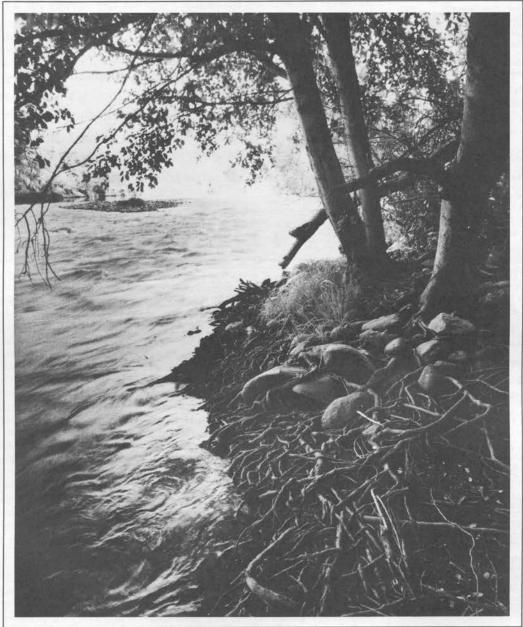


HEADWATERS

Vol. 6, No. 4 October 1981



Parrott's Ferry, Stanislaus River

photo by Tim Palmer

INSIDE:

F.O.R. ON THE MOVE SUBSIDY: THE WELFARE ECONOMY NEW COLUMNS

Friends of the River

is dedicated to the preservation of our rivers and creeks, and to the conservation of our water and energy supplies.

Annual membership dues are \$15.

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HEADWATERS

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ON THE MOVE Our new priorities.

If you have ever worn our t-shirt, you have been asked a simple question: "which river?" You probably answered, "the Stanislaus, but we care about them all." Your t-shirt does not mean that anymore.

Since our start in late 1973, Friends of the River has had a primary goal: preserving the upper Stanislaus Canyon. Although we have initiated or run many other campaigns—for instance, to get the Carter Administration to recommend that the Tuolumne River be preserved, or to put Auburn Dam on hold—nonetheless the Stanislaus has absorbed most of the staff's time and the organization's money. We have made the Stanislaus a famous symbol for endangered wilderness, and New Melones Dam, a prime example of excessive subsidy. Even more importantly, the Stanislaus still flows freely.

According to Resources Secretary Huey Johnson, F.O.R. has introduced more people to water politics than any other environmental group in California. We have been good for the Stanislaus; it has been good for us, serving as a forum to excite and inspire the public about dry laws and policies. We will continue to campaign for that river until we save it.

But that will no longer be our primary goal. Politicians prefer to deal with groups whom they identify as "multi-issue," so that they have room to negotiate and maneuver. More importantly, the pressure for development of others rivers in the west has escalated to a level unparalleled since the early 1950's.

As a result, F.O.R.'s Board has approved a new set of priorities, representing our first concerted effort to rank future problems or opportunities in order of importance, and to budget accordingly.

At the top of the list is the Tuolumne, one of the most magnificent rivers in America, and a special place in the hearts of environmentalists, as the battlefield which prompted John Muir to found the Sierra Club. This spring, we played a key role in forming the new Tuolumne Coalition, with former Sierra Club staffer John Amodio as its head. Off the ground, the campaign will require a large contribution from F.O.R., given the difficulty of persuading San Francisco not to proceed with additional and profitable development, and the current neutrality of key Congressmen, including Phil Burton.

Preventing the Administration from backing down on protection of the North Coast Rivers, and then helping develop plans for effective management, rank as our second priority.* Particularly if the Peripheral Canal package is approved in the upcoming referendum, these rivers will replace the Sierra as the locus of water politics.

The Stanislaus comes next in our budget. As reported in the last issue, Secretary Watt intends to fill New Melones Reservoir to capacity; F.O.R. will sue if necessary to prevent filling until legal contracts for the water supply are signeduntil the Administration has demonstrated that its plan for storage of a massive reservoir will benefit the public more than our compromise reservoir. The Water Initiative will serve as the first opportunity in eight years for the public to vote on this issue; although run by an independent committee, it will draw heavily on our unique experience and contacts.* Finally, if the State Water Board holds hearings this fall to determine what level of reservoir would best protect downstream fisheries and water quality, we will present reliable testimony by hydrologists, as we have done with great effect since 1977.

The river which put California on the

map, the American, is the subject of debate from its headwaters to its confluence. State Court, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, and the State Legislature are considering the merits of the SOFAR dams; we are helping the American River Recreation Association with testimony, lobbying, and our specialty, grassroots organizing.*

The remainder of the budget is, appropriately enough, lumped under "other projects": opposing the Peripheral Canal, filing law suits, raising money for elections, and lending a hand on the dozens of river problems which are brought to us by individuals or other groups.

* See the related story in River Currents.

Of Special Interest

• We have the only political action committee (PAC) in the country to specialize in rivers. Several other environmental groups have established PACs to reward candidates who care about wilderness; ours has a more concentrated goal. Since its start in late 1980, FORPAC has contributed more than \$1000 to four Congressional candidates. We intend to raise \$10,000 by June 1982.

One-half of your contribution (up to \$50 on an individual return, \$100 on a joint) can be used as a tax credit.

Give a river your vote today. Send your contribution to FORPAC at the Sacramento office.

• Like the PAC, our legal department is unique among major environmental groups in its exclusive focus on river management. Following the recent success in protecting the Middle Fork of the Feather against mining, this department is active on a number of fronts. For example, with research provided by consultant Bob Baiocchi, volunteer counsel have filed a complaint in our name to force the Oroville-Wyandotte Irrigation District to comply with the law in its operation of dams on the South

CALENDAR

November 4 and 18 Volunteer Night at F.O.R./San Francisco

November 4

Volunteer Night at F.O.R./Los Angeles

November 2 and 16

Volunteer Night at F.O.R./Sacramento

November 14-15

Our fifth annual Confluence. The theme: "Organizing for Victory." Talks, workshops, dancing and field trips. At Bldg. C, Fort Mason Center, San Francisco.

October 26-November 19

Nuclear Film Forum, a series of films, slide shows and speakers (among them, Daniel Ellsberg and Amory Lovins) explaining the risks of nuclear power and weapons. At the First Unitarian Church, 1187 Franklin Street, San Francisco. Call (415) 929-0766.



Our new director, Catherine Fox photo by Dick Roos-Collins

Fork of the Feather. Like many operators licensed by the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, this irrigation district has ignored the legal requirement to protect downstream fisheries. No operator, however, has ever been sued for this failure. Our suit may cause FERC to police licenses across the country, to insure that the dams cause minimal damage to the watersheds.

We've moved. Our old office in Sacramento, 401 San Miguel, is now the home of the Water Initiative. Our new office is a stone's throw from the Capitol, perfect for hobnobbing with legislators and other lobbyists. Come visit.

• Catherine Fox has been appointed director of Friends of the River by our Board. Born in Ohio and raised in Southern California, she has worked as a teacher of disabled children, and more recently as director of our Foundation. Her main goals: "creating an effective network of river activists throughout the west, and changing water policy to allow economic health and preservation of our remaining rivers."

A Tale of Three Activists

In a recent speech, President Reagan said the "Americans have a proud tradition of generosity," serving as volunteers. Then he complained, "The truth is that we've let government take away many things we once considered were really ours to do voluntarily and out of the goodness of our hearts."

That traditional wisdom is true only to a point. Because government so rarely protects wilderness on its own initiative, environmentalists have never had the luxury of waiting for it to do the job. Friends of the River was started by volunteers, until 1980

was run by staff paid less than the minimum wage, and now more than ever, relies on volunteers to get the job done.

Three of our former staffers deserve special thanks from the community of people who know the joy of rivers, and work to let rivers run freely to the oceans. These staffers all started as volunteers and, even when paid, contributed far above and beyond the call of duty. F.O.R. is proud to have had them as representatives, and to keep them as friends.

Patty Schifferle is called Shortcutt (always with a double "t"), by Congressional aides and her friends alike. It is unclear how she got that name; she refuses to tell. Rumor has it that, as a commercial guide, she routinely took the shortest, rockiest, most impossible routes through rapids in Utah. She lives her name: "I get there, no matter what. It's like getting through Los Angeles without taking the freeways."

Five generations ago her family came from Austria to Marysville. California's history runs in her blood. In 1978, after testifying at a public hearing about the mining sites in the Stanislaus Canyon, she asked whether she could help: a few years earlier, she had written that campaign off as a lost cause, but her instinct finally bettered her judgement. Armed with a few files and a few names Mark Dubois gave her in a 30-minute meeting, Shortcutt flew back to

"I get there, no matter what. It's like getting through Los Angeles without taking the freeways."

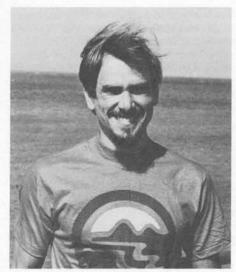
Washington, planning to stay for a week or so to lobby the Army Corps about the importance of the history in that canyon. Instead, she stayed for over two years.

She was our lobbyist during the Congressional campaign to put the upper Stanislaus in the National Wild and Scenic River System. She refused to take no for an answer when she wanted a meeting with a



Shortcutt Schifferle

photo by Dick Roos-Collins



Alexander Gaguine photo by Dick Roos-Collins

Congressman; she was always prompt in providing information; her enthusiasm for this river "somewhere in the Sierra" was infectious. One Sierra Club staffer in Washington has said, "She was one of the most amazing lobbyists I have ever watched in action."

Action is the key. She encouraged the author of the bill, Representative Edwards, to introduce it on a day's notice, because some vocal opponents were out of town. In a typical day, she would call our offices in California a half-dozen times, giving orders disguised as news, all the while keeping appointments with Congressional aides and other lobbyists. Towards the end of the bill, she ringled twenty volunteers, and three other staffers, out of an office which could be confused with a closet.

We were one vote short in committee. That was not for lack of trying. Chairman Phil Burton, facing Shortcutt at the stand, turned to other members and said: "If my distinguished colleagues want to know why I have a few more gray hairs than normal, the reason is standing right in front of you."

Bruce Alexander Gaguine was our poet and our top organizer of the grassroots, or "groots," as he called them. His mind is never quiet, full of implausible plots for making the world better. Strangely enough, many of them work.

In early 1976, he was planning to spend the summer, as usual, as a commercial guide. Then F.O.R. "embraced" him, as he says, by offering him the position of college organizer. Impressed that he could gain responsibility so quickly, despite his innocence of politics, he embraced F.O.R., giving us the benefit of his vital wit. Alexander turns an office into a home for his colleagues.

He wrote most of our Action Alerts from 1976 to 1980. He had a special flair for publicity, getting attention for rivers that 95% of the public had never seen, except on TV. He knew that facts would be argued for years before courts, administrative agencies, and legislative bodies, so he cut through the facts to the bottom line: we own this land,

and it is immoral, even criminal, for the government to destroy it. In a flyer that was widely quoted by other environmental groups, he wrote: "Each river is unique, yet all rivers share a presence, a 'riverness,' be they singing creeks or powerful, rolling currents. The streams shape the land and the life around them. Like the bulk of a great mountain, the motion of a river exerts a strong force on those who observe or live with it. ... A river has dignity. In its presence, one stands straighter. ... To those who treasure it, a river has no price."

His words have the presence and clarity of a dancer's movements. In fact, he was successful as an organizer because he could translate his ideas into actions. In December 1976, to bring attention to the Sacramento Municipal Utility District's plan to dam the North Fork of the Stanislaus, he dressed volunteers as Santa Claus and paraded them around the Capitol with balloons printed: "Santa gives you what you want. Will SMUD?" Demonstrating the result of failure of Auburn Dam, 39 cohorts and he attended a hearing in Sacramento in lifejackets. In 1978, he orchestrated a procession of walkers from the Stanislaus to the Capitol; they brought a toyon tree "as a memorial to the life that will be destroyed by New Melones

His words have the presence and clarity of a dancer's movements.

Dam." Planted at the Stanislaus River Day rally of 500 people, another of Alexander's ideas, the tree has since grown tall outside of the Governor's window. In 1979 he led dozens of individuals to camp alongside the growing New Melones Reservoir to "witness" the destruction.

His best feeling? "Getting others involved. When you campaign for months with no decisive effect on the government, that may be your only satisfaction."

Brad Welton brought New York to this very Californian group. He was forceful and driven: a skilled organizer of professionals who resisted organizing. He started work early and left late. He enjoyed coffee and cigarettes, so we had our own smoke-filled back rooms. Unwilling to decide between political activism and his professional training in law, he did both jobs, despite the strain.

Having tired of office work for the Bureau of Land Management, he got himself transferred to the Stanislaus, where he served as the first river ranger in 1973. During law school in San Diego in 1976, as an exception to the rule that law students eat, sleep, and drink law, he found time to organize meetings in support of State Senator Behr's bill to protect the Stanislaus.

Then, in one of those coincidences which seem to bless F.O.R., he joined us as a staffer about the time that Alexander did. They were our "dynamic duo." After the defeat of Behr's bill, their enthusiasm and gutsiness got F.O.R. back on its feet. Like Alexander, Brad believed in organizing for

the sake of organizing-particularly when the doors of power seemed closed. Together they would take a hearing by storm: Alexander with the groots and press releases, Brad with the experts. At one hearing before President Carter's committee to review water policy, Brad had brought so many witnesses that the chairman would ask, "And who is next, Mr. Welton?"

Brad had the knack of making you grateful that he asked you to do something: he communicated a sense of urgency and importance in a sweet way. Besides, it was obvious that he was working harder than he expected you to.

His specialty was creating a working team, for a short or long term. At hearings on Auburn Dam and SMUD's damming of the North Fork of the Stanislaus, and at the Bay Area Forum on the Stanislaus in 1978, he had several dozen speakers lined up and linked like a mosaic. In 1980, he managed the Congressional campaign for the Stanislaus,

He brought New York to this very Californian group.

perhaps the largest movement for a river in the country's history.

He is a complex blend of professionalism and homeyness. Despite F.O.R.'s tradition of working directly with the public, he masterminded law suits on the damming of the North Fork of the Stanislaus, construction of the Camp 9 bridge just downstream, filling of New Melones Dam prior to the finish of archeological mitigation, and mining on the Middle Fork of the Feather. Yet he was always willing to run a phone bank or help someone buying a t-

Together they gave us, and the rivers of the West, years of their lives, and the benefit of their strength and imagination. Alexander, Brad and Shortcutt: we thank you.

Volunteer Today

You don't need to fly off to Washington



Brad Welton

with a few names in your pocket, or run a statewide campaign. There are plenty of things to do in your hometown. Sponsor a F.O.R. RIVER EVENING to help the public learn more about river issues, and to met other local activists.

Call our San Francisco office: we can provide a film, ideas for making your evening a success, literature, and local

And come to our conference, November 14-15, to learn how to make politicians work for you. See the Calendar.

We'll take you rafting in exchange for regular help. Next spring, we are running trips for volunteers on April 17 and May 1-2.

OPPOSING PERSPECTIVES

How successful are environmentalists?

Here's a puzzle for you. 74% of the American public consider themselves "environmentalist"; 62% say they are sympathetic to the environmentalist movement; but only 7% are members of environmental groups, despite the unpopularity of Secretary Watt.

Why? It is easy to speculate. Americans are individualistic, hesitant to identify themselves with groups. Membership costs good money. Environmental protection is often seen as costing jobs in the hometownparticularly when employers make threats.

Still some of the fault lies in the structure of the movement, or in our message. We often complain that the media (and by implication, the public) do not understand the real issues, and that many politicians only understand money. How well are we doing our job as advocates?

The following debate is intended to make us think about our ability to persuade, and thus to help us reach a broader audience.

Larry Heider describes himself as a "young, gay, urban modern who is concerned about the environment. I am not an environmentalist." He works as an independent TV producer, and has volunteered his time for over a year to help us improve our p.r.

Larry Orman directs People for Open Space, which recently published Endangered Harvest, the Future of Bay Area Farmland. That report has received national acclaim for its reasonable and clear plan to preserve farmland and still allow some urban growth. He ran our rafting trips during Proposition 17 in 1974.

On Doing Poorly

by Larry Heider

It is time that the American people were disabused of a few notions. Ronald Reagan did not win by a landslide; he received a meager 51% of the lowest voter turnout in thirty-two years. He did not win because Democrats voted for him; he received almost the same number of votes that Gerald Ford did in 1976 and won because Democrats stayed home from the polls. Finally, Ronald Reagan has no "mandate"; nearly one-half of those who bothered to vote voted against

It is also time that the environmental community was disabused of a notion: though they may still care a great deal about the quality of the environment, Americans have become fed up with the strident rhetoric and the dreary, hairshirt aesthetic of the environmentalist movement; they are sick of the heavy load of self-denial and guilt heaped upon them by environmentalists and are happy to have a cheerful President who knows how to be Presidential and understands their need to be entertained and diverted. This is why Reagan can make James Watt Interior Secretary; he knows he can get away with it. Constant moral intimidation by environmentalists has so alienated America that Reagan is free to render them powerless in a single, sweeping, and very public, gesture.

All of this is the consequence of the perverse and willful ignorance environmentalists have displayed toward the communications and advertising media, as if proximity to technology would morally taint the movement. However, conservatives have ruthlessly exploited these media with enormous success. The environmentalist movement must learn to do likewise or it has no future. A totally new and upbeat-even cheerful-image (yes, I said image)-is needed, even if it requires the radical transformation of the structure of the movement. You may wonder at the shallowness of this approach, but most working people simply do not have the time to consider in depth or detail most of the issues that confront them in the course of a day and depend upon the media to tell them what issues are important enough to pursue. The

Shrillness and stridency reflect poorly on the nature experience.

ability to manipulate this situation is the source of the conservative victory; conservatives have made important only those issues they know they can dominate to their advantage. Environmentalists must reverse this trend by dominating media themselves. They cannot do this through shrillness and stridency, which reflect poorly on what the nature experience does for people. A public image is needed that reflects well on that nature experience and makes more people want to share in it. Environmentalists have failed in this regard more than they realize.

The children born in the late forties and fifties-spoiled, pampered, sheltered from reality, accustomed never having to accept responsibility for their own actions-have made it perfectly clear that they have no intention of growing up. For many of them the environmental movement is a last refuge from reality, a place to indulge their TVinspired fantasies of rural life. However, their children, born in the sixties and raised

from earliest infancy on images of assassination, wars, and riot, have no delusions about the complexity and ugliness of the real world. The youth of the eighties, who are the future of this movement, are sophisticated pragmatists with a far greater appreciation of the uses of conventional social institutions, including media, than their parents. Yield to their ideas. For if even a fraction of the claims the current environmentalist generation makes for itself were true, then Ronald Reagan would not be President.

On Doing Well and Better

by Larry Orman

In a "Doonesbury" cartoon of the early seventies, the Energy Czar, regally managing America's oil crisis, says to his scribe, "We can't really call it a crisis anymore. I mean everyone's used to it, right?" He then declares it ended, amid ringing bells and adulatory crowds shouting, "Long live the Czar!"

Larry Heider's provocative essay cites the successful, upbeat tone of the Reagan Administration and its resonance in the American public as a lesson for "hairshirt environmentalists" to learn from. While there is certainly much to consider here, it also bears resemblance to the Czar's tactic.

In this consumer-dominated economy, the reality of current events is an incredibly sober thing to deal with.

Unfortunately, ecological damage cannot be staved or reversed with a wave of a mediagenic wand alone.

The hard fact is that in this consumerdominated economy, driven by an economic calculus blind to the protection of the natural environment, the reality of current events often is an incredibly sober thing to deal with if you are on the front lines.

But Heider correctly challenges us to make use of approaches which give people confidence about problems which are so momentous, leaving them in a position to want to engage, rather than feeling oppressed at the mere thought of such involvement. To do this, however, means examining the appeal of our goals and our effectiveness at

communicating them.

While there are definitely ways to improve our efforts on both, we're actually doing pretty well already. The recent Outer Continental Shelf leasing proposals were stymied by a well orchestrated campaign. The "Recall Watt" petitions are an extremely effective organizing tactic, and the Sierra Club has recently taken to producing several TV ads where ordinary people say why they "feel good" about their involvement in efforts to protect the environment. It's also important to remember that Reagan's resource grab was not a campaign issue. It is coming largely as a side effect of an Administration deeply committed to unrestrained economic activity in order to meet

the public's most pressing concern, inflation.

But we also need to do better at our work because, for whatever reason, we are faced with a hostile or indifferent federal government, and more resistance in some states.

Concerning the substance of our message, I think the biggest challenge is making our broad conservation goals have a more direct relation to people in cities. Only on air pollution, toxics and some park issues do we really know why our objectives are immediately important to urban residents.

Astute communication is also vital. Where we are successful in this, the secret seems to lie in an appeal which gives the recipient a feeling of identification and encouragement, although sometimes a crisis appeal is also needed. People for Open Space, whom I work for, has been able to get a lot of attention on the issue of farmland loss in large part because our product (a report) was designed to be attractive enough to compel someone to leaf through it, and interestingly enough written to capture their attention when they did.*

While it is important to make as much use of market research methods as possible,

the conventional channels for such efforts are just too expensive for most of us. But I think there are also some unexplored alternatives. What about trying to get film and TV scriptwriters on river trips? (Look at the impact of *China Syndrome* and *Chinatown*.) Can someone do an adventurous, sexy novel about groundwater overdrafting? (Crazy? Look at what Hailey's *Overload* did for PG&E!) Take more radio disc jockeys and program directors on fun trips, and start doing ecological coloring books for kids. We can learn a lot by asking what media different people pay attention to at different ages.

Finally, the emergence of others like Larry Heider, who will independently develop and act on their own environmental protection rationale, is crucial. The disabled are another good example. The natural environment is too important to rely on traditional activists alone—the more people who want a stake in our ecological well being, the better.

* Editor's note: This report is available for \$5 (including postage) from P.O.S., 46 Kearny Street, San Francisco, CA 94108.

into the environment should bear the legal responsibility for the damages they cause and that the citizen whose health or property suffers should have reasonable access to the courts for relief. Pseudo-conservatives favor having the individual citizen, or if necessary the taxpayer, pay for the costs of such toxic risks as hazardous-waste dumps."

Leaving pyramids to the Egyptians

"True conservatives believe that the federal government should not construct uneconomical and expensive public works—dams that make only political sense, shipping channels that no private investor would come near, highways that are inappropriate for an energy-efficient future. Pseudoconservatives, on the other hand, are happy with big federal bucks flowing to the builders of pyramids."

These same tests should be applied to our own proposals, since, in many ways, we are conservatives too. We want the health of the earth to be conserved; our favorite theme is the destructive absurdity of subsidizing dams. Figuring out how to preserve wilderness at the least cost in taxes is a major challenge facing us as a movement and as users. The management of the Stanislaus River is a success story: the cost of the Bureau of Land Management's patrol is covered by an assessment on commercial rafting revenues.

Water Pricing Reform:

Is Reagan Serious About "Reaganomics?"

by Congressman George Miller Seventh District, California

Skepticism about federal water policy and public works projects has too often focused almost exclusively on environmental impacts. Today, in the era of fiscal conservatism and budgetary belt tightening, we should highlight the enormous waste of many projects, and attempt to eliminate unnecessary and costly public subsidies which have long underwritten the federal water program.

Twenty-six years ago, President Eisenhower's Hoover Commission warned, "The federal government has planned, constructed and paid for water resource and development projects which are economically wasteful and hence waste the national wealth." Never was that statement more accurate than today, when some of the wealthiest and largest irrigators in the country, including many of the biggest corporations in the United States, reap billions of dollars in taxpayer subsidies through the water program.

Almost every federal project was originally intended to pay for itself. Instead of project beneficiaries paying the bills, however, it is the general taxpayer who carries the overwhelming majority of the cost of these projects. According to the General Accounting Office's review of six new water projects, beneficiaries will repay

SUBSIDY: The Welfare Economy

Less subsidy for water supply, more for efficient use.

Pull out your Webster's.

Subsidy is now a four-letter word.

Everyone gets a subsidy from the federal government, of one kind or another; but who wants to admit it? "Redistribution of wealth" is the credo of the British Labor Party, not the Republicans or Democrats. President Reagan insists, in his speeches at least, that all subsidies—whether called welfare, incentive, or investment in national security—deserve close study.

In an article published early this year, "Unmasking Fake Conservatives," former Congressman John Anderson wondered about the new Administration: "What kind of conservatives will be in charge—real conservatives or pseudo-conservatives?" The question is still a good one, and it goes deeper than name calling.

Anderson suggested several tests for sorting out the true conservatives.

Reliance on the free market to keep the economy healthy

"Real conservatives believe that special subsidies are inappropriate and hinder the operation of the free-market system. Pseudoconservatives, in sharp contrast, support special large-scale subsidies for big business. Pseudo-conservatives are sometimes called 'corporate socialists' for this reason. Though their rhetoric is about government waste, pseudo-conservatives vote for a wide range of money projects that benefit business with little trickle-down effect on the population as a whole."

Costs included in the prices of products

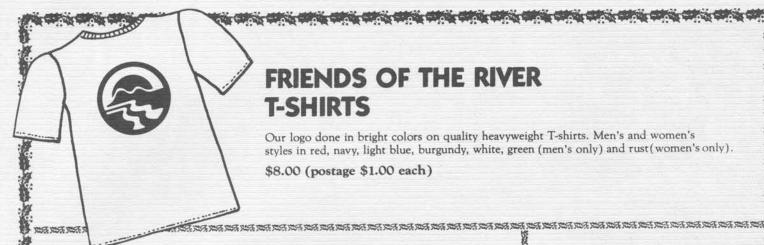
"Real conservatives believe that, in order to work correctly, the free-market system must allow all of the costs of products to be included in prices. Such costs must therefore incorporate the price of pollution control, established either through sound regulation or, perhaps better yet, through pollution taxes. The marketplace can then reward the most efficient manufacturer. Pseudo-conservatives believe in eliminating sound regulation and allowing the cost of pollution to be passed on to the public in the form of 'hidden taxes,' damage to people's health and property and public resources."

Competition as the creator of policy

"True conservatives believe that the prices of energy should be deregulated and that the various forms of energy, including the most important source of 'new energy,' energy conservation, should be allowed to compete fairly in the marketplace. They maintain that there should not be special subsidies from the federal government to bolster some forms of energy and to inhibit others. Pseudo-conservatives by contrast are for energy subsidies—depletion allowances, loan guarantees, purchase guarantees, federal takeover of the costs of storing nuclear wastes, federal limits on liability, and so on."

Responsibility as the price (or benefit) of doing business

"Real conservatives believe that businesses releasing hazardous products or materials



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By Cassidy, Rimbeaux and Waller. A guide to juggling written for those to whom dropping things has always been second nature. Comes complete with three





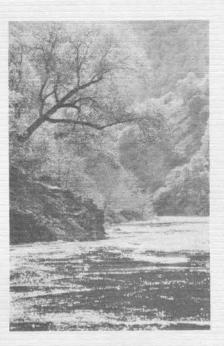
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The Tuolumne, the Stanislaus and the South Fork of the American

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STANISLAUS RIVER POSTERMAP

Done in natural brown tones, 23" × 34", suitable for framing. Shows all flora, fauna, places of interest and rapids on the Stanislaus River.

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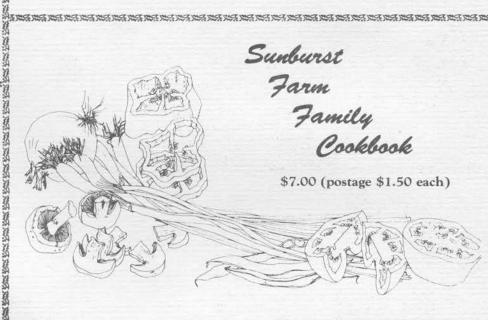
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as little as 2%, and in no case more than 7%, of the actual cost of the project. Some irrigators enjoy water at bargain basement prices locked into inflation-free contracts signed decades ago!

We may not be running out of water, as GAO has just identified 15-milion acre feet of unused water or storage space located at various "essential" projects throughout the West. But we are running out of cheap water, and the new economic gameplan of the Reagan Administration, together with legislation which I have introduced, could force long overdue changes in the management of federal water programs.

Most water subsidies were included in projects originally as a means of luring settlers to the arid West. The intended beneficiaries, under the Reclamation Act, were small farmers who, in return for subsidized benefits (mainly, inflation-free construction charges) would develop western agriculture, settle the land, and populate the seventeen western states.

Today, most irrigators can well afford to pay more realistic prices for the water they use. Take the long-controversial Westlands Water District, for example, which has a contract with the federal Bureau of Reclamation for 900,000 acre feet of water at a cost of \$7.50 an acre foot. The price was set on the basis of studies completed in the mid-1950s. The contract provides for no modification of the price until 2007. Today, the cost of delivering that acre foot of water is nearly \$14 and Westlands' farmers, some of whom are multinational corporations, can actually afford to pay several times that amount. But Westlands' farmers are not satisfied: some of them are suing the federal government for another 250,000 acre feet of water at the \$7.50 subsidy price!

Such massive subsidies not only cost the government hundreds of millions of dollars, but also encourage the profligate misuse of limited water resources. The General Accounting Office has estimated that as much as half of all the federal water resources never reach the crops for which it was intended. Billions of gallons are lost in transit or through overwatering of crops. Incredibly, no efficient use standard is imposed on federal water customers as a condition of receiving subsidized water.

Charging more realistic water rates will not drive farmers out of business. Farmers who purchase water from the State Water Project pay substantially more than federal project customers (although they still enjoy a subsidy of more than \$25 million a year), and



Double talk illustration courtesy of Common Cause

irrigators elsewhere in the country pay many times as much as California's farmers for pumping groundwater, often to irrigate less bountiful land. In Israel, for example, farmers grow as much per acre on worse quality land while using half as much water as their California counterparts. Moreover, a study by the U.S. Department of Agriculture recently concluded that higher prices for water could actually mean bigger profits for farmers, who would become more efficient as a result of the pricing reform.

In addition, charging beneficiaries instead of taxpayers for the benefits of water projects will force politicians to approve only those projects which make economic sense instead of merely authorizing billions of dollars in construction costs which inflate the national debt. Water customers in Los Angeles, for example, might rethink the wisdom of the billion dollar Peripheral Canal when they realize that water costs for the average family could increase from \$100 to over \$1,280 a year, as recently predicted by water economists. The Rand Corporation concluded that the Canal would encourage even more inefficient use of water in California.

"The Water Pricing Reform Act," which I have introduced, would require beneficiaries to pay the cost of delivery for their water, and would require irrigators from new

We may not be running out of water, but we are running out of cheap water.

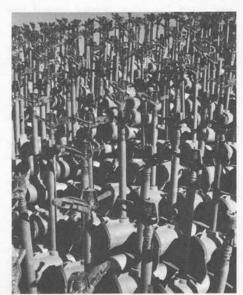
projects to pay a modest interest charge on their construction costs, the biggest single subsidy in water project construction. The bill would reduce the duration of contracts from 40 to a more prudent 10 years, and mandate that the price be recalculated each year.

The goal of this bill is not to penalize anyone, but rather to apply the economic principles to water which the Reagan Administration has embraced with respect to gasoline, home heating oil and natural gas. If the market should determine the cost of heating oil to the working class family in Massachusetts, why not apply the identical principle to the agricultural water user in the western states?

Intellectual honesty would seem to compel the Administration to follow such a course. Conservative columnist George Will recently wrote, "Out West, detestation of the federal government by 'sagebrush rebels' stops well short of a desire for fewer reclamation dollars. And reverence for the market stops well short of a belief that users should pay market value for water." The water price reform issue will be a test of whether the Reagan Administration genuinely believes that the day of the pork-barrel and the irrigation subsidy is past.

Common Ground?

Like Congressman Miller, Friends of the River advocates reasonable subsidies—



Sprinklers waiting for the season to start photo by Larry Orman/People for Open Space

which return benefits greater than the cost to the taxpayers. Support for that perspective on agricultural subsidies comes from a surprising quarter: Congressman Norm Shumway, whose district contains New Melones Dam.

Despite our campaigning with him against John McFall, who had represented that district since the authorization of the dam in 1962, we lost our common ground with him soon after his election in 1978. Farmers count more than environmentalists in farm country. He opposed our bill, H.R. 4223, to put the upper Stanislaus Canyon in the National Wild and Scenic River System.

Now Shumway has taken an action that makes good sense: introduction of the Irrigation Water Conservation Tax Act of 1981, designed to promote conservation of both water and energy. "The bill would provide an additional 10% investment tax credit as well as accelerated depreciation allowances on all water-saving irrigation equipment, such as drip irrigation, sprinkler systems, recovery systems, pipeline equipment and ditch linings."

Since World War II, the federal government has spent more than \$100 billion on development of water supplies, and over \$250 billion for energy—and less than \$10 billion on conservation. For example, the Mid-Pacific region of the Bureau of Reclamation has over 1300 employees to plan and operate dams—and only 6 in the Irrigation Management Service.

Using rhetoric that might as well have come from a Friends of the River press release, Shumway said:

"The recent drought affecting all parts of our nation is stark evidence that our once plentiful supply of water is becoming increasingly scarce. Irrigated agriculture accounts for almost 85% of all water consumed annually, and some 51 million acres of farmland are now under irrigation. Because prevailing methods of irrigation are largely inefficient, it has been suggested that enormous quantities of water might be saved

and freed for other needed uses if less wasteful methods of irrigating were employed. However, the cost of such conversion is prohibitive: more than \$200,000 would be required to convert the average 412 acre farm to drip irrigation."

Shumway's bill would provide tax incentive for the costly conversion, and would also enable growers who use more efficient equipment to depreciate that property over three years. "Thus, the bill would provide double encouragement," Shumway explained.

Shumway also pointed out that "the energy crisis and the water shortage are inextricably linked. PG&E estimates that if 10% of its customers who use older sprinkler systems would convert to low pressure sprinklers, generating capacity could be reduced by 25,000 kilowatts, achieving an annual energy saving of about 30 million kilowatt-hours. Nationwide, a 10% reduction of irrigated water demand would translate into 26 million barrels of imported crude oil saved annually. That's about 1.5%

of the electricity generated in this country." He added, "an average 50 acre grape farm using more efficient methods of irrigation would save 5 million gallons per year, while some 50,000 gallons could be saved if drip irrigation were employed on a grower's tomato crop."

"My bill represents a straightforward approach to a very complex problem. It also concentrates national and Congressional attention on a problem which will assume paramount importance during the next two decades. I have urged my colleagues to join in supporting this effort, and I will continue to push for its passage," he concluded.

Due to the rush of budget and tax changes, this bill has been stuck in the Ways and Means Committee of the House. Write the chairman, Daniel Rostenkowski (D-Illinois) or the only Californian member, John Rousselot (R-Los Angeles), and also Norm Shumway, and tell them this bill makes a big difference to you as an environmentalist. (Washington, D.C. 20515)

RIVER CURRENTS

Developments affecting your favorite rivers and creeks.



Water Initiative

In the last issue, we announced that an independent committee was organizing an initiative to protect the Stanislaus. Now the committee has decided to transform that measure into a broader initiative reforming the state's water policies. The Water Initiative will be qualified for the November 1982 ballot. The next issue of *Headwaters* will focus on this exciting development.

October 31 is the last day for buying or returning your raffle tickets to help fund the Initiative. Call or write for information about the marvelous prizes. California Water Resources Protection Council, 401 San Miguel Way, Sacramento 95819; (916) 453-0443.

Lower SOFAR by Doug Linney

Legislation to protect the South Fork American River between Chili Bar and Salmon Falls bridge has had a stormy history on the floor of the Assembly. This summer, it was approved, then held for reconsideration, and then passed over until January. The bill, AB 1354, would impose a moratorium on the construction of new dams on the S.F. American for a period of 71/4 years.

AB 1354, introduced by Assemblyman Howard Berman, was approved by the Assembly on July 6 but was held for reconsideration the next day when several Assembly members were persuaded to change their vote.

Although hundreds of letters were received by key Assembly members, the bill was not brought up for a vote again during the parts of August and September when the Legislature was in session. As a result, AB 1354 will be voted on when the Legislature reconvenes in January.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: Write your Assemblyman. If you have already written and received a negative or neutral answer, send a second letter. Please send copies of the replies to our Sacramento office. Remember, urge a yes vote on AB 1354. (Assemblyman ______, State Capitol, Sacramento, CA 95814.)

Peripheral Canal? Next Year

Governor Brown has decided not to call a special election in November for the referendum about the Peripheral Canal. Instead, the most hotly debated water development in the state's history will be put before the voters on the regular ballot in June 1982.

The San Francisco Chronicle editorialized: "After months of struggling with a dilemma, the governor decided to go for what he felt would hurt him least. There are the usual theories about what side will benefit from the decision. One line of thought holds a special election would have been better for the opponents—because a lower turnout in Southern California might be expected. But a later vote will allow more time for the mounting of persuasive arguments against this huge, wasteful and phenomenally-expensive ditch. Take your pick."

Each side is expected to spend up to \$5 million. The California Cattlemen's Association has now joined the California Farm Bureau in Farmers and Ranchers for a Fair Water Policy, and environmentalists in the Coalition to Stop the Canal. Meanwhile, the canal's supporters have organized under the banner of Californians for Water.

The latest Field poll is bad news for opponents, including F.O.R. State-wide support for the canal has jumped from 32% to 41% since January, while opposition has grown by 2% to 34%.

One of the major environmental arguments for the canal is in trouble. State officials argue that changing the point of diversion for the California Aqueduct from the Delta to the Sacramento River would save 80 million striped bass a year; those fish, and three times more, would be killed downstream, according to a recent report.

PG&E has admitted that its power plants in Contra Costa County kill 300 million striped bass each year. The juveniles are drawn into the plants along with water to cool condensers, then boiled to death.

Surprise, Surprise

Never underestimate the possibility of surprises in politics.



California Aqueduct

photo by Brian Fessenden

Friends of the Dam is being sued by Milton Kramer, the specialist in public relations who has masterminded the defeat, since 1974, of our campaigns to preserve the Stanislaus. The issue: back pay.

Kramer's suit, filed in San Joaquin Superior Court, alleges that FOD agreed in June 1979 to pay him \$6,000 a month plus expenses, but has paid only \$30,000 out of a bill of \$117,700.

He does not expect a settlement for over a year. Meanwhile, John Hertle, head of FOD, disagreed that they even had an oral contract to pay that salary, and said: "It's disturbing to me that volunteers who served (us) now have to bear the costs of defending themselves."

But that's not the end of the surprise. Kramer is now volunteering his time to protect several favorite streams in Mono County. Lamenting the "flood of applications" to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission for new licenses, he hopes to change the rules so that appliants must get the approval of the State Department of Fish and Game, unless the electricity is "urgently needed" for social security. In his first interview with F.O.R., he said: "Take Rock Creek near Iris Meadow. The proposed dam would alter the whole ecosystem. It's now a free-flowing stream, the same as it was when the east side of the Sierra was created. The dam would destroy the spawning grounds for native rainbow, browns, and brooks."

"In exchange for destroying wild trout, the applicant would get a profit of \$600,000. That's immoral."

We agree. That's what we said about New Melones Dam.

Good News and Bad News

First, the good news. On June 1, the Administration announced its support for former Interior Secretary Andrus' inclusion of five North Coast rivers, and the lower American, in the Federal Wild and Scenic River System. Although that protection is still being contested in federal court by timber and water interests, at least the Administration is publicly on the right side of the fence.

The Justice Department supposedly elected to defend against the suits, despite Secretary Watt's recommendation that the federal government admit an "error" and back off.

Judge William Ingram of U.S. District Court in San Francisco will hear oral arguments in the near future. The National Park Service will not develop plans for management of the rivers until resolution of the court suit.

Now the bad news. Secretary Watt is considering the possibility of not providing releases from federal dams to meet water quality standards in the Delta, or to restore the salmon and trout fisheries in the Trinity River.

In each instance, the former Administration decided to reduce the Central Valley Project's net yield of water for irrigation, in order to correct the environmental problems



Sign in the Trinity River Basin

caused by its operation. The South Delta Water Agency has pinned the blame on the Bureau for the declining water quality of the Delta; the Board of Supervisors of Trinity County has insisted that the Bureau decimated the salmon and steelhead fisheries in the Trinity River.

800,000 acre feet per year would have been used to satisfy the State Water Board's Decision 1485; 340,000 acre feet per year (up from the current 121,000), to rejuvenate the fisheries—leaving 5 to 6 million acre feet for irrigation.

The issue documents are still being studied by Secretary Watt, who should hear from you (in Washington, D.C. 20240) about your support for a balanced operation of the Central Valley Project.

Disaster at Mono Lake

Most of the gull chicks at Mono Lake have starved.

There were so few few brine shrimp and flies that adult birds could not find enough food. The increasing saltiness of the lake was apparently responsible for the disaster.

Congressman Norm Shumway has introduced a bill, H.R. 4057, to set aside the shoreline as a park, and to fund a study of policies which could decrease the diversions to Los Angeles. For more information, contact the Mono Lake Coalition, c/o Friends of the Earth, 124 Spear Street, San Francisco, CA 94105.

From Russia With Love

If Mono Lake is weighing on your mind, take comfort: we aren't alone or unique in creating disasters.

The Aral Sea, the fourth-largest lake in the world, is dropping so quickly that it might dry up in a few decades. And it's becoming too salty to support freshwater fisheries. The reason? Irrigation of cotton in Central Asia.

Moscow's equivalent of the Bureau of Reclamation diverts the flow of the lake's tributaries to produce most of Russia's crop of cotton, the largest in the world. That crop earns nearly \$500 million a year in export, and provides work for the exploding population of Uzbeks, a Muslim minority. And like their colleagues in the American west, regional officials are lobbying the government to subsidize additional development: the damming and diversion of the Ob River, 1500 miles to the north in Siberia. The estimated cost: \$20 to \$30 billion in rubles. Unsure what the real price tag will be, Moscow has called for more studies.

Information at Your Fingertips

Policies and Goals for California Water Management is the state government's draft plan for the future. Supplementing the 1957 California Water Plan, which outlined the dams and canals necessary for the expansion of agriculture and southern cities, the Department of Water Resources and the State Water Resources Control Board now advocate a more balanced use of rivers and groundwater in order to provide the greatest benefit to the public.

"Water already developed shall be used to the maximum extent before new sources are developed." Or put another way, "water shall be reclaimed and reused to the maximum extent possible." Also, "instream beneficial uses shall be maintained and, when practical, restored and enhanced."

Public comments are welcome until November 20. So whatever you think about the Peripheral Canal, get out your pen and vote for this balanced approach. For a free copy of the draft report, Bulletin #4, write the Department of Water Resources, Box 388, Sacramento, CA 95802.

Fall is canoeing season. The flow of most rivers is marginal for rafting, but don't hang up your lifejacket. Enjoy the crisp days and changing colors.

The Canoe Source Book lists addresses for information about parks, preserves, and boating trails throughout the U.S. It's free from the National Marine Manufacturers Association, 353 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016.

Official Rental Directory lists addresses of companies which rent canoes throughout the country. It's also free, from the National Association of Canoe Liveries and Outfitters, P.O. Box 515, Big Rapids, MI 49307.

River Information Digest describes the whitewater rivers managed by federal agencies in western states. It explains access,

the class of rapids, ownership of land, length of trip; and it gives the addresses of the managers. It's free from the Interagency Whitewater Committee, c/o Mr. Art Seamens, Hells Canyon National Recreation Area, 3620B Snake River Avenue, Lewiston,

ALL THE PRESIDENT MEN What is Washington doing about rivers?

The New Anthem

"Oh give me a home where no buffalo roam, And ranchers and dam builders play; Where seldom is heard the song of a bird, But the oil rigs are pumping all day. Where Smokey the Bear breathes in toxic air, And the cattle chew nuclear hav."

(from the newsletter of the Tennessee Scenic Rivers Association)

Do They Know Something?

The Association of California Water Agencies is encouraging irrigation districts to issue a resolution supporting Secretary of the Interior Watt. In part, the model resolution reads:

"Secretary Watt has acted courageously to bring about balanced resource development and to resolve problems including:

(a) Resumption of planning activities so as to be better able to meet growing water and energy needs through the construction and use of multi-purpose projects;

(b) Reviewing budget data to permit more efficient use of available funds for urban and rural constituencies;

(c) Letting the nation know that the 'war on the west' is over;

(d) Continuing petroleum exploration and development . . .;

(e) Assisting in actions to modernize acreage limitation provisions of reclamation law; and

(f) Taking steps to reverse the wild and scenic rivers designation for the North Coast rivers and Lower American River."

The third item refers to former Presi-

dent Carter's campaign to lessen the federal subsidy of damming in the west. The final item confirms persistent rumors that Watt opposes the federal designation of those rivers, despite the Justice Department's decision to defend it in court. (See related story in River Currents.)

Principles and Standards

Secretary Watt has proposed the repeal of the Principles and Standards for planning federal dams

Established by the former Administration as a result of the most extensive review of water policy in history, the rules were designed to make the federal government plan just like a business. The new Administration has found them "too complicated, rigid, and cumbersome."

The Environmental Policy Center reports that "to take the place of these regulations the Administration proposes to substitute guidelines which no member of the public has seen or will see prior to circulation by OMB.... What the abolition means is a return to ad hoc planning for water resources and the exclusion of the public from any participation in the decisionmaking."

Write and suggest that the rules be modified rather than replaced. Insist that environmental costs be fully considered prior to a committment to start construction; and that dams be built only if their benefits clearly exceed costs, and if the users pay their full share of the costs.

(Water Resources Council, 2120 L Street NW, Suite 800, Washington, D.C. 20037).

"The challenges that face the family farm in the 80's will be greater than ever before. On the one hand, experts advise farmers to increase production so that there will be enough food to feed the country's growing population and export abroad. Yet any farmer will tell you that overproduction is his greatest enemy.

"Environmental legislation also stands in the way of unfettered innovative agriculture. Many people object to the use of fertilizers, pesticides and other chemicals in food production. They want farmers to grow food like they did a hundred years ago. But at the same time they expect a wide variety of meats, fruits and vegetables at the lowest

possible cost.

"Before the Industrial Revolution in the 1700's, the world's population grew about two percent each century. Today it's growing at the rate of nearly two percent every year. What's behind this burst in population growth? Agriculture. It wasn't until there was sufficient food supply that the world's population could grow and flourish.

"The United States is the world's greatest leader in agricultural proiduction. Each year American farmers produce enough food to not only feed themselves and their fellow countrymen, but millions of people abroad as well. Why has the United States become so successful in agriculture? Because it has always had a free enterprise agriculture with free thinking, innovative farm people to help meet the challenges of an ever changing world."

(From "The Farm Wife: Key to Success," published by Steiger Tractor)



photo by Larry Orman/People for Open Space

Water, Water, Everywhere

The next time that you sit down to a favorite meal, look again. You may be drinking your favorite river. In the west, nearly all of our food is grown-and our rivers are depleted-through irrigation.

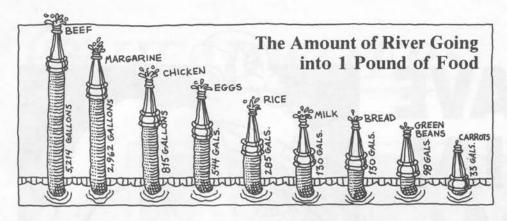
Consider hamburger. A 1000-pound steer has eaten fodder grown with 2,607,000 gallons of water. Since the edible portion is

BREAD & BUTTER Face-to-face with farmers.

Who do They Think They Are?

Congressman Miller's article shows farmers in a mixed light: conservatives with their money, liberals with yours, How do

they see themselves? Differently, of course. Dr. Hiram Drache, a farmer and advocate of agriculture, has written:



one-half of the live weight of the steer, a pound of beef "costs" 5,214 gallons. A Big Mac costs 1,300 gallons: so the entire flow of the Stanislaus River could be used to produce only 9 Big Macs a second.

Incidentally, margarine may be better for your waistline than real butter, but it is much harder on rivers. For every gallon of water used to make butter, 20 go into margarine, often made from cotton seeds.

The following chart shows the number of gallons of water used to produce one pound of a commodity.

Cooperatives

An invention of the 1960's? Not really. Cooperatives are as American as apple pie.

Most farmers belong to cooperatives to cut costs.

The Farm Bureau explains that "Comparatively few of your food dollars end up in the farmers' bank accounts. Dairy farmers receive only about 30¢ for a quart of milk....To surrive on very narrow profit margins, farmers have to be extremely efficient. Through their supply co-ops, farmers

get fertilizer, seed, feed, fuel and other inputs. Because they operate on a not-for-profit basis, co-op prices to their members are as reasonable as possible." Dependability is another advantage. "Because they are owned by farmers, cooperatives are always in the business of serving their farmer members. Non-cooperative companies may cut back or even abandon their farm trade when business conditions make it profitable to do so."

Straight from the Field

The Farmer-to-Consumer Directory lists more than 700 farms and 49 certified markets in California where you can buy food directly from the farmer. The list is broken down by county; and you can learn when particular crops are sold at each farm. The directory gives addresses and telephone numbers, and even has good hints about canning the food you buy so cheaply. Available free from the Department of Food and Agriculture, 1220 N Street, Room 427, Sacramento, CA 95814. Or call (800) 952-5272.

manufacturing more goods means supplying more energy—that America's future depended on more oil wells, more dams, more coal mines. But that cliche was based on the naive assumption that every jolt of energy did useful work. Instead, many industries have found that tightening the belt is a cinch—or at least cheaper than buying a new belt. The energy-guzzling industries, such as

steel and chemicals, now manufacture 20%

more goods with 2.2% less energy than in

Besides, conservation itself is an industry, bolstering the economy, with jobs for engineers, computer programmers, carpenters and plumbers. Reagan's new tax package will give conservation, and the conservation industry, a boost. Able to form extra capital, industries will move even more quickly to cut their losses of energy. Energy Secretary Duncan has said: "We will unleash

American industry to do the kind of job they're capable of."

Even the gas pump is no longer a sacred cow. Use of gas has dropped 14% since 1979, and may drop another 2% this year. (The next time you drive to your favorite river, team up.)

Conservation is popular for the simplest of reasons: price. Secretary Duncan—whose comments about environmentalism run a close second to Secretary Watt's in immaturity—has commented: "It's so self-evident to me that you start with conservation that maybe I haven't built the case for it. I would assume—and everyone would agree, I think—that the cheapest way to get energy is to conserve."

Stand by those words, Secretary. They make sense.



Sacred cow?

photo by Larry Orman

Busy as a Bee

The Department of Agriculture is studying a strain of wild bees that secrete polyester rather than honey.

Maybe they can be trained to weave fabric, too.

Information at Your Fingertips

EIA Publications Directory: A User's Guide lists federal reports on energy production and use. Free subscription. Energy Information Administration, Department of Energy, Forrestal Building, Washington, D.C. 20585.

Too impatient to write? Call EIA at (202) 252-8800. You can learn anything you want to know about energy.

Technology Characterizations explains how energy technologies work, what materials are used in their construction and operation, what they cost, what pollutants or environmental problems they create. Free. Ask for #EV-0072. Office of Enrivonmental Assessment, Department of Energy, Washington, D.C. 20545.



Move Over Environmentalists

Conservation is no longer just the darling of environmentalists. America has put it to work. In 1980, we used less energy than in the previous year, a historical first. Investment in conservation totaled \$9 billion, a far cry from the \$2 billion spent between the 1973 oil embargo and 1978. That annual investment in efficiency will triple by 1985.

Until recently, the federal government expected demand for energy to double every twenty years or so. Now the Department of Energy has lowered its educated guess of growth to a meager 1% a year. And the Mellon Institute has argued: "Even the most optimistic projections we are making may be understating conservation's true potential."

Moreover, the GNP will continue to grow regardless of the stingy use of energy. Traditionally, planners have argued that

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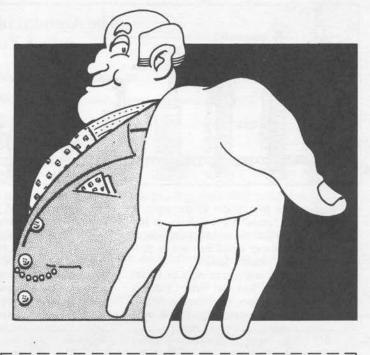
What's the special deal?

You help us do our job of saving your rivers.

Plus, our t-shirts are a great investment.

- As reported in an earlier edition of this newsletter, they can scare off bears.
- If you see one anywhere in the world, you know you've found a friend.
- They are great openers. Everyone will want to know, "Which river?"
- They are famous art. Chevron is displaying our orange t-shirt in its headquarters in San Francisco.

So don't wait. This offer expires on December 31, 1981. Mail to: 1228 N Street, Room 24, Sacramento, CA 95814



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