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A compromising nature: Babbitt carves his niche

The Interior secretary has often been White House middleman

First of two parts: Bruce Babbitt and environmental politics

As one of two Western voices in President Clinton's Cabinet, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt of Arizona has found that politics and policy often collide on matters of the environment.

By JOEL CONNELLY
NATIONAL CORRESPONDENT

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt stood beaming with Bill Clinton at the Grand Canyon in Arizona two years ago as the president used executive authority to designate the 1.7 million-acre Escalante-Grand Staircase a national monument in nearby southern Utah.

Babbitt had reason to smile.

Proclamation of the monument, just before the 1996 election, would help Clinton become the first Democratic presidential candidate since Harry Truman to win Babbitt's home state of Arizona.

But there was a down side. Although the Escalante-Grand Staircase is in Utah, Clinton dared not venture into that state for the dedication. There, the national monument was denounced as a federal land grab.

Babbitt, one of the few Western voices with an ear at the White House, understands that environmental politics can cause a split as wide as the

canyon lands dividing Arizona and Utah. But he has also been around enough to know that progress is often a product of compromise with one's political adversaries.



THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt strikes a pose with a green sledgehammer just before he strikes a blow to the concrete of the Jackson Street Dam on Bear Creek in Medford, Ore., yesterday.

A Kibbutz speech simply by promising that he would fix Babbitt.

And Babbitt works for a president who has attempted to find a moderate middle even when confronted with issues that don't lend themselves to consensus.

The way Babbitt has mediated the distance inherent in the battle over how to conserve the nation's land, water and species has earned him enemies on all sides.

Still, even some of his most outspoken critics agree that Babbitt's coalition building has made him one of the president's most effective advisers — and one of the few survivors of Clinton's original Cabinet.

Babbitt, 60, always looks happiest when he is farthest from Washington, D.C., even when his kayak is nearly capsized by a Glacier Bay iceberg.

The lanky Arizonan, who is in his sixth year on the job, has served longer than any Interior secretary since Stewart Udall in the 1960s. But Babbitt has not been well-treated by a capital preoccupied with power, pecking order and political scandal.

Hailed as a reformer on his arrival at the Interior Department, he was caught between Western Democrats defending the status quo and unyielding environmentalists when he tried to reform mining and grazing subsidies.

After a tumultuous first two years as Interior secretary, in which his efforts for environmental reform were repeatedly undercut by a cautious administration and recalcitrant Congress, Babbitt persevered to help the president's comeback.

He had traveled the country on "Heritage Tours" arguing in speeches that the Republican-controlled Congress was proposing to dismantle 25 years of legal efforts to safeguard and clean up the nation's air and water.

And in a 1993 remark he claims not to remember making, Babbitt told Clinton how the environment would shape the president's political prospects in the West.

A strong stand for more parks and clean water would boost support along the West Coast and among urban residents for whom federal land means recreation and unspoiled beauty.

But, Babbitt reportedly added, the administration would lose the Mountain States, places where people strongly believe they have the right to unrestricted use of public lands.

The prediction proved accurate. In 1994, Clinton swept the coastal and urban West, aided by an Interior secretary who pinned the anti-environmental label on the Republican-run 104th Congress.

"For the first two years, his policies were misunderstood and distorted; for the next two years, Bruce Babbitt went out and explained those policies," said Frank Greer, a top Clinton political adviser.

Once east of the coastal mountains, however, the Mountain West has become a wasteland for Clinton, Babbitt and the Democrats. Today, after leaving Seattle, a motorist on Interstate 90 will not pass into a Democrat-held House district until the Minnesota border.

The rural conservative Democrat, once a mainstay of politics across the West, has become more endangered than the spotted owl," said Tim Hibbitts, an independent Portland-based pollster.

Two Rocky Mountain states carried by Clinton in 1992, Colorado and Montana, voted against him in 1996. Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole won a standing ovation in

Babbitt grew up in an established Northern Arizona ranching and mercantile family, and attended Notre Dame and Harvard Law School. He was one of a string of moderate, outdoorsy Western Democratic governors elected in the 1970s and early 1980s. He was introduced to Americans not in a news magazine, but in a Sports Illustrated feature on a governor leading a mud-winter, cross-country ski trip through the Grand Canyon.

The governors were a pragmatic bunch, particularly when it came to conservation. They recognized the West's attachment to clean air, open spaces and unspoiled places, but also its antipathy to bossy federal bureaucrats.

Idaho Gov. Cecil Andrus championed saving Hells Canyon of the Snake River — but as a recreation area run by the U.S. Forest Service and open to hunters and horse riders, not subject to the more severe rule-making of the National Park Service.

Babbitt campaigned for clean air. He gave Arizona a foreign policy by lobbying Mexico to cut sulfur dioxide emissions from smelters across the border. He successfully campaigned to force the Navajo Power Plant in northern Arizona to install scrubbers to prevent air pollution over the Grand Canyon.

"Clear air is what the Grand Canyon is about," Babbitt argued. "Take away the views, and what do you have left? A big ditch."

Babbitt also was bipartisan, persuading a GOP-controlled state Legislature to pass sweeping water reform legislation. One Republican friend he made in the 1970s, when both men were state attorneys general, was Slade Gorton, now Washington's senior senator. During a conference in Phoenix, Babbitt took Gorton on a pre-dawn hike up Camelback Mountain to see the first light of morning strike the Sonoran Desert.

Babbitt also is an old compatriot of Clinton's dating to when both men were governors active in the moderate Democratic Leadership Council. In Washington, D.C., however, Babbitt has encountered strident partisanship, splintered authority and endless jockeying for position.

Twice during Clinton's first term, Babbitt was considered for a Supreme Court appointment but was not chosen.

Recently, he has found himself under investigation by a special prosecutor over testimony given to Congress concerning an application by three Wisconsin Indian tribes to build an off-reservation casino. A top Interior Department civil servant turned down the proposed casino, which was also opposed by the Wisconsin congressional delegation and the state's governor. But when his department ordered the casino plan killed, Babbitt was accused of yielding to pressures from a White House political operative. For the first time in a quarter-century public career, he has been forced to defend his integrity.

On public land issues, the politics have been just as complex, although not necessarily as personally bruising to Babbitt. The environmental political players have included:

The White House: The Clinton administration has two major power centers on environmental policy. One is the Interior Department. The other is the White House, where Vice President Al Gore filled major positions with key allies — Kate McGinry at the Council for Environmental Quality and Carol Browner at the Environmental Protection Agency. "It created tension where Bruce suspected to be the lead environmental guy,"

said Denis Hayes, president of the Seattle-based Bullitt Foundation, which gives money to environmental causes, and an old Babbitt friend.

The Green Giant: The environmental lobby has great clout. It also clings to the view that the federal government is the best instrument for protecting America's resources and setting rules for their use.

The mainstream environmental movement also has spawned activist groups who cry "sellout" at any hint of compromise.

The president: Clinton has a history of subordinating environmental goals to economic growth. In 1993, he sacrificed Babbitt's proposed grazing and mining law reforms in order to round up votes to pass his economic package.

Republicans: While Babbitt loves to speak of an environmentally conscious "new West," Republicans have staked their claim as champions of loggers, miners and grazers. They grilled Babbitt over the Wisconsin casino application and were skeptical when he denied carrying out White House demands to turn down the proposal.

Some of the cruelest partisan cuts have come from Babbitt's old friend, Slade Gorton.

During the 1994 election season, Gorton tried to brand Babbitt as a pursuer of "radical policy changes that threaten thousands of jobs in our resource industries."

In a speech in Pasco, Gorton declared: "Secretary Babbitt and some environmental groups have portrayed loggers, miners, ranchers and now farmers as quasi-criminals."

It was effective rhetoric. The 1994 election saw voters remove two Democratic House members in Eastern Washington, including House Speaker Tom Foley. Nationally, Republicans gained control of Congress, and Gorton became chairman of the Senate Interior appropriations subcommittee, which controls the budget for Babbitt's Cabinet department.

Babbitt fought back, bringing his Heritage Tours repeatedly to Gorton's home state.

He took a boat trip on Puget Sound to defy Republican attempts to weaken the Clean Water Act. He defended endangered species protection during a visit to watch salmon spawn in Seattle's Carkeek Park. He picked the Vancouver, Wash., center that monitors Mount St. Helens volcanic activity to warn against abolition of the U.S. Geological Survey.

Clinton swept the Evergreen State in 1996. And Babbitt has returned to reaching across party lines to help regain the bipartisan alliance.

Last summer, on a hike up the Elwha River in Olympic National Park, the Interior secretary signaled a willingness to compromise on his demand for immediate removal of two dams that destroyed the river's once-great fish runs. Babbitt expressed interest in a one-dam-at-a-time plan advocated by a Port Angeles citizens group.

The message was intended for Gorton, who had resisted removal of the dams. Soon, the senator came forward with a plan remarkably similar to that of the citizens panel.

The jockeying has continued, and other points of the bill are being negotiated across party lines. At recent briefing, Gorton was asked when he last talked to Babbitt about the Elwha.

"Last night," the senator replied. "You know, he and I differ on many issues, but we have remained close personal friends."



NEWS SUMMARY

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Toxic

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt was supposed to live above Washington's poisonous atmosphere.

Now, with an independent prosecutor investigating him, he finds his once-pristine image contaminated by scandal.

By Charles Siebert

LONG BEFORE Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt decided to pursue a career in government, he was a devoted student of the bedrock upon which all government is built. Not the laws or principles. The actual rock. Babbitt has always been drawn to rocks. In fact, years before he earned his geology degree at the University of Notre Dame and then went on to graduate studies in the newly emerging field of plate tectonics at the University of Newcastle in England, he was spending the better part of his childhood roaming the Grand Canyon hard by his family's ranch in northern Arizona, looking for fossils and dinosaur tracks, trying to trace in the canyon's walls the striations of time.

Geology is not the typical starting point for a career in politics. Indeed the two disciplines would seem to be at odds. Geology underscores the minuteness of human endeavors. Politics tends to accord them an outsize significance. Geologists in their study of the forces that gradually formed this earth are disposed to take the long view; politicians, in their pursuit of office and in their efforts to serve their constituents, tend to gravitate toward the immediate.

"I've thought a lot about these opposing sides of my persona," Babbitt told me recently as we sat in his spacious, wood-paneled office, rain darkening the stones of the Washington Monument in the distance. "But it's not as though I just stopped at a way station in life and went on to the next thing. The two roles of geologist and politician reflect two facets of who I am, and they've always been kind of working against each other."

Perhaps now more than at any other time in his life, the 60-year-old Babbitt needs to take the long view. On a dark wood table in the waiting room outside his office that after-

Photographs by Nigel Parry



Paul Eckstein, top left, and Bruce Babbitt, top right, in the 1985 Harvard Law School yearbook; Babbitt, center, and Eckstein at the Senate campaign finance reform hearings 32 years later.

... the headlines of the newspaper clippings collected last by the Interior Department's communications staff all spoke of the latest development in what for the public seems an all too familiar Washington scenario, but what for Bruce Babbitt has become an ongoing nightmare: the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate him. At issue is whether Babbitt lied to Congress while testifying about the Interior Department's role in denying an application three years ago for the construction of a controversial Indian gaming casino in Wisconsin. It's one of five independent-counsel investigations of a Clinton Cabinet member called for thus far, and the seventh independent counsel appointed since the beginning of the Clinton Administration.

The Babbitt "scandal" does not make for a particularly juicy read: no sex, suicide, illicit tapings or bitterly disputed subpoenas. In fact, the most compelling aspect of the story may be the sheer anomaly of the words *scandal* and *Babbitt* appearing in the same sentence. Scion of a long-established Arizona family, a former state attorney

general, a popular two-term governor of Arizona, a Presidential candidate in 1988 and at one time an oft-mentioned choice for a seat on the Supreme Court, Bruce Babbitt was one of the last of the President's men anyone thought would end up in such a predicament.

When President Clinton chose Babbitt to become the 47th Secretary of the Interior — chief steward of the national parks, wildlife refuges, Indian reservations and 440 million acres of public lands — it seemed the geology-major-cum-politician had found his true home in government. Environmental groups long frustrated by a succession of lackluster Republican Secretaries of the Interior agreed, celebrating Babbitt as the ideal choice to revive the Department and to help set the nation's environmental agenda for the new millennium.

But just two years shy of completing his tenure, Babbitt instead finds himself a strangely isolated figure on the Washington stage, "a lonely guy, the Boy Scout who slipped in the mud," in the words of Charles Lewis of the Center for Public Integrity in Washington. Indeed, Babbitt is an exile in his chosen profession. Long a thorn in the side of a Republican Congress eager to dismantle environmental statutes like the Endangered Species Act, he has also become a source of considerable consternation to the very environmentalists who lobbied so heavily for his appointment. Many of them argue that he compromises too readily with industry on deals that are destined to collapse once he leaves office. In the immediate, the man who seemed to be everyone's exception to the widely held belief that politics is the last refuge of scoundrels now finds himself being portrayed as just one more of them.

"There's a dynamic at work here that's awesome," Babbitt told me in his office that day. "You can say it's the tenor of the times," he continued, a tall, lean figure with an incongruously orotund voice and a halting delivery reminiscent of a bad Richard Nixon imitation. "But there you are." He lifted up his hands and framed the air. "You're sort of standing outside yourself, watching yourself, saying, 'How did this all come about?'"

I FIRST MET BABBITT EARLIER THAT WEEK, away from the welter of Washington, out touring the interior, where he seems most at home. He was on his way to a rendezvous with one of his favorite constituents, a vexingly beautiful creature known as the aplomado falcon. Under a new Interior Department program called Safe Harbors, approximately 200 of these nearly extinct birds have been bred from a pair of Mexican aplomados and are now prospering in the Laguna Atascosa National Wildlife Refuge and around the south Texas border town of Harlingen in the Rio Grande Valley.

When I got to Houston's George Bush Intercontinental Airport for the flight to Harlingen that day — a day of thunderstorms, thwarted flights and disgruntled passengers — I found the Secretary standing in the middle of a crowded terminal, dressed in neatly pressed khakis, a plaid shirt and Docksidiers, peacefully eating a frozen yogurt. This is a man who ran for President and had been very much in the news of late, and yet not a soul recognized him. In fact, the one time in the course of my travels with Babbitt that I noticed someone notice him he was passing just ahead of me through first class toward coach on a flight from Harlingen to San Diego. A couple of young businessmen, already well into their first round of cocktails, leaned their heads together. "Yeah," one drawled, "I can't think of his name, but he's someone getting investigated for something or other."

The Babbitt investigation pivots around a single conversation he had with an old Harvard Law School buddy and former campaign manager and law partner named Paul Eckstein. Eckstein had come to the Secretary's office on July 14, 1995, as a lobbyist, in order to make a last-ditch appeal on behalf of three Chippewa tribes who were seeking to build a new casino at an off-reservation site in the town of Hudson, Wis. The plan had been opposed by the town, by Wisconsin's Republican Governor, Tommy Thompson, by the Wisconsin and Minnesota Congressional delegations and by five nearby Indian tribes eager to protect their own gaming operations in the area. These tribes had a number of powerful Washington lobbyists in their employ, one of whom mentioned the matter to President Clinton and to the White House

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Deputy Chief of Staff Harold M. Ickes, son of F. D. Roosevelt and powerful Interior Secretary Harold G. Ickes. As it happened, the Department formally rejected the casino application the day Babbitt and Eckstein met. Starting the following spring, the five tribes that benefited from the decision made contributions to the Democrats, which eventually totaled at least \$400,000.

In 1995, the Chippewas brought a lawsuit against the Interior Department for what they claimed was improper political influence in the casino decision. In a sworn deposition in that case, Eckstein recounted his meeting with Babbitt. According to Eckstein, Babbitt told him there could be no delay because "Ickes had called the Secretary and told him that the decision had to be issued that day."

In a July 1996 letter, John McCain of Arizona, the Republican chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, asked Babbitt about Eckstein's accusation. Babbitt wrote back a month later denying Eckstein's account. But a year later, in a letter to the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, led by the Republican Fred Thompson of Tennessee, Babbitt retracted his denial: "I do believe that Mr. Eckstein's recollection that I said something to the effect that Mr. Ickes wanted a decision is correct. Mr. Eckstein was extremely persistent in our meeting and I used this phrase simply as a means of terminating the discussion and getting him out the door."

In October 1997, Harold Ickes testified before the Thompson committee about his possible involvement in campaign-finance abuses. As a result, the Babbitt-Eckstein conversation came to the fore again. By the end of the month, the old law partners found themselves, as Eckstein described it, in the "exceedingly painful" position of having to testify before Senator Thompson's committee on the same day. Eckstein again repeated his version of the conversation in Babbitt's office, adding that Babbitt at one point remarked, "Do you have any idea how much these Indians, Indians with gaming contracts . . . have given to Democrats?" Eckstein also testified that he had "no basis to believe" that Ickes sought a particular outcome.

Babbitt, under aggressive questioning from the committee, testified that the decision to deny the casino application was made by a career civil servant and had not been influenced in any way. Not everyone was assuaged. "What is most plausible," the Repub-

lican Senator Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico stated, is that the White House and the Democratic National Committee "were involved in pushing somebody not to issue this permit." Senator Robert F. Bennett, Republican of Utah, was even more pointed. "I have a hard time believing a pure and chaste decision was made."

Six days prior to that testimony, the Justice Department began its own inquiry into the casino matter. Its probe, in turn, is what eventually compelled Attorney General Janet Reno to call for the independent counsel to investigate Babbitt — not only on the original allegations of undue political influence, but also on whether he committed perjury while testifying about those allegations.

THE SOMEWHAT OBLIQUE, NONDESCRIPT NATURE of Babbitt's alleged misdeeds does not, as evidenced in the airport that afternoon, draw a lot of attention to him outside Washington.

Still, there is something inherently oblique and nondescript about Babbitt himself. While anonymity is a thing he currently craves, the fact that he was unable to overcome it in his 1988 Presidential bid came as a rude awakening. He won a mere 5 percent of the popular vote in the New Hampshire primary and promptly dropped out of the race. Babbitt likes to blame that old bugaboo of poor TV presence for his quick exit from national elective politics, but his inability to woo voters seems to come from somewhere deeper.

When it comes to the prospect of selling himself, Babbitt reminds you of the inward-dwelling high-school kid who thinks he would like to be popular but can't really abide what is required to become so. He has none of the insatiable egoism that seems essential for surviving the inevitable diminishment of appealing to a popular majority. Babbitt is one of that rare breed of politician who's cursed with self-awareness. He's forever editing himself, peppering his conversation with deprecatory, yet vaguely self-serving remarks about politics and politicians.

"I'm pretty good at it," he said to me at one point of his politician side, sounding, even at this advanced stage, like he's still trying to convince himself. "But it is something I had to learn to do. I'm not naturally gregarious."

Over a hastily consumed 6:30 A.M. breakfast at the Harlingen Holiday Inn before driving out to the Atascosa Reserve, I complained to Babbitt about the ridiculously early wake-up call.

"I can't wait for the writer's life" he chided. "But you know it's hard work writing. It's not just kicking back and scribbling. It takes time

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and career thoughts, and as you know, Washington and politics is not about taking time and thinking higher thoughts."

Whatever you say about Bruce Babbitt, he does not lack for thoughts. The man knows things and will carry on with you about them like an excited college professor in the hallway spillover after a great class. He can tell you about the migratory patterns of bison and monarch butterflies, about plate tectonics, climatic warming trends and about how monotheism and the Judeo-Christian tradition have severed Western culture from a sense of the sacredness of the natural world.

It was during graduate school, working on a summer internship for Gulf Oil in the mountains of Bolivia, that Babbitt had "the epiphany" — the revelation that led him to abandon geology.

That summer, he recalled, "I'd wander through these Indian villages and look at all the poverty and then I'd turn back to my work, which seemed by contrast pure abstraction, talking about the origins of a planet rather than the people living upon it."

He spent the following summers volunteering in the Caracas slums and at work camps in the Andes. He enrolled in Harvard Law School and worked in the civil rights movement after getting his degree. In 1967, Babbitt returned to Arizona to practice law. Two years later, he married Hattie Coons, now the deputy administrator of the United States Agency for International Development. They have two sons, Christopher, 22, a recent Stanford graduate, and T. J., 20, a student at Stanford.

In 1974, Babbitt was elected State Attorney General and made a name for himself by taking on organized crime over land fraud. In 1976, Babbitt was contemplating a run for either the House or the Senate when he became caught up in a scene right out of a Frank Capra movie. First, the incumbent Governor abruptly left office to become President Carter's Ambassador to Argentina. Four months later, his successor died in the middle of the night. The following morning, Babbitt, who as Attorney General was next in line, remembers waking up to find his home surrounded by State Troopers, with aides asking, "What would you like to do today, Governor?"

Over the next nine years, Babbitt managed to carry out liberal reforms in health care, education and environmental policy in one of the nation's most staunchly Republican states. He

brought together environmentalists and industry to pass legislation to protect Arizona's precarious water supply. The business community wanted to dislike the guy, the Arizona Republic columnist Kevin Willey wrote about Babbitt. "But they couldn't, because he would listen to them."

For all of Babbitt's drive, there is a streak of serendipity running through his career. He tends to miss out on the positions he seeks, only to end up in jobs that bring out his talents.

When Bill Clinton was elected President in 1992, he initially offered the job of United States Trade Representative to Babbitt, whom he had known when both were governors active in the centrist Democratic Leadership Council.

"You've got to understand," Babbitt told me, "that I'm a very movable piece. I accepted that job, had gone to Little Rock the day before Christmas 1992, was fully vetted, had written a little acceptance speech and was even interviewed by The Wall Street Journal about my trade policies."

It was the environmental lobby — the same one that would twice discourage President Clinton from taking Babbitt away from Interior and putting him on the Supreme Court — that helped steer Babbitt's fate. "All of a sudden the musical chairs were in motion," Babbitt recalled, "and the word was, What about Interior? The

interesting thing about this job is that for the first time the two halves of my personality have come together in a way that I would have never appreciated beforehand. What I think I'm best at is working on this interface between ideas and politics, the coordination of policy on that frontier. It's not a very crowded place." He paused a moment and smiled. "By which I mean people in politics who like ideas."

WE WERE JOINED IN OUR QUEST TO SEE AN aplomado falcon by a local clergyman named Father Tom Pincelli, described in the literature handed to the press as "Catholic priest and bird watcher." Father Tom and Secretary Babbitt sat side by side in the front of the van, talking birds, hopping out occasionally to espy species through binoculars. "Who's that long-legged, pinked-up guy in there with the spoonbills," Babbitt asked, his binoculars trained over a glistening expanse of reed-lined inlet. "That's a stilt," answered Father Tom. "And the white-bellied guy wandering on the far side of the ducks?" "A willet." There was a long pause, Babbitt and Father Tom staring through their binoculars, a ring of reporters standing in the background, squinting quietly.

Then, without removing his binoculars, Babbitt leaned toward Father Tom. "You know," he intoned, "if you can't find your way to God through Scripture, you can sure find it here."

It seemed a classic bit of opportunistic blather, and yet there was a measure of sincerity in it as well, revealing much about Babbitt and his view of the environment. When you first meet Babbitt, you often find yourself doing a little do-or-die, trying to see behind the guises. Eventually you just leave off, understanding that anyone who's been this long in the public eye ultimately becomes some indecipherable amalgam of cant and candor, persona and person.

Babbitt's success at Interior can be equally difficult to measure. Many of his programs for protecting endangered species and preserving habitats depend on the long-term cooperation and good faith of traditional antagonists in the environmental debate. For this reason, their effects can only be measured over time.

Babbitt is the first to admit that his tenure has not been without its setbacks, the most notable being his failure, in the face of resistance from Western Democrats, to raise grazing fees for ranchers on public lands. "You mean why did we wimp out?" Babbitt replied when challenged on the matter before an audience of Federal scientists in Colorado. "We got singed on that one," he told them. "But I guarantee you, we are not retreating from the battle."

Babbitt also admitted to me that at the start of his tenure he really didn't have President Clinton's ear on environmental issues. In fact, it was only in the wake of the Republican takeover of Congress in 1994 that Babbitt was able to set the tone for a more activist Interior Department. In an effort to head off Republican attempts to revise environmental regulations, Babbitt launched a public-relations offensive called Heritage Tours. Traveling from one district to the next, making a particular point of penetrating into the heart of Newt Gingrich territory, Babbitt reminded people how much cleaner their water and air had become in the past two decades. He also explained how the new Republican proposals would undo that progress. Babbitt made environmentalism such a point of patriotic pride that G.O.P. consultants began advising their candidates to go back to their districts and look green by planting trees in their local parks.

Since the Heritage Tours, Babbitt has made

progress in other areas: he convinced developers in Southern California to protect a coastal songbird known as the gnatcatcher, he worked with the Georgia-Pacific Corporation in the South to save the red cockaded woodpecker, and in a deal that echoed his Arizona days, he steered Florida sugar growers, state and local officials and environmentalists to a \$450 million settlement to clean up and protect the Everglades.

Typical of Babbitt's decisions, the Florida deal was blasted from all sides: sugar growers said it was too harsh, environmentalists claimed it permitted the sugar industry to pollute too much and to pay too little. At a ceremony at Everglades National Park to commemorate the agreement, environmentalists shouted at Babbitt from behind a Park Police barricade. Still, he came over to talk to them. After twice being shouted down, he walked off.

"I think Babbitt has done more to publicize the importance of the land ethic than any Interior Secretary in history," said T. H. Watkins, author of an acclaimed biography of Harold Ickes Sr. "I have some reservations about what he's doing, but there ain't anybody going to please everybody. The job of the enviros is to hold his feet to the fire. He knows that. Babbitt is not upset when enviros criticize him. He's a politician."

Indeed, environmentalists seem to be Babbitt's sternest critics these days, arguing that the bargains he has made will turn out to do more harm than good. New initiatives, like Habitat Conservation Plans, are designed to avoid prolonged standoffs like that over the spotted owl in the Pacific Northwest. But they are troubling to some in the environmental community precisely because they abandon the all-or-nothing approach of the Endangered Species Act. In return for financing the purchase of blocks of land for conservation, the Habitat Conservation Plans allow development to take place in other at-risk areas without the threat of future restraints or lawsuits. More than 200 such plans have been authorized by the Interior Department so far, involving more than six million acres of land.

"The problem is that these deals are getting bigger and lasting longer," said Kim Delfino, an attorney at the United States Public Interest Research

...and a Washington-based environmental and consumer advocacy group. They're the ones who've developed and timber companies, over millions of acres of land and can last up to 100 years. Babbitt talks about avoiding timber tracks but he's basically just putting them off, because when things start to go wrong with any of these plans it's going to be the Federal Government who has to fix them, and it has no money to do that."

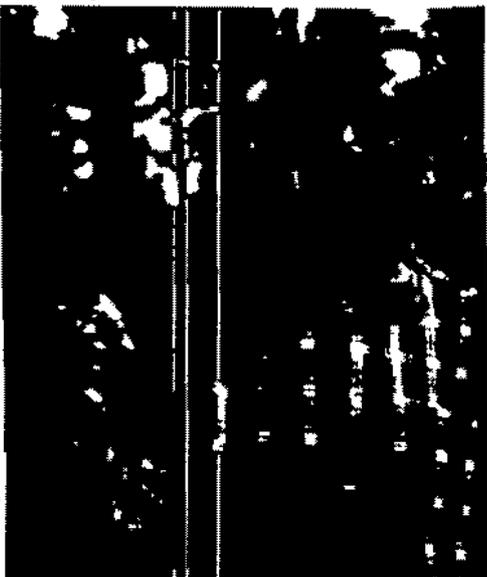
AFTER BRIEFLY SHOOTING A INSTANT RELOADING, we drove to the Rio Grande Valley Shooting Center, a combination hunting-sport-shooting-birding lodge whose motto is "Rebuilding Family Traditions."

Babbitt gave a short speech and led a discussion with an unlikely array of participants: Audubon Society members, wealthy farmers and ranchers, representatives from the local power company. Displayed around the room were submissions to a Wildlife Photo contest, brochures for the Women's Shooting Sports Foundation and a large photo of a young boy in Army fatigues cradling a high-powered rifle in one arm and the head of a buck in the other, just above the caption "My First Kill."

Father Tom contributed a prayer. Wayne Halbert, a cotton farmer, praised Babbitt for getting farmers and environmentalists to work together peacefully.

"We don't need emotion," Halbert told me after the meeting broke for lunch at the Shooting Center's Reloaders Cafe. "We need facts. Tell me what viable alternative pesticides we can use that won't hurt the falcon and that we can afford. Through education you make it a point of pride to have these creatures around. Economics is what will drive conservation."

It was what any hard-core environmentalist would call an unholy alliance indeed. I made that very point to Babbitt as we were leaving the shooting center for the



Bird in the hand: The red-capped woodpecker is one species protected under Babbitt-brokered agreements.

flight back to Houston. He seemed disappointed by the obviousness of the observation.

"Well," he said, "that was what the Teddy Roosevelt coalition was all about. He was the first and perhaps last American who could gather up someone like John Muir and all these guys shooting elephants and tigers and say we're all in this together. I've spent a lot of time trying to resurrect that coalition. There's this sense of mutual mistrust and antagonism now, and I think there's got to be a little less exclusionary certitude."

The following day, Babbitt stood at a podium in the middle of the new wildlife reserve in San Diego, making jokes about being the lone Democrat surrounded by a ring of Republicans. "I think Bruce saw the need for the Federal, state and local governments to work together on these issues before anyone else in Washington," Doug Wheeler, California's Secretary for Resources, told me before Babbitt's speech. "It's because he had been a governor and has a sensitivity to the needs of a particular place and the need for a collaborative effort. In this project alone we're protecting more habitat in San Diego and Orange County than all of the previous attempts to do so through the use of the Endangered Species Act as a strictly regulatory mechanism."

As Babbitt spoke, a few California gnatcatchers flitted by on the horizon, where there was a visible white ring of encroaching condo roofs, and just down the road at the entrance to the reserve, a small group of protesters with placards decrying Habitat Conservation Plans. It was a microcosm of Babbitt's workaday world: endangered species, ostensible political foes and angry protesters, and yet

somehow it all seemed a refuge for him from the walls of Washington.

WASHINGTON HAS ALWAYS seemed an eerie town, more monument than thriving metropolis, but these days the place has a particularly ghostly air. On the rainy cab ride from Union Station to the Interior Department, I passed the Federal courthouse, which was surrounded by TV news trucks and trailers, all on alert for the latest development in the President's legal saga. Babbitt was in the news, too. That morning, the Republican National Committee assailed the appointment of Carol Elder Bruce as Babbitt's independent counsel. Bruce, the R.N.C. argued, was suspect because she had once worked for Charles Ruff, now White House counsel, defending Senator John Glenn, the Ohio Democrat, in the Keating Five Scandal.

Babbitt and I had not spoken much about the investigation or "that whole business," as he disdainfully refers to it, while out on the road. Sitting in Washington, however, the subject seemed, well, only natural.

He seemed understandably weary of discussing his ordeal. Aside from the current independent counsel investigation and the original lawsuit, the casino matter had already been the focus of investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Senate and the House of Representatives, none of which found evidence of a crime. Babbitt, for his part, has admitted to having made a mistake in letting Eckstein into his office and in writing "a pretty careless letter" to Senator McCain. But he has

maintained to none that he was not involved in making the decision and that his staff issued the formal statements of the case. Lone Off-reservation casinos are traditionally controversial. Of the nine proposed in the

United States — and that one has been approved — and that with the support of the community where it was to be built.

At times in our discussion, Babbitt did seem eager to make the point that he was focused on his job. "I'm not terribly troubled," he told me. "My children believe in me, my wife — my dog," he paused, gave a wry smile. "It's the minor part of my life now, except for paying my lawyers."

At other moments, he gave a very different impression. "It was bad," he said. "Every day I'd go out on my doorstep and pick up the newspaper to read some new allegation against Bruce Babbitt as public enemy No. 1. There were two congressional investigations going, and it was really a circus. I lost two months of being on the job."

Babbitt's been in tough spots before. The stance he took against organized crime in Arizona came at a price. During grand jury testimony in the case, it was revealed that Babbitt and two others, including an Arizona Republic reporter named Don Bolles, were on a hit list. A year later, Bolles was killed in a car explosion.

"I was first on that list," he told me. "That induces a certain sense of proportion. Subsequent to that I was framed by some people I was investigating," he added, referring to the planting of phony gambling debts in a number of Las Vegas casinos. As a result, he was investigated by the F.B.I. and by Arizona news organizations. "I've been through all this before," he said. "You do finally just shrug your shoulders, although this is certainly the toughest thing I've faced because it's a bigger pond now."

It may be impossible for anyone outside of politics to conceive of a wronged politician. The feeling is that what we've come to know of the profession and all that's required to succeed at it precludes the possibility of innocence or genuineness. In essence, a person is considered suspect for even wanting to go into politics, and thus doesn't deserve much sympathy when such a career choice ultimately renders him or her a suspect.

Of course, it also seems somewhat incomprehensible that Babbitt could not have been aware of the alleged backroom dealings in the case. It tests credulity to imagine that Babbitt, having worked as a lobbyist during his periods in private law practice, was so unfamiliar with the rules of the road.

"It does look pretty bad," said Charles Lewis. "Babbitt gave different answers to Congress. He didn't handle himself well in terms of how he responded to the allegations concerning his comments about the money," continued Lewis, referring to the campaign donations given by the five tribes. "It does, to anyone objectively looking at it, appear that they were doing a favor for a major

donor and that they were reversing policy from inside their own department at the highest level."

Still, there has been something of a backlash against the Babbits investigation. This spring, *The Washington Monthly* and *The National Journal* held up the investigation as an example of the flaws in the independent counsel law. Legal experts such as Michael I. Krauss of George Mason University have pointed out that the evidence against Babbitt is far too scant to justify a trial. It has also been pointed out that whatever it was that Eckstein and Babbitt said to one another that July day in 1995, it's the kind of conversation that occurs every day in Washington.

An earlier article in *The Washington Monthly* questioned why George Skibine, who as head of the Indian Gaming Office of Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs made the final recommendation to reject the casino application, and Michael Anderson, the deputy assistant secretary who sent the letter of refusal, were not called by Senator Thompson's committee during the October 1997 hearings that spawned Babbitt's Independent Counsel investigation. Both have since testified before the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, led by the Indiana Republican Dan Burton. They told the Committee that they had not been pressured to rule against the casino and that they had no knowledge of potential contributions to the Democratic party.

I asked Babbitt if he felt as if he is the scapegoat of the campaign finance frenzy.

"Oh yeah, sure," he told me. "All the furor about campaign finance, and it just happens, through all this incredible cascade of events, that the Interior Department wound up in the crosshairs over a regulatory decision. There is a sense out there that this thing has really careened out of control."

When the subject of the President's support throughout the investigation came up, Babbitt didn't hesitate with his reply. "His support has been strong and continuous and my communication with him continues in every respect. I'm very grateful for that. We've discussed the matter, briefly, and he said, 'You know, look, I believe in you.'"

Kevin Sweeney, Babbitt's former communications director at Interior, paints a slightly more complicated picture of relations with the White House. "What I find really laughable about this," said Sweeney, "is when Babbitt and I were working on the Heritage Tours we got requests constantly from the White House for Babbitt to support political fund-raising efforts, and Babbitt said 'no' on a number of occasions. 'We ain't gonna muck this up.' So what's amazing to me is to accuse Babbitt of being so thick with the political staff in Washington and part of its strategy to make money. The political operatives were furious at him because

he wasn't helping them. He was seen as buzzsaw until the National Heritage tours became a success. And that's when they said, 'Hey, we can really work this to our advantage.' So he never raised money. He never cooperated on that level. Which is also what leaves him so far exposed, that there isn't this political apparatus to protect him because he hasn't been playing the game or hasn't been associated with the people who know how to defend against these accusations. The whole time these accusations were rolling out, he was dangerously out of touch with the White House and the D.N.C."

THE FOLLOWING SATURDAY Babbitt invited me to visit him and his wife Mattie at their home in the Palisades, a hilly enclave of tree-shaded streets and stately brick homes in northwest Washington. He met me at the front door in his trademark khakis and plaid shirt; the only nod in the direction of home life: running shoes. We went out to their hemlock-shaded back porch where Mattie, jet-lagged from a two-week trip to Asia, sat reading a magazine. Their older son, Christopher, was visiting friends in Boston, T.J. had left the day before for his junior year abroad.

"T.J.'s a budding journalist," Babbitt announced, his voice tinged with irony. "He writes for the Stanford paper. He's a prominent columnist known on campus for his attacks on the incompetence of the Stanford administration."

I had read in newspaper accounts that it was Mattie,

a former trial lawyer, who rallied her husband's spirits during the worst moments of the scandal, deciding that he should go on the offensive.

"I was really outraged that something like this could happen," she explained. "If we didn't fight back, there would be more rather than fewer people who might actually end up thinking this garbage is true."

"You know," Hattie told me, "the last thing in the world I would have wanted is for my husband to be a poster child for the evils of the independent counsel law. However, we are where we are, and if it takes this kind of use of the law to get people to look at it carefully and understand why it needs to be re-evaluated and why prosecutorial discretion is an important part of

the criminal justice system, then that's one good to come out of this."

Hattie had to leave to make some phone calls. Babbitt and I sat talking. When I asked him about the status of his relationship with Paul Eckstein, he turned steely.

"Oh, that's for reminiscing about in 20 years," he said. "I haven't talked to him at all."

Following a speech Babbitt had given earlier that week to the National Wildlife Federation in Alexandria, Va., a woman from the Texas Commission on Natural Resources told me that her biggest concern about the scandal was that it would hinder Babbitt's effectiveness for his remaining time in office.

"I have some very reassuring words for her," Babbitt responded when I

related her concerns. "Some time was lost undeniably. December, January and early February with all these congressional committees. But I'm back 100 percent. My original sense when I took this job is that I'm not certain I should go to Washington just to be doing more of the same. I really wanted to be writing a new chapter. Our whole construct at Interior has been to step away from this endless adversarial argument which people love on both sides. They cannot get enough of it. What I have gotten the most pleasure from over the years is decision making and managing out on that interface between politics and providing the goods of government, making public policy. It ain't easy, but every once in a while you put something together really well and you

have that much better direction and will stand the test of time, and it's just a nice feeling."

Babbitt said it's a great lesson for him at this stage in his career, and with both his children grown, to at times sit around and contemplate what he might do when he finishes his work at Interior. There'll be some teaching, he thinks, and there's a book he wants to write. "Not about my career," he was quick to emphasize. "Who would want to read about that?"

He envisions a work of journalism "with a lot of policy stuff woven in," a book based on what he describes as "the indefensible amounts of time" he spent along the Amazon frontier, flying in with illegal gold miners and living in their camps, exploring remote tributaries in Bolivia and Peru, visiting with the Yanomani in Venezuela.

"The place is a fascinating mix," he said, excitedly, "exactly like the lawless frontier of the American West in the 1890's, and they're now developing institutions which might have some influence on these issues we're now dealing with here. If it were done well it might awaken us to all sorts of possibilities. In that way the past becomes preparative."

It is not, he insisted, disillusionment over recent events that has him contemplating life after politics. "I think I've contributed what I have to offer," he said, "or will have by the time we turn the lights out. I'm just lucky that I wasn't blindsided until late in my political career, so it's not as damaging to me. People know who I am. I've had 25 years out there. There will always be a residual effect. But I hope that my 15 seconds in the footnotes of history will relate to what I've managed to do rather than to this episode, and, of course, only time will tell."

At one point, I asked him whether, given his constant second-guessing of politics and the predicament in which he now finds himself, he had perhaps chosen the wrong profession.

"Absolutely not," he replied. "It's the dominant side of my being." He paused, once again framing the air with his hands. "Not by much, but it is." ■

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Tuesday, May 12, 1998

The Leavitt-Babbitt Peace Prize

Mandela and de Klerk in South Africa. Arafat and Rabin in the Middle East -- and now Leavitt and Babbitt in Utah.

Well, OK. Utah Gov. Mike Leavitt and Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt are not going to be in line for a Nobel Peace Prize anytime soon. The peace they brokered isn't going to save lives. But at the same time, it would be difficult to overstate the level of intransigence that was bridged by the remarkable public-lands agreement the two men signed on the lawn of the Governor's Mansion last Friday.

For that matter, maybe their Nobel ought to come in physics or something, because few Utah problems have been so knotty as what to do with the thousands of acres of school trust-land parcels that dot the state map, imbedded within federally owned lands. The State Institutional Trust Lands Administration could not maximize the value of those parcels, and federal land managers had to work around them.

But last week's agreement solved the long-standing riddle. In a historic public-lands exchange, the federal government gets more than 376,000 acres of state inholdings, making whole the national parks and national forests in the state and, especially, the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument. In return, Utah gets a package that will dramatically enrich SITLA, and by extension, the state's schools -- \$50 million in cash and more than 138,000 acres of federal land that can be capitalized upon for coal, methane, mineral and real-estate values.

As a result, SITLA is now effectively removed from a role for which it was ill-suited -- influencing the appropriate use of these most sensitive public lands. Its charge of gaining the greatest value for its inholdings was inherently at odds with protecting the lands for their non-commercial values. Now, SITLA and the feds no longer have to wrestle with that dichotomy.

To reach this landmark agreement, Leavitt and Babbitt had to put aside a mutual distrust that, at least among their constituencies, had degenerated into name-calling and lawsuits less than 20 months ago, when Babbitt's boss, President Clinton, designated the Grand Staircase-Escalante monument. Among the promises the president

made in September 1996 -- and few of Leavitt's fellow Utah Republicans believed him -- was to "use my office to accelerate the exchange process." That promise now has been kept.

It is a credit to Leavitt that he chose to remain less strident than others in his party during the post-monument fallout. Yes, he opposed Clinton's monument process, but he wouldn't join the anti-monument lawsuits filed by SITLA and the Utah Association of Counties and he wouldn't help fund them. He reiterated that stand this spring by commendably vetoing a legislative appropriation for the lawsuits, and now his constituents know why -- he was negotiating a settlement to make the SITLA lawsuit moot.

The people in the Leavitt administration, particularly state planner Brad Barber, and in the Department of the Interior who negotiated this agreement deserve a good deal of praise. But it takes two leaders like Leavitt and Babbitt to tune out the angry words from both sides and focus on the goal. They may not get a prize, but they made a significant peace last week.



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Interior secretary seeks to follow Aldo Leopold's lead

By Bruce Babbitt

Aldo Leopold, grab a chair. Sit down. Let's talk.

This is a good time for *camaraderie*, for remembering. Fifty years ago this month, you left us, snatched away by a heart attack near your beloved central Wisconsin farm. But you are still here in spirit, Aldo. Your book, "A Sand County Almanac," is like the great oak tree you admired. It grows more magnificent, sows more recruits year after year. We all walk in its shadows.

Hope is what you were about, Aldo. Hope is the garden I tend today.

Geography makes it so. As secretary of Interior, I oversee more than 440 million acres of public land, including 360 national parks and 500 national wildlife refuges. It is a wonderful, spectacular and exhilarating job. But too often, conflict is my companion, despair my next door neighbor. So much is in tatters.

Salmon and steelhead, the great fish of California and the Pacific Northwest, are fading like the evening light. In Montana, bison are gunned down, legally. In the Midwest, scientists find eyeless, legless frogs — deformed by who-knows-what. Acid rain, acid mine drainage, acid politics — I could go on. Hope is what gets me through. Hope is my compass.

And you are my North Star. I can hear you now.

"The practices we call conservation are, to a large extent, local alleviations of biotic pain. They are necessary but they must not be confused with cures."

Aldo, keep talking. Conservation in the 1990s needs to hear from you. I need to hear from you. I can see the headlines now:



Babbitt

GUEST COLUMN

"Babbitt holds seance with deceased conservationist Aldo Leopold." Your advice is worth the heat. We'll even call you my spiritual adviser. You always did see things more deeply than most people. What's that, you say?

"The outstanding discovery of the 20th century is not television or radio but rather the complexity of the land organism."

Yes, keep going.

"The last word in ignorance is the man who says of an animal or plant: What good is it? If the land mechanism as a whole is good, then every part is good whether we understand it or not. To keep every cog and wheel is the first precaution of intelligent tinkering."

How true, Aldo, we've made great strides in conservation in 30 years. But you still lead the way. You always did, at the U.S. Forest Service, the University of Wisconsin, the Ecological Society of America. Ecology — you practically invented the discipline. Ecology, according to Webster, is "the branch of biology that deals with the relations between living organisms and their environment." I prefer your definition: "the politics and economics of animals and plants." Today, ecology — the complex science of land health — is a big part of federal land management.

We even have an Endangered Species Act aimed at protecting all creation. But this noble law, used only when species are in mortal danger, has gone astray. It stirs conflict, halts progress, overlooks the broader goal of ecosystem health. Too often, it makes conservation the bad guy. We need less emergency care, more preventative maintenance. We need. . . Uh, what did you say?

"One of the curious evidences that conservation programs are losing their grip is that they have seldom resorted to self-government as a cure for land abuse."

Aldo, you're right. Federal government has over-extended itself. We can't do it all. Nor should we, especially on private land where we find some of our toughest challenges. But we are finding answers. In Texas, we've formed partnerships with ranchers to save the endangered aplomado falcon. In Wisconsin, a utility company is helping us protect the Karner blue butterfly. In California, we're working with developers to safeguard the coastal gnatcatcher. I could go on. But today, I want to listen. What do you think? Do you have any advice?

"The rule of thumb is the land should retain as much of its original membership as is compatible with human land use. The land of course must be modified but it should be modified as gently and as little as possible."

Fair enough. But many landowners — and public land managers, as well — will want to hear more. Is there anything you'd like to add?

"We abuse land because we regard it as a commodity belonging to us. When we see land as a community to which we belong, we may begin to use it with love and respect."

"Examine each question in terms of what is ethically and esthetically right, as well as what is economically expedient. A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise."

That sounds wonderful to me, but it's sure to raise a ruckus with some people. Controversy never seemed to bother you, Aldo. You've always been a trail



Aldo Leopold

breaker. Tell me what you see ahead.

"I have no illusions about the speed or accuracy with which an ecological conscience can become functional. It has required 19 centuries to define decent man-to-man conduct and the process is only half done; it may take as long to evolve a code of decency for man-to-land conduct. In such matters we should not worry too much about anything except the direction in which we travel."

Bobbitt is U.S. secretary of the Interior. Leopold was a conservationist, professor, author and pioneer of the ecology movement. He was a professor of wildlife management at the University of Wisconsin from 1933 until his death on April 21, 1948.



NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Mary Helen Thompson (202) 208-6414

For Release: April 21, 1998

EARTH DAY MESSAGE FROM INTERIOR SECRETARY BRUCE BABBITT

The Enduring Vision of Aldo Leopold

(Aldo Leopold (1887-1948) was a renowned scientist, scholar, teacher, philosopher and gifted writer. He is often referred to as the father of wildlife ecology. Leopold's writings have had a profound impact on Bruce Babbitt throughout his political and academic career.)

Aldo-grab a chair. Sit down. Let's talk.

Today is a good one for camaraderie, for remembering. Fifty years ago-April 21, 1948 - you left us, snatched away by a heart attack near your beloved central Wisconsin farm. But you didn't die, Aldo. You are still here in spirit. Your book, "A Sand County Almanac," is like the great oak tree you admired. It grows more magnificent, sows more recruits year after year. We all walk in its shadows.

Today also happens to be Earth Day - a day to commemorate the beauty and uniqueness of this majestic planet and rekindles our hope for its future. Hope is what you were about, Aldo. Hope is the garden I tend today.

Geography makes it so. As Secretary of the Interior, I oversee more than 440 million acres of public land, including 360 national parks and 500 national wildlife refuges. It is a wonderful, spectacular and exhilarating job. But too often, conflict is my companion, despair my next door neighbor. So much is in tatters. Salmon and steel head, the great fish of the Northwest, are fading like the evening light. In Montana, bison are gunned down, legally. In the Midwest, scientists find eyeless, legless frogs-deformed by who-knows-what. Acid rain, acid mine drainage, acid politics- I could go on. Hope is what gets me through. Hope is my compass.

And you are my North Star. I can hear you now. "The practices we call conservation are, to a large extent, local alleviations of biotic pain," you said. "They are necessary but they must not be confused with cures."

(More)

"Examine each question in terms of what is ethically and esthetically right, as well as what is economically expedient. A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise."

That sounds wonderful to me but it's sure to raise a ruckus with some people. Controversy never seemed to bother you, Aldo. You've always been a trail blazer. Tell me what you see ahead.

"I have no illusions about the speed or accuracy with which an ecological conscience can become functional. It has required nineteen centuries to define decent man-to-man conduct and the process is only half done; but may take as long to evolve a code of decency for man-to-land conduct. In such matters we should not worry too much about anything except the direction in which we travel."

-DOI-

The Quiet Revolution to Restore our Aquatic Ecosystems

*Remarks of Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt
The 20th Anniversary of the North Carolina Chapter of The Nature Conservancy
Chapel Hill, North Carolina, November 6, 1997*

Good evening. I'm pleased to help you mark the Nature Conservancy's anniversary. Our own relationship also goes back nearly 20 years when, as Governor, I worked with your Arizona Chapter to establish a "natural heritage" program for our state. Prior to that initial collaboration I had tended to think of conservation mostly in terms of scenic landscapes, rather than our living heritage of biological diversity. Since that learning experience, I have had the pleasure of working with you on many fronts in our common endeavor to protect the beauty and integrity of God's creation.

Tonight I would like to reflect upon our stewardship of *aquatic* landscapes: the rivers, lakes and wetlands that link and nourish the watersheds we inhabit. Once again it is the Nature Conservancy that has sounded the alarm, warning that our freshwater and wetland ecosystems are among the world's most imperiled. For example, one of your recent publications reports the startling news that roughly one third of all fish, two thirds of all crayfish, and three quarters of the bivalve freshwater mussels in America are rare or threatened with extinction.

After five years of first hand experience with watersheds throughout the country, I share your sense of urgency. We cannot continue with piecemeal efforts. Instead we must undertake to restore entire watersheds, using new methods, creating partnerships and calling for renewed public participation. We must undo and reverse ecological damage that has accumulated over the years.

To illustrate both the urgency of our task, and the possibility of success, I would like to discuss several large scale restoration efforts that we have begun in this administration and then relate them to efforts underway at many levels all over the country. For I believe that watershed restoration is a powerful new idea with the capacity to transform our relation to the lands *and* waters that sustain us.

This administration began in South Florida because it was the most visible and urgent of many impending watershed disasters. Everglades National Park was subsisting on life support in urgent need of attention. That life support system, consisting of a few small projects designed to pump more water through the desiccated hydrologic arteries of the park, was barely keeping the patient alive. With each passing year the natural monitors of the patient's health -- great flocks of wading birds, egrets, anhingas, storks, and herons -- had begun to flatline.

The Everglades were quite simply the victim of a long campaign to "drain the swamps" -- swamps that once poured their overflow waters south into the Everglades and Florida Bay. Draining the swamps was the engineering equivalent of the medieval practice of treating patients by bleeding them. And in the process of severing and bleeding these hydrologic

arteries, they were draining the very life out of the Everglades.

Our strategy, to restore the Everglades ecosystem by reconnecting those hydrologic arteries, began by bringing all the Federal agencies together behind a common restoration plan. Our able co-leader is the Corps of Engineers, ironically a pioneer in the early efforts to de-water these same landscapes of South Florida. We soon learned, however, that, for effective watershed restoration, we needed state and local partners. In 1994 the Florida legislature at the urging of Governor Chiles passed the Everglades Forever Act which created a billion-dollar fund to clean up the contaminated agricultural runoff which was causing much of that problem. The Florida commitment, backed by an outpouring of public support, prompted Congress to legislate support for the largest watershed restoration plan ever undertaken.

*

Our South Florida restoration effort still has a long way to go, but we have already learned some important watershed restoration rules that should apply here in North Carolina and all across the country:

- * First, the most basic lesson is about the nature of water. Water doesn't stay still for very long. It is always in motion, from sky to land, across and through the land, out to sea and back to sky in an endless cycle. And that means that you can't efficiently restore just one piece of a river; to fix any one part, you have to consider the whole watershed.
- * Second, the only way you can fix a watershed is by creating partnerships -- between governments, between landowners large and small, among all the stakeholders on the watershed. Just as all parts of a watershed are related, so must all residents of that watershed be part of the restoration effort.
- * Third, watershed restoration must be a visible process that captures and holds public attention. Every community values its native heritage and believes in its future. And they are ready to support bold restoration plans.

I have seen these lessons at work right here in the Tar Heel State. I have rafted down one case study in restoration, the French Broad River, a waterfront revival led by the local governments a utility company and the state. I endorsed a unique partnership between Nature Conservancy and Georgia Pacific Corp. to be co-stewards of a 21,000 acre forest tract along the Roanoke River watershed. I also applaud your efforts in the Rollins Tract of the South Mountains to improve trout fishing and ensure local drinking water supplies through watershed protection of the First Broad River headwaters. Across the border in South Carolina, the efforts of the state government and private landowners to restore the Ace River Basin provide yet another striking example.

But however bold your watershed efforts have been so far, however they have enriched the quality of life in your state, they are nothing like what they can become in the next 20 years.

For the large-scale, Federal-State-local partnerships demonstrate the full potential of watershed restoration, especially its power to capture the public imagination. It can make allies of sworn enemies. It can produce funding out of nowhere. It can reverse harmful trends with such speed and to such a degree that may surprise us.

Consider the Central Valley of California, a basin of complex river systems that, on this coast, would extend from Massachusetts all the way down to South Carolina. The great campaign there was not "drain the swamps," but rather "water the desert." As that desert valley bloomed into vast tracts of irrigated agriculture, the rivers shriveled and dried up.

As rivers like the San Joaquin disappeared into irrigation canals the great salmon runs that one reached into the foothills of the Sierra Nevada disappeared. Salt water began to invade the delta. Agricultural drainage laced with selenium killed and disfigured thousands of migratory birds at the Kesterson refuge. The water wars continued for half a century, as Californians quarreled, unable to resolve the conflicts that divided urban water users to the south, farmers in the Central Valley and fisheries advocates in the north.

The watershed restoration of California bears a striking parallel to that in Florida. First the Administration put the federal house in order. Then we joined together with state agencies, irrigation districts, farmers, environmentalists, and fishermen to negotiate a restoration framework -- known as the Bay Delta Accord. Coordinating our efforts, the legislature in Sacramento placed a restoration bond issue -- also one billion dollars -- on the ballot in 1996. In a year of austerity, tight budgets, and conservative fiscal policy . . . it passed with ease. Armed with such strong public support, we went together to the Congress which in 1997 provided matching funds. The result was, again, a massive restoration program to bring California rivers and wetlands back to life by dedicating water to restore and maintain stream flows, re-watering wildlife refuges, moving levees back so that rivers can flow free across their natural floodplain, and screening irrigation canals to protect migrating fish.

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That all sounds like a complicated and often messy political task. But it boils down to simple and timeless values. Thirty six centuries ago, Emperor Yu of China advised "To protect your rivers, protect your mountains." That same rule applies today. To restore our aquatic species, let us look beyond the water's edge out onto the land that borders it. For the two are inseparable. What happens on that land inevitably is reflected in our streams and rivers:

In the Pacific Northwest: To replenish trout, coho, chinook and sockeye salmon we looked past the water's edge to create large connective forested buffers along banks of streams and tributaries in 14 million acres.

In Chesapeake Bay: To stop fish kills from a bacteria called pfiesteria, we are offering incentives to landowners to return the borders of their farms into buffers of native trees and vegetation that sop up fertilizers and animal waste before they can drain into river estuaries.

In the Sierra, Rockies, and Appalachians: To replenish native aquatic species in a quarter of a million miles of streams, we match federal funds and land management experts with local private and nonprofit projects to restore the damaged mountains which bleed into them.

In Western rangelands: To bring back rare native trout and to protect the endangered willow flycatcher, we have joined cooperative range partnerships to modify livestock grazing rotations, build riparian fences, and replant willows and aspen, now yellowing in the sun.

*

The watershed restoration movement is a powerful force, moving in many directions, some of them unexpected. One example is the emerging national debate about whether some existing dams should be dismantled as part of watershed restoration efforts.

Until very recently there was not much concern for effects of dams on our natural environment. Today, looking back on decades of one-dam-at-a-time river modification, we are coming to see the cumulative effects: The Colorado River no longer runs to the sea. Its great delta about which Aldo Leopold wrote such moving essays is now a vast dry salt flat. Celilo Falls, the most storied of all Indian ceremonial and fishing sites has vanished beneath the placid reservoirs of the Columbia. In the Sierra Nevada, the Truckee River was plugged to raise Lake Tahoe an extra six feet. Even in Yosemite, John Muir's sacred "Cathedral" they dammed the Merced River at Mirror Lake in order to provide visitors with a better reflection of Half Dome.

Only now have we come to appreciate the systemic costs of building more than 75,000 dams in this country in this century *alone*. We pay these costs in many forms: The destruction of salmon runs in New England and the West; the crashing shad and herring runs of the Susquehanna; the vanishing wetlands that sustain migratory birds in the Mississippi Flyway; beach erosion in the Grand Canyon; and lost nesting and gathering habitat of sandhill cranes and shorebirds along the Platte River in Nebraska.

For these reasons it is appropriate to think of dams as having a ledger with both benefits and environmental costs. And as part of watershed restoration efforts it is always appropriate to ask whether a given dam can be operated in a more river friendly mode.

The Grand Canyon is one place where we have asked that question and answered in the affirmative. Last year the Bureau of Reclamation opened the gates and sent a huge surge of water, an artificial flood, crashing down through the Colorado River. The idea behind that was to mimic the natural spring flooding of the pre-dam river so as to stir sediment up and rebuild eroded beach habitat downstream in the Grand Canyon.

And on occasion a careful look at the ledger of costs and benefits may bring us to conclude that a dam *should* simply be removed.

In 1992 Congress authorized a study of the removal of two small 70-year-old dams at the

mouth of the Elwha River. These dams blocked salmon runs of 300,000 from spawning up 70 miles into the heart of Olympic National Park. The Park Service, after careful study, has concluded that, forgoing a small amount of energy in an area where electric power is now in surplus, would be a small price to pay for restoring one of our great national parks to its pristine state, where the streams are again swarming with wild salmon, providing food and sustenance for bears, bald eagles, raptors and of course, for the human spirit.

*

In the final analysis, however, the restoration of our streams and watersheds lies in the hands of communities of the people who live and work on that watershed. And there are more and more examples of people coming together, gathering the stakeholder groups such as farmers, woodland owners, power companies, local industries, developers and environmentalists to begin the process of looking first into their river, with fresh eyes in a different light, then following that water as it moves up through its tributaries and out across the landscape to ask: How do we restore a healthier watershed? What can we do to improve it?

President Clinton, in his State of the Union address, announced his intention to designate ten American streams as National Heritage Rivers. His purpose is to recognize outstanding efforts by local communities who come together to reclaim their river heritage by restoring waterfronts, cleaning up rivers, protecting riparian zones, replenishing fisheries and managing watersheds to maintain healthy waters.

By his Heritage Rivers initiative, President Clinton is reminding us that local communities and individual citizens are the moving spirit of watershed restoration. Americans are once again awakening to the connection between their communities and the natural environment. We are once again gathering by the waters, seeking renewal of land and spirit. All of our rivers are Heritage Rivers -- they flow through our lives and our history as surely as they flow from highland to tidewater. And in that process we are discovering that we have the power to forge a new and more respectful relation with God's creation.

Thank you.



OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 28, 1996

Stephanie Hanna (O) 202/208-6416

**STATEMENT OF SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR BRUCE BABBITT ON THE
DEATH OF MOLLIE BEATTIE**

Director of the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service, September 10, 1993 - June 5, 1996

Last night, we lost Mollie Beattie after her valiant one-year struggle against brain cancer. She lived her life every moment, never losing her clarity or her sense of humor even as she said goodbye to those she loved most who were at her side. Mollie is truly one of the bravest, strongest people I have ever known.

Mollie's legacy at the Department of the Interior can never be taken from us. The first woman ever to head the agency, she walked into the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service in 1993 determined to make it the strongest protector of America's wild creatures and the finest steward over America's National Wildlife Refuges and, in the process, to prove that the Endangered Species Act could work well for this country.

Even in the tragically-shortened time as Director, she accomplished all these things. She fought fiercely against the forces that sought to weaken the mission of our wildlife refuges, to gut the Endangered Species Act, or to turn the lights off on good science through funding cuts. She gave those working for the Service higher morale, greater professionalism and a clearer sense of purpose, because they knew she would battle for needed resources from Alaska to the Everglades.

She made the Endangered Species Act work better for the protection of species, and at the same time rekindled enthusiasm for conservation: from the toughest Marines at Camp LeJeune, to the hundreds of landowners working with us on habitat plans, to the millions of anglers and hunters who support her goal of abundant, sustainable fish and wildlife populations. As a result of her efforts, Americans everywhere have joined in support for conserving their own landscapes and open spaces and in support of the Act.

It is in these creatures she loved so much where I believe we will sense her spirit with us. In the fierce, proud eyes of the wolf packs at Yellowstone that she personally helped to return. In the distant plumes of grey whales migrating along their ancient routes from the equator to the Arctic. In the soaring flight of bald eagles returning from the brink of extinction to waters where they have not been seen in decades. In the sound of the grizzlies returning to forests they had long abandoned. In every place where wild creatures have a place to feed and raise their young.

My deepest sympathy today goes to her husband and family. I hope they have taken comfort in the outpouring of affection for Mollie that has been shown by so many in this Department, in the Congress, and indeed throughout America during these final weeks. Let us resolve to honor her memory by reflecting in ourselves her integrity and courage. She will be greatly missed.

-DOI-

National Wildlife Federation

Sixty-second Annual Meeting
March 21, 1998

Remarks of

Bruce Babbitt
Secretary of the Interior

The Honorable Bruce Babbitt

Secretary of the Interior

Gerald, thank you very much. It's a great pleasure to join you this morning. I was a little late coming over, and I was thinking as I made up my notes, you know, I've been here, it's my sixth year as Secretary of the Interior. I've become a player in this town.

[Laughter.]

And I was thinking, you know, I've really changed across this last six years. I admit I've become a shameless name dropper.

[Laughter.]

I hadn't wanted to drop a lot of names, but I do know Mark Van Putten. I know Gerald Barber, and I know a lot of you.

My name is Secretary --

[Laughter.]

It does cause me some problems. I was at an airline counter the other day and the attendant looked at me and said, just out of curiosity, just what does your boss give you on Secretaries Day?

[Laughter.]

Enough. Enough.

You know, it's not fair to put me on after Mark. That's quite an act to follow. And you're going to hear from me some of the same themes that I, when I arrived here, not late, but early, that I heard Mark refer to. Because we've in fact had a number of discussions over the last few months about the new directions that we need to begin formulating as we exit the 20th century and stand on the threshold of the next century.

I was thinking of it yesterday, when I met with the Inter-Tribal Bison Cooperative, and your leadership, to discuss a really difficult, contentious and important issue, which is of course the restoration of bison, not only in Yellowstone, but elsewhere across this country. I listened as a member of the Winnebago Tribe explained to me with great passion, he said, "You must understand how we view this animal. A bison is not just livestock to be slaughtered and domesticated. The bison is a gift from God."

We grew up across millennia on this landscape with that animal. And it's not livestock. It has adjusted and co-evolved on this landscape, and we respect and honor that animal. And we hope that the day will come in America when all Americans will feel that way.

It's an issue I'm going to come back to, because the restoration of the bison is an enormous challenge and a very difficult problem.

As for the wolf, which Gerald mentioned in his introduction, we had a great partnership with the National Wildlife Federation in the process of re-introducing the wolf to Yellowstone. Tom Dougherty was in on that all the way on your behalf, and it was and is a remarkable success.

People have asked me, "well, what about this judge who said, now that the restoration is successful, I'm going to order the Secretary of the Interior to take them all out?" I read that order. I was sort of amused to see that the judge, (he apparently has children at home), after he had issued the order, he unilaterally went back to court and wrote a little correction, saying, I've ordered him to take the bison out of Yellowstone, but I didn't tell him to kill them.

And I thought, well, okay, so what are we going to do? Well, there was a suggestion that we should send them back to Canada. Well, we called the Canadians. I mean, I respect our judicial system, and if the judge says take them out, I thought, I owe him an obligation to see what I can do.

I called the Canadians, and they said, look, we gave you those wolves and we don't want them back.

[Laughter.]

Somebody else said, well, maybe the judge had in mind taking 123 wolves -- by the way, while this argument goes on, they are increasing and multiplying, and there will soon be 500, I think.

Somebody suggested we could send them out to zoos. So I called the American Zoological Society and said, we've got 123 wolves, going on to 500. What do you think? They said, no, our zoos have plenty of wolves, we're overflowing with wolves.

So let me just say this. Having put those wolves in Yellowstone, there is no way that they're leaving on my watch.

[Applause.]

So where do we go from here? I think that as you climb a mountain, it's often very helpful, as you to look toward the top, the summit, it's helpful on occasion to look back and get your direction and your bearing by looking at where we've come from.

What we've done in the 20th century, we, you, all of us together in the conservation movement, is make an unprecedented success of a concept called preservation. We created a national park system without parallel in the world, a vigorous and still expanding national wildlife refuge system, wilderness areas, marine sanctuaries, wild and scenic rivers.

But even as we create these protected areas, we are now beginning to understand that it's not enough. That parks and refuges cannot survive as islands in a landscape which is continually being fragmented and degraded. The idea that maybe we could somehow honor our obligation to nature by fencing off the back 40 and saying, now we can just do as we please with the rest of the landscape, effectively segmenting it, is not the way ecosystems work. And ultimately, at the threshold of this next century, we're coming full circle, face to face with ourselves, and we must ask, "how is it that we manage and protect and restore, not just specific places, but the entire landscape, and how do we learn to live in equilibrium with the wildlife on that landscape?"

Yellowstone is a powerful symbol of the problem. I've already mentioned the restoration of the wolf. I'm going to come back to the crisis involving the bison.

Yellowstone is an island. It's a nicely maintained and very large national park, continually under threat from without. It's not the problem within. It's a gold mine on a mountain just outside the Park called the New World Mine, which fortunately we have now managed to purchase. But there will be more of those kinds of threats.

It's geothermal development. Some bright people down in the Yellowstone Valley say, we can produce geothermal power, without regard to the obvious hydrologic connection to the geysers which are the symbol of Yellowstone National Park.

The clear cutting on the Targee Forest, immediately to the west in Idaho, has had devastating impacts upon the grizzly. Because you understand that grizzlies cannot survive in a tight, fragmented, human-dominated habitat, that they need space. Many species need that old growth.

And the roads are incompatible with that.

The bison crisis that we have been working on together perhaps illustrates this issue more dramatically than any of the other problems. What's happening, simply, and you all know, is an

American tragedy. Last winter, the bison, moving in an age-old migratory pattern to escape a heavy winter on the high areas of Yellowstone, began moving down the Yellowstone River. Bison, by the way, don't read maps. They don't know where the park boundary is. They know in their evolutionary trajectory that they need low elevation forage. And 1,000 bison were shot dead and slaughtered for the crime of not being able to read a map, and for stepping across that boundary.

Now, that poses a question for us. As we look at these entire landscapes, are we going to be satisfied to say that national parks are nothing except large zoos in which we pen up animals and fence them out, feed them artificially in the winter and say, that's the best we can do? And that wildlife is going to be denied access to any other area?

What's the problem? Well, I'm going to come back to that and make some suggestions about what we can do about it. The problem is that we cannot fragment this landscape endlessly and push wildlife off into a few places that are convenient for us, so that the degradation and over-use of adjacent landscapes can continue without any inconvenience.

Now, let me leave Yellowstone for just a moment, although I will be back, and talk about briefly what I think are some new ways of looking at landscapes and habitat. Then I'll come to what it is I think we need to begin in the way of an agenda for the next century.

The new ways of looking at the landscape speak inevitably of ecosystems, of habitat and of restoration. We've learned that in a very public and I think very productive way in the Everglades. When I came to this office, I went to the Everglades. And of course, what I found was a national park in distress, with the wading birds disappearing, the water drying up, an enormous crisis.

It wasn't because of a failure of the National Park Service. It's because the waters and the natural cycle of the seasons that keep that great sheet flow moving all the way across south Florida into Florida Bay had been fragmented and broken up and interrupted. The problem wasn't in the park, the problem was 200 miles upstream, along the Kissimmee River, where the integral water flows had been chopped up and diverted and dredged and diked and drained.

And we finally had to come to grips with the simple reality, that is, to save the Everglades, we must restore the river of grass, the ecosystem that begins in the headwaters of the Kissimmee River outside Orlando and flows clear down into Florida Bay. And I am pleased to acknowledge that the public is responding, that there's an intuitive understanding of this concept, if we will just get up there and talk concretely and in an illustrative way about the possibilities.

We're now seeing this at the opposite end of the country in the central valley of California. The Bay Delta system that culminates in the flows of the San Joaquin and the Sacramento into San Francisco Bay is collapsing. The salmon runs are disappearing, and at last, we are beginning to ask the right questions, which is, not what do we do on that 40 acres or not what do we do on that tributary, but how can we rebalance the entire Bay Delta watershed, which extends from the Oregon border to the outskirts of Los Angeles.

And that process is now underway, with a lot of support from the state government, with the leadership of yourselves and the environmental movement. It's a brand new vision with enormous consequences. Because it talks about how we find an equilibrium and how we balance the kinds of human uses that Mark spoke of and which are a reality. But we can surely be inventive enough to live on the land without the relentless destruction of the ecosystems that sustain us.

This was the idea behind the flood release at Glen Canyon a year and a half ago. The beaches in

the Grand Canyon were disappearing. And it didn't take long to figure out that those beaches, along with the willows, the riparian habitat, the willow fly capture, the native fish, were being jeopardized because there was a dam, not in the park, but upstream, which had altered the sediment, life-giving qualities of the big flood stages that used to come through the Grand Canyon every spring.

With that flood release, we learned that the art of restoration has many facets, and that there are many imaginative possibilities. The flood release at Glen Canyon was simply saying, rather than operating that dam like a toilet bowl, flushing it up and down every day for the convenience of power users in Los Angeles, we could operate it to mimic, if not perfectly, very substantially, the annual flood flows which put the sediment down and rebuild the beaches.

I was down on the Noose River in North Carolina last week. It wasn't last week, I guess it's now about a month. It was really exciting. We went out there with sledge hammers in our hands and took them to a dam structure.

[Laughter, applause.]

I want to tell you, we didn't finish it that day.

[Laughter.]

But there was a wrecking ball coming in right behind us.

And in the process, we opened up nearly 300 miles of really good fish spawning habitat on the Atlantic Coast, and with no real loss of generation or water supply capacity, because we figured out a better way to do it. And there are many more opportunities like that.

Many of you have probably been following the emerging changes in fire ecology. That's important, because restoring fire to the landscape is a powerful way of renewing the landscape, restoring forest health and bringing back species, plant and animal, that have been crowded by our failure to understand and, to use Mark's words, manage in the right way by acknowledging that our presence has changed these ecosystems, and that we have an obligation not just to walk away from them, to think carefully about the act and the art of restoration.

Now, the fact is that if we're going to do this kind of restoration, if we're going to see it whole and look across these entire systems, we're going to have to do business in a new way, because we're going to need partners. I'm in charge of Yellowstone, proudly. Those wolves are sleeping well at night, because they know Bruce Babbitt is in charge.

[Laughter.]

But I'm not in charge of the forage in the lower Yellowstone River Valley. That land is under the jurisdiction of the State of Montana. And that's not going to change.

And what that drives us to is that your roots and your contacts and your power at the state level are more important now than ever. Because if we're going to see it whole, we're going to have to power up these relationships between federal, state, local, private, non-profit, public and build a consensus, and blueprints that we can all act on.

The reason those bison are being slaughtered as they cross this imaginary line relates to habitat and land use conflicts across the boundary. It relates to plans to build condominiums right in the migration path down the Yellowstone River. It relates to the fears and apprehensions of livestock growers, who, including my own family, who generations ago sort of got in their head a model which said that livestock operations are incompatible with competing forage animals, incompatible with predators, and all of a sudden we saw an impoverished western range in which there wasn't room for bobcats, wolves, lynx, eagles, elk, bison.

And those issues are going to have to be addressed in a powerful kind of way. You're already

doing that with the Inter-Tribal Bison Cooperative. And I just want to emphasize that that must continue, because we cannot do it alone. It's going to take a lot of public support, and I applaud your efforts with the bison.

There are many, many other examples, we all have them, of this issue of habitat fragmentation, and the urgent need to begin seeing it whole and moving our restoration efforts through and across all of the lines on the map.

I'd like to finish with three suggestions about what it is you need to be doing as you go back to your individual states. And I make these suggestions because they're centered on state issues, because we have not done a good job of kind of powering up a federal-state partnership.

I'm going to give you three examples to think about. The first one, and this is going to be familiar to you, you've spotted this issue way ahead of most people, is state fish and game commissions. State fish and game commissions have a wonderful and vital role in the management of wildlife in this country. They grew up dealing with game and with sport fishing and we invented, through Dingel-Johnson and its predecessors, Wallett-Brough and its predecessors, a powerful system of revenue sharing which has produced really extraordinarily good game management and sport fish management.

We now deal out to the Fish and Wildlife Service \$200 million a year for game management to state commissions, \$300 million a year for sport fisheries through state game commissions.

What's missing? The management of non-game species. These commissions are financed through the federal revenue sharing and through user fees. And they are, in most states, severely restrained in their ability to join with us in the management of non-game species, including endangered species.

That's something we've got to correct. We must find a way to broaden and increase revenue sharing at the federal level, so that we can invite state fish and game commissions in as equal partners in the management of the endangered species law and these other laws.

We do it with other environmental laws. That's the framework of the Clean Water Act, the Clean Air Act, delegation out to states by federal standards and grants to finance a vigorous partnership. We're not going to have really good, powerful habitat-based management until we can bring our partners up, bulk them up, and make it happen.

Now, a second piece, which we really urgently need to make this federal-state partnership across jurisdictional boundaries and across ecosystems really work, is more attention to state endangered species laws. We have made a major effort in the last five years to breathe life into the Endangered Species Act, to show that it can work, and to deal with landscapes through habitat conservation plans, safe harbor agreements, conservation agreements, all kinds of mechanisms.

But what we find is that if the states don't have the resources and the authorizing legislation, we're doing it in isolation, and it's a lot harder. Because ultimately, we can't get onto large landscapes without these kinds of partnerships.

The one place we've really, really made it work, there are a number of states where we made progress, but the one that really works is California. And the reason is that California has an Endangered Species Act which empowers local communities to join in the land use planning that is essential to adjust our presence on the landscape. Land use planning is not a federal function, and it never will be. It's a state and local function.

And California has empowered its communities to join with us in habitat conservation plans that you now see in so many areas, most notably, really an extraordinary effort that is now going on

from Los Angeles to San Diego, across that whole coastal plain. And we need to import those successes into our states.

I'm confident it can be done. The remarkable thing about the ones in southern California is that the people who are taking credit for them are all Republicans.

[Laughter.]

That's fine. There's enough to go around. I keep saying to those mayors and county supervisors, let's bring some of this Republican medicine to Capitol Hill, educate your leaders up here, they haven't quite heard the message yet.

Now, lastly, a word about the Land and Water Conservation Fund. You all know about that. I've heard from some of you in recent months, calling me up and saying, "Bruce, how come there's no longer any state share in the Land and Water Conservation Fund?"

And my response is, the Land and Water Conservation Fund is withering away. It was put together by President Kennedy and one of my predecessors, Secretary Udall. They authorized \$900 million a year in appropriations from offshore oil revenues, which have skyrocketed across the last 30 years.

But Congress doesn't appropriate the money. And that's the reason that this program has dwindled. It's an important program, because if we're looking at ecosystems, we're going to find critical pieces of habitat that need to be devoted exclusively to the protection of endangered species, to migratory pathways, wetlands for waterfowl, winter forage for bison, and in some cases, the best way to do that is to purchase the land outright.

That ought to be a federal and state venture, joined together with power and revenue sharing to the Land and Water Conservation Fund. I happened to think of that last week, because I didn't say much about these things when we had a budget deficit. Because I understood that it wasn't realistic.

You know what they did last week? They added \$10 billion a year of new money to build what? Roads. Roads. Sort of for better or for worse, chopping up more habitat. Now, if they can add \$10 billion a year for roads --

[Tape change.]

Okay, but you get the idea. Those are things that we can do together.

Lastly, I just want to track across a couple of Mark's statements about this vision thing. It's enormously important that we raise our level of expectations.

When it comes to restoration, it's kind of hard to do. Because we all tend, every one of us, to think kind of intuitively that it's always been kind of like it is now. I go back across the scenes of my boyhood in northern Arizona, and only now, years later, begin to understand that what I always took for granted is the way it always was. It wasn't even close to the great, huge, fragrant, ponderosa pine forests, teeming with elk and grizzlies and wolves in a vast panorama like what Lewis and Clark saw.

We need to visualize, to exercise our imaginations, to think of what can be, and understand the power of those visions and to appreciate how it is that as we set about that task of restoring wildlife and ecosystems, we are in truth restoring the human spirit, proving that we can have a vision of living in harmony with God's creation.

Thank you very much.

[Applause.]

Gerald Barber:

The Secretary has graciously agreed to a question and answer series. So if you wish to ask a question, there is a microphone in the center of the room. Would you please approach the microphone, state, please, your name and the state you represent. Then ask your question.

Craig Thompson

Secretary Babbitt, I'm Craig Thompson from the State of Wyoming. You mentioned in your remarks about impoverished western range, which is a hot button for me. When are we going to see range reform that really matters on the ground?

Secretary Barber:

Gosh --

[Applause.]

I've overstayed my welcome. I've given a large speech, I just realized I had to go.

[Laughter.]

I speak, having shed some blood and been battered pretty badly on these issues. We just got to keep after it. We're making progress. Not much in some places, a lot more in others.

And I have a few things to offer. Where we've made the most progress is where we have managed to get these consensus groups active at the local level. Now, I can't cite a lot of success in Wyoming. We're going to keep working at it.

I can cite, I think, important success in places like the west slope of Colorado, eastern Oregon, Trout Creek Mountain, the areas down the Havapai Border, Lynne's group down in southwestern Arizona.

There are other encouraging signs. In Oregon, the state is now moving on water quality and riparian standards. In the southwest, the Endangered Species Act is now giving rise to consultations on riparian areas, and I just hope we can bulldoze our way ahead.

I wish we could get a resource advisory council moving in Wyoming. It's the one state where we don't have one.

Jerry McCollum:

Good morning, Mr. Secretary. I'm Jerry McCollum of the Georgia Wildlife Federation. I want to ask a question that can give you a little relief from the first question, maybe. Some people in this room yesterday wanted to know from us, the Georgia Federation, about the needed coalition in opposition to the Dupont Mine at the Okefenokee. We've had that discussion with several individuals, about the great partnership with Bruce Babbitt and Zell Miller and the Board of Natural Resources in Georgia and the Georgia Wildlife Federation and many others standing in opposition to that mine.

And we've agreed to sit at a table, a collaborative table with Dupont, essentially until they come to their senses. But I think it would be extraordinary for them to hear some of what you had to say on this.

Secretary Babbitt:

Great. You all know about the issue at Okefenokee. Basically, the Okefenokee is more like the Everglades than the Everglades. It is a fabulous resource.

The Okefenokee reality is created by an old sea line, a ridge representing an old shore line.

There is in the sand titanium dioxide. And it's being mined down to the south and other places. If you want to see what the neighbor would look like, all you have to do is go down into Florida and look at what they're doing.

Now, I went down and looked at it, and I asked, I had two observations. First of all, I said, what is titanium dioxide used for, you know, am I going to imperil national security, titanium kind of sounded like that. I thought, oh, God, here we go.

Well, it turns out that titanium dioxide is used as a whitener for the filling in Oreos and for toothpaste. And I thought, well, okay, we'd better keep going on this.

[Laughter.]

I went up and looked at the proposal, and I simply said, on behalf of this Administration, we are opposed, unconditionally, to that kind of strip mining on the margin of Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge. Period.

[Applause.]

Now, we had a great response from people in Georgia, the Governor, the Atlanta Constitution, Georgia Wildlife Federation. And there have been some discussions going on with Dupont. We have chosen not to participate, because, and I think those discussions can be useful. But the reason we chose not to participate is because I said, look, I'm ag'in' it, there ain't nothing to talk about.

I'm a pretty reasonable guy. We do a lot of negotiating. But on this one, the answer is no. We're against it.

Bill Sayer:

Secretary Babbitt, I'm Bill Sayer, with the Conservation Council for Hawaii. Hawaii is a minute few dots in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, and we have 50 percent of the endangered species in the United States. We're very concerned about attacks on the Endangered Species Act, and specifically the Senate legislation which I believe you support. I'd like to have some of your views on that subject.

Secretary Babbitt:

Did you all hear the question? I was kind of waiting for that one.

[Laughter.]

Well, let me ease into it with just a couple of remarks about Hawaii. Hawaii is, for those of you who follow E.O. Wilson in his issue of Island Biogeography, the fauna and flora of Hawaii have evolved in more isolation than any other place in the world, because it is the largest significant island mass which is most distant from any continental mass. It has given rise to an extraordinary profusion of adaptive radiation, radiating kind of evolution.

And we've got an enormous crisis in Hawaii, because of the exotics, plants and animals, they're just devastating the island. Because it evolved in isolation, and free from all of the competitive pressures of exotic species. I just want to say, it is something we are working on very intensively, because it is the most urgent endangered species issue in the country.

Where am I on the Kempthorne-Chafee bill? I'll try not to speak at length, but I do want to have you hear my thoughts on this.

When we came to office in 1993, the endangered species debate, frankly, we were losing it. We were getting killed because of the gridlock in the Pacific Northwest. Our predecessors had not tried to make the Act work. Every time there was a controversy, they would say, this

controversy proves that the Act doesn't work. And since we know the Act doesn't work, we're not going to try to make it work. We'll let the judges do it.

And the controversy centered in the northwest, sort of just totally out of hand. So we came to office and said, we're going to make this Act work. It's got a lot of possibility. And in short order, we put up the safe harbor provisions, which you're probably familiar with. We began moving pre-listing conservation agreements. We took the habitat conservation plans, there had been precisely 14 of them done in 20 years. And to date, we've done 200 and we're on our way to 400, which has I think created much of the discussion.

Now, I'll stand by those any time, anywhere. You look at the ones we've done with the timber companies in the northwest, with southern California, Georgia in the south, the really wonderful examples of how we're doing with the red cockaded woodpecker. They've been an enormous success.

When they started drafting an endangered species bill, I went to the sponsors, and I said, the first thing you've got to do is incorporate our innovations into the legislation and we're not going to make any retreats from the existing law.

A bill came out of committee which is pretty darned good. It's not perfect. The reason that I participated in that process, and the reason that I've had kind words to say about that bill is, we have, by that bill in the Senate, moved the threshold of the debate all the way up here, to the point that the best is the enemy of the pretty good.

Now, I'm not making a pitch for you to support this bill. What I want you to understand is, we've come a long way. That bill's got a lot of good stuff in it. And it's come a lot further than anybody ever would have imagined.

It is a good starting point. And we ought to get it out on the floor of the Senate and get some debate and see if we can improve it.

It's important to get this Act reauthorized, in my judgment. People say, well, why do you need it? You're doing such a great job with it, why bother with reauthorizing? The answer is, we've got to address the reauthorization issue while we've got the high ground. These things are working out there on the landscape. We're putting together approaches which, who knows whether they'll last.

Maybe Jim Watt will come back to be Secretary of the Interior. What will happen then, without a legislative framework for these kinds of reforms?

[Laughter.]

Am I capable of giving a short answer, I don't know. Let me try.

Gerald Barber:

We're going to have one more question.

Susan Peterson:

Mr. Secretary, my name is Susan Peterson, with Texas Committee on Natural Resources. And mine is a sort of a segue from that about habitat conservation plans. I wanted to make the comment that habitat conservations are your vision of the future, but for some of them that have come out have been more of the vision of the past that you described as saving the 40 acres and everything else just be damned, almost develop it at will.

I was wondering about the elements of safe harbor and elements of no surprises. Are those elements that are positive towards the recovery of the species?

Secretary Babbitt:

Well, I really should have left.

[Laughter.]

This is a Texas asking a question about aren't we giving up habitat when we do habitat conservation plans, aren't we in fact authorizing the destruction of some habitat. And the answer, of course, is yes.

If you go to the outskirts of Austin, Texas, you can see a plan that I think illustrates why these are successful and the reality that she talks about. Austin, Texas, is growing like crazy. It's metastasizing all over the landscape.

There are a couple of endangered birds up on the Balconies Highlands to the west. The land is all private.

Now, if we simply say, there are endangered species, there will be no development, what do you think's going to happen? Well, bear in mind that private property owners are protected in some measure by the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. And you can't simply say by federal mandate, the 150,000 acres of privately owned here is off limits to development.

That is an invitation to the disintegration of this whole system. Because the courts will never allow us to regulate land that way. And they shouldn't.

So the habitat conservation plan is a way of saying, in exchange for a reasonable development plan, which will allow you to realize a reasonable economic return on your property, you can develop X percent of it, provided you mitigate by releasing the balance, and in many cases, buying habitat elsewhere.

In addition, in Austin, we set up a national wildlife refuge. We understand that there needs to be federal money -- remember the Land and Water Conservation Fund to buy critical habitat? We set up a wildlife refuge to address a piece of it.

But there's not enough money in this town to buy every piece of land. So that's why we have to make these tradeoffs.

Now, they have to be biologically sound, and I believe they are. Can we do better science, step up monitoring? The answer is yes. We're willing to do that. We're learning. This stuff's never been done in history. This is the concept behind the President's forest plan. We've set aside seven million acres of old growth reserves to protect the spotted owl and spawning salmon.

Seven million acres.

Now, in the course of doing that, you know, you're going to make some stipulations about what the private property owners can do with their land. And what you say to them is, you've got to change your timber practices, you've got to adopt longer rotations, keep a mosaic of old growth moving across the landscape over time, set up stream buffers.

But if we say, no more timber cutting, they will be in the United States Supreme Court with a bill and if the bill is not paid promptly, we may see the disintegration of this whole thing. That's -- I'll give it to you with the bark off. That's what we're trying to do, is navigate a very tortuous and important path between constitutionally protected property rights and an overriding national interest in preserving habitat.

Thank you very much.

[Applause.]

Remarks of Secretary Bruce Babbitt to Interior Employees

February 13, 1998
Main Interior Building Auditorium
Washington, D.C.

Thank you. This has been a truly extraordinary progression over the last few weeks and months. I just want all of you to know how much I appreciate the notes, words of encouragement, the employees of the Department who have come up to me...saying "We're with you. We're in this together," offering words of encouragement.

I had that by phone, by notes, in person, on street corners, in airports, again, and again, and again. I want to tell you it really makes a difference. Thank you, thank you, thank you. (Applause)

Now I know that these are strange times. There is a corrosive, antagonistic, bitter, combative culture that has settled over this town. And here we are. I must express my puzzlement and amazement at what's going on here, because for the last four months we have been, in varying degrees, the subject of an inquiry by a Senate investigating committee, a House investigating committee, backed up by endless document requests in which we have produced every scrap of paper from every corner of this Department, followed by an inquiry by the Justice Department and the FBI. All the participants in the decision-making process have been interviewed, deposed, harassed, testified multiple times, and it goes on.

I think you are all entitled to ask what is it that has created this extraordinary kind of situation, where the facts are not enough. That's the bottom line, the facts are not enough. We've taken the position for the past three months that we have put all the facts out. They are out. They've been out, again, and again, and again.

But the ~~bottom line~~ is that in the culture of this town, at this time, we happen to be in the intersection of some strange, strange times in which many members of the press will not take the facts -- determined to say "We have a point of view which is not going to be altered by the facts in any way." There are people on Capital Hill, more typically I suppose than the press, taking that position as well, that "We will not be swayed by the facts."

Well, here we are. Here I am. And here I'm going to stay. (Applause)

Sure it has not been the easiest time of my life. It's not been easy for (George) Skibine and (Tom) Hartman and...and all the others who have been hauled up to the Hill again, and again, and again and raked over the coals. Something really is out of whack in this system of ours, where we simply say the facts will not suffice and we will pile one investigative process on top of another and we'll just keep going endlessly on and on.

Clearly, the times are out of sync and so is the system. But let me say to you as I point that out, that I have absolute confidence in the ultimate result in our system—as tangled up as it gets, as difficult and as unfettered as it can be—I have no question at all about the ability of our system to produce, in the end, absolute vindication for this Department and me. (Applause)

And I can tell you it has been tempting at times to throw it all up and say, you know, "To hell with it; it's not worth it, I'm going home." But I never will because I am bound and determined to stay with you and vindicate this Department and this process—that you made in this case the right decision in the right way for the right reasons. And I'm here and I'm going to fight this out to the bitter end. And we will be vindicated. (Applause)

OK, so what do we do from here? Number one, obviously, it is my intention to cooperate with every investigator, every person. I know you all will too. We will do everything within our power to continue to be transparent, open, to reaffirm what we've done from day one. That is to say, the facts. The facts. We will always be offering the facts for the second, third, fourth, fifth time because the facts will vindicate us.

Now, secondly, and importantly, we owe it to this Administration and to the American people not to be distracted by what is going on. Life is not always fair. Everyone goes through times in life when things don't go exactly right. Sometimes you're in an intersection at the wrong time and the wrong place, and you get broadsided through no fault of your own.

We've all been through those experiences in life. The important thing, of course, is not to be distracted—to get up, look life in the eye, and say "We're here for a reason." We're here devoting a large portion of our lives and our talents because we believe that what we do in public service in this Department does make a difference.

I'd like to remind you that over the last five or six years, we've really made and begun a brand new chapter in conservation, in resource history. If you'll allow me a minute or two, I'd like to explain because this Department for 150 years has been sort of caught between two polar beliefs. One is that our God-given resources on this continent, in this country, are ready to be used indiscriminately, and used and used up. And another view saying that we have a deeper ethical obligation to take care of creation.

I think what we've done in the last five-going-on six years is say "There's a better way of living on this landscape." We can make regulatory environmental laws work consistent with making a living. The Endangered Species Act can be made to work, if we have the

imagination, flexibility, and creativity to say "There's no reason we can't live in balance, in harmony, with creation." And that's all coming true.

The efforts of the regulatory agencies --Surface Mining, the Minerals Management Service-- are devoted simply to saying "We can find that balance out on the land." The land management agencies, the National Park Service -- where we say "National parks are to be used, they are for people." We don't buy the idea that there are too many people out there. We believe that we can protect the resource and utilize the resource by being smarter and more effective about what we do. What we've done with water management out West, what we're doing for the Everglades, the California-Bay Delta, our forest policy --we're saying "We can use science and imagination."

What we're doing with Native Americans --what we're saying is "Yes, we have a trust obligation for Native Americans that extends all the way to integrating their tradition, their cultures, and the beauty of their way of life into the larger mission on the landscape of this our entire Department."

These are all important things that we do...as we rededicate ourselves to using the time that we have...our time no matter how long is very short... it is very important. We are here to make a difference. And what I want you to know is that as a result of all of this chaos of the last three months, I've had a lot of time to ponder, to think a little more deeply with my family, with our sons...about what really matters in life, how it is we set priorities, straighten up our relations with each other, look deeply into ourselves, and dedicate ourselves to being better human beings.

I come to you today to say that it has been the greatest pleasure of my life to work with and to serve all the people over the last few years and I vow to you today that I am going to continue and...I thank you for your friendship, your support, your dedication.

-DOI-



NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Office of the Secretary

Contact: Mary Helen Thompson
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For Immediate Release: Monday, February 2, 1998

INTERIOR FY 1999 BUDGET PROMOTES PROTECTION AND RESTORATION OF NATION'S NATURAL AND CULTURAL RESOURCES

President Clinton's Fiscal Year 1999 budget of \$8.1 billion for the U.S. Department of the Interior represents his unwavering commitment to the American people to balance the federal budget while protecting the environment. The FY 1999 request calls for increase of \$491 million, or 6 % over the 1998 enacted budget, excluding the one-time special Land and Water Conservation Act appropriation provided in 1998.

Priority initiatives include insuring safe visits to public lands, protecting endangered species and acquiring and protecting important habitat, and supporting implementation of the Administration's Clean Water and Watershed Restoration Initiative. Other high priority areas of the Clinton administration budget include funding on-going environmental restoration projects, such as the Everglades, California Bay Delta and Pacific Northwest Forests, supporting Indian education and improving law enforcement in Indian country.

"As President Clinton so eloquently and accurately stated in his State of the Union message last week, there are a mere 700 days that separate us from the year 2000, that symbolic threshold to the future," Interior Secretary Babbitt stated. "This budget clearly recognizes the importance of preserving and restoring America's natural and cultural heritage for future generations of Americans by linking the people, land and water in the twenty-first century. Our waterways, wildlife refuges, wilderness areas, reservations and parks will continue to receive the care that they so richly deserve."

Land and Water Facilities Restoration

The protection of the nation's natural and cultural resources for the benefit of all Americans is the prevailing theme through out the FY 1999 Interior Department budget. A key component slated for a significant increase are projects associated with the administration's initiative to insure safety on federal lands for visitors and employees alike. It will allow the National Park Service (NPS), the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and The Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) to begin to target the most important construction and/or maintenance projects. This represents the first step in a five year effort to improve crumbling infrastructure and overall maintenance of important public facilities. The \$546 million earmarked for maintenance represents an increase of \$82 million. Park Service spending for repair and rehabilitation projects and cyclic maintenance will more than double. The 1999 budget estimates that fees collected by selected parks within the NPS totaling \$136 million will also remain in the park system for much needed renovation.

(more)

The 1999 request of \$213.6 million for the Land and Water Conservation Fund will continue to preserve pristine areas for the benefit of the American public in the Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF). Over the next five years, the administration will allocate nearly \$1.9 billion between the Interior Department and The Forest Service for land purchases. Priority acquisitions in 1999 will include important tracts in the Everglades, New England, Southern California and the Mississippi Delta and elsewhere.

The FY 1999 Budget targets several significant on-going environmental restoration projects for continued support: the Everglades, the California Bay Delta and the Forests of the Pacific Northwest, and the Columbia Basin.

The historic effort to restore the Everglades and reverse the ecological decline of the South Florida Ecosystem is in the second year of an extraordinary four year \$400 million Department of the Interior initiative lead by Vice President Gore. The Clinton administration is requesting \$144.2 million for Interior agencies, an increase of \$7.7 million over the 1998 enacted budget. Over all, total federal funds devoted to Everglades Restoration are \$282 million, an increase of \$54 million or 24 % over 1998.

Another example is the restoration of the largest estuary on the west coast of North America--the California Bay Delta. A consortium of federal, state and local agencies and other parties are in the third year of developing long-term comprehensive strategies to solve the complex and interrelated problems in the Bay-Delta. The Department's 1999 Budget includes a total of \$143 million for ecosystem restoration funds, an increase of \$58 million over the previous year.

The President's Forest Plan, now into its sixth year, continues to be a priority for the Administration. It has been a key component in helping state and local governments balance preservation of the environment with timber harvest production. The FY 1999 Interior budget funds the Forest Plan at \$68.1 million. The BLM will offer 213.5 million board feet of timber for sale in the region during 1999.

Patterned on the Forest Plan for the Pacific Northwest, the Interior Columbia Basin Ecosystem Management Plan is a Clinton Administration program jointly administered by the Interior Department and the Forest Service to develop a scientifically sound management strategy for federal lands in counties east of the Cascades. The Department's FY 1999 request for this effort is \$8.3 million.

Clean Water, a gift to future generations

In October of 1997, Vice President Gore announced an aggressive set of Clean Water initiatives to celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Clean Water Act. The Vice President's initiative has set in motion several interagency programs to protect and improve the nation's rivers, lakes and streams. Since its inception, the Clean Water Act has doubled the number of waterways that are safe for swimming and fishing.

"Clean water and watershed restoration is a partnership effort," Babbitt stated. "The only way you can have a successful outcome is to forge alliance between all stakeholders including state and local government officials, land owners both large and small, and public interest organizations. Just as all parts of a watershed are related, so must all residents of that watershed be part of restoration efforts."

The administration is requesting that Interior along with the Departments of Agriculture and the Environmental Protection Agency develop community based watershed management enhancement partnerships with the states to further improve the nation water. Increases in the Bureau of Land Management, U.S. Geological Survey, the Office of Surface Mining, Fish and Wildlife Service and BIA will support this effort. A primary goal is to develop a strategy to achieve a net gain of up to 100,000 acres of wetlands by 2005, and to insure that federal lands are national models and laboratories for effective watershed planning and controls.

The Office of Surface Mining Clean Streams initiative which has been operating for several years is an extraordinary example of a clean water partnerships have helped to improve thousands of miles of Appalachian streams polluted by years of contaminated runoff from abandoned coal mines. The administration is asking \$6.9 million which will provide the seed money to initiate approximately 23 more projects in 1999.

Protecting Species and Habitats for the Future

The Administration is requesting \$129.9 million to support the efficient and effective implementation of the Endangered Species Act, an increase of \$38.8 million. This includes increased funds for the development and support of up to 100 Habitat Conservation Plans (HCP). The HCP program is an extraordinary example of how creative partnerships can result in successful solutions, protecting species while allowing economic development to proceed. The Administration's budget includes expanded support HCPs in 1999 and \$5.0 million for development of another innovative Clinton administration pilot program called Safe Harbor Agreements which allows for the development of species preservation agreements on private property including both large and small landowners.

Operation of the 93 million acre National Wildlife Refuge System is a key element in the FY 1999 budget, with 223 new projects in 152 refuges being planned the coming year. The budget includes an operations increase of \$15 million, for 8%, to address the highest priority operational needs and \$10.9 million for maintenance improvements..

Other important increases in the 1999 budget include funds for the Fish and Wildlife Service to work with the hydropower industry and local communities to improve fish passage at dams and a significant increase for an expanded fuels management/prescribed fire program to improve forest ecosystems and to ensure public health and safety.

Building Trust with Tribes

The FY 1999 Bureau of Indian Affairs budget of \$1.84 billion is \$142.1 million above the 1998 enacted budget. Improvement of Indian education and school facilities is a major budgetary priority this year. BIA anticipates that school population will increase by over 1500 in the next school year. Increases of \$64.4 million will provide the teachers and other resources to meet this increase, as well as to reconstruct three out-of-date and unsafe schools and repair a number of others.

Public safety and law enforcement on reservations are also of critical concern to the tribes. A DOI/DOJ Initiative on Law Enforcement in Indian Country will provide an increase of \$182 million in new or redirected funds within DOJ and BIA in FY 1999.

Overhaul of the trust management system is an essential part of the BIA and Office Special Trustee budgets, with \$9.6 million proposed for implementation of the trust management improvement project and for elimination of probate and land records processing backlog.

Protecting our National Treasures for the Ages

"President Clinton, in his State of the Union Message, called on all Americans to save our historic treasures so that generations of the 21st century could see for themselves the images that define our collective heritage." Babbitt concluded. To preserve this rich fabric of American history, a new White House proposal, the \$50 million "Millennium" grant program is designed to help preserve much of the nation's significant historic papers, records, films, buildings, objects and historic districts that are in need of preservation. The funds will be made available to state and federal agencies under the auspices of the National Historic Preservation Act.

In addition, a \$9.8 million increase in the Historic Preservation Fund is proposed to address the most critical repairs at historically black colleges and universities, for a total of \$15.4 million.



NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

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For Immediate Release: February 6, 1997

INTERIOR FY 1998 BUDGET FOCUSES ON THE PRESIDENT'S CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO PRESERVING THE NATION'S PUBLIC LANDS AND NATURAL AND CULTURAL RESOURCES

President Clinton's Fiscal Year 1998 budget of \$7.5 billion for the U.S. Department of the Interior represents the administration's promise to the American people to safeguard and preserve the nation's public lands and natural and cultural resources within an overall policy framework that leads to a balanced federal budget. While the FY 1998 request represents a modest increase of \$462 million or 6.6 percent over the 1997 enacted budget, it stresses sound management practices to insure compliance with the overall goals in the President's budget to cut the deficit and create a leaner, more efficient federal government.

Wherever possible, the President's budget promotes the development of creative regional partnerships to resolve conflict and promote new and ongoing national restoration and preservation initiatives. High priority projects include the Florida Everglades, the forests of the Pacific Northwest, the California Bay Delta and the rapidly growing use of innovative Habitat Conservation plans to protect threatened and endangered species. The budget also emphasizes the President's continuing commitment to greater self-determination and self government for American Indian Tribes.

"This budget is about restoration, preservation and protection," Babbitt stated. "It is a carefully crafted plan that reflects the President's deep and abiding commitment to the American public to preserve our lands and natural resources while protecting our children's economic future."

"It also recognizes that the federal government must reach out in order to become a catalyst for meaningful change," Babbitt continued. "By working hand in hand with state and local governments and the private sector, we can avoid prolonged conflict and develop appropriate solutions for some of the more challenging regional environmental problems."

(More)

Partners in Environmental Progress

The Clinton administration has joined hands with a network of federal, state and local agencies, and environmental and industry groups to develop concrete strategies and consensus solutions to address the complex environmental problems confronting major regional restoration and preservation projects and initiatives.

One of the most significant of these is the effort underway to restore the Everglades and reverse the ecological decline of the South Florida ecosystem. The Clinton administration is requesting \$136 million an increase of \$79 million over FY 1997, and total government-wide funding at \$331 million. The establishment of an Everglades Restoration Fund is also a top priority with funding of \$100 million proposed in 1998, and each year thereafter until the year 2001.

"This undertaking is, without exaggeration, the most ambitious environmental restoration project in the history of our nation," Babbitt stated. "It will demand many years of hard work and a rock solid commitment on the part of the federal government, the state of Florida and many, many other public and private groups to salvage the Everglades and enhance the South Florida watershed."

Another example is the restoration of the largest estuary on the west coast of North America--The California Bay Delta. A consortium of federal, state and local agencies and other parties are developing long-term comprehensive strategies to solve the complex and interrelated problems in the Bay-Delta. The region is critical to California's economy, providing water to two-thirds of all homes and businesses in the State and irrigating more than four million acres of farmland. The Department's 1998 Budget includes a total of \$203 million for Bay Delta ecosystem restoration funds, an increase of \$146 million over the previous year.

The President's Forest Plan, now into its fifth year of operation, is an ongoing priority for the Clinton Administration. The plan has been a key component in helping state and local governments find a balance preserving old growth forests while allowing the administration to meet its timber harvest production. The 1998 budget funds the Forest Plan at \$71 million, an increase of \$3 million from the 1997 enacted level.

The Appalachian Clean Streams initiative, a federal, state and local partnership program to restore thousands of miles of Appalachian streams polluted by years of acid mine drainage, is

also an example of a program in which a modest expenditure of federal funds can leverage many times that amount from state and local government and industry for an important regional environmental program.

The development of Habitat Conservation Plans (HCPs) to protect threatened and endangered species has been an extraordinary example of how creative partnerships result in successful solutions, protecting species while allowing economic development to proceed. For the period 1983 to 1992 only 14 HCPs were approved. By the end of 1997, the department projects that 300 HCPs will be in place or under development. For planning purposes 400 are expected for 1998. The administration's budget continues to fund \$6 million for land acquisition grants to states to support HCPs.

Preserving the Nation's Natural and Cultural Resources

Protecting America's 374 National Parks, 509 wildlife refuges and 264 million acres of public lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management, is a top priority for the Clinton administration.

The President's FY 1998 budget requests an increase in operating funds for the National Park Service, the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Bureau of Land Management in order to assist these three agencies in meeting both current responsibilities and the significant challenges that lie ahead.

"The funding increases requested will enable Interior's land management bureaus to improve deteriorating infrastructure and operational conditions in parks, refuges, fish hatcheries and on public lands that threaten the preservation of our priceless natural and cultural resources," Babbitt stated.

Priority needs at the National Park Service include funding for five new parks created last year, the establishment of the Presidio Trust as a public-private partnership, a Vanishing Treasures initiative that will focus on endangered Native American historic sites on the Colorado Plateau, and start up funds for nine new heritage areas. In addition, the Park Service Budget includes \$24.9 million for land acquisition and construction to restore the native anadromous fish on the Elwha River in Olympic National Park.

Continuing work on a sound and workable Endangered Species Act that is flexible enough to adequately protect species while minimizing adverse economic impacts whenever possible is a paramount concern for the Fish and Wildlife Service. Other

priorities include improving refuges and wildlife habitats, and expanding recreation and education opportunities for the 29 million people that visit the refuge system each year.

For the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), managing the newly designated Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument is a top priority, as are badly-needed facility maintenance and infrastructure and trail repairs at high-use recreational sites and areas of cultural importance. With 1996 being the worst fire year in three decades, BLM's budget also addresses an increased need for fire preparation and management. Working with the Forest Service, the wildland fire management program will place greater emphasis on fuels reduction and prescribed fires as an effective solution to this problem. A \$28 million increase is proposed for the Department's wildland fire management program.

To meet many of these needs and to enhance the visitor experience on public lands, the administration remains committed to providing additional revenue to parks, refuges and public lands through user fees, better collection practices and reform of Park Service concessions. The fee demonstration project authorized by Congress last year is expected to result in over \$50 million that will supplement regular appropriations.

The FY 1998 budget requests \$1.6 billion for the National Park Service; \$688 million for the Fish and Wildlife Service, including \$79 million for the Endangered Species Act program; and \$1.1 billion for The Bureau of Land Management.

Good Science for Sound Decision Making:

The Interior Department's premier science agency, the U.S. Geological Survey, continues to carry out scientific research in the natural and biological sciences that contributes to the improvement of the health and welfare of the American people. The FY 1998 Budget for USGS is \$745.4 million which will allow the agency to address several new initiatives. One such project is a new national initiative announced by President Clinton last August in Kalamazoo, Michigan which would protect communities from toxic pollution by the year 2000. The USGS will work with other agencies to improve Americans' right to know about the condition of municipal water supplies in metropolitan communities. Data from major rivers, drinking water wells, and water supply watersheds will be made available to the public through a variety of distribution methods including the World Wide Web.

Other innovative USGS science projects include participation in a global seismic monitoring program; a three year program to establish historic mapping and modeling databases for several major cities, and additional support for land and resource managers in the area of biological research.

Continuing Support for the Priorities of Indian Tribes

The President's continuing commitment to tribal self-determination and self-governance is reflected in his 1998 budget for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This year's request of \$1.7 billion, an increase of \$127.0 million over 1997, recognizes the critical needs of the tribes, particularly local reservation programs such as housing repair for needy families, adult vocational training, law enforcement and infrastructure repair as well as additional funds for the 185 schools for Indian children. For the past three years, BIA has kept administrative costs among the lowest in the federal government, consistently providing over 90 percent of the operating budget to education and reservation-based programs. FTEs have been reduced by over 2,500 since 1994.

Reform of Indian trust fund management continues to be a high priority in 1998. The President is requesting \$39 million for the Office of the Special Trustee for American Indians with approximately \$16.7 million targeted for trust fund management improvements. These improvements will help ensure that the federal government fulfills its responsibilities to properly account for, invest, and maximize the return on all Indian trust money.

"To See the Forest AND the Trees"

Establishing the roots of New Forestry for the 21st Century

Remarks of Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt

Yale University School of Forestry

December 10, 1996

I appreciate your invitation to speak at the Yale School of Forestry. For it was here, nearly a century ago, during a protracted national debate over natural resources, that the science of American forestry began. Today the controversy over forest policy is raging once again. And this same campus can and should take a lead role in formulating new policies for the century ahead.

The forest controversies of our time are rooted in a century long struggle between the utilitarians, who view forests primarily as trees to be farmed for their cellulose, and those who see forests in a wider perspective of values - whether wildlife, recreation or as a part of our spiritual heritage which obliges us to be stewards of God's creation. At risk of oversimplification, the controversy is an extension of the debate between Gifford Pinchot and John Muir, a debate that was underway at the time this school was established.

During the past four years the Clinton Administration has launched new initiatives to resolve these controversies by using interdisciplinary science to look at forests in new ways. These initiatives are now in progress in the old growth forests of the Pacific Northwest, the Tongass forests of Southeast Alaska, the Sierra Nevada of California, the ponderosa forests of the Intermountain West, and the longleaf pine forests of the South, to name a few. They have been carried out cooperatively by the Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Environmental Protection Agency, and other agencies working together to invent new methods of managing forest landscapes both to preserve their structure and diversity and to assure sustainable harvests.

These initiatives have come to be known collectively as "New Forestry". By whatever name, they represent one of the great success stories of integrated, interagency resource management in this Administration. My purpose today is to discuss in some detail both the content of these New Forestry initiatives and to give some flavor of the working relationships within the Administration that have made them possible.

Our first opportunity to shape New Forestry concepts was right at hand when the Clinton Administration arrived in 1993. The northern spotted owl had triggered the crisis in the old growth forests of the Pacific Northwest. Yet like a sneeze, the owl was only a symptom warning us that the entire Northwest forest system was sick, overstressed and in need of treatment.

Across the years, timber companies in the Northwest had carried Pinchot's utilitarian legacy to new heights of apparent efficiency. They clearcut vast mountainside tracts, burned the slopes free of slash and replanted bare slopes, from mountain top to stream's edge, with carefully tended monocultures of Douglas fir that can be recut and processed every forty years.

But over time these practices have generated a rising tide of public reaction. Salmon streams choked up with dirt slides and runoff from bare mountainsides. And the resulting tree plantations were not authentic forests that families wanted to look at, much less hike through or camp in.

Asked what it expects from their forests, the public responds to the scent of spruce and incense cedars, the sound of wind swaying the boughs of ancient trees, the sight of morning dew sparkling on a profusion of ferns and mosses, and the chance to eat wild berries and catch native salmon.

The Administration's response to the crisis can be found in the work of the Forest Ecosystem Management Assessment Team (FEMAT), carried out by an interagency team under the leadership of Jack Ward Thomas, then the chief wildlife research biologist of the Forest Service. The FEMAT report is already being recognized as one of the most important documents in the history of American forestry; for the first time it lays out a general ecological basis for the coordinated management of 24 million acres of land administered by the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management.

The FEMAT report tells us that an old growth forest is a complex, living, integrated whole, much like the human body. The scientists told us what good physicians tell their patients: systematic treatment won't work; in the words of FEMAT, "There is no technological fix." Instead we must prescribe treatment for the whole forest - in this case a vast landscape that stretches from California to British Columbia. On that scale we had to use interdisciplinary science, like a giant CAT-SCAN, to analyze and catalog more than 1,700 species, components of the forests and to formulate a plan that would restore the forest to its original health.

For all the science and all the complexity, however, much of the resulting Forest Plan expresses the intuition of any local angler or birder. Consider the salmon. A fisherman seeks stretches along a river bank kept cool and stable by trees, a stream spotted with logs and overgrowth that in turn provide shelter, oxygen, leaf litter and insect habitat. He knows the forest holds soil in place, keeping water clear and gravel beds free of silt and good for spawning.

The fisherman felt what we confirmed through good science: that you can't have healthy salmon streams unless the adjacent banks are permanently protected from timber cutting. The President's Forest Plan reflects this with wide stream buffers along all fish bearing streams, from headwater to tidewater.

Upland habitat tells a similar cautionary tale, as we learned by retracing the food chain of the owl. The spotted owl, like the salmon, needs a network of unbroken corridors textured by a mixed canopy of trees varied by age, size and species. Even "salvage" of dead, rotting fallen trees has an impact: for these logs release nutrients, which feed fungi, truffles and ferns, which feed voles and flying squirrels, which feed, among other things, the spotted owl. Finally, we also factored in the lessons of island biogeography: If you fragment habitat too much, species extinction becomes inevitable. All these lessons led to a plan to protect and restore structure, health and diversity. We set aside several million acres of interconnected old growth forest reserves. Outside those cores and corridors, we modified all cutting techniques to protect forest structure, encourage natural reseedling, and maintain habitat corridors throughout the entire landscape.

By this time you may be asking whether the Forest Plan leaves room for Gifford Pinchot's timber economy at all. It does. President Clinton addressed the economic issue in his charge to us at the forest conference in Portland in April, 1993: "Here in the Northwest, as in my own home state, people understand that healthy forests are important for a healthy, forest-based economy; understand that if we destroy our old growth forest, we'll lose jobs in salmon fishing and tourism and eventually in our timber industry as well."

Under the forest plan, logging has been scaled back from the massive, unsustainable cuts of the 1980s. For, at that rate, the forests (and the forest economy) would be destroyed within a generation, just as they were in an earlier time in New England and the upper Midwest. By scaling back to a sustainable level, we

ensure a steady, predictable supply of timber for loggers and mills in the century ahead. And we ensure that the forest towns will continue to diversify, where new people and new industries come for the quality of life and health of the natural landscape. Four years after the President's challenge, it's already working. Unemployment in the Northwest forest communities has hit the lowest level in generations. We didn't lose 100,000 jobs, as skeptics predicted; we created them.

By developing policy up from the scientific and moral grassroots, the President's Forest Plan opens a new chapter in the history of forestry. And there is of course still more to be written. The Administration is now completing a comprehensive interagency study of the public lands on the east side of the Cascades -- the entire drainage of the Upper Columbia River Basin, from the snowy crests of the Cascades across the high deserts of Eastern Oregon and Washington, to the headwaters in Idaho and Montana.

These "East Side" forests differ dramatically in aridity, temperature, elevation, soils, and frequency of fires started by lightning. When we excluded fire and boosted logging under Pinchot's utilitarian legacy, these forest underwent stress from drought, disease, insects, overcrowding, and an unnatural successional change from ponderosa pine toward shade tolerant species of spruce and fir.

For any student who may want a deeper look into these successional changes, I recommend a book by Nancy Langston, Forest Dreams, Forest Nightmares, that documents in depressing detail how decades of excessive timber cuts have accelerated these changes in the Blue Mountains of Oregon. On the brighter side, next month, the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management will release two comprehensive environmental impact statements that analyze these changes and lay out pathways to restore health across the entire upland watershed.

Well, yes, you may say. New Forestry may seem all well and good for 250 million acres of federal forest lands in the West. If the American public wants so badly to scale back timber harvests and protect old growth to bring back health and integrity to their forests, that is their right. But what about private land owners?

Fully two thirds of American forests are privately owned. The owners range from individuals with five acre woodlots to corporations like Weyerhaeuser Co. and International Paper Co. with millions of acres. East of the Mississippi, eight of every ten trees are privately owned by someone who has a constitutionally protected right to an economic return on that investment. Federal laws like the Endangered Species Act and the Clean Water Act do apply to private forest lands. But on private lands we must apply them with restraint and respect for the rights of the owner, demonstrating early on that an ounce of careful forestry prevents a pound of painful and invasive regulation.

For example, what would we do if a clear symptom -- decline of a forest bird that, like the spotted owl, nests only in old growth -- were to suddenly break out across the private timberlands of the Southeastern United States? It happened. The bird is called the red-cockaded woodpecker, and it's been on the endangered species list longer than the spotted owl. But the reason you have not heard as much about it is because there hasn't been a train wreck like that in the Northwest. And that, in turn, is because we've applied the lessons of the New Forestry early, often, and everywhere we could.

In 1993, Pete Correll, the head of Georgia-Pacific Corporation, the largest landowner in the region, came to my office. He made a suggestion that I quickly agreed to: Match his foresters with our biologists from the Fish and Wildlife Service to create a sustainable woodpecker plan for 4.2 million acres of the company's timberland. Our result was a landmark, common sense agreement whereby 50,000 acres -- 1 percent of the company's private property -- would be preserved in the company's sustainable forest plan as core habitat clusters for approximately 100 remaining woodpecker groups. That Georgia-Pacific

process has led to five more similar timber industry agreements within the South alone.

After these, our next step was to forge more formal covenants, plans that are over the long term broader and more flexible in scope. To that end, we teamed with the Potlatch Corp. in southern Arkansas to develop a full-fledged habitat conservation plan on a 230,000 acre tract, Potlatch, which has the fourth largest population of woodpeckers on private land in the U.S., will keep 15,000 acres on rotations that guarantee there will always be at least 6 percent of the land retained in old growth within the shifting mosaic of age groups across the landscape. More than a dozen similar plans are now under development in other parts of the South and on private forest lands in the Pacific Northwest.

With each success, we have expanded the search for new remedies tailored to specific conditions. For example, could we create positive incentives for landowners to protect and improve habitat? Our biologists in North Carolina set out to try. Two years ago, they came up with a concept now called "Safe Harbor." Here's how it works: Landowners agree to take affirmative steps to improve habitat for woodpeckers, such as controlling the hardwood understory through prescribed fire or cutting. Then, if and when owners want to cut their trees -- to sell as timber or firewood, to farm, even to build a golf course -- they give notice and the Fish and Wildlife Service will capture and transfer the birds to suitable habitat elsewhere. It's simple and effective. Even with some development, properly structured plans will always result in a net increase in suitable habitat. So far, 34 landowners, including the famed Pinehurst Resort, have opted into plans which could yield 67 new woodpecker colonies.

We have also come to understand the special needs of small landowners, who have neither the time nor the resources to produce complex plans that can fairly be requested of a large timber company. And because of insights gleaned from 15 years of research, we know that in some cases isolated birds in habitat fragments are at high risk of extinction, suggesting they will do better overall when moved to larger unfragmented forests. The result? In August we reached an agreement with the State of Georgia which eases the regulatory burden on the owners of small woodlots located in fragmented landscapes by allowing the removal of isolated breeding pairs to better habitat in adjacent national forests and other public lands. Five more Southern states -- North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Texas, and Alabama -- are all drafting similar plans to accommodate the needs of both landowners and woodpeckers.

And lest there be any doubt about the level of public concern in the south for the fate of our forests, in a regional opinion poll conducted by the Forest Service three months ago, the public was asked how much logging should be allowed on 3.2 million acres of national forests in that region. The surprising answers from the overwhelming majority of those rural residents was: "None." Indeed, two thirds responded that they would prefer to see those national forests set aside permanently as wilderness. Perhaps this response indicates an intuitive appreciation of an important land management reality - in regions such as the South where there are few public lands, those lands should have proportionately more management emphasis on protection of ecosystem health and public use.

Just as New Forestry created a comprehensive forest plan in response to the spotted owl, these Southern success stories show how, in quite different circumstances, the health of private forestlands can be reconciled with sustained timber production. Which leads us to the final question for New Forestry: What about those forests where there are as yet no listed threatened or endangered species? Is it always necessary to let a crisis of forest health boil over before facing up to these issues?

There can be little doubt that the public concern for the future of our forests extends well beyond public lands and well beyond the confines of the Endangered Species Act. Consider Maine, where the pulp and paper industry owns half the state and employs half the rural towns. There, the days of labor intensive, selective logging of forests are nearly gone: In their place, \$600,000 machines called "feller bunchers"

now cut and stack trees like chopsticks, snipping one every thirty seconds, clearcutting hundreds of acres a day. Since 1980, 2,000 square miles of Maine forests have been stripped bare. And the citizens of Maine are in rebellion; last month, 80 percent of the voters, proudly rooted to a landscape of history and beauty, voted to restrict clearcutting and to improve forestry practices.

Fortunately, there are an increasing number of cases where timber companies are taking the initiative. For example, Champion International Corp. has on its own initiative invited state and federal agencies to join in a cooperative research program on a 6,000 acre tract of its property, with the objective of learning more about how to both maintain a healthy species diverse forest and a better sustainable harvest. Asked how the forest would benefit, Champion's executive vice president, Richard Porterfield answered, "We don't know yet, but we'll make this a working laboratory and adapt as we learn."

On other forests Champion has applied this approach on a landscape scale. Assuming that the national forest and other public lands in higher elevations will constitute the core of habitat and species protection, Champion manages adjacent lands by designating as much as 15 percent of its forested areas for special management, including stream buffers, wetland protection, and wildlife corridors connecting to adjacent public lands.

In North Carolina, Georgia-Pacific has initiated a unique partnership with the Nature Conservancy to jointly manage an ecologically important tract along the lower Roanoke River where foresters have established buffers along streams, banned all timber harvest on a particularly sensitive 6,500 acre tract, and required helicopter logging on the rest of the area. And in adjacent areas, Georgia-Pacific has also established guidelines, including stream buffers and set back zones, for responsible logging among private landowners, from whom the company buys 75 percent of its timber.

Full implementation of New Forestry concepts will also require active participation by the states. There are still many states that have no forestry codes at all, and others in which codes are on the books but seldom implemented. There are, however, encouraging signs of progress. For example, in New Hampshire's sensitive reforested land above 2,700 feet, state regulators and timber companies have established a detailed plan to limit harvests, roadbuilding, and to maintain cover protection of native species on more than 33,000 acres. Even more recently, foresters from Hancock Timber Resources have entered into a Forest Legacy agreement with the state of Vermont to restrict clear cutting and to provide fishing, hiking and hunting access to 31,000 acres of forestland in northeast Vermont.

Yet with all these hopeful examples, the New Forestry is only beginning to take root. The innovations which I have described still apply to only a small percentage of forest lands, federal, state, and private. There are still many foresters in the private and public sector who subscribe to the strictly utilitarian mindset -- that the sole measure of good forestry is board feet of timber and tons of wood chips, that all fire is evil, and that the ideal forests is a monoculture of even aged, sawmill friendly trees.

The New Forestry initiatives are solidly grounded in good legislation. The Endangered Species Act is probably the best known of the statutes that we have drawn upon. Less appreciated is the role of the National Forest Management Act which also mandates forest practices that protect biodiversity. In fact the NFMA regulations (promulgated in a Republican administration) go somewhat beyond the Endangered Species Act to require that "fish and wildlife habitat shall be managed to maintain viable populations of existing native and desired non-native vertebrate species in the planning area." Another example is the 1978 Weeks Act amendments which specifically encourage federal support for prescribed fire programs to maintain forest health.

Unfortunately, however, in recent years the Congress has repeatedly attempted to circumvent these laws

and to undermine the emerging success of the New Forestry by mis-using the budget and appropriations process to create special exemptions that do not receive the scrutiny and debate that is a part of the normal legislative process. These are the infamous "budget riders." The "salvage rider", by which Congress evaded environmental laws and mandated an expedited 5 billion board feet of cuts from national forests, is just one example. And in the past two years, Congress at various times attached to Interior appropriations bills a rider to suspend provisions of the Endangered Species Act applicable to the marbled murrelet, a rider to waive environmental laws in the Tongass National Forest, and a rider to terminate the Upper Columbia River Environmental Impact Statement process. These riders were unhorsed only by the threat of Presidential vetoes.

I would, however, like to conclude on a note of optimism. Just as the great forest debates of the last century finally produced a consensus for reform, so the forest controversy of our time must, I believe, finally produce a new era of reform, responsive to the clearly expressed will of the American people that our forests need more protection.

And there are some encouraging signs that the new Congress will be listening more carefully. The leaders of the new Congress have in recent weeks stated their intention to move away from the extreme positions of the 104th Congress and to seek consensus that reflects the will of the American people. In recent weeks Senator John McCain, a westerner and a Republican, has written, "Polls indicate that the environment is the voters' number-one concern about continued Republican leadership of Congress... Only by faithfully fulfilling our stewardship responsibilities can we expect to remain the majority party."

Our mission is clear and simple: Our obligation, as stewards of God's creation, is to protect the structure, function, and biological diversity of our forests. We must harvest timber in ways and at levels that maintain and restore the health and diversity of our forests. The result of this New Forestry will be more jobs, better communities, and a legacy for our children.



To Contact The Interior Service Center Web Team Web Team

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NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Michael Gauldin 202-208-6416

For Immediate Release: June 20, 1996

**STATEMENT OF INTERIOR SECRETARY BRUCE BABBITT
ON HOUSE PASSAGE OF HR 3662, THE FY '97
INTERIOR AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT**

"The House today took a bill that was bad for the environment and made it worse. The 1997 Interior spending bill continues to badly underfund parks, refuges, and recreation areas--and lays waste to Indian programs and also assaults the legal rights of Indian tribes, long recognized as sovereign powers by the United States.

"I congratulate the members who voted Wednesday, on a bipartisan basis, to strip extreme language from the bill that would have harmed wildlife in order to help wealthy special interests. That was a sensible vote--but other amendments have made the bill worse.

"If the House bill is sent to the President in its present form, I would recommend that he veto it. And I urge the members of the majority party in the House to tell their leadership to stop its continuing war on the environment."

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 26, 1996

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today I have signed into law H.R. 3019, the "Omnibus Consolidated Rescissions and Appropriations Act of 1996."

This bill helps us move toward a balanced budget in a way that honors our Nation's values by protecting our commitments to education and training, the environment, law enforcement, science and technology, and national service. It restores \$5.1 billion of the \$8.1 billion I had sought for these priorities over levels in the appropriations bills that I had rejected. In addition, H.R. 3019 provides emergency disaster funding as well as funding for our troops in Bosnia and for the furtherance of the Middle East peace process.

We should have reached this conclusion 7 months ago, at the beginning of the fiscal year instead of more than halfway through it. Unfortunately, the Congress passed versions of the appropriations bills that were far outside of the mainstream, leaving me no choice but to veto them.

Rather than move quickly to reach a compromise such as the one achieved with this legislation, the Congress shut the Government down twice and then I had to sign a record 13 continuing resolutions funding the Government.

The extent of conflict and delay was unprecedented. It should never happen again.

Nonetheless, 7 months later, we have a bill we can all be proud of, one that achieves savings, protects investments, and avoids outcomes that could have been disastrous for our environment and our people.

For example, the bill eliminates, or permits me to suspend, the most egregious legislative riders that the Congress had sought to attach to the appropriations bills, including those that would have blocked enforcement of some of the Nation's key environmental laws. These riders reflected a philosophy of disregard for our environment that the American people and bipartisan majorities in previous Congresses and Administrations had long ago rejected.

At my insistence the Congress dropped the rider that would have prevented the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) from using its authority to protect our Nation's wetlands.

Likewise, this bill provides me the authority to suspend three other riders -- authority that I invoked immediately after signing this legislation. If I had not suspended these riders, they would have:

Overridden existing environmental laws and led to unsustainable levels of timber cutting in Alaska's Tongass National Forest;

drastically undermined the level of protection provided to the Mojave National Preserve by the 1994 California Desert Protection Act; and

prohibited proposed or final listing actions by the Departments of the Interior and Commerce under the Endangered Species Act, which could have resulted in a greater risk of extinction of some of the over 400 species that are currently either proposed for listing or for which proposed listings are awaiting evaluation.

At my request, the bill also deletes the measure contained in the Senate- and House-passed Interior appropriations bills that would have extended the repeal of environmental laws and allowed the clear-cutting of old growth trees for 3 years or more. That authority is currently set to expire on September 30 of this year, just 5 months away. I am disappointed, however, that the Congress was unwilling to support an immediate repeal of these provisions, despite the fact that, by imperiling salmon and other species, these provisions threaten the environment and economy of the region.

The bill also funds important programs that the House or the Senate -- or both -- had sought to eliminate.

The Congress, in a bill I vetoed, sought to kill AmeriCorps, the National Service program. This bill retains it, as I had insisted, funding the Corporation for National and Community Service at \$402 million. Through National Service, we will continue to allow young Americans to help address vital needs in their communities, such as health care, crime prevention, and education, while earning a monetary award to help them pursue additional education or training.

The House sought to terminate Goals 2000, which is providing schools throughout the country with the resources to improve teacher training and raise academic standards to prepare our children for the 21st Century. This bill restores funding for Goals 2000.

In another bill I vetoed, the Congress sought to end the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) program, the commitment I made with the previous Congress to put 100,000 additional police officers on the streets of our cities and towns by the year 2000. At my insistence, that program is continued. As a result, we remain on track for fulfilling our commitment, with 45,000 police officers funded by the end of this fiscal year, including 19,000 provided by this legislation. These police are working hand-in-hand with their communities to fight crime. Crime is down in many communities across the Nation, and we can make further progress through the COPS program and similar efforts.

In the same bill that I vetoed, the Congress proposed to end the Department of Commerce's Advanced Technology Program (ATP), an integral part of my civilian technology strategy to promote economic growth. Adequate funding is provided for that program, while proposed language that would have prohibited new grants was deleted. ATP provides an effective mechanism for augmenting U.S. economic growth through highly-leveraged, industry-led research and development. It is a rigorously competitive, cost-shared program that fosters technology development, promotes industrial alliances, and creates jobs. The continuation of a strong ATP is a fitting tribute to the late Secretary Ron Brown, who deserves so much credit for making ATP what it is today.

Other programs or agencies that one or both houses sought to end, but which this bill restores, include the Community Development Financial Institutions program, the Summer Youth jobs program, and the Council on Environmental Quality.

Very importantly, the bill provides \$22.8 billion for the Education Department. I am pleased that the Congress restored critical education programs -- among my highest priorities to levels near or above the fiscal 1995 levels. The restorations include important funding for Title I - Education for the Disadvantaged (which the House had sought to cut by \$1.2 billion), Goals 2000, Safe and Drug-Free Schools, School-to-Work, and Education Technology.

This bill also ensures that colleges, universities, and vocational schools can continue to choose the Federal student loan program -- either the new Federal Direct Student Loan Program or the bank-based guaranteed student loan program -- that best serves the needs of their students and ensures that students have access to the most flexible student loan repayment provisions, including income-contingent repayment. Institutions of higher education that now participate in the program or have planned to participate in July 1996 will be able to do so; other schools that wish to participate can enroll without facing limits on the program. Students with guaranteed student loans who want access to income-contingent repayment will be able to

switch into the Direct Loan program. The House had sought to place a severe cap on the Direct Loan program, a step that would have had the effect of killing in its infancy an effort that has benefited students, colleges and universities, and taxpayers alike.

The bill also restores other programs to close to, or above, last year's levels that at least one house of Congress had sought to cut deeply. These include Head Start, Department of Labor worker protection programs, and payments to inter-national organizations for peacekeeping and other programs. To help finance these priorities, the bill provides new debt collection authorities, calls for selling the United States Enrichment Corporation, and cuts Government overhead.

The Congress, also at my insistence, dropped from the bill the most seriously objectionable language provisions affecting the Education Department. The Congress also eliminated controversial language affecting Goals 2000, paving the way for renewed bipartisan support for this program.

The bill provides \$6.5 billion for the EPA. The cuts originally proposed by the House for the EPA would have crippled its ability to protect the health of families throughout the Nation. I am pleased that the Congress deleted or modified other objectionable legislative riders, including restrictions on the size of the diplomatic presence in Vietnam, the District of Columbia school voucher provision, and a measure that could have resulted in bans on the use of Medicaid funds for abortions for victims of rape or incest.

I am also pleased that the Congress dropped political advocacy disclosure provisions. These provisions could have interfered with the First Amendment rights of such nonprofit organizations as the Girls Scouts, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, and the American Red Cross.

I commend the Congress for repealing the language in the 1996 Defense Authorization Act that unfairly required the discharge of military personnel with HIV.

I am disappointed that the Congress chose to modify the conditions under which prison grant monies are distributed to the States. The Congress carefully crafted a distribution mechanism just 2 years ago to ensure that States implementing "truth in sentencing" would be rewarded for doing so. That mechanism is in place and has no need for change. These program changes will significantly delay getting these resources to the places they are needed most.

I note with regret the other objectionable legislative riders that remain in the bill.

They include a provision intended to allow the construction of a third telescope on Mt. Graham, Arizona, affecting the Mt. Graham red squirrel, Native American cultural lands, and the abortion accreditation provision.

While I am disappointed that the Congress chose to reduce funding for the Legal Services Corporation, I am pleased that the bill assures continued funding of legal services programs for all eligible populations, including migrants.

I am also disappointed that the Congress did not approve my request to increase funding by \$250 million for our anti-drug initiative. But I am pleased that the conferees stated their intent to provide additional funds for these important programs in FY 1997, ensuring that we can continue our anti-drug effort at full strength.

Unfortunately, the Congress did not include legislation I had sought to stabilize the Savings Association Insurance Fund. It is important for the Congress to take action on this issue quickly so that we can put the thrift crisis behind us without imposing any further costs on the taxpayers.

In addition, I note that section 119(a) of the Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1996, contains a legislative veto, which would be unconstitutional under *INS v. Chadha* (462 U.S. 919) (1983). However, because I am suspending section 119(a) pursuant to section 119(b), the constitutional problem will be avoided.

With regard to defense, this bill also permits the Federal Government to undertake a multi-year procurement of the C-17 aircraft, the critical next-generation military transport. The C-17 will greatly enhance our ability to respond to crises around the world; buying it this way will save hundreds of millions of dollars for the taxpayers.

This bill represents true compromise and bipartisan cooperation. Clearly, when we work together we can enact good legislation for the American people.

With this in mind, we should build on our efforts here and move on to the larger challenge of balancing the budget over the next 7 years. The American people deserve a balanced budget, and we should give it to them.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE,
April 26, 1996.

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NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Contact: Mary Helen Thompson
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For Immediate Release: March 19, 1996

INTERIOR FY 1997 BUDGET FOCUSES ON AMERICAN RESTORATION; PROMOTES PARTNERSHIPS TO ADDRESS REGIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

President Clinton's Fiscal Year 1997 budget of \$7.33 billion for the U.S. Department of the Interior represents the Administration's continuing commitment to the nation's natural and cultural heritage with a major focus on American restoration. The FY 1997 budget includes a major infusion of funds to restore the Everglades of South Florida, continue programs designed to address the environmental and economic viability of the Pacific Northwest and provide long needed improvements to the nation's national parks, wildlife refuges and recreation areas. The budget also emphasizes the President's commitment to greater self-determination and self-government for American Indian tribes.

"The American people have said loud and clear that they want a government that protects the environment and protects people," Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt stated. "The President's budget does precisely that. It is a proposal to inspire an American Restoration ethic."

"This budget is a carefully thought-out plan that addresses the critical need for restoration while recognizing that the federal government cannot do it all," Babbitt continued. "Whenever possible, it provides a blueprint for the development of creative partnerships between government, the private sector and local communities to create and support programs that work."

The Department has been operating under a variety of continuing resolutions over the past six months due to the impasse over the Interior Appropriations bill for FY 1996, putting important environmental programs and projects in jeopardy.

"I have traveled this country over the past year listening to local citizens talk about their reverence for the environment and their respect for the environmental safeguards that protect their land, water, families and communities," Babbitt said. "They want the federal government to play an active role in protecting and managing natural resources and that means

(more)

providing the dollars to fund programs that help them meet those goals. The funding levels proposed will allow the Department to meet its current obligations and begin to address the environmental challenges that lie ahead."

The budget also fulfills the Administration's continuing commitment to promoting partnerships between private landowners, local governments and other groups in developing Habitat Conservation Plans to protect endangered wildlife; encourages cooperative agreements and effective stewardship of Western water; and supports the work of organizations involved in cleaning up streams in Appalachian states that are plagued by acid mine run off.

A Regional Approach to Planning and Management

The FY. 1997 budget builds on the Administration's commitment to American restoration by providing an opportunity for the Department of the Interior to continue its work on critical regional environmental restoration and preservation initiatives.

Last month, Vice President Gore announced the Clinton Administration's comprehensive plan to save the Everglades while maintaining sustainable development in South Florida. The plan endorses a coordinated regional approach that transcends political boundaries and narrow agency jurisdiction. Planning the restoration will involve a cooperative effort between eleven federal agencies and numerous municipalities, county and tribal governments, the South Florida Water Management District and a host of state and local planning agencies and jurisdictions. The President's Budget proposes an Everglades Restoration Fund to provide appropriations of \$100 million a year for four years to address the longstanding and complex problems of the region.

In addition, the administration is proposing legislation to supply additional revenues of \$35 million per year to the Restoration Fund from an assessment of one cent per pound from Florida sugar producers.

"The Everglades is one of the great natural treasures in this country and the world," Babbitt stated. "The President's restoration plan provides an equitable and environmentally sound solution to heal the fragile tropical marshes and swamps of this region, while restoring natural life and preserving economic development all the way down through the Florida Bay fisheries to the Keys."

The President's Forest Plan for the Pacific Northwest is designed to strengthen the economic and environmental health of Oregon, Washington and northern California by providing a sustainable timber harvest of 1.1 billion board feet while protecting old growth forests and restoring historic salmon runs.

It provides economic assistance to help strengthen families, businesses, tribes and communities through job training and other social services. The President is requesting \$79.2 million for the Department of the Interior to carry out the plan in FY 1997, an increase of \$23.9 million over the FY 1996 conference level.

In addition to the funds requested for 1997, the President has submitted a request for \$109 million in supplemental 1996 funding to repair damages from the January floods in the East, the February floods in the Pacific Northwest, and other devastating natural disasters. Included is \$16 million to restore the C&O canal in partnership with public and private groups.

Enhancing Natural Resources: a National Priority

Reinvigorating America's 369 national parks and providing the resources necessary to protect and preserve them for current and future generations is a top priority for the Clinton Administration.

"The President said in a recent speech that our National Parks are the envy of the world but in need of repair and continued maintenance if they're going to remain the nation's treasure," Babbitt said. "The President's budget addresses this issue by providing funds for long standing deficiencies, including road and infrastructure repair and natural and cultural resource threats."

The FY 1997 National Park Service (NPS) budget totals \$1.5 billion, an increase of \$180.6 million over the FY 1996 conference level. This will enable the parks to accommodate the 279 million visitors expected next year, and help address the continuing maintenance crisis facing the parks.

Two legislative proposals are key elements in the Administration's efforts to meet the expanding needs of the National Park System. One proposal will allow modest increases in entry fees at destination parks, while retaining those increases in the parks themselves. This could raise nearly \$132 million over the next five years. The second proposal would overhaul the way in which park concessions are handled, giving a more favorable return to the parks.

The Fish and Wildlife Service (FWL) budget totals \$659.2 million, an increase of \$55.4 million. Over half of this increase -- \$36.2 million -- will allow responsible administration of the Endangered Species Act. Congressional reductions in 1996 have severely undercut the Department's commitment to a workable program. As part of this commitment, the Department is requesting \$6.0 million for a pilot program of grants-to-states for land acquisition as part of Habitat Conservation Plans (HCP.)

"We're working with private landowners, developers, citizen groups and local government officials to implement the Endangered Species Act in a way which protects threatened and endangered wildlife while preserving the economic viability of communities," Babbitt stated. —There are over 200 HCPs now under development.

In other FWS programs, an increase of \$10 million will ensure the highest priorities of the National Wildlife Refuge system are adequately maintained and that habitat restoration projects are implemented. Recreational fisheries nationwide will be restored and enhanced with a \$4.4 million increase. And, the FWS will restore wetland habitats in the U.S., Canada and Mexico with a \$5.0 million increase for the North American Wetlands Conservation Fund.

Maintaining the diversity and health and productivity of 270 million acres of public lands is a key priority in the President's FY 1997 budget. Contained in the \$1.096 Billion proposal for the Bureau of Land Management are increases to provide recreation opportunities and sound management and improvements of riparian, range and wildlife habitat areas.

"America's public lands belong to all of the people of this country. Our goal is to protect and preserve the land in order to provide a positive experience for this and future generations."

The President also proposes to restore the once magnificent salmon fishery in the Elwha River on Washington's Olympic Peninsula. As part of a government-wide proposal to fund fixed asset investments, the 1997 budget includes \$111 million in up-front funding for the complete costs of removal of the Elwha and Glines Dams and restoration of the Elwha River. The money would be spent over a series of years, beginning in 1998.

The Best Science for the Best Resource Management

One of the Interior Department's highest priorities in FY 1997 will be to continue enhancement of its science programs. The Interior Department carries out some of today's most vital scientific research. This research affects and impacts the health and welfare of the American people. In FY 1996, Congress consolidated the programs of the former National Biological Service within the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS.) The USGS is now the Department's primary science organization. It responds to natural hazards, assesses the nation's water, energy and mineral supply, and provides an understanding of the nation's fish and wildlife.

The FY 1997 budget for the "new" U.S. Geological Survey of \$746.4 million provides a net increase of \$15.9 million over the FY 1996 conference level. The increase will allow USGS to expand efforts to help meet the high priority needs of Interior land

managers as well as those of more than 1,200 local, state and federal natural resource management organizations. Some of the areas targeted for increased attention include expansions of both the Cooperative Fish and Wildlife Research Unit and the Federal/State Cooperative Water Program; new directions involving urban natural hazards, drinking water and public health; a digital national atlas; and a framework for expanding interagency cooperation in the use of geospatial cartographic data.

Towards the Goal of Tribal Self Governance

The President has increased funds for programs serving over 550 federally recognized Indian tribes, underscoring his commitment to tribal self determination and self-governance. The \$1.78 billion FY 1997 Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) budget, an increase of \$211 million over the 1996 conference level, would restore funding to programs Tribes hold as their highest priority.

The BIA budget stresses the resources Tribes need to provide basic reservation programs and develop strong and stable governments, ensure accreditation of BIA schools, address critical infrastructure needs and meet the Secretary's trust responsibilities.

The BIA will continue to operate with minimal administrative costs. In 1997 over 90% percent of the operating budget is devoted to education and other on-the-ground programs at the reservation level. In addition, an increase of \$20 million is requested for functions of the Special Trustee for American Indians in order to continue to bring trust resource management, accounting, investment and related systems up to industry standards.

Streamlining, Reengineering and Customer Service

The Interior budget for FY 1997 continues to carry out the President's efforts to reinvent and streamline government operations.

"At Interior, we're making an effort to do things differently and to do things better," Babbitt stated. "We're stripping away management layers, putting more employees in the field, providing hands on services on reservations and in the parks, refuges, and recreation areas."

Savings have been achieved throughout the Department. Since 1993, the Department has reduced its workforce by almost 8,000 FTEs, a reduction of 10%. The Department is using information technology to service customers better and save time and money. Each bureau and office has re-evaluated programs, re-directed resources and re-engineered work and processes. Regulations have been pared down to a minimum.



DEPARTMENT of the INTERIOR

news release

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

January 22, 1996

North Carolina events: Stephanie Hanna
Georgia events: Paul Bledsoe
(202)208-6416

Secretary Babbitt Brings The Natural Heritage Van Tour to North Carolina and Georgia

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt will be in Georgia and North Carolina this week for two days of events with churchgoers, soldiers, medical researchers, bass fishermen and others who are working to protect the environment around their communities. This is Secretary Babbitt's first Natural Heritage Van Tour in 1996. Last year, Babbitt visited environmental success stories in 24 states and 67 cities, highlighting the need to maintain strong federal standards which clean up and preserve the air, water and landscape across the country.

"I've visited over five dozen cities nationwide over the past nine months, seeing the clean rivers, lakes and revitalized communities that were produced by local leaders using strong federal environmental standards as their tools," Babbitt said. "I've talked to dozens of local people who believe protecting the natural heritage of their hometowns is an important value, like flying the flag in front of city hall or keeping the main street clean and attractive for business."

But Babbitt warned that the majority in Congress was intent on rolling back the very laws that enabled these successes, including the Clean Water Act, the Safe Drinking Water Act and the Endangered Species Act.

"Last year Congress planned a wholesale dismantling of the laws local people used to clean up their communities," he said. "They were more interested in changing the laws to benefit the lobbyists and special interests that contributed to their election campaigns. But the American people are finding out what Congress is up to. The people are saying no to the weakening of federal environmental standards."

Babbitt plans five stops in two days, Wednesday and Thursday, January 24 and 25. In North Carolina, he will fish for bass on Lake Wylie, near Charlotte, with members of the North Carolina B.A.S.S Federation. He will talk about the importance of maintaining clean water for recreation.

(more)

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At Raleigh-Durham's Duke University Medical Center he meets with cancer patients, research scientists and the doctors who discovered taxol, an effective cancer fighting drug derived from the Pacific Yew tree, a species whose habitat is protected under the Clinton Administration's Northwest Forest Plan.

In Atlanta, Georgia he attends a potluck at the Peachtree Presbyterian Church, where he will address an interfaith congregation on the moral imperative of preserving the whole of creation, and the Endangered Species Act.

In Savannah, the Secretary will again affirm the fact that military training and endangered species can exist without disrupting important military objectives. At Fort Stewart, he will be briefed by members of the U.S. Army's "24th Mech," heroes of Desert Storm, on their efforts to provide nesting areas for clusters of red cockaded woodpeckers.

Babbitt will end this trip in Macon, meeting with local property owners who are in the process of drawing up habitat conservation plans with the government. The meeting will also include business leaders and local wildlife enthusiasts.

A specific media advisory will be issued for each event shortly.

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REMARKS OF INTERIOR SECRETARY BRUCE BABBITT

Press Club Address, Dec. 13, 1995, 3 p.m.

"The GOP's environmental onslaught is being defeated, giving rise to a new movement called American Restoration. We shall empower communities to restore every single watershed in America."

On Earth Day, 1995, I set out on a journey, a series of eleven Natural Heritage Tours all across the country. I come here today to report what I learned about the commitment of Americans to their surrounding landscape, and the importance of our laws which heal and protect it.

Eight months ago today, I left Washington because the newly elected Republican Congress had just assumed that the 1994 elections gave them a mandate to dismantle that framework.

I left because the House leadership told the Wall Street Journal that DDT was "not harmful," that "it should not have been banned" because the ban "drove up the cost of doing business."

I left because a new Congresswoman opposed our reintroduction of wolves into Yellowstone National Park and asked me "Why don't you just open it up to hunting instead?"

I left because the House attached 17 riders -- legislative Post-Its -- to the EPA's budget that would, among other things, restrict regulation of lead in the air, weaken standards that keep radon and arsenic out of tap water, and exempt industrial plants from water-pollution controls.

I left because the Alaska delegation had introduced a bill to drill the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

I stayed on the road because I read in the Denver Post, that the Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Public Lands "estimated that his committee may have to close more than 100 of the Park Service's 369 units."

I read that another Congressman sponsored legislation to abolish the newly created Mojave National Preserve in California.

I stayed out there because the Senate passed a moratorium on listing endangered species.

I stayed out there because the House passed a "Clean Water" bill that repeals stormwater treatment, repeals nonpoint pollution controls, and defines 70 percent of all wetlands as nonexistent.

I left because all these changes were about to happen, with no discussion, no debate, and working Americans were not informed of the sweeping changes that would alter their communities and diminish the futures of their children.

Natural Heritage Tours

The Natural Heritage Tours brought me through 67 cities, over some 100 days, talking one-on-one with literally hundreds of Americans, some of whom have gathered with me here today.

With these Americans, I rafted down the James River that runs through Richmond, Virginia. I rowed with them down the Little Miami River through Cincinnati, Ohio; across the estuaries of San Francisco Bay. Together we boated the Blackstone River through New England; the St. Johns River through Jacksonville, Florida, the Grand River of Michigan, and Casco Bay, Maine.

We set free a bald eagle at Cape Canaveral, released a peregrine falcon over Wall Street, and unleashed wolves into Yellowstone for the first time in 70 years.

I put my questions to teachers, fishermen, property owners, businesses leaders, preachers, doctors, biologists, mayors, and 4th graders.

Not one of them told me that our conservation laws should be weakened. And none of them ever told me that we have too many National Parks.

Instead, from waterfront to waterfront, this is what they told me, and this is what I saw:

Helen Fenske of the Great Swamp watershed told me it was not enough to stop airports and developers from degrading their neighborhoods around their watershed; conservation laws should be expanded to protect their entire swamp, their wetlands, nourishing and revitalizing the place they live.

In a Philadelphia Children's Hospital I met Jaclyn Buckley, once a victim of childhood leukemia, a disease which killed one of my best friends back in Arizona. But since then, a once rare plant like those protected by the Endangered Species Act yielded a cure that will keep her smiling into old age.

Off New Jersey's shore town of Belmar, New York industry routinely dumped its sludge, waste, and infected syringes in the sea. A father living a block from the beach said he was forced to build a swimming pool for his children, because they came home sick every time they swam in the Atlantic. But through our conservation laws they stopped the dumping until striped bass, whales, and even parrot fish returned to the Atlantic coastline.

Outside Pittsburgh, I joined the Chartiers Valley High biology class, hard at work on Scrubgrass Run. Scrubgrass Run cascades through the school grounds before flowing into the Ohio, and when they began it was orange, toxic, and lifeless from acid mine drainage. Under the practical science and guidance of federal surface mine reclamation laws, however, the students are resurrecting that creek, breathing new life into it with the hope that fish will once again swim in its waters.

In the Colorado Rockies, near the Continental Divide, the waters once teemed with a native fish called the greenback cutthroat trout. Decades of mine waste, dams, exotic trout and overfishing left it nearly extinct. But a group of anglers, foresters, biologists and businessmen all united through our conservation laws to clean up streams, until the greenback returned with a vengeance; splashing off the endangered list near recovery, the new state fish, a symbol of national pride.

In the suburbs outside Seattle I went to Piper Creek, where families joined their neighbors to restore the suburban stream that runs past their houses and schools. They came together to revegetate the river banks, to create the conditions in which they could bring back anadromous fish, hatching and planting fry each

fall until native salmon returned to their local landscape.

In Cleveland, 26 years after the Cuyahoga River caught fire, fireboat captain Wayne Bratton gave me a tour up to the point of ignition. On that route, I saw blue herons, sportfishing boats tied to new marinas, upscale riverwalk cafes sprouting up by abandoned steel mills, all within sight of I.M. Pei's new Rock 'n Roll Hall of Fame. What was once our symbol of national shame is now our symbol of hope and pride.

Everywhere I looked I saw children and old people on the river banks: people who had come back to the waterfronts to eat, work, and play. Rivers and bays that had been healed, people who had been reconnected to the distinctive features of the places they lived, communities that are restored.

I saw people celebrating how the Clean Water Act has been the most successful urban renewal law in American history.

A Sleeping Giant Awoke

But when Americans learned that their hard won gains might be taken away, at that very moment, by politicians in Washington, they awoke like a sleeping giant.

They awoke, and got on the phone, and wrote letters to the editor, to their Congressmen, and soon the pressure began to build. Soon there were stories in the press about a public backlash against the Republican agenda. Suddenly reporters were writing about the rise of a cadre of "green" and "moderate" Republicans. And by last month there were stories about how Americans have handed the Republican agenda an embarrassing string of defeats:

After we spoke out with people in Fort Meyers, Miami, Pensacola, and Fort Lauderdale about laws protecting the beautiful white sand beaches of Florida, Congress heard us, and dropped its bill to allow offshore oil drilling there.

After Americans paddled through the 6th District of Georgia, down Atlanta's Chatahoochie River NRA, Congress heard us, and withdrew a bill to form a parks closure commission.

That bill was then resurrected as a budget rider, but days later, after we gathered history students and Civil War buffs in front of the Appomattox Courthouse, Congress surrendered to us on that rider as well.

After we met with hundreds of BASS anglers to discuss a bill to give away public land and lock out access for hunters and fishermen, that bill's co-sponsor changed his mind to say even he wouldn't vote for it.

And after we gathered at Sagamore Hill with the descendants of Teddy Roosevelt to hear them talk about how the root of conservative is "to conserve," moderate Republicans broke ranks to erase those 17 EPA riders.

Americans have defeated so called "takings" referenda in Arizona and Washington state, Americans have spoken out two-to-one against drilling in the Arctic, against mining giveaways, and in favor of wolf reintroduction. Several weeks ago, their agenda a shambles, the Republican House leadership admitted: "We mishandled the environment all spring and summer."

The Environment is Back

That's quite a confession. Thanks to the people in this room and people like them all across the country, Americans are now winning against the lobbyists.

The conservation laws are working because the American people are making them work. They will stay strong and stay in place because people are insisting on it.

Congress will no longer be able to gut the Clean Water Act because it would be political suicide for those who would do so.

Congressmen will not vote to close our National Parks unless they are casting the last vote of their final term.

Congress will no longer gut the Endangered Species Act because no politician wants to run on a platform that says the wisdom of elected officials outweighs the wisdom of our Creator.

And while in the 1994 election campaigns the environment was not an issue, I can assure you, by November 1996, in each county, state, Congressional, and in the Presidential election, the environment will be right at the core of every single debate.

In my travels I have learned a good many things. I have heard the message people are sending to Congress: Our framework of environmental laws is working and is making our country greater and more beautiful for us and for our children in the next century.

* * *

We Can Do Better

But In the course of my travels I saw something else that was entirely new.

I discovered the stirring of a third generation of environmental activism, not political activism directed at Washington, but hands-on work directed at their own communities, an activism focused at reclaiming their known heritage, their local landscapes, their sense of place which reminds them where they are and, therefore, who they are.

Running through this activism, rising above their collective anger over the threat to their hard won gains, I heard a voice, a quiet voice, but one that carried a message that was vigorous, and insistent, and backed up by the work of its hands; it was the voice of Americans rooted to their land.

It quietly announced: "We can do better."

It asserted: "We can use these laws. We can do more than just stop our waters and our soils from declining. We can apply these laws to make America's landscapes cleaner, healthier, richer, more independent."

As America's communities used our laws to restore their waters, those waters, in turn, have begun to restore America's communities.

And I saw that the current generation of Americans was not just approaching, but was already crossing the threshold into an entirely new era, literally a third great environmental movement.

The Restoration Movement

The first era was the Conservation movement of Teddy Roosevelt, which created America's great parks, wildlife refuges, and national forests. It lay the legal foundation. It saw America as a patchwork of places and resources either to be protected or to be exploited.

The second generation, of Rachel Carson, saw our air and waters and soils being polluted by modern industrial society and helped pass legislation that brought us clear water and clean air.

Out of that, the current generation is awakening to a new and larger vision -- to the possibilities that we can use our laws not just to stop decline, but to reverse it; not just to preserve the isolated parts, but to protect and reconnect whole landscapes and entire watersheds; not just to fence off the local greenway or trickling neighborhood stream, but to unite them with the great National Parks and the wide oceanbound rivers.

What we have begun in this generation across the landscape opens a new chapter. An entirely new era of conservation called American Restoration.

What do I mean by American Restoration?

Let me put it this way. How many of you have restored one of your grandparent's rocking chairs? An antique table? How many of your sons and daughters have restored an old Ford pickup?

The restoration work involves scraping, and varnishing, reinforcing, and tuning. It's not just cosmetic, involving paint or stain, but goes past the surface, involving something deeper -- bringing out something's essence, structure, and inner nature.

It's hard work. Back breaking work. But we're willing to do it because the process feels good to our hands and our spirits; it feels good to sit in, to eat on, to drive. It also looks good, and gives us an aesthetic pleasure when we see it in our living rooms or driveways. Most of all, it is something we can do with our spouse, our sons and daughters, and become a stronger and prouder family as a result of our work.

But when we restore that dilapidated, rotting, and leaning picket fence in our back yard, we can no longer do the work by ourselves. We must choose a time with our neighbor, bringing out hammers and nails, buying fresh wood from the lumberyard, splitting the costs, the labor, and the time. We may have been strangers before this process began. But after the mending and repair is complete, we share a sense of pride each time we go to the fence, and realize that we have become stronger friends, better neighbors, for the partnership we have forged.

Now, what I have seen goes beyond our immediate home or neighbors to involve the entire community.

For years the elders of that community -- like Helen Fenske, Florence LaRivere, Marjory Stoneman Douglas, or the father near the ocean in Belmar, New Jersey -- all watched as their open spaces filled up, as their local stream dried up or was polluted, as fewer birds and fish and mammals lived in their watershed.

This is a democracy, however, and through the laws that they voted for, these Americans and their children stopped the loss. They set aside park and public open spaces; they protected the local lakes and streams nearby; they worked for the survival of the native creatures they grew up with. They used federal laws to backstop the process and give power to their efforts.

As I went out there I saw Americans crossing the threshold from Prevention into watershed Restoration. They are building upon the current framework of laws, giving form and content to abstract, clumsily worded codes, getting results beyond the expectations of the legislators who wrote our laws back in the 1970s.

Our federal laws do not require that communities restore their local waters, but in order to restore their local waters those communities require our laws.

When I gather with them, Americans say to me: We have done this, and we are proud of what we have done. But we can do more. We have stopped the decline of our river, the erosion of our soil, the disappearance of our open land, but we can go further. We can, and will, bring life out of death, we can roll up our sleeves and continue the task of cleaning it up, bringing back native fish, reconnecting the entire landscape, reclaiming our heritage.

Every Watershed in America

When they say this to me, I answer that this Administration will back them every single step of the way.

We will back their efforts to restore every single watershed in America.

We will become full partners in this process, using laws creatively, listening to local needs, empowering local communities, and sharing the costs of Restoration.

We will help them reclaim their heritage.

But more than that, this Administration is taking the lead by example, working on a larger scale to demonstrate these principles in places like:

The Pacific Northwest, where the President's Forest Plan was created in partnership with the states of Washington, Oregon and California and with local communities in the Cascades, to provide a sustainable timber harvest, to protect the ancient forests, and to restore the historic salmon runs.

South Florida, where citizens have joined with state and local agencies in a long term project to reconnect the severed, hydrologic arteries that once flowed down through the River of Grass, healing the tropical marshes and swamps of the Everglades, restoring natural life all the way down through the Florida Bay fisheries to the Keys.

San Francisco Bay Delta, where diverse groups -- the Pacific Federation of Fishermen, Trout Unlimited, fruit and vegetable growers, and cities and communities from San Diego to San Francisco -- have all formed a partnership to ensure thriving farmlands, growing cities, and restoration of fish and waterfowl up the Sacramento and the San Joaquin River watersheds.

The Blackstone River Valley, where small towns and cities that grew up along the first industrial river in America have all come together under an interstate commission that restores the historic mills, turns the old brick buildings into theaters and restaurants, and offers fishing and boat excursions to tourists from around America.

Chesapeake Bay, where we are working with the Amish of Pennsylvania, the Maryland Oystermen, and the Naval fleet in Norfolk, Virginia to restore the crabs, the shellfish, the striped bass fisheries, until the

waters are clear enough to wade in up to your chest, look down, and see your feet.

Whether they cross state borders or cross county lines, all these restoration efforts all have the same, common, working principles, principles that parallel the work of students at Scrubgrass Run: They are united by watersheds, they are built through partnerships, they are reinforced by federal laws, and they reach decisions through the consensus of everyone involved.

They may involve tens of thousands of people, but the essential nature is all those people are coming together, working in harmony; listening to one another, looking inward towards their community in search of a common solution, and getting to yes.

When it all comes together, as these students and teachers at Scrubgrass Run, Pennsylvania, can tell you, it is an extraordinary moment, more beautiful by the knowledge that we have all played a part in making it happen, and the knowledge that its renewal ripples downstream to other waterfront communities, giving each one a stronger sense of place.

What we realize in that moment is that the Environment is not just a fixed point in time, or some place outdoors, or even an "issue" to be "handled" by one party or another.

It is a tradition that endures only through our labor, an opportunity that lasts as long as we fight for it; part of our collective heritage, passed on like a torch; a job that brings all of us together under a common purpose.

Now let's get to work.



To Contact The Interior Service Center Web Team Web Team

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DEPARTMENT of the INTERIOR

news release

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Contact: Mary Helen Thompson 202/208-6416
Lisa Guide

For Immediate Release: December 13, 1995

After String of GOP Defeats On Environmental Issues, Interior Secretary Babbitt Recognizes New Grassroots "Restoration Movement", Launches Campaign To Heal And Restore Every Watershed In America

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, after finishing 100 days of visiting America's environmental success stories, today said Americans are winning the battle "against lobbyists" and the Republican Congress' attempt to gut the nation's cadre of strong federal environmental standards.

In a Newsmakers speech at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., Secretary Babbitt predicted the environment would be an important issue in the 1996 elections, and called on a newly energized generation of environmental activists to restore every watershed in America.

"While in the 1994 election campaigns the environment was not an issue, I can assure you, by November 1996, in each county, state, Congressional, and in the Presidential election, the environment will be at the core of every single debate," Secretary Babbitt said.

During his 8 month long tour of 67 cities, Secretary Babbitt said he talked one-on-one with hundreds of people and "not one of them told me that our conservation laws should be weakened."

"The conservation laws are working because American people are making them work. They will stay strong and stay in place because people are insisting on it," Secretary Babbitt said. "Congress will no longer be able to gut the Clean Water Act because it would be political suicide for those who would do so. Congressmen will not vote to close our National Parks unless they are casting the last vote of their final term. Congress will no longer gut the Endangered Species Act because no politician wants to run on a platform that says the wisdom of elected officials outweighs the wisdom of our Creator."

Calling the Clean Water Act "the most successful urban renewal law in American history," Secretary Babbitt said "as America's communities used our laws to restore their waters, those waters, in turn, have begun to restore America's communities."

The Secretary said the GOP attack on the environment has spurred the beginning of a new chapter in environmental activism which he labeled American Restoration.

"I discovered the stirrings of a third generation of environmental activism, not political activism directed at Washington, but hands-on work directed at their own communities, an activism focused at reclaiming their known heritage, their local landscapes, their sense of place which reminds them where they are, therefore, who they are."

Babbitt said the Clinton Administration would take the lead in this process by example and be "full partners in this process, using laws creatively, listening to local needs, empowering local communities, and sharing the costs of Restoration."

"The environment is not just a fixed point in time, or some place outdoors, or even an "issue" to be "handled" by one party or another. It is something that endures only through our labor, something worth working and fighting for. It is part of our collective heritage, passed on like a torch."

A full prepared text of Babbitt's speech is attached.

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Today's Special Guests

Secretary Babbitt met dozens of citizen activists on his Natural Heritage Tours who used strong federal environmental standards to protect their local communities. Following are biographical sketches of some activists who are joining him today.

Captain Wayne E. Bratton, Cleveland, has been plying the waters of the Great Lakes for over 30 years. He was there when the Cuyahoga River caught fire in 1974, "boiling and bubbling like a cauldron," in his words. He is currently owner and operator of the *Holiday*, a pleasure craft used for tours and cruises on Lake Erie and the Cuyahoga.

Helen Fenske, Green Village, New Jersey, is the former New Jersey Commissioner of Environmental Protection under former Republican Governor Thomas Kean. She started in public life as a young mother fighting to stop a massive international airport from being located in a wildlife-rich ecosystem known as the Great Swamp watershed, only one hour from downtown Manhattan. She won that battle with the establishment of the Great Swamp National Wildlife Refuge in 1964. She is now fighting to save the Great Swamp again, this time from the more insidious damage caused by development in the watershed.

Wilma Dykeman, Knoxville, Tennessee, is a prize-winning author of 16 books, a nationally recognized lecturer, conservationist, and Tennessee State Historian. She has spent her life speaking about the importance of community involvement in the preservation and conservation of our natural and cultural resources. She currently lives near Knoxville, Tennessee where she speaks about the Great Smoky Mountains and writes a column for the Knoxville News-Sentinel.

Florence LaRiviere, Palo Alto, California. Alarmed at the rapid destruction of the San Francisco Bay in the early 1970's, Florence LaRiviere was responsible for mobilizing Congressional support for the creation of the 23,000 acre San Francisco Bay National Wildlife Refuge. She has remained a staunch supporter of the Refuge and the educational and recreational opportunities it provides as President of the Citizen's Committee to Complete the Refuge in Palo Alto, California.

The Reverend Robert V. Lee III, Jacksonville, Florida. Reverend Lee is chairman of the FRESH Ministries International Foundation. He believes that "as people of faith — as people who believe in God as the Creator through whom all things were made, we have no choice but to involve ourselves (in the care of the earth). We are obligated to take full responsibility for the preservation, maintenance and repair of the natural order all around us. It is a simple question of stewardship."

REMARKS OF INTERIOR SECRETARY BRUCE BABBITT

Press Club Address, Dec. 13, 1995, 3 p.m.

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We set free a bald eagle at Cape Canaveral, released a peregrine falcon over Wall Street, and unleashed wolves into Yellowstone for the first time in 70 years.

I put my questions to teachers, fishermen, property owners, business leaders, preachers, doctors, biologists, mayors, and 4th graders.

Not one of them told me that our conservation laws should be weakened. And none of them ever told me that we have too many National Parks.

Instead, from waterfront to waterfront, this is what they told me, and this is what I saw:

Helen Fenske of the Great Swamp watershed told me it was not enough to stop airports and developers from degrading their neighborhoods around their watershed; conservation laws should be expanded to protect their entire swamp, their wetlands, nourishing and revitalizing the place they live.

In a Philadelphia Children's Hospital I met Jaclyn Buckley, once a victim of childhood leukemia, a disease which killed one of my best friends back in Arizona. But since then, a once rare plant like those protected by the Endangered Species Act yielded a cure that will keep her smiling into old age.

Off New Jersey's shore town of Belmar, New York industry routinely dumped its sludge, waste, and infected syringes in the sea. A father living a block from the beach said he was forced to build a swimming pool for his children, because they came home sick every time they swam in the Atlantic. But through our conservation laws they stopped the dumping until striped bass, whales, and even parrot fish returned to the Atlantic coastline.

Outside Pittsburgh, I joined the Chartiers Valley High biology class, hard at work on Scrubgrass Run. Scrubgrass Run cascades through the school grounds before flowing into the Ohio,

and when they began it was orange, toxic, and lifeless from acid mine drainage. Under the practical science and guidance of federal surface mine reclamation laws, however, the students are resurrecting that creek, breathing new life into it with the hope that fish will once again swim in its waters.

In the Colorado Rockies, near the Continental Divide, the waters once teemed with a native fish called the greenback cutthroat trout. Decades of mine waste, dams, exotic trout and overfishing left it nearly extinct. But a group of anglers, foresters, biologists and businessmen all united through our conservation laws to clean up streams, until the greenback returned with a vengeance, splashing off the endangered list near recovery, the new state fish, a symbol of national pride.

In the suburbs outside Seattle I went to Piper Creek, where families joined their neighbors to restore the suburban stream that runs past their houses and schools. They came together to revegetate the river banks, to create the conditions in which they could bring back anadromous fish, hatching and planting fry each fall until native salmon returned to their local landscape.

In Cleveland, 26 years after the Cuyahoga River caught fire, the fireboat captain who put it out -- Wayne Bratton -- gave me a tour up to the point of ignition. On that route, I saw blue herons, sportfishing boats tied to new marinas, upscale riverwalk cafes sprouting up by abandoned steel mills, all within sight of I.M. Pei's new Rock 'n Roll Hall of Fame. What was once our symbol of national shame is now our symbol of hope and pride.

Everywhere I looked I saw children and old people on the river banks, people who had come back to the waterfronts to eat, work, and play. Rivers and bays that had been healed, people who had been reconnected to the distinctive features of the places they lived, communities that are restored.

I saw people celebrating how the Clean Water Act has been the most successful urban renewal law in American history.

But when Americans learned that their hard won gains might be taken away, at that very moment, by politicians in Washington, they awoke like a sleeping giant.

They awoke, and got on the phone, and wrote letters to the editor, to their Congressmen, and soon the pressure began to build. Soon there were stories in the press about a public backlash against the Republican agenda. Suddenly reporters were writing about the rise of a cadre of "green" and "moderate" Republicans. And by last month there were stories about how Americans have handed the Republican agenda an embarrassing string of defeats:

After we spoke out with people in Fort Meyers, Miami, Pensacola, and Fort Lauderdale about laws protecting the beautiful white sand beaches of Florida, Congress heard us, and dropped its bill to allow offshore oil drilling there.

After Americans paddled through the 5th District of Georgia, down Atlanta's Chatahoochie River NRA, Congress heard us, and withdrew a bill to form a parks closure commission.

That bill was then resurrected as a budget rider, but days later, after we gathered history students and Civil War buffs in front of the Appomattox Courthouse, Congress surrendered to us on that rider as well.

After we met with hundreds of BASS anglers to discuss a bill to give away public land and lock out access for hunters and fishermen, that bill's co-sponsor changed his mind to say even he wouldn't vote for it.

And after we gathered at Sagamore Hill with the descendants of Teddy Roosevelt to hear them talk about how the root of conservative is "to conserve," moderate Republicans broke ranks to erase those 17 EPA riders.

Americans have defeated so called "takings" referenda in Arizona and Washington state, Americans have spoken out two-to-one against drilling in the Arctic, against mining giveaways, and in favor of wolf reintroduction. Several weeks ago, their agenda a shambles, the Republican House leadership admitted: "We mishandled the environment all spring and summer."

That's quite a confession. Thanks to the people in this room and people like them all across the country, Americans are now winning against the lobbyists.

The conservation laws are working because the American people are making them work. They will stay strong and stay in place because people are insisting on it.

Congress will no longer be able to gut the Clean Water Act because it would be political suicide for those who would do so.

Congressmen will not vote to close our National Parks unless they are casting the last vote of their final term.

Congress will no longer gut the Endangered Species Act because no politician wants to run on a platform that says the wisdom of elected officials outweighs the wisdom of our Creator.

And while in the 1994 election campaigns the environment was not an issue, I can assure you, by November 1996, in each county, state, Congressional, and in the Presidential election, the environment will be right at the core of every single debate.

In my travels I have learned a good many things. I have heard the message people are sending to Congress: Our framework of environmental laws is working and is making our country greater and more beautiful for us and for our children in the next century.

But in the course of my travels I saw something else that was entirely new.

I discovered the stirring of a third generation of environmental activism, not political activism directed at Washington, but hands-on work directed at their own communities, an activism focused at reclaiming their known heritage, their local landscapes, their sense of place which reminds them where they are and, therefore, who they are.

Running through this activism, rising above their collective anger over the threat to their hard won gains, I heard a voice, a quiet voice, but one that carried a message that was vigorous, and insistent, and backed up by the work of its hands; it was the voice of Americans rooted to their land.

It quietly announced: "We can do better."

It asserted: "We can use these laws. We can do more than just stop our waters and our soils from declining. We can apply these laws to make America's landscapes cleaner, healthier, richer, more independent."

As America's communities used our laws to restore their waters, those waters, in turn, have begun to restore America's communities.

And I saw that the current generation of Americans was not just approaching, but was already crossing the threshold into an entirely new era, literally a third great environmental movement.

The first era was the Conservation movement of Teddy Roosevelt, which created America's great parks, wildlife refuges, and national forests. It lay the legal foundation. It saw America as a patchwork of places and resources either to be protected or to be exploited.

The second generation, of Rachel Carson, saw our air and waters and soils being polluted by modern industrial society and helped pass legislation that brought us clear water and clean air.

Out of that, the current generation is awakening to a new and larger vision -- to the possibilities that we can use our laws not just to stop decline, but to reverse it; not just to

preserve the isolated parts, but to protect and reconnect whole landscapes and entire watersheds; not just to fence off the local greenway or trickling neighborhood stream, but to unite them with the great National Parks and the wide oceanbound rivers.

What we have begun in this generation across the landscape opens a new chapter. An entirely new era of conservation called American Restoration.

What do I mean by American Restoration?

Let me put it this way. How many of you have restored one of your grandparent's rocking chairs? An antique table? How many of your sons and daughters have restored an old Ford pickup?

The restoration work involves scraping, and varnishing, reinforcing, and tuning. It's not just cosmetic, involving paint or stain, but goes past the surface, involving something deeper - bringing out something's essence, structure, and inner nature.

It's hard work. Back breaking work. But we're willing to do it because the process feels good to our hands and our spirits; it feels good to sit in, to eat on, to drive. It also looks good, and gives us an aesthetic pleasure when we see it in our living rooms or driveways. Most of all, it is something we can do with our spouse, our sons and daughters, and become a stronger and prouder family as a result of our work.

But when we restore that dilapidated, rotting, and leaning picket fence in our back yard, we can no longer do the work by ourselves. We must choose a time with our neighbor, bringing out hammers and nails, buying fresh wood from the lumberyard, splitting the costs, the labor, and the time. We may have been strangers before this process began. But after the mending and repair is complete, we share a sense of pride each time we go to the fence, and realize that we have become stronger friends, better neighbors, for the partnership we have forged.

Now, what I have seen goes beyond our immediate home or neighbors to involve the entire community.

For years the elders of that community -- like Helen Fanske, Florence LaRivers, Marjory Stoneman Douglas, or the father near the ocean in Belmar, New Jersey -- all watched as their open spaces filled up, as their local stream dried up or was polluted, as fewer birds and fish and mammals lived in their watershed.

This is a democracy, however, and through the laws that they voted for, these Americans and their children stopped the loss. They set aside park and public open spaces; they protected the local lakes and streams nearby; they worked for the survival of the native creatures they grew up with. They used federal laws to backstop the process and give power to their efforts.

As I went out there I saw Americans crossing the threshold from Prevention into watershed Restoration. They are building upon the current framework of laws, giving form and content to abstract, clumsily worded codes, getting results beyond the expectations of the legislators who wrote our laws back in the 1970s.

Our federal laws do not require that communities restore their local waters, but in order to restore their local waters those communities require our laws.

When I gather with them, Americans say to me: We have done this, and we are proud of what we have done. But we can do more. We have stopped the decline of our river, the erosion of our soil, the disappearance of our open land, but we can go further. We can, and will, bring life out of death, we can roll up our sleeves and continue the task of cleaning it up, bringing back native fish, reconnecting the entire landscape, reclaiming our heritage.

When they say this to me, I answer that this Administration will back them every single step of the way.

We will back their efforts to restore every single watershed in America.

We will become full partners in this process, using laws creatively, listening to local needs, empowering local communities, and sharing the costs of Restoration.

We will help them reclaim their heritage.

But more than that, this Administration is taking the lead by example, working on a larger scale to demonstrate these principles in places like:

• The Pacific Northwest, where the President's Forest Plan was created in partnership with the states of Washington, Oregon and California and with local communities in the Cascades, to provide a sustainable timber harvest, to protect the ancient forests, and to restore the historic salmon runs.

• South Florida, where citizens have joined with state and local agencies in a long term project to reconnect the severed, hydrologic arteries that once flowed down through the River of Grass, healing the tropical marshes and swamps of the Everglades, restoring natural life all the way down through the Florida Bay fisheries to the Keys.

• San Francisco Bay Delta, where diverse groups -- the Pacific Federation of Fishermen, Trout Unlimited, fruit and vegetable growers, and cities and communities from San Diego to San Francisco -- have all formed a partnership to ensure thriving

farmlands, growing cities, and restoration of fish and waterfowl up the Sacramento and the San Joaquin River watersheds.

• The Blackstone River Valley, where small towns and cities that grew up along the first industrial river in America have all come together under an interstate commission that restores the historic mills, turns the old brick buildings into theaters and restaurants, and offers fishing and boat excursions to tourists from around America.

• Chesapeake Bay, where we are working with the Amish of Pennsylvania, the Maryland Oystermen, and the Naval fleet in Norfolk, Virginia to restore the crabs, the shellfish, the striped bass fisheries, until the waters are clear enough to wade in up to your chest, look down, and see your feet.

Whether they cross state borders or cross county lines, all these restoration efforts all have the same, common, working principles, principles that parallel the work of students at Scrubgrass Run: They are united by watersheds, they are built through partnerships, they are reinforced by federal laws, and they reach decisions through the consensus of everyone involved.

They may involve tens of thousands of people, but the essential nature is all these people are coming together, working in harmony, listening to one another, looking inward towards their community in search of a common solution, and getting to yes.

When it all comes together, as these students and teachers at Scrubgrass Run, Pennsylvania, can tell you, it is an extraordinary moment, more beautiful by the knowledge that we have all played a part in making it happen, and the knowledge that its renewal ripples downstream to other waterfront communities, giving each one a stronger sense of place.

And we realize in that moment is that the Environment is not just a ~~fixed point in time~~, or some place outdoors, or even an "issue" to be "handled" by one party or another.

It is a ~~tradition~~ that endures only through our labor, an opportunity that lasts as long as we fight for it; part of our collective heritage, passed on like a torch; a job that brings all of us together under a common purpose.

Now let's get to work.

THE FUTURE ENVIRONMENTAL AGENDA FOR THE UNITED STATES

by Bruce Babbitt*

Speech in AZ

INTRODUCTION

I must tell you that it is an enormous pleasure to be back in this community, mixing it up, holding seminars, conducting disputations--and I plead absolutely guilty to speechifying to any group of two on any corner. I must tell you why that is. I left the political arena four years ago and retired, unindicted, with my reputation intact. I paid my bills and went home to find out what was next. Somewhat to my dismay, I found that what was next was that I had to make a living and therefore was reduced to the practice of law. It was a wonderful and fairly obscure four years out there. All of a sudden, when you are invited back into the limelight for a brief moment, it is irresistible.

I am reminded of something which occurred a few weeks ago. I was on an airplane, flying from Los Angeles to New York. It was early in the morning and I was sitting, thinking nostalgically, about this year's campaign and about what it was like to be in the limelight. This guy next to me was reading a newspaper and he kind of looked over at me quizzically, and went back to his newspaper. He then looked over again with the faintest glimmer of recognition. He finally put down his

*United States Secretary of the Interior; previously Governor of Arizona. This essay derives from the Ray Moses Lecture, delivered on October 29, 1992, at the University of Colorado School of Law.

newspaper in frustration and said: "Say, weren't you Bruce Babbitt?"

I must say it is very tempting--on the eve of a national election of some significance, for which I am harboring modest hopes of a landslide victory--to turn to Ray Moses and say: "I know this was a natural resources lecture, but we are going to turn it into a political science forum." But I will restrain myself and resist the urge to do that. Instead, I will see if I can, with an occasional political aside, identify what I think the large issues are on the horizon for the future of the environmental movement of the United States.

The future of the environmental movement is an interesting topic, because we have not spent much time in the last twelve years thinking about it. Those of us who care about these things have spent much of our time on the defensive, fending off the likes of James Watt and all of his progeny, who have populated the federal bureaucracy and seek to roll back the accomplishments of the past. We have spent inordinate amounts of time struggling to protect the wetlands, to move forward on automobile efficiency standards, to reform western water policy, to move forward with waste management, recycling, and all of the issues that are so familiar. But I think with at least a prospect of a large change, it is now important to begin asking: where do we go from here? Apart from the specifics of water, wilderness, reclamation, agriculture, waste, and all these different issues, we need to examine what is on the horizon for the next decade, or two, or three, or four, or a half century.

As I start to look out across the horizon, a couple of things occur to me. We have managed in this country to do some things pretty well. We have learned about wilderness and parks, the control of toxic wastes, the Clean Water Act, the Clean Air Act--the third party legislative victories have pretty much been won. What we are going to confront in the next generation of environmental challenges are going to be the hard problems. They are going to be the intractable, difficult problems that relate to how we live on the land and how we reach an equilibrium of some kind with the planet. I would like to tonight, if I can, go through the three areas that I think best illustrate the extent to which in the next generation we are going to have to pull the environmental movement back into an examination of our lifestyle. This means looking at how we run an industrial society, and at how, and even whether, it is possible to make the kinds of changes in the structure of this society, in the organization of our economy and our culture, and in our personal habits, to avoid the possibility of environmental catastrophe.

The first area I want to talk about is climate, climate change, and the fossil fuel economy. The second area is summed up in the word "biodiversity." The important question in this area is: to what extent do we have to change our attitudes, our perceptions, and our lifestyle in order to live in equilibrium on this planet with the multitude of species which represent the sum product of our evolutionary history. Another question is whether or not there is, in fact, enough space for the sum of creation, the extraordinary diversity of life on this planet, or whether it

will simply be crowded out and driven to extinction by the expansionist tendencies and careless habits that we have built up as a single species. The third issue I want to examine is, assuming that we can take care of these issues in our own society, what chance do we have of bringing the rest of the world along? The fact is, even if we can make the most fundamental changes in this society, we do not stand much of a chance in the next century if the gains we make are simply canceled out by development and population growth incurred in the rest of the world. International development and growth could cancel out any conceivable gains this country might make.

I. Climate Change

First of all, I would like to talk about the climate change issue. The Bush administration and a few odd characters, including one or two scientists, still deny that there is a problem with respect to climate change--but there is. Our consumption of fossil fuels is adding carbon monoxide to the atmosphere in a linear fashion, and the consequences of doing so are now thoroughly understood in terms of the greenhouse effect and the progressive heating of the globe--with all of the catastrophic changes that will take place.

The difficulty with this as a political issue is that the global warming process is slow; in the initial years the background noise of other fluctuations in the climate of the planet make it difficult to actually pinpoint and demonstrate conclusively from year to year what is happening. But the effect

is undeniable, and it is a challenge we cannot evade, however difficult it may be. I was in Minneapolis last week, talking about this and some guy put his hand up and said: "Global warming, I'm for it! It's too cold in Minneapolis."

There are other problems in addressing climate change. By an extraordinary coincidence, last year there was the eruption a volcano called Pinatuba in the Philippines. This eruption is clearly going to make the climate a little cooler for the next three or four years because it is a well-known, well-understood effect that volcanic eruptions can actually screen out sunlight and send the temperature in the other direction. Searching through the various problems, we have to ask: "Can we put in motion a political response to the climate change problem and, more specifically, with respect to our addiction to the use of fossil fuels?"

There has not been much discussion of these issues in this Presidential campaign. The only example I can think of is the issue of automobile efficiency standards. One approach to yanking the needle of fossil fuel addiction out of our arm is to increase the use of technology--specifically in the manufacture of automobiles. We did this back in the 1970s when we adopted fuel efficiency standards which increased our fleet average from 14 miles per gallon (MPG) to about 26 MPG. That is enough to save, in a single day, the entire amount of oil that we import from the Persian Gulf. And there is no question that it is technologically feasible now to take the next bump up from 26 MPG to about 40 to 45 MPG. I do not need to elaborate on this

because I suspect some of you are already driving cars which are approaching that rate.

But the cultural lag is so difficult that we have a campaign in which the President of the United States [Bush] goes to Detroit, Michigan and with a straight face tells union workers those auto efficiency standards will put 300,000 auto workers out of work. The situation is portrayed as jobs versus the environment: you can not have both, you have to make the choice. And I am standing there thinking: that is demagoguery of the worst kind. The President knows that those standards apply not only to American cars, but also to Japanese cars, French cars, German cars, and British cars. So how do they make us lose jobs? The answer, of course, is that they do not. Technology transfer will maintain all of those jobs and probably create more.

There a lot of other possibilities that we are going to have to ask ourselves about, even if they are not being discussed in this campaign. One of these questions is the extent to which we can regulate electrical utilities, telling the utilities that they must begin conserving energy, investing their money in conservation, and creating energy by saving energy. We could tell the utilities to give out free neon lights, to do insulation projects, energy conversion, and we could offer them a return for doing it. This is already happening in Florida, but not in many other states. All of these ideas are final analysis, technical things. Ultimately, we must rely on alternative energy sources that are not polluting, and we must transfer the subsidies from nuclear fossil fuel to alternative fuel.

We are also going to have to address the issue of economics and have the courage to mention the word tax. T - A - X. Now, the gas tax is obviously a starting point which is largely absent from this political campaign. It is an issue that has been raised by a distinguished line of unsuccessful politicians: John Anderson, Bruce Babbitt, Paul Tsongas, and yes, even Ross Perot. The case for taxing energy, whether in the form of a carbon tax or a gas tax, is inescapable and the benefits are obvious. Energy taxes and carbon taxes raise the price to its true cost, including the cost of cleaning up the carbon dioxide effect. Charging higher prices is really a much more efficient way of inducing conservation than raising technological standards. It takes us away from these enormous investments in central power plants that detract from our ability to invest elsewhere in the economy.

To top it off, energy taxes are tailor made for this economy, in which we are consuming too much and must ultimately begin to invest more. So, we should move away from an income tax, which is a disincentive for savings, and have low consumption taxes, which are an incentive for savings. Most importantly, if we have the courage to do it, we should propose a revenue-neutral carbon tax which will apply to all fossil fuels, and specifically to gasoline. If we raise the gasoline tax and reduce the payroll tax in an equal amount, thereby inducing efficiency, we will lower the production costs of additional energy and facilitate savings and additional job creation.

The question is, of course, is it possible? It is impossible in this political campaign, and it will be impossible until somehow we manage to create a larger sense of public understanding and urgency about the need to use both technology and economic incentives to move away from the fossil fuel economy. Furthermore, the partial vision of the future relates to this issue of biodiversity which, again, is really a question of whether or not we can bring the environmental movement home to individual lifestyle changes. You see, regulation which only mandates that industry do something does not fully deal with the fossil fuel issue unless it also inflicts some economic changes on each and every one of us.

II. Biodiversity

The biodiversity issue is very simple. First, let me see if I can state what I think the problem is. As I see it, the problem is the mass extinction of species. Around this world, we are exterminating some 50 to 100 species per day--every day, day in, day out. We are creating the largest mass biological extinction since the Cretaceous Era. For those of you who are not geologists, the Cretaceous Era occurred a short time before the Rocky Mountains started coming up out of the earth about 16 million years ago. This extinction is all the more frightening because of the pace at which it is taking place. There is no indication of where it might stop unless we get serious about taking charge. The difficulty with this issue is, we have not done a very good job of answering the question of: "why does it

matter?" How do you persuade a truck driver, a postal worker, or a lawyer, that the loss of species in the Amazon, or the loss of the white rhinoceros in Africa, makes any difference?

The intellectual line of attack is to say that there are enormous implications. I will give you some examples. The Madagascar periwinkle, a little tiny flower no one has paid any attention to, all of a sudden becomes the 90%-effective cure for childhood leukemia and Hodgkin's disease. The Pacific Yew which grows in the old growth forests of the Northwest, a trash tree, which the logging companies have been piling non-stop onto bonfires non-stop for the last 50 years turns out to have a substance called Taxol, which now appears to be an extraordinarily potent cancer fighting drug. It might be possible, in theory at least, to independently discover and synthesize these complex substances, but it is not all clear it would ever happen. There is a cornucopia of substances out there, 25% of the drugs that you take, that are available in drugstores, ultimately have some biological base to them. The same is true for agriculture. Monocultures that we grow, such as corn and wheat, are enormously susceptible to disease and destruction unless they are occasionally hybridized with the wild strains which are still being discovered in many parts of the world.

I believe there is a much larger issue contained within the biodiversity question. It has to do with the concept of spiritual dominion. It questions whether something is badly

wrong in our own philosophy and perception of the world when we recklessly overturn and obliterate a web of evolution, creation--however you characterize it, either or both--and start shattering the fabric, willy-nilly, without any regard to the consequences.

I am struck by the image of Noah and the Ark in Judeo-Christian tradition. James Watt (one of my great favorites) came to me once and said: "You guys who care about nature are the agents of the anti-Christ." I said: "Jim, would you explain that to me?" He replied: "Well, that's a little harsh. You're really pantheists, because you are worshipping inanimate objects and to the extent that you see God in creation it draws you away from my version of what is in the Bible." I said: "Well, Jim, excuse me, I am not a pantheist. I am a nature lover. What do you make of the parable of Noah and the Ark? My view of that story in the Bible is that it is an argument for preservation of God's creation. Of saying that even in the time of the deluge there was a mandate to take a pair of every species on earth onto an Ark." So, however you come out of all of this, there is ultimately a spiritual or at least a philosophical or ethical issue implicit in this question. Is it really possible for the human race to live lightly on the land? Or are we simply going to continue to metastasize with our industrial civilization, to the point where we have shattered the tapestry and made ourselves poorer and more lonely in the process?

A. The Laws

We have not had much luck addressing this issue, but here in

the United States we have two laws of great potential that are now becoming controversial. These laws need to be understood and they need to be fought for in a desperate way. One is the Endangered Species Act and the other one is the Wetlands legislation.

1. *The Endangered Species Act (ESA)*

The Endangered Species Act is an extraordinary law. I wish I could find the person who wrote that back in 1973, because I am certain that when the Congress passed it they had no idea what they were passing. I am also certain that President Nixon, when he signed it, had no concept at all that it is an eloquent and a beautiful law which says that at the point where a species begins to tumble toward extinction we will at last address the issue of habitat. The only way you can protect a species is to protect its habitat. The ESA is a powerful law, which says when the tumble toward extinction begins, the habitat must be identified. The law makes disruption or alteration of that habitat on public land or private land a federal crime in most circumstances.

The ESA has been a stunning success. You never hear about the successes because the enemies of the law are out to persuade you that it is spotted owls or jobs, either/or, that you can't have both. But there are wonderful examples. The most recent one that I have been involved in is the desert tortoise. It was spiraling toward extinction in the deserts of California and Nevada. The determination was made and an order went out stopping homebuilding in the suburbs of Las Vegas and several

California communities, because the spread across the desert was destroying the habitat. You can imagine the reaction among God-fearing, rugged individualist, gun-toting, we're-going-to-do-it-our-way Westerners. But out of that we managed to broker a compromise which allowed some expansion in urban areas, but for each lot the developers take, they must put up a fee of a couple of hundred dollars. This money goes into a fund that consolidates the rest of the public lands in Nevada, buys out the private inholdings, buys up the cattle leases, and creates enormous back-country space which will be preserved. This model has been used again and again and again, limiting the way we live off the land and in the process "ante-ing up" enough resources to protect the balance of the land.

But President Bush has not chosen to see it this way. I will give you a little advance label here, but a very important one (after all, this is a small political speech). President Bush, several weeks ago, went to the state of Washington. In the old-growth forest, he stood on the back of a truck and told the loggers in that community it is either/or. You can have jobs or you can have spotted owls, but you can not have both. And he went on to give a speech, in which he effectively said that the environmentalists are responsible for my failures of the last four years and that it is now your obligation to blame the environmentalists and elect me--having agreed that it must be either/or. The answer, of course, is that it does not have to be either/or, even in the Pacific Northwest. The real problem up there in those old-growth forests is not the spotted owl. The

real problem is that the timber companies are chopping down the logs, closing the mills, and selling the round logs to Japanese mills. The loggers without work have been persuaded to blame the spotted owl, when in fact it is the rapaciousness of the timber companies, who get more money sending the round logs to Japan. The question that this raises is whether or not we can strengthen that law, continue to grope for compromise, continue to insist that we will find ways to live lightly on the land. That there will be space.

2. The Wetlands Legislation

The Wetlands law is really quite similar but even more controversial and even more difficult. You all understand the significance of wetlands: they are biologically the richest, most critical habitat of all. It is true in the streams and arroyos of the Rocky Mountains; it is true along the Pacific Coast; it is true in the prairie potholes that sustain the Pacific Flyway in the Dakotas--all over the country. And the Wetlands law simply says, no more bulldozing of wetlands. It is really a land-use law and it really poses, I think, an interesting question. Once again, it has been assailed as being anti-growth. But the question it poses is: "Isn't it reasonable to say in a country the size of the United States, where we are not running out of land, that, if you want to build a shopping center or a factory, you should find a piece of dry land to build it on? What does this have to do with jobs? It has to do with

location and nothing more. But once again the forces that keep welling up out of American history--saying "everybody is entitled to do anything, anywhere, anytime, at whatever expense to the community"--prevail.

Now I will step over here and do a little political sidebar. It is an important one to me because in 1988 I was out on the campaign stump in Iowa and New Hampshire. We were trying to get an environmental discussion going. We did not have much luck in 1988, but one sunny day, the then-Vice President of the United States [Bush] made a speech to Ducks Unlimited. He said: "I pledge that if I am elected President of the United States there will be no net loss of wetlands." He did not say: "Read my lips." But he did say no net loss of wetlands. Then, two years later, he stood up and announced: "I am committed to no net loss of wetlands. But [sotto voce], incidentally, we have redefined the term wetlands." As of today there are 50% less wetlands than there were then. Not even the Everglades qualifies under the new definition!

That is the challenge we face with the Wetlands law. Again I would like to take you back to the philosophical point: do we have the capacity in this country to say that we are going to be discriminating about where we are going to put our print on the land? It does not have anything to do with jobs. There is plenty of room to develop, but not anywhere, anytime. It is in the manifest benefit of the community to say that we can coexist with the rest of God's creation.

It is the same issue that I see as I drive from Denver to

Boulder. It is an issue which has been addressed in this town in some small way with a tax to acquire buffer land around the community. These are principles which have to be expanded to a larger area. Of course we come back to the question again. We can persuade ourselves that that is a worthwhile endeavor, and we can adjust our concept of property rights to find some way to fill people's reasonable expectations of economic gain at the same time that we have the capacity to say: "no, you can not do that" if the interests of the community, of mankind, of humankind, and of all of creation have to be reconciled a little more thoughtfully.

III. The Borderless World

My last point is this: assuming that in the next generation we can come to grips with these new issues that impact us personally, that require life style and community changes, what are we going to do about the rest of the world? I will tell you briefly how I first came to worry about this question.

Some years ago, in Arizona, I went after a copper smelter down in Douglas, which was operating with no air quality controls of any kind. The initial response from the Phelps Dodge Company was: "why is that any of your business?" They were rather used to running Arizona the way they saw fit and they deeply resented the fact that the mere Governor would impinge upon their historical impunity. We got into a knock-down, drag-out fight and I finally said: "You are either going to control the

emissions or close it." We closed it. As we were uncorking the champagne bottles to celebrate, I looked over my shoulder, across the border in Mexico, and I saw them building a copper smelter in Nakozari. This smelter was going to put out, uncontrolled, six times the amount of pollution that we had just eliminated in Arizona. It was coming across the border, straight at the lakes of the high Rocky Mountains. I called the Reagan administration and they said: "well, that is none of our business." We went at it for a long time and it is still happening today. But my point simply is that we now live in a borderless world. Environmental problems randomly affect everyone throughout the world. As we move into a single, global economy, without natural borders, we are inexorably moving into a single, world planetary environment.

Think about this example. The coal-fired power plant, out of town here, affects the air in Sydney, Australia or in Auckland, New Zealand, exactly like it affects the air right here. When a starving peasant clears and burns land in the Amazon rain forest it affects the air in this room, exactly the same amount as it affects the air in Brazil. There are other extraordinary examples. The Monarch butterflies that I remember as a child clinging to the milkweed plants in the vacant lots in the summer time--every single one of those Monarch butterflies, every winter, goes to one mountain top in central Mexico, which is now being clearcut by a Mexican logging compact. Can you not see? There are no borders.

The question then becomes, if we succeed in getting our society together, what do we do about the others? That, of

course, is what the Environmental Summit in Rio de Janeiro was meant to be about. It ended up not being about that because of the abnegation of American leadership, but now the time has come to go back to those issues. I think the way back is through a different route called trade. I think that we now are going to have to tie together the environmental world and the economic world of trade--once and for all.

And I will close with just a brief example of how I came to understand this. Back in the mid-1980s, the United States Congress, under the leadership of Jerry Studds and a few other farsighted congressmen, passed something called the Marine Mammal Protection Act. For reasons I do not fully understand it got past the President. I do not think anybody, once again, really understood what it was. It had a wonderful title: Marine Mammal Protection and Consumer Information Act. And hidden in that Act was the first example in history of the kind of linkage I am talking about. The law mandated the Department of Commerce to close American markets to any tuna caught by any fishing country in the world by the use of purse seine nets--which destroy the dolphins who swim with yellow-fin tuna in the tropical Pacific.

The lawyers went to court. The Bush administration stonewalled and refused to impose the embargo, but the courts finally did. They did it as a result of the efforts (and this is I think a story about how individuals can change the world) of a young guy named Sam Blood from San Francisco. One day Sam Blood went out and purchased a video camera, stuck it in his coat and

went down to Tiajuana and hired on to a Panamanian tuna fishing boat. He spent three months in the eastern Pacific posing as a fisherman, surreptitiously putting together these videotapes which made their way onto the NBC nightly news, and which created an upwelling of support for doing something about the dolphin situation. We had the tools in the form of the embargo, and as a result of that, every nation in the world is today headed toward using dolphin-safe fishing practices, because of the power of American markets. We took a stance, saying we are going to impose an embargo on the products of all countries which violate accepted environmental norms.

Think about the power of that principal. Why could that not be employed against countries which destroy tropical forests? Or countries which persist in allowing rhinoceros species to be sent to extinction so that rhino horns can be made into daggers for Middle Eastern males, or elephant tusks for ivory ornaments? That is the power that one uses and it is going to be the next great international opportunity: to come together with other countries that care, and say we are going to use the markets of the world as a stick to enforce environmental standards which hopefully will be agreed upon in thoughtful discussions among countries, but if not agreed upon, must be advanced by those who care.

That, in conclusion, is really what the Mexican discussion is all about. We have to join up with Mexico, in a free-trade agreement, in a broad North American economic alliance. This is the first opportunity we have had to link up trade and

environmental standards in what Bill Clinton and Al Gore and a lot of us are saying is the most momentous trade negotiation of this century. Because if we get it right with Mexico, get the mechanisms in place, and get an agreed upon relationship, the other 165 countries of the world will fall like ten pins into a North/South, developing world/industrial world accommodation-- which gives us some hope for the future.

CONCLUSION

Where do I conclude? I guess with a political observation: that these issues can not be left to politicians because they are really deep and intensely personal issues that affect all of us. Even if, or I should say when, Bill Clinton is elected President of the United States, the job of the environmental movement is not to sign up on a big sheet and head for Washington to be part of the establishment. Because in American history, the flux of American politics, the big changes never come from inside. The big changes come from the barbarians in the hills, laying siege to the citadel of power. It has always been true. Think of American history: the civil rights movement, the suffragette movement--all of the great movements in American society, begin right here. So, the irony of all of this is, as we contemplate a new age in Washington, many of us are now looking forward to our troops and saying: "Our reward is to celebrate, and then to head for the hills and begin the guerrilla action in trying to get these issues into the dialogue." Thank you very much.