

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Deaver, Michael
Folder Title: Mrs. Reagan (1)

To see more digitized collections
visit: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories
visit: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives
Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

The Reagans Try to Soften Their Millionaire Image

Do costly cowboy boots, mink coats, a \$209,508 set of dishes mean the First Family doesn't care about ordinary folk? It all depends on whom you ask.

The Reagan White House, which drew admiration at the outset for its social flair, is finding itself forced to fight charges of arrogant opulence at a time when many Americans are undergoing severe economic strains.

Critics are pointing to the President's acceptance of a gift of ostrich-hide cowboy boots and Nancy Reagan's \$209,508 purchase of White House china as evidence that the administration is insensitive to problems of working people and the poor.

The charges are being leveled just as many people are beginning to feel cutbacks in such programs as food stamps, school lunches and student loans—and while Reagan's opponents argue that his tax cuts favor the wealthy.

A signal of people's feelings came in a late-September *Washington Post*-ABC News poll that found 52 percent of Americans believe Reagan cares more about upper-income people. Only 23 percent held that view in February.

Democratic leaders hope that depicting the White House as symbolizing "millionaires on parade" will help rally opposition to Reagan, especially among union workers and other traditionally Democratic voters who switched to the Republicans in the 1980 election.

White House aides argue that the criticism is unfair, but they voice concern over Reagan's being pegged as a "rich man's President." Admits one adviser: "It's not a cutting issue, but it's a nibbling issue. We're sensitive to it."

Most of the attacks have centered on a highly visible White House display of affluence—elaborate social functions attended by the President's wealthy California friends, Mrs. Reagan's expensive designer gowns and mink coat, the elegant redecoration of the White House living quarters and other rooms.

The President's aides note that few White House improvements have been made at taxpayer expense. The new china and redecorating, for example, were paid for by 1.03 million dollars in gifts raised by Mrs. Reagan.

Even so, officials are moving to erase the image of self-indulgence that foes are trying to create. James Baker, White House chief of staff, has held office refurbishing to a minimum and recently scotched plans to install new carpet all over the first floor, aides say, adding that earlier this year Reagan rejected a suggestion by some members of Congress that he buy a new presidential yacht.

Tour guides these days carefully tell visitors that art objects in the Executive Mansion have been donated.

Mrs. Reagan has ordered that White House Christmas decorations, often lavish items provided by outsiders, be kept simple this year and be prepared by the staff and volunteers.

Aides are trying to get the President together more often publicly with blue-collar workers and others clearly not of the moneyed class. And top officials are quietly being urged to avoid public displays of wealth or luxuries.

Although Reagan is a millionaire, associates insist that he lives simply.

"Here's a guy who has never collected things for their own value—not paintings or fine carpets or jewelry," says Deputy Chief of Staff Michael Deaver. "He owns a ranch and six horses, a 1950s Jeep and an old tractor."

Mrs. Reagan bought the

220-place china settings, embossed with the presidential seal in gold, because she wanted to make a contribution to the White House for future years and because new dinnerware was needed, aides say.

The First Lady says she was surprised by the complaints. "I was more sensitive to that kind of criticism before" the attempt on the President's life, says Mrs. Reagan. "... But since March 30, my priorities have been rearranged. I can only be myself and do the best job I can."

Among the harshest critics of the Reagan style are Democratic National Chairman Charles Manatt and Democrats on Capitol Hill.

Says Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.), "This 'Let them eat cake' kind of attitude makes the Reagans appear to some to be flaunting their own good fortune."

Even some Republicans are worried over the symbolism of the administration's flashy style. "It's not the time to talk of buying more plates for the White House when people are being asked to sacrifice," comments one Republican House member.

Kennedys recalled. Reagan's defenders, however, stress that his style is not much different from that of some previous Chief Executives. "Remember," says Representative Barber Conable (R-N.Y.), "one of the more popular Presidents in modern times was Jack Kennedy, with a wife some looked upon as a queen. The Kennedys were no threadbare couple."

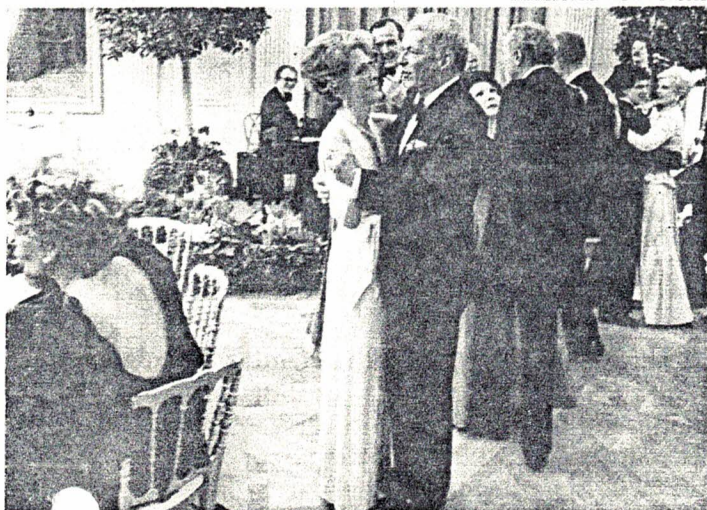
While Washington and the news media fuss over the Reagans' lifestyle, most Americans appear more intent on the President's policies.

"I don't think style is something people are directly concerned about," says Robert M. Teeter of Market Opinion Research in Detroit, who often polls for Republicans. "But I do think it's the kind of thing that could add fuel to the fire if someone's already mad."

When the *Rocky Mountain News* in Denver editorialized against Mrs. Reagan's purchase of new china, it received more letters criticizing the newspaper than letters condemning the Reagans.

However, at the *Register & Tribune* in Des Moines, letters have run 4 to 1 against the Reagans.

In an editorial, the *Boston Globe* advanced a view expressed by many: "Would Reagan's policies be any more palatable if he ordered up Spam in the White House cafeteria? ... His cowboy boots and wealthy friends are beside the point." □



Nancy Reagan, Frank Sinatra dance at presidential birthday party. White House elegance stirs controversy.

file here

Decision/Making/Information®

Intelligent alternatives
for today's decision makers

1050 Seventeenth Street N.W., Suite 1100, Washington, D.C. 20036, (202) 822-9010

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Nancy Reagan
FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin
DATE: October 21, 1981
SUBJECT: Nancy Reagan

Analysis of the ratings for the First Lady show 1) a decline over the last five months and 2) what changes occur in these ratings are closely related to the scores for the President.

The thermometer rating, a 0-to-100 score where 100 is the "best", has been declining since May. Then, the score was 64, and has since dropped to 57. Over the same period, the scores for the President have declined from a high of 74 to its present reading of 69.

Consequently, it is evident that the public sees the Reagans as a partnership, and react to their names accordingly. To test this, 1500 respondents were asked the following:

From what you've seen and read, what is your general impression of First Lady Nancy Reagan?

	<u>MAY</u>	<u>OCT</u>
VERY FAVORABLE	30	29
SOMEWHAT FAVORABLE	45	46
SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE	11	15
VERY UNFAVORABLE	6	7
NO OPINION	8	4

These figures, which have not changed significantly over the last five months, indicate an overwhelmingly positive rating, as 75% give "favorable" responses. Those who give the highest ratings include the older, white, and conservative respondents. Among Republicans, approval is nearly 90% while Democrats reduce their favorable score to 65%. What has changed slightly is an increase in the number of negative responses taken from the ranks of the previously undecided. Presently, 22% give an unfavorable rating, compared to 17% five months ago. The primary reasons for a positive impression include being a nice woman (17%), supporting the President (16%), keeping a low profile and doing a good job. Negative responses, while less numerous, tend to center on wealth and spending impressions.

The results are relatively consistent regardless of party affiliation or sex of the respondents. Now consider the responses for the First Lady against those for the President.

IMPRESSIONS OF NANCY REAGAN

<u>Very</u> <u>Favorable</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Favorable</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Unfavorable</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Very</u> <u>Unfavorable</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> <u>(%)</u>
---	---	---	---	---

Job Rating: Reagan

Strongly Approve	47	43	7	2	2
Somewhat Approve	26	55	13	4	2
Somewhat Disapprove	14	46	25	11	4
Strongly Disapprove	5	34	27	25	8
No Opinion	12	44	22	10	12

On a related issue, people are asked whether they agree or disagree with the statement:

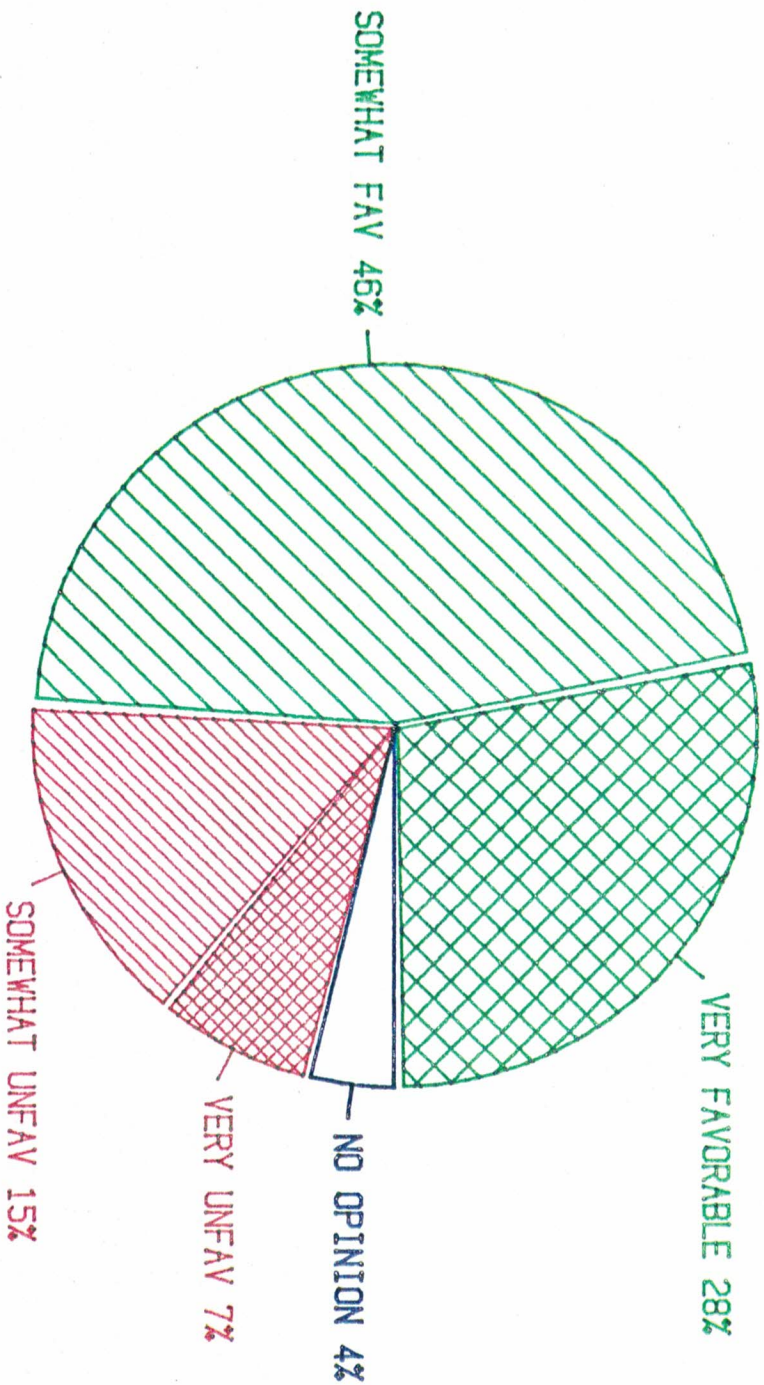
It's just not right that the Reagan's have someone donate expensive china to the White House when people go hungry.

AGREE STRONGLY	30
AGREE SOMEWHAT	12
DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	21
DISAGREE STRONGLY	35
NO OPINION	3

While the number of people disagreeing with the statement outnumber those in agreement, it is interesting to note that people tend to align themselves on either extreme. Those who are in strongest agreement with the statement include younger, less educated, minority and blue collar respondents.

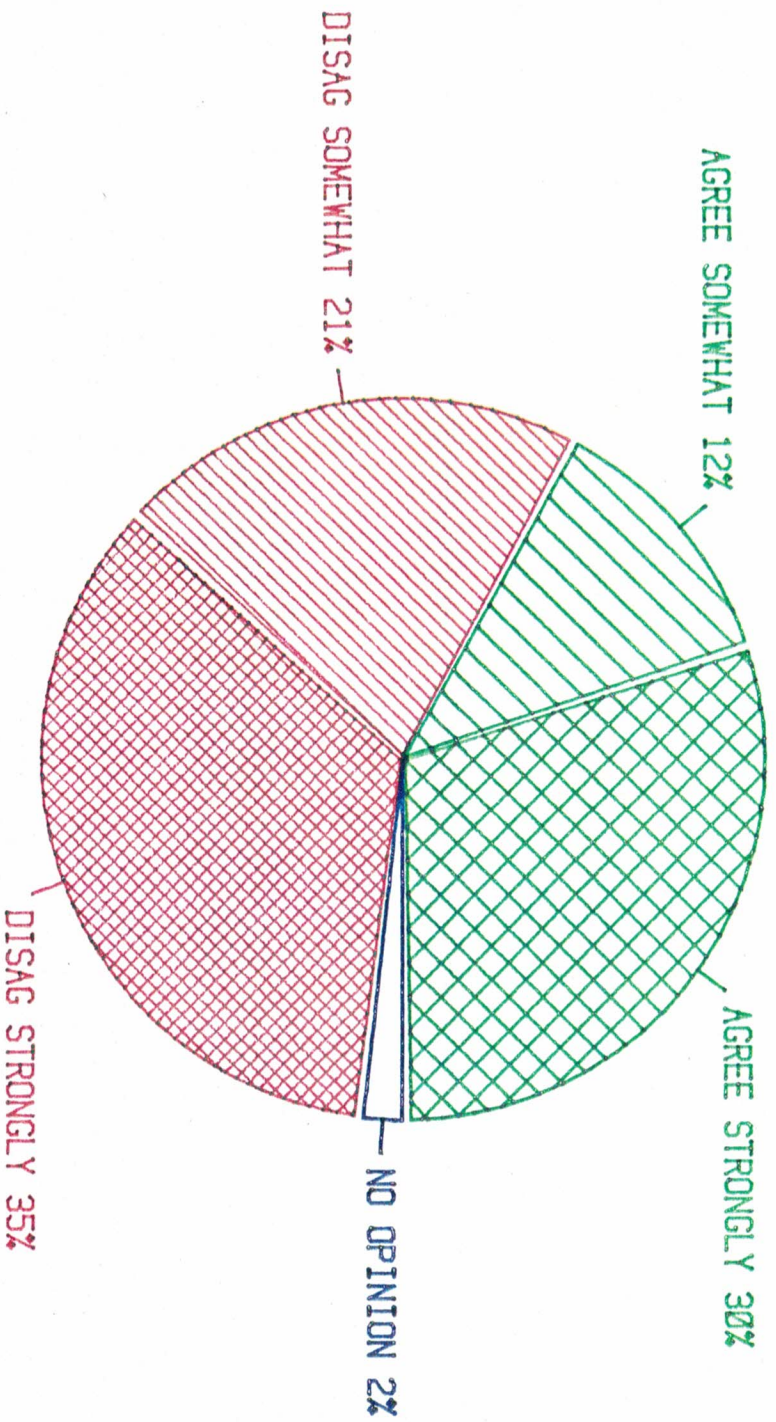
IMPRESSION OF NANCY REAGAN

FROM WHAT YOU'VE SEEN AND READ, WHAT IS YOUR
GENERAL IMPRESSION OF FIRST LADY NANCY REAGAN--
WOULD YOU SAY IT IS VERY FAVORABLE, SOMEWHAT
FAVORABLE, SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE, OR VERY UNFAVORABLE?



EXPENSIVE CHINA FOR WHITE HOUSE

IT'S JUST NOT RIGHT THAT THE REAGANS
HAVE SOMEONE DONATE EXPENSIVE CHINA TO
THE WHITE HOUSE WHEN PEOPLE GO HUNGRY.



REASONS FOR IMPRESSION OF NANCY REAGAN

POSITIVE IMPRESSION

	<u>MAY 1981</u>	<u>OCT 1981</u>
	(%)	(%)
NICE WOMAN	17	17
SUPPORTS PRESIDENT	16	16
LOW PROFILE	12	10
DOING A GOOD JOB	7	10
APPEARANCE	6	7
PERSONALITY	6	6
CLASS/ELEGANCE	8	6
STRONG/CAPABLE	6	6
RELATES WELL TO PEOPLE	3	5
HONEST/SINCERE	3	3
CALM/DIGNIFIED	1	3
OUTSPOKEN	2	3
GENERAL POSITIVE	10	12

NEGATIVE IMPRESSION

WEALTHY/SNOBBISH	4	6
REDECORATING WHITE HOUSE	2	5
TOO MUCH SPENDING	1	5
NOT DOING A GOOD JOB	3	4
DOESN'T RELATE TO PEOPLE	3	4
APPEARANCE	3	3
NOT HONEST	2	2
INTRUSIVE	2	2
PRESS RELATIONS	2	--
GENERAL NEGATIVE	2	6
NO OPINION	9	8

NANCY REAGAN

The Qualities:

- Gracious
- Beautiful
- Feminine
- Elegant
- Stylish
- Sense of humor
- Appealing personality
- Relationship between her and President ideal. She stays close to him but maintains a supporting role rather than seeming to interfere or trying to dominate -- keeping the image of a perfect husband-wife relationship

None of this should be changed, rather it must be highlighted, interpreted and humanized.

Some Observations:

A woman so beautiful and charming is always the envy of every other woman. To humanize her so that she is universally accepted and loved, she must become less perfect, less formal, more of her frailties (if any) must show. For instance, one of the endearing incidents of the Prince Charles wedding was when the cameras caught Queen Elizabeth off guard with hands on hip, seemingly directing the wedding party. Every mother saw herself plain.

The public must discover more of Mrs. Reagan's everyday side, more of her deeper qualities, her likes and dislikes. Does she ever get mad or disgusted? Discover her in an apron. Does she have favorite recipes? (These may have been covered in articles, but could bear further repetition.) What does she read, her favorite authors, television shows, artists, plays. Her favorite perfume or even scents she can't bear.

One of the best moments I've seen of Mrs. Reagan was when she was interviewed by Barbara Walters and made a slip of the tongue about the print media just as the interview began. She was able to laugh with Barbara about her unwitting mistake. Point: Things like this keep her from seeming so unattainably perfect.

She is undoubtedly a sympathetic person. Bring this out in reports of acts of kindness to acquaintances, friends, relatives, staffers, children. Friends and acquaintances seem generous with her so she herself must be a generous person. Discover her generousities and portray her charities. Also, what are her fears and how do they shape her actions?

Is she actually timid or shy? If so, how does she cope with it? In other words, keep her as she is with all her beauty and charm but expose more of her deeper feelings, desires, hopes, disappointments, more human qualities rather than always identifying her with material things like clothes, china, furniture.

To illuminate her character and humanize her, I would recommend more stories of more everyday happenings in the White House, not just formal interviews, but human interest stories by writers representing a broad spread of publications. Stories along these lines:

- o Nancy Reagan's ideas about woman's role, her ambitions and hopes for herself and for all people.
- o Nancy Reagan's spiritual life, her beliefs.
- o Nancy Reagan pursuing her hobbies.
- o Following Nancy Reagan through a typical day in the White House.
- o How Nancy Reagan copes with running the White House kitchen and living quarters.

More Specifically:

With regard to the three areas of emphasis, as indicated in the Ann Wroblewski memorandum you sent me:

- 1) Mrs. Reagan is definitely not getting credit for, nor the deserved press play, regarding the activities she has thus far undertaken. I was virtually unaware much of this has occurred -- and I would bet that many members of the press are too. As long as she's doing these things, she should get credit and appropriate exposure. I don't think this has happened.
- 2) Most of the activities mentioned seem to be more of a response to events rather than initiating action. This could be turned to her favor perhaps with some creative impetus.
- 3) Drug and Alcohol Abuse: This is hard to dramatize personally, for Mrs. Reagan, but perhaps she could institute a nationwide drive utilizing, for instance, professional athletes, who have been rehabilitated, such as Bob Welch of the Los Angeles Dodgers and former Dodger Don Newcombe, as Chairmen. The idea would be to motivate young addicts throughout the country to join Nancy Reagan's crusade, thus receiving a designated recognition -- a medal, certificate, etc. -- with individuals such as Newcombe on the road as surrogate spokesmen for Nancy's crusade.

- 4) Arts: Organize a series of benefits called "Nancy Reagan Helps the Arts" in large cultural centers like New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., Chicago, Los Angeles, Houston, Dallas, Denver, etc. with Mrs. Reagan as honorary chairman, with personal appearances, if possible, at each one. These could include drives for funds, perhaps permanent foundations for museums, opera companies, symphonies, ballet companies, theatres.
- 5) Foster Grandparents: More identity with the program. An initial step might be declaring a day set aside each year to be known as Foster Grandparents Day and then arrange visitations to appropriate locations.

Summary:

Although these are just some thoughts off the top, I am also attaching a previous memorandum regarding an approach to the introduction of the china. I will be glad to pursue any of these proposals in more detail.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 13, 1981

MEMORANDUM TO: JAMES A. BAKER III
FROM: PETER ROUSSEL
SUBJECT: China and Mrs. Reagan

Considering all the flap over the new china, I offer the following as a suggestion for de-fusing the negative press play and bringing the issue to the people rather than having this acquisition be unfairly portrayed.

To inaugurate the purchase, why not have a White House dinner to which Mrs. Reagan invites one couple from each of the fifty states. This invitation would not be for politicians, contributors, corporate types, etc., but rather for mainstream Americans representing all socioeconomic, ethnic groups. The theme would be to help them inaugurate this gift which is indeed a gift to America, while playing down the financial aspect and yet involving the average citizenry in its usage.

The method of selecting each state's couple could be discussed, but one option might be to have a recommendation from each Governor, thereby also securing a credit at that level. I think it could result in a very positive reaction for Mrs. Reagan countering the thus far negative and uninformed response about the china.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 3, 1981

*I think you should
bring Sheila up
to chair*

MEMORANDUM

TO: MICHAEL DEEVER
FROM: MUFFIE BRANDON

muffie Brandon

The editor of The Washington Post Style Section, Shelby Coffey, called me this morning. I asked him to call Sheila, but he said he wanted to chat with me, so we chatted.

I reiterated what I had told Kay that our concerns were with TONE and SELECTION of material. The New York Times treats Mrs. Reagan as a news story; the Post always treats here as a Style story, and I pointed this out as tactfully as I could.

I got the distinct impression that there was an understanding of the situation at the Post and a desire to at least hear our case in a fair-minded manner. Whether any of this does any good remains to be seen, but I think it is FINE that they realize that we are very aware of what they are doing.

I feel that Sheila should now be the contact in dealing with the follow-up on this, but will do whatever you think best.

*Sheila is having lunch with
him this week. I am out of
the "loop" now,*

muffie

file

COMMON SENSE COMMENTS LET'S START RETIRING OUR DEBT

by Fred Hervey

First lets understand there are legitimate and a national need for our Federal Government to own and control certain lands: National Parks - reservations - defense areas - national shrines and others. In this editorial we are talking about land that Federal ownership serves no purpose.

The Louisiana Purchase, Seward's Folly, the Homestead Act and building the railroads that connect California with the rest of the U.S. all involved our most dramatic resource - land. Land hunger has been used many times in America's history to help develop America and retire the debt. Land of course is our nations main asset, especially land owned by individual private enterprise. Our astronomical debt is the main source of our economic problem.

Let's use land to lower our debt which in turn will reduce the interest payment on our debt. It will reduce the need for the government entering the loan market which in turn will reduce the rate of interest.

Land has been used many times in our history to accomplish an objective. George Washington induced enlistments in the Continental Army by promising land grants covering the Eastern one-half of the Mississippi Valley. Since then more than one billion acres have been transferred from public to private ownership. Alexander Hamilton established the policy of selling public lands as a source of revenue to retire public debt. Until the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862, 60 years later., Hamilton's policy prevailed. By the 1930's agricultural settlement of the Great Plains and Intermountain Basins of the West was virtually complete. The Taylor Grazing Act created a 477 million acre national land reserve which is administered by the Bureau of Land Management. These ranges are generally water short and seasonal, but they support 1.2 million big game animals and 8½ million head of private ownership of livestock.

Let's look at the alternatives we have that will reduce the Federal debt. Transferring land (our most prolific economic resource) from government into efficient private hands, appears the outstanding choice. When you consider that the federal government owns 98% of Alaska, 87% of Nevada, 63% of Utah and Idaho, 52% of Oregon, etc., etc., etc., have you ever asked what public purpose that serves? The total is more than a third of all land in the United States — 775 MILLION ACRES!!

Less than 15 years ago, most of these lands were available for multiple uses ranging from ranching and mineral development to recreation. Now, in the face of an energy and inflation crisis, three-fourths of this vast resource has been withdrawn for restricted use, mainly as "wilderness" areas. Federal lands may contain 37% of our undiscovered crude oil, 43% of the undiscovered natural gas, 40% of known coal resources, 80% of recoverable oil shale reserves and 95% of Utah's tar sands. In addition, sixty-three million federal acres have mineral resources.

fishermen, campers, hikers, picnickers, horsemen and bikers. There must be some compromise between these minority interests and the private enterprise interests of farmers, grazers, loggers, miners, realtors, oil drillers and other private business interests. Setting "wilderness" areas aside for the exclusive permanent use of backpackers appears foolish in light of our foreign dependency of energy and minerals. Even those land areas not totally eliminated to private enterprise are impeded because of added government costs and delays. Land designated as wilderness has a single use (recreation) that affects it into the next century. Once designated it is permanently included in the National Wilderness Preservation System. No one agency has authority to coordinate the cumulative economic impact or authority to consider energy, mining or agricultural needs and long term costs of removing these vast land resources from productivity.

The 95th Congress actually withdrew 1.3 million acres by enacting the Endangered American wilderness Act of 1978. More than 300 land withdrawal proposals have been introduced. Sixty-three major federal land use laws provide the executive branch and administrative agencies with huge powers for closing millions of acres of unexplored lands from private development.

The time has come to return to the principle of private enterprise. By selling surplus land to private ownership.

Only to American Citizens

The Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands of which I am a member, recently held a two day workshop which discussed the question of federal land acquisition. From it we determined one major problem — the federal government has no overall policy on how much land it should protect, own and acquire. As a result of this, public lands have grown into unmanageable land purchases so that the public domain covers an area roughly the size of all the states east of the Mississippi.

The General Accounting Office, the independent watchdog of federal government operations, issued a report which confirmed our subcommittee's findings and called for a reassessment of the federal government's current land acquisition program. The GAO discovered an unwritten policy in federal agencies which has been to simply purchase as much land as possible without any concern for how much land was actually needed to preserve and protect the resources it surrounded. Furthermore, when the FAO examined 314 withdrawals of land totaling more than 1.7 million acres, they found that 300,000 acres of this purchased land was unnecessary.

We in New Mexico are in a unique position during the 97th Congress to take the lead in establishing a sound national policy of federal land acquisition that is sensitive to the needs of the residents in the area and will work toward protecting our natural, cultural, and recreational resources. While I will be working for reforms in the Senate Subcommittee on Public Lands, my colleague in the House, Congressman Manuel Lujan, Jr., will use his new status as ranking minority member of the House Interior Committee to push for responsible legislation in the House.

New Mexico will also be well-represented in the Department of the Interior which will ultimately work with Congress to establish a federal land acquisition policy. Two New Mexicans, Carrey Carruthers, who is assistant secretary in charge of land and water resources, and Frank Dubois, his assistant will be using their experience of cooperation between interested parties in public land legislation and policy.

New Mexico has years of experience working with diverse interests in order to reach a common solution to public land questions and this experience will be sorely needed when national questions of public land policy are addressed. It was through this kind of hard work and cooperation that New Mexico became only one of two Western states to pass RARE II Wilderness Bill during the 96th Congress. These New Mexicans and I had a direct part in shaping this legislation and I am confident that our experience will help to get a responsible national public land policy established.

Some recommendations for federal land acquisition reform include:

- Evaluation of the need to purchase lands, with a look to alternative means of preserving and protecting lands, and studies of the impact of land acquisition on private landowners.
- Using the large sums of money available in the Land and Water Conservation Fund for the best possible acquisitions of public lands.
- Doing away with the practice followed by federal agencies of acquiring as much

— Revising alternatives to full-title land acquisitions to protect public lands which federal agencies have to this point been reluctant to do.

These are just a few suggestions for reforms to the present system of federal land acquisition and while a national policy is still a long way from realization, one thing is certain—the federal government needs a definitive policy on how much land it should acquire, protect and own. As we work toward this goal, I am confident that New Mexico, with its key representation in both the Executive and Legislative branches, will lead the way with its good example of cooperation to public land management.

GOVERNMENT BORROWING: 1 OF NATION'S OLDEST WOES GETS WORSE U.S. OWED \$75 MILLION IN 1790; DEBT LIMIT NOW AT \$935 BILLION

Los Angeles Times

Americans have worried about the national debt since the days of Alexander Hamilton, the first secretary of the Treasury.

The brand-new United States owed \$75 million in 1790, including money borrowed to fight the Revolutionary War. Hamilton thought that the government would soon have a surplus and retire the debt.

He was wrong.

The debt remained small until the Civil War. It exceeded \$1 billion for the first time in 1863 and soared to what was then an astronomical \$2.7 billion in 1866.

Frequent budget surpluses slowly whittled away at the obligation until World War I, when spending rose to pay for U.S. war expenses. The debt reached a peak of \$26.6 billion in 1919.

The government borrowed huge sums of money during World War II. The debt reached \$268.7 billion in 1945 and has increased steadily since, with only five years of temporary improvement in the entire postwar period.

The debt ceiling — the credit limit the government sets for itself, beyond which it cannot borrow legally — was raised Saturday from \$935 billion to \$985 billion. The total consists of a permanent limit of \$400 billion and a temporary addition \$585.1 billion.

President Reagan, viewing his first legislative victory with mixed emotions, signed the bill Saturday raising the debt limit by \$50 billion.

Without the new authority, Treasury experts say, the government would have reached the debt level of \$935 billion Feb. 18. Without the new ceiling, the United States could not pay its bills. Checks issued by government agencies would bounce.

The debt consists of all money borrowed to conduct the myriad activities performed by federal bureaus and agencies, from the Army to the Weather Service.

The overall debt has increased because of deficits incurred by the federal government as it spends more than it receives in tax revenues.

The debt consists of various kinds of securities. The Treasury sells bills, notes and bonds through public auctions. The bills have maturities (pay-off periods) of 13 weeks, 26 weeks or one year and cost \$10,000 each. Treasury notes are sold in denominations of \$5,000 for periods ranging up to 3½ years. The notes cost \$1,000, maturing in 3½ to 10 years. Treasury bonds, costing \$1,000, mature in 10 years.

Investors such as large banks, insurance companies and securities dealers, in addition to individual citizens, buy the Treasury offerings. By purchasing bills, bonds or notes, the institutions and individuals are lending their money to the federal government.

The other portion of the national debt consists of securities that cannot be bought and sold on the open market. The Treasury sells savings bonds to citizens and special securities to other branches of the government, such as the Social Security trust fund and the highway trust fund.

The revenues from Social Security taxes and the federal gasoline tax, held in special trust funds, are lent to the Treasury. In return, the trust funds get interest-bearing securities from the Treasury.

The public debt is a combination of all the money owed in all forms by the Treasury to individual citizens, financial institutions, and government trust funds, including interest on the money borrowed.

It's Official: A Trillion-Dollar Debt

Another milestone of inflation was reached on October 22 when the federal debt topped 1 trillion dollars.

Although the total was gargantuan—the equivalent of a thousand billion or a million million dollars—it came about in routine fashion. The government borrowed just over 9 billion dollars in short-term Treasury bills in one day, and the federal debt suddenly exceeded \$1,000,000,000,000—an amount that would take 31,688 years to count if one dollar were tallied every second.

The 13-digit debt was preceded by two centuries of deficit spending, starting with 75 million dollars in Revolutionary War bills inherited by George Washington's administration.

The debt was cut in 1835 to its lowest level ever—\$37,513—but the Civil War pushed it past its first billion. As

late as 1941, it was 49 billion. By the end of World War II, it was 269 billion.

Half of the growth in the debt took place only in the last seven years. If the growth rate of the past decade continues, the debt will double again—to 2 trillion—by 1989.

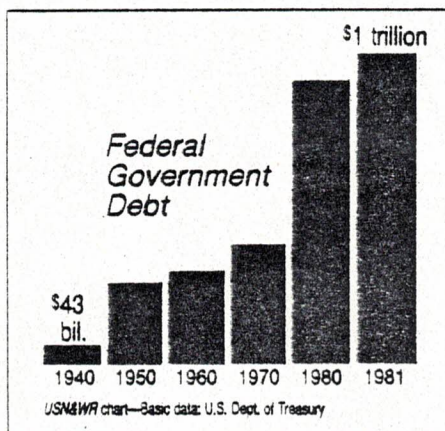
Interest payments, now the third costliest item in the federal budget, may total 114 billion dollars this fiscal year. That's more than the total federal budget in John Kennedy's last year in the White House, in 1963.

White House budget makers say the interest that will be paid between now and next April on the trillion-dollar debt consumes enough money to fund for a full year all of the government's housing, energy, space, environment and transportation programs.

As awesome as today's federal debt seems, it is only a third as large as the nation's total economic output. In World War II, it exceeded the gross national product.

President Reagan is promising a balanced budget by 1984, the first since 1969, but many financial experts doubt that this can be achieved.

Presidential Counselor Edwin Meese, in a speech in Los Angeles on the day the trillion-dollar mark was hit, said new revenue-raising approaches may be needed to cut the deficit. Among Meese's suggestions: The sale of abandoned military bases and other federal property and the soliciting of donations from citizens.



Local Tax Bite State by State

Personal income rose faster in 1980 than state and local taxes for the second straight year, Commerce Department figures show. Such levies took 11.6 percent of Americans' earnings on average. The trend may be reversed if President Reagan's general-spending cuts trigger tax hikes at the state and local level.

Here's the 1980 bite by state and local taxes across the U.S.

	Taxes Per Person	Share of Personal Income
Alaska	\$4,189	36
New York	\$1,495	16
Hawaii	\$1,278	14
Wyoming	\$1,399	14
Massachusetts	\$1,243	13
D.C.	\$1,475	13
Arizona	\$1,007	13
Montana	\$1,000	13
Minnesota	\$1,125	12
Vermont	\$ 900	12
Wisconsin	\$1,061	12
Maine	\$ 858	12
Utah	\$ 840	12
California	\$1,172	12
New Mexico	\$ 879	12
Maryland	\$1,104	12
Rhode Island	\$ 992	11
New Jersey	\$1,137	11
Delaware	\$1,059	11
U.S. average	\$ 987	11
Pennsylvania	\$ 978	11
Louisiana	\$ 841	11
Michigan	\$1,075	11
Oregon	\$ 979	11
Colorado	\$ 990	11
Illinois	\$1,084	11
West Virginia	\$ 796	11
Iowa	\$ 967	11
Nebraska	\$ 963	11
Washington	\$ 989	10
Mississippi	\$ 646	10
Georgia	\$ 770	10
South Carolina	\$ 708	10
South Dakota	\$ 789	10
North Carolina	\$ 748	10
Connecticut	\$1,070	10
Nevada	\$ 972	10
Idaho	\$ 754	10
Kentucky	\$ 740	10
Virginia	\$ 856	10
North Dakota	\$ 847	10
Oklahoma	\$ 827	10
Kansas	\$ 926	10
Arkansas	\$ 654	9
Texas	\$ 806	9
Florida	\$ 758	9
Alabama	\$ 650	9
Ohio	\$ 810	9
Tennessee	\$ 656	9
Missouri	\$ 759	9
New Hampshire	\$ 740	9
Indiana	\$ 744	8

*Alaska's average is high as a result of taxes paid by oil producers.

REDUCE OUR NATIONAL DEBT PROJECT

National Debt Definition

The public debt is a combination of all money owed in all forms by the Treasury to individual citizens, financial institutions and government trust funds, including interest on borrowed money.

The debt consists of all the money borrowed to conduct activities performed by the federal bureaus and agencies.

The overall debt has increased because of dificits incurred by the federal government as it spends more than it receives in tax revenues.

The debt consists of various kinds of securities. The Treasury bills, notes and bonds sold through public auction.

Investors, banks, insurance companies, securities dealers buy the treasury offerings and through their purchases, lend their money to the federal government.

Another part of the national debt consists of securities which cannot be bought and sold on the open market. They are Savings bonds and special securities to other branches of the government. An example of this category would be the highway trust fund or Social Security Trust fund.

The National Debt is currently in excess of a trillion dollars, \$1,000,000,000,000. Interest paid yearly on the national debt is almost 15 percent of the total budget. Servicing the public debt now costs about \$100 billion dollars a year, approximately 1/6th of the Federal budget. This means that 1/6th (15%) of each individual's taxes are used for interest payments on the public debt.

GROWTH OF FEDERAL SPENDING, TAXATION AND INDEBTEDNESS SINCE FISCAL 1970

(Amounts in billions of dollars)

Fiscal Year	Gross National Product	Revenues		Spending		Deficit		
	Amount	Amount	% of GNP	Amount	% of GNP	Amount	Total Federal Debt	Total Debt Interest
1970	968.9	193.7	20.0	196.6	20.3	-2.8	382.6	14.4
1971	1,032.7	188.4	18.2	211.4	20.5	-23.0	409.5	14.8
1972	1,126.6	208.6	18.5	232.0	20.6	-23.4	437.3	15.5
1973	1,255.2	232.2	18.5	247.1	19.7	-14.8	468.4	17.3
1974	1,381.5	264.9	19.2	269.6	19.5	-4.7	486.2	21.4
1975	1,480.5	281.0	19.0	326.2	22.0	-45.2	544.1	23.2
1976	1,642.7	300.0	18.3	366.4	22.3	-66.4	631.9	26.7
1977	1,864.0	357.8	19.2	402.7	21.6	-44.9	709.1	29.9
1978	2,085.3	402.0	19.3	450.8	21.6	-48.8	780.4	35.4
1979	2,357.8	465.9	19.8	493.6	20.9	-27.7	833.8	42.6
1980	2,567.5	520.0	20.3	579.6	22.6	-59.6	914.3	52.5

Federal Ownership

The Federal Government owns more than one-third of all the land in the United States -- 755 million acres of our total 2,271 billion; 48 percent of the land in 11 Western states and more than 98 percent of the land in Alaska.

Plan for Reducing the National Debt -- Selling Federally Held Public Land

After reserving land with scenic, wilderness, historic or archeological resource value for parks, recreation and other uses, we propose the selling of the remainder of Federally held public land to business and private purchasers for development. *but only to American citizens*

The proceeds of such sales would be used to reduce the national debt. The land could then be added to the tax rolls.

If we could reduce the national debt or retire it completely,
our Country could once again be the economic model and envy of

How Can You Help

If you would like to join Fred Hervey in support of this project, please:

- 1) Write your legislators and voice your support of this concept to Reduce our National Debt.
- 2) Write your local TV, radio and newspapers in support of the Debt Reduction Project.
- 3) Questions, assistance, etc., call or write Fred Hervey.

Fred Hervey, Chairman of the Board
Circle K Corporation
P.O. Box 20230
Phoenix, AZ 85036
(602) 268-1351

or
Fred Hervey
P.O. Box 20000
El Paso Texas 79998
915-5324974

FEDERAL LAND USE FACTS AT A GLANCE

- . The federal government owns more than one-third of all the land in the United States -- 775 million acres out of a total of 2.271 billion. In addition, it owns 63 million acres of subsurface minerals.
- . Federally owned lands are equivalent in size to all the states between the Atlantic Coast and the eastern borders of Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas. However, most of the federal lands are concentrated in the western states and Alaska.
- . The federal government owns 48 percent of the land in the 11 western states and more than 98 percent of the land in Alaska, according to the latest study by the General Services Administration.
- . Government studies indicate that the western states, Alaska and the Outer Continental Shelf offer the best hope of major new discoveries of oil and natural gas. The federal government is the principal landowner in those areas.
- . Two government studies have concluded that about two-thirds of the onshore federal lands are either formally closed, highly restricted or moderately restricted with relation to oil, natural gas and other mineral production. The amount of land under those restrictions exceeds 500 million acres -- an area five times the size of California.
- . Federal lands, onshore and offshore, are estimated by government agencies to contain 37 percent of the nation's undiscovered crude oil, 43 percent of the undiscovered natural gas, 40 percent of the demonstrated coal resources and 80 percent of the recoverable oil shale reserves. The government also owns 95 percent of the tar sands in Utah, where most of the U.S. tar sands are located.
- . As 1980 began, only 12.5 percent of the onshore lands owned or controlled by the federal government were under lease for petroleum operations.
- . The federal government controls all petroleum leasing on the Outer Continental Shelf beyond the limits of state jurisdiction. As 1980 began, only 2 percent of the OCS was under lease for oil and natural gas operations.
- . The federal government has received \$12.8 billion in royalties from all mineral operations since 1920. Of that total, oil and natural gas operations, onshore and offshore, provided 95.7 percent.
- . No federal onshore petroleum and mineral leases have been issued in Alaska since 1965.
- . Government reports show that the United States is dependent on other countries for more than 40 percent of its crude oil, 30 percent of its softwood timber and many vital minerals. The U.S. is self-sufficient in only five of the 27 strategic minerals.

(DETAILED LAND USE STATISTICS ARE ATTACHED)

LAND USE STATISTICS

1. Onshore acreage:

Total onshore acreage of the United States:	2,271 million
Acreage owned by the federal government:	775 million
Percent of total onshore acreage owned by the federal government:	34.1 percent
Additional acreage over which the federal government controls the mineral rights:	63 million
Total acreage owned by or with mineral rights controlled by the U.S. government (including onshore federal public, acquired, military and Indian lands):	838 million
Percent of total onshore acreage owned by or with mineral rights controlled by the U.S. government:	36.9 percent

Sources: General Services Administration, Summary Report of Real Property Owned by the United States as of September 30, 1978, published August 1979; and Report of Public Land Law Review Commission, June 1970.

2. Offshore acreage:

Note: State-controlled submerged lands extend from the shoreline to a point three nautical miles seaward, except for Texas and the west coast of Florida, where the boundaries extend three leagues (about 10 miles) from shore. Federal ownership begins at the outer limit of state jurisdiction.

Total acreage of all offshore (subsea) lands:	865.4 million
State lands (except Hawaii-owned lands):	30.7 million
From the state limit to 200-meter depth (including Hawaii-owned lands):	528.3 million
Federal lands between 200-meter and 2,500-meter water depths:	306.4 million

Source: Public Land Law Review Commission and U.S. Geological Survey

3. Petroleum leases on lands owned or controlled by the U.S. government:

Onshore:

Total number of current leases:	132,800
Total acreage under lease:	105 million
Percent of government owned/controlled onshore acreage currently leased:	12.5 percent
Number of producible leases (including leases temporarily not in production):	15,677
Estimated 1979 production:	
Barrels of crude oil and natural gas liquids:	218.1 million
Percent of total U.S. production:	7.0 percent
Cubic feet of natural gas:	1.2 trillion
Percent of total U.S. production:	6.1 percent

Offshore:

Total number of current leases:	2,200
Total acreage under lease:	10.6 million
Percent of federal acreage under lease:	
From state lands to 200-meter depth:	2.0 percent
From state lands to 2,500-meter depth:	1.3 percent
Number of producible leases:	1,007
Estimated 1979 production:	
Barrels of crude oil and natural gas liquids:	281.9 million
Percent of total U.S. production:	9.1 percent
Cubic feet of natural gas:	4.6 trillion
Percent of total U.S. production:	23.5 percent

Total Onshore and Offshore:

Total number of current leases:	135,000
Total acreage under lease:	115.6 million
Percent of federal acreage under lease:	
Onshore and offshore to 200-meter depth:	8.5 percent
Onshore and offshore to 2,500-meter depth:	6.9 percent
Number of producible leases:	16,684
Estimated 1979 production:	
Barrels of crude oil and natural gas liquids:	500 million
Percent of total U.S. production:	16.1 percent
Cubic feet of natural gas:	5.8 trillion
Percent of total U.S. production:	29.6 percent

Source: U.S. Geological Survey news release, January 21, 1980

4. Federal revenues from lease sales, royalties and first-year rentals from mineral operations:

Total from all mineral royalties, 1979:	\$ 2,069 million
Offshore oil and gas operations:	1,515 million
Onshore oil and gas operations:	480 million
Non-petroleum royalties (including coal, potash, phosphate, sodium, copper, zinc, and other non-petroleum minerals):	74 million
Total federal revenues from offshore, 1953-1979:	\$34,447 million
Lease bonuses:	26,086 million
Royalties, rentals, other payments:	8,361 million
Total federal royalties from petroleum and non-petroleum mineral operations, 1920-1979:	\$12,829 million
Cumulative value of federal royalties from all oil and gas operations, 1920-1979:	12,282 million
Cumulative value of federal royalties from non-petroleum mineral operations, 1920-1979:	547 million

Source: U.S. Geological Survey

5. Production from federally owned or controlled lands, 1920-1979:

Crude oil:	12,099 million barrels
Lease condensate:	371 million barrels
Natural gas:	70,477 billion cubic feet
Natural gasoline and liquefied petroleum gases:	31,952 million gallons
Sulfur:	16.9 million tons
Salt:	4.7 million tons
Carbon dioxide:	9,089 million cubic feet
Coal:	749 million tons
Copper:	321 thousand tons
Fluorspar:	306 thousand tons
Lead:	9.9 million tons
Limestone:	3.5 million tons
Phosphate:	100.6 million tons
Potash:	117.8 million tons
Sand and gravel:	134.8 million tons
Sodium:	55.5 million tons
Uranium:	27.3 million tons
Zinc:	946 thousand tons
Other minerals:	18.5 million tons

Source: U.S. Geological Survey

6. Estimated energy resources of federal lands:

Note: It has been estimated that federal lands, onshore and offshore, contain the following percentages of each of the nation's energy resources.

Undiscovered crude oil:	37 percent
Undiscovered natural gas:	43 percent
Demonstrated coal resources:	40 percent
Recoverable reserves of oil shale:	80 percent
Tar sands in Utah (where most of the nation's tar sands are located):	95 percent

Sources: U.S. Geological Survey, Federal Trade Commission,
Department of Energy

7. Acreage of federal lands managed by government agencies:

Note: Some 68 federal departments, agencies and bureaus own varying amounts of federal land. But the eight organizations listed below control 99.7 percent of the lands owned by the U.S. government.

Bureau of Land Management (Interior)	480,450,433 acres
U.S. Forest Service (Agriculture)	188,907,734 acres
Department of Defense	33,790,145 acres
Fish and Wildlife Service (Interior)	31,149,720 acres
National Park Service (Interior)	26,531,234 acres
Bureau of Reclamation (Interior)	6,682,325 acres
Bureau of Indian Affairs (Interior)	3,379,037 acres
Department of Energy	2,352,823 acres
TOTAL (eight government agencies)	773,243,451 acres

All other government agencies combined control slightly more than two million acres -- less than one-third of one percent of the total of 775 million acres of federally owned onshore land. Some units, such as the Environmental Protection Agency, are not major landowners but exert considerable influence over the ways in which federal lands are used.

Source: General Services Administration, Summary Report of Real Property as of September 30, 1978.

8. Estimated status of federally owned lands:

Acreage where mineral activities were --

Formally restricted or banned:	312.5 million acres
Severely restricted:	183.0 million acres
Moderately restricted:	53.8 million acres
Slightly or not restricted	259.7 million acres

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Report of the Task Force on Availability of Federally Owned Mineral Lands, 1977.

Note: Similar results were reported in a study by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment. The amount of land now restricted may be even larger because of substantial changes that have been made or are being considered in several categories of federal land.

9. State-by-state breakdown of federal land ownership by number of acres and percent of total land area:

Note: This breakdown excludes 52 million acres -- principally Indian reservations -- held in trust by the U.S. government

Alabama	1,126,736 (3.45%)	Montana	27,661,515 (29.66%)
Alaska	359,925,349 (98.48%)	Nebraska	701,021 (1.43%)
Arizona	32,034,116 (44.07%)	Nevada	61,617,277 (87.69%)
Arkansas	3,348,221 (9.97%)	New Hampshire	710,901 (12.32%)
California	47,609,640 (47.51%)	New Jersey	396,540 (8.24%)
Colorado	24,783,444 (32.28%)	New Mexico	25,824,796 (33.21%)
Connecticut	12,091 (0.39%)	New York	261,440 (0.85%)
Delaware	41,229 (3.26%)	North Carolina	2,191,095 (6.98%)
Dist. of Col.	19,539 (50.05%)	North Dakota	2,382,293 (5.36%)
Florida	3,904,283 (11.25%)	Ohio	345,771 (1.32%)
Georgia	2,244,241 (6.02%)	Oklahoma	1,582,915 (3.59%)
Hawaii	598,298 (14.57%)	Oregon	32,413,375 (52.62%)
Idaho	33,748,005 (63.77%)	Pennsylvania	706,871 (2.45%)
Illinois	623,415 (1.74%)	Rhode Island	9,062 (1.34%)
Indiana	578,629 (2.50%)	South Carolina	1,264,939 (6.53%)
Iowa	226,521 (0.63%)	South Dakota	3,488,349 (7.14%)
Kansas	731,428 (1.39%)	Tennessee	1,822,737 (6.82%)
Kentucky	1,391,087 (5.45%)	Texas	3,457,920 (2.06%)
Louisiana	1,111,551 (3.85%)	Utah	33,491,277 (63.55%)
Maine	136,606 (0.69%)	Vermont	290,200 (4.89%)
Maryland	369,732 (5.85%)	Virginia	3,056,004 (11.99%)
Massachusetts	79,528 (1.58%)	Washington	12,862,812 (30.13%)
Michigan	3,445,673 (9.44%)	West Virginia	1,094,438 (7.10%)
Minnesota	3,414,047 (6.67%)	Wisconsin	1,865,498 (5.33%)
Mississippi	1,746,690 (5.78%)	Wyoming	30,310,809 (48.62%)
Missouri	2,189,230 (4.95%)		
		TOTAL U.S.	775,249,183 (34.13%)

Source: General Services Administration, Summary Report of Real Property as of September 30, 1978.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON FEDERAL LAND USE

Q. What are federal "public" lands?

A. Federal lands include the original public domain lands, lands acquired by the federal government from individuals or other private legal entities, and the Outer Continental Shelf. The general classifications of these lands are public, Indian, acquired, and the OCS, i.e., those underlying the waters off our coasts seaward of state ownership to a water depth of 200 meters "or, beyond that limit, to where the depth of the superjacent waters admits of the exploitation of the natural resources of the said "areas" (as stated in the 1958 Geneva Convention on the Continental Shelf). State ownership extends from the low water mark to three nautical miles seaward -- three leagues seaward, in the case of Texas and the Florida West Coast -- where federal jurisdiction begins.

Q. Who manages federal lands?

A. Eight federal agencies manage 99.74 percent of the federal government's 775.25 million acres. These agencies are the Bureau of Land Management, U.S. Forest Service, Department of Defense, Fish and Wildlife Service, National Park Service, Bureau of Reclamation, and the Department of Energy. Management of the remaining 2.25 million acres is divided among some 60 other government departments agencies and bureaus.

Q. What has been federal policy concerning use of public lands?

A. Until recently, these lands have been managed under a broad "multiple-use" policy. This permitted fairly open access to mineral resources under either the Mining Law (governing "hard rock" minerals) or the Mineral Leasing Act and the Mineral Leasing Act for acquired lands (governing oil, natural gas, oil shale, coal, tar sands, phosphate, potassium and sodium). During the past decade, however, access to federal lands has been curtailed sharply, either through limiting restrictions or, in many cases, outright denial of access for mineral exploration, development and production. While land "withdrawal" is not new (it began in 1872, with the creation of Yellowstone National Park), it has reached alarming proportions and could seriously impact on this nation's ability to increase energy production and to reduce its heavy dependence on imported oil and other critical minerals. Of course, specific historic and scenic areas, such as our national parks, should be preserved. What the industry opposes is the arbitrary foreclosures of large public land areas without adequate assessment of their mineral resource value and other national needs.

Q. What are the major land restricting programs impacting on energy development in the United States?

A. There are various public land laws and programs under which federal land may be set aside ("withdrawn") temporarily or permanently from minerals development and other uses. Among these laws and programs are:

- 0 National parks -- Established by Congress to protect exceptional natural historic and recreation areas and to preserve the superb environmental quality of each area. These lands are specifically withdrawn -- as a practical matter -- from leasing by the Mineral Leasing Act.
- 0 National forests -- Established to improve and protect the forests or secure water flow and to furnish timber, national forests are generally managed under a policy of multiple use and sustained yield, including oil and gas leasing.
- 0 National monuments, historic sites and antiquities -- Once sites are so designated by presidential proclamation because of their national significance, use of land in these areas is regulated to prevent permanent impairment of the site or object. The status precludes mineral leasing and development and can be changed only by legislation.
- 0 Wildlife refuges and preserves -- Established by Congress to manage or protect plant and animal wildlife, these areas are restricted to uses that are consistent with the purposes of the refuge or preserve. Oil and gas exploration and development, although authorized by law, have been generally prohibited by administration action.
- 0 National recreation areas -- This covers a broad range of public lands from lake shores to forest parks. Land use plans and zoning regulations are adopted for each area by the administering agency, with or without public involvement, depending on the size of the area. Essentially closed to oil and gas and other mineral exploration and development by statute or administrative policy.
- 0 Wilderness -- Areas of 5,000 or more contiguous areas "untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain," wilderness is a classification very restrictive to minerals development. After 1983, no mineral activities not previously initiated will be allowed, and only minimal oil or gas operation have been allowed within these areas since the 1964 Wilderness Act went into effect.
- 0 Marine sanctuaries -- Pressure is increasing to use this classification -- originally designed for multiple uses compatible with the preservation or restoration of the recreational, ecological and esthetic values of certain ocean,

- 0 Other federal land classifications -- A number of other federal land classifications exist which could prohibit or severely restrict petroleum exploration and development, including: wild and scenic rivers, national grasslands and wetlands, and Department of Defense lands. Additionally, energy operations are also affected by implementation of such legislation as the Clean Air Act, the Endangered Species Act, and the Clean Water Act.

All told, by 1976, the Department of the Interior reported that two-thirds of all federal lands were either formally withdrawn from mineral development or governed by such severe restrictions as to constitute de facto withdrawals. Since 1977, substantial acreage has been added to the restricted lands total and, with consideration of the final wilderness, Alaska land set-asides and Roadless Area Review and Evaluation studies, additional acreage will undoubtedly be withdrawn or placed under severe restrictions as to energy development.

WHAT THE TERMS MEAN: A GLOSSARY

Bureau of Land Management (BLM) Lands

The Bureau of Land Management is the primary agency controlling the management and use of U.S. federal lands. As of September 1978, BLM managed over 480 million acres (nearly 62 percent) of federal lands. All of this land and most of the minerals underlying it are owned by the federal government. In some cases, however, the federal government owns the land but private parties control the minerals underlying the surface. BLM is charged with the responsibility of managing and, where permitted, leasing surface and subsurface mineral rights.

- Surface and Subsurface Ownership: In areas where BLM manages both the leasing of surface and subsurface rights, tracts are generally open to mineral exploration and development, subject to BLM surface and minerals management regulations.
- Subsurface Mineral Ownership: In these areas, where the surface is government owned and where the rights to subsurface minerals are privately retained, minerals exploration and development are subject to BLM minerals management regulations.

Bureau of Reclamation Jurisdiction

Land under the control of the Bureau of Reclamation and subject to case-by-case mineral exploration and development review.

Indian Reservation

Land designated as Indian reservations. Exploration and development of minerals are subject to tribal authority and case-by-case regulations. In some instances, the U.S. acts as the trustee of the mineral rights.

Military Land

Lands acquired for military bases and public lands withdrawn for other facilities controlled by the Department of Defense. These lands are open to minerals exploration and development and subject to approval of defense agencies.

National Forest or Grassland

Open and forested lands controlled by the U.S. Forest Service and open to leasing for lumbering, grazing, and mineral leasing. Minerals exploration and development controlled by Forest Service surface management regulations. Forest lands, except those that are acquired lands, are subject to the same oil and gas leasing procedures as other public lands, i.e., the Mineral Leasing Act. On acquired forest lands, only the National Forest Service can issue leases.

National Park or Monument

Areas set aside as parks or historic monuments because of their unique natural characteristics or historic values. These areas are statutorily closed to all oil and gas and other mineral exploration and development.

National Recreation Area

Areas set aside for their particular recreational value. These areas are essentially closed to oil and gas and other mineral exploration and development by statute or administrative policy. National recreation areas are under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior's U.S. Park Service.

Precambrian Rock Outcrop

An area where Precambrian rocks (that is, rocks ranging in age from 570 million to 3,600-plus years) are exposed at the surface or in the near-surface area of the earth. These rocks may be rich in minerals. However, since they pre-date the age of fossils (which first became abundant in the Cambrian period), they do not have significant potential for crude oil and natural gas deposits but may have high potential for hard rock minerals.

Public Oil Shale Withdrawal

Areas set aside for possible future development of shale oil potential. These lands are open for crude oil, natural gas and sodium development, but are closed under the mining laws.

Rare II (Roadless Area Review and Evaluation II)

The second attempt by the U.S. Forest Service to review and evaluate its national forest lands so as to identify potential wilderness areas. As of September 30, 1978, the

Forest Service had under its control some 189 million acres of public land. Of this, 15.4 million acres were classified as recommended for "instant" wilderness, 10.6 million for further planning, 36 million for return to non-wilderness. Congressional approval is required for any designation of wilderness. The area returned to non-wilderness classification will be managed for multiple use other than wilderness, ranging from extensive to minimal development. However, oil and gas exploration and development are not assured under present administrative policies.

- RARE II Further Planning: Areas set aside by the Forest Service for closer examination to determine their wilderness suitability, with all minerals exploration and development foreclosed until land use planning is completed.
- RARE II Wilderness Recommendation. Area Recommended for wilderness classification. Until a wilderness classification is assigned, areas administratively closed to oil and gas and other mineral operations, although under prior rights exploration may be allowed with severe restrictions. Development is prohibited.

U.S. Wildlife Refuge

Area set aside to protect birds, fish and animals and their habitat. Hunting, fishing and trapping may be allowed on certain portions of such refuges. Oil and gas leasing is not precluded by law but generally precluded by administrative procedures and policies.

Wild and Scenic River

An area bordering a river having exceptional natural, pristine or scenic characteristics that has been classified so as to restrict development and preserve its character.

- Existing Wild and Scenic River: An area so classified and statutorily closed to oil and gas and other mineral exploration and development to one-quarter of a mile from the shoreline of the river or from the line of sight, whichever is greater.
- Proposed Wild and Scenic River: An area administratively proposed for classification as a wild and scenic river and subject to the non-development restrictions of that classification until a determination is made that it is not to be a wild and scenic river.

Wilderness

Under the Wilderness Act of 1964, a "wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his own works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain." Among the other characteristics pertaining to a wilderness area are that it has no permanent improvements or human habitation; is at least 5,000 acres or of sufficient size to preserve it in an unimpaired condition; has outstanding opportunities for solitude or a primitive and unconfined type of recreation; and may have ecological, geological, scientific, educational, scenic or historical value. Congressional approval is required for a recommended wilderness area.

- Administratively Endorsed Wilderness Area: Area set aside by administrative action as suitable for inclusion in the wilderness system, subject to the approval of Congress. These areas are effectively closed to mineral exploration and development until a wilderness decision is made. Therefore, most lands are not being evaluated for oil and gas or other mineral potential.
- BLM Instant Wilderness Study Area: One of 55 primitive and natural areas identified by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) prior to November 1, 1975, and which, under the Federal Land Policy and Management Act (FLPMA) of 1976, required accelerated wilderness review. These areas are effectively closed to oil and gas and other mineral development by administrative policy.
- BLM Proposed Wilderness Study Area: A roadless area or island proposed for inventorying to determine if the area has the characteristics described in FLPMA and the Wilderness Act of 1964. BLM management policy and guidelines severely restrict mineral exploration and development of these proposed study areas.
- Existing Wilderness Area: An area classified as wilderness by the 1964 Wilderness Act. It is statutorily open to mineral exploration and development through December 31, 1983, but is effectively closed by administrative policy and procedures.

Clean Air Act

A federal law passed in 1963 and subsequently amended which seeks to help protect the quality of air in the U.S.

Regulations created to define and enforce compliance with this legislation have resulted in the closing of or severely restricting access to and use of large areas of land throughout the nation for energy, mineral and other development.

- Existing Class I Area: A pristine area where air quality must be maintained by allowing only limited and specific additional increments of pollution. These increments can be so small as to effectively preclude energy and mineral exploration, development and production.
- Potential Class I Area: An area eligible for designation as a Class I Area. Once so classified, Class I restrictions would apply.
- Potential Buffer Zone: An area beyond the boundaries of a Class I Area in which activities could be restricted so as to protect the pristine qualities of the adjacent Class I Area. The shape and size of the buffer zone would be governed, in part, by climatic conditions and the topography of the area.

PUBLIC LAND STATISTICS

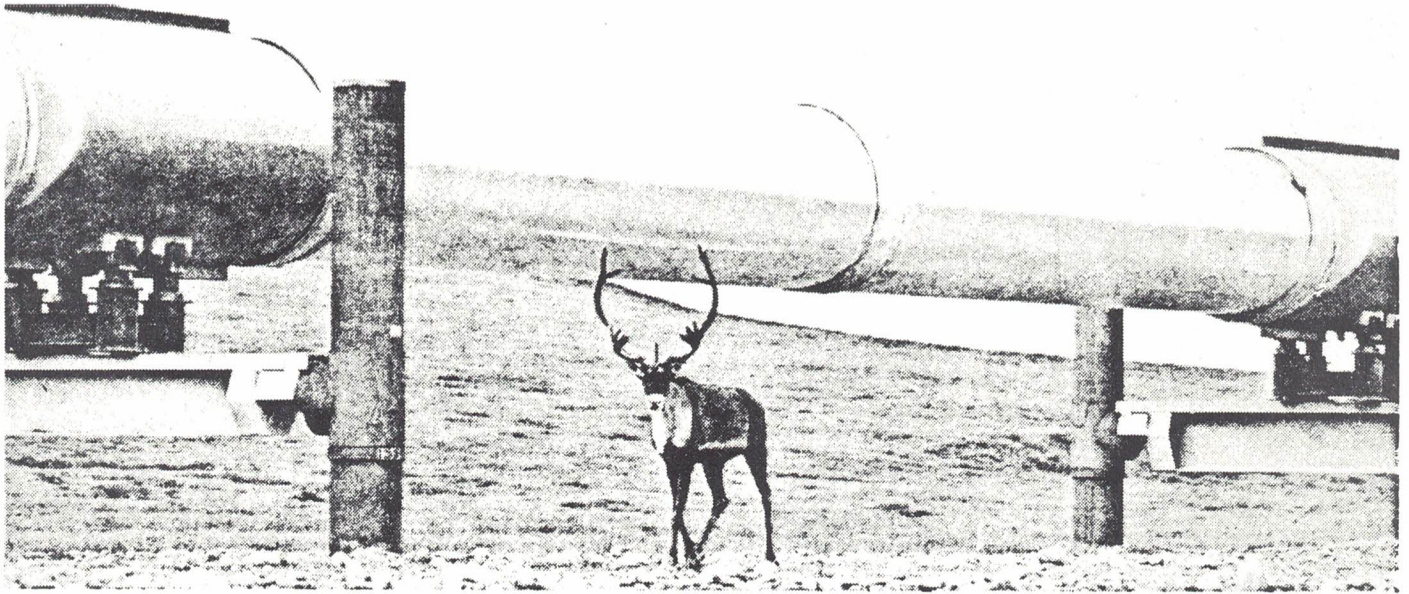
TABLE 7.—Comparison of Federally owned land with total acreage of States as of September 30, 1978

State	Acreage owned by Federal Government			Acreage not owned by Federal Government	Acreage of State ¹	Percent owned by Government ²
	Public domain	Acquired by other methods	Total			
Alabama	29,522.6	1,097,213.5	1,126,736.1	31,551,663.9	32,678,400	3.448
Alaska	359,893,660.2	31,688.5	359,925,348.7	5,556,251.3	365,481,600	98.480
Arizona	31,595,368.2	438,728.1	32,034,116.3	40,653,883.7	72,688,000	44.071
Arkansas	1,072,981.6	2,275,239.1	3,348,220.7	30,251,139.3	33,599,360	9.965
California	44,204,984.6	3,404,655.0	47,609,639.6	52,597,080.4	100,206,720	47.511
Colorado	22,556,275.5	2,227,168.5	24,783,444.0	41,702,316.0	66,485,760	37.276
Connecticut	.0	12,090.6	12,090.6	3,123,269.4	3,135,360	.386
Delaware	.0	41,229.4	41,229.4	1,224,690.6	1,265,920	3.257
District of Columbia	.0	19,539.1	19,539.1	19,500.9	39,040	50.049
Florida	390,376.4	3,513,906.7	3,904,283.1	30,816,996.9	34,721,280	11.245
Georgia	.0	2,244,241.3	2,244,241.3	35,061,118.7	37,295,360	6.018
Hawaii	63,117.3	535,181.0	598,298.3	3,507,301.7	4,106,600	14.573
Idaho	32,935,271.3	812,734.1	33,748,005.4	19,185,114.6	52,933,120	63.756
Illinois	437.2	622,977.9	623,415.1	35,171,784.9	35,796,200	1.742
Indiana	432.0	578,197.0	578,629.0	22,579,771.0	23,158,400	2.499
Iowa	340.8	226,180.3	226,521.1	35,633,958.9	35,860,480	.632
Kansas	26,129.2	705,299.0	731,428.2	51,779,291.8	52,510,720	1.393
Kentucky	.0	1,391,086.6	1,391,086.6	24,121,233.4	25,512,320	5.453
Louisiana	25,174.4	1,086,377.0	1,111,551.4	27,756,288.6	28,867,840	3.851
Maine	.0	136,605.6	136,605.6	19,711,074.4	19,847,680	.688
Maryland	.0	369,732.1	369,732.1	5,949,627.9	6,319,360	5.851
Massachusetts	.0	79,528.4	79,528.4	4,955,351.6	5,034,880	1.580
Michigan	296,472.5	3,149,200.5	3,445,673.0	33,046,487.0	36,492,160	9.442
Minnesota	1,165,765.9	2,248,281.5	3,414,047.4	47,791,712.6	51,206,760	6.667
Mississippi	2,454.1	1,744,235.4	1,746,689.5	28,476,020.5	30,222,720	5.779
Missouri	2,647.3	2,186,582.9	2,189,230.2	42,059,089.8	44,248,320	4.948
Montana	25,241,876.6	2,419,638.0	27,661,514.6	65,609,525.4	93,271,040	29.657
Nebraska	249,192.0	451,829.2	701,021.2	48,330,658.8	49,031,680	1.430
Nevada	61,369,838.3	247,438.3	61,617,276.6	8,647,043.4	70,264,320	87.694
New Hampshire	.0	710,900.7	710,900.7	5,058,059.3	5,768,960	12.323
New Jersey	.0	396,540.1	396,540.1	4,416,899.9	4,813,440	8.238
New Mexico	24,172,399.8	1,652,395.9	25,824,795.7	51,941,604.3	77,766,400	33.208
New York	.0	261,439.5	261,439.5	30,419,520.5	30,680,960	.852
North Carolina	.0	2,191,095.0	2,191,095.0	29,211,785.0	31,402,880	6.977
North Dakota	209,149.8	2,173,142.8	2,382,292.6	42,070,187.4	44,452,480	5.359
Ohio	220.0	345,551.4	345,771.4	25,376,308.6	26,222,080	1.319
Oklahoma	149,042.3	1,433,872.7	1,582,915.0	42,504,765.0	44,087,680	3.590
Oregon	31,024,544.6	1,388,830.3	32,413,374.9	29,185,345.1	61,598,720	52.620
Pennsylvania	.0	706,870.8	706,870.8	28,097,609.2	28,804,480	2.454
Rhode Island	.0	9,061.9	9,061.9	668,058.1	677,120	1.338
South Carolina	.0	1,264,939.4	1,264,939.4	18,109,140.6	19,374,080	6.529
South Dakota	1,597,104.4	1,891,244.6	3,488,349.0	45,393,571.0	48,881,920	7.136
Tennessee	.0	1,822,736.6	1,822,736.6	24,904,943.4	26,727,630	6.820
Texas	.0	3,457,920.4	3,457,920.4	164,759,679.6	168,217,600	2.056
Utah	32,931,807.6	559,468.9	33,491,276.5	19,205,683.5	52,696,960	63.555
Vermont	.0	290,199.9	290,199.9	5,646,440.1	5,936,640	4.898
Virginia	.0	3,056,003.5	3,056,003.5	22,440,316.5	25,496,320	11.966
Washington	11,109,327.4	1,753,484.5	12,862,811.9	29,830,948.1	42,693,760	30.128
West Virginia	.0	1,094,438.3	1,094,438.3	14,316,121.7	15,410,560	7.102
Wisconsin	10,143.4	1,855,355.0	1,865,498.4	33,145,701.6	35,011,200	5.328
Wyoming	29,634,946.9	675,862.4	30,310,809.3	32,032,230.7	62,343,040	48.619
Total	711,961,024.2	63,288,159.2	775,249,183.4	1,496,094,176.6	2,271,343,360	34.132

¹ Does not include inland water.² Excludes trust properties.

Source: Inventory Report on Real Property Owned by the United States Throughout the World, published by General Services Administration.

Closing off, locking up America's wide open spaces



SUMMARY During the past few years, public attention increasingly has focused on our environment. Clustered under a variety of banners, the members of what we know as The Environmental Movement have enjoyed considerable success in their quest to preserve our world—as they perceive it.

Most of this activity is praiseworthy and desirable. One particular by-product is not.

Quietly, but methodically, over this period, American public lands—lands that belong to all the people—have been withdrawn and closed off by government. Consider the numbers. There are 760 million acres of public land onshore alone. Over 16 million acres are already closed to all development in the National Wilderness Preservation System. And 130 million acres are closed to oil and gas development with millions more threatened—including 40 percent of Alaska.

But don't we need wide-open spaces?

The answer is yes. But under the present system vast acreages are being shut off without any regard to their potential for other uses, such as recreation or energy. And this at a time when we need to decrease our reliance on foreign oil.

Future policy regarding land use, both on- and offshore, must be resolved in a manner that is compatible with the preservation of the economy and the land, together with the "best interest" of the American people.

A recent nationwide survey indicated:

- 59 percent of voters feel it would be wrong to limit access to government land before learning whether it contains resources important to the economy;
- 74 percent of voters believe there is a definite need to develop government lands and explore for natural resources.

Land Is to Use—But How?

America's public lands are rich in natural resources, capable of providing timber, minerals, energy, grasslands and recreational opportunities. Through the years, most of these lands have been managed to provide such multiple uses; even in specific instances where one land use was identified as "highest and best," many other "compatible" uses were permitted.

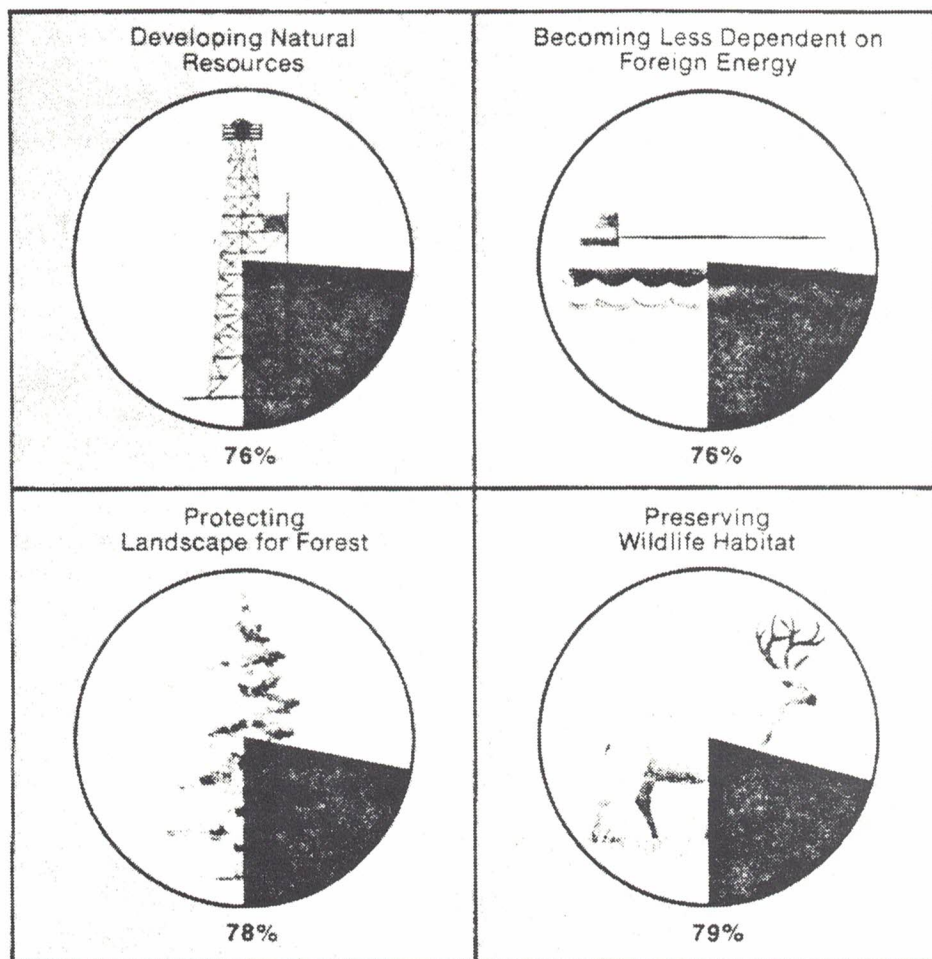
In recent years, however, the pendulum has swung sharply away from multiple use. Single purpose—frequently noncommercial—use has become the fashion in public land administration. The chief symptom of this new approach is the withdrawal—either expressed or implied—of large areas from resource development.

The question of access to public lands must be resolved in a way that is compatible with the preservation of both the economy and the land, with the overall best interest of the U.S. citizen in mind. It is the search for this balance and "best interest" that has become the focal point of intense debate.

Energy development is prohibited in national park lands and, for all practical purposes, in wildlife refuges. All development is prohibited in the nation's 16.6 million acres of wilderness. Approval of the various proposals recently before the federal government would bring this figure to well over 100 million acres.

Despite this, the advocates of "wilderness" are far from satisfied. They now are trying to put tens of millions of acres of other public lands off-limits to resource development. The Forest Service, National Park Service, the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Bureau of Land Management are reviewing the lands under their respective control to see which are most suited for being withdrawn from public use. Additionally, the Department of Commerce is considering requests to create 170 new marine sanctuaries off our shores, and these could have the

Percentage of Voters Who Feel that Prime Consideration Should be Given to:



same "no commerce" result.

Will This Affect the Energy Picture?

To date, the entire wilderness program has failed to consider the relative importance of critical nonwilderness issues. The immediate concern is that the millions of acres now "under study" must be managed during the various study periods in a manner which does not impair their "wilderness" characteristics.

In most cases, this translates into a ban on mineral exploration or other multiple-use activity. This means either oil and gas leases have been withheld or no permits for occupancy—that would allow the gaining of leases—have been granted.

The long-range problem is that with drilling, geological and geophysical exploration activities precluded, massive tracts of unexplored public land may be *permanently closed* to exploration and mining.

These actions would seem to assume that no further significant supplies of energy remain to be discovered in this country. Such an assumption is hardly based on sound data. Recent discoveries

demonstrate that there still are large quantities of oil and natural gas remaining to be found.

Prime example: the Overthrust Belt region that extends through Wyoming, Utah and Colorado. Some analysts consider it to be the most significant new energy discovery since Alaska's Prudhoe Bay. The Wyoming and Idaho parts of the Overthrust Belt could hold, estimates the U.S. Geological Survey, between 600 million and 3 billion barrels of oil and between 4 and 12 trillion cubic feet of gas.

An estimated 76 million acres of mountainous and forested land in this area of major discoveries now are being studied for possible inclusion in wilderness areas. If such action comes to pass, energy development would be prohibited.

William Dresher, Dean of the School of Mines at the University of Arizona, points out:

"Onshore public lands contain 50% of all known U.S. energy resources; 70% of all U.S. low-sulfur coal; 75% of all U.S. oil shale; 85% of all U.S. tar sands; 15% of all U.S. developed oil reserves; 15% of all U.S. discovered

resources; 33% of all U.S. estimated oil resource base; 20% of all U.S. developed gas resources; and 43% of all U.S. estimated gas resource base."

Furthermore, the move to place public lands off-limits to oil and gas development would have a severe economic impact. That is, it would require greater reliance on imported energy. The consequences are serious. Between pre-embargo 1972 and 1977, America has declined in several important economic areas due, in part, to capital sent out of the country to purchase foreign energy supplies.

What the Public Thinks About Wilderness

Despite its deep commitment to nature and the environment, the American public is becoming more concerned about the economic consequences of setting aside wilderness areas.

This is confirmed by a nationwide survey on public attitudes toward the use of government lands.

The survey was conducted by the public opinion research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly & White for the Western Regional Council, which is a coalition of executives of major companies operating in western states.

Key finding of the poll is that when voters consider the choice between two priorities—the economy vs. the environment—they conclude that the first priority in any decisions impacting federally owned land must be the economy.

Other major findings:

About 59 percent of the voters feel it would be wrong to limit access to government land before it is known whether the land contains resources important to the economy. A big majority, 74 percent, believe there is a definite need to develop government lands and to explore for natural resources.

Respondents see a number of resulting benefits, such as curbing inflation, improving the economy and reducing de-

pendence on foreign sources of energy.

About 75 percent are concerned about preserving the environment and controlling pollution—but this is in step with, not to the exclusion of, economic development.

Those polled feel that government decisions on land use should give prime consideration to protecting the landscape for forests (78 percent), preserving wildlife habitat (79 percent), developing natural resources (76 percent), and making the U.S. less dependent on foreign energy (76 percent). Far lower consideration is given to needs of vacationers, campers and tourists.

The pollsters report the public expresses the need to speed up the governmental decision-making processes to allow those companies with prior rights to continue to develop the land while determinations are being made to permit access

to lands that may contain important natural resources.

The Fight Against Withdrawal Programs

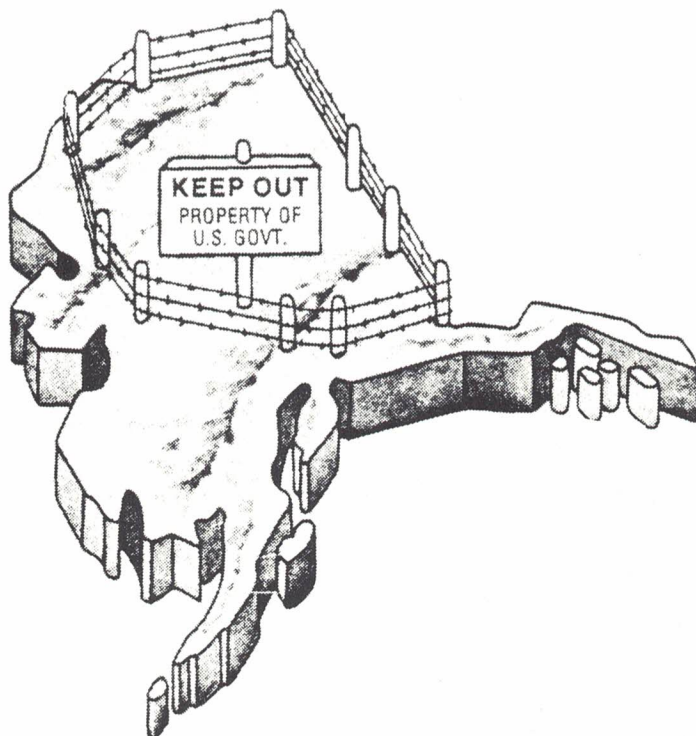
Unfortunately, the land use issue doesn't have a convenient label. It doesn't appear in a single package which might generate greater public and media attention. Instead, the issue consists of a number of separate withdrawal programs. The most significant are the following:

The Alaskan Case

Nowhere has the battle between single purpose and multiple use been fought with greater determination than in Alaska.

Withdrawal of Alaska D-2 lands—as currently proposed—could "seal off" almost half the state.

The Fencing Off of Alaska



Specifically, Section 17(D)(2) of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 authorized the Secretary of the Interior to withdraw public domain land for possible addition to the national park, forest, wildlife refuge and wild and scenic rivers systems.

Congressional interest focused on the D-2 issue—as it is known—when a bill introduced by Congressman Morris Udall (D-Ariz.) passed the House of Representatives last year. That bill would have closed almost 152 million acres (40 percent of Alaska) to oil and gas development. This overlaps the 65 million acres (about 18 percent of the state) that would be classified as wilderness—closed to *all* development.

While final action was not taken during

the 95th Congress, the legislators will return in 1979 to renew debate over the D-2 lands issue. (Meanwhile, Secretary of Interior Cecil Andrus has issued administrative orders that seal off 110 million acres of the state for three years.)

If a bill similar to Udall's is enacted, Alaskans will be barred from having more than a third of their public lands available for oil and gas development. And since the locations of potential oil and gas resources are unknown until drilled, that third might be the wrong third.

RARE II Examined

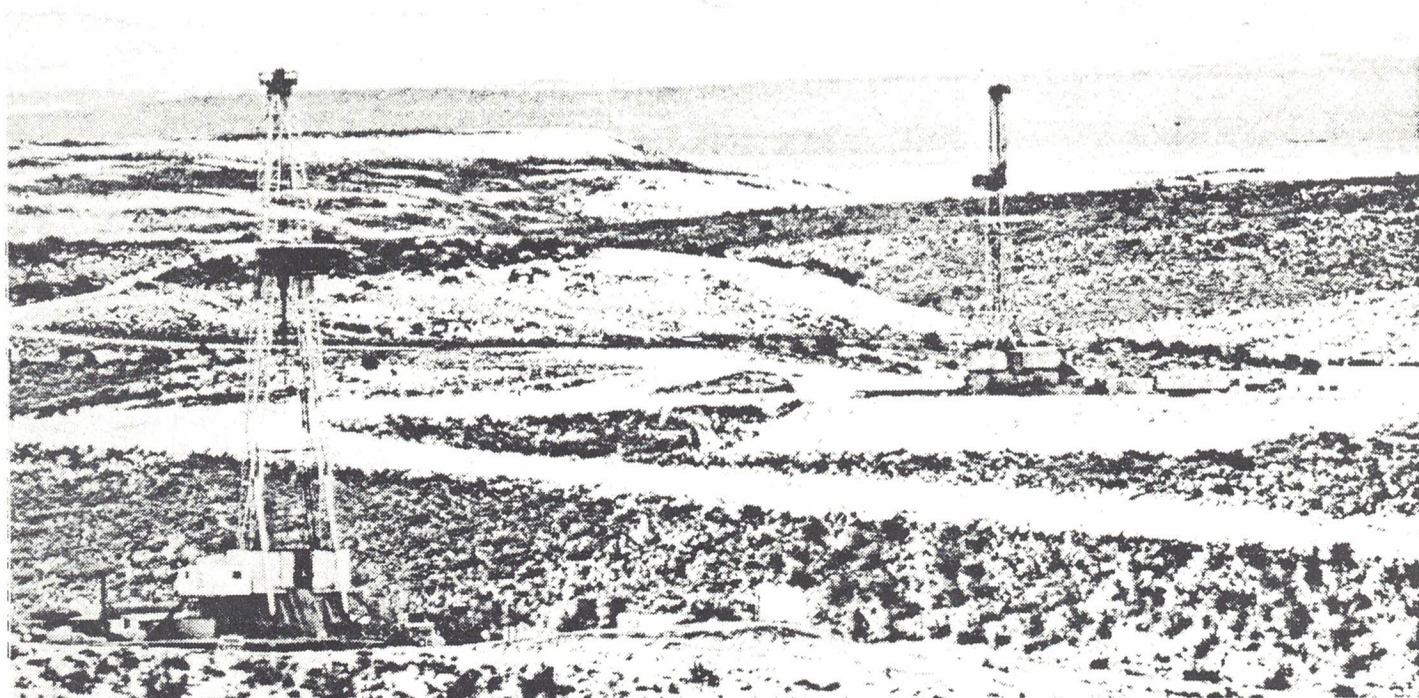
Even more lands may be similarly locked up under another program called RARE II.

RARE stands for Roadless Area Re-

view and Evaluation. As the number II suggests, this is the second study the U.S. Forest Service has made to determine what public lands should be included in the National Wilderness Preservation System.

(RARE I was completed in 1973. But it resulted in so many lawsuits and complaints from both environmentalist groups and Congress that Rupert Cutler, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, requested this second study. The RARE I process had selected 274 wilderness study areas containing 12.3 million acres out of an inventory of 1,449 areas or 56 million acres.)

Determining areas for "wilderness" classification is not new. Allocation of uses for the roadless and undeveloped



Energy development could be prohibited in the Overthrust Belt—a major new petroleum province.

'Wilderness' – What is It?

Wilderness has a wholesome connotation. Opposing it is as sensitive as opposing motherhood.

At first glance, it seems an unlikely topic for controversy. Yet it has become one of the most volatile and paradoxical issues of our time. Much of the problem stems from a lack of understanding of exactly what Wilderness, with a capital "W," means in legal terms.

Wilderness is defined by law as "an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain." It is a place with "outstanding opportunities for solitude or a primitive and unconfined type of recreation." It must be at least 5,000

acres or "of sufficient size as to make practicable its preservation and use in an unimpaired condition."

These definitions, from the 1964 Wilderness Act, make Wilderness *the most restrictive* of all land-use designations.

Most often, the only way a visitor can get into or near a Wilderness area is on foot, horseback or by canoe. No improved campsites, ski lifts or permanent structures of any kind are allowed. No roads, campers or motorized vehicles and boats are permitted.

Because Wilderness is preserved in a natural state, commercial activities are prohibited, wildlife, forest and watershed management are restricted, and control of forest disease, insects and fire is severely limited.

forest lands in this system has been taking place on a unit-by-unit basis since the enactment of the Wilderness Act in 1964.

RARE II is an attempt by the administration to speed completion of the National Wilderness System, and to return U.S. Forest Service lands not suitable for wilderness to multiple use.

In June 1978 the Forest Service published and invited comment on a Draft Environmental Statement. This details the impact of wilderness designation on some 2,686 roadless areas that total about 62 million acres.

Observers fear that the study will designate 25 percent of the areas with high wilderness potential for wilderness legislation and a further 25 percent—those areas with high trade-off costs—for no further wilderness consideration. They believe the remaining 50 percent will be designated for continued study. Thus 75 percent of the identified inventory would be placed on *de facto* wilderness status.

During the study period, all the roadless areas under consideration as wilderness are being managed in a fashion to protect their wilderness characteristics. Withdrawal of specified land areas is thus more likely to become permanent.

Missing is any study that examines *the potential resource value* of these lands.

Without this essential information, no

basis can be established for returning lands to development. Right now, lands containing some of the best resource potential—such as the oil-rich Rocky Mountain Overthrust Belt—are threatened with withdrawal, even though no minerals assessment has been made.

The final step on RARE II is scheduled to be taken on December 29, 1978. President Carter will review these recommendations and either endorse them or send his own list to Congress for designation as additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System.

BLM's Wilderness Review

The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) administers public lands totaling some 470 million acres, roughly equivalent in size to the states of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona and 90 percent of Maine—all told 734,375 square miles.

The BLM's management rights and duties are codified in the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976. The wilderness review section of this act requires the Secretary of the Interior to review all roadless areas of 5,000 acres or more, and roadless islands in the public lands, within 15 years after the date of approval of the act (October 21, 1976); and then to recommend to the President

the suitability of each such area or island for wilderness designation. This provision essentially mandates a roadless area review and evaluation similar to that being conducted by the Forest Service in the RARE II program.

Not all 470 million acres are subject to wilderness review. As with RARE II, an initial determination will be made, defining the so-called "roadless universe." This could involve up to approximately 200 million acres (a large portion of which is in Alaska and already subject to review under the "D-2" study).

This law requires the Secretary of Interior to manage lands under study in the wilderness review "... in a manner so as not to impair the suitability of such areas for preservation as wilderness ..."

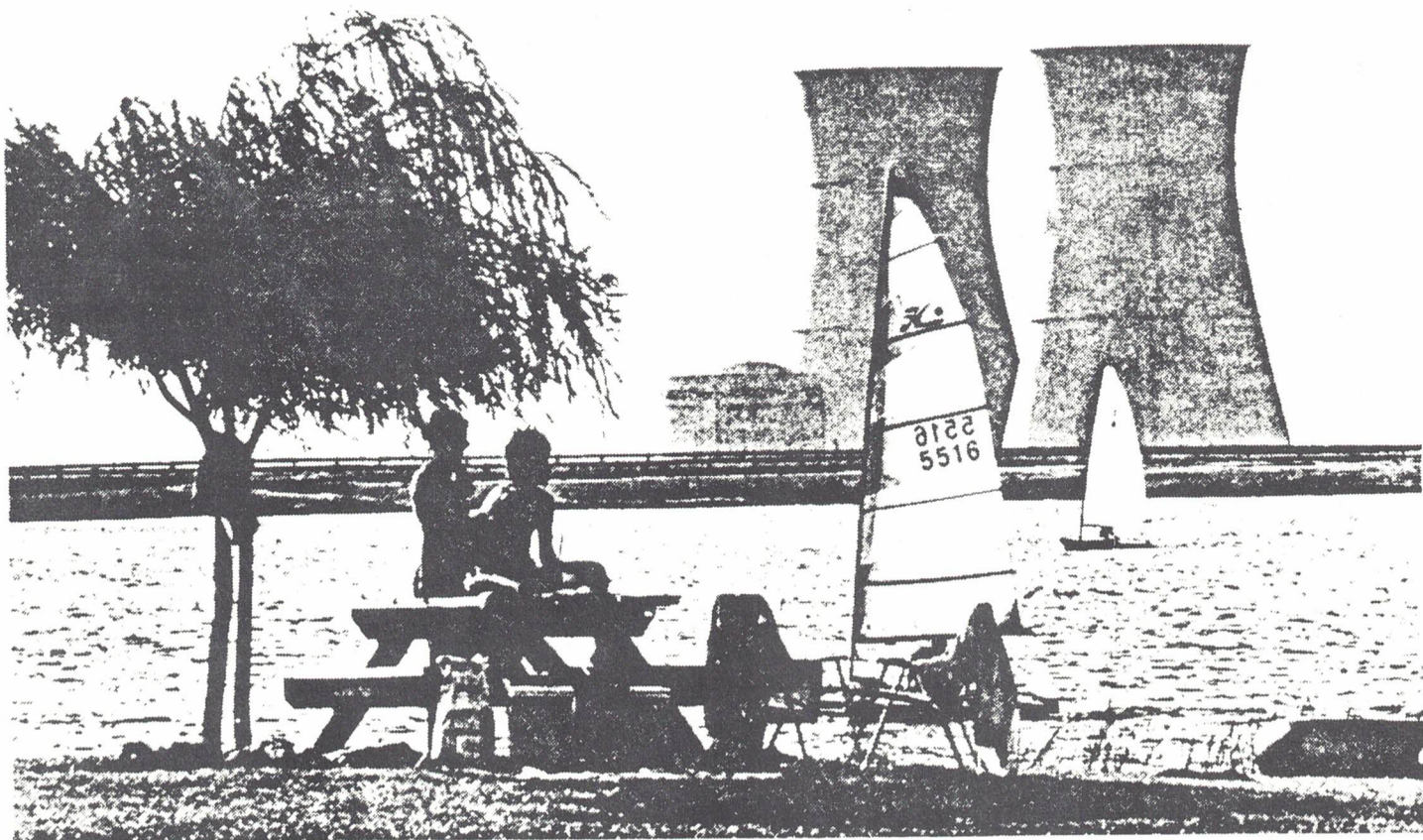
Despite language in the act which emphasizes Congress' mandate for multiple use and continued mineral development, the bias of the program to date strongly favors wilderness and surface protection over multiple use. The potential for *de facto* withdrawal during the 15-year study period is seen in the words of the Interior Department's solicitor: "Any new use ... must be regulated so as not to impair suitability for preservation as wilderness."

Sanctuaries Offshore as Well

Faced with diminishing resource potential onshore, we turn increasingly to the oceans as a last frontier. It should, therefore, come as no surprise that the zest for land withdrawal has gone to sea through the creation of marine sanctuaries.

Marine sanctuaries are portions of ocean within federal or state waters—the Great Lakes are also included. They are designated by the Secretary of Commerce, with presidential approval, under authority vested in them by the Marine Protection, Research and Sanctuaries Act of 1972.

Within a sanctuary, use of the marine environment may be restricted by regu-



Recreation and power generation—multiple use equates with sound conservation.

lations to protect or restore habitat, species, recreational activities, esthetic values, research opportunities—or uniqueness.

Sanctuaries may be proposed by anyone. The agency that reviews such nominations is the Office of Ocean Management, an arm of the Commerce Department's National Ocean and Atmospheric Administration. This agency is also charged with enforcing regulations approved for marine sanctuary programs. Congress plays no role.

To date, only two marine sanctuaries have been established—one off Cape Hatteras, N.C., to protect the remains of the famous Civil War ironclad, the *U.S.S. Monitor*; the other in the north Florida Keys (the Key Largo Coral Reef Marine

Sanctuary).

However, in his 1977 environmental message to Congress, President Carter urged vigorous implementation of the marine sanctuaries program. Since then, the situation has changed swiftly. About 170 sanctuaries have been proposed. They are estimated to include approximately 250,000 square miles or 160 million acres.

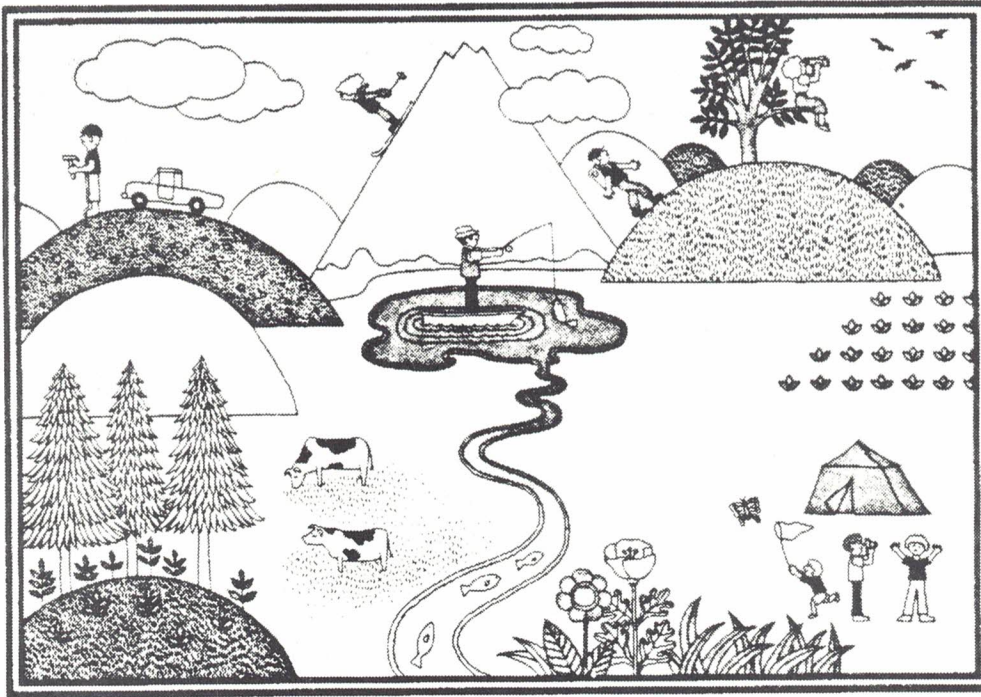
These dimensions, as well as the recognition of the Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) as one of America's last great frontiers for finding large reserves of oil and gas, assure that the marine sanctuaries program will become a controversy equivalent to three other programs we have discussed.

Opposition to the marine sanctuary en-

largement has intensified. The objections have focused upon several issues:

- The difficulty in obtaining current information about the proposals,
- The lack of substantive scientific evidence in support of them,
- The question over further regulation of activities in the OCS, already intensely regulated, and
- The large number of proposed sanctuaries, and enormous size of some of them.

It is probably not a coincidence that most of the marine sanctuaries nominated to date are in the vicinity of those areas designated in the Interior Department's five-year plan for offshore oil and gas lease sales.



CONCLUSION

Elsewhere in this paper, we discussed four unrelated programs that would withdraw public land—onshore and off—from mineral exploration and development. But since 1976 more than 1,200 individual bills to withdraw additional land were brought before Congress.

Repeated efforts to turn to the courts for relief have failed. Consistently, the courts have ruled as if they cannot question the wisdom of what Congress enacts.

Unfortunately, the Commerce Department is embarked in one direction, Interior in another, the Forest Service in a third. Meanwhile, Congress, through its multi-jurisdictioned committees, enacts program after program. So far, no one has taken an intelligent look at the net effect of the entire situation.

What Should Our Lawmakers Do?

It is imperative that Congress and the administrative bureaus begin to grapple with the problem as a whole. Failure to address land use on a coordinated national basis will result in a continued and spiraling reliance on foreign energy, and an attendant decline in the quality of American life.

There is *only one* way to determine the

extent of the oil and gas resources which underlie America's lands—explore and test.

That means human presence is required. Seismic and drilling equipment has to be brought on site. Yet this cannot be done where a series of Catch 22's block the ability to determine whether the resource exists, let alone develop it.

For the great majority of public lands, more consideration must be given to "multiple use" in land and ocean management. This concept, already established in principle by several federal agencies, maximizes the benefits of a given area for as many segments of the public as possible. Where "multiple use" is permitted, everybody wins. Hiking trails can follow a buried pipeline right-of-way, and wildlife can coexist with energy development.

Multiple use is the essence of a good conservation program.

The nation needs wilderness areas, marine sanctuaries, wildlife refuges, and it needs scenic rivers safe from intrusions by the works of man.

But *the nation also needs energy*. And, in this case, both goals can be achieved.

By closing promising areas in the U.S. to exploration for oil and natural gas, we are

asking for increased dependence on foreign energy supplies.

Development doesn't mean destruction, but it does mean human progress.

The government agencies attempting to withdraw lands from development disregard the fact that lands can be developed without permanent impairment. In fact, Standard Oil of California and its family of Chevron companies are committed to this style of operation. Those same agencies further disregard the desirable economic benefits which development would provide to the American public.

Consider the following: Withdrawal cuts into the supply of available timber and, because of this, fewer homes can be built or finished goods made available. In time, such shortages result in price escalation. With less use of domestic resources, we become more dependent on obtaining products from abroad. This not only exacerbates the balance of payments problem but also creates fear and uncertainty in the knowledge that foreign sources are unreliable.

Clearly, development of the resources located on our public lands is in the public interest.

MAJOR PUBLIC LAWS AFFECTING USE OF ONSHORE FEDERAL LANDS

PRIOR TO 1960

Mining Law of 1872, as amended, 30 U.S.C. 22.

Antiquities Act of 1906, 16 U.S.C. 431-3.

Pickett Act of 1910, as amended, 43 U.S.C. 141, 142.

Mineral Leasing Act of 1920, as amended, 30 U.S.C. 181, 182.

Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act, as amended, 16 U.S.C. 661-667e.

Historic Sites, Buildings, and Antiquities Act, 16 U.S.C. 461-467.

1960 AND AFTER

Multiple-Use Sustained-Yield Act of 1960, 16 U.S.C. 528-531.

Clean Air Act, as amended, 42 U.S.C. 7401-7642.

National Wilderness Preservation System Act of 1964, 16 U.S.C. 1131-1136.

National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, 16 U.S.C. 470-470t.

Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, 16 U.S.C. 1271-1287.

National Trails System Act, 16 U.S.C. 1241-1249.

National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, as amended, 42 U.S.C. 4321-4361.

Geothermal Steam Act of 1970, 30 U.S.C. 1001-1025.

Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, 43 U.S.C. 1601-1628.

Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972, as amended, 16 U.S.C. 1451-1464.

Marine Protection, Research, and Sanctuaries Act of 1972, 33 U.S.C. 1420.

Endangered Species Act, as amended, 16 U.S.C. 1531-1543.

National Forest Management Act of 1976, 16 U.S.C. 1600-1614.

Safe Drinking Water Act of 1974, as amended, 42 U.S.C. 300f-300j-10.

Archaeological and Historic Data Conservation Act, 16 U.S.C. 469-469c.

Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976, 43 U.S.C. 1701-1782.

Resource Conservation and Recovery Act of 1976, 42 U.S.C. 6901-6987.

Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act of 1976, 42 U.S.C. 6244, 6501-6507.

Federal Mine Safety and Health Act of 1977, 30 U.S.C. 801 et seq.

Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977, as amended, 30 USC 1201 et seq.

Clean Water Act of 1977, 33 U.S.C. 1251-1376.

Endangered American Wilderness Act of 1978, 16 U.S.C. 1132.

REDUCE OUR DEBT
P.O. Box 29021
PHOENIX, AZ 85038