

society. We use hype. And we use those pieces of information that sustain our position. I guess all large organizations do that."

And sometimes when nature needs help the most, environmental groups are busy with other things.

As the tiny Fresno kangaroo rat struggled for survival in the industrialized farmland of California's San Joaquin Valley in the 1990s, for example, the environmental movement did not seem to notice.

As a fisheries conservationist tried to save rare trout species across remote parts of Oregon and Nevada, he found no safety net in major environmental groups.

As sea turtles washed up dead and dying on Texas beaches in 1993, no groups made the turtles their mascot.

"I contacted everybody and nobody listened," said Carole Allen, who rehabilitates turtles injured in fishing nets. "Everybody wants to save dolphins. Turtles aren't popular. It really gets frustrating."

Yet look closely at environmentalism today and you also see promise and prosperity coming together to form a new style of environmentalism—one that is sprouting quietly, community by community, across the United States and is rooted in results, not rhetoric.

"I'm so frustrated with the opportunism and impulsiveness of how groups are going about things," said Steve McCormick, president of The Nature Conservancy, which uses science to target and solve environmental problems. "What's the plan? What are the milestones by which we can measure our success?"

Today's challenges are more subtle and serious than those of the past. Stopping a dam is child's play compared to halting the spread of destructive, non-native species. Protecting old-growth forests from logging is simple; saving them from fire and disease is more difficult.

But as the Bush administration takes control in Washington, many groups are again tuning up sound bites—not drawing up solutions.

There is no clearinghouse for information about environmental groups, no oversight body watching for abuse and assessing job performance. What information exists is scattered among many sources, including the Internal Revenue Service, philanthropic watchdogs, the U.S. Department of Justice and nonprofit trade associations.

Sift through their material and here is what you find:

Donations are at flood stage. In 1999, individuals, companies and foundations gave an average of \$9.6 million a day to environmental groups, according to the National Center for Charitable Statistics, which monitors nonprofit fund raising.

The dollars do not enrich equally. The nation's 20 largest groups—a tiny slice of the more than 8,000 environmental organizations—took in 29 percent of contributions in 1999, according to IRS Form 990 tax records. The top 10 earned spots on the Chronicle of Philanthropy's list of America's wealthiest charities.

The richest is The Nature Conservancy, an Arlington, Va., group that focuses on purchasing land to protect the diversity of species. In 1999, The Nature Conservancy received \$403 million, as much as its six nearest rivals combined: Trust for Public Land, Ducks Unlimited, World Wildlife Fund, Conservation International, National Wildlife Federation and Natural Resources Defense Council.

Forty years ago, the environmental movement was a national policy sideshow. Today,

it is a strong, vocal lobby that weighs in on everything from highway transportation to global trade. Some groups, such as the National Audubon Society and Environmental Defense, are generalists, dabbling in many things. Others, such as Ducks Unlimited and Conservation International, have found success in specialization.

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David Brower, the legendary former Sierra Club leader who led successful battles to keep dams out of Dinosaur National Monument and the Grand Canyon in the 1950s and '60s, said success springs from deeds, not dollars.

"We were getting members because we were doing things," Brower said before he died last year. "Out (strength) came from outings and trips—getting people out. It came from full-page ads and books."

Today, there is a new approach—junk mail and scare tactics.

"Dear Friend, If you've visited a national park recently, then some of the things you're about to read may not surprise you!

"America's National Park System—the first and finest in the world—is in real trouble right now.

"Yellowstone . . . Great Smoky Mountains . . . Grand Canyon . . . Everglades. Wilderness, wildlife, air and water in all these magnificent parks are being compromised by adjacent mining activities, noise pollution, commercial development and other dangerous threats . . ."

So begins a recent fund-raising letter from the National Parks Conservation Association, a 400,000-plus-member organization. The letter goes on to tell of the group's accomplishments, warn of continued threats, ask for money—"15 or more"—and offer something special for signing up. "Free as our welcome-aboard gift . . . The NPCA bean bag bear!"

Let's say you did send in \$15. What would become of it?

According to the group's 1998-99 federal tax form, much of your money would have been routed not to parks but to more fund raising and overhead. Just \$7.62 (51 percent) would have been spent on parks, less than the minimum 60 percent recommended by the American Institute of Philanthropy, a nonprofit charity watchdog group.

And the parks association is not alone.

Five other major groups—including household names such as Greenpeace and the Sierra Club—spend so much on fund raising, membership and overhead they don't meet standards set by philanthropic watchdog groups.

It's not just the cost of raising money that catches attention these days. It is the nature of the fund-raising pitches themselves.

"What works with direct mail? The answer is crisis. Threats and crisis," said Beard, the Audubon Society chief operating officer.

"So what you get in your mailbox is a never-ending stream of crisis-related shrill material designed to evoke emotions so you will sit down and write a check. I think it's a slow walk down a dead-end road. You reach the point where people get turned off." Then he hesitated, adding:

"But I don't want to say direct mail is bad because, frankly, it works."

Even some of those who sign the appeals are uncomfortable with them.

"Candidly, I am tired of The Wilderness Society and other organizations—and we are a culprit here—constantly preaching gloom and doom," said William Meadows, the society's president, whose signature appears on millions of crisis-related solicitations. "We do have positive things to say."

Many environmental groups, The Wilderness Society included, also use a legal accounting loophole to call much of what they spend on fund raising "public education."

In 1999, for instance, The Wilderness Society spend \$1.46 million on a major membership campaign consisting of 6.2 million letters. But when it came time to disclose that bill in its annual report, the society shifted 87 percent—\$1.27 million—to public education. The group also shrank a \$94,411 telemarketing bill by deciding that 71 percent was public education."

The Wilderness Society's spokesman, Ben Beach, said that kind of accounting is appropriate because fund-raising solicitations are educational.

"No one is trying to do anything that isn't right by the rule book here," he said. "A lot of us don't particularly like getting (telemarketing) calls. But that's not to say you don't learn something."

Still, the accounting practice is controversial. Nine of the nation's 20 largest groups don't use it. "Playing games with numbers is not worth the effort or questions that would come from it," said Stephen Howell, chief operating officer at The Nature Conservancy.

"It should be called what it is," said Noonan, the Conservation Fund leader. "As we become larger and more successful, I worry about the ethics of our movement. We need to think about self-regulation and standards. If not, the ones who make mistakes are going to hurt it for all of us."

Dollars can disappear in other ways, of course.

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Comfortable office digs and sumptuous fund-raising banquets are another drain on donor dollars. The Sierra Club spends \$59,473 a month for its office lease in San Francisco. In Washington, Greenpeace pays around \$45,000 a month.

In June 1998, The Nature Conservancy spent more than \$1 million on a single fund-raising bash in New York City's Central Park. Carly Simon and Jimmy Buffett played. Masters of ceremonies included Dan Rather, Peter Jennings, Mike Wallace and Leslie Stahl. Variety magazine reported that the 1,100 guests were treated to a martini bar and a rolling cigar station.

"The goal was to raise (our) profile among high-dollar donors," Conservancy spokesman Mike Horak said in a statement. And it paid off: \$1.8 million was raised.

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Salaries gobble up money raised, too. In 1999, top salaries at the 10 largest environmental groups averaged \$235,918, according to IRS tax forms. By contrast, the president of Habitat for Humanity, International—which builds homes for the poor—earned \$62,843. At Mothers Against Drunk Driving, the president made \$69,570.

Among environmental groups, Ducks Unlimited paid its leader the most: \$346,882.

"Those salaries are obscene," said Martin Litton, a former Sierra Club board member, who worked tirelessly over a half-century to help bring about the creation of Redwoods National Park in 1968 and Sequoia National Monument last year. Litton did it for free.

"There should be sacrifice in serving the environment," he said.

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UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—S. 1

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Senate resume consideration of S. 1 at 2 o'clock

on Monday, and any votes ordered with respect to that legislation occur in a stacked sequence Tuesday morning, with 2 minutes prior to each vote for explanation.

I further ask unanimous consent, as in executive session, that the Senate proceed to executive session at 4 p.m. on Monday for consideration of the Bolton nomination, under the same terms as outlined in the consent agreement of May 3, 2001.

Also as in executive session, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate resumes in session on Tuesday at 9:30, the Senate resume executive session, that there be 45 minutes remaining for debate on the Bolton nomination, to be equally divided between the chairman and ranking minority member of the Foreign Relations Committee and Senator DORGAN, and a vote occur on the confirmation of Mr. Bolton at 10:15 on Tuesday. That is to be followed by a stacked sequence of votes ordered from Friday and Monday's session of the Senate with respect to the education bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDERS FOR MONDAY, MAY 7, 2001

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, on behalf of the leader, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until the hour of 1 p.m. on Monday, May 7. I further ask consent that on Monday, immediately following the prayer, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the morning hour be deemed expired, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and the Senate begin a period of morning business until 2 p.m., with Senators speaking for up to 10 minutes each with the following exceptions: Senator MURKOWSKI, 1 to 1:30, Senator DURBIN or his designee, 1:30 to 2.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROGRAM

Mr. MURKOWSKI. For the information of all Senators, the Senate will be in a period of morning business until 2 p.m. on Monday. Following the morning business, there will be 2 hours to resume consideration of the education reform bill. Amendments will be of-

ferred during that debate and any votes ordered will occur in the stacked sequence as under the previous order beginning at 10:15 a.m.

At 4 p.m. on Monday, the Senate will begin consideration of the nomination of John R. Bolton to be Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security. There will be up to 3 hours of debate on his nomination on Monday, with an additional 45 minutes for debate on Tuesday prior to the vote on confirmation at 10:15 a.m.

Senators should expect several stacked votes on Tuesday morning beginning at 10:15.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY MAY 7, 2001, at 1 P.M.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. If there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 3:20 p.m., adjourned until Monday, May 7, 2001, at 1 p.m.