

The New York Times Magazine

OCTOBER 24, 1976

Cover

In the background, the Hudson River, where campaigns against familiar forms of pollution are finally beginning to show results. In the foreground, PCD's, or polychlorinated biphenyls—less familiar and invisible in the water, but highly toxic. Some 500,000 pounds of PCB's lie at the bottom of the river, and no one is sure what to do about them. Page 16.
Photograph by Bert Miller

Russell Baker

8 Sunday Observer

Communicate!

Brook Brower

12 Learn, mean Gene

"I am not going to my grave worrying that I spoiled it for either Ford or Carter," says Presidential candidate McCarthy.

David A. Andelman

14 Laos after the takeover

"The people must understand," say the new Communist rulers. But their iron-fisted insistence on efficiency and self-sufficiency already has forced 200,000 Laotians to flee their homeland.



Peter Hallman

16 For the Hudson, bad news and good

The bad news:

PCB's don't smell or turn fish belly up. But they can make people sick—and they lie in heavy concentrations at the bottom of the great river.

The good news:

Controls on other forms of pollution are paying off. In most visible ways, the Hudson has not been so healthy for decades.

Daniel Yergin

40 Harry Truman—revived and revised

As both Presidential candidates imitate his style, historians argue over his deeds.

Genell Subak-Sharpe

42 Is mammography safe? Yes, no and maybe

Two years ago a surge of publicity about breast cancer brought crowds of women to mammography clinics. Now, publicity about the dangers is keeping them away. The greatest danger may lie in the continuing confusion.

80 Letters

On soap-opera spoofs and campaign theatrics.

Patricia Peterann

88 Fashion

Madison Avenue French

Brendan Gill

88 Design

BAM grows in Brooklyn

Robert Wool

74 Food: Up from the cellar

A guide to storing wine under less than ideal conditions.

88 Puzzles

Last week's answers, Page 84

Robert Neale

103 Endpaper

The mouth that roared

Picture credits, Page 102

FOR THE HUDSON, BAD NEWS AND GOOD

The bad news:

PCB's don't smell or turn fish belly up. But they can make people sick—and they lie in heavy concentrations at the bottom of the great river.

By Peter Hellman

Luke Hart, manager of the two General Electric capacitor factories at Hudson Falls and Fort Edward, N.Y., holds up a small vial filled with a brilliantly clear, slightly viscous liquid.

"This is the stuff that's caused all the fuss," he says. "This is PCB's."

PCB's is short for polychlorinated biphenyls, a nearly indestructible and highly dangerous group of industrial compounds that for many years seemed to be responsible for nothing but good works. The very recent "fuss" has comprised a succession of unprecedented events. First came the banning of almost all commercial fishing on the Hudson River. Then came a \$4-million settlement by the polluter,

Peter Hellman, a freelance writer, often has fished the Hudson River.

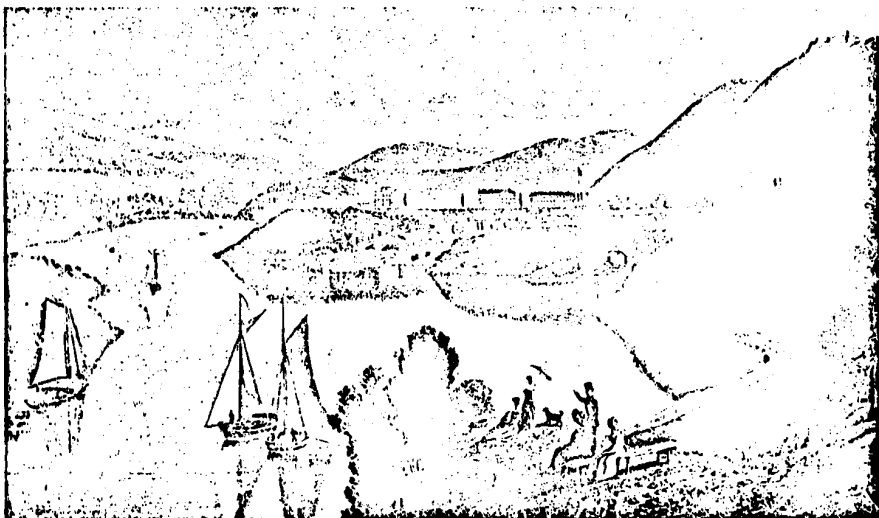
G.E. And now that G.E. has all but stopped discharging PCB's into the river comes the most difficult and dangerous problem of all: What to do about some 500,000 pounds of the stuff that still resides menacingly on the river bottom?

In his big, drab office at the Hudson Falls plant, Hart demonstrates for his visitor and a watchful G.E. corporate lawyer the positive side of PCB's. He plugs in an electric motor with an ammeter on its face. He pushes one button and the needle jumps to 400 amps. He pushes another button and the needle drops back to 200 amps. But the motor continues to hum at full power, even though it is drawing half as much current. The difference, Hart explains, is that the second button has cut-in capacitors—devices that store and smooth out electric current so that it is more efficient. Capacitors are used in everything from toasters to huge generators, helping save untold millions of dollars on everyone's electric bills. Yet, in its basic form, the capacitor consists of nothing more than layers of

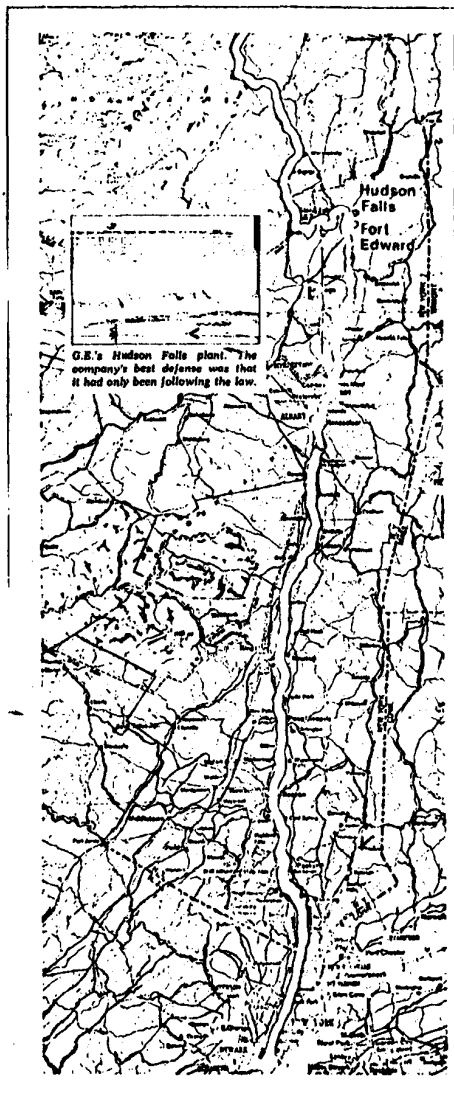
a metal like aluminum foil, which is a conductor of current, separated by paper, which is not a conductor. Such a nonconductor is called a dielectric, and the best capacitor of all is one in which the paper dielectric is impregnated with PCB's.

At its two plants on the Hudson River, G.E. puts anywhere from a few drops to three gallons of PCB's into the tens of thousands of capacitors it makes each day. G.E. engineers, says Hart, have not found any compound equal in PCB's for high dielectric performance coupled with almost complete resistance to fire or explosion. Because PCB's are a superior heat-transfer agent as well, they are also preferred for use in transformers to carry heat away from the coils, where fire is always a threat. Sealed up in electrical systems, PCB's do their job and never misbehave.

Only in the last decade has it become obvious that PCB's are a subtle but pervasive pollutant of air, earth and water. Other (Continued on Page 20)



The Hudson's serene majesty, unruined by pollution controversy, in a lithograph, circa 1840. The view is downriver, past West Point. Map on facing page traces the river's journey from the Adirondacks to the Atlantic Ocean. Area of heavy PCB concentration, below G.E. plants, is indicated in black.



Hudson River

Continued from Page 18

such pollutants have been detected in the environment recently—most notably, the highly toxic insecticide Kepone. In fact, three weeks ago, the U. S. District Court in Richmond, Va., fined the Allied Chemical Corporation \$15,375,000 for dumping Kepone into the James River. But none of them has turned up with such alarming frequency as PCB's in all kinds of living organisms, from tiny crustaceans to human beings. Just last summer, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency found the chemical in the milk of mothers in 16 different states. The effect of PCB's is, at worst, fatal and, at best, unknown. And, thanks to G.E., nowhere is there a greater concentration of PCB's at home in the environment than in the Hudson River below the capacitor plants at Hudson Falls and Fort Edward. Due to high levels of PCB's in resident and migratory fish all the way down to its mouth, more than 200 miles away, the Hudson has been closed since last February to most commercial fishing for the first time in its history—a time, ironically, when the river is relatively free of traditional pollutants.

It has been a year since G.E. has discharged any significant quantities of PCB's into the river. The current daily discharge is less than one pound. By next summer, G.E. will stop using PCB's altogether and substitute another substance—as yet not announced—that it believes will be effective in its capacitors and safe in the river. Even so, the company is spending several million dollars to prevent residual PCB's in pipes and the soil around the plants from leaking into the Hudson. The principal supplier of PCB's, Monsanto Company, has announced it will stop producing the compounds by the end of October 1977.

Last August, after months of negotiations, G.E. agreed to pay the State Department of Environmental Conservation \$3 million to help restore the river and another \$1 million for research. The state will chip in \$3 million of its

(Continued on Page 26)

Continued from Page 20

own for restoration. This is an agreement with many implications. By paying up, G.E. has tacitly admitted responsibility for the environmental consequences that stem from its activities. Moreover, the company has done so even though it has never been specifically prohibited from dumping PCB's into the river. In fact, until very recently, it had a permit—issued by the E.P.A. and endorsed by the state—that specifically authorized it to discharge up to 30 pounds of PCB's into the river daily. By contributing \$3 million of its own toward restoration as part of the agreement, the D.E.C. has tacitly acknowledged its own failure as a watchdog.

When the state at last confronted G.E. a little more than a year ago, the situation had all the makings of a bitter and protracted court battle of the sort that Reserve Mining Company and a raft of public agencies have fought over Reserve's waste discharges into Lake Superior. The August agreement, by contrast, was accomplished by negotiation after a rigorous but comparatively swift judicial hearing sponsored by the D.E.C. and chaired by a law professor from Columbia University. The whole process took less than a year. And while the parties never saw the inside of a courtroom, the agreement nonetheless puts American companies on notice that they may be held responsible for what they do to the environment—even when they have not been specifically prohibited from doing it.

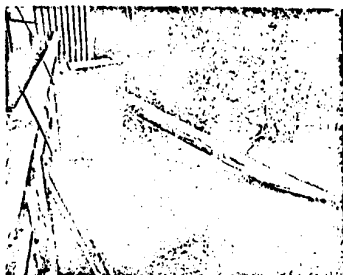
The truth is that PCB's have been around for some 45 years without producing the kind of dramatically obvious effects that might have caused G.E. or any other user to think twice about dumping them in a river. They don't smelt, lie in sheets atop the water or turn fish belly up; they simply sink to the bottom. At the same time, they are extraordinarily useful to industry. Besides their use in capacitors and transformers, PCB's have proved invaluable in products as diverse as hydraulic fluid, adhesives and carbonless copy paper. By 1962, they were being manufactured in the United States, Russia, Japan and at least six European countries.

Then, in 1964, a Swedish scientist named Björn Jensen was puzzled by the results of a sophisticated analy-

sis he was conducting on the soil and animals of his country. He was looking for traces of DDT and related insecticides, but he found instead traces of something that did not conform to known DDT patterns. After two years of trial-and-error comparisons, Dr. Jensen finally identified the unknown substance as PCB's. At that point, of course, they were merely a novel presence, not in the same worrisome and well-publicized class with DDT. If anything seemed ominous about the discovery, it was that Dr. Jensen found PCB's in plankton and in large eagles—the bottom and top of a wildlife food chain. That, and the fact PCB's were being found in a country that did not manufacture them. The nearest manufacturer was in Germany, across the Baltic Sea. Dr. Jensen speculated—correctly—that PCB's, rising up-burned from incinerators because of their low flammability, could travel long distances by attaching themselves to airborne dust particles, raindrops and snowflakes.

Four years after Jensen's discovery and on the other side of the world—at a rice-oil factory in the Fukutomi prefecture of western Japan—a machine containing PCB's sprang a leak, contaminating the rice oil. Thousands of people who used that oil for cooking became ill. The effects of what came to be known as the Yusho—rice-oil-syndrome included skin eruptions and darkening of the pigmentation, swollen eyelids, eye discharges, swelling and painful joints, numbness of the limbs, coughing and apnea, and general fatigue. Some victims suffered from enlarged livers and unbalanced enzyme and blood lipid levels. Perhaps most disturbing, mothers who had been exposed only fleetingly to PCB's—and who did not necessarily show any symptoms themselves—gave birth to babies with dark pigmentation, delayed tooth development and lower-than-average weight. Even today, almost nine years after the initial incident, the symptoms of PCB's have passed from their bodies—the symptoms of many Yusho victims persist. Recently, a Japanese researcher told a cancer conference at Cold Spring Harbor that the incidence of liver cancer among Yusho patients now appears to be as high as 18 times the normal rate.

In New York, G.E. has always asserted that workers



A G.E. pipe now discharges negligible amounts of PCB's; next summer, the company will discontinue their use entirely.

with long-term exposure to PCB's have suffered no more than occasional skin rashes. But Dr. Irving Selikoff of the Mt. Sinai-Medical Center, who is now studying workers at the two plants on the Hudson, warns that to assume the problems are limited to skin rashes "would be in error."

Meanwhile, as Monsanto, sole U.S. producer of PCB's, supplied an ever-growing demand for the product all through the 1960's, milk ranchers in the Great Lakes region were having mysterious problems getting their female milks to reproduce. "These ranchers were getting wiped out," says Robert Ringer, a physiologist at Michigan State University, "and they didn't know why." Dr. Ringer suspected the trouble was the DDT in the Great Lakes fish that the milk ate. But even when he fed them fish containing unusually high levels of DDT, his laboratory milk went right on reproducing. In 1968, Dr. Ringer finally determined that the problem was not DDT but PCB's. A tiny amount—just 0.164 parts per million (p.p.m.)—stopped milk reproduction. A larger amount—2.37 p.p.m.—killed all the adult milks. Even this last figure is well under the maximum of 5 p.p.m. that the U.S. Food and Drug Administration currently allows in food for human consumption.

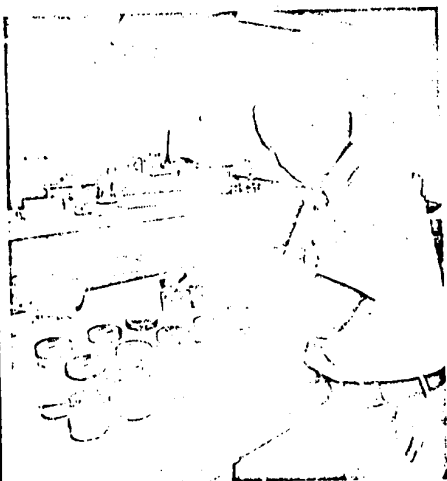
Other experimental evidence was piling up. One American researcher fed PCB's to rats and produced tumors. Another, James Allen, a pathologist at the University of Wisconsin, fed PCB's to monkeys and produced the symptoms of the Yusho syndrome, including reproductive problems. In female monkeys that were fed PCB's at the F.D.A.'s permissible level for humans, 5 p.p.m., only one in eight gave birth to normal

offspring. And once the infant monkeys began nursing, they were subject to further hazards. Since PCB's move rapidly into fatty parts of the body, the substance became concentrated in the mother's milk. Hence, the level of PCB's present in the infants at birth subsequently increased 100 times.

As the danger flags went up, Monsanto began nursing them. Since PCB's move rapidly into fatty parts of the body, the substance became concentrated in the mother's milk. Hence, the level of PCB's present in the infants at birth subsequently increased 100 times.

As the danger flags went up, Monsanto began nursing them. Since PCB's move rapidly into fatty parts of the body, the substance became concentrated in the mother's milk. Hence, the level of PCB's present in the infants at birth subsequently increased 100 times.

But G.E. continued to be Monsanto's biggest PCB's customer; in 1970, it had purchased a record 4,890 tons, and the bulk of it went to the two capacitor plants on the Hudson River. Despite clear evidence of big problems with PCB's, no red flag had yet gone up here. As late as Dec. 31, 1974, in fact, G.E. would be granted a Federal permit, with the full blessing of the D.E.C., to discharge up to 30 pounds per day into the Hudson—not an ounce less than G.E.'s estimate of its own discharge over the previous seven years. G.E. scarcely could have hid



Biologist David Stone in his lab. Jars containing samples from the river reveal that Haverstraw Bay "approaches the virgin richness of an unspoiled estuarine marsh."

its massive PCB discharges, and it never tried. The company had stated baldly that it had been dumping PCB's into the Hudson for a long time at the rate of at least 30 pounds a day. The D.E.C., in approving G.E.'s various permits over the next few years, limited the dumping of certain chemicals — kjeldahl nitrogen, for example—but it never mentioned PCB's.

Even if the D.E.C. was somehow unaware of the alarms sounded by the experimental research on PCB's, it couldn't have missed the conspicuous presence in its own department of Ward Stone. A wildlife pathologist and militant opponent of PCB's, Stone had begun peppering his superiors with memos in 1969. On Jan. 26, 1972, he proposed that the state monitor everything from ducks to seals for PCB's. The cost of such an initial analysis, he figured, would be no more than \$2,400. Noting his particular concern for increasing "juvenile mortalities" in sea birds on Gull Island in Long Island Sound, Stone ended that memo with the warning that "PCB's pose a great threat to the same species that the chlorinated — hydrocarbon pesticides threaten."

In the next few years, Stone's memos became more pointed. He began to hop around the state to dig up soil samples where utility poles had fallen and spilled PCB's from broken transformers. These forays apparently made Stone's superiors nervous. At times, they seemed to view him as an errant mouse scolding around the kitchen. After sending out a long permit detailing his findings of up to 18,000 p.p.m.

of PCB's in soil around fallen poles, Stone got back a memo from his superior, Herbert Dole, thanking him for his efforts and telling him that others were now at work on the problem—"It will, therefore, be unnecessary for you to devote additional time to the issue." Four days later, Stone wrote Dole: "Unfortunately, your May 7th memo did not arrive until May 10th, and I had already taken more samples and done more exploration into the PCB problem."

It is plain that, for all his dedication to the job, Stone did not exactly have a gift for gentle persuasion. On May 22, 1974, for example, cutting through several bureaucratic layers, he wrote directly to Carl Parker, chief of the department's Bureau of Fisheries: "I am quite worried about PCB's and feel that their presence is one of the more important wildlife management problems of our time but expect little recognition of this problem in a department that looks at such things as deer poaching and party permits as the leading conservation problem of the day."

If Stone's bluntness got him nowhere from the inside, there is no evidence that anyone could have done better from the outside. As far back as 1971, Robert Boyle—a senior writer for Sports Illustrated, ardent fisherman and author of a book on the Hudson that is remarkable for both its information and its passion—wrote to Parker warning of lab tests he had personally commissioned that showed contamination of roe from Hudson River striped bass at levels as high as 11.4 p.p.m.

"These are grim figures and I certainly think the state should warn fishermen not to eat striped-bass eggs," wrote Boyle. Parker's reply, according to Boyle, was "derivative."

What the state would not do for itself was finally done. In August 1974, by Royal Madou and Robert Davis of the local office of the E.P.A. Disturbed, along with a few others in the agency, by reports of high PCB levels showing up around the country, they decided to check out the Hudson River, with special attention to the section below Fort Edward and Hudson Falls. This was hardly a brilliant idea, of course, since G.E. had been announcing its PCB discharges in permit applications for years. Madou and Davis found extraordinarily high levels of PCB's in the water, river mud and living creatures in the vicinity of the G.E. plants. Just below Fort Edward, they found what was, until then, a "world's record" for PCB-infested fish—a rock bass measuring in at 255 p.p.m. They could hardly believe it was still alive.

For a full year, the report of the two scientists floated around. It finally reached Gilman Veith, a chemist at the E.P.A.'s National Water Quality Laboratory in Duluth, Minn. Dr. Veith had first come up against PCB's as a graduate student working on the mink problem in the 1960's. Now he was watchdogging PCB's nationwide. "I was convinced after reading this report," he says, "that the Hudson River situation was the worst I'd seen in the country by at least a factor of ten." Veith wrote a review of that report, emphasizing its seriousness, and sent it off to the director of the E.P.A. regional office in New York. It was forwarded, in July of last year, to Ogden R. Reid, who had been Commissioner of the D.E.C. for just six months.

At last, things began to happen. Startled by this alert all the way from Duluth, Reid poked around his own department to see if anyone knew about the PCB problem. He was flabbergasted to discover that plenty was known, but nothing had been done. Nobody had even bothered to tell him about PCB's. Reid found that he had to develop new communication lines to insure he would get PCB memos—including those of Ward Stone. That August, Reid warned the city clerk not to eat striped bass from the Hudson or salmon from Lake Ontario, a warning he would convert into a ban in the Hudson by February. He also ordered an administrative hearing, chaired by a Columbia University law professor, Abraham Sofaer, to determine if G.E. had violated state water-quality standards and, if so, what sort of restitution the company should reasonably make.

At those hearings, held last November, a parade of state's witnesses testified that PCB's are toxic to a wide range of living creatures, including man. It was also made strikingly clear not only how high PCB counts were downstream from the G.E. plants (78,000 p.p.m. at the Hudson Falls outflow), but how low they were just a few hundred yards upstream (practically negligible). As a result of new surveys, the record established by Madou and Davis with their rock bass was easily broken by many fish. The new record holder was an American eel containing 575 p.p.m. of PCB's. It would have supplied a consumer with more than half his lifetime PCB limit as set by the F.D.A. And in Canada where the maximum PCB content of edible fish is 2.5 p.p.m. rather than 5, that single meal would have easily exceeded the lifetime safe limit.

Given such testimony, it came as quite a

surprise when G.E. introduced its own expert witness, Gerald Lauer of Ecological Analysts, Inc., who presented his finding that fish taken from below the two plants did not contain PCB levels in excess of the current standard of 5 p.p.m. Upon cross-examination, Lauer had trouble deciphering his own notes and tables. It turned out, furthermore, that the laboratory in Tennessee that had made the analysis had botched the job. G.E. withdrew Lauer's testimony.

G.E. did better with its basic "affirmative defense," which held that it had applied for and been granted both state and Federal permits to discharge PCB's. How could it be penalized for scrupulously following the law? Sofaer agreed that this argument had "more than superficial appeal." But it was not enough to excuse G.E. from the general requirements of its permit, which forbade the company to violate state water-quality standards even if the precise prohibitions were not spelled out. Accordingly, Sofaer ruled that "G.E. has discharged PCB's in quantities that have breached applicable standards of water quality . . . injured fish, and . . . destroyed the viability in various parts of the Hudson River by rendering its fish dangerous to consume."

It came out during the hearings, most interestingly, that even before the PCB problem became public, G.E. already had determined that further significant discharges could be eliminated without much difficulty. PCB's entered the river primarily via waste waters used to wash off the casings of capacitors that had been submerged in a PCB bath. This water could easily be contained and the PCB's destroyed by ultra-high-temperature incineration.

G.E. was not the only party to lose out. Just four months after Sofaer's decision was announced, Ogden Reid found his position untenable and resigned after a year, or a half as Commissioner of the D.E.C. Several things had gone wrong, but the main one was that he had picked an inopportune time to go after G.E.—the middle of Governor Carey's desperate campaign last winter to keep the state from being pulled down by New York City's financial collapse. Looking forward to the critical "spring borrowings," Carey was busy telling the financial community what a wonderful and hospitable place New York was to do business, while Reid played the heavy to one of the state's

top corporate citizens. At one tense meeting with Carey and Reid, the G.E. board chairman, Reginald Jones, is reported to have angrily warned that he would pull all company facilities out of New York if Reid forced the two Hudson River plants to go to zero-PCB discharge before G.E. thought it feasible.

Publicly, Carey never backed off from defending Reid on the G.E. issue. But neither did he stop a vigorous frontal attack by Reid's fellow commissioner, John Dyson of the State Department of Commerce. "If zero discharge means zero jobs and three ounces means 1,200 jobs, I may we go for three ounces," said Dyson, in one of his many utterances.

Reid's downfall was hastened, no doubt, by a manner that struck many upper-level departmental bureaucrats as being peremptory and insensitive to the pecking order. As the end approached last winter, three of those bureaucrats resigned together in protest of Reid's leadership. Reid even had the Albany press sniping at him over departmental "morale" right up to the day of his resignation. At press conferences, certainly, Reid did not have Carey's light touch and fancy footwork in fending off slick questions. At a sensitive time for the state in its relations with industry, Reid carried a big stick but walked loudly.

Though Reid is gone, replaced by Peter A. A. Berle, and G.E.'s PCB discharges are all but ended, a momentous problem remains: the estimated 500,000 pounds of PCB's on the river bottom downstream from the plants. The state has roughly \$3.4 million with which to attack the problem—about \$3.4 million of it from the settlement with G.E. (The rest of the G.E. money will be spent on studies of other chemicals in the Hudson, including the one G.E. plans to use in place of PCB's.) The first step, which will cost about \$1 million and take six months, is to find out what can be done. This will consist mainly of mapping the precise locations and depths of the PCB's, which now appear to be concentrated behind the eight dams on the river between Hudson Falls and Troy.

The next step will be to attempt to render the PCB's harmless. How this might be accomplished is not yet clear, though it is certain to take years. The most obvious approach—dredging up the PCB muck—presents several problems. For one thing, the task might require expensive, spe-

cially designed dredges. Moreover, no riverine locality is likely to welcome huge mounds of PCB muck in its backyard. One possible solution, which Philip O'Brien, the D.E.C. counsel, admits is now "speculative," would be to neutralize the substance through a complex method recently developed by a Canadian biochemist. The method uses sound waves to break up the oily chemicals and a specially developed strain of bacteria to devour them. It is worked in the laboratory, but no one knows when it will be perfected for large-scale use.

Dredging entails yet another complication: Like stirring up dust in a closed room, it might send dormant PCB's flowing into the water currents, renewing the danger to living creatures. For this reason, says O'Brien, another approach might be "to do nothing." The trouble is that, unlike dust in a closed room, PCB's don't necessarily lie dormant. In the 12 days of heaviest river flow each year, according to D.E.C. tests, as many as 10,000 pounds of PCB's may pass over the Troy dam. They will fly the head, unimpeded, toward the rich estuary of Haverstraw Bay, where they can do far more harm than in the already semibarren and unproductive stretch above the Troy dam.

Even if at least some dredging is undertaken—as now appears likely—it may be three years before PCB's are actually scooped out of the river in quantity.

On an ageless schedule each spring, in the meanwhile, unknown to most people who live along the Hudson shores, fragile alewives and blue-back herring will turn the corner from the sea in March and head up the river—past the Battery, past the West Side Highway, to the ever-widening flow to the Tappan Zee and Haverstraw Bay and even up into the narrowing of the Highlands. They will swim up to spawn by the billions. Several weeks later, they will be followed by their larger cousins, the fighting shad. Then will come the swift striped bass and the ancient, lumbering sturgeon. As all these fish move upstream, they will unavoidably accumulate PCB's. And, despite the landmark agreement between the company and the state, nobody knows when those fish will be free of PCB's free enough, at least, to allow the river to be reopened to commercial fishing. And, certainly, nobody knows precisely what the eventual effects of this subtle pollutant will be. ■