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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Draft Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13528  
**Folder ID Number:** 13528-006

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**Folder Title:**  
Business Week Special Edition on Environment 4/24/90 [OA 4729]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

90 MAR 25 P5: 38

April 25, 1990

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:           CHRISS WINSTON *ow*  
FROM:               MARY KATE GRANT *MKG*  
SUBJECT:            BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL EDITION ON THE ENVIRONMENT

Attached for your review is a proposed forward, which will appear in letter form, for the June 18 special edition of Business Week on "Managing the Earth's Resources." Senators Gore and Heinz as well as Secretary Reilly will also be contributing pieces for publication. Expected readership for this issue is seven million business leaders worldwide.

Grant  
April 25, 1990  
draft three  
A:business

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION:  
"AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY:  
MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

Over 200 years ago, the first settlers stepped ashore into the new world that would become America and found a lush, green land with clean air, clear-running streams, and endless acres of trees.

Today, we're working to restore our parks and wetlands, cut pollution in the air, clean up our beaches, and plant billions of trees. This Administration is committed to protecting our environment -- through the use of new, innovative solutions to some of the toughest challenges facing us today.

This year's budget provides over \$2 billion in new spending to enhance our environment, with over \$1 billion for global change research. And it includes an initiative called "America the Beautiful" to expand our national parks, wildlife refuges, forests and other public lands. It will also improve recreational facilities on public lands and encourage tree planting.

America's forests and trees need national attention, and, in the budget, I asked for \$175 million to plant one billion trees a year. And we're also asking Congress to approve another step to protect the environment -- the National Tree Trust Act of 1990. It will foster the partnership between the public and private

sectors to plant trees across America, and encourage citizens -- individual "points of light" -- to act in their own innovative ways to reforest America.

Our Clean Air Act proposal will cut airborne pollution affecting our cities and reduce acid rain harming our lakes and forests -- by unleashing the power of the marketplace in the service of the environment. For example, we've proposed emissions trading credits to reduce the level of sulfur dioxide. And we're encouraging measures to stop pollution at its source, without placing unreasonable and unnecessary burdens on economic growth.

But business does have a role to play, and a responsibility in keeping America beautiful for generations to come. A strong economy allows this nation to live up to the obligations of stewardship, by making environmental protection easier -- and environmental stewardship is crucial to sustaining our strong economy, by providing the base for economic growth. We risk both goals if we lose sight of the forest for the trees. We must leave our children with a strong economy, a cleaner environment and a sense of mission to protect both. Working together, we can discover a new world of environmental commitment -- by building a better America.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

1990 APR 25 PM 6:17

April 25, 1990

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *W*

FROM: MARY KATE GRANT *MKG*

SUBJECT: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL EDITION ON THE ENVIRONMENT

*OK*  
*G*  
*I assume been cleared by CEA*

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90 MAR 27 4:18

Grant  
April 25, 1990  
draft three  
A:business

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# # #

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 4/24/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 AM 4/25/90

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION: "AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Rogers</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>winstn</i> →	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Pinkerton</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>DeLand</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>David Struss</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>3742</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Room 122, ext. 2930, no later than 10:00 AM, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 1990, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

Grant/Nappo  
March 16, 1990  
draft two  
A:business

1990 APR 24 PM 3.31

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION:  
"AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY:  
MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

*into a*  
*where the first settlers stepped ashore*  
*? new world that was to become*  
Over 200 years ago, ~~the first Americans settled in the~~ *new*  
*America,* ~~world~~ and found a lush, green land with clean air, clear-running  
*endless*  
streams, and ~~over a billion~~ acres of trees.

Today, we're working to restore our parks and wetlands, cut  
pollution in the air, clean up our beaches, and plant *b* millions of  
trees. This Administration is committed to protecting our  
environment -- through the use of new, innovative solutions to  
some of the toughest challenges facing us today.

This year's budget provides over \$2 billion in new spending  
*enhance*  
to ~~protect~~ our environment, with over \$1 billion for global  
change research. And it includes a *can* ~~new~~ initiative called

"America the Beautiful" to expand our national parks ~~and~~ wildlife  
*refuges, forests and other public lands. It will also*  
~~preserves and~~ improve recreational facilities on public lands *and encourage tree planting.*

*insert A*  
Our Clean Air Act proposal will cut airborne pollution  
affecting our cities and reduce acid rain harming our lakes and  
forests -- by unleashing the power of the marketplace in the  
service of the environment. For example, we've proposed  
emissions trading credits to reduce the level of ~~air toxics and~~  
sulfur dioxide. And we're encouraging measures to stop pollution  
at its source, without placing unreasonable and unnecessary  
burdens on economic growth.

America's forests and trees need national attention, and in  
 the budget I asked for \$175 million to plant one billion trees a  
 year. And we're asking Congress to approve another step to  
 protect the environment -- the National Tree Trust Act of 1990.  
 It will foster the partnership between the public and private  
 sectors to plant trees across America, and encourage citizens --  
 "points of light" like ~~the Earth Corps~~ -- to act in their own  
 innovative ways to reforest America.

insert A

individual

<sup>But</sup> Business <sup>does have</sup> ~~has not only~~ a role to play, <sup>and</sup> ~~but~~ a responsibility  
 in keeping America beautiful for generations to come. As you  
 teach your children the "secrets of the trade," remember this:  
 not only is leadership passed down from generation to generation,  
 so is stewardship. We must leave our children with both a  
 cleaner environment and a sense of mission to protect it.  
 Working together, we ~~too~~ can discover a ~~"new world"~~ -- by  
 building a better America.

###

Memo to  
 Secretary

April 24, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: DALE CURTIS, CEQ

RE: DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE FOR BUSINESS WEEK:  
"AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY", ETC.

- 1) Page 2, line 7: reference to Earth Corps is cryptic, and in any case, the "Earth Corps" name is likely to be in litigation between two competing groups.
- 2) Considering the audience for this piece and the "visionary" title, this draft needs to be more sound and upbeat on long-range environmental themes of interest to business leaders.

The last two lines on page 1 are vague and negative; make this passage positive by using the phrase "pollution prevention pays" (pollution prevention and energy efficiency often save companies millions of dollars on the bottom line).

For ideas, see Fortune cover story, week of 2-12-90: with growing citizen/consumer awareness, pollution prevention is THE business issue of the 1990's (saves money for all kinds of companies, enhances international competitiveness).

Also, the President's closing address to the White House Conference on Global Change (4-18-90) had a very nice passage to the effect: "Those who are the most ardent defenders of the environment should defend economic growth, which makes environmental protection easier....Likewise, those who are the most ardent defenders of free markets should defend the environment, which provides the base for economic growth."

Hope this helps!

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

*Stephanie Laudner.*

*122 OE03.*

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COMMENTS DUE 10am TMW 4-25  
COMMENTS TO DALE

Grant/Nappo  
March 16, 1990  
draft two  
A:business

*Tom Supler*

1990 APR 24 PH 3.31

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION:  
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Today, we're working to restore our parks and wetlands, cut pollution in the air, clean up our beaches, and plant millions of trees. This Administration is committed to protecting our environment -- through the use of new, innovative solutions to some of the toughest challenges facing us today.

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America's forests and trees need national attention, and in the budget I asked for \$175 million to plant one billion trees a year. And we're asking Congress to approve another step to protect the environment -- the National Tree Trust Act of 1990. It will foster the partnership between the public and private sectors to plant trees across America, and encourage citizens -- "points of light" like the Earth Corps -- to act in their own innovative ways to reforest America.

Business has not only a role to play, but a responsibility in keeping America beautiful for generations to come. As you teach your children the "secrets of the trade," remember this: not only is leadership passed down from generation to generation, so is stewardship. We must leave our children with both a cleaner environment and a sense of mission to protect it. Working together, we too can discover a "new world" -- by building a better America.

likely to be in litigation -  
 \*\*\*

Thanks to  
 Scott [unclear]

Grant/Nappo  
March 16, 1990  
draft two  
A:business

1990 APR 24 PM 3.31

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION:  
"AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY:  
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*not much restoring  
of wetlands  
going on.*

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*protect our*

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*billions ✓ ?*

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*Not the point -- pollution prevention/energy efficiency often saves \$.  
replace underscore with: -- measures that not only ~~can~~ protect our  
environment, but often save money as well.*

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*likely to be in litigation*  
 # # #

*Memo to S.  
 See attached*

*disjoint*  
~~non sequitur~~  
 suggest insert (A)  
 (see attached)

# ENVIRONMENTALISM:

It may be the biggest business issue of the 1990s. Here's how some smart companies are tackling it. ■ by David Kirkpatrick

**T**REND SPOTTERS and forward thinkers agree that the Nineties will be the Earth Decade and that environmentalism will be a movement of massive worldwide force. How massive? Listen to Gary Miller, a public policy expert at Washington University in St. Louis: "In the Nineties environmentalism will be the cutting edge of social reform and absolutely the most important issue for business." Futurist Edith Weiner of the Manhattan management consulting firm Weiner Edrich Brown concurs: "Environmentalism will be the next major political idea, just as conservatism and liberalism have been in the past."

The smartest companies are not just facing this thunderous music, they're singing along. Consider:

■ Du Pont is pulling out of a \$750-million-a-year business because it may—just may—harm the earth's atmosphere.

■ McDonald's, which produces hundreds of millions of pounds of paper and plastic waste annually, has become a crusading proponent of recycling, and aims to become one of America's leading educators about environmental issues.

■ 3M is investing in myriad pollution controls for its manufacturing facilities beyond what the law requires.

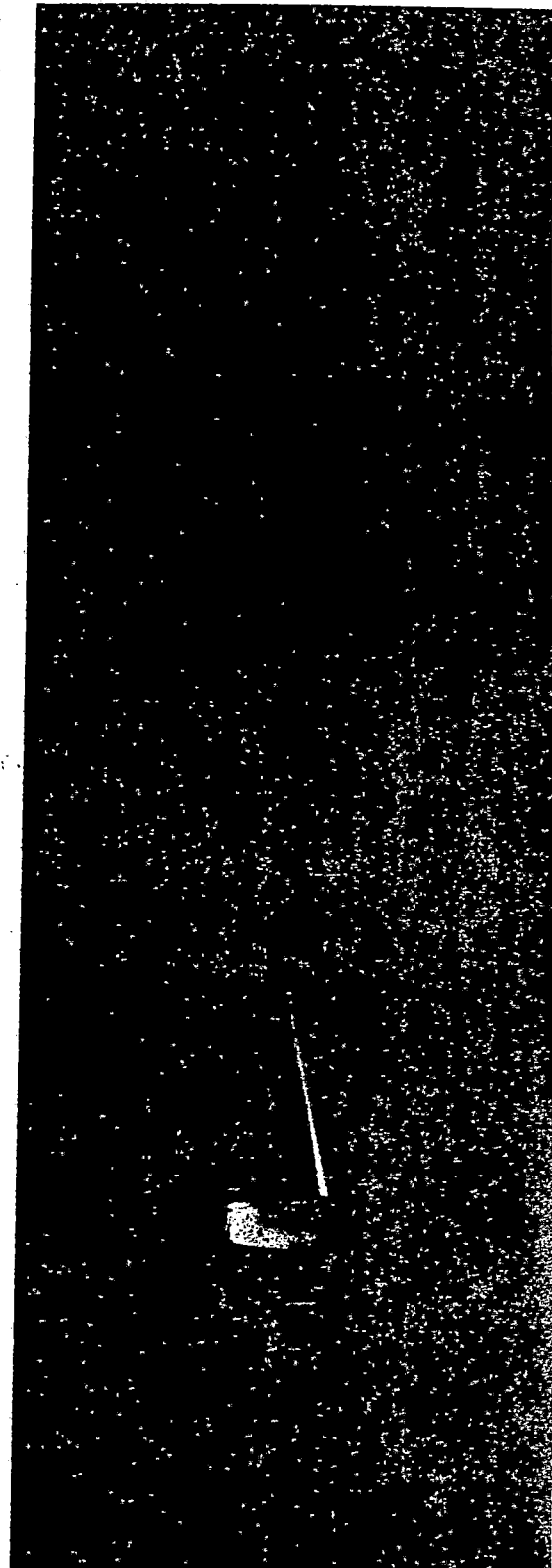
■ Procter & Gamble and other smart marketers are moving to cast their products in an environmentally friendly light (see box).

■ Pacific Gas & Electric teams up with environmental groups—some of them outfits it used to fight—to do joint projects, such as a \$10 million study of energy efficiency.

"The 1990s will be the decade of the environment." That's not the chief druid of Greenpeace talking, but rather the new president of the Petroleum Marketers Association of America in a November speech. Mere corporate ecobabble intended to placate the latest group of special-interest loonies? Any company that thinks that way will probably regret it. Exxon provides the obvious if inadvertent example of the bitter costs of seeming unconcerned about the environment. Not long after the March accident in Valdez, Alaska, 41% of Americans were angry enough to say they'd seriously consider boycotting the company. Bill McInturff, senior researcher at the Wirthlin Group, a polling firm with close Republican ties,



Wal-Mart has asked all its suppliers for more recycled or recyclable products, which it trumpets loudly.



Nudged by the Environmental Defense Fund, Pacific Gas &

blames Exxon not for the accident but for its response: "It was a disservice to American industry the way the pullout last fall was handled. Exxon seemed satisfied with what they had accomplished. It hardened the notion that business is just interested in making a buck and doesn't give a damn. It flabbergasts me that a company that size doesn't get the drift." Even spending over \$1 billion on cleanup hasn't salvaged the oil giant's reputation.

Such salvage won't get any easier. The New York Times/CBS News poll regularly asks the public if "protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high, and continuing environmental improvements must be made regardless of cost." In September 1981, 45% agreed and 42% disagreed with that plainly intemperate statement. Last June, 79% agreed and only 18% disagreed. For the first time, liberals and conservatives,

Democrats and Republicans, profess concern for the environment in roughly equal numbers.

Environmentalism is likely to continue as an issue at the forefront for several reasons. One is demographic. Says futurist Weiner: "The combination of baby-boomers having children and a significant part of the population moving into senior years means an enormous percentage of the population is taking the attitude of stewardship." The Gallup Organization reports that 49% of people over 50 feel strong identification with environmentalism, compared with 39% of those between 30 and 49 and 31% of those under 30. This reverses the pattern that prevailed during the country's last upsurge in environmentalism 20 years ago.

The new crusade will be different from the old in other ways as well. Miller of Washington University explains, "In the Sixties, environmentalism was the tail end of a period of social activism that was primarily based on civil rights and the antiwar movement," while now it's a movement of its own. The players are different. Far fewer activists of the 1990s will be embittered, scruffy, antibusiness street fighters.

**A**S AN EXAMPLE of the new breed, consider Allen Hershkowitz, who freely drops the names of his CEO acquaintances. As a solid-waste-disposal expert at the litigious Natural Resources Defense Council, Hershkowitz has won many legal battles with business. Now high-ranking executives of major companies regularly make the pilgrimage to his office in the elegant, airy, and amply funded New York City headquarters of NRDC, coming to him lest he go after them. As he explains, "They come in here to see what they've got to cover their asses on." The cocky 34-year-old Ph.D., who serves as an adviser to banks and Shearson Lehman Hutton, among others, elaborates, "My primary motivation is environmental protection. And if it costs more, so be it. If Procter & Gamble can't live with that, somebody else will. But I'll tell you, Procter & Gamble is trying hard to live with it."

Still, for all his militancy, Hershkowitz is no fanatic or utopian. He understands that a perfect world can't be achieved and doesn't hesitate to talk of trade-offs: "Hey, civilization has its costs. We're trying to reduce them, but we can't eliminate them." Environmentalists of this stripe will increasingly

REPORTER ASSOCIATE *Alicia Hills Moore*.

In an innovative program, last fall McDonald's began asking customers at 100 New England outlets (this one is in Vermont) to dispose separately of polystyrene packaging—it's recyclable.



MARGARET BARCELLONA (3)

show up even within companies. William Bishop, Procter & Gamble's top environmental scientist, was an organizer of Earth Day in 1970 and is a member of the Sierra Club. One of his chief deputies belongs to Greenpeace.

Eager to work with business, many environmentalists are moving from confrontation to the best kind of collaboration. In September an ad hoc combination of institutional investors controlling \$150 billion of assets (including representatives of public pension funds) and environmental groups promulgated the Valdez Principles, named for the year's most catalytic environmental accident. The principles ask companies to reduce waste, use resources prudently, market safe products, and take responsibility for past harm. They also call for an environmentalist on each corporate board and an annual public audit of a company's environmental progress.

The group asked corporations to subscribe to the principles, with the implicit suggestion that investments could eventually be contingent on compliance. Companies already engaged in friendly discussions included Du Pont, specialty-chemical maker H.B. Fuller, and Polaroid, among others.

Earth Day 1990, scheduled for April 22, the 20th anniversary of the first such event, is becoming a veritable biz-fest. "We're really interested in working with companies that have a good record," says Earth Day Chairman Denis Hayes, who predicts that 100 million people will take part one way or another. Apple Computer and Hewlett-Packard have donated equipment. Shaklee, the personal and household products company, paid \$50,000 to be the first official corporate sponsor. Even the Chemical Manufacturers Association is getting in on the act, preparing a list of 101 ways its members can participate. The more than 1,000 Earth Day affiliate groups in 120 countries propose to shake up politicians worldwide and launch a decade of activism.

**T**HE MESSAGE that leading environmentalists are sending, and progressive companies are receiving, is that eco-responsibility will be good for business. Says Gray Davis, California's state controller, who helped draft the Valdez Principles and who sits on the boards of two public pension funds with total assets of \$90 billion: "Given the increasing regulation and public concern, there's no question that companies will eventually have to change their ways. The first kid on the block to em-

## HOW ONE INVESTMENT FIRM RATES 25 COMPANIES ON THE ENVIRONMENT

INDUSTRY	COMPANY	RATING	1=best, 5=worst
CHEMICALS	H.B. Fuller	1.5	Environmental initiatives in HQ construction
	Monsanto	4.0	Pesticides, toxic dumps, offset by clean-air efforts
	W.R. Grace	5.0	Toxic dumps, several environmental lawsuits
COMPUTERS	Apple Computer	1.5	Recycles, lets environmental groups solicit on site
	IBM	3.5	High CFC emissions
ELECTRIC UTILITIES	Louisville Gas & Electric	2.0	Leader in installing smokestack scrubbers
	Southern	5.0	High SO <sub>2</sub> emissions contribute to acid rain
ENVIRONMENTAL SERVICES	Safety-Kleen	2.5	Leading recycler of solvents and motor oil
	Wellman	2.5	Leading recycler of plastic
	Browning-Ferris	5.0	Numerous landfill violations
	Waste Management	5.0	Numerous landfill violations
FOREST PRODUCTS	Jefferson Smurfit	2.5	Leading recycler of paper
	Louisiana-Pacific	4.0	Air and water pollution violations
NATURAL GAS	Consolidated Natural Gas	2.5	Promotes new, clean-burning technologies
	Panhandle Eastern	4.0	Substantial PCB pollution problems
OIL	Amoco	2.0	Strong waste-minimization program
	Exxon	5.0	Poor response to Valdez oil spill
PHOTO EQUIPMENT	Polaroid	2.5	Strong waste-minimization program
	Eastman Kodak	4.0	Substantial leaks in Rochester sites
STEEL	Nucor	2.0	State-of-the-art mills, uses recycled metals
	Bethlehem Steel	4.0	Old mills with numerous environmental problems
OTHER	Wal-Mart Stores	2.0	Promotes environmental products, recycling
	Borden	4.0	Toxic dumps, air and water complaints
	General Electric	4.0	Major PCB cleanup problems
	General Motors	5.0	Toxic dumps, air and water problems

Franklin Research & Development of Boston, which calls itself a "socially responsible" investment firm and manages \$200 million, bases these ratings on several factors. Each company starts with a score of 3, which then rises or falls based on corporate actions that harm or help the environment.

brace these principles will increase market share and profit substantially."

While that's hard to prove, few dispute that farsightedness today will pay off tomorrow. Environmental regulations will continue to be tightened. Says Lester Lave, a professor of engineering and public policy at the Carnegie-Mellon business school: "If you build a plant that just squeaks past now, you'll have to pay much more money down the line."

That is partly why Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing is going beyond the call of duty and government deadlines. For example, new federal regulations require replacement or improvement by 1998 of underground storage tanks for liquids and gases. The company decided to comply by 1992 instead, and to have all tanks world-

wide in compliance by 1993. Cost: more than \$80 million. "Regulations are about to overwhelm us," says Robert Bringer, 3M staff vice president for environmental engineering and pollution control. "The only way we see to deal with that is to reduce the number of materials we emit that trigger regulation."

Chastened in part by Exxon's example, some corporate bosses don't see red when faced with green activists—they see themselves. One of Edgar Woolard's first acts after becoming CEO of Du Pont in April (just after the Valdez spill) was to deliver a speech in London entitled—and calling for—"Corporate Environmentalism." Said the top man of the chemical giant in remarks subsequently reprinted by the company on recycled paper: "Avoiding

environmental incidents remains the single greatest imperative facing industry today." He bemoaned industry's lack of credibility on the issue and called for spending more money than "mere compliance" with laws would require.

Woolard now meets at least once a month with leading environmentalists, and his company is taking what seem dramatic steps demonstrating its concern. In March 1988, Du Pont announced that, based on new evidence that chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) might be seriously depleting the Earth's ozone layer, it would voluntarily suspend all production of CFCs—a \$750-million-a-year business in which it leads the industry—by 2000, or sooner if possible. The company has already spent \$170 million developing safe compounds to replace CFCs in cleaning, refrigeration, and other uses. It is prepared to spend as much as \$1 billion on the best replacements discovered so far, but since even these compounds may slightly deplete the ozone layer, Du Pont wants guarantees that new plants will be allowed to function long enough to recoup the investment. Says Woolard: "In my opinion it has not been proven that CFCs are harmful to the ozone, but there is a fairly good probability, and we have to deal with that."

Evidence of increased environmental sensitivity is everywhere in Du Pont, perhaps partly because that's now one of the criteria in determining managers' compensation. The company voluntarily spends an estimated \$50 million each year on environmental projects beyond what the law requires, like the \$15 million it spent at a Texas plant to reduce the risk of dangerous gases being released. Du Pont's ultimate goal is zero pollution in all activities. While Woolard is certain this new priority will strengthen the company, he admits profits will suffer from the effort over the next few years.

Du Pont also sees business opportunity in environmental concern. Building on expertise gained in cleaning up its own plants, the company announced in early December the formation of a safety and environmental resources division to help industrial customers clean up toxic wastes. Management forecasts potential annual revenues of \$1 billion



PG&E's Clarke: He has an environmentalist on the board.

from the new business by 2000. Defensive actions sometimes pay off too. Faced with protests over the ocean dumping of acid iron salts off the coast of New Jersey, Du Pont halted a practice its scientists were convinced was harmless. It then discovered the salts could be sold to water-treatment plants.

At 3M, CEO Allen Jacobson directs that pollution-control installations be judged by their environmental benefit, not only by return on investment. But 3M too has learned that environmental controls often lead to cost savings. The company specializes in coated products (such as videotapes and pressure-sensitive tapes) whose manufacture has long emitted significant pollutants. It has saved well over \$1 billion since 1975 through a program called Pollution Prevention Pays. The program spotlights projects that reduce pollution as well as save money. Solvents that were once emitted to the atmosphere may be recycled and reused, or a

volatile solvent may be replaced by a water-based one, eliminating the need for costly air pollution control equipment.

If, as many predict, alliances between environmentalists and corporations are the wave of the future, Pacific Gas & Electric has already learned to surf. But it took practice. In the mid-1970s economists and lawyers from the Environmental Defense Fund started fighting the company's plan to build several giant coal and nuclear power plants. The environmentalists proposed instead a combination of smaller-scale generating facilities like windmills or cogeneration plants on the sites of regional businesses, combined with aggressive conservation measures.

**T**HE BIG PLANTS were never built. A persistent EDF campaign of pressure at utility commission meetings and sophisticated television advertising came just as the price of fossil fuels started climbing dramatically. PG&E's resistance gradually melted. The company took several steps to conserve energy, and much of the rest of the electric industry eventually followed PG&E's lead. Says EDF attorney David Roe: "We spoke to them in their own language. We used their type of computer models, their financial analysis sheets. We weren't saying, do what's good for the environment and it will cripple you. We were saying, it will save you economically."

While the company says it would have eventually taken most of the actions EDF proposed anyway, it acknowledges that the give-and-take was beneficial. Says PG&E attorney Kermit Kubitz: "I think both sides may have been closer together than either side realized at the beginning." Echoes Roe: "The basic point is, there's usually a lot more common ground than either side realizes."

Today PG&E has a policy of aggressively seeking discussions and joint projects with any willing environmental group, even those that have opposed the company in the past. Its board includes Melvin Lane, a well-known West Coast environmentalist. In November, PG&E announced a \$10 million study, conducted in conjunction

Du Pont's Woolard: He's making zero pollution a company goal.



with the Natural Resources Defense Council, among others, to improve efficiency in the use of electricity. And that computer model EDF developed to demonstrate the relationships between conservation and electricity costs—PG&E now rents it from EDF for about \$18,000 a year.

PG&E chief Richard Clarke believes that on the rocky coast of Northern California, where quality of life has long been a para-

mount public issue, he has seen America's environmental mood foreshadowed. A few guiding principles Clarke has learned:

- "Make environmental considerations and concerns part of any decision you make, right from the beginning. Don't think of it as something extra you throw in the pot."
- "Develop an internal cadre of environmentalists. They have minds of their own and will advocate things. They may not get

everything they want, but there certainly are occasions where they prevail."

- "Have a continuing dialogue with environmental groups."
- "Put someone on your board to help you factor in environmental issues."
- "Do these things because they are the right thing to do, not because somebody forces you to do them."

McDonald's might add another principle

## LEADING THE CRUSADE INTO CONSUMER MARKETING

There's money to be made catering to the public's mounting concern for the environment, as astute consumer marketers are beginning to learn. A July 1989 survey conducted for the Michael Peters Group, which provides consulting on products and design, found that 77% of Americans say a company's environmental reputation affects what they buy. Observes Howard Marder of the Hill & Knowlton public relations firm: "For the past 20 years the

tions to environmental marketing, and experts have little doubt the U.S. will soon follow. In mid-November, Procter & Gamble began test-marketing its first domestic product with an explicit environmental claim: Downy Refill comes in a 21½-ounce milk-carton-type container and is intended to be mixed with water in a used plastic Downy bottle to make 64 ounces of fabric softener. Prominently printed on the carton: "Better for the Environment . . . Less packaging to throw away." With a package 75% smaller, Downy Refill costs 10% less than regular Downy. It's too early to gauge the product's success.

For Wal-Mart, environmentalism is "a cause and not a marketing scheme," claims William Fields, the chain's executive vice president for merchandise. The giant discounter in July asked its 7,000 suppliers to provide it with more recycled or recyclable products. About 100 are already in stores, with labels (printed on recycled paper) explaining their supposedly beneficial features. K mart and at least a dozen small to medium-size grocery chains have announced similar programs. Experts suggest Wal-Mart and the others proceed slowly. Overeager green-marketing campaigns in Britain and Canada have been attacked by environmentalists for unsubstantiated or inappropriate claims.

The London-based Body Shop, with 14 outlets in the U.S., puts environmental concerns at its core and in the process finds its way to the green in customers' pockets. The skin- and hair-care stores display literature on ozone depletion next to sunscreens and fill their windows with information on issues like global warming. Every employ-

ee is assigned to spend half a day each week on activist work. Customers get discounts if they bring their old bottles back to the store for recycling. In 1988 the chain collected over a million signatures in Britain on a petition asking Brazil's President to save the rain forests. In 13 years the Body Shop has opened 420 stores in 38 countries. Sales for the year ended February 1989 were over \$90 million with pretax profits of about 20%.

Make sure your green-marketing claims amount to more than a fig leaf. British Petroleum got flak recently for promoting a new brand of unleaded gasoline in Britain with the claim that it caused "no pollution." It later apologized for what it called an inadvertent error. A plastic grocery bag used by some New York supermarkets says: "This 'Earth Sack' will begin degrading within 3 days of exposure to ultraviolet light . . . and will continue the process until it turns into a nontoxic environmentally safe dust." Scientists believe the statement can be misleading, and in landfills light can be in short supply anyway. Some environmentalists have targeted "degradable plastics" for protest.

In general, the more you tell your customers, the better off you'll be. Procter & Gamble environmental chief Geoff Place visited his brother's family in England recently and found them no longer using several P&G products because of environmental concerns. Later a family member told Place they'd started using Fairy Dishwashing Liquid again because P&G had improved it. In fact the company had simply added a statement on the label saying "Only biodegradable surface active agents are used in this product." That has been true since 1963.



The Body Shop sells causes and cosmetics.

environmental movement in the U.S. has focused on cleaning up damage. Almost overnight the focus is changing to prevention. Marketers had nothing to sell before, but now they can say, "Be part of the solution by buying our product." Among those now making just that pitch in the U.S.: Arco, Colgate-Palmolive, Lever Brothers, 3M, Procter & Gamble, and Sunoco.

Marketers with experience abroad have seen France and Britain quickly catch up to West Germany and Sweden in the responsiveness of their popula-

to the list: Educate your customers incessantly. Faced with growing protests over the volume of waste it generates, especially the polystyrene foam packaging used for hot food, the restaurant giant has taken major steps to reduce waste at the source, to recycle what's left, and to explain what it is doing. Just by making its drinking straws 20% lighter, the chain eliminated one million pounds of waste per year. In October, McDonald's began collecting polystyrene waste in 100 New England outlets and recycling it; the company intends to include all 450 regional stores in the plan by March. Customers are asked to put polystyrene containers, such as those for Chicken McNuggets or Big Macs, in special bins. All napkins in U.S. stores are now made from recycled paper, as are carry-out drink trays and office paper at headquarters.

Shelby Yastrow, the company's general counsel and point man on environmental issues, says that since polystyrene is 100% recyclable, it is better for the environment than paper, which theoretically degrades but most commonly ends up in anaerobic landfills—virtually no oxygen gets through—which may instead preserve it for decades. Paper is also significantly bulkier than plastic in most uses, thus creating more waste. "Everything I look at tells me plastic is better," says Yastrow. "I have a little trouble convincing my children or my neighbors, but the scientific community isn't a problem."

To correct the misconceptions of those kids and neighbors and their peers nationwide, the company is embarking on a major educational campaign. McDonald's is describing its efforts and explaining recycling on the paper liners on customers' trays, in advertising, in brochures it hands out in stores, and in mailings to school teachers. That's a lot of describing and explaining: McDonald's serves 18 million customers in the U.S. each day, making its tray liners alone one of the largest of the nation's mass media.

**E**VEN IF IT IMPROVES public understanding of solid waste, McDonald's will continue to confront one of the nagging realities of the new environmentalism: Grass-roots local groups, many of them misinformed, wield increasing disruptive power. Says David Stephenson, a Boston public relations consultant who specializes in corporate environmental strategy: "The grass-roots groups are concerned about the value of

their homes and the health of their children. That means they are relentless. In general, unlike the mainstream environmental groups, they are not interested in compromise or mediation." McDonald's successfully confronted antipolystyrene picketing at several of its Vermont stores with an aggressive local educational campaign. By the end, local activists were asking that the company convert its paper cold-drink cups to plastic.

**O**NE LESSON from the company's experience: Don't ever assume you've solved an environmental problem. As knowledge evolves, attitudes change, and so do solutions. McDonald's switched from paper to polystyrene packaging for Big Macs and other sandwiches in 1976 largely because the public was worried about cutting trees and the energy that paper production consumed. As recently as the early Seventies, CFCs, one of today's leading environmental villains, were believed to be a harmless and inert triumph of modern chemistry.

You have to keep looking ahead—way ahead. For gutsy environmental farsightedness, few companies can top Applied Energy Services. The private, Virginia-based power-plant management firm donated \$2 million in 1988 for tree planting in Guatemala to compensate for a coal-fired plant it was building in Connecticut. The trees, which of course consume carbon dioxide, are intended to offset the plant's emissions of the gas, which may lead to global warming. Says CEO Roger Sant: "We pride ourselves on being part of the solution, not part of the problem. We weren't trying to do any more than salve our own guilt, I guess." The company expects to couple tree-planting programs with all seven new plants on its drawing boards. Several large outfits have contacted Sant to ask his help in refining similar plans.

One recent weekday afternoon, three men walked out of the Environmental Defense Fund's midtown Manhattan office on their way to have lunch together. On the left was EDF's senior economist. On the right was an environmental expert in the Soviet government. Between them was a businessman, a trader in the nascent enterprise of buying and selling pollution rights. Together that trio forms a picture of how the new environmentalism is shaping up: global, more cooperative than confrontational—and with business at the center. **E**

We also recognize that ours is an increasingly prosperous planet -- with greater hopes now than ever before that more of our people, in every nation, may come to know an enduring peace and an unprecedented quality of life.

So we are called upon to ensure that the Earth's integrity is preserved -- and that mankind's prospects for prosperity, peace, and in some regions, even survival, are not put at risk by the unintended consequences of noble intentions.

That is the reason we have held this conference.

The minds at work here are among the very best we have -- and they are the best insurance that our actions are sound. We have gathered talent from around the world -- scientists, economists, environmentalists, energy ministers, policymakers -- to assess the environmental and developmental future of the planet. An unprecedented cross-fertilization of disciplines -- and of nations. That alone is reason for hope.

But if diversity of perspective is expected, unity of purpose is crucial. In an atmosphere of uncertainty, we must foster a climate of good will -- and a stubborn hope -- that we might forge solutions without the excessive heat of politics.

Among all the challenges in our tenancy of the planet, climate change is, of course, foremost in your minds. We are leading the search for response strategies, and working through the uncertainty of both the science and the economics of climate change. But there is one area where we will allow for no uncertainty -- and that is our commitment to action -- to sound analyses and sound policies.

To those who suggest we're only trying to balance economic growth and environmental protection, I say they miss the point. We are calling for an entirely new way of thinking, to achieve both while compromising neither, by applying the power of the marketplace in the service of the environment.

We cannot allow a question like climate change to be characterized as a debate between "Economists versus Environmentalists." To say that this issue has "sides" is about as productive as saying that the Earth is flat. It may simplify things, but it doesn't do justice to the facts, or our future.

The truth is, strong economies allow nations to fulfill the obligations of stewardship -- and environmental stewardship is crucial to sustaining strong economies. If we lose sight of the forest for the trees, we risk losing both.

But above all, the climate change debate is not about "Research versus Action" -- for we have never considered research a substitute for action.

Over the last two days you've heard, formally and informally, that the United States is already taking action to stabilize and reduce emissions -- through our Clean Air legislation, our use of market-based incentives to control pollution, our search for alternative energy sources, our emphasis on energy efficiency, our reforestation initiatives, and our technical assistance programs to developing nations.

Those who value environmental quality most highly should be the most ardent supporters of strategies that tap the power of free wills and free markets -- strategies that turn human nature to environmental advantage. Equally, those who value economic development most highly should be the most ardent defenders of the environment, which provides the basis for a healthy economy. Efficient strategies are the only realistic hope for developing nations to save themselves from the mistakes that developed nations have made.

And we have made mistakes -- but over the past century we've made tremendous progress in this country, especially in the last 20 years. In the U.S., automotive emission controls have brought about a new generation of cars that emit only four percent as much pollution as the typical 1970 model. We've cut airborne particulates by 60 percent, carbon monoxide by about 40 percent, cut sulfur emissions, and virtually eliminated lead from the air -- all during a period of population growth and economic expansion. Now we want to share that knowledge -- our technologies, new processes, and pollution prevention techniques -- with the developing world.

Two decades ago, America -- holding to its birth-right of free expression -- was home to a movement symbolized by Earth Day. It motivated President Nixon to sign into law "a national policy [to] encourage productive and enjoyable harmony between man and his environment." And it set in motion a new sense of conscience that a few idealists hoped would change the world.

It did. What began as an isolated American movement 20 years ago is now shared by over 130 countries on seven continents. And while many thought this experiment in environmental protection would prove impossible -- that you couldn't maintain both a productive economy and a healthy environment -- we've learned that economic prosperity and environmental protection go hand in hand. And we've learned that worldwide, united action is essential -- and possible, as the Montreal Protocol proved.

America and other nations must now extend an offered hand to emerging democracies in Eastern Europe and to developing societies around the world. In some, the raging fires of forests and grasslands burned for compelling but devastating economic reasons have been visible to astronauts in space. Other nations, in the struggle to support life, have been virtually stripped of the resources that sustain life.

And in Eastern Europe, whether through the tyranny of neglect, or the neglect of tyrants, pollution has been unveiled as one of the Old World's cruelest dictators. An oppressor. Not man -- but man-made.

In the majestic city of Krakow, monuments to great men, statues that survived countless invasions by kings and emperors, by Hitler and by Stalin, have been defaced by pollution -- their medieval majesty reduced to shapeless lumps of stone.

If mankind's greatest creations cannot equal God's smallest, some may grieve that our greatest destruction is turned at times upon ourselves.

Let us neither grieve nor quarrel, but act on what we know can help -- and act in good faith. Our challenge is global stewardship. To work together to find long-term strategies that will meet the needs of the entire world, and all therein.

Our conviction, and my sincere belief, is that environmental protection and economic growth, well-managed, complement one another -- and that we can serve this generation, while preserving the Earth for the next -- and all that follow. It is an uncommon opportunity we share. So let us seize the moment. Together, we will succeed.

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/24/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 AM 4/25/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION: "AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>Rogers</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>Winston</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Pinkerton</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>DeLand</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Room 122, ext. 2930, no later than 10:00 AM, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 1990, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

OK S.R.

90 MAR 24 PM 4:35

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

Grant/Nappo  
March 16, 1990  
draft two  
A:business

1990 APR 24 PM 3.31

**PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION:  
"AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY:  
MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"**

Over 200 years ago, the first Americans settled in the "new world" and found a lush, green land with clean air, clear-running streams, and over a billion acres of trees.

Today, we're working to restore our parks and wetlands, cut pollution in the air, clean up our beaches, and plant millions of trees. This Administration is committed to protecting our environment -- through the use of new, innovative solutions to some of the toughest challenges facing us today.

This year's budget provides over \$2 billion in new spending to protect our environment, with over \$1 billion for global change research. And it includes a new initiative called "America the Beautiful" to expand our national parks and wildlife preserves and improve recreational facilities on public lands.

Our Clean Air Act proposal will cut airborne pollution affecting our cities and reduce acid rain harming our lakes and forests -- by unleashing the power of the marketplace in the service of the environment. For example, we've proposed emissions trading credits to reduce the level of air toxics and sulfur dioxide. And we're encouraging measures to stop pollution at its source, without placing unreasonable and unnecessary burdens on economic growth.

June Issue

America's forests and trees need national attention, and in the budget I asked for \$175 million to plant one billion trees a year. And we're asking Congress to approve another step to protect the environment -- the National Tree Trust Act of 1990. It will foster the partnership between the public and private sectors to plant trees across America, and encourage citizens -- "points of light" like the Earth Corps -- to act in their own innovative ways to reforest America.

Business has not only a role to play, but a responsibility in keeping America beautiful for generations to come. As you teach your children the "secrets of the trade," remember this: not only is leadership passed down from generation to generation, so is stewardship. We must leave our children with both a cleaner environment and a sense of mission to protect it. Working together, we too can discover a "new world" -- by building a better America.

###

Brian

Senate - Sloane 224-0636  
House - Gary 6493  
          Andres 7092  
          \* Jacic 7766  
          Howard

7/10/90  
S. 262

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

*Called in  
NC to Kim  
9:15am  
4/25  
SB*

DATE: 4/24/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 AM 4/25/90

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION: "AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
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SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Room 122, ext. 2930, no later than 10:00 AM, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 1990, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

*NC  
XX*

90 MAR 25 P 3:02

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

1990 APR 24 PM 3.31

Grant/Nappo  
March 16, 1990  
draft two  
A:business

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION:  
"AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY:  
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###

Memo to  
S. J. Lee

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 4/24/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 AM 4/25/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION: "AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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**REMARKS:**

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Room 122, ext. 2930, no later than 10:00 AM, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 1990, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

*No Comment 4/25/90*

20:30 MAR 25 90

James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

Porter  
per: Brad Mitchell

Grant/Nappo  
March 16, 1990  
draft two  
A:business

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"AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY:  
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Over 200 years ago, ~~the first Americans settled in the "new world" and found~~ lush, green land with clean air, clear-running streams, and over a billion acres of trees. *when our nation was established,*

Today, we're working to restore our parks and wetlands, cut pollution in the air, clean up our beaches, and plant ~~millions~~ *billions* of trees. This Administration is committed to protecting our environment -- through the use of new, innovative solutions to some of the toughest challenges facing us today.

This year's budget provides over \$2 billion in new spending to ~~protect~~ *enhance* our environment, with over \$1 billion for global change research. And it includes ~~a new~~ *an* initiative called ~~the~~ "America the Beautiful" to expand our national parks and wildlife preserves and improve recreational facilities on public lands.

Our Clean Air Act proposal will cut airborne pollution affecting our cities and reduce acid rain harming our lakes and forests -- by unleashing the power of the marketplace in the service of the environment. For example, we've proposed emissions trading credits to reduce the level of ~~air toxics and~~ sulfur dioxide. And we're encouraging measures to stop pollution at its source, without placing unreasonable and unnecessary burdens on economic growth.

America's forests and trees need national attention, and in the budget I asked for \$175 million to plant one billion trees a year. And we're asking Congress to approve another step to protect the environment -- the National Tree Trust Act of 1990. It will foster the partnership between the public and private sectors to plant trees across America, and encourage citizens -- "points of light" like the Earth Corps -- to act in their own innovative ways to reforest America.

Business has not only a role to play, but a responsibility in keeping America beautiful for generations to come. As you teach your children the "secrets of the trade," remember this: not only is leadership passed down from generation to generation, so is stewardship. We must leave our children with both a cleaner environment and a sense of mission to protect it. Working together, we too can discover a "new world" -- by building a better America.

# # #

*Memo to  
Sondra*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

p. 1, 42

- a billion trees on private land;
  - 30 million trees in communities
-

Grant/~~State~~  
March 16, 1990  
draft two  
A:business

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION:  
"AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY:  
MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

Over 200 years ago, the first Americans settled in the "new world" and found a lush, green land with clean air, clear-running streams, and over a billion acres of trees. *sell*

Today, we're working to restore our parks and wetlands, cut pollution in the air, clean up our beaches, and plant millions of trees. This Administration is committed to protecting our environment -- through the use of new, innovative solutions to some of the toughest challenges facing us today. *a billion*

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*Budget, p. 120/122*  
*Budget, p. 120*  
*OMB*  
*Budget, p. 126*  
*Rob Farwell*  
*6827*  
*deb*

*6827 Rob Farwell*

Budget  
P121

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###

Memo to S.  
Sent out

## Essay

Lance Morrow

# Forest of Dreams

With the names of trees you can make a fine pagan bouquet of words: hornbeam, ginkgo, quickbeam, oak, white willow, tamarind, Lombardy poplar, false cypress, elder, laburnum, larch, baobab, black gum, rowan, hazel, whitebeam, tree of heaven, ash...

At one time trees were sacred. Gods inhabited them and took their forms. Trees were druidic. They rose out of the earth, gesticulating, tossing their hair. They were the tenderest life-form: cooling, sheltering, calming, enigmatic. Or else they might harbor terrors: beasts and devils in the dark forest. They were, in either case, magic. Still are, of course, although they have also evolved into mere lumber.

The spiritual descendants of those who worshiped trees may sentimentalize them now as some green sermon. Ronald Reagan did not. Once during the 1980 campaign, in a nuke-the-wimps frame of mind, Reagan claimed that no matter what environmentalists say, trees are a source of deadly pollution. On the campaign plane later, Reagan's press secretary James Brady sighted forests below and shouted, "Killer trees! Killer trees!" It seems that Reagan was confusing nitrous oxide with deadlier oxides of nitrogen. Never mind.

The Republican President in the White House now may not poeticize trees—he takes a certain pride in not poeticizing anything—but he does have a fine secular appreciation of what trees do. They hold the earth and scrub the air. Chop them down, and the world becomes a moonscape in a greenhouse. Egypt's eastern desert is a cautionary text: each tree in the sparse landscape is under the protection of a Bedouin family. Sometimes the people build a wall around each tree to guard the leaves from goats.

George Bush, who said he wanted to be an environmental President, is making trees a kind of fetish of his Administration. In his budget submitted last week, Bush allotted \$175 million to plant 1 billion trees this year. By the year 2000 there should be 10 billion new trees that eventually should absorb 13 million tons of carbon dioxide a year, or 5% of the nation's annual emissions of the gas.

The news is that a larger environmental ambition is in harness. John Kennedy launched the Peace Corps. There may be some symmetry in the fact that a man in the Bush White House has hatched the idea for something called the Earth Corps, which will try to enact the spirit of the last line of Kennedy's Inaugural Address in 1961: "Here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

The Earth Corps is the inspiration of James Pinkerton, the 31-year-old Deputy Assistant to the President for Policy Planning. Pinkerton did not begin by thinking about trees, but rather about the wreckage of America's inner cities and the prospects that face young black males. Looking for an approach to the problem, he considered the way that the Army, at its best, trains people—teaches them discipline, teamwork and such values as courage, honor, strength, loyalty, pride. The experience, when all goes well, can transform lives. The welfare system institutionalizes an abject status quo and produces generations of angry, mired victims.

Pinkerton made a triangular connection among these

points: the unused energy and gifts of young blacks, the real needs of the environment, and the motivating focus of some parts of military life. Pinkerton wanted to remove the Earth Corps from direct Government (and therefore congressional/political) control and from the sort of bureaucratic and ideological overelaboration that came with the Great Society. Unlike Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps, which was run by the U.S. Army, the Earth Corps is to be not a Government agency but a nonprofit corporation funded by private donations and perhaps eventually some Government grants. Its director and chief executive officer is John Wheeler, 45, an intense, effective idealist who graduated from West Point in 1966, served in Viet Nam, took degrees from Harvard Business School and Yale Law School and among other things headed the foundation that got the Viet Nam Veterans Memorial installed on the Mall in Washington.

With a grant of \$300,000 in seed money from the Annie

E. Casey Foundation and office space near the White House donated by lawyer Allan Fox, Wheeler is developing plans to establish an Earth Corps Academy, probably in Virginia, by next year. The corps will recruit 500 cadets for a two-year tour of service that will start with three months of forestry, academic and environmental training at the academy. The recruits will be young men—and women—ages 16 to 21, with preference given to attracting the poor. Recruits will have to pass a qualifying examination and must be drug free. Their main work will be reforesting the nation, starting with some 1.3 million acres of South Carolina that were torn apart by Hurricane Hugo. Eventually, Wheeler hopes, the corps will attract 4,000 recruits a year. By encouraging local and state conservation corps as well, the Earth Corps may be able to double Bush's 10 billion trees by the year 2000.

Cadets will wear uniforms with the Earth Corps insignia (the earth seen from space and the words TRUTH, DUTY, ONE EARTH.) They will receive food, shelter and the minimum wage, a portion to be set aside in savings. When a cadet leaves the corps, he will have technical skills and environmental training. The corps will work to find him a job or a path to higher education.

Pinkerton and Wheeler are concerned that the military image might deter recruits. It is the military esprit they want, not military coercion or rigidity. Wheeler is also steering 10,000 miles clear of the welfare mentality. The corps will not be remedial, not mandatory, not a punishment, not an entitlement, not cushy and not trivial. Excellence and dignity are words that recur in Wheeler's conversation. Cadets will do hard, necessary work—reforestation, fire fighting, fire prevention, wetland protection, cleaning up oil spills and protecting habitats for endangered species.

The Earth Corps is still a seedling. But it is a daring idea. From the first landfall, the logic of the American enterprise was the ax, clearing the way west through wilderness. That was a way to make a civilization, as Brazil is now making a civilization by burning itself down. The idea of the Earth Corps draws a line that circles back to the sacred.

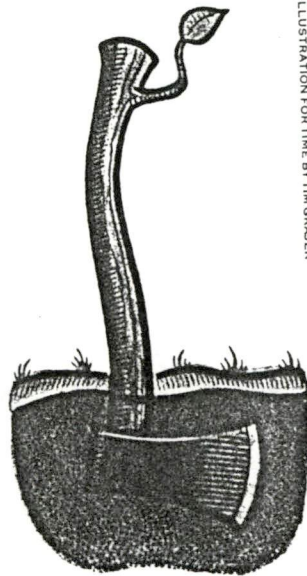


ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY TIM GRAUER

# Manhood and the Power of Glory

By LANCE MORROW

The movie *Glory* is, as the historian James M. McPherson has written, the most powerful and historically accurate film ever made about the American Civil War. But *Glory*, which tells the story of one of the war's first black regiments, has deeper meaning. The movie addresses the most profound theme of race in America in 1990. *Glory* is about black manhood and responsibility.

The worst problems of the black underclass today—young black men murdering other young black men; young black males fathering children of females who are virtually children themselves; young blacks lost to crack and heroin—all connect directly to black manhood and responsibility.

Perhaps Marion Barry, Washington's mayor, and Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, should celebrate Black History Month by watching *Glory*. When Barry was arrested for cocaine possession last month, Hooks' most visible reaction was that the mayor had been the victim of a plot by law enforcement to persecute black elected officials. Presumably, the mayor of the nation's capital (not exactly an unemployed ghetto youth, but, absurdly, a role model for unemployed ghetto youths) is not responsible for being in a hotel room with a fashion model, smoking crack. A white conspiracy must have put a pistol to his head and made him do it. Hooks' reaction harmonized with something the late Whitney Young said 23 years ago. Young, then the head of the Urban League, told white leaders, "You've got to give us some victories." But if a victory is "given," it is not a victory. It is a dole.

The freemen and runaway slaves of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry regiment were not given anything in 1863: certainly not victory. The blacks of the 54th were actual men who died actual deaths in a redemptive violence that they sought. The lesson that *Glory* teaches—and it is finding an audience—is this: it was not the Great White Paternalist alone who freed the slaves and made them American citizens. It was also blacks who freed themselves. These were the blacks who enlisted, trained, suffered, endured condescension and insult, disciplined themselves, fought for the right to fight and the opportunity to die in the pursuit of their freedom and manhood.

On July 18, 1863, the blacks of the 54th Massachusetts led a virtually suicidal assault upon Fort Wagner, a massive Confederate earthwork guarding the approach to Charleston, S.C., harbor. At a critical moment in *Glory's* version of the attack, Trip, the runaway slave-soldier played by Denzel Washington, seizes the American flag and runs forward with it to his death. His death says this: "I did not want your white man's flag; earlier I refused the 'honor' of carrying it. But I will do it now, dying with other black men, because, understand me, we are citizens, we are Americans, not white Americans, but

black Americans . . . but Americans!" In that historical proto-moment, at the instant of death, blacks become, incontrovertibly, Americans. They won it. It was—is—theirs.

Every generation forges its own conscience. *Glory* reaffirms an older, persistent moral theme in the black community that in the past 25 years seemed to go out of fashion, at least at the leadership level of the civil rights movement: self-determination, responsibility. This sterner theme, developed well before emancipation and repeated by Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, Martin Luther King Jr. and generation after generation of struggling black fathers and mothers, instructed: the antidote to racism is excellence.

But after the Great Society, the emphasis on dignity, struggle and pride in accomplishment was replaced in the rhetoric of some black leaders

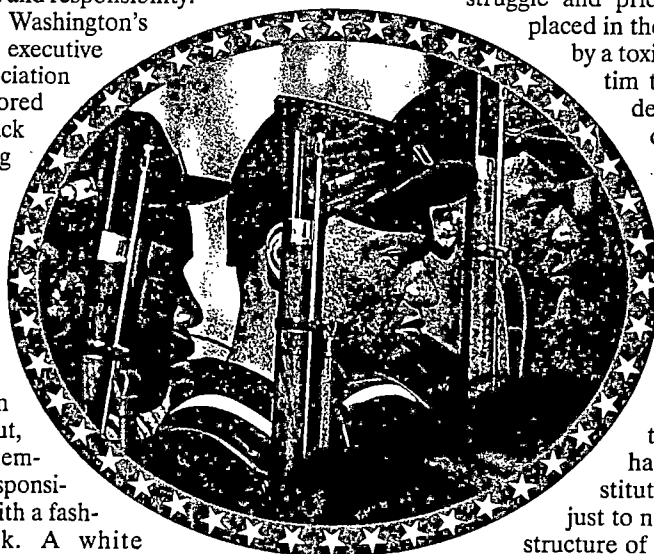
by a toxic seepage of self-pity, of the victim theme. Passivity, grievance and denial became the psychic orthodoxy. The culture of victimization came to replicate in an eerie way the configurations of slave days—the Government functioning as benevolent slave master, dispenser of all things. Many blacks were trapped in ghettos as surely and hopelessly as slaves on plantations. Perhaps civil rights organizations, designed to battle discrimination and hardening over the years into institutional mind-sets, could not adjust to new realities and needs after the structure of Jim Crow had been torn down.

At worst, the Great Society turned the leaders into petitioners, even while thousands upon thousands of working-class blacks toiled in the hardest, dirtiest jobs rather than accept welfare.

Those who suggest that the solution to black problems lies in the minds and wills of blacks are always accused of blaming the victims. But that is a futile line. Forget blame. Presumably, black America long since abandoned the delusion (if it ever harbored it) that white America was going to ride to its rescue. The only authentic black fulfillment will be achieved by blacks.

Jesse Jackson is one black leader who over the years has consistently preached self-help. Now he warns, "Our failure to become introspective and responsible takes away our moral authority." Nelson Mandela worked the same vein last week: "All students must return to school and learn." The lesson of *Glory*, proceeding out of black history, is that blacks are not powerless in the face of racism or poverty. The battles fought and won by earlier generations of blacks were immensely more difficult than those that face most blacks today.

Once, in 1961, Martin Luther King Jr. told some black college students about the Aristotelian bigot. This bigot, said King, constructed a syllogism: All men are made in the image of God; God, as everyone knows, is not a Negro; therefore, the Negro is not a man. The black soldiers of the 54th Massachusetts, and 180,000 other blacks who served in the Civil War, took that syllogism and burned it to ashes. ■



MERRICK MORTON

February 8, 1990

Memorandum

Re: Earth Corps Doctrine

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In addition to an actual Earth Corps operation, another key objective is generating new thinking on U.S. social policy. As a parallel operation, the Earth Corps should encourage study and provoke debate on the following ideas and assertions.

**Fundamental Earth Corps Principles:**

- 1) Youth are a valuable resource
  - o All people are created equal. They have the same basic needs, desires, and hopes -- they want to contribute and better their lives. Concern about the environment is another universal attribute of all.
- 2) The experience must transform lives
  - o All youth have potential. The Corps will cultivate the values of responsibility, accountability, and integrity through a structured disciplined experience.
- 3) A strong correlation between effort and reward must be maintained.
  - o Small hurdles that mark improvement are essential to bolstering pride and self-esteem. (The military accomplishes this during basic training by innumerable individual and unit honors).

**Pertinent Thoughts:**

- o Trees taken seriously -- the hard science of the Greenhouse Effect and reforestation as a partial solution.
- o Importance of "tree" culture, i.e. the history, literature, the mystique of rainforest, the Austin, Tx. tree, etc.
- o A retrospective of the CCC -- why was it good? weren't the critical principles close to #1 and #2, and #3 above? what was the Army's role? (Pam Austin?)
- o Experiences of blacks in the military -- the rough blue-collar equality (cf. Ben Wildavsky book).
- o Credentialism and the AFQT

- o Revisionism: the military's previous attempts as a vehicle of uplift (Josephus Daniels, Mickey Kaus).
- o The tradition of work (New Deal vs. Great Society: a move from the factory and the work ethic to the university and the entitlement ethic).
- o Defeating bad values: an analysis of past mistakes of no accountability, group entitlement, no punishment for crimes, no education, etc.
- o The sociology of basic training and uniforms -- the military's 2000 year tradition that works for young men.
- o The hidden history of blacks and the environment, from Africa to the U.S.
- o A need for an Earth Corps history -- an evolution of Earth Corps doctrine, key articles, etc. Include Jack Wheeler's diary.
- o Review the Five Nots -- not mandatory, not punishment, not entitlement, not remedial, not cushy.

#

January 26, 1990

Memorandum

Re: The President's Reforestation Initiative and the Role of the Earth Corps

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This memorandum sets forth the rationale for:

- (a) the President's initiative on reforestation in which he calls upon every citizen to participate.
- (b) a possible Foundation to marshal citizen participation.
- (c) the role of the Earth Corps in inspiring citizens to achieve the President's goal and serving as an essential work force in achieving the goal. The Earth Corps is now performing this function.

#### REFORESTATION

A key area of environmental concern is our forests -- all of America's forests, public and private, wilderness as well as trees in suburban and urban areas. They are part of our children's inheritance.

When Christopher Columbus sailed, there were approximately 1.1 billion acres of trees in America. Today there are about 730 million acres of trees. This is a depletion of 370 million acres, fully one third of our forest inheritance.

The accompanying graph shows this trend.

And for the first time, in 1990 commercial timber harvests exceeded commercial timber growth.

Unchecked, these trends will continue in the 21st century.

To reverse this trend, the Administration is proposing a comprehensive strategy that includes:

- o A USDA component.
- o Possibly establishing a Foundation, in addition to and separate from the Earth Corps, to raise private funds to marshal citizen action for reforestation. Initial funding would be by a \$35 million federal grant.

Suggested text for the President's State of the Union Address:

**"... our forests and trees need national attention."**

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Let us reforest both wilderness and cities. Part of this task will be carried out by federal forestry programs. But most should come from citizens -- points of light -- acting on their own unique creative ways to reforest America."

If it is decided to launch a new Foundation, the President could also say:

"I ask Congress to join me in establishing a Foundation to give every citizen, rich and poor, of all races, the opportunity to join this effort."

A Presidential call for reforestation is the key to help the Earth Corps drive home its message that poor people should also have an opportunity to contribute, with the one great thing they possess -- the willingness and capacity to work hard.

#### EARTH CORPS

Once the President has his reforestation effort up and running, he could add a second stage booster rocket by supporting the Earth Corps.

The Earth Corps is a private foundation dedicated to helping disadvantaged youth help themselves. The Earth Corps stands for the principle of matching a transcendent national mission -- the conservation and environmental work facing our country -- with youth eager and willing to devote part of their lives to accomplishing the mission, with bare subsistence, as in the Army in the field.

The Earth Corps will field its own force and by example and cooperation urges the creation and growth of other youth conservation corps. The Earth Corps also projects the message to all citizens of the importance of our nation's reforestation goals, with an array of initiatives for children and families.

The Earth Corps therefore is a strong supporter for the Presidential reforestation initiative. April 22, Earth Day, is one time when the Earth Corps could particularly benefit from Presidential support.

One of the most significant challenges America faces is the tragic loss of the potential of disadvantaged urban and rural youth. Still, in 1990, too many teenagers and young adults find no way out of the culture of drugs, poor education and lack of job opportunities.

The youth are a resource. The task of leaders is to bring young people into work on an important national mission and, in the course of their work and commitment to the mission, **transform their lives.**

One such mission is the task of reforesting our country. It is a vast undertaking. The dedicated work of youth in well-administered conservation corps can provide an essential arm of the overall effort.

To assist in achieving the President's reforestation goal, the Earth Corps has been established as a private non-profit foundation. The Corps combines the best practices of military-style training and President Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps. The best practices of the CCC still apply:

- o Hard work, intensive education, taking responsibility for oneself and others, self-discipline, honesty, personal accountability, physical fitness, building self-confidence, dedication to an important national mission.
- o The program has "five nots". It is NOT mandatory -- it calls instead upon volunteers. It is NOT punishment -- youngsters are drawn in because of their potential, energy and the commitment they want to make to our country. The work is NOT trivial -- the mission is urgent for our country. The jobs are NOT cushy -- the work is hard and challenging. It is NOT an entitlement -- it is a tough two years where members earn their way, prove themselves and get a big job done.
- o This year, including Earth Day 1990, marks the mobilization of our youth through the Earth Corps, matching their vigor and commitment with great environmental needs. Just like their forebears under Franklin Roosevelt, they will help transform our country and in so doing transform their lives. This is what always happens when people commit themselves to a great mission.

Earth Corps members reforest wilderness areas, fight fires, protect and cultivate wetlands, carry out tree planting and environmental projects in urban areas, respond promptly to repair oil spills, hurricane, storm, insect and fire damage, cultivate forests, and prepare firebreaks.

Suggested Text for Presidential remarks:

"... I take pride that citizens have matched our country's environmental needs with the tremendous potential of disadvantaged youth by establishing the Earth Corps. Modeled upon President Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps, the Earth Corps will transform the lives of young people, preparing them for employment and educational opportunities, while focussing on a vital national mission."

## Earth Corps Operating Plan

Draft of 12/8/89

John Wheeler, Director and CEO

Reference: "Initial Policy and Planning Issues", November 28, 1989, copy attached.

The Earth Corps is a nonprofit corporation working in private/public partnership.

During 1990 500 cadets will be recruited and trained for a two-year stint in the Earth Corps. The Academy phase will last three months, starting in June, then the Corps will go to work. Another 1000 will be recruited to start in June, 1991. These two classes will constitute the Pilot Years for the Corps, during which the recruiting, academy, tour-long education, and work program of the Corps will be fully developed and refined. Attrition is estimated at 20%, so the first class will be 400. Every effort will be made to work with the cadets to keep attrition down. But the work and learning is hard, and experience says attrition will occur.

The main work will be reforesting America, in sites worked out with government and private agencies, to contribute as much as possible to the goal of planting a net new 40 to 60 million acres of new trees in America by the year 2000. Other work will be developed based on research by the Corps staff.

The cadets will be American citizens age 16 to 21. The Corps is open to all young women and men in the age group, with preference given to disadvantaged youth. There will be 70 staff and training cadre for the 1990 class, including staff who accompany the class on subsequent work, and including teachers in the education program.

Testing will be part of recruiting, using a variation of the armed forces qualifying test. The results will help in tailoring each new cadets' education program. Cadets must be drug free, but prior drug problems are not necessarily a bar to entrance.

1990 cost is estimated at \$25k/graduated cadet per year, or a total of \$10 million. Funds will be raised from private foundations and, with Earth Corps Board approval, federal and state governments. As much in-kind support as possible will be found and used.

In 1992 the first class will go back into the civilian world. Earth Corps staff will work hard to place each graduate in a job, and will work to place those graduates who wish into technical school or college. In the Corps, each member will have continuing education and training, both in the 3 R's and on Environmental Studies. Each cadet who does not have a GED will commit to

completing GED by the end of his or her tour. Some members will be asked to remain an extra year as cadre for new cadets. Their education will continue in a Corps tutorial program.

There will be a regular education track and a more accelerated track for members focussed on going to college if they can. Members can shift between tracks.

From 1991 to 1994 the Corps will expand to an annual intake of 4000, cycling through the national academy in 4 classes of 800 each per year, after attrition. The steady-state cost per year of the Corps then becomes a figure on the order of 3200 members in year one and 3200 in year two of their tours, times \$25k each, for a total of \$160 million per year, in 1989 dollars.

The scale of 3200 graduates a year is necessary to make a material actual contribution to the environment and to transform the lives of a material actual number of disadvantaged youth. For purpose of comparison, an American soldier costs over \$35k/yr and an incarcerated offender costs over \$40k/yr versus \$25k/yr for Earth Corps, in 1989 dollars. Also, to have the symbolic power necessary to move America to a new level of Environmental commitment and education, and to show other nations that America is doing its part on protecting and growing forests, the scale of 3200 graduates a year is the necessary scale.

The challenge to the CEO is to raise the funds necessary. The voices of the graduates themselves and the quality of the work they do will become a powerful fundraising vehicle.

The education that continues through the two-year tour includes leadership development and writing and speaking skills. Provision will be made for some handicapped cadets.

The economic value of the work performed in the field each year by the Corps will be more, up to two times more, than the total cost of operating the Corps for the year. The work will be aimed at supplementing, not displacing, other workers in the economy.

The philosophy is that there is so much work to do on the environment that all hands possible are needed. This included stimulating and helping expand other conservation corps in the states. The Environmental Syllabus and 3R's Syllabus and other resources of the Academy will be shared with all persons interested in creating or improving their Corps. Some cadets from other Corps will be admitted, to spread best practices.

The Pilot Academy will be located within driving distance of Washington, D.C. The President will be invited to serve as

Honorary Chairman of the Earth Corps and to speak at the first graduation. There will be three to five major work sites for graduates, spread nationally.

The Corps program will draw openly from the best practices and knowledge applicable to the work, educational and values instruction facets of Corps life. All learning will be shared openly.

Each graduate will be followed in his or her subsequent life, in order to keep faith with the young person and to hold the Corps accountable for long term results in transforming the lives of its members.

The staff, teachers and cadre will be carefully recruited and trained. Some will be former military. The purpose is to show forth the ideals of the Corps in the life and manner of the staff and cadre itself. They will be men and women of all backgrounds and race.

#### **Key Operating Tenets**

1. The work is huge and urgent. All hands possible in the reforestation and other work are needed. Share all we learn. Help other conservation corps grow. But beat them at basketball, soccer, baseball, football.
2. The cadets are a gift and are capable. They are an instrument of important national work and the Corps is steward of them and accountable to our country for their growth. The Corps members help abate the environmental crisis; we staff help them in their lives.
3. "Greener, Faster, Cheaper" -- the Corps will study and refine its practices so that it does the job in the field right the first time and does it well, improving techniques wherever possible.
4. Help each other. Cadets learn to rely on, help, and learn from each other. Group bonding is built in.
5. Learning is built in. This includes in the field, where writing and reading assignments continue and are monitored. with feedback, through mail, from the Academy.
6. Expert on the Environment. The teaching syllabus on the Environment is being developed to incorporate the best that is known about how to teach the Environment as a subject. This is knowledge and motivation that the Corps members will carry and transmit all their lives.

7. Excellence. Whatever job we do, is worth doing well.
8. The dignity of the individual, and according respect to the individual. Each Corps member, on graduating as a cadet, designs and receives a simple small plastic medallion with their design on one side and the Earth Corps symbol on the other. At each work site, the member leaves a copy of his or her medallion in a small display at the site, along with the medallions of the other Corps members who worked there.
9. Spiritual values. Cadets and Corps members are free to worship as they wish. Education includes attention to moral and ethical concerns. Questions of faith and meaning are freely discussed, as in any other place in American society.
10. Thrift. A portion of the minimum wage pay of members goes to a thrift fund, to teach thrift. Printouts on savings are sent to members while in the Corps.
11. Health and physical fitness. Education includes attention to these factors, and it is put in practice in the field.
12. Good food.
13. Boy meets girl; that's ok. But we keep things responsible and within reason. No dating in the field; no living together.

#### **President's National Service Objectives**

Earth Corps in operation contributes to meeting the President's national service objectives:

- o The Earth Corps claims a key societal problem as its own -- to contribute as much as it can to abate the Environmental crisis our country and planet face, and to train young citizens to help improve the environment lifelong. In so doing, the Corps breaks new ground in teaching about the Environment and brings new life, a transformed life, to its members, including the majority of disadvantaged rural and inner city youth who make up the Corps. By this effect, the Earth Corps also helps abate the problem of drugs among youth.
- o The Earth Corps enlarges and multiplies what is working. This private/public partnership at the national level of environmental action is an idea whose time is come. Local and state successes attest to this. An excellent national model will add immensely to the national movement. It is an act of leadership and sharing.

- o The Earth Corps builds leaders. Leadership is woven into the two-year tour. The positive effects are lifelong. The Earth Corps will stimulate others in states to start or develop state conservation corps. The effect in time will also be international.

### **Progress and Accountability in Getting Trees in the Ground**

The attached letter shows that work is underway on getting a consensus among experts on setting a benchmark from which the Earth Corps and the country as a whole can measure progress on the goal of 40 - 60 million acres of net reforestation, including in urban areas. The President will be able to use this data in yearly updates.

### **Operations in December 1989 and January 1990**

1. Reserve "Earth Corps" name. Incorporate as a 501(c)(3).  
Do ASAP, since IRS clearance takes 60 or so days.
2. Office. In-kind contribution will help.
3. Best Practices survey -- other conservation corps, inner city programs, experts. Extensive travel. Seek in-kind travel help.
4. Fundraising plan; fundraise. Foundations, government. Enroll in Combined Federal Campaign; test Direct Mail.
5. Brief all interested parties in Executive Branch and on Hill.
6. Organizational design.
7. Recruit staff, trainers, cadre.
  - Computer support expert
  - Fundraising professional
  - Cadre director -- an effective field soldier type
  - Forest expert -- set Corps work plan for members
    - research work sites nationally -- oversee site work
  - 3R's Director
  - Environmental Education Director
  - Television/Radio/Press Professional
  - Management and Financial Control Director -- measure our results; assure financial integrity.
  - Deputy Director (when workload on CEO requires) NOTE: Cadre Director, Environmental Director and 3-R's Director report to the CEO or his Deputy, so that the whole development of each cadet and member is tracked as a top priority of Earth Corps.
8. Prepared Environmental Syllabus.
9. Prepare 3-R's Syllabus.
10. Interagency meetings to get Reforesting Benchmark.
11. Coordinate with other parts of President's Reforestation Program. Earth Corps representation on steering group for reforestation.

12. Pick site for Academy. Coord with DoD for in-kind site. Coord with Maryland and Virginia delegations on Hill.
13. Syllabus for training staff and cadre.
14. Research the science of tree-planting. Refine and improve techniques for mass planting.
15. Research on work that Earth Corps is distinctively competent to do, in addition to mass reforestation and inner city reforestation.
16. Research on work sites for graduating classes.
17. Coordinate with advertising agency (in-kind help needed) to prepare recruiting material.
18. Brief President; invite his participation.
19. Establish financial controls; select outside auditor.
20. Introduce Earth Corps to the public and to the media. Media will be intensely interested. "Grapevine" feedback on Earth Corps is strongly positive, including from trusted advisers who are in the media.

President may wish to refer to Earth Corps starting in January, and perhaps in State of the Union address.

21. Establish theme of openness in designing the Earth Corps including in the Pilot Year of 1990.
22. Coordinate with those involved in S. 1430, so account is taken of Earth Corps.
23. Brief Governors.
24. Build up full Operating Plan for 1990-95.
25. Research on how to fulfill commitment to Corps members to place them in jobs or place them in higher education on completing their tours.
26. Plan how to follow and evaluate members in subsequent life.
27. Find schools, universities and colleges, and employers who will commit to giving opportunities to Members who complete their tour.
28. Research and set standards for incoming cadets. Develop modified version of armed forces qualifying test.
29. Arrange for teaching materials for Academy.
30. Set standards for Earth Corps achievement in next 5 years -- public accountability.
31. Get the word out about Earth Corps and its values. CEO on the road speaking (in time our graduates hit the road as speakers).
32. Go to uniform experts; plan Earth Corps uniforms; seek in-kind help for pilot. Four-season clothing and outdoor clothing will be needed, to include footwear and field protective head covering. Pick efficient design, good price.
33. Pick options for how to name each incoming class -- how to let cadets name their class and companies.
34. Arrange health insurance for cadets, members, staff. Arrange medical support for Academy, including medical exam of incoming cadets.

**"For not only leadership is passed from generation  
to generation, but so is stewardship."**

President George Bush  
Inaugural Address  
January 20, 1989

**EARTH CORPS**

Initial Policy and Planning Issues  
Topics for December Planning Meeting

John Wheeler  
202-456-6250 (day)  
703-527-5153 (eve)

November 28, 1989

This begins implementation of the Earth Corps, as described in the memorandum of October 12, 1989 (copy attached).

The Earth Corps is a non-profit corporation which gives opportunity for youth, especially disadvantaged youth, to help achieve national environmental goals such as reforestation.

It will help meet the Earth's environmental emergency and give Corps members a transformational experience.

In addition to its work in the field it will cooperate with and highlight existing state conservation corps and help to create conservation corps in states and other countries.

### **I. Urgency and Perfect Timing**

There is urgency in launching the Earth Corps. First, President Bush has committed to leadership in education, environment and building up the national sense of voluntarism--three principal components of the Earth Corps. The Earth Corps can build upon the momentum created by the President and make progress toward the goals he set.

Second, there is a crisis in the environment, with global warming a key issue. There is national consensus that major reforestation is needed to abate the threat. The Earth Corps is needed to help meet an emergency.

Third, Congress may pass in 1990 an omnibus national service statute. It is now in the form of S. 1430, which consolidates over 10 national service bills submitted in the 101st (current) Congress. The omnibus bill leaves an unmet need, which will be met by the Earth Corps. The bill provides funding for existing state conservation corps but creates no national-level corps.

An excellent national level corps is needed to lead and inspire states and other countries to create their own corps and to put the idea of successful youth conservation work firmly into the public consciousness. As a private foundation, the Earth Corps is free to create and demonstrate a strong, effective model for others. The consensus is that the bill will pass the Senate in 1990 and may pass the House. The Earth Corps Board can weigh whether it wishes to obtain some funding under this statute.

Fourth, cuts in military spending and easing of the threat of war that appear likely in the near future make a window where major resources and public commitment can be diverted to the Earth Corps and its goals.

These factors make a stage where the Earth Corps can seize the initiative, making a strong and urgently needed contribution to our country and the world.

## II. December Meeting

The next step is an informal session with a few funding personnel and persons involved in planning the Earth Corps. Agenda items include the matters in this memo and other subjects suggested by attendees. Prior to the meeting, a draft operating plan (or "business plan") will be circulated. It would be the better part of a day.

## III. Symbols

Nations and individuals navigate by symbol. The Earth Corps will be an inspiration to its members and the public. One step is a mission statement. A draft is:

"The mission of the Earth Corps is to educate and train the Corps so that each member shall be expert on the Earth's environment; to help free the Earth of environmental danger and build a better environment; and to inspire each member to a lifetime of service to others."

A visible symbol is also important. The Earth seen from space is a powerful expression of the ideals of the Earth Corps. An example is in color on the next page. This would be the center of the logo and the shoulder patch for the Earth Corps.

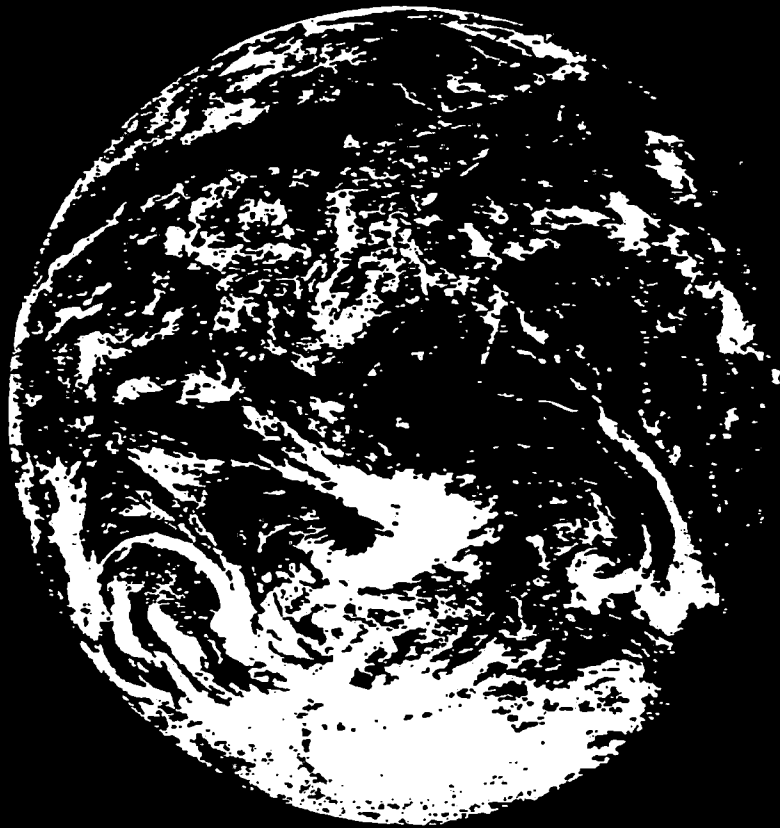
A motto is also a powerful central symbol. It should express the ideals of the Corps and also the ideals for living which the members aspire to. My suggestion:

### **Truth, Duty, One Earth**

"Truth" points both to education, including education about the environment, and to honesty in dealing with others. "Duty" points to the Corps' call to carry out its environmental mission but also points to the belief that each person ought to help the community. "One Earth" conveys the point that environmental cause and effect interconnect all nations -- for example, damage to the atmosphere by one nation affects all -- and also points to the ideal of peaceful relations among countries.

## IV. Values and Practicing the Values in Operation

The Earth Corps has to strive to live what it professes. This is true of all institutions and organizations. Values which will be important are first, living up to the motto, then, also, creativity, physical fitness, thrift and economy, and excellence in teaching and in work (so people say, "When the Earth Corps came in, they did the job right.").



There should be an Honor Code to which members of the Corps aspire. It should be designed and administered by the Corps members. The education program on the environment should be first rate, a pathbreaking model for school systems and universities to use. Reading, writing and arithmetic should be taught well. There should be writing requirements for each member, including a daily journal.

The dignity and great value of each human being is central to the Earth Corps. In practice, this is shown by the sense of community in the Corps and the Corps practice of following each Corps member through life after his or her tour, to see how they are doing and how they can be helped.

In the field, Earth Corps units should be noted for their efficiency and morale. The science and art of the tasks has to be researched and studied so that trees are planted and other work done in the best, most effective way. A model for this is the way McDonald's studies and perfects the seemingly simple task of preparing food or Japanese firms study machinery to make it smaller, lighter and more powerful.

The field of work can be the deep forest, urban areas, conventional workplaces where Earth Corps volunteers are needed, or, perhaps most importantly, posts where analysis reveals unmet needs that Earth Corps members can fill.

## V. Budget, Finance, Fundraising

I am optimistic about the power of the Earth Corps to attract funding and significant in-kind contributions. I am gathering the cost data from similar programs for the draft operating plan.

It appears we should start with a Pilot that tests a basic approach. The Pilot would be a two-year program for 100 to 200 young people. A well-run pilot will open the option of obtaining government funding if the Board wishes some government funds.

Costs per Corps member per year appear to be \$10,000 to \$20,000, including all overhead. In-kind contributions can reduce this as can government funding. The evidence from other conservation corps is that the value of work actually done by the Earth Corps would exceed this cost. The Earth Corps would also be developing good citizens and transforming the lives of some kids who might otherwise not be freed to realize their full potential. The long-run net benefits from the Earth Corps in fulfilling its mission statement will be immense.

## **VI. Accountability**

Accurate data on work done and the value of the work has to be kept. In the Pilot phase especially, the Board needs timely information on progress, problems and ways the Board can help.

## **VII. Benchmark and Progress on Reforestation**

One service that the Earth Corps and its planners must perform is to establish a benchmark on reforestation against which progress in the coming years can be measured. The benchmark should be global and should show the trend toward net positive reforestation, including the contribution made by the United States and by the Earth Corps.

We have the resources to get the data for this and begin keeping track. The key, again, is that the data be global and comprehensive as to all felling and planting of trees, making necessary estimates where data is scarce.

The President has signalled reforestation as a key need. We can help by providing for the essential task of answering the question, "How is the world doing?" on this issue.

## **VIII. Presidential Involvement**

The Earth Corps combines resources with great efficiency to tackle big problems: environmental crisis, environmental education, disadvantaged youth, illiteracy and undereducation, and strengthening the American spirit of voluntarism. All of these are issues important to the President and the First Lady.

The President or President and First Lady could be honorary co-chairmen. Public presentation of the Earth Corps should include the President. There can be help on S. 1430 if the Board wishes. The President could visit the Pilot operation. We must keep the President and his speechwriters apprised of net progress on reforestation -- globally and from Earth Corps.

## **IX. Next Steps, December 1989**

1. Hire director.
2. December meeting.
3. Visit some existing conservation corps operations.  
Visit forestry experts -- universities and in field.
4. Research, integrate all data, operating plan.  
Media relations is key part of plan.

5. Coordinate with President as to his speeches and travel in 1990.
6. Incorporate.
7. Get fund-raising going, including in-kind contributions.

#### **X. Media Relations**

The Earth Corps has exceptional access to the media. Media strategy and contacts are a key part of the Earth Corps' operations, since one of its obligations is to inspire others with the ideals of the Corps. I will work closely with the Board on media relations.

#### **XI. Administration**

Director to work with law firm on incorporation of Earth Corps and 501(c)(3) certification from IRS. Take to Board for approval. Initial office and staff formed. Bookkeeping and outside auditor provided for. Good computer support provided for. Health plan for staff and members of Corps.

~~SECRET~~

October 12, 1989

Memorandum

Re: Earth Corps

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### Need

The President has set forth a bold agenda for environmental protection, from clean air to hazardous waste to wetlands. One Presidential initiative stands out as an opportunity for broad-based citizen involvement -- planting trees. As the President said last month in Sioux Falls, SD, "we should remember the oldest, cheapest, and most efficient air-purifier on Earth -- trees." The Environmental Protection Agency's plan for alleviating the Greenhouse Effect by reducing CO<sub>2</sub> includes a target of reforesting 43 million acres of the United States.

To help reach this goal, we propose the creation of "Earth Corps," a highly structured volunteer program based on Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The Earth Corps would provide opportunity for youth, especially disadvantaged youth, to help achieve the President's environmental goals, specifically, reforestation. Such a program will draw not only on past successes, but also on the successful CCC-styled programs currently run by 39 states.

### Program Overview

Earth Corps will be a comprehensive, rigorous para-military program, with the major emphasis on planting the maximum number of trees. However, we expect to see a substantial side benefit: providing another path of opportunity and upward mobility for youth, especially minority and inner-city youth, who otherwise would not have the chance to participate in helping save the natural environment. Looking to the example of the CCC, which was operated by the Army, we note the need for a rigorous work environment which would offer structure and purpose to teenagers who have grown up with little or none. The Earth Corps will combine the challenge and comprehensive environment of Army-styled bootcamp with the self-esteem that comes from rugged outdoor experience. In addition, by emphasizing the paramount national objective of reforesting 43 million acres -- 2% of the entire land mass of the U.S. -- the Earth Corps will enjoy the esprit that comes from tackling a clearly defined, urgent, national mission.

Earth Corps will present an opportunity for many individuals, particularly the at-risk population, to benefit from a transformational work experience, one that pulls them out of their surroundings and offers them a new way of life. The program will instill values such as hard work, responsibility, accountability and discipline -- all crucial to the development

of well-balanced, productive individuals. While working to reforest the nation, Earth Corps will provide a strong national example of public service in the spirit of Roosevelt's CCC and Kennedy's Peace Corps, and President Bush's "thousand points of light." The Earth Corps will be open to all Americans, but by paying salaries commensurate with the military, Earth Corps can provide a unique opportunity for disadvantaged youth:

- o escape their present surroundings
- o engage in experiences that bolster self-esteem and encourage virtue
- o receive educational enrichment geared to their special circumstances
- o interact with leaders who will serve as positive role models
- o become directed, inspired individuals while serving their country

Note: Earth Corps should not in any way be confused with "prison boot camp" or "shock incarceration." The emphasis should be on young people volunteering to make a clean break with their past.

#### Program Elements

The unique mission of Earth Corps -- to help reforest the nation while providing a transformational experience for disadvantaged youth -- will demand that the program be carefully organized, highly structured and meticulously implemented:

- o Earth Corps will target youths age 16 to 23, focusing on those unable to exit their current environment through conventional paths, such as regular employment or the armed forces. The Earth Corps will take advantage of motivational techniques perfected by the military over the centuries -- uniforms, flags, insignia, etc.
- o Recruits will undergo a period of rigorous and motivational training and physical conditioning. With the goal of attaining self-sufficiency, participants will be taught camping, field skills, first aid, cooking and environmental skills.
- o After initial training, recruits will commit to a three to four year program, with their time divided between environmental work and highly structured educational enrichment. If diplomatically possible, Earth Corps members could go abroad to plant trees in the Third World.
- o Upon completion, Earth Corps "graduates" will be guaranteed either jobs or placement in "traditional" educational programs. An extensive follow-up program will assist "alumni" placement and adjustment in new careers.



*Mailing Address*  
P.O. Box 2000  
Washington, D.C. 20013

1516 P Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

telephone (202) 667-3300

Founded 1875  
December 7, 1989

John Wheeler  
Office of Policy Planning  
The White House  
Washington, DC

Delivered to:  
1700 H Street, N.W.

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

Enclosed is a copy of the package originally sent to you, James Pinkerton, and Emily Mead at the White House on December 1.

We have also arrived at some figures for you on the two specific questions you asked. Keeping with the carbon figures we have, one acre of trees sequesters 1.366 tons of carbon per year. Planting 40 million acres would sequester 55 million tons of carbon. This is 4 percent of the approximately 1.4 billion tons of carbon the US contributes annually to the atmosphere from the burning of fuels (25 percent of 5.6 billion tons of carbon emissions worldwide).

In terms of automobiles, we know that 1 gallon of gasoline equals 18 pounds of carbon dioxide (or 5 pounds of carbon). If a tree uses 26 pounds of carbon dioxide per year, one tree is needed to offset every 36 miles driven by a car, assuming a 25 miles per gallon fuel efficiency. One acre of trees would "offset" 13,600 miles of driving an automobile.

Allen sent a package to Bob King of MADD on Global ReLeaf just recently. I will try to speak with Sally O'Connor today, and I look forward to meeting you at the ceremony on Monday.

Sincerely,

Deborah Gangloff  
Director of Communications

encl.



Founded 1875

*Mailing Address*  
P.O. Box 2000  
Washington, D.C. 20013

1516 P Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

telephone (202) 667-3300

December 1, 1989

James P. Pinkerton  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for Policy Planning  
The White House  
Washington, DC

Dear Jim:

John Wheeler of your office asked Allan Comp of our staff for some estimates about tree planting goals that might be appropriate in upcoming years. Enclosed are three graphs which set forth some estimates that we have developed. They portray three separate situations, and challenges.

On the rural forest lands, public and private, the Forest Service has a good data set that estimates the number of trees produced each year in nurseries and the number of acres planted each year. There's good data through 1988, so we used that as the base year in goal-setting for the future. Since 1989 is done, and we can't affect it now, but we also don't know what it will be, we left it blank.

We believe that the goal should be a 50 percent increase in annual rural forest plantings by 1994. That would continue the trend of the late 1980's, and result in a net gain of forests of some 10-15 million acres by the end of the 20th Century. (Much of this is the replanting of harvested forest acres, but we don't have the data to tell how much of that is involved.) In terms of tree numbers, that would approach 3.3 billion per year by 1994, up from 2.3 billion per year in 1988. The challenge is significant, and the need for both nursery capacity and technical assistance is significant.

Our definition of community tree planting includes both public and private lands such as yards, business properties, parks, greenways, school grounds, freeway medians, etc. There is no data upon which to base a historical record except that the nursery industry thinks it produces about 30 million trees annually at the wholesale level. Nobody knows how many are planted, where they go, or how many live.

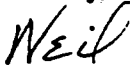
The goal we have projected for community tree planting is based on what our surveys indicate is needed, not on a departure from current trends. It would build to about 35 million a year by 1992. It would result in planting the 100 million trees that AFA has called for in Global ReLeaf, then maintain a high level of planting to begin truly taking advantage of all our community forest potential. We will be trying to get a decent estimate of plantings in 1989 this winter, and hopefully, start the construction of a data base that helps in future planning and program accountability.

The final goal is for street trees, which need to be larger, more expensive trees. We have a fair set of recent data to establish a trend, but we also know that most cities need to double their street trees, so this goal calls for a doubling of the annual planting rate between 1989 and 1994. That is still only about 2.5 million trees a year, but with an average cost per tree in the \$2-400 range, this is not an insignificant commitment on the part of America's communities.

We're aware that it would be easier to just have one numerical goal for a tree planting initiative, but these situations are so different, in terms of their costs, that we feel it is important to portray them separately. We hope this is helpful.

Lastly, we don't know what to do about tropical forests, or any kind of worldwide estimates. We're working with Worldwatch Institute and others to evaluate what data is available, but its pretty limited. FAO has estimated that only about one hectare is afforested or reforested for every ten hectares cleared or logged. That was a 1981 estimate and, so far as I know, there's nothing newer. Our challenge in the rest of the world is to help them develop information and understanding of their situation, both through the sharing of information such as remote-sensed data, and U.S. forest research. I'm not sure we can do more right now, in terms of helping reverse the trends of forest destruction that seem to be continuing at alarming rates in parts of the world.

Sincerely,



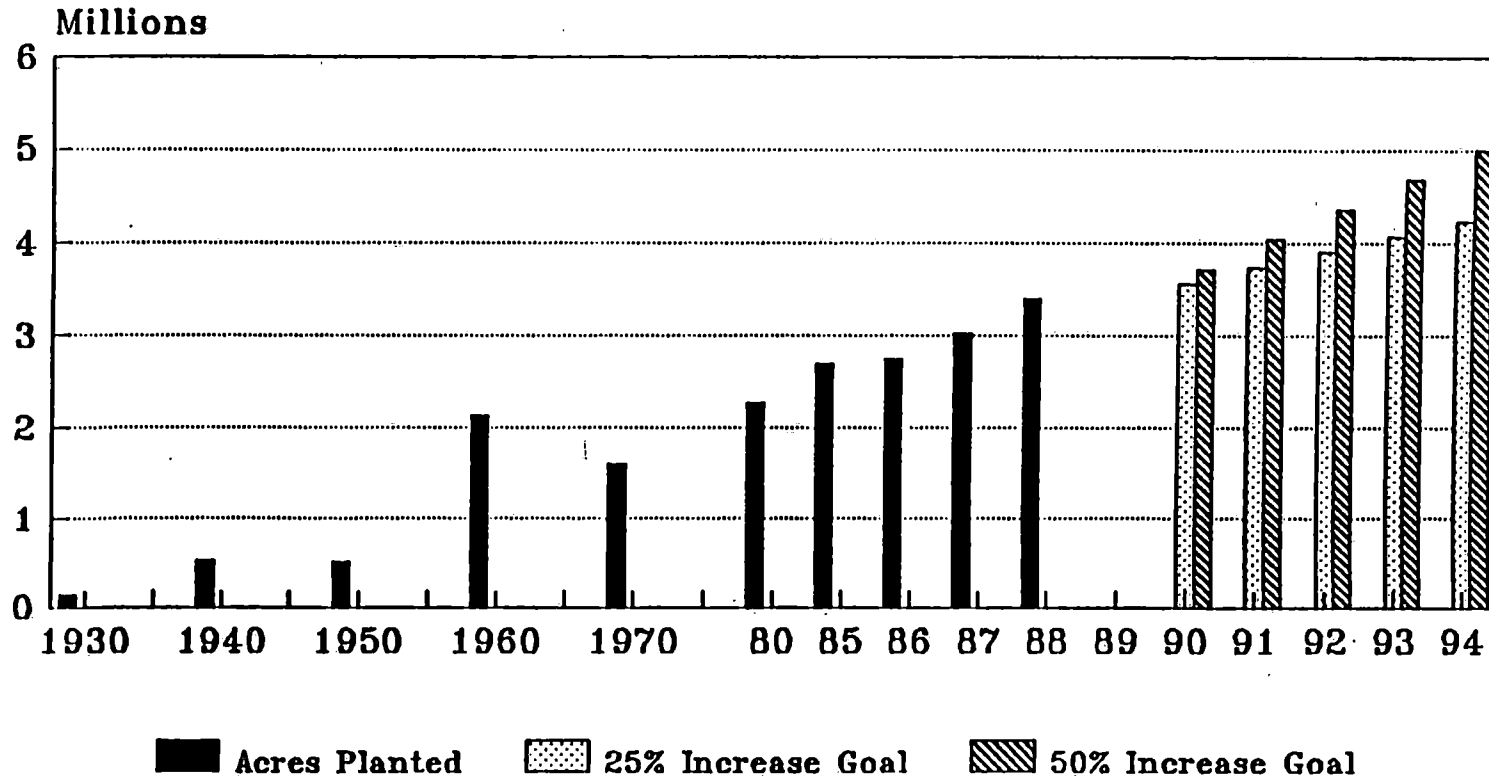
R. Neil Sampson  
Executive Vice President

Enclosures: 3 Graphs

cc: John Wheeler  
Emily Mead

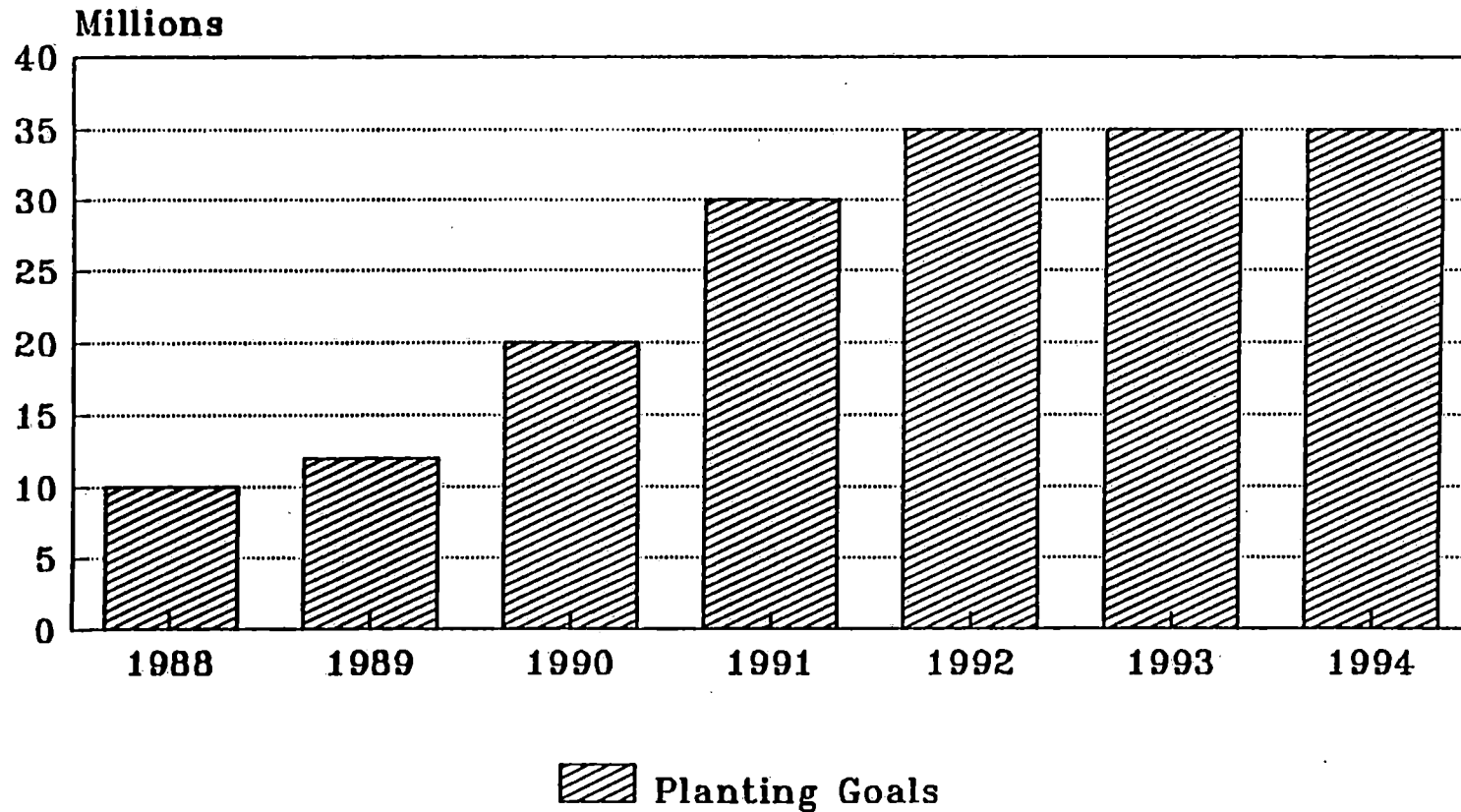
# U. S. FOREST PLANTINGS

## Public and Private Lands



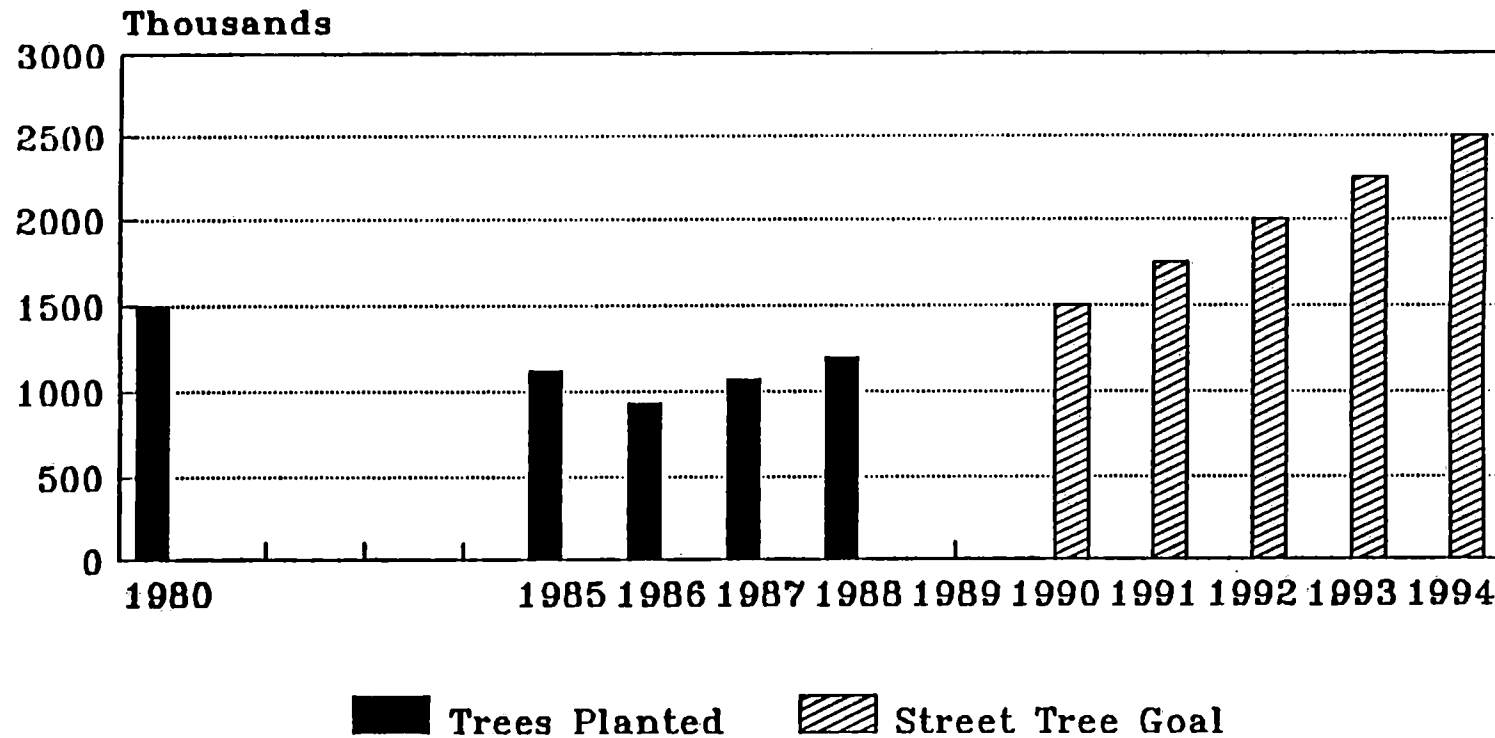
Source: U.S. Forest Service  
 American Forestry Association  
 November 30, 1989

# Community Tree Planting Public and Private Lands



American Forestry Association  
November 30, 1989

# Street Tree Planting Cities over 2,500 Population



American Forestry Association  
November 30, 1989



## MEMORANDUM

TO: James P. Pinkerton  
Deputy Assistant to the President for Policy Planning

CC: Nancy Maloley, The White House  
Paul Roellig, The White House  
Gene Cartledge, Union Camp  
Gary MacDougal  
Red Cavaney, American Paper Institute

FROM: Larry Wiseman *LW*

RE: November 8 Meeting on Forestry/Earth Corps Initiative

DATE: November 10, 1989

Jim:

As promised, I have enclosed polling data and focus group tapes from various research projects we have conducted over the past two years. Virtually all confirm your judgment that an Administration initiative which blends forestry with the concept of youth service would have substantial public and policy impact.

As a first step, we felt it important to sketch the background of programs over which this new initiative will be fit. Attached is a memo on current youth conservation activities. We are planning a similar assay of forestry and reforestation efforts.<sup>1</sup>

With this material in hand, we will begin working with Nancy and Paul to develop program alternatives for you and Roger to consider. Our goal is to complete development of these alternatives by early December.

On a personal note, Jim, I just want to reiterate how excited I am to be involved in this project. I'm confident we can break new ground and come up with a program that will be a winner for young people, the environment and the future health and vigor of America's forests.

---

<sup>1</sup>Also attached are brief descriptions of two programs operated by American Forest Council on behalf of the industry and other forestry interests. They are good examples of the kinds of resources that can be put to work in the Administration's initiative.

## MEMORANDUM

RE: Background on Youth Conservation Corps

DATE: November 10, 1989

FROM: Larry Wiseman, American Forest Council *lw*

Based on discreet, preliminary conversations with professionals active in this field and on other contacts, I can offer both some background about the current state of youth conservation programs, and some observations about the kind of project we discussed last week. To preserve confidentiality at this early stage, data were not confirmed via contacts with relevant state or Federal agencies -- though I believe them to be reasonable accurate.

### Background<sup>1</sup>

The youth conservation movement, first sparked by the New Deal-era Civilian Conservation Corps, is enjoying a resurgence -- fueled in part by Federal Youth and Young Adult Conservation Corps programs, the availability of funds via the Federal Job Training Partnership Act, and growing interest nationally and locally in service as a means of breaking young people out of poverty. Programs vary considerably -- though most are government-sponsored, with growth concentrated at the state and local level.

YACC. The Federal role in youth conservation reached its contemporary peak with the Young Adult Conservation Corps [YACC]. Before funding ended in 1981, YACC appropriations totaled \$260 million for programs operated at both the Federal and state levels.

YCC. The Federal government still maintains Youth Conservation Corps programs operated through the National Park Service, the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Forest Service. With separate appropriations for YCC no longer available, the agencies allocate from their operating budget for YCC activities. During the summer of 1989, approximately \$3.5 million was spent by the three agencies to employ some 3,000 young people via YCC. This accounts for less than 10 percent of all young people believed to be engaged in youth service activities.<sup>2</sup> Contacts at the relevant agencies can be provided, or initiated by me if you wish.

---

<sup>1</sup>Statistics collected by the Human Environment Center [HEC], a 13-year old organization founded to address environmental issues which disproportionately affect minorities and the poor. HEC is the contract sponsor of a loosely-knit group called the National Association of Service and Conservation Corps. The Ford, Hewlett, Mott and Public Welfare Foundations contribute substantially to its work.

<sup>2</sup>At its height, some 32,000 young people were employed in both Federal and state grant YCC programs with a total appropriation of \$60 million.

**Pending Legislation.** At least 10 bills were introduced in Congress covering some aspect or another of youth service. Many of the features of these bills have been combined into a Democratic-inspired omnibus sponsored by Ted Kennedy and reported out of his Senate Labor Committee. [Attached are copies of two essays from the Wall Street Journal offering perspectives on the resurgence of interest in national service.]

### Summary Statistics

[Estimates Based on NASCC Survey, August 1989]

	<u>All</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Local</u>
Approximate Number of Corps:	62	26	36
Year Round:	38	15	23
Summer:	24	11	13
Combined Annual Budgets:	As much as \$165 million		
Young People Served:	At least 39,000		
Age Range:	12-26		

### Notable Programs

**California.** Certainly the largest and most diverse corps, this program operates its own training academy and 17 residential centers with 32 satellites. Approximately 2200 young people are enrolled at minimum wage. After one year's service, they are eligible for a \$400 bonus and \$800 toward educational expenses. Activities performed, almost solely on public lands, range from fire fighting to fisheries restoration. Budgeted at \$58 million, the California program accounts for fully one-third of all funds expended on state and local youth service corps nationwide.

**A Classic Program.** The Wisconsin Conservation Corps appears to be representative of top-tier state level efforts. Like many, its traditions are firmly rooted in the old CCC with its focus on labor-intensive conservation work. Operated by the state's Department of Natural Resources, the program accelerated rapidly during the '80s recession. WCC's mission, set by the Legislature, is straightforward:

... employ those who don't have job;

- ... put them to work on worthwhile projects;
- ... teach them work skills.

WCC crews are trained to perform virtually any sort of labor intensive conservation work, including much that's timber related. They can plant, prune, thin and harvest, lay trails or help with wildlife and fisheries management. Most of their work is on public land, or on private lands where there is a clear public benefit [e.g. erosion control] and where public access is guaranteed, via easements for example. WCC's budget of \$3.6 million for 300 participants puts it in the top five nationally among similar conservation corps.

After 12 months, participants are eligible for \$1800 tuition grants or \$500 in cash bonuses. Like most programs, WCC has difficulty collecting hard data on how their participants have fared after leaving the Corps.

Of those eligible, about 25 percent take advantage of the tuition voucher. Some go to college, but many enter two-year technical schools. WCC surveyed 800 ex-Corps members earlier this year. Only 125 responded – reflecting the difficulty in evaluating post-Corps experiences of inner-city youth. Of those who responded, however, virtually all said they were either in school or working at a higher wage or enrolled in institution of higher learning.

### Observations

1. **Recruitment.** Some corps report declines in participation in some communities as the labor market has tightened. With opportunities to make more than minimum wage in a variety of urban jobs, those youth inclined to work appear to be staying out of the woods. But professionals caution that declines are highly localized and that, overall, the corps movement appears to be growing.
2. **Education and Counseling.** A critical component to most corps programs, some [like the Chesapeake Bay Youth Conservation Corps] offer training in areas as specialized as marine science and ecology. Most, however, focus on fundamentals – perhaps remedial academics, GED and personal and career counseling. Many involved professionals suggest these elements are vital to the post-Corps success of enrollees.
3. **Skill Training.** Again, programs vary tremendously. But most seem geared more to cultivating basic work habits than to providing specific training that could be readily applied in the labor market. In the few states I contacted, corps members with meaningful experience in construction trades, for example, were reported to find jobs more easily than those who had performed rudimentary conservation work. Work in energy conservation, becoming a staple of urban corps, seems to also lead readily into construction and allied trades.
4. **Post Corps Opportunities.** These vary, with some programs [predominantly local] organized to provide "graduates" with specific employment or education opportunities. In Philadelphia, for example, corps members are

enrolled at Temple University and serve as urban park rangers. A number of programs are affiliated with construction trade unions and employer groups and, somewhat like apprenticeship programs, feed their "graduates" into local labor groups. California Conservation Corps offers its graduates "career-ladder" opportunities into the corps bureaucracy itself.

5. **Cost.** State programs are not inexpensive. California's -- considered to be among the best and certainly the broadest -- costs roughly \$26,000 annually per participant. Programs without such an extensive network of training academies and residential centers cost less, about \$10,000 per entrant per year.

6. **Benefits.** There are two kinds of benefits: to participants, and to the communities that sponsor the programs. Professionals seem to agree that inner-city participants do benefit -- if for no other reason than they've matured as workers and learned things that employers value -- dependability, punctuality, responsibility. Community benefits can also be substantial. But some feel they are equally difficult to quantify since the market doesn't easily assign value to fire-fighting, noncommercial tree planting, trail construction, fisheries management and the like. Overall, evaluation of these kinds of programs hasn't progressed as quickly as enthusiasm for the concept.

7. **Private Sector Opportunities.** Most state-funded corps rarely work on private lands. But there are substantial opportunities to develop new private sector partnerships as the "corps movement" itself learns to reach outside its traditional funding sources and networks.

# Target Expenditures Narrowly

By PETER L. SZANTON

The debate over National Service has begun again. After a decade in which more than 50 localities established their own service or conservation corps and dozens of school systems made community service a prerequisite to high-school graduation, the focus has shifted to Washington.

At least 10 bills proposing one or another national program were introduced in Congress this spring. One, co-sponsored by Sen. Sam Nunn (D., Ga.) and Rep. Dave McCurdy (D., Okla.), would have restricted federal college subsidies to students who had served. An omnibus bill assembled by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.), and including some diluted Nunn-McCurdy provisions along with proposals by fellow Democratic Sens. Claiborne Pell, Barbara Mikulski and Christopher Dodd, has been reported out of the Senate Labor Committee. It might well win Senate passage. President Bush has outlined his own Youth Entering Service (YES) plan, though its details remain to be specified.

What is one to think of all this? Doctrine and special interests govern some responses. People eager to have youth "pay their dues to society" favor service proposals—preferably mandatory ones. So do those who seek a "re-energized concept of citizenship," a concept imposing stern obligations as well as conferring rights. Then there are instinctive opponents. To libertarians, mandatory service is an abomination and voluntary systems are illegitimate uses of tax money. Devotees of the market question the value of the work national service would perform. If the market won't pay for it, they argue, it can't be worth its cost. Elements of the left are also reflexively opposed: they see service as a cover for the draft, or fear the regimentation of youth, or want to see rights enlarged, not obligations.

But what about those of us whose views are not predetermined by formula or ideology? How should we think about national service? Let's begin by recognizing a main source of confusion—"national service" has no agreed meaning. Would service be voluntary or compulsory? Short or long? Part-time or full-time? Paid or unpaid? Would participants live at home and work nearby or live in barracks and work on public lands? What kinds of work would they do?

## Not Trivial Questions

What does "national" mean? Would the program be run by the federal government, by local governments, or by private voluntary organizations? And who would serve? Only males, as with the draft, or both sexes? Youth only or all ages? Middle-class people, or poor people, or a genuine cross-section? Many or few?

Those are not trivial questions, and the label "national service" answers none of them. They are the questions that should be asked.

1. Consider the ingredients, not the name. Ignore "national service" in the abstract; consider specific proposals. They will differ in crucial ways.

2. "Service" should be service. As commonly understood, service implies sacrifice. It involves accepting risk, or giving up income, or deferring a career. It follows that proposals like Nunn-McCurdy, whose benefits to enrollees are worth some \$17,500 a year, do not qualify. There is a rationale for such bills: Federal subsidies to college students amount to "a GI Bill without the GI"; arguably those benefits should be earned, not given. But the earnings exceed by 20% the average income of

young high-school graduates with full-time jobs. Why call that service?

3. Encouragement is fine; compulsion is not. Compelled service is unconstitutional. It is also unwise and unenforceable. (Who will throw several hundred thousand refusers in jail each year?) But through tax policy and in other ways the federal government encourages many kinds of behavior. It should also encourage service—preferably by all classes and all ages. Its encouragement should strengthen and not undercut the strong tradition of volunteering in the U.S., should build on the service programs already in existence, and should honor local convictions about which tasks most need doing.

*Many underclass youth can be profoundly reoriented by productive and disciplined service.*

4. Good programs are not cheap. Enthusiasts assume that national service would get important work done cheaply: forest fires fought, housing rehabilitated, students tutored, day-care centers staffed. There is important work to be done, and existing service and conservation corps have shown that even youths who start with few skills can do much of it well—but not cheaply.

Good service programs require recruitment, screening, training and supervision—all of high quality. They involve stipends to participants. Full-time residential programs also require housing and full-time supervision: they are particularly expensive—more per participant than a year

at Stanford or Yale. Non-residential programs are cheaper, but good ones still come to some \$10,000 a year. Are they worth that? Evaluations suggest that good ones are—especially so if the effects on participants are counted. But the calculations are challenging.

5. Underclass youth are a special concern. Are such expenditures worthwhile, then? Yes, if targeted. People of all ages and all classes should be encouraged to serve, but there are many ways for middle-class kids, and their elders, to serve at little public cost. They can volunteer at any of thousands of non-profit institutions, or participate in service programs required by high schools or encouraged by colleges or employers.

## Altered Calculation

Underclass youth don't have those opportunities. They are not enrolled in high school or college. They are unlikely to be employed. And they have grown up in unprecedentedly grim circumstances, among family structures breaking down, surrounded by self-destructive behaviors and bleak prospects. But many of them can be quite profoundly reoriented by productive and disciplined service.

Some won't accept the discipline; others drop out for other reasons. But some whom nothing else is reaching are transformed. Learning skills, producing something cooperatively, feeling useful, they are no longer dependent—others now depend on them. Even if it is cheaper to build playgrounds or paint apartments or plant dune-grass with paid professionals, the effects on the young people providing those services alter the calculation.

Strictly speaking, these youth are not performing service. They are giving up no income, deferring no careers, incurring no risk. But they believe themselves to be serving, and they begin to respect themselves (and others), to take control of their lives, to think of the future. That is a service to the nation. It is what federal support should try hardest to achieve.

*Mr. Szanton, a Carter administration budget official, heads his own Washington-based strategic planning firm. He is a co-author of "National Service: What Would It Mean?" (Lexington Books, 1986).*

# It's Ba-ack! National Service 1989

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MONDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1989

# It's Ba-ack! National Service 1989

## Put Brakes on the Omnibus

By BRUCE CHAPMAN

Proposals for government-operated "national service," like influenza, flare up from time to time, depress the resistance of the body politic, run their course, and seem to disappear, only to mutate and afflict public life anew.

The disease metaphor comes to mind, of course, not as an aspersion on the advocates of national service. Rather, it is born of frustration with having to combat constantly changing strains of a statist idea that one thought had been eliminated in the early 1970s, along with smallpox.

It is back with us again, in the form of legislation to pay volunteers under a "National and Community Service Act," a proposal with a serious shot at congressional passage this fall.

Why does the national-service virus keep coming back? Perhaps it is because utopian nostalgia evokes both military experience and the social gospel. If only we could get America's wastrel youth into at least a psychic uniform we might be able to teach self-discipline again and revive the spirit of giving.

A quarter of a century ago national service was promoted as a way of curing the manifest inequities of the draft—by, of all things, expanding the draft. Those of us who resisted the idea then suspect today that an obligation of government service for all young people is still the true long-term aim of many national-service backers, despite their protests that present plans contain no coercion.

Choice of the volunteer military in the 1970s seemed to doom national service as much as the draft. But the virus was kept alive in sociology departments until a couple of years ago, when it again was let loose. This time it attempted to invade two connected problems, the rising cost of higher education and the rising expense to the federal government of educational grants and loans. Why not keep and even expand the loans and grants, the advocates reasoned, but require some form of service from each recipient? Military service, moreover, could be a national-service option.

### Home Purchases

Thus, undoubtedly it was hoped that the new strain of national service would prove contagious, infecting patriotic conservatives, pay-as-you-go moderates, and idealistic liberals. The Democratic Leadership Council, a centrist group sponsoring the plan, surely thought it might help the party to attract support, especially among college students and their parents. A provision allowing grants to be applied to first

The DLC plan envisaged "volunteers" planting trees, emptying bedpans, tutoring children, and assisting librarians for \$100 a week, tax free, plus medical care. With a tax-free \$10,000 voucher payment at the end of each year, the volunteers would be making a wage comparable to \$17,500 a year. Mind you, most of "the volunteers" would be unskilled 17- to 18-year-olds, some not even high school graduates, and many saving money by living at home. They would be doing better financially under national service than many taxpayers working at the same kinds of jobs and perhaps supporting families.

As it happened, political resistance developed among educational and minority interests that count on the present education grant system, so the national-service devotees decided to abandon the supposedly crucial principle of "give in order to get." Opposition to national service from the Pentagon, which wants to protect its own recruitment process, also led to the military-service option being dropped.

Clearly, a new rationale for national service had to be cooked up. What better place to turn than Sen. Edward Kennedy's Labor Committee, that great stove of government expansionism, where many a stagnant pot of porridge is kept on the back burner until it can be brought forward and presented as nouvelle cuisine?

*They would be doing better financially than many taxpayers working at the same kinds of jobs.*

In this case, the new recipe for national service called for throwing many assorted legislative leftovers into one kettle: a demonstration project for educational aid (particularly satisfying to the DLC and Sen. Sam Nunn), a similar demonstration program for youth conservation (à la Sen. Chris Dodd), a competitive grants program to states to spark youth and senior citizen volunteer projects (a Kennedy specialty), a community service work-study program for students (pleasing to the palate of Sen. Dale Bumpers, among others), plus engorgement of the VISTA volunteer program and the Retired Senior Volunteer, Foster Grandparent, and Senior Companion programs. Before the menu is printed, the House may add more ingredients, also changing the initial price, now posted at some \$330 million.

It is widely known that "too many cooks spoil the broth," but that wisdom does not necessarily reflect the view of the cooks,

especially if they are senators. The "omnibus" bill comes out of Congress

happy and the restaurant is pushing the dish very hard. The aroma of patronage is in the air.

Is the voluntary sector so weak that it needs such unsolicited assistance? On the contrary, it is as robust as ever. According to the Gallup Poll, American adults contribute an average of two hours a week of service, while financial contributions to charity in the 1980s have risen 30% (adjusted for inflation).

Even if government does see various "unmet needs," national service is not the way to meet them. If we want to support students, we might adopt the idea used in other countries of offering more scholarships based on something called "scholarship," rather than on the government's idea of "service." Or we might provide a tax credit for working students. What we do not need to do is start a war, and then try to justify it by creating a GI Bill.

To the extent we lack manpower to staff menial jobs in hospitals, for example, we should raise pay, pursue labor-saving technology, or allow more legal immigration, rather than overpay high school graduates as short-term workers and cause resentment among permanent workers paid lesser amounts to do the same jobs.

### 'Points of Light'

Will national service, in the current highly politicized and opportunistic form exert enough appeal to get adopted? Not necessarily. Polls show wide, generalized support for some vague concept of service, but the bill now under discussion lacks any passionate public backing. Nonetheless, Senate Democrats are organizing a roll of supporting "associations," "societies" and "councils," some of which may hope to receive the paid "volunteers."

So far, the president seems ill-disposed to substitute any of the omnibus for his own free-standing proposal to endow a "Points of Light" foundation with \$25 million to inform citizens of all ages and exhort them to genuine volunteerism.

However, even this admirable plan could become objectionable if the White House gives in to congressional Democratic pressure to add to the scope of the president's initiative or to involve the independent foundation in "brokering" federal funds for volunteer projects.

There's no need for such concessions. The omnibus can be defeated, the virus controlled, and real service protected. National service, the utopian idea, still won't go away then, of course, but the millions of knee-socked youth performing works of "civic content" will be mobilized only in the imagination of their progenitors.

Mr. Chapman is a fellow at the Indianapolis-based Hudson Institute. This article is adapted from remarks at a Hoover



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 1, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR INTERESTED PARTIES

FROM: JIM PINKERTON

SUBJECT: Eric Hoffer and the Earth Corps

Eric Hoffer, the longshoreman/philosopher best known for The True Believer, also wrote the attached essay, The Role of the Undesirables, which puts the idea of an "Earth Corps" in historical context. Writing half a century ago about "undesirable" people down on their luck, Hoffer builds the case for a program that lets people work their way out of poverty and despair.

Hoffer's point of view is simultaneously humane and hard-nosed. He confesses that "The majority of us were incapable of holding a steady job. We lacked the self-discipline and the ability to endure monotonous, leaden hours. We were probably misfits from the very beginning. Our contact with a steady job was not unlike a collision. Some of us were maimed, some got frightened and ran away, and some took to drink."

Hoffer's point is that there still can be a place for everyone, even if that place is one of the "the drainage ditches of ordered society." Hoffer observes "there must be in this world a task with an appeal so strong that were we to have a taste of it we would hold on and be rid for good of our present restlessness."

What sort of task? Here is Hoffer's account: "I saw them fell timber, clear firebreaks, build rock walls, put up barracks, build dams and roads, handle steam shovels, bulldozer, tractors, and concrete mixers." Hoffer is no mollycoddler. His point is that such hard work is precisely what "misfits" (his phrase) need. Note that Hoffer's view is mirrored by the best New Deal programs, which emphasized work, not entitlement.

The reason the New Deal was such a success was because it was a contemporary reworking of the American Dream: the idea that hard work would enable you to overcome obstacles or handicaps and earn a piece of the pie.

The ability of "misfits" to rise out of "the slough of our present existence" led Hoffer to conclude that the "tramps" of his day were analogous to the pioneers of yesterday. Hoffer asks: "Who were the pioneers? ...Obviously those who had not made good: men who went broke or never amounted to much; men who though possessed of abilities were too impulsive to stand the daily grind; men who were slaves of their appetites -- drunkards, gamblers, and women chasers; outcasts -- fugitives from justice and ex-jailbirds."

Anyone who believes in the American Dream -- the right to try, to try and perhaps fail, and finally to try and succeed -- will believe in Hoffer's argument that "the quality of a nation -- its innermost worth -- is made manifest by its dregs as they rise to the top." As Hoffer writes, "Only here, in America, were the common folk of the Old World given a chance to show what they could do on their own... Small wonder that we in this country have a deeply ingrained faith in human regeneration. We believe that, given a chance, even the degraded and the apparently worthless are capable of constructive work and great deeds. It is a faith founded on experience, not on some idealistic theory."

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BETWEEN  
THE DEVIL AND  
THE DRAGON

*The Best Essays and Aphorisms of*

ERIC HOFFER

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## I THE ROLE OF THE UNDESIRABLES

**I**N THE WINTER OF 1934, I spent several weeks in a federal transient camp in California. These camps were originally established by Governor Rolph in the early days of the Depression to care for the single homeless unemployed of the state. In 1934 the federal government took charge of the camps for a time, and it was then that I first heard of them.

How I happened to get into one of the camps is soon told. Like thousands of migrant agricultural workers in California, I then followed the crops from one part of the state to the other. Early in 1934 I arrived in the town of El Centro, in the Imperial Valley. I had been given a free ride on a truck from San Diego, and it was midnight when the truck driver dropped me on the outskirts of El Centro. I spread my bedroll by the side of the road and went to sleep. I had hardly dozed off when the rattle of a motorcycle drilled itself into my head and a policeman was bending over me saying, "Roll up, mister." It looked as though I was in for something; it happened now and then that the police got overzealous and rounded up the freight trains. But this time the cop had no such thought. He said, "Better go over to the federal shelter and get yourself a bed and maybe some breakfast." He directed me to the place.

I found a large hall, obviously a former garage, dimly lit and packed with cots. A concert of heavy breathing shook the thick air. In a small office near the door, I was registered by a middle-aged clerk. He informed me that this was the "receiving shelter"

where I would get one night's lodging and breakfast. The meal was served in the camp nearby. Those who wished to stay on, he said, had to enroll in the camp. He then gave me three blankets and excused himself for not having a vacant cot. I spread the blankets on the cement floor and went to sleep.

I awoke with dawn amid a chorus of coughing, throat clearing, the sound of running water, and the intermittent flushing of toilets in the back of the hall. There were about fifty of us, of all colors and ages, all more or less ragged and soiled. The clerk handed out tickets for breakfast, and we filed out to the camp located several blocks away, near the railroad tracks.

From the outside, the camp looked like a cross between a factory and a prison. A high fence of wire enclosed it, and inside were three large sheds and a huge boiler topped by a pillar of black smoke. Men in blue shirts and dungarees were strolling across the sandy yard. A ship's bell in front of one of the buildings announced breakfast. The regular camp members—there was a long line of them—ate first. Then we filed in through the gate, handing our tickets to the guard.

It was a good, plentiful meal. After breakfast our crowd dispersed. I heard some say that the camps in the northern part of the state were better, that they were going to catch a northbound freight. I decided to try this camp in El Centro.

My motives in enrolling were not crystal clear. I wanted to clean up. There were shower baths in the camp and washtubs and plenty of soap. Of course I could have bathed and washed my clothes in one of the irrigation ditches, but here in the camp I had a chance to rest, get the wrinkles out of my belly, and clean up at leisure. In short, it was the easiest way out.

A brief interview at the camp office and a physical examination were all the formalities for enrollment. There were some two hundred men in the camp. They were the kind I had worked and traveled with for years. I even saw familiar faces—men I had worked with in orchards and fields. Yet my predominant feeling was one of strangeness. It was my first experience of life in intimate contact with a crowd. For it is one thing to work and travel with a gang, and quite another thing to eat, sleep, and spend the greater part of the day cheek by jowl with two hundred men.

I found myself speculating on a variety of subjects: the reason

for their chronic bellyaching and beefing—it was more a ritual than the expression of a grievance; the amazing orderliness of the men; the comic seriousness with which they took their games of cards, checkers, and dominoes; the weird manner of reasoning one overheard now and then. Why, I kept wondering, were these men within the enclosure of a federal transient camp? Were they people temporarily hard up? Would jobs solve all their difficulties? Were we indeed like the people outside?

Up to then I was not aware of being one of a specific species of humanity. I had considered myself simply a human being—not particularly good or bad, and on the whole harmless. The people I worked and traveled with I knew as Americans and Mexicans, Whites and Negroes, Northerners and Southerners, and so on. It did occur to me that we were a group possessed of peculiar traits and that there was something—innate or acquired—in our make-up which made us adopt a particular mode of existence.

It was a slight thing that started me on a new track.

I got to talking to a mild-looking elderly fellow. I liked his soft speech and pleasant manner. We swapped trivial experiences. Then he suggested a game of checkers. As we started to arrange the pieces on the board I was startled by the sight of his crippled right hand. I had not noticed it before. Half of it was chopped off lengthwise, so that the horny stump with its three fingers looked like a hen's leg. I was mortified that I had not noticed the hand until he dangled it, so to speak, before my eyes. It was, perhaps, to bolster my shaken confidence in my powers of observation that I now began paying close attention to the hands of the people around me. The result was astounding. It seemed that every other man had been mangled in some way. There was a man with one arm. Some men limped. One young good-looking fellow had a wooden leg. It was as though the majority of the men had escaped the snapping teeth of a machine and left part of themselves behind.

It was, I knew, an exaggerated impression. But I began counting the cripples as the men lined up in the yard at mealtime. I found thirty (out of two hundred) crippled either in arms or legs. I immediately sensed where the counting would land me. The simile preceded the statistical deduction: we in the camp were a human junk pile.

I began evaluating my fellow tramps as human material, and for the first time in my life I became face-conscious. There were some good faces, particularly among the young. Several of the middle-aged and the old looked healthy and well-preserved. But the damaged and decayed faces were in the majority. I saw faces that were wrinkled, or bloated, or raw as the surface of a peeled plum. Some of the noses were purple and swollen, some broken, some pitted with enlarged pores. There were many toothless mouths (I counted seventy-eight). I noticed eyes that were blurred, faded, opaque, or bloodshot. I was struck by the fact that the old men, even the very old, showed their age mainly in the face. Their bodies were still slender and erect. One little man over sixty years of age looked a mere boy when seen from behind. The shriveled face joined to a boyish body made a startling sight.

My diffidence had now vanished. I was getting to know everybody in the camp. They were a friendly and talkative lot. Before many weeks I knew some essential fact about practically everyone.

And I was continually counting. Of the two hundred men in the camp there were approximately as follows:

Cripples	30
Confirmed drunkards	60
Old men (fifty-five and over)	50
Youths under twenty	10
Men with chronic diseases: heart, asthma, TB	12
Mildly insane men	4
Constitutionally lazy men	6
Fugitives from justice	4
Apparently normal	70

(The numbers tally up to more than two hundred, since some of the men were counted twice or even thrice—as cripples and old, or as old and confirmed drunks, etc.)

In other words, less than half the camp inmates (seventy normal, plus ten youths) were unemployed workers whose difficulties would be at an end once jobs were available. The rest (60 percent) had handicaps in addition to unemployment.

I also counted fifty war veterans and eighty skilled workers representing sixteen trades. All the men (including those with

chronic diseases) were able to work. The one-armed man was a wizard with a shovel.

I did not attempt any definite measurement of character and intelligence. But it seemed to me that the intelligence of the men in the camp was certainly not below the average. And as for character, I found much forbearance and genuine good humor. I never came across one instance of real viciousness. Yet, on the whole, one would hardly say that these men were possessed of strong characters. Resistance, whether to one's appetites or to the ways of the world, is a chief factor in the shaping of character; and the average tramp is, more or less, a slave of his few appetites. He generally takes the easiest way out.

The connection between our makeup and our mode of existence as migrant workers presented itself now with some clarity. The majority of us were incapable of holding a steady job. We lacked self-discipline and the ability to endure monotonous, leaden hours. We were probably misfits from the very beginning. Our contact with a steady job was not unlike a collision. Some of us were maimed, some got frightened and ran away, and some took to drink. We inevitably drifted in the direction of, least resistance—the open road. The life of a migrant worker is varied and demands only a minimum of self-discipline. We were now in one of the drainage ditches of ordered society. We could not keep a footing in the ranks of respectability and were washed into the slough of our present existence.

Yet, I mused, there must be in this world a task with an appeal so strong that were we to have a taste of it we would hold on and be rid for good of our present restlessness.

## 2

My stay in the camp lasted about four weeks. Then I found a haying job not far from town, and finally, in April, when the hot winds began blowing, I shouldered my bedroll and took the highway to San Bernardino.

It was the next morning, after I got a lift to Indio by truck, that a new idea began to take hold of me. The highway out of Indio led through waving date groves, fragrant grapefruit orchards, and lush alfalfa fields; then, abruptly, it passed into a des-

ert of white sand. The sharp line between garden and desert was striking. The turning of white sand into garden seemed to me an act of magic. This, I thought, was a job one would jump at—even the men in the transient camps. They had the skill and the ability of the average American. But their energies, I felt, could be quickened only by a task that was spectacular, that had in it something of the miraculous. The pioneer task of making the desert flower would certainly fill the bill.

Tramps as pioneers? It seemed absurd. Every man and child in California knows that the pioneers were giants, men of boundless courage and indomitable spirit. However, as I strode on across the white sand I kept mulling over the idea.

Who were the pioneers? Who were the men who left their homes and went into the wilderness? A man rarely leaves a soft spot and goes deliberately in search of hardship and privation. People become attached to the places they live in; they sink roots. A change of habitat is a painful act of uprooting. A man who has made good and has a standing in his community stays put. The successful businessmen, farmers, and workers usually stayed where they were. Who then left for the wilderness and the unknown? Obviously those who had not made good: men who went broke or never amounted to much; men who though possessed of abilities were too impulsive to stand the daily grind; men who were slaves of their appetites—drunkards, gamblers, and women chasers; outcasts—fugitives from justice and ex-jailbirds. There were no doubt some who went in search of health—men suffering with TB, asthma, heart trouble. Finally, there was a sprinkling of young and middle-aged in search of adventure.

All these people craved change, some probably actuated by the naïve belief that a change in place brings with it a change in luck. Many wanted to go to a place where they were not known and there make a new beginning. Certainly they did not go out deliberately in search of hard work and suffering. If in the end they shouldered enormous tasks, endured unspeakable hardships, and accomplished the impossible, it was because they had to. They became men of action on the run. They acquired strength and skill in the inescapable struggle for existence. It was a question of do or die. And once they tasted the joy of achievement, they craved more.

Clearly the same types of people which now swelled the ranks of migratory workers and tramps had in former times made up the bulk of the pioneers. As a group the pioneers were probably as unlike the present-day "native sons"—their descendants—as one could well imagine. Indeed, were there to be today a new influx of typical pioneers, twin brothers of the forty-niners only in modern garb, the citizens of California would consider it a menace to health, wealth, and morals.

With few exceptions, this seems to be the case in the settlement of all new countries. Convicts were the vanguard in the settling of Australia. Exiles and convicts settled Siberia. In this country, a large portion of our earlier and later settlers were failures, fugitives, and felons. The exceptions seem to be those who were motivated by religious fervor, such as the Pilgrims and the Mormons.

Although quite logical, the train of thought seemed to me then a wonderful joke. In my exhilaration I was eating up the road in long strides, and I reached the oasis of Elim in what seemed almost no time. A passing empty truck picked me up just then, and we thundered through Banning and Beaumont, all the way to Riverside. From there I walked the seven miles to San Bernardino.

Somehow, this discovery of a family likeness between tramps and pioneers took a firm hold on my mind. For years afterward it kept intertwining itself with a mass of observations which on the face of them had no relation to either tramps or pioneers. And it moved me to speculate on subjects in which, up to then, I had had no real interest, and of which I knew very little.

I talked with several old-timers—one of them over eighty and a native son—in Sacramento, Placerville, Auburn, and Fresno. It was not easy, at first, to obtain the information I was after. I could not make my questions specific enough. "What kind of people were the early settlers and miners?" I asked. They were a hard-working, tough lot, I was told. They drank, fought, gambled, and wenched. They wallowed in luxury or lived on next to nothing with equal ease. They were the salt of the earth.

Still it was not clear what manner of people they were.

If I asked what they looked like, I was told of whiskers, broad-brimmed hats, high boots, shirts of many colors, suntanned faces, horny hands. Finally I asked, "What group of people in present-

day California most closely resembles the pioneers?" The answer, usually after some hesitation, was invariably the same: "The Okies and the fruit tramps."

I tried also to evaluate the tramps as potential pioneers by watching them in action. I saw them fell timber, clear firebreaks, build rock walls, put up barracks, build dams and roads, handle steam shovels, bulldozer, tractors, and concrete mixers. I saw them put in a hard day's work after a night of steady drinking. They sweated and growled, but they did the work. I saw tramps elevated to positions of authority as foremen and superintendents, and in those cases I noticed a remarkable physical transformation: a seamed face gradually smoothed out, and the skin showed a healthy hue; an indifferent mouth became firm and expressive; dull eyes cleared and brightened; voices actually changed; there was even an apparent increase in stature. In almost no time these promoted tramps looked as if they had been on top all their lives. Yet sooner or later I would meet up with them again in a railroad yard, on some skid row, or in the fields—tramps again. It was usually the same story: they got drunk or lost their temper and were fired, or they got fed up with the steady job and quit. Usually, when a tramp becomes a foreman he is careful in his treatment of the tramps under him; he knows the day of reckoning is never far off.

In short, it was not difficult to visualize the tramps as pioneers. I reflected that if they were to find themselves in a single-handed life-and-death struggle with nature, they would undoubtedly display persistence. For the pressure of responsibility and the heat of battle steel a character. The inadaptable would perish, and those who survived would be the equal of the successful pioneers.

I also considered the few instances of pioneering engineered from above—that is to say, by settlers possessed of lavish means, who were classed with the best where they came from. In these instances, it seemed to me, the resulting social structure was inevitably precarious. For pioneering de luxe usually results in a plantation society, made up of large landowners and peon labor, either native or imported. Very often there is a racial cleavage between the two. The colonizing activities of the Teutonic barons in the Baltic, the Hungarian nobles in Transylvania, the English in Ireland, the planters in our South, the Spanish in Latin America, the

British and Dutch in their plantation colonies are cases in point. Whatever their merits, such societies are characterized by poor adaptability. They are likely eventually to be broken up either by a peon revolution or by an influx of typical pioneers—who are usually of the same race or nation as the landowners.

## 3

There is in us a tendency to judge a race, a nation, or an organization by its least worthy members. The tendency is manifestly perverse and unfair; yet it has some justification. For the quality and destiny of a nation are determined to a considerable extent by the nature and potentialities of its inferior elements. The inert mass of a nation is in its middle section. The industrious, decent, well-to-do, and satisfied middle classes—whether in cities or on the land—are worked upon and shaped by minorities at both extremes: the best and the worst.

The superior individual, whether in politics, business, industry, science, literature, or religion, undoubtedly plays a major role in the shaping of a nation. But so do the individuals at the other extreme: the poor, the outcasts, the misfits, and those who are in the grip of some overpowering passion. The importance of these inferior elements as formative factors lies in the readiness with which they are swayed in any direction. This peculiarity is due to their inclination to take risks ("not giving a damn") and their propensity for united action. They crave to merge their drab, wasted lives into something grand and complete. Thus they are the first and most fervent adherents of new religions, political upheavals, patriotic hysteria, gangs, and mass rushes to new lands.

And the quality of a nation—its innermost worth—is made manifest by its dregs as they rise to the top: by how brave they are, how humane, how orderly, how skilled, how generous, how independent or servile; by the bounds they will not transgress in their dealings with a man's soul, with truth, and with honor.

The average American of today bristles with indignation when he is told that this country was built, largely, by hordes of undesirables from Europe. Yet, far from being derogatory, this statement, if true, should be a cause for rejoicing, should fortify our pride in the stock from which we have sprung.

This vast continent with its towns, farms, factories, dams,

aqueducts, docks, railroads, highways, powerhouses, schools, and parks is the handiwork of common folk from the Old World, where for centuries men of their kind had been beasts of burden, the property of their masters—kings, nobles, and priests—and with no will and no aspirations of their own. When on rare occasions one of the lowly had reached the top in Europe he had kept the pattern intact and, if anything, tightened the screws. The stuffy little corporal from Corsica harnessed the lusty forces released by the French Revolution to a gilded state coach and could think of nothing grander than mixing his blood with that of the Hapsburg masters and establishing a new dynasty. In our day a bricklayer in Italy, a house painter in Germany, and a shoemaker's son in Russia have made themselves masters of their nations; and what they did was to re-establish and reinforce the old pattern.

Only here, in America, were the common folk of the Old World given a chance to show what they could do on their own, without a master to push and order them about. History contrived an earth-shaking joke when it lifted by the nape of the neck lowly peasants, shopkeepers, laborers, paupers, jailbirds, and drunks from the midst of Europe, dumped them on a vast virgin continent, and said, "Go to it; it is yours!"

And the lowly were not awed by the magnitude of the task. A hunger for action, pent up for centuries, found an outlet. They went to it with ax, pick, shovel, plow, and rifle; on foot, on horse, in wagons, and on flatboats. They went to it praying, howling, singing, brawling, drinking, and fighting. Make way for the people! This is how I read the statement that this country was built by hordes of undesirables from the Old World.

Small wonder that we in this country have a deeply ingrained faith in human regeneration. We believe that, given a chance, even the degraded and the apparently worthless are capable of constructive work and great deeds. It is a faith founded on experience, not on some idealistic theory. And no matter what some anthropologists, sociologists, and geneticists may tell us, we shall go on believing that man, unlike other forms of life, is not a captive of his past—of his heredity and habits—but is possessed of infinite plasticity, and his potentialities for good and for evil are never wholly exhausted.

November 29, 1989

Memorandum to Gary MacDougal  
Marty Swartz  
Jack Wheeler

From: Jim Pinkerton

Re: The attached articles

The juxtaposition of these two pieces, one on the front page of the New York Times and the other on the op-ed page of the Washington Post, is very revealing.

The Broder article decries, in fashionable anti-"me decade" terms, the lack of commitment of the young. I would be concerned about this were I not so sure that the exact same article could have been written 10, 20, or 1000 years ago. History tells us that, in the absence of a crisis of some sort, free people will always look after themselves first. However, as they get older, their realm of concern broadens to include children, community, and country.

Meanwhile, overwrought handwringing about middle class kids who will inevitably grow out of their self-absorption threatens to crowd out concern over the very real problems highlighted in the Times story. Here we can not be confident that the aging process will solve the problem.

It would be a tragedy if we let our natural concern for perfecting people like us get in the way of saving people who aren't like us, but who need our help.

#

# The Short Life of 'Little Man': A Drug Dealer's Grim Legacy

NYT 11/29/89

By KEVIN SACK

The life and death of Preston (Little Man) Simmons, a 14-year-old marijuana peddler who was shot and killed last Thursday, is a story that has become dismally familiar in his part of the world.

When he was executed in the courtyard of his housing project in the Bronx, he became one of almost 140 homicide victims aged 18 or under in New York City this year. For the last three years, about 10 percent of the city's homicide victims have been in that age group, many of them killed in drug-related incidents, according to police officials.

## 'A Lot of Bad Habits'

That the case of Preston Simmons is so commonplace is what gives it special weight. His existence at the Castle Hill Houses, a sprawling public housing complex in the East Bronx, was typical of life in the underclass. And the legacy of despair he left behind provides little hope of a better life for the next generation.

Like Preston's mother and grand-

mother, his girlfriend will become a teen-age mother next month when she is due to deliver his child. The girlfriend, 17-year-old Denise Butler, doubts that her child's life will be much different from that of Preston, a personable youngster who made his spending money by selling \$5 bags of marijuana.

"If he's still living around here," Miss Butler said of her expected child, "I guess he'll be selling drugs, will be forced to sell drugs, or will have a lot of bad habits."

The police have yet to make an arrest in Preston's case, but contend they have good leads. Although police officials are reluctant to declare the killing a drug hit, Preston's family and friends

*Continued on Page B6, Column 1*

# 'Little Man' Dies Young: A Drug Dealer's Legacy

Continued From Page A1

believe he was killed because he threatened to break with his marijuana supplier and set up a competing operation.

Although the man identified as Preston's supplier is not suspected as the gunman, he has been questioned at length by the police, said Sgt. William T. Kivlehan, a detective at the 43d Precinct in the Bronx. The man, who was at the site of the killing when it occurred, has a record of drug arrests.

Preston was killed at about 8:15 P.M. while walking from his girlfriend's apartment at 580 Castle Hill Avenue to his family's apartment a block away at 2120 Randall Avenue. He encountered the drug supplier and, while talking to him, was approached by a group of at least four men.

One of them pulled a 9-millimeter automatic pistol from his waist and shot Preston twice, once in the head and once in the body, and then shot him

**'For \$5, they'll shoot you in your head,' a friend says.**

nine more times as he fell to the snow. "This kid was full of holes," said Vincent Pizzo, chief of detectives for the housing police.

Preston's friends said he sensed the danger in the drug trade, although he thought it came more from the police than from his counterparts in commerce. It was a risk he thought worth taking.

"I guess he did it for the reason all the young dudes do it," said Anthony Butler, the brother of Preston's girlfriend and one of Preston's best friends. "He was too young to get a job and it was some quick little change in his pocket."

Although residents of Castle Hill are accustomed to bloodshed, they were taken aback by Preston's death because of the coldness of the killing, particularly given the victim's age and his low position in the drug hierarchy.

The incident has made children and elderly people afraid to leave their apartments and has encouraged community leaders to philosophize about the spiraling cycle of poverty and drugs that seems to pull each generation's youth farther away from hope.

"There is a growing fear that the drug cancer is metastasizing and it's really impacting on the young chil-

dren," said Zalreth P. McCreath, the director of the Randall Early Learning Center, a few yards from the site of the shooting. "It's clear that the whole family unit has broken down and what's caused it seems to be drugs."

In Preston's case, it is hard to know whether drugs were the cause or the effect.

### From Shelter to Project

Preston was the fourth of Ruth Simmons's seven children, who range in age from 18 years to 15 months. An eighth child died as an infant.

Ms. Simmons dropped out of high school in 11th grade, when she first got pregnant. Preston's father, Ms. Simmons said, was an abusive drug user who wandered in and out of her life, often entering through a smashed window or door.

During the two years that they lived together, he regularly beat her and the children, Ms. Simmons said. Eventually, Ms. Simmons got a protective court order prohibiting the man from seeing his children.

Ms. Simmons and her family spent a number of years crowded into her mother's two-bedroom apartment. They moved into a shelter in Queens in the summer of 1988 before moving into their four-bedroom apartment at Castle Hill 15 months ago.

Unemployed for the last six years, Ms. Simmons has received a welfare check since 1969 when she first became pregnant. She gets a check for \$235.55 every two weeks, which is supplemented by a \$371 monthly check for one of her sons, who has a mental disability. She pays \$266 a month in rent at Castle Hill.

### Gunfire Is Commonplace

About one-fourth of the 2,025 families living at Castle Hill are on full welfare, said Val Coleman, a spokesman for the New York City Housing Authority. The average family income at the 14-building complex is \$11,022. More than 7,000 people live there now, with almost half of them under the age of 21.

The project is a complex of 12-story buildings clustered around playgrounds and courtyards. Most of the apartments are spacious, but the elevators smell of urine and the tile hallways are marred with graffiti.

Residents report that the project is overrun with crack dealers. Gunfire from roofs and windows has become commonplace and there have been four homicides this year.

One killing took place only a month and a half before Preston's death, when 17-year-old Jamal Graham was shot twice with a .32-caliber automatic. Police have labeled the killing a territorial drug dispute and have charged a 20-year-old man from another housing project in the shooting.

"People are dying over jackets,



Ruth Simmons, whose son, Preston, a 14-year-old marijuana peddler, was shot and killed last Thursday, with one of her sons, Lewis, in the courtyard of her apartment complex, where the shooting took place.



Preston (Little Man) Simmons

drugs, money, even the way you look at people," said Crystal McNeill, a 17-year-old Castle Hill resident who knew both Preston and Jamal. "For \$5, they'll shoot you in your head."

Before the emergence of crack, Castle Hill was a relatively quiet place, said Anthony Butler, who is 24. He remembers when his mother would plant a beach chair in the grass in the late afternoon and spend much of the evening there.

Now the Butlers, like many residents, spend most of their time locked in their seventh-floor apartment, watching music videos, preparing meals, and peering through grime-stained windows at a view of the Empire State Building framed between two other Castle Hill high-rises.

Because Preston Simmons was a broad-shouldered and self-reliant youth, he had been called "Little Man" since childhood. He was friendly and outgoing, often playing the role of the family clown. He also was susceptible to peer pressure, according to his sister, Natasha.

His was a life devoid of positive role models or heroes, said his mother and friends. After learning some elementary karate moves from a friend, he lined the walls of his bedroom with magazine pictures of Ninja warriors.

Because he was hyperactive, Preston was enrolled in a special education class at Intermediate School 174. His teacher, Norman A. Washington, described Preston as an average student who rarely skipped school, who did his homework, and who showed respect for authority. "He seemed to have a good self image," Mr. Washington said. "He had an elastic ego. He didn't get hurt easily."

Preston began selling marijuana after meeting his supplier last summer, according to friends and family members. Along with several other

boys working for the same man, he stationed himself in a playground near the spot where he was killed.

On a good day, he would sell 20 to 30 bags for \$5 each and would keep \$1.50 for each bag sold, Anthony and Denise Butler said. Occasionally he would keep some marijuana for his own use, but his sister and friends said he preferred a Heineken beer to a joint.

Ms. Simmons said she was not aware of her son's drug dealing.

Preston spent his money on food and gifts for Denise, and for pricey clothing and shoes. "Young people like to keep up with the styles and it's expensive to keep up," said Mr. Butler. "These are low-income projects here and your parents can't get you everything the other kids have."

Since Preston's death, both his family and Denise's family have found special meaning in the coming birth of Denise's baby. They seem unfazed by the prospect of another generation of fatherless children living a life of destitution and danger.

"Little Man is gone but he's left something behind," Ms. Simmons said. "We hope it's a boy so he can keep his name. We loved Little Man a lot. Since he's not here any longer we all will have something to remember him by."

**DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST**

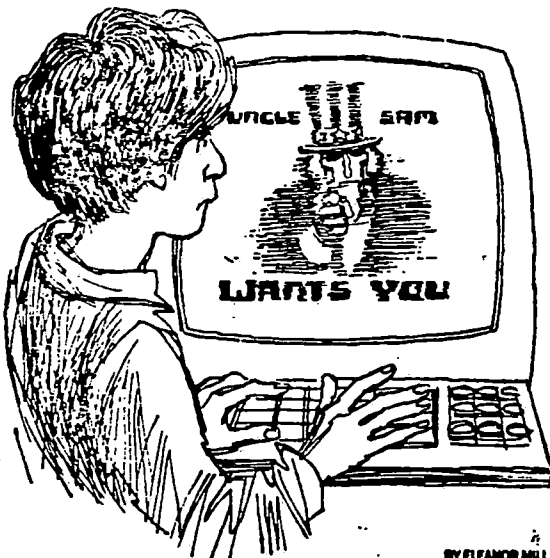
David S. Broder

## Young America's Civic Failings

Over the Thanksgiving weekend, like many other families, we had four generations gathered at the house—ranging in age from two months to 87 years. It seemed the right time to be reading "Democracy's Next Generation," the recently released survey by pollster Peter D. Hart for the liberal advocacy group People for the American Way.

Hart's survey focused on slightly more than 1,000 young Americans, between the ages of 15 and 24, with supplemental information from interviews with 405 social studies teachers. The findings are disquieting, particularly at a moment when young people in Czechoslovakia are putting themselves on the line to make their country the latest Soviet-bloc nation to declare for democracy.

The key conclusion from these interviews is that "Young people have learned only half of America's story. Consistent with the priority they place on personal happiness, young people reveal notions of America's unique character that emphasize freedom and license almost to the complete exclusion of service or participation. Although they clearly appreciate the democratic freedoms that, in their view, make theirs the 'best country in the world to live in,' they fail to perceive a need to reciprocate by exercising the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship."



BY ELEANOR MILL

The evidence for this sweeping statement comes in several forms. Asked about goals that are important to them, three times as many selected "being successful in job or career" as chose "being involved in helping the community be a better place"—72 percent to 24 percent. Three out of five are not involved in any form of community service. Only one-third said they could foresee a time when they might join the military or work as a volunteer in a political campaign.

The concept of "good citizenship" these young people have gained is individualistic—not civic. Asked how they would describe a "good citizen" in their own words, the

dominant answer (43 percent) was that it meant someone who is generous and caring. Only one-third mentioned being law-abiding and only 12 percent suggested voting or other forms of political involvement.

Those who teach this generation say they are alarmed at the other indications they see in the classroom that the emphasis on self-fulfillment, which is obviously a natural quality of that stage of life, is increasingly crowding out a sense of involvement with the community and nation.

As Hart comments, "The results from this study make clear the necessity for concerted efforts—enlisting the active engagement of parents, educators and administrators—to teach young people not only about their rights and opportunities but about their obligations as citizens as well."

That need, it seems to me, becomes increasingly important as we move into a post-Cold War world. It is not simply that fewer young people will have the experience of military service in coming years. It is also that the temptation will increase to believe that once the main challenge facing this society—the contest with communism—has been won, we can become even more focused on our individual goals.

Donald Eberly, who heads the Coalition for National Service, is taking a small delegation to Moscow next month to discuss the possibility of joint U.S.-Soviet youth projects. That's a nice gesture, but the real challenge lies here at home.

At the beginning of this year, Washington seemed to recognize the obligation to find ways to arouse and channel the civic-mindedness of the younger generation. President Bush promised a personal effort to encourage volunteer community service. Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine) said he would give high priority to national-service legislation. Not much has come of those pledges.

Hart's study emphasizes what we intuitively know to be the case: that parents and teachers, families and schools, are far more important in shaping the values that underlie active democratic citizenship than distant politicians. The flourishing examples of volunteer youth activity are almost all locally organized and funded.

But I cannot avoid the feeling that such politicians as Sens. Charles S. Robb (D-Va.) and Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) are on the right track when they talk, as both have been doing in recent years, about national-service programs that would expose the younger generation to the challenges of active citizenship.

Hart's survey found strong resistance among the young people to proposals that would require a year of civilian or military service of all of them. They also reject the Nunn-Robb proposal that would condition student loans and other higher education benefits on the performance of such service. But there is overwhelming support—9 to 1—for programs that would offer extra credit in high school or extra financial aid beyond high school to those who volunteer for community or military service.

One way or another, we have to find a way to teach this generation the other half of democracy's story: the experience of civic involvement and citizenship obligation.

October 11, 1989

Memorandum

Subject: Earth Corps

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### Need

The President has set forth an ambitious agenda for environmental protection, from clean air to hazardous waste to wetlands. One Presidential initiative stands out as an opportunity for broad-based citizen involvement -- planting trees. As the President said in Sioux Falls, SD, "we should remember the oldest, cheapest, and most efficient air-purifier on Earth -- trees." The EPA's plan for alleviating the Greenhouse Effect by reducing CO<sub>2</sub> includes a target of reforesting 43 million acres of the United States.

To help reach this goal, we propose the creation of "Earth Corps," a highly structured volunteer program based on FDR's Civilian Conservation Corps. The Corps would provide opportunity for youth, especially disadvantaged youth, to help achieve the President's environmental goals, specifically, reforestation. Such a program will draw not only on past successes, but also on the successful Civilian Conservation Corps-styled programs currently run by 39 states.

### Program Overview

Earth Corps will be a comprehensive, rigorous para-military program, with the major emphasis on planting the maximum number of trees. However, we expect to see a substantial side benefit: providing another path of opportunity and upward mobility for youth, especially minority and inner-city youth, who otherwise would not have the chance to participate in helping save the environment. Looking to the example of the CCC, which was operated by the Army, we note the need for a disciplined, rigorous, and thus transformational experience. The Corps will combine the challenges of the most exacting Army-styled bootcamp with the demands of a "rugged outdoor experience." In addition, by emphasizing the paramount national objective of the reforestation of 43 million acres, the Earth Corps will enjoy the esprit that comes from the successful completion of a clearly defined, urgent, national mission.

Earth Corps will present an opportunity for many individuals, particularly the at-risk population, to benefit from a transformational work experience, one that pulls them out of their surroundings and offers them a new way of life. The program will instill values such as hard work, responsibility, accountability and discipline -- all crucial to the development

of well-balanced, productive individuals. While working to reforest the nation, Earth Corps will serve as a strong national example of public service in the spirit of Roosevelt's CCC and Kennedy's Peace Corps, and President Bush's "thousand points of light." While open to all Americans, by paying salaries commensurate with the military, Earth Corps can provide a unique opportunity for disadvantaged youth -- opportunity to:

- o escape their present environments
- o engage in experiences that bolster self-esteem and encourage virtue
- o receive educational enrichment geared to their special circumstances
- o interact with leaders who will serve as positive role models, and,
- o become directed, inspired individuals while serving their country.

### Program Elements

The unique mission of Earth Corps -- to help reforest the nation while providing a transformational experience for disadvantaged youth -- will demand that the program be carefully organized, highly structured and meticulously implemented. The following elements will be included in Earth Corps to ensure that this mission is achieved:

- o Earth Corps will target youths age 16 to 23, focusing on those unable to exit their current environment through conventional paths, such as the armed forces.
- o Recruits will undergo a period of rigorous training and physical conditioning. With the goal of attaining self-sufficiency, participants will be taught camping, field skills, first aid, cooking and environmental skills.
- o The program will aim for an attrition rate of under 20%. After initial training, recruits will commit to a twelve month program, with two-thirds of the time devoted to environmental work, and one-third of the time devoted to highly structured educational enrichment.
- o Upon completion, graduates will be guaranteed either jobs or placement in formal educational programs. As an incentive, those who pursue a more rigorous education program while in Earth Corps will be assured higher-wage jobs or special help in furthering their formal education.
- o After the one year program, Earth Corps will provide support for its graduates to assure that they successfully readjust to society beyond Earth Corps.

September 29, 1989

Memorandum

Re: Earth Corps/Pride Brigades Briefing paper

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The Earth Corps will give our country's disadvantaged youth a chance to move into mainstream society through a transformational experience involving hard environmental work.

**It will be privately funded and run and will:**

- o significantly improve the environment**
- o change many lives for the better.**
- o set a strong national example of public service**

While the focus is on inner cities, youth volunteers from all backgrounds will be included, both because the needs are not just in the cities but because one of the most positive parts of learning and growth is to work in a group that reflects the full diversity of our country.

The Earth Corps draws the best parts from President Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps, the U.S. Marine Corps, the Peace Corps, and the current and successful California Conservation Corps.

The Earth Corps is premised on the basic idea that military-type training (bootcamp) when well-run can transform youth into productive contributing members of society by instilling values such as hard work, responsibility, accountability, and discipline which are the cornerstone for successful development. The Corps will provide opportunity for disadvantaged youth in particular to:

- o most importantly escape their environment**
- o be exposed to experiences that bolster self-esteem**
- o get educational enrichment geared to their special circumstances**
- o be exposed to positive role models**
- o ultimately become inspired to change/incentive to become productive**

**The program will attract youth and develop pride and confidence in them only if its work is seen as important and**

necessary. The environment today is plagued with destruction on all fronts, providing tasks in which these youth are needed to complete: reforestation, wilderness area maintenance, and response in special environmental disasters.

A national level program is needed because the environmental needs and the number of underclass youth at risk are so vast, and also because a national level program best inspires all citizens to get involved.

### Program Elements

- o Youth ages 18 to 23 with the will to grow out of their current situation will be recruited. One focus will be youth who are not able to pass the armed forces qualifying test due to cultural or educational limitations.
- o They will undergo six months of rigorous training and physical conditioning where camping, field skills and environmental skills are taught, including first aid, cooking, and other skills so that each company can maintain itself while at work on the environment, for example in a major tree-planting efforts.
- o Graduates (the goal is 80%) commit to 12 months of work (two-thirds of their time) and intense formal education (about one-third). They will receive a modest stipend.
- o On completion, graduates are guaranteed a job or placement in further formal education. Students who take the most rigorous educational program earn a higher wage in their new jobs or receive special help in furthering their education.
- o Each graduate is followed in his or her subsequent career to help the individual and to provide accountability for the program.

### Cost

The emphasis here must be in budget and financial planning - how to achieve maximum resourcefulness in drawing on public and private sector necessary supplies. The purpose being to keep down the total cost/graduate.

### Next Steps

A working group is planning a small exploratory conference to address program, timing, budget, fundraising, curriculum, environmental priorities and administration, and report a fully recommended action plan to commence with the pilot phase in 1990. The initial pilot is set to begin with 100 recruits and a funding price at \$6 million.

September 22, 1989

Memorandum

Re: **Earth Corps**

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Mission Statement

The mission of the Earth Corps is to provide an opportunity for some of the members of our nation's underclass to move into mainstream society through a transformational experience involving hard environmental work.

The program will be privately funded and will:

- o significantly improve the environment
- o change many lives for the better
- o set a strong national example of public service.

It would be thoroughly coordinated and planned.

Need

There is an obvious need for the transformation of many underclass men and women between the ages of 18 and 23 into productive, contributing members of society. The term underclass denotes the social class of people defined not only by income but by behavior as well. Certainly not every disadvantaged youth is a gang member, violent crack dealer, or a teenage parent. Many are able to overcome their difficult environments and move on to become productive responsible, citizens. But, unfortunately, there are also many who will need some external help and assistance if they are to escape from the path that inevitably leads to crime, unhappiness, and in too many instances, an early death.

While the focus is the inner cities, youth from all geographical and cultural backgrounds will be included, both because the needs are not just in the cities but in some rural and suburban areas, and because one of the most positive parts of learning and growth is to work in a group that reflects the diversity of our great country.

Encouragement and opportunity should be afforded to these youths. Those that want to "get out" of potentially destructive environments ought to be able to go somewhere, and more important, the place should be one where underclass youth would be exposed to the values that foster and give rise to happy and productive citizens. Values such as hard work,

responsibility, accountability, and discipline are the cornerstone of successful development -- these values are often suppressed by the conditions under which underclass youth live and the results are discouragingly visible.

### Background

The idea for the Earth Corps stems from three thoughts: 1) that youth in the inner city seldom have a chance to be exposed to experiences that bolster self-esteem and instill virtue, 2) that those individuals who experience success in overcoming adversity profit greatly, and 3) that military type training (boot camp) as a discipline offers some effective combination for transforming disadvantaged youth into productive citizens.

Unfortunately, few of these youths are able to be accepted in the armed forces due to cultural or environmental factors that make them unable to pass the qualifying tests and standards for entry.

Yet, if some sort of military styled organization could be established that could accommodate the young people, it would not attract the targeted individuals nor instill a desired sense of pride unless it had a purpose or a mission that was universally recognized as important and necessary. It is most important that the organization not be seen as a dumping ground for society's trash individuals -- this would greatly reduce its effectiveness and attractiveness.

The environment today is plagued with destruction on all fronts -- from the impact of Chloro-Floro Carbons to Acid Rain to the Greenhouse Effect. Fortunately, the country appears ready to begin addressing the issue as evidenced by environmental awareness becoming more and more of a popular cultural movement, including an increase in recycling initiatives and the President Bush's Clean Air Program recently sent to Congress.

From the above, the name and concept of the Earth Corps has evolved!

### Concept

The Earth Corps is patterned after President Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps, the U.S. Marine Corps, the current successful California Conservation Corps, and the Peace Corps. While initially privately operated and funded, it is predicted that the program will be so effective in carrying out its transformational mission that it will be expanded through governmental support.

The program will initially set up as follows:

- o Individuals who have the will and desire to escape their current situation and have the referrals to back up these qualities will be recruited.
- o The recruits will undergo a rigorous 6 month training and physical conditioning program, not unlike a military boot camp, where survival, field camping, and environmental skills (initially tree planting) are learned.
- o Those who survive (the goal is 80%) commit to a 12 month program consisting of both hard work (about two-thirds of the time) and intense education (about one-third of the time). In addition, there would be supervised sports and recreational activities to fill most of the non-working periods. This commitment to a period of very hard work to help the earth's environment is in exchange for an opportunity for an individual to break out of his/her plight.
- o Upon completion of the program, the individual will be guaranteed a job. Those who complete the more rigorous educational program are guaranteed a job at a rate 50% above that of the minimum wage or access to further formal education.

This program will be designed to cause the individual to undergo a transforming process that would not only empower him to learn what it takes to get and hold a job, but also help the individual to generate the self esteem and pride that will enable him to be a successful, contributing member of society.

### Recruiting Efforts

The Earth Corps' objective is to graduate as many transformed underclass youth as possible with the funds available. The underclass category of youth is here defined as those men and women between 18 to 23 who would be unable to pass the written armed forces qualifying exam due to educational and cultural limitations. The group targeted for recruitment are those in the category who are the most likely to graduate. An important part of the recruitment program is to develop and administer tests that effectively identify these individuals.

Testing is also necessary to weed out substance abusers, those who are physically incapable of withstanding the rigorous demands of the Earth Corps program, and convicted felons. Further, some testing or reference checking system must be devised to prohibit those who have a repeated history of being

unable to adhere to normal social standards.

The initial recruits will be referred through established inner city, rural, and local support organizations. As the program expands, the number of referral organizations will also be expanded and records will be kept documenting the success rate of various groups. As feedback is analyzed, recruiting programs will be developed that both generate interest in qualified recruits and help the referral organizations do a more effective job of recruiting.

### Program

The Earth Corps is an 18 month program that can, under certain circumstances, be extended for 3 to 6 months. During the first 6 months, when the rigorous training and physical conditioning takes place, individuals may quit or may be asked to leave. The program will be designed to enable 75-85% of the individuals initially enrolled to successfully complete.

The daily regimen will follow the best of military boot camp procedures under skilled leadership. The objective is healthy personal growth. During the first (6-12 weeks) of the six month training program the focus is on physical conditioning and discipline. During the second period, the focus is on survival training and the building of self esteem (Outward Bound). The third and final period is focused on learning field living and specific environmental skills. Field camping skills are needed because 60-80% of time, during the 12 month work/study program, will be spent out in the field planting trees or some other environmental task. Recruits will be trained as cooks, carpenters, mechanics, and medical assistants: every skill group needed to transport a company to a remote location, set up camp, provision them while they accomplish the task, take down the camp and remove evidence of its existence, and return to base camp.

In addition to a camp skill, every recruit will learn basic environmental skills: tree planting (different techniques for different species and different geographic terrains); oil spill clean up skills for beaches, arctic areas (breaks in the Alaskan pipeline), harbor areas, wild life; various ways to deal with debris in the wilderness area (bury, pack out, set up for helicopter lifts); and other skills to be defined.

The next 12 months of the program is focused on the environmental work to be done and on completing the education program. The Earth Corps members will be based initially at the same camp at which they were originally trained. Later, as the Corps grows, there may be a number of base camps located around the country. Platoons of 10 to 100 men will be transported to areas where work is to be done for periods of 1 to 4 weeks. On

the average, men will spend from 60 - 80% of the time in the field.

The typical day will be divided among periods of work, education, sports activities and recreation. The proportion of each category will vary from day to day and between base camp and field camp. A typical work day might involve the following hours of various activities:

Type of day in terms of hours	Environmental work/edu		Camp work	Educa- tion	Sports	Recre- ation	Person- al
Work-Field	8	0	2	2	0	1	11
Off-Field							
ED	0	1	3	2	3	3	12
less-ED	0	1	2	3	3	3	12
Work-Base							
ED	0	2	5	2	2	2	11
less-ED	0	2	2	5	2	2	11
Off-Base	0	0	3	3	3	3	12

### Educational Program

There are six facets to the educational program. The facets are:

- o Pride and self esteem
- o Daily living, learning, and work habits
- o Discipline and citizenship
- o Green Brigade skills (survivor, camp, and environmental)
- o Basic education
- o Job skills

The six facets are taught in the course of these five basic activities:

- o Military training by the sergeants: boot, survival, camp during the first six months and the camp work and personal time periods during the final 12 months (first 4 facets)
- o Environmental work and education periods during the final 12 months (first 4 facets)
- o Formal education periods (all facets)

- o Sports periods (first 3 facets)
- o Recreation periods (2nd and 3rd facets)

How the various facets can be taught during some of the activity periods is obvious, others may require some explanation:

**Military** training includes all the elements that would be found in a good military boot camp. As various phases are completed recruits are given raises, promotions and other types of recognition as incentive. They are given opportunities for leadership and responsibility. They also experience discipline when they behave at a level below the established standards. If it is not a criminal offense, it will be handled by the Corps authorities judging guilt or innocence and dispensing discipline as needed (such as guard duty, carrying a heavy pack for 5 miles, cleaning the latrines, etc). A criminal offence will result in immediate expulsion from the Corps and prosecution by civil authorities.

During the 12 month work period, military training is expanded to all the various elements of camp life where every one has responsibilities, is held accountable, and must deal with other people. Moreover, as the members gain experience, they will be encouraged to participate in rule setting and other aspects of brigade camp life.

**Environmental** training includes all the specific skills and techniques needed for carrying out the environmental tasks assigned. This training will be carried out by the sergeants and visiting specialist. In most cases it will be done by demonstration. In addition, certain aspects will be conducted by the professional teaching staff during the formal education sessions. Advice and consultation will be sought from both government and private experts.

**Formal Educational** training sessions will utilize the most effective educational techniques and equipment; there will be no traditional classroom lecturing. The techniques used will be designed to promote self esteem and pride in what has been learned.

The first task of this program will be bring every individual up to a minimum level of English language communication skills. The objective balance of the basic education program is to bring everyone up to a 8th grade level of reading and writing and a 6th grade level of math skills. For those who have mastered these skills, opportunity shall be provided for those who are able to complete

all elements of a high school education. Those who do finish will be awarded a high school diploma. Individuals who complete a college preparation course will be awarded a one year college scholarship to be extended or rescinded for the following three years based on an annual performance review of the previous year.

The job skill program is optional (ED Track) and will qualify a person for a job paying at least 50% more than the minimum wage. Skills taught are basic computer entry and clerical skills, work place etiquette, customer relations skills.

### Follow-UP

Each participant's subsequent career will be followed, both to provide help for the individual where needed and to provide accountability for the program.

### Environmental Work Program

The elements of this program are to identify specific needs and opportunities that can be converted to specific Earth Corps projects, arrange the various logistics and arrangements for the carrying out of the specific tasks, schedule the Corps for deployment, and evaluate performance and provide feedback to the troops.

The various environmental projects are expected to include reforestation (probably the initial focus), oil clean up (when special situations arise), and wilderness area cleanup and maintenance.

### Program Rewards

Each member who completes the program is assured a job. The program is designed so that those who complete the 6 month recruit portion of the program and "sign on" with a written commitment, 90% will at complete the minimum number of hours of environmental work and the minimum educational program. Of the 10% that do not, about half will be close enough that they will be given the opportunity to commit to another 6 months and try to pass the educational program (and complete an additional 6 months worth of environmental work hours).

Some proportion of the members will also complete extra job training. These members will be guaranteed a job with pay at least 50% above the current minimum wage.

In order to be able to make these guarantees, positions will be secured for each applicant before he/she is accepted as a recruit. Initially, those funding the program will have to commit to one job per \$20,000 of contribution. Later, as the Earth Corps expands beyond private contributions, commitments for job placements can be obtained from other organizations.

The fusion of private contributions to job guarantees has the added advantage of providing both feedback and discipline to the program. Only if graduates of the program perform up to expectation can the Corps expect contributors to repeat their contributions in subsequent periods. Further, those employing the graduates will have valuable input on ways to improve various aspects of the program.

Finally, some of the members will complete the college preparation program. It is anticipated that negotiations with various colleges and universities will result in contracts that will allow the Corps to guarantee scholarships to these individuals.

### Administration and Organization

The director and functional department heads should be top calibre individuals in their respective fields. In order to attract these people, some may be "lent" from large corporations at little or no cost, thereby allowing a higher salary to others. It may be possible to hire younger, less experience individuals but have them backstopped by a part time volunteers who are retired. Over the longer term, perhaps salaries can be increased over the current budget in order to develop a more stable professional staff. However, in the short term, before the program has fully evolved, it would be better to follow the above plan even if more money were available.

In addition to the functional heads and their support staff, there will be a board of directors and a board of advisors. The first will oversee managements adherence to the Earth Corps' mission statement and its effectiveness in implementing the Corps programs. The second will provide assistance and guidance in assessing how well the Earth Corps is perceived to be doing by various publics.

The five function heads and their duties are listed below:

**Recruitment:** To be sure the entire recruitment process, as outlined in the relevant section above is carried out and to recommend needed changes where appropriate.

**Operations:** To direct the activities of the recruits and members of the Earth Corps through the sergeants and

teaching staff.

**Education:** To develop the various education programs and monitor the results to ensure that the material is being learned.

**Environment:** To identify environmental projects and coordinate with the requesting or host agency or organization. Continuously upgrade the methods and procedures used by the Green Brigade, within the bounds of its mission statement.

**Administration:** To maintain necessary records, disburse funds, provide administrative facilities, to provide administrative support to the other functional heads, and prepare reports that the Board of Directors may require. An end of year, audited (Big 8 firm), set of financial statements, along with statistical performance measures will be presented each year, along with quarterly interim reports and estimates.

The boards make up and method of operation will be as follows:

**Board of Directors:** The board will be made up of 10 men and women that meet quarterly for a full day. (Missing more than two meetings per year will result in replacement.) The makeup will be:

- 2 from contributing sponsors (Top business executives)
- 2 from jobs providers (Top human resources experts)
- 2 from military advisors (Pride building expert)
- 1 from an environmental group (Expert in field)
- 1 from the inner city (Leader of group having success)
- 1 from a private college (Expert on remedial education)
- 1 from a private public relations firm (Expert in field)

**Board of Advisors:** The board will be made up of 15 to 25 public figures and community leaders who have a reputation for being forthright and being responsible in their positions. They should be committed enough to the mission and concept of the Earth Corps that they will be willing both to help sell it to the various constituencies and feel obligated to point out (privately) how it can be improved. The board members will receive periodic reports, have access to the Director at any time, may be asked for advice from time to time, and will meet annually. At the annual meeting, members will be discuss progress and review the various suggestions that members have individually made during the year, as well as the contributions that have been made. If the board as a group is not satisfied with either progress of the responsiveness of management, it shall empower a committee of the board

of advisors to meet with the board of directors at its next scheduled meeting.

One of the more important aspects of the administration is that of the performance review and internal audit. Because the Corps' bottom line is the number of individuals transformed into productive citizens per dollar of cost, records need to be kept, not only on those completing the program, but also on how the graduates succeed over the following five to ten years. Since the time from recruitment to being a successful citizen is too long to rely these data alone, the Corps will also develop a number of performance measures that will help the Board of Directors and the management identify problems early so that they may take corrective action.

### Growth Plans

An initial group of 100 recruits will launch the pilot program phase. Growth will be slow at first as bugs are worked out and feedback can be obtained from the field. As soon as the first group graduates, and assuming performance warrants, the growth rate will be accelerated. The rate of acceleration will depend upon the level of private support (see following Funding Plan) and anticipated level for the future. Also, the likelihood of congressional/administration financial support will affect the need to stretch out the program at a lower level or achieve a larger level more quickly.

The following growth schedule will be modified as the program develops. The July 90 group of 100 is the pilot phase.

### **HALF YEAR PERIODS**

	Recruits	90-II	91-I	91-II	92-I	92-II	93-I	93-II	94-I
Jul 90	100	100	85	80	5				
Jan 90	150		150	127	120	7			
Jul 91	200			200	170	160	10		
Jan 92	300				300	255	240	15	
Jul 92	500					500	425	400	25
Jan 93	800						800	680	640
Jul 93	1500							1500	1275



be less; if none is available, it would be more.

Transportation		500	750
Assuming 12 separate field locations per member for 2/3 of the entire time or 8 round trips, \$1000 per member is a minimum			
Management		1000	1200
Director at \$100,000/yr	100		
5 Function heads at 80,000/yr	400		
10 support/clerical at 30,00/yr	300		
Overhead (insurance, facilities etc.	300		
Contingency at about 20%		2100	2550
Grand Total		<hr/> \$11,000 15,000	

### Funding Plans

The Earth Corps will be launched when \$2.5 million in support has been pledged and 10% of each pledge has been paid. The \$250,000 will be used to line up facilities, prepare education programs, identify supervisory and educational personal, and secure the remaining pledges. Hiring and recruiting will begin when an additional \$5 million has been pledged. The efforts line up additional funds will continue and the rate of Earth Corps buildup will be partially dependent upon the rate at which funds can be raised.

Those who pledge will be asked to indicate a willingness to commit additional amounts in subsequent years if the program meets its objectives. Ideally, sponsors will commit for at least three years (with the last two being conditional). This will give a sufficient planning horizon to enable the program to be operated efficiently.

While the initial profile of Earth Corps will be low, as soon as it starts showing success, the sponsors will be able to publicly share in their pride of having launched this successful program.

All sponsors will receive the annual report and will have their nominees considered for a Board of Director's position.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 25, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: JIM PINKERTON

SUBJECT: Draft Business Week Special Section

One minor comment:

pg. 1, para. 1, line 1 "Over 200 years ago, the first Americans settled in the 'new world' and found a lush, green land with clean air, clear-running streams, and over a billion acres of trees."

We suggest removing the quotation marks around "new world" -- it's a standard phrase, usually capitalized, according to our dictionary. Also, to say the pioneers found a land with "over a billion acres of trees" sounds odd, notwithstanding the reference to tree planting later. Something less statistical like "endless acres of trees" seems more appropriate.

2,1,7 "Earth Corps"

We regretfully suggest removing the reference to Earth Corps. We think it would be unfair to single out any one "tree" group at a time when so much attention is being focused on the tree legislation now before the House Agriculture Committee.

90 MAR 25 ALL: 52

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 4/24/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 AM 4/25/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION: "AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN →	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>Rogers</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>Winston</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Pinkerton</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>DeLand</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Room 122, ext. 2930, no later than 10:00 AM, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 1990, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

~~No comment~~  
see comments

90 MAR 25 All: 37

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

Grant/Nappo  
March 16, 1990  
draft two  
A:business

1990 APR 24 PM 3:31

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION:  
"AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY":  
MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

*inappropriate to not recognize presence of Native Americans.*

Over 200 years ago, ~~the first Americans settled in the "New~~  
~~America was a~~ ~~world~~ and found a lush, green land with clean air, clear-running  
streams, and over a billion acres of trees.

Today, we're working to restore our parks and wetlands, cut  
pollution in the air, clean up our beaches, and plant millions of  
trees. This Administration is committed to protecting our  
environment -- through the use of new, innovative solutions to  
some of the toughest challenges facing us today.

This year's budget provides over \$2 billion in new spending  
to protect our environment, with over \$1 billion for global  
change research. And it includes a new initiative called  
"America the Beautiful" to expand our national parks, ~~and~~ wildlife  
~~refuges, forests, and other public lands; to~~ ~~preserve and~~ improve recreational facilities on public lands; *and to*

Our Clean Air Act proposal will cut airborne pollution  
affecting our cities and reduce acid rain harming our lakes and  
forests -- by unleashing the power of the marketplace in the  
service of the environment. For example, we've proposed  
emissions trading credits to reduce the level of ~~airborne~~  
sulfur dioxide. And we're encouraging measures to stop pollution  
at its source, without placing unreasonable and unnecessary  
burdens on economic growth.

*encourage tree planting.*

INSERT  
TREE-  
PLANTING  
PARAGRAPH  
FROM  
PAGE 2.

MOVE FORWARD TO PAGE 1 - THIS IS PART OF AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL.

America's forests and trees need national attention, and in the budget I asked for \$175 million to plant one billion trees a year. And we're asking Congress to approve another step to protect the environment -- the National Tree Trust Act of 1990. It will foster the partnership between the public and private sectors to plant trees across America, and encourage citizens -- "points of light" like the Earth Corps -- to act in their own innovative ways to reforest America.

Business has not only a role to play, but a responsibility in keeping America beautiful for generations to come. As you teach your children the "secrets of the trade," remember this: not only is leadership passed down from generation to generation, so is stewardship. We must leave our children with both a cleaner environment and a sense of mission to protect it. Working together, we too can discover a "new world" -- by building a better America.


\*\*\*

March 20  
1990

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 4/24/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 AM 4/25/90

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION: "AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN 	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>winston</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Pinkerton</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>DeLand</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**  
 Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Room 122, ext. 2930, no later than 10:00 AM, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 1990, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE: *No comment*

55 : 01V 52 MAR 25 90

James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

1990 APR 24 PH 3.31

Grant/Nappo  
March 16, 1990  
draft two  
A:business

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION:  
"AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY:  
MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

Over 200 years ago, the first Americans settled in the "new world" and found a lush, green land with clean air, clear-running streams, and over a billion acres of trees.

Today, we're working to restore our parks and wetlands, cut pollution in the air, clean up our beaches, and plant millions of trees. This Administration is committed to protecting our environment -- through the use of new, innovative solutions to some of the toughest challenges facing us today.

This year's budget provides over \$2 billion in new spending to protect our environment, with over \$1 billion for global change research. And it includes a new initiative called "America the Beautiful" to expand our national parks and wildlife preserves and improve recreational facilities on public lands.

Our Clean Air Act proposal will cut airborne pollution affecting our cities and reduce acid rain harming our lakes and forests -- by unleashing the power of the marketplace in the service of the environment. For example, we've proposed emissions trading credits to reduce the level of air toxics and sulfur dioxide. And we're encouraging measures to stop pollution at its source, without placing unreasonable and unnecessary burdens on economic growth.

America's forests and trees need national attention, and in the budget I asked for \$175 million to plant one billion trees a year. And we're asking Congress to approve another step to protect the environment -- the National Tree Trust Act of 1990. It will foster the partnership between the public and private sectors to plant trees across America, and encourage citizens -- "points of light" like the Earth Corps -- to act in their own innovative ways to reforest America.

Business has not only a role to play, but a responsibility in keeping America beautiful for generations to come. As you teach your children the "secrets of the trade," remember this: not only is leadership passed down from generation to generation, so is stewardship. We must leave our children with both a cleaner environment and a sense of mission to protect it. Working together, we too can discover a "new world" -- by building a better America.

# # #

Thinking to  
5000000000

*05015  
122*

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/24/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 AM 4/25/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION: "AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES" ✓

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VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Room 122, ext. 2930, no later than 10:00 AM, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 1990, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

NO COMMENT. THANKS 4-25-90  
Holly Williamson *NW*

90 MAR 25 AID: 23  
James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 25, 1990



MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: JEFFREY R. HOLMSTEAD *JRH*  
ASSISTANT COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Business Week Special Section: "Agenda for the  
21st Century: Managing Earth's Resources"

Attached are the comments of Counsel's Office on the above  
referenced draft article.

Thank you for the opportunity to review this matter.

cc: James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President and  
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

90 MAR 25 4 9 : 52

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/24/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 AM 4/25/90

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION: "AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

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**REMARKS:**  
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**RESPONSE:**

James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

Grant/Nappo  
March 16, 1990  
draft two  
A:business

1990 APR 24 PM 3.31

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"AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY:  
MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

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Our Clean Air Act proposal will cut airborne pollution affecting our cities and reduce acid rain harming our lakes and forests -- by unleashing the power of the marketplace in the service of the environment. For example, we've proposed

emissions trading credits, to reduce the level of air toxics and sulfur dioxide. And we're encouraging measures to stop pollution at its source, without placing unreasonable and unnecessary burdens on economic growth.

that will allow us to achieve substantial reductions in sulfur dioxide emissions at

It is unclear how this relates to the power of the marketplace.

America's forests and trees need national attention, and in the budget I asked for \$175 million to plant one billion trees a year. And we're asking Congress to approve another step to protect the environment -- the National Tree Trust Act of 1990. It will foster the partnership between the public and private sectors to plant trees across America, and encourage citizens -- "points of light" like the Earth Corps -- to act in their own innovative ways to reforest America.

Business has not only a role to play, but a responsibility in keeping America beautiful for generations to come. As you teach your children the "secrets of the trade," remember this: not only is leadership passed down from generation to generation, so is stewardship. We must leave our children with both a cleaner environment and a sense of mission to protect it. Working together, we too can discover a "new world" -- by building a better America.

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March 16, 1990  
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PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: BUSINESS WEEK SPECIAL SECTION:  
"AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY:  
MANAGING EARTH'S RESOURCES"

Over 200 years ago, the first Americans settled in the "new world" and found a lush, green land with clean air, clear-running streams, and over a billion acres of trees.

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Memo to  
Soc & Nat