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Keynote Speech by Governor Richard Lamm May 4, 2004

"The Angry West Revisited"

Reflections on 20 years of change in the West since Gov. Lamm's 1982 book: *The Angry West: A Vulnerable Land and Its Future*

By Richard Lamm, Former Governor of Colorado
Co-Director: Institute for Policy Studies University of Denver

Welcome by Prof. Walt Hecox

Welcome to the culminating event of the 2004 Colorado College State of the Rockies Conference. I'm Walt Hecox, professor in the Economics and Business Department and also the Rockies Project organizer, along with extraordinary help from Patrick Holmes, the Rockies Program coordinator. Before tonight's keynote talk and several short responses from speakers who participated earlier in the conference, I want to both tell you a story and briefly recap earlier events in this first-ever Rockies Conference. And since Betsy Marston, former editor of *High Country News* missed this before, I want to make sure I give yet another attribution to that wonderful regional newspaper for this true story I've taken from it. The exchange of views in the story reminds us that we're almost all newcomers to this splendid Rockies region, be it a year or a decade or perhaps several, Charles Wilkinson reminded us last night that really the Native Americans are the only ones that have been here long enough to understand the region as you'll see in a minute.



This true story comes from an amusing and sometimes sobering section of *High Country News* called "Heard around the West" and edited by our Rockies Conference participant Betsy Marston. This is out of the December 8, 2003 issue and it is my all time favorite. With just a few words Betsy Hoover won 3rd place in the High Country Shoppers Annual Contest, my favorite hunting story. She and her husband had moved from Pennsylvania to western Colorado in 1992, and soon after their arrival in Montrose they were invited to a barbeque by new friends. The conversation soon turned to hunting, and Hoover's husband who was not a hunter asked if it was legal to shoot an elk with a handgun. The rancher friend replied, if it is a certain size. Beverly writes, I thought he said if it was circumcised. And she immediately blurted out, if you can get close enough to an elk to see that, why wouldn't you just hit him over the head and not even bother to shoot him?

If you're new to the region, we forgive you!

And now a quick recap of the events so far in this two-day Rockies Conference. Last night we heard 2 talks that provided unique insights into a multi-state Rockies region we called Colorado College's backyard. Charles Wilkinson, Moses Lasky, Professor of Law at the University of Colorado, as well as author of a number of textbooks and popular general-audience books, talked last night about endurance and sovereignty among Indian nations of the Rocky Mountain West. And his talk described some dimensions of the long, difficult Native American journey toward recovery of their sovereignty. His new book will be out in January, which he tells me, has the title "Blood Struggle, the Rise of Indian Nations". Betsy and Ed Marston next talked. They served as editor and publisher respectively of *High Country News* for nearly 20 years. And just last night they shared with us their seasoned observations about the Rockies, by reflecting on "Home and Hope in the Rockies: 20 years of Observation". A few key points that I wrote down: what happens to ranching decides what happens to the West. We have come out of a long period of having been America's internal colony and Anglos in the West don't even know we lack

sovereignty. This I thought was *apropos* following Charles Wilkinson's talk about Native Americans trying to recover their sovereignty.

This afternoon's session was jam packed with information. We first unveiled the *2004 Colorado College State of the Rockies Report Card*, a 72-page color document that is filled with information, following which we spent a lot of the afternoon talking about dimensions to the Rockies. Among many other objectives, the Report Card grades 280 counties in the eight state regions on a variety of performance indicators. It goes on to provide an overall GPA for counties on their "vibrancy and vitality". And I've already heard that some communities are not pleased at their low grades! Then two scientists' shared observations about ecological health and political realities of science in the Rockies and it was fascinating. Dr. Jill Baron, research ecologist with the U.S. Geological Survey's National Resource Ecology Lab spoke about her work regarding Rocky Mountain futures and ecological perspective. And then Dr. Thomas Sisk, a CC graduate, now at the University of Northern Arizona, dared to wade into dangerous territory by reflecting on developing a public science that can weather the politics of resource management in the Rockies. Then to cap off the afternoon, we heard from two community experts, George Sibley and Ellen Stein, about their efforts around the Rockies to get citizens involved in management issues.

Just a few brief thank yous are in order, before we proceed. Several students have pitched in long hours helping us do a variety of issues, which looks smooth, but were crises only a few days ago. I'd like to recognize Christie Renner, Max Christensen, and Chris Benoit. A number of CC staff and administrators have been fantastic in helping out in many details. And Mike Slade, Colorado College graduate of 1979 and a current CC trustee has been extraordinarily generous in supporting not only the Sustainable Development Workshop at Colorado College, but in underwriting the cost of this conference. And President Richard Celeste, now in what he calls his sophomore year at Colorado College, has brought new levels of what I call the 3 V's to this institution: vibrancy, vitality, and now visibility. We believe that with this first *Rockies Conference and Report Card* Colorado College enters a new period where the college will be more visible around the Rockies region that is our backyard, as we provide a private, liberal arts perspective to on-going conversation about the past, present, and future of the Rockies. Last and therefore by far most important, I want to thank F. Patrick Holmes, a young man who graduated last May from Colorado College with a self-designed major in natural resources, and has since served as the 2004 Rockies Program Coordinator. He has been my co-author for the analytical portions of this *Rockies Report Card*. And only those of you in the audience over 40 will appreciate this, but he has accomplished things using computers and software that I can't even imagine, including all of the desktop publishing of the program and the report card. He's already got a deep knowledge of the region from his undergraduate research as well as work for the Sonoran Institute in Bozeman, Montana, and that deep insight helped us form the foundation for the *Rockies Report Card*. His calm demeanor has added immeasurably to any successes we have achieved in this first endeavor. And now I'm pleased to ask Colorado College President Dick Celeste to introduce tonight's keynote speaker.

Keynote Speaker Introduction by Colorado College President Dick Celeste

Thank you very much Walt. We've gathered in a very important venue here at Colorado College. Earlier today here in Shove Chapel we held our Honors Convocation which is, for me, the beginning of a sad moment in my life, governor, because I really have to acknowledge that seniors are going to graduate, and I'm going to lose them, at least for a little while until they become active alumni. But during the course of that Honors Convocation a member of our faculty was recognized for his outstanding teaching, and this year that award went to Walt Hecox. So I want to mention that, and ask you to help me thank Walt for his extraordinary leadership in putting this together. I too am grateful to you, Patrick, for your efforts in leading Walt into 21st century technology, I know what a



challenge that can be. And I want to say to Mike Slade in absentia how grateful we are for a trustee like this, who puts strong resources alongside his conviction and helps many students to pursue their interest in a sustainable environment. I believe sustainability is a key issue for us, as we think about not only what we hear tonight, but what we've heard over the last 24 hours in the Rockies Conference, and more importantly what we do over the next 12 months to really take this notion of the State of the Rockies and make it part of a regional dialogue. We can join together in conversation and collaborative thinking about where we can most effectively engage in study that will be beneficial for public policy leaders, community leaders, and educators in the region. That to me is going to be the real challenge in moving forward.

Tonight we have an opportunity to listen to someone who I am sure will stimulate us. Some of you have known Dick Lamm longer than I, so for me to introduce him to you is a bit of a presumption, I suppose. But I came to meet him in 1982 when I'd been elected governor of Ohio, but had not yet taken the oath of office, and I was invited with my fellow Democrats to gather in Park City, Utah, where we were going to be taught what it was like to be governor. And the senior tutor in that enterprise was the governor of Colorado, Dick Lamm. Now this wasn't book learning, although we had some kind of manual that went along with it; this was the real thing. And without taking too much time away from our speaker, I'm not going to go into the details of this story, but I will simply affirm that Dick Lamm put his finger on what was going to be the first issue I would face as governor, a conflict between the state house and the federal government. He did it with stunning precision, and saved my Democratic symbol, if you get it, in the process.

Dick Lamm is both a CPA and a lawyer. He has had an on-again, off-again relationship with higher education over the decades. I think it preceded his time as governor, and certainly has followed his time as governor...a relationship at the University of Denver that dates back to 1969. He serves now as co-director of the Institute for Public Policy Studies at the University of Denver. As you know he's a three-term Governor of Colorado. He was, this must have been a long time ago, one of *Time* magazine's 200 young leaders of America. It was a long time ago, maybe 30 years. He has been recognized by the *Christian Science Monitor*, honored by the *Denver Post* and many others. Dick is a commentator who has been widely sought for his opinions on television shows; his editorials have appeared across the country; he's an author published on a half dozen occasions, either with co-authors or on his own. I think of him in many respects as a futurist or a visionary, someone who raises issues before others have really realized they are issues, and almost always in a way that grabs your attention, and excites passion, whether the issue is intergenerational equity or immigration. Sometime back, the issue in its early days was that of the environment and how we actually protect it. He was president, for example, of the First National Conference on Population in the Environment. Over the years I have respected him as a public official, and often wanted to "grow up and be like him". That's probably not something you should wish on anyone! But I'm delighted that when I had an opportunity to come here to become president of Colorado College, it meant that I moved into Dick Lamm's neighborhood, including the opportunity with my wife Jacqueline to enjoy conversation over a meal and other occasions with Dick and Dottie. He is an extraordinary public servant; he is someone who lifts our vision as it needs to be lifted from time to time. He is always willing to make us uncomfortable, when we need to be prodded, and tonight we've asked him to do something that may not have been at the top of his list of things to do. That is to reflect, some 20 years after he wrote *The Angry West, a Vulnerable Land and its Future* on the state of our region in the West today. Friends, I'm pleased to present to you, Governor Dick Lamm.

Keynote Talk by Former Governor Richard D. Lamm

Thank you Dick; that was very generous. I suppose for equal time I should tell you that when I was in office, right down the hall from the governor's office, there was a men's room that had a machine where when you push a button the hot air comes out and you dry your hands, well somebody kept putting under that machine, 'press here for a message from your governor'. Dick, I appreciate our friendship. There are a few rising people in a generation and I started hearing about Dick Celeste before he started hearing about me. I can guarantee you that, because back in the early Peace Corps days and everything else there was all sort of tom toms coming out of Ohio and other places about this incredible bright and able young guy on his way up. I'd also like to recognize the panelists here.



As you can tell from the description of last night, each and every one of them can and should be standing here instead of me and whose knowledge and love of the West is without equal.

I went back and read parts of, or most of, *The Angry West* and I have this metaphor to share with you: it's almost like going back and seeing an old girlfriend (or boyfriend) and you can still sort of see the passion that was there in the relationship, but life has taken you in different directions, and you do have to ask yourself at some point, 'Why was I so passionate about this particular subject?' As I look back at *The Angry West*, which was written at a particular time in my development and thinking, I'm proud of parts of it and embarrassed about other parts.

Nevertheless what I would really like to do now is to use this occasion to talk to you about the West and river issues and boat issues. Here's the metaphor, it's not mine, I took it from someplace else that I've read. But the metaphor is the fact that there are river issues and boat issues. The river issues are the large sweeping issues that go through long stretches of history. And across those large sweeping issues pass a bunch of boats that go back and forth. Those are the more temporal issues, and those are the questions about who's going to be governor of Colorado or Utah and what should be the land use policy in Wyoming, these kinds of things. But they are immensely important; they are the stuff that occupies most of the time governors devote to decision making. These are boat issues. What should we do about reclamation or energy impact, or whatever else it is? But there is sweeping through the West's history at the same time, and Dick Celeste used the term and you're using it down here quite often, the question of sustainability. This issue of sustainability, I am tonight suggesting if you don't know it, is one of the great river issues of our time. So when I go back and re-read this book, there are broad and fundamental sustainability issues that arise about who pays for growth, energy impacts, how do we work out our relationship with the federal government, and Ed Marston's issue: to what degree does the West control its own destiny?

I would like to take three parables and use those to talk about some of the river issues and some of the boat issues. You wouldn't believe it, but my first parable is from Ann Landers. Not my normal reading, but John invited his aristocratic mother over for dinner and during the meal, mother couldn't help but notice how shapely and attractive the housekeeper was. She wondered if there was maybe more going on than met the eye. John told her, "I know what you must be thinking, mom, but I assure you my relationship with my housekeeper is strictly professional." A week later the housekeeper told John "ever since your mother came to dinner, I've been unable to find that beautiful silver gravy ladle. You don't suppose she took it, do you?" So John sat down and wrote his mother this, he said, "Mother, I'm not saying you did take the gravy ladle, and I'm not saying you didn't, but the fact remains one has been missing ever since you came to dinner." Several days later John received a letter from his mother saying, "Dear Son, I'm not saying you sleep with your housekeeper and I'm not saying you don't sleep with your housekeeper, but the fact is if she would have been sleeping in her own bed, she would have found the gravy ladle."

I'm not saying particular issues are river issues or boat issues, because I'd like to start off talking about a few of them that could be either, depending upon how the future of the West unfolds. I believe that the West is particularly at risk obviously in the area of energy. Geology has played a trick on the West: it's given us a beautiful but fragile landscape and little water, and then as a point of irony, put massive hydrocarbons under that fragile and relatively waterless environment. We are faced thus with a Faustian bargain. I will argue that other than *in situ* extraction, which might be a possibility some decade for developing oil shale for instance, that when the next oil crisis comes, and it will come, the West will face massive impacts. I read the other day somebody who used this metaphor; they're saying we're only 9mm away from an energy crisis, meaning one 9mm bullet away from an energy crisis if violence is used in the house of Saudi, or something like that. It would seem from all of our history that the nation will again look at oil shale. And we, in fact, get too much of our petroleum from some of the most politically unstable parts of the world.

So, at a time of foreign energy supply disruption, and when it happens, there will be an avalanche of development in the West, on top of what we already we produce: 25 percent of the nation's coal in just 10 mines up in the Powder River area. We produce about one-third of the nation's total coal. But oil shale in particular haunts me; I had to preside over the preparations for the possible development of oil shale development in the late 1970s. There's less than a barrel of carrageen in an average ton of oil shale. So we're talking about an impact of unbelievable proportions on the West, and most of that is in Colorado. You can't imagine what it's like in the governor's office when some federal planner will ask the state to plan for 25,000 additional people in western Colorado. And the following week it was 100,000 and it really absolutely at one point got up to 500,000 people in western Colorado, a region that had just a fraction of that population after 100 years. But one of the things that is so frustrating about oil shale is we're talking about digging and processing literally a Panama Canal every month. Such an undertaking requires massive amounts of water. The whole problem of reclamation in something like this is immense: where in fact do you put water on this very salty residue after you get done getting the carrageen out of it? And after you plant vegetation on it, they'll initially grow, and then by osmosis the salt will come up again and kill whatever you've been trying to plant there.

The West remains particularly vulnerable in public services as well. How do we pay for the roads and the schools and the sewer plants and the public infrastructure that goes along with any kind of scale of operation? So the West has abundant reserves of low sulfur coal that are relatively accessible; it has petroleum, natural gas, and uranium. We can handle these types of energy development; I don't think they are insurmountable at all. But oil shale frankly defies imagination. And I would half hope if for no other reason than our fragile environment out here that oil shale never becomes a reality without some real breakthrough in technology.

Now we turn to another area of Western concern: is water a boat issue or is it a river issue? It's always a challenge: anybody that is a governor of any of the western states, anyone that is a mayor of a western city knows this on a daily basis. But we have in the west some 'virtual' reservoirs. The lawns along the Front Range are a virtual reservoir; we have a lot of options there to get additional water with less water use, more arid tolerant vegetation. Agricultural is a reservoir, as is water recycling. One of the most memorable times I spent in my 12 years in office was going up to Colorado State University and seeing the tree-ring laboratories. They tell the story of the droughts in the west long before humans were here. Or at least any kind of human records, and it's absolutely scary to see 30 or 40-year droughts and try to imagine what something like that would do to the West right now. But we do have, as I have mentioned, these virtual reservoirs: lawns, agriculture, and also the recycling of water. I was asked to come up to a place called Purecycle, up in Boulder. Purecycle was a company that recycled water. And they went into a rented facility next to Shakeys. And they told the landlord about the water system, and the landlord said the water system was fine. "Oh" they said, "you don't understand, we want you to take the water system out. And we want to get our water from Shakeys sewage." They tell you this, and that's exactly what happened. They got their water from Shakeys sewage and then they recycled it. And of course we can recycle water so that it comes up to literally distilled water standards. But if you don't think that handing you a cup of coffee from such recycled water and saying, here, have some coffee isn't a leap of faith, it certainly is.

What intrigues me about some of the issues facing the West is we don't know the order of magnitude they might entail. Some of them are relatively easy to handle. But if you start getting five or seven-year droughts, which I think will happen, if you start getting climate change, if you start getting some of these other problems, perhaps simultaneously, then they turn from being individually manageable to being jointly difficult to comprehend let alone manage. So in talking about river issues, I get to my next parable, which is about a friend of mine who is a foreign service officer in Lima, Peru, and as you know those are hard-drinking, hard-living jobs. One night after the 5th embassy party, he was at this particular embassy and all of a sudden this beautiful music started up, and across the room he saw a lovely figure in a red velvet gown and he went up and asked for a dance. The answer was no for three reasons.

1. You're drunk
2. This is the Peruvian National Anthem
3. I'm the archbishop of Lima

We live in confusing times. No group of people in history have ever had to make or even think about making decisions regarding these kinds of challenges that now face the current generation of policy makers, or thinkers or students that are going into these fields. What do you do about a global economy or the Internet? What about the ethics of transplanting a baboon's heart into a human being, how about cloning and asexual reproduction, global warming or the question of how do you raise sextuplets? Modern day life is a rock rolling downhill, gaining momentum and speed. We are sailing in uncharted waters, moving at unprecedented speed, and our navigational instruments are old fashioned, and out-of-date, while we've lost our anchor. And we're not sure if everything we learned about sailing isn't obsolete. And that's how we are going into the future. However fast it's been moving in the past, we are told it's going to accelerate even faster. Ray Kurzweil, one of the great futurists, has written about how change itself is now or soon going to become a river issue; it's going to become one of the major factors in how we think about things. He says the 20th century wasn't 100 years of progress at today's rate of

speed; rather it was 20 years of progress at today's rate of speed. And after these 20 years encompasses the last 100 years, then the next 100 years will be in 14 years, and then in 7 years. He really talks to the explosive nature of exponential growth: we live on the upper slopes of some awesome curves. And this idea of history moving faster and faster and faster raises the question whether our institutions or even our own perceptions and minds are equal to the magnitude of the problems that we face.

I think often about where were Hitler's armies when England turned to Churchill. Churchill was the one prescient person that was saying hey this Hitler guy is a bad dude. Hitler's armies were at Dunkirk when England finally turned to Churchill. I think time and time again we see where democracy is a crisis-activated system. And I think that is how we build institutions, particularly in the west: wait for the crisis to appear. But under such a set of pressures will our institutions and responses be equal to the challenges that we are faced with? This leads me to my next parable. Which is about a woman I saw at a party the other night with the biggest diamond ring I had ever seen. I said, "Madame, I have never seen such a diamond ring." "Yes", she said, "that's the famous Kaufman diamond. There's a curse that goes with that diamond." I said, "Really, I've heard about diamonds like that. So what's the curse?" And she said, "Dr. Kaufman".

Follow me down this path: is growth a diamond or is it a curse? The argument about growth is all around the country, certainly inherent in the West, and in so many places it's a dialogue between the blind and the deaf. One group points for example to Colorado State University as an example where they're doing scientific research on how you grow rice in highly saline land or even water. And they are saying technology will save us. The other group goes a little farther, up into Wyoming and you can see the wagon wheels of the Oregon Trail snaking off across the prairie, laid down 160 years ago. Almost any other place in the United States those would have been gone in six weeks or a month, two months perhaps, but they are still there as a symbol that we live in a semi-arid climate. So we are an oasis civilization out here that must come to grips with our environment. This second group of people says there are limits. Now if history is any teacher, what lessons do we take from that in the West? What does the west tell us about this argument, about sustainability versus growth? Are there take-home lessons from the history of the west?

Civilization has triumphed in the west because we refuse to accept limits. Our ancestors overcame a myriad of obstacles, because this place was called the Great American Desert as you know. In our early maps our ancestors pushed aside the doubters and they built a civilization, and they made it a garden. This is the culture of growth, indeed full-speed-ahead growth. Such a response teaches that ingenuity and imagination can prevail over any obstacle, and that there are no limits, only a lack of creativity. As one author put it, the world is full of things patiently waiting for our wits to sharpen. This is the West of irrigation canals and transmountain diversions and pivot sprinklers and other adaptations that allow us not only to live in a semi-arid desert but also to enjoy green lawns and prosperity. The culture of the growth suggests that the future is a logical extension of the past. And that these problems all have achievable solutions. "Go forth and multiply, and go west young man." It is the optimism of "not to worry, God made man with two hands and only one stomach". It reflects the devout belief in the limitlessness of economic development, the progress and perfectibility of the human condition. It is a world of the Green Revolution that has given us the potential to eliminate hunger and of technology that some say has completely reduced the laws of supply and demand. And discovered endless unlimited wealth. This is the world built around unlimited numbers of people and unsatiated consumers. The supporters of this viewpoint may be modern prophets, or they may be modern alchemists.

But to date we have to admit that they have been remarkably successful in solving the problems of population and poverty and scarcity in the West. In their minds they will continue to be successful. Aridity can be solved by desalination of oceans, and wealth, i.e. computer chips, can be created out of sand. But there's this second culture, one that is inherent in that term sustainability. Its advocates simply say the West also teaches other lessons as well, namely that we must adapt to nature, that we must be aware of nature's fickleness and its limitations. This is the West that teaches us that there is such a thing as carrying capacity and that we must respect the fragility of the land and the environment. It argues that nature teaches us that we never can nor should we rely on the status quo, that climate is always changing. That it's always going to be a surprise to us that the price of survival in the West is to anticipate and prepare and address the realities in a hardheaded way. It is the ethic that questions whether population growth and even economic growth can go on forever. And this is the world of conservation and national parks and wilderness legislation. It is the West of crop rotation and Planned Parenthood and Malthus and Aldo Leopold the great naturalist who said that the West should teach us intellectual humility. So only one of these cultures can really ultimately prevail.

I didn't have to live with that dilemma. They both could sort of be out there when I was young and when the West was young. But your generation, the younger people in this room I think, are going to have to make a choice between these two cultures. My generation could mourn Glen Canyon, when they closed the dams for Lake Powell, while we kayaked the Green and the Yampa. We could sort of have our cake and eat it too. We could brag, "Watch us grow and still maintain our vitality, our quality of life and our fragile landscape." But even though the West is no longer young and unsettled, we're still acting as if it were. So our industrial civilization is built upon these assumptions of growth. That there are no limits, that technology can solve all, and that the world will not reach any sort of carrying capacity. It assumes infinite resources where scarcity is caused by lack of imagination, that civilization in most of the world supports the assumption of the infinite.

The go-slow culture, the culture of sustainability, with fewer but equally passionate adherents, contends that the first culture is really making empty earth assumptions, believing that we continue to be an empty earth. Rather, sustainability advocates believe consumption patterns can't be sustained. They want to move now to stabilize U.S. population, and help the rest of the world to do likewise, and also reduce consumption, recycle, move to renewable energy. They believe that there can't be unlimited and endless consumption. They feel that we cannot and should not have a Colorado of eight or 10 or 12 million people, or an America of 500 million people, living our consumptive lifestyles. They contend that we live at a hinge of history, where society must rewrite the entire script. If they are correct, then our basic assumptions about life and even the great religious traditions and our economy, and how we deal with poverty and create wealth, are really obsolete.

So far, those that sing this song are failed prophets. But what if the culture of growth were only a temporary victor? What if nature really does bat last? What if the real lesson we learned or should have learned in a place with only 13 inches of rain was an appreciation of limits that could be pushed and could be expanded, but not eliminated. What if the rainforests that are dying, what if the coral that is turning white, what if the rising temperatures are trying to tell us something. What if the shrinking fisheries and melting icecaps and eroding soil are harbingers of a planet approaching carrying capacity? Now we see the world not as it is, as somebody once said, but as we are. I just love that, because I recognize how much that is true.

Another observation I might share with you is what Schopenhauer says, pardon all the sexism in these quotes, but these are the times they wrote in. Schopenhauer says every man confuses the limits of his mind for the limits of the world. And I suggest to you that every person does confuse the limits of his mind, or her mind with the limits of the world. But the lessons that I have learned from my love affair with the West, supports this second culture of sustainability. I believe that we need to transform society from an earth-consuming technological civilization to a sustainable and more benign civilization. I'm impressed with Aldo Leopold's land ethic that teaches that fate actually depends upon our ability to change our basic values and beliefs, our aspirations for our total society. My life's experience confirms Charles Darwin's belief that it is not the strongest of the species that survive, not the most intelligent, but those most responsive to change. So for most modern thinkers it is inconceivable that the world must achieve sustainability. But the unthinkable has to be thought about. The environment is signaling some massive changes that we are going to be faced with. And I believe that the fate of humankind depends on our ability to know when to abandon one culture and shift to another culture. Let me end by quoting Howard Nemerov, who at one time was America's poet laureate. He has this little ditty, that says, "Praise the end, the go ahead zeal, of whoever it was that invented the wheel. But never a word for the poor soul's sake, who thought ahead and invented the brake." And my argument is, ladies and gentlemen, we need some brakes. Thank you very much.

(This written transcription of Gov. Lamm's talk placed on the web with his permission)

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