

## Americans for Energy Independence: Independence from Whom?

Americans for Energy Independence (AEI), a nonprofit group that bills itself as supporting "maximum feasible production of all forms of energy," has been charged with being a front for the nuclear industry by several of its staff members who resigned in a major organizational upheaval in mid-September.

AEI is among the better-known citizens' groups that have sprung up in response to the energy crisis. Since it began operating in June, it has been best known for the urgings of its president, former Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., that America should attain energy self-sufficiency "in the same way that President Kennedy led us in the race to the moon." The group sponsors research, plans to issue position papers, and has some 200 public members.

But on 10 September, Zumwalt resigned, citing a dispute over his authority with the board of directors as one reason. A second was his view that the United States should attain energy independence "without favoring one domestic source of energy at the expense of another." Zumwalt was not available for comment, but his associates interpret the latter statement as a none-too-veiled reference to the strong pronuclear attitudes of others active in the organization.

Zumwalt resigned in a dispute with Zalman M. Shapiro, manager of fusion research and systems for Westinghouse Electric Corporation, a firm that is one of the nation's principal manufacturers of nuclear reactors. Shapiro was instrumental in founding AEI earlier this year and since has been active as chairman of a star-studded, six-member executive committee that oversees AEI on behalf of an equally illustrious board of directors.\*

The immediate issue was whether Zumwalt, rather than the executive committee, had the authority to hire a permanent staff director for AEI. Zumwalt had contracted

with a candidate, a former Navy officer now working on Capitol Hill, B. Waring Partridge. Afterward, however, Shapiro, aided by Milton Shaw, an AEI adviser who for years directed the nuclear reactor development program for the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), interviewed Partridge at Westinghouse's offices in Pittsburgh and decided to block the appointment.

At an executive committee meeting on 10 September, the committee voted three to two (with one abstention), that Zumwalt should not have hired Partridge. Immediately, Zumwalt resigned, as did Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, his sole ally in the vote, 2 days later. Within a week, four of the seven staff members of AEI had also resigned. Endicott Peabody, the former Massachusetts governor and executive committee member, says the spate of resignations made it look doubtful for a time that AEI would survive.

Shapiro told *Science* his objection to Partridge was his lack of a technical background and that "he was inadequately acquainted with any aspect of the energy question, in our view."

Some Zumwalt staffers allege that what Shapiro wanted was "his own boy," rather than Zumwalt's, in the job. Bruns Grayson, the temporary staff director who has since resigned, says, "There was no way Shapiro would ever have supported Partridge even if he had gone up there tap dancing and singing a song about neutrons."

Others believe, as another staffer said, that AEI "is a front for the nuclear power lobby." At stake in the Shapiro-Zumwalt clash was whether Shapiro's pronuclear views, or Zumwalt's stance on energy—which has stressed a balance of energy source development as well as conservation—would prevail in AEI's activities. Like any brand new citizens' organization, AEI had to decide which issues to address, what positions to adopt on them,

and which questions to ignore. And, in the energy field, where giant, multimillion dollar corporations do battle for public support and government favors, large stakes can be involved in the sometimes small decisions made by such independent organizations.

Zumwalt's view of AEI, as expressed in his speeches, congressional testimony, and press interviews seemed to stress rapid development of coal and uranium as domestic sources of energy. He also urged Congress to place "maximum emphasis" on conservation. A friend of a partly nuclear Navy before he retired in 1974, Zumwalt as president of AEI was no foe of nuclear power; he urged Congress to "oversee the resolution of issues that tend to delay the use of nuclear power."

But Zumwalt also sought to avoid exclusively favoring nuclear power over other sources; when a *New York Times* reporter in July queried him about the fact that AEI had received two major grants of \$25,000 each from Westinghouse and General Electric, the country's two major builders of nuclear reactors, Zumwalt replied that, nonetheless, AEI "would not become a party to the programs of special interest groups." (The remainder of AEI's \$200,000 budget has been contributed largely by public utilities.)

But this stance seems at variance with that of Shapiro, Shaw, and other nuclear power advocates who have been active in the organization. For example, Grayson, who occupied a central position as day-to-day manager of AEI, charges that Shapiro would often telephone the staff, bypassing Zumwalt, to urge that AEI refute nuclear safety critic Ralph Nader. Shapiro tried to get Zumwalt to debate Nader publicly, Grayson says, but without success.

Shapiro denies ever having tried to get Zumwalt to debate Nader, although he says that Nader's position is certainly contrary to AEI's and "provokes debate."

Former staffers cite other instances in which a pronuclear bias reared its head. Grayson at one time sought to arrange a meeting between Zumwalt and Henry Kendall, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology physicist who as chairman of the Union of Concerned Scientists has criticized aspects of nuclear power development. Grayson says that Peabody tried to kill the idea by telling him that Kendall "can't do us any good. He's not on our side." As it happened, Zumwalt never met with Kendall after all.

Shapiro denies that the organization has been exclusively pronuclear. "We are pronuclear, but we represent a broader view by advocating other feasible energy sources such as coal and natural gas.

\*Board of directors (boldface indicates members of the executive committee): I. W. Abel, President, United Steelworkers of America; **Hans Bethe**, Cornell University; Richard M. Cyert, President, Carnegie-Mellon University; Evelyn Dubrow, Legislative Director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; James Finn, Editor, *Worldview*; Harold Greenwald; Dorothy I. Height, National President, National Council of Negro Women; Robert Hofstadter, Stanford University; Joseph D. Keenan, International Secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; **Lane Kirkland**, Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO; Philip Klutznick, Chairman, Research & Policy Committee for the Committee for Economic Development; Dixy Lee Ray, former Chairman, Atomic Energy Committee; Louis Martin; Vice President, Sengstacke Newspapers; Hans Morgenthau, New School for Social Studies; **Robert R. Nathan**, Robert R. Nathan, Inc.; **Endicott Peabody**, former governor of Massachusetts; Esther Peterson, Giant Food Stores; James Ramey, Vice President, Stone & Webster Engineering Corp.; Bayard Rustin, President, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Leonard Sagan, Stanford University; John Schiff, Kuhn, Loeb and Co.; **Zalman M. Shapiro**, Manager, Fusion Power Systems, Westinghouse Electric Corp.; Joseph Sternstein, Temple Beth Shalom, New Jersey; **E. R. Zumwalt, Jr.**, Admiral, U.S. Navy (Retired).

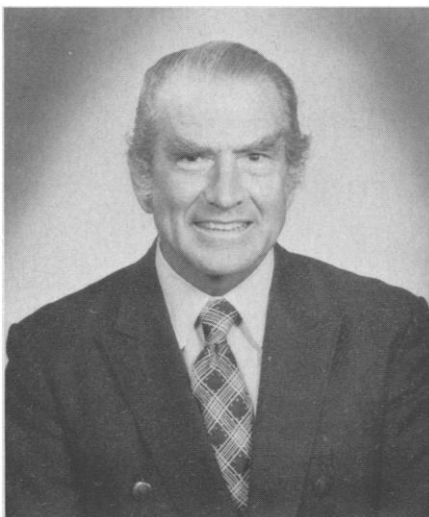
Nuclear energy is not the sole solution."

But the feature of AEI that even Peabody admits can give the impression of a pronuclear bias is the exclusive reliance of the group on the expertise of nuclear power advocates and upon Westinghouse. The board of directors, for example, includes bankers, lawyers, a rabbi, a consumer representative, and a college president. But all of its technical experts are identified with the nuclear field. And the only director not on the executive committee whose name has been mentioned in recent events is James Ramey, the longtime AEC commissioner, who was invited to the Partridge interview at Westinghouse but could not attend.

Similarly, AEI's advisory committee has experts on coal, public health, and even a researcher at the Library of Congress. But Shaw is the only advisory committee member who has attended committee meetings, participated in the Partridge interview, and has used AEI's Arlington, Virginia, office space.

The hand of Westinghouse is also evident in AEI. Several AEI advisory committee scientists are from Westinghouse. For 2 months Westinghouse loaned one of its employees, John Gordon, to the AEI staff while paying his salary, until AEI decided it should pay him. Gordon is still working at AEI.

Peabody, who became secretary of AEI early in the year, registered in May at the U.S. Capitol records office as a lobbyist for Westinghouse, on behalf of his Washington law firm, Peabody, Rivlin, and Lambert. Peabody continues with the firm



*Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.*

while holding the job of AEI's acting president on a temporary basis. He explains that his law partner, Lewis A. Rivlin, has represented Westinghouse for many years on several matters including its nuclear activities.

Explaining the involvement of nuclear experts and of Westinghouse in AEI, Peabody says, "Shapiro had a lot to do with putting this whole thing together. When anyone embarks on putting something together, who do they go to first? Their friends, their family. That's what I do in politics. Shapiro went to his friends."

Peabody is adamant that the organization should also include support and board members from the coal and gas industries and from the small, independent oil companies. Despite Kirkland's resignation

from the executive committee and from the board, Peabody is also convinced of the need for labor representatives to remain involved as well.

What, after all the fuss, *does* AEI stand for? Since it has had so little time to do anything of substance, its leaders' speeches are the best guide for outsiders. Peabody's maiden speech as acting president, given on 17 September to the American Nuclear Society, repeated Zumwalt's emphasis on an immediate Apollo-style effort towards national energy self-sufficiency.

Unlike Zumwalt, however, Peabody lashed out at environmentalists, blaming them for Congress's recent delay in passing a national energy plan and saying that their crusade "has by now gone beyond the limits of even the purest reason."

Peabody also played down conservation, saying that "per se, it can only buy us time." He went farther and decried "exotic" technologies, saying that Americans were being "sold a marshmallow" if they thought "fusion, solar power, geothermal energy, oil shale, tidal power, and windmills are going to bail us out."

Policies which Peabody advocated instead were to "expedite construction of the Alaskan pipeline, offshore oil drilling, production of oil from shale, and speeding up the building of coal and nuclear power plants, as well as allowing more strip mining for coal."

It remains to be seen, in the wake of the recent turmoil in the little organization, whether it can pick up the pieces in the months to come.

—DEBORAH SHAPLEY

## Pauling Gets Medal of Science: Thaw Between Scientists and White House

Signs of a new era of good feeling between the White House and the scientific community could be divined from the National Medal of Science ceremonies at the White House on 18 September. For one thing, the 13 scientists and engineers chosen for the honor included Linus C. Pauling, to whom the Nixon White House twice denied the Medal of Science apparently because of his stand against the Vietnam war and his earlier involvement in the Cold War controversies of the 1950's. For another, Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, who spoke briefly at an elaborate

luncheon given for the medalists, went out of his way to indicate that the President is eager to see the position of presidential science adviser restored to the White House, and that the legislation Congress sends him on that score will be sympathetically received.

The Medal of Science ceremony, which took place at noon in the East Room of the White House, began with President Ford extolling the "spirit of science" and touching on something he knew to be close to the hearts and minds of the scientists and science administrators present—the R & D

budget. In fiscal 1976, he said, federal funds for civilian R & D will rise to over \$7.3 billion, up 12 percent over 1975 (in fact, a good part of the increase will be needed simply to compensate for inflation). "It is impossible to measure accurately the benefits of our research efforts to the nation and to the world," the President added. "We do know, however, that our achievements will be far-reaching and profound. We can be absolutely certain that new products and improved productivity will flow from them. Our nation's future and that of the world depends on the genius of men and women, such as those we honor today."

H. Guyford Stever, who now doubles as director of the National Science Foundation and as science adviser to the President, then read the citations as the President shook hands with the medalists, two of whom could not be present personally. The citation for Pauling referred to the "extraordinary scope and power of his

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