Department of Energy: Opposition Rises as the Plan Leaks Out

No other issue has been dramatized as starkly as energy this year. To wage "the moral equivalent of war" on the energy problem, the Carter Administration has indicated for months that it would put together a bold, innovative agency equal to the huge task of developing new energy sources and reducing the national energy appetite. The secretary-designate of the proposed Department of Energy (DOE), James Schlesinger, has said from the beginning that he is not wedded to any particular energy source, nuclear or otherwise, but Washington watchers have insisted for some time that the true test of new directions would be found in the closely kept details of the organizational structure and proposed nominations for the new department.

Schlesinger has been adamant about keeping the details of the organization plans secret, insisting that only agency heads can see them and only then by coming to the offices of the DOE activation task force. He was apparently hoping by this to present Congress with a fait accompli to avoid criticism from the Hill. But as the 1 October christening day for the new department draws near, some details have been leaked and the plan has been quickly provoking opposition in Congress, particularly among members favorable to solar energy.

The picture that is emerging is one of an agency streamlined for action along functional rather than technical lines. There are no organization blocks titled fossil fuel, nuclear power, or solar energy. The department is organized more in groupings decided by the sort of public policy issues various programs are likely to confront. The plan bears all the marks of preparation by economists and lawyers, and the technologists appear to have lost the fight for influence over the outcome. The product no doubt reflects Schlesinger's background as an economist, but the technically oriented research managers are not happy with the result.

Just as the appointment of Schlesinger to the DOE cabinet slot was a predetermined choice, the nomination of John O'Leary as deputy secretary—number two slot in the department—was also no surprise. O'Leary is a veteran of many posts as a Washington energy administrator, who has worked closely with Schlesinger all year and is head of the policy-oriented Federal Energy Administration (FEA).

What comes as more of a surprise is the choice for the number three administrator, the undersecretary, who may have more influence over specific programs and day-to-day affairs than the deputy secretary. According to the proposed DOE plan, referred to by Schlesinger's office as the "strawman" organization chart, the undersecretary will serve as "general manager" over five of the eight assistant secretaries most directly involved with energy development. Apart from the two regulatory boards, the eight assistant secretaries will serve as line administrators over the department's programs. The new department will completely subsume into its structure the FEA and the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), plus parts of existing Cabinet departments related to energy. When it comes into being next month, with an annual budget of $10.5 billion and nearly 20,000 employees, the energy department will be the seventh most expensive federal agency.

The Undersecretary and the B-1

The man chosen for the powerful undersecretary post, *Science* has learned, is a career aerospace executive with ties to the nuclear industry, described by acquaintances as a "super-manager." He is Dale D. Meyers, formerly director of manned spaceflight at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and now vice-president of Rockwell International, where he heads North American Aviation, the Rockwell subsidiary which produces the B-1 bomber. Meyers is known as an effective administrator who saw NASA through its high point to the end of the Apollo are not well known, but Rockwell owns a major nuclear enterprise. As president of North American Aviation, Meyers presided directly over Rockwell's nuclear division, Atomics International, which holds large contracts for work on the government's fast-breeder program. Atomics International has an ongoing $20 million annual contract to manage the federal government's liquid-metal engineering center in the Santa Susanna mountains near Canoga Park, California. It has also had large contracts to supply components for the Clinch River demonstration breeder reactor. When Carter announced in his energy message that he was canceling work on Clinch River, Meyer's directorate at Rockwell had 680 employees working on the project. This personnel problem was dwarfed by the effect of Carter's decision not to go ahead with the B-1, a decision that displaced 8000 Rockwell employees.

Those who have talked with Meyers say he does not plan to play the role of an advocate. One specialist characterizes him as an "energy naive" but tough and management-oriented administrator.

The functions of the undersecretary, according to the DOE plan, are to assist the secretary, coordinate field activities, and exercise "primary cognizance" as general manager over the programs that comprise the core of the department's activities. The deputy secretary's role appears to be more that of a policy adviser, external spokesman, and adviser on issues affecting the entire department. He explicitly has responsibility for policy and evaluation, regulatory matters, and energy information. Thus it is possible that the third-ranking undersecretary may become "Mr. Inside" while the second ranking Deputy in time becomes "Mr. Outside."

The concept of the organization is that policy, evaluation, and management are "basic, separate, but interrelated functions," and that while technological development is a continuum, "different managerial skills are needed along the way." Thus there is an assistant secretary for energy technology, who will oversee long-term R & D, but when a project is judged ready for commercial application it will be passed on to an assistant secretary for resource application. Solar energy programs, however, will be passed to the assistant secretary for conservation. The 15 projects identified by the DOE planners for early transfer are all designed for alternative fossil fuel production. About $300 million in funds from ERDA's fossil energy program will go directly to the resource applications group.

The solar programs that are already operating on a demonstration mode—solar heating and cooling, plus solar agricultural and industrial applications—will be placed in the conservation group, along with the office of small-scale technology, which does not now exist but which Carter promised in his April mes-

sage. All other solar technologies, including wind and photovoltaics, will remain with the bulk of ERDA's fossil and nuclear programs in the energy technology group.

Since the energy technology group will administer one-quarter of the new agency's funds, the choice of its assistant administrator will be an important one. If the position were to go to a recognized nuclear power advocate—the name of ERDA's breeder chief has been suggested—the choice would give nuclear interests influence in two key positions.

Names that have been suggested as possible nominees for other assistant secretary posts are Hazel Rollins, now head of conservation at FEA, for the conservation slot; Les Goldman at FEA for the head of resource applications (Goldman now directs the FEA fossil fuel program); and James Liverman, who is now head of environment at ERDA, for the assistant secretary for environment.

These four assistant secretaries, along with the assistant for defense programs, who will manage all the nuclear weapons development now done by ERDA, and the director of the Office of Energy Research (*Science*, 13 August), will make up the five-core programs managed by the undersecretary—in DOE jargon they are to be called "outlay programs." The additional three assistant secretaries will be for policy and evaluation, international affairs, and governmental and public affairs.

Congress gave Schlesinger power to organize the DOE virtually any way he wanted when it sent the DOE bill out of conference in late July, and since then he has informed only a few key committee chairmen of his plans. The timing of the White House's final decision-making on the plan was such that it was completed before most of Congress returned from the August recess. But some of those few members in town bridled last week, and Senators Haskell (D–Colo.) and Hart (D–Colo.), along with Representative Jeffords (R–Vt.) and Ottinger (D–N.Y.), challenged the new DOE plan, and its treatment of solar energy in particular. More opposition may be expected in the coming weeks, as the Senate passes on the various nominees.

Perhaps the biggest question now is how much the White House staff, Schlesinger, and O'Leary will act to counteract the program structure of the department, which seems set up for business as usual, albeit with an accelerated coal program. As the creation of a president who put solar energy panels on his inaugural reviewing stand, the new department is noticeably lacking in emphasis on alternative and renewable energy sources.—WILLIAM D. METZ

Science in Europe/The Antinuclear Movement Takes Hold

Five months after the announcement of President Carter's nonproliferation policy, the common wisdom in this country is that Europe has hardly wavered in its rush toward nuclear power. The cry that "Europe will do what it wants whether the United States builds a breeder or not" is often heard from American nuclear interests, with apparent justification as the State Department has shown little visible progress in negotiating new agreements and some signs of retreating from its original goals.

But popular protest against nuclear power has reached a pitch in Europe that would be barely imaginable today in this country, and the political strength of the antinuclear forces has become formidable, not only in Sweden where nuclear power was a pivotal issue last year, but across the continent. West Germany's research minister recently predicted that that country's two ruling coalition parties will vote for a complete moratorium on nuclear construction when they meet this fall, and some observers predict that any moratorium contingent on creation of a waste disposal site could last up to 12 years. Beyond public opposition, the plutonium breeder is running into trouble in Germany for many of the same reasons it has in the United States; program delays, safety concerns, and cost overruns threaten to undermine the claim that it can one day become an economically competitive energy source.

Nuclear opposition is far from being a single-issue movement in Europe, as groups of many political persuasions embrace it for their own reasons. But as the following report by Nigel Hawkes details, the Carter administration policy is not the only thing holding back nuclear power in Europe.—W.D.M.

After Europe's biggest and bloodiest antinuclear demonstration (one dead, more than 100 injured) at the site of France's first commercial fast breeder reactor, the antinuclear groups face some difficult decisions. The violence of the last weekend in July, when more than 20,000 demonstrators battled with 5000 French riot police at Creys-Malville, near Lyon, has played into the hands of the French and German governments, who like to portray antinuclear campaigners as extremist misfits more interested in attacking the structure of the state than in opposing nuclear power.

This charge is particularly damaging in West Germany, where the terrorist and anarchist fringe is again active. It was the same weekend as the Creys-Malville demonstration that a West German banker, Herr Jurgens Ponto, was shot dead by terrorists at his home near Frankfurt. And although some of the violence at Creys-Malville can be laid at the feet of the French riot police, there is no doubt that the taint of extremism is damaging the antinuclear cause.

The week after Creys-Malville, the German antinuclear groups took stock and named their next two targets—a nuclear site at Phillipsburg, near the French border, and the site at Kalkar, on the Rhine, where Germany's own fast breeder prototype, the SNR-300, is being built. To try to avoid violence, both these demonstrations will be preceded by an attempt at public education; demonstrators will be lectured on the facts behind the antinuclear campaign and urged to avoid violence at all costs.

Good intentions, however, are unlikely to be enough. While the environmental and antinuclear groups may be able to control their own supporters, they will find it more difficult to shrug off the revolutionary and anarchist groups who have attached themselves to the cause. It was one of these groups, a so-called "commando" unit led by Germans, that has been blamed for sparking off the Creys-Malville violence. Wearing helmets and