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Sierra Club Oral History Series

Edgar Wayburn

GLOBAL ACTIVIST AND ELDER STATESMAN OF THE SIERRA CLUB:
ALASKA, INTERNATIONAL CONSERVATION, NATIONAL PARKS AND PROTECTED AREAS,
1980-1992

With an Introduction by
Michael McCloskey

Interviews Conducted by
Ann Lage
in 1992

Since 1954 the Regional Oral History Office has been interviewing leading participants in or well-placed witnesses to major events in the development of Northern California, the West, and the Nation. Oral history is a method of collecting historical information through tape-recorded interviews between a narrator with firsthand knowledge of historically significant events and a well-informed interviewer, with the goal of preserving substantive additions to the historical record. The tape recording is transcribed, lightly edited for continuity and clarity, and reviewed by the interviewee. The corrected manuscript is indexed, bound with photographs and illustrative materials, and placed in The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, and in other research collections for scholarly use. Because it is primary material, oral history is not intended to present the final, verified, or complete narrative of events. It is a spoken account, offered by the interviewee in response to questioning, and as such it is reflective, partisan, deeply involved, and irreplaceable.

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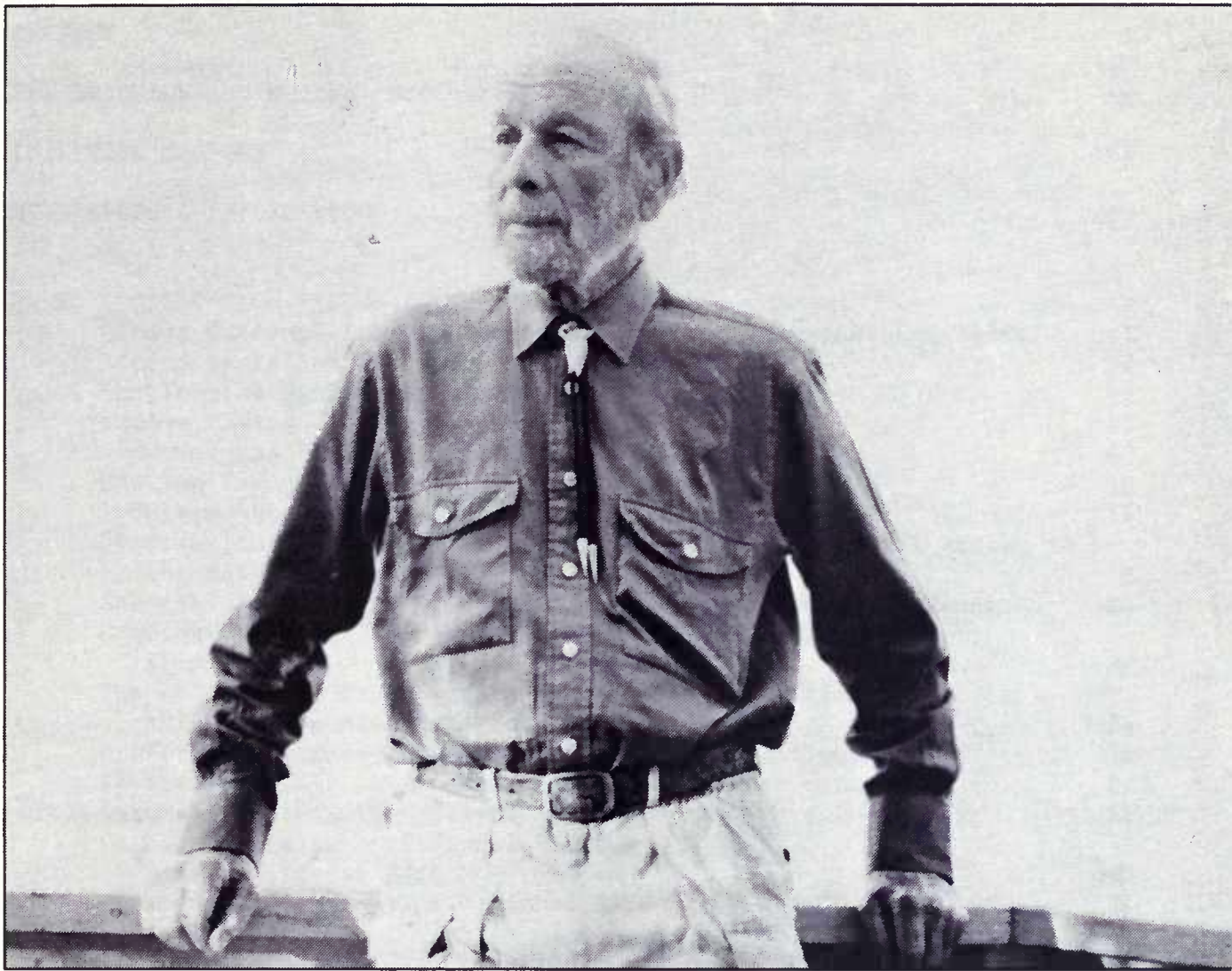
Wayburn, Edgar (b. 1906)

Environmentalist

Global Activist and Elder Statesman of the Sierra Club: Alaska, International Conservation, National Parks and Protected Areas, 1980-1992. 1996, xiv, 280 pp.

Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, 1980, and environmental issues in Alaska, 1981-1992: Admiralty Island, Tongass National Forest, Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, Exxon Valdez oil spill, problems in the Alaskan national parks, travels in Alaska; the Sierra Club and international conservation, 1972-1992, and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature; changing environmental perspectives on toxics, population, ecosystem protection; club relations with National Park Service: William Penn Mott, Jr., Yosemite master plan and concessions policy, service on National Parks Advisory Board; northern spotted owl and ancient forests issues; organizational issues in the Sierra Club, 1980s: executive directors Michael McCloskey, Douglas Wheeler, Michael Fischer, Carl Pope, role of volunteer leaders and grass-roots activists, fund raising and financial uncertainties; club involvement in electoral politics and with Clinton administration.

Interviewed 1992 by Ann Lage for Sierra Club Oral History Series. Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.



Edgar Wayburn at Midpines, near Yosemite Valley, October 1995.

Photograph courtesy of William Als

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PREFACE--Sierra Club Oral History Program to 1978

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, Berkeley as the official repository 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 (ROHO) 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, in the Department of Special Collections at UCLA, and at the club's Colby Library, and may be purchased at cost by club regional offices, chapters, and groups, as well as by other libraries, institutions, and interested individuals.

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 to Michael McCloskey, Denny Wilcher, Colburn Wilbur, and Nicholas Clinch; to Willa Baum and Susan Schrepfer of the Regional Oral History Office; and last but far from least, to the members of the History Committee, and particularly to Ann Lage, who has coordinated the oral history effort since 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

May 1, 1977
San Francisco
(revised March, 1992, A.L.)

The Sierra Club Oral History Program, 1978-1992

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. In 1980, with five ROHO interviews completed or underway and thirty-five volunteer-conducted interviews available for research, the History Committee sought and received funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities for a major project focusing on the Sierra Club of the 1960s and 1970s. In a four-year period, NEH and matching Sierra Club funds made possible the completion of an additional seventeen major oral histories conducted by the Regional Oral History Office and forty-four volunteer-conducted interviews.

Oral histories produced during and following the NEH grant period have documented the leadership, programs, strategies, and ideals of the national Sierra Club as well as the club grassroots at the regional and chapter levels over the past thirty years. The work of the club is seen 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 Alaska, and on the international scene.

The Sierra Club oral history program, together with the extensive Sierra Club papers and photographic collection in The Bancroft Library--a collection of 1325 linear feet of archival records, more than 34,000 photographs, and films, tapes, and Sierra Club publications, all recently processed and catalogued--help celebrate the Sierra Club centennial in 1992 by making accessible to researchers one hundred years of Sierra Club history.

Special thanks for the oral history project's later phase are due Maxine McCloskey, chair of the Sierra Club History Committee 1988-1992; Ray Lage, cochair, History Committee, 1978-1986; Susan Schrepfer, codirector of the NEH Sierra Club Documentation Project; members of the History Committee; and most importantly, the interviewees and interviewers for their unfailing cooperation.

Ann Lage, Coordinator
Sierra Club Oral History Program
Cochair, History Committee
1978-1986

Berkeley, California
March 1992

August 1996

SIERRA CLUB ORAL HISTORY SERIES

Interviews conducted by the Regional Oral History Office,
University of California, Berkeley.

Single-Interview Volumes

- Adams, Ansel. Conversations with Ansel Adams. 1978, 768 pp. (On photography and conservation.)
- Berry, Phillip S. Sierra Club Leader, 1960s-1980s: A Broadened Agenda, A Bold Approach. 1988, 149 pp.
- Brower, David R. Environmental Activist, Publicist, and Prophet. 1980, 320 pp.
- Colby, William E. Reminiscences. 1954, 145 pp. (An interview with Sierra Club secretary and director, 1900-1946.)
- Leonard, Richard M. Mountaineer, Lawyer, Environmentalist. 1975, 482 pp.
- Livermore, Norman B. Jr., Man in the Middle: High Sierra Packer, Timberman, Conservationist, and California Resources Secretary. 1983, 285 pp.
- McCloskey, Michael. Sierra Club Executive Director: The Evolving Club and the Environmental Movement. 1983, 279 pp.
- Morrow, Susan D. Sierra Club President and Council Chair: Effective Volunteer Leadership, 1980s-1990s. 1994, 89 pp.
- Siri, William E. Reflections on the Sierra Club, the Environment, and Mountaineering, 1950s-1970s. 1979, 296 pp.
- Stegner, Wallace. The Artist as Environmental Advocate. 1983, 49 pp.
- Wayburn, Edgar. Sierra Club Statesman and Leader of the Parks and Wilderness Movement: Gaining Protection for Alaska, the Redwoods, and Golden Gate Parklands. 1985, 525 pp.
- Wayburn, Edgar. Global Activist and Elder Statesman of the Sierra Club: Alaska, International Conservation, National Parks and Protected Areas, 1980-1992. 1996, 277 pp.
- Wayburn, Peggy. Author and Environmental Advocate. 1992, 193 pp.
- Zierold, John. Environmental Lobbyist in California's Capital, 1965-1984. 1988, 202 pp.

In Process: Phillip Berry, update; Michael Fischer, former executive director; Laurence I. Moss, former club president; Michele Perrault, former president; Douglas Scott, wilderness advocate and former Sierra Club staff member; Denny Shaffer, former club president and treasurer.

Multi-Interview Volumes

Building the Sierra Club's National Lobbying Program, 1967-1981. 1985, 374 pp.

Evans, Brock. "Environmental Campaigner: From the Northwest Forests to the Halls of Congress."

Tupling, W. Lloyd. "Sierra Club Washington Representative."

Pacific Northwest Conservationists. 1986, 281 pp.

Dyer, Polly. "Preserving Washington Parklands and Wilderness."

Goldsworthy, Patrick D. "Protecting the North Cascades, 1954-1983."

Sierra Club Leaders I, 1950s-1970s. 1982, 433 pp.

Hildebrand, Alexander. "Sierra Club Leader and Critic: Perspective on Club Growth, Scope, and Tactics, 1950s-1970s."

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

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

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

Sierra Club Leaders II, 1960s-1970s. 1985, 296 pp.

Futrell, J. William. "'Love for the Land and Justice for Its People': Sierra Club National and Southern Leader, 1968-1982."

Sive, David. "Pioneering Environmental Lawyer, Atlantic Chapter Leader, 1961-1982."

SIERRA CLUB HISTORY COMMITTEE ORAL HISTORY SERIES

Interviews conducted by volunteers for the Sierra Club History Committee.

Single-Interview Volumes

Clark, Nathan. Sierra Club Leader, Outdoorsman, and Engineer. 1977, 147 pp.

Moorman, James. Attorney for the Environment, 1966-1981: Center for Law and Social Policy, Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, Department of Justice Division of Lands and Natural Resources. 1994, 168 pp.

Robinson, Gordon. Forestry Consultant to the Sierra Club. 1979, 277 pp.

Multi-Interview Volumes

The Sierra Club Nationwide I. 1983, 257 pp.

Forsyth, Alfred. "The Sierra Club in New York and New Mexico."

McConnell, Grant. "Conservation and Politics in the North Cascades."

Ogilvy, Stewart M. "Sierra Club Expansion and Evolution: The Atlantic Chapter, 1957-1969."

Van Tyne, Anne. "Sierra Club Stalwart: Conservationist, Hiker, Chapter and Council Leader."

The Sierra Club Nationwide II. 1984, 253 pp.

Amodio, John. "Lobbyist for Redwood National Park Expansion."

Jones, Kathleen Goddard. "Defender of California's Nipomo Dunes, Steadfast Sierra Club Volunteer."

Leopold, A. Starker. "Wildlife Biologist."

Miller, Susan. "Staff Support for Sierra Club Growth and Organization, 1964-1977."

Turner, Tom. "A Perspective on David Brower and the Sierra Club, 1968-1969."

The Sierra Club Nationwide III. 1989, 310 pp.

Alderson, George. "Environmental Campaigner in Washington, D.C., 1960s-1970s."

Duveneck, Frank. "Loma Prieta Chapter Founder, Protector of Environmental and Human Rights."

Steele, Dwight. "Controversies over the San Francisco Bay and Waterfront, 1960s-1970s."

Walker, Diane. "The Sierra Club in New Jersey: Focus on Toxic Waste Management."

The Sierra Club Nationwide IV. 1996, 207 pp.

- Avery, Abigail. "Nurturing the Earth: North Cascades, Alaska, New England, and Issues of War and Peace."
 Ives, Robin and Lori. "Conservation, Mountaineering, and Angeles Chapter Leadership, 1958-1984."
 Reid, Leslie. "Angeles Chapter and National Sierra Club Leader, 1960s-1990s: Focus on Labor and the Environment."
 Reid, Sally. "Serving the Angeles Chapter and the National Sierra Club, 1960s-1990s: Focus on Wilderness Issues in California and Alaska."

Sierra Club Reminiscences I, 1900s-1960s. 1974, 212 pp.

- Farquhar, Francis. "Sierra Club Mountaineer and Editor."
 Hildebrand, Joel. "Sierra Club Leader and Ski Mountaineer."
 Robinson, Bestor. "Thoughts on Conservation and the Sierra Club."
 Rother, James E. "The Sierra Club in the Early 1900s."

Sierra Club Reminiscences II, 1900s-1960s. 1975, 177 pp.

- Bernays, Philip S. "Founding the Southern California Chapter."
 Bradley, Harold C. "Furthering the Sierra Club Tradition."
 Crowe, Harold E. "Sierra Club Physician, Baron, and President."
 Dawson, Glen. "Pioneer Rock Climber and Ski Mountaineer."
 Hackett, C. Nelson. "Lasting Impressions of the Early Sierra Club."

Sierra Club Reminiscences III, 1920s-1970s. 1984, 264 pp.

- Clark, Lewis. "Perdurable and Peripatetic Sierran: Club Officer and Outings Leader, 1928-1984."
 Eichorn, Jules. "Mountaineering and Music: Ansel Adams, Norman Clyde, and Pioneering Sierra Club Climbing."
 Eloesser, Nina. "Tales of High Trips in the Twenties."
 Kimball, H. Stewart. "New Routes For Sierra Club Outings, 1930s-1970s."
 LeConte, Joseph. "Recalling LeConte Family Pack Trips and the Early Sierra Club, 1912-1926."

The Sierra Club and the Urban Environment I: San Francisco Bay Chapter Inner City Outings and Sierra Club Outreach to Women. 1980, 186 pp.

- Burke, Helen. "Women's Issues in the Environmental Movement."
 Colgan, Patrick. "'Just One of the Kids Myself.'"
 Hall, Jordan. "Trial and Error: The Early Years."
 LaBoyteaux, Duff. "Towards a National Sierra Club Program."
 Sarnat, Marlene. "Laying the Foundations for ICO."
 Zuni, George. "From the Inner City Out."

The Sierra Club and the Urban Environment II: Labor and the Environment in the San Francisco Bay Area. 1983, 167 pp.

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

Sierra Club Women I. 1976, 71 pp.

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

Evans, Nora. "Sixty Years with the Sierra Club."

Praeger, Ruth E. "Remembering the High Trips."

Sierra Club Women II. 1977, 152 pp.

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

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

Sierra Club Women III. 1983, 173 pp.

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

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

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

Parsons, Harriet T. "A Half-Century of Sierra Club Involvement."

Southern Sierrans I. 1976, 178 pp.

Chelew, J. Gordon. "Reflections of an Angeles Chapter Member, 1921-1975."

Jones, E. Stanley. "Sierra Club Officer and Angeles Chapter Leader, 1931-1975."

Jones, Marion. "Reminiscences of the Southern California Sierra Club, 1927-1975."

Pepper, Dorothy. "High Trip High Jinks."

Searle, Richard. "Grassroots Sierra Club Leader."

Southern Sierrans II. 1977, 207 pp.

Amneus, Thomas. "New Directions for the Angeles Chapter."

Charnock, Irene. "Portrait of a Sierra Club Volunteer."

Johnson, Arthur B. "Climbing and Conservation in the Sierra."

Marshall, Robert R. "Angeles Chapter Leader and Wilderness Spokesman, 1960s."

Southern Sierrans III. 1980, 250 pp.

Bear, Robert. "Desert Conservation and Exploration with the Sierra Club."

Johnson, Arthur B. "Climbing and Conservation in the Sierra."

Poland, Roscoe and Wilma. "Desert Conservation: Voices from the Sierra Club's San Diego Chapter."

Volunteer Leadership in the National Sierra Club, 1970s-1980s. 1995, 181 pp.

Fontaine, Joe. "Conservation Activist, Consensus Builder, and Sierra Club President, 1980-1982."

Gill, Kent. "Making the Political Process Work: Chapter Activist, Council Chair, and Club and Foundation President."

INTRODUCTION--by Michael McCloskey

The contemporary history of the Sierra Club is written in the memoirs of Edgar Wayburn and his wife, Peggy.¹

In the two volumes of his oral history, Ed has tracked the evolution of the club through the second half of this century--the time in which it has evolved into a major player in the environmental history of this nation.

No one has been so intimately and effectively involved for so long, and with such good sense and insight. He has played a part exceeding even that of Will Colby--in duration and impact.²

As he concludes the second volume of his recollections, he is now the Honorary President of the Sierra Club--after serving at various times earlier as its elected president through five terms.

This second volume of his oral history is the story from 1981 through the mid-1990s. Following his retirement from medical practice in 1985, he became a full-time professional volunteer for the Sierra Club. He was given an office in the club's headquarters, to which he came to work (unpaid) every day. He was ably aided in his work on Alaska by his staff assistant, Vicki Hoover.

Throughout his eighties, he is seen writing letters, phoning officials, presiding over meetings, and traveling worldwide. Only a modest decline in hearing slows him at all.

He challenges, cajols, and entreats club officials to follow through on commitments and to rise to occasions. Board members don't know where they will get financing for what Ed urges, but they know he is right.

During this time, he becomes deeply involved in international work. As chair of the club's International Committee and a player on the global

¹Peggy Wayburn, Author and Environmental Advocate, an oral history conducted by Ann Lage for the Regional Oral History Office, University of California, Berkeley, 1992.

²William E. Colby, secretary of the Sierra Club 1905-1917 and 1919-1946; president, 1917-1919; member of the board of directors, 1900-1946; John Muir's right-hand man in the Hetch-Hetchy battle, founder of Sierra Club High Trips, and the virtual executive director in the days before a paid staff.

scene, he receives the Packard Award from the Parks Commission of the World Conservation Union (IUCN). His work is also recognized when he is given the Albert Schweitzer Prize for Humanitarianism from the Alexander Von Humboldt Foundation (awarded through the John Hopkins University). The United Nations Environment Program also places him on the prestigious global 500 list of leading worldwide activists.

He continues to be deeply involved in issues in Alaska affecting national parks and other protected areas. Through many of these years, he is also the club's vice president for national parks. In this capacity, he meets with various directors and officials of the National Park Service and defends the integrity of the park system. He draws upon his experience in serving on the Secretary of the Interior's National Parks Advisory Board.

When club leaders think too timidly in the mid-1980s about the possibilities of rescuing the ancient forests in the Pacific Northwest and northern California, he prods the board of directors (with me collaborating) to have more hope and vision and to weight in more emphatically. They do. He also becomes involved with issues of controlling growth in the size of human populations.

He sees the Sierra Club change from an organization focused on nature to one with far-flung and diverse interests.

There may never be another era in club history to match the fifty-year "Wayburn era"--where one family team (Ed and Peggy) did so much to shape the personality and conscience of an organization. They have been focused, persevering, hopeful, and effective.

Not only have they done so much to make the Sierra Club what it is today, they have "moved political mountains" to make our environment better. Our natural legacy is their legacy.

It has been my pleasure to be able to work closely with them over much of this period.

Michael McCloskey, Chairman
Sierra Club

August 1996
Washington, D.C.

INTERVIEW HISTORY

Edgar Wayburn's environmental impacts have been felt regionally, in his San Francisco Bay Area backyard; nationally, from Alaska to Washington, D.C., and all points in between; and globally, where he promotes parks, preservation, and population control in international organizations and United Nations conferences.

Nowhere has his impact been stronger, however, than on the Sierra Club, where he signed on as trip doctor for a High Trip in Kings Canyon in 1946 and now, fifty years later, is the honorary president of the nation's preeminent environmental organization. He has been for all of those fifty years, and still is, a highly effective volunteer leader, serving as president for five terms, on the board of directors almost continuously from 1957 to 1993, as vice president for conservation and for parks and protected areas, and as chair of the Alaska Task Force. His major campaigns have created the Golden Gate parklands to the north of San Francisco, the Redwood National Park, and a great expanse of Alaskan parks, preserves, and wilderness areas. He has exercised his influence within the Sierra Club to strengthen club attention to international conservation and to population control. And he has been a voice for taking strong stands on key issues, agreeing to compromises only when all other avenues are exhausted and then only as a temporary expedient on the way to the ultimate goal.

Ed Wayburn combines qualities essential to the leadership of every organization, but not usually found in one person: vision in the setting of goals and priorities; persistence and tough-mindedness in pursuing these goals; and the ability, both within and without the club, to differ firmly with opponents on questions of policy while avoiding personal animosities.

In 1985, Dr. Wayburn's first oral history for the Sierra Club History Series was completed by the Regional Oral History Office [ROHO] in 1985, based on a series of nineteen interviews conducted between 1976 and 1981. Entitled *Sierra Club Statesman, Leader of the Parks and Wilderness Movement: Gaining Protection for Alaska, the Redwoods, and Golden Gate Parklands*, this oral history was a comprehensive retrospective of his work in the club and the environmental movement. Its story culminates in the passage of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act [ANILCA] in 1980, a monumental achievement for which Ed Wayburn and his wife, Peggy, share a great deal of credit.

In 1992, Mike McCloskey, chairman of the Sierra Club, and his wife, Maxine, former chair of the Sierra Club History Committee, urged the History Committee to arrange for ROHO to update the Ed Wayburn oral history. Since his retirement from his medical practice in 1985, Dr. Wayburn had devoted himself full time to the club's environmental work, as

a "professional" volunteer with an office at club headquarters and a staff assistant. No one, the McCloskeys reasoned, had had a more profound influence on the club nor the American environment than Ed: his work since 1981 had continued apace, his influence nationally and internationally had grown, his vision had broadened. Further interviews were called for. Edgar Wayburn: The Sequel was initiated.

In an era of budgetary limits for the Sierra Club and its oral history program, the initial plan was for three focused sessions, one on Alaska since 1980, one on parks and wilderness nationally and internationally, and one on club governance and internal affairs in the past decade. This modest plan seriously underestimated the time required to do justice to Ed Wayburn's work and contributions and insights over the previous eleven years. And his approach to oral history budgetary limits was typical of his approach to a limited environmental vision: rather than do half a job, he reasoned, we would take the time to create a full and accurate account and find a way to meet the budget for a job properly done. So we launched into this much more satisfying project, one which promised a level of detail and analysis far more useful to researchers.

Interviewing took place at the Wayburn home on 30th Avenue in San Francisco, in a series of six meetings from May 13 to November 24, 1992. The plan for topics to be covered was mutually worked out, and Ed was given a brief outline to guide our discussion before each meeting. During the interviews he spoke with perceptive analysis and candor in assessing people and issues, with authority about both the details and the broad sweep of events, and always with the perspective gained through long-time and in-depth involvement in the club and his wide-ranging environmental pursuits. He reviewed the transcripts of the tape-recorded interview sessions carefully, making minor corrections but no substantive changes.

Readers of this volume will see that the interviewing took place during the 1992 election season. During the first session, Al Gore was still a much-admired, environmentally strong, senator; in midstream he was a vice presidential candidate; at the final session, the Clinton-Gore team had just been elected and our talk was of how the club might influence appointments and presidential actions. Also during the interviewing period, the Sierra Club itself was undergoing a leadership change, and the final session looks forward to newly appointed Carl Pope's term as executive director. We did not attempt, during the editing process, to update the story to reflect the club's response to the Republican sweep of Congress in 1994 and to the environmentally unfriendly Contract with America. This is basically a record of events and perceptions up to November 1992.

Appended to the oral history are five memos, speeches, and letters referred to in the interviews. In response to the interviewer's request, Dr. Wayburn prepared a chronicle of a typical day and a list of offices held in the Sierra Club and major projects pursued. To give a further indication of his concerns and his approach, we have also appended a

selection of papers documenting his work over a nine-month period in 1990. These will give the interested researchers a small sampling of the more than forty-seven cartons of Edgar Wayburn papers in the Bancroft Library, part of the Bancroft's extensive collection of Sierra Club records and members papers.

The Regional Oral History Office, a division of the Bancroft Library, has been documenting the history of California and the West since 1954. One of its first oral histories was with legendary Sierra Club leader William E. Colby. Since then it has produced twenty-three major oral histories with club leaders and assisted in coordinating the Sierra Club History Committee's extensive oral history project. The ROHO collection also includes many related oral histories documenting forestry, parks, water and land-use issues, and other aspects of environmental history.

As Ed Wayburn celebrates his ninetieth birthday next month, he continues his indefatigable service to the Sierra Club and the global environment. This oral history volume will not be the final record of his contributions. In another ten years, we hope, and fully expect, to produce Edgar Wayburn, the Third Installment.

Ann Lage
Interviewer
Coordinator, Sierra Club History Series

August 1996
Berkeley, California

Regional Oral History Office
Room 486 The Bancroft Library

University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

(Please write clearly. Use black ink.)

Your full name EDGAR WAYBURN

Date of birth SEPT 17, 1906 Birthplace MACON, GEORGIA

Father's full name EMANUEL WAXELBAUM

Occupation MERCHANT Birthplace OSWEGO, N.Y.

Mother's full name MARIAN VOORANGER

Occupation HOUSEWIFE Birthplace PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Your spouse CORNELIA ELLIOTT WAYBURN

Occupation AUTHOR Birthplace NEW YORK CITY

Your children CYNTHIA ANN, WILLIAM ELLIOTT, DIANA GAIL,

LAURIE ANDREA

Where did you grow up? MACON, GA.

Present community SAN FRANCISCO

Education AB, U. of GEORGIA, MAGNA Cum Laude

M.D. HARVARD UNIVERSITY MEDICAL SCHOOL, Cum Laude

Occupation(s) PHYSICIAN - INTERNAL MEDICINE

ENVIRONMENTALIST / CONSERVATIONIST

Areas of expertise WILDERNESS, NATIONAL PARKS and

PROTECTED AREAS, ALASKA, INTERNATIONAL CONSERVATION

Other interests or activities EXPLORATION, HIKING

PHOTOGRAPHY

FORMERLY TEACHING and PRACTICE of MEDICINE

Organizations in which you are active SIERRA CLUB.

YOSEMITE RESTORATION TRUST

I CONSERVATION ISSUES IN ALASKA SINCE 1981

[Interview 1: May 13, 1992]##¹

Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act [ANILCA], 1980

Lage: Today is May 13, 1992, and we're starting our interview with Edgar Wayburn. I think this is the first time we've gone back to do a follow-up oral history, and it shouldn't be the last time.

We're starting off with Alaska, which is where we ended our last session in '81.²

Wayburn: It's impossible it was eleven years ago!

Lage: Eleven since we actually finished recording. Shall we start with a wrap-up on Alaska?

Wayburn: As I think about it at this time, what we've done in Alaska has been as a continuum; we find that the same factors are present now as in 1967. By 1980 with the passage of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act [ANILCA], we reached a peak in our accomplishments.

But the various problems of Alaska have not gone away. They have tended to accentuate since then, and the very problems for which we drafted the ANILCA are still there. The opposition is still there, even the same people to a considerable extent. We are all growing older now, but there are new people coming up all the time.

¹This symbol (##) indicates that a tape or a segment of a tape has begun or ended. A guide to the tapes follows the transcript.

²Edgar Wayburn, *Sierra Club Statesman Leader of the Parks and Wilderness Movement: Gaining Protection for Alaska, The Redwoods, and the Golden Gate Parklands*, Regional Oral History Office, University of California, Berkeley, 1985.

The desires of certain of the human race seem to continue. We think that the continuation of their desires will be disastrous. They're not thinking in those terms; they're thinking in terms of economic welfare for themselves particularly.

As I think back on our proposals in the late 1960s and early 1970s, I realize what a formidable job we undertook and how fortunate we were to have certain people in government who were understanding and who would work with us. I think about such people as Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton and his Assistant Secretary Nathaniel Reed, who were extremely helpful after passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act [ANSCA] in 1971.

But the history before and after that had to do with what the Office of Management and Budget would do, and what the natives would do, what the miners would do, and our success in lawsuits, as well as what legislation was passed. I looked at the *Alaska Reports* which I started back in those days--actually the first number was April, 1974--

Lage: And that was the report of the Alaska Task Force?

Wayburn: Yes, the report of the Alaska Task Force, shortly after we officially formed an Alaska Task Force in the Sierra Club. That was originally a collaboration with Jack Hession, our Alaska conservation director, and Marcia Fowler, who was working for me at the time on Alaska. We analyzed the possibilities for land acquisitions for the National Park Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service, and we compared the different proposals which had come out of the 1971 ANSCA.

We had been successful in getting Section 17D-2 put into ANSCA; you remember this directed the secretary to identify at least 80 million acres in the national interest. Morton, whom I had worked with closely, concluded that he couldn't stick to 80 million acres; he identified 83.4, and in so doing, relinquished another 20 million acres that he felt were very important.

I should point out that the original plans derived from ANSCA dealt with only unreserved public land, which meant that it did not include any land in the Southeast. When we finally got around to planning the third Alaska National Interest Lands bill, we included a good deal of Southeast in there, because by that time it was only logical that we consider all of Alaska.

Lage: Wasn't the Southeast area a region that you weren't able to do as much as you wanted to with in the final compromises?

Wayburn: Yes, that's correct. ANILCA was less complete in the Southeast than any other area. ANILCA was full of errors in the Southeast. ANILCA identified two national monuments to be established under the Forest Service, one of over 2 million acres at Misty Fjords in the extreme Southeast, near Ketchikan, on the Canadian border; and the other one, 900,000 acres on Admiralty Island.

Admiralty Island Litigation

Lage: I talked to Mike McCloskey yesterday, and he wanted me to ask you about the litigation on Admiralty Island.

Wayburn: This is a very good time to put that in.

There was litigation as a result of the establishment of both those national monuments. Just briefly, in the Misty Fjords National Monument, a 200,000-acre hole in the donut was left open in this 2-million-acre national monument so that U.S. Borax Mining Company could get molybdenum from ore that they had located there.

Lage: Was it literally a hole in the middle?

Wayburn: If you think of this as a donut, the hole was in the middle of the monument. The mining company was supposed to get the ore out with the least possible damage, but it didn't work that way. In the first place, they had never done any mining. They had done exploration. In the second place, we filed lawsuit after lawsuit to stop them, because we felt the mining operation was incompatible with the purposes for which the monument was set up. And as yet, they have not done any mining.

The other national monument was on Admiralty Island. We had been engaged in lawsuits against the Forest Service since 1970.

Lage: I thought the lawsuits had started before ANILCA.

Wayburn: Yes. The Forest Service had included the western half of Admiralty Island, along with certain areas on the mainland, in one of their fifty-year, multi-billion-dollar sales in which they were going to furnish a mill to U.S. Plywood-Champion Company. This contract was let on the basis of 1955 figures. U.S. Plywood-Champion was the third company the Forest Service had offered this to; I referred to this in my previous oral history.

Through the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, we filed a series of lawsuits, and we were successful in holding up the

logging for some time. On the other side was the then-president of the Shee-Atika Native Village Corporation, Roger Snippen, a former logger from Oregon who hated the Sierra Club and who told me in person that his purpose in doing this was to punish the Sierra Club.

Lage: Shee-Atika is the native corporation?

Wayburn: Yes. Snippen was one of the Caucasians who went up to Alaska to benefit from the fact that the natives were divided into corporations. Since many of the native people did not know how to handle their corporation, they hired a white man to be the head of the corporation. In this case, they turned the administration over to him.

Shee-Atika had selected this 22,000 acres in the heart of the Admiralty Island National Monument. First we litigated against the Forest Service for their sale to Champion over a period of nine years until the passage of ANILCA. In President Carter's proclamation of the national monument, he did not name any new inholdings.

We thought we were home free, but in the ANILCA, through the influence of Senator Stevens, Shee-Atika was granted this selection. Then we started litigation again, with the Legal Defense Fund. Durwood Zaelke was the lead attorney on this, and he worked very hard over a period of five years, and then the other attorneys who followed him, Lauri Adams and later Eric Jorgensen, tried to prevail in a series of lawsuits.

Eventually, it was decided that this selection was within the parameters that Congress had decreed, and that they had the right to do with their private land what they wanted. Under Snippen, they had formed a joint venture with the Koncor Lumber Company, an Alaskan company, again run by people from the outside, which has contracts with most of the native corporations. They are the same one, incidentally who have a contract on Montague Island right now with the Chugach Corporation.

When the presidency of the Shee-Atika Corporation changed hands and a man named James Senna took over, he expressed a desire to work with us--as a businessman. We thought there was a chance. But a number of factors, which included the recalcitrance of the Forest Service and a lack of ability to get something going in Congress, and above all perhaps, the intransigence of the Reagan administration in the Department of Agriculture and in the Office of Management and Budget, doomed us to failure after many years.

- Lage: Were you able to get any mitigation on how the logging would be done, or anything along those lines through litigation?
- Wayburn: No. I have flown over the area every couple of years, and it's looked worse every time. Late in the process we were trying to save the most beautiful smaller area, called Florence Lake, which is six to eight thousand acres in size. By this time, a great many citizens of Juneau--this is very close to Juneau--joined in. But I felt that this was a lost cause by that time. I encouraged them to do whatever they could. They tried, but they didn't get anywhere with the Forest Service. The regional forester blamed the lumber company, the lumber company blamed Shee-Atika or the Forest Service, and the Shee-Atika said they would really like to do something, but they were impotent.
- Lage: No one was willing to take responsibility.
- Wayburn: No one was willing to do it. It would have taken a little while, unless the Forest Service had freely exchanged another area.
- Lage: You were hoping for a trade?
- Wayburn: Yes.
- Lage: So the litigation, it sounds like, was just one means that you were using.
- Wayburn: The litigation was a means of holding up the logging. We went for the trade because we couldn't get enough money appropriated by Congress. The Forest Service was willing to give only areas which we had felt for a long time should also be protected as wilderness. Finally in 1990, they were established as either wilderness areas or wilderness study areas.
- Lage: So they wanted you to give up one of those?
- Wayburn: And we didn't want to give them up. Our partners on the conservation side, Southeast Alaska Conservation Council [SEACC], was particularly unwilling to give up anything.
- Incidentally, there was a case where the conservationists were divided on Admiralty. SEACC was afraid that too much attention to Admiralty would take away from the rest of the congressional forest bill. We were not; we worked for both.
- Lage: That seems to be a pattern.
- Wayburn: That is a pattern. The either/or psychology. The other side makes these problems appear, "You can't have everything, you

can't have both." I don't believe in that. I've always worked to get as much as possible of what we felt was right to have in wilderness, in parks, in the special areas which were worthy of preservation.

Lage: It sounds as if you've had to argue for this among your fellow conservationists.

Wayburn: That is correct, yes.

Lage: Are they not receptive to the idea, or are they more realistic living there in Alaska? More timid?

Wayburn: More timid, and living there in Alaska, the pressures on them are heavier. We have the same thing here in California, which we can go into later, if you'll remind me. On how the land should be preserved and what to do about the land. In the case of California, how the good citizens of West Marin want to continue ranching as it used to be.

But to go on with the Admiralty Island suit, we were able to prevail on different points and to delay the logging over a period of several years. But finally we were told that the essential thing was that Shee-Atika Corporation owned this land, they had gone into a consortium with Koncor--that was called the Atigun Corporation--that they had agreed that they had only 49 percent control, and Koncor had 51 percent control, or effective control. There were disagreements about the value of the timber and the value of the land both. Shee-Atika owned the land; the consortium, the joint venture, owned the timber. They couldn't get together.

So last year and this year, they've been logging Florence Lake, and I will hate to look at it the next time I fly over it.

Lage: Do you think we've covered that particular logging problem sufficiently?

Wayburn: Yes. You might say that we have the support of the natives who live on the island, the Kootznoowoo, who live in the village of Angoon. There is in addition a silver mine at the north end of the island, the Greens Creek Mine--we've talked about that in the past. They have uncovered quite a rich vein of ore, and there may well be problems coming up about them. They have done about as well as any mining company might, to date.

In the Tongass Reform Act, provision was made for the transfer of certain units which were not wilderness on Admiralty Island to wilderness status, and that has been a small help.

The Tongass Timber Reform Act

Lage: Can you tell us more about the Tongass Timber Reform Act, as long as we're talking about Southeastern Alaska?

Wayburn: All right. As I said earlier, Southeast was probably treated the most ill of any part of Alaska in the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act. There had been these two large lumber combines--we stopped the third one, which would have included Admiralty. They had fifty-year contracts, contracts for many thousand acres of land, multibillion board-feet of timber to be cut, and they had it under extremely favorable terms so that the United States government was losing a great deal of money for every board-foot which was logged.

They had mostly converted this to pulp. There were some logs which were left as logs or cants--a cant has at least one slice off the log--and almost all of the lumber and pulp was sent to Japan. One of the companies is a Japanese company, Alaska Pulp. The other, Ketchikan Pulp, is a branch of the Louisiana-Pacific Company.

Lage: How do people in Washington who support this logging defend that kind of story? Just on the face of it, it seems so against everybody's interests.

Wayburn: It is.

Lage: And how is it defended by the people that you've approached or lobbied?

Wayburn: The administration people say, "These are contracts, we've got to carry them out." Finally, in the eighties, we interested other congressmen. The Tongass Timber Reform Act was first introduced in the early eighties, I believe, by Congressman Robert Mrazek from New York, who was not even on the Interior Committee.

But the cause was taken up by others, notably by George Miller, who was given more and more responsibility for Alaska and who in the past two years has become the chairman of the Interior Committee, now the Natural Resources Committee. He, with a number of other congressmen, including Mrazek, pushed through legislation against the power of the administration, against the state of Alaska, against the Alaska delegation, reforming some of the practices of the Tongass Forest. The Tongass Forest at 16.5 million acres is three times larger than any other national forest in the United States. It has, however, a great deal of rock and ice. The merchantable timber was much less. The lumber

companies had been highgrading--taking just the best timber out of the best land, and all with a loss to the U.S. government.

What this act did was to say that the \$40 million a year guaranteed subsidy without congressional appropriation had to be stopped. That had been put into ANILCA by the Alaska delegation in 1980.

Lage: The subsidy was put into it?

Wayburn: The subsidy was. A subsidy to the Forest Service to construct roads for the lumber companies. What it amounted to was a subsidy to these lumber companies. It determined that timber was no longer to be sold at an absolute minimum. The Forest Service, under ANILCA, was supposed to cut a minimum of 450 million board-feet a year. They never did cut that much, because there wasn't enough demand. In the reform, rather than have a mandated cut, they had the cut determined by the amount of demand there was.

Lage: At a fair market price, I would hope.

Wayburn: The price is not yet fair market, but it is much better than it was before.

Lage: There must be powerful forces working to get legislation like that subsidy passed.

Wayburn: That's correct.

Lage: Who do you see as the powers there?

Wayburn: The powers: the lumber companies, first of all, and their allies; the state government and the federal government and their allies; the Department of Agriculture, the Forest Service (which is part of the Department of Agriculture); the Office of Management and Budget; and to some extent, the State Department.

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Wayburn: When I first went to the regional forester in 1967 inquiring about these contracts, I questioned why the Forest Service was selling public forests at a loss to the U.S. government, particularly when the wood was being exported to a foreign country--Japan.

He looked at me hard and said, "You shouldn't be talking to me, you should be talking to the State Department." This was part of

the idea that we needed to be exporting enough so that our foreign debt wouldn't be so high.

Lage: Our balance of payment.

Wayburn: The balance of payment, which has gotten worse every year since 1967. This is a small piece of it.

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Wayburn: Although we had this great success in reforming some of the practices of the Forest Service in the Tongass National Forest, the Forest Service itself has as part of its management scheme management plans which they review at five-year intervals. They are still in the process of revising their last Tongass Forest land-use management plan.

The last one is now out of date because it was superseded by Congress. In the present one, they're trying to comply with the congressional directives, but at the same time to get as much timber cut as possible. They are interpreting some of the law in a way different from the way we interpret it. As a consequence, we have lawsuits on their interpretations right now.

Lage: It doesn't stop with the success in Congress.

Wayburn: No, it doesn't stop. If you remember, ANILCA was a great triumph, and it was the greatest land-use conservation achievement ever. But because of differences between the House and Senate, because of differences in philosophy, and of what our objectives were, our opponents were able to get certain amendments inserted. With an administration like the Reagan administration, and now the Bush administration, they have destroyed many of the things that we were trying to establish. They made it much harder to get the best land use.

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Wayburn: The Tongass Timber Reform Act also included provisions that would allow independent small loggers access to the forest. They had been frozen out by the Forest Service tactics, and essentially these two large lumber companies with their mills were getting everything. As it stands now, the small loggers have more of a chance, but they sell their products to the mills, because they would have difficulty exporting the trees they cut to the lower forty-eight to be processed.

Lage: So they do the logging and then sell to the larger companies?

Wayburn: That's right. Now, this isn't done by Koncor, or the one native logging company--Klukwon--which has been successful. They have maintained their independence from the large companies, I believe.

Native Alaskan Corporations

Lage: Is one of the interests of the state in providing employment for the natives? Is there any good motive behind all of this?

Wayburn: Yes. Let me go back just for a moment to these native-run lumber companies. When the natives selected land in Southeast where there is a lot of timber, a great deal of old-growth forest, they proceeded to do just what the Forest Service had done and what the outsiders from Japan had done, to log as fast as they could. Their logging methods were certainly sometimes worse. They did not have Forest Service supervision; they were logging on private land.

I've seen examples near Ketchikan and on Admiralty Island, for example, where the companies logging on native property simply skinned the land unmercifully, so that it will be that much longer before it comes back, if ever. A tremendous amount of the topsoil has been lost. The conditions in the rivers and creeks have deteriorated. The water has warmed, and there isn't enough gravel for the salmon to spawn, and the fishing industry has suffered greatly, even as it has in California. I wanted to get that in before your next question.

Lage: Regarding the interest of the state in supporting this kind of logging, was one of their concerns employment for the native people?

Wayburn: That's correct. That has been the excuse that's been offered by both the Forest Service and the state, and the many corporations, ever since the start. They don't seem to understand that they're killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. That if they would do what they had set out to do in logging on a really sustained-yield basis, that they would in the long run gain a lot more.

Lage: They would have continuous employment rather than cut-and-run.

Wayburn: Yes. And they wouldn't waste so much.

- Lage: So we're fighting the same logging practices that have been fought down here in the lower forty-eight states, the same problems.
- Wayburn: Oh, yes. It's an extension of what we descendants of Europeans have done ever since the Pilgrims first landed in Massachusetts, got down on their knees to pray, and then set about destroying what they found. We have logged all the way from New England through Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin to the Pacific Coast. Now, we are trying to clean up all the rest of it, and it's a very sad story.
- Lage: It really is. And it's sad to see the native corporations engaging in the same practices.
- Wayburn: It's particularly sad to see the native corporations do this. The natives were, in their time, good conservationists. How much of it was intentional, how much of it was due to the fact that they were few people and that they were nomadic people, and that they did not have weapons to kill the wildlife or to cut down the trees at a greater rate, that is another story.
- Lage: Have you maintained ties with native peoples? Is that one of the connections you try to keep?
- Wayburn: Yes, we try to. And we have maintained ties with some of the native people. You must realize that the native people are spread over a very large area, but there are four principal ethnic groups and that there are twelve corporations.
- Lage: It's not one unified body, certainly.
- Wayburn: It's not one unified situation at all.
- Lage: Are there certain groups that are better conservationists, as you look at it?
- Wayburn: Yes, no question of that. On Admiralty Island, for example, the Kootznoowoo Corporation in the village of Angoon are distinctly better conservationists than the Shee-Atika, who are the natives of Sitka. How much of that was due to the administration and how much to the individuals, I don't know. I knew that there were many native people in the Shee-Atika Corporation who were very unhappy with what the administration of their corporation was doing. Three or four years ago, they had a revolt, rather an insurrection; they did not succeed.
- Lage: Well, maybe that's one direction that this will take at some point in the future.

Wayburn: Yes. The problem is that, in the case of those who have timber, they log off the timber and then they have nothing left. Several of the native corporations have gone into bankruptcy. Some of the others have combined with the regional corporation; when the native village corporations are combined with the regional corporations they are somewhat stronger.

Views of the Forest Service

Lage: Did you see any difference in terms of the Forest Service, would you draw a line between the local Forest Service people and the national people, or are they all of one mind?

Wayburn: No. At the lower level, the Forest Service is full of good people. And at the middle level I've worked with people who have honestly tried to do something about preserving the forest, particularly around Florence Lake. At the regional level, I would get double-talk, and at the national level, opposition.

I'm afraid that the people in the Forest Service have been brought up to regard the forest as a source of timber, and nothing more. There is talk periodically of reform in the Forest Service, and right now there's a movement going on, an association of ethical Forest Service employees, which has quite a few people, mostly in the lower ranks. Occasionally, this effort to preserve good forestry, to have the Forest Service as something other than a timber-cutting outfit, gets into the higher ranks, but it hasn't yet succeeded.

The regional forester of Region 1, the Montana region, whose name was Mumma, recently resigned because he could not continue to log at the rate demanded by the administration. In connection with that, the regional director of the National Park Service was forced out because she, along with Mumma, had made a settlement for the greater Yellowstone Region which saved too many areas. That's getting away from Alaska.

Lage: Right, but it has a bearing on how the administration in Washington operates.

Wayburn: The Alaska Region has been a disappointment year after year.

Lage: In the Forest Service.

Wayburn: In the Forest Service.

Hunting Issues in Alaska

Lage: Another issue that Mike [McCloskey] mentioned was the Stevens bill to open Alaskan lands to hunting. He said this was the first battle after ANILCA was passed.

Wayburn: Yes. Stevens has introduced this bill repeatedly. He introduced it first of all shortly after ANILCA was passed. ANILCA allowed for the establishment of national preserves along with national parks. We--the Alaska Coalition and the Sierra Club--compromised with the National Wildlife Federation in order to get protection for the larger reserved areas we wanted. The National Wildlife Federation under Tom Kimball, the executive vice president, was very helpful. He and I testified together on ANILCA for establishment of preserves in which hunting was allowed, areas in addition to the pure parks where hunting was not allowed.

Now, this did not satisfy Stevens. He introduced a bill to allow hunting in all the parks. This was not successful. The Congress would not go for such a bill. I think we have enough force to stop that.

Lage: Did Stevens go on with other efforts?

Wayburn: Yes. He introduced similar legislation again. I don't know if any has been introduced recently or not; I doubt it, because the emphasis on their part has all been on the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge.

Lage: Would that be an issue that divides the conservationists, this question of hunting? Did the National Wildlife Federation stay with your original plan for preserves and parks?

Wayburn: Well, they were responsible for having the preserves in the parks.

Lage: You would have had it all without hunting.

Wayburn: We would have had it all as park. But they felt that they had to have preserves.

Lage: But they didn't support Stevens' effort.

Wayburn: No. The only difference between the Alaskan national parks and national preserves, which are administered the same, is that hunting is allowed in the preserves.

Lage: They are administered by the Park Service?

Wayburn: They are administered by the Park Service. Sports hunting is allowed in the preserves, as well as subsistence hunting. Subsistence hunting is allowed in any of the areas where it was allowed before the park was established.

But it's not allowed in the so-called old parks, for example, that part of Denali which was in Mount McKinley National Park, 2.5 million acres, before ANILCA.

Lage: So it didn't open up new lands to subsistence hunting.

Wayburn: Not allowed in Katmai National Park in the part that was Katmai National Monument. Not allowed in Glacier Bay National Park in the part which was Glacier Bay National Monument.

Lage: Have there been problems with that definition of subsistence hunting?

Wayburn: There's been a great deal of problem with subsistence hunting, and it's not just in the parks but in the whole state of Alaska. Subsistence hunting is a relic of times past when the natives got their meat and eggs, and all of their food, from subsistence hunting and gathering. That was in the days when they had bow and arrow, spears, and later one-shot rifles, and when they traveled by dog teams all on foot, and when there were comparatively few natives. That was the way of life in Alaska.

As time has gone on, particularly in the past few years, the natives have become much more numerous, the population has become diluted with the white population, so this has increased absolute numbers. A number of the natives live in cities now, and not in the bush. They are in the cash economy in part, and they still want to do the same things that they did before, that their ancestors did.

Now, in addition to that, there are a great many white settlers who have come to Alaska, sports hunters, or people who live in the cities and want an extra supply of food from a moose or a caribou. This situation has gone through the courts, and the state of Alaska; the courts decided a few years ago that those people were entitled to do subsistence hunting. At which point, the federal government stepped in and said, "This is not in accord with ANILCA; the federal government will have to take over control of subsistence," which it has at the present time. The Alaskans are trying to change their law so that everyone can be satisfied. This hasn't been successful yet.

Lage: What branches of the federal government have been involved? Has it been the court that directed that, or are there people in the federal government who--

Wayburn: No, the Fish and Wildlife Service is the particular agency which is charged with this.

Lage: So they're concerned about the issue of subsistence hunters.

Wayburn: Yes. The long-range problem there is that if the killing persists and the gathering of eggs persists, there won't be enough birds coming back to Alaska, and there won't be enough caribou or moose or bear. So that they will all become endangered species, even as they have down here. This is what went on in the lower forty-eight.

Lage: Right. It was just so long ago, we don't remember.

Wayburn: That's right. We don't remember we had all those things.

Involvement in Arctic National Wildlife Refuge Issues

Lage: You mentioned the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge struggle. That's been an ongoing struggle. Have you been very involved in that?

Wayburn: Yes. I've been involved, as the chair of the Alaska Task Force, and as a member of the steering committee for the campaign to save the coastal plain.

Lage: Is this a steering committee within the Sierra Club or within a variety of organizations?

Wayburn: This is within the Sierra Club. And since the Sierra Club staff representative for Alaska in Washington has usually been the chairman of the Alaska Coalition, of the combined effort.

The problem started immediately after the passage of ANILCA. The Congress established most of the nine million acres of the old Arctic National Wildlife Range, which was established by President Eisenhower in 1959, as wilderness, all except a million and a half acres of the coastal plain. This was known as the 1002 area, because Section 1002 of ANILCA stated that there should be a study done by the Fish and Wildlife Service to determine the biological richness of the area to see whether or not the area should be explored and then drilled for oil.

The Fish and Wildlife Service began these studies very slowly. The Reagan administration was holding things up, and the infamous Secretary [James G.] Watt decreed that the U.S. Geological Survey should do the study instead of the Fish and Wildlife Service, as had been directed by Congress. A lawsuit was filed by Trustees for Alaska, a regional public interest law firm in Alaska. They prevailed after a couple of years, so that the study continued to be done by the Fish and Wildlife Service.

The Fish and Wildlife Service was supposed to turn in its report in five years, but still had not done it in 1987, past its due date. When the field staff did turn it in, it was altered by the political operatives at the top of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

Lage: How did that become known, that it was altered?

Wayburn: It was leaked. There were enough good people who let it be known--

Lage: Good people within the organization?

Wayburn: Within the organization.

So on the basis of this altered study, the conclusion was that although there was a 40 percent chance of finding some oil, the probability of finding large amounts of oil was not great. Also that there was not a "core area" where the caribou calved in this 1002 area. But we knew from our contacts with other biologists that the 1002 area was indeed the core area for calving for the Porcupine Herd. The Fish and Wildlife Service had stated in their original report that there was a core area for calving, and that there would be a great loss of caribou if oil exploration were allowed to go into that area.

This battle--to allow exploration and industrial drilling for oil--has been going on in Congress for a number of years. Last year, 1991, we gathered enough strength so that we were able to get a good promise of legislation out of the House, but bad legislation out of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

We were gathering strength in the Senate as a whole, and when the bill (the so-called Johnston-Wallop bill, named after Bennett Johnston, the chairman of the committee, and Malcolm Wallop, the ranking Republican) had by a very narrow vote gotten through the Energy Committee, Johnston wanted to get it passed as early as possible. He tried to get it passed last spring, and couldn't get the votes as he counted them. He postponed action month by month by month in an effort to get strength enough to pass it.

In the meantime, we were gathering strength, and when the vote finally came up in November of 1991, we were able to gather forty-four votes to prevent cloture. They could get only fifty in favor of cloture. In order to get cloture--that is, to stop debate in the Senate--you have to have at least sixty votes. In order to allow debate for a filibuster, you have to have forty or more votes.

Lage: And you got forty-four.

Wayburn: We got forty-four, and three senators weren't there for voting. We thought all of them would have voted our way.

Lage: Now, what did the Johnston-Wallop bill provide for?

Wayburn: It provided for exploratory drilling in the 1002 plain. If there was oil found in sufficient quantities by the leasing companies--the companies would have to lease certain areas from the federal government to explore--if oil were found in quantity enough for them to feel that they could go ahead with drilling commercially, they would be allowed to do so.

But we stopped that, and it was a great victory. But like other great victories for conservation, the issue may come back.

Lage: It was a defensive action.

Wayburn: Absolutely. But it was offensive enough so that when Senator Johnston and Senator Wallop reintroduced their energy bill this February, they did not have the provision for exploration of the 1002 area in it. And they also didn't have the provision in it (which Johnston had proposed) for increasing the amount of mileage which cars had to have for their use from twenty-seven miles per gallon to thirty-four miles per gallon, and that was a compromise he had drafted. It was the difference between what we wanted, which was in the Bryan bill in the Senate, and the Boxer bill in the House of Representatives. Bryan, I think, had stated that a minimum of forty miles to the gallon on the average had to be allowed, and Boxer had said, I think, forty-four.

Lage: And this was all done in the same bill as the Johnston-Wallop bill?

Wayburn: Johnston-Wallop was an energy bill, a comprehensive energy bill to determine energy policy for the United States.

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Wayburn: Now, there are two energy policy bills going through the Congress at the present time. One is Johnston-Wallop, which has not yet passed the Senate, which may pass the Senate. We hope to have some amendments which will do better in the Senate. The other is the Miller-Vento bill in the House Natural Resources Committee, which has some very good provisions in it, including some that we've asked for, such as allotting 80 percent of the Exxon Valdez reparations money to be devoted to restitution and restoration of land in and around Prince William Sound. This is one that we're lobbying on right now.

The status of that bill, and the status of the conference bill which comes out of the House and the Senate conference as a result of these two different bills is, of course, up in the air at the present time.

Observations on Federation Legislation on Environmental Issues in the Reagan-Bush Era

Lage: Have you been as active in actual hands-on lobbying in Washington as you were during the ANILCA?

Wayburn: No. I still go back to Washington to do some lobbying. It's usually been in connection with a Sierra Club meeting of one sort or another. I've been back twice this year so far. But in my current job, and in my present condition, I don't go back exclusively for lobbying nearly as much.

Lage: You don't take those red-eye flights any more.

Wayburn: I don't take the red-eye flights any more, no. My lifestyle has changed.

Lage: Have you stayed close enough to it to want to make sort of a general comment? Have you seen changes in Congress during the eighties?

Wayburn: I'll comment on that later when I talk about my role in the Sierra Club today. But I believe that the Congress has been gradually improving. We are able to do things in the Congress today that couldn't possibly have been done fifteen, twenty years ago, and that in spite of the fact that we have a reprehensible administration. The Congress and the administration have been at odds with one another on many things. Congress has been at fault for part of it, but as far as environmental matters go, the

Congress has been superior to the administration, I think, every time.

Lage: Have you seen a general greater understanding of environmental problems?

Wayburn: Among individual congressmen. Part of this is due directly to our work, the work of the Sierra Club, that we've gotten into electoral politics and have supported people who believe in a better environment and who understand more. This applies particularly in places where the Sierra Club is strong.

And then we have a system that rewards, which helps somewhat. The Edgar Wayburn Award goes each year to a congressman who has been outstanding, over a period of years, usually. There has been competition for this. First we had to find one or two, but now there are several who would be worthy. This year it went to Congressman Bruce Vento, who has been chair of the National Parks and Public Lands subcommittee of Interior for the past six years. He seems to understand more and more as he goes along.

Lage: Where is he from?

Wayburn: He is from the Saint Paul-Minneapolis district in Minnesota.

We have in Congress someone like Senator Albert Gore, who can write a book like *Earth in the Balance*¹ which embodies so many of the things that we believe in.

Lage: Why isn't he running for president?

Wayburn: Because he didn't think he had a chance this time. I wish he had. On his first try, he started well but didn't know how to go ahead, and dropped out. This time, a man who had somewhat the same background [Clinton], except for the environment, succeeded in putting the coalition together. Gore said that he wanted to spend more time with his family. We have to accept that. And he can do a lot in the Senate. But if he were the president, he could do a whole lot more. We need a man like that in the presidency. That would make a tremendous amount of difference in the United States.

¹Al Gore, *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992).

Effects of Organized Opposition on the Environmental Movement

Wayburn: But it wouldn't make all the difference. We have to realize that although over 90 percent of the people in the polls taken in the United States believe in what we're doing, and over two-thirds of them consider themselves environmentalists, there are still powerful factors against us.

Lage: And they also are willing to pay, which is a crucial element.

Wayburn: They put up money. They include companies which are interested in their own bottom line financially and not in the long-term welfare of the country or of their own industry. And they include a great many people whose prime interest is in having a job, and who have the issue portrayed to them as one of environment against jobs, which it is not. If you were at the last meeting of the board of directors, you would have heard me talk about the so-called wise use movement, which is a direct, organized affront to the environmental movement, and is trying to kill the environmental movement.

Lage: Is it backed by labor unions?

Wayburn: It is backed by some labor unions, not by most; it is backed by some industries, particularly exploitive industries; it is backed by right-wing crazies; it's a broad coalition which we are terming the Land Abuse Coalition at the present time. But it's not to be laughed at.

Lage: No. Is this the group I read about who are tending to use some of the methods that the club has used, of gaining grassroots support?

Wayburn: That's right. Oh, there is no question they're trying to do that. I am sending out a paper on this widely to all of our grassroots organizations so that they will know what they're up against when something comes up. As it is, it's been erupting in small areas. In New Mexico there's been a concerted effort on the part of the mining industry and now the livestock industry, some of them, to lower the standards and get rid of the regulations and laws which help the land.

In South Carolina, there's been a "takings" issue which is being fought legally, where a developer claims that he bought his land as private land, and now the government of the state of South Carolina will not allow him to develop housing on it. He is suing for the amount of money that he thinks he could make if he developed the housing. It's a wetlands area and subject to

erosion from storms; it shouldn't be built on, and that's why the government did it. That suit is going through the courts now. This is happening on a broad scale.

But we were talking about Alaska.

Lage: One thing leads to another, doesn't it?

Ongoing Concerns in Alaska: Pipelines, Roads, Wilderness, Wildlife

Wayburn: Let me tell you some of the problems that I've seen that we have been concerned with in Alaska which date from the late sixties and are still continuing. Some of them have come up recently.

We have the oil pipeline and the utility corridor which was set aside by Secretary Morton as a reserve area through which the pipeline could be built. We have submerged lands (areas under lakes and rivers) in the state and which the state has claimed. We have the offshore oil, and outer continental shelf oil drilling. We have a problem of the natural gas pipeline coming from Prudhoe Bay and one of the oil companies hoping to drill for oil in the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

On the matter of roads, how many and where should they be? One road in particular keeps surfacing: the road from Cordova to Copper Center or Chitina, to give road access to the town of Cordova, which is now served only by boat or plane.

Lage: Would that cut through some key lands?

Wayburn: It would go up the route of the old Copper River Highway, which is now in reserved land, and I think cut through a fish and wildlife refuge. It shouldn't be built.

There is this subsistence question, which we've touched on. There is ever-present mining, logging, fishing. The wilderness reviews, which have been done all through the eighties for the Park Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service--

Lage: And the Forest Service also?

Wayburn: And the Forest Service, too, yes. Forest Service, a lot of that has been done legislatively, first by ANILCA and secondly through the Tongass Forest Reform Act. But there remain many problems concerning logging in the Tongass Forest. There is the Nellie

Juan area of the Chugach National Forest, which we will talk about when we talk about Prince William Sound. Our continuing negotiations with the National Park Service, Fish and Wildlife, and Forest Service bureaucrats--.

I don't know if I mentioned the fact that in the House, [Morris] Udall introduced a bill for wilderness in the Arctic Plain, the 1002 area, as HR 39, the same number as the bill that passed ANILCA. That had a great many co-sponsors. It went through the House very successfully, but then was up against a very bad Senate bill.

I didn't mention that in January 1987, the Sierra Club directors made ANWR one of the six top priorities of the Club.

Lage: We'd better just mention that ANWR is the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Wayburn: Yes. This is all Arctic National Wildlife Refuge now. Even as the ANILCA had been the mega-priority for the Sierra Club some ten years before. I didn't mention the fact that I was on the steering committee, that Tim Mahoney was the original Sierra Club Washington director for ANWR during this stage of the game. He was the chair of the Alaska Coalition, which formed to protect the 1002 area.

Lage: So the Alaska Coalition re-formed--?

Wayburn: Re-formed for this purpose, right.

Lage: Are there differences in the way it operates, or is it pretty much the same?

Wayburn: Well, it's still a Washington-based outfit. They meet together every week or two and determine what they will do.

Lage: Are the groups pretty much of one mind, do you know?

Wayburn: I think so. They've gotten a much larger group of people together. I think at one time they had eighty-seven organizations in the group. But the principal force is still the large national organizations, except for National Wildlife Federation, which stays out of the coalition but works along with it. The Sierra Club is still the dominant force.

Lage: So it's Sierra Club, Audubon, and the Wilderness Society?

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: Is there competition between those groups, do you think?

Wayburn: Oh, yes, there's some competition. I think it's healthy.

Lage: Healthy creative competition?

Wayburn: Right. Just yesterday I was interviewed by two Danish conservationists, one is a journalist and one is the director of the Open Space Council, which is a coalition of all the different Danish conservation groups. He said, "Why don't you form one outfit like we have?" And I explained to him that American organizations are directed at so many different things, and that we don't always agree on them. We have competition among different groups, and so forth, and that I don't think their way would work in the United States.

Jack Hession goes back to Washington periodically.

Lage: He's certainly stayed with this for a long time.

Wayburn: He has been with us since 1970 or '71. Yes.

Lage: And he's still with the Alaska region, is it? The Alaska representative?

Wayburn: Yes. We call the senior staff representatives staff directors now, to give them a little more cachet.

Mike Matz, who a few years ago was Jack's assistant, was sent back to Washington to assist Tim Mahoney with the Arctic Refuge effort. When Tim left to go into teaching and consulting --which is what he is doing now--Mike took over as the Washington Alaska director.

Lage: Are these people that you would be in close contact with?

Wayburn: Yes. I am in very close telephone contact, and written contact.

Lage: On day-to-day decisions?

Wayburn: Sometimes day-to-day decisions, sometimes less than that. I talked to Mike for a half hour yesterday, and to Jack just before he went to Washington--he's there now--late last week,--and to Pam Brodie, who is Jack's assistant, working particularly on Prince William Sound, the day before yesterday. So I am in pretty constant contact with them.

The Role of the Park Service and Fish and Wildlife Service in ANILCA Wilderness Designations

Lage: Can we talk more about the wilderness designations under ANILCA, the processes of the Park Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service? Would you have some things to say about that?

Wayburn: Sure. I can go into that now.

There haven't been so many problems in the Forest Service from the administrative viewpoint, because we accomplished that legislatively in considerable part. There are still wilderness study areas in the forest where the Forest Service has to make certain decisions, and we will agree or not agree with them. And there will be sparks flying.

But as far as the Fish and Wildlife Service and the National Park Service are concerned, the Park Service determined that there were some 33 million acres of Park Service land which were already established as wilderness by ANILCA, that there were 19 million acres which were not. They determined that all of those 19 million acres were suitable for establishment as wilderness.

Lage: Was this at the local level they determined this?

Wayburn: At the local level, and on the regional level. This report was sent back to Washington, and I was told by Regional Director Evison that the director of the National Park Service, Bill Mott, looked at it and said, "This is fine." It was then sent over to the secretary's office, and they cut it down to 6 million acres.

Lage: From 19 to 6?

Wayburn: Which they would recommend for wilderness. However, this has not yet been submitted to Congress. It was supposed to have been submitted to Congress I think by 1987; the delay is still going on.

The Fish and Wildlife Service took the attitude, under the influence of, I think it was Bill Horn who was then the assistant secretary for Fish, Wildlife, and Parks (he was the one who was responsible for cutting down the National Park Service recommendation) that any area which had not been determined as wilderness in ANILCA was not to be considered for wilderness. So they haven't recommended any of the eligible land, and the big fight will happen when this goes to Congress.

Lage: So they took a very different approach from the Park Service.

Wayburn: Yes.

Differences between Reagan and Bush Administrations

Lage: Have you noticed a difference between the Reagan and Bush administrations and their handling of matters like this?

Wayburn: Yes, there has been some difference. But in the long run, it's all bad. [laughter] When Bush first came in, we were hopeful. As you know, he said he wanted to be the environmental president. As a congressman, he had been a decent sort. He had introduced some good legislation. Then when he was running for president [in 1980], he originally ran on a moderate platform, and he said of his opponent for the primary, he said that Reaganomics is voodoo economics. Then they made up their differences, and he bought the whole Reagan line, and as a consequence he got the vice presidency.

I can't get inside George Bush's mind to know what happened. Was he really converted to this right wing or not? When he ran for president, he ran as someone who would follow out President Reagan's plans, but he did make a few statements which made us more hopeful, including the fact that he was going to be the environmental president.

Lage: And he went to Boston Harbor and talked about pollution.

Wayburn: Yes, talked about pollution and how it should be cleaned up.

And then, when he started, he made some good appointments. He appointed William Reilly as the head of the Environmental Protection Agency, and Reilly vowed to do so much more than his predecessors. He appointed a good man as the chairman of the Counsel on Environmental Quality, Michael Deland.

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Wayburn: Some of his [Bush's] people in the White House are said to be favorably inclined towards the environment, and some of them are said to be liberal.

But then came the appointment of John Sununu as chief of the White House staff; Sununu proved to be an autocrat who was ruthless with his opponents and who got rid of a few of the White House people, and the others have started adopting his line.

At any rate, we get some glimmer of hope from the White House occasionally. Ronald Reagan was doing what he thought was right, I think because he didn't know any better. George Bush knows better, I think.

Lage: He should know better.

Wayburn: He should know better, certainly.

Lage: With someone like William Reilly, do the environmentalists have a line to him, or is that dangerous for him?

Wayburn: We have a line to Reilly, but Reilly doesn't always have a line to Bush. It hasn't been all bad, but it hasn't been good, either.

Lage: It makes the Nixon administration look like an environmental--.

Wayburn: The Nixon administration was an environmental administration. I got more done in the Nixon and Ford administrations than in any other. This was due to the appointments down the line. Nixon had Morton as Secretary of the Interior, and Morton had Reed. They were a splendid team; they understood what we were talking about, and they worked with us. They came out to see what we were trying to do, and they still worked with us.

Lage: You have nothing like that now.

Wayburn: Nothing like that now. We had very good cooperation in the Carter administration, particularly on Alaska. But, as I've said before, my favorite secretary of Interior was Rogers Morton. I think I had more influence with Morton than any other. He said so, at least.

Lage: That's a nice feeling.

Wayburn: Yes.

Environmental Policy in the Alaska State Government

Wayburn: The state of Alaska has some very bad policies. The state is, of course, not a uniform, monolithic thing. They have the crazies out on one end who want to secede from the United States because the United States doesn't want them running their bulldozers across any type of land; it doesn't want them digging for

minerals in any type of land. They think they should be allowed to do it in a national park or destroy a river.

The other end goes all the way to good conservationists. It has had one good governor in Jay Hammond, whose greatest fault was that he felt he had to appease all sides. Whereas he'd been an excellent environmental advocate as a state senator, he was not that good as a governor. But by comparison with the administrations before and afterwards, his was the best.

Going back a little ways: we have worked with Governor Sheffield who had a string of hotels--

Lage: When is this, going back to the eighties?

Wayburn: Yes, through the eighties. And then Governor Cowper, who started out well but whose administration became anti-environmental. But none of those have been as bad as that of Governor [Walter] Hickel.

Lage: Back to Mr. Hickel.

Wayburn: Who, as you remember, was responsible in his previous administration for the Hickel Highway, which has left scars through the boreal forest (or taiga) that will take hundreds of years to get rid of. He is now trying to develop every part of Alaska that he can. He has made very bad appointments for his natural resources and environmental protection commissioners. He took the former head of ARCO Alaska as his commissioner of natural resources, and the former regional forester, John Sandor, who was bad as a regional forester, as his commissioner for environmental protection.

Lage: And he also had a plan for the Exxon Valdez situation.

Wayburn: He has a plan for Exxon Valdez which would put the money into development and into an educational fund having nothing to do with land restoration.

Lage: Shall we talk a little bit more about that issue? I think that's important, and you said you were very involved in it.

Wayburn: Sure. Yes, I was.

Exxon Valdez Oil Spill, 1989

Wayburn: On the 24th of March, 1989, a mega-tanker, Exxon Valdez, owned by the Exxon Oil Corporation, went aboard a reef in the Prince William Sound because the skipper was under the influence of alcohol. Apparently, the command was under a third mate, and it wasn't certain who the commander was.

At any rate, they spilled a great deal of oil during the next few days, but if proper measures had been taken, that oil spill could have been contained much better.

Lage: Measures that should have been taken by whom?

Wayburn: Measures, as far as we can learn, should have been taken by Alyeska, the consortium of oil companies which had agreed to be responsible for any massive oil spill.

Lage: Because it was something that had been anticipated.

Wayburn: That was anticipated years before, and was part of the agreement by which they got permission to put the oil pipeline from Prudhoe Bay to Valdez.

At the end of two days or four days--maybe less--Exxon had assumed the entire responsibility and authority for this. The Coast Guard of the United States, according to many people, could have, but the Coast Guard disclaimed responsibility.

At any rate, the oil spill was disastrous. The oil went along 700 miles of coastline in Alaska and was thought to have covered in oil some 1,000 miles of sea. It included a great deal of Prince William Sound and then drifted down the coast through the Gulf of Alaska, along the shore of the Kenai Peninsula. Part of the Kenai Fjords National Park escaped pretty well, but some of the islands belonging to the Fish and Wildlife Service just outside them were, some of them, very badly affected.

The oil then migrated around into Cook Inlet and affected the shore of Katmai National Park rather badly. It proceeded down past the Barren Islands to Kodiak, and affected part of Kodiak. So that it was over a very wide stretch of land and sea.

There was a cleanup attempted under the Exxon Oil Company. Exxon thought that its efforts were very good; most of us thought their efforts were rather poor. But it was a tough matter. They tried several different methods of cleanup, and now some three years later, it's my understanding that one doesn't see black oil

on the beaches. One may see a little grey. But if you reach your hand underneath the top gravel and sand, you will find black oil.

Lage: The fish and wildlife know it's there.

Wayburn: The fish and wildlife know it's there--if there are any fish and wildlife there. There was a great loss of fish and wildlife. Birds like the common murre were killed by the hundreds of thousands. Other birds which were not in the vicinity at the time escaped comparatively well. The fish which were there at the time were lost. The sea mammals suffered particularly, the otters and others.

No one knows just how bad the damage is and how long it will persist. The sub-mammalian life has been very badly affected. In some places, the starfish and the snails and the other marine life is beginning to come back, and in other places apparently not.

We spent a few days in Prince William Sound in July of 1989. Unfortunately, the weather was very bad, but we did see a bit of the cleanup. The place looked horrible: the blackened shores, the oily beaches, the booms which were put in there to try to absorb the oil and stop the oil from going onto the beaches were working partially. They were absorbing a certain amount of oil, but a great deal of oil got through. There were hundreds of ships of all kinds working on this.

After we had been in Prince William Sound, we travelled around Alaska for other purposes and later went down the Kenai Peninsula to the headquarters of the Fish and Wildlife Service at Homer and took a helicopter to the Barren Islands, where we landed and saw what was present there. They still had, at that time, a great deal of oil on the shores, and that, I think, is 600 or 700 miles away from where the oil spill was. This was four months later. They were doing a cleanup there.

Lage: Did this mobilize people in Alaska at all who hadn't been so conservation-minded?

Wayburn: Yes, it mobilized people tremendously. People came to rescue the birds and the animals. Veterinarians, fishermen, semi-professionals, amateurs--all sorts of people came. They were limited in what they could do because of the equipment they had and the experience they had in being able to help. But it was a rallying time.

Now, unfortunately, those rallying times tend to die out. Now, three years later, Exxon claims that they've done the perfect job; nothing more needs to be done. They admit that nature will have to do the rest of it, and that of course is true; nature did a great deal of what was done. And in the course of time, it may well be that nature will take care of most of it. Probably not all.

Lage: And then there was a settlement in terms of money.

Wayburn: The United States and the state of Alaska sued Exxon. We likewise, representing a number of environmentalists, sued through the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund. But our cases were put off when the government made a settlement with Exxon. The federal and the state governments had the right to settle. They would not let us in as interveners: we had to sue separately. We would not have settled for what they did. They settled, and it was approved by a federal judge, for \$1.25 billion in the civil suit, and \$50 million in the criminal suit, to be divided equally between the two sides.

Lage: The state and the federal?

Wayburn: The state and the federal. They also decided that there had been spent some \$200 million on legal fees and cleanup, and this went to compensate, that \$200 million, leaving about \$800 million roughly, \$400 million for the state and \$400 million for the federal side. The apportionment of the money was to be decided by six trustees. These trustees were the appointees of the respective governments.

Lage: The use of the money to be decided?

Wayburn: Yes. The trustees include a representative of the secretary of Interior, one of the secretary of Agriculture. I know that the one from the secretary of Agriculture is Mike Barton, the regional forester. And one may come from the National Marine Fishery Service.

On the state side, the attorney general and the commissioner for natural resources, and I think the commissioner for environmental protection.

Lage: Who are the Hickel appointments.

Wayburn: Who are Hickel appointments. I don't know how much change there will be, but the energy bill which is going through Congress has in it this provision of advising that at least 80 percent be

spent for--which would be \$800 million; \$400 on the federal side--be spent for restitution and restoration.

Lage: Of those lands that were damaged?

Wayburn: Yes, or equivalent lands in and around Prince William Sound.

Lage: What are the other alternatives for use?

Wayburn: Well, Mr. Hickel wants development.

Lage: With those monies?

Wayburn: With that money. Then he wants to put a lot into an endowment fund for educational purposes and other purposes. The court did not lay out just how the money should be spent. The trustees are supposed to do that.

Now, one favorable sign is that there are bills in the state of Alaska legislature to recommend that a large part of the \$50 million criminal fine be used for buying lands which the state wants for state parks, particularly the Kachemak Bay State Park on the Kenai Peninsula, which they've been trying to fund for some time and haven't succeeded.

Lage: It seems amazing they'd divert that money to non-natural resource use.

Wayburn: But then that's Governor Hickel.

Lage: Even though the court left it to the trustees to decide, the Congress can supersede that, do you think, or is that a legal question in itself?

Wayburn: This is a question that I cannot answer at the moment. I've wondered about this. Who would have the final jurisdiction? Certainly the recommendation of the Congress would have a strong influence on the trustees, but the administration could say, "No."

Now, these things go through rather slowly. The bill hasn't gone through the Congress yet, and may never get through Congress in that form, although we hope it does. But by that time, there might well be another president. We hope there is. And one whose administration will say, "Well, of course this should go for the restoration of these lands."

Lage: It's amazing to me how you keep all these things balanced on your plate.

Wayburn: Well, this is part of what I have at this time.

Problems in Alaskan National Parks

Wayburn: Another place we should mention, and this would come under what the National Park Service is trying to do--well, we're fighting exploitation wherever it comes. With the Hickel administration, there's been an exacerbation of a much more favorable climate for exploitation. Several mining firms have come up with plans for development. At the present time, there is a plan to develop the old AJ mine in Juneau itself, right at the city limits of Juneau. There are pro and con factions in Juneau whether to allow this.

There is one called the Endicott Mine, which is at Echo Cove thirty-four miles north of Juneau, which they're actually starting on, and this will ruin a great deal of country. It's an old claim which they have now revived, and with new methods, they can make it profitable.

Lage: And there isn't much protection against mining, as I understand it.

Wayburn: No, there isn't.

Lage: That's another issue.

Wayburn: That's a continuing issue.

There are the mining claims in the Misty Fjords for molybdenum. They have not been developed yet. Molybdenum is in excess supply, and they got the right to mine on the basis that it was in scarce supply. It wasn't true.

There are a number of problems in the national parks. In Katmai National Park, the Geological Survey started drilling in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes four or five years ago. We tried to stop them, because this was in a wilderness area, the national park. The excuse was this was the only place in the world where they could get certain information about what happened underneath a volcano erupting.

Lage: So they were doing scientific research?

Wayburn: Research. And yet they had in mind the fact that they would be not only drilling core holes but they would be doing full-scale drilling if they found what they thought they would find, and now

they're trying to get permission to do this. This is still research; the question is how far should research go? And why can't they get some of this from other places where there is not a wilderness area and national park?

So we have opposed it, but the Park Service has granted them permission to go ahead to date, and they have had as many as twenty helicopters a season come in to aid them in this, and they had camps set up in the wilderness area, all of which we have been opposing.

Denali National Park

Wayburn: The national parks have had a lot of problems with certain Alaska interests, backed by the Alaska delegation. Denali National Park particularly; it's the one national park in Alaska which is already overused.

Lage: It's amazing to think of.

Wayburn: When we first went there in 1967 there were about 50,000 visitors a year. May not have been quite that many. When the George Parks Highway was opened--named for the engineer, not the parks--all the way from Anchorage to Fairbanks and went right by Denali National Park, there was immediately an increase in visitation, particularly on the Wonder Lake Road, which is the only road through Denali National Park. The Park Service took pains to exclude private automobiles, unless they belonged to someone who had a lodge or a mine out at the end of the road or their guests. The Park Service instituted bus service for visitors.

This succeeded for a while, but today there are grave problems in Denali. The visitation has increased to 600,000 a year, and 300,000 of these people want to go on that one road.

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Lage: Overuse in Alaskan parks. You wouldn't think of it.

Wayburn: Yes. The road is a narrow, gravel and earth, two-lane road. In places, it's a one-lane road. It's steep. In wet weather, it's very slippery. It is therefore dangerous. There are two kinds of buses: there are the public buses in the Park Service where people can go for free, and then the buses of the concessionaire

who runs the hotel inside the park; they go for a fee. The buses have reached their capacity. The concessionaire, after getting one increase, is asking for another one, and it's been denied. The concessionaire is now renting space in helicopters to look at the wildlife in the area of the road.

The concessionaire's company has combined with Holland-American West Tours, which is one of the two biggest companies which does tours in Alaska; they have the ships and the buses. They have built a lodge with, I think, a 300-person capacity, or are in the process of doing that.

Lage: In the park?

Wayburn: Just outside the park, on private land. The other company, Princess Tours, which is, I guess, the larger, has got another 300-bed capacity hotel. Through Senator Stevens, the Congress has authorized planning for a replacement hotel inside the national park to replace the one which was burnt down, which has been partially replaced, and they would have 150 beds there. We are opposing that because there's more capacity than they need outside, and it brings more and more pressure on this one road.

Well, the senators have seen that, too, so they want to widen the road, or they want to pave the road, or they want to build a new road around, coming from Healy, make it a one-way road which would make it 180 miles around, which I don't think would work out. So far, we've been able to resist the road, but not the hotel. The Park Service is going ahead with planning for this hotel, and we're not sure how that's going to come out.

Lage: Is there camping in the area?

Wayburn: Camping is allowed under strict precautions. Camping and hiking are both allowed under strict precautions. There's a large camp at the edge, Riley Camp, which is an auto camp, a recreational vehicle camp, and a tent camp. They have all those there. That accommodates several hundred people.

In addition, there is wilderness camping, and one has to get a permit to go wilderness camping or hiking. They've divided the area into a large number of units and only allow very few people in each unit. So from that aspect, they've done a good job. But they haven't solved the problem of the visitors on the road and in the hotels.

Lage: Is there just too much impact on the land and the wildlife? Is that the objection?

Wayburn: That is the objection. And if the road were improved, the wilderness would disappear, and so would the wildlife. This is still the best wildlife-viewing area perhaps in North America, certainly in Alaska.

We were there this last year on one of our trips. We went to Anchorage. We hired a car. We drove to Denali, and there we drove out the paved portion of the road, which is thirty miles, and there were picked up by the vehicle for Camp Denali, which took us out the rest of the way.

Lage: Is that within the park, Camp Denali?

Wayburn: Camp Denali is now--since ANILCA--in the park. When it was built, it was in the hills outside the park. But the park now includes all of the Kantishna area. The park was enlarged from 2.5 million to 5.5 million acres. It includes a great deal of land to the north, to the west, and to the south of where the old park was.

We had an enlightening two days out there. We visited Kantishna, the old Kantishna mining area. We found, among other things, that there were two lodges there, and one tent camp. These have all been put up by ex-miners.

Lage: Using their mining privileges?

Wayburn: Using their patented land. A 200-recreational-vehicle camp had been proposed and was on its way when the ex-girlfriend of the miner turned recreational host sued him, because they had made a settlement when they became separated, in which he agreed not to put any recreational establishment up. She already had a lodge there.

Lage: Oh, I see, she didn't want the competition!

Wayburn: That's right. And then his new girlfriend got the idea that this was a lucrative business. But the ex- prevailed in court, and so for the present, he is excluded. But she is there, and the new outfit is there. They have a system of inviting people in and not providing vehicles for them so that people have to drive their private vehicles in. This puts a moderate increase in traffic on the road and in time could put a lot of increase if the former miners turn to hotel and lodging-home proprietors.

Lage: Does the Park Service have any control over these patented lands?

Wayburn: No. That's one of the problems. So we are trying to get appropriations for the Park Service to acquire these lands. And

fortunately, Senator Stevens has been helpful to us, because he wants to help his constituents who feel stymied. They can't mine as they would like to within the park. So they would like to sell. Three million dollars was appropriated last year and another \$3 million this year, and certain of these properties have been acquired; others are being evaluated and will be acquired. But how complete the acquisitions will be, I don't know, and how this is going to affect the existing recreational facilities in Kantishna, I don't know.

At present we know that Camp Denali and its North Face Inn are run very well; they are run as concessions in the park. And these other people are doing a poor job of it.

Lage: Do you have any other issues you think we should cover today?

Wayburn: I haven't touched on the fishing issue yet. I haven't touched on problems of Glacier Bay, and I haven't touched on what is to be done about Prince William Sound, or the success I see at Kenai Fjords National Park.

We visit national parks each year we go. I just talked about Denali. Incidentally, the superintendent is aware of what's going on at Denali, and feels that he just can't do any more about it.

Lage: Because of pressures from Washington, or because of the pressures from the population and the visitors?

Wayburn: Well, the combination of all of these, but particularly pressures from the Alaska delegation in Congress.

Wrangell-Saint Elias National Park

Wayburn: Now, Wrangell-Saint Elias National Park is an entirely different matter. This is a huge place where they could stand some access, but they have a great deal of hunting going on in the preserve portion of it, and they have some people trying to get into the heart of it to develop. The one thing that's keeping development out is a very low-grade road which follows the course of the old copper mine railroad which went up from Cordova to Chitina and across the Copper River to McCarthy. There are some efforts to revive some sort of visitor establishments, both in the old copper mine and in other areas around McCarthy.

Kenai Fjords

Wayburn: Kenai Fjords is a place where I think you can say there's been success to date. It is accessible from the town of Seward, and accessible really only by boat. Before ANILCA the citizens of Seward opposed the establishment of the park vigorously, and particularly the tour companies did, but within a very short time, the tour operators became enthusiastically converted, because they were the ones who could take visitors in. They took them by boat to Resurrection Bay and into the first part of the fjords. They showed abundant wildlife. They have become enthusiastic supporters of the park.

The park has brought a certain prosperity to Seward from the tourist visitors, so they are now favorable to the park. The park extends along a long shoreline, and unfortunately, most of the shoreline is the property of native corporations. One corporation owns some 23,000 acres, and another I think some 67,000 acres. These are the village corporations of English Bay and Port Graham.

They are willing to sell back their land to the federal government, because they have no immediate use for it. The villages are located on the Cook Inlet side of the Kenai Peninsula, whereas these park lands are on the outside. In the Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 they had to take land which was not close to them because there was no unreserved land close to them. They're very willing to sell back to the federal government at the present time, and this is one purpose that we hope to use the Exxon Valdez money for.

If they don't sell they will at some future time find someone who wants to put up a lodge or a hotel and develop parts of the park, which is a wilderness park at the present time. This area is very rich in marine life and bird life, with a few resident wildlife, but not too many. It's a park that I think we can call a success at the present time.

The Gates of the Arctic Wilderness Park

Wayburn: The Gates of the Arctic Wilderness Park is another one we go to periodically. It is impacted by the village of Anaktuvik, which is on its northern border. The natives there like to take advantage of subsistence, and they now, instead of having to go

by foot, can go by four-wheeler or three-wheeler, and that damages greatly the wilderness of the Gates of the Arctic Park.

Lage: So there's no control on that? It's covered under the right to subsistence hunting?

Wayburn: The management is trying to control it. And they're trying to make an exchange of land so that the impact would be reduced. How this is going to come out is still problematic. We've not been happy with the solutions that the Park Service has agreed to so far.

The Gates of the Arctic is potentially threatened by another type of development which I haven't mentioned and I should go into, I guess, at this point, and that is developments on the TAPS pipeline oil corridor. Secretary Morton withdrew 4.5 billion acres, and this was for industrial purposes. The Haul Road had to be put in for the construction of the pipeline, and to take equipment up to Prudhoe Bay.

During the governorship of our friend Jay Hammond, Hammond agreed that this should be a recreational road. He didn't want it--he told me it should never be so classified--but he agreed to it because of the pressures on him. So it was constructed to recreational road standards, and parts of it were used for a recreational road during his time. The recreational road was extended to Atigun Pass, which is at the crest of the Brooks Range.

It was not extended any further, because the North Slope borough, controlled by a native corporation, didn't want more visitors to come up Prudhoe Bay. They foresaw a lot of what would happen.

We were opposing it because it would bring more people in, it would allow all-terrain vehicles which could go off to the side, away from the road, into the nearby Gates of the Arctic National Park, which is wilderness but which is at the narrowest point, I think, ten or eleven miles away from the road proper, or into the National Arctic Wildlife Refuge, which is on the other side. At one point, one of these units is only five miles away.

The state of Alaska wants to acquire this corridor. The Bureau of Land Management has assented to this. We are trying to get legal action against this transfer, and we have in the energy bill that they are prohibited from doing this. This is the energy bill in the House.

Lage: And what are the state's plans for the road? Do you know?

Wayburn: They haven't stated this, but we are afraid the state would establish so-called remote homesites in the area, that they would put in side roads which could go to the border of these federal installations.

Lage: I see. More development.

Wayburn: And with changing administrations in the state, a Hickel administration would put some type of development there. I should add that BLM has already allowed one facility to be established at Coldfoot. Coldfoot is north of the Yukon River, and it's a place where an entrepreneur has established a 100-room facility made of the old cabins which were used to construct Prudhoe Bay. He has had them taken down the Haul Road to a place that's halfway between there and Fairbanks. So these people fly--tourists, now--fly from Fairbanks to Prudhoe Bay, spend the night at Prudhoe Bay, and then fly or take a bus from Prudhoe Bay back to Fairbanks, or vice versa. It's a three-day, two-night tourist attraction.

Lage: Quickly getting in and out.

Wayburn: Yes. And there is a real problem in the pipeline.

The pipeline now is getting old. It's eroding in places. There have been a few small-to-moderate spills. Alyeska has been told to keep it in good repair, and we hope that they will so that there won't be more oil spills along the way.

Katmai National Park

Wayburn: We've had several problems in Katmai National Park. Brooks Camp is right where the Brooks River flows into Lake Naknek; and there's a cascade there. The salmon migrate up into Brooks Lake. And of course, it's a favorite place for the bears. That's where they get their subsistence.

The Park Service established Brooks Camp as a temporary facility fifty years ago, and gradually improved on it. There have been some bear incidents. Fishermen like it because they can go up and fish for trout or for salmon up in Brooks Lake. Tourists like it because they can view the salmon jumping, and the bears. There is a big tower where you're supposed to go and look at bear.

But crossing over the stream, there's always something that will be dangerous. Bear go right through the camp at times. There have been an increasing number of bear-human conflicts. Some people in the Park Service have wanted to move the camp out of there, and we would be happy if they moved it to the western part of the park, where bear conflicts would be avoided. Visitors could come up under supervision to Brooks River. The concessionaire doesn't want to do that; he's got a very good thing in his concession. The Park Service has been divided. But the biologists have advised the move, and this is something which is ongoing at the present time.

Something else in Katmai is in the new addition; there's a lot of good bear country, and it brings Katmai close to the McNeil River Bear Sanctuary, which is administered by the state. Visitors come in under protection, they can go to certain places and watch the bear. The bear know they have a safe place on the river where they can catch their fish.

The state of Alaska has just authorized the Paint River Fish Ladder, which is not far away from the McNeil River Sanctuary. If the salmon are able to get up this ladder, and it seems that they are already in two of the lakes above there, the bear, some of them, will leave and go over to Paint River Fish Ladder.

The Paint River area was declared a state refuge, but state refuge status doesn't prevent hunting. They have now changed and established a little of it as a sanctuary, but the rest of it is a refuge. So this means that hunters will come in, and that the fishermen fishing below in their boats wanting to get the most fish will have their guns ready, and this may cause a great deal of human-bear conflict. These McNeil bears, they've become accustomed to humans, and if they started being shot by humans, they're going to reverse this whole chain of events which has been benign so far.

Lage: So you have the danger of loss of bears and also human injury.

Wayburn: Yes.

International Parks

Wayburn: We now have the possibility of an international park with Russia. The Bering Land Preserve, 2.2 million acres, is already a national park in the United States. Some of our people--I should mention Nick Robinson, very good Sierra Clubber--former director

and professor of law at Pace University, New York, has been a leader if not the leader in negotiations with Russia for the establishment of a similar national park on the Russian side. On the Russian side it will presumably be larger. The National Park Service of the United States has been involved in this right along, and is enthusiastic about it.

Lage: That's kind of an exciting thought.

Wayburn: Yes. We already have international parks with Canada. The Wrangell-Saint Elias Park, which is 12.8 million acres, is bordered by the Kluane National Park in Yukon, and that's 5.4 million acres.

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Wayburn: Glacier National Park has the Waterton Lakes National Park in Canada adjacent to it. The North Cascades National Park has Manning Provincial Park in British Columbia, which is just north of it. And the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge has a comparable area of national park on the north slope of Canada.

There are other possibilities. We have in the Tongass Forest the Stikine-LeConte Wilderness, 450,000 acres, and it's possible that something might be established on the Stikine River upstream from there. And of course, the biggie is in the Alsek-Tatshenshini, where there is a 2.5 million acre unreserved wilderness in the Saint Elias Mountains of British Columbia, which is threatened now by a copper mine, an open-pit mine, the Windy Craggy Mine. We are trying to get this established as a reserve.

If the Tatshenshini were established as a wilderness or a national park in British Columbia, this would mean a continuous wilderness-national park reserve from the Alaska Highway just north of Wrangell-Saint Elias National Park and Preserve, south and east through the Kluane National Park and Sanctuary, and the Saint Elias Mountains, on south through the Alsek-Tatshenshini corridor, to Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve. We have in ANILCA now made that possible in the United States by getting an extra 550,000 acres added to Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, including that part of the watershed of the Alsek River in the United States. The Tatshenshini runs into the Alsek.

Protection of this area has been one of my dreams for a long time, from the time we first flew over the Alsek River and saw this, and then realized the possibility. But it's the very threat to its existence by the Windy Craggy Mine, which has mobilized opinion all through Canada and the United States. The

lead on this is being taken by an organization called Tat Wild, or Tatshenshini Wild, in Canada. Our western Canada chapter is very active in it.

We have a man named Peter Enticknap in Haines, Alaska. Haines would be directly affected by this, because the proposal is to take the ore out, either by road which would establish seventy miles of new road through wilderness, or pipeline to the Haines Highway, and then to the town of Haines, where it would be loaded on ships, similar to the oil tankers.

Lage: So it impacts Alaska, not just Canada.

Wayburn: It would impact Alaska at both ends, both at Haines where they take out the ore, and the Glacier Bay National Park downstream at Yakutat--all of the Yakutat forelands, which is national forest and native land. So this would make a tremendous difference.

The struggle has been going on for some time. A year and a half ago, I got the IUCN [International Union for the Conservation of Nature] to pass a resolution recommending that a decision not be made to approve a permit for the mine until a joint boundary commission from the two nations, Canada and the United States, had investigated and approved it. We got the National Park Service of the United States to co-sponsor the resolution, and Parks Canada to agree to it. You see, this is a case where the province of British Columbia has the final say on what happens.

Lage: Is Parks Canada like our National Park Service?

Wayburn: They're the national park service of Canada.

Lage: I see. But British Columbia has the--

Wayburn: They are the ones who have the final say.

Lage: Is that coming up for decision soon?

Wayburn: Oh, it's in process.

Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980: Only the First Step

[Interview 2: May 27, 1992]##

Lage: Last time we spoke about Alaska. You said you wanted to give an overview today to get us started, so why don't you start with that?

Wayburn: Yes. Peggy and I started as explorers, vacationers. The very first year, we encountered some of the practices of the national parks in Alaska, notably in then-Mount McKinley National Park, we became imbued with the idea that something had to be done, that this was a great opportunity never before realized in the United States.

Lage: We're talking about your early trips there, back in '67?

Wayburn: Early trips. That was 1967. In the winter of 1968, Jack Calvin wrote an impassioned letter that he wanted someone to help him save a wilderness on West Chichagof Island in the Southeast where he had a plan to save what could be saved of the beauties and natural aspects of Alaska, in a way that couldn't be done otherwise.

I had some experience with asking for a large amount of terrain for protected areas before this in connection with Mount Tamalpais State Park and Redwoods National Park, so this time I felt we would go for broke. By 1970, we were already formulating what became the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980. By 1973, I had put that into form in an epilogue to the book that Peggy did with Mike Miller.¹ I outlined 104 million acres, not including the Southeast, for protection.

Now, during this time and in the years following, we were covering every part of Alaska that we could. Each year, we had a different mission. I mentioned that we were fortunate enough to have essentially a private pilot for our explorations for ten years. This enabled us to go to all parts of Alaska.

Lage: Is this your present son-in-law?

Wayburn: Yes, Jim Roush. And each year, we got out into the field to explore some of the land ourselves. We have by now run some

¹Mike Miller and Peggy Wayburn, *Alaska, The Great Land* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1974).

thirty rivers by kayak, by canoe, by small boat, by raft. The passage of the Alaska National Interest Lands Act of 1980 was the great stepping stone, but we've had just about as much to do since then as before then.

Lage: It seemed like a culmination of a long-term goal.

Wayburn: Yes, it was.

Lage: And now as we look back--

Wayburn: We look back, it was another stage. Since then, we've had a great many obstacles in the way of achieving full protection of these lands. There has been first of all the intransigence of the administration since 1980.

Lage: In Washington.

Wayburn: In Washington, first under President Reagan, and now under President Bush. President Reagan had as his chief acolyte, James Watt and his assistant, William Horn, who was one of these smart people from Alaska who knew a great deal about the state but the value of nothing.

Lage: So he was an Alaskan, William Horn?

Wayburn: Yes. He had been assistant to [Alaskan] Congressman Don Young before he went to the Department of the Interior.

And then we had obstacles such as the Forest Service in southeast Alaska, conceiving of the Tongass Forest as a supply of timber, particularly of pulp, for the Japanese market, and even with the passage of the Tongass Timber Reform Act of 1990, the Forest Service has continued to get as much logged as possible.

Then we've had the specific instance of the Exxon Valdez oil spill disaster in Prince William Sound, which caused a specific problem which is not over with by any means. We'll come to that a little later.

We've had such things as the Bureau of Land Management trying to transfer its lands in the Trans-Alaska Oil Pipeline utility corridor from federal to state ownership, which would cause a great deal of damage, not just to the corridor lands but to those of the wilderness national park on the west and the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge on the east.

We've had the continual problem of mines, not just leveling mountains but also causing pollution of streams. There has been

one problem after another. Each year, we try to emphasize one of the problems in our yearly journeys to Alaska for the meetings of the Alaska Task Force. Then we're getting reacquainted with Alaska conservationists, and with the bureaucrats who have a great deal to say, who have almost everything to say, about the public lands, particularly the federal lands in Alaska.

The Alaska Task Force

Lage: Is it difficult to keep on top of all these problems, or to be aware of all of them? I know you can't as an individual be aware of every problem.

Wayburn: That's right; no, we couldn't possibly. I might divert to what the Alaska Task Force and my job in it is. The Alaska Task Force has been in existence since about 1974 as a way of keeping people throughout the United States, in the lower forty-eight, aware of these various problems in Alaska. The Sierra Club mechanism in this regard is to have an Alaska chapter, which now has some 2,000 members. We have the Alaska field office with a conservation director, Jack Hession, who has done so much and knows so much, and who has now two professional assistants in Jim Young and Pam Brodie, as well as Nancy Michelson, who administers the office.

And then we have the Alaska Task Force, which gets a great deal of its information--most of its information--from the Alaska field office, and transmits that to people in the lower forty-eight, and particularly to the Congress, so that we can get some action. It also transmits to the administration, but we don't get near as much response as we'd like. We publish a quarterly newsletter, *Alaska Report*, edited by my very able assistant, Vicky Hoover.

That's essentially the mechanism that we have used.

Lage: Two thousand volunteers in the chapter?

Wayburn: Two thousand members.

Lage: But probably not all active?

Wayburn: Oh, no.

Lage: Would you know what portion of them would be active? Or is that hard to say?

- Wayburn: There are a small percentage of activists in Alaska. There are actually more members in comparison to the total population of the state than there are in other states. But for various reasons, they are not too active, except on local matters. When it comes to these federal actions and statewide actions, they have reluctance to maintain a high profile.
- Lage: Because of the social pressures?
- Wayburn: Because of the social pressures on them, and because many of them are in the state or federal government, and they feel that they cannot have a high profile at all.
- Lage: So there are sort of personal, economic pressures.
- Wayburn: Yes. The Alaska establishment is fairly strongly against protection as a mechanism. They understand that Alaska is the most beautiful place, the most scenic place, the last bastion of wilderness in the United States, and yet, they're not willing to get out on a limb to protect that. Any time a new venture for exploitation comes up, they will not oppose it. Here, we have no such compunctions. We will constantly be advocating more wilderness or less drilling, or no mining in certain areas, no contamination of the rivers, in a way that Alaskans often find difficult.
- Lage: I'm not sure how to put this question. Often, people envision an extreme group on one side and an extreme group on the other side, and eventually something happens down the middle. Do you ever take your stands with that in mind, that you take a more extreme stand in order to get a better deal, or do you take your stands because that's what seems right?
- Wayburn: We take a stand because we think it's right. Now, others may decide whether this stand is in the middle or extremely on one side. We know that we won't get all that we're trying to get, and in that respect, we're often far out on the edge. But sometimes we do. Take the Alaska National Interest Conservation Act itself. When I first discussed this with Senator Henry Jackson in 1971 and he said, "What do you want? How much do you want?" I said, "150 million acres." He said, "That's too much. Would 80 satisfy you?" I said, "No, but we'll take it." And 80 million acres was what was put into Section 17(d)2 of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

It immediately became apparent that there was a much larger amount that should be preserved in one form or another. Secretary Morton actually identified 83.4 million acres. We

identified at that time 106. We got 104 million acres, so geographically, we got almost all we had been trying to get.

The problem with that act was that it was shot through with administrative anti-remedies, which enabled the anti-environmentalists to accomplish great things. Just for example, the National Park Service was called on, by the terms of the act, to identify what parts of the national parks were suitable for wilderness which had not been identified by Congress. The Fish and Wildlife Service was supposed to do the same thing. There were some 19 million acres which were judged suitable for wilderness classification by the National Park Service. The Park Service sent to Washington this recommendation, and Assistant Secretary of the Interior Horn cut that down to 6 million acres. It has never yet gone to Congress, although it was supposed to go several years ago.

In the Fish and Wildlife refuges, under the direction of the politicians, the Fish and Wildlife Service decided that what Congress had not identified need not be further identified for wilderness.

Lage: Whose leadership was that decision made under?

Wayburn: That was also Horn.

Lage: That was very strategic, putting this Alaskan in that position.

Wayburn: Yes. So we have had our triumphs and our failures as we've gone along.

Serendipity Plays a Role in Conservation

Lage: You mentioned serendipity before we actually recorded, that some of the things were serendipitous. What did you mean by that?

Wayburn: In our explorations we started by looking at certain areas that we'd heard about. When we couldn't get to those areas because of weather, we would divert our airplane to another area. We would find out that in these areas, there were certain locations which were pure wilderness or places of indescribable beauty which should be included in the protected system.

Lage: Do you remember any of these where that happened?

Wayburn: I could say quite a few. Let me start out by saying that back in the late sixties, we were particularly interested, and of course the National Park Service was interested, in establishing a national park of 2.5 million acres in the Wood River Tikchik lakes area.

Lage: I remember we talked about that.

Wayburn: The state of Alaska had as the head of its Lands Division a man named Roscoe Bell, who hated the National Park Service so he had the state select that land. Since then, that land has been subdivided a good deal, although there is still a fairly large state park in it.

We had no intention of exploring the coast of Southeast Alaska in the late sixties when we got this impassioned appeal from Jack Calvin to come and look at West Chichagof Island. We spent five days there, and ended up recommending West Chichagof for wilderness status and, although we didn't get all of it, we got quite a bit of it as wilderness some twelve years later.

When we were looking for rivers to run in the late 1970s, we thought that we should run the Tatshenshini. Jack and Mary Kaye Hession and Peggy and I ran the Tatshenshini into the Alsek River and were so impressed by that area that we recommended it as an addition to Glacier Bay National Monument, now Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve. That was added in the 1980 act.

On the other hand, we did not realize that there would be tremendous pressures coming in on the Canadian side, but just in the past three years there has been increasing agitation from a mining company to put in one of the world's largest copper mines near the junction of the Tatshenshini with the Alsek River. That would change the entire terrain. It would cause pollution of the Alsek River, and cause a loss of the fishing industry in the lower Alsek. It has the Glacier Bay National Park on one side and the Forest Service and Yakutat region on the other side. Native people and others there who depend on fish for a livelihood would be deprived of that livelihood.

That's where a development in a foreign country, namely Canada, can affect what happens in the United States. It also affects the United States upstream. The company is now proposing a slurry line, I think 200 miles long, to go to Haines, Alaska, on the Lynn Canal to export their ore.

All of these are things which came up when we didn't anticipate them ahead of time.

Lage: It's interesting to me how the economic interests are only cited when they're in favor of exploitation, but there's economic interest on the other side with the fishing industry.

Wayburn: Yes, that's quite true. The fishing industry is composed of so many small operators as well as large operators.

Another example, a different example of that, is present in Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve itself, where some of the only wilderness waters in the United States exist. The Native fishermen, chiefly from Hoonah which is across Icy Strait, want to continue subsistence and commercial fishing in those waters, which is against the law. The state of Alaska is now issuing individual, personal fishing permits. All of this goes against what is supposed to be in a national park, but how it comes out, nobody knows as yet. This is at issue in the Congress right now, as is the number of tour boats, cruise ships, which are allowed to come into Glacier Bay each summer.

Lage: So that's a subject of congressional debate as well.

Wayburn: Both of those are.

Lage: You'd think those things could be regulated by an enlightened Park Service, and it wouldn't have to require congressional attention.

Wayburn: True. But the Park Service is not always so enlightened, and it's not always politically powerful enough so that it can carry through enlightened policies.

The National Park Service Under William Penn Mott

Lage: How was it under Mott's directorship in Alaska?

Wayburn: That is a specific case in point. Bill Mott had the best of intentions, and yet, the Park Service in Alaska under Bill Mott did not make as much conservation progress as we had hoped, nor did it in the lower forty-eight. He did not have the control over the Park Service. He was assailed--he was beleaguered, I should say--from above by the politicians and from below by the bureaucracy.¹

¹See Appendix A for 1988 speech by Ed Wayburn on "How is the National Park Service Doing?".

Bill Mott [deceased September 1992] is today the special assistant to the Interior secretary, working in the California region. He talks very well, but he hasn't got power to carry out actions.

Lage: And even as the director, you observed that he didn't.

Wayburn: He didn't.

Lage: Do you have any specific instances of that?

Wayburn: Yes. Now, Bill talks wonderfully in generalities. When it comes down to specific items, he often doesn't carry through, sometimes because of other pressures and sometimes because of his own inclinations. You have to remember that Bill Mott is a bureaucrat. He has done wonderful things, particularly in enlarging the East Bay Regional Park System, and with the state park system.

His term at National Park Service as director was disappointing, which can only partly be laid to his own blame. I am trying to think at this moment of certain things. Let's take one of my present preoccupations, which is in Yosemite National Park, particularly with the concessionaire actions and acquisitions in Yosemite Valley.

When we discussed this with Bill Mott, in general he's all for us and with us.

Lage: This is the attempt to change concessionaires?

Wayburn: Yes. When it comes down to actual, "what will you do, what is to be done," and specifics, he didn't enforce certain things that he could have when he was director. The problem has come to a focus since he's been director. I think that he was the director who appointed Mike Finley as superintendent of Yosemite. Mike Finley had done a good job as the superintendent of Everglades, but Mike Finley has been a disappointment to us so far in what he has proposed for Yosemite. He has not carried out and is not carrying out principles of the general management plan of 1980. While we're waiting to see his final proposals for both the housing plan and the transportation plan, as well as the concession services plan, they don't seem to be up to what they were.

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Lage: Well, I thought today I'd like to conclude Alaska, if we can. I'd like to be sure you get in your shift in perspective, and then move into population and international. We can't possibly cover every single thing that happens in Alaska; I want to get into your changed role.

Wayburn: All right. Let me go on with the last few years in Alaska.

1988 Trip to Alaska

Wayburn: Some three years ago, after the Exxon Valdez oil spill, the Alaska Task Force chartered a small boat. Peggy and I and Jack Hession spent two and a half days looking at the cleanup which was still going on. This was three and a half months after the spill. Although the weather was bad and we couldn't see too much, we got an idea of what it was.

We then enplaned with the Bureau of Land Management and went to Fairbanks and then up to the utility pipeline corridor to Coldfoot. We surveyed what the BLM was doing in trying to develop its recreational program, and discussed with them what their plans were. They were planning on enlisting the assistance of the state, to allow the state of Alaska to select most of the corridor land. We thought that was against the intention of Congress. This would allow the withdrawal of the pipeline area of 4.5 million acres as an industrial corridor. The original plans were not to have recreational travel, just to allow the building of the pipeline, to allow the oil trucks to go back and forth, and to check the maintenance of the pipeline.

Governor [Jay] Hammond, in response to pressures in the seventies, allowed this road to be opened partway as a recreational road, and at the present time, the state is trying to get it opened all the way to Prudhoe Bay as a recreational road.

Lage: This is the Haul Road, is it called?

Wayburn: This is the Haul Road that we're talking about. And actually, tour companies have now a journey which has a flight one way from Fairbanks to Prudhoe Bay, with an overnight in Prudhoe Bay and then a bus trip back to Coldfoot, where there are converted cabins, left over from the construction business, which are used for overnight accommodations.

We urged strongly that this not be done, that the corridor land not be given to the state because we feared that the state would open the area as widely as possible by allowing mining and side roads and so-called remote homesites. This in turn would endanger the wilderness of the Gates of the Arctic National Wilderness Park on the west side, and the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge on the east side of the corridor. In some places, the corridor is very few miles wide.

We then flew north with the Bureau of Land Management over the Brooks Range and west to Kotzebue, and discussed the problems of the Northwest Alaska Native Association, or NWANA. We took a look at the new mine which was put in there, the Red Dog Mine, where two mountaintops are being leveled, and where the creeks are being polluted.

They got permission--another instance where the act was not perfect; the National Park Service allowed an eleven-mile road through the Cape Krusenstern National Monument, so that a convenient road existed between the Red Dog Mine and its port, which was on the edge of the national monument.

We then went with the Bureau of Land Management on a two-day canoe trip down the Squirrel River, where we identified a million-acre area which we thought would be a proper Conservation Area, and would be treated with a degree of protection which the Bureau of Land Management ordinarily hasn't got. We urged them to get the director of the BLM to establish these special protection areas. The Alaska Director of the BLM, Mike Penfold, made an effort but was overruled, so that the BLM did not have the ability to establish conservation areas in parts of its lands. It still has jurisdiction over 70 to 80 million acres of land in Alaska which has not been selected for other purposes.

Lage: And no administrative ability to have special protection zones?

Wayburn: That's right, and no police ability. This is one of the excuses that they give for wanting to turn corridor lands over to the state, that they disclaim the power to police their land.

That was one year's effort.

Lage: Do you remember which year? Did you say '88?

1991 Trip to Alaska

Wayburn: I think that was '88. Last year, we took a different sort of journey entirely. We led a trip for Sierra Club donors in southeast Alaska, utilizing a converted mine sweeper which had been rehabilitated entirely, a boat called the *Liseron*, a 144-foot long motor vessel, without any metal in the hull. Built it with strong oak beams. It had been built in 1952, and then lent by the United States to the French government. In 1988, I believe, was bought by the Boat Company and towed back across the Atlantic. A year was taken in completely rebuilding it. It has ten luxurious cabins; it can take twenty guests. It's small enough to go into small bays in southeast Alaska.

We took this group of people on a nine-day journey from Sitka to Wrangell, and took them to such places as Angoon and Mitchell Bay on Admiralty Island. We took them up to the Pack Creek bear refuge on Seymour Canal. We took them to the Sawyer Glacier so that they could see the glacier, and the wildlife along the edge of Tracy Arm.

We showed them orcas and sea otters and whales, all kinds of denizens of the inside passage.

Lage: That must have been an inspiring trip for them.

Wayburn: It was. Everyone was most enthusiastic.

Lage: Now, they were people who had already been contributors to the effort? Had most of them been to Alaska?

Wayburn: No, most of them had not been. I just yesterday got a flier for the Boat Company which I'll show you.

Lage: Does the Boat Company use this boat for regular trips?

Wayburn: The Boat Company, which is largely owned by Mike Mackintosh, has two such boats; the *Observer* is a smaller boat which has had trips like this for at least ten years, and this *Liseron* the newer boat.

We then left southeast Alaska and went up to Anchorage for a meeting of the Alaska Task Force, and we talked with the directors of the National Park Service and Fish and Wildlife Service and the Bureau of Land Management. Then we rented a car and drove to Denali National Park, were picked up by the people

from Camp Denali and spent two days out on the edge of what used to be the border of Denali National Park, but is now well inside it. The people at Camp Denali, who own the North Face Lodge where we stayed, are excellent innkeepers who observe all rules of protection of land and of the wildlife.

But it's immediately adjacent to the Kantishna Mining District, which is also now inside Denali National Park. We are supporting an effort, which Senator Stevens fortunately is going along with, to buy back these lands which were patented by miners during the gold rush days. This was the 1920s. Some of the land is being bought back, but some of the former miners have seen a mother lode in the recreational business, and there are now two lodges and a tent camp in Kantishna.

Lage: Based on these mining claims?

Wayburn: On these patented mining claims, so that this is private land in the middle of Denali National Park. These inholders are entitled to access, and they have access either by bringing people in their own vehicles, or they can apply to the Park Service which has to allow people who are their guests to come in private vehicles. This creates more pressure on the Wonder Lake Road, which is the only road in Denali National Park. It goes through the wilderness. This road was established sixty, seventy years ago, to provide access to the miners at Kantishna and for viewing the wildlife. Its highest and best use is for viewing the greatest spectacle of wildlife left in North America.

The principal use of the road is for visitors who go in buses furnished by the Park Service, or in buses which are furnished by the concessionaire. The buses travel in a leisurely fashion along the road and stop whenever there are caribou or bear or fox, or moose, or a variety of birds along the road. You will see sometimes six or ten buses stopped nearby, just viewing the wildlife which go about their ordinary business, apparently oblivious to these buses.

The road is a gravel road, and when it's wet, it's a muddy road. It is narrow enough for only one car in places, so there have to be passing places. It can take only so much traffic, and the wildlife can take only so much traffic before they will not come close to the road any more. The great danger is that these people will overload the road. The Park Service superintendent has already said that if there are too many private vehicles which he has to allow access to, he will have to cut down on the number of buses which the general public uses.

And while this has fortunately been averted temporarily because when a pair of the miners split up, the lady got an agreement from her boyfriend that he would not put in any recreational development, she had a lodge there already. He breached that agreement, and he opened a 200-recreational vehicle camp not far from where she was. She sued him, and prevented it. She has a temporary injunction.

Lage: It seems like quite a subversion of the intent, it being a mining claim and then developing--

Wayburn: It's a complete subversion. The 1872 mining law allows that all the time. You can still patent land at \$2.50 an acre, and then sell it for \$100,000 an acre for other purposes if the opportunity comes up.

Lage: Have the conservationists thought of a way to use that to their advantage, to patent it themselves?

Wayburn: This has been proposed, and at times, we have tried to get ahold of land. Actually, I don't know if I told you earlier, but the state of Alaska for many years had recreational homesites in the land that they had selected from the federal government. This is one of the fears that I have about the state of Alaska getting the utility corridor. In 1969, Peggy and I were in Fairbanks when several people we'd worked with in the Bureau of Land Management came to us and said, "We have located a beautiful lake a little bit north of Mount McKinley. Would you go in with us for a five-acre recreational homesite? We don't intend to build on this, but we'd like to have it separate so that it won't be built on."

And we did. We flew out there. I think I've detailed that.

Lage: I don't remember this.

Wayburn: Didn't I tell about how we flew out in the super cub, and Peggy, sitting behind me in the cub, found that her hands were wet, and they came up bloody because the pilot had brought a moose in that morning? That's a great story!

Lage: No! [laughing] We had the story of the bailing wire tying the airplane together, but that's a different one.

Wayburn: That's a different story. I'll have to tell that. But at any rate, we have been back to this property about three times, and we have had offers to buy. We have helped stop a road from going

into Denali the back way to the Kantishna, by being property owners. But I've gotten off the subject; I was talking about our journey last year.

We then went down to Kenai Fjords National Park. We had at first a rather successful time, an interview with the superintendent, and started out in a small boat down for a campout in the wilderness, but a storm came up and we had to turn back. The people who did go down said that they were isolated for four days. We had to get back to keep our appointments in the city. We went to Homer instead, and saw what was happening down the Kenai Peninsula at this time.

Future Trip Plans

Wayburn: It's in that way, by visiting in some different place each year, that we are able to keep up with what's going on in Alaska, and by meeting with Alaska conservationists and meeting with different bureaucrats who have control over a good part of the Alaska lands. This year, our trip is going to be a little more compressed than usual. I should tell you about it when I come back, but we're going up on the 19th of June for meetings of the Alaska Task Force on the 20th and 21st, and then we're talking to the bureaucrats for two to three days.

Then, realizing a long-awaited desire of Peggy's to go out to the Pribilof Islands, to Saint Paul Island, and see the sea mammal populations and the sea bird populations there. Then we'll come back and follow through on Prince William Sound. We're going out on a small boat which sleeps four, and spend a week in Prince William Sound.

During the course of that, making arrangements with a producer who will do a video on parts of Prince William Sound that we identify for showing not just the late results of the oil spill, but also the concomitant greater damage which is being done by the logging of lands which were given to the native corporations in 1971 by the terms of the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. We hope to use this in Congress and in the administration to see that Exxon Valdez civil fund, which is a billion dollars, is used primarily for restitution and restoration of land. A number of the native corporations are now willing to sell back to the federal governments lands which they

were given, and are willing to sell or willing to listen to a proposal.

We are trying to get the Congress to enact legislation which will direct the federal trustees for the settlement to utilize this land for that purpose and not for general educational purposes or for development purposes, such as building roads, which Governor Hickel is inclined to favor at this time.

Lage: Well, we'll talk about that when you come back, and it will be interesting to get kind of a fresh reaction.

Wayburn: Right. Well, I can always come back as I think of more that we have done or are trying to do in Alaska.

[tape interruption]

II A CHANGING ROLE: INTERNATIONAL CONSERVATION, 1972-1992

Formation of the International Committee; Stockholm Conference on United Nations, 1972

Lage: We're going to have a change of gears here.

Wayburn: The Sierra Club was essentially a public lands organization up until the mid to late sixties. I certainly was occupied entirely with the acquisition and preservation of selected special lands, either for national or state parks, or for protected areas of the national forest. I did not have very much experience with the Bureau of Land Management. Those lands were not a part of my particular ken.

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Wayburn: From 1967 to '69, I was again president of the Sierra Club, and I was taking a broader view of topics, looking at not just my own projects, but of what the club should be getting into.

During that time, what Phil Berry called the survival issues began to surface. Before that time, we in the Sierra Club knew the need for giving particular protection by designating certain areas as parks, as wilderness or wildlife refuges, but there was not the pressure on land as a whole. We started thinking with an international interest in those years. The club formed an international committee, and hired an international representative in, I think, 1970 or '71.

Five of us went to Stockholm for the first Conference on the Human Environment.

Lage: That was '72?

Wayburn: In '72. Those people included Mike McCloskey; Nick Robinson, who was the father of the international committee; Pat Scharlin, the staffer; Sandy Tepfer; and one other person whose name I don't remember at the moment. I learned a great deal at Stockholm, and incidentally learned a lot about the way the United States was regarded by other nations.

Lage: That was a United Nations conference?

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: What did you learn about how the United States was regarded by other nations?

Wayburn: It was not regarded with the highest respect. We were desired because of the monetary considerations we could bring, and because of our scientific and technological skills, but not because of our ability in international relations.

Mike McCloskey and I had certain ideas we wanted to put into a resolution. We went to our own [United States] delegation, which was headed by Russell Train, the undersecretary of the Interior, who was an old friend, and to Lee Talbott, who was head of the scientific contingent. We were told that they'd like to help us but they couldn't, that we should go to one of the Third World nations.

We went to the Kenyans, and got Kenyan support. The Kenyans introduced our resolution and it passed with no trouble. And, incidentally, we (the Sierra Club) were supporters of locating the new United Nations environmental program in Nairobi rather than in Switzerland, where it would have been a part of UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Social, and Cultural Organization], which had been proposed by the Europeans.

Lage: Why did you suggest that?

Wayburn: We thought that it should be an independent agency, that UNESCO would not allow the environmental aspects to be strong enough.

Lage: It was a new group of agencies you were dealing with all of a sudden.

Wayburn: Yes. The international scene continues to be new and different. I can go into that a bit later.

Lage: By this time, did Pat Scharlin and others know the lay of the land?

Wayburn: Pat Scharlin was more experienced. She'd had international experience before. Nick Robinson had been dealing with international law and had been particularly concerned with the Russians. The rest of us were learning our way.

International Union for the Conservation of Nature

Wayburn: After Stockholm, I retained an international interest. Then it was several years before I became very active. I guess that my interest and contributions would come along multiple lines. One is in connection with the IUCN, International Union for the Conservation of Nature.

Lage: What kind of a group was that?

Wayburn: This is a group which is financed partly by nations themselves, partly by agencies from nations, partly up until recently by the World Wildlife Fund, and partly from its member organizations, such as the Sierra Club.

Lage: But not from the United Nations?

Wayburn: It is not United Nations, but related to it.

This was founded I think in the 1940s by the late Harold Coolidge, who pushed for it. It had a tenuous existence, as you might imagine, because of its compound funding. The nongovernmental organizations, NGOs, wanted it to be far more aggressive, wanted it to be more like the Sierra Club is, whereas the nations wanted it to adhere entirely to the government line. It has always had to walk that comparatively narrow line. It was a fairly small organization up until a few years ago.

I first started going to the meetings in 1984 at the general assembly in Madrid, and I've since gone to each triennial assembly. The next one was in early 1988 in San José, Costa Rica, and the last one was in Perth, Australia, in late 1990.

I combined my previous conservation experience into this by becoming a member of the Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas, which is one of six commissions which operate under the IUCN banner, and which gives one certain rights to do things as a member of the commission.

Lage: Can you tell us something about how these commissions operate, what types of people are on them, and so forth?

Wayburn: The IUCN claims to be largely a scientific organization. It also has to be a conservation organization, although even today, with as much power as it has, I think it doesn't take a strong enough conservation stance. It has come out very strongly for the idea of development, sustainable development, for the future. I'll talk more about that as we go along.

The commissions include two backbones of IUCN. One is the Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas; the second is the Commission on Survival of Species. That's very largely a scientific commission that has to be concerned with results of scientific study. There also is a Commission on Law, one on strategy, one on Ecology, and one on Education. Each of these commissions has its own cadre of members, and each has certain programs which they put forth.

The other part of the IUCN operation is its staff. It has its headquarters in Gland, Switzerland, and is headed by a director-general with a staff which is now, I think, somewhere around 100, maybe 150 people. It has a few outlying staff members. The staff supports a number of scientists doing different sorts of projects. The IUCN works all over the world, and it gets grants to do its projects. That's one reason its projects are sometimes skewed, because the grants focus its work.

Lage: I see, so the determination of what project they'll take on is sometimes based on what kind of grant they get.

Wayburn: That's correct.

Involvement in the World Wilderness Congresses

Wayburn: The other part of my international work has been done through the different wilderness congresses.

The World Wilderness Congresses were started in South Africa in 1977 by Ian Player, and the first one was more or less local to South Africa. The second was in Australia in 1980. The Sierra Club sent its then-president, Ted Snyder. Ted was very unhappy with what they did and suggested that the Sierra Club have nothing more to do with it, although the congress was very anxious to have the Sierra Club in it.

So I was asked to go to the third one that was in 1983 in Inverness and Findhorn, Scotland. I did. My directions were to either get the club out of the congress entirely or take it over.

I thought that the concept had a lot which was worthwhile, and became a member of the executive committee which planned the fourth congress in September 1987. This took place in Denver and Estes Park, Colorado.

Lage: So you helped change the direction of the group?

Wayburn: Yes. The backer of the congress was a private group called the International Wilderness Leadership Foundation, and I never became a part of that. I was one of the five people who put on the Colorado congress, which was highly successful. I am on the advisory board for the fifth World Wilderness Congress, which will take place in 1993 in Norway. It was at the fourth congress that Gro Brundtland, prime minister of Norway, made the first report of *Our Common Future* made by twenty-three nations of the United Nations. This was the first time that the nations of the world, through the United Nations, recognized that there was widespread environmental trouble throughout the planet and that something had to be done about it.

And the implementation of that is this coming conference in Rio, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, known by its acronym, UNCED.

International Wilderness Land Use Classification

Lage: When you say taking over the organization, or turning its direction, how did you do that? Did you find a lot of similar interests within the organization?

Wayburn: Yes. Well, the "taking over" was not my expression. That was the order I got from the board of directors of the Sierra Club. Meaning simply that if we were going to take part in these congresses any further, we should try to see that they had the same type of objectives that the Sierra Club did. For example, at the Third World Wilderness Congress conference in Scotland, I and a forester from South Africa proposed that wilderness be part of the land-use classification of the United Nations in the same way that it was in the United States and Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand.

Lage: So that's where that was first proposed, in Scotland?

Wayburn: At that conference.

Lage: I know that you're identified with that thrust. Did you work on that in several of the organizations?

Wayburn: Yes. That was the first time we pushed for it as a planetary recognition. The proposal went through the Wilderness Congress as a resolution, and without any trouble at all. The next year at Madrid, in the general assembly of the IUCN, I introduced it, and ran into a great deal of opposition. I can remember a Professor Marc Dourejani from Peru, who is now with the World Bank, getting up and making an impassioned speech, saying, "Wilderness--there's no such thing as wilderness. It's not even in the Spanish language." But we did get through a resolution, saying that the Commission on National Parks should study this proposal and make recommendations.

At the following general assembly in Costa Rica, the Commission on National Parks adopted wilderness as a category, and directed its chairman to come out with a new set of categories. And finally, at the third general assembly, in Perth, this was passed. Wilderness is now ranked along with special scientific areas in category one of the classification; national parks is category two; national monuments is category three; wildlife refuges, areas set aside for a particular purpose, category four; and historical and other worthwhile landscape areas is category five.

Cultural and Political Differences in International Conservation Issues

Lage: Were these cultural problems, the difficulty of getting wilderness declared, or were they differences in agreement on how the land should be used or not used?

Wayburn: Both. Cultural problems came up, as I have just outlined, with countries like Peru which have a good deal of wilderness, as we define wilderness, even though there are indigenous people who live in those areas. The fact was that there wasn't the language which enabled the transference of ideas from the English to the Spanish language.

Lage: How was that circumvented or dealt with?

Wayburn: Well, the same problem arose when national parks first came up.

Lage: Yes, I was thinking, that's really an American term.

Wayburn: That's an American term, but there are now national parks all over the world. You find national parks in Indonesia, you find national parks in Peru, you find national parks in Costa Rica. The word national parks has taken on a certain cachet, and has been adopted into most languages. And wilderness area, I think, will have the same type of shared meaning as the years go by.

Lage: So have the Spanish invented a new word for it, or do they describe it in some other way?

Wayburn: I don't know. They probably call it wilderness. Wilderness has taken on an entirely different connotation in America from what it used to be, or, in going back to Biblical times, when the children of Israel were supposed to go out into the wilderness, into a land flowing with milk and honey. And of course, that's--we won't go into that. [laughter] But when the Europeans first came to America, it was all wilderness.

Lage: Do the commissions that you've been on have both Third World countries and European countries?

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: How does everybody relate?

Wayburn: In the commissions, in the case of the Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas, it tries to have representatives from every country.

Lage: So they're quite large.

Wayburn: They're fairly large. I think our commission has between three and four hundred members. And yet, there is a certain small number of members who do most of the work. The organization tries to limit the number of members coming from any one country. And yet again, the United States has probably thirty or forty members. Canada has perhaps not quite as many, but quite a few.

The membership is determined by interest, by the accomplishments of people, by people that the chairman wants to have on it. The chairman of the commission is chosen at the general assembly, then confirmed by the council of the IUCN, which has twenty-one elected members and a few extras. Then the commission has a vice chair for each realm, as they're called, and the world is divided in to a dozen or so different realms. We in the United States are in the so-called neo-Arctic realm, which includes North America down to the Caribbean. There's a separate Caribbean-Central American realm, separate South

American realm, and African, Western European, and Eastern European-Asian.

Lage: Neo-Arctic. I somehow wouldn't picture--

Wayburn: That's right. It runs all the way from Mexico to the North Pole. The classification was done by a biogeographer, and I'm not sure how accurate a categorization it is. It includes Australia and New Zealand in one realm. I think New Zealand is with Australia, but there is a Pacific Oceanic realm, which includes all the islands in the Pacific.

Commission on National Parks

Wayburn: The third phase of my international work has been with the Commission on National Parks. I have made recommendations to them such as the wilderness classification recommendation, and I have attended some of their regional meetings, which are not part of the general assembly. For example, in 1987, I guess it was, or '88, we went to Florence, Italy, for a meeting of the European nations, a meeting which had comparatively few outsiders.

We took advantage of that to do exploration in northern Italy. We went to several national parks; also went briefly up into the Austrian Tyrol, and covered the Italian Tyrol, which is called the Dolomites. And then we went down to Rome to visit the Abruzzi National Park in the Apennines. There a friend of ours, Stefano Allevana, the forester in charge of some of the national parks of Italy, said he would show us grizzlies, and he did show us two grizzlies feeding.

Lage: In Italy?

Wayburn: In Italy. It was hard to believe, but there they were.

Lage: Are they native there?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. Grizzlies used to exist all over Europe, but they now have been exterminated from all except a few places. The Apennines is one, and parts of the Alps are another; Russia is another.

And then a year later, we went to Czechoslovakia to a regional meeting in the Krokonoše Mountains, Krokonoše meaning giant mountains of Czechoslovakia, on the border with Poland. We

got an idea what the air pollution problems were in Poland, and particularly Czechoslovakia.

Lage: Were they readily apparent?

Wayburn: All too readily apparent. The worst air pollution in the world probably takes place there, except for certain concentrations in places like Mexico City.

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Wayburn: Under the Communist regime, the Czechs were encouraged to build coal-fired power plants; all the coal that they had was brown lignite, which has a very high sulfur content, which contaminated the regions around to such an extent that children of Prague were sent away to the mountains for two weeks a year to get a rest from this. The people died early from the results of air pollution from cancer, emphysema. This was on both sides of the border.

The city of Prague, which was at one time possibly the most beautiful in the world, is still a beautiful city, but it's one covered with soot.

Lage: Are those things, the problems like pollution, addressed by the international congresses?

Wayburn: Yes, and at the meeting with the Park Commission, we addressed that to some extent. We didn't go into it deeply enough, because that would be the concern of a body with a more general interest than parks. But we saw the problems of the national parks, and made recommendations for certain changes.

Working Within International Organizations

Lage: Can you compare working on this level with the kind of work you've done just involving United States agencies? Is it slower going, or what does it require in terms of skills?

Wayburn: Yes, it's inevitably much slower going, and requires an entirely different set of skills. One comes in contact with people one hasn't met before, or has met just at previous seminars or conferences. I've probably had a much smaller role to play in these international conferences. I was trying to evaluate my role at the last Congress on National Parks, which occurs every ten years.

Lage: Was this the Caracas meeting?

Wayburn: This was Caracas. The first one I attended was at Yellowstone in 1972, the second one was in Bali in 1982, and then the one in Caracas was 1992. I was too busy practicing medicine to go to the first one in Seattle in 1962.

Lage: So these are the world parks congresses that have these meetings?

Wayburn: These are the world national parks congresses. Those were started by the United States National Park Service, but now the lead has been taken by the IUCN.

Lage: Okay. Well, that helps clarify it. It's all kind of a misty organizational setup for me.

Wayburn: In Bali, I perceived that NGOs [nongovernmental organizations] were not being given proper standing or recognition. I pushed for that, and got that recognition. Mike McCloskey and I worked together on that.

Lage: It sounds as if you and Mike have worked well together on these issues.

Wayburn: Yes. And in the IUCN and in the parks congresses, we work closely together. He did not work with me; Peggy and I went to the World Wilderness Congresses ourselves. We were the only representatives. But Mike and Maxine and Peggy and I have been to the various IUCN meetings together, the general assemblies, and to the world park congresses.

I would pick out at each of these meetings something which didn't seem to be given much attention, and which I thought was worthwhile, and concentrate on it.

Lage: What do you do? Do you write position papers, or do you talk to many delegates, or do you work with staff?

Wayburn: All.

Lage: Everything.

Wayburn: All of the above. In the case of getting wilderness into the United Nations category of land use, it took all of those. In the case of getting recognition for NGOs, it was a little paperwork but mostly doing face-to-face talking and discussions.

Lage: How do you face-to-face talk with somebody who doesn't speak English?

Wayburn: Most of these people speak English. Even Professor Dourejani, who condemned this, did it in English. [laughter] This is one advantage we people who don't speak enough languages have: people from other countries speak two, three, five, seven languages, and they like to use their English. So you can be lazy and just use English entirely.

Lage: Do you pick up much resentment of the U.S. still? You mentioned that when we started this discussion. How has that developed over the years?

Wayburn: There is still a great deal of resentment of the U.S. by Third World countries particularly. Not so much in the developed world any more, although that has also been true.

I was talking about what I thought my particular contribution was in these international congresses. In the World Wilderness Congress, by getting first recognition of wilderness as a land-use category and then becoming a member of the executive committee, which developed the program and had general charge. In the Commission on National Parks, active participation carrying on the wilderness motif, and making friends with people from other countries who had similar ideas for the protection of land, and who incidentally were very proud to give a representative of the United States an account of how their country was protecting land. They came from Italy, from Czechoslovakia, from Finland, from Scandinavian countries, and from France and England too.

[tape interruption]

IUCN List of Endangered Parks

Wayburn: At the 1982 Congress on National Parks in Bali, Mike McCloskey and I suggested that the U.N. compile a list of the world's most endangered parks, and the IUCN adopted the idea. The secretary of the Parks Commission, Jim Thorsell, was given this job, and did a very good job of it.

In Madrid in the 1984 general assembly of the IUCN, they reported on endangered parks, the top dozen of them. This caused a great reaction on the part of the Australian ambassador who did not want Australia, who felt that the designation denigrated his country. He particularly did not want having a national park which was to become a world heritage site, designated as being endangered (which might cause it to lose its status). I remember

an hour-long debate which took place on the floor between the head of the Australian Conservation Foundation and the Australian ambassador on this subject. And IUCN dropped the designation of this park on the assurance of the Australian government that they would take better care of it.

Lage: So politics comes into play.

Wayburn: Yes. But each year, the IUCN has identified more endangered parks, and sometimes taken other parks which were on the list, off the list. We felt, Mike and I, that not enough attention is being paid to this, and we offered to help the IUCN get publicity. But it turned out the IUCN did not want publicity, because of their multiple funding background, they didn't want to offend the nations which supplied them with funds. So they dragged their feet on it.

Finally, Mike and I tried to get grant funds for the Sierra Club to put on an annual event to publicize endangered national parks, but unfortunately were not able to get funds. And now, IUCN has promised to have more publicity, on these endangered parks.

Lage: Are any U.S. parks considered endangered?

Wayburn: Yes. I recommended that Everglades be put on the endangered list and had to repeat that recommendation for three years in a row before they finally put it on, because the U.S. Park Service didn't want it on.

Lage: It's a black mark.

Wayburn: That's right. The only park which is in the U.S. which was on the list was the John J. Pennycamp State Park in Florida, just a little ways off from the Everglades. They're both endangered for the same reasons as far as pollution goes, but Everglades is also endangered by the destruction of its water supply.

Lage: I hope we don't find Yosemite on there, endangered by people.

Wayburn: We may well, if the National Park Service doesn't control the transportation and housing situations better.

Another area which I've been concerned with was the Kesterson National Wildlife Refuge here in the San Joaquin Valley.

Lage: So it's not just national parks that are put on the list?

Wayburn: It's protected areas. Chiefly national parks, but they've had to include some other areas. I've been pointing out to them that Kesterson, which is a rather small wildlife refuge polluted by selenium flowing down to it, is not the only one. It's a widespread phenomenon throughout the San Joaquin Valley. That is just one which happens to have been studied more and which has drawn particular attention.

In 1982, the issue was NGO recognition. In 1983 at the Wilderness Congress, it was getting recognition for wilderness classification, which carried through 1984, 1988, and 1990. Here, in the fourth Congress on National Parks in Caracas, there has been a great deal done in satisfaction of those first two objectives. First, NGOs are widely recognized now. There are environmental NGOs in every country, small and large. NGOs took charge of the Perth IUCN general assembly. NGOs were in great evidence, small ones as well as large ones, at Caracas. There is no need to push either of these things now; wilderness is also widely recognized.

Population as a Factor in Park Endangerment

Wayburn: When I started to think about what was being given short shrift, it, obviously, was proper recognition of the population problem. There was no mention of it as such in the Caracas Declaration, as far as I could find out. The various recommendations and resolutions were coming after the conference, but there was no proper recognition of that.

I made an intervention, as it's called, in the proceedings and suggested that the parks congress recognize the fact that parks were endangered in part because of the pressure of too many people in the world, not just populations existing in the parks, which had been recognized, or pressure around them, but because of too many people in the world--which meant too many people using the resources of the parks, which meant that the values of the parks would be destroyed, and this overall fact should be recognized.

Lage: Can you tell me what making an intervention--is this sort of a sole action?

Wayburn: In this particular case, this took place in the discussion on the so-called Caracas Declaration. This was what the Caracas Congress on National Parks was going to give to Maurice Strong, the secretary-general of UNCED, for him to communicate to the

United Nations Congress on Environment and Development in Rio. The director-general was moderating the session. I got up and was recognized, and said that I belonged to the group of people who thought that there were too many people in the world already, that, with the present population trends, we were going to destroy all of the things that we had been working for around the world such as national parks because there were not enough resources for all the people who were projected at the present rise of population. I suggested that certain language be introduced into the Caracas Declaration to the effect that the world was already overpopulated, and all nations should be encouraged to stabilize their populations at a level as close to the present level as possible.

Well, this caused a little bit of an uproar.

Lage: What kind of response was it?

Wayburn: Well, when the director-general asked the audience in the theater to signify their support or lack of support for it, I got a lot of support while there was a small amount of applause for "no."

Lage: The supporters saying in the majority?

Wayburn: In great majority. And so he asked me to submit this in writing, which I did. Later, when I met him just before the end of the conference, he said, "I tried to get your intervention in to the Caracas Declaration." The way he said it, I wasn't sure that he had done it. But there has been nothing in writing coming out from the IUCN since, so I don't know what will happen on that. I'll have to follow up and ask.

The results of the deliberations of the congress are to be published in three ways: first, a short summary in the so-called "Caracas Declaration"; second, the recommendations (or resolutions) of the different subunits, later approved by the entire congress; and third, a larger book evaluating the significance of the congress.

Lage: So this was the first time when there was an official recognition of the broad problem of population? That's quite a contribution, I would think.

Wayburn: Well, what happens, I don't know.

Lage: Was that something that you and Mike had talked about?

Wayburn: No, this was on my own. Mike and I at this congress went our separate ways. There was so much to do. We attended together on

a specific discussion of national parks. He stayed in that, and I went on to further subjects.

The problem with these conferences now is they've gotten so large that you can't cover everything. The National Parks Congress was planned originally, I think, for a "select audience" of 400 invited guests, and it went up to 1200 invited guests. That had not, unfortunately, included many South American NGOs who were demanding to get in. My understanding was, at the end, that the registration was 1800.

Lage: My goodness.

Wayburn: Now, 1800 milling around in one hotel space is bad enough. It decided me that I definitely did not want to go to Rio de Janeiro, where they were projecting 20,000. I understand that there's likely to be more, likely 30,000, possibly 40,000 people in attendance. There will be so many in attendance that it will be generally divided, as Stockholm was, into a government organization and nongovernmental organizations where different things will be discussed at different times.

Incidentally, the Sierra Club will have eight or ten people there. We will have two official representatives, Bill Mankin, a volunteer, is attending, and I think Dan Becker is going to go for the staff on the energy side. In addition, there are several people who are going to go as volunteers on their own.

Working with Other Nongovernmental Organizations

Lage: How do the NGOs in other countries differ from, or how are they like, organizations here in the United States?

Wayburn: There are both likes and differences. In Europe in the developed countries, for example, they have come out more slowly than in the United States, and they have been funded in part by governments, so that they haven't been as aggressive in opposition to government. But they have gone along and influenced their governments. They are now assuming more of an independent stance. I think this is particularly true in the Scandinavian countries.

When we were in France, in Paris, eight years ago, we visited with the head of the French coalition, a man named Jean-Paul Raffin, who said he had 120 different small organizations in his group. They represented all different kinds

of scientific organizations. There was one group to protect butterflies, one to protect certain kinds of moss. They rarely proposed anything radical.

European organizations are more on the scientific side, or on the political side, as Green parties have advanced quite a bit in Europe. We were in Italy and an election was taking place, the Green party in one of the northern provinces polled some 12 percent of the vote. The Green party for a while held the balance of power in the Tasmanian parliament, I think with 5 percent of the vote. There's a Green party in Australia.

Lage: It's an interesting phenomenon, how that's grown up.

Wayburn: Yes. They qualified in Alaska, you know.

Lage: Really? I didn't. How about South American NGOs?

Wayburn: We have encountered several NGOs in South America. When we went to Peru, I don't know if I've told you about our Peruvian visit, but that's part of my international education.

In 1988, after Costa Rica, the McCloskeys and the Wayburns were invited by an NGO group called ECCO, that's an acronym for Asociación de Ecología y Conservación--or association for ecology and conservation. The principal directors were Carlos Aranda, Alfred Ferreyros, Jim Bartle, and Tony Luscombe. The last two being expatriate Americans. They invited us to come to Peru, and they showed us around, took us on a nine-day trip that ended in Lima. We went for three days to Huascarán National Park, which is the Andean national park. And then we came back to Lima. That was by automobile. Then we flew up to Machu Picchu, which is a cultural reserve. We stayed there for three days, saw what was happening there, and then flew back to Lima, and then again by auto went down to Paracas Marine Reserve, and saw the problems there in Paracas. We flew to the nearby Nazca Lines, which are great figures in the sand, which have been there since prehistoric times. That was the most interesting thing to see.

We made connections with ECCO members and have retained a certain relationship since.

Lage: Is that a scientifically based organization?

Wayburn: No, they claim to be similar to the Sierra Club. They do some scientific work, but mostly they are a conservation organization.

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Wayburn: They were founded principally by four people. One [Tony Luscombe] was an American who went down to Peru on a job and stayed, and has been there seventeen years. The second one was an American who has been down there ten years [Jim Bartle]. The first one is interested particularly in Paracas; the second one in Huascarán. And then there was a Peruvian travel agent [Alfred Ferreyros] who speaks excellent English who has worked with Mountain Travel a great deal; he puts on the Mountain Travel trips in Peru and I think other parts of South America. And finally, there is a Peruvian-born professor who is the president of their organization, Carlos Aranda.

They have about 200 members. They'd like to get more. We worked with them, and through them with a woman named Patty Moore, who is coordinating the work for a new Peruvian national park in the Abiseo River, one of the headwaters of the Amazon. While we were there, we met with representatives of a dozen different Peruvian organizations, some larger, some smaller. One of them sends me their quarterly publications, which are written in Spanish. We have a staffer on *Sierra Magazine* who can read Spanish, and he lets me know if there's anything about which I should know.

Lage: Does the Sierra Club help sponsor any of these groups, or any of the activities of them?

Wayburn: One of the roles of the Sierra Club on the international scene is to help like-minded NGOs. We have helped these Peruvian organizations. We've helped organizations in Costa Rica and in a variety of different countries. We do this through personal contact, such as Mike McCloskey and I have had with individual NGOs as we go about our business in different countries, and through a publication called *Earthcare Appeals*, in which we used our Earthcare trademark. Mike McCloskey is responsible for this. He did it for several issues, and now a young man named Stephen Mills, who is on the staff with the international program under Larry Williams, is doing it.

NGOs can write in and say, "We have in our country a dam proposed by the government, and it's being funded by the World Bank. We need help in stopping it, because it will flood so many million hectares of land, it will cause 100,000 people to lose their homes, it will stop the agriculture which is going on there."

Lage: And then is that appeal broadcast to Sierra Club members?

Wayburn: That goes out in turn to a certain number of Sierra Club members, and to other NGOs around the world, and to the World Bank, and is

the subject of particular appeals which will be made by Larry Williams for the Sierra Club, or in combination with other U.S. organizations.

Lage: So we may help by lobbying the World Bank.

Wayburn: Yes, we do.

Lage: But would we help by providing any funds to that organization?

Wayburn: No, we do not provide funds. We've made that clear. We help by helping these organizations carry out their programs.

Another time, I'll tell you about what we're doing on the international scene, how we have transferred our operations from working on the United Nations in New York to working on the U.S. Congress, the administration, and agencies in Washington.

Lage: To change U.S. policy that affects other countries?

Wayburn: To change U.S. policy, to change international policy. Because the U.S. has so much strength in these international agencies, and furnishes so much of the money.

Lage: I see. Now, was this decision on how to proceed something that the board worked out?

Wayburn: The board did this, yes. I was one of several people who felt that we weren't getting enough results by working on the United Nations, and that it was not in accord with the Sierra Club ethos or culture, that we decided we would do what we do best, and that is work on our own government, on our legislators, on our administrative agencies, and on the world support agencies and banks which are influenced by the United States.

I'd like to go on with that another time.

Lage: Yes. That's very interesting, I think. We'll make a stop here.

Moving the International Program from New York to Washington

[Interview 3: August 13, 1992]##

Lage: Last time we turned towards work with our own government on international issues.

Wayburn: Yes. I should differentiate between what I personally have been doing and how I have helped influence the club. My own work was divided into several parts. One was with the IUCN, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, now also known as the World Conservation Union. One was with the World Wilderness Congresses. One was with the National Park Congresses.

If we're going to go on from my own work to what the club has done, this dates back to when Nicholas Robinson first pushed for an international program for the Sierra Club, in about '69 or '70. I became quite interested in that. First as president and then as vice president of the club. I went to Stockholm for the first Congress on the Human Environment. Mike McCloskey and I were the two official people. There were others who went, such as Sandy Tepfer, and then there was our staff person for the new International Program, Patricia Scharlin.

At that time, the club did not have money for an international program, and we felt that if we were going to go ahead we would have to have to go on grants. I can remember Pat Scharlin speaking to me and saying, "I'm expecting you to get me money for my program," and me saying to her, "Pat, you're going to find the money." [laughter]

Lage: And did she?

Wayburn: And she did. It was largely through her efforts, and I think Nick Robinson too, that we financed the early part of our international program. Later, many other donors came aboard.

The program was centered at the United Nations in New York. Pat, first alone and then later with one assistant, was the bulk of that program. She would get money for international conferences, and she was the backbone of two or three of those. I remember the Talloires Conference in France; it was repeated a few years later.

Those of us who were overseeing the program could see that we were not getting very far. Conferences were good, but that was not what the Sierra Club did well. The United Nations program was not advancing enough, as far as the Sierra Club's relation to it was concerned. So some of us felt that we would have to move the program from New York to Washington, to concentrate on our own government, on the Congress and on the executive branch.

Lage: Do you remember when this kind of thinking began, or when it took hold?

Wayburn: Well, it began somewhere in the last half of the 1970s, and grew to full flower in the early eighties when we actually made the move. I would like to look up the date.

Lage: We can find that, when the office moved to--

Wayburn: Yes. It would be 1981 or '83, somewhere in there.

Lage: Now, did Pat Scharlin leave the program at that time?

Wayburn: Pat Scharlin left the club, because she was essentially a New Yorker, and she wanted to live in New York. She did not relish the idea of being a congressional lobbyist.

Lage: It wasn't her expertise, it seems.

Wayburn: It was not her expertise.

Lage: Was that a difficult decision, or one that there was a lot of controversy surrounding?

Wayburn: Oh, there was a fair amount of controversy; there always is some.

Lage: [laughs] I shouldn't even ask that question.

Wayburn: Yes. There were people who wanted to keep the program in New York and felt that our emphasis should be with the United Nations. The leading proponent of that was Nick Robinson. Nick has himself taken up the burden by working at the United Nations, and he does a very good job of it. But as professor of law at Pace University, he hasn't got much time for that. Nick has been on and off the international committee since we moved it.

Lobbying Congress and the Executive Branch on International Issues

Wayburn: The move to Washington was one of the best moves we could possibly have made, as far as the club's work in international affairs is concerned. The club has always had as its forte its ability to lobby the Congress and the executive branch. This has been expanded greatly as our grassroots have expanded, and as we've been able to get our grassroots members interested in international conservation. This works both ways.

At the time we moved the office to Washington, it came under the Conservation Department. Larry Williams was selected as our

first representative, now director, and he has been there ever since. From having two people in New York, we started with one, Larry Williams, in Washington. Since then, the office has expanded and there are now a total of four people in the international and population programs.

That office lobbies the U.S. Congress for more money for the environment in international affairs, and they've been quite successful. They also lobby the executive branch, the principal agencies concerned with the international program--the Treasury Department, which oversees USAID, the Food and Agriculture organization, and the World Bank, and the other international monetary organizations.

For several years we have been working on the multilateral monetary funds. Larry Williams particularly has been successful in getting an increasing amount of money diverted to environmental causes. In the past few years we've been working particularly on the World Bank. One of the results of our work, and that of other organizations doing the same thing, has been to make the World Bank much more environmentally minded. We don't think that the World Bank does the right job yet, but it does now have a fairly large environmental department, compared with what it had several years ago. And it is supposed to consider the environmental effects of every project it funds.

Lage: Was there some effort to, or did they succeed in making them pass an equivalent of the environmental impact statement?

Wayburn: That is another effort that we've worked on. We now are supposed to have an equivalent impact assessment for all U.S. international finance institutions before the U.S. votes in favor of any project of any consequence.

We, as I say, have worked on various congresspeople. I remember particularly our efforts with Nancy Pelosi, for example, our San Francisco congresswoman, who in 1989 introduced the bill into Congress which was enacted, which deals with doing an E.I.A.

Lage: Did she get involved because of a particular committee she's on, or because of her ties to the Bay Area?

Wayburn: I think because of her ties to the Bay Area and her increasing interest in conservation. She took a seat which had been occupied by conservation-minded representatives such as Sala Burton and particularly Phil Burton. The Sierra Club has had very close relations with Nancy.

Lage: Have you had close relations with her from the beginning?

Wayburn: She's been close to us from the beginning, and as she has gained more knowledge and more power in the Congress, she's been even more helpful. She is now on the [House] Appropriations Committee, and that is a powerful tool to use.

III ENVIRONMENTALISTS IN GOVERNMENT: SOME REFLECTIONS

Russell Train and William Reilly

Lage: You have worked closely with a number of Republican environmentalists. Would you comment on relationships with Russell Train, for instance?

Wayburn: Oh, as far as our personal relations is concerned, they have always been cordial, although only occasionally close. My first recollection of Russell Train was when he was, I think, in the Johnson administration, and he was on the outside, he being a Republican. He had a responsible position in the Eisenhower administration; he was a tax judge, and I think that's what he was during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

But during that time he was instrumental in founding the U.S. branch of the World Wildlife Fund, and perhaps he had something to do with the international World Wildlife Fund. He was the first president of World Wildlife U.S. He went on to become the chairman, and in the past few years has more or less retired from that.

Train was succeeded, as you know, by William K. Reilly, who left that job as the combined World Wildlife Fund U.S. and Conservation Foundation presidency to become EPA [Environmental Protection Agency] administrator.

Lage: Do you have much relationship with William Reilly?

Wayburn: Just a passing relationship, not close, because our relations have been so distant with the Bush administration.

Lage: But he seems to have a hard position himself in the Bush administration.

Wayburn: Yes. When he first came in, we were most encouraged. We feel still that Bill Reilly is a good conservationist, but he in turn doesn't stand up enough. We have felt that he should either press his case more and gain more influence in the Bush administration, or go out in a blaze of glory when he resigns. He has chosen to do neither. We feel he has been humiliated repeatedly.

I first came in close contact with Train in 1969, when the oil companies were trying to get the TransAlaska pipeline permit approved. They thought that they could get it through very fast. ARCO (Atlantic-Richfield Oil Company) had bought 800 miles of pipe from a Japanese firm while they could still get a very good price on it. They were prepared to go right ahead, but they had to consult with the Interior Department. When they did, Russ Train, who was then the undersecretary, said they could not do this because the Congress had just passed the new National Environmental Policy Act, and they would have to have a full public hearing.

This was held in Fairbanks. I went up to Fairbanks in 1969 and stayed ten days. Brock Evans, who was then northwest representative, joined me. The Sierra Club was the first organization to oppose the granting of a permit to the oil companies for the Alyeska TransAlaska pipeline.

We testified before Russell Train. I remember saying that we didn't think the oil companies knew what they were doing. We were opposed to any granting of the pipeline, and thought that there should be extensive studies done before there was any consideration. At that time, we just said no.

We were joined by a couple of other organizations, but most of the conservationists who testified were very iffy. They testified that under good conditions, the pipeline could be built. And of course, the industry had many people, including scientists from the University of Alaska, testifying that it should be built.

I've always felt that the oil companies should contribute to the Sierra Club, because five years later, when the pipeline was approved by the United States Congress, it was completely different from the first plans that were laid out to us. They originally stated that only forty miles of the pipeline needed to be above ground. Five years later, they had 400 miles above ground. Now I have heard that they wish that they had put the whole thing above ground, because as we had predicted, the gravel in which the pipeline was laid turned to mud as the permafrost was melted by the hot pipeline.

- Lage: Did you have any discussion with Luna Leopold? I've been interviewing him, and he had quite a story about this environmental review of the pipeline.
- Wayburn: Well, he was in on the environmental review. I was just in on the beginning and end of it.
- Lage: He said that Russell Train, I think it was, asked him to review it, and somebody appeared with a stack about three feet high of papers for him to look at, and gave him twenty minutes. He looked at the first few top papers, and said, "This is a terrible mistake." And that was it.
- Wayburn: Yes. Well, I always felt that Train was a very good environmentalist. He initiated a number of good things, including World Wildlife Fund. He was not willing to go as far out as the Sierra Club was, but he appreciated us.
- Lage: Did he take stronger stands in the Republican administration than Reilly has taken?
- Wayburn: He was more successful in his time than Reilly has been in his time. Of course, the conflicts are more acute now. But when Train was in successive positions of responsibility, first as the first chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, which was set up by the Environmental Policy Act, second as undersecretary of the Interior, and third as the administrator of the EPA, he made a number of decisions which prevented environmental degradation.

Evaluating Presidential Administrations: Nixon, Ford, Reagan, and Bush

- Wayburn: The Republican administrations of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford, who followed him, were much more environmentally minded than those of Ronald Reagan and George Bush. In my opinion Nixon would have been classed as a great president if he hadn't been a crook. Under Nixon, we accomplished more good environmental legislation than perhaps under any president immediately before or after.
- Lage: Was it partly the times, do you think?
- Wayburn: It was partly the times. It was partly the Congress. It was partly the fact that Nixon was willing for it to happen. And it was partly the people he chose. Train, for example, and then

Rogers Morton, after Walter Hickel, as secretary of the Interior. I don't know if I've ever told the story about Hickel's confirmation and his instant conversion to an environmentalist.

Lage: He's not much of one now.

Wayburn: --I never believed. And he reverted to type just afterwards. Rogers Morton was secretary of the Interior for four years, and Nathaniel Reed was assistant secretary.

Lage: A lot of good people.

Wayburn: I felt that under those very people, I personally was able to accomplish more than I had before. And of course, that was with the aid of a very protective Democrat, Philip Burton. But the times were good, and we got a long ways.

It was during that time that we stopped the oil pipeline, that we had the legislation for the Golden Gate National Recreation Area enacted and we expanded Point Reyes National Seashore. It was at the end of Johnson's and the beginning of Nixon's term that we had the first Redwood [National Park] Act. And certainly the development of the expansion of Redwood National Park which finally came in 1978, during Carter's presidency. And the development of the Alaska legislation.

Scoop Jackson and the National Environmental Policy Act, 1969

Wayburn: There were also other national parks established, and other environmental legislation. The most remarkable of which was the National Environmental Policy Act itself, which was passed almost unnoticed.

Lage: Right. I think that's a wonderful story. I've tried to explore it with various people, how much it was a considered thing and how much nobody understood the future impact of it.

Wayburn: I remember during the next few years when Scoop [Henry M.] Jackson [Democratic senator from Washington], who was the father of that, was condemned by other conservationists. I always stood up for Scoop Jackson, and remained friends with him. I was one of the few if not the only conservationist able to go in whenever I wanted to meet with him, and he welcomed me. His accomplishments were many.

Lage: But did he realize what he was doing when he put that act in, do you think?

Wayburn: I think one has to give him credit for that. I know that question is raised with various legislators, "Did they really know what was happening? Was it the work of their staff?" I have one such instance going on right now, where Senator [Dale] Bumpers, an otherwise good environmentalist, has introduced a bill for Glacier Bay National Park which is we think very bad. Jack Hession, Alaska conservation director, who is the one on top of that, tells me that he doesn't think Bumpers knows what's in that bill, that it's the product of his staff.

That may well be true, but such a seminal act as NEPA I think had to be thought of---. No matter who in his staff had the general idea, or who was behind it from the outside, Jackson had to know what he was doing. It was during this same time that he held up the administration's possible actions on the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, which was to be passed in 1980. This was during the early 1970s. The administration, for one reason or another, would do the will of the oil companies. We would go to Jackson, and he would, as chairman of the Interior Committee, write to the secretary of the Interior, who was Morton--

Lage: So you're working both sides here.

Wayburn: And it would be stopped.

Losing Jackson as an Environmental Ally

Lage: And then what stopped him later? What was the turnaround? Did you get a sense of that?

Wayburn: I have a sense of that, yes. I've always said that I never knew just what happened to Jackson. But Jackson before statehood was essentially the senator for Alaska. Jackson was lobbied a great deal by Alaskans who wanted statehood, and he was the sponsor of the statehood bill in 1958. It was passed under the Eisenhower administration in 1959.

Jackson had economic pressures on him. The state of Washington and the new state of Alaska, and before that, the territory, had very close commercial connections. Washington state profited from the output of Alaska, particularly in the fisheries and in furs, and later in oil, although not much in

logging. So that there was this conflict as far as Jackson was concerned.

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Wayburn: Jackson had very definitely been our man. He had been a great help throughout the early 1970s and mid 1970s on the Alaska lands proposals. When I would go in to see him, he would always express agreement with me. If the administration proposed something that we thought was detrimental to the eventual passage of an act, we would write a letter for Jackson, he would rewrite it and send it on just as we had proposed to the secretary, and the secretary would desist from what he was doing, because the chairman of the Interior Committee had asked for it. The relations were good.

I think I've said that in 1973 and 1975, the administration put in bills for the Alaska National Interest Lands Act, and Jackson introduced those bills by request. The Sierra Club also put in bills which were much stronger (and which paralleled what we eventually got) and Jackson introduced those for the Sierra Club by request. He never took action on any; it wasn't the time. He did that in 1973, and nothing happened in that Congress. He did that in 1975, and nothing happened in that Congress.

In 1971 the Congress gave itself just seven years to act on Section 17d2 (the establishment of reserves in lands of national significance) of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. In 1977 the Congress began work. [Morris] Udall was the lead sponsor of the bills in the House. He introduced HR 39, and HR 39 eventually went through the House and was a good bill. Jackson hadn't moved in the Senate, and when he finally did move, he held a large series of hearings. But it was apparent at that time that he was not sponsoring anything, he was being the passive director.

Lage: So he wasn't enthused about those bills he'd introduced, it seems.

Wayburn: That's correct--he no longer had any part of them. The earlier bills were no longer extant. He also had a relationship with Senator [Ted] Stevens of Alaska. Although Stevens was not on the Interior Committee, later the Energy Committee, Jackson allowed him in. Stevens introduced a great deal of what we were unhappy with. Conservationists were very unhappy with Jackson through this period.

Lage: But you continued to be able to speak with him?

- Wayburn: I continued to be able to talk with him even though we were disagreeing 100 percent.
- Lage: What kinds of arguments would he give in defense to you?
- Wayburn: Well, I would give the arguments, and then he would more or less put his arm around me and say, "Ed, you know I'll do the right thing."
- Lage: Not too much back and forth.
- Wayburn: No. Because up until the final bill came out, he had not committed himself, he was able to do that. And as an able politician wanting to keep my goodwill, he would listen to me, appear to be in agreement or partial agreement, and say he would do the right thing. He had often done the right thing before. It wasn't until the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources had come out with such a very bad bill that we had to come into direct conflict.
- Lage: You know, I've led us off into a new direction when I asked about Russell Train. Maybe we should move back.
- Wayburn: Yes, you did.
- Lage: I'm sorry, but I think that was a very interesting review.
- Wayburn: What that did was to show that politicians on both sides of the aisle are not perfect and not entirely imperfect. But the environment should not be, and often isn't, a partisan issue. It wasn't until Reagan came in that it did become a partisan issue.

Sierra Club Endorsement for Presidential Ticket in 1992

- Wayburn: As you will learn shortly through public channels, the Sierra Club for the second time in its existence will be endorsing a presidential ticket, and it won't be Bush. It's anybody but Bush. But Clinton's selection of Senator [Albert] Gore as his vice presidential running mate has, to me, been the most encouraging sign that I have seen from a presidential candidate in a long time, because Gore is one of the foremost environmentalists in the Congress, and has sponsored good legislation and voted against bad legislation.
- Lage: Over a long period of time?

Wayburn: Over a long period of time, ever since he first went into the House, what, seventeen years ago. And add to that, he has written recently a book called *Earth in the Balance*, in which he goes farther out on a limb than any politician I have known. He led the congressional delegation to Rio and said and did all the right things. He condemned properly President Bush's inaction, perfidy, complete failure to recognize what is happening in the world today. As far as his relations with the Sierra Club are concerned, they've always been good. He had promised to address a Sierra Club meeting at the time of the Democratic National Convention. And although he had been since nominated vice president, he kept his appointment and spoke to the club.

Lage: Was this a meeting of the board?

Wayburn: No, this was a meeting of our people in New York, probably the New York chapter.

Lage: Would the club have been as enthused about Clinton, or would they have endorsed him, if he had picked someone else for vice president?

Wayburn: That's hard to say.

Lage: He himself doesn't have a very strong record, it seems.

Wayburn: He himself does not have a strong enough record. He, as far as I can gather from our Arkansas Chapter people, he has done some good things. He's been an advocate of state parks, establishment and protection. He has done some things in a state which ranks very low in the environment, and one which coincidentally is a very poor state.

It's hard to say at this point whether or not the club would have endorsed Clinton with a completely different kind of a running mate. But if he had chosen a Dan Quayle type of running mate, I don't know that we would have had quite as much enthusiasm. At the time of the board's deliberation, and the board deliberated long and hard on this, there was a good deal of discussion that his record was not as good. On the other hand, he had asked for a Sierra Club staffer to come into his campaign and advise him. That is Bob Hattoy. Clinton has also asked Brett Hulsey to help in his campaign.

Lage: And he's the Sierra Club Midwest representative?

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: Does he have advisors from other environmental groups also?

Wayburn: Not that I know of. And remember that the Sierra Club is the only large national conservation group which has the privilege of endorsing a candidate.

Change in Tax Status and its Effect on the Club

Wayburn: This is one of the benefits we achieved when the IRS took away our status as a 501(C)3 organization. We're now classed as a C4 organization [so donations to the Sierra Club are not tax deductible].

That's made a tremendous different in what the club is willing and able to do. In 1966, when we were accused of influencing legislation substantially, because substantially is the key word, I said we did not put a substantial amount of our resources into lobbying. We influenced legislation, we put a significant amount in, and we influenced legislation significantly. But my estimate was that not more than 5 percent (which is not substantial) of our total funds went into lobbying.

Now, twenty-five years later, I couldn't make that statement at all. I wouldn't try to. We put, oh, 70 percent or more of our resources into influencing legislation.

Lage: That IRS decision that we fought so hard has really shaped the future of the club.

Wayburn: That's correct. Our status was in limbo for two years, 1966 to 1968. We hired the best lawyer we could find for the job--.

Lage: Gary Torre.

Wayburn: Gary Torre. And in 1968, when the IRS confirmed its 1966 decision, Gary Torre came to us and said, "I can defeat this. I know I can win. But it will cost \$100,000 to do it. Do you want to spend that \$100,000 in legal action, or do you want to spend it in conservation action?" We said, "We'll spend it in conservation." So we made the decision at the end not to combat the IRS decision because we realized that we could accomplish so much more.

I think that's turned out to be a wise decision. We have been able to get into a number of areas that we could not have were we not influencing conservation legislators substantially. And donors have been able to get tax deductibility for

charitable, nonlegislative projects by donating to the Sierra Club Foundation. [tape interruption]

Staff and Volunteers; More on the Alaska Task Force

- Lage: I think it's interesting how staff and volunteers work together. How has Vicky [Hoover] functioned? How long has she been assisting you?
- Wayburn: As I've said before, I've had an assistant off and on almost since the beginning of the Alaska campaign in 1969, 1970.
- Lage: But she's been with you a long time.
- Wayburn: Vicky has been with me now for at least seven years, as a half-time assistant. She gets paid through the Alaska Task Force.
- Lage: Oh, so she focuses on Alaska.
- Wayburn: She focuses on Alaska, but she helps with all phases of my work. She's funded by the Alaska Task Force because we are able to get grant funds, and the money doesn't come out of the club's core budget. The Alaska Task Force has a budget which at its greatest was \$9,000, and I think is now down to \$6,000. But we spend a good deal more, because we're able to get donors who give grant funds.
- Lage: You haven't gotten any funds from those oil companies that you said should help you out, have you?
- Wayburn: No. Not since Atlantic-Richfield gave us \$100,000 back in the very early seventies for a study on caribou, as to whether caribou would be badly influenced by the oil pipeline. It was my opinion that the caribou would be adversely affected, and that's the reason I accepted the money. It was Robert O. Anderson's opinion that they wouldn't. He is the chairman of Atlantic-Richfield. That's the reason that their foundation granted the money.
- Lage: And did the Sierra Club go to an outside person to conduct the study?
- Wayburn: The Sierra Club directors, when they found out about it, were somewhat irate, and it ended up with us not using the money directly, but instead granting it to the University of Alaska

Wildlife Department, which turned out a number of papers. They gave credit to this fund of the Sierra Club.

But back to Vicky. Vicky does an excellent job. She is the editor of *Alaska Reports*, which we've had in existence ever since we first started with ANILCA. I have paid less and less attention to that, because I feel it's in excellent hands. I still go over the general format and look at the final before it's done, but that's Vicky's job and she likes it and she does it. She's a good writer. She does a half-time job for me, but she does a full-time job as a volunteer.

Lage: That's so true of a lot of staff, I think.

Wayburn: Yes. But particularly I think of Vicky. She has been or is the chair of the wilderness committee in San Francisco Bay Chapter, she was the secretary of the executive committee of the Bay Chapter. I don't know if she still is. She is the northern California coordinator for the California Wilderness and Park bill, the Cranston bill, S 21. She does a great deal of work on that. She organizes phone banks, which are of volunteers, and she's an outing leader.

Lage: Oh, goodness.

Wayburn: She has led outings in both the United States and New Zealand.

Lage: In Alaska, perhaps?

Wayburn: I think she was a co-leader of one Alaska trip. Vicky does at least one and one-half jobs. Sometimes I find that some of my work hasn't been done, but she's always done something else which she considered more important at the time. [laughter] She's a terrific person.

Lage: That's good. It's nice to get a little pat on the back for the staff now and then.

Wayburn: Oh, I think we have a very good conservation staff. I don't know any of them who will do the volunteer work Vicky does. And having a half-time job, it enables her to do a full-time job otherwise.

Lage: On the side!

Wayburn: A number of others help greatly.

IV A CHANGE IN PERSPECTIVE: FROM PROTECTION OF THE SCENIC TO PROTECTION OF THE EARTH

Working to Establish Protected Areas in Increasingly Urban Bay Area

Lage: We referred many times off the tape to sort of a general change in perspective that you've had over the years, a broadening of concerns. Would this be a good time to put that on the tape?

Wayburn: We can certainly start it.

Other people consider themselves conservationists because they like the out-of-doors. I have loved the outdoors, loved nature, since I was eight years old, having gone to boys' camps, from being the youngest camper to assistant camp leader, and then camp doctor in the tenth year.

Lage: Where were the boys' camps, without getting us too diverted?

Wayburn: The first three years were in North Carolina, and then three years in one area in Georgia, then one year in Maine, and one year as canoeing counselor in Wisconsin, then back to Georgia as an assistant camp director. And then in New Hampshire a few years later as camp doctor after my second year in medical school.

But it was not until I came to California that I realized the full potential of conservation. In Georgia, I remember in my boyhood driving through the red clay hills, which were dust in the dry season and mud in the wet season, and wondering about what was wrong there. I learned afterwards that it was because of one crop cotton. I saw cotton fields everywhere in Georgia. The pine forests had been destroyed. I don't know whether they were destroyed for money or not, or just to get rid of them so that cotton could be planted.

At any rate, cotton ruined the soil of Georgia. Years later, when I came back, I was encouraged by one great thing I thought the Forest Service did, they bought up these abandoned lands and let pine trees grow back on them. The red clay hills were in much better shape.

But it was after I came to California, and I mentioned in my history previously being so impressed with the scenery here, the apex of which was my first view of Yosemite Valley in 1927.

Lage: Twenty-seven; we're going to correct that in the original oral history.

Wayburn: And then after being away for four years during World War II, seeing the changes that were more apparent to me than before. And, coincidentally, being the doctor on a 1946 high trip, where I learned how the Sierra meadows had been desecrated by the sheep--hooved locusts--as John Muir described.

Lage: So even from your early experiences in the Sierra, was your attention drawn to destruction or potential destruction?

Wayburn: To a slight extent.

Lage: Do you think more than other people?

Wayburn: I wasn't aware enough. I didn't have knowledge enough to be strongly impressed by that. I thought that's the way it was. And it was just so much superior to what I'd been used to in the East, that I didn't appreciate how much degradation there had been.

But as soon as I came back, I did. I had a great lesson in conservation in 1946, and in 1947 first went on the executive committee of the Bay Chapter. But that isn't answering the question you asked.

Lage: Well, we wanted to get a sense of how your perspective has broadened from more of a scenic--

Wayburn: Right, thank you. At that time, my focus was on special places which needed protection. We had a saying in the Sierra Club that the United States is so rich a country that it can afford to set aside certain places of great natural beauty; it's not so poor that it has to utilize those. I concentrated on those, at first in two areas: one area was here around the Bay Area, where I quickly recognized there had been a great change with rapidly expanding population, that servicemen came to San Francisco either to be stationed or to be shipped out from the port, and

they wanted to come back. And I saw what was happening in development just south of San Francisco, in Stonestown and the related areas just south of there. I watched the artichoke fields rapidly being converted into homes and--

Lage: There were artichoke farms that close in here?

Wayburn: Oh, yes, artichoke farms immediately south of San Francisco.

Lage: Now you just think of Monterey area almost.

Wayburn: And also, there was all sorts of farming, grazing, going on there. People raised horses in between Pacifica and San Francisco.

Lage: And then fruit trees in Santa Clara.

Wayburn: The Santa Clara Valley was one of the most beautiful areas I had ever seen. I had an uncle who had a tuberculosis sanitarium from about 1912 or '15 to 1939, and I used to go down there on weekends, driving through these fruit fields, apricots, plums, prunes. They were gorgeous, particularly when they were in blossom. Now they're all gone.

But particularly after I had moved to 30 Seaview Terrace and had that magnificent view. I don't know if you were ever in that house--

Lage: I wasn't, but I know the area.

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Wayburn: The view stretched from the outer Bay and across the Golden Gate Bridge, and all the way east to Richmond, and included in it were Alcatraz and Angel Island, and the hills of Marin. And I had noted--I'd noted before, but have particularly noted after we moved there--that east Marin was full of housing development. Even Belvedere, which I had visited on my first visits to San Francisco, and Tiburon, which had been sparsely occupied, were becoming very heavily developed. But west Marin was unoccupied. We began to explore west Marin more and more.

[tape interruption]

So I started with the protection of areas in west Marin, at first with Mount Tamalpais, then going on to Point Reyes, and then consolidating the whole area in between, until we had well over 150,000 acres under protection.

Working for Protection of the Sierra Nevada

Wayburn: And then in the Sierra, where I went every summer during the first years with the Sierra Club to see what was happening, and as a member of the conservation committee, being aware of areas that I hadn't been in, and learning about these areas, which were either under the protection of the National Park Service or the U.S. Forest Service. But also being aware that those two agencies could do or undo the amount of protection they gave.

This came to a head particularly with the Forest Service, and I became interested in seeing that we got a wilderness bill and a wilderness act passed, which was done in 1964. I worked on individual wilderness areas, having the Congress change the status of general use areas to wilderness, or taking the primitive areas of the Forest Service and seeing that those were made wilderness.

I had a great deal of experience with establishment--I always condemned the use of the word "creation," because only God creates. But we saw to it that the Congress established wilderness, designated by the highest law of the land, so that the chief of an agency couldn't undo what a previous chief had done.

Then came the experience of learning about protected areas which needed protection in other parts of the Western United States, and then going up to Alaska and seeing this vast opportunity, which eventually led to the passage of the National Interest Lands Conservation Act for Alaska.

Becoming Aware of the Effects of Chemicals; *Silent Spring*

Wayburn: During that time, I became aware--I hadn't been before--of the necessity of getting into other aspects of the environment, besides setting aside special places. It was during that time that we had great expansion of population. It was during that time that we learned that the use of chemicals could be very harmful. It was during that time that we learned that we were losing topsoil even while our agriculture crops were expanding.

And so I became interested in pollution of air and water, including groundwater, and the ill effects that industry could have, what in medicine we call side effects. Most chemicals which we used in medicine, a great many have been and are, are

tested very thoroughly, first in the laboratory and then on laboratory animals before they're ever used in man. Then when people are used, on selected populations before they're ever given widespread usage.

But with agricultural chemicals, we would just start up and use the chemicals wholesale. We have very bad results. Things which were first exposed in 1962 by Rachel Carson in *Silent Spring*.¹

Lage: Was this just a gradual accumulation of information that you were receiving, or was there a particular something you could point to?

Wayburn: Both. There was this gradual accumulation, and then there were certain events which made me particularly aware. I mentioned Rachel Carson's 1962 publication [*Silent Spring*]. I had not read it when we decided that at the 1963 Wilderness Conference, we would invite Rachel Carson to speak. By this time, she was terminally ill with cancer. Then we invited her editor, Paul Brooks, to speak instead. Paul Brooks came. The night before he came, Peggy and I--Peggy was the secretary and I was the chairman of that conference--got a letter from Tom Jukes, long-time, very good Sierra Club member, old friend of ours, who had been one of the prime developers of vitamin B1, who was now working for American Cyanamide Corporation.

He wrote what a terrible woman Rachel Carson was, spreading all those lies, and what an awful man Paul Brooks was, because he was responsible for the book coming out. He tried to get us to turn back Paul Brooks, instead of which we "welcomed him unto our bosom."

Lage: Why did Tom Jukes' letter have that effect on you, since he was an old friend and all? Was it the extremeness of his position?

Wayburn: It was the extreme position. Here he was, supposedly a good conservationist, and by his lights and by way of protection of special places, he was. But when it came to something entirely different, the poisoning of the environment, of humans, by chemicals, he was a chemist and he worked for a chemical firm, and he didn't know.

Lage: He didn't consider side effects, apparently?

¹Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (New York: Fawcett Crest, 1962).

Wayburn: He did not consider side effects, certainly in agricultural chemicals.

Role of Wilderness Conferences in Broadening Perspectives:
Chemicals, Pollution, Population

Lage: When I talked to Peggy about the Wilderness Conferences, it seems that they really had quite a role in broadening the club's outlook.

Wayburn: The Wilderness Conferences were the way the club could go beyond what it went in its ordinary business, beyond what the board of directors' deliberations would do, beyond what our then very small staff could do. I don't know if you remember Dave Brower at first was hired on five-sevenths pay, and he was our only employee then. A little later he was allowed to have an assistant, so he and Bob Golden were the only two conservation employees. This was through the time of this Wilderness Conference. I don't think Dave had any concept of what was happening in the way of poisoning from chemicals either. I don't remember him remarking on it before that.

But the Wilderness Conferences allowed us to explore the wider area of the environment, as well as the smaller area of the conservation of land.

Lage: It seems like they educated club leadership as well as spreading the gospel.

Wayburn: Oh, they did. And we brought people from all over. That was where not only we first learned about the dangers of agricultural chemicals, but of air pollution, and of the population problem. We did not understand the population problem in the forties and fifties. I always remember, I think I have it recorded before, when we invited Lincoln Day, professor of demography at Harvard. He and I had a press conference when I was president of the Sierra Club. He was the advocate of population control, and we were exploiting this at a Wilderness Conference. Reporters asked him about his children, and he said, "My wife and I have two children, a boy and a girl, and that's all we'll ever have."

One of the reporters, who was an old friend, turned to me and said, with a certain amount of malice, "Dr. Wayburn, how many children do you have?" I said, "Peggy and I have four, but we come from an earlier generation." Four was considered optimal in the forties and early fifties. We didn't know that the

population of the world was doubling between 1950 and 1990. But that's how our early interest in population began to come out.

In one Wilderness Conference before that, Professor Raymond Cowles of Cornell had presented a population program, and I asked how would we control population growth. He had a couple of ideas which were, I think, cockeyed, as far as the practicality was concerned. That was 1959 when we first brought up the matter of population. So the Wilderness Conferences were a way of broadening our outlook.

Well, as the sixties wore on, I saw that I had to become much more interested in other things besides the setting aside of large areas at home, or of a particular type of vegetation, the redwoods, or even the last great wilderness for national parks, national wildlife refuges, and wilderness areas in Alaska. I became interested in the international program, as I've mentioned, and have been more and more interested in it. I joined the international committee and I've been on it ever since.

I realized that we were getting more and more people where I lived, and that there were more and more automobiles, and that there was more and more congestion and traffic in areas where you used not to see anyone. But I didn't start to put this together in my own mind until I guess in the early eighties, and increasingly ever since. Since then, I have been on a timetable--not always openly--to try to convince the directors of the Sierra Club that the future of conservation as we once knew it, and the future of world population, United States population, future liveability of the world, depended upon our broadening our viewpoint. That they should become interested in what went on in Bangladesh and Somalia and Peru and Malaysia, as well as what went on in San Francisco or New York. And that environmentalism meant that we had to be concerned with the air and the water that affected the Watts district of Los Angeles as well as the area of San Francisco--where for many years we could thumb our noses at Los Angeles, because we didn't have any smog!

Lage: Not so any more!

Wayburn: Now we do have, because we have so much population, and particularly so many cars, as well as so many point sources of pollution in the chemical plants. That's a very brief description of how my outlook has grown and widened.

The Sierra Club's Position on Population Growth

Lage: On the population issue, it seems as if there was a considerable interest in the club in the late sixties, early seventies, and then it sort of died down. Maybe I don't have the full information.

Wayburn: Well, that's quite true.

Lage: Did it become more controversial then?

[tape interruption]

Wayburn: You're quite right. We were considering population in general, and I have here a list of the policies adopted by the board of directors in the sixties. I won't read them here, but in 1965, '66, '69, we were developing good population policies. I think in 1969 we urged the United States and all the states to abandon policies, projects, or programs, including tax exemptions, designed to foster, subsidize, or promote population growth, and to actively promote educational processes aimed at stabilizing the population at the earliest possible time. And that the United States condition the granting of all economic foreign aid on the implementation of birth control programs. We also urged that each state legalize abortions.¹

Lage: Do you recall if that was a controversial policy at the time?

Wayburn: I don't recall it as a controversial policy, so it probably wasn't. It would take a look at the minutes to see if there was much con as well as pro. We always tried to have both sides of an issue presented.

Lage: I can check on that. I do recall some discussion about elitism and population control.

Wayburn: Yes, that's right, and that is going on right now.

And in 1970, we endorsed a resolution from ZPG [Zero Population Growth] concerning measures to inhibit population growth. This paralleled the earlier statement of policy.

Lage: So a lot of basic issues were addressed.

¹Papers relating to population policies can be found in the Edgar Wayburn papers and in the Sierra Club Records in The Bancroft Library.

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: And we had a staff-run population program. Is that right?

Wayburn: That's right. The club published *The Population Bomb* by Paul Ehrlich in 1969.¹ So it had not become as controversial a problem as it did later. Judy Kunofsky, who was our first staffer on population, supported by grant funds, did a very able job. She was with us for eight to ten years, and finally gave up because we hadn't moved on population policy.

Lage: She felt that the club wasn't committing enough resources to it, or wasn't passing the policy?

Wayburn: Not committing enough resources, not doing anything beyond passing the policies.

Lage: I see, no lobbying efforts and--.

Wayburn: That's right. She did testify before Congress and special commissions on population in the late 1970s and in 1980. But then it was a subject which, because it was controversial I guess, and because we had other things to do--.

But at any rate, through the early 1980s, we did not do anything. I began to feel this more and more keenly as something we had to do, and that's why I finally in 1989, I wrote this letter which was at first confidential to the board--with blind copies as you can see going to principal staff--to the effect that we had to get into the population problem, and that we had the chance to get more funds if we were more aggressive.² At that time, we had just one half-time person in San Francisco, and he didn't get very far. He was a good man, but he didn't have the personality that pushed too hard, and the people above him were not encouraging him. They had him working pollution, I think, for part of his work.

I proposed moving the program to Washington, and that we assume leadership.

Lage: Was there a result, a vote or anything resulting on this letter?

¹Paul R. Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1969).

²See Appendix B for February 10, 1989, memo to the Sierra Club Board of Directors on population control.

Wayburn: Well, that letter was written in February of 1989. The next meeting was in March, and I proposed that we discuss population at greater length during the next several months, and schedule the subject as a full-fledged item for discussion at the board retreat next summer with a resultant plan for action, and asked if some of us could get together at the March meeting.

Well, by that time, everyone was in agreement. So the board decided at that March meeting that we would carry out what essentially this proposal was.

Lage: So this was well timed.

Wayburn: It was timed just right. Timing is an important thing in getting things done in the Sierra Club. At times, you can do it, and at times, you can't. I've taken advantage of windows of opportunity many a time in conservation work, took advantage of windows of opportunity at Mount Tamalpais and Point Reyes and Golden Gate, and took the only and last window of opportunity in the redwoods, and made one in Alaska. This was entering a very controversial field, but I felt that the time was right to do it.

Lage: Was there some clue you had about timing?

Wayburn: I'd seen more and more interest, and more and more pressure from certain individuals on the outside that the Sierra Club really wasn't doing its job.

Lage: People outside the Sierra Club?

Wayburn: Yes, or members who were outside the hierarchy, the establishment, the activists.

Lage: Would you want to mention anybody who had particular influence, or any group?

Wayburn: Well, I remember particularly Alan [N.] Weeden, not only as an activist but also as a donor through the Frank Weeden Foundation, and who is on the board of the Sierra Club Foundation. And a woman named Mim Kerr, who was also on the board of the Sierra Club Foundation before. Both of them were very strong population activists who thought that the club should be doing more and who were willing to give grants. I don't know how much Mim gave, but the Weeden Foundation has given and given repeatedly.

And then David Durham, who is a San Francisco lawyer, deeply engrossed in population stabilization problems, who is the president of Population-Environment-Balance. It once had another name, which I forget right now, which was a misleading term. But

now it's PEB, and they call themselves Balance. [They] are responsible for the initiation of this *Clearinghouse Bulletin of Carrying Capacity Network*. [looks through booklet] This gives a number of different issues particularly associated with population and the carrying capacity of the earth.

Lage: That's a good term, carrying capacity. I like the term.

Wayburn: Yes, I do too, and it's the proper term. How many people can earth support, how much food can be produced, how much of the earth is being degraded? Carrying capacity has a great deal to say for it as a term.

Establishment of the National Population Committee

Lage: After your letter and the interest the board showed, have you seen changes in the club?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. As a result of that, we established a program officer in Washington, a very good person, Nancy Wallace, who works in conjunction with Larry Williams in the international program. And that's a little over three years. At that time, in 1989, the club had one national population committee.

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Wayburn: Now we have two full-time staffers in Washington working on international population issues, particularly on getting Congress to appropriate more money for international family planning. We also have a beefed up national population committee and about 125 chapter and group population committees. It's been the most rapid growth of any program in the club.

Lage: What's the mechanism for getting those chapter and groups to establish committees?

Wayburn: Interest.

Lage: There has to be the local interest, but is there some direction from above that--?

Wayburn: Yes. This is where Nancy Wallace and her assistant, Karen Kalla, have been extraordinary. They have put on workshops and seminars. They've gone out to chapters and interested people. People write in wanting to join the population committee, and the population committee is confined to eight or nine, or ten

members. So they can be corresponding members of that committee, and then they form their own committees in the chapters. That's encouraged. The Sierra Club once again works through its grassroots.

Lage: Do they then become supporters for national legislation? It doesn't seem like much of a local issue.

Wayburn: That's it. They're the grassroots for the national legislation, and it's a local issue too. It's a statewide issue. It's the states which, for example, legalize abortion or not. And it's the states which encourage one type of activity or another.

Lage: Tax laws, and--.

U.S. Involvement in Worldwide Family Planning

Wayburn: Yes. There are now, there's great enthusiasm for world population stabilization, and our committee program staff, principally staff, but with all this backup, have succeeded in increasing the amount of funding that the foreign relations committees recommend for international population stabilization. The United States was giving practically nothing. Its Mexico City policy, which was the direct result of the intervention of President Reagan in 1984, I think, said that no funds could be used for family planning which were not fully approved by the government of those countries and so forth. It was an entirely negative policy.

But the United States did go to the Amsterdam conference a few years later and agreed that some \$2 billion by I think the year 2000 should be allocated by the developed nations for worldwide family planning, and the U.S. portion of this amounted to \$650 million a year. At that time, the U.S. was recommending maybe \$200 million. Through the direct efforts of Nancy Wallace and her collaborators in other national organizations, that has been raised each year since we've had the program.

Lage: And is that working on administrative agencies, or on the Congress?

Wayburn: That's working on the Congress, and then they work on the administrative agencies to see that it's carried out. Last year, because there was a continuing resolution passed by Congress and not a new act, the amount was not raised. I think it's \$450 million. This year, they're trying to get it raised. I guess it

was raised to \$450 [million], with the idea that it will be more, unless there's another continuing resolution, which means that you can't have more than you had the previous year appropriated.

Lage: Within the club do you run up against any opposition to the policy based on either opposition to birth control or to abortion?

Wayburn: Yes. There is opposition to both. Remember that the club attracts all sorts of people who are interested in conservation or protection of the environment in one way or another. But they don't all think alike. At the present time, I think there's pretty well agreement that we should support international population control. There's been less agreement that we should support domestic population control. Many people don't realize how overpopulated the United States already is, particularly in crowded cities.

As a specific example, last year when the great fire came in Oakland, the Oakland hills, I was asked for an opinion, did I think that the local population had anything to do with it. I said the population of this area is already far beyond what the carrying capacity of the Bay Area is. That had something to do with the way the houses were crowded together, that along with the fact that there were wooden roofs and too much shrubbery in too small an area. But this mentality which allows houses to be constructed the way they are is associated with the fact that we have more people wanting to crowd into a small area.

At the present time, the Sierra Club is still on record as favoring legalized abortion.

Lage: Based on that original resolution?

Wayburn: Yes.

Immigration Issues

Lage: That hasn't been changed or--?

Wayburn: No change in that. Sierra Club is on record as believing that the domestic population should not increase too fast. But there are a number of people who are opposed to any policy on immigration. That dates from the earliest times in the United States: we are a nation of immigrants. We were encouraging people to come, particularly from Europe. You remember "Give me

your poor and your downtrodden." This was great during the 1880s and 1890s and 1900s, but it now becomes a problem of, if you want to use the lifeboat analogy, we've got so many people in the lifeboat that we're not going to be able to take many more and still not sink.

These are two strong counter-arguments, and the population committee--I don't know if there's a letter in there in that file or not from Alan Weeden telling of what the population committee had done. As the chair of the conservation coordinating committee, I have written to the population committee stating that their opposition to the Kennedy-Hatch bill was within club policy. If they went any further, made any new policy, they should first pass it through all of the population committees, and then follow usual club policy and circulate throughout the different club entities. That's what they are in the process of doing now.

Lage: Is this in reference to immigration policy?

Wayburn: I can't say for sure that it will involve immigration policy, but I think it has to. And how that's going to come out in the near future, I don't know, but that is going to be a continuing effort.

Lage: It seems like a hard one to resolve.

Wayburn: Yes, it is.

Lage: Because it is controversial.

Wayburn: Oh, it's very.

[tape interruption]

Wayburn: I'll give you this letter from Alan Weeden [gives Lage a copy of letter for file].¹

I presented that letter in confidence to the retreat of the board of directors. I said I did not bring it up for any action, but that I thought that the subject would be coming up over and over again before the different entities of the club and to the board of directors, and I wanted them to know ahead of time what the general thinking was. Alan Weeden has been in the forefront

¹See Appendix C for July 8, 1992, Alan Weeden letter discussing population and immigration.

of this. I was interested in some of the replies or responses I got from different members of the board.

At the conclusion of my reading the letter, one board member stood up on the table and said, "That's the most racist letter I have ever heard." That was an extreme position. On the other side, several said it must happen. In between are people who said, "You know, I have a hard time with this, because the way I was brought up, the Constitution of the United States would not encourage an immigration policy which limited immigration." This was reflected by two or three more members of the board. Most didn't comment; some commented to say that every place that we had protected, all the beautiful places, all the desirable places, would be overrun if we continued to expand our population the way we have.

The prime example is the population of California. I think it was three million when I first moved here, and it was six million immediately after the war. Now it's thirty million.

Lage: How much of that immigration from outside the United States, and how much is it from other states?

Wayburn: That's the point, it's both. It's what you can call normal population growth by birth, or people coming from other states, people coming from other countries, both legally and illegally. And the increase has been so tremendous, I think we gained over a million people this last year.

Lage: I just heard a statistic that for the first time ever, there are more one-way rentals of moving trucks and trailers going out than coming in.

Wayburn: That's interesting. Yes, I've heard that this year, because of the economy--. We have been the Golden State, opportunities always seem greater here, wages were higher, more jobs were being created, as well as having beautiful places and desirable climate. But because of the drop in the defense industry which had centered on California and a few other states, people are moving away.

Lage: But what's your feeling about the club taking on this issue that's really so fraught with all kinds of emotional tension. And the charges of being racist or elitist? It's a difficult one for the club to take.

Wayburn: Well, we've already been accused of being racist and being elitist. My personal feeling is that we are primarily an environmental organization. We have to support policies which

will protect the environment. We do come up against the problem of the limited carrying capacity of the United States, and I don't mean just the arable or the fertile valleys, and the cities and vast areas of desert where few people will or can live. But the whole of it.

There's another way of going at this: by improving the lot of people in other countries, they won't feel the urge that they want to go to this golden land. People don't move away from their own countries, many of them, willingly. They don't move away from their homes. They move away because the opportunity is better elsewhere. Supposedly, people come to the United States for political asylum because they're oppressed. Well, that is something that is harder to deal with because it's not easy to get rid of oppression of dictatorships in other countries, but we can help the lot of people in the Third World, poverty-stricken people, by giving them more opportunities, some of it in cash, some of it in goods, and some of it in opportunities, and in reduction of their increasing populations.

Lage: So maybe the policy is seen as part of a larger picture.

Wayburn: Well, it has to be part of a larger picture. You bring up a point: the opponents of immigration control see that as one thing. Among the supporters of it, of immigration control, some may see it as one thing. But I think most of them see it as part of a larger problem, and that problem is that the world, the planet, has a limited carrying capacity. We have gone beyond that in so many places.

Lage: So this seems more controversial, the immigration control, than the decision on abortion?

Wayburn: I don't know. Maybe in the Sierra Club. But from my standpoint, everything is related to everything else. The problem is that the world is already past its best carrying capacity. If we keep expanding our human population, we're in trouble. Humans are in trouble. And by expanding our population today and tomorrow, we're making great trouble for our descendants two or three, four generations down the line.

I don't see that there's any question of that. In areas where humans have concentrated, we have time and again fouled our own nest. Look back in ancient times, people went from one area to an unsettled area, the last great unsettled areas being the United States and Australia, and South America. We haven't learned, we humans. I know I argued this in the conservation field with the Forest Service many years ago. I said, "You can't do all this logging and not have the countryside degraded. Look

at what happened in ancient times when the forests of Lebanon were cut. They are now reduced to a half a dozen cedar trees."

"Oh, we are profiting by it, we've learned," said the Forest Service. But they haven't. The clearcutting that's going on now would consume our entire forests if there weren't a strong opposition to this. And how successful we'll be, I don't know. We have a speaker of the House of Representatives, who in the past has been classed as a decent conservationist, firmly on the other side.

Lage: On the issue of clearcutting?

Wayburn: On the issue of clearcutting the east side forests. He comes from the Spokane area. We have had one of the people we supported in Oregon--when he was running for the House of Representatives as a good conservationist--come out with a bill almost as bad as Senator Packwood's very bad bill, all because they want to be reelected. Which is an understandable--

Lage: They're thinking of their own economic future.

Wayburn: Yes, and power. And we have this administration which doesn't realize it's pursuing policies which might have been all right in the 1830s, or even 1930s, but are totally unrealistic in the world of today.

Lage: Not much sense of looking into the future, at future generations. I just don't get that sense at all from the Bush administration.

Wayburn: They don't.

Lage: I guess it's a difficult human thing to do, perhaps.

Wayburn: That's right. It's hard for me to understand how a man like George Bush, who had shown himself as an enlightened congressman--

Lage: Did you feel he was a good environmental congressman?

Wayburn: He had a good record; not the best, but a good record. Including that on population stabilization, including that on birth control. Up until the time he was losing in his campaign for the presidency in 1980, he had previously derided Reagan's ideas, Reaganomics, as--what was the term he used? Voodoo economics.

Lage: I'd forgotten that.

Wayburn: Then he consented to be Reagan's vice president, because he wanted to be president, and he saw that as the way to be president, to be vice president. And he felt that the political situation was such that he had to go along, and he's gone along ever since.

Lage: Hard to understand. I think we have a good overview of the population, the revitalization, shall we call it, of the population issue in the club in these last few years. So maybe this is a good place to stop for today.

Wayburn: I think so.

V VICE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL PARKS AND PROTECTED AREAS

[Interview 4: September 1, 1992]##

On the National Parks Advisory Board, 1978-1982

Lage: Today we're going to start with your role in national parks. You were vice president for national parks and protected areas. We'll just sort of use that as a topic. I was going to ask you to start with discussion about your service on the Secretary of Interior's Advisory Board on National Parks, which was--the dates I saw were 1978 to '82, so you were there during the transition into the Reagan years.

Wayburn: Yes. National parks, their establishment and protection has been one of my activities almost ever since I became active in the conservation business, as you know. I started with work on the Redwood National Park. Peggy and I began this around 1960. We put the idea into Secretary Stewart Udall's head that there was no national park for America's most outstanding tree--the coastal redwood--and that there should be. We explored that at length. Finally, the national park was established in 1968, and then greatly expanded in 1978.

Other parks on which I have taken the lead were the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, and the national parks in Alaska. I worked closely with Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton and his Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife, and Parks Nathaniel Reed for a period of six years during the Nixon and Ford administrations.

Then in 1978, Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus appointed me on Phil Burton's recommendation to the National Parks Advisory Board.

Lage: So that was '78?

Wayburn: Yes. He said at the time, "You've been an unofficial member of the board for a number of years; we'd just as well appoint you."

Lage: Were you the first sort of activist conservationist on that board, or had there been others?

Wayburn: The board had various people who were designated by law to be on it. There had to be an architect, there had to be an historian, there had to be an archaeologist or geologist. And then there were several members at large. The board, when I became a member on it, had I think eleven members, and later twelve members.

When you had served four years on the board, your time was up, but there was a provision that members of the board who had shown an interest and who were particularly interested in the national parks should continue on in what was called the council to the board. Those people were given all the same privileges and rights as the board, except that they couldn't vote on matters on which the board did vote.

So after 1982, I became a member of the council, and continued for several years until the council was abolished by William Clark, who succeeded Jim Watt as the secretary of the Interior.

The Advisory Board Under James Watt

Wayburn: The board, in the fifties and sixties and seventies, was of great help to the secretary of Interior. Stewart Udall particularly used the board extensively. Rogers Morton used the board. When Watt became the secretary, he came in to meet with us. In our first meeting of his tenure, we were meeting in Washington in the Department of the Interior building. He came up with a full complement of his staff, and the first thing he said was, "I want your opinion, I want you to tell me what to do." And then he proceeded to go on with what he was going to do. But he hoped that we would vote for it.

We did not vote for his program.

Lage: What program did he present to you?

Wayburn: Among the things was a great reduction of funding for the National Park Service, including zero funding for the Land and Water Conservation Fund. At the time, I--and other members of the board, too--I was particularly strenuous in my objections. I

remember that his assistant for legislative affairs, who was a very bland, persuasive sort of individual, said, "Oh, zero funding is only for one year, until we get caught up on what we're using and the fund can afford it."

Of course, that was an outright falsehood, because the fund was already at that time quite rich. No secretary, no administration, had used all the funding which had been provided. That's true even to this day.

But Watt announced that he was going to change things in the whole department, and particularly in the national park system. He proposed a number of things which the board objected to; he went right ahead and did them.

Lage: Was the board pretty forthcoming with him, or how did the relationship develop?

Wayburn: He pretended that he wanted the advice of the board, and then he totally ignored the advice of the board. This was in 1980. It continued throughout my term on that board. During that time, the board changed character markedly. Watt appointed a number of people to the board who were either outright anti-environmentalists, or ignorant of the national park system.

For example, he appointed Charles Cushman, the head of the National Inholders Association, to the board. Throughout Cushman's tenure, he opposed everything that the board tried to do. That's in the early years of the Watt administration. As Watt packed the board more and more with his people, Cushman was more in line with what the majority of the board was doing.

Each year, the board got weaker. I remember towards the end of my time on the board, or just after it, I guess, going to John Seiberling, who was then chair of the House Interior Committee's Subcommittee on National Parks, and saying that only Congress can do anything about improving the national park's advisory board. He said, "It really doesn't matter; we don't pay attention to that group anymore anyway."

Deteriorating Relations with the National Park Service in the 1980s

Lage: Did you work with the National Park Service during that time?

Wayburn: We worked with the National Park Service; that was our particular job, to work with the National Park Service. The Park Service

was growing weaker year by year. One of my memories is that in 1980, I was in Alaska for the Sierra Club, and I always went in to have discussions with the area, later regional, director of the National Park Service in Alaska. In 1980, I was told by the area or regional directors of the Park Service, of the Fish and Wildlife Service, and of the Bureau of Land Management, in terms that were not quite identical but all had the same meaning, "You know, we won't be working as closely with you from now on, for a while, as we have for the past few years." And we had worked very closely with them for a good ten years before that.

My answer was, "You know, we will be getting nastier to you."

Lage: [laughs] Was this all said with continued friendship, or sort of gentleman's agreement, or--?

Wayburn: Yes. This was said in friendly terms, but in realistic terms, because they felt the political pressures on them, which did not allow them to carry out their duties in a professional way if they wanted to remain in their jobs. In Alaska, for example, the area director who had made that statement, and who had done his best to work under the circumstances, a man named John Cook, was removed from that job along with his deputy director and his assistant--who knew more about the Alaska Native situation than anyone else in the Park Service. They were all transferred.

Cook was transferred--he was "promoted," actually demoted, to be the superintendent of Great Smokies National Park; he later went back to the position as director for the southwest region, which was the job he had before he went to Alaska. Alaska was the job he had wanted.

Lage: What did they do with the expert on Native Americans?

Wayburn: They made him assistant to the former deputy director who had been demoted to become the superintendent at Redwood National Park. He, Bob Belous, was at Redwood for a number of years.

Lage: So there were a lot of shifts in personnel, then.

Wayburn: Oh, yes. They shifted personnel when the personnel didn't do what was asked. This was particularly true in Alaska where the whole congressional delegation was against what the Park Service was trying to do and what the conservationists were trying to do. Senator [Ted] Stevens was and is an extremely powerful individual, and he controls the money that the national parks get in Alaska. By his control of the purse, he also has great power

over what's going on. Each regional director in Alaska has had to deal with that.

He was, I think, directly responsible, or Watt was directly responsible for the removal of Cook. Roger Contor came in, and did a workman-like job within limits. He was succeeded by Boyd Evison, who was an excellent man, and who stood up against Stevens as much as he could, but eventually had to leave Alaska and is now the deputy director of the Rocky Mountain region.

Lage: They're not free agents, by any means.

Wayburn: They're not free agents. And throughout this time, the director of the National Park Service was Russell Dickenson, who had become the director in 1979 when Bill Whalen left the directorship.

Lage: Did you have a very close relationship with Russell Dickenson?

Wayburn: Not too close a relationship, because--well, Dickenson was a park professional. He had been in the National Park Service all his adult life. He had been the deputy director before, and then he had gone to the northwest region to be the regional director. He came back as the director when Whalen left.

Lage: Did Whalen leave under pressure?

Wayburn: He left under pressure. Whalen was a man of great promise, great ambition, great ideas. But he was a very young man when he was appointed director. He had been the superintendent of Golden Gate and was appointed directly from that position. He was under too much pressure as the director of the whole service, and he took that out in too much smoking and drinking. After he left the director's job, he stopped both. He is in much better condition now than he was then.

Dickenson was a real professional, but he was weak, from my standpoint. He bowed to the political effects above him. This was particularly true--it wasn't bad when Andrus was the secretary, but when Watt became secretary, Dickenson did a number of things that I disapproved of. I would tell him so. Our relationship was not always too cordial. I thought he served a very valuable service under difficult circumstances in that he kept the morale of the service up as high as it could be under these very difficult conditions. But there's no question, the morale of the National Park Service has dropped steadily during the past eleven years.

William Penn Mott, Jr. as Director of the National Park Service

Lage: Did Mott follow Dickenson? I think he did.

Wayburn: Yes, Mott followed Dickenson.

Lage: I think it would be a good time to talk about how you evaluate Mott.

Wayburn: When Mott was appointed director, I wrote that I thought that he had the opportunity to become the greatest director the National Park Service had had. Bill Mott is a consummate park man. He is extremely innovative and thoughtful; he has great ideas. He had been a great success as the director of East Bay Regional Parks, as the director of the California State Park System. He had a proven track record.

But when Mott got in, although he said when he became director that he would carry out his principles and would not bow to political pressure, when he got in he found out that he had to. He was probably undermined from below as well as overlorded from above.

Lage: Who would undermine him from below? People within the Park Service?

Wayburn: People within the Park Service who were more content with an easier existence than Mott would have given them. Mott had a set of twelve principles that he outlined that he was going to carry out, but he was not able to carry them out. I don't know this too closely from my own observation, but I have been told by people in the Park Service that the regional directors--of whom there are twelve--decided among themselves that they would run the park system in practice, although the director might outline in theory what was supposed to happen.

Lage: So they might have been a more conservative force, then. The regional directors seem like a more conservative force, or was this a matter of bureaucracy and maintaining your position?

Wayburn: I think this was a matter of bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is very strongly ingrained in the National Park Service. A bureaucrat can get in a position and stay by doing nothing. Whereas, if he tries to do too much, he might offend people and have to leave or be demoted. I know all too many instances which have happened in that regard.

Lage: So the kind of change that Mott seems to represent--he likes to stir things up.

Wayburn: Mott represented change. It was interesting, a Republican in a Republican administration--

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Wayburn: --a great director of California parks during Ronald Reagan's administration, but probably a lot of this had to do with a fact that we've talked about earlier, that Ronald Reagan didn't pay too much attention to his resources. He left the Resources Agency in charge of Ike [Norman B.] Livermore [Jr.], who was the resources secretary. Livermore in turn allowed Mott leeway in the California state park system.

Now, the situation was quite different when Reagan was president. He did not interfere with his secretary of the Interior, who was Watt, and later Clark, and then Hodel. They were distinctly not environmentally-minded. All of the bureaus in the Department of the Interior followed their lead, and that has continued through the Bush administration with Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan who, when he came in, assured conservationists that he would not interfere with good conservation policy, but who has, with certain exceptions, not followed good conservation policy.

Lage: And how has the Park Service fared under the Bush administration?

Wayburn: Not too well. Bush appointed Jim Ridenour as the new director of the National Park Service. Ridenour had had very little experience with the National Park Service. He had been the director of the Indiana parks and had held a position which included not only parks but other natural resources.

When I first met him, he knew very little about the parks. He seemed eager to learn. When I last interviewed him in February of this year at Caracas, at the fourth Congress on National Parks, he had learned a great deal. But the Park Service has not followed as aggressive a conservation policy as I would like to see. They have still been in this mode of sitting tight.

Lage: Riding it out.

Wayburn: Riding it out. I have hopes if a Clinton-Gore administration came in, with a good secretary of the Interior, that this would all change.

Yosemite National Park and the 1980 General Master Plan

Lage: That's a good review of what's happened with the Park Service. Should we talk about Yosemite now? That's a big issue, I know, and you've been heavily involved in it.

Wayburn: Yes, I have been heavily involved in Yosemite, as much as I had time for it. It's a very big subject. Yosemite National Park is one of our two or three landmark parks, bellwether parks. One might say as Yosemite goes, so goes the national park system.

I have been interested in Yosemite and, as I mentioned earlier, since I first went there as a very young man in 1927. I have experienced Yosemite as a backpacker, as a skier, as a high tripper, as a burro tripper, and I've been interested in what went on in Yosemite for a long time. Up to the point of the 1980 general master plan, I was on the National Parks Advisory Board at the time this plan was agreed to by the National Park Service.

Bill Whalen was the director, and in 1979, he asked a select committee of three people on the National Parks Advisory Board to take one final look at the general management plan and advise him before he signed it. Those people were the late Nat Owings, Bill Lane, publisher of *Sunset* [Magazine], and myself.

For some reason, Owings was not able to go, so Lane and I made two trips to Yosemite a few weeks apart. We investigated as much as we could, admittedly a superficial investigation. We talked to the superintendent, Bob Binneweiss, at some length. We talked to other people in the Park Service. And we talked at length with Ed Hardy, the president of Yosemite Park and Curry Company.

Binneweiss was very much in favor of the plan as outlined, recommended it strongly. Hardy stated that he was very much in favor of it, and that if Yosemite Park and Curry Company did not go along with it, he was prepared to resign, that he had lived around Yosemite most of his life, that he had a home close by, and he could retire perfectly well.

We recommended to Whalen that he sign the general management plan, and he did.

Lage: And that had been developed with a tremendous amount of public input, as I remember.

Wayburn: That plan had developed through the late 1970s, a tremendous public input. It was commented on by, I believe, sixty thousand

members of the public, and in general, it was favorable comment. The plan was altered in minor degree by the comments of the public.

My next connection with Yosemite was about 1981 or '82, I guess 1982, when the National Parks Advisory Board held a meeting in Yosemite. Binneweiss was still the superintendent. He was there, Dickenson was there. There were several controversial topics, but the most controversial was what the National Park Service would do about section 35, which was adjacent to the Wawona Hotel in the Wawona district.

Section 35 had been private property, and I don't remember the details of how, but probably--it may have been partly homesteaded, but too big for a homestead. At any rate, it was privately owned, and the Park Service had been gradually acquiring individual properties from individual owners. They had the power of condemnation, but they hadn't used it.

At this meeting, Cushman brought up the subject of section 35, and raised strong objections to the Park Service acquiring more property. I in turn raised strong objection to any change, and thought that the Park Service should go ahead and acquire as much as possible of section 35, because it was the last--that and Foresta were the last sizeable inholdings in Yosemite National Park.

In the discussion on this, I was almost alone. By this time, Watt had done quite a bit of packing of the board. I was almost alone in arguing for continuation of Park Service acquiring these properties. Cushman was vehemently on the other side. To my surprise, Dickenson didn't speak up at all, and Binneweiss didn't speak up at all. So I questioned Dickenson, and he made the statement that the Park Service could go along without acquiring these properties.

I knew that Binneweiss had opposed the retention of the properties in private hands earlier, but he hadn't said a word during the meeting. So then I asked him how he would feel about this, because the proposal was that section 35 would remain under the joint administration of the National Park Service and Mariposa County. In some way, there was a third jurisdiction involved, too. Binneweiss finally said that he was not in favor of multiple jurisdiction, because the Park Service always had the responsibility anyway.

Well, I lost out on this because of what I felt was the weakness of the National Park Service. And of course, I knew why, but still I didn't like it.

Failure to Implement the General Master Plan for Yosemite

Wayburn: Throughout the period from 1980 to 1990, the Park Service did not implement very much of the general management plan. Binneweiss had made one egregious error in that he had questioned one of his park police people, who was not too favorable to him, with a microphone on in the room without notifying this man beforehand that he had the eavesdropping machine on. This caused an uproar. Mott was particularly upset about this; this was after Mott became--just at the beginning of Mott's tenure as national parks director. Binneweiss was transferred from superintendent of Yosemite to an advisory position in the western regional office. Then Binneweiss left that to go back to New York as assistant commissioner of state parks.

Jack Morehead came on as the superintendent. Morehead had been the superintendent at Everglades, and had a very good record there. But Morehead, finding out how things were in the national park system, more or less sat down without--

Lage: You'd expect Mott would make a good appointment there, at Yosemite.

Wayburn: Well, it was thought to be a good appointment when he first went on. But he did not do--I won't say anything, but he did very little to implement the 1980 plan.

And in 1989, the Park Service revealed what it had been doing. It issued two brochures. One was to the effect that they had not been able to carry out any part of the plan because of financial reasons, they weren't given any money to do it with. That was the apology. The second one was a statement that the plan was unrealistic, and that they should instead do other things which were not in the plan.

Both of these were issued in 1989, and they caused a great deal of consternation in the environmental community. It was at that point that I had the obligation to go back and get deeply interested in the Yosemite problem again.

Revitalization of the Yosemite Task Force

Wayburn: The Yosemite Task Force of the Sierra Club had not been very active, so a new chair was appointed, Dean Malley--who lived in Sonora and who had inside contacts with the Park Service, who

knew a great deal of what was going on, and who was quite aggressive, but who wasn't always too careful in how he revealed what he knew or what he was recommending. So we went from being too passive to too aggressive.

Lage: [laughs] Does the president of the club appoint the chair of the Yosemite Task Force?

Wayburn: No. The Yosemite Task Force was a committee of Sierra Club of California, I think of the Northern California Regional Conservation Committee.

Lage: I see, so they would appoint the--.

Wayburn: I was consulted in these matters because, as then vice president for national parks and protected areas, I had certain obligations in all the national parks.

Lage: So I don't want to divert, but you mentioned Dean's drawbacks. It must be very hard to get just the right person for some of these roles.

Wayburn: Dean became quite ill after a few months, and had to give up the position. So a little over a year ago, Marc Francis was appointed as the chair, and Marc Francis has done an aggressive but more politic job with the Park Service in Yosemite. But I still go in and out of this as needed. I have just written another letter to the editor recommending against the Park Service recommendation of Foresta as the place to which they move all facilities from the Valley.

The Yosemite Restoration Trust

Wayburn: If we want to go into Yosemite properly, I'll have to go on a little more.

Two years ago, in an effort to try to improve the Yosemite situation, a group of Yosemite lovers, conservationists, businessmen, and philanthropists formed the Yosemite Restoration Trust, of which I became one of the eleven directors. The avowed reason for the Yosemite Restoration Trust was to see that the 1980 general management plan was implemented.

In the meantime, the superintendency was again changed in 1989, I believe--maybe '88--Michael Finley became superintendent, again coming from Everglades where he had done a very good job.

Jack Morehead became the associate director of national parks in the Washington headquarters, which position he held until a little over a year ago, when he became the regional director for Alaska. Jack Davis became the associate director. Jack Davis who had been successively superintendent at Redwood, and deputy director of the western region, superintendent at Golden Gate, and then at Sequoia, and then Grand Canyon, steps up into this associate director's job.

Lage: As you talk about these people, it shows your long tenure of being involved for so long. Someone comes into the parks in Alaska, and you've known him in several different roles.

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: That must be one of your great virtues, one of the ways you help the club.

Wayburn: Yes, I think I have been able to.

But going back to the Yosemite problem, Finley came in and admitted that things hadn't been done right by the Park Service when they announced in '89 that they would not carry out their management plan of 1980, and they announced this without doing a big study. He, while defending the Park Service, agreed that he would restudy the problem on the principal items of the general management plan. The general management plan called for decommercialization of Yosemite Valley and called for moving as many resident personnel out of the valley as possible.

There has now been a housing study which hasn't been fully announced to the public yet, and a transportation study done by the Park Service--since 1989. In the meantime, the Wilderness Society has done a transportation study in which they recommend moving a lot of cars out of the park, and we must remember that one of the avowed purposes in the 1980 GMP was to get private automobiles out of Yosemite Valley, something which hasn't been accomplished at all.

Lage: Does that cost money--

Wayburn: Oh, yes. It costs money, and it costs quite a bit in--already, there is bus service in Yosemite Valley which is limited, which is run by the concessionaire. Some of it is free and some of it is paid for. But that bus service allows people to park in one place and then take a bus for travel around Yosemite, and that's theoretically what's supposed to be done. But the bus service is not extensive enough, and there are not enough buses. Even so, there are problems with the diesel motors of these large buses.

Lage: And isn't the hope that the cars will be parked outside the valley?

Wayburn: Parked either outside the park or at some location just inside the park, but to carry it out fully, they would be parked outside the park. There have been many proposals offered, and I think it would take too long to go into those proposals at the present time.

The 1980 plan, which is backed by the Sierra Club, would move most of the employees who have to be moved to El Portal. El Portal was acquired many years ago for the express purpose of accommodating people who had to work in Yosemite Valley. There have been a few moves to El Portal of things which didn't need to be in the valley, such as maintenance operations, but there haven't been near enough. The Park Service has resisted these moves, as well as the concessionaire.

Let me go back to the Yosemite Restoration Trust and my role in it. We resolved early in our existence that we would try to see a change in the concession policy in Yosemite, and when Secretary of the Interior Lujan made his announcement that he would buy out Yosemite Park and Curry Company from MCA Corporation, which in turn was being sold to Matsushita, a Japanese concern, Lujan said that he didn't want a concession owned by a foreign company.

Bid for Yosemite Concession by Yosemite Restoration Trust
(Concession Services Corporation)

Wayburn: At the same time, the lease of the concession was running out. The Yosemite Park and Curry Company had gotten a sweetheart contract in 1963 for thirty years, paying only three-quarters of one percent of their gross to the federal government, and that all went into the general fund. So although Yosemite is what is known as a cash cow, none of that money came back to the park.

The complaint of the Park Service was that they didn't have enough money to carry out the Yosemite management plan. We in the Yosemite Restoration Trust resolved that, if necessary, if we didn't see any other way to do it, we would make a bid for that contract.

Lage: Was that the purpose for which it was formed, Yosemite Restoration Trust?

Wayburn: If necessary, to make a bid. And that became necessary. So this past year, we have formed a subsidiary which at the moment is fully owned, but which will have other stockholders besides the YRT, called Yosemite Concession Services Corporation.

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Wayburn: Some more business-minded members of the Yosemite Restoration Trust resigned and were appointed to this subsidiary, along with other businessmen, hotel people, restaurant people, and concessions people, people who knew their way in the world of national park concessions.

Lage: Who was behind this? Was there one person who had the sense of how to make it a going business, who had the business sense, who knew the contacts with other business people?

Wayburn: No. You have to know who we are, and were, to know. The Yosemite Restoration Trust was composed of eleven directors, with two co-chairmen, William Alsup, a partner in Morrison and Foerster, the largest law firm in California, who has been a Yosemite-lover and backpacker for many years, and Bob Binneweiss, the former superintendent.

Lage: Well, that's interesting.

Wayburn: Other members included Sarah Rockwell, who was another attorney with Morrison and Foerster; Bob Maynard, former vice president of Yosemite Park and Curry Company, who later became the president of Keystone Corporation in Colorado and now is president of the Aspen Corporation, which runs Aspen and Snowmass ski resorts; and Bernard Butcher, who is a banker with Amsterdam Pacific Corporation, a private banking investment firm; and Richard Martyr, who is the president of the American Youth Hostels; Richard Goldman, who is Goldman Insurance in San Francisco, and the head of the Goldman Foundation, which funds conservation projects and gives the Goldman Environmental prizes. There was also George Frampton, who is the president of the Wilderness Society; and myself. Oh, another man from Sacramento, Peter Dangermond, a transportation expert and former director of the California Department of Parks and Recreation.

Before we spun off this subsidiary, we took on a twelfth member in order to get more business people in, a man named Tom Klutznick from Chicago, who had been a big real estate operator. When we spun off the subsidiary, Maynard, Martyr, Klutznick, and Butcher went with this group, leaving eight of us as the directors of Yosemite Restoration Trust, and then there were about that many or more who were members of the subsidiary.

The subsidiary at this moment has qualified as a qualified bidder for the new contract, and I think we'll be discussing later this month what our chances are. There are a dozen bidders; one has dropped out. A couple of them have made overtures to us to go into a joint venture of some sort with them. At this moment, I don't know what we will do. We are trying to get financing so that we can make the bid on our own.

Lage: And will the choice be made purely on financial grounds by the Park Service?

Wayburn: No, the choice is made on multiple grounds by the National Park Service, which selects the concessionaire. The new concessionaire will have the bid for fifteen years instead of thirty, and will have to pay a much higher fee to the government. We hope that fee will be paid largely to the park, and not to the general fund. One of the things that we want to do is to get more money directly in to Yosemite National Park, so that they can finance this transition to El Portal.

Lage: It seems like such a new direction for environmentalists to go and--

Wayburn: Yes, it is, but it's one which has been necessary.

Meantime, the Sierra Club is keeping up an aggressive stand with the National Park Service on carrying out the provisions of the 1980 GMP. The two conservation organizations which are playing the heaviest role in this are the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society, and Sierra Club and Wilderness Society work closely with the Yosemite Restoration Trust, but the trust does not take an aggressive stance in opposing the Park Service. It tries to work with the Park Service, and of course, will have to continue that stance if the subsidiary gains the contract.

We have said that we would reduce the number of outlets, and I think the Park Service has agreed to that in their terms for the new concession, for sales, reduce the number of outlets for such things as liquor and clothes.

Lage: Videos.

Wayburn: Videos. And change some of the types of service which are offered by YPC at the present time.

Lage: Okay. Well, this is a story that's not finished yet.

Wayburn: No, this is a story which is going on.

- Lage: I think it's very interesting, the development of the Restoration Trust and--. Do you have two hats, then, as a Sierra Clubber and--?
- Wayburn: Oh, yes, very definitely have two hats.
- Lage: Is that difficult?
- Wayburn: And sometimes it gets difficult. I have to state which hat I am wearing at the time.
- Lage: With one, you're working more closely with the Park Service, and with one, you might be criticizing more strongly?
- Wayburn: Yes. But whereas I am an administrative official, an executive, if you will, for the Sierra Club, determining policy and carrying it out, I am a director with the Restoration Trust, and determining policy, but we have either one of the co-chairmen or the executive director, who is Donald Green, with his associate director Judy Kunofsky, who carry out the policy and who have the direct dealings with the National Park Service.
- Lage: Okay. Well, that one--we'll leave the end of that story until your third oral history. [laughter]

Sequoia National Park

- Wayburn: Do you want to go on with my work as vice president for national parks?
- Lage: Yes. Pick a few more issues to illustrate your role.
- Wayburn: Yes. In about 1983, I was asked if I wanted to take some sort of a special role in the club because of my interest in national parks; I had become a member of the IUCN Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas some time before this. I thought that the concept of the commission, of including not only national parks but also all protected lands, was a good one. So I agreed that I would be vice president of the Sierra Club for national parks and protected areas.

And while I'm the only one who's had that office, I let the office drop a year and a half ago when I became elected vice president and vice president for conservation, because I felt that the one was a part of the other.

But there are a number of different national park issues that I have been interested in, either in taking the lead or helping other people, not only in California, the GGNRA and Yosemite, but also Sequoia National Park, and this in a helping capacity. People like Joe Fontaine and John Rasmussen have taken the lead on that, and I am helping as far as possible.

Lage: And when you say helping, is this helping by making contacts or by talking policy?

Wayburn: Both. And when they would have ideas and I would agree to the ideas, I'd help try to carry them out by making contacts with people I knew, either in the executive branch, such as the Park Service, or the secretary's office, or in the Congress, because I have had a long acquaintance in the Congress, particularly with chairmen of the Interior Committee of the House, going from Wayne Aspinall through Mo Udall and George Miller, and the National Parks Subcommittee, particularly Phil Burton and John Seiberling, and now Bruce Vento.

I have had ideas for expanding the national park system to include different vegetative types such as--well, the redwoods were one; sequoia is another one, and that gets into Sequoia National Forest, because many of the sequoias are not in--the bulk of the sequoias are not in Sequoia National Park.

Lage: Is there an effort to expand the Sequoia National Park, to take in some of those areas?

Wayburn: No. This gets us into still another subject, which is the protection of sequoias in Sequoia National Forest, where Martin Litton has been the lead.

Efforts in The Tall Grass Prairie Preserve, Oklahoma

Wayburn: The Tall Grass Prairie Preserve in Oklahoma is another area where I've tried to help. And in trying to help other parks, such as Acadia and Everglades--.

Take the example of the Tall Grass Prairie. Several years ago, I heard of the effort being made to have a Tall Grass Prairie National Park or National Preserve in Oklahoma. A Sierra Club member who was then the chair of the Oklahoma chapter named David Martinez was spearheading the effort there, and I worked with Dave and with Doug Scott, who was then the conservation

director, with the idea that we would support legislation for Tall Grass Prairie Preserve.

But among our criteria, and the original criteria posed by then-Director Mott, was that it should be at least 100,000 acres in size, and it should have the protection that other national parks were having. The congressman from the area, a gentleman by the name of Mickey Edwards, did not want a national park. Incidentally, Mickey Edwards has just been defeated in the Democratic primary for reelection. But he was opposed to it. Other congressmen from the state, and the senators, were willing to go along, but to what extent I'm not sure. But other conservation organizations, in this case notably I think National Audubon Society, were willing to take a smaller park.

There was an opportunity to buy two large ranches, which together would have amounted to over 100,000 acres, and we pushed for this. But we were opposing certain weaknesses in the legislation which would allow for hunting and grazing by domestic animals, which are not a usual part of national parks.

Lage: I wouldn't expect grazing in a tall grass prairie preserve to be very compatible.

Wayburn: Well, we didn't think so, either. We opposed this, and we were in opposition to Edwards, who was trying to carry that through after he assented to carry the bill for a national park. This led to controversy with Edwards blaming the Sierra Club for the failure of the legislation to go through, because we opposed the way he had it set up in the House of Representatives.

Since that time, the Nature Conservancy has acquired one of these ranches, 30,000 or 35,000 acres, and is administering it privately. Whether or not the other ranch, which was acquired by, I think, the Mormon church, will be available or not, whether this is a deal which can be put through, I don't know. But so far, over the course of four or five years, it has failed. We were on the opposite side then with Director Mott, who was willing to accept whatever conditions, thinking that they could be improved on later.

Lage: So he was willing to accept the hunting and grazing?

Wayburn: And the fact that this ranch had to be cut down--that the park could not be over, I think it was 50,000 acres, something of the sort, because he knew that the government would have to acquire a total of over 100,000 acres, and it was his opinion that they didn't have to sell it afterwards if they once acquired it.

But at any rate, this effort failed about three or four years ago, and then a National Audubon Society representative in Kansas--I may be wrong about Audubon in Oklahoma, but I know it was an Audubon representative in Kansas--had the idea that they would acquire land from a ranch in the Flint Hills of Kansas for a national monument.

Lage: And this is still Tall Grass Prairie?

Wayburn: Tall Grass Prairie; only 10,000 acres. And again, they would allow grazing and hunting. The proponent was Representative Glickman. The local chapter wanted to support this, and, I as the vice president for national parks, was not in favor of it, and told them why. This is a controversy which has been going on inside the Sierra Club, rather low-key in this case, for at least two years now. It was brought up, oh, a year ago in the conservation coordinating committee by one of the members who comes from the area, and it's been brought up again more recently by Duncan Stuart, the director who is assigned to that regional conservation committee, the Southern Plains Regional Conservation Committee. They would like to support this.

Lage: They want to support the national monument, 10,000 acres?

Wayburn: Support the national monument, and I told them under certain conditions I could support a monument, but only as long as they keep working for a real Tall Grass Prairie National Park or Preserve.

Lage: Where do these conflicts get worked out? In what venue do the conflicts get worked out, privately or in the board or--?

Wayburn: In this particular case, it's in the conservation coordinating committee. This is an example of where the local group is willing to accept less stringent terms for a national park than the national Sierra Club.

Lage: Is that a pattern?

Wayburn: That is a pattern which is followed sometimes. This is particularly an example of it, where it's all been worked out in a non-acrimonious atmosphere. There are some times when the atmosphere gets acrimonious. I can cite two other instances now, not concerned with national parks, but with protected areas.

Conflicts Over Montana and Wyoming Wilderness Bills

Wayburn: One is with the ancient forests--I don't know whether we should get into ancient forests today, because the time is running on. The other is with Montana and Wyoming wilderness bills. There is at the present time no wilderness bill for the state of Wyoming, because the Wyoming conservationists feel that the cards are so stacked against them that it's not the appropriate time to try for a wilderness designation.

In Montana, they have been working on wilderness legislation. I was drawn into this about a year and a half ago because the Montana Chapter was complaining, and the Northern Rockies Chapter was complaining, about the New York [Atlantic] chapter. It seems that the chair of the conservation committee of the New York chapter had publicly advocated support of a proposal for a northern Rockies area in the Congress, which would have been introduced by Congressman [Robert] Kastenmeier.

The Alliance for the Wild Rockies, which is the organization proposing this, is one of the newer conservation organizations without a great deal of clout nationally, but with a great deal of fervor locally. Very good people. But they did not know how to influence the Congress, and when our lobbyist was asked his opinion of this legislation, he said that he thought it was faulty and he didn't think it could go through. It was not a single-state wilderness, which the Montana Chapter was advocating.

I had to act as judge and jury on this, and did get the New York chapter to withdraw its public opposition to a Sierra Club-supported idea, and told the individuals that as individuals, they were free to express their own opinions, but could not express the opinion of a branch of the Sierra Club because the Sierra Club was one unit. This I'll go into later when I speak about the complexity of the Sierra Club.

Lage: So the club had a proposal that the--

Wayburn: The Montana Chapter had a proposal which was the official club proposal.

Lage: And the Atlantic Chapter supported the Wild Rockies proposal?

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: That's interesting.

Wayburn: Yes. A woman named Margaret Hayes Young, who was the chair of the conservation committee, and who belongs to a group within the Sierra Club called--I forget just what it's called, but essentially Sierra Club Members to Reform the Sierra Club.

Lage: Oh, I hadn't heard about this group!

Wayburn: Yes. The chair of which is a young man in the Mother Lode area I think, named David Orr, who was on our Yosemite Task Force.

Lage: Do they want the club to take more, shall we say, radical positions?

Wayburn: More uncompromising, idealistic positions.

The Montana Chapter has been divided whether or not it would support a bill which has gone through the Senate, a bill by the two senators, [Max] Baucus and Kent Conrad. This is a bill which we think is too weak. It has provisions which would undermine wilderness--

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Wayburn: --particularly in its failure to support good water rights legislation for wilderness, and in the limited amount of territory it includes in Montana in this wilderness bill, only about a quarter as much as we think should be included.

Lage: But the Montana Chapter is undecided on that?

Wayburn: The Montana Chapter is now officially opposed to that. They are now beginning to support bioregional protection, and this has become one of the new initiatives of the Sierra Club, a system of eco-regions, of which we have now identified some nineteen in the United States and Canada, and which will be one of the cornerstones of the conservation effort of the Sierra Club in the future.

At this moment, it doesn't look like the Montana wilderness bill will go through, and we hope that in the next Congress, we'll have enough strength to put through a good Montana wilderness bill. But the concept of the Wild Rockies is not a bad one. It's a good one. It's just that the proponents were not being realistic to know what could be carried through the Congress at a given time.

Knowing When to Compromise, When to Stand Firm on Legislation

Lage: That seems like a fine line. How do you draw that line?

Wayburn: Well, I'm just about to go on to that.

The Sierra Club will support imperfect legislation or incomplete legislation as long as it doesn't rule out the possibility of better legislation later. In other words, what outfits like the Wild Rockies would call compromise, the Sierra Club will call one step on the way to a more ideal world.

This is a big distinction in that you don't give up too much of what you want, and how you get enough of what you want, without impairing what you want to get in the future, and what you really want.

Lage: Of course, there are differences within the club on where to draw that line.

Wayburn: There are. But I've drawn that line. People say I don't compromise, but I do compromise, often at the last minute. I compromised on the legislation for Redwood National Park in 1968, because I saw no chance of getting through the legislation we were advocating. And knowing that Wayne Aspinall was the most powerful man in the Congress at that time, we settled and then worked for ten years to get the park that we had advocated in the first place. And succeeded.

Lage: What kind of legislation might rule out change in the future? You said that's your deciding factor.

Wayburn: Well, if the legislation makes permanent changes in the existing state of the land, so that, for example, in the Montana wilderness legislation, it had a provision that the such-and-such a forest, which we wanted in wilderness in the future, would be logged. We would certainly oppose that. But if it were left in the general forest category, subject to the Forest Service classifications as they went on through the next ten years, we would take a chance on that.

In the Alaska legislation, ANILCA, I was very hard-nosed about this on the third of November, 1980, but on the fifth of November, we sent back word to our champions in the Congress to settle as fast as possible. On the third of November, all of the areas we wanted were very adequately protected by President Carter's withdrawals as national monuments. But we knew that what one president could do, another president--in this case, the

next president--could undo. And we didn't have the slightest doubt but that Ronald Reagan would declassify the monuments, so we wanted to get established into law by the Congress as much as we could, even though it wasn't near as much as we wanted.

Lage: Do those in the top circles of the club, both staff and volunteer, draw the line in the same place, do you think?

Wayburn: Oh, no. There will be differences which have to be ironed out. In general, when we get that far along, the final decision is left to one person or to the two or three people who are most concerned with it. Legislation in Congress many a time, although I may have been nominally in charge of that, I'll leave the on-the-spot decisions to the lobbyist who is up against the hard facts of what's there. And I've been in that position myself, where you had to decide one way or another, and quickly.

Lage: Okay, well those are all good points on how the club works and reaches decisions, and then the undercurrent maybe if people aren't so happy with some of the decisions.



Edgar Wayburn speaking at the 25th Anniversary of the establishment of Redwood National Park, August, 1994.

VI WORK TO SAVE ANCIENT FORESTS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

[Interview 5: October 21, 1992]##

Developing the Concept of Protecting Ancient Forests

Lage: This is our fifth session, and I would like to start with the ancient forest issue.

Wayburn: That's fine.

Lage: I think this will bring in a lot of different aspects of the how the club operates, and how it relates to its various components. So will you give a background on what the ancient forest issue encompasses?

Wayburn: The Sierra Club has been concerned with the public forests of the United States since the beginning of the club's history, and was influential in the establishment of the United States Forest Service many years ago. For a great many years, the Forest Service was largely a custodial agency.

All this changed after World War II, when the large lumber companies began to exhaust their own supplies of timber, and the smaller lumber companies did likewise, and began to make demands upon the U.S. Forest Service for timber from the public lands.

I was a witness to this change, which occurred almost immediately after World War II. I had worked fairly closely with California regional foresters.

I remember particularly one instance, which I believe I have detailed previously, of a meeting with Regional Forester [Clair] Hendee. He was about to leave his post to become associate chief forester in Washington, when he told me of the Forest Service desire to do as much roading of the forest as possible. He felt

that putting all the roads in as soon as possible, regardless of where they were put in, would be a very good thing to do, because then the Forest Service would not have to go back repeatedly and put roads into the then-primitive areas and wilderness areas of the forest.

This was not at all in keeping with what the conservationists' desire was, and it was at that time that we began our work on the enactment of the wilderness bill.

However, the Forest Service not only kept up its accent on timber cutting, it increased it through the years. I remember on intermittent flights to Seattle, watching the spread of the clear-cut areas. When I first started flying to Seattle, there were infrequent clear cuts, something to notice particularly. But in recent years, they have become much more the rule than the exception. The long green lawn of forested areas has been replaced by clear cuts.

The Forest Service has always talked about timber being a renewable resource, but it takes many years for clear-cut areas to return to forest. And then, when the trees first come back, they are small. It will take at least a century, and probably more, for the redemption of these forests, if they ever come back, and in many cases they have not. Clear cutting is a very pernicious type of forestry in every way except economic.

When the Sierra Club and other conservation organizations began our work to try to save the public forests, we were particularly concerned with the establishment of wilderness areas. When the Wilderness Act was passed in 1964, I think there were only nine million acres of wilderness established with that act. But since then, there have been a great increase, and now over ninety million acres are protected.

We chose areas which had been comparatively uninfluenced by the works of man. As time has gone on, we found out that there was far more to the primeval forest than solitude, recreation, protection of the human spirit, and the ability to travel without the accoutrements of modern civilization. We found that these forests were extraordinarily valuable as a source of biodiversity, and eventual protection of the planet.

So several years ago, perhaps eight or ten years ago, we began with the concept of protecting ancient forests, whether they were to be official wilderness areas or not.

Lage: Do you know who developed that concept? Was that the Sierra Club or a broader thrust?

Wayburn: It was broader; it was partly Sierra Club.

Lage: Were there any individuals that were particularly identified with that?

Wayburn: I can't answer that.

Lage: But it does date back that long.

Wayburn: It dates back that long, and probably dates back even farther. The chief work of the Sierra Club in the protection of the forest was still with the establishment of wilderness areas, and our various regional conservation offices, and the vast number of volunteers who were active in forest protection, concentrated on the establishment of wilderness areas.

Dissatisfaction with the Painstaking Process of Identifying the Ancient Forests

Wayburn: In order to get those areas identified and presented to Congress, and successfully established by Congress, took a great deal of work and was like the identification of a piece of property that was for sale. They needed to know the metes and bounds, and the values.

In the Northwest, a team of volunteers and staff officers worked very hard in trying to identify the remaining ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest; that is, in the states of Washington and Oregon. Starting from their work on wilderness areas, they painstakingly went through the areas that we now talk of as ancient forest or primeval forest. They were moving very slowly. They had not identified very large areas.

Lage: Why had they not identified large areas?

Wayburn: Because they were identifying these areas in such detail. That took a great deal of time.

In the meantime, the Forest Service and the timber companies were working together to cut as rapidly as possible. Some of our people in the Northwest became aware of this, and thought this was a very bad idea, urged the club to push more vigorously for larger areas. But the recommendations which came out of the Pacific Northwest were not that large.

As a result, some of our volunteers broke off from the Sierra Club and started forming smaller organizations in these states. I remember when I was first acquainted with this, it seemed to me that we were not trying to get as much area identified as ancient forests and protected as ancient forests as we should, and I spoke to Douglas Scott, who was then the conservation director, thinking that this was a staff proposal. He told me that this was a result of work done by the Pacific Northwest forestry volunteers--

Lage: Were they chapter-related people?

Wayburn: They were in the Cascade and Oregon chapters. And that I should not get into it.

But during the course of the next few months, I remained dissatisfied with what we were doing.

Lage: Were you getting pressure or information from dissatisfied local people?

Wayburn: I was getting information from the dissatisfied people, who broke off from the Sierra Club because of their unhappiness with what the club was doing.

Finally, at a retreat of the club's board of directors just outside Yosemite National Park about three and a half or four years ago, Mike McCloskey and I conceived the idea of the board of directors stepping in, and the board passed a resolution to the effect that we should be working more vigorously, identifying larger areas.

Lage: Does this become a tricky question, where the board has sort of given over certain issues to local chapters for their area?

Wayburn: This is definitely a tricky question, because the club, as you know, delegates as much as possible to the lowest possible echelon. This was a case where the regional conservation committee had the responsibility. Charlie Raines, a very good volunteer who was the head of the regional conservation committee in the Pacific Northwest, was in charge of this effort.

Lage: So it wasn't just the chapter, but also the regional conservation committee?

Wayburn: That's right, and the two chapters particularly involved. In addition, Jim Blomquist, who at that time was the regional conservation director, and Bill Arthur, who was then his

assistant, who is now the regional conservation director, were closely involved in this effort.

Lage: Are they staff?

Wayburn: They're staff.

Lage: What was their explanation for moving so slowly?

Wayburn: That they felt that they had to identify these areas as they had the wilderness study areas, and each wilderness study area took up a great deal of time. They were then presented to Congress as a wilderness area prospect. We have been very successful.

Lage: By doing your homework in advance?

Wayburn: In doing that sort of a thorough job. This was a type of effort, though, that could not be treated the same way.

Enter the Northern Spotted Owl and the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund

Wayburn: During this time, the northern spotted owl was identified by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service as an endangered species. Its habitat was old-growth forests in the Northwest, and many of these timbered areas in the Northwest were the habitat of the northern spotted owl. The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, seeing what was happening and being asked by not only the Sierra Club but also other organizations, to file suit against the Forest Service, did so and went into this matter very thoroughly.

Lage: I'm just trying to get background for the reader here: when they file suit, do they consult with the Sierra Club leadership before they file suit? Did they in this instance?

Wayburn: They consult with their clients. Most of the suits of the Legal Defense Fund are initiated by a client entity, either a Sierra Club chapter or the Sierra Club as a whole, or in the case nowadays of some 50 percent of their cases, by some other conservation organization.

Lage: But they have the choice of whether to take it on or not.

Wayburn: Yes. They have the choice of whether they take it on or not.

There was a new office of the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund established in Seattle during this period, and they foresaw the possibilities here, and they attacked the problem very vigorously. They filed suit, and won the lawsuits in several instances, effectively tying up a great deal of the old growth forest.

This made the timber community and a lot of the whole economic community in the Northwest very unhappy. They protested to their congressman, as well as to the public at large. We were a little slow in getting into a countervailing action. However, as I mentioned, at a summer retreat of the board of directors outside Yosemite, Mike McCloskey and I got the board to go on record as urging much more vigorous action.

Lage: Can the board follow up on that? Is there a line of authority?

Wayburn: The board is the final authority in the Sierra Club and can do that, but in deference to these Pacific Northwest leaders who had been working very hard on the problem, our resolution was, we worded it to ask them to come up with a solution. Three months later, they gave us a greatly improved recommendation.

Since that time, the Sierra Club has gone forward much more vigorously, both locally and in the Congress, at trying to identify large areas of protection, ostensibly for the forest spotted owl, which was endangered, actually for the integrity of the primeval forest, which likewise is endangered. It had not been realized how essential these forests were to not only the spotted owl but all of their inhabitants, and the significance of the forest cover to larger world problems, of which we were then becoming aware--global warming, ozone depletion, excessive utilization of carbon, and so forth.

Lage: Does hanging the argument on the spotted owl make it easier for kind of a backlash to occur?

Wayburn: Hanging it on the spotted owl makes the likelihood of success in a lawsuit much more real, because the Endangered Species Act, which is in the highest law of the land, demands the protection of individual endangered species, and it also makes it easier to have a backlash on the argument which has been presented, particularly by the anti-environmentalists, as a case of the spotted owl versus humans. That's not the situation at all. It's a case eventually of human survival.

Lage: Do you think the environmental movement--or the Sierra Club; let's stick with the Sierra Club--makes a strong enough case in favor of the people as well as the animal?

Wayburn: I don't think we do. Some of us realize that this is not a case of animal versus people, but on the whole, the case has not been made strongly enough.

Political Implications of Conservation Stances

Lage: It was such a divisive issue in the club. The split with the Legal Defense Fund kind of centered on this, and I've heard a lot of criticism of Doug Scott's role. How did all that happen?

Wayburn: Yes, I was critical of Doug Scott's role in this.

Lage: What was his role?

Wayburn: When he told me to stay out of this because this wasn't my particular bit of expertise, he said, "This plan is drafted by the volunteers in the Northwest as it should be, as the Sierra Club has delegated." I felt, as I said before, that we were going along a path which was not the best conservation. It was my opinion that the Legal Defense Fund attorneys were correct in what they were doing.

The danger was, of course, that the suit would tie up all the timber in the Pacific Northwest, and simultaneously throw a great many communities out of work. While in the long run that may have been, undoubtedly would have been, advantageous for the long-range survival of human life on this planet, it was something that was too little understood, and therefore was not feasible to carry out.

Lage: So you think Doug was looking at the political implications?

Wayburn: Doug was looking at the political implications on the inside of the Sierra Club as well as on the outside, and directed at Congress and the public at large.

As time has gone on, and the Sierra Club has changed its attitude on the ancient forests entirely, I think that we have been leading the fight in Washington for the protection of the ancient forests.

Lage: Based on the plan that the RCC came up with at your request?

Wayburn: Based on the revised plans that they came up with, and some improvement on those as well.

Jim Blomquist, who went to Washington shortly after this change began, has been in charge of the ancient forests campaign and has done an excellent job on it. He has just left Washington and has now come back to San Francisco to work in the centennial fundraising campaign as a conservation expert.

At the present time, legislation is stalled in the ancient forest campaign. We have been successful in stopping bad bills, which were offered by Senator Packwood of Oregon and then backed up by the other senator from Oregon, Mark Hatfield, and Senator Gorton from Washington. We have, however, not been able to put over our ideas for permanent protection of ancient forests, and we go into the next Congress having had an impasse in the last Congress.

Lage: Would this involve a wilderness bill or a different kind of legislation?

Wayburn: No, this is protection of ancient forests. This is not wilderness, and that is how--that's the crux of the matter as far as our attitude and actions took place successively in this controversy.

Lage: Did what happened with ancient forests have any impact on how the club operates, do you think? Have people learned from this?

Wayburn: I think so. This brings up a number of matters, I think too many to go into detail here. But it involves the principle of the Sierra Club going into so many different fields of endeavor in conservation; having too much to do, growing so fast that it includes a number of new members who want to spread the work of the club beyond its public land focus from which we emerged about 1969, and having too little resources to do all of this. And at the same time, following the democratic principle of putting the issue before the lowest feasible entity within the club. In this case, it was the chapters and the regional conservation committee.

An organization like the Legal Defense Fund, which is far smaller, composed of a group of experts, in this case lawyers and timber consultants, forestry consultants, who can go into the case much more thoroughly and effectively, they were able to move faster and to perceive what was involved much more quickly than we as a club were able to.

Lage: But on the other hand, they don't work with Congress the way we do, so they didn't have that political--

Wayburn: No, they don't have the consequences or the advantages of working with Congress. Each organization has a different focus, and the focus of the Sierra Club is on getting things done, getting change accomplished. Sometimes this is very difficult to do when you compare the ideal versus the achievable.

We have been accused of compromising too much on many things, but when we compromise, generally, it is a compromise on the way to achieving much more long-range results. This has been a very successful type of operation.

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Wayburn: I wouldn't change the club's approach. At the same time, I always encourage individuals or small groups to be more outspoken, and to press farther than the club is able to do at a particular moment in its history.

Lage: So as part of this sort of milieu of the club, some of these splinter groups that may break off from it--

Wayburn: Yes. While I regret the breaking off part, I am happy about the fact that they are asking for measures which are more ideal for the environment, and eventually for human survival.

The Role of Local Economic Factors in Environmental Politics

Lage: Did any of the old-timers in the Northwest, like Polly Dyer and Pat Goldsworthy, and I guess Sandy Tepfer, also have a role in this?

Wayburn: I don't know if Polly or Pat have any role in this. Sandy Tepfer was a member of the board of directors at the time this was going on, and I know that Sandy agreed with the approach that Mike and I took. He voted along with us. At the same time, he told us of the problems that the people in the Pacific Northwest were having.

Lage: And were some of these problems based on pressures on them as local people?

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: They understood the economic impact.

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: Well, did the club--or does it--in its proposal include anything to dampen the economic impact?

Wayburn: Yes. In the measures we have encouraged in the Congress, we have included money for retraining loggers, and in some of our victories, we've been successful in that type of thing. When we accomplished the enlargement of Redwood National Park in 1978, there was a \$30 million appropriation for the retraining of loggers and mill workers.

Lage: Was the vote on the club board on your and Mike's proposal a controversial vote? Was there a lot of opposition?

Wayburn: No, the directors agreed. The directors coming from all parts of the country felt that this was the proper thing to do.

While this was a controversy which started particularly in the Pacific Northwest, there have been other problems with forestry all over the United States, and a number of different solutions offered. I remember talking to our people in Texas when Congressman John Bryant of Texas had offered a measure in the Congress to prohibit all clear cutting. They were unhappy with the club hierarchy for not pushing that. I know they were not satisfied with my explanations that it wasn't feasible to do that all at one fell swoop.

In Illinois, where they have very little forest left where there once were vast forests as well as prairies, they sent a resolution to the board of directors asking that all clear cutting be stopped. I believe they also wanted no more logging on the public forests.

In the Northeast, where the forests have mostly been logged once, twice, or even three times, there is now a movement to buy up as much of this forest land as possible for public ownership and to have more of it protected in private ownership.

Lage: Where would we get the nation's lumber needs?

Wayburn: That is the sixty-four-dollar question. This is the problem.

Lage: We don't want to import from the rain forest.

Wayburn: No. But I think it's a problem that demands much more than we'll be able to go into right now.

Lage: Okay. That's not our issue right now, but at least it's recognized as a problem.

More on the Legal Defense Fund

Lage: Would you want to talk a little bit about the conflict with the Legal Defense Fund? That led off in quite a direction.

Wayburn: Yes. This was brought to a head by the ancient forest controversy.

The Legal Defense Fund was founded in 1971. The board of directors of the Sierra Club encouraged its formation. The club had been involved in comparatively few lawsuits before that time. One was the Admiralty Island suit against the Forest Service, which we have discussed. Another was the suit over Mineral King, which became the first suit of the new Legal Defense Fund.

The legal work of the club, the litigation, had been done by Phil Berry, Don Harris, and Fred Fischer in considerable part. They had done this pro bono. Fischer and Harris worked for the Lillick law firm, and were finally told by their managers that they would have to cut down on the amount of litigation they were doing for the club.

So these three people got the idea that there should be a separate entity, and that's when it came to the attention of the board of directors. The board passed a resolution which I believe I authored stating that it had no objection to the formation of a legal defense fund as a separate independent entity. The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund continued its close relationship with the Sierra Club for a number of years.

When the late Rick Sutherland became the executive director, later titled the president, of the Legal Defense Fund, he saw wider horizons for his organization. Under Rick's leadership, the fund expanded from two offices, the principal one in San Francisco and one in Denver, to the present eight offices it has now, in Seattle, Juneau, New Orleans, Florida, Hawaii, and Washington. It also began to consider taking certain policy stands which had the potential of being different from the Sierra Club.

At the same time, there was confusion in the perceptions of the media and of the public because the word "Sierra Club" connoted the parent Sierra Club. In the spotted owl controversy, the two organizations were at first taking different policy stands. The club was accused of not being consistent.

We had originally given a license to the founders of the Defense Fund to use the name of the Sierra Club. In the course of twenty years, the whereabouts of that license became lost.

Lage: You mean it was a physical contract, the license?

Wayburn: And it was only after a great search through the archives of the club and The Bancroft Library that there was found this document in the archives which were left by the late Judge Raymond Sherwin, who was at that time the secretary of the club.

That document was not signed. So it was known that was the intent, and that it was an oral license.

Lage: Were there any terms set on it?

Wayburn: Yes, there were terms set on it, that the club could withdraw that license at any time.

Lage: When I interviewed Larry Moss, he indicated that he had brought that up as a factor that should be included.

Wayburn: Yes. But it was a strange development and denouement. The club, led again by Phil Berry, who had been one of the Legal Defense Fund trustees for many years but who had resigned because he wanted to avoid a conflict of interest--

Lage: Did he resign when he became president of the club again?

Wayburn: Before that. --drafted criteria for a new license. A new license was debated for many months between representatives of the club and of the defense fund. I was one of those representatives over a period of a year, I guess, and we could not come to any agreement.

It was then suggested that the Legal Defense Fund could change its name, and at the present time, several years after the original negotiations, had begun, the Legal Defense Fund is looking for a new name but has not yet adopted one. The relations between the two organizations are now, I think, excellent, but they are also to an extent in limbo, waiting to see what the Legal Defense Fund will do.

It has always been my feeling that this controversy can be resolved not by the Sierra Club, which wants to preserve, if you will, the sanctity of its name, but by the Legal Defense Fund in what it chooses to do. If it chooses to be simply an attorney for the club and other conservation organizations, there's no

problem in keeping the name of Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund under license.

That has not been satisfactory to them. They don't like the idea of a license which could be withdrawn at any time, by their feeling, on a whim of someone in the Sierra Club--although they know that this is not true. And on the other hand, their desire to spread more widely, not only as an attorney but also as an "attorney general," establishing policy, and doing this not only in the United States, but also in the international field. We have already stated that they must not use the term "Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund" internationally, and they have agreed to that.

Lage: Why is that? Why were you especially concerned about international?

Wayburn: Because that's a whole new field of endeavor, and the club itself has refrained from forming chapters outside the United States and Canada because it wishes to remain one organization under one stabilized control. We have seen that even with our ability to control our chapters as much as we have, that the actions of certain chapters are not always in accord with national policy. To some extent, this Pacific Northwest controversy is evidence of that.

Lage: And then we talked about the Atlantic Chapter last time, I think.

Wayburn: The Atlantic Chapter is another evidence where a chapter went out on a limb in a different way. It takes up a great deal of the time and energy of the board of directors and of the entire club to adjust these internal matters when we should be concentrating on protection of the environment.

Lage: Is it at least agreed with the Legal Defense Fund that the club has control of its name?

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: That's accepted by both sides.

Wayburn: That is accepted.

Lage: So the question is the conditions you set down for their continued use of the name?

Wayburn: Right.

Lage: But you feel that the working relationship is better now?

- Wayburn: I think it is. I have confidence in the people in the Legal Defense Fund, and always have had. I rely on them extensively in carrying out Sierra Club policy in the legal field. I think that they are the best environmental legal firm in the United States, in fact, in the world. They do outstanding work. It's simply a matter of confusion in the minds of the media and the public, and even in the Sierra Club itself, as to the separateness of the club and the Legal Defense Fund.
- Lage: Was it hard, negotiating with all these lawyers, in this year-long or more series of negotiations?
- Wayburn: It's been hard, yes. [laughter] And I think it still is, even when we were represented, as we are now, entirely by our own lawyers--
- Lage: That you hired? You hired lawyers? Or you have Phil Berry--?
- Wayburn: Phil Berry has been the principal one. The two organizations jointly hired David Pesonen as a mediator, and Pesonen put out his own version of mediation which was not satisfactory to either organization.
- Lage: You mean the solution he proposed?
- Wayburn: The solution he proposed. The problem still goes on.
- [tape interruption]
- Lage: It must have been difficult for Phil Berry, whom I hope to be interviewing also again, to sort of take sides on this issue. He's been so closely connected with the Legal Defense Fund and its board of trustees.
- Wayburn: That's right, it's been very difficult for Phil, but his primary loyalty is to the Sierra Club, and he has shown that over and over again.
- Lage: And he's always had a strong feeling about the protection of the club's name.
- Wayburn: That's right, more than anyone else.
- Lage: That's kind of interesting. Well, anything else to say about that particular conflict with the Legal Defense Fund?
- Wayburn: No. It's a coincidence perhaps that after Rick Sutherland's untimely death, Michael Traynor, who took over as president, has now resigned and gone back to his law practice, and the Legal

Defense Fund is in the process of choosing a new president at the same time that the Sierra Club is choosing a new executive director. We are far ahead; we have made a decision which is still subject to negotiation, so I can't talk about it at this particular moment, but would be glad to discuss it with you another time.

Lage: Very good, I'd be interested in hearing how the process went.

Wayburn: Yes. And they are just beginning their search. I know that they have engaged a search firm to do the preliminary work for them even as we engaged a search firm to do that for us.

Lage: So that might influence some of the working out of all of this, I suppose, how the two chief executives work together.

Wayburn: Well, undoubtedly it will in the future.

[tape interruption]

VII THE STRUCTURE OF A DEMOCRATIC BUREAUCRACY

The Role of the Executive Director: Michael McCloskey

Lage: I'd like you to talk about the quality of leadership on the board and staff. We have Mike McCloskey, Doug Wheeler, and Michael Fischer as club executive directors during this period that we're covering. And then I know you have some comments about the board. Do you want to talk about the executive director's role now?

Wayburn: I think it will be easier to talk about executive directors, because there are only three, rather than the board.

Lage: Well, you wouldn't have to talk about every member of the board, but maybe just in general. Is there a trend in the board's leadership? You've talked about a lack of vision at one point among board members in some of the papers you gave me, and a lack of collegiality. But let's focus on the executive directors first.

Michael McCloskey was executive director until '85.

Wayburn: Yes. Mike McCloskey was first appointed staff director when David Brower was let go. He held that position for a year, and it was considered that he was the chief of the staff, but he was in a way on probation.

Lage: Yes, the board seemed reluctant to really hand over the position.

Wayburn: Because of its long standing troubles with Brower, the board was reluctant to appoint a new executive director right away. But Mike had performed satisfactorily during the first year, and so he was given the title and the privileges of executive director. I remember the young Michael McCloskey coming into the board session immediately after his appointment, buttoning up his coat

and standing up straighter and saying, "You may see a different person in me from now on."

Mike fulfilled the job as an executive director better than any other individual. He lacked the, what I might call the instantaneous brilliance and charisma of Brower, but he knew his job well. He was--he is--a very perceptive individual. He knew how to deal with the board of directors. He knew that the board was the supreme authority in the club, and he tailored his position to that. At the same time, he was so good at developing policy and enunciating it that he influenced the policies which the board came out with.

He was extremely loyal to the club. He held his position of leadership for almost seventeen years.

Lage: Which is a record for the club.

Wayburn: Which is a record for the club. Dave Brower was executive director from 1952 to 1969--

Lage: Well, that's seventeen years.

Wayburn: --and Mike from 1969 to '85, but then he came back between the regimes of Wheeler and Fischer while we were looking for a new executive director, and again took on the job as acting executive director.

So he and Brower had approximately the same length of stay. In the case of Mike, the board would have kept him on, but he had had enough of the position. For quite a few years, he had grown restive and felt that he was bound by having this line authority and having to follow through on things that he might not be interested in.

Lage: Being put under the policy direction of the board?

Wayburn: Not just on the policy direction of the board, but managing a larger and larger staff and having so much of his time taken up with administration, which he did not care for near as much. Since he's been made so-called chairman, he has been much more free to follow his bent in developing policy initiatives, international work, a number of different topics which he couldn't develop as the executive director because there was so much set business for the executive director's time.

Lage: So has he developed policy for the board to consider for adoption, is that one of his functions?

Wayburn: Yes. Policy is the board's function, but it has to be developed, and good staff develops that policy. Every director knows that. Every staff member knows that, although there is often a public line that staff doesn't develop--

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Lage: Does that become a problem at all, that line between the staff and the volunteers over the policy role?

Wayburn: It becomes a problem only when there's a difference, and that is always adjusted. There is often a line which some directors, and some other volunteers, will adopt for argument purposes, principally, I think, that the Sierra Club is a volunteer-driven organization. And it is. But I think we have to recognize staff are likewise volunteers, if they're good professionals, and we've got some of the best in the business. They outline and develop the policies which different volunteers and, particularly at the highest echelon, the board of directors will take over.

The policies on the volunteer side are usually developed either by one individual or by what are known as our issue committees. In this particular phase of our history, we are having the issue committees develop policy along many lines, which we had been content to have no policy on officially before, but so often the question came up, "What is the Sierra Club policy on this?" Well, when we had no written policy, it was easy enough to act in a certain way, but as time went on, we were forced for one reason or another to develop a fairly large set of policies.

Lage: Is this partly--this might sound like a flip question--but is it partly keeping the volunteers busy?

Wayburn: No.

Lage: Giving them a significant role in the club?

Wayburn: But it's giving them a significant role in the club, and it's setting up certain guidelines that the volunteers know they can follow without coming in conflict with what a higher echelon of the club may do.

Lage: I see, so it's guidance for the local entities.

Wayburn: Yes.

Development of Bureaucracy within the Sierra Club

Wayburn: I don't know if I've talked about the development of bureaucracy within the club as we've grown larger and larger.

Lage: Not directly, and I think it's important at this point. You've probably touched on it, but this is a good time to elaborate.

Wayburn: As the club has grown, both in scope and in numbers, and has grown nationally and throughout the United States and Canada, we have had many new people come in with new ideas. The question always arises, is this proper for the Sierra Club to take up? Is this involved within its environmental policies or not? The development of many different policies has been one of the outgrowths of this.

Now, during Mike McCloskey's reign as executive director, he often developed certain policies in conjunction usually with volunteers. Since he has been in his role as chairman, he has pursued this along certain lines. As I mentioned, Mike did not care for administration too much. He did not care for the development of budgets, which became a central theme in certain parts of the year. The club's great thing is its conservation program, but its conservation program demands staff, volunteer expertise, and money. While we had the first two of these in suitable amount, we have always been short on money.

That was accentuated during the Brower years when we went considerably into debt, and during the early McCloskey years, we had to fight our way out of it. Budgets came up as a result of this.

Lage: And an elaborate budget process.

Wayburn: And a more and more elaborate budget process, until at the present time we haven't a budget committee any more, we have a finance committee which meets throughout the year. It drafts budgets for the board of directors, and this is first drafted in the staff and becomes the executive director's budget, and then the finance committee adopts or modifies it. Then it comes before the board.

They begin their work early in the year, and track it throughout the course of the year. The budget meeting of the finance committee just took place over this last weekend, and occupied two full days. They went over the executive director's budget, made certain changes in it, and now are in the process of writing this up and recommending it to the board, which will

consider it in the November 15th meeting and will adopt the budget for 1993.

Defining the Role of the Sierra Club Foundation

Wayburn: As the years went on, this I think became more onerous to Mike, and he had certain controversies dumped into his lap, which I think he didn't care for. The most notable of the internal controversies was with the Sierra Club Foundation.

Lage: Another intrafamilial conflict. I think we talked about that.

Wayburn: If we've talked about that, I'll just mention it in connection with Mike. This is, I think, the most notable case in which Mike and I were on opposite sides: should the foundation have a certain role in policy of the Sierra Club or not? The original trustees of the foundation were all, with the exception of Cliff Heimbucher and myself, ex-Sierra Club presidents. I later became an ex-president. The Sierra Club presidents felt that they knew what was best for the club, and therefore--in the words of George Marshall--should have a particular say in developing policies for the use of the funds for which they were stewards.

Lage: Was that something you agreed with?

Wayburn: I did not agree with that wholeheartedly, but I felt that the Sierra Club Foundation, in retaining its separate independence, should have a role in determining where funds that were entrusted to its keeping should go. Sometimes I felt they should go outside the Sierra Club.

Mike took the other attitude. He was in charge of Sierra Club, Sierra Club finances and budget, and when the question came up of what should be the responsibilities of the two organizations in fundraising, there was no question that "fund stewardship" should be a prerogative of the foundation. I thought that the foundation should have a large role in fundraising, that way we would get better people as trustees. Mike felt that the club had to have this responsibility.

Well, it was the result of this that Nick Clinch resigned as the executive director of the foundation. I was the chair of a committee to select a new executive director for the foundation, one who would be able to raise funds. We engaged a search firm at that time, and we came to certain conclusions. I and my

committee thought that Audrey Rust was the best person for the job.

Just at this time, another committee of the foundation was concluding arrangements with the Sierra Club that the Sierra Club would raise the funds, in other words become the development agency, for nondeductible as well as deductible funds for the Sierra Club.

As a result of those negotiations, it became obvious that the idea of an executive director for the foundation would have to be abandoned, that a new development department for the club would raise these funds, deductible as well as nondeductible, that the person we were about to hire would have to be under the control of the club. So I turned over to Mike all of the information I had. Fortunately, Mike came to the same conclusion I had, that Audrey Rust was the best candidate for this position, and so she was hired for the club instead of for the foundation.

Lage: Were you persuaded by this time that that was the right way to go?

Wayburn: Not quite. But later I was.

As the club continued to grow, and the amount of money that the foundation had to protect increased, I became persuaded that the club was the proper organization to guide its own destinies in that regard. And as our centennial fundraising campaign has developed, it's obvious that the club is the better organization to do this. Actually, the two organizations are doing this together in a joint venture.

But the foundation has had the full share in the stewardship of the funds. They have the fiduciary responsibility. And in that regard, they have developed as a different type of organization.

Steve Stevick, who had the original title of director, has now become the executive director of the foundation. The foundation is tailoring its mechanisms more or less in parallel to the club. The centennial fundraising campaign is a way of the club attracting the major gifts as it never has before, and with deductible funds through the mechanism of the foundation. After several years it has finally begun to be a real source of fundraising for the club. At the present time, it still represents a very large investment, because the returns are not yet what we hope they will be.

Lage: The fundraising effort itself?

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: Is the relationship with the foundation legally different from the relationship with the Legal Defense Fund, or is it also just sort of a license to use the name?

Wayburn: It was originally formed without any license. It has accepted a license voluntarily.

Lage: Seems like the working relationship is closer.

Wayburn: The working relationship is now very close, although there are certain individuals who occasionally cause a certain amount of difficulty between the two organizations. [laughter]

Sierra Club Centennial Fundraising Campaign

Wayburn: What I was going on to say, and this is outside the discussion of the executive director, is that the centennial fundraising campaign is a mechanism which we never thought of as just something by itself, but as a way to develop this major gift fundraising capacity for the club. I think that it will. It's been slow in developing, partly because we didn't know what we were getting into at first, and because this had never been done before by a conservation organization. It's been done by universities, and by hospitals, medical centers, but not by a conservation organization.

Lage: Is it looking for endowment funds?

Wayburn: It's looking for endowment funds and for operational funds, both. Some of the operational funds--well, all of the operational funds which are deductible, as well as the endowment funds, are raised for the foundation. But it does raise funds for the club which can be nondeductible.

[tape interruption]

Lage: Okay, we were talking about the centennial fundraising.

Wayburn: Yes. I don't know how deeply we should go into that. Just summarize it to say it's a very large monetary investment on the part of the club, which is I think just beginning to pay dividends, but not very much in proportion to the amount that the club is putting into it. It's not yet paying for itself, but we have every anticipation that it will.

- Lage: So it's an expensive proposition to mount something like this.
- Wayburn: It's a very expensive proposition to mount, and it means that we have had to be very strict in the other outlays that we are making, although we are making outlays. It does mean that the conservation program cannot be expanded, and with reference to the budget, I've had problems with keeping it up to where it is at the present time.
- Lage: Is there a division about whether we should be putting this kind of money into fundraising?
- Wayburn: No, this is pretty well agreed to. As far as the board is concerned, it is agreed to that we needed to do this for the long-term health of the organization.
- If you draw a triangle to show how you get your funds, our organization has a very wide triangle with a rather low apex. I mean, large-scale funds, major gifts, represent a very small amount of our income. Other organizations have a much steeper curve in the triangle; a much higher percentage of funds come from major gifts. We are trying to increase the amount coming from major gifts.
- Lage: It's probably a hard time, with the recession, to be doing this.
- Wayburn: It is. But I think we'll be successful. Why? The Sierra Club is the one organization, more than any other single one, which is trying to save the planet.
- Lage: You're a good fundraising spokesman, I bet.
- Wayburn: I find myself getting into this more and more, reluctantly because my thing is issues. I don't want to spend the time that fundraising involves. I tell the different fundraisers, if they get the prospects and they want me as a resource person, I will so do. One of the things that I have agreed to do this next week is to go down and talk to the head of one of the major foundations in this area to discuss what they can do with us.

More on the Executive Director Position: Douglas Wheeler, 1985-1987

- Lage: Very good. Okay, let's get back to our executive directors. Should we talk about Doug Wheeler--

Wayburn: First let me go on with Mike McCloskey.

As the years rolled by, Mike was less and less inclined to do the necessary work in administration and budgeting. Two or three years before he officially resigned, he told us that he was thinking about this and wanted us to look further. Finally, and I think the date that you have is 1985, we began a search for a new executive director. I was on the search committee, and the board told us what they wanted was a strong executive director. They thought that Mike had become lax in his administrative control.

Lage: When they said a strong executive director, they were thinking of the administrative end of it?

Wayburn: Yes. The administrative end as far as the staff was concerned, and someone who could stand up to the board. Mike always deferred to the board.

Lage: I'm surprised the board wasn't happy with that.

Wayburn: Well, it was, but it felt that it needed a strong guiding hand. That was the board in 1984-85.

The search committee, given these parameters, hired a search firm, told them what we wanted, and they came up with their selection of people. We interviewed, I think, nine or ten people from their top selection. We came up with a final four and the four were narrowed to two before the end. It was the unanimous decision of the search committee and became that of the board that Douglas Wheeler was the only candidate who had the combined characteristics the board was looking for. We thought for a while that things were going along very well.

Lage: Now, he came from a Republican background?

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: And we had Reagan in the White House. Was there any connection?

Wayburn: No, there was no connection there. Doug had been deputy assistant secretary of the Interior for fish, wildlife, and parks in the Nixon and Ford administrations. His immediate superior was Nathaniel Reed, a very good conservationist who is a good friend of mine. I remember calling Nat Reed as a reference and saying, "Doug Wheeler is recommended to us. Do you recommend him?" He said, "Yes." I said, "Well, I want the adverse part of Wheeler." He said, "There is no adverse part." That was his advice at that time, there was nothing against him.

Yes, he was in a Republican administration. I think it could be said he belonged to the liberal or moderate wing of the Republican party. But he had, after he left government service, become the executive director of the American Farmland Trust, and he was concerned with acquisition of properties and easements for conservation purposes in farmland. And while this was not a strong advocacy organization, it was considered compatible work.

I think he had also been with the Conservation Foundation. This recollection, I'm not sure whether that was before--I guess that was after he left the club. But he had been with one other conservation organization.

Lage: Was it Historic Preservation?

Wayburn: Historic Preservation he was with, and that was either before or after, I'm not sure which. But he'd had conservation organization experience, as an executive director.

For almost a year, we thought everything was fine. I remember I rotated off the board during this time. The board wanted to have a retreat in Alaska, since it had had so much to do with Alaska conservation and was still concerned with it. I arranged this meeting. I did not go to the retreat itself, but I understood everything was fine. I took the board on their field trips after the meeting and sat with Bob Howard, who was one of the drivers. We went first to Denali National Park for two days, and then down to Kenai Fjords National Park, using three vans to transport the directors and families.

Everything was very harmonious at that meeting. Bob, who was then vice president of the club, said he'd give me a call in a week, because I was staying in Alaska, and I was still curious to know what was going on. Bob was charged with being acting president, because Larry Downing, the president, had had problems with his cervical spine and was being operated on about that time.

A week later, I had this telephone call from Bob Howard. He said, "There's hell to pay. There's an awful lot going on down here."

Lage: Down here in San Francisco?

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Wayburn: Yes. It seems there had been a revolt by the staff against Wheeler.

Lage: Oh, so this was staff-driven?

Wayburn: And this, as it turned out, was led by Doug Scott. They were at cross purposes. Under Doug's leadership, they had gotten every manager in the staff to sign a petition to have Wheeler removed.

Lage: And you didn't have any inkling of this? You weren't going into the club every day at that point?

Wayburn: I was off the board. I was in Alaska at the time. But before that, I had been going into the club quite frequently. I had an office.

Lage: Oh, you did? But you hadn't picked up this dissatisfaction?

Wayburn: I had not picked this up. It was all--it was sub rosa. Later, I learned that some of the directors were very unhappy, and more of the volunteer leadership was unhappy with Wheeler.

Now, I have not to this day found out everything about it, because in my experience, it happened so suddenly.

Lage: Do you know what the major problems were?

Wayburn: Well, as I can reconstruct, they were that he would make decisions without consulting either board or staff. I remember one, which must have been quite trivial to him but which meant a lot to others, was the logo of the Sierra Club, which is hallowed by tradition since the club's founding. Doug had changed it. I forget for just what particular purpose, but he changed the logo with the advice of some outside consultant but without consulting inside the club or certainly not very widely. This was considered heinous.

He consulted with comparatively few people, and some of those people were directors. He consulted with me on a number of matters. We were quite close. We would go out to lunch every couple of weeks and would talk about other matters in his office.

But he didn't do this very much, and so both staff and volunteers became dissatisfied. I understand that he was not in the habit of asking for staff advice.

Lage: I'm surprised, when he came from outside, that he wouldn't feel it necessary to draw more on the resources of the club itself.

Wayburn: He did to an extent, but to a limited extent.

At any rate, they had an emergency meeting of either the board or the executive committee and asked him to leave. But in his coming to the club, he had a drawn-up contract, which the club had signed, which guaranteed him either two or three years of pay at a salary which was higher than the club had ever offered before but thought that it should offer him. He refused to resign. So he continued for several months in office, but without power in office. The different department heads were more or less running on their own or under the leadership of Scott.

This was in July of 1986 that it started.

Lage: So you had a management by committee sort of, committee of staff?

Wayburn: It might be so. And also with the board taking a more active role than it usually does.

Finally, in the autumn of 1986 he resigned, and then a new search committee was formed. I remember I was off the board throughout this time. I think Richard Cellarius was the chair of that new search committee.

Lage: Can I just ask if there were any substantive disagreements on issues with Wheeler? Did he take stances publicly where he didn't consult with the board?

Wayburn: Yes, there were substantive issues in which people had the perception that he compromised too much. Here is where the Republican versus Democrat issue came up. By '85, and '86, the predominance of the board and of the club at large had become Democrat in political allegiance. And here was Wheeler, a Republican official from the Nixon administration who was making compromises in conservation which were not acceptable to the board or the volunteer leadership.

Lage: Do you remember any particular issues, or is that too far in the past?

Wayburn: At this point, I don't remember a particular issue.

Michael Fischer as Executive Director, 1987-1992

Lage: So there was a search committee, you were saying before I sidetracked you.

Wayburn: And they came up with several candidates. I'm not sure, because I wasn't in on it, just how they came to this, but I do remember Michael Fischer asking for an appointment with me and having lunch with me in March, I think it was, of the year he came on [1987]. He was a candidate, he was one of the finalists, and he wanted to know should he go into the Sierra Club as executive director. Well, Michael had been one of the candidates, he'd been in the final four in the previous selection when we chose Wheeler. At the previous search I had not felt that he fitted the image of the strong executive director that the board had asked for.

But this time, I felt that he fitted with what the board was asking for, which was an executive director who would not be in conflict with the board, who would not be an imperial executive over the staff, but would be much more collegial in his attitude. So I advised Michael to go ahead, and he was chosen. I don't know if I had anything to do with his being chosen, but it was after that consultation.

Michael likewise came from the outside. He had been executive director of first the North Coast regional coastal commission and then the statewide California Coastal Commission. He had a great deal of experience in government. He had not had experience with an activist, hard-line conservation organization, such as the Sierra Club, but he told me that it had always been his ambition to be executive director of the Sierra Club.

He was very happy at first, with the position. I saw Michael quite frequently. I had an office in the club and would have lunch with Michael every two weeks at first. He had said that he wanted consultation with me and with other long-time Sierra Club leaders, and with Dave Brower and Mike McCloskey. Mike was kept on as senior advisor to Michael, and for the first, oh, better part of a year, he had an office. He would come in at first every week or two for two or three days of consultation.

Lage: As sort of a transition?

Wayburn: For a transition. I think by this time he had moved to Washington, but if he hadn't before that, he did shortly afterwards.

Michael was not a strong executive, but he was able to exercise his authority by a collegial method. This was his intent. He held fairly frequent staff meetings, once a month, at least, a general staff meeting, more frequent meetings with the managers, and still more frequent meetings with his direct reports. When he came in, he found he had nine or ten direct

reports, and this increased to eleven or twelve within a fairly short time.

Lage: These are people who reported directly to him?

Wayburn: Yes. He felt rightly that this was too many people reporting directly to him; he had too many things to be concerned with. So he then evolved a system of having two associate executive directors, each of whom had several departments.

This came up at an exceptionally critical time. Doug Scott, who had been director of conservation, became associate executive director for conservation and communications, as it was called, and had responsibility over not only the conservation department but the public affairs department and *Sierra Magazine*. And Andrea Bonnette, who was the director of finance, became associate executive director of finance and administration and had responsibility and authority over not only accounting and data processing, but also over *Sierra Club Books* and *Sierra Club Outings*, which are different sorts of responsibilities.

This seemed to work for a while, but then increasingly Michael came in conflict with Andrea Bonnette. Andrea Bonnette was an extraordinarily capable financial person, and she developed the concept of responsible budgets to a degree that hadn't been in the club. She probably kept us out of debt. Certainly during these rapidly expanding years of the eighties when Ronald Reagan and then George Bush were president, we had as a result an influx of a great many members. The size of club membership went from 180,000 to over 300,000 in the course of a couple of years.

Lage: So she had been with the club before?

Wayburn: No, she had never been with the club. Michael hired her. She was, I think, his first big hire.

But her personal skills were rather poor. She would not only argue with Michael privately but also publicly. She took exception to decisions he had made. She told him that she had no confidence in him.

Lage: Is this all public?

Wayburn: This became public. At first it was private, and then became public. She was also abusive of the people who worked under her.

Lage: Did you observe this?

Wayburn: I observed this increasingly. I remember telling Michael when he first told of his unhappiness, I said, "But she's done so much for the club." And that in this time of--well, it wasn't a crisis as we knew it later--of relative financial crisis, could we afford to dispense with her services? He had this building up inside himself for a long time; when I finally told him that I wouldn't object any more to him getting rid of her, he felt, I think, great relief.

Other members of the executive committee--by this time, I was on the executive committee again--but other members of the board had not had the same experience with Andrea. He knew that he would encounter a certain amount of difficulties if he did fire her, and yet it was his absolute right to do it. But he kept delaying it and delaying it.

Financial Crisis and Personnel Conflicts in the Sierra Club

Wayburn: We then went into a time of financial crisis. I think that the recession began for conservation organizations in either '88 or '89, in the fall. We found the National Wildlife Federation had laid off a large number of people, the Wilderness Society had to lay off people, and National Audubon had to lay off people. We were doing pretty well through this time.

January came along, and there was a question, why were we doing quite so well? Andrea and Michael told us we had to watch. They didn't come down hard on the board and say, "We're suffering." So through the January and the March meetings, we debated and decided we would not have to cut back. In the May meeting, they gave us a little clearer signal, but not clear enough.

But when the financial returns came in at the end of June, we knew that we were hemorrhaging. Then Andrea apparently told Michael he had to get rid of a number of people. And so in what I call the July massacre, about the first of July [1991], Michael announced at a general staff meeting that they were dispensing with more than twenty of the staff.

This was shocking to the staff. These people were all in the support services other than conservation. Carl Pope, who was then conservation director and the associate executive director, managed to not fire any people but just said that he would reduce the budget by the amount that had to be reduced. When Michael in a phone conversation with the board told what he had done, the

board was unanimous in saying, "Do not make any further cuts in conservation until the board retreat."

Lage: So he did this without consultation?

Wayburn: He did this without consultation of the board.

Lage: He had the power to do that?

Wayburn: He had the power to do it and it was financially necessary, but it should have been done beforehand, a little at a time.

Lage: You mean more of a gradual--

Wayburn: He didn't make these cuts gradually and hadn't prepared anybody for it. He wasn't prepared for it himself.

Lage: So part of it was how it was done.

Wayburn: Oh, it was how it was done.

Lage: And Andrea was still with you?

Wayburn: Andrea was there; she was responsible, really. She was the one who gave the figures to Michael and who said, "This and this and this has to be done," and he went with her on it.

This caused very poor morale throughout the staff--which has not yet fully subsided. This caused repercussions in the board and on the volunteer side throughout the chapters, because the allocations to the chapters in this next budget were reduced. This caused serious doubt about Michael's judgment.

Michael's difficulties with Andrea grew. Andrea's independence from Michael and seeking allies on the board against Michael grew.

Lage: Was she well liked among the staff?

Wayburn: She was not well liked on the staff, because as I say, she was abusive to people under her. I would see, for example, being in the club, I would see people come out of her office in tears. And later, people came up to me and thanked me for getting rid of Andrea. I said, "I didn't get rid of Andrea; Michael did."

Lage: But she lobbied the board?

Wayburn: Well, particularly the treasurer. She had Ann Pogue, the treasurer, feeling that Michael was not a good manager because he

didn't follow some of the things that Andrea had suggested, and Ann, who is herself a very capable financial person, felt that Michael was not managing well.

During this time, you will remember, Phil Berry, who had become president in May 1991, had this terrible accident, and was in the hospital for quite a time. I was the acting president through the end of May and much of June. Phil had come out of the hospital and was at home, but he wasn't able to take over fully. He went back into St. Francis Hospital, as I remember, about the first of February, the end of January, in 1992, and we had an executive committee meeting in St. Francis Hospital.

In December Phil had told Michael at a meeting at his home that it was not an appropriate time to fire Andrea. Michael had wanted to in December but had agreed that he wouldn't do it at that time. At the meeting, this matter came up again, and it was my impression that the executive committee had told Michael that he was the executive director with all the rights of the executive director. It was the impression of other members of the executive committee that they had suggested that it was still not a time to fire Andrea.

Lage: Interesting--different perceptions of the same meeting.

Wayburn: That's right. At any rate, soon after that meeting, within one or two weeks, he did it. Long after he should, and yet with the perception of four of the members of the executive committee--Rebecca Falkenberry attended by telephone--that they had suggested that he wait.

This was considered again a matter of judgment which was not exercised at the right time.

Lage: What was the objection to firing her at that time?

Wayburn: Because Phil Berry had asked him in December not to fire her, and it was Phil's impression still that the crisis was still on.

Lage: They needed her financial expertise?

Wayburn: They needed her financial expertise. And preparation for the next year's budget was just about to start. We had two new people directly under her, both excellent people, but at that time the executive committee was not satisfied that they could replace her.

All this came to a head at the board of directors meeting in Washington in March, 1992. Part of the reason for going to

Washington was to work with legislators. We didn't work with legislators very much at that meeting, and a great deal of it was taken up in closed session with discussion of the executive director.

In April Michael announced that he wanted to resign as of November 1, 1992, but that he would remain until then as executive director.

He carried this off very well at first.

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Lage: The lame duck status?

Wayburn: Yes. But then when the 1993 budget came on, he began to drop off. There was no chief financial officer at this time--

Lage: You didn't actually replace Andrea?

Wayburn: We advertised for and came down to a final three on selection in July, and then by mutual agreement with the treasurer and the board, Michael decided to wait until there was a new executive director. There are advantages and disadvantages of both methods, and they felt that they did not have the ideal candidate. It was realized that in addition to being a good financial person, that the new associate director for finance and administration would have to be a good administrator, and that the CEO, new chief executive officer or executive director, might not have all the administrative skills and abilities that were desired, and as a matter of fact, through the last part of Mike McCloskey's reign and through Michael's reign, it was found that this was lacking.

So the search committee was hired to find someone with this new characteristic, and as I understand it, at this moment, they are getting close to finding such a person.

Lage: Now, this is to replace Andrea? Finance and administration?

Wayburn: That's right. But with broader skills than she had, because her personal skills and administrative skills were not what they should have been.

Lage: So Michael didn't carry the ball with the--

Wayburn: Michael, with the new budget, began to drift away. I could see this happening throughout late August and September, and expressed to other members of the board, "He's leaving us." He tried to give the responsibility to Carl Pope to carry this out, and Carl was trying to do it when the board realized what was

happening and went to Michael and said, "You are still the executive director, the budget is your budget, and you've got to take responsibility for it."

So he came back a ways, but it's my feeling at this time that he has in effect left us. Part of this is due to the interclub relationships, and part of it is due to the fact that his wife, Jane Rogers, has been ill since January or February with a condition which hasn't been completely identified, but which is known as chronic fatigue syndrome, the same thing which, by the way, Mike McCloskey has had since he was in Caracas, Venezuela, for the fourth Congress on National Parks in February. Mike has come back quite a bit of the way, and has been working. Jane, I understand, still has relapses.

But Michael will probably--well, the transition [to a new executive director] will probably occur at the November board meeting.

Lage: As you describe the problems, they sound very much sort of administrative, rather than leadership on issues or being a spokesman. Were there problems along those lines?

Wayburn: Well, Michael has been a spokesman. He has been a leader to an extent. He has not been the national leader that Brower or McCloskey were.

Michael is, I feel, a very good man. I mean that in the true sense. He is good of heart, he's good of mind. His judgment and timing and assumption of the full responsibility of an organization which has become extremely complex have not been up to what was fully desired, and he has had conflicts with the board and with certain leaders of the volunteer side, which call this into question.

I should mention one more place where the board became extremely unhappy. Michael had selected two people--first one, and then another--for the directorship of the centennial fundraising campaign, which was late in getting started. Michael, of course, as the executive director, was ultimately charged with the responsibility for this, and he wanted responsibility for the campaign.

The first person he picked, Marianne Briscoe, was a charming woman with great fundraising skills, but what was not known, she was very determined always to have her own way and the way she did things. It turned out she demanded and got a great deal of space for the centennial fundraising campaign, all of which was not absolutely necessary. She and Andrea had struggles, open

fight, over and over again. They were part of the difficulty, these two people. And the fundraising was not proceeding, because she had difficulty in selecting her staff.

Lage: And that was crucial.

Wayburn: That was over a period of a year or more, and finally the board and Michael decided that she was not right for the job. But she had a contract, and Michael had a job persuading her to leave. People on the board felt that she took more money away from the club than should have been at a critical time.

So then Michael had to choose another person. He chose Tom Zeko. Tom Zeko did not get along with the volunteer chair of the campaign fundraising steering committee.

Lage: This gets so complicated!

Wayburn: It gets very complicated. The Centennial Campaign Planning Committee [CCPC] is supposed to do the planning for the campaign, as opposed to the raising of funds, which is under the aegis of the Campaign Steering Committee. The foundation and the club are both represented on the CCPC, and this to an extent put the two organizations in conflict. Michael reported to the executive committee of the club that at their recent meeting the CCPC had recommended that Tom Zeko be fired. Allan Brown, chair of the Steering Committee and also the Planning Committee, had gone along with that. Michael wasn't at this CCPC meeting, hadn't been invited to this meeting, although he should have been. In other words, we on the executive committee of the club were told by Michael that a volunteer committee of the club had fired a member of the staff.

Lage: But this is not the way the organizational structure is set up, that a volunteer committee would choose or fire staff.

Wayburn: That's right. And so Michael got the executive committee to condemn the CCPC and to agree to change its composition--which we were told Allan Brown wanted.

Well, when all the smoke had cleared, it turned out, according to the members of the CCPC, they had not made any such recommendation. Allan Brown had suggested it, and someone had leaked a false report so members of the staff knew about this before Michael did.

Lage: Was Allan Brown a volunteer?

Wayburn: Allan Brown is the volunteer chair of the centennial fund-raising campaign, and the person who's kept the Centennial Campaign going through three changes of campaign directors.

So the executive committee stood behind Michael, and it turned out the facts weren't exactly the way we had been told. The foundation board of trustees refused to accept the recommendation of the board of directors of the club, which was behind the executive committee. So here we were in a terrible brouhaha.

Lage: Does that mean that the foundation wanted to fire Tom?

Wayburn: No. They were supportive of the CCPC members of the foundation. It happened because there were three of them who were ex-presidents of the club. At that time, the Centennial Campaign Planning Committee was composed of more foundation members than club board of directors members.

Well, the board felt that Michael had led the executive committee and the board astray. That was a principal part of the feeling that his judgment was not always good. It was fortunate that he worked quickly to get a new director of the campaign, and had two outstanding candidates, one of whom was chosen, Bill Meadows.

Bill knew the Sierra Club. He'd been a volunteer in the Tennessee Chapter and had been its council delegate at one time, so he knew what to expect. These first two people were entirely from the outside; they didn't know how an organization like the club works. Bill does. Bill is responsible for the fact that the centennial campaign is back on the track, even though I have told Michael I thought it was two years behind time. Michael said, "No, no, it's just a year and a half."

Lage: [laughter] Well, as you describe all this, I wonder what kind of experience does prepare you to be executive director of the Sierra Club? Is there anything comparable?

Wayburn: Well, no other organization is comparable to the club. So some experience inside the club is valuable.

Lage: In searching for the new executive director, was club experience something the board of directors are asking for?

Wayburn: That is not yet published, and so I'm not privileged--I will tell you all about it another time.

Lage: Okay, good. Anything else you want to say about Michael Fischer, or the whole role of executive director?

Wayburn: Well, the role of the executive director in a very complex, large organization, let's go into that--

Lage: Next time.

Wayburn: --when we pick the next executive director.

VIII THE SIERRA CLUB AND ELECTORAL POLITICS

[Interview 6: November 24, 1992]##

Club Involvement in Legislative Politics

Lage: We were going to start with the electoral politics. Maybe you could start with some brief general background, and then we'll get into more current affairs.

How involved have you been in the club's thrust towards electoral politics?

Wayburn: I haven't had any direct involvement, except as a member of the board of directors and particularly being on the executive committee these past two years. We watch the activities of the political committee.

But I might describe briefly the way this all came about. Actually, the Sierra Club has been in legislative politics since it began. John Muir was very active in it. In the years after World War II, when the club began to have a national scope and a heavy involvement in legislative politics, we found that there were certain people who usually voted with us and some certain people who always voted against us. By us, I mean people in the environmental movement.

So in the 1980s, we began to think this over and think if we were going to get good environmental legislation, we had to get into the business of seeing that good people who were favorable, who recognized the importance of the protection of the environment, were elected to office. Once this decision had been made, we started endorsing congressional candidates. Our first effort was in 1982. The first legislator who was endorsed was Sidney Yates of Illinois, who was and still is the chairman of

the Subcommittee on Interior Affairs in the Appropriations Committee.

Lage: Key position.

Wayburn: Very key position, and a gentleman who recognized the importance of environmental protection.

Lage: Was he an incumbent when he was endorsed?

Wayburn: He was an incumbent I believe. He's been in the Congress a long time.

Backing Presidential Candidates Mondale and Clinton

Wayburn: In 1984, we endorsed our first presidential candidate, Walter Mondale, not because we had any idea that Mondale would be able to defeat President Reagan, but because we knew that President Reagan was firmly anti-environmental, despite his statements. He was the one who had appointed the infamous James Watt as secretary of the Interior, and Watt carried out his promise of influencing the American environment for many years to come. We are still suffering from the effects of Watt and Reagan.

But we felt as a matter of principle we should endorse someone who had made good environmental promises.

[tape interruption]

Wayburn: This was a matter of great dispute in the club when we did endorse Mondale. Many of our Republican members were outraged that we should become this involved in politics.

Lage: Were your Republican members supporters of Reagan?

Wayburn: That was divided. Some of them who were not Reagan supporters still felt that way, but particularly the Reagan supporters. That is a long story in itself which I won't go into. But I had registered Republican for many years, and when the decision came to me as a member of the board of directors, should we endorse Mondale or not, I said, "What else is there to do?" Because it was obvious that, Republican or Democrat, this man [Reagan] had no understanding of the importance of the environment, and he still doesn't.

When Bush was up for election after the Reagan administration, we did not endorse him.

Lage: Tell me about that decision.

Wayburn: Well, the hope was that Mr. Bush would be a distinctly better environmental president than Mr. Reagan. As a congressman a number of years before, George Bush had quite a good environmental record. He supported environmental causes, he even introduced environmental legislation. He promised to be the environmental president; he promised that there would be no net loss of wetlands, and so on down the line. We did not endorse Mr. Dukakis; we left that election open.

Lage: Was it any lack of confidence in Dukakis' environmental credentials?

Wayburn: I think there was a lack of confidence in both.

Lage: Was there also a division within the club from the Mondale endorsement? Was that a factor in '88?

Wayburn: That persisted, yes. But I don't think it was a major factor in endorsement or not. I should say that when the club decided to go into electoral politics, it had to set up a completely separate division for the funding mechanism. The club's usual source of funding was either from tax-deductible donations given to the foundation which could be granted to the club for specific purposes, or nondeductible funds, which could go directly to the club. Neither of those qualified for electoral politics, so we had to set up a separate, distinct division. We've kept those monies segregated.

It seems, though, that there are a number of people who are willing to give for electoral purposes, although they know that the monies that they give will not be deductible from their income tax.

I should go a little further and say we have continued to endorse candidates, and our record has been good as far as endorsement of congressional candidates was concerned, and fairly good as far as state offices and local offices were concerned.

Lage: When you say good, you mean our candidates were successful?

Wayburn: Yes, a majority of our candidates were successful. But there was still something missing. In the past four years, we have been able to get more good legislation passed, only to find that the

president would veto it. The president did not take the initiative in proposing good legislation.

When Bill Clinton seemed to be the likely Democratic nominee, some people felt that we should endorse him as a candidate who was anything but Bush. But both the political committee and the board held off. After Clinton picked Al Gore as his vice presidential running mate, that all changed. Senator Gore is regarded as the leading exponent of environmental legislation in the Senate. He has an excellent record, and in addition, he wrote a book called *Earth in the Balance* which is one of the most revealing and thoughtful books that I have seen on the environment. I read most of it all the way through and was extraordinarily impressed by it.

Lage: How closely had the club worked with him as a senator?

Wayburn: It had worked quite closely with him on environmental legislation. He was either a sponsor or co-sponsor of a number of good bills, and on certain types of legislation, particularly in connection with tropical forests, he was the man we'd go to first. A number of our people are acquainted with Gore or his staff.

Simultaneously with this, Mr. Clinton began to talk about the environment more. He has made a number of commitments in various speeches which encourage us to think that we will have an entirely new administration as far as attitude towards environmental matters is concerned.

Lage: Now, was the endorsement of Clinton and Gore a controversial thing within the club?

Wayburn: It was not really a controversial thing. Independently, the political committee came to that conclusion, and at the retreat which the board of directors in July held in Chico Hot Springs, Montana, there was a fairly long debate. But when we came to a vote, it was unanimous that we endorse the Clinton/Gore ticket, and you notice the way I have stated that. It was not just an endorsement of Clinton over Bush; it was an endorsement of the Clinton/Gore ticket over Bush and Quayle.

This is another factor. Mr. Bush, as the years rolled on, seemed to give Mr. Quayle more and more leeway, and Quayle's environmental credentials are very poor. His actions, particularly in the Council on Competitiveness, of which he was the chairman, were indicative of a trend backwards from the nineteenth century. Some good legislation did pass, and some of it with Bush's okay on it, such as the Clean Air Act. Bush

initially did a good job in advocating a stronger Clean Air Act. His administration tended to weaken on that as the legislation went through Congress. But it still was an improvement on the previously authorized Clean Air Act, which had expired.

The Environmental Protection Agency under Bill Reilly was trying to carry out the provisions of this, and the Council on Competitiveness under the vice president was countermanding what the EPA had done. This was true in the Clean Air Act, and this was true on wetlands. The administration in this past year tried to change the whole policy of no net loss on wetlands by redefining what a wetland was, and in redefining it, it eliminated almost half the wetlands of the United States.

Lage: It's almost like a 1984 travesty.

Wayburn: Yes. So by the time the endorsements came around, there was no question about endorsing Clinton and Gore.

Successful Endorsement of Congressional Candidates in the 1992 Election

Wayburn: At the same time, the club endorsed a larger number of candidates for the Congress than it ever had before. We were quite successful, we think. Approximately 70 percent of all the candidates we endorsed for Congress were successful. The highest percentage, of course, was with the incumbents, and the lowest percentage was in trying to defeat incumbents. Where there were open seats, that is, no incumbent running for either the Senate or the House, we were also quite successful.

Lage: Do you have some way of measuring how important the environmental vote was in these various elections? Does the club itself do any follow-up studies or rely on network exit polls or--?

Wayburn: Well, in large part, it relies on the exit polls, and to some extent, I think we would probably rely on the different main pollsters, such as Peter Hart, who has worked with the club and who seems to be quite fair and accurate in his polls.

Lage: On the local level or the state level, who does the endorsing?

Wayburn: Thanks for asking that question. This gets into the whole question of the demography and the hierarchy of the club. In the local elections, the endorsements are made, after investigation, by local groups, and then reviewed by the chapter; and then

reviewed, in the case of the state of California where there are multiple chapters, by Sierra Club of California. They are also reviewed by the political committee, but in the case of local offices, that is not much of a review.

But I recall one set of endorsements which occurred in Marin County, where the Marin group endorsed one candidate over another. The supporters of the candidate who was not endorsed and who was the incumbent were indignant, and they prevailed upon the chapter to re-evaluate the endorsement. The group on the second time again endorsed the challenger. The chapter reviewed it and endorsed the challenger, and so did Sierra Club of California.

That was in spite of the fact that they knew the challenger didn't have much chance.

Lage: Was the Marin group also endorsing the challenger?

Wayburn: Oh, yes.

Lage: So everybody along the line endorsed--

Wayburn: Yes. The Marin group was backed up.

This was done on the basis of the incumbent's record in Marin County. He had a much better record as a commissioner for the California Coastal Commission, but the local people felt he was not responsive to environmental issues.

Lage: Is this Gary Giacomini?

Wayburn: Giacomini, yes. I know that supporters of Giacomini came to me and said, "This is all wrong, do something about it." I simply said, "I have nothing to do with it."

Lage: I bet you have to say that a lot!

Wayburn: "You should go back to the Marin group, and then to the San Francisco Bay Chapter," which they did.

Lage: Well, I've heard similar complaints in Berkeley, where some people feel that the endorsements get tied into Berkeley politics, endorsing one group of politicians versus another. I don't know how real that is.

Wayburn: I don't know either.

Lage: It really offends people, though. Why is the Sierra Club endorsing this group of people, they have asked me. I could see it creating problems.

Wayburn: Oh, it does create problems. It creates more problems, I think, on the local level than it does on the congressional level.

Considerations in Endorsing a Candidate

Lage: Especially when some of the people that aren't endorsed are not bad environmentalists. They may not be as good as the candidate endorsed, but they are not bad.

Wayburn: That's right.

Lage: In another setting, Giacomini might be considered a very good environmentalist.

Wayburn: Yes, and he has always claimed to be one.

On the congressional level, sometimes candidates are endorsed when they haven't too good a record, but their opponents have a much worse record. I recall two instances at this moment: The club had previously endorsed Les AuCoin for his congressional district several times, and he ran for the Senate against Robert Packwood. Actually, working with Congressman Phillip Burton a number of years ago when AuCoin was first put up for Congress, I co-hosted a reception for him, a fundraiser.

He was very good for some years, and then with the great problems over logging in Oregon and Washington, he weakened considerably. I went to a reception for him representing the club a few months ago, and he made a very good speech telling how bad Senator Packwood's environmental legislation was, particularly with regard to logging in Oregon. And after his talk, I got up and said, "Well, Les, you know the AuCoin bill is thought to be almost as bad as the Packwood bill." He protested this and said, "Oh, no, it's not."

But in the long run, the club endorsed him because of his generally good record, and yet as far as logging in the Northwest is concerned, his recent record has not been good.

Lage: Does the national club have guidelines on matters like that? The lesser of two evils, or is it just left up to the--?

Wayburn: You might say there are guidelines, but I think it's up to the individual state chapters.

In Montana, we endorsed Pat Williams, who was running for reelection against Ron Marlinee, who was also an incumbent. Because of the change in the census, Montana was reduced from two to one congressman, so they had to run against one another. Well, there was no question that Williams had a better environmental record than Marlinee's, which was dismal, but Williams' was not as good as we wanted on certain factors. Yet we endorsed him, and there was another case where the margin of victory may have been established by the Sierra Club.

We think, rightly or wrongly, that we are influencing the election of legislators, so that more good legislation will be passed.

Lage: Do these people make an effort to get your endorsement?

Wayburn: Most of them make an effort for the endorsement. When a congressman or a challenger says he doesn't want Sierra Club endorsement, we will not endorse. This sort of thing can well occur in certain areas such as Alaska, where Sierra Club is a dirty word, because it has protected the Alaskan environment against the wishes of Alaska exploiters. Alaska being a comparatively untrammelled state has many people who would exploit every bit of it.

Lage: So in that case, you lie low.

Wayburn: In that case, we don't endorse.

Lage: It's a very complicated procedure.

Party Affiliations within the Sierra Club

Wayburn: Yes. Our political committee, which consists of ten to twelve people chosen from all parts of the country, is very zealous in what it does. It investigates thoroughly, and I think they do a very good job of it. They have both Democrats and Republicans on the committee. The new chairman is a Republican from Georgia.

Lage: Who is that?

Wayburn: Chuck McGrady.

Lage: Now was he in favor of the Clinton/Gore endorsement?

Wayburn: He was. His problem at the moment is to try to find good Republicans for the committee. In its early days, the club was fairly closely allied to the progressive movement and the party of Theodore Roosevelt, progressive Republicans. Throughout the first forty years at least, I would say the club was predominantly Republican. When I was asked what the balance of power or of dominance of political parties in the club was through the fifties and sixties, and the early seventies, I would point to an election and say that the club was 51 percent Republican when Eisenhower was elected, but 51 percent Democrat when Kennedy was elected.

Well, those times have changed with the advent of Reaganism. Reagan took the Republican party far to the right, or he went with it far to the right, and Bush has followed him. There's no question that a large majority of club members are registered Democrat. I myself had registered Republican because I didn't see much difference between the parties. In Georgia I liked to vote for the underdog, and in California I thought that Hiram Johnson and Earl Warren were good prototypes.

When I became very closely associated with Phillip Burton, who was a very liberal Democrat (he called me his "guru") and told him that I was about to change my registration, he said, "Don't do it. I need to point you out as my Republican constituency." I may have told this story in the past: he would introduce me on the steps of the Capitol as his right-wing Republican constituency.

I think that at this time, the Republican party has shifted so far away, I'm trying to, if I ever get down around to it, to re-register as a Democrat.

Lage: Well, that will be interesting.

Wayburn: Life begins at forty--or eighty.

Lage: On the other hand, then you won't be able to influence the direction of the party. But I don't know if you influence it now.

Wayburn: No. I don't think I do, even though I was once asked if I would run for Congress. This was shortly after we had gotten the Golden Gate National Recreation Area passed.

Lage: Would that have meant running against Phil Burton?

Wayburn: Actually, no. When I was asked, I said, "Well, thank you very much, but just yesterday I endorsed John Burton for Congress." This was Bill Mailliard's seat.

And then, speaking of registering, I can register either in San Francisco or Marin County. For a while, I registered in Marin County so that I could support Peter Behr's candidacy for state senator, the best environmental senator of his time.

The One-Hundred Days Committee: Working to Shape the Clinton Administration ##

Lage: I wanted to ask you, if we're finished with the past, to talk about the present, and this One-Hundred Days Committee that you're a member of, sort of leads from the election into the future. What is the One-Hundred Days Committee?

Wayburn: It is a group of the board of directors and staff who are planning what the new president can do to reform some of the environmental practices which are extant in the United States today, as a result particularly of the very bad environmental actions of the past twelve years. It includes several members of the board of directors, such as Jean Packard, the chair, who lives in Virginia, and thus is well located. Also, certain members of the staff, such as Mike McCloskey, and David Gardiner, the head of the Washington office, and Carl Pope, the new executive director.

Lage: Who has quite a background in electoral politics.

Wayburn: Who has a very heavy background in politics, electoral and legislative.

A number of different suggestions have been made as to what the club could do to advise the new administration. At our last meeting of the board, which was a week ago, we drew up a list of items. I had recommended the list to the conservation coordinating committee, of which I am the chairman. This series of actions were adopted and then modified by Carl Pope's suggestions. I then took these to the board, which passed them. I can give you that paper.

Lage: Good. So these were suggestions for what would be requested of the new administration?

Wayburn: Yes. Now, the committee's suggestions will go to the transition team, and to the new appointees, and to the president-elect. This I divided into three phases. The first phase was with regard to appointments. We have been investigating and we have made a number of suggestions to the transition team, or to Senator Gore's staff to be transmitted to the transition team, for appointments, some of them at the highest level, the secretarial level. But they are asking for us to give more input on a level below the secretarial level: assistant secretary, bureau chiefs, and so on.

Lage: So the team or the Gore staff has requested the club to submit names?

Wayburn: We asked for an appointment with Gore's staff, and this is the advice that they gave us. But what I am telling you now is what we had formulated in the memo that I sent to the conservation coordinating committee, and the committee worked on and transmitted to the board, and the board passed.

The second phase was actions which the new administration could take without going to Congress, could take by executive order or by having certain regulations changed. Essentially, these were undoing the bad executive orders of the past twelve years, and suggestions on how the administration could change certain items which pertain to the environment.

These varied pretty widely: all the way from changing the wetlands policy, which at the last minute the [Bush] administration has decided not to change; the exemption of Alaska from the 1 percent rule on wetlands; to advising the administration that the new president could tell the trustees who were administering the fines in the Exxon Valdez oil spill disaster to spend the \$50 million in criminal fines for the restoration of lands around Prince William Sound; and for the purchase of lands and/or easements along the Gulf of Alaska, something which has not been done and could be done under the direction of the president without congressional action.

There are a large number of such actions.

Lage: It's a long list, I'm gathering, of things that could be done by executive order.

Wayburn: Yes, right.

Then, in that same phase is legislation which we think the Congress would be likely to pass in the first one hundred days without too much trouble. This includes such items as the

California Park and Wilderness Act, which enlarges Joshua Tree National Monument, converts it into a national park, and Death Valley National Monument, does the same thing, and establishes a new national park in the east Mojave area.

Lage: Is this the same as the California Desert Act?

Wayburn: Yes, that's the California Desert Act. It's called the California Desert Protection Act. It involves both wilderness protection in BLM lands and a change in some BLM lands to national park administration.

Lage: Because now with our new senators, we have approval from the California senators.

Wayburn: That's right, we have unanimous approval from California senators, whereas previously it was held up by Senator Wilson and then Senator Seymour. We think that can probably go through without too much trouble. Senator Cranston had made certain concessions during the course of that legislation, and we're reviewing it now to see whether or not the original Cranston bill should be reintroduced, or whether the concessions should be in the new bill. That, of course, would be up to our new Senator Feinstein, and probably Boxer too.

Setting Priorities for the Club's Legislative Program

Wayburn: The third phase of the recommendations is what should be the Sierra Club's priorities in legislation for the next two years. The conservation coordinating committee has the responsibility for gathering this together. We took this responsibility very seriously this year. In April we set our schedule, that we wanted all suggestions to be in by the end of May as to what we would include in the choices for the priorities. We sent out a list of these choices on the first of July to all of the regional conservation committees, to all of the chapters, and to all of the groups.

The groups were supposed to make their choices in percentage fashion and give them to the chapters. The chapters and the regional conservation committees were in turn supposed to mark up their polls as to their choices, and send them back to the conservation coordinating committee by the 5th of October.

We actually got these choices in pretty well on time. Of about fifteen or sixteen choices which were offered to the

membership, four this year came out far ahead of all the rest. Those were the preservation and restoration of America's wild places and reform of the public lands; global population stabilization; biological diversity and preservation of endangered species; and strengthening pollution statutes.

Lage: And these done by voting?

Wayburn: This was voting. These four categories came out each around 20 percent of votes, and no other category came anywhere close. The highest of the others was 6 percent.

Lage: Well, that's significant, it seems.

Wayburn: It's very significant.

Lage: They are also broader issues than the club used to list as priorities. We would list a specific fight for an area as a priority, and now we have a whole category of protection of wild lands.

Wayburn: This year, we thought that targeting specific legislative battles was not the way we should arrange our campaigns for several reasons, because we thought that it would be a while before certain legislation was introduced. We combined those into larger segments, not knowing just when the legislation would be introduced, and not knowing when the push would be on for the passage or defeat of particular bills. We thought that mining legislation might come up fairly soon, because it passed overwhelmingly in the House but was defeated in the Senate. It might face that same situation in this Congress.

The phrase that I put into all of this was that we must maintain flexibility. In the past, we have picked certain bits of legislation and stuck to them, and other bits of legislation became much more active. There was a question how could we divert our Washington staff particularly to this situation.

The way we have it set up this time, both the Washington staff and the regional staff will be called in as is appropriate for each bit of legislation. On wilderness bills, for example, the early work will be done by the regional staff, who are much more acquainted with the details. Then, as the legislation goes into high gear, Washington staff will be used to supplement that.

The same is true of such bills as the California Desert Act. Most of that in its formative state this year will be done by the southern California and northern California regional representatives. But it will involve Washington staff, too. And

of course, none of these decisions mandates what the volunteers will do, because they can do whatever they would like to do and whatever they're most interested in. Just an effort will be made to channel their energies into the bills that the board thinks are the most important.

Lage: But it's not a dictatorial process. You have to have their enthusiasm.

Wayburn: That's right, very definitely.

Lage: But since you've developed these priorities through a democratic process, it should reflect their interests.

Wayburn: Yes. The club is an example of democracy at work. Now, it's a democracy of 600,000 individuals who have back of them quite a few million people who are sympathetic, but who aren't active, and of course, many of the club members--the majority--are not active. But we have many thousand activists.

Lage: Could you put a number on people you would consider activists out of our 600,000? I'm sure it fluctuates.

Wayburn: I've tried to do that in the past, and I think that we can say that there are at least 2,000 who are very active, convinced activists. There are another 10,000 who do a considerable amount of work who can be counted on, not to lead, but to write letters and to carry out actions which the 2,000 suggest. And there are perhaps 50,000 who will take action at one time or another on certain things that they are particularly interested in.

On the local scene, the same proportion perhaps holds true.

Lage: So those figures you just gave were on the national scene?

Wayburn: That's on the national scene. I think probably on the local scene, they'd be higher.

Lage: I would think so, when you think of all the chapters.

Wayburn: Yes. But those 50,000 will support pretty strongly what the club suggests doing on a national scale.

A Prediction on Working with the Clinton Administration

Lage: Just to finish up on the political: do you have indications that the new administration is going to listen to the club's suggestions? I'm sure they're getting suggestions from many different organizations and groups that supported them. What is going to be the response?

Wayburn: The answer is yes, I do, for several reasons. First of all, there are the statements, promises, if you will, which President-elect Clinton made in different speeches. Secondly is the actual mention of protection of the environment in his acceptance speech, or in his victory speech. Third is the well-known tendencies of Vice President-elect Al Gore, both from his record in the Senate and from the book which he has written. And there is the fact that we have been to the transition team and will be going back with our suggestions, and to date, they have reacted favorably toward them and have asked us for more of what we would like.

Finally, is the fact that not only did the club endorse Clinton/Gore, but it worked tremendously hard to influence the election, and I think did influence the election where there was a close call in some places.

Lage: So there should be a payoff, so to speak.

Wayburn: A payoff in a good cause.

Lage: Right. [laughs] You're happy with the California election, I assume.

Wayburn: We're extremely happy with the California election. Both Feinstein and Boxer were enthusiastically endorsed by the club, and when it looked as if Boxer had lost her early lead over Hershensohn and was in danger of not being elected, the club sent out 100,000 postcards urging her election. I think it's conceded that that had an influence in how well she did.

Lage: That's something we didn't cover, that not only does the club endorse these people, but they work for them. Is that not correct?

Wayburn: That's quite true. I will point out that the club board of directors endorsed the Clinton/Gore ticket in July. The official announcement was not made until, I think it was the 4th of September. This was at the request of the Clinton campaign, and at that time, Tony Ruckel, the current president of the club, went to Little Rock and stood side by side with President-elect Clinton, endorsing him.

The Power of a Volunteer-Driven, Grass-Roots Organization

Wayburn: On that same day, the Sierra Club held forty press conferences throughout the country. I held the one in San Francisco which was quite well attended. I didn't realize it, because it got very little attention in the San Francisco papers, but I learned afterwards that the Kansas City and Buffalo, New York, papers had picked it up, with pictures.

But after that, the club made a concerted effort to see that the campaign was made as strong as possible. Reid Wilson, who is the staff political director, did an extraordinary, outstanding job. He sent out daily bulletins, five days a week, for a total of over thirty, I think. He told members what they could do every day that he sent them out, and what the situation was, where the candidates were going to be, and what Sierra Club people in the different areas where the candidates or their surrogates were appearing. I have never seen a more competent job.

Lage: Does this go to club members or club activists?

Wayburn: Wilson's bulletins were sent to several hundred club activists who then spread the word.

Lage: It's a very imposing organization.

Wayburn: It is an imposing organization. We've gone into this in the past?

Lage: Yes, we have, but the details here shore up the overall picture, I think.

Wayburn: Yes. The details reveal what a volunteer-driven, grass-roots-oriented organization can do. As it stands at this moment, there is no other organization comparable to the Sierra Club. It's so good that the anti-environmentalists have been imitating it.

Lage: This wise use movement?

Wayburn: The so-called wise use movement, which is a coalition of anti-environmental groups that take in a number of small groups in rural areas particularly, and who have made quite an inroad-- so that the perception of what they've done is distinctly greater than what they have done.



Edgar Wayburn at home in San Francisco, August, 1996.



Edgar Wayburn on the Northern Lemming II, July, 1992.

IX NEW LEADERSHIP, LOOKING FORWARD

New Executive Director Carl Pope

Lage: Okay, I'd like to turn now to the general issue of club leadership in the last twelve years. We've gone over the last three executive directors, and when we met last time, you couldn't say who the next one was going to be. Now that Carl Pope's appointment has been announced, do you want to talk a little bit about Carl and what was the club looking for this time? I understand that each time the board tends to look for new qualities.

Wayburn: That's right. Each time they emphasize different qualities.

This time, the board of directors gave the direction to find the ideal candidate. On the one hand, they wanted someone who would look good to the external world, someone who would make good appearances on television and radio, who could be a witness as well as a speechmaker, who could be influential in presenting our views to the Congress, to the administration, and who would be a good fundraiser. This is a particular set of qualities which is not easily found.

Lage: What about management--?

Wayburn: In addition to those, they were looking for someone who would be good internally, who would be a good manager for the staff, who would be a good team-builder for the staff. And then the third part of this was someone who could get along with the volunteers inside the club, with the chapter leaders, and particularly with the board of directors. All of this is a great big task. I think it's one of the harder jobs in the world to do right.

After very intensive investigations, our selection committee came up in August and September with a group of eight semi-finalists.

Lage: And you were on the search committee?

Wayburn: I was on the search committee.

There were five candidates who could be termed "insiders," and three or four who would be termed "outsiders." We tried to give a balanced judgment on each of these, and finally presented three finalists to the board of directors. One of those finalists dropped out; that person was an outsider. The final choice the board made was between an insider and an outsider. The unanimous choice of the search committee was Carl Pope. Carl prevailed with the full board.

He had nineteen years of experience with the club in a variety of capacities: as a general staffer, as political director.

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Wayburn: He also had been the executive director of the California League of Conservation Voters. At that time, he was part time with the club.

He later was made assistant conservation director, and then when Doug Scott was elevated to be associate executive director for conservation and communications, Carl became the conservation director. When Scott left, he assumed Scott's position as well as the position of conservation director.

He was thus better qualified from a point of view of working with the staff and the volunteers than anyone we'd had before, except for Mike McCloskey. And he'd been with us longer than Mike before he was selected as executive director. You will remember that Mike started as our Northwest regional representative, and after three or four years, came down to the club headquarters to be assistant to the president, and then shortly afterwards, conservation director. He was conservation director for I think four years when he was selected as executive director. So he had only eight years as a club employee, as opposed to Carl's nineteen.

Lage: Has Carl been known as someone who works well in that peculiar setting that the club is, the volunteer setup?

Wayburn: Carl learned to work very well in what I call the club culture. He was effective as a member of the conservation staff and then as head of the conservation staff. During the last year and a half or so, he had taken on the extra job of acting as the executive director when Michael Fischer was away.

Lage: Was he sort of groomed for the job? Was this a foregone conclusion, that he was going to replace Michael Fisher?

Wayburn: No. Michael thought that he should be, but he was not promised the job in any way. The board felt that we should make a very thorough search, and there were some members of the board who were not convinced that he was the person. But I think that he has caught on very fast. He has moved very fast in his first month, making changes in staff administration, and in his contacts with both the board of directors and with the outside. I believe that at the present time, everyone on the board is happy with Carl.

Lage: Good. Was it difficult to find candidates that were qualified and willing to take on this giant organization?

Wayburn: Yes. We had a pool of over 100 candidates--

Lage: That you sought out, or that submitted an application?

Wayburn: Both ways. Some of the people we were most interested in were not interested in becoming executive director of the Sierra Club. This applied particularly to the outside candidates. The culture of the club, the whole ambiance of the club, is difficult for an outsider to get into if he or she has not been exposed to it over a period of time. There are not other organizations which work the same way. In general, they work from the top down, and the control is either in the executive director or the president, who is a paid president. The decisions may be made by the board, but they're not subject to what the rank and file say.

In the Sierra Club, there is this vast complex organization which I have described, and it can be influenced by any one of a number of parts of it. In general, the word of the executive director, particularly if it's backed up by the board, will carry through. But in the case of one executive director, there was a staff revolt, and the board went along with the staff revolt. This was in the case of Wheeler. And in the case of Fischer, there was the question of his judgment in certain matters.

Qualities of Leadership

- Lage: If Fischer was the more collegial manager, and Wheeler the more authoritarian manager, where do you think Carl will fit in?
- Wayburn: Oh, I think he will fit more into the collegial pattern. He has certain authoritarian tendencies, but I think he knows how to control them, and he knows how far he can go. He will keep the board informed. This is a thing that Michael Fischer did in his first few months, kept the board very well informed, but he didn't get any feedback, he said, so he did that less and less. That was one of the causes of some of the board not having full confidence in him after a while.
- I think Carl knows that lesson. I have discussed it with him. To date, he has kept the board very fully informed, not only of what he would propose to do on the outside, but also of what his actions with the staff are. He is making certain changes of procedure with regard to the staff, and he is sending out information to the staff. All of that is copied to the board. He knows the value of good communication, and good communication is absolutely necessary in the Sierra Club.
- Lage: Maybe this comes from my few discussions with Michael Fischer, but it seems as if the board perhaps needs to develop a sense of restraint also, and of its own proper role. When it comes time to picking a new executive director, does the board consider its role?
- Wayburn: The board considers its role, but not to the extent that certain advice has been given to it, either by some of the outside consultants or by Michael himself. This was one of the problems. I think Carl knows how far he can go without consulting the board, and he can gauge the board's reaction better than Michael was able to do.
- Lage: Because it seems that sometimes the board wants a strong executive director, and other times if the executive director shows an independent streak, the board or part of it becomes upset.
- Wayburn: That is correct. Walking that line always becomes a task for the executive director. Now, it's my impression that Carl, as a result of his nineteen years experience, and particularly of his past few years as associate executive director, has often had to take the responsibility, although he didn't always have the authority. He has learned that lesson well.

It's also my impression that for the next few years, he will be, shall I say, a little more authoritarian than Mike McCloskey but will get along well with the board. Now, as I mentioned earlier, this is a very big job, and the executive director can't do everything that's expected of him.

Lage: Just as you described the job, I thought to myself, "This is impossible."

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: Being a witness, making the public speeches, and managing the club is a very difficult--.

Wayburn: Yes. Carl is very smart. He is a quick study. He has been accused of doing things with smoke and mirrors by some people. He has always got reasons for what he does.

Lage: What do you mean by doing things with smoke and mirrors? What kinds of things? On the outside, or things within the club?

Wayburn: Oh, this is a characterization which was put by some influential members of the club who didn't like what he was doing. It happened that I agreed with him, so I didn't feel that way. But he has been accused of being arrogant, and I have discussed this with him in the days immediately before he took over. As I mentioned, he is very smart, very quick. He may seem arrogant because he goes ahead and does things fast, but then, I think he'll catch up on himself and step back.

Lage: It sounds as if you have a good relationship with him, if you can discuss all of this.

Wayburn: Yes. I have a good relationship with him. This has been particularly during the past two years, when I've been the chair of the conservation coordinating committee and had to coordinate with the conservation director very closely. We see things mostly eye to eye.

Lage: How does it work? Are you a team, the two of you? He being the head of the staff for conservation, and you the head of the volunteers for conservation?

Wayburn: That's right.

Lage: What do you do when you disagree?

Wayburn: Well, we see if we can agree, and if we can't, we'll put it up to the conservation coordinating committee. This is the group which

has the final say under the board of directors. The board of directors has the final say as to what goes on.

Lage: So you'd put forth two views, if you could not--

Wayburn: Yes. Or tend to combine those views.

In the case that we were talking about a few minutes ago on the club's priority process and the One-Hundred Days Committee, I put out one memorandum which divided the problems into three phases. One was the appointments, the second was the things that could be done by either the administration or the Congress in the first 100 days we thought we should get cooking on, and the third was the longer-term legislation of the club's priority programs which would take one to four years to carry out, or that we would be working on.

Carl was not considering the appointments and the administrative actions. He was considering how we should implement the club's legislative program. So he put out another memorandum. Neither of us had seen the other's memorandum. We agreed that what I did, the first part of that, should be accepted by the conservation coordinating committee, and it was, and the part he did, which took care of part of mine, he reworked, put it up to the CCC; the CCC in turn asked for more, and he revised his memorandum, and that's the final thing, this combination, which went to the board of directors.

Lage: I'm assuming--correct me if I'm wrong--that his judgment is respected, that he is pretty astute. Is that correct?

Wayburn: That's correct.

Lage: So there is a certain amount of leadership involved.

Wayburn: Yes. Among other characteristics the board asked for was leadership. All of these things together build leadership. A good team-builder can also be the leader. A good fundraiser can be the leader. A good spokesman before the Congress can be a leader.

Lage: Has Carl been involved in fundraising?

Wayburn: Yes. He has been responsible for some of the biggest gifts. Actually, he and Michael Fischer made a joint trip to New York last week and came back with a grant from a private foundation for \$500,000 over a period of three years.

Lage: It will be interesting to watch how things go from now.

Wayburn: I think we're going to have a period of good works, good fellowship. I think that Carl will work well with the board during the next year or two. We have a favorable political climate in Washington, so that our legislative and administrative efforts should be a great deal better than they've been in the past few years.

We have one big cloud on the horizon, and that is this anti-environmental movement which is organized, and very efficiently organized. We in turn are organizing to see how we can best combat it. We've got people who have not taken the lead in other things who are taking the lead in this. It remains to be seen how well we combat it. We were successful in combatting the so-called Sagebrush Rebellion of 1982-1984, and a great many of the same players who were on the other side in that are playing their roles in this so-called movement [the wise use movement], which we term a coalition. That's something that we have to combat.

Financial Issues within the Club: Gifts and Tainted Money

Wayburn: We have a time of financial stringency, because the club was growing at the rate of 12 to 15 percent per year, and now after an initial drop and a flattening out, we're growing much more slowly. Whether or not the presence of a good national administration will cause us to lose new members and renewals is yet to be found out.

We have partly on that account started this Centennial fundraising campaign which is aimed at getting more large gifts for the club. Our intention is not just for the Centennial, to extend over a period of three years or so. This is intended to be a permanent part of our fundraising process, something we never have done before.

Lage: And are these endowment gifts, or both?

Wayburn: These are both endowment and operational gifts. These are both tax-deductible and non-tax-deductible funds. There has been one attitude in the club that we should not go after large gifts, particularly deductible gifts, because that would change the culture of the club, the attitude of the club, and what it tried to do. I don't have that apprehension. I think it will never be

large enough to keep the club from what it considers its priority campaigns. There may be individual donors who will earmark their gifts for certain purposes, which may or may not be part of the club's priorities. But I can't see that displacing the small gifts and the dues of a membership with 600,000 people.

I have had that attitude for some forty years now, and I have personally solicited gifts which some people didn't approve of because they felt it was tainted money. I don't mind accepting tainted money as long as it's understood that it will be used for good purposes. And I think that you can, if you tell the donor right off that's the way it is.

Lage: What kind of a gift would be considered tainted money?

Wayburn: Well, when we were talking about Alaska, I told you about the gift of \$100,000, which today would be equivalent to \$600,000 to \$1 million, from the ARCO Foundation. We used that money to do research on caribou through the University of Alaska.

Robert O. Anderson, the chair of ARCO thought that there wouldn't be any effect on the caribou from construction of drilling rigs and the oil pipeline. So we arranged for the University of Alaska Wildlife Center to use it, and they used it over a period of a number of years. They sent us reports on it regularly.

Probably each of us was partly right. The arctic caribou herd, which was always small, did not decrease in size. And the bull caribou would get in the shade of the pipeline to escape the flies. But on the other hand, the herd did not breed directly in the oil fields and under the pipeline, and those were areas that they had used for breeding before.

In any case, I felt that this was a project that we should be seeing that it was carried out, because this was so important.

Lage: ARCO gave the money to the Sierra Club to administer studies that were done more neutrally.

Wayburn: The club could do anything it wanted with this money, but the directors felt it was tainted--a majority of them did--and therefore we passed it on to the University of Alaska.

Lage: I see. When you were originally given the money, was it given for this purpose?

Wayburn: It was given for the purpose of seeing whether or not the drilling and the pipeline at Prudhoe Bay had an adverse effect on the caribou.

Lage: Because the ARCO Foundation could have hired its own consultants, but they would have been more suspect.

Wayburn: Yes.

Lage: And this allowed it to be a neutral study. I can't--[laughs] it doesn't sound too threatening to the club, somehow.

Wayburn: I didn't think so.

Leadership on the Board of Directors

Lage: Let's talk just a little bit about the quality of leadership on the board. We've talked about the executive directors. I read a memo of yours where you were critical of some aspects of the board.

Wayburn: I'm trying to remember just when and what that was.

Lage: Well, it was two or three years ago, and you talked about lack of collegiality, lack of vision in environmental policy, some lack of clarity between the role of the board and top staff [see Appendix D].

Wayburn: Yes. A few years ago, the board was not in a collegial mood. There were certain reasons: certain individuals, particularly I could name Denny Shaffer, who had been on the board then for eight or ten years, who had been treasurer, who is a very able man but also abrasive, and who would be highly critical of other members of the board openly in board meetings.

Lage: On a personal level?

Wayburn: On a personal level. And this in turn caused repercussions. There were other members of the board who had this quality to a lesser extent. Denny was the leader, literally and figuratively of this.

Lage: When you say he was the leader, did the other members follow along with him, or they just shared this quality?

Wayburn: Some of each. Certain discussions were unusually and unnecessarily prolonged as a result, and some matters did not get settled adequately as a result.

Lage: Had Denny always been this way?

Wayburn: Increasingly. When he was first elected, he was elected--I remember it was when the board held a meeting at a ranch in New Mexico, and we had a vacancy, and the board elected him. It elected him because we felt we needed more business experience on the board; the board is generally a group of conservationists.

Lage: And he's a businessman?

Wayburn: He is a businessman who is also a very good conservationist but had certain ideas on running the club which weren't always carried out. He came to our attention because he was a member of the membership committee.

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Wayburn: He became the chair of the membership committee. He was responsible for recruiting new members and getting renewals.

Lage: Did he have conservation issues that he was identified with, or was he more identified with things like membership and finances?

Wayburn: Well, at first it was membership, and then shortly thereafter, because he was a businessman, he was elected treasurer of the club. He remained as treasurer of the club for most of the next eight to ten years.

That member of the board, the treasurer, can come into conflict with other members of the board who may not be so monetarily minded but who want to see certain conservation purposes accomplished. How the treasurer handles those has a great deal to do with what happens on the board, because each year, the board has a budget to take care of.

Denny was instrumental in seeing that we had a budget and in trying to keep to the budget. He also had certain things that he wanted to do which might be rather costly. He would pursue those in opposition to other matters which he didn't consider quite as important.

Lage: So he was making policy decisions through his influence over the budget.

Wayburn: Right.

Lage: What kinds of things did he favor?

Wayburn: Well, I remember particularly the most recent thing was he was for was the club going into a new state/provincial program, which involved the diversion of a good deal of money. Each chapter would get a certain amount of money in so-called strategic grants, a given amount of money, and then they could apply for incentive grants, maybe the reverse--but there were two types of grants. With one grant each chapter got anywhere from one to two or three thousand dollars, and with the other, specific chapters would make application for a grant and get anywhere from \$5,000 to \$25,000. He and Sue Merrow were proposing that as a new program.

Lage: And this was for state legislative action, as I recall?

Wayburn: Yes. And at the same time, I was proposing that we increase our international program by adding a staffer who would keep track of all foreign NGOs, who came to us, in a data base so that we could know how to deal with them and improve our international abilities.

We discussed this over a period of two years--first the international committee had approved what I was proposing. Michele Perrault was very much for it. We discussed this over a period of one to two years, and the first time I think neither prevailed. Then Denny came to me with a proposal that we each support the other. By this time (this was during the time the club was growing 15 percent per year) it looked like we would have enough funds. So I agreed.

What I didn't know and what I wasn't told was while what I was proposing would cost somewhere around \$40,000 a year, in the first year, the stateside program would cost \$350,000, and if kept up, would rapidly ascend towards the \$1 million mark. That was just before the big drop in finances came, and so we had to cut the program back to where it's costing somewhere around \$100,000 a year.

That's where he went outside his role as treasurer for a very well-intended program, but the way he presented it caused some people to feel that it wasn't a good idea. We now have both those programs, and they are being implemented even though one is much smaller than the original design.

The Budget Process in the Sierra Club

- Wayburn: We didn't have a budget up until about fifteen years ago or so. This was by design. The executive director, David Brower, didn't like budgets because they held him down too much. But with Mike McCloskey coming on, he leaned more and more towards budgeting. As the club has grown in size and in its financial responsibilities, budgets became essential. The budget committee, which used to go into action around the first of May, now has become a finance committee which works the year round. It not only approves of the budget, but also tracks the budget throughout the year to see how well we're keeping to it.
- Lage: Does this give them a lot of power within the club?
- Wayburn: Oh, it gives a great deal of power. That's necessary to follow through on the possible financial losses. We are now a \$38 million corporation, and we had two years ago a \$3 million deficit. We've been making up for it ever since.
- Lage: Does this focus on the financial relate to yours and others' suggestions that the board has lacked vision?
- Wayburn: What I was trying to do at that time, as I remember, was to get away from pure accent on the finances, and to put the finances in proportion to what the club had to do in the immediate and long-range future. As I remember a little more of what that memorandum was about, I said the budget lacked vision. It took care of the people who were employed either as volunteers or staff, but it did not realize that there were certain long-range problems in environmental protection which we had to tackle, and that we should start including in the budget. The budget at that time seemed to be running our program, rather than our program determining our budget [see Appendix E].
- Lage: And the time taken up in meetings, it seems, inordinantly has to do with budget or administrative matters.
- Wayburn: Yes. One of the problems of the past few years has been that there have been so many internal problems that don't relate entirely to budget. They're just partly budget. They relate to problems in the chapters, and personalities and personal matters within the chapters which have been tossed out to the board.
- Lage: Isn't the council supposed to take care of that?
- Wayburn: The council is supposed to take care of such matters and has tried to, but the board is the ultimate authority, and so appeals

have been made either by individuals or by chapters from the decision and the procedures of the council. The board has had to take up a great deal of time with those.

Now, the last couple of meetings we have disposed of those better. And in the last two budgets, particularly the last budget, there has been no question because all the matters were fought out in the finance committee. All members of the board are invited to meetings of the finance committee. Several members of the board are members of the finance committee.

This has been a great advantage in determining the length of time that the board spends on arguing out the finances, and at this last meeting, the budget was just accepted as such.

Lage: That must have been nice.

Wayburn: It was nice. I made one exception to that, that the major campaigns fund, which applies particularly to the amount of money we have for carrying out our conservation campaigns in the Congress, would be revisited at mid-year. I didn't think enough had been allotted, and if we used up too much of it and we needed more, it was a comparatively small amount of this \$38 million, but it's again one place where I feel that we mustn't cripple the conservation effort, particularly with small amounts. When it comes to the larger amounts, yes, we've got to divide out and see how much we're going to spend, but many small matters have been the subject of prolonged debate in the past, and they shouldn't be. When there's a matter of \$1,000 to \$10,000 in a \$38 million budget, that shouldn't take up half to three-quarters of an hour.

Lage: Must be very trying. Just to finish up on Denny Shaffer, I noticed in the minutes that he resigned as treasurer in November of 1988. Was there some incident that--?

Wayburn: Yes. This had to do, as I remember, with the centennial fundraising campaign and some matters associated with it. He was not supported in the proposals he made, so he resigned. I thought it was unfortunate and I urged him not to resign at that time. He continued as a member of the board of directors, and he continued to take attitudes similar to those he had taken before. But he didn't have the responsibility, and he felt that he didn't want the responsibility for the budget under those circumstances.

It worked out all right, though. He was replaced, someone who was not as much of a nuts-and-bolts micromanager as Denny. Denny was a micromanager in his time, and he came in conflict with the staff.

Lage: Because there is a staff person for preparing the budget.

Wayburn: Yes, on that account.

Financial Officers of the Sierra Club

Wayburn: That brings up something else I haven't discussed, but I don't know if you have discussed it with anyone, and that is the finance position and the people we've had in it. Do you want me to go into that at all?

Lage: Yes, I think that would be good.

Wayburn: For years, in the Brower days, we didn't have anyone who could be considered finance manager or controller. Dave did it all.

Lage: The club was much smaller.

Wayburn: The club was much smaller. But Dave, as he got into books and away from the conservation legislative effort, began to use more and more of the club's money in a way that none of the directors quite realized.

Then Clifford Heimbucher came on as treasurer. This was in the early sixties, or may have been 1958 or '59. Cliff was a very capable CPA, and he would call Dave on the expenditure of funds. We then proceeded to hire a series of people with business or financial experience, and called them by different names. Sometimes it was business manager, sometimes it was controller. Whatever it was, Dave would go over their figures just before the board meeting and find big holes in them, although they'd found holes in what he'd proposed and said that we were not managing properly.

Dave prevailed for a few years, but that was always one of the bones of contention when he threatened to resign. Finally I suggested he not threaten because the board would accept the resignation. This condition persisted to 1969, when the board asked him to leave, or rather, had a vote of no confidence, and he chose to resign rather than submit to the conditions which had been imposed, where he would not have any fiscal responsibility.

In our series of people from Elmer Marriot to Cliff Rudden to Len Levitt, none of them would fight openly with the executive director. Cliff Rudden would tell us what the facts were, but he wouldn't push his views. Len Levitt was very compliant. We didn't have anyone who was really in charge. We were spending

more than we should have. We were compensating because of our enormous rapid growth.

When Michael Fischer came on as executive director, he hired as chief financial officer to take Len Levitt's place--Len was about to retire--a woman named Andrea Bonnette, who had exceptional credentials as a financial person, and who was exceptional as a financial person. For the first time, we knew what our financial situation was, and we could go on from there.

Andrea was in the position of chief financial officer for four, four and a half years, and she was extremely helpful to us in that regard. Unfortunately, she had a personality which was very bad from the point of view of a collegial atmosphere in the club. She abused her inferiors, she fought with her peers, and she was sarcastic in dealing with members of the board, particularly those she didn't like.

Lage: We also discussed this when we talked about Michael Fischer's tenure.

Wayburn: Yes. As we discussed, eventually, Michael did fire Andrea. She had in the meantime before this hired two excellent people under her. They likewise were not happy with the treatment she gave them on a personal basis. So last February, she was let go. But we haven't yet gotten a new financial--

Lage: You don't have someone in that position?

Wayburn: Supposedly, someone will be in that position announced by the first of December. It has been narrowed down to two or three people.

Lage: It's a key position.

Wayburn: It's a very key position, and Carl will use that person as his chief inside manager. The position will be that of chief administrative officer with financial capability rather than chief financial officer with administrative capability, which is what Andrea was supposed to be.

Lage: So it is a different position.

Wayburn: She didn't have the administrative ability. She had the ability, but not the personality.

Lage: As chief administrative officer, will that person be over conservation or will it continue as it is now?

Wayburn: It will continue much as it is now, and in part dependent on who is chosen as associate executive director for conservation.

Lage: So that's to be decided also.

Wayburn: That is to be decided also. And we may have other changes to make, because some of our people are likely prospects for the Clinton administration. As a matter of fact, one of our regional representatives, Bob Hattoy, has been off the club payroll quite a bit of the last nine months because he's been employed by the Clinton administration, and he is now on the Clinton transition team.

[tape interruption]

Electing Board Members, and Club Presidents

Lage: Would you want to make any comments about who have been outstanding presidents in the last ten or twelve years, or the qualities that are required? Do you think that's appropriate? Does the board work better under a certain kind of president, or particular people?

Wayburn: I might go into how people get elected to the Sierra Club Board and how that leaves a certain void in who can become president.

Lage: Okay, that's something I haven't heard discussed. What is that process?

Wayburn: Well, there was a time in the early seventies when the board first had--the membership decided that you could not be reelected indefinitely, that after two terms of three years, you would have to drop out for a year at least. And that was supposed to be a method for getting rid of the "deadwood." The way it worked was there had been a number of people who had served for twenty to thirty years or more, and they thought they'd get out. Some of them thought that the vote was aimed at them, which it was.

At any rate, in the early seventies, only two people came back after a year's absence. They were Phil Berry and myself. Then during that time, there were a number of new people elected to the board, people without previous board experience. The quality of the board suffered. Since it wasn't thought a good idea to reelect what Bester Robinson had termed a retread, some of the presidents had very little experience with the board, and there were several instances where they served only one year

instead of the usual two years. And during that time, we were in financial difficulties because of the Brower debts.

That gradually disappeared during the late seventies and early eighties. People began to run again after their one year layoff. The board got much more experienced. And several people who had been president were reelected. But it was felt by those people and by the board as a whole that they had served their time, and while they should continue as directors, they didn't want them as members of the executive committee or as president. And likewise, it was felt that to be elected president, one should have been serving on the executive committee during the preceding year.

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Lage: So you had not such a green board, but they weren't taking the leadership positions?

Wayburn: That's right. I think this contributed to the strength of the board, having ex-presidents able to discuss and make judgments, but it limited the number of people who were equipped to be president. In the last few years, there hasn't been much contest for the presidency because it would be apparent that there were only one or two people available, and one would be more available.

Lage: Is that because of the time constraints?

Wayburn: Well, I'll go into that. The presidency should take a great deal of time. The president has in the past few years been given somewhere in the neighborhood of a half-time salary, because so much time is necessary. The past few presidents illustrate, I think, what the situation is.

Sue Merrow was elected and could only serve a one-year term, but she was the obvious choice for president. She was in her sixth year of board membership, and she was a quiet, careful, considerate person. She added collegiality to the deliberations, and she did a very good job. It took a great deal of her time.

She went off the board, and the choice was limited, and Phil Berry was elected for a one-year term particularly because of the club's problems with the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, and he was the lead person on the negotiations--he was hoping to have that all settled during his presidency.

Lage: Now, he was a recycled president.

Wayburn: He was a recycled president, and he said he would take it for just one year.

Well, very early on in that year, he had a severe accident and he was badly burned. I was acting president off and on for a while. When he came back, he was still not able to function as well as he would have been able to otherwise, and the Legal Defense Fund matter was complicated by the unfortunate death of Rick Sutherland, the fund's president.

Lage: It was quite a year.

Wayburn: This year, we have elected Tony Ruckel.

Lage: Now, he wasn't on the board too long, was he, before he became president?

Wayburn: No. He was--and I'll talk about that whole situation in just a moment--he was elected president in his third year on the board. He's done an excellent job. He spends a great deal of time in San Francisco and in other places where he is needed, and he spends a lot of time when he is in Denver on the work of the presidency.

The president is now automatically an ex-officio member of the board of trustees of the Sierra Club Foundation, so there are those meetings to attend to and that business to attend to as well as the business of the Sierra Club. And the president is concerned with the negotiations with the Legal Defense Fund, which are still going on.

So that the choice of the president has not been so much of a contest in recent years as a matter of who could do the job. Part of that is bound up in the fact that there has been a movement within the club, particularly among what you might call the second and third tiers of the hierarchy, for advancement. More people want to become members of the board of directors.

At the same time, the board of directors has an onerous job which has taken up five meetings of two to three days each, plus a retreat of four days, and that takes a lot of time, and there have been complaints that many people can't do that and still hold an ordinary job. There's a lot of truth in that. But if someone wants to run the affairs of an organization like the Sierra Club, I think she or he has to accept that responsibility.

Lage: And that's just the beginning, it would seem to me. They serve on many committees.

Wayburn: That's just the beginning. If you'd see the amount of electronic mail that comes into my office, you'd realize that. [laughter]

But for several years in a row, there was a bit of this philosophy, "Kick the rascals out," which we're seeing in the Congress right now, and for several years in a row, there were three new people elected to the board each year, out of a possible five. This left the board last year with nine people who had had two years or less experience.

Lage: Out of fifteen.

Wayburn: Out of fifteen. And this created certain problems. This year, in recognition of that, the nominating committee put up several ex-presidents who were elected. So that we again have quite an experienced board. There was only one person out of the five elected who was new this year. This makes a difference in how the board conducts itself, and how many questions have to be asked, what's been the practice, what's gone on before.

Lage: On the other hand, do these new people bring a certain freshness?

Wayburn: Oh, yes. One has to realize that you need a certain number of new people coming in every year, but there shouldn't be too much of a predominance of the board, at least in my opinion. I now belong to the old fogies, and I think that a mixture is a very good idea.

Most of these new people have a good deal of experience in the culture of the club. Occasionally, a member of the council is elected. I think Sue Merrow came from the job of chair of the council. But I don't think anybody from the council has been elected since. More frequently, they come from the regional conservation committees, and there has been almost every year one of those.

Occasionally, a person is elected for other reasons, and that happened this year when Mary Ann Nelson was elected. There has been a tendency in the past several years to elect women, and almost every woman whose picture or name appeared on the ballot was elected.

Lage: So now there are more women than men on the board.

Wayburn: And now there are eight women and seven men on the board of directors of the Sierra Club, and on the ballot this coming year, there will be four women, and it's possible that all four will be elected.

Lage: I wonder what this says about the Sierra Club, that it gives quite an advantage to women.

Wayburn: The Sierra Club is in the vanguard of general culture in the United States.

Lage: Do you see a difference in the way women handle the board responsibility from men?

Wayburn: I have not noticed that. Some women are very strong personalities, and some men are very mild personalities.

Lage: You see more individual differences.

Wayburn: Individual differences. The present treasurer is a businesswoman with a very strong personality who asserts herself very emphatically. One of the people elected last year is a very courtly Canadian gentleman who speaks out rather rarely.

Lage: Do you think the personalities of these top leaders affect how smoothly the club runs as a whole? It must affect how the executive director manages.

Wayburn: Oh, yes, that's right. I think there's no question, answer yes to both of those.

Lage: It's not all issues; some of it is personal style.

Wayburn: Yes. But this board and the boards of the past several years certainly has been a board of conservationists, and yet they've had to deal with a great many internal problems, administrative and financial problems, which are not necessarily conservation in origin. These problems come out of the widespread constituency of the club, out of individual chapters, groups, out of complaints between individuals, and out of actions of chapters which are not wholly within the policy set down by the board of directors.

Lage: I think we've talked about some of those. And then you also mentioned, in this or another memo that I thought was interesting, how each time the club adds a new program, such as the international program or the state program, there's the new level of complexity and a new management challenge.

Wayburn: That is absolutely right.

Looking Ahead, the Sierra Club in Next Twenty Years

Lage: Just as kind of a summing-up, do you feel like the club is on top of its situation right now? Looking ahead to the next twenty years or so?

Wayburn: The club is, I think, a true democracy with the advantages and the disadvantages that it has. The club's program for the next few years is pretty well outlined. We will continue to try to preserve the wild places and the unspoiled landscapes. We will continue to try to combat pollution of the air and the seas and the land. We will continue to take many short-range objectives which carry out those long-range objectives.

We are expanding, both on the inside and to the outside. Not only do we have the stateside programs in the individual chapters, but we also are exploring ways that groups can be more effective.

Lage: The local groups.

Wayburn: The local groups, of whom there are as many as seventeen in one chapter, in Florida I think. We are expanding our efforts to include more minorities within the club to reflect the changing composition of American life. One "minority," women, have become a majority now in the hierarchy of the club, although there are some women who claim that there is still a glass ceiling as far as the staff is concerned.

We will be continuing our effort in electoral as well as legislative politics, and we'll be following the American traditions along that line. I think that we will again grow at a higher rate than we have in the past two years, although there may be other reasons than financial that have caused people not to renew. We are actively taking on new programs right now. The board just agreed to charter, if you will, a student Sierra Club, and to give certain concessions to them while they were getting organized. There was some reluctance on the part of some directors who feared that under the mechanism used, the students might go off and do things that the Sierra Club board didn't want done, but still it carried through.

Where we will get in twenty years, I don't know. I know that for the past forty-five years, I've had a pretty clear vision of where we were going and what we were doing. And among those visions for the last twenty-plus years is my feeling that the Sierra Club had a much greater international role. We have now got a full-fledged but encompassed, circumscribed, environmental program with emphasis on influencing our own Congress and our own government, and cooperation with

nongovernmental organizations in other countries, in contradistinction to forming Sierra Club chapters in other countries. We've been asked to do that, and we've turned it down each time because we felt that this is one organization, and that the board of directors needed a certain amount of control over its chapters. In our expansion into Canada, we've seen just the beginnings. There's been no rift, but our Canadians have a certain nationalist point of view which may not coincide with the "one Sierra Club" idea. They want recognition as the Canadian Sierra Club.

Lage: They are separately chartered.

Wayburn: They are separately chartered. That was not the original intention, but they went ahead. The then-comparatively few people who lived in Canada went ahead and did it that way.

We have taken in the past few years a much greater interest in global population, and that is now one of our priority programs, one of the four principal ones that was voted on this past year. The growth of the population program in the past three years has been absolutely astounding; I think I went into that earlier.

Lage: Yes.

Wayburn: And the population committee met this last weekend and tried to chart their course in the next year or so, and how far they will go remains to be seen. I think that we must have a domestic as well as an international focus on population, because the United States by some criteria is the most overpopulated country in the world. The carrying capacity of the United States is not up to what demands we humans are making on it now.

Lage: It sounds to me as if you do have a good vision of where the club is going. It just has so many directions now, it's a little harder to capsulize.

Wayburn: Yes. It's going in many directions.

Lage: Okay. Well, maybe this is a good place to come to an end.

Wayburn: We'll take the kayak to the shore.

Lage: [laughs] Right, that's a good image. I like that.

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WILDERNESS IN NORTHWEST NATIONAL PARKS CONFERENCE

HOW IS THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE DOING?

OCTOBER 2 198

WHAT'S RIGHT? WHAT'S WRONG?

EDGAR WAYBURN, M.D.

SIERRA CLUB VICE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL PARKS AND PROTECTED AREAS

Is the national park idea one of the greatest ideas the United States ever had? Is it an idea that should continue to be emulated all over the world? Can it really work? Or is the national park idea an illusion? Is it really possible to set aside islands of land in near-natural condition and keep them healthy --- while still using them? Are we as conservationists wise to continue to try to enlarge the National Park System? Or are we just spinning our wheels in a useless effort?

I think we have to answer these questions --- and in a positive way - before we look at what's right and what's wrong with the National Park Service. Certainly the national park idea is not entirely ideal --- and it's not the only federal mechanism we have to protect our natural treasures; we also have the Wilderness System, the Wild and Scenic Rivers System and the Wildlife Refuges and we have state parks and we even have county parks. But the national park idea is unique; it is valid, and it is valuable. It's also, at the present time, an idea we need to look at more closely; we need to see how it's being interpreted and we need to see what's in fact becoming of it. It's an idea that I think we badly need to do something about. Hence, these remarks.

I'll start with the good news: what's right with the

national park idea --- which translates directly into what's right with the National Park Service because it is the Service that carries out the idea. I'll get to the bad news --- what's wrong with the Park Service --- later. (This calls to mind a story that I hadn't thought about in some ten years --- a story about the good news and the bad news. One day Moses gathered the Children of Israel together and said: I have some good news for you and I have some bad news for you. First, the good news: God will dry up the Red Sea and you'll be able to walk across it and get away from your enemies and everything will be all right. Moses paused and then he said: Now the bad news: there's got to be an EIS.

Now, what's right with the National Park Service? First of all, it's a relative handful of people who have been able over the years to administer what has grown to become more than 80 million acres of our country's most precious land. In 1916, the Service had responsibility for just 14 national parks and 21 national monuments. It had a budget of about \$30,000 per year per park and some \$166 per year per monument. Compared to other agencies, the Park Service was barely operational. Still, in its first annual report, the new agency showed its spunk, calling for the establishment of "new parks, and the enlargement of existing areas." (It might be noted that the Service suggested that most of the acreage should come from the Forest Service.) Today, of course, the Park Service has almost 350 units, including 49 national parks and 78 national monuments. Its annual budget is almost \$680,000,000. It is still not optimally operational, but

it has shown itself capable of growth and flexibility. It has also shown that it takes its responsibilities seriously. The majority of Park Service people are truly dedicated to the parks, and in their own way they do their best for the system. It is also a group of people loyal to each other, as well as to the national park idea. (Something like the railroad people used to be --I hope the parks don't have the same fate as the railroads.)

What of the spunk of the original Service? Over the years, there have been individuals in the Park Service who have embodied that first spunkiness. When the Service has had vigorous leadership, these people have responded and gone ahead full tilt. They have been willing to "stick their necks out" and to get things done. They have proved that, under innovative leadership, they can be innovative and creative in carrying out their Park Service jobs. Even when the administration climate is not friendly to the national park idea, individual members of the Service can be innovative: for example, an operation planner in Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area organized planned-use meetings with the local people in his district; a Park Service employee on his own established a low-budget military and community museum at Sandy Hook; ranger-scientists have set up small laboratories in extra rooms of park buildings where they conduct their research; other rangers have built a greenhouse to raise plant specimens for transplanting --- not major achievements, perhaps, but these examples are indicative of the kind of creative approach the Service is capable of.

The National Park Service has also grown in its understanding of how protected lands should be cared for. From a

blatant philosophy of predator control --- and pest control --- the Service has evolved into a much more enlightened stance. There is even talk now, under Director William P. Mott, of the reintroduction of predators --- though Goodness knows what will happen to the wolf program in Yellowstone. Which brings up the fact that the Service has come a long way in its attitude toward natural fires and controlled burning. Their so-called "let-burn" policy regarding natural --- but not man-made --- fires is in fact part of an attempt to replicate the natural succession which made the parks the remarkable wonders they are today. The Service now recognizes that recurring fires caused by lightning are as much a part of the natural ecosystem as are rains and droughts, and it recognizes, too, that many species of native flora and fauna are dependent upon the effect of burning. (To digress briefly into a more specific area, and because this one is so current and so controversial, a word about Yellowstone National Park and its recent fires. It is instructive to note that the actual number of fires this year in Yellowstone so far has totalled 50 fires. Of these, 14 have gone out on their own, 24 have been contained or suppressed, 4 natural starts burned into other fires, and 8 large fires were still being fought at a recent date. The most spectacular burns occurred in forested areas, but the actual percentage of the park's 2.2 million acres that was destroyed was relatively small. 600,000 acres were affected by fire, but only about 40% of this area was actually burned. If there is to be blame for this recent conflagration it should fall on the fire-suppression policies that were in effect

for something like a century. This allowed a grand build-up of combustibile fuel --- indeed, the Yellowstone area was just waiting to go up in flames. The combination of this build-up of the understory, the driest summer in recorded history, the extreme heat, and the exceptionally high winds made the fires uncontrollable. It is somewhat reassuring to realize that while the short-term effects of a fire like this are devastating to local people and park visitors, in the long run, such a fire will constitute a renewal of the park ecosystem. In the burned regions where the trees were killed by fire, open areas will develop, seeds will germinate more rapidly, more varied shrubs and trees will emerge, and wildlife will probably return in greater numbers. If natural conditions are allowed to prevail, the natural forest mosaic characteristic of the Yellowstone area will again predominate. Much more research on the effects of natural burning should be done, admittedly, but certainly it should be done before changing the Service's present enlightened fire management policy.)

But back to the more general question of what is right with the National Park Service. The Service can work with local "civilians" on many levels. From co-operation with, say, individual conservationists, to groups of local people, to non-profit organizations, the Service has demonstrated an ability to move outside its strict boundaries into the mainstream of community life. Examples are the multi-million dollar operation in Fort Mason Center in the Golden Gate National Recreation Area which is run by a non-profit organization

directed by community leaders, and the Service's co-operation with the Maryland non-profit association which is restoring old CCC camps in Catoctin Mountain Park and renting the cabins to visitors. Another example is the VIP program --- Volunteers in Parks --- which provides for volunteers, both groups and individuals, to give valuable personal service to national parks. Some local organizations or even local industries "adopt" a park trail which they maintain and improve. Retired persons with skills useful to the parks may find their special niches. For instance, we have an old friend who is a VIP in Muir Woods National Monument --- he served for several decades as a National Park Ranger there, and now in his eighties continues to give interpretive talks and walks to park visitors.

Another thing the Park Service is doing right is the restoration of Redwood National Park. In fact, this is the most remarkable job of reversing cataclysmic damage done by logging that is occurring anywhere in the world. In 1978, just 10 years ago, many parts of Redwood National Park were scenes of utter devastation, with large clear-cut areas where 1,000 year old redwood giants had stood, hillsides gutted with erosion, dechanneled water courses, streams choked with debris --- as one park visitor remarked, these were lifeless scenes that evoked images of the surface of the moon. Today, 150 miles of logging roads have been put to bed, sensitive areas have been closed to vehicles, new trails have been constructed, water channels have been put back into place, raw areas have been treated with enough gentle care to bring back vegetation --- of course, only time can

bring back the trees --- and the soil sloughed off of hillsides has been bull-dozed back into place. It has been truly a Herculean effort that called for imagination and initiative.

Other things the Service has done right include the removal of burros from Grand Canyon National Park and Death Valley National Monument, the restriction of air flights over Grand Canyon (although this is presently inadequate, it's a step in the right direction), and the restriction of backcountry use in wilderness. The Service has also done some very good work in the field of environmental education and in making parks accessible to handicapped people.

Finally, perhaps the most important way the National Park Service is right is in being aware of what the "real" problems are. Most park people are not only educated but savvy; they know the score. They even understand what we radical conservationists are driving at when we talk to them. They may not always do what they know is right, but at least they know it is right.

Which brings us to the other side of the equation: what's wrong with the National Park Service? Probably the basis of most of the Service's problems is the 1916 Act which established the National Park Service. This act states that the purpose of the National Park Service is to "render accessible" and to "conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." Thus the fundamental

dilemma of the system --- to render accessible, provide for the enjoyment of, and leave unimpaired for future generations the country's scenic resources is writ in stone, and ever since it was writ it has left park people in the quandary of whether they should fish or cut bait. And the basic problem has been greatly exacerbated in recent years, of course, with the numbers of visitors to national parks skyrocketing and the demands upon limited, fragile natural resources multiplying accordingly.

A philosophical and practical dilemma like this calls not only for an intelligent interpretation but for firm and perhaps aggressive action. Unfortunately, aggressive the Park Service is not; and firm the Park Service too often is not. In fact, along with a kind of innate ambivalence, the Park Service has evolved into a bureaucracy which is perhaps best described by William C. Everhart, former associate director of the National Park Service for Interpretation, and Service historian. In his 1983 book, entitled, *The National Park Service*, Everhart describes the Park Service as a "bureaucracy which values loyalty immoderately and provides few rewards for risk takers, (and) selects park superintendents who can be trusted to exercise prudence and restraint. For the most part they --- meaning Park Service people --- are pragmatists rather than romantics --- problem solvers who have learned that compromise is to be sought, rather than avoided."

With this attitude it is not surprising that without an aggressive director the Park Service bends over backwards to avoid making waves. For example, it resists any enlargement of

parks or expansion of the system that may be controversial (and what expansion won't be controversial these days?). Indeed, instead of enthusiasm for what is clearly much-needed expansion, the present Park Service keeps insisting on "consolidation". This is, of course, the politically expedient way to go. Which brings us to another instance of where I think the Park Service is wrong: it is far too often subject to political pressure both on the local and on the federal level. This is perhaps understandable, in fact, when it comes down to the point of bending with the political winds or getting blown away. It is a kind of put up or shut up situation, which is regrettable at best, but which can result in the ensconcement of unfriendly park personnel as we have seen too often during the reigns of Interior Secretaries James Watt and Don Hodel. This attitude of political subservience allows the Service to go to all lengths to accomodate interests whether they be local wood gatherers --- as in the North Cascades --- or stock grazers --- as in Point Reyes National Seashore and Golden Gate National Recreation Area --- rather than buck the locals. This attitude lets the Service accept gross over-visitation --- as in Yosemite National Park --- rather than set strict (and unpopular) limits on the number of visitors. This kind of political accomodation has reached a malignant climax in Alaska's new parks: rather than buck the politically powerful mining interests, for example, the Service has allowed mining to take place to devastating effect on the land and on the streams; it has required legal action against the Service to correct this. Again in Alaska, the Service has allowed hunting to get out of

hand in many of the National Preserves --- for fear of offending the hunters (in the administration, it should be noted in fairness, as well as locally). And now, as the Service is making its recommendations on wilderness additions to the Alaska parks, it is again buckling under: while recognizing that most of the unclassified land in the Alaska parks is "suitable for wilderness" the Service is not including most of this land in its recommendations for wilderness designation. (Here is one more time when we conservationists must "climb the hill" to inform Congress of the vital necessity of preserving these truly invaluable wild lands.)

Along the lines of pursuing politically expedient courses, the Park Service has managed to avoid dealing with the backlog of authorized projects which it now has. It continues to drag its heels on its acquisition process --- which has been interminably slow. (This is not a cost-effective maneuver: as a personal observer, I can testify that land which cost \$700 an acre in 1973 or 1974 now costs ten times as much.) As Everhart put it in his Park Service book: the Service "has experienced troubling changes, with the result that some of the vitality and excitement of the earlier years seems to have worn away. There is general agreement that the organization's blood is growing thinner and that it takes an ungodly amount of time to get anything done, or to get anyone to make decisions . . . the energy and idealism that have characterized the Park Service for so long have not vanished, but they do seem to be the victims of a slight recession period."

The failure of the Park Service to react strongly to many of the problems which it knows in its heart are there is another notable instance of where it is in the wrong. As a part of its so-called "pragmatic" approach, the Park Service goes to great lengths to avoid being "extreme". The idea is that the conservationists will fill the role of the extremists --- which will allow the Service to look reasonable. Again quoting Everhart: " . . . the confirmed conservationists tend to be high-minded idealists, utterly devoted to basic park principles (as they define them) --- seekers of perfect solutions, who bombard the park service with the heady schemes of the unconstrained." The park service fails too often to recognize who its true friends are.

Another basic fault of the National Park Service is the fact that it puts resource protection far too low on its bureaucratic totem pole. The very table of organization of the Park Service director's office is dismally lacking --- the words "resource protection" are not to be found. A "natural resource management" division is only one of four divisions under an assistant director for park use and operations. And this assistant director, in turn, reports to a deputy director for the office of park planning and environmental quality. This sorry situation reflects the fact that the Park Service is failing to meet a very real responsibility: research on destructive outside influences on the parks --- such as air pollution --- has been published but the findings have not been implemented. (It should be acknowledged that the present director, Bill Mott, has spoken

out against allowing polluting industries to locate near parks --- but little else has been done.) External sources of deleterious effects on our parks need much more study and long-term analysis --- and resource protection needs much more active implementation. When the great western parks were first established they were islands in a sea of wilderness; today the islands are in a sea of suburban and/or industrial development and they are increasingly vulnerable to outside pressures. There is a crying need to protect these increasingly beleaguered natural resources.

There is also a crying need to address the problem of human overuse of our National Parks. Just as our national forests are being overlogged, our national parks are being overpopulated and overvisited, particularly the greatest of them. Determining a reasonable human carrying-capacity of popular national park areas is one of the Park Service's great problems today, and the park people are simply not adequately addressing it.

Well, knowing as we do that our national parks are threatened as they have never been before, what do we do about all this? What do we do about the National Park Service? Plainly we have to accept what's good in the Park Service --- and much is good --- and just as plainly we have to try to do something to change what is wrong with the Park Service --- and much is wrong. We need first to define what needs to be changed in the Service and then we must find the best way to change it.

Obviously, the National Park Service needs to have its mission clarified; it needs to have its mandate broadened and

strengthened to include responsibility for solid resource protection; and it needs to have its independence affirmed. The only place where these changes can happen is in the United States Congress, and the only people who are going to make Congress take action are those of us --- "confirmed conservationists", or "high-minded idealists" --- who care about the future of the National Park Service, and the extraordinary lands which are in their care. I think there are three routes that we might pursue to bring about necessary changes in the National Park Service. First, we could have introduced legislation to revise the organic act of the National Park Service: park principles and objectives could then be spelled out and long-term protection for the natural resource guaranteed under law. But this is also probably the least likely way to gain what we're after. Entrenched interests would fight this kind of change all the way; it is easier to pass a new law than it is to revoke or revise one that's been on the books --- as successfully as this one has been --- for more than 70 years. A second approach to improving the status of the Park Service would be to support the bill recently introduced by Congressman Bruce Vento: Vento's bill would remove the Park Service from under the thumb of the Secretary of the Interior and give it's director independent authority within the Interior Department; the Park Service director would be responsible to a review board of three members appointed by the president. This would certainly take care of some of the political problems which the service presently suffers. Whether or not it would a-politicize the Service

entirely I'm not at all sure. The third way to go about making gains for the Park Service would be to work to have Congress create a new Cabinet-rank Department of the Environment which could include not only the National Park Service but also such agencies as the Fish and Wildlife Service, NOAA, and the EPA. Such a department would not have conflicting agencies within it the way the present Department of Interior does. Legislation for a new cabinet post, however, will not be easy to pass, and the chairmen of entrenched congressional committees as well as bureaucrats in the Department of the Interior will surely fight this kind of an effort.

Perhaps we will find other ways that we can help strengthen the National Park Service through congressional action. Perhaps, instead, we will simply have to continue to play the role we presently play --- the role of dearest friend and severest critic. Certainly, we must keep on "bombarding" the National Park Service with what Everhart called "the heady schemes of the unconstrained". We need to be unconstrained in our concern, and our concern must be that the National Park Service insist not just on its own professionalism, but on its own greatness. The Service --- and we --- must emphasize long-range vision as opposed to short-range accomodation. The Service --- and we --- must demand the preservation of our unique and increasingly important National Parks in their natural state, and allow for natural processes to take their course, so that future generations will indeed be able to enjoy these parklands as we do today. Thank you.

SIERRA CLUB



223

730 Polk Street San Francisco,

BCC McCloskey, Fischer
Williams, Scott, Hamilton
Pope, Bond, Kunofsky
Beckman, Donnette, King

Feb, Wayburn:
10,
1989

MEMORANDUM

APPENDIX B

TO: Fellow Members, Sierra Club Board of Directors

FROM: Edgar Wayburn, M.D. *E.W.*

Re: Human population control -- what priority?

The Sierra Club has long recognized that unlimited expansion of human population is extremely dangerous to our survival on the planet, and that limiting population is therefore an essential goal. As long ago as 1959, at the Sierra Club's Sixth Biennial Wilderness Conference, ecologist Raymond B. Cowles stated that world population pressure "threatens wild animal life, the forest, and even the very soil upon which man himself depends." In 1965, at the 9th Wilderness Conference, Lincoln Day presented a provocative paper, "The Pressure of People", pointing out some of the disastrous situations that can result from too many people. The 1969 Conference made the problem of overpopulation a chief topic of the program: Paul Ehrlich's keynote address, "Population and Conservation: Two Sides of a Coin," stressed the "obvious relationship between population growth and environmental deterioration"; at the same conference, Garrett Hardin's excellent presentation, "We Must Earn Again for Ourselves What We Have Inherited" analysed the effects of increasing population on wilderness.

In 1968 Sierra Club-Ballantine Books published "The Population Bomb" by Paul Ehrlich. This was a seminal book which played a tremendous role in fostering the population movement through the United States.

In the following years, with support from specially raised funds, the Sierra Club gave staff status to the population problem (under Judy Kunofsky's able guidance) and assumed somewhat of a leadership role among conservation organizations. More recently, that role has been lost as the Sierra Club has lowered population control among its priorities.

However, recent evidence -- and recognition -- of the dangers of rapid human population increase all over the world is inescapable. Too many people are asking too much of the limited supplies of the planet's life-giving resources; the result is increasing deforestation, desertification, and loss of precious topsoil, plus global pollution by dangerously toxic pesticides and herbicides. Too many people are creating too many solid waste products; the result is monumental -- growing and perhaps insoluble -- problems of waste disposal. Too many

people are flocking into rapidly gelatinizing cities; the result is unhealthy overcrowding, with air and water pollution, homelessness, and crime. Too many people are taking over the territories of numerous animals and plants: the result is a frightening number of extinct and endangered species. (Of the approximately 6,000 known species of birds, 1,000 are considered endangered or threatened because of loss of habitat.) Too many people are also loving our country's national parks to death. And all of the "essentials" -- open space, clean air, pure water, wilderness, the very quality of life -- that the Club has fought so hard to preserve are increasingly threatened. Ultimately, so is the survival of mankind.

As awareness of these staggering problems grows, an increasing volume of voices is being raised. A few examples follow: in the January 30, 1989 issue of Newsweek, George F. Will's Essay, "The Basin Runneth Over" brought out the problem of crowded U.S. cities. The World Watch Institute in its 1988 "State of the World" message highlighted the disproportionate impact on the earth's physical condition of population growth and energy use. U.S. News and World Report in its January 2, 1989 issue said: "The United States can also invest more in programs to give parents in developing countries more control over their reproductive rate through birth control as well as increased efforts to lower infant mortality, which is often an engine of higher birth rates." The National Geographic Society also recently voiced the message. In its December 1988 issue, it stated: "Because of overpopulation and overconsumption, humanity is incapable of supporting itself on its "income", the energy arriving continuously from the sun. Instead, homo sapiens is consuming its "capital", a onetime bonanza of non renewable fossil fuels and other resources...fertile, agricultural soils, ground water, and biodiversity." Time Magazine even chose for its "man-of-the-Year" issue, the planet Earth. Its January 2, 1989 issue noted: "This wondrous globe has endured for some 4.5 billion years, but its future is clouded by man's reckless ways: overpopulation, pollution, wasted resources, and wanton destruction of natural habitats."

It is time for the Sierra Club also to be heard loud and clear on the subject of overpopulation. It is time to make population a priority item on the Club's agenda and a significant focus of Club activity. And it is time to seek actively donations for a vigorous population program that will receive grant funds as well as core funds. Both "Sierra" and Sierra Club Books should, of course, be involved.

A strengthened population program can well be melded further with the international program, since the highest birth rates are occurring outside the United States. The chairs of the International and Population Committee and the international program conservation representative have already taken steps in this direction. However, this should not limit in any way the Club's efforts to sponsor responsible population policies within the United States.

On the staff level the Club has, as of February, 1989:

- a) an international program director position in Washington, D.C. (Larry Williams);
- b) an international/population position in Washington, D.C. This new Associate International Representative position (beginning sometime this month) is being funded by a one-year grant from the Mott Foundation;
- c) an international/population program director position in San Francisco (Ron Good).

This is a start, but it needs to be greatly expanded.

The Sierra Club Board of Directors has historically assumed leadership on matters of great importance, even at the risk of alienating certain of its members. For a recent example, it chose to limit insurance on certain of the Club's outings. In a perhaps less controversial matter, since 1971 the Board has pursued and given priority to an international program despite the fact that it is not well enough known to the majority of the Club's membership. Similarly, in 1988 it added global warming to the list of priorities. The pressing importance of population control merits immediate and bold action on the part of the Sierra Club Board.

I propose that the Sierra Club Board of Directors:

1) discuss population control at greater length during the next several months and schedule the subject as a full-fledged item of discussion at the Board retreat next summer, with a resultant plan for future action;

(Can some of us get together at the March BOD meeting?)

2) encourage further integration of efforts and cooperation between the volunteer International and Population Committees, and the staff-supported international and population programs;

3) to the extent that outside grant funds are not available, commit itself in the fiscal 1989-1990 budget to provide core funding and adequate support for the international/population programs and for the three present staff positions;

4) take advantage of any relevant opportunities which may occur--(such as Larry Williams' work with the Asian Development Bank).

In the meantime, I believe that our international committee and our population committee will meet and suggest what strategies can be adopted to give population control an optimum position among the Sierra Club's priorities.

And population control must indeed assume an optimum position among the Club's priorities if we are to face realistically the challenges before us. We still have an opportunity to make a difference, but it will not last long. Let us seize it.

I will appreciate your comments and look forward to hearing from you.

ALAN N. WEEDEN
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APPENDIX C
POPULATION AND
IMMIGRATION POLICY

Mr. Ed Wayburn
The Sierra Club
730 Polk St.
San Francisco, CA 94109

July 8, 1992

Dear Ed,

The population Committee is preparing background material on immigration relevant to our asking the Club to endorse a policy on immigration. At the moment we are not certain what specific policy we will recommend and are waiting for forecasts on future U.S. population levels based on various assumed levels of domestic fertility and immigration. The point is none of this material has been reviewed and none is available to you as you go into your discussion of immigration at the Sierra Club Board of Directors retreat.

I have, in the balance of the letter, taken the liberty of enumerating some points that have been helpful to me in the process of thinking and talking to others about U.S. immigration. I hope that they will be of some use to you in your discussion.

1. If we don't address immigration, we have to admit that we are ignoring it and are giving up on the concept of U.S. population stabilization in the foreseeable future.
2. No serious person would advocate open borders because open access to the U.S. would occasion a rush of economically deprived peoples to this country unprecedented in world history. Therefore, the choice lies between setting a limit low enough that when coupled with low fertility, will give us a chance at eventual population stabilization, or somewhere higher than that, which accomodates a greater number of people and assuages our guilt feelings, but loses us that chance at stabilization.
3. The difference between a lower net immigration total and a higher one will have no significant impact on the 95,000,000 people that are added each year to the world's population.

4. Responsible people who advocate lower immigration totals are not doing so in the belief that they can thereby secure our higher consumption levels in the U.S. Everyone should agree that we must change our wasteful, profligate ways.

5. It is difficult for other countries in the world to take the U.S. seriously with respect to population growth if we, as the fastest growing industrial society in the world, refuse to take steps to ameliorate the problem.

6. The U.S. takes in more legal immigrants than the rest of the industrial societies combined.

7. We are doing a disservice to our Afro-American and Native American communities by permitting an influx of low skilled, low wage immigrants who compete with them.

8. If the polls are reliable, they show that our minorities, including recent immigrants, would prefer lower levels of immigration than those that prevailed in the 1970s.

9. The people who advocate the most vociferously for high immigration totals are those who economically and politically benefit most from high levels of immigration - agricultural interests, sweat shop managers, the construction industry, and the leaders of minority groups.

10. I think that the Population Committee is capable of pursuing a policy calling for greater constraints on immigration without offense to minority groups or the appearance of being racist. I believe that the issue must be surfaced and talked about, and that it is for moderates to carry the debate rather than leaving it to extremists on the far right to co opt the issue.

11. All of the above relates to legal immigration. With respect to illegal immigration, I don't believe there is any debate- we have the right to control our borders. Illegals displace others who have more rightful claims to entrance to the U.S. We should do everything we can to enforce our laws.

I wish you success.

DISCUSSION PAPER FOR BOARD WORKING SESSION JAN. 12, 1990

Ed Wayburn, 12-8-89

EW

The Elections Procedures Task Force and the Nominating Committee have pinpointed two principal deterrents to service on the Board of Directors. With regard to the first factor, the requirement of too much time and travel, I see no imminent prospects for reduction. It, in fact, depends largely on external factors involved in the state of the environment -- which grow ever larger and to which the Sierra Club must continue to respond. Aspirants for service on the Sierra Club Board of Directors must be prepared to take on this burden.

I want to discuss the second factor, which relates to the Board's performance, especially at public meetings. The 1989 nominating committee lists two components. To quote the chairman:

"The other factor relates to what Directors "do" in Board meetings. There are two components:

- a. First is an obvious lack of collegiality.
- b. Second is an unwillingness to manage the agenda to avoid what one person has called "administrivia" and to concentrate upon truly significant issues.

You have been told these things by previous nominating committees. More recently you have been told these things by the Elections Procedures Task Force.

ONLY THE FIFTEEN OF YOU CAN ADDRESS THESE PROBLEMS. WE SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT FAILURE TO DO SO WILL RESULT IN AN EVER DECREASING CANDIDATE POOL WHICH WILL FORCE A COMPROMISE IN THE QUALITY OF OUR LEADERSHIP AT A TIME WHEN WE CAN LEAST AFFORD IT.

We believe that volunteers will more freely give the tremendous time required of Directors if they receive the kind of support which naturally flows from people who mutually respect each other and who enjoy working together to accomplish shared goals."

The nominating committee suggests: increasing efficiency, decreasing agenda, requiring more of staff, delegating responsibility and supporting the decisions made by those to whom we delegate.

Let me first dare to face the "collegiality factor" -- or rather the lack of it. I ask us to regard all our fellow members as good, well-meaning, hard working people devoted to saving our planet for our children and grandchildren. We approach our mission with a religious fervor equal to that of the high priests of any religion. We take our calling seriously. We are also all possessed of healthy amounts of self esteem. We are jealous of our rights of self-expression and are prone to dwell on "administrivia". Too frequently we disregard the sensibilities of those with whom we disagree. And sometime we indulge in ad hominen attacks. We never need to

do this last -- to our fellow board members, to the other volunteers who work with us, and to our staff who work for us.

But there is much more involved in the problems of the Board of Directors. The Sierra Club has been in a period of continuing change that began thirty years ago with the advent of the Sierra Club Council, followed by regional conservation committees, issue committees, administrative committees, and task forces to carry out the widespread work of the Club. The staff has grown to around 300 people. But there has been no change in the format or the formulas of the Board of Directors for many years. We still conduct a town meeting. We come to Board meetings with advance knowledge on conservation matters, but there are rarely similar discussion papers on the numerous administrative and organizational matters which we undertake and on which we must come to decisions.

Today the Sierra Club is undergoing even more rapid growth and change. The organization is now much more complicated than it was only three years ago. Look at some of the major decisions the Board has made during the past three years:

1. To have a centennial celebration and a fairly elaborate one at that;
2. To have a very large centennial fundraising campaign, for which much of the money would be endowment,
3. To expand significantly the international program,
4. To recognize the population stabilization program as an essential element of our agenda;
5. To enter into statewide politics in a significant manner;
6. To increase tremendously our activity on volunteer development;

Each of these decisions produces certain complications in the organization. If the staff carries out all the new programs which have been approved in general, there will be a quantum leap in complexity. Such complexity makes decision making more difficult: each choice has a number of varied implications for the organization, increases the number of decisions which need to be made afterwards, and the speed with which they need to occur. Volunteers and staff may begin projects before the Board has really worked through the issues they propose, because the Board is too busy to discuss, explore and decide on those issues fully. And when volunteer entities or the staff act to carry out what they believe are Board policies and priorities, they may find the Board rejecting their product because it was not what the Board thought it was approving.

Some of our major decisions have not been introduced by in-depth exploration of the full organizational implications. The Board has not wished to increase the size of the staff. It has not always recognized that among the implications of its decisions to grow in size and complexity may be

an increase in staff or an increase in delegation to staff or volunteers.

Is the Board receiving proper staffing as it makes decisions? If not, partial responsibility must rest with the staff. But it must be recognized that the Board has created a climate which discourages this kind of active staff assistance. Major policy initiatives may come to the Board from other volunteer entities who are advocates of these proposals. Staff are discouraged from raising the difficult organizational questions that such proposals inevitably raise, because, when doing so, they may appear to be criticizing the work of volunteers. Some important decisions are taken by the Board in closed session, where senior staff, who might understand some of the organizational implications, are not present. Thus, important decisions may be taken without anyone knowing how the Board might have modified those decisions if it had looked more fully at what they had meant.

The recent McDonald's debate is instructive. While the Board had not specifically debated the McDonald's proposal, it had approved a centennial celebration plan which involved a half dozen projects which could raise the same issues as the McDonald's proposal. When it did so, it gave the staff and the centennial task force instructions to fund those projects by finding corporate funding. In a broad discussion of this issue, the entire focus was on ensuring that the centennial celebration should have a limited impact on the Club's bottom line. Very little time was spent fleshing out the implications of corporate sponsorship of the proposed Oakland Museum exhibit, the television show, etc.

The centennial task force, the executive director, and the office of public affairs assumed that they did have license to go ahead because they had been told to carry out these projects, and these projects required such corporate relationships. Clearly, from the McDonald's debate, the Board does not think that it made such a decision and is far from certain to approve such projects as staff identify the particular corporations willing to underwrite these efforts.

In the present climate, when a volunteer entity makes a proposal to the Board, staff members may feel it is not their place to say, "Wait, we don't think the Board understands what this proposal means. We think it's a good idea, but the Board needs to understand that we're talking about having the Sierra Club closely associated in these projects with some corporation. A corporation which has undoubtedly done some environmentally damaging things."

Are we prepared to give the Centennial Fundraising Task Force the right to develop relationships with major corporations as long as they stay away from the obvious nuclear energy, mining, oil or timber companies? There are undiscovered land mines involved in others of the major new initiatives

which the Board has approved in recent years. It is time for the Board to review and understand what those implications are, clarify its desires, and defuse the land mines. The Board should either decide that it is prepared to accept the organizational implications of these new directions, or pull back from them.

Some of the most obvious issues posed for the scale of the new thrusts are an increase in delegation to other entities, major increases in staff, greater requirements for coordination and oversight of Chapters, and a willingness to be more aggressive in at least some major forms of fundraising.

The senior staff can help the Board. It can make sure that the Board fully explores the organizational implications of decisions as it makes them. And it can help the Board identify those broad policy issues which need to be resolved so the Board can more fully delegate to other volunteer and staff entities mid-level decision making. Each of the volunteer oversight entities needs more autonomy to move ahead in its area, but this cannot be granted until the Board puts in service a strong set of overall plans, policies, procedures and priorities. The Board must make the major decisions and major commitments. Then the Board should delegate power to other entities and let them exercise it. There needs to be a periodic review of the performance of both volunteer and staff entities in a calm atmosphere and not one charged with frustration and anger.

There are various changes in structure of the Board of Directors which might be made. One comparatively simple one and one which would help a new Board prepare for the coming year would be to move up the date of election of directors and give the new directors more time to select their officers. The Board needs to have more time before the organizational meeting for selection of its officers and the new officers must have time to prepare their own affairs so they can perform their duties properly from the beginning.

With regard to managing the agenda, many different ideas come to mind. For starters, I recommend that the officer in the chair, whoever he or she may be, must take responsibility for properly introducing the subject and for allotting time to whatever subject may be necessary for discussion or decision. When a discussion has gone on too long, a time limit may be necessary. And personal attacks on individuals must be gavelled down immediately.

In summary, the environmental agenda of the world is not going to decrease. If the Sierra Club is to carry out its desire to be the most influential grass roots conservation organization in the world, the Board of Directors of the Sierra Club is always going to have more to do than it can manage easily. Let us do it as efficiently and with as much good grace as possible.



730 Polk Street San Francisco, California 94109 415-776-2211

MEMO

September 6, 1989

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Edgar Wayburn *EW*

On the weekend of August 9 - 11 I sat in on a meeting of the finance committee, and I have read the detailed budget document presented to that committee by the executive director. I have some comments and suggestions, to make on the budget.

From a technical standpoint this was the best, most completely documented budget presentation I have seen in my years in the Sierra Club. The budget committee went through a massive amount of material in three days and handled it in exemplary fashion. The budget presented a conservative picture of Sierra Club finances which, if carried out, would leave the Club with increased net worth and stronger infrastructure.

However, the budget, as presented to the committee, and as passed on to the board, lacks vision. Perhaps this is as it should be. These two bodies -- staff and finance committee -- are simply charged with assuring the board of directors that their budget is at a financially secure level. But the directors, if they are to continue their traditional function of directing the leading grass roots environmental organization in the world, must have vision.

Vision put us in the lead position we now occupy. The directors' decisions to grow nationwide, to employ professional staff and to concentrate on the major conservation issues of America in the 1950s and 1960s guided the Club to its present prestigious position. The Exhibit Format books were a bold innovation in publishing which made the name of the Sierra Club known widely. The Club's dedication to protection of Alaska's public lands added to its prestige and membership. The present national legislative priority campaigns give impressive evidence of what a widespread grassroots environmental organization can do.

The Club has reached to a certain pinnacle of success and power. Membership and net worth are at an all time high. We are about to embark on an unprecedented fundraising campaign for our centennial.

embark on an unprecedented fundraising campaign for our centennial. We have a proud record to exhibit. But what fundamental concerns do we project? Listen to Ken Smith, of Craver, Matthews, Smith & Co., the Club's direct mail firm for the past 15 years:

"Is it conceivable that a substantial portion of the wilderness constituency is ready to look beyond our national borders? Do they now believe that what is happening to the forests in Brazil is every bit as important to them as Bob Marshall wilderness? Where the Sierra Club once led the public on issues, will it now fall behind if it doesn't grab on to what is clearly Sierra Club's natural, although international, issue? After all, no other citizens organization has forestry expertise and political acumen as does the Sierra Club. And the Club does have a fledgling rain forests program.

"I think the environmental public has changed a lot and is changing more. Where ten years ago we were narrowly focused on our own lands, I think there is a realization that we have a terrible and immediate international problem for which there is little time.

"It's my hunch that global environmental issues are the issues of the 1990's and that rainforest could very well be the important Sierra Club issue for its second century."

Are we truly an international organization? Only one international issue -- global warming -- is among our top legislative priorities. Our staff international conservation director has had some outstanding accomplishments during his short span on the job, notably with the Congress and international (U.S. based) monetary funds. Our volunteer international committee has extensive plans, but little money to use.

What are some of the international projects which are in the natural province of the Sierra Club and which need funding? The international committee has listed a number of them in its five-year plan approved by the board in May, 1988. Some of them are:

- * Relationships with other non-governmental organizations worldwide. (Earthcare Network and issue support).
- * NGO newsletter (Earthcare Appeals)
- * Projects to help focus NGO programs and highlight sensitive areas such as national parks and tropical forests.
- * Work with the U.N., its agencies and associations.
- * Grassroots leadership outreach.
- * Use of international legal efforts.

Last February, with grant funding from a foundation, our international - population staff was increased from one and one-half to two and one-half people -- with the avowed intention of further strengthening soon. At the July retreat of the board of directors, there appeared agreement that the population program would be beefed up considerably. The conservation director explained that the population program would be more effective if transferred from San

Francisco to Washington and combined with the international program. I agree with this. A vigorous population program is essential if the Sierra Club is to be a leader in international environmental concerns. The linkage between degradation of the environment and overpopulation is critical both nationally and globally. They are two sides of the same coin.

However, in the 1989-90 budget, while the San Francisco population program is phased out, there is no provision for a Washington population program. Since the finance committee meeting, the executive director has informed me that he hopes to obtain about \$65,000 from grants and donations for the next fiscal year. This is not listed in the budget. Once we get this grant funding, with perhaps \$20,000 from the core budget, the next phase of the population program could be funded and get underway.

In summary, the budget process to date may have gone the way it should. The different departments of the staff have presented the options -- as they see them -- for maintenance and protection of the Club's infrastructure. The executive director and the finance committee have reviewed and commented on how the funds expected should be used. Now it is up to the board of directors to correlate these factors with the initiative and the visionary elements which will attract new activists, new members, new sources of funding to keep the Sierra Club, as it enters its second century, at the apex of the environmental movement. Environmental protection is THE global issue. The opportunity for leadership by the Sierra Club has never been more obvious.

Do we meet the challenge?

EDGAR WAYBURN

A Typical Day in My Life

Tuesday, Oct. 20, 1992

This was a busy weekend. Friday the 16th, Saturday the 17th and Sunday the 18th were taken up fully with Sierra Club work. On Friday and Saturday, I attended intermittently the meetings of the finance committee, mostly in a listening capacity, except when there was consideration of cuts in the conservation department program budget: reduction of staff support in the Alaska office and in the Northeast office, reduction of the support provided to Sierra Club California through the state and provincial program, reduction in staffing of the pollution/clean air team in Washington, elimination of one senior management position. To all of these I gave an emphatic "no"; I do not see abandoning any of our existing conservation programs--which is what we're all about. And especially if it's not absolutely necessary.

On Friday I went to the Commonwealth Club to represent the Sierra Club at an excellent luncheon talk given by Paul Ehrlich on The Environment and the Elections.

On Saturday, the Board of Directors met in closed session to discuss procedures to be adopted the next day in interviews of the two finalists for the executive director's position. This was done during a brought-in pizza dinner in the Sierra Club library. After dinner, the "First 100 Days" committee met to discuss the procedures we would follow in our deliberations concerning both policy and appointment issues in the new Administration.

Sunday the Board of Directors met all day from 8 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., interviewing the two finalist candidates for executive director. Although there was a strong feeling for a final selection, the Board acceded to the wishes of a minority that we consider the matter privately during the next two days and have a final conference call for the selection on Tuesday evening, the 20th of October.

I drove home and then with Peggy over to Bolinas, arriving there shortly before 8 p.m. After the long spring and summer days, it seems strange to be driving in the dark.

On Monday, the first time we'd been to Bolinas in a month, I watered the gardens, picked vegetables and fruit, and did general yard work till noon. In the afternoon, we walked on the south slope of Mt. Tamalpais, out of Mountain Home, an area we hadn't visited in more than 20 years! I had to be at the dentist's office at 4:30 p.m.

EVENT PLANNING TIMETABLE

SMALL EVENT
(10-30 guests)3 months:

- fundraiser & project manager develop event concept
- define purpose, audience, & environmental issue
- propose dates Mrs. Jeffrey Morris
- develop budget 1463 Jefferson Street
- identify location & alternative San Francisco, CA 94123
- scout & identify potential speakers

2 months:

- order lists from data systems
- order party gifts

10 weeks:

- enlist volunteer support
- volunteer or staff to inspect site: obtain room diagram
- confirm location
- gather names form staff & volunteers

8 weeks:

- define program
- draft invitation, program, & agenda. Submit materials for internal review.
- complete Event Request Form

7 weeks

- submit materials to printer
- obtain commitment from hosts, special guests, or speakers
- volunteer assignments: guests to be personally invited
- search for caterers

5 weeks

- stuff, stamp, & mail invitations or
- volunteers call to invite guests
- complete Research Request Form
- confirm caterer
- search for florist
- obtain calligrapher for place cards, etc.

4 weeks

- confirm florist
- purchase supplies

Highland, IN 46322

8803 Parkway Drive

2 - 3 weeks

- access response rate: call more guests if needed
- write speaker scripts
- confirm hosts, special guests, or speakers

Today, the 20th, I was up shortly after 7. Prepared breakfast for Peggy and me, went for my usual walk-run through Lincoln Park, picked up the morning paper and took it home to read. Some time was taken up with arranging for a new mortgage on the house at 314 - 30th Ave., at a lower rate than the old one.

Reached the Club at about 10:45. Answered Club correspondence. Had a large number of telephone calls which came in yesterday and this morning. Among the calls:

Fred Duda, trying to confirm my appearance at an international conference on Environmental Quality and Sustainable Development at California State University, San Francisco, on Monday October 26. I had never heard of this conference, despite their listing me, and declined.

Douglas Wheeler, Resources Secretary of California -- we're playing phone tag-- on an effort to see whether the State has a firm interest in transferring Prairie Creek State Park to Redwood National Park. He and Mike Finley will meet with me.

Frank Orem, chair of the population committee, with regard to a luncheon meeting next week with Max Thelen, vice president of the Cowell Foundation, on funding California grants.

Lew Albert, deputy director of the Western Region of the National Park Service, with regard to Redwood National Park and the housing study in Yosemite National Park.

Andrea (assistant to Martina Miller) program officer at the International Visitors Center, agreeing to an hour's meeting with 12 Baltic visitors to the U.S., key individuals and organizations, from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, on the Sierra Club role in dealing with ecological and conservation issues.

(Lunch with Bruce Hamilton, director of field operations for the Sierra Club, on numerous matters--particularly the First 100 Days Committee, and how to get more effective work done in Alaska.)

Afternoon telephone calls:

Michele Perrault, reached in Toronto; she will speak at the S.F. State conference next Monday.

Diane Feinstein--left word of congratulation on her promise to pass legislation on the California Desert Protection Act.

Judy Kunofsky of Yosemite Restoration Trust, re Yosemite Housing Study.

Leave Sierra Club 5:45 p.m.

Conference call with Board of Directors re selection of next Executive Director - 7 - 8 p.m. followed by conference call with executive committee - to 8:30.

EDGAR WAYBURN
For Sierra Club Oral History

Offices held in 1980s and 1990s:

IN SIERRA CLUB:

Member, Board of Directors, except one year rotated off (according to Bylaws)
 Chairman, Alaska Task Force - to present
 Appointed vice president for National Parks and protected areas, 1983-91
 Elected vice president = vice president for conservation, 1991 - present
 Chairman, conservation coordinating committee, 1991 - present
 Member, international committee, 1984-present
 Member, public affairs committee, 1986-90; now Board of Directors liaison to committee
 Board of Directors liaison to population committee
 Member, Board of Directors Executive Director search committee, 1985 and 1992.

EXTERNAL:

Secretary of the Interior's Advisory Board on National Park System, 1979-83
 Citizens' Advisory Commission for Golden Gate National Recreation Area, 1974-present
 Chairman, People for Golden Gate National Recreation Area, since 1971
 Member, Commission for National Parks and Protected Areas of IUCN (World Conservation Union) 1984 - present
 Director, Yosemite Restoration Trust, 1990 - present
 Director, Yosemite Fund
 Director, Smith River Alliance
 Executive Committee, Fourth World Wilderness Congress, 1987.

Some Personal Projects

Admiralty Island, since 1968
 Boundary studies in national Parks. ---->Studies for expansion or cooperative agreements underway since mandated in a title of 1990 Arizona Desert Wilderness Act

 Tatshenshini-Alsek River Basin - wilderness
 Geddes Mining Corp. - open pit copper mine vs.
 World Heritage Site - Resolution by 1990 IUCN Assembly
 Prince William Sound protection - Exxon Valdez fines to be used for fee acquisition or easements.



730 Polk Street San Francisco, California 94109 415·776·2211

BRIEF REPORT ON WASHINGTON VISITS

March 1990Edgar Wayburn, M.D. *EW*

Prior to the March 17-18 meeting of the Sierra Club Board of Directors, I made a number of visits to Congressional and Interior Department offices, several with my wife, one with Mike Matz. A summary follows:

Wednesday, March 14

Judy Lemons, Congresswoman Pelosi's administrative assistant:

I expressed appreciation for Congresswoman Pelosi's intervention in the failed savings and loan companies' property interest held by the Resolution Trust Corporation.

I identified properties which should be acquired this year for Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore. I told Judy that I would get a more complete memorandum to her. (List attached). We discussed the needs of the GGNRA for operational funds; I gave her the figure of \$700,000.

We discussed the need for planning for the Presidio. As the months go by, and the military services continue their phased closure, the need for more comprehensive planning and recognition of the national importance of the Presidio become increasingly urgent.

Congressman Bruce Vento, chairman of National Park Subcommittee and legislative assistant Terry Sopher:

Congressman Vento is also the chairman of the House committee working on disposition of the properties of the Resolution Trust Corporation, which has taken over the assets of numerous failed savings and loan institutions. We discussed the matter of including lands for national parks and other protected areas, when the savings and loan properties are fully inventoried and made ready for disposal.

On national park matters, I reiterated the Sierra Club's support for his bill for a semi-independent park service, while still urging his advocacy of a Department of the Environment, which would include the NPS, as well as EPA, NOAA, and FWS. Senator Bradley has introduced a companion bill in the Senate.

I assured him of Sierra Club support for his bill for a study of national park boundaries. I suggested that specific parks be mentioned as pilot projects, and that Yosemite and Bryce Canyon National Parks would be good candidates. He said he would give this consideration.

We discussed the need for more action on expansion of Yosemite National Park and on implementation of the 1980 General Management Plan.

Congressman George Miller, chairman of Subcommittee on Water and Power Resources with aide Jeff Petrich:

I expressed appreciation for all that Congressman Miller is doing at the present time on Alaska problems, including investigation of the Exxon-Valdex oil spill disaster, the Alaska oil transportation system, and of problems in the Arctic. I told him of our opposition to BLM transferring properties in the pipeline corridor north of the Yukon to the State: the State offers remote homesteads for privatization and extends roads from the main highways to unroaded areas. He promised to consider this, but suggested it was beyond his subcommittee's purview.

Miller's bill for Tongass National Forest reform was discussed at some length. We both hoped that the Senate would pass a bill comparable in scope and strength.

We discussed the acquisition of properties around the John Muir National Monument, as well as the Sierra Club's invitation to Congressman Miller to speak at our annual banquet. He replied that he would give this matter serious consideration. (n.b. Congressman Miller has agreed to be the annual dinner speaker).

Congresswoman Barbara Boxer and administrative assistant Andrew Littman. The discussion was along the same general lines as that with Judy Lemons. (q.v.) We emphasized the importance of getting acquisition funds for GGNRA and Point Reyes National Seashore this year.

Later I met with Boxer's chief of staff, Sam Chapman, and urged that she press for appropriation of funds in the present round.

Thursday, March 15

Beth Norcross, staffer for Senator Bennett Johnston, chairman of the Senate Energy Committee (along with Mike Matz of the Club's Washington office)

The principal topic of discussion was the Tongass National Forest Reform Act. Senator Johnston has introduced a compromise bill, not as strong as Congressman George Miller's bill in the House. Johnston's bill passed out of the Senate Energy Committee by unanimous vote after stronger amendments were defeated.

Our principal item of discussion concerned Admiralty Island. Senator Murkowski has introduced a bill to allow the Sealaska Regional Native Corporation to acquire the subsurface estate around the Greens Creek on Admiralty Island. In turn, Sealaska would offer the United States government subsurface rights elsewhere in the Alexander Archipelago and on the Southeast mainland, as well as a small amount of surface land. The deal would be sweetened by a ten percent royalty to go into a trust fund to acquire properties for Admiralty Island National Monument. Senator Johnston is considering the inclusion of this bill as an amendment to the Tongass Timber Reform Act. We pointed out that this would do nothing to encourage a comprehensive settlement of the inholdings in the Monument. Shee Atika Native Village Corporation and its partner in the Atikon Joint Venture, Konkor, a private lumber company, which owns 51 per cent of the Atikon, as opposed to

49 per cent owned by Shee Atika, are the other principal players.

We told Norcross about negotiations going on between the U.S. Forest Service and Shee Atika and between the Forest Service and Konkor; we expressed the belief that these negotiations could come out favorably. We stated our strong opposition to any deal involving Sealaska's subsurface estate but not involving a comprehensive settlement. Ms. Norcross stated she would take these concerns to Senator Johnston.

Naomi ?. Senator Cranston's aide.

We discussed clean air act (Cranston ok), California Desert Protection Act, (S. 11). Asked for the senator's support on appropriations for GGNRA.

Mike Penfold, associate director of BLM for Policy and Land.

We had a wide ranging discussion: 1] the BLM in Alaska, where we discussed the possible transfer of properties in the pipeline corridor to the state; 2] the BLM in desert regions, specifically Utah and southern California. We urged that BLM adopt policies which involved greater protection for the land. Penfold is very interested in the problem of maintaining biodiversity. Mr. Cy Jamison, BLM Director, was unfortunately not in the city.

National Park Service.

Brief discussions held with deputy director, Herbert Cables, and associate director for operations, Jack Morehead. The Director, James Ridenour, was not in the city. This was also true for Constance Harriman, the assistant secretary for Fish and Wildlife, and Parks in Department of the Interior .

Friday, March 16

Adam Sutcross, aide to Senator Wilson.

I asked him to thank the Senator for his support in the Clean Air Act and the proposed Wirth-Wilson and Kerrey-Wilson amendments. I also asked that Senator Wilson support the Adams amendment for cleaner air in national parks. I was told that the Senator would probably be favorable. I then brought up the subject of the California Desert Protection Act, and said I hoped that Senator Wilson would sit down with Senator Cranston to discuss the proposals in S. 11, and that I hoped that Senator Wilson might be able to lend considerable support to passage of an act to protect the desert.

Congressman Morris Udall and aide Matt Collins

Most of the interview concerned my plea (detailed in the attached letter to Udall) that the Interior Committee conduct oversight hearings on ANILCA now that almost ten years have elapsed since its passage. Udall, as the eloquent architect of that act, would be the logical congressman to preside, although he might choose to delegate the hearing to Congressman George Miller.

SIERRA CLUB



730 Polk Street San Francisco, California 94109 415·776·2211

March 22, 1990

MEMO

TO: Judy Lemons

FROM: Edgar Wayburn, M.D. *EW*

Peggy and I enjoyed talking to you in Washington last week. As I outlined to you, certain acquisitions for San Francisco Bay Area national parks require funding urgently. I am listing them in order of priority.

Golden Gate National Recreation Area

1. Sheldance Nursery in San Mateo County -- 12.5 acres. This is the key to access of the Sweeney Ridge unit of the park.
2. Patterson property in Sausalito, a ridgetop parcel of 3.31 acres, with acquisition necessary to protect the substantial government investment in hundreds of acres of the Marin Headlands around this property.
3. Giacomini Ranch, 563 acres at the head of Tomales Bay, the key parcel to natural values of the Bay and the estuary of Lagunitas Creek.
4. Gallagher Ranch -- 291 acres, the last large parcel of the Lagunitas Creek loop awaiting acquisition. It has been in line for about 10 years.
5. C.O. Whitten property of 7.4 acres is threatened by a subdivision along the shore of Tomales Bay.
6. Other parcels include Pasternak, Baty, and Banks.

GGNRA needs an appropriation of \$7 million in FY 1991 to acquire the lands necessary to fulfill the mandate of Public Law 92-589, the park's enabling legislation.

Point Reyes National Seashore

1. Zimmerman stables of 42.25 acres is the highest priority project for acquisition.
2. Parcels in Haggerty Gulch and on the Inverness Ridge are desirable.

Point Reyes National Seashore needs \$1.5 million for land acquisition in FY 1991.

John Muir National Historic Site

Two parcels remain to be purchased:

1. The Strain property of 186.45 acres
2. The Lo property of 139.8 acres

\$1.75 million is needed in FY 1991 for John Muir National Historic Site.

SIERRA CLUB



730 Polk Street San Francisco, California 94109 415·776·2211

STATEMENT IN SAUPPORT OF H.R. 2582, FOR REAUTHORIZATION OF
NATIONAL PARKS SYSTEM ADVISORY BOARD

MAY 22, 1990

My name is Edgar Wayburn. I was formerly president of the Sierra Club and at present am a director and Vice President of the Club for National Parks and Protected Areas. I have labored for the establishment and protection of national parks for approximately 45 years. I was a member of the Secretary of the Interior's Advisory Board on the National Park System from 1978 to 1982 and a member of the Council of that Board until it was dissolved by Interior Secretary William Clark. For the past sixteen years I have been a member of the Citizens' Advisory Commission for Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore.

I am testifying in favor of H.R. 2582, a bill to extend the National Park Service Advisory Board. The Advisory Board on the National Parks flourished from 1936 to 1980. It was used to great advantage by several secretaries of the Interior, particularly Secretaries Stewart Udall and Rogers Morton. The Board's effectiveness was strangulated under Interior Secretary James Watt, although it nominally still functions.

The Board has consisted of twelve members. They have included such notables as writer Sigurd Olson, biologists Starker Leopold, Durwood Allen, and Raymond Hall, archaeologists Ned Danson, Carl Houry, and Joe Brew, historian Robin Winks, public minded supporters of the parks such as Lady Bird Johnson Anne Morton Kimberly, Marian Heiskell, Frank Masland, Carl Burke, Larry Erikson, Bill Wiener, John Turner, Bill Lane, and Melvin Grosvener, to name just a few. It even included at one time a conservation activist (I was told I was the first such person to be included on the Board). Two former chairmen of the National

Parks Subcommittee of Congress, Senator Alan Bible and Congressman Roy Taylor, considered membership on the Board an honor.

The Council of the Board was composed of those members of the Board, who, after their terms had expired, retained such an intense interest in the parks' natural and cultural resources that the Secretary and the Director of the National Park Service wanted their services to continue. They formed the Council of the Board. These people contributed enormously in skill, knowledge, and devotion to the welfare of the parks. The parks benefitted greatly, and the federal government received unparalleled services for partially reimbursed expenses.

As independent citizens, not subject to bureaucratic or political control, as outside experts, as people vitally interested in the future of our national parks, the members of the Board and Council contributed greatly.

A committee of the Board under member Starker Leopold was responsible for the Leopold Report which has provided policy guidance for the National Park Service for many years.

Let me recommend that the Secretary of Interior's Advisory Board on the National Park System be rechartered. It would consist of twelve members, with three appointed each year, for staggered four-year terms. At any one time there should be at least two biologists, two archaeologists or geologists, two architects, two historians, and two conservation activists. All must have had an intense interest in carrying out the purposes of the National Park System, especially in resource protection and specifically in biodiversity. It would be desirable if they were recommended by organizations representing their respective disciplines.

At the end of a four-year term, each Board member who expressed continuing interest in park protection could be appointed to the Council of the Board. The Council's purposes should be the same

as those of the Board, and Council members should have most of the privileges of the Board, including recommendations on actions which the Board may take. However, they would not have a mandatory vote in the final deliberations.

There would be appropriated each year money for travel and for per diem expenses of the Board and Council.

The authorization of the National Park Service Advisory Board would continue until January 1, 2000.

I will appreciate having these comments placed in the record of the hearing.



SUMMARY OF MEETING WITH COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL PARKS
AND PROTECTED AREAS OF IUCN
AND CONFERENCE
May-June, 1990

Edgar Wayburn, M.D.

The meeting and conference were held at the Hotel Horal in the middle of the Krkonose Mountains National Park. The hotel was built by trade unions during the Communist regime. Directly across the canyon from the hotel are massive clearcuts occupying two thirds of the opposite ridge. The clearcuts from the top of the ridge down the upper third of the hillside were salvage logging because of acid rain. The clearcuts from the bottom of the valley one third of the rise up are the result of commercial logging because the regime wished to get currency in exchange for exports. This logging is as bad as any I have ever seen.

In the middle of the conference there was a whole day for a field trip. We visited a number of different locations, most of them clearcut, some a number of years ago, without good regeneration. These "forests" are all monoculture Norwegian spruce. The monoculture development in the Czech forests is the same as that which has been practiced for generations in German forests. There has been an effort to plant beech (7 percent) in the lower portions of the valley and mugu pine (1 -2 percent) in the higher elevations. Neither of these efforts have seemed to succeed. Animated and controversial discussion was frequent between the National Park people and officials of the Czech Forestry Service as to whether they were doing a good thing or a very bad thing by their logging in the national parks. All of the conference participants agreed that much more would need to be done to make Krkonose National Park worthy of the name of national park.

Much of the meeting of the CNPPA was concerned with the actions taken by different member countries during the past year and with preparation for the upcoming General Assembly of the IUCN in Australia next November and December. There was also discussion of preparations for the Fourth World Congress on National Parks to take place in Caracas, Venezuela in February 1992.

An attempt is being made by the Director General of IUCN, Martin Holdgate, and the Council of IUCN to change the name of the Commission (and its work) from Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas to Commission on National Parks and Conservation Areas. When the chairman

of the commission discussed this change he had considered it a foregone conclusion; communications from Holdgate both to the Commission and for the Australian assembly, had made the change. I emphatically protested this action. I was supported by a number of other members, particularly Matti Helminen of Finland and Jacob Kuper of the Netherlands. Later, Chairman Eidsvik wrote to the Director General that he had encountered unanticipated opposition to the name change. As Helminen remarked, "The whole world should be our conservation area." The commission will make the decision at the General Assembly.

We spent five days in Prague after the conference. Czechoslovakia is suffering from 40 years under the domination of Communist rule. It and Poland have the greatest air pollution in the world. The sky was never entirely clear during our stay. The principal factor in this is the lignite or brown coal, which is the chief source of energy in Czechoslovakia. The utilities and the steel factories are the major culprits. Prague was once said to be the most beautiful city in Europe. The remains of its beauty can be seen behind the neglect of more than 40 years. No maintenance was done through most of that time, although a number of buildings are now curtained off for repair or restoration. We were informed that this restoration has been going on for several years, but that the work proceeds very slowly. We watched several workmen doing a painting job back of our hotel. Usually no more than one workman was busy at any one time. The system calls for employment of all people. No work, no pay. But the amount of work done in a given period is questionable.

In the outlying districts of Prague, the landscape is dominated by huge bare, bleak blocklike buildings of anywhere from 5 to 24 stories -- so-called "people's housing estates". These have few amenities. However, they are connected by an excellent subway system which goes to the center of Prague -- the "old town" and the "new town". Here we were amazed to find crowds of people walking the streets at almost anytime of day or night. We stayed in a hotel in the heart of the "new town" on Vaclav Square, where the November revolution began.

On the whole, the Czech people are very reserved. At first we had difficulty communicating with anyone, because we spoke no Czech and very few people seemed to communicate in English. However, as the conference and the Commission meeting proceeded, more and more people demonstrated a very adequate knowledge of the English language. We were fortunate in encountering two botanists who spoke excellent English. One was Professor Jan Janik, the interpreter for our field trip, and we became quite closely acquainted. He was to have been appointed professor in 1969, but his lack of enthusiasm for Communism caused him to be removed from the faculty of the University until June 1990 (although he was allowed to stay as a member of the Czech Academy of Science.)

Two of our days in Prague were the days of the first free elections in 40 years, and many of the conservationists were tied up with the elections. There are a number of conservation societies -- of greater or lesser degree. We interviewed Vaclav Zigler, the head of the Czech Society for the Protection of Nature, which is said to be the strongest conservation organization in Czechoslovakia. However, like all the others it has government support (at present the Department of Environment). There is no organization that is entirely independent, like the Sierra Club. The Society publishes NIKA magazine, which was not allowed to be sold on newsstands until the revolution. It is a very good publication, done in color as well as black and white. We interviewed the editor, Ivan Makasek; he showed us the latest issue, which had reprinted the complete Earth Care Appeals from the Sierra Club.

With Jarmilla Kubikova (one of our friendly botanists) we visited a Czech nature reserve a short distance outside Prague. One hundred acres of limestone are protected, an ecotone reflecting vegetation from east, west, north and south, as far west as Spain and as far north as Siberia. The conservation organizations have tended to concentrate on research in their flora and fauna rather than on the actions that government or industry might take and to which they are opposed. Kubikova has done definitive research, is a strong conservationist, and has worked for the government for at least 25 years.

We had an interesting hour with our American ambassador, Shirley Temple Black, who showed considerable knowledge of what was going on in Czechoslovakia. She felt it would be some time before the conservation organizations would be able to challenge the authority of the government. She reported that the Bush administration has funded \$26 million for environmental purposes in Eastern bloc countries. Most of this is for a central facility in Budapest, Hungary. She reported that two EPA workers are presently in Prague.

We drove through the Czech and Polish countryside to a meeting in Krakow, Poland with the Polish Ecological Club, and to give interviews with the Polish press, radio, and TV media, with the assistance of the CanoAndes travel agency. The countryside was very pleasant, although the former small Czech farms have been replaced by large collectives. Monoculture fields stretch out for a quarter to a half mile. We found the same bare block construction in the small towns and villages, although these housing units were proportionally smaller than the large peoples' housing estates in Prague. We found the food to be very good, and prices inexpensive. At times, we wondered what two elderly Americans were doing driving through two countries where they could not speak the language and where no one around the countryside seemed able to speak English. But we managed! Even to finding a hotel in the village of Pribor. On the way to Krakow, we passed the village of

Oswiecim. We were attracted by a sign that said Oswiecim was the scene of Auschwitz, and stopped there on the way back. Here we encountered the most horrible illustrations of man's inhumanity to man that one could imagine.

We made some valuable contacts in Czechoslovakia and Poland, although there are no organizations comparable to the Sierra Club in either country. The Czech organizations are concerned mostly with research or on supervising volunteers to clear up the countryside, or similar good works. They have not taken strong, environmental activist stands. The same is true of the Polish Ecological Club, whose members -- at least those we met with -- are concerned primarily with research. They are now trying to entice foreign tourism to Poland in the hopes that it will help the economy. This so-called eco-tourism may or may not be as protective of the environment as the Poles believe.

In order for the Sierra Club to be of further help, we will have to maintain continuing contact. The Czech and Polish conservationists have made use of our EarthCare Appeals, and were very grateful for the brochures about the Club, particularly Sierra magazine, which I distributed as widely as I could. It remains up to us to strengthen and solidify our friendship and real concern for the beleaguered environment in these Eastern European countries.

P.S. Chris Wasitunski, who was on the CanoAndes trip to Poland, has now had a visit from the vice president of the Polish Ecological Club, Andrej Kassenergi. Kassenergi told him that the Ecological Club had received a foundation grant and set up eight chapters in Poland and that they would like to send members to the U.S. for training. This may open new possibilities.

ENCOUNTERS IN EASTERN EUROPE

Meeting and Conference on Parks, People, and Pollution
Krkonose National Park, Czechoslovakia
June 1990

Edgar Wayburn, M.D.

Monday, June 4, 1990

The first and very full day of the meeting. The majority of the talks were in English and understandable. I had difficulty in getting the translation through the simultaneous translation process because the speakers were much more forceful than the voice of the translator coming through the earphones.

My talk on environmental health and its effect on human health was well received. It was the only talk of the day which was "holistic" in nature. Most of the other talks dealt specifically with national parks, and with the effect of different pollutants, especially acid rain, on the parks, forests, and soils. Ross Wein's talk was on the possible effect of global warming on the Canadian taiga. He used Canada as a focus, but really included all of the northern Arctic regions. Among his points, grasslands might move as much as 250 miles north, displacing the taiga. Migratory animals would be able to make this transition without too much difficulty, but trees, which move from region to region very slowly at best, might and might not survive as forests. Adrian Phillips read Martin Holdgate's message, which dealt with the various scientific effects of pollutants of various kinds. Coming just before mine as it did, it enabled me to omit certain parts of my speech.

Tuesday, June 5, 1990

We went on a field trip entitled "Biotechnological Project Obri Dul Valley". This was a bus trip with several stops in Krkonose National Park, principally to demonstrate damage from acid rain, and to show what was being done. There is certainly a lot of damage from acid rain, especially in the higher regions. We saw dead trees at numerous places. The effects had not penetrated into the lower reaches of the valley as much. However, we also saw evidence of widespread clearcutting, and of the monoculture forestry which is practiced by the Czechs as well as other Europeans. The plantings are of Norwegian spruce, a good tree for lumber, which thrives in this area. Other plantings were of Swiss pine and beech, with some small amount of mountain ash. The clearcutting looks as bad as it does in our country but is even more extensive. There were some tremendous areas involved. The foresters explained this with two principal excuses. One was the communist regime, which made them cut this way, even when they didn't want to. The other was damage to the trees from acid rain, and subsequent insect infiltration.

The people doing the explaining were foresters and National Park Service personnel. It was refreshing to hear the arguments between them -- arguments which probably wouldn't have been tolerated eight months ago.

Krkonose National Park is quite different from our parks. It is used for

economic as well as protection purposes. This country was settled in the 13th or 14th century. Mining took place as early as that, and logging was begun. The most valuable forest was probably cleared by the 16th, certainly by the 17th century. At first natural revegetation was allowed to take place, but (according to my understanding) the monoculture practice, which had started in Saxony, came to Czechoslovakia [at that time Bohemia] sometime early in the 1800s.

We stopped at several stations for lectures and discussion and became thoroughly frozen by the cold winds that blew over the mountain ridges. We then came down into the Obri Dul Valley to have lunch and to walk a few hundred yards to see the problems and the geology there. This valley was glaciated thousands of years ago. It is typically U-shaped. There are landslides and avalanche tracks, and we discussed their important role in the local ecology. Interesting point -- the foresters have insisted on trying to plant the avalanche tracks, and then when the trees grow to 70 or 80 years, they cut them for logs. The forests range in age up to a possible 150 to 200 years. They are all second-growth or third-growth -- possibly even more. One of the foresters explained, "We are a poor country, we cannot afford the luxury of primeval forests the way your country can."

The leader, the man who translated all the various specialists' words and who added quite a bit himself, was Professor Jan Jenik. He was supposed to have given one of the papers yesterday, but could not come because he was being initiated as professor of botany at Karlova University. Dr. Jenik was to have received his professorship in 1969, but when the communists took over, he was not allowed to teach students in university any longer. He then transferred to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, where his title was principal research scientist. He was allowed to continue research, to teach post-graduate students and even to travel out of the country. In the 1960s he had studied tropical forestry in Africa, and became lecturer on tropical forestry in Prague. His only sojourn out of the country later was in 1976, when he was invited to a seminar at Harvard and travelled in eastern United States as well. He is very fluent in English and an excellent lecturer. He invited Peggy and me to dinner when we return to Prague Saturday night.

This field trip became a stimulus for all the participants to get to know one another better and to communicate. Previously we had sat in our own seats and stayed in our own corners. Peggy and I had been afraid there was no Czech who spoke English. However, today, a number of different people showed that they could speak more or less fluent English, and we got to know them better. Other people, whom we knew before or whom we met on this trip, came from Italy, Norway, Sweden, Germany, and the British Isles, and particularly Canada. A great many Canadians come on these international journeys. The National Parks Service of Canada seems to encourage such travel, in contradistinction to our own National Park Service. There is one NPS staffer here, John Peine, who is an ecologist at Great Smoky Mountains National Park in Gatlinburg. Last year in Italy there was no one from NPS.

The countryside is beautiful in spite of the clearcutting. The glaciated U-shaped valleys and the high ridges which go up from a level of perhaps 1000 feet to 5000 at the summits, are green with forests, now marred by clearcutting and effects of acid rain. There are many people living in the forest. The valley we explored principally has about 1000 permanent residents. During the season, which is usually summer, this number goes up to as much as 16,000, and in winter there may be as many as 25,000 people in

a day on the ski lifts. Skiing has become very popular and rather large areas have been cleared for downhill skiing. Cross-country skiing has become much more popular also in recent years. This area of Czechoslovakia has been a playground for East Germans.

Wednesday, June 6, 1990

Another long day of papers delivered (some of the most interesting). They emphasised the fact that parks in Europe have some of the same problems as those in the U.S. and some problems quite different, because the landscape has been altered by man for 2000 years--whereas in our country the length of time is only 300 years. And in the West 150 years.

The ideas being circulated in this European Congress have reference and relevance in the United States. We in the U.S. have not been aware of the thoughts of European park planners and managers. IUCN, UNESCO, and UNEP are the world agencies which have been influenced by them more than by us. We need to become much more aware of this and be on the scene a good deal more. Biosphere reserve designation is a tool we should use to a greater extent to resolve conflicts between the natural and the manmade world -- between economic and conservation objectives.

The organizing committee has today come up with a resolution for "action to safeguard the Krkonose and Krkonosze National Parks in Czechoslovakia and Poland". I congratulated the committee on their resolution - which will be refined -- and thought of it as a model which could be used in general, with a few modifications. For example, in the United States one does not need to place forest management under park administration, because it is already there. The combination of the measures taken for action at the local and national levels, specified in the resolution, would make it one which could well be used in our country.

Some of the speakers criticized the resolution because it was too strict and too hard on the tourist industry, and on forest practices. I believe they fail to recognize the goals and purposes of national parks as not being those of a resort area. The resolution emphasised the fact that there must be unified administration in national parks if they are to succeed in their purposes. It also takes note of the zoning factor which probably should have greater prominence in U.S. national parks than it does at present. While a national park is a national park regardless of its subdesignation in the U.S., some practices are allowed in recreation areas and in seashores which are not allowed in the great nature parks. As I dictate this I glance out of the window and see a horrible example of combining forest logging with the idea of a national park. On the slope across the way -- and we have a marvelous clear view of this canyon both to the crest and down the valley -- are grim examples of clearcut logging taking place over the lower slopes. This is perhaps more serious environmental damage than the acid rain which has afflicted the upper slopes of the forest. Some of the trees on the upper slopes have been removed; others are scheduled for removal soon.

There is a great contrast between this conference and last year's in Florence. In that one, the meeting of the committee itself was held in a delightful, isolated chateau, but the conference was all in Florence and there were no translation facilities comparable to those at this one. We got together to hear the papers and some of the discussion, and then we separated out. At this conference everyone is gathered together in a single

hotel. The tour of the national park, together with the on-site expositions and discussions bonded the conferees together in much firmer fashion. This is the retreat modal -- certainly superior to one in which the conference is just a meeting.

If the Sierra Club is to become a global organization, it must become better known worldwide. It must have more representatives at conferences like this. It must circulate its purposes, goals and actions throughout the world. I distributed a set of Sierra Club literature to Gary Fry of Norway, who is the rapporteur and one of the sparkplugs for the conference. There were a great many interesting people present. At this point I mention Pierre Galland, the representative of the Swiss League for the Conservation of Nature. The SLCN is more like the Sierra Club than any other European organization I have encountered yet. It has 100,000 members. It is funded partly by its membership, with some funds from the State. It often objects to the State's positions, and in addition, manages a series of reserves. In the latter sense it is somewhat like the Nature Conservancy. Among the areas it manages is the Swiss National Park.

Thursday, June 7, 1990

Today was the business meeting of the Commission. After the preliminaries there was a round of reports from different countries. This lasted for almost two hours. I will discuss a few of these.

Hans Bibelriether, Superintendent of the Bavarian National Park and Secretary-General of the European Federation for Nature Protection, stated that there was an opportunity at present to establish several areas of national parks or other protected areas (such as biosphere reserves) in East Germany. The best time -- he felt the only time -- would be before the reunification of Germany, because there would be far fewer complicating jurisdictions. He reported on a new West German national park at Waldensee near the Dutch border.

Fred VanderVechte of the Netherlands reported that national parks played a large role in the control of Dutch pollution problems.

John Peine of U.S. National Park Service reported new trends in the NPS. 1) they are instituting a national geographic monitoring system; 2) they are putting in more active research centers for scientists who work in the national parks; 3) they have instituted a social sciences program; 4) NPS is reaching beyond the parks for creative partnerships with communities near them; 5) there is a new focus in NPS on monitoring migratory birds.

Matti Helminen from Finland stated that Finland has two new national parks and is considering eight new reserves. There is also a new wilderness area in the north, with no roads and few huts. (This must be ratified by Parliament.) They have \$18,000,000 U.S. available to acquire new reserves.

Jeffrey Armstrong, Australia, asserted that the present government is very pro-environment. Tasmania has set aside 600,000 hectares for protection in the past year. The Queensland government has changed and is now considering protection of their tropical forests.

Adrian Phillips, from Great Britain, said that 10 percent of the country is in national parks. He added that very little of this is owned by the federal government. In Great Britain, conservationists are reassessing the

relationship between conservation and economics. There is a good deal of discussion on whether nature protection and land conservation agencies should be separate or together. It is going one way in England, and the other way in Scotland and Wales. He told of external threats to the parks, such as air pollution.

Harold Eidsvik reported for Canada. He stated that new laws have been passed asserting that ecological integrity is a basic factor. The Department of Environment is under pressure from other departments, and has now come up with a "Green Plan" for Canada. Although it is too weakly worded, it does give political leverage to the Minister for the Environment. Canada has 39 regions. 21 of them have 34 national parks, leaving a number of national parks yet to be established in Canada. These will probably be largely in the north.

He stated that size does not necessarily mean that a park is free from problems. The largest national park in Canada is Buffalo National Park. It contains 5000 bison, largely afflicted with brucellosis. A debate is going on as to what to do. Exterminate the present bison and repopulate a few years later with bison from an area farther north? Let nature take its course? Try to control the brucellosis?

George Francis, of the Canadian Federation for Nature, reported on new biosphere reserves in Canada.

Pierre Galland from Switzerland reported that the Swiss League for the Conservation of Nature now has 500 reserves.

Several people reported for Czechoslovakia. There are six national parks in the Czech portion of the nation and five in Slovakia. They also have 1000 small protected areas.

I reported on recent developments in the United States: 1] the Exxon Valdez oil-spill disaster in Alaska is still having effects which will last for many years; two national parks were severely affected--Kenai Fjords and Katmai, as well as the Alaska Maritime Refuge; 2] the reform of Forest Management practices on the Tongass National Forest is now before Congress; 3] the other major issue before the Congress is the Clean Air Act of 1990, which we hope will be more restrictive than the 1977 act; 4] wilderness acreage in the U.S. is now more than 80 million acres, approximately the same acreage as the National Park System; 5] newly established national parks include Great Basin, with 73,000 acres in Nevada, El Malpais and Petroglyph (National Monuments) in New Mexico; 6] efforts are being made to establish new national parks and wilderness areas in the California Desert; 7] in the U.S. the need to protect whole ecosystems of national parks is becoming more recognized.

On the organization and structure of IUCN, there are now several commission line-ups: -- the species survival commission, the environmental policy and law commission, (which represents the combination of two previous ones) the education and communications commission, (formerly education only), the Environmental Strategy and Planning Commission, and the Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas.

The Secretariat of IUCN employs 150 people, mostly in Gland, Switzerland, with a sizeable group at the World Conservation Monitoring Center in Cambridge, Switzerland. The financial situation of IUCN has improved. 3.7

million Swiss francs come in from the members, 6 million from the eight agencies, and other contributors. These are all unrestricted. There are also 17 million Swiss franc which are restricted.

The World Conservation Monitoring Center (IUCN-WWF-UNEP) now has 17,000 sites on its protected area list. (Brucker)

Parks Magazine has now been revived. IUCN furnishes editorial supervision. Subscription is on a commercial basis. (Phillips)

Organization of CNPPA: There are 400 members in various countries, divided 1/3 managers, 1/3 universities, and 1/3 miscellaneous. Staffing: Jeff McNealey is now chief conservation officer for CNPPA, with 50 percent of his time. Jim Thorsell is titled senior conservation officer, with chief responsibility on world heritage sites and the newsletter. A new conservation officer is now employed, responsible for the 1992 parks conference in Caracas. A secretary and one additional person will also be on staff.

Other responsibilities of the Commission include World Heritage Sites, for which six nominations have been made this year, and biosphere reserves, which haven't yet been taken on by staff.

Candidate proposed for chairman for the next three years by the Council is Walter Lusigi. He is also going to work at the World Bank in Washington. Bing Lucas has agreed to be an alternate candidate if Lusigi's job represents a conflict of interest. Adrian Phillips will continue as deputy chairman if appointed by the chairman, but felt he did not want to take on the responsibility because of his personal situation.

Phillips told of the new European seminar on national parks, which is a successor to the former U.S. seminar held yearly at University of Michigan.

Both Phillips and Eidsvik brought up the suggestions that the name of the Commission be changed to either Commission on National Parks and Conservation Areas or simply Commission on Conservation Areas. This change had been discussed by the Council, and the Council suggested that the Commission's name be changed to Commission on Conservation. However, this was hotly contested at the last general assembly, in Costa Rica, and will have to come before the Commission members themselves for a decision in Perth. I raised the issue that the term "conservation" had too many general meanings in the eyes of too many people, that the goals of the Commission were to see that some areas were protected regardless of the economic factor, while conservation could be construed as good economic practice, and conservation used in the title would be translated badly into other languages. This last was suggested by Gary Fry of Norway. Bibelsriether said that in German the words meant the same thing. However, he was using the word "Naturschutz" which means nature protection or nature conservation. The majority opinion around the room was that "protected areas" should appear in the title, that the commission's goals should be reflected in its name. Its actions are likely to reflect its name.

Friday, June 8, 1990

The meeting continued for almost 2 hours. The discussion was chiefly about the 4th World Congress on National Parks to take place in Caracas, Venezuela, in February 1992. Harold Eidsvik is about to go to Caracas a week from now for a meeting of the organizing committee.

I suggested three topics for the meeting in Caracas: 1] threatened protected areas of the world. CNPPA has collected a good deal of data and has classified some 96 areas as threatened. It has reclassified certain of these areas, either to remove them from the list of national parks and protected areas, or to restore them to their previous status because the threats have been removed; 2] a review of what is acceptable in allowing a given area to be established as a national park; brought up to 1992 this subject could cause considerable discussion; 3] a factual review of what is allowed in national parks in different countries. This subject will be timely since the IUCN will do a reclassification of its categories at the IUCN General Assembly at Perth this year.

There was some further discussion of the category revisions of the IUCN, as proposed by Eidsvik, chairman of the CNPPA, with a task force of 18 (of whom I am one).

Prague, Czechoslovakia

Saturday, June 9, 1990

We visit the offices of the Czech Society for the Protection of Nature, where we meet its president Vaclaf Zigler and another man and woman who work there. This organization is one of the principal Czech environmental institutions. It is run by a professional staff of thirteen, headed by Zigler. All these people are paid employees of the Ministry of Environment. They in turn supervise a large body of volunteers who do actual work on the Czech environmental institutions such as national parks and local parks. They also take stands on environmental matters, but their advocacy is not strong. This is understandable, since the leaders are government employees. We are bringing back a copy of their magazine, NIKA.

We discussed at some length the relative role of the Society and the Sierra Club. I explained the organization and the policies of the Club and gave Mr. Zigler a complete set of the material that I had had the Club send to Gwen Albert for me. At present, I doubt whether we can do more than send occasional information to NIKA. Mr. Zigler asked if he could contribute an article on the environment in Prague to Sierra magazine. I told him that the current issue, which he had been given, had an article on Czechoslovakia, and that it would be up to the editors of the magazine to determine if they should publish another so soon. He will send his contribution to me at the Sierra Club office. The interview lasted for almost an hour and a half.

Today is the final election day -- the first free election in 40 years. At 4 p.m. we are picked up by Professor Jan Jenik and his wife and taken to the Old Town Square, where Rafael Kubelik, the eminent Czech conductor, who has lived outside Czechoslovakia since the beginning of the Communist regime, is conducting. The concert is music by Smetana, including The Moldau. Three orchestras -- from Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia -- play together, and the music spreads over the huge crowd, which fills the square. There must be 20,000 people standing. We are not able to get closer than one quarter of the way to the orchestra and are able to see comparatively little. (We do know that President Vaclav Havel is there, although he does not speak.) The idea of so many people standing bareheaded in weather which varies from sunshine to

light rain; the windows of the surrounding buildings filled with spectators; the top of an ancient tower crowded with people; people pouring in from every side street -- all this is spectacular and impressive. In the middle of the concert, a clock tower with a clock keeping time around the world, one for which Prague is renowned, starts to chime 5 o'clock, competing with the symphonic music.

Kubelik had returned to play with the Czechoslovak orchestra for the first time in 42 years only a few weeks before. At that time he said that he would conduct an open-air concert for all the people on the afternoon of the election. And this was it. We stayed for an hour, and then slowly migrated through the milling crowd to the first side street. The crowds gradually thinned and we were able to walk away.

Monday, June 11, 1990

Jan Flarascher, a young associate of Jarmila Kubikova, whom we have met at the conference, takes us through the winding streets of the Old Town to meet Ivan Makasek, the editor of NIKA. NIKA is the magazine of the Czech Society for the Protection of Nature. In its volumes 1 and 2 for 1990, on page 17, it has published a reproduction of the Earth Care Appeals of the Sierra Club. Mr. Makasek is a very well informed man who takes his business very seriously. He is another one of the employees of the Department of the Environment who is also one of the professionals of the Czech Society for the Protection of Nature. The interview goes on for almost two hours, with Jan Flarascher as interpreter, since Mr. Makasek doesn't speak English.

Jan drives the four of us in the Department of the Environment's Skoda out to the suburbs where Jarmila gives us a closehand view of one of Prague's protected areas. About 100 acres of limestone is in the protected area. This is a valley with a ridge rising high on both sides. There is an unusual flora because of the limestone base of the soil. There are flowers and grasses from the steppes of Russia and from the western Mediterranean. This area is a meeting place for flora from all over Europe. We park the car and climb the ridge as Jarmila points out the various plants. She has an extraordinary knowledge of the botany and of the range of these plants.

Before this area was set aside, much of it had been planted with two kinds of pine, so-called silver pine and black pine. The pines create their own soil conditions, which are detrimental to those of the native plants which might grow there otherwise. The new Department of the Environment is struggling to decide what to do with these exotic trees which are in monoculture and which are spreading fast.

The other great problem concerning the reserve is that there is a limestone quarry adjacent to it. The quarry people intend to work immediately next to the reserve itself. This would be most unfortunate.

Tuesday, June 12, 1990

The ITV National Television people interview Peggy and me in the gardens of the Hrcadny Palace, and do shots of the King's Gardens to set the stage. The interview takes around two hours, including the mad dash up the hill to the palace grounds and back down along the curving cobblestone streets. We stress Sierra Club functions and great interest in Czechoslovakia.

We walk one and a half or two miles through the Old Town and the New Town,

across the Moldau and into the Embassy region, to the American Embassy. We have made an appointment with Ambassador Shirley Temple Black for 4 o'clock, and we are all prompt. Shirley proves to be a charming woman. We exchange pleasantries about mutual acquaintances and about our past experiences in conservation. She was a special assistant to Russell Train, first chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality. She says she resigned because she had been assigned to investigate sludge, and she became tired of sewage and sludge.

We discuss the problems of the Czechoslovakian environment and tell her of the efforts the Sierra Club is making to establish contact with non-governmental organizations in the new democracies in Eastern Europe. She agrees that there are no independent environmental organizations in Czechoslovakia, that everything is financed in part by the government. She says she will keep her eyes open for any possibilities and let us know of them.

We have distributed about half of our Sierra Club brochures to various people and organizations we have visited like ITV Television, Jaramila Kubikova, Jan Flarascher, NIKA and the Society for the Protection for the Environment, and Professor Jan Jenik. We have also left some for the Agrarian Party, the People's Party, and the Green Circle organization. The last three were too tied up with the election to have time for environmental affairs during our stay.

Poland

Friday, June 15, 1990

I meet with Chris Wasiutynski. The CanoAndes group have just arrived from their river trip. Chris joins us with Reed McManus for dinner before the meeting with the Polish Ecological Club at 8 p.m.

The Polish Ecological Club is an interesting group. It is composed of academics and workers for a semi-private conservation organization of some 6000 people. They do a great deal of research on various problems and make recommendations to the local government. The local government will help if it can, but there is usually no funding for carrying out a conservation project. No attempt is made at influencing the national government, because they say the national government has no money. They seem to be somewhat defensive about the policies which have been carried out in the past, even though they know they are far from perfect. I queried the former president of the Ecological Club for some time on Polish methods of forestry. He stated that the Germans had introduced monoculture forestry of Norwegian spruce into the mountainous portion of the country, but that the northwest and flatter portion is still forested by a variety of native trees, including broadleaf species. He felt that their forests are in good shape. He told me that they have fourteen national parks, varying in size up to about 65,000 acres. We were turned over to a professor of chemistry for information on air and water pollution. He went on at length about research he had been doing, but when we tried to find out what action had been taken, we were met with circumlocution. A woman physician, Dr. Maria Gumbi, currently president of the Ecological Club, seemed to have better knowledge about what might be done, but she too seemed to avoid activism.

The environmentalists here may be more independent of government influence than in Czechoslovakia, although their jobs may involve working for the government. However, there is a tremendous gap between investigation and

action. We encouraged them to form societies which would advocate action, or to include this in their program. I'm not sure that we got anywhere, although the discussions went on for 2 1/2 hours. We explained that the Sierra Club was an action-oriented organization as well as a conservation society in the broad sense, and that we had been able to influence the United States government and the international aid agencies which the government supports. We offered this support to the Poles but they didn't seem to understand, although we asked them to submit their projects to us for action by the aid agencies, and for reproduction in Earth Care Appeals. They did not seem to comprehend. Whether or not they will do anything remains to be seen.

Saturday, June 16, 1990

At 8 a.m. we begin a press conference with members of the Polish press, radio and TV. There are about 15 of us from America, headed by the tour leader of CanoAndes, Mr. Majerek, and an equal number of journalists, sitting around a very large conference table shaped in a square, occupying the entire conference room. It was an unusual conference from our standpoint. First Majerek and then Chris Wasiutynski gave talks in Polish; then I led off with comments about what we had found in Poland and what we suggested that Polish conservationists might do to cooperate with American conservation organizations, such as the Sierra Club -- along the lines of what I said the night before. Peggy amplified this with a good deal of information about what the Sierra Club could do.

Next came the free lance writer for Audubon magazine and his wife, who was writing for Archaeology magazine. After them were representatives from Photography and Outdoor Magazines. Almost at the end was "The Ugly American", an entrepreneur from South Florida who told the Poles how they would have to improve in order to get American investment, so that American hotels and American style transportation and adventure could be enjoyed in Poland. I had to inform the Poles that there were differences among Americans!

These were very fruitful and worthwhile visits. They must be followed up if we are to realize the potential for the Sierra Club in working with Eastern European NGOs.

SIERRA CLUB



730 Polk Street San Francisco, California 94109 415 · 776 · 2211

ALASKA TASK FORCE

ANNUAL MEETING in association with
Alaska Regional Conservation Committee

July 21, 1990
Cliff Lobaugh's Home, 7691 Glacier Highway
Auke Bay, Alaska
9 a.m.

Attending the meeting were: Alaska Task Force steering committee members Chairman Edgar Wayburn, M.D., Bob Hartman, Cliff Lobaugh, and Sally Reid; Sierra Club vice-president Freeman Allen; Alaska regional vice-president Richard Hellard; Alaska chapter members Anne Fuller, Matt Kirchhoff, Dick Myren, Shelley Owens, and Steve Torrence; Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund-Juneau attorney Eric Jorgensen; Southeast Alaska Conservation Council attorney Steve Kallick; and Sierra Club Alaska office staff Jack Hession and Jim Young

I. ALASKA AND OIL

A) Prince William Sound Oil Spill

Eric Jorgensen gave an update on clean-up efforts. In comparison to last year, this summer's work has been more low-key and involved mostly manual removal of tar mats and spraying Inipol fertilizer. But will the methods Exxon is currently using adequately address sub-surface oil? The state is convinced they won't work and is pressing for use of a mechanical rock-washing technique. However, the Coast Guard has refused to let Exxon do this. The state believes the clean-up won't be finished this year and is starting to work on its draft restoration plan.

Litigation: Filed in August 1989, the current litigation is focused on the clean-up effort. Have been successful in stopping use of Corexit and in urging the Coast Guard to pressure Exxon to begin clean-up work earlier than planned this spring. Still in discovery, haven't filed any injunctive relief requests.

Three main thrusts of Lawsuit:

- 1) Require Exxon to do a complete clean-up.
- 2) Ensure that long-term restoration money goes to the right place.
- 3) Obtain civil penalties under the Clean Water Act.

Eric emphasized that this is a very expensive lawsuit and

that clients need to continually evaluate how worthwhile it is. A key question is whether techniques to remove sub-surface oil do more harm than good. SCLDF is waiting for an analysis of several reports judging the effectiveness of various techniques.

The idea of Exxon's providing money to buy timber rights in Prince William Sound to compensate for the overall loss in the ecosystem was raised. Even though this wouldn't be direct restoration or replacement, we should remain open to an ecosystem view of impact, particularly with regard to migrating waterfowl. Richard Hellard suggested that we need to develop a specific list of restoration projects/goals and support this.

B) Trans-Alaska Pipeline

1) Corridor Problems: BLM is developing recreational plans for the pipeline corridor. Cold Foot Lodge is now owned by the North Slope Borough; borough is in a position to grab the recreational market and develop more land. Rural residents would be affected by corridor development; need to reach out to native community. Stevens Village/Tanana Chiefs prevented this kind of scenario from happening on southern end. Nothing exists to detour anyone from driving to Prudhoe Bay. Do we have a strategy for dealing with this? Steve Torrence was asked to see if anyone in the Denali Group might be able to take this project on.

Ed noted that, in conjunction with the 10th anniversary of ANILCA this January, Sierra Club will be pushing for Congressional oversight hearings. cooperation/help. We have requested this of both Congressmen Mo Udall and George Miller

Bob Hartman linked the Wonder Lake/Kantishna road and Prudhoe Bay haul road. Both problems require long-term protection gained by working with the Federal gov't to give these lands protected status.

2) Pipeline Maintenance -- Portions of the TransAlaska Pipeline are eroding badly. Alyeska is replacing some parts of it with sleeves. Problem is likely to get worse; we need to be aware and monitor. Pollution problems at Valdez terminal were discussed. SCLDF has been investigating the merits of a Clean Air Act lawsuit for emissions at Valdez, pump stations, Prudhoe Bay.

C) Arctic National Wildlife Refuge

On the legislative front, the lull begun by the Exxon Valdez disaster continues. However, President Bush visited the California and Florida delegations before announcing the Administration's moratoria for OCS areas off their coasts and stressed his strong personal interest in seeing the refuge opened up. We need to increase efforts to focus attention on the development of a comprehensive, long-term energy policy.

II. TONGASS NATIONAL FOREST TIMBER REFORM

A) Congressional Conference Committee

At the time of the meeting, no conferees had been named. Since then, house conferees have been appointed. Overall, the conferees appear to favor a strong bill, with Interior committee members/supporters outnumbering Agriculture by 9 to 8. Senate conferees will be named after the recess.

B) Admiralty Island Land Exchange

Negotiations are continuing between the interested parties for a proposed exchange involving the subsurface of the land adjoining the current Greens Creek mining operation as well as surface and subsurface lands at Florence Lake, Cube Cove, and Ward Creek-Kathleen Lake. We are opposed to any exchange which is not comprehensive and doesn't include the subsurface rights at the latter areas.

Ed described his recent visit to Greens Creek Mine: Quiet operation, small buildings, no air pollution problems evident, no resident facilities, 250 workers commute from Juneau each day. Eric said that water quality standards should be watched closely; potential for chronic problems exists in the tailings pond/waste system set-up.

III. MINING

A) Threatened Areas

Richard Hellard summarized potential mining activity in the Juneau area. A number of mining companies are reinvestigating abandoned mines throughout the region. Mining sites under evaluation include:

1) A-J Mine: Could become largest gold mine in western hemisphere; 20,00 tons/tailings per day; require building a dam in Ship Creek Valley and filling it with tailings; located three miles south of Juneau.

2) Berner's Bay: Popular recreation area north of Juneau; Kensington mine here is in exploration process.

3) Treadwell Mine: Located on Douglass Island.

Juneau community divided over new mining (particularly A-J Mine): 50% support; 25% oppose; 25% undecided. Long tradition of mining. Proponent's message: Mining part of our history --the key to our future.

B) Reform Legislation

With Phil Hocker and the Mineral Policy Center leading the

fight, the environmental community will be pushing for reform of the 1872 Mining Law next year. Sierra Club strongly supports this effort; public lands committee has asked for additional staff person in D.C.; finance committee considering it.

IV. STATEHOUSE ACTIVISM AND ALASKA

Ed informed the committee that the Board of Directors passed a resolution moving statehouse activism up higher as a Club priority and asking the finance committee to commit more money. Richard Hellard said that this proposal involves two pots of money: 1) A relatively small pot funded with \$1000/state and 15 cents per member, and 2) A much larger fund open to competitive grant proposals. The Chapter needs to decide how to spend this money: whether to continue to funnel support through the Alaska Environmental Lobby or use the money to send Chapter activists to Juneau. There currently is a relationship between the amount of funding the Chapter provides to AEL and the Club's role in helping determine priorities and positions.

V. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE PROBLEMS

A) Denali National Park -- Kantishna

In response to a request for increased access by a Kantishna landowner for clients to reach his new RV/cabin tent park, the Park Service decided that Kantishna inholders have access priority over the general public for use of the Wonder Lake road in Denali. The superintendent has said that, if the new private traffic combines with existing bus traffic to create an unsafe situation, park shuttle and concessionaire tour buses will be stopped at the 30-mile mark.

The Park Service points to Section 1110(b) of ANILCA as the basis for their decision. In interpreting the access language, NPS chose not to attempt to issue any regulations for inholder access. We believe that the section 1110(b) gives the Secretary of Interior a mandate to issue regulations to protect the park's resources and the public's access to them.

The NPS action met with intense opposition from the public at several meetings held around Alaska. It has been suggested that NPS is trying to create a crisis situation that would result in Congressional appropriations to buy out Kantishna inholdings. (It should.)

Eric Jorgensen said SCLDF's initial research into the issue has identified three potential pegs on which to hang a lawsuit:

1) NPS failed to comply with NEPA by not completing an Environmental Assessment for this action.

2) Section 1110(b) analysis -- Does NPS have an obligation to regulate access under this section. The problem is that the

section says contradictory things and the legislative history can be confusing as well. The meaning of 1110(b) needs to be defined; only way that's going to happen is if court examines the issue and decides. The Kantishna situation could prove to be a good scenario for such judicial scrutiny, with what appears to be an extreme, unreasonable access request.

3) Procedural claim -- NPS is required to go through public comment when management plans are changed; no public notice, comment, environmental assessment occurred.

RESOLUTION -- The Alaska Task Force urges the Alaska Chapter to request that the Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund represent it in exploring and considering litigation with regard to access to Kantishna inholdings within Denali National Park. (The resolution passed).

B) Glacier Bay

1) Cruise Ship Entry -- NPS and the National Marine Fisheries Service have been regulating the number of vessels into Glacier Bay for protection of humpback whales. NPS has reached the upper limit for cruise ship entries -- 107 -- under current biological opinion and park service regulations.

A cruise ship company named World Explorer, aided by Rep. Helen Bentley of Maryland, is pressing for two additional entries this summer. Eric received copy of a letter NMFS sent to Rep. Walter Jones saying they remain concerned about impacts upon humpbacks, but believe that change from 107 to 109 won't have significant impact.

Possibility of a lawsuit was discussed. Eric said we need to realize that if NMFS is forced to do a reconsultation with NPS, they may no longer conclude as in '83 that vessel traffic has negative impact on whales. (NMFS has told NPS "informally" that the number of ships might possibly be raised to 180 without danger to the whales.) The new verdict could be a finding of no jeopardy under the Endangered Species Act. However, the "taking" provisions of the Marine Mammal Protection Act and ESA may provide another angle. Jack also raised another possible claim: displacement of whales violates the purposes for which the park was originally created.

2) Windy Craggy Mine -- Glacier Bay Superintendent Marv Jensen provided an overview of the issue. Original target mineral was cobalt and planned operation small. But copper was found in large quantities making open pit mine and 40 employees working two 10-hour shifts an option. Exploratory drilling underway. Mine's predicted life 40-50 years. Project would involve 65 miles road construction to link with Haines highway; 15-18 miles of road adjoining Tatshenshini River; ore truck every 15-18 minutes 24 hrs/day 365 days/year.

Geddes mining company has been told by the Canadian government

to go back to the drawing board on their Stage I report. Will likely delay approval of initial report by British Columbia Mines Steering Committee two years. Water quality and acid mine waste are concern. NPS has been designated as lead agency for the United States in submitting Windy Craggy comments.

Development of the mine would drive a wedge into the middle of one of the premier wilderness river experiences in the world. Marv has been pushing effort to get Glacier Bay and entire Wrangell-St. Elias/Kluane/Tatshenshini-Alsek ecosystem designated as world heritage site. Got letter sent to U.S. committee making recommendations to nominating committee. Response was positive. Should be taken up by nominating committee in November/December. World heritage designation provides greater degree of protection than biosphere reserves. Ed has written to the governments of the U.S. and Canada protesting development of the mine.

RESOLUTION -- The Task Force agreed that a letter should be sent to NPS Director Ridenour supporting the effort to obtain world heritage status for the Wrangell-St. Elias, Kluane, Alsek-Tatshenshini, Glacier Bay area. (Passed).

Another mining issue: Sealaska has obtained mining interest in Brady icefield with the intent to develop as soon as possible. Proposed port in Dixon Harbor, a community of 3000-4000 people.

3) Fishing -- Technically, ANILCA prohibits subsistence fishing in Glacier Bay. Though NPS has urged the state not to issue subsistence permits the last two years, the state issued them anyway. 1983 NPS regulation prohibited commercial fishing in national park waters unless specifically authorized by Congress. No authorization exists in Glacier Bay. The 1964 Wilderness Act prohibits commercial activities in wilderness units.

NPS has drafted regulations regarding commercial fishing. Process has been delayed because of reassignment of staff. Proposed regulation would permit commercial fishing for a number of years while a study is conducted.

The Southeast Alaska Conservation Council has taken a position that Glacier Bay should remain open to some level of subsistence and commercial fishing. The need to consider the spiritual and cultural value of Glacier Bay fishing for natives -- along with the food-on-the-table value -- was raised. Steve Kallick explained SEACC's position. Recognizing that park values are primary, SEACC believes that subsistence uses/values can be honored without damaging park resources. While agreeing that there are potential problems with commercial fishing in park waters, Steve said that some trollers and crabbers have grown accustomed to working and living in Glacier Bay due to NPS inaction and are conducting themselves in a conservation-aware manner that's protecting park resources.

SEACC opposes a "blanket/meat-cleaver approach" and urges a "more precise, surgical" management solution. Not working with

commercial fishermen and Natives to find a reasonable solution risks losing the improved communication and higher trust level that has been developed during the Tongass campaign. SEACC sees this as an opportunity for the conservation community to generate a lot of positive feeling without giving up much.

The question was asked, What keeps commercial fishing and subsistence numbers from increasing incrementally to unacceptable amounts if not regulated in some way? Another concern raised the possibility that commercial/subsistence fishing could be legislated in Glacier Bay if challenge to park regulations was made at wrong time politically.

Proposed NPS Glacier Bay fishing regs currently in DC would: 1) End subsistence fishing next year; 2) require that personal use fishing in park be by hook and line only -- making it basically sport fishing with higher limits; and 3) study commercial fishing for seven years, then close wilderness waters unless specifically opened by Congress.

The Task Force chose to await current developments before taking a position on Glacier Bay fishing.

C) Katmai Geophysical Project

USGS doing exploratory geophysical work this summer (for the second year). They are flying crews in and out of national park wilderness by helicopter over our objections. EIS on "mega-project" is moving ahead. USGS interested in formation of minerals under intense heat -- space and defense ramifications.

D) Gates of the Arctic -- Anaktuvuk Land Exchange

Draft EIS is being circulated by NPS. Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, Village of Anaktuvuk Pass, and NPS are involved parties. Exchange would require removal of wilderness of existing park wilderness that has been regularly used by ATV's and designation as wilderness of other village and native corporation land.

This exchange is part two of a deal that involved the KIK well lands south of Kaktovik and other Anuktuvuk Pass area lands in phase one. The village of Anaktuvuk Pass wasn't consulted in the earlier exchange. When Sierra Club had the opportunity to oppose the first exchange, we let it pass by.

The quality of lands to be exchanged in the current proposal is comparable. Both parcels are of national park quality. It was decided not to take a position now and make any comments submitted on the draft EIS non-committal.

VI. OTHER PUBLIC LAND PROBLEMS

A) Protection of Biological Values

Anne Fuller expressed her concern that very little research on basic biological systems is occurring on Forest Service, Park Service and state fish and game land. The Sierra Club should support such efforts whenever possible.

B) Subsistence Takeover on Federal Lands

In writing the temporary regulations, the Federal government decided not to address the issue of subsistence on navigable waters. Federal managers are worried about the fast approaching sport hunting season and the potential for hunters to use navigable waterways to hunt inside national parks.

RESOLUTION -- The Sierra Club urges the National Park Service to prevent sport hunting within Alaska's national parks from state-owned land below mean high water along streams, rivers, and navigable lakes connected to the streams and rivers. (Passed).

C) Interior Appropriations

Jack sent a letter to Chairman Yates requesting money for purchase of Akhiok-Kaguyak lands as addition to Kodiak Refuge. Ed will send letter asking for emergency appropriations for purchase of Kantishna inholdings within Denali National Park.

Meeting was adjourned at 5 p.m.

By Jim Young
Secretary pro tem.



September 14, 1990

Hon. George Miller
Chairman
Water, Power, and Offshore Energy Resources
1522 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Re: Legislation to protect federal lands in the TAPS Utility Corridor

Dear George:

On Friday, September 7, Jack Hession, Mike Matz, Peggy and I has an interesting and productive meeting with Dan Beard and Jeff Petrich. Among other topics, we discussed the problem of the Utility Corridor of the Trans Alaska Pipeline System north of the Yukon River, and we showed a map of the lands involved. I am having this map sent to you separately.

I am writing to request that you give consideration to sponsoring legislation to retain permanently and manage properly the federal lands in the utility corridor.

Legislation is necessary in order to prevent further land selections by the State of Alaska. The State already has selected three tracts and seeks to own the entire corridor throughout the Brooks Range. If past experience is a guide, state selection will result in land disposals and consequent strip development along the Haul Road and elsewhere in the corridor. Scenic, wildlife habitat, and recreational values will be degraded.

Even if the State would refrain from disposals, uncontrolled mining, all terrain vehicle use, squatting, and other abuses can be expected, because the Alaska Department of Natural Resources does not exercise adequately the management authority it has over the State's public domain lands or enforce applicable regulations.

In addition to its high intrinsic value, much of the federal corridor through the Brooks Range adjoins the Gates of the Arctic National Park on the west, and the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge on the east. Permanent retention of the corridor in federal ownership would facilitate cooperative management agreements with the National Park and Fish and Wildlife Services designed to protect wilderness, park, and refuge lands from adverse effects of development and other activities in the corridor itself. ___

In 1989 the State was allowed to select some federal lands in the corridor by the Secretary over the objection of the Alaska Office of the Bureau of Land Management, the Sierra Club, and other environmental groups. Approximately 600,000 acres north of Toolik Lake, 26,000 acres at Coldfoot, and 55,000 acres at Prospect, were opened for state selection, as shown on

the aforementioned map.

Pursuant to the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, corridor lands cannot be selected at will by the State; the Secretary's permission is required. This provision was one of several compromises in ANILCA. Conservationists of the Alaska Coalition sought to place the corridor north of the Yukon off limits to state selection, while the state wanted no restrictions on its opportunity to select.

The State's takeover of the 681,000 corridor acres north of the Yukon River was a result of an earlier state selection of approximately 1.5 million acres in the heart of the BLM's Clearwater management unit south of Fairbanks in the Nelchina Basin. According to the Alaska State Office of the BLM, the State threatened to take conveyance of its Clearwater selection unless the Bureau opened the corridor north of the Yukon for unrestricted state selection.

Faced with this lethal threat to one its best remaining management units, BLM decided to yield the 681,000 acres of new State selections in the corridor. But the State did not then relinquish all or even part of its Clearwater selection, and apparently intends to continue what amount to land-use blackmail in an effort to select the rest of the corridor north of the Yukon.

We believe that legislation to retain the corridor lands in federal ownership should also void the State's Clearwater selection and set aside the BLM's management unit in permanent federal ownership as the Nelchina Caribou National Conservation Area.

In summary, the proposed legislation would:

1. Establish a Brooks Range National Conservation Area under Bureau of Land Management jurisdiction while voiding the State's Coldfoot and Prospect selections but leaving its Toolik Lake selection--which is largely on the North Slope--in place;
2. Require BLM to manage the NCA for energy transportation; to allow public recreation consistent with such transportation in cooperation with the National Park Service and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service;
3. Establish a Nelchina Caribou National Recreation Area covering the Clearwater management unit while voiding the State's top-filing of 1.5 million acres;
4. Require BLM to manage the Nelcina Caribou NRA primarily for the conservation of wildlife habitat, and for public recreation.

I would appreciate your thoughts on this proposal.

With warm personal regards,



Edgar Wayburn, M.D.
Chairman, Alaska Task Force

SIERRA CLUB



730 Polk Street San Francisco, California 94109 415 · 776 · 2211

September 24, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: Harold Eidsvik, Chairman,
Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas

FROM: Edgar Wayburn, M.D., member CNPPA *EW*

I regret my delay in commenting on your report entitled A Framework for Conservation Areas Categories, Objectives, and Criteria, which is dated May 1990. I read the report with great interest and realize that it represents an enormous amount of work, study, and evaluation on your part. These comments are based on the combined thinking of Mike McCloskey and myself. In general, they follow your pagination.

To start at the beginning, let us take the title. As you remember, we have had a dialogue on the use of the term "Conservation Areas" versus "Protected Areas" in the name of the Commission. My concern applies to this title. I urge that you make the title, "A Framework for Protected Areas". A related concern is your elimination of Category VIII, Multiple Use Areas, from the list of categories. But the people who administer multiple use areas, such as the U.S. Forest Service, would certainly say that they practice conservation in the management of these areas. If one compares their latest logging practices with previous logging techniques, perhaps they do!

On page 2, you state that you have developed "a growing concern that CNPPA terminology 'setting aside protected areas' has become a barrier to achieving conservation objectives." As I have stated repeatedly, I must firmly disagree. You state that terminology has been introduced to designate "conservation management areas as special places" requiring the highest level of management attention. That 'management attention' is assuredly protection. Accordingly, I suggest that on page I-1 the term "conservation areas" be replaced by "protected areas" wherever it occurs on this and the following pages.

As a supplement to these suggestions, I note on page I-4 of your manuscript the following statement: "Most recently the need for parks and equivalent reserves was expressed by the United Nations, as set out in principles of the World Charter for Nature: "All areas of the earth both land and sea shall be subject to - principles of conservation; special protection shall be given to unique areas, to representative samples of all types of ecosystems and the habitats of rare and or endangered species" (emphasis added).

You add to the argument on page I-5 when you state, "At the national level, each country can design a system of conservation areas which corresponds to its own resources and requirements. Such a system can assist a nation's responsibilities in the protection of finite resources while providing for human development on a sustainable basis." (Emphasis added)

Let me now turn to an analysis of your section II. I agree with the reduction of the number of categories. I think that you have made the case well in your separation of categories -- except for wilderness areas. Wilderness areas are so different from "equivalent" reserves in management and use that they should be interposed as a separate category. You refer to this in your chart entitled primary conservation objectives, where you outline different objectives for wilderness areas and parks. Both this chart and the bar chart titled A Framework for Conservation Areas show the very considerable difference between wilderness and national parks.

Let me quote from Mike McCloskey's letter to me, because I think he says it well:

"...I do feel that real subcategories are still necessary. The groupings as a whole make sense if one is trying to limit the number of categories, but there are real differences between the sub-categories. I think these should be brought out with clear discussions that make the distinctions. The current presentation almost suggests that the listing of specific names is for the purpose of giving examples, not showing progressive differences among them. These differences are suggested by the bar chart, but it implies that these are generally just shades of difference, rather than fundamental in nature.

First and foremost, one should ask that the text make clear that wildernesses cannot have roads or resorts in them while parks can. Other sub-items cry out for having distinctions drawn too. Battlefields are different from natural landmarks. Bird sanctuaries are not the same as areas for game ranching (one is very natural and the other can be highly manipulated). Forest reserves may be like managed national forests; if so, they are quite different from protected landscapes."

Your category V, which you designate as ecodevelopment and protected landscapes, is not infrequently referred to as "conservation areas". In fact, the United States Bureau of Land Management does this in its classification.

In the Appendix summarizing changes to the 1978 paper, on page III-2, you state that national parks "have become synonymous with tourism linked to sustainable development...the reality is that national parks and tourism are closely linked." You then go on to say that "wilderness is synonymous with a lack of development and a limited degree of human impact. Thus this proposal incorporates wilderness as the most positive statement that the conservation community can make about conserving our heritage." Does this not imply that wilderness should have a separate category!

On page III-4, under category 4, you state that in habitat/wildlife management areas, hunting, except for management purposes, is excluded. Regrettably, in U.S. wildlife refuges and national park preserves, this is not true.

Once again, let me thank you for the tremendous amount of effort you have put into this classification and for the very thoughtful way you have worked it out. I hope these suggestions may help in the final paper. N.B.: I believe that the last ten lines on page III-4 are out of order and that you will want to change them in your final version.



October 4, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: Conservation coordinating committee; Northwest, Northern California/Nevada and Southern California regional vice presidents; public lands committee chair and national forests subcommittee cochairs; forests and park protection steering committee; BOD; Council chair; selected staff.

FROM: Edgar Wayburn, M.D. *EW*

In 1988 the Sierra Club Board of Directors passed the following resolution:

Recognizing that the temperate rainforests of North America are essential ecologically and scenically, and that they are being destroyed at an increasingly rapid rate, the Sierra Club urges the governments of Canada and the United States to make a major effort to protect as much of the remaining federal and crown rainforests as is necessary to preserve significant old-growth stands, to preserve the present biological diversity of the ecosystem, and to provide a recreational resource for present and future generations. Consideration should be given to protecting many of these forests as national, provincial, state and international parks and wilderness areas.

At the September 1990 meeting of the Board, volunteer and staff leaders in Pacific Northwest and California recounted their struggle to preserve as much as possible of the ancient forests of the Pacific Coast. It was an excellent display of what Sierra Club activists can do. I have every expectation that their efforts will be having a definite effect on the Congress and on the Forest Service. (The October 3 memo from Jim Blomquist and and Leslie England sounds hopeful.)

At the end of the presentation Charlie Raines offered the following resolution:

The Ancient Forests of Washington, Oregon, and California are one of our Nation's most treasured resources. However, decades of logging have reduced these magnificent forests to a mere fraction of their past majesty. The very ecosystem which they represent is severely threatened. All levels of government must take immediate action to curb this tragic loss of our Ancient Forests and American heritage.

The Sierra Club considers the protection of our Ancient Forests as

one of our most basic goals and reaffirms this daily in the work of our volunteer leaders, members and staff. The Sierra Club has as its fundamental objective the preservation of the Ancient Forest ecosystem in a manner that sustains the full historical range of plants, wildlife, and other values. We call for the protection of all remaining areas that contribute to a vital, functioning ecosystem.

I modified this resolution as follows:

The Ancient Forests of the Cascadian Biome of British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, and California are one of the Earth's most treasured resources. However, decades of logging have reduced these magnificent forests to a mere fraction of their past majesty. The very ecosystem which they represent is severely threatened. All levels of government must take immediate action to curb this tragic loss of our Ancient Forest heritage.

The Sierra Club considers the protection of our Ancient Forests as one of our most basic goals and reaffirms this daily in the work of our volunteer leaders, members and staff. The Sierra Club believes that the remaining Ancient Forests in the Douglas Fir and Redwood region of the Pacific Coast which are capable of surviving with the full historical range of native flora and fauna should be saved and not logged.

Many and varied expressions of ideas from different directors and from the audience ensued. It was obvious to me that this problem could not be settled at the current meeting if other matters important to the Sierra Club were to be discussed and possibly have action taken too. I therefore voted for the tabling of further discussion on the resolution until the November meeting.

I believe that a resolution expressing the vision and ideals of the Sierra Club is needed, to provide a focus for the excellent, dedicated activism personified by Charlie Raines, Jim Pachl, Bill Arthur and Barbara Boyle. Therefore I am requesting that there be time at the November or January meeting of the Board for action on a resolution on Ancient Forests of the Pacific Coast. This resolution would be presumably a variant of the two presented at the September meeting.

In the two years since the 1988 resolution was passed, the situation of all the Pacific slope forests has worsened. The language of the new resolution should therefore be stronger. I would appreciate your thoughts for a new resolution to express Sierra Club policy for the ancient forests of the Sierra Nevada as well as those of the Pacific Northwest.

SIERRA CLUB



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730 Polk Street San Francisco, California 94109 415·776·2211

December 17, 1990

Dr. Kenton Miller, WRI
1735 New York Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20006

Mr. Jeffrey McNeely, IUCN
Avenue du Mont Blanc
CH 1996 Gland, Suisse

Dear Kenton and Jeff:

At the meeting of the Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas in Perth, I was greatly impressed by your presentation of a draft program for the Fourth World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas scheduled for Caracas, Venezuela, in February, 1992. It shows the result of hard work and deep commitment to a program which will be very well done because of all that you have put into its preparation.

The title Protected Areas and Human Survival is indeed apt for the 1990s. I confess to being somewhat taken aback by the way in which the themes were presented. I was particularly disappointed by the statement that you were dropping "Theme III" Protected Areas in a Changing World, as a major subject. Without it, the real thrust of the Congress tends to be weakened, and the significance of the title is lost. It also seemed to me that "Theme II", Social Economic, and Political Factors, should follow Protected Areas in a Changing World, which I would place as "Theme I". After that comes, logically, "Enhancing Protected Area Management" and "Building Partnerships for Conservation". I hope that you will consider the reasoning for such a change and the significance it can have for the Congress.

As you may remember, I seconded an intervention by David Thom on including "advocacy" in the conference. (I had been about to make the same point.)

The Sierra Club can lay claim to being the oldest and the most effective advocate NGO in the United States and perhaps in the world. It will celebrate its centennial in 1992. I would like to volunteer a paper, which I would suggest for the plenary session, on the role of conservation non-governmental organisations in protected areas and human survival (with particular reference to the Sierra Club and its hundred-year history).

An abstract would go somewhat as follows:

When there are problems in the existing order, either the scientist or the advocate may first become aware of it. The scientist carefully works out the problem over a long period of time and may or may not come up with answers. The advocate enters upon direct action. The existing order often does not desire any change, and the government in power too often is associated with that order, and consequently is resistant to change. In its hundred-year history, the Sierra Club has often encountered this. It was founded in 1892, in particular to protect Yosemite National Park in California's Sierra Nevada. As a public lands organisation for almost 60 years, it was instrumental in the establishment of both the U.S. National Park Service and the U.S. Forest Service. It has been in the forefront of the establishment and protection of national parks, wilderness areas, and other dedicated reserves. In the past 40 years, it has become more and more interested and actively involved with the problems of human survival. It now works extensively on the local, state, and national level in the United States, and is increasingly concerned with global affairs. The title of the paper would be "The Role of the Advocate in a Changing World".

I hope this finds you well and look forward to hearing further about the coming conference, which promises so well.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edgar Wayburn, M.D.
Vice President for National Parks
and Protected Areas;
Delegate to IUCN

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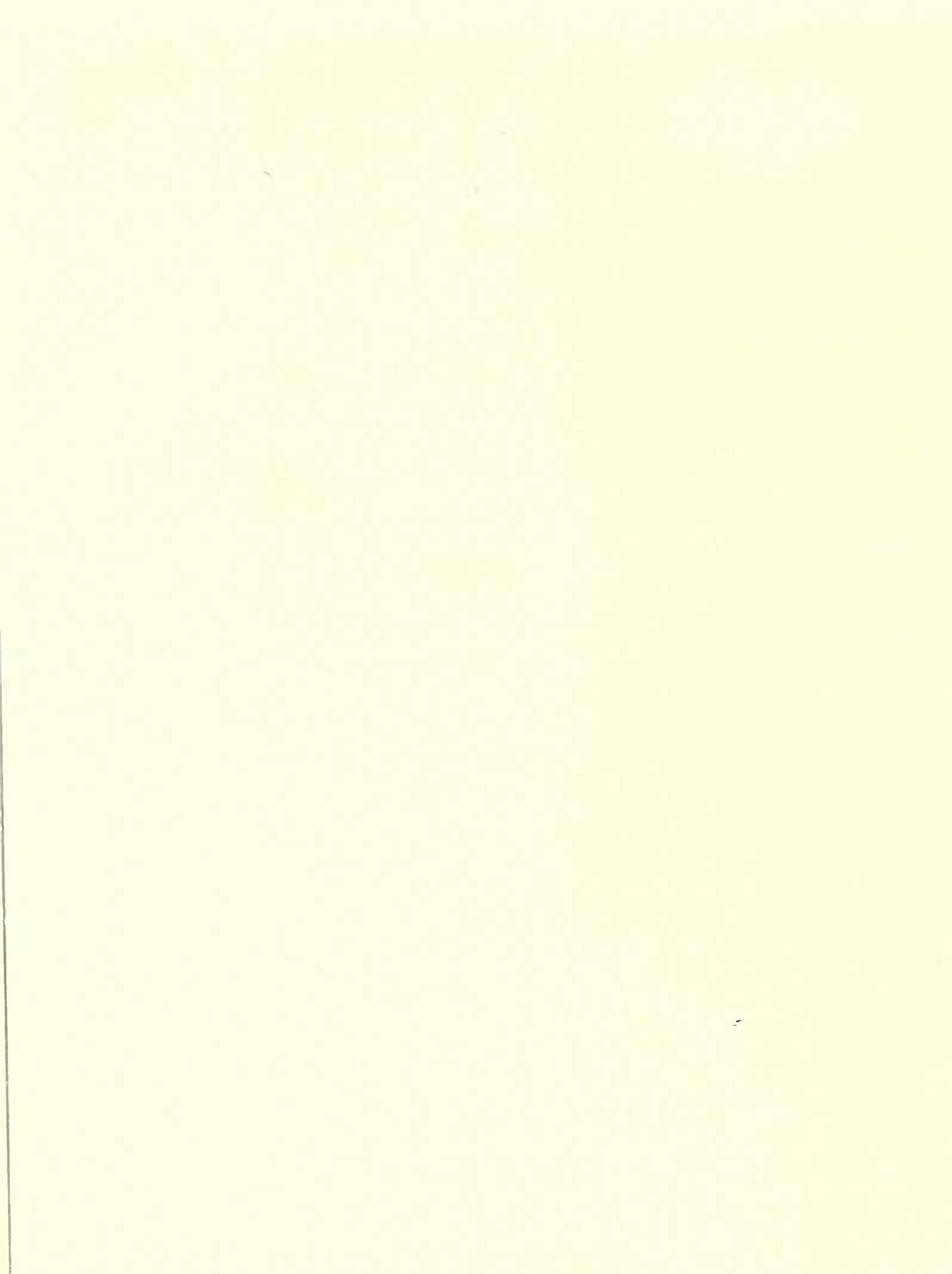
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