' see, the elections are always in November. It seems to me the legislation was in October '68, but he sort of changed too, as I recall it. The Sierra Club just kept dunning and dunning and dunning for Redwood Creek. Their point, which is hard to argue against, was that to have a small national park was no good. They wanted lots of acreage, and that had a lot of moxie. They were aided and abetted, I should say, greatly by the National Geographic article on the "tallest tree";\* that was a great furor. So they just kept hammering and hammering and hammering, and finally the Save-the-Redwoods League with some reluctance gave in, and this is well brought out in that article in Forest History.

So the Save-the-Redwoods was sort of dragged into it, somewhat reluctantly. But the decision was made to get this big chunk of acreage, mostly from the Arcata Redwood Company at Redwood Creek. Then the three main companies involved, Arcata, Georgia-Pacific and Rellim were given the redwood purchase unit which was carved up and given to these three companies. Arcata got most of it.

#### The Sierra Club and the Redwoods

Lage: Did you have very much direct discourse with the Sierra Club?

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\*Paul A. Zahl, "Finding the Mt. Everest of All Living Things," National Geographic 126(July 1964):10-51.

Livermore: Oh, yes, lots of it. That's who I mentioned yesterday [in the Bancroft speech]. I mentioned the letter from George Marshall which said he was "filled with a sense of wonder"--I love that phrase--

Lage: Was that over the redwoods?

Livermore: Yes, I think it was. Well, my memory goes so vividly all of a sudden. I really took off on that book of the club's. I still have it here. You've seen that, The Last Redwoods.\* I felt, and still feel, the title itself is very unfair, and I still feel that way. This ties in with the two million acres, and I think I have it sitting right over there because I was looking at it the other day. I marked up several passages. I wrote, I guess it was to George Marshall or Dave Brower, and I said, "I think this is unfair." And I think I even--which was perhaps a political mistake--said it was dishonest, partly because of the acreage, partly because of the phraseology, partly because of the title. And that's why I quoted that 1919 Saturday Evening Post article. You know, this has been a cry for years. "The last redwoods, we've got to save them." Well, there are as many redwood trees as ever, though many of the "primeval" ones have been cut--utilized as I call it.

Anyway, yes, I had a lot of discussion with the Sierra Club. I remember, I think in my very first TV interview, I castigated the book. And I remember--it's in some file somewhere--Ed Wayburn, who was very active then, he got on the TV and said he was so disappointed in Livermore, and he was a traitor to the cause and all this kind of business. I still feel that way. I think it was an emotional, unfair book. Just like I said yesterday, you don't need to rescue trees from destruction. You need to preserve them for posterity. Maybe one of these days I'll put that up to a motion [to the board of Save-the-Redwoods League] and I'll probably be shot down. But yes, I had a lot of correspondence with the Sierra Club.

Lage: Who was your main contact there? Was it Ed Wayburn?

Livermore: Well, Ed Wayburn was the most aggressive, but it seems to me most of the key correspondence was with George Marshall because I think he was the president of the club--

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\*Francois Leydet, Philip Hyde, The Last Redwoods: A Vanishing Scenic Resources (Sierra Club, 1963).

Lage: He was in '66 and '67, I think. Then Wayburn became president, and he was the head of the task force for the redwoods.

Livermore: Right. And I remember going to the Sierra Club annual banquet and Ed was--how can I express it?--he was sort of shedding crocodile tears because he'd been reelected president of the Sierra Club. He was obviously very proud of it, but he--I like Ed, but I was sort of amused--he was trying to say that he kind of did this reluctantly. He sort of had to see this redwood thing through. And I guess that was true, but I was not that enthralled with the continuing battle, let's put it that way. So, yes, I had a lot to do with the Sierra Club.

In fact one of my happy memories, I think I touched on it yesterday, was going down with Ed and Peggy Wayburn, my wife Dina and my son Sam, and they arranged this trip with Bryce Whitmore. I don't know if you've taken any river trips. We slithered and slid down from a high prairie, down very deeply into Redwood Creek Canyon, and they took us down there with a raft. And that was a good selling trip, and I was pretty well on their side then. By being on their side, I mean to enlarge the acreage of redwoods. But I did kind of resent their shifting the term "Emerald Mile" to "the worm," as I said yesterday in my speech at the Bancroft Library.\* You know this is a matter of semantics, but there's a lot of semantics in The Last Redwoods. I'll look at it now; I think I even have a few passages marked.

Lage: You have the best read copy of this book in existence.

Livermore: Here it is, by golly. Yes, this is the very letter, February 1967. (You see, that was very soon after I'd been to Sacramento). I sent a carbon to a lot of people I knew. [reading] "As to yours of the 9th, you are certainly entitled to documentation on my criticism of The Last Redwoods," and so forth. And I think this is the letter to which George Marshall replied, "You fill me with a sense of wonder."\*\*

Lage: Oh, in answer to this letter?

Livermore: Yes, in answer to that letter. Now this is interesting, the date. You see, my Crescent City testimony was April 16, 1968. That's the one I mentioned to you where I edited the

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\*See Appendix D for text of speech.

\*\*See Appendix E.

Livermore: congressional committee's testimony. Then there was another hearing in Washington--I don't seem to have that right here, but I have just endless stuff on the redwoods. I don't know why I grabbed these--oh yes, I remember now why I got this. I was fascinated by this Saturday Evening Post quote, which I mentioned yesterday, and I dug into this to find it. But here's a typical Sierra Club ad, and you see this mentions the two million acres. This is great emotion: [reading] "About two million B.C. when the first man appeared...", and so forth and so on. But I don't think that's fair.

Lage: You don't think there ever were the two million acres? This was mixed forest?

Livermore: Well, my point is that they're mixing apples and oranges. I don't argue about the two million acres. They presumably researched it, but it isn't two million acres of grove-type redwoods. That's my main point. And the pictures and the emotion is all on the grove-type. It seems to me somewhere there's a horseback estimate that there were about, at the most, four hundred thousand acres of grove-type redwoods.

Lage: You do have to preserve the slopes in order to preserve the groves.

Livermore: I don't necessarily agree with you. I think nothing is more criminal than severe erosion, but I don't think you have to preserve all the trees on the slope, that is privately owned, from Shively to Scotia. This is a stretch of, I think it's seven or eight miles of cut-over redwood, vigorously growing.

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Livermore: I feel that if the erosion is carefully contained, which it can be on slopes, that these so-called "viewsapes" of virgin timber are, in many cases, a needless luxury; I realize this is debatable. I remember going on several of the redwood trips with Dave Van de Mark who was quite active with the Sierra Club there. Incidentally, I think he was on this raft trip, and he'd sort of wave his arm and say, "Isn't this a glorious view? We have to preserve it." Well, is it worth a billion dollars? Is it worth more than an alternative, as I said in my talk yesterday, of protecting all the levees in the San Joaquin-Sacramento Delta or for the same amount of money going for coastal protection?

Getting back to vistas, next time you go up the redwood highway--I think it's at Pepperwood--and look across the river all the way from Shively to Scotia, you will see about an eight or ten mile stretch of fabulously beautiful side hill that was

Livermore: logged over. So I think, that's one of the legitimate complaints of lumber people. The Sierra Club and this book is the epitome of it. They take low-angled photographs of stumps, but if they took the same picture ten years later it would be a vigorous forest.

Getting back to the two million acres, as I say, roughly-- it's been added to since--but as I recall it there were about one hundred and twenty thousand acres of grove-type redwoods in the state parks. Instead of being, say 2 percent the way the ad says, the acreage might be 30 percent of the primeval or the cathedral type redwoods which no one wants to cut down.

Lage: The other argument I've heard is that although the lumber companies will reseed or replant, they don't reseed in redwood. That it'll be Douglas fir or some other--

Livermore: There's something in that, and I think--again I'm not an expert forester--but that partly has to do with reproduction. It's true that the Redwood Association--the trade group of the redwood lumber industry--back in the twenties, I think, had very extensive nursery costs. The planting of redwoods is not that successful, particularly on southern slopes. So naturally if you have timberland and you want it to be producing, you plant what grows best. Again, that depends on the terrain and the exposure, and I repeat this beautiful side hill from Shively to Scotia sprouted from cutover stumps.

Lage: And that is redwood?

Livermore: That's almost pure redwood. Where the feathering is, I just don't know. I dug the figures out if you'd care to read my article "An open letter to Andrus" which pointed out the percentage of fir. The two million acres in the club ad, to repeat, is not pure redwoods. I'm not trying to say that that's dishonest, but it's misleading--put it that way, misleading.

#### Livermore's Role as Middleman

Lage: It seems as if you really were in the role of middleman in this as in a lot of your other battles. You mentioned in some memo or speech I read, that you met constantly with lumbermen, local government, and conservationists. Were you trying to effect compromise, or what was your purpose for the various meetings?



Livermore: I certainly was. I remember calling a meeting early in '67. I had about thirty people in my conference room in Sacramento, trying to work out a compromise. I had the Sierra Clubbers there, and the Save-the-Redwoods League, the state park people, many lumbermen. I limited them to three minutes each, as I recall it. I figured, "Let's get these people face to face." It helped a little bit, but there was no magic solution. It's just a very tough problem, and it still exists. You notice the '78 legislation not only put out these several hundred million, but it has the option of buying the whole Redwood Creek drainage. The Save-the-Redwoods League feels, and they're 100 percent right, that the best way to protect the redwoods is to control the whole drainage. The Rellim Redwood Company claimed that in Mill Creek, and I think with some justice, they logged carefully, and they do not produce erosion.

So the problem in the redwoods is largely visual and emotional, as I said in the "rescue from destruction" phrase. Of course we're talking about centuries. I'm not trying to say that to cut down a fifteen hundred year old tree is commendable--if it's in a scenic spot. I referred to the Butano, the state park here in San Mateo County, as somewhat similar. The boundary is just cockeyed; it's not sensible.

Lage: Now following the establishment of the park in '68, it seems to me I ran across a reference to an area where you disagreed with the Sierra Club. Didn't the state then allow one of the lumber companies to log the Skunk Cabbage Creek area? Do you recall that?

Livermore: Yes, I recall Skunk Cabbage, and as I recall it--this is just memory--but as I recall it, it was not included in '68.

Lage: No, it wasn't included, but it was an area that was hoped for as an expansion area, and I guess it was immediately adjacent to the Redwood Creek area.

Livermore: That's right, and Arcata logged the heart of it, as I recall it, starting very soon after '68, and the Sierra Club very much resented that.

Lage: Did the state need to give a permit to Arcata for that?

Livermore: Well, you're talking about a little different area now, which is touchy. You're right, the Board of Forestry controls logging practices, which are another huge subject. In order to do logging, you need a logging permit. I guess the Sierra Club and their adherents were hoping the permit would be refused, but as I recall it, as long as they were operating under the

Livermore: then rules--which were strengthened in '73 or '74--there was no way of stopping them. And I think it was a little bit like the condor, they kept hoping--the Skunk Cabbage is a superlative area, quite close to the highway. As I recall it, Arcata did not cut visually--by that I mean adjacent to the highway.

Lage: Would that have been an area where you could have intervened?

Livermore: Well, I could, I suppose. Again, if you have correspondence, I'd have to refresh my memory. I could have tried to if I'd wanted, but I don't think it would have flown, because, I repeat, at that point the park was supposed to be settled. Everyone kind of heaved a sigh of relief, and the cutting by Arcata in Skunk Cabbage was within the forestry rules. and they left a fringe. It was a huge amount of money involved, and so I did not do what I might have done. I don't think it would have flown in the cabinet, and I just didn't do it--you reach for a star, and you don't quite get it--from the Sierra Club and Redwood League's point of view, as I recall it. Now, I don't know whether they accused me of sitting on my hands or what. I'd have to check the correspondence to remember. I don't remember any major fight.

Lage: I think I saw a letter from Ed Wayburn to you.

Livermore: Yes, that I was weak, or something like that, or that I wasn't doing my job.

Lage: Well, wishing that you would do more.

Livermore: Yes, why don't I do something, yes?

Lage: In general would you have an assessment of Ed Wayburn? You must have worked with him on this issue more than most anything else.

Livermore: Of course, he's not as old a friend--Sierra Club-wise--as Dick or Dave or Bestor Robinson or a lot of those older groups. He kind of sprung onto the scene postwar, so far as my friendship with him goes. I remember one amusing incident; it makes me chuckle. Before I left Pacific Lumber, and I think this was even before I had the remotest idea of going to Sacramento, Peggy [Wayburn] came into my office. She writes, as you know, and she was writing an article or a book or something on redwoods, and she knew that I was on the other side of the fence, so to speak. We were good friends. I think they'd been on a couple of high trips. The amusing thing is, we talked so long that they locked the building, and I was quite embarrassed because here I was with this attractive wife. This was the Pacific Lumber Company on Columbus Avenue. It's quite a small

Livermore: building, and I was quite panicky, but luckily the janitor was in the building, so he let us out. I had visions--maybe Peggy was completely oblivious to this--I had visions of having to phone the police to let me and this young wife out of the building.

Anyway, I always think of them together. I think of Peggy as running several wilderness conferences. And I remember resenting it, frankly, when I asked to speak at a conference with Larry Kiml of the state Chamber of Commerce. This must have been, I don't know, in '66 or thereabouts. I attended every single wilderness conference, I think, up until the very end, and they gradually left me behind, for reasons I won't elaborate on at the moment. But the point is, she wouldn't let us speak, and I resented that. Now, she might remember it differently--

Lage: Was it a particular topic you--?

Livermore: Well, we just wanted to speak on behalf of the Forest Service and the lumber industry. I'm not sure she was in charge, but I think I mentioned it yesterday that I was really resentful of this. At one of the early conferences, I think it was the fourth, the Forest Service wasn't even invited, and I thought that was really bad. Whether Gordon Robinson had anything to do with this or not I don't know, but Aldo Leopold, as I think I mentioned yesterday, and Bob Marshall were, of course, Forest Service officials and they had pioneered the whole wilderness thing. As I recall it, rather lamely they did ask Charlie Connaughton, who was then the regional forester, at the last minute. He gave a very good talk. I'm sure I have it in my files here somewhere. In other words, this is a list of all the speakers for the fourth--or whatever it was--wilderness conference, and the Forest Service wasn't even there. So that is a bone, you might say, I have to pick with Peggy in terms of bias.

No getting back to Ed, I just felt he was an awfully good salesman. I'm not quite as comfortable with him as I am with Leonard and Brower. I think it's purely a friendship of longer years standing. I don't remember offhand, but he says, I think, that he was on a couple of high trips with me--

Lage: He started going in '49--

Livermore: Then that explains it, because my high trip experience was segmented by the war, and the postwar to me was very much less pleasant than prewar for the simple reason that I--for reasons that we talked about last time--I mortgaged my soul, really, to buy three pack stations to handle the Sierra Club. Then

Livermore: for reasons that weren't their fault or mine, it went steadily downhill due to these other pressures. The last year that I actively led the Sierra Club packing was '48, so that would explain it. I think I visited a couple of days, as I recall it, in '49, but my three big postwar years were '46, '47 and '48. Then I found this was a very poor way to support a growing family and left the active packing. So, as I say, I guess that's about when I first knew the Wayburns.

Lage: What about in dealing with them, say, in working out compromises on the redwoods or trying to come to some agreement?

Livermore: Well, I think he was less easy to talk to and deal with than even Leonard or Brower, but in fairness to him, they weren't taking the lead in this particular thing. By that time Brower--let's see, when was his divorce from the Sierra Club, was that '69?

Lage: Right, '69, but he didn't handle the redwoods.

Livermore: No, he wasn't that active in redwoods, nor was Dick Leonard. Well, I'd say Wayburn was a little strident, perhaps, but effective. I remember also dealing with him on some parks here in Marin County. He was effective, but I felt a little less simpatico with him, put it that way. I remember thinking this, and I have somewhat of a guilty conscience, I always have had because so much of my life has been spent on wilderness and conservation themes, which are, I think, basically elitist. I remember having some fights with Alf Heller on this. I've thought of the Wayburns as a typical example--and I don't criticize it, I just simply observe that a great deal of their thrust was toward Marin County because their weekend happinesses--to use an over simple term--was to go hiking in Marin. They are very much to be commended for putting together a lot of parks over here. Yet, just over the hill from them were these ghettos, and I think that is a basic criticism of the Sierra Club. The club has made some overtures I know, to try and get a meeting of minds with the urban people. This, of course, has come up more now that pollution is so much in mind. But I don't hold that against the Wayburns personally. It sticks in my mind because they could sort of see Marin from their house, and here's this nice comfortable house.

I feel, as I say, guilt myself. In fact, I told my wife more than once, "If and when we get my all-time favorite, the Minarets corridor closed, I intend to give more of my time to social purposes rather than purely conservation, although I'll never lose interest in it."

Livermore: So that's perhaps a kind of a fuzzy answer to your question. I knew other club leaders starting in '34--so there's a fifteen year gap there. Again in fairness to Ed, I think the contests in those earlier days were pleasanter somehow. I mean they were less complicated. There wasn't this big publicity blast. There wasn't the Last Redwoods book, and there wasn't, right around the corner, these pollution problems, and of course there weren't the population problems.

Lage: Life was simpler.

Livermore: I could have said that in much fewer words, yes.

Lage: O.K. As you said, we could talk all morning about the redwoods, but is there anything else that you think we need to cover?

Livermore: On the redwoods I can't think of any more, except to reiterate that it isn't really a national park yet. On the redwoods, I should also mention one quite important thing that temporarily escaped my mind, and that is this: at the very inception of the long series of battles, I told Congressman Clausen--who, as I indicated, is an old and good friend--I said, "Now look, Don, I see your point about the logic of turning over the state parks, but in my opinion if you, pardon the phrase, if you want to be really courageous, I could very easily be persuaded--and I'm sure Governor Reagan would be--that we're just against Redwood National Park. Why do we need the Redwood National Park? The bulk of the redwoods are preserved, the Save-the-Redwoods League isn't at all keen on Redwood Creek, so why don't we just say, 'No Redwood Park?'" He wouldn't go for it, and of course he was the congressman of the district. He said, "The political pressure is too great. We've got to do something." It was then--to my somewhat discomfort as I told you earlier--that I parted company with him on this issue. We were still very friendly, but I could not see that just giving the state parks was enough.

Lage: So you went from saying, "Why not have no park?" to saying, "We won't have a park unless it's substantial."

Livermore: Well, let me put it this way to make myself clear. I didn't say, "Let's not have a national park." I said, "If you, as the congressman from the district will state publicly that we don't need a Redwood National Park, I'll go to bat with you, and I'm reasonably confident that Governor Reagan would agree." This, of course, ties in a little bit with the famous statement, "If you've seen one, you've seen them all." Apparently, Reagan said words to this effect: "How many can you look at?" This has a little different connotation, and he's always resented

Livermore: that. Incidentally, I think part of the trouble with Watt and all this business now, is twisting words. Anyway, Don said in effect, "With The Last Redwoods and the growth of all this pressure, my antenna say we can't do that." Then I accepted that and did my best to produce the '68 compromise, if you want to call it that. So anyway, that's the end of the redwoods.

#### IV MINERAL KING, MINARET SUMMIT ROAD, AND OTHER ISSUES

##### The Mineral King Development Plan

Lage: Well, how about Mineral King as our next topic?

Livermore: Well, Mineral King is a dear favorite of mine. When we came aboard--we being the Reagan administration--we inherited a basic approval of the Mineral King project. I wasn't too happy with that; on the other hand, I was somewhat annoyed with the Sierra Club. It's a little bit like their promoting in earlier years--I think we mentioned it in our last interview--the Echo Park as if it were a national park when really it was a national monument. It was the same way with Mineral King. Mineral King is so photogenic that it was touted as a wilderness area, to a degree. So, having spent ten of the most active years of my packing life there, as an owner and operator, I knew Mineral King like the back of my hand. I was never that keen, still am not that keen, on putting it in a national park, which is another subject. I was anti-Disney big plan, but I was not anti-Disney completely.

As we came down the stretch on that, it had its ups and downs, too. And as you pointed out, the fascinating history which I had temporarily forgotten is that it was in the pot with Udall and the redwood park. But I remember that I tried to promote a toll road. One of the things I didn't like--and I think a lot of people agreed with me, and I agreed with the Sierra Club heartily on this--was that Disney was proposing to build this tremendous resort there but to not pay a nickel for the road. The road, as I recall it, was going to cost the taxpayers about thirty million.

Lage: It seemed to be that the road was going to cost almost as much as Disney was paying for the resort.

Livermore: Exactly. And the only reason for the road, of course, the greatly enhanced road, was to get to the Disney project, and this also involved the Atwell's Grove redwoods.

Lage: Would you spell that for me?

Livermore: A-T-W-E-L-L, Atwell Grove. It's a small, very pretty grove of maybe only one hundred acres or so. The road goes right through the middle of it, so obviously in order to widen the road Udall would have had to give a permit to cut some of the big trees.

We investigated, as I recall it, the toll road income that might be produced, and it was only roughly five million. I think that there were some cabinet issues on this, but it was not nearly as hot an issue as the redwood park--until later, which I'll come to in a moment. It rocked along with, again, steady and successful pressure by the Sierra Club to knock the Disney thing in the head. As I recall it, Disney shaved down their requirements from whatever it was, fifteen thousand units to five thousand or whatnot. I remember I helped the Sierra Club, as I recall it, pressure them on their parking and on their sewage and all that stuff. It was really a bum deal, the big one.

Lage: So you were not in favor of the original Disney proposal?

Livermore: That's not true. I was not publicly against it. I wasn't privately keen on it, but I felt that we inherited it partly from the Brown administration, and Reagan, as I recall it, and my counterpart in the transportation department favored it. They felt the economy was going to be helped, et cetera.

Lage: So when you say privately, did you express any--?

Livermore: No, as I recall it, the redwood park and other matters were so much higher on my desk, and I didn't think it was worth the fight, partly because of the reason I stated a moment ago. My heart wasn't that much in it to urge that the whole thing should be completely killed.

For one thing, and this might amuse you, when I owned a pack train there with my partner Ray Buckman, my wife and I owned about 35 percent of all the private land in the valley. And due to (at least the way I look at it)--can we call it altruism?--I left Mineral King to take care of the Sierra Club high trip on the east side. My partner, Buckman, was unhappy for reasons I won't go into, so I in effect felt obliged to sell out to him. And of course, for obvious reasons--sentimental and economic--I wanted to retain my ownership in the



Livermore: land of Mineral King, but he would have no part of it. I had to make the decision to either struggle along with this thing, with which I couldn't cover both sides of the mountain, or sell out, which I did.

Well, the only point of my going into this much detail is that for many years prior to the war I was in touch with a fellow named Fred Iselin who was a ski instructor at Sun Valley and later, I believe, head instructor at Aspen. For many spring seasons he skied into Mineral King, and I went in there myself more than once in the wintertime. He always hoped to see Mineral King as a nonmechanized, small mountain resort which would maybe accommodate fifty people, where people would go in and do cross-country skiing in that fabulous country. So partly for that reason, I was never against development there, and frankly I still am not.

Lage: But that's a long way from what Disney had in mind.

Livermore: Well, that's right, it's a long way from what Disney had in mind, but what I'm trying to say is that I didn't see anything wrong with a modest enhancement of the area. In those days, they were just at the beginning of all these huge ski lifts and everything, but Iselin's idea was, there'd be no lifts.

It's fascinating. It took--what, it's twenty years later that now cross-country skiing is so popular. I noticed even--to jump around a little bit--Senator [Alan] Cranston [of California] tried up until the last minute to modify the Sierra Club Mineral King inclusion in the national park system to allow more skiing.

As I recall it, we sort of went along at a low bell. Our plan was basically to favor Disney on a reduced scale. Then, due to again largely Sierra Club pressure, they lowered their sights. They then came up with a scheme that I thought was most interesting, a cog railway proposal. I'm not a great skier, but I have skied in Switzerland and Austria, and I'm fascinated by those cog railways. I felt that since there was a road already there, it's not a wilderness. On this subject, some of the Sierra Club literature was, I think, somewhat unfair. A little like The Last Redwoods, you'd think it was a wilderness. So I thought that was fine, and I agreed with Disney. I don't remember if we had a cabinet issue on that or not, but this was just kind of a--I felt--a happy modification of the plan. The cog railway would have gone from--I forget the name of the point--about halfway in. Again, as I recall it, Disney wasn't going to put any money into it. So after a few weeks or months of publicity the thing just didn't fly.

Livermore: Then, the one big fight we had in the cabinet, and I remember this vividly, we inherited. To backtrack a little bit, the Reagan administration inherited the inclusion of the road in the state highway system. It's a little like the Minaret or Porterville-Lone Pine. So there it was, there was no money for it, but it was there. And so I then, you might say, seized my opportunity--I wasn't alone in this, Assemblyman [Edwin L.] Z'berg, he was the lead horse on this. I said, "Well, look, if we agree that the cog railway is a good idea," and this seemed to me to have considerable merit, "we don't need the road in the state highway system." That's when the big fight developed.

I remember I had a kind of an anguished call from Slim Davis, who was then the recreation head for the Forest Service's regional office, with whom I'd skied and was good friends. "Ike," he said, "I don't like this Z'berg legislation at all." The Z'berg legislation was to take the road out of the state highway system, which of course would kill a good part of the project, but I felt that you couldn't carry water on both shoulders.

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Livermore: I felt that if Disney had agreed to the cog railway (they had agreed, as I recall it, and they took some quite big ads on this) that that was fine. We didn't need the road. You could have the small service road to haul--

Lage: There's already a road, a small one--

Livermore: Oh, already a road, yes. So the present road could be used for groceries and whatnot, but the public would use the cog railway. Z'berg also seized on this, as I recall it (he is now deceased but he was a good conservation-type assemblyman), and he introduced this legislation to delete the road. The [state department of] Transportation was headed up by a good friend of mine but a tough antagonist sometimes, Frank Walton, who was Governor Reagan's secretary for Business and Transportation. They, of course, felt that that was robbing their territory, so they wanted the road as a kind of a backup. And I remember Slim Davis of the Forest Service called me and said, "Hey! What's all this about your supporting the Z'berg legislation?" I said, "Yes, I'm supporting it," I said, "I'm for the cog railway, but we don't need both the road and the cog railway."

Cabinet Discussions on Mineral King

Livermore: Mineral King came to a head in the cabinet, and I remember it particularly because it was the only--I think in the eight years I was in Sacramento--it was the only cabinet issue that was decided on the telephone. The governor was in Los Angeles for some obviously very good reason, but there was a deadline coming up on the legislation, and we had previously--it's coming back to me now--we had a dinner--I think it was for Bill Clark, whom you've probably heard of, who was leaving the cabinet. He was appointed to the bench. So we had a very pleasant going away dinner for him, and the governor was there, and there were twenty or thirty people plus the cabinet secretaries.

I remember Walton, who was a very eloquent speaker and really quite a wonderful guy, cooked up a kind of a song about Mineral King that caught me completely by surprise. I was able to rebut him; I recited a silly poem, and I also sang a song of my own. Actually, it was a Sierra Club song; it was about "Hector the Garbage Collector." I still remember it. So anyway, it ended in a kind of a draw; at least I felt I held my own--and I felt, incidentally, it was kind of unfair of Walton to bring Mineral King into a going away dinner for Clark.

Lage: So this must have been an issue where you really had your divisions.

Livermore: Oh yes, we knew we were going to tangle. Then, as I say, the governor had to go away, and there was a deadline. So we gathered in Ed Meese's office, I remember distinctly, and we gathered around a microphone. There was Meese and myself and Frank Walton, and Jim Jenkins who was then secretary for Health and Welfare, and two or three other people. We argued to the governor through the microphone, and Jenkins, I remember, stuck with me, and I won. The governor endorsed the withdrawal of the road. So that was the end of Mineral King, as far as my recollection goes.

Lage: This was not something that Molly [Sturges] has. She could find very little on the Mineral King road. The few things she found were not in your files but in Business and Transportation.

When you would have these disagreements on the cabinet level, what kinds of arguments would you find appealed to Governor Reagan? Do you know what his decision would be based on? How would you go about trying to persuade him?

Livermore: Well, we would argue. We'd pass the jelly beans around (which of course have now been more thoroughly publicized since he's president). We always had a cabinet secretary. I remember in the early days the cabinet secretary, of which there were several, used to take terribly voluminous notes, and they finally got too wordy, so the decision was reached verbally and the issues were all on one page. I'm sure Molly has many of them. In the usual procedure, as I recall it, there would quite often be an editing. Some of the big decisions--I remember particularly the Dos Rios decision was followed by a press release, and the wording of the press release in that case and others was almost more important than the cabinet decision itself. As you know, they'd change a few words. They didn't, as I recall it, have a tape recorder.

Of course, from my point of view--and I notice this is true on the presidential level--there were a lot of issues that were just dull as dishwater to me for the simple reason that I was not interested in them, nor concerned with them, nor knowledgeable about them. But we did have this firm agreement to all meet, which I think was basically good.

Lage: I find if I'm trying to persuade somebody I try to think what would appeal to that person in making my argument. Now, how would you try to put your point of view over? What kinds of arguments would you try to bring to bear?

Livermore: Well, for one thing, as I think I indicated, it was always written on paper as briefly as possible, and I think I would vary with the subject. I think in the case of the redwoods there's no question that the governor had a predilection toward the feeling that there were already enough redwoods preserved, and he had been thoroughly briefed by the lumber company types. He was not that conversant or in communication with the conservation types.

I remember one time too, in some of the early redwood issues when I was using what persuasion I could, that he said, "Oh boy, I see you're determined to raise my adrenalin," I remember that phrase. Because, as I say, it was kind of an early thought. I remember, for no particular reason, that Hugh Flournoy who didn't attend many cabinet meetings and was then the state controller and quite powerful and later was a Republican candidate for governor, he called me right afterwards and said, "Ike, I really admired the way you stood up to the governor, in effect, on this issue."

Lage: That was on the redwoods?

Livermore: That was on the redwoods. But I can't remember the phraseology or anything, except I just said, "Governor, I think this is what we should do," or words to that effect. So again, I don't remember any particular tactics other than not getting too excited. And as I say, the arguments were presented, sometimes with a backup. I remember another thing--this is mechanical--I don't think I ever failed not to include the whole issue on one page. Some of the other secretaries fudged on that, which is sometimes very easy to do, of course. I would sometimes have exhibits that I felt were very important because we were instructed to do that.

Lage: Now would you write your own issues?

Livermore: Not entirely. The issues tapered off in numbers, as you might suspicion, as we kind of matured. The issue summaries came up to me from a department, and then I would either accept them or reject them and then bring them to the cabinet. And actually, particularly on some of the water issues, one of the sticky things was whether or not I would permit a department head under me to make a presentation to the cabinet in disagreement with me, which happened a few times.

Lage: We'll be getting to that. [laughter]

Livermore: Yes, particularly on the Dos Rios that was. But absent a tape on these meetings, which of course everybody has tapes nowadays, I don't remember any quirks or tricks. I've told many people this; one reason that made the cabinet meetings so pleasant was that Reagan was just a marvelous storyteller. Not at every meeting, but I have a list of some of his stories--in fact, I have a tape on his humor that you might be amused at before we get through.

Lage: A tape--?

Livermore: The humor of Ronald Reagan, I have a tape I can play which I kept insisting we make, and others did too. I said, "God, we ought to have some of these jokes of the governor's on tape." I think it was Jim Jenkins, who I mentioned earlier, who collected several. In other words, there are twenty or thirty of them. And 98 percent of them were clean jokes, so many men's jokes, of course, are off-color, and they're funny too, particularly on the pack trips.

But anyway, it's a little off the subject except all I'm trying to say is that the cabinet meetings were almost always pleasant partly for that reason. He's such a personable, wonderfully personable guy.

Lage: I'm trying to figure out on the Mineral King, for instance, why Frank Walton was so much in opposition to you. I wonder what it was that made you win out on that issue? It might have been costs--

Livermore: Well, I think I had logic on my side. I think that was much more clear cut than some other issues and easier to explain. I just said, "Well, look, Disney has agreed to the cog railroad. We have the problem of the widening road going through these virgin Gigantea. The road is there; they can service the small unit, and we just simply don't need the road." How my voice was inflected or anything else, I don't know. You'd have to ask the now president himself about the performance at the earlier going away dinner, whether I won that. [laughter]

Lage: I don't know if you remember the tape they made right at the end of the Reagan administration; Molly Sturges and Ed Meese made a tape of the cabinet officers. It's very interesting. They have a transcript of it over at our office. The final comment was, after you gave your presentation, "Well, that just goes to show, the sun never sets on a Livermore argument." [laughter]

Livermore: Oh, I do remember that. That's quite amusing. I think that may have been Walton. Yes, somebody coined that phrase. Well, I guess what that says is that I was persistent, and until I was really knocked on the head, particularly on the Minaret road, I just kept coming back and back and back. Sometimes there would be defeat, but you sort of go around the barn a different way, you know. And also, facts evolve that change things. I think that was said partly in jest. But I think probably, I had more cabinet issues than any other secretary, and I don't think that's any credit to me. I think it was partly the strength and the complexity of the environmental movement. So Molly probably has that, I don't know if there's any point of digging into it.

A lot of the Health and Welfare issues were very wordy, so I don't think I probably took up--percentage-wise--maybe even as much as a fifth. If you count Finance there were, say, five cabinet officers. But I was persistent, I guess.

#### Minaret Summit Road

Lage: I thought we'd turn to the Minaret Summit road, which ties in with the Mineral King road somewhat, and then to your long-standing opposition to roads in the Sierra.

Livermore: Well that, I guess you'd have to say, is my favorite. It was harder to put my point over. First of all, no one in the cabinet with the exception of myself, was particularly wilderness-oriented. I think that from the governor on down they were fine people, but none of them were campers or even hunters, with the exception of Mike Deaver. Mike Deaver was a hunter. And so the big problem there of course was--

Lage: How about Reagan himself? He's a horseman, but did he get out--?

Livermore: Reagan's a horseman, but he never came on any of our pack trips, which we invited him on. He did, frankly due to my persuasion, go to Mule Day one day. He was grand marshal of Mule Day in Bishop. I can show you a movie, if we have time, of the pack trip that my son Sam, whom you met yesterday, took us on as packer and guide in Yosemite with the governor, now president, and Mrs. Reagan and "Skipper"--now the dancer--and several other characters. Nancy Reynolds was there; you may have heard of her. So he certainly likes the out-of-doors, but I think this was the first camping trip they'd ever been on. I got that impression.

Lage: So you took him when he was governor?

Livermore: Yes, I took him in '73. Apparently Reagan's son originated the idea of a trip, and so I was asked by Mike Deaver [this sort of thing was sort of in his aegis) to work up a trip. And I did, very happily, and then at the last minute they said, "Well, of course you and Dina are going along, aren't you?" I said, "Well, I didn't think we were. This is a family trip." It turned out that they weren't going to go unless we went. So we did.

Lage: They wanted a guide also.

Livermore: Well, my son was well able to guide them. He worked in Yosemite as a guide and packer for four years, so they didn't really need me and Dina at all. But anyway, we went and it was--

Lage: Where did you go?

Livermore: We started at a place called Muggler Meadow, and we went over what is called Chiquito Pass. We were out, as I recall it, three nights. We camped at a place called Mono Meadows for two nights, then we took a side trip to, I think it was called Breeze Lake, and then our last camp was on--I think it was Mono Creek. There's so many Mono Creeks in the mountains; I get them a little bit mixed up. But I remember the trip with a

Livermore: particular pleasure apart from the general pleasure, because I then collected my last Sierra pass. I had boasted that I had been over all fifty Sierra passes over 10,000 feet. And there was one that I had not been over, which is Fernandez Pass, which was an easy side trip on our trip, so I enjoyed that.

But anyway, getting back to the Minarets road, I'd say that was the first preamble that none of the cabinet were particularly wilderness-oriented. The second thing is that this road, of course, had been on the drawing boards for a long time and the Transportation people were heartily in favor of it. The third major question perhaps was, that they were selling it not as a trans-Sierra road, but just to improve the road to get into Red's Meadow--which incidentally, has recently more or less happened.

In the early stages of the argument I was at a low enough ebb, you might say, in terms of my argument that I'd say, "Well, look, if they'll disassociate the road, take the number off it, the trans-Sierra number, without too much pleasure I'll go for that." Because it is true--it's a little like Mineral King--there's a road to Red's Meadow. So I was on weak ground if all they were saying was to improve that road. But they would never do that [take the trans-Sierra number off]; they made a bad tactical error from my point of view.

I had many meetings on it. Even before it got to the cabinet, I went over the to Transportation people. And the reason, I think--and you perhaps have to research this further--the reason that they refused to take it out of the highway number system was funding, because it was through the federal system. They were pressed, of course, from their side.

I remember this was one of the cases which wasn't too unusual. This was in early '72 that this came to a head. At that time Ed Meese was the prime organizer. We used to quite often have breakfast meetings. I remember my wife and I would have to get up at 4:00 at the ranch to get to an 8:00 breakfast meeting in Sacramento. I finally got through to Meese and others the importance of the true concept. They kept saying, "Well, what's the trouble, Ike? All they're going to do is improve this road." And I kept saying, "This is a long battle, and this is the worm entering the apple to go all the way across." I finally got that across, and it finally led to cabinet issues. I don't think there were that many issues on it because I convinced the group informally, then when we took it to the cabinet, the governor went for it.



Livermore: The thing got very hairy though because--I forget the exact sequence--but I remember there was a public hearing. Well, first of all, I was invited to address a transportation group in San Francisco, as I recall it, and from my point of view they were like lambs taken to the slaughter because they gave me just a marvelous forum to just give hell on this road program. And they were rather startled, I think they even kind of laughed at it. Then there was a big public hearing in Mammoth--oh, I forgot a very important thing. There was an earlier legislation, I think in about '68, to place the road into the state highway system.

Lage: Didn't you get Reagan to oppose that? It seems like he made a statement shortly after--?

Livermore: I think I did. The argument then, as I recall it, was easier and mostly economic. I simply said, "Well, this is a crazy road. It may be built someday, but for God's sake the state doesn't need to build this road. There's no reason for it." This was quite a battle, and there was an Assemblyman [Ernest] Mobley, who was very much in favor of the road. This was just a state decision, so Congress didn't get involved. And that must have been in about '68 that I testified.

Lage: And there again you were opposing the Business and Transportation Agency?

Livermore: Exactly, yes. But that battle wasn't that fierce. As I recall it, I think their general feeling was, "It's no skin off our back. It'll be thirty years before this road is built anyway, so we won't fight Ike too hard on that one." But there was quite hot testimony, mainly by this assemblyman who was a Republican assemblyman. That must have been in '67 or '68, so I won that battle, you might say.

Lage: And then the next thing my notes show is that there was a joint committee of Resources and Business and Transportation. In '69 you and Gordon Luce reaffirmed this opposition to the road.

Livermore: That sounds right, yes, to inclusion of it in the state highway system.

Lage: Right.

Livermore: Oh, you mentioned a very important thing, and this isn't on your list either. One of the big, early battles we had was about a thing called the "rebuttable presumption." This dates to before we went to Sacramento and goes way back. The State Highway Commission is the advisory board to the secretary of

Livermore: Business and Transportation. The first Reagan Transportation and Business secretary was Gordon Luce, then Jim Hall, and later Frank Walton. When push came to shove, the state highway department--now it's Caltrans--could go anywhere they wanted. They could blast roads right through a state park. And I think again it was Z'berg or someone who endorsed legislation saying, "This isn't fair; this isn't right." So again we won that cabinet issue, and the "rebuttable presumption" provided simply that parks and highways are even. It meant that parks were just as equal before the law and that there might be cases where highways could go, but they had to go to court, as I recall it. The way it was before, the park people just really didn't have any say.

Lage: Was this a legislative change?

Livermore: Yes, this was a legislative change, I think, but I wouldn't be too clear about it. This led to the thing which was my initiative, frankly, the Resources-Transportation Committee. Because we had a lot of things to talk about all the time, this was a little bit akin to the subcabinet things you now hear about in Washington where the most affected groups try to iron out their difficulties. With Luce, in fact with all the transportation secretaries until Walton and the Minaret and Mineral King issues, we really did an awful lot of good. It stemmed from this "rebuttable presumption." We'd sit down in advance and say, "Now, look, what are your road plans here and there and could we change the route, or could we modify this road particularly along the coast," and so forth.

Your information is more up to date than mine. I believe it was '69 that the proposed Minaret road was finally taken out of the state highway system. Then, as I recall it, it was quiescent for a couple of years. It was out of the state highway system, but it was constantly in the back of my mind. (Incidentally, I don't know if I mentioned the first time I was ever in there, which was back in 1929 on my first big pack trip when the road was first built into Red's Meadow.)

Anyway, the thing was simmering at the Washington level, and then there was this talk I mentioned which must have been in late '70. Then Congressman Sisk from Fresno was very powerful, and he was aided and abetted by a Congressman [John J.] McFall. Sisk recently retired, and I think McFall was defeated for re-election. Anyway, their main constituency was in Fresno, and they were very much in favor of this road. So when push came to shove later, when it finally had oozed up to the cabinet--and I mentioned the breakfast meetings and so forth--as I recall it, they had two million dollars to widen this road, and they actually had the stakes driven in the side of the hill.

Lage: Was this the Forest Service?

Livermore: Yes, it was the Forest Service in cahoots with the Federal Highway Administration. They had, and I've often been curious as to whether it still exists, but they had a very cozy, three-man committee, which may still exist. As I recall it, it consisted of the state secretary of Business and Transportation, his federal counterpart--I wish I could remember that guy's name--and then there was a third person--I don't remember if it was Forest Service or who it was. But anyway, they had something like four or five million dollars a year to play with all over the state of California. They were called an FAS, as I recall it, a Federally Assisted Highway System. That was most of the funding behind this project.

Lage: And this was to improve the Red's Meadows road?

Livermore: Yes, but always, you see, the cross-Sierra road is inching along. The road now is going to Granite Creek on the west side so there's only about a fourteen mile gap between there and Red's Meadow. It's much easier road construction from the Bass Lake side, so it's been snaking along through this same country where I took the governor (over Chiquito Pass). It is paved, and it's right up to the brink of the north fork gorge--north fork of the San Joaquin River. The east side was politically farther away and more difficult for construction and so forth, so they tended, you see, to work from the west side until they hit this gorge.

Anyway, it came to a head in the cabinet, I'm guessing about early '72. The cabinet decided; I'd have to check the record of the actual date.

Lage: Decided in your favor?

Livermore: Decided to not permit this contract to go through. They were constantly running up against Congressmen Sisk and Biz Johnson, who was very powerful, and McFall. Sisk was on the Ways and Means Committee, and McFall was on the committee that controlled the financing. And it got so that McFall threatened to cut out all the California funding if he couldn't get this road. And so it was really tough, but the governor decided and was with me.

I remember at a given point one of the proudest letters I wrote for the governor--he signed it--was in answer to, I think, Biz Johnson; I've got it somewhere in the files. It was very similar to what I wrote to Doug Leisz in a letter to the editor in the [San Francisco] Chronicle. Leisz, who was a California regional forester, said in effect, "Well, Ike Livermore, what's

Livermore: the problem? All we're trying to do is improve the road to Red's Meadow," which is a great plum to the Forest Service; they later spent a ridiculous amount of money there.

Anyway, the cabinet decision, I'm just recollecting, was made early that spring, maybe April or May. I then had a major mechanical problem, personally, because I was dying to go to the international environmental conference in Stockholm. I thought it would be a fascinating thing, and I felt that we had this reasonably under control, so I pulled what strings I could. I was one of only two state delegates on that thing, and my wife and I were over there in Scandinavia for about six weeks. Well, the reason I mentioned that is when the thing all came to a climax and the governor took the big press conference and rode in and did all the big fireworks, I wasn't there. I did not get to go on that great horseback trip. This is also how I missed out with [Interior Secretary Walter] Hickel on the redwoods dedication, for a different reason. So anyway, those two big things I didn't get in on.

Lage: Wasn't there also some negotiation with Nixon, because he was the one who finally--?

Livermore: You're absolutely right. This was, I think, just before I went to Stockholm. Due to the power of Sisk and McFall, we had to go to Cap Weinberger, who in turn went to Nixon, and at a key time Nixon sent the telegram. It seems to me, Reagan and perhaps myself deserve the trench-fighting credit, but the power did come from Nixon. I might have mentioned that yesterday, but I talked long enough, I'm sure, as it was. This was one of the things that happened during the Nixon and Ford administrations. On the voting record on most conservation measures, of course, the Republicans are rather feeble, but on a lot of these big things, they're good.

Lage: You probably weren't in on those negotiations--

Livermore: With Weinberger?

Lage: Yes. Was it more or less a--?

Livermore: Well, yes, I remember writing to [federal secretary of Transportation John] Volpe who was Walton's counterpart.

Anyway, the cabinet decided that, and so with the help of the governor and Cap Weinberger and right up to Nixon--I think I have in my files a telegram, it seems to me, signed by Nixon--we knocked the whole thing in the head. Then, as I say this is a major disappointment that I couldn't be in two places. They

Livermore: planned this big huzzah, which consisted of flying reporters in and so forth, and the governor rode a horse up onto the hill, and they had a press conference and so forth. Ed Wayburn was there; I was not there.

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Livermore: There's an amusing sequel in that due, frankly, I think, largely to my persuasion. They wanted to make a big thing of this. It was a very symbolic thing, I think, ranking right up with the Dos Rios and the redwoods and the Southern Crossing and Mineral King. Someone leaked the news in Sacramento so all these reporters--a lot of them, of course, were just city slicker types--and a lot of them had sore tails from riding. A lot of them had spent the night out, you know, and were sleeping on rocks--and they went through all this big hocus-pocus. They hauled the TV up on the hill. The governor gave his speech; he had a map there and something. (I've often wanted to see it again. There is a video tape on this, I saw it once. It isn't that good, but I want to try and trace it down. I think it's still in Sacramento.) They got off their horses and got into the airplane, and when they got back to Sacramento, someone had leaked the whole story. The reporters were just furious, I understand. As I say, I was in Stockholm, but I do remember some long distance calls with very poor Swedish telephones, keeping me informed of this. My deputy at that time was Ford B. Ford, just a wonderful guy; he's back in Washington now. He's been appointed by President Reagan--he's in the Office of Surface Mining, of all strange things. But he's the one, in my absence, that engaged the pack train and all this kind of business.

Lage: And Reagan even proposed closing the corridor, and that was part of it.

Livermore: Oh sure, that was part of it. Shortly after that--I can't remember if it was before the pack trip or not--we had a very angry letter from Congressman Johnson, who was very mad about the whole thing. His angle was he was very close to the Forest Service, and he again, used the old argument, "Why'd you kill this? All we want to do is go to Red's Meadow." So I composed for the governor and he signed it, one of the most memorable letters I think I wrote. It in effect said, signed by the governor, why he did this, and it was pro-wilderness.

Lage: Did Reagan respond to the wilderness argument in kind of a pure form, not the economic aspects?

Livermore: Well, I think this letter did, yes. He signed the letter, and who can say whether his judgment was political or genuine? As I said earlier, I don't think he himself was inclined to be a

Livermore: particularly enthusiastic wilderness person. What I pointed out was that this--which still, as you know, hasn't been acted on--is the biggest contiguous wilderness area in the United States, acreage-wise, counting from Tioga to Walker Passes. It is unquestionably the finest, in terms of John Muir's scenery. You know--what did he call it?--the most divine of all the mountain ranges in the world? Reagan sensed that, and I think he loves to ride, and he was enthusiastic. He didn't edit one word out of this letter. I think that things have tapered off a little bit since, which is another subject.

I should add one thing, and I think it's perhaps certainly sentimentally interesting, and its one reason I've been so vociferous about this through the years. Did I tell you about the first time I went there?

Lage: You didn't; you just referred to it.

Livermore: Well, the story was that during my second year packing, which was 1930 when I was nineteen years old--having worked the previous summer in the pack train but not going very far--another great old guy (Mon Griggs) and I had this party where we deadheaded from Three Rivers all the way to Yosemite through the foothills. Then we took four people the whole length of the Muir Trail. About our fifth day out from Yosemite we had camped at a place called Seventy-seven Corral, which was a kind of a bum camp. The stock was scattered, and we got a rather late start, as I recall it. Frank Eggers, who I'm sure is now dead--there were just two of us packing, and he was the head packer--he said, "Well, Ike, this has been a kind of a tough day, but we'll end up tonight in the most beautiful camp in the whole mountains." But when we got into camp that night, there were automobiles! It was just like a stab in the heart you know. It was the year the road was just built.

Lage: Into Red's Meadow?

Livermore: Into Red's Meadow. Frank hadn't known it. Sorry, I got a little emotional there but it was really, you know, we were told about this great Shangri-la place. It was called, I guess, Pumice Flats, and we came around the last turn, and there were these damned automobiles. It was dramatic, so I said to myself then, "Well, if I could ever stop this road going any further, I'll do it." Because it is a symbol, you know, it's the whole length of the Sierra, and unfortunately it's the lowest pass. And the road was built, as I recall it, to a mining claim, that's what I mentioned yesterday. It's a cherry stem--I like that phrase which is a new one to me--or a road penetrating an otherwise roadless area.

Livermore: Someday, maybe, if the wilderness movement continues they will take that road out of there. But now the Forest Service has put a million dollars, I think, in a sewer system there. I'm told they even have to heat it in the wintertime to keep it from freezing, and nobody's in there in the wintertime. Anyway, that was the beginning of my feeling for stopping the road, because it was a shock, a real shock.

Lage: And was it also a shock to Frank?

Livermore: Oh, yes it was, but I don't remember his reaction. He was a good, tough, old-time packer, and I guess we were both so busy at that time--sort of settling camp--I don't remember any great anguish. Well, I do remember this, now that you mention it: due to the blankety-blank automobiles we had to move down the creek a ways to get away from them. Of course, there are two sides to this question; the automobiles probably thought it was great.

But I remember an amusing incident; it could have been a very serious thing. The very next day we had a layover day, and I went fishing, which is a privilege for a young packer. I crossed the San Joaquin with my fish rod, and I usually went fishing with just tennis shoes. So I fished downstream on the other side of the stream for maybe a quarter or a half a mile. And it was late in the day, I'd had some chores, so I, of course, wanted to get back to camp. And the stream was quite full then, I guess it was early July, and I didn't want to get wet. So I went down to a kind of a narrow place, I guess it wasn't much wider than from me to your bag there on the couch, but it was sloping like this [gestures with his hand] and I debated. You know, either I walk maybe three quarters of an hour back to camp, or if I can get across here, it'll just be ten minutes. The rocks in a creek have a kind of a moisture point above where the water's actually running, and I crept just a little bit too close, and I fell in, and I went over a waterfall. It just scared the devil out of me, and I lost a little camper I had, and I lost my fishing rod, and I lost my hat. I went down the river, and, of course, I was then able to crawl out. I've often wanted to go back to that pool. I'm sure I could find it unless the stream has changed. And I rode the whole rest of the Muir trail without a sombrero which was very bad for my ego and not so good for my sunburn either. But I remember those two things together, one the automobiles and two falling over the waterfall.

Forest Practices and the Lumber Industry##

[Interview 3: October 19, 1981]

Lage: Today is October 19, 1981, and this is our third interview. We were talking about forest and wilderness last time, so let's finish that area up and talk about the forest practices acts.

Livermore: Well, that's quite a subject. I remember it vividly. When I first went aboard in Sacramento, and I still have the press clips, I was asked, of course, about the redwood park and also very soon after that as I recall it, about forest practices. I remember this particularly vividly because I said that the industry needed a good kick in the pants, and it came out in the press that I was going back to my office, which was in the Pacific Lumber Company, and kick my former boss in the pants.

Lage: Did that come out as a quote?

Livermore: It came out as a quote, I think. I think I still have it somewhere. So the amusing thing, if you want to call it that, is the difference between them and him. And of course, this is all the difference in the world, and luckily he was good-natured about it--young Stan Murphy, who is since deceased. And I pointed out that I did not think that it was him that should be kicked in the pants, it was them.

Lage: You mean the industry as a whole?

Livermore: The industry as a whole, and the illustration I used, which was a man from the Pacific Lumber Company, started me off, shall we say, on a few sparks. He was the former general manager of the Pacific Lumber Company, a man I knew very well (also now deceased) named Gordon Manary, who was a great character. He was the chairman of the North Coast Forest Practice Committee, or words to that effect, and he boasted within the company that he hadn't called a meeting for three years. So that was my first tangle, you might say, with the industry on forest practices. Because I felt, particularly in my new position in Sacramento, that that was a pretty bad performance. That whether they like it or not, there was a lot of criticism, of course.

Lage: Was he on the state--?



Livermore: He was chairman of a district forest practices committee. They still have these forest districts--I can't remember now whether there are three or four or five--and every district in the state had then, and I believe still has, a forest practices committee. It was their function to have occasional meetings and to discuss and to implement forest practices. But in this particular case he just laughed at it, at least that was my impression. And so I felt that was bad because along with the redwood park there were a lot of talks about forest practices.

Shortly after that, and I don't remember the exact year or dates, the first Forest Practice Improvement Act came up and went through the legislature. I felt that it was important enough that I should personally testify, which I didn't normally do. You're so busy as a secretary that, at least in Sacramento, that was not our policy. Usually we'd have a deputy or someone, or a department head testify, but I remember this particularly because it was my first experience of action taken before a hearing.

I have somewhere, I think, my testimony. This was for a stiffening of the Forest Practice Act. This must have been in maybe 1967, along about the same era as the first Minaret road hearing. Some good friends of mine who were in the industry were sitting right behind me. We were good-naturedly friendly but on complete opposite sides. The chairman of the committee was Senator [Randolph] Collier who was a crusty old fellow. The thing obviously had been long set up in advance to actually shoot down my recommendations, which were to agree with this general legislation. I remember particularly that behind me these fellows sat and they handed me a thing--I've got it here somewhere. It's a quote that's quite widely circulated. It goes something like this: "You are a fine fellow, and we love you in every way. You command our respect and affection and our understanding. Only it's too bad that you're such a God damned son-of-a-bitch." [laughter] They handed me this just before I was to testify, so that was my first experience.

Lage: Now, you say that it was set up in advance that your recommendations would not be acted upon favorably?

Livermore: Well, the timber lobbyists and others had gone to the committee and the thing was all pat, and they voted down the effort. And I remember I had some trouble in the cabinet there too. Because at that point the Division of Forestry, which is the second biggest unit in the Resource Agency which I headed, was pretty reluctant about this. They were pretty much captives of the timber industry, which of course I understood. So again, I'd have to check the records as to what happened, but there was this long sequence of events.

Livermore: Because I supported this stiffening of the forest practices, I had some very bitter letters from the industry. One of them I can remember particularly was from a member of the Board of Forestry, Ray Crane, whom I later got friendly with. He wrote a letter, which I may have in the files somewhere, along the lines of confiscating private property. Of course, that's the big rub, you know. "Why should government tell us what to do with our lands?" Again, he didn't realize the political and environmental ramifications.

So as I recall it, the industry asked me to speak in Fresno. I gave a talk there, and a couple of these guys, as I recall it, came right up onto the platform, not publicly but to tell me what a bum thing I was doing, sort of traitorous, you know, to the industry I was in. Then, as I recall it, it was another year before legislation was finally passed, pretty much along the lines that I had endorsed.

#### Instituting Tougher Forest Practice Rules

Livermore: There was a lull of two or three years, and finally, there was more activity due to outside pressure mainly in the form of a lawsuit. I believe it was by a group in San Mateo County. The lawsuit was to this effect: that the whole forest practice system was a phony because the Board of Forestry was 100 percent timber. I mean you had one or two figureheads on it, but it was utterly dominated by the timber industry.

Lage: And the state supreme court actually outlawed the Forest Practices Act?

Livermore: Well, what they did was mandate that the Board of Forestry have better public representation. So this was tied in with another stiffening--as I say there was a two or three year lag. Again, I was in favor of this and had some trouble selling it in the cabinet. Although with less difficulty then because politically the industry finally realized that their practices had to be better controlled--such things as stream erosion, clearcutting, et cetera.

Then also as a part of this, I remember a famous case, and again I'd have to check the dates. About this time the Board of Forestry gave a clearcut permit to the Simpson Timber Company, which really hit the headlines. It was innocent on both sides, but the gist of it was that rather than apply for a whole series of little pockmark clearcuts, the company said to the Board of Forestry, "Look, we have this, say, five year plan; why don't

Livermore: we just lump the whole thing together?" Well, it turned out as something like, I think it was three thousand or four thousand acres of clearcut, and the press got a hold of that and boy, they really hit the fan! Luckily I was still on a first name basis with all the timbermen, and I talked endlessly with Hank Trobitz, who was on the Board of Forestry and a good friend. He has since retired from the Simpson Timber Company. And I, in effect, talked him into withdrawing his application. I said, "Well, look, I understand what you're trying to do, Hank, but it just won't fly. People cannot understand it." He did withdraw it.

Lage: Was he with Simpson Lumber Company and also on the Board of Forestry?

Livermore: Yes.

Lage: So there really was this tremendous--

Livermore: Well, that's perfectly all right. I mean he stayed on. In fact, I'm not so sure he's still not on it. He was a very fine, dedicated industry representative, and he is the exact counterpart of Phil Berry from the Sierra Club, who after this new legislation was passed was another member. Incidentally, I was able to recommend that he be on, just before we left Sacramento.

So getting back to the central theme, there was this gap from '67 to '68 until I think it was '74. The two main political events were this Simpson clearcut, as I recall it, and the lawsuit. And the upshot was that the whole Board of Forestry composition was mandated for change and again, the forest practice rules were stiffened. Stiffened along the lines of regeneration, the size of the clearcuts, the streamside cutting and, as I recall it, a stiffer diameter limit, et cetera, et cetera. So I am perhaps unduly blowing my own horn, but the gist of it is that in the eight years that I was in Sacramento, the industry was finally brought along to have to live with tougher forest practice rules.

This also involved a thing they called--I forget the acronym--forest harvesting plans, or words to that effect. This required, and still requires, before you can cut anywhere in the state you have to have a plan approved by a licensed forester. I remember favoring this, but again with some question. As I recall it, the Division of Forestry, now the Department of Forestry said, "Well, in order to implement this we need fifty more foresters." I thought to myself, "Well, here's a bunch of red tape. They don't need that many." But

Livermore: again, I wasn't on the firing line so they did initiate this with all this new red tape. It is a lot of red tape, and to a landowner it's aggravating, but it's necessary, I think.

Lage: Do you feel it's necessary because practices weren't so well monitored? The lumber industry wasn't as responsible?

Livermore: Yes, I think the most visible reason--apart from the scenic reason, which is a subject in itself--was the clogging of the northwest streams. There were no good rules to prevent skidding in or across streams and dumping tops and debris, forest debris in the streams, clogging the fish runs. This was a real problem I had in my own "family," you might say, because the press for the tougher rules largely came from the Fish and Game Department. Typically, the Division of Forestry--and, I might add, the Department of Water Resources--were always at loggerheads. The Fish and Game tended to be for free running streams--which they should be for the wildlife--and that tangled with the other two.

Lage: You testified in favor of the stronger Forest Practices Act. Would that be something you'd clear with the cabinet first or could you just go ahead because that was your--

Livermore: No, it would be cleared with the cabinet, but as I recall it, and again my memory is a little fuzzy on this, there was a time--and I think maybe it was the first act--where the cabinet clearance was not clearcut. So that I had a little trouble in the governor's office in terms of the legislation. I'd have to search my records, but there was somewhat a rough spot there, I remember that. Expressed differently, I didn't--as I recall it--for the first time have the 100 percent backing of the cabinet. I don't think I did anything technically not according to Hoyle, but there was some difficulty that I don't remember too well.

Lage: But by the time of the second act, they recognized there was enough public pressure to make it necessary?

Livermore: Yes.

Lage: Would the administration or yourself take any role in actually drafting the legislation?

Livermore: Well, yes and no. Typically all legislation was drafted by a senator or an assemblyman, and as far as taking part in it goes, there was a standard procedure, of course. We'd take positions on all legislation, either yes, no or maybe. As far as the drafting goes, yes, I think that people in our various departments took very detailed part in editing it.

Livermore: As we were coming down the stretch on this tougher--I think it was '74--legislation, plus the changed Board of Forestry, something amusing happened with Bill Scofield (I think he's deceased now). He was a marvelous fellow--he was the executive secretary of the California Forest Protective Association which represented the industry. I had several meetings with him on this legislation. The board had a cattleman, two timbermen, an environmentalist, a public-at-large and perhaps a mining man. A result of this lawsuit was that they'd have to broaden themselves. Of course, Scofield knew in his mind, individuals. He said, "Now, what do you think about so-and-so?" Of course, he wanted to get a cattleman that was pro-timberman and a miner, and, of course, the toughest one of all was the environmentalist, which as I mentioned earlier was Phil Berry. But it was too funny, he was sitting across my desk, and I could see him actually using his pencil to see how they'd come out in the vote. I was quite amused at that. [laughter]

Lage: Was the board appointed by the governor?

Livermore: Good question, I should know that. Yes, I think they're all appointed by the governor.

Lage: So, you say you were instrumental in getting Phil Berry on it?

Livermore: Well, yes. The legislation was very helpful of course. It required, as I recall it, a representative of an environmental group. The timber industry, of course, didn't like Berry. One of his main activities was forest practices. He was boring in for the whole eight years I was in Sacramento. Of course, he was an anathema to the timbermen, and as I recall it, they hoped that I would recommend a more--well, a fellow like Bestor Robinson [former Sierra Club director], for instance. He was Forest Service oriented. He was by that time, actually not active in this field, but they would have preferred Berry not to be appointed, but I persuaded the governor and the cabinet that he'd be a good representative. Just because he didn't agree with Hank Trobitz and all the others didn't mean that he wouldn't be a good leavening on the board, which I'm sure he was.

#### Observations of Forest Practices in Norway

Lage: Earlier we talked briefly, but not on tape, about the trip you made to Norway with John Zierold [Sierra Club Sacramento lobbyist] and some of the others. Tell us a little about that.

Livermore: That was fascinating. That's a very good question, and I don't remember whether that was the cart before the horse in relation to this legislation--

Lage: I think it was '72; it was before that final legislation.

Livermore: Oh good, I'm glad you refreshed my memory. That was an amazing group. John Zierold was definitely the instigator. It was he and I and Gordon Robinson [Sierra Club forestry consultant]--somehow or other I can't at the moment remember, but I think there were a couple of others. I think there was probably a staff man from the senate or the assembly. It was a very short trip, in the middle of the winter, but it was just fascinating. And as I think I mentioned to you earlier, I took a lot of notes on the trip and had wanted to sort of write them up but never did because Zierold, I think, sent this young fellow in from U.C. [the University of California at] Davis. I must have talked with him for a couple hours--in fact, I'm not even sure I didn't hand him my notes--and that's the last that happened to it. But, as I think I said in our last talk, there was a major problem in converting the metric system to the English system, and it's really very confusing.

The same thing happened when I took a trip to Siberia a couple of years ago with a bunch of foresters. They're always talking about cubic meters instead of board feet, and it's rough. You can have in your pocket, you know, the conversion chart, but it's like a foreign language.

Lage: You have to really think in that measurement system, to make it work. What was the purpose of the trip?

Livermore: Well, the purpose of the trip was to study forest practices in Norway. And that's why I was disappointed it wasn't written up. There were tax elements; there were cutting elements; there were equipment elements--that was the first time I had seen some of this unbelievable equipment. You know, it just takes a whole tree and just treats it like a pencil; grabs it, takes all the limbs off, sets it aside and cuts it and so forth. As far as I'm concerned, since it was never written up, the objective was not fully realized. Although you'd have to ask John Zierold about that, really. It was a very short trip, we were only there about three or four days. We were very well taken care of by the Norwegians who, on the whole, were quite good at English. We visited several forest properties including the municipal forest of Oslo, which is fascinating--and which I may have mentioned last Sunday, I don't know if I did, in the little flap I had there in Marin County on forest practices. So it was educational but not conclusive, put it that way.

Livermore: Another thing they were interested in--I think it had an element of the forest taxation, too. That legislation, which I was keenly interested in but not intimately involved with, I think was consummated finally only last year in Sacramento--or '78, I think it was. This is the yield tax, which is another very complicated subject, but the Scandinavians have long been ahead of us on that.

Lage: I see. You worked with John Zierold quite a bit, I would think, or had contact with him on a lot of issues. How did that relationship go?

Livermore: Well, I think highly of John. The thing I remember first about him is his use of the English language. He uses more unique and big words, I think, than almost anyone I know. He started out, of course, with the Planning and Conservation League. He's certainly an effective Sierra Club spokesman. I didn't always succumb to his blandishments and his persuasion, but I say I more often agreed with him than not.

Lage: Was he a person that you could discuss issues without personal elements entering?

Livermore: Oh yes, I think so. He represented, obviously the 100 percent Sierra Club point of view, and as I say, I didn't always agree with him. But he was persuasive and helpful, and I enjoyed being with him on this Norwegian trip. I haven't been in touch with him since, but I guess he's still with the club in Sacramento.

Conflict between the State Forester and the  
Director of Conservation

Lage: One other thing on forestry I came across; I think you mentioned it in the list you gave me. It was the conflict between the state forester and the head of the Department of Conservation in 1974.

Livermore: Oh yes, that was really terrible. That was one of the worst memories I have. Well, the story there was that Ray Hunter, who succeeded Jim Stearns, under me, as director of Conservation had [the Division of] Forestry under him. And he inherited this, as I understand it, partly from Stearns. The story was that they wanted to move some people around. I don't know all the details--by moving people around I mean send people from Sacramento to Redding or southern California. There was a kind

Livermore: of a hierarchy high up in the Division of Forestry that simply didn't want to move, as I recall it. And it first came to my attention in this way: Hunter got so mad that he decided he'd fire the state forester, who was Lew [Lewis] Moran.

Lage: Now did the state forester work under the Board of Forestry or under the Division of Forestry?

Livermore: That's a good question. It's a little like the Fish and Game Commission and the Department of Fish and Game. The state forester has a position of reporting to the Board of Forestry, but he definitely in those days was under the governor's appointed head of the Department of Conservation. This then had several departments under it: Oil and Gas, Mining and Geology, and as I recall it, Forestry and the sort of conservation type thing. I think he was a governor's appointee, but he was one of these professionals like the chief of the Forest Service. A lot of these people are seldom, if ever, non-professional although they're appointed. So that's when it came to my attention.

Moran, with the very strong backing, refused to be fired, as I recall it. I was in a very difficult position, because of course, other things being equal, the department heads as well as the secretary were appointed by the governor and here we had one department head, namely Hunter, who was under me but also was appointed by the governor, saying that this was his decision. The crisis lasted, as I recall it, for several weeks. But very much like talking to Hank Trobitz to withdraw his application for this massive clearcut, I simply talked to Hunter and said I felt that he was doing a wrong thing, and I finally prevailed. But I had some difficulty with the cabinet because he had good contacts over there too, and there was the feeling that if this was the department head decision, it should be followed. Whether it had any legal ramifications I just don't remember, but I felt it was just a poor thing to do.

Lage: Did it have any issue ramifications? I mean were there different points of view involved?

Livermore: Well, I don't recall in this particular case. I don't think it came up to the full cabinet.

Lage: I mean did it involve differences in philosophy or was it just a question of being moved?

Livermore: I think it was the latter, as I recall it. As I say, I wasn't party to the infighting that led up to it. It had a little preamble; it was kind of interesting. It turned out later that



Livermore: Jim Stearns, who's a fine fellow and very well thought of by the governor and the cabinet, was a mustang--if you know what that is. He did not have a four year college degree, and it turned out--at least this is the way I saw it--that he had a bias, in a way, against professional foresters. He tried to change the job description, which, in effect, would have stated that the state forester need not be a forestry graduate. And I thought that was just as phony as a three dollar bill. It just wouldn't fly. Whether you think well of education or not, to have a state forester who is not a graduate forester just didn't make sense. So this sort of a feeling was passed on, as I recall it, to Hunter, and it took the form of wanting to sort of shake up the department. I felt probably there was a lot of merit to that, and maybe there was a lot of dead-wood; a lot of these fellows had sort of cushy jobs. I remember four of them called on me once and as soon as I saw them I could sympathize with Hunter's objective of kind of stirring things up and breaking the cake of complacency, you might say. I still felt it was wrong that Moran should be fired on that account, and so I prevailed. I think I probably have still some of the memos, but it took a lot of talking.

Lage: Sounds like an interesting problem.

Livermore: It was, yes; it was a hot one.

Lage: And then you mentioned that there was a similar set up with the Fish and Game, where you have the commission and the department. Does that create difficulties?

Livermore: Yes, that exists even now. There are certain gray areas. The relation of the state forester to the Board of Forestry, and in turn to the Department of Forestry is not unlike the Fish and Game situation. Currently Charlie Fullerton is head of the department, and he's appointed by Governor Brown and runs the department--

Lage: The Department of Fish and Game.

Livermore: The Department of Fish and Game. The Fish and Game Commission has certain responsibilities, and they have a separate staff and the Board of Forestry is very comparable to them. So there are gray areas, and it's evolved through the years. For instance, going way back, the Department of Parks and Recreation had two boards. There was the Park Board and the Recreation Board, as I recall it. And they actually--this was before my time--had the decisions on, for instance, land purchases and all that kind of stuff. I think there was some scandalous stuff that went on there because it was just a lot of hocus-pocus. So they were downgraded, this is the Park Commission,

Livermore: to purely advisory. And I think the Board of Forestry is purely advisory, and the Fish and Game has a little more statutory oomph. So they all vary a little bit.

Lage: Sounds very complex.

Livermore: Yes, right.

Lage: It can lead to problems if everyone doesn't get along.  
[laughter]

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## V CALIFORNIA WATER CONTROVERSIES

Learning About Water Issues

Lage: Well, let's go on to issues of water. Those are big ones with you.

Livermore: Oh boy.

Lage: You mentioned last time that when you took the job as secretary for Resources, water was not something that you were that familiar with.

Livermore: That's certainly true. I'll never forget when [Phil] Battaglia asked me, "What do you know about water?" and I said, "Nothing."

Lage: But it became quite a big--in many ways--a big program, I'm sure.

Livermore: Well, I think one of the very biggest, absolutely. Very soon. I learned.

Lage: Before we get into specifics would you be able to just make general comments on how you informed yourself, who you relied on for advice, and what kind of general philosophy you might have developed? Or was it more case by case?

Livermore: No, I think it was a general awakening, you might say, soon followed by case by case. The first thing that I found out very soon, and this is a matter of historical record, was that the water lobby, the water establishment, the water users--call them what you will--were so powerful that the first secretary of Resources whom I knew only casually, Bill [William] Warne, was asked by Governor Pat Brown--I think this is common knowledge--whether he'd rather be secretary for Resources or head of the Department of Water Resources. He chose the latter;

Livermore: there was no comparison. It was more powerful; there was more oomph. There was more clout to being director of the Department of Water Resources than there was to be secretary for Resources.

That carried over into my day. Finally it came to a head in the Dos Rios thing where I made it perfectly plain that I had cabinet status and the director of Water Resources, Bill [William] Gianelli, was under me. We might have disagreements, and we did, but that it would have to be ironed out in the cabinet, that he did not speak for the governor, that I spoke for the governor.

And, to jump way ahead, one of my favorite clips--I can give it to you before you leave if you want--when I went to Washington just last November on the request of the president, the Sacramento Bee called me. They asked me how I was doing, et cetera, et cetera. And I have this clip--well, I thought it was a delightful quote from their article in the Bee--to the effect that the water establishment was very concerned that Ike Livermore has "surfaced again." They thought he was "safely retired," and they made it perfectly clear that they want him to have nothing whatsoever to do with federal policy decisions. I think that's very true, because I have had nothing to do with it, and I think that is a good illustration of how powerful the water lobby is. And I can understand that, because what's more important than air and water in our lives?

I soon learned the importance of it. I can't remember chronologically, but of course, the two big issues were Dos Rios and the Peripheral Canal. After much study I was against the Dos Rios but in favor of the Peripheral Canal. At that time there were many other issues, chiefly the Water Resources Control Board decisions on the Delta, on the New Melones Dam on the Stanislaus River, and on the American River.

Lage: And then the wild rivers legislation--

Livermore: The wild rivers, yes, last but not least! They didn't come to mind at first because the others more or less involved projects that were in place, or proposed to be in place, whereas the wild rivers were more, you might say, more a wilderness issue.

Lage: Was there someone in particular or a group that you did rely on for advice in developing your points of view?

Livermore: Well, like so many other things, there were plenty of groups that weren't shy. There was the Colorado River Board; there was Gianelli himself; there was the California Water Commission; there was a group of irrigation people; I forget their name.

Livermore: All of them were very stridently prowater. On the other side, of course basically, there was the Fish and Game; there were the conservation groups; there was the Save the American River Association, and so I didn't lack of advice. In fact, it just flooded in, but it was a question of trying to make up your mind. As I say on those two big things, I came out against Dos Rios, but--with some qualms, but not many really--I came out in favor of the Peripheral Canal.

#### The Dos Rios Project

Lage: Well, let's talk a little bit about Dos Rios then.\*

Livermore: Well, the Dos Rios built up a huge head of steam--I don't remember the year it was decided--

Lage: I think it was '69.

Livermore: Sixty-nine, good. Gee, thanks for all your notes here. Well, it almost sneaked up on me. I remember when I first got involved, Bill Gianelli came into my office, and he showed me--I think it was called a memorandum of understanding. This was the entering wedge for the Dos Rios, and it seemed all right to me. I was aware generally of what it was all about. I guess for the several months before the '69 decision I began to get vibes--if that's the word--from the other side. There was one man in particular, Dick Wilson of Covelo, who fed me a great deal of information. We had close ties through the Thatcher School, as I mentioned earlier, because he was a fellow-Thacherite, and I knew him.

Lage: And he was a local person there in Covelo?

Livermore: Well, he lived in Round Valley. He first mentioned it to me, I remember, on a mountain pack trip. It must have been in the fall of '68, I'm just guessing, or possibly in '67. He had several very persuasive points, in no particular order: one

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\*The proposed Dos Rios dam was a joint state-federal water project to dam the Eel River in northern California for flood control and water supply benefits. The dam would have flooded Round Valley and displaced its Indian reservation. Plans for the dam were defeated by Reagan's opposition to it in 1969.

Livermore: was, as I recall, that he'd studied this thing carefully, and it would take forty years for the lake behind a proposed Dos Rios dam to fill. Another, almost ridiculous one, was that he said he'd studied the cost-benefit ratio and that the Corps of Engineers--who of course were going to build the dam--were including as a benefit saving the valley from being flooded. This is just utterly ridiculous because it would be three hundred feet under water!

Then another ally was director Bill Mott, a very fine park director. He was most unhappy. The water people tried to foist on him, as I recall it, the recreation element. But when he discovered, as we all did, that the thing was just like a huge bathtub and there was no guarantee whatsoever as to the shoreline--it might vary as much as two hundred feet--he said, "Well, the only way I'll accept this, if they want to build a separate dam up in one arm where there'd be a guaranteed water level, then we'd be in business." Of course, they wouldn't do that. He was an ally, you might say, as it evolved.

Fish and Game, I remember being disappointed in. The Fish and Game Department and Commission had been, my recollection is, so brainwashed through the years that the standard procedure was that the best they could hope for was mitigation after the dam was built. I mean, they'd get a few fish ladders, and, in terms of deer habitat, they'd get a few thousand acres of brushland, et cetera, et cetera. They were just whipped in advance you might say, so they weren't that much help.

Lage: Did they oppose it?

Livermore: No, they weren't that much help to me, as I recall it. The main help was Director Mott--I'm talking about within the state government and all these outside influences. And then it started to build and build and build. Of course, one of the great issues was the Indians. I had a very strong feeling for the Indians; the poor old Indians had been pushed out everywhere--as we know--in the whole country. And they were very much against it.

Then as we got closer to the thing, of course, I burned many a midnight oil studying the arithmetic of the thing. In fact, I meant to bring some of these exhibits down from the ranch. The arithmetic seemed phony to me. For instance, when I asked them to change the interest rate on the bonds to finance it from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  percent, I think it was, to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  percent--it was what now seems an utterly ridiculously low interest rate--so they produced this chart, which I remember showing

Livermore: to the governor and the cabinet. They had it jimmed around so that it made no difference at all. They just hocus-pocused the arithmetic--

Lage: Was this the Department of Water Resources?

Livermore: No, this was the Corps of Engineers. I had a lot of dealings with them, of course. They took me up to the valley, and they were gung ho for it.

Lage: Who was your contact person there?

Livermore: Well, there was a Colonel Boerger, I think his name was. He was a nice fellow. I think he later retired. Then there was another Colonel (Glasgow?)--he was the chief one during the hot part. Anyway, it built up, and we got a large amount of mail. I think it was the biggest amount of mail of any issue while I was in Sacramento. I got, I think it was, twenty-five hundred letters. They are influential, and they're all sincere, and they're all against the dam.

And then I remember, I didn't do it too often, but as I sensed my position I talked to Bill Clark, and Cap Weinberger, and a couple people in the cabinet. I talked to them privately, which I didn't usually like to do. I'd rather just take my battles to the cabinet. And as I recall it, Weinberger's main concern, and Bill Clark's, was the finances of it. Because the state had these contracts, that still exists now; that's still a hot potato. They have committed themselves for so many dollars for so much water and this was, of course, to help them get the water. The original 1960 legislation similar to the Peripheral Canal mentions "a north coast facility," or words to that effect, or "import from the north coast," but it was not specifically Dos Rios, and it wasn't clearly spelled out.

Lage: But didn't the Dos Rios project include a diversion tunnel that would have allowed water.

Livermore: Yes, a hugely expensive tunnel. I can't remember whether it was the Grindstone Tunnel.

Lage: Yes, that was it.

Livermore: It was going to deliver water, of course, through the coast ranges. So the engineers just loved it, you know, here's this huge bathtub with more acre-feet of water than, as I recall it, Oroville and Shasta combined--if it was full. Who cares about a few Indians; that was about the way it was. Who cares about the river and so forth. And of course, another tough thing I

Livermore: faced personally is that my old friends in the timber industry, who weren't all that overjoyed about the forest practices and the redwood park, as you know, had had some violent flooding. Particularly my old friends in the Pacific Lumber Company, they were very much against my attitude because they, of course, had had some severe flood problems.

So I remember once going to a kind of a hot meeting in Eureka. I can't remember what the occasion was, and a fellow in the Q and A period said, "Well, Secretary Livermore, how could you come up with this opinion against the Dos Rios Dam? How could you do such a thing? You know, people have drowned and all this flooding and everything, and what reasoning did you use?" And as I recall my reply wasn't very satisfactory even to myself. I said, "I just feel it isn't right." I did mention the silly thing about the benefit-cost ratio for flooding out the valley, and the question of arithmetic and so forth. So I had some cogent points but the basic response, and this may have been a little earlier than the cabinet meeting, was that one has to make these judgments.

It built up, and then the cabinet meeting, I remember, was quite exciting because the press was all there. I wasn't much of a press subject; I never have been, but they were there in force. There was a lot of interest in it, particularly in southern California. The governor, I think it was the day before our decision, he was called on by all the power in southern California--the Water Committee, the State Chamber, and, I guess, maybe some of his personal friends, and the agribusiness and the developers. I was excluded from that meeting because they knew by that time pretty much how I felt.

The cabinet meeting, though, wasn't all that difficult, as I recall it--the final meeting. But I remember going to it loaded with sheaves of maps and exhibits and, of course, I'd already sent over my issue summary. One of my two secretaries, Zoe Mankowski was her name--I'll always remember--she and Ford Ford, who was my deputy, sent me a little personal note saying, "Whatever happens, Ike, we're with you," kind of thing, and it was really quite touching.

Then I remember, I think I mentioned this earlier--or I'm not sure I did--when the decision was made in the cabinet, I was sworn to secrecy. Of course, the press were all out there, and I came out with this armful of maps, and they kept trying to get me to say. You know, "What was the governor's decision? Was it yes or no?" I was sworn to secrecy, and so I didn't tell them, and they were quite mad. Then I think it was that same day, the cabinet decision was clear, but the



Livermore: press release had not been cleared. So my big antagonist on that one was Earl Coke, the then-Secretary for Agriculture and Services. He tried to fudge the wording in a way that I simply wouldn't accept.

Lage: Did that again go to the cabinet?

Livermore: No, this happens somewhat, no--

Lage: I mean the press release, who was responsible--?

Livermore: Well, I'll correct myself. There's a fellow named Paul Beck, who was the governor's press secretary, and he luckily stood in my corner. This was a case where, as I recall it, the governor had to go south the very next day, so he made the basic decision, but it hadn't been written up that quickly. And so, as often happens, the press release was due to go out-- maybe the next day or even that afternoon. And so it was Bill Gianelli and myself and Earl Coke and Beck, in Beck's office. I don't remember Ed Meese being there then. So we were commissioned to iron this thing out, and it was a pretty hot one, and I always felt that Beck deserved an assist on that. The differences weren't, you might say, earthshaking, but they were important. I don't know if I still have the editing of the release in my files--I have a whole box of stuff on Dos Rios.

Lage: Well, the decision had been made. So what was the release? How you would explain the decision?

Livermore: How to explain it, yes. You may recall, or if we get into it further, the governor's decision was not quite as strong as I would have liked. All it was, in effect, was a postponement-- to look for alternatives, that was the key phrase, to look for alternatives. He was killing it for now. As I recall it, I would have preferred that he might have used stronger language. He might have said, "As long as I'm governor, there'll never be a dam," kind of a thing. Of course, there are a lot of political pressures on the other side.

But getting back to your question about the language, I'd have to look at the files, but there were just two or three key words. I think Coke wanted to weaken it along the lines of it being just a temporary decision. The release wasn't as emphatic, and it wasn't the way Beck and I felt the governor had decided. And I'll say this for Bill Gianelli, he was not in on the full cabinet meeting, but he, with some reluctance, agreed to the wording.

Lage: That's a very fascinating issue. Could you say what was decisive in making Reagan's decision?

Livermore: Well, I noticed recently Ed Meese was asked about this--this was just a few months ago--and he said it was the Indians. He said the governor felt that the Indians had been pushed around long enough, but I didn't recall it was quite that simple. I remember in another instance which kind of surprised me, a point came up in the Napa Valley about extending the freeway from Yountville, where it now stops, on up towards St. Helena and Calistoga. This was not a big issue, but it was one that my counterpart, the secretary of Business and Transportation favored. In those days everybody favored freeways, but I was against it, and most of the people in the the Napa Valley were against it, and I just felt it was a bum thing to do. And the governor, quite to my surprise--and I don't remember whether this was a cabinet issue or not--but he said that the freeway extension was not needed, that the highway people were like the Corps of Engineers. He said, "Well, those blankety-blank Corps of Engineers, if they had their way they'd just pave over everything." So I think that was a part of his Dos Rios feeling too. Whether he had something in his personal background I don't know, but those two things stick in my mind. First, the Indians, and then that the Corps are too, you might say, cement-minded.

Lage: There again it's the federal government coming in and making a drastic change in the state.

Livermore: No, not in the case of the Napa Valley--

Lage: No, but in the other, the Corps and--

Livermore: Oh yes, there was that. Of course, I like to think that he listened to all the arithmetic arguments, and I think he also respected Director Mott. We pointed out that the reason the park thing was important--and this still exists, I think, and this is perfectly understandable--is that the water people want to do anything that will cut down their costs. They have this park element that the federal government then, and I guess now, will contribute x percent toward a dam if the recreational benefits are so-and-so.

Bill Mott pointed out that they're just as phony as a three-dollar bill. In other words, there was a bum park thing. So he said in effect, "Well, I won't pay any of it."

Lage: Did he come to the cabinet meeting?

Livermore: No, I don't remember. I know that Bill Gianelli came at least once. I'm sure we had more than one cabinet issue on this. But I think it was a combination of the bum park proposal, the question of arithmetic, some bias that the governor had against the Corps of Engineers, the Indians, and then last and most important of all the general political climate. I think it was favorable to his decision.

Lage: I think I saw a memo you'd written him, or some reference, pointing out the need to balance his environmental image. I don't know what had occurred just before that, but that was the wording.

Livermore: You mean a memo to the governor, from me to the governor?

Lage: Right, where this was an argument that you used, the need to balance his environmental image, and that may have been important.

Livermore: [laughing] Oh, I don't doubt it was. I'd have to find the memo. I'm sure that a lot of my old memos would bring not only nostalgia but a fresh memory. I don't remember such a memo. I remember the climate, and I remember the notes from Zoe, my secretary. I remember the elation at the decision after a lot of perspiration on the press release. But I don't remember that. Was it a cabinet issue memo?

Lage: I can't recall either. I just have a note in my notes.

Livermore: Did you get some of this from Molly [Sturges]?

Lage: Right.

Livermore: By golly, you're just wonderful. I can't get over the interest you're taking in all this stuff.

Lage: Well, you don't know what to ask if you don't read some of these things. Another thing you mentioned, I think in one of your speeches, was the problem of figuring intangibles.

Livermore: Oh, yes, I mentioned that many times, yes. And that's still very pertinent. Like the EPA, how do you measure the value of clean air? How do you measure the value of wilderness? Someone coined the idea, which I still like--I can't remember who it was--but they said, "We have a GNP measure and all kinds of employment statistics, et cetera, et cetera. What we should have is a tranquility index." I've used that occasionally; I think that's a nice thought.

Lage: Well, I think there have been efforts to do that. It's just whether people agree on the values assigned--

Livermore: Yes, there have been. I know there's the Wilderness Society now has--I think I read somewhere--a \$600,000 grant to justify the economic value of wilderness, which amusingly is like my report that you saw over in the Bancroft. I did the same thing myself way back in 1934. I remember I had a terrible time persuading that Professor Holden to give me credit for writing this crazy article on the wilderness. Even then, you just can't measure it. And I think that's a very hard cross to bear, competing with the secretary of Interior now. I'm sure he's of the measuring kind. You can measure dollars and cents on products but not on intangibles.

William Gianelli and the Department of Water Resources

Lage: This might be a good time to talk a little bit about [William] Gianelli. You weren't involved in appointing him as director of the Department of Water Resources.

Livermore: No absolutely not, and this is also amusing, and I think very significant. He was appointed before I was, and he was the subject of good publicity.

Lage: Where did he come from?

Livermore: He was an independent engineer--he's back in Washington now--

Lage: Did you say he is head of the Corps of Engineers now?

Livermore: I believe he is. I don't know his exact title. I had a very pleasant dinner with him two or three months ago in Washington. Even then he didn't know his exact title, but as I understand it, he's the civilian head of the Corps of Engineers. He's very powerful and justifiably so. I think he had worked in the Department of Water Resources several years previous. Then he was in business for himself, as a consulting engineer. He was appointed director about a month before I was. (I've often been curious for obvious reasons, who--besides me--they offered this secretary for Resources to. You know, I might have been the tenth on the list. I don't care; I'm just curious.) But I remember he came over to my office very soon after I came aboard, and he brought some maps and stuff. And I was favorably impressed with him. And I remember he then talked about the Peripheral Canal and about the San Joaquin drain, which you don't hear about too much, and I think a couple of other things.

Livermore: So I then soon found, as I told you, about their power. One of the amusing asides, and I'm curious whether they still have it, but he had a private Cadillac and a chauffeur furnished by the water establishment.

Lage: Oh, really?

Livermore: Yes, he did. It was no skin off my back, but the first time I noticed it--he offered me a ride several times. In fact, I think I rode with Bill up to the dedication of the Oroville Dam in his limousine. It kind of amused me because no one else in my field--or anybody in the cabinet except the governor--had this, and I thought it was kind of amusing.

Lage: Why it should be provided by the water industry people?

Livermore: It seemed rather strange to me. This wasn't a full-time thing--I'm sure he used it strictly for state business. It was, let's call it, irregular. That's an adjective my brothers taught me to use. Don't say dishonest or unethical, just say it's irregular.

Lage: Did anybody ever call him on it?

Livermore: Well, there was a little talk about it, but it wasn't used ostentatiously. He did have to move around a lot, of course; he'd have to go all over the state--I don't think he ever drove it to Los Angeles--but he drove it to Oroville and to the Tracy Pumping Plant. Those were the two main areas. And of course to New Melones--there are a lot of projects within, you know, one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles or so.

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Livermore: We later had quite a little cabinet discussion on cars, and I never accepted a personal car. I just didn't feel it was that important. It's a matter, I guess, of personal values. I was told, for instance, that Hugo Fisher, my predecessor, had a personal car that was just loaded with radio equipment and that he could talk to anybody out of his car. And I was offered--

Lage: Which the state provided?

Livermore: Yes, the state provided it. And I just didn't think that I was that important. I couldn't conceive of any decisions that wouldn't last a couple hours. I just thought it was kind of ostentatious.

I do remember later, as I say with the cabinet, many cabinet officers accepted private cars, and I did not.

- Livermore: Getting back to Bill, he was effective and intelligent and, of course, had this huge department. And I don't remember off the top of my hat, having any problem with him at all, until Dos Rios.
- Lage: Did he sort of run end runs around you? That was the impression I got.
- Livermore: Well, yes. He was obviously prodded, and he felt that way. Yes, there were some end runs. The worst one--and I remember I took this to Ed Meese (I think this was after Dos Rios, but I really don't remember)--but he was so mad at the Fish and Game people that he decided to hire his own fish and game experts, and I thought that was really bad. As I recall it, privately I just offered to resign over that one. I said, "This is literally ridiculous. We have our own Fish and Game Department; they're honest people; they're doing the job they're commissioned to do, so why should we permit the water establishment to hire experts who are obviously instructed beforehand to disagree?" No, later I'd say I mellowed on this a little bit because everyone has their bias, and I can see how Gianelli would have been irritated by adverse problems with Fish and Game. On the other hand, all you look at now is the Columbia River Basin or to California, or the salmon run on the San Joaquin, or the Trinity River, or the many, many rivers in the country. It's tragic what has happened to the fish. The same is true of the game, the waterfowl that interested me particularly.
- Lage: Well, could Gianelli appreciate that?
- Livermore: No, I think he was, and is, a strict water person. One of the early ways I disagreed with him, for instance, was over a term they used. They would give out these reports about water "wasting to the sea." They loved that phrase. "This water's going to waste!" Well, they don't realize that the "wasted" water to many people is an asset; to the canoers, the rafters, the wild river people, and the fishermen. So, yes, he'd listen, and I will say this, after the Dos Rios decision he was very good. I was quite surprised. I think he respected me, as I did him, and he, having shot his wad and losing, then turned right around--somewhat to my surprise--and developed a report--or had his people develop a report--that, well, said they didn't need Dos Rios that soon anyway.
- Lage: I thought that afterwards there was criticism of him because he continued to look for an alternative on the Eel [River], whereas it was hoped that there would be other alternatives considered.

Livermore: Well, I can understand that criticism. It seems to me that ties back to the press release which may have been one of the troubles I had with Coke. The governor's dictum was to look for alternatives, and Gianelli did produce a report. Of course, the Eel is the handiest big amount of water. It just kills those people to have it as they call it, "wasting to the sea."

That reminds me of another story; I think it's apropos. I remember going with Governor Reagan to a governor's conference in Portland, the Western Governors' Conference. I was asked to go there with the governor, I don't know, just on general principles. I didn't take much part in it, but I remember they were bantering, the three governors, Reagan and the governor of Oregon--I think it was Tom McCall of Oregon. One of the discussions--and incidentally, it's coming to the fore again now in a very few years--was, on importing Columbia River water to California. I think it's probably a dead duck now because of the energy cost. But anyway, this came up in sort of a joking way, and Reagan said, "Well, Governor So-and-So, how about giving us some of your Columbia River water? You guys have got it just running out of your ears here and we could use some." So the governor--I think it was [Daniel] Evans of Washington--said to Ron, or Governor Reagan, "I'll think that over. In fact we'll give you some of this water on one condition." And Reagan said, "What's the condition?" "Well," he said, "You take it from the mouth of the river." [laughter]

That brings up another thing which I'm sure is dead. Bill Gianelli showed me some fascinating engineering studies on that very subject--an undersea, freshwater tube. There were some engineering groups that were really working on that, and they had it all worked out that you could take water from the mouth of the Eel, as I recall it, to southern California. It would be done with a small dam, not far from the mouth, that wouldn't impound these big amounts of water. How that thing would send water south, I don't remember--yes, I do remember, too. Of course, they'd have to have a kind of pipe--this huge ten-foot diameter pipe. It'd have to go ashore occasionally, and they'd pump it. It was kind of a crazy thing, but there was a lot of thought given to it.

Lage: That wouldn't be as environmentally damaging?

Livermore: Sure, that was the whole question of it, and it was a little bit like the Alaska pipeline. You know, the fish would swim around it, and there'd have to be some sort of underwater anchors when they crossed river mouths.

Lage: It sounds like an engineer's dream.

Livermore: Oh, you bet; oh, yes. It's just like an engineering proposal-- this is jumping around, now, and I don't know if I told you about it. They were going to run a tunnel from Dillon Woods to Mineral King. There was quite a little steam behind that, and it was kind of appealing. This was obviously promoted by the people that owned land down near what they call Dillon Woods; I forget their name. They were going to drive a Swiss-type railway tunnel through to Mineral King which would eliminate all the highway problem and the redwood trees and everything. And they were going to take people in and sewage out; it was a great system.

Lage: Oh, is that the cog railway?

Livermore: No, the cog railway is entirely different. No, this was comparable to the--what is it, the Simplon Tunnel in Switzerland; you know some of those tunnels? It wasn't crazy, but it was uneconomic. So, the underwater tube was a little bit the same way.

#### The Wild Rivers Legislation

Lage: Does this fit in now to go ahead and talk about the wild rivers legislation? It seems like it's all of a piece.

Livermore: Yes, it came quite a bit later.

Lage: I think that was '72, end of '72.

Livermore: Yes, the wild rivers is definitely pertinent. It's kind of, you might say, a kissing cousin to the Dos Rios. The Dos Rios decision was '69 you say?

Lage: Yes.

Livermore: Well, the wild rivers built up, I think, largely because of the fact that you touched on earlier, that the governor didn't kill it. He just said, "study alternatives." So this was while the environmental movement was still good and strong, and Peter Behr right here in Marin seized on that issue because he was elected in that district, and he did a very effective job. He just worked on Point Reyes, which is another story we haven't gone into which I have some views on but that was really



Livermore: pre-Sacramento. There were other strong factors of which he was kind of spokesman, and this was a red hot issue. But I think he did a superb job.

I remember one of his problems was purely political. He was a Republican in name only, which is not unusual nowadays, but at a key point I remember the Republican leaders of the senate asked for a meeting with the governor, which I attended. Behr was there, of course. There were three or four of them; I don't remember all their names. The central theme was that, yes, Behr doesn't always agree with you governor, but on many key issues he's been with us. He's been a swing-man, so he's a good man, and we're with him on this.

So, as we came down the stretch on that, it was Behr's bill versus Collier's bill. Collier, of course, was very powerful also, and he basically was the utilitarian in his outlook. And this, you might say, emotionally or tactically or psychologically was quite similar to [Don] Clausen's [bill] on the redwood park. In that, if you read the Collier bill, it was just a nothing bill. It was just loaded with verbiage that from the point of view of preserving the rivers, as I recall it, was just nothing.

I remember vividly as we came down the stretch--and Collier moved too, it was just a typical political thing. And of course Bill Gianelli again, was very much in favor of Collier. So, when we came down the final stretch, I remember, I talked to Peter on the phone--whom I know quite well--he wanted a twenty-five year moratorium. It was tough enough that I just didn't think it would fly with the cabinet, so I just said--just typical mule-horse trading--I said, "Well, Peter, why don't we just divide it in two?" Which he did, he accepted that. So the thing was only twelve years, and I guess we've only got four or five years to go now.

Lage: Was that on all the rivers, or was the twelve-year moratorium on the Eel?

Livermore: Well, it was on his bill, which were basically the North Coast rivers. And then, I remember one thing vividly, because I was asked to go with the governor to a political speech in Eureka. This was just about a couple of months before the governor made his decision, but we were sort of warming up to it. As I recall it, I'd had some cabinet issues in effect saying that the Collier bill was no good, and that I strongly recommended that he endorse the Behr bill in effect. And there was a new man in the cabinet at that time who was quite influential,

Livermore: his name was Don Livingston. He, as I recall it, was quite helpful on this. He had very good political antenna; he was sort of the liaison with the legislature, and so he was helpful on this.

The thing I remember particularly vividly was when we went up to Eureka and got off the plane--I'll backtrack a little bit. I had not briefed the governor on my feeling, and basically the cabinet's informal feeling was that the Collier bill was no good. When we got off the plane, of course, the local reporters--there're several newspapers over there--they all clustered around the governor, and they said, "How do you feel, governor, about this? Aren't you in favor of the Collier bill?" He said yes, as I recall it, which he doesn't usually do. He learned pretty well--as I think he does now as president--never to commit himself, usually not to commit himself in advance because these things can always be edited as you get close to the decision.

Anyway, my friends in the timber industry have never forgiven me for that because they think I double-crossed them. I didn't at all; it's just a question that they felt that I single-handedly changed the governor's mind. I don't really feel I did; I feel it was done on the basis of full cabinet discussion, but there was that slip.

I remember another incident right after that. It kind of bothered me, but you can laugh at these things in retrospect. This hasn't happened to me in my lifetime very often, but each year--and maybe they still do it--the Humboldt County leaders have a big crab-feed in Sacramento, and it's quite a big to-do. It's a lot of fun, a lot of drinks beforehand, and there are a couple hundred people there. And they ask all the legislators that are interested, and it's just a sort of a jolly-up. The other counties do the same thing. And of course, due to my fifteen years in the redwood business--twenty years counting Cloverdale--I knew a lot of these people. One in particular, who had been quite close to me politically because he'd been active in the Clausen campaigns, refused to shake my hand because he was so mad about this wild rivers bill. I said, "How are you, Milt?" (His name was Milt Huber; I always remembered that.) He put his hand behind his back. That doesn't happen to a person very often, particularly with an old friend. And that was how hot the wild rivers was.

Lage: Now, what was the timber industry's objection? Was it flood control again?

Livermore: Well, they objected bitterly because of the control of the timber, and that brings in old Bill Scofield. I mentioned earlier, when we came down the stretch on that bill there was a terrible lot of jockeying. And I remember I insisted, and still insist, that the phraseology was that the strictures of the wild rivers legislation would not unreasonably restrict the timber industry. One reason the story still festers is that once it was passed, of course, it was delegated to me as secretary for Resources to start implementing it, knowing the real tough fight that resulted in it, and working out this language, and, as I recall it, narrowing the zone of influence. It was aimed, of course, mainly to prevent dams, and there wasn't that much argument about it because we had already won the Dos Rios fight. The timber industry came into it because it was not only stopping the dams, but it was a scenic corridor. As I recall it, it was an eighth of a mile on each side or some such thing, where in effect there would be strictures on timber cutting.

This goes past my time a little bit, my time in Sacramento. This was passed in '72, you say?

Lage: Yes, December '72.

Livermore: That's right. So we had two years after that in our administration. Well, knowing of these fierce conflicts, I appointed a multi-disciplinary office. We went through the budget route on this, and the fellow I had nominally in charge was from Fish and Game, but he had on his team a park man and a forestry man and a water man. So rather than give it to one department, I gave it to this fellow under me, supposedly working on this multi-discipline approach. Well, I had other eggs to fry and perhaps could have given it more attention myself or through my deputy Ford Ford. They stuttered along, so that they really hadn't produced much. They had a certain budget, and they studied the rivers, and they'd go to meetings, and they would work out sort of land-use plans. So anyway by the time we left Sacramento in January of '75, they really hadn't produced much.

I learned very shortly that my successor, Claire Dedrick, who obviously had the ear of the conservation groups--perhaps more than I did, having just been the vice-president of the Sierra Club--decided to get this thing off base and turned the whole thing over to Fish and Game. It turned out later this fellow I had chose, based on good advice, was not that effectual. I think he had some personal problems or something, a fellow named Glenn DeLisle, I think his name was.

Livermore: When Claire Dedrick did that--and whether or not this is an observation on her tactics or a possible criticism I'm not sure--but she apparently expanded the concept from what my concept was and still is--a fairly narrow strip through the whole watershed. She or Fish and Game farmed it out, I'm told, to Humboldt State University. So the first thing I knew, starting in about '76, some of my friends in the timber industry said, "Hey! This isn't the way we understood it when you were aboard because now they're talking ridgetop to ridgetop controls." And I think at one time they even produced a letter or a quote from Charlie Fullerton. The timber people said, "This is not a wild river. This is a massive land-use control, and we don't like it worth a damn." And Charlie Fullerton is quoted as saying, "Well, I took my instructions from Ike Livermore, and that's the way it'll be."

He was absolutely wrong on that because I did not have this massive land-use control--that gets sort of back to Stephen Fox's John Muir book. There was a period, you know, when they tried to have federal forest practice legislation where they would tell you what you could do on your own property--which is another story but an argumentative one.

The only other thing I can remember on wild rivers is an incident I remember very well. It must have been '73 or so, and it involved Glenn De Lisle, who's still in part of the Fish and Game. We went to a convention, I remember, in St. Paul; it was very pleasant. Hickel spoke, and there was a lot of steam around this thing nationally. So he said, "Well, Ike, we've got this thing now. We've got to present our plan for the Smith River." That's the first plan; this must have been, I guess, early '74. I could easily find the date. I had a lot of things on my desk then, and so frankly I wasn't that well briefed. I said, "O.K., I'll go up there, Glenn." He said, you've got to run this public meeting."

Lage: [laughing] Oh, no!

Livermore: So, boy! We went into this little city hall or whatnot in Crescent City. It wasn't a very big place. There were only about two hundred people there. The first fellow that got up-- I'd remember his name if I looked at my files--anyway he was a supervisor. I guess I must have had some kind of a presentation, you usually do. You know, just a short preamble, "Ladies and gentlemen, we're gathered here together to discuss--" [laughter] Then this supervisor said, "Well. My reaction is very succinct and to the point. I think the first order of business is that the secretary of Resources should go right back home to Sacramento." That's what he said, at the public meeting, and

Livermore: that set the tenor of the whole thing, and I realized immediately--I said, "Boy, this is a lot hotter potato than I expected." We did go back to Sacramento. [laughing] And that was really the last contact I had with the wild rivers until later people started complaining, as I say, about this ridgetop to ridgetop concept. And the last I heard they're still arguing about it.

Lage: The legislation must not have been too clear.

Livermore: It's like it often happens; you get a basic law. It's like the EPA, and then the bureaucracies interpret it, and it's like the sequence on a lot of these things. So I think the basic law was clear, but in fairness to both sides, if you use terms like: "This strip should not unreasonably affect the timber industry"--now, how do you define unreasonably, you see? The conservationists say it's not unreasonable to control this whole basin. Of course, the Fish and Game were receptive too, because it's damn near impossible to log without some siltation.

So it's just a problem, and the last I heard there was a compromise. Of course, this ties into Watt and the wild rivers, and Huey Johnson who succeeded Claire Detric, and Governor Brown and so forth--and that's the federal wild rivers, which are kind of a reenforcement of the state ones. Watt, to everyone's amazement has not tried to overturn what [Secretary Cecil] Andrus decided on that. I'm not completely clear myself as to the exact relation between the federal and the state bill; it's a very complex relationship.

But the last I heard, they're still trying to work out a compromise. And the timber industry, who are basically, for obvious reasons, not against dams, were trying to work something out where they would get back more to what at least my original concept was. They would minimize this massive land control thing. So there are two elements: there are the timber and the water people.

Lage: I can see when you say you're caught in the middle, that's really true. Pressure and bad feeling on both sides.

Livermore: Oh, yes!

Water Resources Control Board

Lage: Let's turn to water pollution. The Porter-Cologne Act, I guess, was 1969 and set up the State Water Resources Control Board. Am I correct there?

Livermore: That's right.

Lage: Was that an administration-backed bill?

Livermore: Yes, it was strongly backed. It had its antecedents before the Reagan administration came aboard. When we came aboard there were the two different boards. There was the Water Quality Board and the Water Pollution Control Board, as I recall it. They were combined into the WRCB, the Water Resources Control Board, under the Porter-Cologne Act. This was a great thing, as nearly as I could make out. It streamlined the department; it combined--obviously--functions that were inter-related. It was a little like the Park and Recreation having two boards, and they became one. And the first executive secretary was a man named Kerry Mulligan who came from the Napa Valley, who I think did a very good job. And they were quite helpful on the Dos Rios decision. But most of their time was taken up during my eight years with three major decisions. There was the decision on the delta, the decision on the American River and the decision on the New Melones. And in all three cases, to the best of my observation, they did a very good job on bridging the power play between conservation and water use. And of course those three decisions are still being disputed, you might say.

Lage: Did they decide in favor of the New Melones Dam?

Livermore: Yes and no. The decision they made was that the New Melones Dam could not be filled until the water was contracted for. That decision's been in dispute ever since, and I guess it's still in dispute. I don't fully understand all the ramifications. At one point the courts ruled in favor of state's controlling water quality and water supply legislation--which incidentally, Watt has apparently confirmed. Then a year or so ago Andrus seemed, at least from where I sit, to kind of reverse himself because he said the dam should be filled. This has to do with a legal squabble.

Of the three issues, the Sacramento River was the most controversial because this pitted the Water Resources Control Board at 100 percent loggerheads with the agricultural community in the northern San Joaquin Valley. The result was

Livermore: tied in with the Auburn Dam, which incidentally I heard discussed recently in great detail with Interior Undersecretary Hodel when I was back in Washington. I made a brief call on Secretary Watt--this involves the economics of the Auburn Dam. So what the Water Resources Control Board decision did on the American River was, in effect, to mandate minimum flows through the city of Sacramento, pretty much. Temporarily at least--and that was ten years ago--that has blocked the completion of the Folsom South Canal, which would deliver water more or less to the Stockton Region. This was a hot potato and still is. I remember going to a meeting in Stockton where I almost had my head bitten off because of supporting--which the governor did too--this decision.

Of course, they're a quasi-judicial body and, as I recall it, except by the powers of appointment, the governor had no power to change their decision.

Lage: That's what I was going to say. You couldn't interfere in their deliberations.

Livermore: No, I couldn't interfere. And so I didn't have that much to do with them except to furnish cabinet issues to the governor, and of course, to lend my weight--to the extent I was consulted, which wasn't a great deal on those three decisions. The American River one was, as I say, perhaps the most emotional because of the people in Sacramento. The most vocal perhaps were the Sacramento State [University] students because they loved to go down the river in a raft. And of course the farmers said, "That's a bum deal. We're going to pay for this dam; it's our water, and we don't think you should be able to raft on it." It's like these fascinating conflicts.

In the case of the delta, the decision required minimum flows to, as I recall it, a point on Sherman Island. This case took an enormous amount of time and was very complex. The solution to the delta problem was an uneasy compromise between the Department of Water Resources and the Water Resources Control Board. They decided that in certain areas west of Sherman Island, water users would have to have their water delivered overland, because the water people would not agree to maintain salinity standards west of this line.

Then I guess it was part of the WRCB that was involved in another dispute that flared hot and heavy for a while. That was the Mokelumne Canal that was promoted by the East Bay people. I had a little bit to do with this. I don't remember it in detail, but I remember thinking that this is phony because if water coming out of the Clifton Court Forebay (delta pumping

Livermore: plant), which is part of the state water system, is good enough for all of southern California, southern East Bay counties, Santa Clara and that whole area, how come it's not pure enough for Oakland? Well, it turned out it was, I think, largely emotional and partly semipolitical in that San Francisco had its Hetch Hetchy, so therefore why shouldn't Contra Costa County have its own separate pipeline to the Mokelumne, just as San Francisco has to the Tuolumne.

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Livermore: You asked about pollution control and, of course, they're interwoven. The pollution control has to do with the purity of the delta up to a certain point. In the case of New Melones and the American River, the problem was not pollution control as much as preserving instream flow.

So, getting back to pollution control, there was a lot to do, I remember, with the San Francisco Bay--forcing the bay to clean up. There were some very heavy disputes, as I recall it, with the navy. The navy was one of the worst offenders-- Hunters Point Yard--and they're grinding metal and doing all this stuff and dumping metal into the bay. They, of course, had enormous power and still do through their tie with the Department of Defense.

Oh, and I should mention also--perhaps way up near number one--the funding of the South Tahoe Sewer Control District--sometimes called STUPID, I remember, by the EPA. Some people didn't like it--the South Tahoe Public Utility District; that's it, STUPID!

The EPA influenced water quality all over the state; they were very active, and I think very effective. Incidentally, this is post my Sacramento days, but they are apparently tied into the recent redwood park problems and the forest practices problems in terms of EPA regulations--I think it's called 890 or something like that--that has to do with water purity. I know this is one of the, I'd guess you'd say ongoing, disputes I still have with the Sierra Club on the redwood park. In the '68 deal the lumber industry was guaranteed in the Congressional Record--at least promised is a better word--an increased cut from the Six Rivers National Forest (this is in my letter to Andrus, if you happened to read it)--and instead of its being increased, it's decreased. Now I'm told by the Sierra Club--in justification for their apparently reversing their views--that it's because of a new water quality law that requires more purity in the rivers. This is, as I say, a little bit after my time in Sacramento, but it's pertinent.



Livermore: So, again, coming back to the water quality, the EPA was very militant, and I think very effective and also quite political in terms of these grants. As I recall it, the EPA funding formula, implemented via our Water Resources Control Board was 75 percent federal, 12½ percent state and 12½ percent local. Of course, a great deal of the Water Quality Board's actions were doling out these sewage control things. The Water Quality Board was the funnel; they were the clearinghouse for the EPA money from Washington.

Incidentally, all these fascinating ramifications very soon or very frequently got into growth control because the typical pollution control engineer would produce a plant that would project "x" population growth. Then certain communities--this happened particularly, I know, right over the hill here in Bolinas--they said, "We don't agree with your projections. We're 5,000 now, and you've got us as a community of 25,000 ten or twenty years from now. That's balderdash; we don't agree with you." They actually fought them in the courts. So these were all intertwined, the water rights, the water quality, and population growth.

Lage: There is another thing that entered into population growth. I found an interesting decision where they curtailed sewage expansion in areas that were experiencing pollution. They were saying that they wouldn't allow for more population growth in those areas, so they really took on a broader planning function.

Livermore: Well, you're right, and again I come back to Tahoe which was a great part of my activity, particularly during my first several years. This involved--fascinating--the sizing of the sewage export pipe from the whole west and north sections of Tahoe, which goes all the way down the Truckee River, picks up the Squaw Valley and all the local river sewage, and I think even the Donner Lake sewage, and goes around the hill and pumps sewage into Martis Lake. As I recall it, Russell Train was active in that because he was still the EPA head, and he basically is a good, sound, moderate environmentalist. This had to do with the sizing of the pipe. The developers, of course, wanted, I think it was a 36-inch diameter pipe, but the EPA wouldn't allow it. This was infuriating to a lot of people, but that's one way of controlling growth.

I used to say to the water quality people who were helpful to us at the time when I was particularly active in the Tahoe agency as the governor's appointee and representative, that they should be able to figure out the properly projected water needs of the Tahoe basin and then simply shut off the permits when this figure was reached. That, I notice, was not done

Livermore: until about the last year or so. Now they have got tougher strictures; they say, "Look, there's only so much water, and even though you have a lot ready to build on, you can't get any water for it." The trouble, of course, is the degree of water conservation and the amount of use. As we learned here in Marin County, you can get by with much less water if you have to. There's a wide flexibility in how much water you use. So the WRCB was an effective board, and I was comfortable with them.

Lage: Did you work closely with them?

Livermore: Yes, they attended all my staff meetings. As I say, since they were quasi-judicial it was a question of their cluing me in and my encouraging them. There weren't, as I recall it, as many cabinet issues on WRCB as there were on air pollution. Air pollution was more--well, I was going to say more political. I remember there was an allied question; the sewage workers of San Francisco struck at one time. This didn't directly affect the Water Resources Control Board, but it did involve a lot of pollution being released in the San Francisco Bay. It caused quite a furor.

#### Water Issues and the Reagan Administration

Lage: It's interesting that Reagan is given highest marks, I guess, for his water related decisions, including pollution and resources.

Livermore: I think he deserves them, largely because of the Porter-Cologne Act and the people he appointed to the board and their effectiveness. Those three major decisions I made were all very unpopular with development types.

You're saying the governor, now president, got great credit for that. I personally don't think he deserves near as much credit for that as for the Minarets road or the Dos Rios decision or the Southern Crossing or the redwood park or a lot of other things. Because for one thing, it wasn't that difficult.

Lage: He wasn't that involved in it directly?

Livermore: I don't recall it that way, no. I think probably the reason that the administration gave him that much credit for it is that the water pollution efforts were relatively noncontroversial.

Livermore: I mean everybody's in favor of pure water, and it was, I think, a little like air pollution--very forward looking in terms of other states.

Reagan's Air Pollution Record

Lage: Are you familiar with the California Journal?

Livermore: Yes, I subscribe to it.

Lage: The same journal that makes such good remarks about the water control, water issues--

Livermore: Is this a recent issue of the journal?

Lage: No, it's not; this is December '75. Anyway, they gave him very bad marks on air pollution.

Livermore: Well, there are a couple reasons for that. This is just from memory, but there are several features there: one was that there was a woman on the board, I forget her name, and she was very vocal, as I recall it.

Lage: This is on the Air--?

Livermore: The Air Pollution Board. She was disputatious in that she was an active Democrat. There's nothing wrong with that, of course, but she was a little too militant, put it that way--on the purity side. And so the governor, as I recall it, fired her-- I don't remember details.

Another reason, and I think probably the biggest reason-- and this is more a political philosophy reason than an environmental reason--is that there was legislation attempted several times during our stay in Sacramento that would lump the air pollution agencies in the Los Angeles basin together. The main stumbling block for that politically was Pete Schabarum, who is still an L.A. supervisor. He was violently against it, and it came up several times, as I recall it, in the cabinet. It finally came to a head in about '73, I believe it was. But Schabarum and others persuaded the governor not to sign the legislation. I didn't agree with it myself; it's a matter of regional government. It's a hang-up that many people have, the theory that local government can do no wrong and regional government is another layer of government and therefore is bad.

Livermore: This was a problem, and is still a problem to a degree, in Lake Tahoe. I don't personally agree with it; I think I hate bureaucracy as well as the next person; it is very difficult when you put another layer in there. Which is true at Tahoe and which was the case with this proposal in the Los Angeles basin. Now as I understand it, a couple years after we--the Reagan administration--left, they did pass it. Governor Brown did sign the legislation, and I think it's probably good. The reason Schabarum was against it, as I recall it, was frankly provincial. The city had its own guys that measured all the air and made all the rules and everything, and they didn't cotton to the idea that it should be a basinwide thing.

Lage: Even though the smog is basinwide.

Livermore: Yes, it's just ridiculous, even though the smog is basinwide. So those are two things that I recall.

Lage: Was that something that you fought for yourself? Or did you have--?

Livermore: On the cabinet, yes. I'd say the whole environmental climate, both nationally and in the state, declined somewhat after, say, '72. In terms of land use, in terms of this air pollution, in terms of several other things that I don't recall.

Lage: No what do you mean it declined? Do you mean the pressures for it--?

Livermore: Well, I think the clout of environmentalism, I'd say, declined after about '72. I think of this thing you just mentioned; I think of land-use legislation on a federal basis; I think of the "loss" in the Alaska pipeline--I'm just thinking of federal issues. Those are three that come to mind. Also, I'm thinking of these big waterway projects that kept going and so forth.

Getting back to air pollution, I remember one amusing incident. The chairman of the Air Board was [A.J.] Haagen-Smit, just a marvelous fellow. As I did ceremoniously on several occasions, I was asked to go down to sort of greet the new Air Board. This is after this replacement, which my mind is a little fuzzy on. But the point is, a couple of months afterwards there was another meeting of the state board, and so Haagen-Smit invited me down again. I either saw him or talked to him on the phone, and I said, "If you really would like me to come down I'll do so, but to tell you the truth I'm awful busy, and I'd as soon skip it." Then he said--which kind of endeared him to me--he said words to this effect: "Well, Ike, I don't blame you a bit for not wanting to come down. Really, this is the most boring damn stuff in the world." [laughter]

Livermore: That was the chairman speaking. To me, frankly, it was boring because it's very technical and was not my first interest. I remember the air pollution issues, which I frequently brought to the cabinet; I didn't feel that well prepared on. There's the nitrates of oxygen and the oxygen nitrite, and there's the ether and the CO<sub>2</sub> and the methane, and it's very complicated.

Another reason that comes to mind was, of course, that the governor was against mandating an emission inspection. I think that fight is still going on; it seems to me that was one of the things that Watt and [Anne] Gorsuch are accused of currently. She was against this mandated vehicle inspection, with the sanctions and so forth. And that is a tough one; it's like motorcycle helmets. You could go on and on about these philosophical problems; is it public good versus private rights? So Reagan was against that.

Lage: Was it because--?

Livermore: He was against it because of the personal liberty type of thing, plus the cost of the mandated emission inspections. And he wasn't as comfortable, I would have to say, with air pollution control as he was with water pollution. I, just off the top of my head right now, don't recall why. But I think the biggest one was the L.A. basin, because you know, everybody knows, how awful the pollution is there, and you had all these different little nabobs with their own little analyzers and sort of different rules. I was disappointed when he vetoed that.

#### Some Thoughts on the Wilderness

[Interview 4: October 27, 1981]##

Lage: You had some thoughts as a result of reading Dave Brower's oral history.\*

Livermore: Well, yes. I was utterly fascinated by the oral history on Dave Brower; I've read all but the last fifty pages or so. I could comment at length on it, but most particularly on his quote on page 67 where he says, "The wilderness is the highest

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\* David R. Brower, Environmental Activist, Publicist, and Prophet, Sierra Club Oral History Project, Regional Oral History Office, 1980.

Livermore: form of multiple use." And he gives several factors leading to that. And then his last sentence says, "This is my idea of the highest form of multiple use." And I think it's a beautiful statement of Brower's philosophy, of Dave's philosophy. I agree with it; he mentions pure water, recreation, wildlife habitat, genetic-reservoir, et cetera. But the problem is, quoting from another fascinating article that I ran across recently, and this is by Mr. Thomas Rickert--whom I've never heard of--writing in the Boston College Environmental Affairs Law Review. This is volume 8, number 4, 1980. In his conclusion, which is beautifully supported by earlier data, he says the following--and I quote in part: "Wilderness-use management has in many respects proved a useful tool for both the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior, but its validity as a framework within which to build a wilderness preservation system must be questioned." He goes on to say, and I quote: "Wilderness is not a resource in the sense that water, timber and minerals are resources." And finally he says, "The only way wilderness preservation can be rescued from the illogic and inconsistencies of the RARE process is through a revision of its statutory framework."

So I think that summarizes the difficulty that Brower has and I have and many people have--it's sometimes expressed: how can you have all uses on one acre? Or expressed differently, how can you have all uses on a million acres? So, it's the old argument of the aesthetic versus the measurable, and it ties in to the EPA and all the rest of it. So, in effect, I agree with Dave's enthusiasm for the multiple use, you might say, of the aesthetics and the wilderness. But you have to also be aware of the values of material commodities. As I think I mentioned earlier, I'm a little lukewarm on the current efforts of the Wilderness Society and others in that they appear to be aiming for more quantity than quality. And I could use certain illustrations. On the other hand, I like the new concept--I think I mentioned it at the Bancroft--of the "cherry stem," which I had called a "salient." I think as the wilderness movement matures, as I hope it will, that there will be a lot of these cherry stems that will be plucked off and certain wilderness penetrating roads abandoned. If you have a superlative wilderness area--and perhaps as handy an illustration as any is the Sespe-Fraser, which involves the condor--that blankety-blank road going down the Sespe should be blasted out, eradicated. So anyway, that's perhaps enough on that subject.

Lage: Very good, thank you. If there's something else like that, just bring it up.

Livermore: Well, the only other thing in the Brower book, of course, was that I appreciate the sentiment where when I apparently accused Dave of being dishonest in promulgating The Last Redwoods, that he didn't pop off in the other direction. And it's also interesting to me, of course, that he wasn't that hep on the redwoods; that wasn't his main interest.

Lage: He hadn't even been there, as far as I--

Livermore: No, apparently he hadn't even been there. Of course, I could talk all day about the redwoods, the Redwoods League versus the Sierra Club. And I remember dear old Newton Drury, he once told me, "What's all this excitement about Redwood Creek," he said, "It looks like the battlefield at Verdun after World War I." He never was completely sold on Redwood Creek. That's neither here nor there, but that ties into the economics again, of commodities versus aesthetics, which I think we touched on earlier.

Lage: And probably quality versus quantity, some would say.

Livermore: Exactly, yes. I remember going to the redwoods with Dave Van de Mark, the Sierra Club representative--I think we mentioned this in an earlier interview--and he just sort of waved his hand and said, "We have to protect this vista." Well, that's great, but is it worth a billion dollars, particularly when some of the second growth vistas, I think, are every bit as beautiful, on the way up the Redwood Highway?

## VI LAND AND ENERGY RESOURCE PLANNING

Comprehensive Planning vs. Local Control

- Lage: Let's turn to the main topic of our interview session today, which—the first part of it at least—is sort of all-encompassing under the topic of planning. I think a lot of the things we've discussed already have related to planning, but that became a watchword during your time in office.
- Livermore: Land-use planning you mean?
- Lage: Land-use planning, or even—I'm thinking of the California Tomorrow type of planning—a comprehensive statewide planning.
- Livermore: I see; I understand, yes.
- Lage: What was your reaction to that type of comprehensive planning?
- Livermore: Well, that's a very sugar and salt feeling that's going on right now. Take Tahoe as an illustration. I served many years on a monthly basis on the Tahoe agency because I felt it was enormously important. I was keenly interested and did what I could as one of the ten votes on Tahoe. But the California Tomorrow type reasoning was to plan from the top down rather than the bottom up. And I remember thinking that if these people wanted to really get political influence, they should go up there in South Lake Tahoe and in Placerville and Auburn and run political campaigns and elect people who felt the way they did. Instead the tendency is, well, let's go to the federal or the state level and enforce these land-use restrictions from the top down. This is, of course, a very difficult subject. It's true right now in air pollution, for instance. Apparently the Reagan administration is making noises about turning back air pollution regulations to the states, a sort of states rights thing. But can you imagine fifty different air pollution laws in the country? It doesn't make sense.



Livermore: So again in talking about planning, I think it's an exceedingly difficult problem. I just feel sort of right in the middle of it. There's some things where you need local input, and certainly grass roots is the foundation of our society. On the other hand, you do need central direction. So, you mentioned the coast; that's quite similar to Tahoe. As I understand it, in the coastal legislation which has evolved now (it's been almost ten years, I think that first passed in '72), I believe the planning authority is due to be passed back to the locals. That politically is understandable, but how it's going to work out I just don't know.

In that connection, you really wonder about excesses. I've mentioned in some of my talks, for instance, the case of Big Creek down on the Big Sur coast. I just ran across this since you were last here, Ann. I asked John Dewitt, who's the exec of the Save-the-Redwoods League. My wife and I have been down there; I have quite a bit of sentiment about the area because I rode through there horseback when I was fifteen years old when there was no road. But when we went there we found that they hand't even constructed a trail, a really walkable trail up to these redwoods. There was a good trail most of the way, but it was a bad creek crossing.

Well, I just had a chit from John Dewitt on that, and apparently they're having trouble with the coastal authority. And I thought, "You know, this is absolutely crazy. Why would they even be involved with a trail up to see redwoods?" And yet I guess they are somehow involved in it. So these are difficult problems, the bureaucratic interference with land-use controls. They're still litigating up on the Sea Ranch. This, as I understand it, is a case of preexisting land-use controls.

I can think of another amusing incident; you mentioned California Tomorrow. I was at an annual convention in San Francisco, listening to various speakers. And there were accolades to the City of Palo Alto, because they had just--on a local basis--apparently open-spaced some land. And everybody was sort of nodding their heads and patting themselves on the back and saying what a great thing this was.

And then a fellow whom I don't know but he's famous at Stanford, Dr. Russell Lee, got up. As I understand, he's really quite a fine, public-spirited fellow, but on this particular subject he said words to this effect: "I've been listening to all these accolades for the City of Palo Alto land-use planners, but I'd just like you people to know one thing, and that is that their action was robbery, absolute, outright, sheer robbery." What he meant, of course, was that his property had

Livermore: been down zoned without compensation. And I believe later there was a lawsuit where he won out. So these are really tough problems.

Lage: They are tough, because on the other hand people get many profits from their land escalating without doing a thing. And nobody argues with that.

Livermore: I agree, and that reminds me of another thing; I wonder whatever happened to it. About the time we left Sacramento, I had some correspondence with a professor from--I think he was from UCLA. He was writing a thesis called "Windfalls and Wipeouts," as I recall it. It was on that very subject, and I agree with him. As I understand it, the general theme was that those who complain about being wiped out--this is on the coast and in the Tahoe area--you don't hear them complaining about their windfalls. I think his theory was that there might be a tax on windfalls which would help pay for the wipeouts. This is a little bit like the recent Tahoe legislation, which I think is fascinating and which I very much approve of, and that is selling high value excess BLM [Bureau of Land Management] lands in the Las Vegas area and taking the money to help pay for the wipeouts at Lake Tahoe.

The whole subject of land exchange to me is fascinating, and as I think I indicated earlier, that would have been my solution to the Redwood National Park. They shouldn't have spent a billion dollars for it; they should have exchanged lands so that the commodity users--namely the timber industry--would have gotten more land from the Six Rivers National Forest in exchange for giving up their land for the Redwood Park.

Lage: They would still be in business.

Livermore: Yes. But I can understand politically there's a lot more sex appeal in getting new land, buying it, than there is in exchanging, and also exchanges are very much more difficult.

This is pertinent to Point Reyes. As I recall it, the Park Service at one point--in fact it was in the legislation--said that there would be land exchanges very similar to what now is happening in Tahoe. And there were ranch lands in central Nevada that could have been exchanged or sold to cattlemen and the money taken for equivalent land purchase at Point Reyes. But the environmentalist-type went all the way up to Elko, Nevada, and packed the hearing and carried the day with the decision to the effect that no BLM land should ever be exchanged or traded. And I think that was a mistake. And I think maybe the tide is turning a little bit in the direction of exchanges.

- Lage: I think you might be right. I ran across a memo that was interesting, from you to Reagan in 1970, where you seemed to be putting forth the idea that area-wide environmental controls were necessary, and that they could be enforced without impinging on private property rights and local rights. Now was this a topic for discussion to a considerable degree in the administration?
- Livermore: Well, very much so, yes. I'd be curious to see the specific memo. Was it a cabinet issue or just a--?
- Lage: I can't recall. No, I'd say it wasn't an issue. It was a general point of view, that you thought you had to move in that direction more.
- Livermore: Well, that threaded it's way through many discussions, through the coast, through Tahoe, through the land-use elements of county planning through various local issues. There was an issue back in the Livermore Valley; there was the Petaluma issue; there was looming up all kinds of issues of public good versus private rights.
- Lage: How did it tend to resolve itself? Where did you personally draw the line?
- Livermore: It never did fully resolve itself. For instance, one of the things that was disappointing to me which happened the last years of the Reagan administration was the attempt to pass a national land-use act, which still hasn't occurred. I felt it had merit; as I recall it, it took the form of federal help to states for land-use planning. It did not prevail in the cabinet. It wasn't a cabinet issue, but the governor was very much against it; most of the cabinet were against it. It didn't come to a knockdown, drag out fight, but it did in this effect: that it came up in President Ford's years. There were two big issues: one was strip mining, and the other was this federal land-use planning. Again, this is an extremely difficult issue--private rights versus public good. I couldn't see any harm in at least encouraging land-use planning. There was no law. In the Fox book, you recall, there was a period when Robert Marshall favored a law which would be a federal law mandating cutting practices on private lands. That didn't fly, and I don't agree with that; it's just too tough.

But getting back to the memo, I think I might have been trying to plead the case of Tahoe or the coast, or--I know in the Reagan administration we did pass quite strict mandates for counties to have land-use planning. We didn't tell them

Livermore: what they had to do, we simply--I say we, the legislature--told them they had to do something. And there were a lot of counties at that point--I think there are still--that are laggards.

Lage: So the idea was to leave it on the local level as much as possible.

Livermore: At the local and county level, and to tell them, in effect that they had to do something. As I recall it, there were a number of bills passed by the legislature which, in effect, mandated to counties that they should have a land-use plan that spoke to this and this and this. It didn't say how they should speak to it. For instance, recently, in Napa, there was a case with our own property. They cover traffic counts and noise and air pollution and historical sites and all that kind of stuff.

#### Bay Conservations and Development Commission

Lage: OK, let's look at some of these specific things we've mentioned in passing. Maybe one of the first of the land-use regional planning commissions was the [San Francisco] Bay Conservation and Development Commission.

Livermore: I remember it very well.

Lage: Now what was Reagan's stand on that?

Livermore: This did go through the cabinet; his original stand was lukewarm about it for the same reason that we just mentioned: the rights of the property owners around the bay. And I testified on this personally, having, as I recall it, cleared it through the cabinet. What ended up there was a little like the Redwood Park and so many other things. For reasons that I don't remember, the Santa Fe Railroad was a very strong lobbyist against it, because again, they had a lot of preapproved plans on the east shore--a little bit like the Fiberboard Corporation had at Lake Tahoe. But luckily, what prevailed was a feeling that the bay is important, and painful though it was and is to a lot of these owners, that there needed to be some controls.

And there was the interesting other gimmick which has reemerged recently on the shoreline decision at Tahoe and Clear Lake, of underwater lots--where people own land, but it's underwater. So it seems logical to me to say, "Yes, you have this underwater lot, but the public owns the water; therefore you can't fill it." So that predated us, the BCDC, as I recall it--

Lage: Wasn't that '69?

Livermore: I think that was. Something predated our administration in terms of the study--

Lage: --the legislation I think was '69.

Livermore: Yes, the legislation formalizing the BCDC.

Lage: In one of your speeches that I ran across, you said that Governor Reagan was giving this his strong support.

Livermore: Well, he did.

Lage: Were there other people in the cabinet that supported you in your views, or did you take a while coming to this point of view, too?

Livermore: No, I didn't have any trouble coming to that point of view. I think it would have been tragic--I mean all he had to do is look on the map of the Bay and see how tragic the filling was. My usual opponent on all these battles was the Business and Transportation Secretary, but I don't remember any major battle on that. What the governor often did, and I think very understandably and very logically, he would not commit himself until he saw the final legislation. There might be a lot of up and down the hall--if you know what I mean--pushing.

The best case of that, as I think I touched on, was the wild rivers when he was quoted--or he jumped the gun--and he did say, "I favor Collier's legislation," and it turned out he did not.

So it kind of evolved. Once the BCDC legislation passed, then he appointed, as I recall it, Mel Lane, just a wonderful person, to head it. I was an ex officio member of the BCDC, but I never attended any of their meetings. I was simply too busy on other matters. I always delegated someone else. I just felt I had to decide between that and Tahoe as far as my personal time went, and I chose Tahoe.

#### Tahoe Regional Planning Agency

Lage: Well, Tahoe, I guess that legislation came even before, in '67. It created the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency.

Livermore: Well, now you got me mechanically; I thought there were--well, I guess you're right. The reason I'm a little fuzzy on the BCDC is that I was much more interested and spent more time on Tahoe. Yes, I guess if you say it was, it was '67. And our early meetings were somewhat hectic but very fascinating.

Lage: How large a commission was it then?

Livermore: It was a ten member commission, five from each state. As secretary for Resources I was ex officio, according to the legislation, and the governor appointed the chairman. He was Alan Bray, a very fine person who was the chairman for a good many years. The big problem environmentally, which took years to solve, was that there was a three-two vote on each side. I and Bray were the so-called state representatives; then there were three local government representatives: one from Placer County, one from El Dorado County and one from the City of South Lake Tahoe. And the same pattern existed on the Nevada side and then, as you probably know, they had this sort of a double negative business where three of the ten could, in effect, either stop something or approve something.

Lage: Either stop or approve it?

Livermore: Well, the way it worked was, first of all to stop a project you would have to have a majority of both state delegations. And the way it worked was--it's a little confusing, I'll have to say this slowly--there were two five-person delegations, as I just said, so there were ten people. Either state could block the other. So that for instance, if California was unanimous--which they several times were--on say, an environmental control issue, it was five California votes. Three Nevada votes could negate that. Then when I said it was either for or against development, there was a kind of a "kissin' cousin" relationship between the states. By using the same phony arithmetic, if one state or another wanted to approve a project then it was automatically approved unless both states disapproved it.

Lage: So it was stacked in favor of approving development.

Livermore: Yes, that's right. So, usually the bad guys from the environmental point of view were in Nevada--but not always because often the California locals were for it too--so in other words, three out of the ten people could control everything.

Lage: How long did that situation last?

Livermore: Well, it lasted until Huey Johnson, my successor--with Governor Brown's strong approval, which I bless him for--finally got so fed up with that that they just refused to finance the whole Tahoe agency. This was about two years ago, and they finally, with much struggle, have now shifted the agency. I believe there are seven from each state, and the majority are not local. And they also have this bill, as I mentioned earlier, about selling land near Las Vegas and taking the money to pay "wipeouts" at Tahoe, which is about a ten-year program. That's a really sticky thing; a lot of these people in sincerity have bought these lots, and they just aren't allowed to build on them.

But I know at these meetings there are an awful lot of crocodile tears shed by people who said they couldn't use their land. Usually it was for an upzone; they wanted to zone it commercial or they had--

Lage: They bought it with the idea that there'd be a zoning change.

Livermore: Exactly. I remember particularly one persuasive person. She was a widow, and she could bring tears to your eyes, and did. She had ten acres, as I recall it, and she wanted to have ten lots on the ten acres--maybe it was four, I don't remember. And she said, "Why can't I do this?" We said, "Well, it's a single family plot and the land-use plan is for one house there." She said, "This is confiscation; this is for my children's college education," with tears streaming down her face. Well, these were kind of tough answers. But again, how much of a hardship was it to her not to be able to subdivide her land? That's true in a lot of these things; I can't get too sympathetic to people who are foregoing windfalls.

Another thing, and I don't know how it came out in the final legislation, but it appeared to me that people who have bought lots at Lake Tahoe after 1967--when it was clear what the general public wanted--shouldn't shed tears not being able to speculate. The right to own real estate is not the right to profit from speculation, in other words.

Lage: I suppose that wasn't well accepted in the Tahoe area.

Livermore: No, there was a lot of disagreement on it.

Lage: Right. OK, is there anything else we should comment on about Tahoe? It's not something I'm terribly knowledgeable about.

Livermore: Yes, there's one thing that I think was quite fascinating that pops into mind and that is the Fiberboard property. This was very much like what I understand is the case of the Sea Ranch on the coast. They had about, I think it was 10,000 acres on the ridge overlooking Tahoe to the south, originally bought strictly for timber production. And in those days, in very round figures, the land was worth \$100 an acre, as I recall it. It was originally purchased as cutover timberland, but it was now merchantable. It stems way back to the Comstock days when lumber companies were cutting the whole Tahoe basin. They soon found they were evolving into subdivision values. And, as I recall it, their plan had gone through the local government just like Dr. Lee of Palo Alto, and they did have approved subdivision plans. But the acreage is so huge that even they agreed that they would rather not subdivide it, but of course the paper value had jumped from \$100 to maybe \$2,000 an acre.

So that was struggled with for quite a while. At one point there was an interesting proposal made, again tying into my interests in trades, because they finally said they would accept certain Forest Service lands. They have mills scattered-- I think quite widely--up and down the Sierra, and they would take "x" acres here and there in exchange for this land so everybody would be happy. Well, what happened was that the people that were not happy were the county supervisors in the areas effected because they would lose the Forest Service in-lieu income from those exchange lands. So that kind of put the kibosh on it.

The net result again was a little like the redwood park and so many of these things. Congressman Biz [Harold T.] Johnson--whom I knew quite well and was friendly with along with a lot of other people--got ten million dollars from Congress, so they were, in effect, bought out. So this again is an interesting case of failed land trade, plus socking the taxpayers, plus--it occurred to me, again in this gray area--why should they have been allowed to get this windfall? But they did.

Lage: They got the windfall--

Livermore: They got ten million dollars, as I recall it, for land that for timber purposes was only worth maybe one million, roughly. So, you might argue that had the political climate been stronger, or the land-use laws interpreted more forcefully, that they shouldn't have been bought out at such a high price.



Livermore: Now, this legal struggle at Tahoe is still going on. In fact, just a few weeks ago--to my slight discomfort--I got a letter from a representative of the [California] attorney general's office saying, "We are still defending you in several lawsuits in which you are named as a member of the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency.

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Livermore: There apparently are three lawsuits where I'm still a party, along with other people, and I don't remember the cases. I have the correspondence which says, in effect, "Don't worry; we're still defending you." These people are pressing their point some eight years later. And they feel that the action of the agency when we were aboard was unconstitutional and that they're entitled to payment for the downzoning.

Lage: Now, this wouldn't be something you'd be personally liable for, would it?

Livermore: Well, God, I hope not! It's like this lawsuit against Huey Johnson having to do with the wild rivers. The only reason I mention that is that I guess there is a gray area. I know that Alan Bray [now deceased], who is, I guess, quite wealthy, has engaged his own attorney. And so he was still somewhat worried. It's hard for me to believe that a public servant could be personally liable for actions taken by him or her as mandated by legislation.

Lage: And in good faith without any personal gains.

Livermore: Yes, with no personal gain whatsoever. In fact personal pain, the headache of all the meetings and everything. There is this problem, I guess, of constitutional law and there's a book I haven't read in total, but I think Russell Train put it out, called The Taking Issue. This has to do with all this downzoning.

Lage: OK, anything else on Tahoe, or shall we talk more about the coast?

Livermore: I can mention one more thing perhaps, and then we don't want to talk about Tahoe entirely. It ties in with my scurrilous reputation as a timberman, and that is that there is a lot of commercially operable timber in Tahoe, and I think the day may come when the public will realize that if this is carefully done, why not do it? If the forest practice rules are strictly enforced, and there is a substantial economic value in that timber--and incidentally it's practically all public timber--why shouldn't it be cut? And when I was on the agency I was

Livermore: somewhat instrumental, I think quite instrumental, in wording the regulations so that this is a possibility. To date, I believe it is a practical impossibility politically, but certainly all of that timber should not be permanently "locked up."

Lage: Because of public opinion.

Livermore: Public opinion. And the same thing is true--I think I mentioned--here in my home county of Marin a little bit-- logging in the water district. I had fun just the other day; I'm on the advisory council of the Marin Conservation League-- a great organization that I think highly of--but they sent a memo around saying that they were concerned about money for trail maintenance, so I couldn't resist sending a little chit saying, "Well, it's pretty easy. You can get some money for this by just selling a few sticks of wood on the water district." [laughter]

So, getting back to Tahoe, let's put it this way: it's not a national park, and since national forests are multiple use units, why not cut some of that timber?

Lage: Do you think it can be done without damage to the water quality?

Livermore: Yes, I do; I think it can be done on moderate slopes and done in off-season, either after Labor Day--just thinking out loud-- when most of the crowds are gone, or before school is out in June. In fact--this isn't common knowledge--it was done on the Ehrman estate which later became Sugar Pine Point State Park. It certainly is one of the most beautiful, and I might say, one of the most expensive to acquire of the state parks. I think a few years before the park bought it there were a couple million feet of timber cut off that property, and nobody even knows it now. Even Muir Woods--I often use this illustration-- you can go up Muir Woods, past the visitor's center, and see a lot of stumps there. So, I don't think they're incompatible.

#### Protection of the California Coast

Lage: Let's talk a little bit about the coast, especially the early legislative efforts which apparently were not joined in too wholeheartedly by the Reagan administration. Can you tell me something about that?

Livermore: Yes, I can, and that's one of my few major disappointments as far as the official position of the Reagan administration goes. I like to think--and maybe this is egotistical--that if I had not gone as a delegate to the International Environmental Convention in Stockholm that I might have gotten through the cabinet stronger legislation. But I did not, and you know the results of the initiative.

Lage: When were you away in Stockholm?

Livermore: In 1972. I was gone for about a month there, and that's when it came to a head. That's approximately the time when the people--I use that in a good sense--got fed up and started to petition for Proposition 20 [Coastal Initiative], which was passed.\*

Lage: And was Reagan's lack of support one of the main reasons the legislation failed, do you think?

Livermore: Well, let's put it this way: it was true throughout to a degree that there was a strong feeling on the part of the Reagan administration that, other things being equal, these things should be solved at the local government level. That was a problem at Tahoe and was a problem on the coast. So, as I recall it, we worked very hard on legislation. There was a tremendous coastal plan; I forget the exact title, but it was done under my agency--the name escapes me at the moment. It was a large committee; all kinds of meetings went on for several years. We developed a plan, I remember, at one time--

Lage: Was this prior to the legislation?

Livermore: Prior to the legislation. And at one time there was a plan which, as I recall it, was endorsed by the cabinet, and this was pertinent to the coast along these lines: that the Fish and Game Department be segmented so that the marine resources would go into a coastal department, and this would include harbor development, onshore development and the fish resources. But that didn't fly. So there was a long series of efforts--I'd have to refresh my memory on specific cabinet issues--but the point is that we never, in my opinion, did come up with strong enough endorsements. Basically, the Reagan administration endorsement was for coastal planning and controls, yes, but strictly at the local level.

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\*This was the petition to place the Coastal Initiative on the California ballot in 1972.--Editor.

Lage: And no overriding plan that would cover the whole state?

Livermore: Yes, no overriding plan. Very much like now; I think it's utterly fascinating--I was in a meeting just the other night with Huey Johnson. You may have heard about this water petition that they hope to get on the ballot. It's very comparable. The people got fed up, and led, I think largely by the Sierra Club types--which I think was great--they got this initiative, and it passed. And I agree with it although--

Lage: Now which one are we talking about?

Livermore: Prop 20, in I think it was 1972.

Lage: Oh, back then, I see.

Livermore: So, what I remember with particular interest there was that as we came down the stretch our position basically was, we support coastal planning controls but not as strict as you'd like. I think that's kind of an oversimplification.

Lage: How did the Reagan cabinet respond to the argument that the local governments were often under pressure; sometimes even bribery was involved. It didn't have to be bribery; it could just be tremendous pressure from developers.

Livermore: I think they responded; I perhaps would say, evasively. They would say this was an exception. I remember at some point seeing photographs shown of the southern California coast, in Orange County, of just the most horrible bulldozed terraces. You know, right smack on the ocean. I will say this, and it pleases me for obvious reasons, but as we came down the stretch--this was the initiative campaign for Prop 20--I called the governor's attention to the fact that the advertising put out by Whitaker and Baxter was in my opinion unethical if not dishonest. Because they had billboards saying to this effect: "Vote No on Prop 20, Save the Coast." So, the fine print, of course, said to save the coast for the developers.

I don't think it was a cabinet issue, but I think you could find it somewhere in some of the governor's speeches because I persuaded him, as I recall it, to criticize that. And I don't remember whether he formally endorsed the issue, but he did criticize the tactics of the developers' advertising.

Then I did more than that, and I treasure this; I've got it somewhere. I didn't often do this, but I wrote Whitaker, whom I knew personally, in advance of the election, and I said in writing to him that win, lose or draw in the election that

Livermore: I thought his advertising was bad, unethical, even dishonest. He of course resented that very much, and after he'd lost the election he wrote me various justifications, but I didn't reply. That's one of the sword's points I remember from Sacramento; I liked him quite well personally, but I felt that was bum advertising.

Lage: Didn't he also run Reagan's campaign, or am I wrong about that?

Livermore: No. To my knowledge they had nothing to do with Reagan's campaign. I don't know if they're still in business, but they're a well-known San Francisco firm that took initiatives more than candidates.

Lage: Was this a letter that you could have publicized, or did you publicize it?

Livermore: No, I never publicized it, because, as I recall it, I wrote it just man-to-man about five days before the election. I just wanted to go on record as to how I felt, but I wrote it on state stationary. I could have publicized it, I guess, if I'd wanted to. Maybe if I was a little more courageous, I would have. [laughter]

Lage: OK. One notice I ran across, I guess, in the California Journal. This was talking about the process leading up finally to the proposition. It said that the Reagan administration didn't really have a policy and that in April '71 you and Lieutenant Governor Reinecke were delegated the responsibility to develop an administration policy on the coast and coastal planning. Is that something you recall?

Livermore: Yes, that rings a bell. It seems to me that Reinecke was the ex officio head of this group, which was a long tongue twister which I don't recall. This was the group that I mentioned earlier that had this plan for coastal reorganization. But the membership of that committee--and I forget the name of it--was split; there was a lot of meetings. And I'd say that, yes, he and I were delegated to try and work something out--

Lage: Did they talk about principles?

Livermore: Yes, there were maps--oh, God! there was, it seems to me, computer studies. It was the buildup to this whole thing, but when push came to shove, as I recall it, it was local control. That was the big bugbear of the initiative, and it carried over to the Brown administration. Brown had to fight very hard and very commendably to enact strengthening legislation that

Livermore: continued the state commission, which is only now being phased out and which many people think led to certain bureaucratic excesses.

Lage: OK, let's talk for a few minutes about after the proposition was passed and the commission was set up. Was there any overlapping responsibilities between your agency and the commission?

Livermore: No, as I recall it they had--was it five coastal districts on the state commission? The only thing I recall, sort of nostalgically, is that one of the governor's appointees was a Stanford baseball player who I knew casually and who came into my office and sort of just made friends. Once the initiative passed and the legislation took off, I had very little to do with it.

I met this Roger Ossenbagh. Dick Wilson, whom I mentioned in connection with Dos Rios, was appointed by the legislators. It was interesting; he's quite a liberal-type Republican, but he had Democratic connections. He was appointed by the assembly speaker Bob Moretti. So, no, that was out of my aegis once the thing was passed. But I do think that our administration should deserve considerable credit for all the studies that preceded this complex thing. And you might say our heart was in the right place, but we didn't quite have that oomph on the state control, which is still a very tough issue.

Lage: That seems to be the constant theme, an unwillingness to override local control.

Livermore: That's correct, and it's true now in the national administration. It's fascinating the anomaly; you look at Watt, perhaps the most strident proponent of that philosophy, and yet half the stuff he is promulgating is overriding the states at the federal level.

Lage: Like the oil and gas?

Livermore: Exactly. Like the OCS [Outer Continental Shelf], or some of these wilderness policies or many things.

Lage: Well, that makes you wonder if that's really the issue then? If state control or local control is really the issue or whether there's some other more basic issue?

Livermore: Well, the basic philosophical issue, I know for many Republicans, including me to a somewhat lesser degree, is that you should not have extra layers of government. Every time you have an

Livermore: extra layer you get more bureaucracy, more red tape, more headaches, and you're farther from the people. That's come up particularly here; you mentioned earlier the BCDC.

Of course, in our administration there were many attempts to produce a Bay Area government. Now, I guess we still have ABAG [Association of Bay Area Governments]. They get sort of planning money, but they have no power. Well, I think we came very close to endorsing something that would give more teeth to the Bay Area governments, but it just wouldn't quite go.

On another theme, I feel very keenly that these enormous metropolitan areas throughout the country should include the suburbs. We suburbanites are sitting happily by the fire and paying taxes only to our local, little cocoon community. Whereas right across the Bay from us, in an area that we depend on, are these terrible problems. I remember--I'm not a TV fan, but you do remember certain programs--a year or two ago, I think, there were ten mayors bitterly criticizing this problem. I remember being shocked, I think it was the town of Newark, where a lot of buildings in the town are boarded up. They are just ghost towns. What they're all pleading for is: "Look, we've got all this wealth, talent, treasure if you want to call it, and they all come into the cities, and none of them shares." So, that's a political problem. And yet, as I mentioned a moment ago, it was tried. Still, I guess, a lot of people think we should have a Bay Area government, but again, how are you going to prevent that extra layer? There are only two places, I think, in the United States that have done this to date to a degree. One is the Twin City area, I understand, that's Minneapolis and St. Paul, and the other one is Pensacola, Florida, that have some kind of a regional government. But it's difficult.

#### Implementing the Environmental Quality Act

Lage: I thought we'd turn now and talk a little bit about the Environmental Quality Act and the environmental impact reports.

Livermore: I remember that vividly. Although I am uncertain about what led up to the CEQA legislation, I do recall that what hit my desk was the first series of regulations interpreting the CEQA, as we called it [California Environmental Quality Act, 1970].

Lage: This was your responsibility?

Livermore: As secretary for Resources it was my responsibility, based on the legislation, to put out the first set of regulations. There was a fine, young man on my staff--I think he's on Huey Johnson's staff--named Norm Hill who is a young attorney. He did the enormously detailed spadework on this, and I kept in close touch with him, and he would give me various editings. We had two or three public hearings, I think one in Sacramento and two in Los Angeles, as I recall it. This rocked along and I remember we finally hit the deadline, and he and I worked in my office, I think, until about 4:00 AM crossing the t's and dotting the i's on our interpretation--which is sort of standard--of how this thing worked.

I remember--I still have it in some of my happy possessions--the letter I wrote as a preamble, and I remember it quite well because after this enormous red tape I put out a letter to all recipients which said words to this effect: "I'm happy to send you this, (it was about a 40-page interpretation of the regulations) and I hope (and I may have even said, "I hope and pray") that future editions would be shorter and simpler. I apologize that it's this complex." Well, the kicker kind of amused me. It was a couple of days later that Tom Graff, whom I knew casually and who's a local manager of the Environmental Defense Fund and whom I incidentally think very highly of, he had a sort of a mini-press conference. He accused Secretary of Resources Livermore of rhetoric. He said, "What kind of rhetoric is this, that the secretary hopes to simplify these rules?" I thought that was kind of amusing and kind of sad too, that a fellow environmentalist, if I might call him that, would think that my motives were impure or illogical. I think that's a fact in life we all have to face, this terrible complexity.

Lage: That's true. Did you personally moderate the hearings? The reports that I saw in the documents room at the library were a series of preliminary drafts, and it sounded as if there were hearings, and then the drafts were rewritten. It indicated that you were the moderator for the hearings.

Livermore: Yes, I was.

Lage: How did those go?

Livermore: Well, God, I was in so many hearings. I think it was one of those; I remember at least one in Sacramento. I did moderate them, and there was plenty of rhetoric at those. I remember just listening to people and taking notes. There were tape recorders, and it all led up to this thing I mentioned earlier that we finally synthesized.



Livermore: But one thing I remember was kind of amusing, and I think it was one of those hearings. There was a coed at UC Davis who was sitting in the front row, I think, at one of those hearings-- I don't know; it may have been on air pollution. Anyway, the point of the story is that she felt that people shouldn't drive big cars, and I suddenly realized that here I had this huge station wagon with a large family. She delighted me because she said that, as I recall it, "No one in the state, anywhere, should be allowed to drive a big car. They were just terribly wasteful." Then she said kind of coyly, "Except the governor, perhaps," and then she looked at me, "And maybe except Ike Livermore, too." [laughter] I forget her name but she was quite a pretty, attractive little coed, and I always remember that. The very next day we went out and sold our big Mercury station wagon and have had a little Toyota ever since.

Lage: Now, was that as a result of her comment?

Livermore: Oh yes, well, it was growing in my mind. This was, you know, way before the energy crisis. It was just that she helped me realize the old story, "Do as I say, not as I do." If you're in favor of conserving energy, you shouldn't be driving a 350 horsepower Mercury station wagon, which I had for years.

But those hearings were interesting. I remember particularly Pete Schabarum, whom I knew quite well. I think I mentioned him earlier in connection with rating Governor Reagan low on air pollution; it was largely on account of Schabarum resisting. I remember him in these hearings too, and as I recall it, he had all kinds of questions--just a different point of view.

Lage: From what angle?

Livermore: I think it was this 3300 series on requiring general plans. They were kind of philosophically similar, but it was the City of Los Angeles. They sort of felt, "The hell with it; we've got our own staff and go away. Don't tell us what to do" kind of a thing. So, it was a little bit the same with CEQA, although I think Schabarum was more on this general plan business.

Lage: So, you did a lot of hearing moderations?

Livermore: Yes, you bet.

Lage: Do you have some opinions about public input and public involvement in these hearings?

Livermore: I think it's basically good. The big problem in a lot of hearings is that instead of having a comment or a question, people give a speech. I've long thought that in all types of hearings, that there should be a better system of ringing a gong or limiting the time people take because they get so interminable. The best I've ever seen, before or since, was when I was a delegate to the Episcopal diocese convention here in Grace Cathedral. This was at the time of the Vietnam war; there was a lot of excitement. The bishop limited each person to two minutes. They had a long succession of people walking up to the microphone, and it was very well run. It's hard to do that; you get some kook that likes to hear himself speak.

I remember one other thing, just a kind of a flash. I think it was one of these CEQA hearings; it was kind of a new thought to me, and that was that overillumination has bad health effects. This young fellow was quite impressive. He was talking about--in many of the cities, particularly--I perhaps shouldn't display my northern California bias--particularly in southern California, you'd have these whole buildings which were just a mass of light. Or you'd go down--what it is--Wilshire or Hollywood Boulevard at night. He was using this as an argument to save energy, but in the context of its revving people up too much. It's kind of a new thought, that overillumination is a health hazard.

Lage: It's overstimulating?

Livermore: Yes, its kind of an interesting thought. I can't say I've heard it very often since.

Lage: How would you take the comments in the public hearings and integrate them into the final plan? Was it more just a sounding board for people or were they really brought into the decision?

Livermore: No, I think there were a lot of good comments. We had court reporters there, and most of the integration was done by Mr. Hill. We, of course, had many meetings too in our staff room in Sacramento. Again, the framework was the federal law where you have to indicate the alternatives and the effects on various features of both the natural and the human environment.

One of the offshoots, obviously--I remember speaking about a little bit jocularly--but it's to this effect: what is not environmental? I think, as I recall it, the legislation talks about the effect on the human environment, and this is like the Stephen Fox book we've often talked about. The breadth of

Livermore: environmental concern: Is it just man? Is it man's relation to nature? Is it man's dominance of nature? Is it only bricks and mortar, or is it the condor type of thing?

Lage: I think that was one of the points made in one of your cover letters on this. It was that some people wanted to limit the reports to just the physical environment, but you felt that that wasn't the intention of the law.

Livermore: Oh yes. In fact, I think several cabinet members, I don't remember names, died hard on that. Exactly, yes. "It's only bricks and mortar, nothing else."

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Lage: It seemed as if you were cooperating somewhat with the governor's Office of Planning and Research with the environmental impact reports. Was there a lot of back and forth cooperation there?

Livermore: Very definitely. In fact, a man on my staff, who is still in Sacramento, John Tooker, was taken from me to head this OPandR [Office of Planning and Research], as we call it. He was a fine young man; I believe he's still in Sacramento. So there was a lot of give and take. As I say, I'm a little fuzzy between the CEQA and this, but I think it was the 3300 series for the county plans that he produced. He was very instrumental in that, and I like to think that I trained him, so to speak.

There were many, many cabinet meetings, even staff meetings with Ed Meese and others--precabinet meetings--on the wording of this very difficult legislation. The main problem there, of course, was the real estate lobby, so there was a lot of consultation on that.

Lage: You mention that Friends of the Mammoth decision, and I am reminded of the exit interview you participated in with others in Reagan's cabinet and staff in 1974 at the time you left Sacramento.\*

Livermore: Yes, I've never heard that interview.

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\*Round table discussion by Governor Reagan's cabinet and staff, tape recorded on December 18, 1974, in order to share recollections of the "implementation of the Governor's philosophy" in major areas of concern. Tape and transcription held at Hoover Institute.--Editor.

Lage: The Friends of Mammoth decision was brought up in that interview. Someone mentions what a disaster it was, and you come in saying you have a differing opinion. Do you feel that Friends of the Mammoth was a legitimate extension of the area for environmental review?

Livermore: Yes, I do; I can understand those who thought it was a disaster. There were many people on the cabinet who felt, and I guess still feel, that the private market system can do no wrong. I just thoroughly disagree.

Lage: One person in the interview, I think it was [Frank] Walton, said, "I sometimes wonder what would have happened if we'd just let nature take its course in all these areas. In air pollution, water pollution, the wilderness." There again, you defended the point of view that that just couldn't be.

Livermore: Well, I remember Walton very well; he was a very personable fellow. I told you about my interplay with him on Mineral King when he tried to talk me down in a friendly, but under the current, in kind of an unfair way. I just think their argument is ridiculous. I remember, one of my illustrations comes to mind, and this was related to the case of Harrahs at Lake Tahoe. A lot of these things you just have to jawbone people down based on a gut feeling of what the public wants. In the case of Harrahs, one of our hottest Tahoe things which I'd forgotten until this moment, was on limiting Harrahs expansion to, I think it was, twelve stories. They had a local permit for eighteen stories. We just practically jawboned them down; we talked them out of it although had they wanted to fight harder, maybe they could have gotten the extra six stories.

Anyway, in one of our--if you want to call them--jam sessions, and I think this was with Walton and others, I remember particularly some professors from UCLA that I think were a little bit troglodytes in their views. So I said, "OK, let's use this illustration on the Tahoe agency, and from jawboning based obviously on environmental concerns, we talked Harrahs out of eight stories. They could probably show on paper that, you know, capitalizing extra income and so forth, that that cost them five million dollars.

They had to forego that profit a little like in the wilderness having to forego cutting timber. So I said, "OK, let's say that at present its probably worth five million dollars. So you fellows are telling me that the public should therefore pay Harrahs cash, five million dollars?" They said, "Yes." And I said, "You guys are nutty as a fruitcake; I just disagree

Livermore: with you." And so I think this is perhaps a handy arithmetic illustration of, in my view, the illogical attitude of a lot of these people who think that private enterprise can do no wrong.

Proposition 1: An Attempt to Limit Tax

Lage: So, issues like Harrahs would come before the cabinet, issues that related to the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency?

Livermore: Well, this was more of a brain session. Toward the end of the Reagan administration we had several sort of long-term planning sessions. And I remember Ed Meese in particular was intrigued with the idea of fire department local control versus regional control and the same for police and schools. And there was an illustration that I recall that the fire department, for instance--I think it's in Scottsdale, Arizona, of all places--was farmed out to private enterprise. So you have this sort of morass of conflicting feelings between local government, regional government, public, private and so forth. It was at one of those sessions that the Harrahs illustration came up.

Lage: I see, so it wasn't necessarily decision making but just philosophical.

Livermore: No, I'm trying to remember just why we had all these meetings. I suddenly remember, as I recall it, we were searching for sort of major issues to terminate, go out with a bang so to speak, in Sacramento. The net result of it all was the Proposition 1, the tax thing, which I was somewhat active in, which Reagan lost.

Lage: That was reduction of--?

Livermore: That was an attempt to limit state taxes to a certain growth related to the California income. It was a precursor, you might say, of Prop 13. I think the governor, now president, laid claim to that preamble you might say, and I think he's right. I think that campaign was sort of an uncle, you might say, to Prop 13. The big advantage, of course, of Prop 13 is it just zeroed in on the one thing, the land taxes. Whereas what we were attempting to do was an overall limitation on the state budget. So, when I mentioned the Harrahs illustration, we had several series, as I recall it, of meetings led very ably by Ed Meese, trying to seize on kind of major things, and it all kind of evolved into this one. We chose that one.

- Lage: You chose that one to focus on as an outgoing fling more or less?
- Livermore: Yes, sort of; I don't remember what year it was, but I think it must have been '73. I remember we were all urged, and did, help get petitions signed and so forth.
- Lage: Yes, that was something that the environmental community more or less opposed, I think. I ran across some correspondence--
- Livermore: Yes, I think they did, and I opposed it myself.
- Lage: You opposed Proposition 1?
- Livermore: In the cabinet I wrote a long letter, I remember, to the governor. I don't know if I still have it, but my main objection was that it wasn't pinpointed enough, and that certain segments of state government should not be penalized. It was good-natured, but I was always the bad guy you might say, because Resources only had roughly 2 percent of the state budget, and I was always saying, "Gee, you guys are shaving my poor, little old 2 percent." So, for that and other reasons I was against it. I felt that my *bête noire*, you might say, was education. I always felt that education got too many dollars. So I was pleading, I guess unrealistically it turned out politically, for a modification, a provision that would say where the economies would be.
- Lage: You're talking like a real Stanford man. [laughter] On the Berkeley campus they don't feel education gets too much money.
- Livermore: Well, I could talk all day about that. You know, Stanford or Cal, as I recall it, the PR budget alone for UC Berkeley in those days was a million dollars a year.
- Lage: It's not enough.
- Livermore: I know what you're saying. I have a son-in-law who's a college professor, so I--
- Lage: Where does he teach?
- Livermore: Cornell, right now he's at Cambridge. But, no, it's a little off the subject, but I think tenure in education is lousy. I'm thinking more of the high school level. I can think of many illustrations where I think tenure is just terrible.
- Lage: You mean where the tenure protects the incompetents?

Livermore: Protects mediocrity. Frankly, and you probably disagree violently, I think there's overeducation in this country. For instance, I remember one statistic that California with about 10 percent of the country's population has 35 percent of the community colleges. I've seen a lot of the products of these community colleges, and I think they're just overeducated. They're led to have aspirations which are fine, but the employment opportunities just aren't there.

Lage: We are getting off the track, but would the employment opportunities be there if they weren't as well educated? There's not the low-level employment available either.

Livermore: We could argue all day about this, of course. You'd say, "Well, one of the things that would happen if you cut the community colleges down to their proportionate size, why, there'd be a lot of teachers out of work." So that would add to the unemployment rolls. I don't think there are easy answers to this question, but I also tend to be critical of a lot of educators because--I think this is more in the private than the public sector--but their whole undergirding is by and large the business community. And yet most college faculties, in my observation, are just always giving hell to the business community. They inculcate in students a lack of appreciation for economics, whereas they themselves are dependent--their benefactors are mostly businessmen. So, those are just a few thoughts I had on education.

But mainly, in terms of the specific subject in Sacramento, there's a provision in the constitution that may be still there, that goes something like this: that if ever any money is excess anywhere, why, education gets it. I didn't like that.  
[laughter]

#### Power Plant Siting Committee

Lage: Why don't we turn to the question of energy planning and the power plant siting that I think you were involved in.

Livermore: That's a huge subject; I remember that vividly. When I came aboard I inherited the chairmanship of what was called the Power Plant Siting Committee. This was a committee that was, I guess our environmental friends would say cynically, sort of playing footsie with the utilities. I guess maybe we were; we were friendly with them. We thought we were doing a fine job; the utilities would come to us--there were, of course,

Livermore: basically three: The San Diego Gas and Electric, the Southern California Edison and PG&E [Pacific Gas and Electric Company]-- and they would say, "Now, we have in mind these various sites, some nuclear and some not nuclear, and we welcome your opinion."

We had this committee composed of delegates of the Resources Agency and departments such as Parks, Fish and Game, Water Resources, et cetera. They had a certain budget--I think for secretarial help and whatnot. The committee and appropriate utility executives would go to these various sites and study them carefully, and they would modify the request and sometimes deny it. So, this went along happily, as I recall it, for about two or three years. We did ding some sites; we approved some other sites. Parallel to this--and this is, of course, brought out very clearly in Dave Brower's oral history--was the antinuclear buildup which involved my good friend Dave Pesonen who is kind of a hero in the Bodega Bay and all that stuff. But we kind of rocked along, I guess you'd say parallel, and we thought we were doing a pretty good job.

Then, I remember it vividly, I can't remember what year it was, but I'd been on vacation on a Sierra pack trip, and I came back and there was a headline which said, "Dave Pesonen says that Secretary Livermore should be sent to jail because of his approving the Point Arena atomic site." That startled me, but it also awakened me. What was happening was this whole ferment of energy concern.

Lage: Of nuclear concern particularly?

Livermore: Yes, nuclear concern particularly. And of course, this was a nuclear site, as I recall it, that seemed perfect: it was far away from heavy population centers; there was no talk of a seismic fault; it just seemed fine. Until this--at least from my point of view--bombshell hit. Well, that was perhaps a catalyst for alerting everyone that the days of the Power Plant Siting Committee--I think it was called--were finished, because the public wanted a broader input.

Lage: I see, so the Power Plant Siting Committee had involved the utilities and a few government people without much public input.

Livermore: Yes, it was then--I guess I myself have to call it--a cozy relationship with the utilities, but we were using the expertise of the Resources Agency to, we felt, give a good decision on sites. After that turn of events there was a long struggle both politically and in the administration between the Public



Livermore: Utilities Commission [PUC] and what people were beginning to say about energy and power plant siting. The PUC felt very strongly that they should have the say on the siting, and by that time--we'd have to research it a little bit to find out the chronology--but it seems to me the coastal initiative had passed then. So, here we have the two overlapping bodies: the new Coastal Commission and the old PUC.

Lage: And what about your Power Plant Siting Committee?

Livermore: Well, the Power Plant Siting Committee was vanishing over the horizon because we had to admit--with some sadness, if you want to use that term--that it was obsolete. It was not satisfactory; there was not enough public input. That led to a long struggle on the energy legislation which finally resulted--and the governor signed it, as I recall it, quite late in our administration--

Lage: The Alquist Bill?

Livermore: The legislation produced a tax and has led to the present Energy Commission. Governor Reagan signed that legislation, and this was an attempt, as much as anything else, to solve the power plant siting problem.

Lage: Is this the '74 Alquist Energy Resources Conservation Act?

Livermore: That sounds right, yes.

Lage: That must have been it.

Livermore: There was a lot of editing on this and a lot of cabinet discussion. This was a nationwide problem. I remember hearing illustrations; I think it was back in Wisconsin or someplace back there where the governor appointed a commission to try and settle this problem, and it turned out that he personally had to take charge of this. It developed into, for instance, questioning even the salaries of the public utilities officials, and choosing various sites, and very, very tough problems. Because it's kind of like a hog farm, everybody wants the electricity but nobody wants, particularly, atomic plants next to them. It did finally lead to that, and how it stands now between the three I don't really know: the PUC and the Coastal and the new Energy Commission. Reagan signed the legislation, but Brown appointed the people.

Dave Pesonen, P.G.&E., and the Point Arena Decision

Lage: OK, let's go back to a few specific things. You weren't in office when the Diablo Canyon agreement was made; I think that was '65. Did you have any role in the controversy that followed that?

Livermore: No, none whatsoever except I naturally, as a Sierra Club member, was sitting on the sidelines with utter fascination about the eventual ouster of Dave Brower. I remember, of course, hearing about the Nipomo Dunes trade-off. I was just getting Sierra Club communications and hearing about the trauma of Dave's old friends Dick Leonard and Ansel Adams, and Wallace Stegner, as I recall it, turning against him. Again, I think we touched on it earlier; I remember being puzzled, put it that way, about Ed Wayburn. He was in a difficult position. As I recall it, he kind of tried to carry water on both shoulders, and I don't say I wouldn't have done the same thing if I was in his position. [laughter] But, no, we weren't directly involved in that at all.

Lage: OK, and then the controversy over a power plant site at Point Arena. Can you give me a little more background on that? Was that a site the state had approved?

Livermore: Well, Point Arena I'd say was the last gasp of our nice, little committee; that was the end. It seemed to us like a good decision and a good site, but it was a result of this committee deliberation. I went on some of the field trips myself, but basically I had people delegated, and we considered a site near Santa Cruz, then I remember once going down to a site near the Santa Barbara coast. There were some interior sites that I don't remember that well, and then there was Point Arena. That was the end, the last gasp, you might say, of the Power Plant Siting Committee.

Lage: And wasn't the main problem there that they did discover a sizable earthquake fault?

Livermore: I think they did. In fact, I remember there was a report, it seems to me, before we left office, on power plant siting. There are certain areas on the coast that are seismically safe, but there aren't that many of them. I think they're, as I recall it, way down in Santa Barbara County somewhere.

Lage: Well, they thought Diablo was safe until they discovered the fault.

Livermore: Yes, you bet, yes sir.

Lage: What about Dave Pesonen? You've referred to him as your good friend.

Livermore: Well, I have a sort of a nostalgia toward him, a little bit like Dave Brower, although I haven't known him nearly as long. Dave suggested him to me for a meeting held in Eureka. One of my, I guess you'd say, vivid memories involves Congressman Clem Miller--this must have been back in about 1959. There was a big fuss led by small sawmill operators who felt they were being squeezed out. This led to the set-aside, as they call it--you perhaps know something about this. As I recall it, it may still be in existence, any timber operator with less than 500 employees gets certain priorities. So, Congressman Miller promoted quite a major hearing in Eureka. There was a Congressman who was also involved from southern Oregon.

Anyway, I was then, I guess you might say, a rising young executive in the timber industry, or words to that affect, so I was asked to conduct a panel on recreation. They figured, I guess from my pack train background, I'd be reasonably well qualified to do it. So I was pleased with this assignment, or happy to oblige, and I asked Dave Brower if he could come up to Eureka and be on my panel. He said, as I recall it, that he had a conflict, but he strongly recommended Dave Pesonen, whom I'd never heard of before. So that's when I first met Dave, and he did come up, and we hit it off fine. I still have my remarks from that panel, which if I do say so, I think was kind of a good panel.

The other major thing I noticed--this has always helped me to lean a little bit toward the Forest Service--I think it was Miller and this other Congressman who had all the forest supervisors from southern Oregon and northern California there. There must have been about eight of them, in charge of many millions of acres of forest, and in my opinion very fine public servants. They lined them up along one side of the room, and all day long all they did is give them hell.

Lage: The congressmen gave them hell?

Livermore: Well, the whole theme of it was to give hell to the Forest Service. I felt it was quite unfair, and I still do. It almost reminded me of the marvelous movie of the Czar of Russia with him family, and in this remote area they were just lined up and shot down. Well, of course, there were no bullets.

- Livermore: Anyway, that's when I met Dave, and I liked him, and our paths diverted completely until I read in the newspaper that he said that I ought to get sent to jail on Point Arena.
- Lage: What had been your role? Because you'd approved it, was that it? Did you also defend it after the fault was discovered?
- Livermore: Yes, I still defended it, but in the newspapers--this whole theme had built up and so, being succinct, Pesonen won, you might say. He shot me down; there was nothing personal about it. Later, I think based partly on our mutual Sierra Club friends and on this friendly experience in Eureka, he came into my office, as I recall it, three or four weeks after the blast, and he said, "Nothing personal, Ike," kind of thing, and we sort of shook hands. More recently, of course, I run across him as Governor Brown's appointee to head the Department of Forestry, which is a great job. So, I like Dave; I don't think we agree on everything, but there are a lot of people I don't agree with that I still like.
- Lage: What about working with PG&E? Did they seem very environmentally sensitive?
- Livermore: Well, they tried hard. They were obviously good lobbyists. I can remember some fancy dinners they put on. I remember a fellow named Rick Todd, who was very personable--I think he's retired now. They, as now, are caught in this awful dilemma of being a public utility with people demanding electricity; they're constantly carped at for many reasons. Of course, they're hanging on by their teeth now, I guess, with this incredible engineering blunder on Diablo Canyon--just having gotten to the last mile toward partial approval and then they ran into this thing. I'll have to admit a certain bias: my grandfather constructed the first unit of the Pacific Gas and Electric system at Folsom. My father was the director for very many years, so I don't think they're bad guys.

I remember an incident with my father. There was a very personal and persuasive professor at Stanford Graduate Business School, a fellow named Ted Kreps. He just recently died, and he was very thought provoking. One of his barbs had to do with the public utilities. I don't remember exactly what it was, but all I do remember is bringing this thought home to my father, and he really was very disturbed by it--that a son of his would find something wrong with a public utility. I think it probably had to do with public ownership. I know the City of Palo Alto has a publicly owned distribution system, and in my father's day this was a great debate. Now, I understand,

Livermore: it's pretty well simmered down, the main reason being the huge amount of capital required and that neither the public nor the private are butting each other so much. They're living side by side.

Lage: It did come up in the sixties in Berkeley.

Livermore: Yes, I guess it did. Is Berkeley on the public--?

Lage: No, that's part of PG&E, but there was a proposition on the ballot to buy out PG&E and distribute it through the city, but it didn't win.

Livermore: Well, there was a lot of talk then; one of his themes I remember--and I only listened--was that the buy-outs were always the easy, the cream, the good customers. I know in the case of Palo Alto, I remember going to a meeting where they were boasting that people in Palo Alto have very low taxes. Well, the answer according to the utility people and my father was, "Well, yes, they take it out of the hide of the utility company, or they get subsidized one way or another."

#### Power Plant Siting Legislation

Lage: Another thing I ran across was the Power Plant Siting Act in 1970, which gave your agency the responsibility to research power plant sites and make up a twenty year plan. Do you recall that twenty year plan?

Livermore: Yes, I do remember that.

Lage: One thing that struck me was that in your letter of transmittal, or introductory remarks to that plan, you brought up the question of population projections and demand projections. You had questioned this estimate, the need to project.

Livermore: Well, as I recall it, that report was perhaps post-Point Arena and pre-energy committee. They were commissioned to choose sites and, among other things--I think it was that report--there was quite a hefty debate on electricity consumption projections. There was a fellow--I think his name was Proctor or Rector--who was sort of the rebel member of the committee. By that I mean he had the temerity to project, I think it was something like, a 4 percent increase. Whereas the utility

Livermore: people stoutly maintained that it was 6 percent--that's just off the top of my head. Now I noticed with extreme interest recently, I think it's down to about 2 percent. So, in other words, he was right.

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Livermore: There was quite a vehement disagreement on the use projections. It was important to the utilities because they said if the rate was 6 percent, as I recall it, then you needed so many plants in so many years and then that's where the siting problem came up. The report--which certainly exists somewhere--did do a good job of pointing out certain areas which were unacceptable in terms of geologic faults.

Lage: I guess the Alquist bill put into the legislation that reduction of demand was one of the rules.

Livermore: That's correct. I remember another amusing incident. It was along about this time that Lieutenant Governor Reinecke, who of course was politically active, was appointed chair of quite a high blown meeting to discuss energy problems. I remember it was held in the Sacramento airport. We got up for him a kind of--what would you call it?--a magna carta, sort of a set of principles to be discussed by various people. This was either at the time or about the time of this report. And I remember there were a lot of utility types there, and there was a Dr. [Edward] Teller I think his name was; he was very strongly in favor of atomic energy.

The amusing thing that I remember insisting on putting in was "muscle power." For eight years, except for weekends on the ranch, we lived in an apartment only two blocks from my office. Much to my wife's distress, I used to work practically every night, although I'd often go home for lunch. I'd often pass these guys working on the hedges, and instead of clipping them by hand, they'd have about three people with motors. I realized probably the percentage of energy required in a lawn mower, say, is piddling, but still the principle seemed important to me, so I insisted on putting in a paragraph on "muscle power." The general theme being, "Why can't we save a little energy by a little use of muscles?" I remember a lot of people laughed at that.

As I recall it--I didn't attend the whole meeting--when I asked how this was treated in the discussion, why it was just scoffed at. This kind of bothered me a little bit. [laughter]

Lage: Well, I think it's very pertinent.

Livermore: It is.

Lage: Because people talk about lifestyle changes now as a solution to the energy crisis.

Livermore: Yes, they're beginning to use horses now in logging more. Which is good; they eat hay and not gasoline.

Lage: That's right; that's probably what's required. Do you recall, on the Alquist bill that the governor vetoed it and then a year or two later signed it? Were you involved at all in the deliberations on that?

Livermore: I don't remember the veto, but I know that he had a lot of trouble with the bill partly--but not entirely--because it had a taxation feature which he didn't like. I remember it had a couple of years evolution, so I'm not surprised at what you say--but I don't remember urging a veto. I don't remember the give and take other than the tax feature.

I myself have doubts about these high-salaried commissions. I think they have, what, five people now with juicy salaries, and it could as well be done by a department, which is more typical. That's a little off the subject; I don't remember that, in detail that is.

Lage: One other interesting thing related to energy that I ran across was that in '73 Reagan made a statement--this was in the midst of the energy crisis, of course--that brownouts in California were possible. He sort of blamed it on environmental protests. Two days later you made the statement that there was little chance of brownouts. You put the blame for the problem on earthquake hazards, rather than environmental problems--earthquake hazards stopping the nuclear plants. Do you recall that at all? It looks like a real case of your directly contradicting him.

Livermore: It's funny, I don't recall. I'm trying to think, was it a speech of the governor's?

Lage: I think it was just a statement. It must have been a newspaper article or perhaps a speech.

Livermore: No, I don't remember the earthquake statement, I really don't.

Nuclear Energy: A Tough Question

Lage: What about nuclear energy as a whole? Are you as wholeheartedly in favor of it as President Reagan seems to be?

Livermore: No, I'm not, and that's a very troublesome thing. I remember the initiative that was here a few years ago under the Brown administration, legislation which Brown passed. It was helpful to my wife and me because we then voted against the initiative, as I recall it; the initiative was to ban all nuclear energy. The legislation seemed more logical and moderate than the initiative.

Lage: The initiative was to ban even existing ones, I think.

Livermore: Yes. I remember certain things turn you off. We went to a debate right here in Marin County on that subject, and the antinuclear person was so strident, so violent. He was talking about millions of deaths and cancer getting into the blood cells of children and all this stuff. He used such extreme language that it turned me to a degree against it.

Lage: Against the initiative?

Livermore: Against the initiative; it turned me, you might say, pronuclear because of his extremity. This is a tough one; I read with great interest Brower's interview when he evolved from pro-nuclear to antinuclear. As I recall it, he said his first concern was the waste disposal which we still hear of, but then later his concern was the meltdown, which the Three Mile Island came pretty close to.

I ran into this a little bit when I was on the National Audubon Society board because there was a very personable and persuasive member of the Audubon board of directors. When this subject came up, he said, "No way can we be completely against nuclear because," I think he said, "it's 35 percent of all the power in the state of Illinois. So this is a real practical problem." So, I'd say my seat of the pants feeling is that, let's not knock out those plants that are, say, two-thirds complete, but let's be very careful about the future. Now, this is more or less the thesis expounded by the Lufkin Committee that I was appointed to by the president right after last fall's election.

It's also a global problem, a huge problem. For instance, in France, which is certainly a sophisticated country, the government controls all the nuclear power, and it seems to be



Livermore: working fine; there are no problems. So there's a lot of emotion in this, and a lot of problems on both sides. But I'd say basically my position is a kind of middle one. I think, for instance, Diablo Canyon should be completed.

Lage: Do the various difficulties there distress you?

Livermore: It distresses me a lot. I don't know about the earthquake fault, but I think this last thing is very distressing to anybody. How these engineers after all these years of effort could have a mirror reversal, I guess, of some of their plans-- I'm just saying what I read in the newspaper--is distressing. I think too, that the fact that they require insurance is a real puzzler. On the other hand--

Lage: You mean the government supported insurance?

Livermore: Yes. The public utilities, of course, are semiprivate. So if it's as safe as they say, how come they need this government insurance subsidy? It seems to me I recall Nelson Rockefeller saying that you can't, for instance, insure the Golden Gate Bridge against earthquake. Someday presumably that bridge is going to fall down--I think about it every now and then. Or when are they going to build a new bridge, or when will it be worn out? Well, you can't insure against that.

So, I just don't know. I think Brown's legislation was basically good. The waste problem, it seems to me, is inexcusable. They've been talking about it ever since the war, and they still haven't solved it. As far as the meltdown, I haven't followed the physics of it. I guess like most laymen I'm not an engineer or a mathematician; I don't understand all the physics. I don't understand exactly why it'll cost three billion dollars--it seems to me I've heard--to bail out Three Mile Island. I would love it if we could revert to less use of electricity. I think the whole energy thing is a huge, enormous problem, tied in somewhat--I think you touched on it--with the population problem. If population doesn't keep expanding, we would need less energy.

## VII CURRENT AND FUTURE ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Population Growth and Environmental Problems

- Lage: Let's turn to the population problem. Do you see population growth as a key to our environmental problems?
- Livermore: I think it's the number one problem; I don't see how you can argue anything else. As long as the population keeps growing, there's more pressure on resources. The environments, of course, are very directly related to resources. I was interested in the Fox book; it quoted the debate which I hadn't heard about between [Paul] Erlich and [Barry] Commoner--Erlich being concerned with population and Commoner apparently disagreeing with him, Commoner thinking the main problem was pollution. But no, I think population is the number one problem in the world. I was fascinated; I have a file on it, and I noticed just a few weeks ago a clip from somewhere about what they're doing about it in China. They penalize mothers, as I recall, who have more than two children. This is a real tough one. God, it grates on you to think of something like that, and yet I think it's enormously important.
- Lage: That would be the ultimate in government control for sure.
- Livermore: I know it is, but it's fascinating. You may have heard this phrase, and this is a touchy subject as we all know, but this has to do with abortion. The Washington Post said something to this effect: "The president wants to get government off our backs, but he's putting them in the bedroom." So, you know, that's kind of an apt phrase.

It's fascinating, the vote in Italy, and I don't know what's going to happen to this, but I guess Helms and a lot of these people are trying to get this constitutional amendment against

Livermore: abortion. I read somewhere sort of a waggish statement: if it should pass--and I certainly hope it does not--then you're going to have people demanding pensions nine months earlier than their birth. Because if you became a human being at the point of conception, then you're retirement age is nine months earlier. So then you get the ridiculous argument, "Well, what time of day was it?" and so forth. So, that is perhaps a too jocular way to look at it, but I think that's a real gut issue, and I think population is enormously important.

Lage: You mentioned Governor Reagan has changed in his attitude toward the abortion issue.

Livermore: Oh, yes.

Lage: Did that come up while he was governor?

Livermore: Well, I was startled at his evolving, apparently very militantly, against abortion because it wasn't in my area, but it was discussed in the cabinet. He signed, apparently willingly, a rather permissive abortion law. The only explanation I can have for his change is that I remember vaguely his mentioning--but not passing around--photographs of these, whatever you call them, second trimester fetuses that are deformed. That is, of course, a pretty horrible, very unpleasant thing. This isn't a thing you talk about in detail every day, but I remember talking to our own family doctor about it casually. He said he agrees. In his opinion abortion is necessary and should be permitted, but he said, "I'll say this much: among my doctor friends who perform legal abortions, they hate it. Just hate it." They hate doing it. He doesn't know any doctor who doesn't cringe at it, and it is a terribly tough issue.

Lage: Now what were you saying about passing the pictures?

Livermore: Well, the governor had mentioned seeing these pictures that someone had given him in the mail. Obviously, some of his more strident anti-abortion people gave them to him, and it got to him. I don't know, I can't of course speak for him, but I can only assume that this type of argument gradually changed his mind.

It's fascinating though; I have a whole file on abortion, you know, just occasional clips--but one of the most intriguing is quoting Ed Meese's wife, Ursula, whom I remember very well. I was quite surprised at this; in a quote for the Washington Post she said, "That is the one thing that Ed Meese disagrees with the president on." He'll never say it publicly, but his wife said it publicly. The reason was, in her case, not so

Livermore: much the arithmetic of expanding population as the unwanted child. Apparently the Meeses had seen the absent husband and welfare wife having child after child after child. That's, of course, part of the pattern.

Economic Health and Environmental Protection:  
A Conflict?

Lage: Let's have a few general questions, sort of a wrap up of the discussion. One thing that's continually mentioned now is the idea that economic health and environmental protection are in conflict. That's something that the environmental organizations try very hard to put to rest. They say that it's not a necessary conflict; that they could coexist, or environmental protection can even strengthen the economy. What do you feel about that?

Livermore: Well, I think that's extremely hard to measure. I was asked that question after giving a talk, I remember, back in Washington on the very subject by a very ardent young EPA person. He said, "I keep hearing about these benefit-cost ratios. What's your opinion on that?" I said, as I recall it, that the environmental type things can't be measured. How can you measure tranquility? How do you measure wilderness? How do you measure clean air or clean water? That's a cross that the environmentalists have to bear.

Now as far as the dollar and cents conflict, I don't think there's a particle of doubt that the environmental regs have added greatly to costs. They've added to the timberman's costs; they've added to the paper industries costs, the steel mills, but I can't help but think it's worth it. You hear the story, for instance, of London which was a filthy city, but now, as I understand it, there are fish in the Thames, and the ducks fly up the river. This is terribly exciting; the same thing is true at Lake Erie. So, as far as conflict goes, the public seems willing to pay for it, and I think industry needs to make restitution.

I think one of the huge, tough costs--this happened while I was in Washington--was this superfund for hazardous wastes. Of course, what's happened there, as I understand it, is that until the environmental regulations started getting stiffer, why these terrible wastes were sort of dumped willy-nilly all over the country, in just almost anyone's backyard. When they

Livermore: started concentrating them, then that makes them more noticeable and more potent and more dangerous. So again, the cleanup of these things has an enormous cost, and where the happy medium is, God only knows.

I think Russell Train and the CEQ and others, maybe the EPA, conducted studies saying that the environmental regulation costs are not that great in relation to increased productivity. I have some clippings; I know when I was back in Washington there were several companies--I can't think at the moment of an illustration--where actually the reverse of what you say is true. They were being forced to do thus and so in the way of cleanup and they actually added to their profit. So, I think you have to take them case by case.

Lage: If there's proper disposal at the first instance, you don't have the enormous cleanup costs later.

Livermore: That's correct, but when you say proper disposal it may be costly. It's like in forest practices; there's absolutely no question that the cheapest way to log is to just cut a tree, leave the junk and drag the log out. Now you can't do that, so there's no question the costs are greater, but the benefits to society, I think, are obvious.

#### An Evaluation of Environmental Organizations

Lage: In the article I showed you from the California Journal, the various areas--pollution control, waste disposal and all--were graded according to the progress the state had made. How would you grade the environmental organizations during your tenure in office, for the job they did in pushing for environmental protections?

Livermore: You mean like the PCL, the Sierra Club, the Audubon and so on?

Lage: Right.

Livermore: Well, the Sierra Club is by far the most active for the simple reason that John Zierold was there full time; he was very effective, I think, very efficient and ever present. Second, perhaps, was the Planning and Conservation League; they were also very good. Audubon less so, and in a narrower field, in fairness to them. Those are perhaps the three major ones. As far as minor ones--by that I mean mostly geographically

Livermore: minor--of course, there was the BCDC group and the Coastal Alliance and the League to Save Lake Tahoe. The California Trout, the various antibillboard people that I'm very sympathetic to, and a whole string of others that are rather bunched in my memory.

Lage: Do you think that as a group they did an effective job in bringing public opinion to bear on these issues?

Livermore: I think so; I don't remember any coalition type thing as you hear so often now. Yes, I think they're great for letter writing and attending hearings.

Lage: Would this type of pressure be a key factor in some of the decisions?

Livermore: Yes, I don't think there's a particle of doubt. I think on Dos Rios, for instance, I got about twenty-five hundred letters, as I recall it. If the pressure is that great, of course, you can't read all the letters; about all you can say is, plus or minus. I think an enormous advantage they have is the press. By and large the press still is environmental, and people from the governor on down are influenced by the press. I think the press--happily from my point of view--is quite environmental.

#### Social Issues and the Environmental Movement

Lage: In the original list we looked at in planning these interviews--the list from your talk to the Sierra Club Foundation--you mentioned elitism, minorities, urban versus rural, and the distribution of wealth. I wondered how the environmental movement relates to these larger social questions?

Livermore: I think it relates very much to elitism. I remember tangling with my good friend Alf [Alfred] Heller, I guess at some meeting. I didn't mean to use it in a derogatory way, but I said that the environmental movement is basically elitist, and I think it is. That's mentioned in the Fox book; there was an article that amused me in the Sierra Club Bulletin. It may have been several years ago, quizzing it's own membership. It was saying, as I recall, that we're not elitist, but that statement in my opinion was almost a joke. I think Fox quotes the same one; it's something like 85 percent are college graduates and 20 percent are Ph.D.'s and so forth. And I see nothing wrong with that, in fact, I think it's--

Lage: Well, it's the kind of people that join voluntary organizations.

Livermore: Yes, I think it's fine, but the only thing that sometimes bothers me is if they pretend that they're not elitist, then I don't think they're honest. So that's what I think the connection is. After all, elitism in its good sense--and that's what I like to think of it as--is a leadership type thing.

Lage: Does the environmental movement show sensitivity to the problems of those who aren't members of the organization?

Livermore: No, I don't think it does. I think that the whole environmental movement would be a lot stronger if it was more concerned with urban problems. I know they're trying to do that; I sent a modest contribution a year ago, I think, to Mike McCloskey to help send some Sierra Club people back to Detroit or someplace; they're trying to get together. I know California Tomorrow tried to do that; there's been a lot of effort on this. I think the Trust for Public Land currently is doing the greatest job on that on these urban gardens-type thing, but they're pretty far apart.

Lage: Have you heard of the inner city outings that the Sierra Club runs?

Livermore: No; inner city outings? No.

Lage: It's been ongoing for a number of years, and it's more of a local chapter activity, but it's several chapters throughout the country.

Livermore: How does it work? You mean they take inner city people to the High Sierra?

Lage: Right. They try to get them going on their own too, so that they can help. Kids can get together and help finance it, get very involved with it.

Livermore: I see, yes, I guess I have heard a little bit about that. I had an amusing experience on that because one of my favorite activities--if you want to call it that--involves the Thacher School wilderness camp. I raised the money for them and got the permit back of Lone Pine. It's a fabulous place. The headmaster, this was twelve years ago now, was very social-conscious--almost on the borderline of being excessively so. By that I mean he was so concerned with the Watts riots in Los Angeles and all that business. He conceived the idea that this camp should largely be oriented toward the urban--the ghetto kids, let's call it that.

Livermore: The first summer--I always remember this; I wasn't there personally but I heard about it--he contacted someone in the Watts area through a sort of a bootstrap program. He got about twenty of these adolescent, teenage, high school kids up to this fabulous camp. One night was enough for them; they all shoved off the next day. They expected to see girls, or I don't know; it was oversold to them. They just couldn't stand the solitude and the beauty and the lack of maybe street noises.

The point of the story, obviously, is that they're just worlds apart--the John Muir, Dave Brower type versus the ghetto kids. It ties in a little bit to what I was saying about the tax base. It bothers me, as I think I've indicated. When my favorite, namely the closure, hopefully, of the Minarets road is settled, I intend to the extent I have health and means, to give more emphasis to that.

Lage: To the social questions.

Livermore: Yes, I think these are bigger questions, and I think they need to be addressed.

Lage: What about distribution of wealth; what was your feeling there?

Livermore: That's something that interests me very much; I have a file on it. Someone told me in Sacramento--I've got the quote somewhere--that 1 percent of the people own 40 percent of the wealth. It seems to me it doesn't take any brains to figure out if that's true, it's very dangerous socially. We know that in countries like India and South America, and partly as a result, as I understand it, of our multinational corporations, the tendency is to make that maldistribution worse.

The problem, as I understand it, is that it's pretty easy to measure income, but it's much harder to measure the dimension of wealth. A typical example being, say, appreciated real estate. A given person or family might have land that they inherited at \$10 an acre, and now it's worth \$1,000 an acre and can be sold as that. So I find it an intriguing subject, and there's very little on it. I have a couple of books which I haven't fully read, but as I say, I have a file on it.

In fact, I produced a cabinet issue on this; God knows why I did it.\* [laughter] I think, you know we did have information issues. I remember a few silly ones like fireflies

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\*See Appendix F.



Livermore: and mules and an obvious attempt to get a little humor in. I did put this out; I don't know why, but it interests me very much.

Lage: This problem of distribution of wealth?

Livermore: Yes, and it ties in practically too; I can remember two other things connected with it. In Sweden they have a wealth tax, as I recall it, it's 1 percent of their wealth for everyone over a certain amount. So that obviates it somewhat. I'm sure you've seen the publicity--and it's still true to a degree in this country--that you can have an income of a million dollars a year, but you don't pay any income tax. I don't think that's bad per se, because the answer usually is either a capital loss somewhere or charity.

Another thing, more practical; I think I have it in my files somewhere. It involves Bill Roth, whom I know casually and who ran for governor, very unsuccessfully I might add--no discredit to him; he just wasn't a politician. That was one of his platforms, a wealth tax. So, that's why it interests me. My college major was social science, and I think it's a very important thing.

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Lage: How did the issue on the distribution of wealth go over in the cabinet?

Livermore: I'm looking now to see if I can find the data, but one reason I sneaked it in, if that's the word, is that I did feel, and do feel, that the Reagan administration was not concerned enough with what I sometimes call the lower fifth of the population. I think it's enormously important, and this ties in with the distribution of wealth. I felt that some of the legislation and some of the appointments ignored that.

There was a famous case, and this hit the press, when Lieutenant Governor Reinecke was quoted as saying words to this effect: "Why worry about the poor; we'll always have poor." Well, of course, politically that was a terrible thing to say. But it's fascinating, I think it's in the paper today; there's an article about slums. Did you happen to read that?

Lage: Yes, that they serve a purpose.

Livermore: That they serve a purpose; I think it was expressed very well. Until all the people--and this ties in a little bit with the Garrett Hardin statement--feel strongly enough about it to subsidize the poor, we need the slums, or we'll have the slums.

Livermore: This poses another really gut issue, because I remember having my assistant Ford Ford tell me one day that he was riding up in the elevator in the Resource Building in Sacramento, and heard two people, two neighbors, complaining that they were having a terrible time buying a house, when right next to them people with only half the income were getting a better house because of the subsidy. So, these are almost impossible issues. But anyway, I had that feeling, and still have it, that with all due respect to my good Republican friends, that they tend to sort of brush that under the table, the lower fifth, so to speak.

Lage: Well, would you put yourself in the more liberal wing of the Republican party?

Livermore: [laughing] I certainly would!

Lage: I can't remember if we talked about this before, but I did run across a memo when I was down at Stanford. Apparently other members of the cabinet had charged the wilderness issue with being an elitist issue. You replied that you were sending a donation to some group which was taking lower income people on trips, and you suggested they do the same.

Livermore: That's exactly right. That's the same group where I told you, where the boys all went out after the first night, and it's still going on.

Lage: That was the Thacher School?

Livermore: That was the Thacher School; I remember it very well. The Outward Bound Adventures of South Pasadena came into my office asking for state help, and it was not forthcoming; they were kind of a marginal groups. They're still going. So it just clicked in my mind; I was just helping to start this camp. It may have been the second year, and I said, "I will personally contribute," which I did, "the bus fare." It was several hundred dollars from Los Angeles to bring them up there. And incidentally, the first experience, as I indicated, was disastrous because they'd taken these children--boys, I don't think there were any girls--without fully explaining it to them. This new group has been very successful, and they have built it into their program as a reward, saying, "Now you boys and girls, if you're with it," to use the slang, "then the greatest reward we can give you is to go to this summer camp." So it works fine.

Lage: Do they get a little preparation as well?

Livermore: Yes. I think they take hikes--very much as you apparently described in the Sierra Club.

Lage: Inner city outings. We did a little oral history series on the inner city outings, interviewing about four leaders and one participant, one of the young people. It's very interesting because you get specific experiences they had where this cultural conflict occurred, and how the kids would be terrified by the wilderness.

Livermore: Sure.

Lage: But they've worked it out fairly well because now they have proper experience.

Livermore: Are they growing? I read as much as I can of the club literature, but I--

Lage: I think it's still a small program, but there's one in Boston and in a couple other cities; it's small but vital.

Livermore: Well, I think that's great. Of course, here again I feel a touch of guilt. I think a lot of people do in terms of elitism because, although I think this principle is enormously important, I can't say that I've spent many man-hours in the ghettos working with these people. I think there's a problem--it's a comment, too, on the president. In some of his recent statements on this whole theme he has said, "Let's get government away from it but have more private initiative," United Crusade and all that type of stuff. The typical volunteer worker, which used to be obviously largely women who had more time--their employment wasn't so high. They go for the glamor things like the Junior League, which is fine, or the symphony or the opera--

Lage: Well, they wouldn't even be effective working in the ghetto.

Livermore: They wouldn't, but then who is to do it? It's a problem. Can you just throw money at it? This involves again the distribution of wealth and opportunity and the absent husbands, and you can go on and on. Mechanization, the labor unions, and so forth.

Lage: They're big problems.

Reagan's 1980 Environmental Task Force

Lage: Shall we turn to the topic of the transition team?

Livermore: Sure.

Lage: You were on two separate committees, right?

Livermore: Yes, I was first contacted to be a member of the governor's-- excuse me, slip of the lip--the president's environmental task force. This was about a ten-man committee, appointed by him and chaired by a man named Dan Lufkin who had the same position in Connecticut that I had in California, although years later [Commissioner, Department of Environmental Protection, Connecticut]. We met for three concentrated days, as I recall; it was just the week after the election. There had been a previous meeting, but I was on a hunting trip in Idaho, didn't go on it, but had agreed to serve on the commission. So, I flew back to Washington and had this very interesting meeting. It was a great committee I thought. You'd know a lot of the names: Russell Train was a member; Bill Ruckelshaus was a member; Henry Diamond, who was the natural resources secretary for New York, was a member; I was a member. There was Danny Boggs, John Busterud and Nathaniel Reed.

They produced a report which was gotten out quite fast, in about a week, and submitted to the president. That's the last that anybody's ever heard of it.

People asked "What did the presidential task force say on this and that?" I was sworn to secrecy, and I said, "Well, I can't tell you. You can peek at the copy I have." Of course, I still have a copy of it.

Lage: But it hasn't been published?

Livermore: It has not been published to this day. It was leaked. To elaborate a little bit, before I gave this speech,\* I went to Ed Meese personally, and I said, "This has not been released, and I intend to mention it, and do you have any objections?"

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\*"A Message to Environmentalists," speech by N.B. Livermore, Jr., delivered at the Eleventh Annual ALI-ABA Environmental Law Conference, Washington, D.C., February 13, 1981.

Livermore: He said no. I gave, as you say, quite a bird's-eye of what happened. The full report, of course, was maybe fifteen pages, and I think it was excellent--shall we say? You call me a liberal Republican; well, maybe I'm a liberal-moderate Republican. Anyway, it was a moderate view by people whom I've mentioned that had a lot of environmental experience, and it was a good report.

But in fairness to the president, I think there were twenty-five some odd of these task forces; I think it's perhaps significant that this was the last one he appointed. It did not, obviously to this day carry that much weight with the president and his chief honchos. We did tackle a lot of issues, the pollution issue--

Lage: What kind of a charge were you given?

Livermore: We were just given a verbal charge--I have the letter here somewhere--by the president to give him advice on the environment, which is quite a subject.

Lage: Pretty broad.

Livermore: Pretty broad, and we gave it to him.

Lage: Does it seem as if any of the Task Force's ideas have found their way into policy?

Livermore: Well, I've been following that naturally with bated breath. I can only mention a couple of things indirectly that have indicated some environmental influence: for instance, a man who was on my EPA transition team was refused nomination to the CEQ, the Council of Environmental Quality. Also another nominee, strongly backed politically for the head of the Fish and Wildlife Service has been refused because of inadequate environmental credentials. So these are two very specific issues of environmental influence. Of course, we hear so much the reverse--as elucidated or mentioned by the Sierra Club the Audubon Society and others.

Lage: Was the man on your committee someone the environmentalists did not approve of?

Livermore: Exactly. They dislike him intensely, and I can get into that in a minute. I hope to find something out when I get to Washington, but I just have too many other things to do. I have a clip that Huey Johnson gave me that appears to quote

Livermore: from a letter that Lufkin wrote the president protesting about Watt, I think, and about the whole environmental atmosphere that seems now to be a hallmark, many people say, of the Reagan administration.

I'm intrigued by it because, after all, I was on the committee. You'd think if Lufkin wrote such a letter that he might have sent a carbon to the committee members, but not necessarily. This has been almost a year ago. I want to track that down; I don't know Lufkin that well, I did talk to him on the phone to ask him--when I was back on the EPA transition team--to ask him what the status was of his report. He was, as I recall it, quite piqued because he had not had an acknowledgement of it. Again, in fairness to the president, in those tempestuous days after the election, he had twenty-five of these reports. So, I think it was acknowledged but not, in Lufkin's opinion, appreciated, perhaps is the word.

Lage: You said here [reading] that the "full report appeared January 7, 1981. Bureau of National Affairs, Inside EPA Weekly Report."

Livermore: That's correct; it was leaked two months after the report was published.

Lage: I see. So, it only surfaced sort of clandestinely.

Livermore: Yes, and to my knowledge, it was in contrast to, for instance, the energy task force report which we had some interface with and which was quite well publicized. So it doesn't take a sixth grade education to figure that the powers that be--maybe not the president himself--didn't like our report. The fascinating thing--and I hope to find out more about this; I'm going to Washington next week--is, did Lufkin write a letter in effect complaining to the president? Coming from the chairman of a committee that he appointed, that would have quite a little oomph. But I haven't seen the letter, and I don't know.

Let's be fair; the mere fact that it wasn't given banner headlines or answered with a flowery letter from the president, doesn't mean that it didn't weave it's way into the fabric of the president's staff.

Lage: Would this be the staff that he's carried from California?

Livermore: Well, quite a few people have asked me this question; how could he now be so apparently antienvironmental when he was good in Sacramento? My answer in part is, that it's who he had with him during the eight years since we left Sacramento.

Livermore: I haven't the slightest criticism or resentment of them. They're people who stuck with him through thick and thin, through '75, '76, right on through 1980. Politics is no pantywaist game; it's a tough game. And these people like Meese and Deaver and many others, Verne Orr, stood with him through thick and thin. So naturally he would turn to them, and it just so happens--and you can be either statistical or philosophical or random numbers about this--none of them are especially environmentally oriented. I don't think any of them, that I think of, are as antienvironmental as Sierra Club and Audubon and Wilderness Society would have you believe. But they're not card-carrying Sierra Club members, let's put it that way.

Lage: [laughing] Well, we know that!

Livermore: Yes, and it's just too bad that he didn't have someone of a moderate stripe who was willing to go through the political wars with him, but he didn't.

It's quite interesting; someone called me not long ago--they're writing a book apparently; it won't come out until next year--and this person is writing the environmental section. He asked me a kind of interesting question. He said, "You were with Reagan for eight years in Sacramento. How could he have appointed you, who're, shall we say, a fairly good environmentalist, and then turn around and appoint Watt, who appears to be the antithesis?" My answer was, "Well, I guess there's a certain amount of luck in these things." I'm sure I wasn't his first choice; I'd love someday to know who they first offered my spot in Sacramento, maybe half a dozen people. Neither was Watt the first choice.

Lage: And you make it sound also as if he didn't really explore your point of view before you were appointed.

Livermore: No, I don't think he did. I was intrigued: the Senate committee asked Watt that very question. They said, "How much time did you have with the president before he appointed you?" He said, "Twenty minutes." Well, I had about ten minutes.

Lage: But Watt's views might have been better known, do you think, than yours were?

Livermore: Possibly. But I had, if I do say so, rather strange credentials. I was working for a lumber company, but did have ties with the Sierra Club and was an active Republican. I hadn't, at that time, made that many enemies, I guess you might say. The redwood park was hot on the burner. So it was luck. And he

Livermore: might, instead of Watt, have appointed someone like Senator [Robert T.] Stafford of Vermont, who's a good environmentalist, or Russell Train, but he didn't.

The fascinating thing is all these checks and balances. There's this tremendous furor about Watt, but I don't think he's accomplished hardly anything that they're excited about. He was dinged on the Bob Marshall Wilderness; he was dinged on the outer continental shelf. He did prevail on this federal wildlife appointment, and he's done several good things; I won't get into that right now.

Lage: He didn't prevail, you said? I thought he--

Livermore: He did prevail; Watt prevailed in choosing a good man--good from the environmentalist point of view--for chief of the Federal Wildlife Services. I was hoping at the Bancroft they'd ask me about Watt. I'm building up a list of good things Watt has done. And I'll just mention one. My brother Putnam is active in the thing called the Defenders of Wildlife, which you may have heard of. He's been quite active in the lawsuits involving them in relation to the BLM in Arizona. There's a very picturesque canyon, you might possibly have heard of, called Arivalpa Canyon, and Watt has just announced that he's going to make this the first BLM wilderness area. It's somewhat controversial, so that's just one of the good things he's done.

Lage: Well, you keep the list, because probably nobody else will.  
[laughter]

Livermore: Well, I do have a list, and I don't think it's pertinent to this discussion, but he's done quite a few good things. I agree with him on a lot of the things that he's said. I don't agree with his stridency and the way he handles himself. I think he could be more tactful. That's like you were saying, "Thank God for Dave Brower" or the old joke attributed to Eisenhower about hitting a mule on the head with a two-by-four to get their attention.

So how do you weigh these things? I just don't know. But I don't like pugnacious language to the extent I can help it. I remember Martin Litton, who is mentioned frequently in Dave Brower's book, at the Crescent City hearing on Redwood Park. I found him quite irritating because, I don't remember his exact language, but the gist of it was that no lumber company was any good. It was like I told you at the Bancroft about the lady who said that profits were evil, that all businessmen were second-class citizens. I just don't agree with that; I don't think it's fair.



Lage: Well, Martin Litton uses a lot of colorful language.

Livermore: Yes, I know. And I believe he was fired, as you probably know, from his position at Sunset for that reason.

The Environmental Protection Agency's Transition Team

Lage: How about your job as leader of the EPA transition team?

Livermore: That was far more exciting. I'd only been home a week, I guess, after the Lufkin one, and I was phoned by a fellow named Dick Fairbanks who said, as I recall it, that Ed Meese wanted me to head this EPA transition team, which I did. I went back to Washington about the twentieth of November, approximately, and it was traumatic not only per se but because my dear wife was about to be operated on, a very serious back operation. So I accepted with the condition that I could come back and forth, which I did several times at my own expense. A minor joke, not so minor either, it turned out the whole thing was at my own expense. I spent several thousand dollars for the good cause, and I never got reimbursed anything. It didn't bother me that much because I could afford it, but there were some of the younger people on my team for whom nonreimbursement was quite a hardship, which I feel is quite another story.

Lage: Was it an oversight, or they just never intended to?

Livermore: Well, I don't really know. I was so busy that it didn't bother me much. My impression, for what it's worth, was that the campaigns now have gotten so enormously expensive and complex, and that the campaign teams are so large that they called more people back for the transition than they need have--not so much for the team leaders but the team members. There were something like--I don't know--twenty teams, so there were several hundred people. They really needn't, in my opinion, have asked so many. Of course, having asked that many they promised all of them--as they promised me--travel and hotel money, and they just didn't have enough money to handle it. So I didn't ask any questions.

But anyway, that's relatively minor. I was happy to do it, and I was appointed to lead this EPA team, and went back in a great maelstrom of activity, and reported to the transition headquarters. We were luckier, I think, than many teams because

Livermore: we immediately, that very afternoon, moved to the EPA office where we were given a suite of rooms. It was a modest suite, but adequate, and we went to work. EPA would not have been my first choice, and I don't know what influence Meese or anyone had in this; I didn't even talk to him at that time; we were given various tough deadlines. We had a senate liaison, a congressional liaison, a budget man, sort of a states' rights man and--let's see, there were eight of them--a liaison with [David] Stockman and sort of a think tank man and so forth.

We were welcomed; the EPA's Doug Costle, who was Carter's EPA administrator, was very friendly. We talked to a lot of people, and we just worked like hell. Our report deadline, as I recall it, was December 19. We produced a huge report, as big as the Los Angeles telephone book, most of which, I must admit, were appendices. That was it. We were told our assignment was policy. We were not to have anything to do with appointments is what I'm trying to say.

Lage: I see. You did have some suggestions on general advice and choosing the administrators.

Livermore: Yes, right. We constantly, of course, were bombarded from all sides by people seeking appointments, but we kept telling them, "That's not our job." They had this--I forget the guy's name-- he had a computer set up in the White House and that was out of our sphere, although we were subjected to pressures--put it that way.

Fairbanks was our so-called father confessor. There was a fellow--I forget his name--who was head of all transition teams. Then there were about five divisions--I have this all in a chart--and Fairbanks was the head of, I think it was, environment, resources and--

Lage: Energy?

Livermore: Energy and the Interior. My interest, of course, was much more in Interior than anything, but I was not asked to help on that. It was during the course of this that I had that--I think I gave you a copy, I love that--Sacramento Bee quote which made it very clear that the water establishment didn't want me to be even close to Washington, which I'm not a bit surprised at.

As we came down the stretch I was asked by Fairbanks, which didn't surprise me--there were a lot of rumors floating around--whether I would like to put my hat in the ring as EPA Administrator. And I, with no hesitation at all, said no.

Livermore: It was a job for a younger person, highly complex, and a field that is enormously important but just doesn't interest me as much as the land-use type thing that is more traditional with me.

There was some talk about the CEQ. I gave Ed Meese a quote from that book, Striking a Balance [by John Whitaker, 1976]. I think I can show you the quote right here, which I handed personally to Ed Meese because I think it has merit. The gist of it is that the CEQ should be phased out in 1980. Here it is, on page 52. "In the author's opinion the time will come, probably by 1980, when CEQ should cease to exist," and so forth and so on. Well, it was obvious to me, and still obvious, there's quite an overlap between the EPA and the CEQ. And so I just kind of put this bug in Ed Meese's ear.

This book is just a gold mine of information. Anyway, I asked several times about a report on the CEQ, you know the transition report, but I was told, "No, that's a separate ball game." And so I never did, haven't to this day, seen it. Then to jump way ahead, of course, the amusing thing is my good friend and, in San Rafael, my neighbor, Al Hill, who worked for me in Sacramento, is now the chairman of the CEQ with a very much emasculated staff. Obviously the decision which was made in the White House to abandon, to junk the CEQ was maybe impossible politically. So they hamstrung it, but personally I don't regard that as that much of a tragedy because there's a big overlap with EPA anyway.

But getting back to the EPA, we did produce a report. One of my main functions was to go up on the hill and talk personally to a lot of the key senators and congressmen. We turned the report in on time on the nineteenth [of December], and generally it was, I think, a good report. It was more moderate than apparently they might have liked, a little bit like the Lufkin report.

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Livermore: It was in the paper that Cap Weinberger, who of course was in the process of being appointed secretary for Defense, had a violent disagreement with his transition report. In fact, I think it was stated that he threw it in the wastebasket; he just didn't like the team leader. The same thing may have happened to my report. The administrator, Mrs. [Anne] Gorsuch, wasn't appointed until about February. There was a lot of, I'm sure, infighting because it is a very important position. Again, the transition, the whole transition mechanics when you look back on it was logical, and I think the people that worked

Livermore: on it were very sincere, but the recommendations of the report were only as good as they were accepted or rejected by the appointee. Mrs. Gorsuch, whom I later met in a pleasant few minutes, accepted the report, thanked me for it, and whether she read it or not I don't know. There were so many hot potatoes there that my guess is she glanced at it and may occasionally refer to it.

But it's a constantly moving ball game, and my only regret is that I, having spent a lot of blood on it as you know, never did get a copy of it myself. And to make it a little more amusing, not two weeks ago I had a phone call from a young fellow in the EPA, slightly distraught. He said, "Hey! I'm calling you, Mr. Livermore, as I understand you had something to do with the EPA transition report." I said, "Yes, I had a team; I wrote the report, signed it." "Well," he said, "I'm on the EPA policy office, and I'm looking for some ideas on policy. I wonder if you'd mind sending me your thoughts." I said, "My report must be around there somewhere. Three copies of it were produced." He said, "Nobody seems to know where it is." It's really kind of disillusioning.

Lage: I should say! It makes you think the whole transition process is window dressing.

Livermore: It makes you wonder; it really does. Anyway, an amusing fillip just happened to this two days ago. A nephew of a good friend of mine, who's name won't mean anything to you--Foster Knight is his name--is working now, temporarily, for the EPA. I was called by this fellow--I forget his name right now--with a double question. One was about the policy, and the other was what I thought of this young man who was a candidate for a job. Well, I learned just a couple nights ago from his uncle, a very good friend, that just after this guy called me, he quit. They're apparently having a lot of personnel problems there.

So I found it very exciting, very complex and utterly fascinating. As I say, if I'd been twenty years younger I would have been intrigued with the job. But pollution control still doesn't interest me as much as land use. Thereby, I also display a certain elitism in not being concerned with these gut issues of hazardous wastes and pollution.

Lage: Would you have been interested in a job in the land-use area?

Livermore: I think I would have. Well, not a full-time job; it all depends. Had I been offered Mr. Watt's job I think I would have been hard put to refuse it. I was offered the job of undersecretary of Interior by Hickel and that was one of the really tough

Livermore: decisions of my life to refuse that for various reasons. Some of my friends conjecture, of course, that he was fired not long after that, so had I accepted the job I don't know where that would have left me. Anyway, I felt at the time basically a loyalty to Reagan; he was running for reelection and also that the number one job in California was more challenging than the number two job in Washington. A lot of people say Watt's going to burn out; I don't agree with that, but there may be some advisory committee that I'd be happy to serve on-- as long as I retain reasonable health and vigor.

I feel a closeness to the president. I think I told you the nice letter I had from him about the "Peanuts" cartoon. One main reason I haven't--for obvious reasons--joined the "get Watt" campaign is, that I feel it very logical to keep my channels open. Most of the people who are out to get Watt are Democrats--which is nothing in the world against them. But with the possible exception of Lufkin--

Lage: And [Nathaniel] Reed.

Livermore: Well, Reed is of my stripe; I'd say a moderate Republican, but he was never close to Reagan. I'm sure he would understand my position in not joining the anti-Watt stuff. Furthermore, Reed himself, although I think the world of him personally, he's a little bit too Brower-ish for me. I attended a Sierra Club-National Audubon world economy meeting. This was in New York; it must have been in '75, and he was one of the main speakers. And he, in my opinion, was just a little too strident. You know, this sort of "damn big business" kind of thing. Which is great; you speak in a certain milieu and the more you give the other people hell, you get great huzzahs. But that may not win the battles. So, I like Nat a lot, but I don't agree with all he says.

Lage: OK. Well, I think that we've done a good job covering all that we had in mind, and we've certainly talked for a long time today.

## VIII GOVERNOR REAGAN'S CABINET SYSTEM

[Interview 5: March 16, 1982]##

Cabinet Issues on Distribution of Wealth

Morris: Ann Lage and I would both like to know more about your interest in land use and wealth distribution. In your interviews with her you mentioned a cabinet paper on that.

Livermore: I saw that on your interview outline. That was [on the cabinet agenda] June 10, 1974. The title was "Land and Oil Tax in Relation to Land Use."\* My secretary's note says, "June 27, defer until NBL (that is me, of course) can be present."

Then in August it is referred to a conference meeting where Resources (that was me) "will have full input in the proposition for the bill." I don't remember right now whether I actually proposed a bill related to land use. I just don't know. If you are interested, I can dig it up.\*

I know I was much intrigued and still am. I read somewhere that 1 percent of the people in the United States own, I think it was, 40 percent of the wealth. It is just an absolutely staggering figure. The problem, of course, is that income statistics are very easy to get, but wealth is much harder to get because people have land that they haven't sold or stocks that they only report the income from.

My interest was sparked for another reason. It is sort of a coincidence. Part of the time we were in Sacramento we had a perfectly marvelous Scandinavian couple who rented this

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\*A copy was located in the Reagan Papers at the Hoover Institution. See Appendix F.

Livermore: San Rafael house, and we visited them in Sweden. They were complaining bitterly about the wealth tax. So their taxes are at about 1 percent a year on their wealth. Which means, for instance, if you are land poor and don't have the cash to pay it, then you've got to sell some land. It's a tough tax.

I remember too, that Bill Roth, whom I knew casually, when he ran for governor, unsuccessfully [in 1974], he proposed a wealth tax. So it is an interesting subject.

Morris: That sounds similar to the local property tax.

Livermore: It is similar, but the problem is--I am beginning to remember now. You flash a bell. One of my cabinet illustrations was that if a man has a cattle ranch which is assessed at a million dollars, then he pays a tax. But the same man, of course, can take a million dollars and put it in municipal bonds and he doesn't pay any tax. So that's how it relates to land use. I remember now. So it is a penalty, in effect, on land use.

If you want to look for it at the Hoover Institution, it is my cabinet issue, number R-74-37. The date I submitted it to the cabinet was June 10, 1974. The title was "The land and wealth tax in relation to land use." Apparently it just got lost in the shuffle. My notes show that the June 27 [cabinet meeting] took it up, but that was one of the meetings that I had to miss for some reason.

Then apparently I brought it up again on August 15, when it was again deferred. So of course there were only three more months.

Morris: By then things were getting into the campaign.

Livermore: I am intrigued. See, the cabinet issues as we went along, they were heavily labeled, "decision" or "information." Obviously, the "information" was just to keep the governor informed. This was a decision issue, so I must have requested. I think it fell by the wayside.

Morris: Were you interested in this idea from the point of view of equity or from the point of view of revenues for the state?

Livermore: Well, I think I was interested from the point of view of its affect on land use and equity both. On a larger scale, I don't know how many cabinet issues I had on it, but I have always felt and still feel that the distribution of wealth is enormously important. Look at the Central American countries right now.

Livermore: We apparently, politically, have enough wealth diffusion in this country so that there isn't too much unhappiness about it.

We hear about the Rockefellers and the old wealth and the single tax; Henry George and all that stuff. On the other hand, there is so much new wealth, particularly here in California, the electronics--in Texas maybe the oil people--that politically, I have sort of a gut feeling that people aren't that envious of wealth. I don't really know. Of course when we get in the lower fifth of the population, it is a terrible problem, the poverty.

Another reason it interests me just statistically, and I have never dug into it, it ties in somewhat with the president's tax-free interest plan. Remember Franklin Roosevelt tried to promote legislation where no one could be paid more than \$25,000 a year; that was the same theme.

But if you confiscated all the wealth of people over, say half a million, whatever you take, it doesn't really amount to that much to the masses. But also, my brother Putnam--do you know my brother Putnam?

Morris: I know he was active in the Republican party when you were in the cabinet.

Livermore: Well, I don't want to take too much time before we start, but I can think of kind of an amusing story. Putnam was on this subject with some fairly liberal, let's say, Democrat. On the subject of inheritance and wealth this man said, "Well," he said, "these Rockefellers and Mellons and whoever they are, these huge wealthy people, it ought to be taken away from them." He said, "Nobody should be allowed to inherit more than," I think he said, "\$80,000."

So the conversation went on and on and Put asked him, "By the way, what is the approximate value of your estate?" He said, "\$80,000." [laughter]

Morris: Good thinking.

Livermore: You can see that was whose ox is gored.

Morris: Well, and the perspective. If that is what is coming in, \$80,000 is a good round sum.

Do you recall how the cabinet felt about this issue when it came up for discussion, and how Mr. Reagan felt about it?



Livermore: That is where Molly [Sturges Tuthill] could help. You would have to get the minutes. It was somewhat startling, I think [to them]. I don't think that Reagan would have been that happy about it. Apparently, and that is why I am myself intrigued to recall it, it had some kind of land use implications. Maybe actually I had prepared a bill; I don't remember. Things got a little hectic toward the end there, you know.

Shortly after this, of course, Brown was elected. We started gathering our papers for Molly. Molly might have something that would refresh your memory. Of course, she presumably has Ed Thomas's notes, who was the cabinet secretary.

We were given notes on action on cabinet issues. Before Thomas came aboard there was a gal who took down voluminous minutes of what everybody said around the table. But as I recall, that finally got to be too much, so they only kept action results. Thomas may have had some other notes, which would be very interesting.

#### Secretaries to the Cabinet

Morris: In working with the papers at the Hoover, the cabinet notes that I have seen are much more in detail in the early years than they are by 1973, 1974.

Livermore: Yes, it is just the name of the game, I guess. We started out with Bill Clark who was the cabinet secretary. We had the same one-page issue format. As I recall, they were distributed to about four or five people besides ourselves. By the time we finished in 1974, I think there were about twenty-eight copies going out.

Morris: That is one of the questions I am most interested in. You were one of the few people who was in the governor's office and cabinet for the whole eight years. It is interesting to try and trace what kind of changes there were from the way Reagan ran the governor's office in the first term and then in the second term.

Livermore: I guess I am really the only person who was there for the full eight years, that is, in the cabinet itself. Even Ed Meese I don't think was there in the very beginning. He came as

Livermore: legal counsel.\* Basically, in terms of the executive secretary, first there was Battaglia. He was there for only about six months.\*\* He was just impossible from my point of view. I remember trying to get an appointment with him. He had his day scheduled in, literally, sort of ten-minute sections. He was just unbelievable.

So then Bill Clark took over; he was the executive secretary, as I recall, for about two years. Then Meese succeeded him. So to get back to your question, Meese was legal counsel. I first met Meese after Battaglia left. Anyway, I guess, really, I am the only person except the governor himself who was a cabinet member for the whole eight years. It seems so recent and yet so long ago now.

Morris: Things do sort of speed up. You have mentioned the fact that by the end of the second administration, there seemed to be many more people involved in the information gathering and referring process.

Livermore: Definitely. While Battaglia was executive secretary, the cabinet met in Bill Clark's office. It started out as just a smaller room than this with another room for the secretary who, incidentally as I recall, was Helene Von Damm who is now, of course, right next door to the president.

We sort of lined things up in Bill Clark's office. Then we met with the governor. It was a part of a two-jump thing as I recall. Then when Battaglia left, we moved the whole process over into the so-called cabinet room.

I remember Battaglia unfavorably in particular connection with the redwood park. The hottest issue when I came aboard was the redwood park, and we had all kinds of cabinet discussion on it. Then when there came a time to go back to Congress to testify on the cabinet position which was decided upon based on the many Cabinet issues I had prepared, Battaglia just ran to Washington with the ball completely.

Almost literally, as he was leaving to catch the airplane, he said, "Tell me what to say," kind of a thing. Since the issue was so enormously complex and controversial, I wasn't

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\*January 1967-January 1969.

\*\*January through August, 1967.

Livermore: all that unhappy about not going. Except of course, I was miffed because he was really speaking with relatively little background knowledge.

As I recall, and this is a matter of ancient history, there were all kinds of headlines based on what he said, based in part on what I had briefed him via the cabinet. Then as soon as he came back to Sacramento, there was all kinds of stuttering around. I sort of took over. I later went back to Washington.

The second time I think I went with him. I think I have a kind of a funny picture. [Goes to get picture. Tape off briefly]

Here we are. It is quite a group.

Morris: In Washington?

Livermore: Yes. That was a good friend, Don Clausen; and Battaglia in the middle; and Bill Clark.

Morris: This is Battaglia?

Livermore: This is Battaglia. This is quite a group now; this is the famous Jack Kemp. He was in Sacramento then. This is Congressman Don Clausen. This is Bill Clark. This is Battaglia, and this, of course, is myself. This is a fellow named Gillenwaters.

Morris: Ed Gillenwaters.

Livermore: Ed Gillenwaters, a likeable fellow, whom I haven't heard about at all recently. He was the state's Washington representative.

Morris: Would Gillenwaters have been the man that set up the congressional hearings?

Livermore: Yes, at that time. That was April of 1967, Ray Little of National Park Service. As I recall it, gosh, I only went up there in January; it was either before this or afterwards that Battaglia went back by himself. We sort of conferred, as I recall it; we met with the OMB [U.S. Office of Management and Budget] people; that was when I was first introduced to them. They were, of course, interested in the financial implications.

Then, of course, there was a huge fight, and there was a schism between the Save the Redwoods League and the Sierra Club, and we were right in the middle. It ended up that it wasn't settled until October of 1968, as I recall it.

Livermore: When Battaglia left, is an important watershed, because after that Bill Clark took over. Then, rather to a lot of people's surprise he left for this judgeship, then Meese took over. I think Bill was there for about a year and a half.\*

Then, getting back to cabinet mechanics, I think most of the time that Bill was there, there was a succession of cabinet secretaries. Win Adams was cabinet secretary. At first he was my deputy in Resources and then he went to the cabinet for a while. Then he had a marvelous German girl as secretary. Of course, these cross-ties are endless. She is the one that took all of the notes that Molly has now, when Win Adams was the cabinet secretary.

Then, he wanted out, as I recall. He was a real work horse and a fine fellow. He was a campaign type. Then he was appointed to the Water Resource Control Board, which he wanted as a less onerous spot. That is when Ed Thomas--seems to me that Thomas and Meese kind of came together.

Morris: Earl Coke was cabinet secretary for six months in there.

Livermore: Oh, that's right. Earl Coke, oh, I could talk all morning about Earl Coke. Yes, he followed Win Adams, I think.

Morris: Yes, he did for about six months.\*\* I wondered if that was an interim thing, or if the governor had thought that a cabinet person could also take over as cabinet secretary.

Livermore: Very good question, very good question. You would have to check other sources on that. But I do remember mainly about Coke. He was very possessive of the privacy of the governor. He may have been right. He felt that the governor's time should be very zealously guarded in terms of scheduling.

I had a real tiff with Coke because Ray Arnett, who is now number two or number three to Watt, wanted to have the governor--a very simple request--be photographed issuing a hunting license to somebody, don't ask me who. It was just a typical PR thing. Five minutes of his time with the governor and this person, whoever it was, giving him a license. He was doing hundreds of this kind of thing.

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\*August 28, 1967-November 25, 1968.

\*\*February 12-November 25, 1969.

Livermore: Coke--it was before the Dos Rios squabble--but anyway he said, "No, the governor is too busy." So I went around Coke. I said, "To hell with this; this is ridiculous." After one cabinet meeting, I just walked up to the governor. I said, "Governor, we are not going to be loved if you can't give five minutes of your time to this person." He said "yes," right away, so we did it.

Coke was efficient other than that. Then it went from Bill Clark to Win Adams to Coke; then Thomas, I guess, was cabinet secretary for five or six years. Thomas and Meese were it for a long time. It was with Meese and Thomas, as I recall it, that the minutes became less voluble. As resources secretary, I never got the side issue minutes, you might say, nor was I interested particularly in the minutes of the other cabinet officers. I just got my stuff. I do have this index of them, but when I left Sacramento, I don't think I retained any of the issues themselves.

I have a few, I think, on some of the bigger things like the redwood park and the Dos Rios and the wild rivers. I have a few of them, but we were told quite emphatically not to take anything that was important. You know, they said, "Don't take anything that is important home with you."

Morris: This was in 1974, when your collecting for the archives began?

Livermore: Yes. Molly came around. She took some stuff herself and took a few notes. Then we had a couple of roundtables. She probably has some on tape of strictly impromptu and frankly not too well briefed in advance.\* We were asked to give what we thought were the most important things in our daily work.

So I did take about eighty boxes worth of stuff, but none of it did I think was, in my judgment, important to Stanford or the governor. Or if it was, it was just a duplicate.

A lot of correspondence. I have thrown most of it away because a lot of it was just chaff, but I still have eight or ten boxes of stuff.

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\*Roundtable staff discussions were recorded on December 17 and 18, 1974, summarizing accomplishments and concerns of the Reagan administration. Tapes are in the Hoover Institution.

Morris: You are probably the only person who has taken the time to go through and, as you say, weed out the nonessential things.

Livermore: I may be, yes. It wasn't that hard. It is a constant problem. Just the other day, I had about four folders on Reagan's earlier presidential campaigns. I moved my office, whatever you want to call it, in this little den. I threw it all away. I figured well, he is president now.

Morris: You mean the things that were going on in 1968 and 1972?

Livermore: Well, yes, in 1968 and 1972, I had quite a file. This was before he was elected president. What I did throw away was something that I wish I had not. It is a nice little pamphlet giving what they call the Reagan Alumni. Molly might have some of those.

It gives phone numbers and addresses of all the Reagan appointees, and I just apparently threw it away. When we were going to this barbeque, I wanted to get it, but you just can't hang on to everything. Part of our reason is that we don't know how much longer we will be in this big house, but we are just rattling around, and we kind of keep telling ourselves every now and then, "We have got to get rid of some of this stuff."

#### Some Campaign Memories

Morris: Were you as a cabinet member asked to lend a hand with some of the soundings that went on in those early presidential efforts?

Livermore: Well, yes and no. We were invited and did go to Miami in 1968 which was very interesting. We frankly didn't do a thing there other than just have fun in the sweltering heat. I think it was June.

We, of course, knew the principal characters very well. I remember sitting in the gallery and all the hubbub. It was really exciting, but I was not a delegate. As I recall, we were just allowed to purchase, I think, mostly at our own expense, a round trip to Miami. It was fascinating.

Also, I retained a little stuff. I ran across it just the other day, from Tom Reed, who is incidentally back working now with Bill Clark. We have some sort of campaign stuff in

Livermore: 1968. We had a few conferences in Sacramento, but I was not at all active. Nor, as a matter of fact, was I active prior to going to Sacramento. That is why it was a major bombshell to me to be appointed.

I had been very active in the First Congressional District, politically. But, not in the Reagan-for-governor campaign. I knew very well and still count him as a good friend, a fellow named Bill Roberts.

Morris: Yes, Stuart Spencer's partner.

Livermore: Stuart Spencer's partner. The Don Clausen campaign must have been in 1962, I think. We hired Bill Roberts; it was one of his first big assignments. That was the somewhat dramatic campaign when Clem Miller was killed in an airplane, and he defeated Clausen as a deceased candidate.\*

So we had to turn right around again, and run again, and have a special election. That was January of 1963. That was really tough. I remember pleading with Cap Weinberger for some state financing. At that point, I remember Cap said, "Well, the state committee probably doesn't even have enough money to pay their own phone bills." That was just after Nixon was defeated. Remember he ran for governor against Pat Brown.

Morris: Right.

Livermore: I remember Cap so well then. We had lunch--this is an aside, but kind of amusing. Cap said, "Well, we don't even have enough money to pay the phone bills. I will tell you what. There is a fellow from Colorado." I think his name was King. "We'll have lunch with him at the Fairmont." Which we did.

This was a fellow, I think he later was convicted of fraud or something. Anyway, he was a very personable guy. He had been a great fundraiser in Colorado. So we did have lunch with him, and about all he did in effect, was say what he had done in Colorado which is standard stuff. He had a list of big donors and had meetings and so forth and so on.

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\*Miller died in an airplane accident on October 7, 1962, and in the November election received 100,962 votes to Clausen's 97,949.

Livermore: The thing I remember with particular amusement, when we finished Cap said, "Well, are you going back to your office?" (I was in San Francisco with the Pacific Lumber Company) and he said, "I'll give you a ride." I said, "Fine." So we went out, and it was Powell Street or somewhere and Cap gave me a ride downtown. I swear it was about a 1931 model Chevrolet. It was the most decrepit car.

I said, "Well, Cap," I said in a friendly way because I knew him pretty well, I said, "Well, gee Cap, it is kind of an old car you are driving, isn't it?" He said, "Well, yes," he said, "I am still paying off my debt when I ran for attorney general." Which he did, I guess, in 1954. I thought to myself, here is a great guy, and I guess he was. I don't know how big a debt it was, but he has come a long way since then.

Morris: He is a determined fellow, and he seems to have very strong, clear ideas about government organization.

Livermore: Yes, oh, yes, very smart. I always liked Cap. I don't know him quite as well as my brother does, but I know him pretty well. He was a help on several things. But anyway, let's see, how did we get on that subject?

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Morris: Raising money for Don Clausen's 1962 campaign.

Livermore: Oh yes. Well, we raised \$80,000 for the November campaign, and then in January we had to raise another \$80,000 or so. So he and I became pretty well acquainted at that.

As I say, I didn't do too much in the 1966 campaign-- didn't feel I could take that much time from Pacific Lumber. I did see Bill Roberts occasionally. One time it was at a fundraising lunch in San Francisco. He introduced me to Tom Reed, and I remember Reed asked me what I thought about Cap for secretary of Resources.

Morris: And what did you say?

Livermore: As I recall, I said he was a very bright fellow, but I didn't believe he had much experience with the environment; though he did have a hand in setting up the water department when he was in the legislature.

That's why I was so surprised when later on they asked me to be Resources secretary.



Morris: When the Governor did ask you, did you talk to Cap or anyone else about the pros and cons of joining the administration?

Livermore: Not particularly. But Don Clausen came by my house here one day and talked to me for about two hours, all about how the redwood park was a terrible issue that would tear me apart.

Morris: What was Congressman Clausen's concern?

Livermore: Well, I think his concern was partly genuinely for me personally, in terms of the pressures; we were really quite close just in a political way. You could say I was his guru for about three campaigns. I think, it was also his realization that, Marin being basically preservation-oriented and Humboldt County and Pacific Lumber being basically the opposite, it was an almost impossible formula to tackle.

Morris: Right, so Clausen really didn't want a redwood park that he had to deal with in his own congressional district.

Livermore: That is correct. We are still friends, but of course we ended up at just opposite poles because his suggestion for a park was really inadequate, politically. Environmentally it mainly consisted of turning the state parks over to the federal government, which, of course, to this day has not occurred. The compromise consisted of this, I often call it a hyphenated park because really the best parks of the "national" park are really the three state parks.

Morris: Right.

Livermore: The position we finally evolved, which was basically my suggestion to the governor and the cabinet, was to not give up the state parks unless there was an equivalent federal exchange which to this day has never occurred.

Caspar Weinberger, Verne Orr, and the Department  
of Finance

Morris: Was Tom Reed, would you say, looking for liberal people or conservative people or what, when he was looking for people to take various government jobs?

Livermore: Well, that is a very good question. He was appointment secretary for perhaps a year. I know Tom pretty well. I worked for him part time in Washington after I left Sacramento

Livermore: for about six months consulting in the Department of Defense. I would say he (these terms get so over-worked) he was very loyal to Reagan; loved the combat and the glamor, you might say, of political campaigning.

The fact that he mentioned Weinberger to me when I first met him and also in his general demeanor in Sacramento, I wouldn't call him that conservative.

Morris: Was he advocating Weinberger?

Livermore: No, when I first met him--I told you about it--here in San Rafael, he simply asked me what I thought of Weinberger as a candidate for secretary for Resources. As I just told you, I thought he was just a top person, but I didn't know how much environmental experience he had had. Then later, it seems to me, Tom had left Sacramento before Weinberger had come as director of Finance. The amusing thing about Cap to me, as well as I know him, is when that was mentioned in Sacramento, I remember distinctly there were quite a few queazy feelings along the line that Weinberger is too liberal: Gee whiz, do we really want him up here?

Morris: This is queazy feelings in the governor's office?

Livermore: Yes, as to his being too liberal. I think I may have mentioned this to Ann--don't ask my why, but the longer I was in Sacramento, the more liberal I became on many issues. I would say that Weinberger's evolution has been somewhat the reverse.

I remember hearing him give a talk here at Dominican [College] about three years ago, after he had gone with Bechtel, and he was very conservative. So why that somewhat different evolution in thought has occurred, I don't really know.

I suppose my environmental interests tended to draw me to more liberal positions. I know the water people, for instance, I guess they still really have it in for me. I have a very amusing clip from the Sacramento Bee. I think I may have showed it to Ann. It is to that effect.

Morris: When Weinberger did come to Sacramento as director of Finance [March 1968], did that make a noticeable difference in how the cabinet group functioned; the kinds of budgetary concerns and the spending patterns that were developed?

Livermore: Well, let's see. The first Finance director was a fellow named Smith. He was a little like Battaglia. He was a kind of a, somewhat of a grandstander, as I recall it. I didn't see him that much. You see, in those early days there wasn't that good a liaison. Was there someone between him and Cap?

Morris: I don't think so. There may have been an acting person.

Livermore: I don't think there was.

Morris: A director of Finance didn't meet with the cabinet in the early days?

Livermore: Well, not all the time. Not all the time. Cap, of course, would always be there. In Washington, he came to be known as "Cap the Knife," which certainly seems to be the reverse of what he is now in terms of boosting expenditures in defense.

No, I can't recall any major difference. Anything, of course, with a dollar sign on it had to go through Finance. I remember the people in all of my various departments. They used to just hate Finance, not so much that they were always a lid, which was their function, but they would try to--which I suppose was inevitable--they not only would say, "Well, you have got to cut this ten percent" but they would tell them where to cut it. That used to really make people mad. I suppose that was throughout state government, I don't really know.

Morris: Was that the origin of a change that we have come across in some of the cabinet reorganization plans? I think that in the second reorganization there was a shift from the department of Finance developing budgets to the departments themselves developing budgets which would then have to go through Finance. There was some talk that Finance was doing too much of the work that should be done by departments.

Livermore: Well, there was constant talk of that, but I didn't remember any major difference in mechanics. Each budget year, the Finance would fan people out; I am talking, of course, just of my agency, and they would work with department heads. They were always tough, but I think they got a little less so in terms of what they would approve or not approve.

One other thing I remember about Finance particularly--particularly on Verne Orr--I always felt that Education got too much. Of course, I was like any cabinet secretary; you are working on a platform of economy and yet when push comes to shove, it's awfully difficult not to, you might say, stand up for your troops, that usually results in the reverse. Whether it is parks, or CDF [California Division of Forestry], or water or what not, they have always got great-sounding things they need, and make a good pitch for them.

Livermore: Cap's statement, which was standard Finance, and you hear it down in Washington, "Well, you can try this program, if you cut something else out." This results in an almost impossible equation. Plus, the other thing I soon learned, in regard to Finance, and I guess this is still true in the federal government. The relation of the Finance and the various agencies and departments to the legislature works something like this: No department head is allowed to save anything. Because if he does save on his department or his division, at 5 or 10 percent under the budget, then next year when he comes up to the budget committee, they'll say, "Well, what the hell, you fooled us. You said you needed a hundred million, and you only spent ninety. So we are going to take the ten million away from you."

So there is no incentive whatsoever to save in government. It is a vicious thing. And yet you can sort of understand it. The legislative committee goes through the budget by line item. That was, having come out of business, one of the biggest disappointments to me. Of course there is no such thing as a P and L, a profit and loss statement, in government. It just doesn't exist.

So getting back to your question about say, Cap versus Verne Orr, I don't remember any really great difference between the two.

Morris: Well, when it got to cabinet discussion, how much weight would the Finance point of view have in the discussions and in decisions?

Livermore: Oh, they would have tremendous weight, tremendous weight. A lot of times it would have weight even in advance. For instance, I remember a suggestion I had, and I can't remember whether I brought it up as a cabinet issue, but it had to do with funding the receipts to the Jackson State Forest--which were a tremendous windfall to the state.

This is not big in terms of billions, but it is in terms of millions. I notice that Huey Johnson, who is of course now in my spot, has succeeded in doing what I never succeeded in doing. Namely, they take the Jackson Forest stumpage revenues, and capitalize these or at least they put all or part of them in what is called a "resources improvement fund." I don't have the right term. So they are using some of the windfall profits from the Jackson Forest to fund, in part, what they call the CFI, the California Forest Improvement Program, and other similar Resources programs.

Livermore: Well, when I was there, I mentioned this several times to Verne Orr, and he just laughed. He said, "No way will I permit you to do this." So there was a question of rebuff, you might say. And to say there is some clause, I don't know if it still exists, in the state constitution where if there is any surplus funds, education gets them all.

### Education Funding

Livermore: One of the impressions I came away from Sacramento with, which might not please you being connected with the great Bancroft, was that the educator just gets too much.

Morris: Who spoke for education in the cabinet meetings?

Livermore: Well, there was a fellow named Alex Sherriffs. He wasn't a cabinet officer, but as I recall, he came aboard after we had been there two or three years. He spoke for education and spoke very well.

He didn't speak so much, as I recall it, budgetwise as he did programwise while there was this bilingual education funding. Of course, the governor, now president, frequently used to ask-- and I must say that I still wonder myself about the classroom hours of particularly the Berkeley faculty. There was a lot of talk about that. The huge PR budget, even in those days, at UC Berkeley, of course you are--are you a Berkeley coed graduate, by any chance?

Morris: No, I am a Yankee.

Livermore: A Yankee? Oh well, that's in your favor. Well, no disfavor for the other either, but the point is that UC Berkeley, in fact the whole educational establishment has, of course, the most enormous PR in this kind of an apple pie and motherhood issue. Who in the world can be against education?

Yet, as I recall, in statistics, California has about 10 percent of the nation's population, but they have 35 percent of all the community colleges in the country. So, we have a very vaunted educational program, but also there is an awful lot, seems to me, of over-education in relation to opportunity.

Morris: Perhaps that is sort of the legacy of the master plan for higher education which had at one point had as a policy that every child should have some college education, which is an interesting concept.

Livermore: Yes.

Morris: Was the spending for education because there was concern about children and their needs or because of the kind of spending required by the programs that were--?

Livermore: Well, as I recall it, it was just a bottomless pit as far as I am concerned. Verne Orr, more than once quoted to me some clause. I wouldn't remember its title.

Morris: There is a piece in the California constitution that says that education has the first claim on the state revenues.

Livermore: That's the one. That's the one. So as I recall it, in the case of Jackson Forest, or offshore oil, or whatever, Verne Orr, would quote that to me. It turned out later, I used to tease him about it; I think he had a brother-in-law who was a professor at one of the state colleges. So we used to kid about that.

I just think the world of Verne Orr, but we were, you might say, friendly antagonists. But, incidentally, I would have to say that he was a little more liberal than Cap Weinberger, just sort of a seat of the pants reaction. He was helpful to me on many environmental decisions even that did involve some funding.

Morris: In what way?

Livermore: Well, I can't think of a specific instance, but I was never antagonistic to either of them. Maybe it was just because Verne was there longer than Cap. If I went through a whole list of cabinet issues, I could think of some that he would not infrequently sort of turn the balance on an environmental-type decision. For instance, the Minarets Road, which was one of my very favorites.

He was understanding when some of the other cabinet people were not. Now this was a case that involved no money at all, no state money. So it was a purely environmental decision.

Morris: By the time he was director of Finance, the state financial picture had improved tremendously.

Livermore: I think you are right.

Morris: There had been a tax increase, early in your years in Sacramento.

Livermore: That's right.

Morris: By then, the revenues were building up because of inflation. Did that make a difference if there was more money around in general?

Livermore: It must have. It must have. I don't recall any magic watershed. I do remember one other. There was sort of an initial thing having to do with, I think it was called a coffee pot. Something to do with the offshore oil revenues.

Morris: Oh, oh, the COFHE fund. Yes, Construction For Higher Education.

Livermore: That's it. I used to tease Verne about 2 percent. The whole Resources Agency used to get about 2 percent of the state budget. I said, "Ah, come on, Verne, gee whiz, we ought to get a little more than that."

But he preferred the COFHE fund, this educational thing. Of course, everyone has these tremendous demands, particularly the poor old guys that are in health and welfare. That, of course, is just the way it is federally: health, education and welfare.

Then, I remember too, the environmental license plate fund was something I was quite keen on, had something to do with. I think it is still that way. The secretary of Resources has an interesting fifty/fifty vote with the secretary of Transportation.

Riles, whom I see quite a bit of, and think well of, to me he is just a fine guy but he is just the same as many others. Wherever he came from, he just wanted more and more money.

I took a little flack on environmental education, which I think still gets some help from the license plates. But, I remember a couple of meetings with Riles as to why there couldn't be more environmental education in the schools, with their billions and billions of dollars, and the answer was, "No, there is absolutely no room for it unless we get more money."

Cabinet Discussions

Morris: Did you have somebody on your staff who looked after budget matters?

Livermore: Yes, pretty much. Ford B. Ford and later John Maga. Yes, I was not in the guts of budget matters until we went to the cabinet, where it was pretty well brought to a point of discussion. I think that was perhaps one of the weaknesses, inevitably, of the cabinet process because, of course, for me listening to the budget for health, education and welfare-- it is just all Greek to me. I have no way of judging except a seat of the pants feeling that it was awfully big. There were some things we debated.

I remember we debated to some length the bilingual education. I see it is still being argued about the social necessity for it; the difficulties that Latinos, for instance, would have reading a real-estate contract, and the inequity or unfairness of not being able to understand the language.

On the other hand, I guess there are people still arguing that if they are U.S. citizens, they ought to learn to speak our language.

Morris: Was the bilingual education discussion related to the availability of federal funding?

Livermore: Well, it was later, as I recall it, very definitely the availability of funding. Now, what percentage was federal, or not, I don't remember. Sherriffs would come in on that type of thing. When I said earlier that we first used to distribute eight copies of cabinet issues and I ended up with about twenty-eight, he would be one of the ones that came on.

By the time we left Sacramento, the cabinet, eight or ten of us, or six, whatever it was--would be sitting around the table with the governor, but it would be about twenty people around the room listening.

Morris: Would they participate in the discussions?

Livermore: Quite often. Some of them more vociferously than others, and some of them, I heard indirectly, even jumping in too much. They were taking up too much time. It wasn't bad. Basically, the people on the perimeter, as I recall it, like Victorian little children, they were supposed to speak only when spoken to. [laughter]



Morris: Be seen and not heard!

Livermore: Sometimes it worked and sometimes it didn't. The press people I know, particularly, they always had a lot to say. I don't know what happened to Paul Beck.

Morris: He is in southern California.

Livermore: Oh, is he? Yes, he was not a bit shy, and he was quite influential. Then of course, I should have mentioned at the very beginning old [Lyn] Nofziger. He was-- Well, the press was very frequently asked their opinion. For the governor, they didn't have to raise their hand. They would be quite vociferous sometimes.

Morris: And the governor would ask the press for their comments on the issues?

Livermore: They would, as I recall it, raise their hand or not raise it. Then of course there were the legislative liaison staff people. Those two are very important. It might be said that they were cabinet members.

The governor's chief press secretary and the two legislative liaison people were for the first year or two--

Morris: Verne Sturgeon and Jack Lindsay.

Livermore: Yes. Oh, you have really done a lot of homework on it. I got very friendly with them and then George Steffes, who, I think toward the end took over for both of them. I got very friendly with George. In fact we were duck-shooting partners for several years until the shooting got so terrible that he quit, for which I didn't blame him.

Of course, those two were almost always--

Morris: The governor was usually concerned about what the press staff would have to say?

Livermore: I think we all were.

Morris: And the legislative people?

Livermore: I think we all were, yes.

Morris: In terms of how this would be seen outside the cabinet?

Livermore: Whether the certain thing would fly, particularly some issues.

As I told Ann when we talked about the Minarets, I had no legislative connection. Although to backtrack on that a little bit, there was a bill in 1967; I testified on that because there was a legislative effort to include a cross-Sierra road in the state highways system.

The later part of that long evolution, the legislature wasn't involved at all but the press was involved, I would say, almost entirely. It varied, but anyway they were two very important people. Sherriffs was a third person. Then there was a legal person.

You probably know all of this. What's his name? He is in Washington now. Nice fellow.

Morris: Herb Ellingwood?

Livermore: Yes, it was Herb Ellingwood.

#### Legislative Relations

Morris: On the legislative liaison, we have heard a couple of comments from the legislative point of view that they felt that the governor didn't think highly of the legislature. That he felt they were perhaps a necessary evil, at best.

Was that your impression from some of these cabinet discussions?

Livermore: You mean in terms of individual personalities or collective?

Morris: Sort of collectively. If the governor or the cabinet would propose something, was the feeling that the legislature was going to defeat it if they could?

Livermore: Well, I think, pertinent to that, is the radio account I heard just yesterday.

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[The following portion of the interview has been reconstituted by the narrator and the editor due to inadvertent rerecording of the tape.]

- Morris: I had asked you about working with the legislature, which reminded you of a recent radio program.
- Livermore: Bill Bagley versus John Loftin, the editor of Conservative Digest. It was a debate on the KCBS "newsmagazine."
- Morris: Do you recall what their positions were?
- Livermore: Yes. Loftin kept complaining that there were too many people in the administration that "were not Reaganites," disloyal to "true conservative principles," et cetera, et cetera. Bagley replied, very ably I thought, that Reagan's position in Sacramento had been "balanced," that there were plenty of reasons and illustrations as to why Reagan need not and had not always hewed to "mossback conservatism."
- Morris: Bagley was a leading Republican assemblyman while you were in Sacramento. Did you have much contact with him? Were he or other legislators helpful on bills affecting the Resources Agency?
- Livermore: Bill Bagley was generally regarded as a moderate to liberal but also consistently loyal Republican. I knew him well because of Republican activities extending back several years, and because he was a fellow resident of Marin County.
- Anyway, going back to your question about clearing legislation with the governor's office, as time went on, it seemed as if there were fewer bills in the governor's legislative program and there were more rigid channels for dealing with a bill in the governor's office. I would say that later on we spent more time reacting to legislation than putting in new bills.
- Morris: Did this cause you any problems or any difficulties on Resources bills you wanted passed? You mentioned Verne Sturgeon's work in relation to the Forest Practices Act.
- Livermore: I don't recall any major problems.

Environmental Guidelines Report; Land-Use Planning

- Morris: Your files in the Hoover Institution contain a couple of large folders on the Environmental Goals and Guidelines Report. That seemed to be something on which the legislature was really pushing the governor. What was your role in that? What did you hope to accomplish?

Livermore: We spent a considerable amount of time on this. John Tooker, as I have mentioned, was a graduate from my staff, and we worked closely with him in his capacity as head of the Office of Planning and Research.

Morris: In 1969, the governor had called for a Department of the Environment, but that never was established. What happened to that idea?

Livermore: It seems to me that this was around the time we organized and staged the governor's environmental conference in Los Angeles. The idea came in for considerable discussion, but just sort of never caught on--perhaps because of other more pressing environmental problems.

Morris: Then in 1970 the legislature passed the Environmental Quality Act, which called for these guidelines. But the first guidelines weren't completed until 1972. Why was there such a delay? You mentioned Tom Graff and John Tooker, and that the attorney general's office got involved and Nick Yost was a thorn in the administration's side.

Livermore: It was delayed because of a combination of much prolonged cabinet and staff discussion, much verbiage, plus the necessity of holding several public hearings.

Morris: Lieutenant governor Ed Reinecke was also touring the state in 1972 talking about state planning and an energy council. Was he involved in what you were working on or did he have some other ideas of his own?

Livermore: We fairly often exchanged ideas, and we prepared material for him. I don't recall that he had any particular ideas in conflict with mine.

Morris: You also mentioned the Jerry Brown transition in relation to the guidelines and Rose Bird and Bill Press.

Livermore: I recall some detailed interviews and some correspondence with Rose Bird. Bill Press I recall mainly as Senator Peter Behr's administrative assistant.

Morris: In 1973 the guidelines were revised again. It looked as if there was a major shift from the Resources Agency as responsible for environmental planning and compliance to the governor's office of planning establishing the guidelines, with Resources merely adopting them. This was when John Tooker was head of the OPR [Office of Planning and Research]. How important was this change? Was it what you had in mind?

Livermore: There seems to be confusion here between the OPR guidelines, policy statements, et cetera, formulated by OPR and the CEQA guidelines worked up under me, with Norm Hill doing the yeoman work.

Morris: Some say that Reagan and the cabinet wanted to avoid instituting the guidelines. Is that the sense of the cabinet discussions you participated in?

Livermore: Yes, I recall considerable uneasiness by the cabinet as to those guidelines, but we were able to arrive at a consensus.

Morris: Then Don Livingston replaced Tooker in the Office of Planning and Research. What effect did Livingston have on the guidelines?

Livermore: I don't recall Livingston as head of OPR, but rather as a general adviser to the governor and cabinet. He took active part in cabinet discussions, but I don't recall what his exact functions were supposed to encompass.

[tape resumes]##

Livermore: The cabinet has gotten more and more, you might say, henchmen. About the last two years we were in Sacramento, Livingston was quite influential.

Morris: He was a planning officer too.

Livermore: Well, as far as I was concerned, he kind of came out of the blue. He had been a head of some department, don't ask me what. All of a sudden he was elevated to quite a responsible position. He was right under Meese.

But, I remember we almost tangled on several issues. I thought he was running with the ball a little too much. I just don't remember. I remember on the subject of land use legislation there was a--well, the conservative Republicans were very much against it. There was a congressman, from I think Arizona, [John J.] Rhodes, I think it was. This came up in President Ford's administration, as I recall it.

We were asked to take a position on it. At least there was some pressure on me. As I recall it, in that particular case I didn't figure the game was worth the candle because it was obvious that the cabinet, Livingston, and the governor just thought it was a terrible idea.

Morris: That there would be a federal land-use plan.

Livermore: That there be a federal land-use plan. As far as I know, that is still the case. They still are against it. There was another, more close to home, movement that got quite far. That was the regional government here in the San Francisco Bay.

There was an assemblyman, John Knox.\* We had several meetings with him, and we came pretty close at one time, as I recall it, to agreeing to that. Of course, it was kind of a sequel, had it worked, to the BCDC, you know. But again, it just didn't quite make it out of the legislature. As I recall it, we never could quite agree on that.

The problem with that, of course, is the "another layer of government" thing. As a digression, I think one of our great ills of our whole society is this "retreat to the suburbs." What we are doing right here now. We should be made to pay taxes to help take care of the problems of the rotten core of San Francisco. It is just very bad, I think.

Politically it seems to be impossible, at least as yet. As I recall it, there is a form of regional government in the twin cities, Saint Paul and Minneapolis, and one in Pensacola, Florida. These are two sort of fledgling instances of regional government, but basically it has never gotten off the ground because of the jealousy that each political entity has of its own turf.

Morris: Did you have much contact with John Knox when you were working on this?

Livermore: No, only that he tried several times to put this over. I don't recall that it ever got through the legislature. I don't think the governor vetoed it. I think it hit me through the BCDC and all that kind of stuff. I remember meeting the supervisor; I just ran across him the other day. What is his name? A short name.

Morris: In Marin County?

Livermore: No, he is over across the bay; he is an awful nice fellow. I met him with Ed Meese a few weeks ago at a dedication over there. I heard that he was sort of in favor of it.

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\*See Regional Oral History Office interview with John Knox, 1982.

Morris: In Alameda County?

Livermore: Yes. I forget his name, a short name.\* So, it was a constant festering, of course, with all this kind of stuff. Land use, of course, was of intense interest to me; it still is. One of the things the governor did sign had to do with this county planning. I know some counties still haven't done that. I couldn't quite see why the state, in effect, had passed this series of real-estate requirements. It was a series of bills that, in effect, looked over the counties' shoulders. Why might not the federal do the same thing to the states? But, it just didn't seem to be politically possible.

Health and Welfare Agency's Environmental Concerns,  
Solid-Waste Management

Morris: You talked a little bit in your interviews with Ann about working with Business and Transportation on things. We have talked a little bit about Agriculture and Services. How about the Health and Welfare secretary? Were there areas where the two of you shared an interest? To what extent would Spencer Williams and some of his people comment on some of these pollution-control programs that Resources developed?

Livermore: Well, of course the three pollution-control groups--air, water and solid waste--had definite health interests. I remember in the case of solid waste, we had a lot of trouble because the Department of Health, as I recall it, held it up for two or three years. They were very militant about it. They felt that it was a health problem and they should have the turf, so to speak.

Then the Water Resource Control Board felt the same way. That was one reason we finally came up with this Solid Waste Board which took a lot of putting together. It was done mainly by Ford Ford, whom I mentioned was very helpful in that. This had a lot of politics. What is being done currently I really don't know, but I understand that we, just here in Marin, as you probably know, every week put out on the street paper and bottles and recycled cans.

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\*Alameda County Supervisor Joe Bort.

Morris: Yes, that is local option.

Livermore: Local option, but I think it stems from the state subsidy. I have heard indirectly, which is a sadness, that it isn't working too well in Marin because the aluminum-can industrial program which pays whatever it is, a penny a can, has taken the cream out of this program.

Morris: Instead of moving the revenues back into local government.

Livermore: Yes, that this collection system, which is being tried right now in Marin, is not doing as well as it might because the cream of it, apparently, is the aluminum. That is moving in other channels, somehow, I don't know how.

Morris: Going back into the aluminum industry?

Livermore: Yes, rather than through the garbage pickup. So, to answer your question, the pollution control agencies and health squabbled on that, but other than that, I can't--

I had a lot of interchange with Business and Transportation and quite a bit with Agriculture and Services, but on Health, and Welfare, except for beefing about the dollars to education, it was all to me the least interesting, for obvious reasons. I mean the talk about the mental hospitals and about education costs and about the long discussions we had on welfare fraud and all that stuff.

I just sat in cabinet after cabinet after cabinet and wasn't that interested. So, the interface, to answer your question, was very little except for the solid waste. I would have to add there was a little bit on air pollution. Of course, we were constantly getting--through John Maga, the executive officer of the Air Pollution Board--statistics on health hazards and all this stuff. There was no argument or interface particularly that I can remember.



## IX MANAGING THE CALIFORNIA RESOURCES AGENCY, 1967-1974

Deputies and Departments

Morris: I would like to ask you a little bit about how you functioned as administrator of that large agency with such a heterogeneous collection of boards and departments under it. Did you try and run the agency as the governor ran the cabinet, with task forces and cabinet-style meetings of department heads?

Livermore: I would say it was somewhat comparable. My system, I still have the minutes on that. I had a meeting every two weeks, and then I'd meet with them individually when there were questions that just related to one department.

[Tape interruption. Conversation reconstructed by the narrator and the editor.]

Morris: In one speech you mentioned that you spent a good deal of time working out differences between departments. Could you recall some instances and how they were resolved--particularly with such strong-minded entities as the Water Resources Board and Fish and Game and State Lands, and later on nuclear energy and solid-waste management.

Livermore: This simply required a lot of jawboning, hopefully always good natured, based on developing facts and melding differing points of view. Occasionally, I would have to disagree with department heads on issues taken to and approved by the cabinet.

Morris: Early in the administration, the agriculture department was located in the Resources Agency. In some minutes of the Little Hoover Commission on government reorganization, I came across quite a heated discussion that indicated that Agriculture felt its interests were not adequately represented, that it should be a separate agency instead of part of Resources.

Morris: Did you get involved in that issue? Did other departments in the agency feel the same way?

Livermore: Yes, I certainly got involved. For a few weeks Ed Coke was nominally under me, but it did not take long for Agriculture to flex its muscle and demand direct cabinet representation. This did not bother me at all, because I felt I had plenty on my hands without Agriculture. Other departments didn't feel the same way.

Morris: Did Governor Reagan consult with you at all on who might be appointed as directors of the various departments in your agency?

Livermore: Not that I recall. Mostly appointments were handled by Tom Reed, then by Paul Haerle and, later on, by Ned Hutchinson. Almost always they would consult me about the people being considered for appointments in Resources.

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Morris: One aspect of the second reorganization plan was the creation of the Department of Navigation and Ocean Development. This was in 1969; do you recall if the thinking on that had any connection with the oil spills that received so much attention at the time?

Livermore: No, I believe the reorganization preceded the Santa Barbara oil spill, or it at least had no direct connection with it.

Morris: Robert C. Walker was the first director of that agency. What were his qualifications? Did you take a role in his appointment?

Livermore: I get along with Bob very well and don't recall questioning his appointment.

Morris: How about input on deputy secretaries or other people you [tape resumes] needed to help you run the agency?

Livermore: There weren't that many changes, as I mentioned, and they usually came from the appointments office. I can't offhand think of any that I personally sought for or brought in. As I say, I was usually so busy; I was happy to just review the candidates, and I did. I was given an option.

Morris: They'd say, "Choose two or three"?

Livermore: Yes, exactly.

Morris: How about Win Adams; I understand he was sort of acting agency director until you came aboard? Did that cause any problem between the two of you?

Livermore: It did at first because I didn't know him from Adam, pardon the pun. He, of course, came there in November. I didn't accept the job until about the middle of January. He was ensconced there as, incidentally, was Bill Gianelli, who was, of course, a very powerful and personable director.

I wasn't at all happy at first with Adams. I felt that he should not have been thrust on me--nothing against him at all personally. Except, when you walk in a room with a complete stranger-- Yet I soon found that he performed a real function as sort of a liaison in contrast to the situation in Washington, which is another story. (By that I mean my EPA work about a year ago.) You know, I checked on him [Adams], and he was not, at first, an affable-type fellow that you warmed to right away. On the other hand, I soon did. He was very helpful, and I overcame my hesitance, you might say, in a very few days.

Morris: That would be an awkward situation to find a deputy already there before you.

Livermore: It was awkward, and I don't know how prevalent that was. I was simply told that he was a real trojan in the campaign, and that he was intelligent, and he helped me a lot.

Morris: Did you have different ideas at all about how the agency should work and what the agenda should be?

Livermore: No, I don't really recall any problems. My first recollection is that Adams had a huge pile of papers that were unsigned by Hugo Fisher having to do with some mechanics of getting credit or something. I think it was some park. I remember he was somewhat critical of unfinished business, having to do with some federal allocation or something.

Morris: But you were supposed to sign to give Hugo Fisher credit?

Livermore: I can't honestly say what the trouble was. I remember that it had something to do with the red tape of signing or not signing. It had to do with parks, as I recall it. But, we worked this out together--of course, I will elaborate a little bit. Say, Bill Gianelli was there when I came aboard. He was announced with considerable fanfare before I came aboard. This is another story because, as you perhaps know, the first

Livermore: administrator of Resources was Bill Warne. He was given his choice, as I recall it, of being administrator of the Resources Agency or director of the Department of Water Resources. He chose the latter because he felt it much more important.

That was one of the early battles I overcame, with the people in Los Angeles particularly. They apparently had never heard of the secretary of Resources. They had been so used to getting their way with the Department of Water Resources that it was its own kingdom, which is another story.

But, getting back to Win Adams, he was fine. He helped me; we worked together. There was a period of several months or weeks--see Gianelli was aboard, and then I chose, or at least I was in on the decision on Stearns and on Bill Mott, and on Kerry Mulligan who was Water Resources Control Board, and on all of the other department heads except Gianelli.

#### Matters of Style

Livermore: It was, I guess, two or three weeks or maybe five or six, I don't remember, before they all came aboard. Of course, I used to talk to them individually a lot. One of the things I remember, just a matter of style, I guess, Hugo Fisher had a huge telephone bank on his desk. I was kind of terrified of it, coming from a relatively small company.

I had had literally only one employee. I was a staff man with mainly just a secretary. Here I had, what was it, ten thousand in the agency. So I looked at this thing, and I said, "What's that?" "Well, Hugo Fisher liked to be able to press a button and talk to anybody in the agency." I said, "How much does this cost?"

I said, "I don't need it. Take it away." I am not the greatest on the telephone. I like to talk to people in person. If it's that important, I will get them to come up here.

So I kind of evolved--I don't know what Huey Johnson does, whether he meets once a week, but I found that once every two weeks was plenty. Of course, there would be constant individual communication on things involving--

Morris: So that you stayed directly in touch with the department directors and the chairmen of the various boards?

Livermore: They all came to my bimonthly meetings. The attendance wasn't 100 percent. Some of them were, shall we say, itinerant directors notably Ray Arnett. He's a likeable guy, but he loves to hunt and fish so much he was absent quite a bit. Of course, they would send a deputy, but every year or so I would give a little gentle prod. I would send out a little attendance list saying who had done the best job of attending.

Naturally if it had evolved to everybody just sending a deputy, why it would have been less effective. Quite often they would send a deputy. I think there was a gentle movement to request me to always accept a deputy. As I recall it, I wouldn't do that. I think every two weeks was not that onerous. Yes, if you are sick, or if you have a really critical engagement, like going to Washington or some place, but I didn't automatically accept a deputy.

#### Speeches, Cabinet Meetings

Morris: How did your work week break down in terms of how much time you spent on cabinet matters and how much time you spent on internal administrative things and how often you were on the road? You made some fine speeches.

Livermore: You're nice to say that. One of my regrets looking back on it is that I spent probably too much time preparing speeches. I spent quite a lot of time on that. I have a complete list of all the speeches I gave and copies of most of them. It sort of started, I guess, because I found that they were in the habit of circulating them to the department heads. So I felt that they were important as a kind of a policy guide. Being more relaxed about it now, I am sure that most of them were thrown in the waste basket.

Some of them were, I felt, very important. Also I felt that since I was speaking basically on policy matters that they should be written out. That turned out to be really a major headache because it is an awful lot easier to speak from notes. The speeches that I enjoyed the most were maybe a quarter of them when I did just speak from notes.

I was told that Claire Dedrick, who was my successor a couple of years later never ever wrote out a speech. (Now, that may be not fair to say.) And the same way, to a lesser extent, with Huey Johnson.

Livermore: So, getting back to your question about time, I spent a lot of time on speeches. I remember in particular my Commonwealth Club speech, which really wasn't that great; I spent an awful lot of time on that. The trouble with a speech, of course, it's like a college theme: your mind teems with ideas, and you have an inch and a half of material, and then, how do you put it together?

The other thing I remember on speech time, I never was comfortable really with a dictating machine. It is because I have been spoiled all my life. I had a secretary. Since I retired I use these tapes. They are so much easier.

Getting back more to the nuts and bolts, our cabinet meetings were about twice a week on the average.

Morris: Now, is that the cabinet meetings with Governor Reagan?

Livermore: With Governor Reagan. The statistics on those I could dig out if you think it is that important. He was away occasionally. But he must have had, oh, fifty or sixty cabinet meetings a year. Of course, they all involved preparation.

Morris: You would all go over to the governor's office?

Livermore: Yes, we would walk over to the governor's office. I might have one issue, sometimes two or three issues. They all took a lot of preparation time. Well, this would give you a smattering. This is the summary of eight years of cabinet meetings.

Morris: You had a total of 825 from 1967 through 1974.

Livermore: I think I was probably the champ. So, you see, here were my issues, and here are the various departmental issues. So, I initiated and other departments (I think that was mostly me) 384. The next biggest was water, you understand, and then parks.

Morris: Parks and recreation.

Livermore: Then Conservation and so forth. I am sure there was half a dozen from the housing; see there, then it was transferred to business and transportation. So I have here a summary of all the issues as to the action.

Time Management

Livermore: One of my major regrets is that I didn't keep time sheets. For years, in fact almost all of my working life and all of my retired life, I keep quite accurate time sheets. It started partly because of the political thing I mentioned. I felt that when I was with PL I should be able to answer both to myself and others just how much time I was spending on this.

Also, at one time, I had a pack-train business, and I was in business with my brothers. Since then, I keep my Fish and Game time separate, and my general environmental work separate and my work for the family and so forth. But in the eight years I was in Sacramento, I was just too doggone busy.

Morris: I can believe that. I am interested in how much time you spent on internal running the agency and how much time you spent on backup to the governor in this policy development role of the cabinet. The other big component, looking at it from the outside, is the outreach, dealing with your constituents and the governor's.

Livermore: I don't think I could right now figure it on a percentage basis. I could if we horseback it. I have a list of all the speeches and I have a thing at the ranch.

I got kind of a kick out of it. I have a map with pins in it which locate every place that I visited in eight years away from Sacramento. Each pin, of course, represents a trip. They were sometimes, but not always involved with speeches. So I have those two things.

Then I do have, in fact I have them right in the other room, I have eight years of calendars. Off the top of my head, I would say I spent maybe 15 percent of my time on speeches and/or preparation and/or trips.

Another 15 percent, or say, one seventh, in cabinet issues, preparation, or cabinet discussion. The other 70 percent just all over the map; entertaining, that is the wrong word, listening to visitors. My own, once very two weeks, staff meetings and a preparation therefore. Telephone calls, of course, endlessly; correspondence. That's just a wild guess.

Morris: That is a good sort of horseback estimate of your time broken down. On these trips and speeches, did you have a staff person who worked with you on screening requests for you to come and talk or come and sit down and jawbone.

Livermore: Well, of course, I had a marvelous secretary. She is now, incidentally, one of Brown's appointees, Marty Mercado. You have probably heard of her.

Morris: Yes.

Livermore: She is a department head now. She was my personal secretary. So, of course, she would screen all of my correspondence. As far as speech requests go, they would come from all sources. I think, as I look back on it, I may have accepted too many. I don't really know. It is a hard thing to judge.

Working with Reagan and the Governor's Office

Livermore: I enjoyed giving speeches.

Morris: Yes, you seemed to like to talk on your feet.

Livermore: Yes, I enjoy it.

I hate reading them, which I almost always had to do. I tried to not just look at the text all the time. That's a skill. The president, of course, is a master of that. God, I've seen him writing on these little cards on an airplane trip; there is no indentation or anything.

He has big writing. He wears contact lenses, of course. You probably know. He just kind of peeks at his notes.

Morris: When you were travelling with him, would he be writing out these cards, getting his thoughts organized?

Livermore: More than once. More than once. Yes. I didn't have the temerity to put my nose right over his shoulder, but from glancing as close as I am to you sitting beside him in an airplane, he didn't seem to have anything but massive writing on the cards. He must have a photographic memory. They were small cards, about like this. [measures space about 5 x 8 inches] I couldn't see, at least from a glance, I couldn't see indentations or underlinings or topics. It just seemed to be a mass of writing. That may not be true, I don't know.

Morris: He would be working on that while going to a meeting?



Livermore: Sometimes, yes. It only happened to me two or three times. I would occasionally be with him on the plane. I remember particularly once going to Eureka. He was writing a speech. Then you would see them close to him on the podium.

Say, getting back to speeches, I have a list of all of them, and they tapered off a little bit too.

Morris: If you have got a list handy, that would be a great appendix to your memoir.

Livermore: Sure, I'll give it to you.\*

Morris: In 1969, you gave a nifty speech to the water committee of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

Livermore: Oh yes, I do remember that. I remember that one very well. Yes, that was when I finally got through to them.

Morris: October 20.

Livermore: October 20, yes; "Those Three Letters" was the speech title. Yes, that is one of my most memorable ones. Yes, October 20. That was when I finally educated them that Bill Gianelli was not the only guy to set water policy. So I guess there are about maybe ten pages. If they are that important I could maybe xerox them and send them to you.

Morris: I think so, as an example of the kinds of demands there are on somebody in your position.

Livermore: Sure, I can do that without too much trouble.

Morris: At your convenience. Did the governor's office ask you to clear speeches through them and clear who you were going to go see?

Livermore: Well, particularly in the earlier years when we didn't know each other better, they were very insistent on printing press releases. My memory is a little dim on speeches. Seems to me speeches were more or less left to my own judgment.

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\*See Appendix G.

Livermore: I don't ever remember being reprimanded for a speech. I remember getting in hot water for a lot of other things, but it would be more apt to be a statement to the press or something of that nature. Seems to me some of my speeches I did clear. I don't remember.

Morris: The other way around, would the governor's staff offer to give you a hand on writing a speech?

Livermore: No, never. Some of my speeches, not very many, were served up from various departments. For instance, if I gave a few technical speeches on air pollution controls, as I went along I was able to get more help in composing them. The more important ones I worked on completely myself.

I had a lot of fun collecting thoughts and factual material but a real pain in sorting them out and organizing them.

#### On the Carpet

Morris: What kinds of things did you get into hot water on?

Livermore: Well, I can think of several. One was with Battaglia when I more or less shifted gears on the Redwood Park between what he thought our position should be and my evolving thoughts. On his first trip to Washington, he testified that he more or less agreed with Senator [Thomas] Kuchel to include in the park the northern part of what later became the (still controversial) Redwood Park. My idea, under a combination of judgment and political antennae, was that part of Redwood Creek should be included. This was a terribly complicated thing, still is.

The other one had to do with Dos Rios. I remember, in fact Bill Boyarsky, whose book you may have read or heard of, told me in great detail about that a few months ago. His thing in the book is more or less accurate. The Times reporter, as I recall it, called me as I was coming down the stretch on the Dos Rios.

There is an interesting aside on that in that maybe it is still true. That is, that technically, the secretary for Resources has the sole authority on approving or disapproving a federal project whether it is the Corps of Engineers or the Bureau of Reclamation.

Livermore: Technically, I didn't have to consult anybody on the Dos Rios; I could just sign it or not sign it. But I wasn't dumb enough not to realize that it was a cabinet issue. But, at one point, I was called by, I think it was the L.A. Times, and asked, "How do you feel about this issue?" I said words to the effect that my thoughts were evolving and that, of course, they would depend on cabinet discussion. Then the reporter, I forget his name, said, "Well, what happens if your recommendation is not accepted by the cabinet?"

Then I said, words to the effect, that then maybe it will be time for the governor to look for a new secretary. That was, of course, a pretty strong statement.

So I was called to the carpet on that, as I recall, by Ed Meese at that time. I remember I had to say with some wordiness how I felt to Ed Meese. I have a few notes on this somewhere, as I recall it. "Well," he said, "you are not really threatening to resign, are you?"

As I recall I said, "Well, I think I would offer my resignation if the governor and the cabinet don't accept my recommendation. I think this is a major issue," which of course, it was. It tied in somewhat with that October 20th speech.

Then I remember several times when forest practices legislation was evolving, there was some friction, partly a misunderstanding, that was a case where I endorsed legislation and appeared before the assembly or the senate committee endorsing the legislation and the cabinet had not approved it. Rather unbeknownst to me, as I recall it, in that case Verne Sturgeon or someone said that the governor would veto it. I was a little in hot water then.

Later I turned out, in all cases, to be correct, at least in the instances I mentioned. Basically I always worked through the cabinet system. It is fascinating to look at it now on a presidential level. I just can't help but think that the cabinet in Washington simply isn't working. It is too big. They have these cabinet councils. It is so much bigger than it was in Sacramento mechanically. Instead of having, what was it, five or six cabinet secretaries the way we had it, they have about eighteen of them back there. They have all got their henchmen and turf. I don't know how often the president has full cabinet meetings, but I don't think it is that often.

Livermore: He has what they call these cabinet councils. Of course, in the field that interests me the most, the environmental field, Watt is the chairman of this cabinet council, and he doesn't that often, I don't think, clear it with the full cabinet. I don't really know.

Morris: Mr. Watt doesn't have a chance to clear it, what he's developing the whole time?

Livermore: Well, he seems to be able to run with the ball pretty handsomely, if that is the word. I just wonder how often he checks with the president. I don't really know.

Morris: When we started our discussion today, you mentioned that by the end of the Sacramento years, those cabinet meetings would include as many as twenty-eight people.

Livermore: They would be in the room. They weren't supposed to all speak. I don't think it was twenty-eight. I think the cabinet issues were distributed to about twenty-five or eight people. A lot of people didn't attend. For instance, the lieutenant governor seldom attended; the controller seldom attended; Riles seldom attended, and the attorney general seldom attended. So those are four important people that I think got copies of all or most cabinet issues, but didn't attend.

Morris: Nor did they send a deputy.

Livermore: No, no. So I sent twenty-five copies I think it was. For instance, there would be typically one press liaison like Paul Beck, and he probably had an assistant. So, he probably got two copies.

So, physically, sitting around the cabinet was typically not more than eight or ten, I'd say.

#### Persuading the Cabinet

Morris: Again, in relation to your comment about Secretary Watt, to what extent did you feel that the governor and the cabinet backed you up in your responsibilities and positions as secretary of Resources?

Livermore: Well, to the extent I acted on cabinet action, Redwood Park, for instance, Minarets, the southern crossing [of San Francisco Bay], you name it, I had full support provided it went through the chair which it usually did--no problem at all.

Morris: By and large, did you feel that you educated the cabinet and the government, or that they were content to take your position as the expert in your territory?

Livermore: I think I educated them in a lot of ways. Perhaps a better word is "persuaded" them. I think that one of the toughest was the Redwood Park, sort of turning them around to what is still a kind of an unhappy compromise but at least one that didn't consist simply of turning the state parks over to the federal government.

In the case of the Minarets Road, there was a question, I think always, of education. In the case of the Mineral King Road, it was a case of direct, as I told Ann, confrontation with my counterpart, Frank Walton. So they are all variations.

Morris: It looks as if in those years you were in Sacramento there was a real curve of environmental concern that peaked about '69 and '70 and then dropped off fairly sharply. Is that something that you were aware of at the time, or is that more visible from this edge?

Livermore: No, I think I was aware of it at the time, yes, quite definitely. I think this was part of the general political climate. It was an evolution of the other people having a little more influence in the cabinet; the defeat of the Alaska pipeline, which I wasn't directly connected with, but it was a strong wind; the very close defeat of the SST, and the temporary defeat, at least--this is the federal--of the strip mining act; and a definite defeat of the National Land Use Bill, all of these are sort of straws in the wind. The ones that I mentioned that are federal, of course, had their effect in California. I remember too, for instance, that one of my happy experiences was going to Stockholm for the international environmental conference and getting to know Russell Train.

##

Livermore: Russell Train, of course, started out with great fanfare at the time of the Stockholm Conference, as the chairman of the CEQ, the Council of Environmental Quality. Then he moved over to the EPA.

Livermore: I can't remember specific instances, but I do remember cabinet criticism of him along the lines of, "Well, he is too environmental," kind of thing. So this happened in 1972 and 1973 whereas it probably would not have happened in 1969, '70, '71.

I remember also that the attorney general, Evelle Younger, had this environmental unit, headed by this Nick Yost who was later with the CEQ. He was not adverse to sounding off environmentally in a way that the governor and the rest of the cabinet didn't like.

I didn't like it myself. I am trying to think of an instance because he, of course, had the strong arm of the law behind him. He was involved, I told you, in the Mammoth case. The attorney general would not infrequently make some pronouncement that we wouldn't agree with. But of course, he was elected, just as Hugh Flournoy was; he was independent.

So that was another sort of a sign of the times.

Morris: Is your feeling that Attorney General Younger, maybe, was speaking out because these were politically useful statements to make rather than that there were legal urgencies for what he was saying?

Livermore: Well, you can really only answer that by asking him, but that was my impression. He had this environmental unit; they were quite active. They were active in the CEQ. They were active in some state land decisions.

I don't know him well enough to know whether he is a good environmentalist except politically, but I know that through his unit, he was more environmental in the latter years than our cabinet was.

## X CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Waning Environmental Concern

Livermore: I think the tapering off also consisted of sort of fewer issues coming up somehow or other. I think that is pretty well known that the peak was more or less in 1970, and I had some regrets. I know that one of my dramatic personal experiences was being wooed by Secretary Hickel to become undersecretary of the Interior. This came up in 1969, as I recall it. My activities were still at their peak. The governor was going to run for a second term. That was one major reason I didn't accept. Not the only reason, but I felt that I would then be disloyal to the governor.

I also felt that, shall we say, number one in California was more important than being number two in Washington. I don't regret that decision. But it is, of course, intriguing to think that not long after that, Hickel left.

Morris: You would have been the logical person to move up.

Livermore: I might have moved up, but I am not sure I would have enjoyed it much. I was not enthralled with a lot of things I saw in Washington, but that is a little off the subject.

So, in getting back to your question, yes, there was a tapering off. I think there still is. Look at Watt. He is the extreme tapering.

Morris: Yes. To what extent is that the fortunes of politics and to what extent is it a changing perception of the environmental needs in relation to economic needs?

Livermore: Jumping up now to 1982, you mean?

Morris: Well, the tapering off, you say it was evident while you were in Sacramento.

Livermore: Well, I think it was the culmination of just what you say. I think the Alaska pipeline is as good a symbol as comes to mind. That was a fierce struggle you know. The environmentalists were bitterly against it. I happily didn't take part in it. I could have been involved.

By the skin of their teeth, you might say, the development people, namely the oil people, won out. I think that was significant in that here was a really tough case with great conviction and sincerity on either side, but the environmentalists lost the battle.

I don't say, where I sit now, whether that is bad or good. I think the failure to enact federal land-use legislation is another sign. So I think these things do tend to go in curves. I was just talking this morning to Dick Wilson, a good friend who was, like me, I guess you would say, sort of a liberal Republican.

He was on the state Coastal Commission. Now he is on the state Board of Forestry. We talk quite frequently about this type of thing. He was saying what you often hear quoted now that, "You know, how can Watt and Reagan and conservative Republicans not acknowledge the universal polling that the environment is still important." You see these polls and eighty percent of the people say they are still strongly in favor of environmental control and so forth. But, I pointed out, if you also look at polls--which I think we all do frequently--listing the most important things, say of John Q. Public--Gallup Poll or Field Poll, whatever it is--and they will list eight or ten items: What do you think about so and so?

In recent years the environment is seldom mentioned. I think the most succinct illustration of that I have heard--and I am surprised more people didn't pick it up--was when I came back from Washington. I think it was just a month or two after my EPA transition team leadership activity; there was a big front-page ad in Time magazine.

You may have seen it. They have a circulation of about seventy million people, for about eight or ten magazines. To get this issue they had all the editors of all the magazines brainstorm the major problems confronting the American public for six months and here they are. The environment was not even included in their list.



Livermore: I thought that was a very significant illustration of, as you say, the tapering off. I felt curious enough and disappointed enough in it that I wrote the editor, and I got sort of a lame answer. It was a gal, incidentally. I have got the letter somewhere. It went something like this. It said, "By golly, that is kind of amazing. I guess we goofed. We didn't even think of the environment. However, if you look on page 135 of such and such an issue in this magazine and page 140 of that, and so forth, you will find the environment mentioned."

You know, I thought that was a very feeble answer, but very significant. I think this is a cross that environmentalists have to bear. So, how to measure these things, I don't know.

I think one of the great problems of our time is the single-issue people, you know: Are you for abortion or against it? If you are against it, I am against you. Are you for the environment or against it? If you are against it, I won't vote for you.

Well, life isn't that simple.

#### Reagan's Environmental Image

Morris: You talked several times about Mr. Reagan's environmental image in Sacramento. Was this something you and he talked about? Was this something that he was concerned about?

Livermore: I remember when I first met him, the first thing he said was, "You know, I did not say "When you have seen one redwood, you have seen them all," which had been so widely quoted. (But it appears that he did say something very much like that!)

So, I think that he is a marvelous personality. Although he keeps talking about being a citizen politician, of course now he is obviously a damn good politician. He certainly is not a card-carrying Sierra Clubber. We arranged a meeting once with Sierra Club leaders. As I recall we just talked generalities.

That would be an interesting date to try and check.

Morris: Did you set that up for him?

Livermore: I set it up, but I also remember it was Mike Deaver, of all people, who I used to think, and still is, quite a good environmentalist; he took the initiative in that. As I recall, he said, "Let's get a meeting with these Sierra Club people." I don't remember any particular crisis at the time.

Morris: Would it have been in 1970 in relation to his reelection campaign?

Livermore: I really don't remember; I remember we had a luncheon. I think it was just an effort on Deaver's part, with my happy acceptance, to have the governor talk to these people.

Morris: Fence-mending, as they call it?

Livermore: I don't really remember. If I thumbed through eight years of calendars I could probably find it. But it was a luncheon in the governor's office. It was pleasant. The leadership of the Sierra Club was there; I think several of the directors: Joe Fontaine. I think Ed Wayburn, Mike McCloskey. There must have been something that they wanted to put over, but I can't honestly remember what it was. It may have been the wild rivers.

Morris: It sounds like something that Mr. Reagan wanted to put over, or that Mr. Deaver wanted to put over.

Livermore: As I recall it, Deaver just thought it would be a good idea to meet with them.

Morris: But the Sierra Club leadership took the opportunity they had.

Livermore: Yes. They talked to me about it. But, as I say, I don't remember if they had any great bill in particular, but it must have been something. You know, we just didn't sit around eating sandwiches. There were not sparks like the recent meeting you doubtless read about with Meese and McCloskey and Jay Hair and Russell Peterson, et cetera.

So, getting back to your question about the governor's environmental image, I would have to say one of my disappointments in terms of a few cabinet issues was billboards. They seem to be a never-dying issue. It is one of those things that is not the biggest issue environmentally, not the smallest. I can tell you a lot of stories about billboards. I just hate billboards, particularly in rural areas.

Livermore: Actually, Standard Oil, among other people, are very good. They don't have any. I remember its policy: no rural billboards. But, I was told by Deaver and others, "You have got more important fish to fry; don't bring that up to the governor. He likes billboards." Or worse, to the effect: "Well, don't break your pick on that one because the governor doesn't think there is any problem with billboards." That kind of bothered me a bit.

But as far as environmental image goes, currently certainly as president, somebody, don't ask me who, a series of people have gotten to him. He is quoted as saying, just like Watt, that "Environmental extremists are bad people." I just can't believe it. I haven't talked to him personally since I left Sacramento, so I don't know. But something may have changed his mind or evolved in his mind.

Morris: When you and he were in Sacramento together, you felt that he did have a concern for environmental protection?

Livermore: Oh, I think so. My wife and I took him, as you might know, for five days in the mountains. We were just six or seven of us. I have a movie of the trip. It is really quite amusing.

Morris: Does Molly Sturges know you have that movie?

Livermore: Gee, you better not tell her. The governor has a copy of it. I made a copy for him. I titled it myself, and I treasure it. I have it up at the ranch.

Morris: Well, I would think you would.

Livermore: It is a lot of fun. It shows him catching fish. It shows Nancy swatting mosquitoes. It is a good movie. He loved that trip. It was even written up, without naming names, in one of Nancy Reagan's books. So he certainly has appreciation for the out-of-doors.

Morris: His love of his ranch certainly isn't an image.

Livermore: Absolutely. He loved to chop wood, I know, on this trip. I do remember though, several times on the trip he told us a lot of anecdotes of his movie experiences--cavalary horses charging over hill and all this kind of business. He said several times, you know, "I have enjoyed my political life far more than my movie life, much more interesting."

Morris: Really, in what way?

Livermore: Well, I guess, just every way. There must be a lot of boredom on those movie sets where they take the same scene maybe twenty times. I never asked him this directly, but I imagine that is one source of his great stories. He's got endless nice little humorous stories and anecdotes. It was just sort of sitting around the set and picking up stories, I guess.

Morris: Isn't there a phrase in the theater world, that if you are a quick study you can remember things, and you can pick up usable information quickly.

Livermore: I never particularly heard that, but I would say it certainly applies to him.

Putnam Livermore and the Republican State Central  
Committee, 1972-1974

Morris: Well, thank you. You have really rounded out everything that I could think of to add that Ann didn't ask you. One thing, you mentioned your brother before we turned the tape recorder on.

Livermore: Rob or--?

Morris: Put. Your careers in a way, sort of kept pace. He was on the Republican State Central Committee while you were in Sacramento?

Livermore: Yes, he was state chairman. He was elected chairman. The years must have been 1972; it was luckily just before Watergate.

Morris: He was chairman for Nixon's reelection campaign?

Livermore: Yes, I think he was chairman, as I recall it, 1972, '3 and '4. He was extremely active in Republican politics prior to that or obviously he wouldn't have been elected state chairman. He still keeps his oar in. He really worked hard at it.

Morris: I would think it is a responsible job. Did you and he consult at all and offer each other advice and support while you were very much involved in the administration, and he was very much involved in the party? Was there much feedback back and forth?

Livermore: Well, quite a bit. There was some legislation he was interested in, but not that much really. His concern was more with the election, the special elections and state politics, federal

Livermore: politics, fundraising, which was a perpetual bugbear. Then, he was particularly involved, in the early days, in computerization of precincts and the political composition. He didn't involve me in that.

Morris: That is something I understand that Win Adams had some experience in before he came into the administration. Did he stay in touch with your brother at all?

Livermore: Well, I think that they knew each other quite well because of the reason you just mentioned, but I don't know anything about the computerization. All I know of Win was described to me-- he was a good Trojan, you might say, in the campaign. I think he worked under or with Tom Reed.

Morris: Yes, I guess your brother had something to do with the Cal Plan too. The picking of target districts in hopes of electing more Republican legislators.

Livermore: Sounds like it. I wasn't involved in that at all. We talked frequently about family matters, but not too much--I remember going to the convention in Sacramento when Put was elected. There was a lot of politicking. We went to a little reception, my wife and I did. I never had anything to do with state politics. I made some modest contributions, but I was never, for instance, on the state committee.

I felt that, with a large family and very active job, that congressional chairman was plenty for me.

Morris: And a congressional Republican organization doesn't relate to the state Republican organization?

Livermore: Well, it is sort of optional. This still is, of course, sort of a provincial district. In those days, Marin was in the First Congressional District, just due to geography rather than to chronology. We had our own cozy group, you might say, our own finance committee. We consulted the state. Some of the people who were active in the First District would go to Sacramento to these meetings.

I went once or twice. I went once to hear Nixon speak. This was, I think, just after he had been defeated for governor. But I never went up the ladder at all. I just wasn't interested. I didn't think I had the time. The same reason that I refused Bill Roberts to get on the bandwagon on Reagan's 1966 campaign. That is still more or less true.

Livermore: Of course, the district has been split, and of course we always vote. But, in terms of--oh, I had the children, you know, here to mail stuff. We had all the family out here addressing envelopes and walking precincts and going to meetings, a lot of them quite boring.

So, you know, part of the ball game.

Morris: Oh, it is a great experience.

Livermore: It is great, and it is American citizenry at its finest.

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APPENDICES



# A TRAIL RIDER IN THE HIMALAYAS

By

NORMAN E. LIVERMORE, JR.

SEVEN summers of trail riding as guide and packer in California's High Sierra wilderness should have satisfied my craving for the open spaces. But the higher mountains of Asia were always a lure, and I dreamed of wilderness camping under their snowy heights. I wanted to "see new country," to explore a bit of the vast Himalayas, to find out how packing was done on the other side of the world.

It was several years before I was able to realize this ambition, but finally the fond hope came true, and I made my way to the Vale of Kashmir in the northernmost part of India. From here it was possible to take ponies and trek into the high western Himalayas which separate Kashmir from Tibet, Chinese Turkestan, Russia, Afghanistan, and the Northwest Frontier Province.

It was late in September of 1936 that I arrived in Srinagar after a rough 200-mile bus ride from Rawalpindi, the last rail point on the plains of "downcountry" India. Srinagar is the capital and only sizeable town in the upland Vale of Kashmir. This famous valley, far back in the Himalayas, is completely encircled by high mountains. Except for the gorge of the River Jhelum, leaving the valley proper at an altitude of 5,200 feet, the lowest pass into the Vale is over 10,000 feet high. Certainly here was an admirable place from which to leave on a mountain trip, and I looked forward eagerly to hitting the trail for the high country.

But making preparations for a mountain trip in Kashmir, I found, was a much more complicated process than in the western United States. Try as I would, it was nearly a week before I could get under way. Things move slowly in India, particularly for a western guide with limited

funds and a complete lack of experience in eastern methods and customs.

First of all, I had to decide where to go. Being an American, and alone, it was hard for me to get information on this subject. Time and funds would allow me to take only a four or five week trip. Within this time, I calculated I should be able to make at least a 250-mile circle tour in the mountains. But in which direction? As I soon learned, the Himalayan country is so huge that a month's trip is little more than a nibble at the possibilities. Before arriving in Kashmir, I had hoped I might make it over the famous Karakoram Pass, probably the highest trade route in the world. But in Srinagar they told me it took thirty days' pony and coolie travel just to reach Karakoram. From there, it would take another two months to return to Srinagar by a circular route. In order to see as much of the country as possible I did not want to retrace my steps, so I realized that my ambitions would have to be curbed.

The maps showed a stretch of roadless mountain country 200 miles wide and 400 miles long, only a small part of which I would be able to see. And yet this area itself was only a portion of the Himalayan wilderness. Certainly I had come to the land of plenty for a wilderness trail rider! I finally decided that the most sensible thing to do was to make a comparatively small circle trip,

taking in as many as possible of the attractions in the nearby Himalayas. I planned to travel up the main trade route heading northeast into Tibet, cross the Himalayas, then turn west through arid Ladakh until I reached the Gilgit trail which goes from Kashmir north to Russia and Turkestan. A day's travel up this trail



The Himalayas are vast, the American trail rider found, but very little privacy is enjoyed on the trail. For one thing, camps are often made on the outskirts of some village; in fact, only once during his month-long trek did he pass a day without coming across natives. Here he is with his pony boy and a Hindu priest at a sacred cave at Amarnath, about 13,000 feet above sea level

would give me a fine view of Nanga Parbat, fifth highest mountain in the world. I could then return down trail to the Jhelum below Srinagar, whence a day-long boat journey would bring me back to my starting point.

While planning my tour, I was also busily engaged in gathering an outfit for the pack trip. Here I found decisions even harder than in the case of the itinerary. Because of the language difficulty, I found it would be essential to have an interpreter. This man would also be my "bearer," or personal servant, such as all Europeans in India employ. But I did not reckon on taking five servants and six ponies, which after much bargaining is what I ended up with.

For a self-respecting western packer to go into the hills accompanied by a young army of servants, and with tents and other equipment requiring six ponies for transportation, was a situation very hard for me to swallow. But being pressed for time, and confronted with Kashmir custom and the highly diversified Indian labor system, I had no choice but to proceed with this luxurious outfit. I could not object on account of expense, because the complete set-up of men, ponies, and equipment cost me less than five dollars a day!



The author and his wilderness "entourage" — consisting of a bearer, or personal servant, a wood and water gatherer, a cook and two pony boys — all for less than five dollars a day, with six ponies thrown in

From my point of view the trip itself was a big success, though I would hardly say it could be compared with one of our western trips, since it was so different in almost every detail. We covered the first fifty miles in a bus which brought us to Pahlgam, a small town at 7,000 feet elevation, well situated for a start into the higher mountains to the north. From here the circle back to Srinagar was over 300 miles.

Clinging to the belief that I was still a western packer, I rode for forty miles on one of the stout little ponies, but I soon found I could make much better time on foot. So I walked all the rest of the trip, except for the last thirty-five miles when we loaded the equipment onto a "doonga" boat and were poled back up the Jhelum to Srinagar.

It is not possible to give here even a brief résumé of the trip, but a few observations and experiences may be of interest to our own western wilderness travelers.

"Trekking" is quite well established in the mountains of Kashmir, and the local government takes a considerable interest in it. They set pony rates for the more popular short trips in the nearest mountains. These rates set a standard for charges everywhere, so that although I crossed and recrossed the main range of the Himalayas and went into



Here's the way it's done in the Vale of Kashmir. After riding this stout little pony forty miles, the author found he could make better time on foot — and so he walked the two hundred and sixty miles!

rougher country far back of the usual trekking area, I was able to hire ponies for the whole trip at ridiculously cheap rates. An amusing feature involved in the rental of Himalayan ponies is the fact that the packers, or "pony boys" as they are called in Kashmir, are considered a part of the ponies. One rents ponies, which come fully equipped not only with saddle and blankets, lead rope and pack bags, but with pony boys as well!

Although trail riding is well established in Kashmir, camping and packing methods could hardly be called efficient according to our standards. The saddle and kyacks—they are called "yakdans" in the Himalayas—are of the most primitive type, and there is practically no method to the packing. At an early stage in the trip I demonstrated the diamond hitch to the men. They were enthusiastic in their approval of its efficiency, but were not interested in learning it. Why should they be, with so much man power to spare? They had no fear of a pack's slipping or turning, because on the trail there was a man to each animal. Since the men always walked, it was a simple matter to stop and adjust packs. In fairness to them I must admit, though, that their assymetrical and loosely-tied packs rode remarkably well even on the roughest and steepest trails. At first puzzled, I finally decided that this packing success was due to the smaller ponies and lower-swung loads, thus greatly reducing the rolling and pitching motion that is apt to shift packs on larger animals with higher setting pack saddles.

On the trail, our outfit certainly presented a ludicrous sight. The men all wore turbans, but the rest of their clothes varied greatly according to their means. My bearer, Mahamdu, as the best paid man in the outfit—about sixty cents a day—was as European as possible in his dress. At the other end of the scale was the bhisti—wood and water gatherer and general odd job

man—who wore only a flimsy blanket draped about him like a toga. Footwear varied from sturdy leather sandals, called "chaplies," to badly worn grass slippers. Apart from headwear, the only item of clothing most of them had in common was a long-tailed shirt. The longer and baggier the shirt-tails, the better, because they always wore them outside.

The ponies were equally inconsistent in their appearance. Their saddles, consisting only of a light reed frame

set between blankets, were set far forward on their withers. The "yakdans" or other side packs were loosely tied onto a broad strip of burlap which was simply slung over the animal so that it hung down on either side. Their oddly assorted top packs displayed everything from six foot long reed mats to clanking kerosene cans. One pony carried the prize item—a small wicker basket containing three live chickens whose incessant cackling was raised to a squawk whenever we went over a particularly steep or rough spot.

Kashmir camping methods are similar to ours in some respects, but are on the whole quite different. Probably the most disagreeable feature, until you get used to it, is the fact that you can never drink unboiled water. There is too much risk of picking up dysentery, cholera, or any of a number of other diseases. This risk

exists in almost every stream, since native villages, shepherds and travelers are everywhere. Fortunately for me, I was so late in the season that the considerable cold greatly reduced thirst on the trail, and I seldom completely used the small canteen of boiled water I carried. At meals, I drank very liberally of tea. They even served it to me before breakfast, an Indian custom called *chota hazri*.

A minor and somewhat amusing inconvenience in camp is the need for precaution against village burglars who are apt to steal into your (Continuing on page 383)



It was necessary to beat the ponies up the steep trails in Ladakh, across the Himalayas from the Vale of Kashmir. Note the treeless, barren landscape

"That being the case it becomes necessary, for me to charge you three men with responsibility for this fire. Mr. Young found this fly card, bearing the name of that firm, among the debris beside your camp fire. You can see that there is only one logical conclusion."

Frawley studied the card momentarily, then passed it to his companions.

"I was the one who left it there. I may be chump enough to start a forest fire, but I wouldn't attempt to deny it. I covered the fire with lots of dirt, but I suppose that wasn't enough."

"It wasn't this time," Cazier responded. "Evidently you didn't figure on the wind whipping the dry dirt away. Water and plenty of it would have been the only safe solution. There is no alternative but for me to turn this over to the local authorities. What action they will take is beyond my jurisdiction. But I do intend for them to know of the good work you three have done here. I believe you have learned that real woodcraft is something known as

horse sense. If you care to go now, all I ask is that you report to the sheriff at Laramie as soon—"

"Nothing doing," Frawley cut in. "We started this mess and right here we stay until the last rock is cool. The men here have told me this fire covered 1,100 acres and destroyed timber valued at \$90,000. I suppose other resources beyond value were destroyed. I've seen enough burned deer carcasses to last me a lifetime. The least we can do is help clean this up and then pay whatever the judge decides we should." Frawley looked toward his companions, who nodded their agreement.

A grin of frank admiration swept over Cazier's face. "There is plenty of clean-up work to be done here," he said, and his hand went out to Frawley's. Lou Young stood silent, pushed his soiled sombrero dangerously close to the back of his head and eyed intently the scorched shoes of the fishermen. "By dad," he exclaimed, you Nebraskans sure can take it!" Then his smoke-grimed paw shot forward.

## TRAIL RIDER IN THE HIMALAYAS

(Continued from page 345)

tent at night and make off with anything they can lay hands on. To prevent this, the approved system is to wrap a long dog chain through and around your luggage and tie it to your camp cot, thus providing a crude but effective burglar alarm.

Since even in the most remote part of the Himalayas the camper comes to a village every two days or so, it is possible to buy fresh supplies frequently. The choice is generally limited to eggs, chickens and mutton. But these are very welcome additions to the larder, particularly since they are so cheap. Even in the most remote village I reached, ten days' pony travel from the nearest road, I found I could buy a chicken for about twenty cents. Another easily obtainable article of food is "ghee," which is butter made out of buffalo milk—horrible stuff which I was never able to grow fond of.

On the whole, things went very smoothly as the trip continued. The itinerary worked out almost as planned, and I got along very well with the men in spite of the fact that my bearer was the only one I could speak with. In one place, on the north side of the Himalayas, we got into such rough country that I had to hire coolies to carry all the pony loads. On the whole, though, the trails were comparable to those in our own western mountains. The passes we crossed were of course even higher than those in the California High Sierra, but I was fortunate in not finding either rain or snow on the high places. Wet weather often closes Himalayan passes to travel, because in many steep places the trails become dangerously slippery.

As I look back on the trip, it was definitely a success from my point of view, even though I was not able to get as far back as I had hoped. In the main, my ambition to experience Himalayan packing methods was satisfied, and I had many

interesting adventures during the trip. But I was definitely disappointed in the Himalayas as mountains for wilderness camping. It is true that their vast extent and high altitude are thrilling features. They also have their good points scenically. The abundance of glaciers, for instance, and the lovely forest coloring produced by the numerous high altitude birches, are features that our mountains do not have. Neither do we have such an abundance of attractive high grasslands, with accompanying greater numbers and variety of game.

On the other hand, the Himalayas have very few lakes and meadows, which are such an attractive feature of our western mountain scenery. Nor is the fishing as good. The native Kashmir fish are of no interest to the sportsmen. With comparatively few exceptions, all the good fishing in this region is in streams that have been planted with European fish. I have already mentioned the difficulty with drinking water. Another unattractive feature is the scarcity of good campsites. Whereas in our western mountains the wilderness camper seldom halts near more than one other small camping party, in the Himalayas camps are often made near some village, with little privacy.

To sum up, our western mountains give more of that great feeling of being in an unspoiled wilderness country that do the bigger, higher and less accessible Himalayas. Only once during my month-long Kashmir trek did I pass a day without coming across some natives either in villages, on the trail, or in shepherd camps. In our western mountains, on the other hand, I have often gone for much longer stretches without meeting a soul. My advice, therefore, is—go to the Himalayas for a most interesting and instructive adventure—but stick to your own Western mountains if you want the real wilderness camp feeling.

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# ROADS RUNNING WILD

APPENDIX B

By NORMAN B. LIVERMORE, JR.

THE days of Daniel Boone, Lewis and Clark, Kit Carson and other wilderness trail blazers are long past. Our western frontier is a matter of history. Wild range lands, once the home of the cowboy, have yielded to the fence and plow. And now the back country packer is doomed. He still owns his outfit and roams the wilderness trails with his favorite string of pack mules. But the overwhelming army of autoists is steadily encroaching on his domain, and his back country wilderness areas are yielding to roads running wild.

The typical California packer is one of our few remaining picturesque individuals. He is half-way between the old-time cowboy and the modern "dude wrangler" of Wyoming and Montana. He owns his own outfit, but conforms to no known business methods. He spends the summer and fall working harder than his own mules. In winter, he lives idly on his summer earnings, bothering only to see that his horses and mules are doing well on their foothill range. In the month of May he comes out of hibernation, oils up his saddles, shoes his well-rested horses and mules, and moves up to his high mountain camp at the end of some road.

He is a keen judge of saddle horses, and even keener when it comes to pack mules, because—next to himself—his saddle and pack stock are his most important assets. His home camp seldom amounts to much—one or two corrals, a few saddle racks, some snow-warped hitching posts, a small "cook shack." To a newcomer, he himself may appear tough. But beneath his weathered countenance is a simple, honest soul and a personality abundant in good humor. To many of us, he is the last representative of the old West, and we hope he can hang on.

Whether or not he lasts will depend upon our future road building policy. While more and more city-confined people are learning the joys of a vacation in the wilderness, the remaining wilderness areas in California are steadily shrinking and disappearing. There are many today who think there is plenty of wild country left, enough, in fact, for their descendants to explore. But, sad to relate, this is far from true.

What about this wilderness problem? Should we save some wild country, or should it all be opened up to modern civilization? This debate is becoming an important one. Autoists say, "We want more roads." Wilderness enthusiasts reply, "If you must see our wilderness, leave your car and pack in for it. Riding through the mountains at forty-five miles an hour is no way to enjoy the out-of-doors. The very fact you are a motorist is evidence that you are content with civilized surroundings. There are already more than enough roads for you to travel. Stick to them, and leave the small area of remaining wilderness to those of us who love it and depend upon it for our recreation."

In discussing wilderness preservation, the first stumbling block is to agree upon a definition. To a few old-timers, the advent of the pack train spoiled our wilderness. To many modern motorists, a wilder-

ness is any place that cannot be reached in a car. To my mind, a wilderness area may be defined as a region sufficiently removed from auto roads so that people can, and do, pack in at least one day's journey and spend one or more nights camping out in the back country. Such an area, therefore, must possess two essential characteristics: Remoteness from roads sufficient to require the average camper to stay at least overnight in a back country camp, and sufficient attractiveness, either of scenery, fishing, hunting, or other features, to induce people to seek an outing in this wilderness region.

According to this definition, there are thirty-three remaining wilderness areas in California, totalling some 4,800,000 acres in extent. Of these, most are small in size. For example, a twelve-year old Boy Scout takes a fourteen mile hike for his first class test. And yet today in California there are only seven different wilderness areas whose size is the equivalent of a fourteen-mile square or better. Of these, there are only two of any size that are more than ten miles from the end of some existing auto road. All the rest have been taken over by the autoist.

Apart from sentimental values existing in the wilderness, there are a surprising number of economic activities dependent upon our wilderness areas. These may be summarized as follows: (1) Wholly dependent upon wilderness areas, 160 packers, with an investment of \$900,000; (2) largely dependent upon wilderness areas, (a) 770 resorts, with an investment of over \$30,000,000; (b) 169 camps, with an investment of over \$1,690,000; (c) a large number of private recreational holdings, including over 2,000 head of private saddle and pack stock; total value unknown, and (d) over a quarter of our total fish and game resources, in pursuit of which our sportsmen spend over \$100,000,000 each year; (3) partially dependent upon wilderness areas, supplies of fur-bearing animals, timber reserves and watersheds.

That the demand for wilderness area recreation has been growing, there is no doubt. Last year some 136,000 people traveled into California wilderness areas, and more are going each year—people who have learned the richness of the pleasures to be derived from a real wilderness vacation. Where packers have not been forced out of business by roads, they are doing well. But, with few exceptions, all face the road menace, and fear the day when California's beautiful mountains will be completely laid open to our mechanical civilization.

The most destructive influences from the wilderness point of view are the Civilian Conservation Corps; local "booster" groups; the auto tourist campers, and the lack of statewide planning. The tremendous amount of road-building by CCC camps during the past three years has destroyed many a wilderness. Before 1933, the Forest Service in California had constructed one and one-half miles of trail to every mile of road. Since that time, the CCC ratio has been only one-fourth mile of trail to every mile of road. Such road-building zeal is regarded gloomily by conservationists.

Most new roads are started by local politicians and chambers of commerce. Aiming for an increase in auto tourist trade, they urge a new road in their region. Built in many cases at considerable expense, it is extremely doubtful that the new roads represent a net gain to the state. The auto camper's desire to see new regions is translated into road-building action. The autoist then has a new road on which to watch the scenery whiz by, while the area is spoiled forever as a wilderness.

Lack of a state plan has contributed to the destruction. We have at present the incongruous picture of a demand for and construction of new roads without sufficient funds available adequately to maintain the existing ones.

The world-famous High Sierra is far the largest and finest wilderness remaining in California today. It is over 2,300,000 acres in extent, almost half of the total remaining wilderness area in the state. There is still a great stretch of territory between Yosemite and Sequoia National Parks that is unspoiled by roads. One can travel over two hundred miles through the "high country" entirely by trail, but this last stand of the primitive is threatened upon all sides.

The state is at this moment engaged in blasting a road into the Kings River Canyon, in the heart of this High Sierra area. More serious, because it will cross the range and bisect the wilderness, is the proposed road from Porterville to Lone Pine. Such a road will open up the Kern River region, justly renowned for its unspoiled wild beauty. And there are others, too numerous to mention, that will whittle away at our last frontier. The United States Forest Service and the National Park Service have set aside several large areas to be kept in a "primitive" state but friends of the wilderness have no definite assurance that roads will not eventually penetrate all.

To this condemnation of excessive road-building, many will doubtless reply, "What of it? This is a new era. Automobiles are far in the majority. Why save the wilderness for the few?" This frequently-expressed query has, it seems to me, some very good answers:

The value of recreational travel into our wilderness areas is popularly underestimated. Practically all of the 136,000 persons who traveled into our wilderness areas last year were sportsmen. This means that a good fourth of our hunters and fishermen seek their sport in wilderness areas. The annual expenditures by sportsmen in this State are estimated by the State Chamber of Commerce to be over \$100,000,000. As

fish and game diminish, sportsmen are turning more and more to fewer and fewer wilderness areas.

The auto tourist already has enough roads. There are over 100,000 miles of roads in California. If the average man never took anything but auto trips on his annual two-weeks' vacation, it would still take him 100 years to travel the roads of California once. To

travel National Forest and National Park roads alone would take him twenty-eight years.

Many present roads do not pay for themselves. It is only too well known by our highway engineers that most mountain "recreational" roads do not pay for their maintenance charges. To pay for the upkeep of a modern road, it requires the travel over it of 400 cars a day every day of the year. And yet one of our latest wilderness-spoiling State roads, which cost over \$1,500,000, is experi-

encing a travel of less than 100 cars a day. Our highway engineers repeatedly point out that all of our available highway funds are necessary for maintenance and improvement of existing roads; yet selfish and short-sighted groups are continually agitating for more new roads.

Fish and game hogs do not operate in wilderness areas. In the back country, where the hunter has to pack his buck onto a none-too-willing mule, instead of dumping it into a rumble seat, and where the fisherman must eat his fish instead of carting home several limits for his family and friends, there are not many poor sportsmen. The type of man who is a game hog seldom strays from the comforts of an automobile civilization. He prefers a short walk from his car, and an armchair rather than a campfire recital of his prowess.

A growing minority must be recognized. Sportsmen and others are becoming aroused over the rapid disappearance of our wilderness. They realize that, with its disappearance, will go one of our most priceless heritages. As a valiant stand against the road menace, packers last summer formed The High Sierra Packers' Association. Their voice as yet has been small, but it will grow in volume. Last summer, fifteen members of the Association displayed placards in their mountain camps. Interested wilderness travelers read the following inscription:

#### HELP SAVE THE BACK COUNTRY

Sign the petition below, and help us in our effort to prevent the encroachment of roads upon our remaining High Sierra wilderness area.

Under this placard were tacked petition sheets:



Photograph by Wallace Hutchinson

The demand for wilderness recreation is growing—and will continue to grow



## PETITION

We, the undersigned, wish to record here our protest against the encroachment of roads upon the remaining High Sierra wilderness area. We feel there are already enough roads for the auto tourist. The remaining country should be left in its natural wild state, and we intend to unite in our efforts to keep it so.

These petition sheets, tacked in haphazard fashion on corral fences, cook shacks, or saddle racks, were signed by nearly four thousand wilderness travelers. This is a small number, but it indicates the attitude of a great many more.

Whether or not the packer survives will depend upon the progress of wilderness conservation. There is a large and growing body of citizens that are opposed to road-building. But they are not as well organized as the destructive groups. What happens when the latter succeed is only too aptly described in the following letter from a packer friend:

"Dear Sir: I will tell you about the packing biznes an you can ficks the blank to sute your self as I can explain it bitter. Now I am one of the oldest packers around this countrey I have been packing from - - - meadows for over 20 years and when I first started to packing aney one that was a hunter atoll and a fishermen could get the limet and now they have roads all around me and now there is 30 men to 1 buck that is kill and same way with fishing. I had 30 head of stock an had 2 an 3 men helping me an was bisey all the time and since hard times and new roads have been bilt the packing has been going down to nothing

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last sumer I only packed 2 parties out 74 dollare was all I took in all summer I had to work for cattle men to get buy. I eather half to quit or move and the pack an hunting will never be like it ust be and when they bild roads in to a new countrey it is no more a wild countrey the fish an game start to going down rite a way. I had 5000 dollare of equipment 10 years a goe now it aint worth mutch. There is more people coming to the mountains than ever was but the most of them stay a long the roads an hunt an where the new roads are the fish an game dont have aney chance."

The author does not contend that all new roads are destructive. Many miles of new construction are doubtless warranted, particularly in heavily timbered areas. But what is deplored is the construction of purely recreational roads to be used by motorists who already have more than enough roads to travel.

Readers may interpret this article as an appeal to save the back country packers. It is, if saving the packer means saving the wilderness against roads running wild. Some California packers are better situated than others. Much of the high mountain wilderness will remain unspoiled for a long while. But the pressure for new roads is unabating. Increased wilderness travel and a militant stand by conservationists will be needed to save our back country from ultimate disappearance. The establishment of Forest Service Primitive Areas has been a great source of encouragement to wilderness enthusiasts. A great deal of good work has been done by an aggressive minority. But the road menace is ever present, and the wilderness ever on the defensive.



Photograph by Gabriel Moulin

The tremendous amount of road building by the Civilian Conservation Corps during the past four years has destroyed many a wilderness area, the author contends

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| 4) The preservationist prefers the philosophy of the National Park Service and favors a single use for a given area of wild lands.   | The proservationist prefers the philosophy of the United States Forest Service and strongly believes in multiple use of a given area of wild lands.   |
| 5) The preservationist places prime emphasis on esthetic and ecological values in an area as little disturbed as possible by man.  | The proservationist is aware of the desirability of esthetics and undisturbed ecology, but is keenly aware of the economic importance of alternate uses.  |
| 6) The preservationist tends to think in terms of future values, particularly in terms of indefinite postponement of economic realization from such values.  | The proservationist thinks mainly in terms of present values, including keen realization of the importance of maintaining lands in private hands in order to maintain local tax revenues.   |
| 7) In the case of wilderness, the preservationist feels it essential not only to preserve wilderness areas but to include a substantial fringe acreage around them that is not used for wilderness recreation but is "locked-up" against economic development. | The proservationist believes that the resources of such fringe areas can be used in such a way as not to spoil the essentially primitive character of the wilderness lands typically lying behind such fringe areas at higher elevations. |
| 8) The preservationist, by and large, is against all forms of hunting on wild lands.   | The proservationist believes that hunting is a proper activity on all wild lands except those areas of parks where concentrated human use is permitted.   |
| 9) The preservationist is generally not concerned with the costs of his projects, either in terms of current costs, lost tax bases, or loss of income and employment opportunities provided by natural resource users.   | The proservationist is extremely concerned about costs both present and future, and feels that the economics of alternative land use should be given prime consideration.   |
| 10) The preservationist is a strong advocate of increased acquisition of private land by government agencies.  | The proservationist feels that we should go slow in adding to our already huge inventory of public lands, particularly in the West.   |
| 11) The preservationist wishes to keep as large an area as possible of our public lands in a primitive and undeveloped state.  | The proservationist, while appreciating the primitive, feels that the solution to land use pressures can be better served by developing present public lands rather than by condemnation and acquisition of private land.                 |

So let "proservation" be the battle cry for multiple use. But in hoisting their colors, let proservationists do so in a spirit of humility and understanding as well as firmness. There has been enough banging of heads already. The time has come for better understanding between both branches of the conservation family. Or, to take liberties in paraphrasing the well-remembered words of a great sportsman:

"When the Great Creator comes  
to judge our mortal band,  
He will not ask of "pro" or "con"  
but how we used the land. ■

*Mr. Livermore, who writes from San Francisco, is well known in California for his activities as a conservationist and mountain packer. In the 1930's, he organized the High Sierra Packers Association and was outfitter for the first wilderness trip taken by the American Forestry Association in California. After service in World War II, he entered the lumber business and for the past several years has been an executive of a major redwood lumber company. He is the author of several articles on the general subject of conservation and wilderness travel.*

APPENDIX D - Speech to the Friends of the Bancroft Library by Norman B. Livermore, October 11, 1981

Moderator: Now, I'd like to introduce Norman B. Livermore, Jr. and tell you that my family and I have known Ike and his family for almost fifty years. And really, the first known real relevance about Ike's abilities came when in 1936, he was touted as the tallest catcher that had ever been on an Olympic baseball team. However, that's a rather narrow silhouette for a man with a very broad background. So, you must know that Ike has been a lumberman, a very active member of the Sierra Club, a premier packer in the Sierra Nevada. And also he was Secretary for Resources of the state of California for about eight years and headed the transition team in the Environmental Protection Agency in 1980. I take great pleasure in introducing my friend Ike Livermore.

Livermore: I'm naturally honored and pleased to be here. When Jim Hart, whom I didn't know at that time, asked me to come, I of course asked him why they would choose me for this august gathering of environmentalists and ecologists. And he said, "Well, that was quite simple." And I said, "Why is that? There are many more eminent practitioners of this vague profession around here than I am." And he said, "Well, it was quite easy to choose you." And I said, "Why is that?" He said, "You have more enemies than any of the rest of them." [laughter]

And he said, "In fact, you're an expert in making enemies." Which reminds me of the story that some of you may have heard, about the women's group in Port Angeles, Washington. They decided they wanted to learn something about raising chickens. So, they hired this farm advisor and he gave them the preliminary information about the hutches and so forth. And he said, "Now, when you order the chickens (you can get them from Sears Roebuck) why, the first thing you do is you have to choose their sex." Well, the ladies said, "How do you do that?" He said, "It is really remarkable. All you do is you get some trays and go out in the garden and dig angleworms. And you sprinkle the angleworms among the chicks. And you wouldn't believe this, but the male chicks eat the female angleworms and the female chicks will eat the male angleworms." Well, of course, they said, "How do we tell the difference between the male and the female angleworms?" He said, "Ladies, I don't know that. I'm only a chicken expert." [laughter]

Livermore: As I said before, I seem to have had pretty good luck at making enemies, so I thought, particularly those of you from Marin, would appreciate one of my epistles. Luckily, I don't remember who wrote this, but it was in 1970 and it reads as follows: "I find it very discouraging and tremendously depressing that someone in your position is defending the Peripheral Canal!!! How disgusting that you too have been bought and paid for. People like you are ruining my state, and you will not be around to see the disaster that you are so helpfully creating. As a Marin County resident I am well aware of your family background. I suggest you change your name to something other than Livermore. As you're simply degrading that name now, perhaps a name like Reagan or Murphy would be appropriate and a move to Southern California would certainly be in order for you."  
[laughter]

Well, I couldn't help but be nostalgic as I came by the display case. I remember in particular, one of my favorite early correspondence bits is with Bob Marshall, whose brother George Marshall was president of the Sierra Club when I first went to Sacramento. And George and I engaged in a rather acrid correspondence from time to time. But I remember one particular case where he disagreed with me, instead of calling me a liar or a bum or some vitriolic phrase, he said, "Ike, your stand on this position fills me with a sense of wonder." And I always thought that's a very nice way to disagree with someone. If you disagree with them, say, "Your position fills me with a sense of wonder."

Well, I thought first I might make a few remarks about wilderness, certainly one of my favorite subjects. And again referring to the display cases, I was particularly fascinated by the edited letter of Benton Mackaye, who Dick Leonard knows better than I, but who is, I believe, one of the three founders of the Wilderness Society. And you could see how he was struggling with a definition of wilderness. And two things are interesting to me. First, he mentions nothing about size. To me a wilderness has always been a big wilderness, but he doesn't mention that. The other thing is, he mentions the threat of radio, but he doesn't mention helicopters, which were non-existent in his time, which is another subject.

The complexities of wilderness are now manifold. I read recently that Rod Nash, whom some of you know, the wilderness expert (I guess you'd call him that) from U.C. Santa Barbara is now suggesting that wilderness be classified under five different classifications. One of which is a no-rescue wilderness, which is an interesting thought.

Livermore: I mentioned helicopters, it burns me--pardon the slang--to know that, to the best of my knowledge, the Park Service--the dear, revered Park Service--is delivering groceries [by helicopter] in the Kings Canyon National Park. Now there may be a lot of you in the audience that don't like mules, but I hope you like helicopters even less. And if there's anything less in tune with Mackaye's statement on wilderness than a motorized transportation, I don't know what it would be.

The last thing I'd say about wilderness is what I called salients, but just last night I was reading in the Public Lands Institute a new term to me, which is "cherry stems." Now, a cherry stem is a salient in a wilderness, and apparently this involves mostly desert wilderness, which I'm not as familiar with as the High Sierra, but that in effect is a salient. And as Dave Brower was saying just before we came in here, there was one noted cherry stem which was a salient in Rock Creek in the High Sierra, many of you know it. And the Forest Service, God love them, blocked off that road. So I can think of many cherry stems salients. Two of them, of course, are in the Minarets Corridor, my favorite wilderness project. One is the road into Red's Meadow and the other one is a road into a certain cowman's cabin in the pin cushion country. So, if I live long enough, or maybe some of you will, I think those cherry stems should be plucked.

Now a couple of things about emotion. I used to tell my good friends in the lumber industry, who used to rant and rave against my equally good friends in the Sierra Club, that emotion is a fact. They would say, "Let's knock off all this emotion." I said, "Emotion is a fact. It's a fact of life." However, sometimes it can go a little bit too far--in my opinion, I want to add. You might be amused to know that I have before me excerpts from the lead article in the Saturday Evening Post for December 6, 1919, sixty-two years ago. It's entitled "The Last Stand of the Giants" by Samuel G. Blithe, and I'll just quote part of it. It reads as follows: "Forty years more, and probably less than that unless they are preserved, and the oldest living things in the world will have vanished." In other words, by his prediction twenty years ago there would be no more redwoods. So I offer that as a symbol of emotion.

I'd like to talk a little bit about the cost of the Redwood National Park, something that I had a little bit to do with. In the latest tally I heard, it was approaching a cost of a billion dollars. Now, I'm not saying that some of you may not think that's cheap at the price. You could argue, for instance, that a Trident submarine costs a billion, so what's a billion in the redwoods? Well, I just offer a couple of teasers.

Livermore: That billion dollars, which I think could have been saved by means of land exchanges rather than taxpayer dollars, would be more than enough to cover the protection of all the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valley levies, which are in very bad shape. And there'd be enough left over to help the Coastal Conservancy, which interests all conservationists and which is severely underfunded.

It might interest you also to know, and some of my good Sierra Club friends don't like me to remind them about this, but when we came down the stretch in the 1968 compromise legislation for the Redwood National Park the main stumbling block was Congressman Wayne Aspinall, a salty character if I ever knew one. I could talk the rest of the day about him. Anyway, he told Udall, Stewart Udall not Mo Udall, that before he'd even talk about the Redwood National Park they had to augment the Land and Water Conservation Fund. Aspinall had great hopes for this fund because--some of you may even have them--they were going to sell these "golden eagle passports," I think they cost five dollars per year, and this was going to produce hundreds of millions of dollars. Well, the actual fact was, it produced practically nothing. The point of the story is, the money [for purchase of the Redwood Park] came from leasing the Santa Barbara Channel. So Stewart Udall leased the Santa Barbara Channel, which later caused problems as you all know, and that money came into the Land and Water Conservation Fund. So, I say, with only slight tongue in cheek, that the Santa Barbara blow-out paid for the Redwood National Park.

Incidentally, I call the Redwood National Park a "hyphenated park," because perhaps not all of you know, the real superlative part of that park is not national at all, it's the state parks: Prairie Creek, Del Norte Redwoods and Jedediah Smith Park. And I noted with great interest, in the annual councilors' report of the Save-the-Redwoods League, that our good friend John Dewitt [executive secretary of the league] says that in effect. It's in writing, in case you want to look at it, that it really isn't a national park until the state parks are included. Which brings up a gigantic horse trade which I and others have suggested which I won't go into, but it's an interesting thought.

The last thing I'd like to say about redwoods is a friendly discussion, or whatever you want to call it, with Newton Drury. Dear Newton, not long before he died, and my argument was as follows: The number one objective stated on all the Save-the-Redwoods League stationary, all their literature, and I quote directly, is as follows: number one object, "To rescue from destruction representative areas of our primeval forests." So I said, "Newton, when you cut a redwood you don't

Livermore: destroy it, you utilize it. When you cut down a corn field to produce silage, you do not destroy it you use it. So, my suggestion is that instead of saying 'rescue from destruction,' which is like a red rag to a bull to all us pro-lumbermen, say 'preserve for posterity.' What's wrong with that?" Well, Newton agreed with me, I even have this in writing, but the trouble is dear Newton is not here any more, and I'm too busy to press the matter further. But I will say this, if my wording is accepted it only takes twenty-two spaces, Mr. Brower, and the old one takes twenty-three, so I think it has a double objective. [laughter]

I have another little thought on what are called "over-zealous and inconsistent environmentalists," that's kind of a tongue twister. But I think that this is a problem that the nonenvironmentalists are not guilty of objecting to. And I quote from one of my favorite publications, namely the San Francisco Chronicle, this is just a couple of days ago. The heading says, "A Memo Haunts Watt's Aide." And the key to the thing is this language, used apparently in an environmental impact statement which reads as follows: "Bailey's memo objected to," and so forth, "that such inflammatory words as 'disturbed, devastated, defiled, ravaged, gouged, scarred and destroyed' should not be used in environmental impact reports." I just throw that out because I think the use of language such as I quoted of George Marshall is the way to handle some of these problems, and not use this language. Take it for what it's worth.

Another illustration you might find amusing, and I found it kind of irritating. I remember--I'm sorry Ed and Peggy Wayburn aren't here, because I went with them down the Upper Redwood Creek drainage during the height of the 1967 Redwood National Park fight. And we were then--what is the word?--encouraged to use the term "the Emerald Mile." That beautiful Emerald Mile, we skidded down the hill--Dina was with me, and I think my son Sam--so that's great, the Emerald Mile. Well, the ink was no sooner dry on the 1968 legislation than they started calling it "the worm." Of course, on a map it does look like a worm. So I say that's kind of unfair. When you don't have it, you want the Emerald Mile, and when you got it you call it the worm. Take it for what it's worth.

The last thing I'll mention under what I call overzealousness, and this occurred--luckily I can't remember any of these people's names--but this was at a meeting of the Sierra Club Foundation National Advisory Board, a group I am honored to be a member of on a once-a-year meeting basis. And we were talking about the Sierra Club's investment portfolio. And this good



Livermore: lady said with a great deal of humph, in terms of--I think the club at that time had some investments in Weyerhaeuser Company. "Well!," she said, "I don't know of any good lumber companies." And of course, she was writing on paper and sitting at a wooden desk. So I ask you whether that was a fair reaction?

I'm also amused at what I call inconsistent environmental leaders. And I can think of two major ones, and I'm not criticizing them I'm just commenting on them. One is a great senator, Scoop Jackson. And I had the great pleasure of being, I think it was, at the Sierra Club Wilderness Conference--or maybe it was the annual banquet a few years ago--but he was awarded the John Muir Award, certainly the most prestigious, I think, in the United States. And he earned it. He helped get the redwood park. However, a year later he was the leading protagonist of the SST, the most heinous effort (to environmentalists) ever made to speed up our society. So of course, Boeing being his main constituent, what can you expect? I'm just pointing that out.

And Mo Udall (who was one of the few Democrats, God bless him, that I ever sent some money to, which I did and happily will do again) is a great environmentalist except in Arizona, where he is the leading protagonist for the Central Arizona Project, which the Audubon Society and most environmentalists I know think is the worst environmental project certainly this side of the Mississippi.

That leads me to a more interesting, at least an easier, subject. I thought you might like a few pearls--if you want to call it that--of the Department of Fish and Game, which I'm having great pleasure serving [as Commissioner for Fish and Game] now. And I find that there are an awful lot of things going on there that most people wouldn't think of. And let me just list a few of what I call "problem areas" in the Fish and Game. There are the abalone fishermen versus the sea otters. There are sea urchin divers versus the kelp harvesters. There are the swordfish harpooners versus the swordfish gill netters. There are the commercial anchovy fishermen versus the sport fishermen. There are the Palm Springs developers versus the three-toed Coachella lizard. [laughter] Now, that sounds kind of silly but believe it or not, the fact that our commission declared the three-toed Coachella lizard endangered is knocking out a lot of development in the Coachella Valley, which I think is just great. [laughter]

Other problems, which I won't elaborate on, they're all problems. There are the falconers, the ferret owners, the raccoon dealers, the bobcat hunters, the herring fishermen, the tule elk and last but not least, the mountain lions--whose

Livermore: great protagonist is Margaret Owings, one of our great conservationists but nobody dares lift a finger about mountain lions without Margaret Owings, and she is in favor of mountain lions. So you can't do much in the way of harvesting--shall we use the term?--mountain lions without talking to Margaret Owings.

Which leads me to the last and most interesting, perhaps--and I'm looking at my great and good friend Dave Brower--and that's the condor. Dave is a hands-off man (this is semi-scientific jargon) and it turns out I'm a hands-on man. Dave has proposed to me the philosophic question, and it is a deep one--and Dave, if I misquote you you can have the floor here when I get through--which would you rather see? A condor in a cage or a wild condor on a TV documentary? And I think that's really an unanswerable question. However, the weight of evidence, according to the commission, is in favor of hands-on helping the condor. So, in a rather hectic meeting we had in Los Angeles I told Dave I was going to write him a letter listing some illustrations that I think are excellent of hands-on work. And so Dave, this is my letter. I have eleven examples here of hands-on work affecting wildlife that I think are impressive.

First, there's the peregrine. Dina, my good wife, and I visited the Cornell barn when they started, and I think it's a very exciting thing, the way they're bringing the peregrine back with hands-on methods.

There are the whooping cranes, which many of you have seen, I've seen them myself in the national wildlife refuge in Texas, near Matagorda Bay. The most thrilling bird, I think even more so than the condor. And they were down, as I recall it, to 18 a few years ago. With the help of the Audubon Society and hands-on work they discovered the nesting area in the Wood Buffalo National Park way up in the Northwest territories. And they now have brought them back partly with foster mothers of sandhill cranes to about one hundred twenty.

There's the trumpeter swan, that are almost wiped out because of the landslide in central British Columbia which caused the flooding-out of the winter feeding areas of these trumpeter swans. And so there's a pioneer up there--I forget his name, there are several books about him if you're interested--that took pack trains, over the rough coast ranges, of barley into these swans to feed them. And they're still doing that.

There are, of course, the wood duck nests. There's a teacher in Merced who, I think, has installed something like twenty of these wood duck nests, and are helping them with their nesting.

Livermore: There's the quail argument, this is fascinating. If any of you have read Starker Leopold's quail book, you'll find that he had a falling out with Ian McMillan, who was a great purist-- I mean that in the best sense--for condors. They fell out on the subject of habitat improvement.

There's the case of the Angel Island deer, that are being collared to study. The ones that a commotion forced the Fish and Game Department to remove from Angel Island, it remains to be seen whether they'll do any better in the wild.

There are the radio collars on the mountain lions. There are the water holes, desert water holes, where the Department of Fish and Game has blasted holes in the rock to collect the water to help the desert sheep. There's the shifting of the Sierra sheep, from Baxter Pass area in back of Independence to other places in the area. And there are the tule elk, which, due to the pressure of that well-known conservationist Mrs. Beulah Edmiston, have had their state quota raised from 500 to 2,000, with a 500 limit in the Owens Valley. These are now moved when they are surplus all over the state to various places, and the cost of moving each elk is about \$15,000.

Last, and perhaps not least, are the fish hatcheries. There are over two million licensed fishermen in the state. And they are mostly fishing hatchery-raised fish.

So the last thing I'd say on the condor might amuse you. Believe it or not on this subject not too long ago I had a call from the White House. And I thought, "My goodness, what does the president want now?" Well, it was not the president, but it was Ed Thomas, a good friend of mine who is Ed Meese's assistant. And the story was that a strong constituent, whose father happens to be ambassador to the Vatican, of all places, is the ladies' president of the Los Angeles Zoo Association. And she was very much disturbed because the first condor report was written by scientists, and they had decided that the San Diego Zoo should be the place to receive the captive condors. Whereas the only captive condor, which most of you probably know is named Topa Topa, and he or she--some people still think it's a she--has been ensconced in the L.A. Zoo for eighteen years.

The first plan was that Topa Topa would be moved to the San Diego Zoo. So [the president of the zoo association] called on me personally and told me, among other things, that she thought part of the problem was academia, because the director of the San Diego Zoo was a Ph.D. and the director of the Los Angeles Zoo was only an M.A. Therefore the Ph.D.'s had all

Livermore: the power, and they were going to push everything to San Diego. Well, as you may have deduced, there's a little politics thrown in here. But after very careful deliberation, aided and abetted by the fact that Marsha Hobbs, which is the young lady's name, said that they would promise to raise a million dollars to keep Topa Topa where he is, the commission voted to have two captive breeding areas. So Topa Topa will stay in Los Angeles.

On this final subject--and I'm indebted to Steve McCormick who is here from the Nature Conservancy. He sent me this Point Reyes Bird Observatory Spring Newsletter. I confess I probably had it already because on the condor subject, literally, we received about four feet of material. But let me just read you one paragraph, and this is from his article called, "Nesting of the California Condor," written by a professor of infectious and tropical diseases who, during the war had commuted all the way from his Navy post in San Francisco to observe a condor nest. He says, "The objective of survival by habitat preservation and protection has failed. That a creature of such aesthetic and emotional impact should be allowed to disappear without effective attempts at intercession by human intelligence, denigrates the one quality of the human species which is supposed to lift man above his dependent companions in the vertebrate creation."

That's all I had to say except for two very short things. You'll note your invitation said, "you'll be"--question mark--"entertained by a brief talk," and so I asked Jim what brief was. He said, "Anything up to an hour and a half." But I said, "Twenty-two minutes is plenty." So, all I want to do in finishing is to recommend two books to you that are just absolutely fascinating. The most readable by far is a recent book by Stephen Fox, John Muir and His Legacy. The index is just a marvelous one. He points out that in 1965 conservation shifted to ecology, the complexity of it, so forth. I'm sad to say that my good friend Dave, whom I referred to frequently, says that the quotes of him here and others are strictly erroneous or at least need further editing. So, I hope you'll all buy a copy of the book, because as soon as we get the second edition then we can get Brower's editing into it, I'm sure. [laughter]

The other one will perhaps be of less interest and knowledge to you, but this, I think, is absolutely a textbook. This is called Striking a Balance, and it's written by John C. Whitaker.

Livermore: And to inject a little bit of politics into this, whether you like it or not I assume most of you are Democrats--[laughter]--most of the potent environmental legislation that was enacted in the seventies was enacted under Nixon and Ford. And this book documents it in an absolutely marvelous way. John Whitaker, in case none of you knew him, was the White House counterpart of Russell Train.

So I commend both of these books to you, and I think if my wife looks at her watch she'll find that I stayed within the allotted time. Thank you very much. [applause]

Moderator: Ike has offered to accept questions or short statements from people in the audience who would like to add something to our general discussion.

Question: Ike, I was interested in what you said about the Peripheral Canal. Everything I've read to date has been negative, against the Peripheral Canal. And some of the arguments make sense to me, although I have no way of verifying them. Why are you for it?

Livermore: Glad you asked that question! [laughter] Well, this is embarrassing. I'm for it because I gave one of my major speeches many years ago favoring it. I've been pressed very hard to change my mind, but I can't find a copy of my speech. So, before I change my mind, and I think conditions have changed, I've got to find that copy. Apparently I misfiled it somewhere. But I can say a couple of things about it, Clara.

One thing that's always bothered me a little bit, that is the old story of do as I say and not as I do. You know, we're all supplied by the Hetch-Hetchy, which does bypass the Delta. People forget that.

Another thing, and I'll just mention two at this point, the 1960 bond act started the state water project--which I personally think was a tragedy but was voted on by all the people. And there are thirty-one water contractors that have a contract for water delivery involving "a cross-Delta facility." So, those are two potent points. Does that partly answer your question?

Moderator: Dave, Mr. Brower, are you ready for your equal time? [laughter]

David  
Brower: First, Ike and I started disagreeing in 1936, and this is no time to stop. But on the condor question, would you change your mind if you found out that the hands-on captive breeding experiment is vastly overrated and has been mostly a failure?

Brower: It's something I call not hands-on but thumbs-on. The hands-on attempt to save the condor first killed a chick by handling in the nest, presumably killed a chick by over-observation, and started a forest fire. And then in working on the surrogate species, the vulture, put radios on the wings and lost both vultures. That's definitely thumbs-on. But the main thing I think, is to look at what happened on the peregrine, on the whooping crane, on the condor. And there's an analysis that I think almost deserves a book, when we come to assistance.

Livermore: When what?

Brower: When we, human beings, come to assist wild creatures that were able to maintain themselves fairly well until we began upsetting their habitat. I'm just prejudiced myself because of an early experience in my life. I was trying to captive-breed swallowtail butterflies, western swallowtails. The caterpillars did fine, and the chrysalis formed, and then they started to open finally. And I felt the least I could do was help them once they'd split, I could help them get out. Every one I helped never developed. It didn't require the energy that apparently triggers all the systems that are essential--that fill the wings with fluid so they can expand and then dry and allow the butterfly to fly. They all went around with crumpled wings. I never forgot the limitations of people who wanted to help too much.

And the condor question is, I think, still a very live one. I think that it's important that the California Department of Fish and Game heed the advice of the Condor Advisory Committee, scientists, not just emotional environmentalists, who gave them advice which is now in the process of being disregarded. That's my comment.

Livermore: Dave, I can say a couple things. Even if I changed my mind I wouldn't be optimistic about its changing the policy because I'd be only one vote out of five. I'd say secondly, just off the top of my head, if and when I saw that the three programs you mentioned which you questioned, namely the trumpeter swan and the peregrine falcon, seemed to be failing then I might change my mind. As far as another point you made about Dr. Herman and the advisory committee, I think I told you when we met briefly this morning, that there's a time lag in communication and the last communication I saw of his was not critical. Does that answer your question?

Dave and my first argument had to do with mules, but we won't go into that now!

[some material missed during change of tape]

Livermore: Earlier, I read a vitriolic--if you want to call it that-- letter of criticism, and I don't have time here to read you a worse one which I just received by a person that is violently against my position on the Sespe-Fraser Wilderness. He called me everything unprintable he could think of. It's a political problem, as so many of these things are. The main problem with the Sespe Wilderness is, of course, the congressman representing the area owns private land right in the Sespe Valley. And that's not very promising, and he seems to like it.

Perhaps another answer is that your and also D.R. Brower's position is certainly minority. Now that's nothing wrong with it. But the Audubon Society is very much in favor of this, this Point Reyes Bird Observatory article is in favor of it. Apart from answering very sincere questions by Dave and others, the biggest fight we had on the commission was to cut down the number that were trapped. The weight of opinion of the Audubon people and the Fish and Wildlife Service wanted to trap nine pairs because they figure the mortality chance is so great that they want as big a sample as possible to make sure that they can produce young.

Moderator: Are there any other questions that we have here? If not, I think we've had a very interesting, stimulating discussion and were very fortunate in having our speaker here today. The meeting is adjourned. Thank you very much.

Norman B. Livermore, Jr.  
ADMINISTRATOR

260  
Ronald Reagan  
GOVERNOR OF  
CALIFORNIA

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR  
RESOURCES BUILDING  
1416 NINTH STREET

Department of Conservation  
Department of Fish and Game  
Department of Parks and Recreation  
Department of Water Resources  
State Reclamation Board  
State Water Quality Control Board  
State Water Rights Board  
Regional Water Pollution  
Control Boards

APPENDIX E



THE RESOURCES AGENCY OF CALIFORNIA  
SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

February 16, 1967

Mr. George Marshall, President  
Sierra Club  
800 Bel-Air Road  
Los Angeles, California 90024

Dear George:

I have your letter of the 9th and your kind invitation of the 13th. Regarding the latter, I regret I will be unable to attend the Saturday or Sunday meeting, as I have been under extraordinary pressure both days and weekends and see no letup in the foreseeable future.

I am not sure that he would be available, but if he is, and you wish him to, I would appreciate your extending an invitation to my brother Putnam to attend part of your meeting. It might be helpful to me, and mutually beneficial, if you could briefly extend via him any questions you feel might come under my purview as California Administrator of Resources.

As to yours of the 9th, you are certainly entitled to documentation on my criticism of "The Last Redwoods", and I will do the best I can in the few minutes currently available to me as you may wish to discuss them at your meeting. Perhaps later on I could have a chance to develop my thoughts more fully should the opportunity arise. For the present, however, I believe I can illustrate by concentrating on six points:

1. The title "The Last Redwoods" is at the very least, highly inaccurate, unfair, and misleading. I believe it is true there may even be more redwood trees standing today than originally. This whole theme of vanishing redwoods is in my opinion ridiculous. In this connection, it might be interesting for you to refer to the article entitled "The Last Stand of the Giants" which appeared as a lead article in the December 6, 1919 issue of the Saturday Evening Post. This article appears to have predicted the demise of all redwoods by the year 1959.



Mr. George Marshall

-2-

February 16, 1967

2. The fold-out map following Page 124, and the many conclusions drawn from it, including the full-page San Francisco Chronicle advertisement in the January 25, 1967 issue are at best intellectually dishonest because they compare acreage of grove-type redwoods, which as you know are basically bottom-land redwoods, with the natural total range of coast redwoods. The latter, I believe, includes areas with as small a percentage of redwood as 20 percent by volume. This is an invalid comparison.
3. The two-page photograph (Pages 52-53) which infers that logging practices of almost 50 years ago compare with those of today is certainly a completely biased presentation. This type of thing has caused fierce resentment throughout the whole forest industry.
4. The photo and caption on Page 51 are the worst type of propaganda. The caption conveys an entirely unfair and inaccurate connotation and casts a slur on one of America's finest lumber companies, and on one of the great industries that has helped build most of the homes in this country; an industry that may have made mistakes in the past, but one that is certainly trying to improve its methods in the present.
5. I will single out the photo on Page 74, not so much for itself, but because it may be used to illustrate countless photographs that have appeared in Sierra Club publications in the past that treat clear cut logging unfairly. I hold no brief for this logging scenically, but I do not feel it fair to use photographs of this method of logging in a slanted way without also acknowledging the fact that for a great portion of the logging industry this is a perfectly sound forestry method.
6. Lastly, in explanation of my theme that this book has "done more harm than good", I feel this quite strongly. I realize that it has stirred great consternation among conservationists in favor of protection of old growth redwoods, but at the same time, it has done great damage to relations between the Club and the forest industries. I do not believe that in print or in a meeting either side to a controversy gains anything but harm to its cause by using unfair and inaccurate or untrue presentations either verbal or written.

I believe this exposition will suffice for the present and I will be interested to hear from you if you care to comment on these six points.

Very sincerely,

Original Signed By  
NORMAN B. LIVERMORE, JR.

Administrator

cc: Sierra Club Exec. Com.  
Richard Leonard  
Putnam Livermore

Dr. William E. Siri  
Dr. Edgar Wayburn  
Mr. Frank Bormsky

Mr. Lewis Clark  
Mr. David Brower

## APPENDIX F--Two Cabinet Issues on Tax Reform and Land Use

CABINET ISSUE MEMO

To: Governor Ronald Reagan

From: The Resources Agency

Signed by N. B. Livermore, Jr.  
N. B. Livermore, Jr.Hed PA  
Originated by

Date: 6/10/74

No. R-74-37

Secretary for Resources

DECISION  
DISCUSSION**SUBJECT:** Land and Wealth Tax in Relation to Land Use**ISSUE:** Should our administration couple suggested tax reforms with our land use legislation?**CONCLUSION:** Yes**FISCAL IMPACT:** Substantial tax shifts

**FACTS AND DISCUSSION:** The statement is frequently heard that "tax assessors are really the land use planners in California". The trouble is (as Mark Twain said about the weather) "everybody talks about it but nobody does anything about it".

Our Issue R-73-13 attempted to get at this matter but did not succeed in cabinet largely because of its complexity and because of lack of cabinet work session time.

More recently, I have become increasingly interested in and concerned about the concept of distribution of wealth as differentiated from income distribution. It appears to me these two categories (wealth and income) are often confused in the public mind; and are major factors contributing to land use problems.

Pertinent to this theme are the attached clips and a schedule illustrating the difference between the distribution of wealth and income. Note this schedule appears to support the hard-to-believe statement that "1% of the people own 40% of the wealth".

In particular, see the quote from candidate Roth: "California property tax is a distorted remnant of the idea of a total wealth tax originally in our state constitution." It seems inequitable for a man to be taxed if his wealth is in land (property tax) but to escape taxation if he places an equivalent amount of capital in securities (tax free bonds).

It is not too late for our administration to take the lead in urging further reforms in land taxes as they relate to the need to preserve open space and finance education and local government.

Attachments

## CABINET ISSUE MEMO

DECISION  xxDISCUSSION 

To: Governor Ronald Reagan

Date: 8/14/74

From: The Resources Agency

No. R-74-46

Signed by N. B. Livermore, Jr.  
N. B. Livermore, Jr.Originated by Office of the Secretary

SUBJECT: Land Use

ISSUE: Should changes be made in the Administration proposal for a land use bill?

CONCLUSION: The bill needs to be changed to add balance to the proposal and to protect the state against inverse condemnation suits.

FINANCIAL IMPACT: The cost of the bill in its present form would be reduced by limiting compensation to amounts appropriated by the Legislature and by providing that the designation of an area as critical would lapse if the Legislature does not appropriate funds for compensation within three years after the designation.

DISCUSSION: A provision needs to be added to the bill specifically exempting the effect of controls imposed by the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency and the San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission from compensation claims. In its present form, the bill would set the value of the property before the controls as the value allowing for uses allowed by local land use controls. If the local controls allow uses not allowed by the TRPA or BCDC controls, the value of the property would be artificially inflated.

The compensation approach used in the bill does not represent a balance of the competing interests involved. It gives all the benefits to the landowner. Compensation should represent a balancing of interests and should be allowed for a set percentage of the loss in value, not the entire amount. It is unrealistic to impose such strict standards for compensation for the effects of state land use controls when no compensation would be required for local land use controls. A more balanced approach could lead local government to use a similar compensation system for their land use controls.

To the extent that losses in property value are compensated, gains in property values directly attributable to the designation as a critical area should be recovered by government. This would be an ideal source of funding for compensation. This tax should be applied in the critical area and in the surrounding area where the property values are affected. Unless we address the gains resulting from governmental action as well as the losses, we will be dealing with only half of the issue.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SUBJECT/TITLE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>
2/14/67	Double Opportunity	Fresno
2/16/67	Greetings from the State of California (Redwood Region Logging Conf)	Sacramento
3/9/67	Log With your Heart as Well as Your Head	Crescent City
3/11/67	Trends in the Economics of Wildlife Management	San Francisco
4/8/67	Sierra Club's 10th Biennial Wilderness Conf.	San Francisco
4/21/67	A Balanced Resources Program	Newport Beach
5/19/67	Statement on Forest Practices	Sacramento
6/2/67	Trends in Recreational Use of Private Forest Lands	Fort Bragg
8/23/67	Dedication of F&G Water Pollution Control Laboratory	Nimbus
8/29/67	Progress and Problems in California Resources Agency	(Town Hall) Los Angeles
9/27/67	Resources 1975 - Let's Look at the Redwood Empire	Napa Valley
10/2/67	Open Space - The First Challenge	San Francisco
10/7/67	Progress in Conservation	San Rafael
10/11/67	Dedication of Feather River Fish Hatchery (Presented by Bob Montgomery)	Oroville
10/20/70	Why California Needs Conservation	Pasadena
10/13/67	Statement Given by E. Aldrich Re Redwood National Park at Humboldt State College	Eureka
10/26/67	Lake Tahoe	Sacramento
* 11/14/67	Resources Agency Recreation Task Force Report on the State Water Project	Sacramento
11/30/70	Practical Conservation	Fresno

1967 SPEECHES

APPENDIX G--Speeches Given by Secretary for Resources Livermore, 1967-1974

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>PLACE</u>
1/10/68	West Coast Forest Industry-Public Relations Group ( <u>No Speech</u> )	San Francisco
1/11/68	KFBK Interview with Jack Cahill (NS)	Sacramento
1/19/68	Redwood Region Conservation Council	Santa Rosa 14
2/2/68	Wildlife Society-California-Nevada Section; Sacramento State College	Sacramento
2/9/68	American Camping Association	San Diego 15
2/15/68	Sierra Cascades Logging Conference	Fresno 16
2/16/68	Young Presidents Association	Alpine Meadows
2/17/68	Napa Valley Conference	Napa College 17
2/19/68	Calif. State Advisory Board (BLM) (NS)	Sacramento
3/4/68	Governor's talk to the Park Convention	San Diego
3/6/68	Sacramento State Ranger's Club (NS)	Sacramento
3/16/68	Sierra Club-Redwood Chapter (NS)	Los Robles Lodge
3/23/68	Parks & Recreation Career Day	Sacramento
4/4-5	Washington, D. C. PLLRC Meetings (NS)	Wash., D. C.
4/6/68	Calif. State Chamber of Commerce - Statewide Natural Resources Committee Meeting (NS)	Sacramento
4/7/68	National Audubon Society	Asilomar
4/16/68	Redwood Park Statements	Crescent City 18
4/19/68	Dedication of New Electric Building	San Diego
4/24/68	CSEA 3rd Recognition Dinner (NS)	Sacramento

<u>DATE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>PLACE</u>
April 30	Citizens for Regional Recreation & Parks (Napa)	San Francisco <sup>20</sup>
April 30	Assembly Transportation Committee Hearing on Minarets Road	Sacramento
May 3	U. S. Senate Interior Sub-Committee Hearing on S. 2919	Sacramento
May 3/4	Oroville Dam Dedication (NS)	Oroville
May 7	American Water Works Association Workshop; Hotel Senator	Sacramento
May 8	Chamber of Commerce - Natural Resources Committee Meeting; Hotel Senator	Sacramento
May 11	Isaac Walton League Convention	Santa Rosa <sup>21</sup>
May 16	Southwest Metals & Minerals Conference	Los Angeles <sup>22</sup>
May 20/21	Redwood Park Hearings	Washington, D.C.
May 24	RA Staff Retreat (NS)	Montesol
August 1	BCDC speech re San Francisco Bay Plan	Palo Alto <sup>23</sup>
October 3	Partners in Conservation-Audubon Dedication	Sacramento
October 24	A Positive Step	So. Lake Tahoe
November 25	Dedication of Redwood National Park	Humboldt Co. <sup>24</sup>
December 4	Boreal Ridge Night Skiing Premier	Placer Co.
December 5	Western Forestry & Conservation Assoc. Conference,	S. Francisco <sup>25</sup>

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
February 13	"State of the Resources Agency" -- Submitted to Legislature	Sacramento
March 19	"Remarks to Air Resources Board" -- Agency Auditorium	Sacramento X
April 15	"Garden Clubs of America Speech" -- Annual Convention of GC of A.	Pasadena
April 24	"Architects & Landscape Architects' Involvement in California's Environ- mental Challenges" -- Joint meeting of the Northern California Chapters of American Society of Landscape Architects.	San Francisco
May 2	"State Water Resources Control Board Meeting Press Release" -- Hearing on Study of the San Francisco Bay-Delta Quality Control Program	San Francisco
May 26	"Planning for a Better Tomorrow in California" -- PEO State Convention	Los Angeles
August 20	Statement at Hearing of Federal Highway Administration -- Re new access road to Devils Postpile	Mammoth Lakes
Sept. 19	"Let's Keep our Heritage of Splendor" -- Keep America Beautiful Meeting	San Diego
Sept. 26	"Water Supply -- 1985" --50th Annual Conference, American Water Works Assoc.	Santa Barbara
October 20	"Those Three Letters" -- Water & Power Committee	Los Angeles

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
January 16	"County Government & the Environment" -- Mother Lode Association of County Supervisors	Sacramento
January 30	"North Coast Water Development" -- Eel River Water Council	Eureka
February 26	"Environmental Design for the 1970's" - Annual Engineer Week Banquet	Stockton
March 4	"Proper Balance is the Key" - Calif. Municipal Utilities Association	Sacramento
April 24	"Some Key Factors Involved in State Water Plan As It Applies to North Coast Rivers" -- Humboldt Awareness Week	Eureka
April 24	"How May California's Future Environment & Water Supply be Guided by the State's Resources Agency" Calif. Water Utilities Assoc. Meeting	Gilman Hot Springs
May 4	"Accomplishments & Challenges of Tahoe Regional Planning Agency" -- Orientation Meeting	Crystal Bay
May 22	"What Price Environment"- Commonwealth Club	San Francisco
July 14	"Environmental & Recreational Opportunities in Delta" -- St. Francis Yacht Club	San Francisco
July 21	"Water in the Valley" - Friant Water Users Assoc.	Los Angeles
July 21	"Environmental Objectives & Programs" -- Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce	Los Angeles
August 6	"SF BCDC Statement, San Francisco	San Francisco
August 12	"Pollution or Water Quality; California's Future" -- Santa Rosa Rotary Club	Santa Rosa
August 24	"Environmental Objectives & Programs for California" --Savings & Loan League	Los Angeles
Sept. 23	"California's Environmental Programs" -- Environ. & Highway Design Conference	Burlingame
Sept. 30	"Recycling" -- Formation of "Community Pride Ecology Centers"	Oakland

1970 SPEECHES



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SPEECHES - 1970

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
December 1	"Water Resources & Environmental Quality" SF City College Lecture Series	San Francisco
December 7	"Economic Aspects of Public Lands" -- UC Institute of Governmental Studies Program -- Conf. on "Public Lands-1/3 of Nation's Land"	San Francisco
December 11	"Environmental Benefits of Peripheral Canal" Water Week Luncheon of Civic Leaders	San Jose
December 14	<u>NEWS RELEASE</u> -- Colorado River	Sacramento
December 17	"Impact of Santa Barbara Oil Spill" -- Oil Symposium - UC Santa Barbara	Santa Barbara

<u>DATE</u>	<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
January 29	Environmental Engineering - Annual Conv. Civil Engineers	San Francisco 5
February 18	Educational Programs & Water Resources Dinner Meeting of Phi Delta Kappa	Sacramento
March 12	Marine Development, Recreation & Conservation, before National Marine Recreation & Conservation Conference	Long Beach 11
March 26	Protecting California's Natural Environment - Before the American Society for Quality Control	San Francisco
March 26	Environmental Problems in California Coastal Counties - Before <u>Town Hall</u> Forum	Anaheim 50
April 17	Full Use of Forest Lands - California Bankers Association	Santa Rosa 1
May 10	Existing and Proposed Land Use Plans-- Junior League Land Use Conference	Sacramento
June 28	Senate Committee On Natural Res. & Wildlife Hearing on Coastline Legislation	Sacramento
June 18	San Jose City College Graduation "Education in Changing Environ."	San Jose 7
June 21	Los Angeles Co. Chamber of Commerce Water & Power Committee "Balancing our Resources"	Los Angeles 7
June 22	Contra Costa Republican Council -- "Beyond Res. Develop. Lies Good"	Concord 6

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1971 SPEECHES

<u>Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Location</u>
Sept. 27	Union Oil Refinery Dedication	Rodeo
<del>Sept.</del> <sup>NOV</sup> 5	Forest Industries Taxation Committee Conference "Land Use Planning Problems in California"	San Francisco
July 30, 1971	Outline of "Wild Rivers" Notes	Rio Vista

1972 SPEECHES

December 7, 1972  
California Water Resources Assn Board Meeting

December 1, 1972  
California Press Association

October 25, 1972  
AAWU

October 4, 1972  
National Recreation and Parks Association

October 4, 1972  
Los Angeles Round Table, Texaco, Inc.

September 13, 1972  
Southern California Association of Governments

September 10, 1972  
California Water Resources Association Board Meeting

September 5-6, 1972  
Forest Practices Hearing

July 17, 1972  
Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Water & Energy Committee

May 12, 1972  
San Diego Water Resources Seminar

May 9, 1972  
Dedication of San Diego Wild Animal Park

April 25, 1972  
National Farmers Organization

## 1972 SPEECHES

## 1972 SPEECHES (CONT'D)

March 26, 1972  
Audubon National Conference

March 17, 1972  
NACO Western Region Conference

March 9, 1972  
Executive Secretaries Seminar

March 7, 1972  
Luncheon for Conservation Education

March 3, 1972  
Sierra Club

February 22, 1972  
Marin County Farm Bureau

January 28, 1972  
Santa Barbara

January 28, 1972  
Thacher School

January 28, 1972  
California-Nevada Section, The Wildlife Society

NBL SPEECHES

1973

<u>Date</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Place</u>
Jan. 19*	"Environmental Legis. & the Timber Industry"	San Francisco
Mar. 3	"Land Use Controls & Their Effect on Private Property Rights" - Monterey Co. Planning Council Annual Conference	Pacific Grove
Apr. 16	"Enhancing the American River" - SARA Assoc.	Sacramento
Apr. 25	"Land Use Controls at Different Levels of Government" - California Tomorrow Panel on Reorganization, Hilton Hotel	San Francisco
May 10	"Need for Geothermal Development in the West" National Conference on Geothermal Energy Luncheon, International Hotel	Palm Springs
May 19	"Delta Master Recreation Plan" - Delta Advisory Planning Council	Sacramento
June 25	"Perpetuating Forests & Timber in California" Forest Products Research Society Annual Meeting	Anaheim
May 29	"RR's Minority Appointees Workshop" Woodlake Inn	Sacramento
*Sept. 17 (dist.)*	"Environmental Legislation & the Timber Industry" - before Calif. Forest Protective Association.	San Francisco
Oct. 11	"You and the Energy Crisis" - Orange County Economic Outlook Conference	Anaheim
Nov. 3	"Over the Horizon-Resources or Regrets" - Stanford School of Business	Stanford

\* CFPA speech - delivered (from notes) Jan 19  
written up and distributed Sept 17

May 16, 1973  
Tree Planting Ceremony Strawberry Valley

May 10-11  
National Conference on Geothermal Energy

May 8, 1973  
Golden Gate Breakfast Club

May 7, 1973  
Sunnyvale Rotary Club

May 6, 1973  
Executive Secretaries Seminar

May 4, 1973  
-South Mendocino Coast Planning

April 25, 1973  
California Tomorrow Conference

April 16, 1973  
Save the American River Assn.

April 2, 1973  
Dominican College

March 26, 1973  
Shell Environmental Program

March 5, 1973  
Conservation Education

March 3, 1973  
Asilomar Planning Conference

January 19, 1973

← California Forest Protective Association

1973 SPEECHES

December 5, 1973  
Upper Napa Valley Associates

November 17, 1973  
People for Open Space Conference (ERSKINE)

November 14, 1973  
National Water Resources Assn.

November 3, 1973  
Stanford Business School

October 25, 1973  
Proposition 1 Assembly Hearing

October 11, 1973  
Orange County Economic Outlook Conference

June 25, 1973  
Governor's Symposium on Transportation

June 25, 1973  
Forest Products Research Society Annual Mtg.

June 1, 1973  
Liberty Tree Planting Program

May 29, 1973  
Minority Workshop

May 26, 1973  
Forum for the Future

May 25, 1973  
PASA Environmental Management Institute



NBL SPEECHES

1974

<u>Date</u>	<u>Title/Subject</u>	<u>Location</u>
Feb. 15	Calif. Energy Policy and Solid Waste Recycling (Solid Waste Management Bd. Mtg.)	Los Angeles
Apr. 20-21	Some Thoughts on Wilderness (Wilderness Seminar)	Yosemite
Apr. 25	Water Resources & the Delta (U.C. Extension Course)	U.C.Davis
May 4	What's Ahead for the Coast?	Gualala
May 7	Environmental Accomplishments of the Reagan Administration (Sunnyvale Rotary Club)	Sunnyvale
June 12	Report on Resources Activities (LA Chamber of Commerce Mid-Year Conference on State-of-the-State) Hilton Hotel	Los Angeles
June 28	The Importance of Maintaining our Forest Resources (Simpson Timber Co. Tree Planting Ceremony)	Korbel
Sept. 21	"King Range National Conservation Area" Dedication Ceremonies	Shelter Cove
Dec. 5	"California's Air Pollution Problems" E. Pasadena Rotary Club Luncheon	Pasadena

1974 SPEECHES

MAJOR GOALS OF CALIFORNIA'S RESOURCES AGENCY

- A. Major goals of the Resources Agency are to: 1) Encourage the balanced development and productivity of California's natural resources; and 2) Give equal emphasis to the protection and preservation and enhancement of the quality of our State's natural and cultural environments.
- B. In the interest of the general welfare, the long-term goals of the State of California for management of its resources should be:
- |  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| 1) To seek an optimum balance between economic and social benefits to be derived from the State's natural resources; | 2) To distribute throughout the State the full range of benefits of resources management as widely and as equitably as possible; | 3) To make the fullest use of natural resources in the present without denying subsequent generations the opportunity for the use and enjoyment of these resources in their time. |
|--|--|---|

A summary outline under the two major objectives follows:

I. Encourage Development and Productivity of Natural Resources

1. Encourage development of the State's water supplies.
2. Encourage a balanced private-public power supply system.
3. Encourage practices that will maintain and increase the productivity of the State's wildlife.
4. Wise use and conservation of the State's existing energy sources must be programmed while encouraging the exploration for, survey and inventory of, development and productivity of the State's energy and mineral resources.
5. Encourage tax measures that will help maintain and augment the productivity of wild lands.
6. Develop and maintain meaningful and useful inventories of the State's natural resources.
7. Encourage and regulate private enterprise within the framework of proper natural resources management.

II. Protect, Preserve and Enhance the Quality of our Natural and Cultural Environments

1. Maintain measures, personnel, facilities, equipment and research that will afford maximum protection to our populace against dangers from fire, flood, and geologic hazards.
2. Implement to the maximum possible extent measures for the prevention of air, water and land pollution incorporating resource recovery measures to the fullest practicable extent.
3. Encourage measures to preserve open space.
4. Encourage natural resources-related recreational development and the preservation and restoration of California's cultural heritage.
5. Encourage and implement the protection and enhancement of the quality of our natural resource environment.
6. To impart by all means available including education and all news media a sense of resource value and husbandry to all the people of California on an accelerated basis.
7. Engage in and encourage studies in natural resources planning for the future.

June ~~May~~ 1974

## APPENDIX I: Norman B. Livermore, Jr., VITA

Personal Data:

Born 1911, San Francisco. Fourth generation Californian. Married, 1943, Virginia M. Pennoyer; 5 children

Education: Stanford University, B.A., 1933; Harvard Graduate School of Business 1933-34; M.B.A., Stanford University, 1936.

College Activities: Varsity baseball, Captain 1933; USA Olympic baseball Berlin 1936; President, Stanford Interfraternity Council; prominent in many other college activities.

Professional, Civic, Conservation, Social, Fraternal Affiliations: Professional forester; Commonwealth Club; Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, Audubon Society, Planning and Conservation League, California Roadside Council, Save-the-Redwoods League; Pacific Union Club, Lagunitas Club; Alpha Delta Phi Fraternity.

Former Occupations:

War Service: (1942-45) US Naval Reserve with amphibious troops in Sicily (45th Infantry Division); with US Navy and Marines at landings at Palau, Iwo Jima and Okinawa; Retired rank--Lieutenant Commander USNR.

Business Experience: (1930-50): General business and financial work; High Sierra packer and guide; owner and operator of Sierra pack trains. (1946-52): Sawmill operator and lumber remanufacturer in Napa and Sonoma Counties. (1952-66): With Pacific Lumber Company, San Francisco and Scotia, California.

Financial and Taxation Activities: Treasurer, the Pacific Lumber Company; Chairman, California Committee on Federal Taxation of Timber.

Outdoor-Wilderness-Conservation Activities: For many years leader for Sierra Club and other mountain trips, main base--Love Pine, Inyo County; 1949, initiated the idea for, and helped organize the first Wilderness Conference (sponsored by Sierra Club); life member Sierra Club (since 1937); Sierra Club Director 1941-50 (except war years).

Other Conservation and Land Use Activities: Director and Officer of Redwood Region Conservation Council; Member, Natural Resources Committee of California State Chamber of Commerce; Member and former Chairman, Commonwealth Club Forest and Recreation Section; Organizer and Executive Secretary of High Sierra Packer's Association; Program Chairman, 54th Western Forestry Conference (San Francisco, 1963).

Public Services: Treasurer, Commonwealth Club of California (1962); Special Gifts Chairman, San Francisco--United Bay Area Crusade (1964); Officer, Vestryman, Trustee of various school boards, church and charity groups; Member, Executive Committee, and Finance Chairman, First Congressional District Republican Committee 1962-66. Member, Stanford Business School Advisory Committee 1974- ; Chairman, State Division of Sacramento United Way, 1974.

Secretary for Resources, appointed by Governor Reagan in January 1967.

Headed the Resources Agency which includes the following Departments, Boards and Commissions:

Department of Conservation	Solid Waste Management Board
Department of Fish and Game	*State Lands Division
Department of Navigation and Ocean Development	*Colorado River Board
Department of Parks and Recreation	*San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission
Department of Water Resources	*Tahoe Regional Planning Agency
Water Resources Control Board	*California Tahoe Regional Planning Agency
Reclamation Board	

As Secretary for Resources, was Governor Reagan's chief environmental advisor in key executive and legislative actions such as air and water pollution control measures; establishment of the Redwood National Park; preservation of Lake Tahoe; stopping the Dos Rios dam and Minarets highway projects; conducting state and national environmental conferences; etc. Member of the United States delegation to the International Environmental Conference held in Stockholm, Sweden in 1972.

Current:

Served on President Reagan's Environmental Task Force and as Leader of the Environmental Protection Agency transition team, 1980.

Now "retired," maintains his business and environmental activities as manager of a family-owned Tree Farm. In 1980, appointed by Governor Brown to the State Fish and Game Commission, and currently serves as its President.

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\*Liaison Capacity.

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RONALD REAGAN GUBERNATORIAL ERA, 1966-1974

Government History Documentation Project

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