izing gas which would give them added strength. The Point Beach 1 plant will remain shut down until December.)

In all probability, the AEC's new position in the matter of emergency cooling will receive a mixed reaction from critics within the agency. On the one hand, the new testimony candidly acknowledges flaws and gaps in existing knowledge of ECCS performance. But at the same time it stops short of still more conservative positions held by a number of safety researchers—so short, in fact, that some critics believe that the agency's new position represents little more than a sop to dissidents.

"It takes the industry to the hurting point," says one. "But it stops short of measures that might cause real economic pain."

Moreover, there is a great deal of skepticism as to whether nuclear plants would actually be forced to cut power under the new guidelines. The AEC has not yet applied them to a real reactor, not even for a trial run just to see what happens. And in any case, one source confides, "you can probably juggle the numbers to make your system come out right."

Nevertheless, it can at least be said that the AEC's regulatory staff is talking with safety researchers out in the laboratories. And that has not always been the case.—ROBERT GILLETTE

West Virginia: Strip Mining Issue in Moore-Rockefeller Race

Charleston, West Virginia. The race for the governorship in West Virginia is noteworthy for having an environmental question—strip mining—as a major campaign issue. But the West Virginia campaign has been attracting national attention not because of the debate over the orphan banks, but because one of the candidates is John D. Rockefeller IV.

"Jay" Rockefeller, 35, is challenging incumbent governor Arch A. Moore, Jr., 49, a Republican with a record of winning elections in the predominantly Democratic border state. Moore was a six-term congressman when he won the governorship in 1968 as Hubert Humphrey carried West Virginia against Richard Nixon. Moore is asking the voters to reelect "a good governor" and is seeking to project the image of an energetic executive. When he refers to Rockefeller, it is usually by some term such as "wonder boy," and then only to deprecate his youth and inexperience. Moore is a formidable campaigner, and polls, public and private, indicate a very close election.

For Rockefeller, the campaign represents the first major political test for a young man whose biography seems to reflect a deliberate preparation for public life. In the background are Exeter and Harvard and 3 years of study and teaching in Japan. In the early 1960's, he went to Washington to work first as an assistant to Sargent Shriver at the Peace Corps and then in the Far East section of the State Department—almost pro forma experience at the time for someone of Rockefeller's generation and connections.

Then in 1964, as the Johnsonian war on poverty began, Rockefeller went to West Virginia to live in a mining area and work as a community organizer. After 2 years, he ran successfully for a seat in the lower house of the West Virginia legislature on the not unreasonable grounds that he could accomplish more as a legislator than as a community action worker. A Rockefeller in electoral politics is not, of course, a new phenomenon. Jay Rockefeller's Uncle Nelson is, after all, governor of New York and his Uncle Winthrop was governor of Arkansas, but they are Republicans and Jay is unmistakably, and it seems irrevocably, a Democrat—and that is a novelty for a Rockefeller.

In 1968, Jay Rockefeller ran a vigorous statewide campaign for Secretary of State and again won decisively. Both the powers and the demands of the office are modest, but Rockefeller has made the most of the job, particularly in exercising the Secretary of State's responsibilities in election matters to purge the rolls of thousands of the phantom voters that tend to be summoned up on election day in West Virginia. Last January, not unexpectedly, he announced for the governorship and proceeded with the kind of indefatigable campaigning that has come to be expected of him. In the Democratic primary last spring, running against two opponents, he won over 70 percent of the vote and was victor in every county.

The chief issue in the primary was Rockefeller's stand advocating abolition of strip mining in West Virginia. His two Democratic opponents keyed in on the issue until it became clear that they were playing to his strength. In two other primary races, anti–strip mining candidates won big victories. Democratic Representative Ken Hechler defeated another incumbent congressman, James Kee, in a primary shootout caused by redistricting. An even bigger surprise was the defeat by a young Democratic challenger of an apparently entrenched state senator who happens to be one of the leading independent strip mining operators in West Virginia.

In the general election campaign, the strip mine issue has not dominated. Moore has proclaimed himself a strong reclamationist and, while affirming the economic importance of strip mining to the state, has not taken the Rockefeller position as a special target. For his part, Rockefeller has concentrated on plans to help create jobs and to improve secondary roads, needs that he argues have been neglected by the Moore administration. There are indications, however, that Rockefeller will be hitting harder on the strip mine issue in speeches in the closing phase of the campaign. References to his stand in his speeches draw a strong response, and any candidate likes to fire up the audiences as election day nears.

Rockefeller, of course, did not inject strip mining into West Virginia politics. State regulation of surface mining goes back to the late 1930's, and a major political showdown occurred in 1967, resulting in enactment of what is generally regarded as one of the stronger state regulatory laws. That law requires operators to obtain permits for each site

to be strip-mined, to provide plans of operation, and to advertise their intentions. The law also details requirements for drainage, regrading, and revegetation of strip-mined areas.

Stricter legislation, led, ironically, to the rise of a serious movement for the abolition of strip mining. Critics claim that litigation by strip mine operators, delays in developing administrative rules to implement the law, and, most of all, lax enforcement by state authorities have undercut the law. As a result, it is argued, damage from strip mining has actually increased in recent years, and sentiment has polarized.

Observers say that the new abolition sentiment was put to the test for the first time, politically, in the 1970 elections, when Si Galperin, a candidate for the state senate from the Charleston area, made abolition a principal issue in his successful campaign. Hechler also made no bones about his views on strip mining. It was about this same time that conservationists and environmentalists began to line up solidly on the issue. One significant development was the formation of a statewide organization, Citizens to Abolish Strip Mining, Inc. (CASM). Formed essentially as a lobbying and political action organization, CASM's ends are precisely what the name implies. Its membership is made up of organizations and individuals with environmental interests. CASM endorsed a number of candidates in the primary and is said to have been effective in at least several races. For the general election, CASM recently endorsed a slate of candidates, including Rockefeller and Hechler and some 55 candidates for the 100-member state House of Delegates. CASM, however, appears to be taking a less active role now than in the primary.

As for Rockefeller's conversion to an abolition stand, he recalls that it was a gradual process. As a volunteer worker in Kanawha and Boone counties, both strip mine territory, he was aware of strip mining but not acutely concerned about it. As a freshman legislator during the 1967 strip mine fight, he was sympathetic to efforts to control strip mining, but was more deeply involved in other issues, such as the effort to improve water quality legislation.

A year and a half later, however, when he was getting around the state in his campaign for Secretary of State, he was struck by the cumulative effect of surface mining. He says he decided to work out his own position on strip mining based on a full study of the subject. Characteristically, he asked three people on his staff to look into the issue independently and not to compare notes until the study was completed. He says he reached his own decision even before discussing the matter with the others, however.

"Jay" Rockefeller campaigning in Fayette County, West Virginia. [Photo by Jean Abounader]

In January 1970, he issued a full statement with the reasoning behind his declaration for abolition.

The following excerpts are major points in the statement:

I spent hundreds of hours making a variety of field trips—by car, on foot, and by helicopter. I went to strip mining operations both north and south of the Kanawha River. I listened to the views of operators, conservation groups, unions, state government officials, federal and state reclamation people, Corps of Engineer experts, water experts, and soil experts. I read the literature, studied our laws and other states' laws, did research on the economic and job significance of the industry. I saw the new and the old—the bad and the better. . . .

The dilemma is a classic one: West Virginia needs both its job opportunities and its natural beauty. State policy should try to preserve both. In this case, however, I see no way to do that. I am convinced—reluctantly but strongly—that strip mining of coal in West Virginia must be prohibited by law, completely and forever. And I will work for that statutory prohibition in the coming session of the legislature. . . .

Our enforcement history in West Virginia has not been a distinguished one, and there is no reason to rely on an adequate change of pattern and budgeting now. In any event, the Reclamation Division will be needed to work on the tens of thousands of acres of presently unreclaimed, strip-mined land. . . .

I am deeply concerned about the number of jobs—both direct and indirect—involved in prohibiting strip mining. But I might note that one reason stripping is so profitable is that it has a low employment factor relative to deep mining. One man stripping can do what two or three men can do deep mining. Therefore, if strip mining is abolished, thus forcing an even greater investment of capital and men into deep mining, the employment picture in West Virginia will soon improve. . . .

Neither America nor West Virginia will always be able to have it both ways—all the energy they want and all the beauty and tranquility they want. It isn't often, particularly in West Virginia, that anything as intangible and basic as beauty and the quality of life can stand their ground against economic and political interests. But in this case, the political process must function in behalf of this and future generations, in order that they may have beauty and tranquility. And, in the process, we may give encouragement to other states, such as Kentucky, Ohio, and Wyoming.

Rockefeller is pledged to seek abolition if he is elected governor. But the necessary action could only be taken by the legislature. And with the legislature constituted as it is likely to be after the election, particularly with a conservative senate, the immediate prospects for abolition appear, as even Rockefeller himself concedes, "not too sharp."

Rockefeller seems to feel that other important environmental issues have been overlooked in the campaign—water pollution and air pollution, for example. And he says that, as governor, he would seek to shift final administrative authority over air pollution control from an appointive commission to the governor's office.

Some environmentalists feel that Rockefeller's anti–strip mining ardor has cooled, but others, like Richard Austin, see Rockefeller's commitment to abolition in a special light. Austin is a Presbyterian minister who has worked for several years in his church's West Virginia Mountain Project and lives in heavily strip-mined Boone County.

Austin sees the gubernatorial campaign as "the beginning of the real debate on abolition. There's no talk about anything else. We've tried regulation and it isn't working. It's too much to ask a small, weak state government to take on the coal industry.

"There are broader implications," says Austin. "It's the first time any political campaigner in West Virginia has tried to put the coal industry in its place. It comes down to the issue of whether West Virginians are ready to take on a dominant industry. Only a person like Rockefeller, with an independent source of income, security, could lead that battle. Jay didn't intend to take on the coal industry in frontal confrontation, but he hasn't ducked it."

John D. Rockefeller IV as economic giant killer is unlikely casting, and Rockefeller himself, in fact, takes special pains in every speech to emphasize that he is "not against the coal industry." Stressing that he opposes only strip mining, he says, "I believe firmly and everlastingly in the deep mine industry."

Rockefeller acknowledges that abolition of strip mining would cost jobs—about 5500 jobs are said to be directly involved. But he says that strip miners have skills that would allow them to be successfully redeployed in construction and road building jobs. He also suggests that more jobs would be opened up in deep mining.

In his speeches, Rockefeller stresses a "people first philosophy." Asked whether this, combined with the hard things he says about the strip mine industry, makes him any sort of populist, Rockefeller answers as if he's accustomed to the question: "I don't want to break down the economic structure," he says, and notes that he differs with Oklahoma Senator Fred Harris. "He would say help the people by lessening the power of industry," says Rockefeller, "I say increase the power of the people."

What do the people of West Virginia think? A visitor after a few days of observation and conversation gains the impression that the main issue in the governor's race is not the environment or employment, but Jay Rockefeller and his relationship to the state and the people.

The contrasts between natural beauty and human poverty in West Virginia make it easy for the outsider to see the state in terms of nature violated and people abused. In national politics, the state acquired a special symbolism after the West Virginia primary in 1960 started the dominoes falling on the way to the presidency for John Kennedy. Kennedy's experience in West Virginia affected the urbane, urban politician in a special way, and the state has subsequently touched a lot of outsiders in a similar way.

Question of Motivation

Whatever brought Rockefeller to West Virginia in the first place—some latter-day form of noblesse oblige or, as his partisans suggest, the times and the accidents of friendship—he will probably never be able to disprove entirely the suggestions that he came to the state to exert the Rockefeller wealth and energy in order to take over West Virginia as a staging area for a career in national politics.

Rockefeller deals with the question of his ambition directly enough in his basic campaign speech, talking about his 8 years in the state and saying, "My future is here, my life is here," and insisting that even if he loses the election he'll stay in West Virginia. As for his wealth, in every speech he says, "I'm a free man, uncontrolled"; nobody misses what he's driving at.

Rockefeller was able to move rapidly into a position of leadership in the state Democratic organization without being resented much for claim jumping. The Democratic party had been rocked by scandals emanating from the capitol during the early-1960's administration of Governor "Wally" Barron, who is currently serving time on a jury-tampering conviction. Rockefeller, in moving into the leadership, helped turn over a new leaf for the party. He is still regarded with suspicion, however, in some of the county courthouses, where local political power resides in West Virginia. In rural West Virginia, after all, venality among politicians has long been regarded as inevitable, and the individual's vote as having a legitimate cash value. There are anti-Rockefeller Democrats who feel threatened by Rockefeller the reformer and others who simply resent his wealth and youth and rapid rise.

The current Rockefeller campaign is certainly professionally organized and abundantly financed. And after handshaking and speaking his way across almost literally every inhabited foot of West Virginia, Rockefeller has developed into an effective campaigner. But his opponent is also well-financed and is a doughty and experienced campaigner.

One thing the Rockefeller wealth has made possible which most aspirants to office cannot command is a personal research staff separate from his political organization. This staff, which has been fully functioning for at least 2 years, consists of about a half dozen professionals in such fields as regional development, public administration, and economics. They were chosen for expertise and experience, particularly as related to problems of economic development, government organization, and finance in West Virginia.

The personal staff operates independently of the campaign staff and apparently has not been mustered into service for speech writing and other campaign odd jobs. But the personal staff did produce the so-called "Rockefeller Plan," which is aimed at attracting new industry to the state and helping to create 50,000 new jobs. A streamlined version of the plan has become a standard campaign document and talking point, but the unabridged version provides a lot of research and a number of substantive proposals on which Rockefeller could base a legislative program if he were elected governor. The private brain trust is evidence that Rockefeller is interested in substance as well as image and is trying to take care of both.

Two weeks before the election, the most reliable observers in West Virginia were saying that, unless one candidate or the other makes a major mistake or a major strategic coup, the governor's race will be a very close run thing. In almost every speech, Rockefeller says that, win or lose, he won't leave West Virginia. If he loses he will presumably continue his political apprenticeship. If he wins he will be a certified national political figure.—JOHN WALSH