

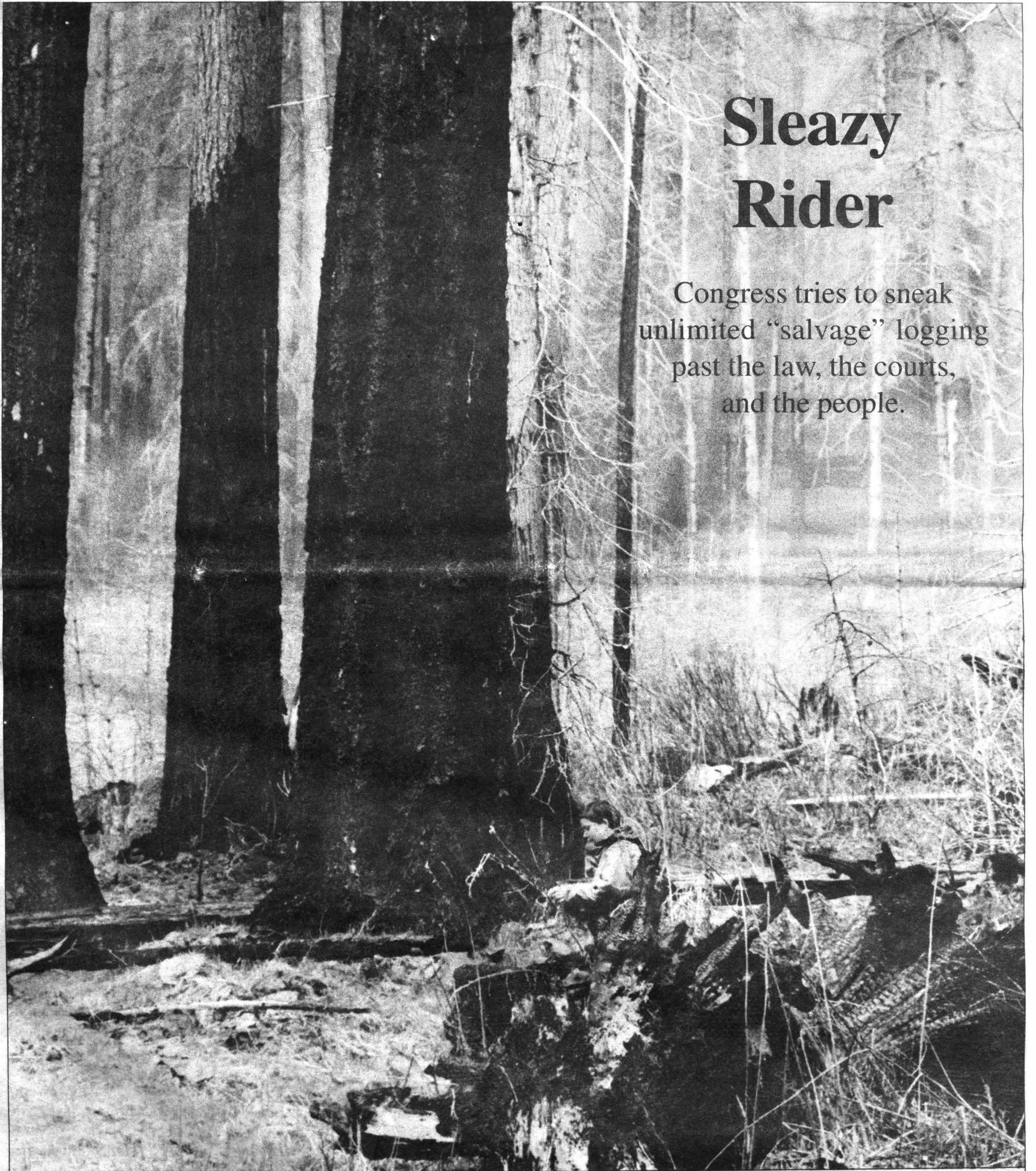
Protecting Forests, Defending Wildlife

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Sleazy Rider

Congress tries to sneak unlimited "salvage" logging past the law, the courts, and the people.

photo by Michael Omogrosso

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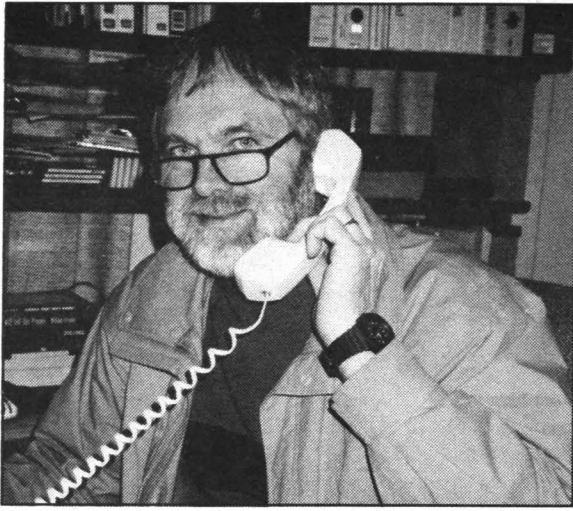
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From the Executive Director



Tim Hermach

The Privatization of Congress

"The Washington that now approaches the twenty-first century is an interest-group fortress." So affirms Kevin Phillips writing in the *Washington Post*. There are presently 90,000 lobbyists and 60,000 lawyers swarming capital hill. That's 280 for every member of Congress.

Very few are working for the public good. Most are there to advance the narrow financial interests of their corporate clients. The lobbyists' ambitions are five-fold: to procure tax exemptions; to obtain direct and indirect federal subsidies; to seek immunity from federal laws; to delay the implementation of public interest legislation, typically environmental and health and safety regulations; and to draft future policy. Financial reciprocity is the medium of exchange. Congress has become so predictably receptive to corporate graft that Tommy Boggs, a top D.C. lawyer/lobbyist, uses a computer to match corporate donors with willing Congresspeople who have power over pending bills that are of financial interest to the donors. The rose of representative government is being strangled by the weeds of organized avarice, and the lobbyists are winning.

Lobbyist domination is evident in what the Congress tackled and what it ignored during its first hundred days. It chose cosmetic over substantive issues, ignoring the four items that comprise more than three-quarters of the federal budget: the military, social security, interest on the debt, and what critics are beginning to call Aid to Dependent Corporations.

Immune from budgetary cuts were \$86 billion in direct subsidies identified by the conservative Cato Institute that were granted to corporations last year. Untouched as well were the \$400 billion in tax loopholes and exemptions enjoyed by corporations. The latest giveaway was an estimated \$63 million-plus "payback" to Rupert Murdoch, the media magnate who wisely invested in Newt Gingrich, gifting the Speaker of the House with a \$4.5 million book deal. There was a brief public outcry against a government official so glaringly profiting from his office, and Gingrich eventually back-pedaled a bit, but the anatomy of this cozy arrangement is worth revisiting.

Murdoch and Gingrich met to negotiate Gingrich's book deal while Murdoch was concurrently lobbying the Congress for tax and regulatory relief. The quid-pro-quo-ness of this arrangement was not lost on a skeptical public. No one, of course, knows what side agreements were negotiated, but this much we do know. Eighteen amendments were subsequently introduced to the Health Insurance Premium Deduction Act recently signed into law by President Clinton. Seventeen of them were struck down by the Congress.

Only one survived--an amendment introduced by Carol Moseley-Braun of Illinois, that would grant some \$63 million in tax relief to Murdoch's Fox network. Rep. Deutsch of Florida said "It looks sleazy, it smells sleazy, it talks sleazy, and it is sleazy."

There was a notable amendment, H.R. 831, that did *not* get attached to the Health Insurance Premium Deduction Act. It would have closed loopholes which allow billionaires to renounce their U.S. citizenship in order to avoid paying taxes--taxes on fortunes largely made in this country, using American resources and American infrastructure. Such is the moral bankruptcy of the Congress that it seeks to punish the most unfortunate of its citizens while supporting the most fortunate in disowning their country.

Untouched, too, was the budgetary black-hole where the greatest savings could have been realized with the least human anguish--the military budget which now tops \$300 billion. Although the U.S. is already spending five times more than the rest of the world on defense, the military just received another \$3.3 billion from Congress and is expected to squander \$36 billion more reviving the unnecessary Star Wars program.

Americans are also paying to export the seeds of war. The taxpayer pays \$3.1 billion in direct subsidies to foreign nations wishing to purchase U.S. military arms. Another \$2.3 billion just to Israel and Egypt for arms acquisition, and for repayment of debt incurred from prior weapons purchases. An additional \$500 million in tax money is spent on Arms Export Promotions. It is a twisted monument to the power of the "defense" lobby that the American taxpayer pays to make the weapons, pays for programs to market the weapons, gives money to foreign nations to purchase the weapons, then pays for wars where these same weapons are often turned against our own military, and finally, pays for more weapons development to protect us from our own sales.

Unlike the military, the forests have not benefited from lack of congressional attention. Slade Gorton R-WA and Mark Hatfield R-OR, past beneficiaries of \$83,679 and \$90,786 of timber PAC money respectively, have sponsored a Salvage Amendment which will permit unlimited cut levels on public lands. Touted as a "forest health" measure, the Gorton/Hatfield Amendment is tellingly exempt from all environmental regulations that ensure forest health. It is also exempt from citizen challenge and legal review--for obvious reasons. A similar bill introduced by Idaho's Senator Larry Craig also places corporate timber interests above legal and ecological considerations. Timber lobbyists--investors of \$2.3 million in seed money between 1991 and 1994--will be seeing billions of dollars in returns in 1995, having successfully conspired with Congress to steal our forests, and to rob us of our tools of protest.

Mr. Gorton (along with Senator Bob Packwood R-OR, the beneficiary of \$101,000 in timber PAC money) is also leading the charge to gut the Endangered Species Act. So blatant is Mr. Gorton's co-optation by extractive industry, *The New York Times* reported that the draft of Gorton's bill "was written by a group of Washington, D.C. lawyers who represent timber, mining, ranching and utility interests that have been most critical of the law." A bit of research reveals that the members of the coalition who crafted the Gorton bill also contributed \$34,000 to Mr. Gorton's re-election campaign last year.

But the records of the Federal Election Commission tell a pauper's tale. They represent only "hard" money--the tip of the iceberg. More insidious is the limitless horizon of "soft" money; anonymous money donated directly to a political party, without limits and without accountability for its final destination. Additionally, some politicians have formed their own Political Action Committees. Speaker Gingrich apparently feels the \$1,875,793 of "legal" contributions from PACs and individuals are inadequate. More discrete donors are invited to contribute to the Speakers' personal PAC, GOPAC, where anonymity encourages generosity. Gingrich, constitutionally third in line for the presidency, refuses to divulge how much money he has amassed, nor is he willing to name contributors.

If pandering is profitable for the receiver, it is wildly lucrative for the giver. In the 1980s, General Electric lobbyists helped draft the corporate tax law that reduced GE's tax to below zero. On \$6.5 billion in profits over a three year span, General Electric received a \$283 million rebate from American taxpayers! Philip Stern in his book *The Best Congress Money Can Buy* calculates that GE's PAC contributions netted the corporation a 673,759 percent rate of return. What honest investment, what product or service could GE provide that could even begin to approximate the money it can make by greasing Congress?

Balancing the budget on the backs of welfare mothers, and by cutting job-training programs and loans for education, will do nothing to measurably check the nation's financial hemorrhage. The programs targeted by Congress are barely rounding errors in the larger budget; total savings amount to less than 1 percent. In what passes as leadership these days, Congress takes first from the weakest among us, those without lobbying clout and PAC dollars, and gives to the richest and strongest.

The flaw of the free market, as it has devolved in our time, is that it is fundamentally undemocratic and anything but free. Where they clash, the agendas of corporations will always supersede the interests of the citizenry when weighed by a corrupt government. As applied to the forest issue, the power of money has rendered laws, science, the public welfare, and economic accountability, meaningless. The forests have already, in effect, been privatized, with the timber industry reaping all of the benefits but none of the responsibilities of ownership. Accordingly, the rewards of ten millennia of evolution are claimed by a few, while the risks of ecological ruination are distributed to the many. And the many are then silenced by Congressional mandate, excluded from the protection of law, mocking the concept of justice. The only question that remains is: how much longer will we tolerate it?

In its rush to privatize public lands and government functions, Congress appears to have started with itself. Since the chemical industry contributed the most "hard" money in the last election--\$3.8 million--perhaps we should rename the Congress to reflect reality inside the Beltway. In the manner of sponsorship protocol, let it be known as the **104th Dow Chemical Congress**.

The saddest and most troubling commentary of all is that unethical behavior and total absence of integrity and honor in some elected officials no longer has the power to surprise and outrage us. Until it does, until we begin to demand more from those entrusted with the public welfare; until accepting bribes is synonymous with--and punished as--treason, the nation's economy, its taxpayers and its resources will continue to be relentlessly looted.

Congressional Sneak Attack on Our Environment

Bill Leonard

The Des Moines Register

Flying at 30,000 feet over Olympic National Park in Washington State, an airline passenger sees "an emerald expanse of forest sweeping upward toward rugged snowcapped mountain peaks," in the words of Bruce Babbitt, U.S. Interior secretary.

"On the other side of the boundary line," Babbitt notes, "there are 60-degree mountainsides stripped to rock and mud, crisscrossed by logging roads, the whole mess slowly sliding down into barren stream beds where salmon once spawned."

Give some of the new Republican power brokers time, and the mud will slide down barren slopes on both sides of the boundary. The few remaining emerald forests--including those in what are now national parks--could be leveled, their watersheds fouled and our national treasures plundered for a quick buck. The right-wing lobbies screaming for an end to environmental protection, have found their heroes in the leadership of the new Republican majority.

Concern for the environment is not by logic a partisan issue. Respect for nature and the right of future generations to enjoy it should be beyond politics. But both are suddenly at risk, due to the shift in congressional power.

The new congressional majority wasted no time flexing its muscle and mapping the route the bulldozers will take through the American natural heritage. Republicans holding the first hearing of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Interior turned a sympathetic ear to those advocating selling off

"most of the land" now in national parks, forest refuges and wilderness areas.

Also on the lobbyists' agenda: eliminate local zoning regulations; end all federal energy-conservation programs; abolish renewable-energy research; abolish the U.S. Forest Service, Geological Survey, Bureau of Mines, National Biological Service, and Department of Energy--all involved in setting standards important to proper resource management, and all targeted for extinction for exactly that reason. Proper management impedes rip-offs...

The effort to waste the environment is as underhanded as it is dangerous. As Business Week points out, "Nowhere in the House Republican's Contract With America can you find the word environment. Instead, the pact contains standard regulatory-reform rhetoric..."

The "reforms" would regulate protection out of existence.

Business Week calls it a guerrilla attack. "It's a shrewd strategy," the magazine said.

The GOP contract avoids mention of the environment because the large majority of Americans don't want it bulldozed. They still want to think their kids can trust in the purity of the water they drink from the kitchen tap and the air they breathe in the back yard. They want their kids to discover the joy of fishing in the quiet, shaded eddy of a meandering stream. They want to show their kids--and with luck their grandkids--the mystery of the deep

forests, the grandeur of the Rockies, the splendor of a high waterfall, without finding that the trees have all been logged, the mountain trails and tundra torn by all-terrain vehicles, the view of the waterfall blocked by the obscene intrusion of a forest of fast-food franchises.

America has withstood political aberrations before. We can survive unsound economic policies, because while they can make life tough for a while, they can eventually be corrected. The same goes for mistaken social theories, misguided witch-hunts and various illogical legislation hurried onto the books in a panicky response to false alarms.

But when the American ecosystem is destroyed, there's no going back. When the mountainsides are reduced to mudslides, reforestation can be all but impossible. When all the wetlands are drained, all the streams straightened and the aquifers poisoned, the wildlife, the prairie remnants and the oak woodlots gone, it's time to fold. There's no rebuilding paradise from a paved-over parking lot.

And it doesn't take all that long to do all that damage. Just as a chainsaw can in a couple of minutes bring down a tree that spent a couple of centuries reaching for the sky, a brat pack wielding legislative power can in a couple of years destroy nature's marvels.

The incomparably bountiful nation we call home stands at the mercy of vandals. We owe it to our grandchildren and ourselves to see that they are stopped.

The few remaining emerald forests could be leveled, their watersheds fouled and our national treasures plundered for a quick buck.

"Nowhere in the House Republican's Contract With America can you find the word environment."

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The Nation Rejects "Salvage" Amendment



There is something deeply cynical about using the deaths of firefighters to sell out our national forests.

A quick bonanza for logging companies; a quick loss for taxpayers.

USA Today Selling Out The Forests

The worst decision made by Congress Thursday was in the Senate where lawmakers voted 48-46 to transfer even more of the nation's forests from public stewardship to the timber industry.

To accomplish this, lawmakers voted, in essence, to suspend all federal environmental controls on "salvage" logging of dead and

Salvage logging isn't always a bad thing. It may help protect roads and

Harebrained

Atlanta Journal

homes, and it may reduce the intensity of some fires which last year burned 3 million acres and killed at least 17 firefighters. But that's not what this amendment, attached to a messy rescissions bill, is all about.

Atlanta Journal

Logging Interests Put Rescissions at Risk

It should insult every thinking conservative that a landmark bill to rein in government spending has been tarnished by a harebrained special interest amendment that would actually increase government spending.

H.B. 1138, the GOP Rescission measure which for the first time ever actually cuts

• It suspends all environmental laws and forest management plans to allow the cutting of dead or "dying" trees. The hoax lies in its definition of "dying" defined as "susceptible to death, fire or disease." It doesn't take a professional forester to understand that

Disingenuous

Los Angeles Times

means any tree at all.

• It would open up 70 percent of the Chattahoochee National Forest to logging and much of the Oconee Forest.

Blank check on taxpayer's account

Lewiston Morning Tribune

dying trees in our national forests. And to make sure only a few old-growth stands would be excluded, they defined "salvage" so that almost any tree, regardless of age or health, fits the bill.

Result: a quick bonanza for logging companies; a quick loss for taxpayers, who already lose millions of dollars a year because the Forest Service sells timber rights too cheaply; and a further degradation of natural balances in Western forests.

Sponsors say salvage logging can reduce fires, which feed on weakened trees and snags. But if so, it is also true that the fire hazard is high in part because of logging, not for lack of it.

Decades of fire suppression have prevented smaller fires from clearing out the forest floor. Huge piles of slash wood left by clearcut operations have compounded the

Sell Out

USA Today

fuel load and fire risk. And as always, logging means roads, which means public access, which means more fires.

Instead of stabilizing the forests so they remain productive, the law eliminates all but the most perfunctory environmental safeguards. In many areas, you can forget about protecting the forests for other environmentally sensitive uses--from camping to hunting and fishing.

current--not projected--spending, now has an albatross.

And sadly enough, every member of the state's GOP delegation voted in favor of

Wholesale oversimplification

The Oregonian

There is something deeply cynical about using the deaths of

firefighters to sell out our national forests, shortchange taxpayers and abridge popular environmental

goals. Yet the House recently passed an even more aggressive law, so it appears that only a Clinton veto can prevent enactment.

Alas, former Rep. Dan Glickman was unanimously confirmed Thursday as the new Agriculture secretary, in part because he promised to maintain the "economic vitality" of the nation's forests. That's vague enough to justify anything that politics may demand, including willy-nilly salvage logging of the nation's greatest forests.

the misleading amendment. It's an ill-understood "salvage" timber proposal, added without a single committee hearing. Logging interests put rescission at risk by Rep. Charles Taylor (NC), at the urging of the timber industry. A conference committee will have a chance to remove it. We hope it won't waste any time doing so. Here's an idea of the damage the rider does:

• It mandates that 6 billion board feet of timber be "salvaged"--cut and sold--in the next two years, and at a net cost of more than \$300 million to taxpayers.

Watersheds, forests at risk

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

both. The GOP leadership ought waste no time in cutting this albatross from the neck of the important Rescission Bill before it goes to the President.

Sneak attack

The Des Moines Register

The New York Times

April 30, 1995



by **Mary C. Olmsted**
Professor of Law, University of Oregon

and **Chad Hanson**
Law student, University of Oregon

A Legacy of Ruin

A bill introduced by Senators Slade Gorton of Washington and Mark Hatfield of Oregon, would allow unlimited clear-cutting of publicly owned forests all over the country.

More than 50 forestry experts across the country have protested the bill in a letter to President Clinton.

The bill expressly overrides virtually all existing Federal environmental laws.

If two Northwest senators have their way, one of the biggest timber bonanzas ever could be about to begin, no matter how severe and lasting the damage to public resources. This month the Senate passed a bill, introduced by Senators Slade Gorton of Washington and Mark Hatfield of Oregon, that would allow unlimited clear-cutting of publicly owned forests all over the country—including the last remnants of old-growth forests—under the guise of “salvage” logging.

By mid-May, a conference bill is to be back on the floors of both houses for a final vote before it is sent to the White House. Promoted under the dubious pretext of “forest health,” the measure requires the cutting of trees “imminently susceptible to fire or insect attack”—language so sweeping that it would extend a free-for-all invitation to the timber industry to take what it pleases.

While the bill purports to respond to a forest health “crisis,” more than 50 forestry experts across the country have protested the bill in a letter to President Clinton. They point out that clear-cutting threatens soil, watersheds, fisheries and wildlife—causing damage that vastly exceeds the impact of insects or fire.

The bill expressly overrides virtually all existing Federal environmental laws. Moreover, language that restricts judicial remedies would prevent citizens from gaining relief in court to halt clear-cutting—even if its effects threatened water supplies, endangered protected species, caused erosion or imperiled communities that depend on fishing and recreation.

But perhaps the ultimate affront to the public is the way in which this bill has been handled by Senators Gorton and Hatfield, who are both members of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

The Senators fashioned the bill as a rider to an appropriations bill, so that to veto the rider President Clinton would have to veto the

entire appropriations package. This amounts to a form of legislative extortion, and it means an enormously controversial measure is all but hidden from the public eye.

In addition, the Northwest senators have acted with extraordinary haste to push the bill through the Senate before the public can mount any opposition.

Whatever the public may think about forest management policies, they should be alarmed at their senators’ disregard for basic principles of democracy.

Mark Hatfield has even been criticized for these tactics before. When he pushed some logging legislation through Congress in 1989, he promised on the floor of the Senate that he would not use appropriations riders in the future to make sweeping environmental policy.

Mr. Clinton’s credibility is at stake in this legislation. In the Northwest, the Gorton-Hatfield rider would essentially trump his own forest plan for managing public lands and would render irrelevant thousands of hours of planning, study, public comment, and agency deliberation that went into developing the plan.

Mr. Clinton’s signature on the bill would also breach a promise he made to the American people just two years ago—that he would only support forestry management that was “scientifically credible” and “legally defensible.” Legislation that lets industry override all environmental laws to get the timber out fails on both counts.

Passage of this bill would signal a serious problem about how our government operates. Even more important, the shameful destruction of our last primeval forests and the loss of countless species they support would rob us of an irreplaceable part of the natural world.

Is that what Senators Hatfield and Gorton wish to be their most enduring political legacy?

The public should be alarmed at their senators’ disregard for basic principles of democracy.

Mr. Clinton’s credibility is at stake in this legislation.

Mr. Clinton’s signature on the bill would also breach a promise he made to the American people just two years ago.

My family has been in America for almost five centuries. Marin Lopez, a shipwright on my father's side, was in the Caribbean with Cortes in 1511. My mother's English and German ancestors began farming on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River valley in the 1650s. A scion of that group later moved to Virginia (where the Holston River still bears the family name); his progeny moved into the Carolinas and eastern Alabama, where my mother was born on a plantation in 1914. One relative in that clan moved on to New Mexico at the close of the 19th century and then dropped from sight. He is recalled as a man obsessed with killing Indians.

I've come to believe, at the age of 49, that sacrificing the biological integrity of land to abet human progress is a practice my generation must end.

My father's family, originally tobacco farmers in Cuba, eventually came to St. Louis and New York as tobacco merchants, though they maintained close ties with Asturias, their homeland in northern Spain. Neither the Romans nor the Moors, my father is still proud to say, ever conquered Asturias. He traces his lineage there back to Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar--El Cid. In her last years my mother followed her own path back as far, to a baron of Somerset who ratified the Magna Carta at Runnymede.

All these centuries later, the wandering, the buying up, the clearing, the planting, and the harvesting of land in my single branch of the family has come down to a parcel in Oregon: 35 acres of mixed old-growth forest, rising quickly into the foothills of the Cascade Mountains from the north bank of the McKenzie River. These woods harbor Roosevelt elk and mountain lion, suites of riparian and mixed forest birds, and an assortment of insects, wildflowers, and mushrooms that trails off into a thousand species.

I understand the desire to own the land, the dream of material wealth that brought each of my lines of descent to the Americas. I respect the determination, the tenacity, and the uses to which the land-profit was put--formal education, for example. But I've come to believe, at the age of 49, that sacrificing the biological integrity of land to abet human progress is a practice my generation must end. If we do not, I believe the Americas will finally wash into the sea like Haiti, leaving behind a social nightmare.

My wife, Sandra, and I have lived on the right bank of the river for 24 years. We want to keep this single wooded slope of land in the West undeveloped and uncut. We want to pass it on like a well-read book, not the leavings of someone's meal.

The enormous trees and the river, because of their scale, dominate what we see here, but the interstices of this landscape are jammed with life: hummingbirds, spiders, butterflies, cutthroat trout, wild ginger, skinks, the cascading blossoms of wild rhododendron. In the 1940s some of the larger trees--Douglas fir, western hemlock, and western red cedar, four to six feet in diameter--were selectively logged.

The selective logging and a fire that burned a long stretch of the north bank of the McKenzie in 1855 created a forest with a few tall, rotting stumps; dense patches of younger Douglas fir; and several dozen massive, isolated, towering trees, 300 to 400 years old, all standing among many fewer Pacific yew, chinquapin, bigleaf maple, red alder, Pacific dogwood, California hazel, and the odd Pacific madrone.

In 1989 a neighbor who owned this slope put 32 acres of it up for sale. Timber companies that intended to clearcut the property were the most active bidders, and Sandra and I were forced to match money and wits with them. But in 1990 we were able to add these acres to three we'd bought in 1976. We then completed a legal arrangement to prevent the land from being either logged or developed after we passed away. Good intention toward an individual stretch of land has now become well-meaning of another kind in my family.

We did not set out to preserve these woods. From the start we felt it a privilege, also a kind of wonder, to live there. Twenty-inch spring chinook spawn on a redd in front of the house in September every year. Wild bleeding heart, yellow violets, white flowers such as trillium and wood sorrel, and the red flowers of coralroot are brilliant in the deep, green woods in April and May. I find bear scat, beaver-clipped willows, and black-tailed deer prints regularly on my walks. On the same night we've listened to northern spotted owls, western screech owls, and northern saw-whet owls call. Spotted skunks and a short-tail

weasel have tried to take up residence in the house. On summer nights, when we leave the windows open, bats fly through.

From a certain perspective, this wooded hill with its unnamed creek and marvelous creatures--I nearly stepped on a rubber boa one morning on the way to the toolshed--is still relatively unmanipulated; but I try not to let myself be fooled by the thought. The number of songbirds returning each spring I would guess to be half what it was a decade ago. The number of chinook on the redd, though it fluctuates, has also fallen off in recent years. And I've taken hundreds of dead animals off the road along the river--raccoon, brush

and dense forests made farming and grazing in the area impractical. Clearcutting in modern times, with its complicated attendant problems--siltation smothering salmon redds, "predator control" programs directed against black bears--has turned the road between our house and Eugene, 40 miles downriver, into as butchered a landscape as any I know in the Cascades.

In the 1980s, when the price of Douglas fir reached \$300 for 1,000 board feet, some small-property owners succumbed--two or three trees might bring them \$2,500. The resulting harvest has grown to look like mange on the hills. Hand in hand with that has come real estate

Caring for the **WOODS**

by Barry Lopez

Driftnets that snag salmon in the far-off Pacific, industrial logging in Central America... all of it directly affects these acres. There is no way to fence it out.

rabbit, even Steller's jay and mink. People new to the area are apt to log the few Douglas firs left on their property, to roll our fresh lawns and plant ornamental trees in their place. Their house cats leave shrews, white-footed mice, and young birds strewn in the woods like so much litter.

Driftnets that snag salmon in the far-off Pacific, industrial logging in Central America that eliminates migratory-bird habitat, speeding trucks and automobiles, attractive prices for timber--all of it directly affects these acres. There is no way to fence it out.

The historical detail that might make vivid what, precisely, occurred in the McKenzie River valley after its location in 1812 by Donald MacKenzie--a trapper and kinsman of the Canadian explorer Alexander MacKenzie--is hard to come by; but the story is similar to those told of a hundred other valleys in the West. Beaver trappers were the first whites to sleep in these woods. (Molala and Kalapuya Indians, from the east and west side of the Cascades respectively, apparently camped along the McKenzie in summer, when salmon were running and openings in the heavily forested mountains were crowded with ripening blue and red huckleberries, soft thimbleberries, strawberries, orange salmonberries, blue and red elderberries, and trailing blackberries.) When the free trappers and the company trappers were gone, gold and silver miners filtered in. Toward the end of the 19th century some homestead settlement followed small-scale logging operations along the river, though steep mountains

promotion, the hundreds of FOR SALE signs along the road a sort of Muzak.

I am not a cynical man, but watching the quick spread of suburban logging and seeing the same house put up for sale every few years--with a little more landscaping, a higher fence, and another \$30,000 to \$40,000 added to the price--pushes me closer to it than anything else I know. A long-term commitment to the place, knowledge of its biological limits, or concern for the valley's fate--these do not appear to be a part of the transactions. The hacking away at natural growth, the incessant prettifying with rose-bushes and trimmed hedges, and the imposition of incongruous antebellum architecture look like a scatter of bad marriages--reigning husbands with presentable wives.

If I had answers to these problems, or if I felt exempt in this mess, I would be angry about it more often than I am. As it is, Sandra and I pace ourselves. We work on initiatives to control real estate development and rein in logging along the river. We provide a place for the release of rehabilitated raptors, including spotted owls. We work amicably with the state highway department and the Bonneville Power Administration (BPA), which maintain corridors across the land we occupy. We have had to threaten a lawsuit to curb the recklessness of the highway department with chainsaws and heavy equipment, and we have had to insist through an attorney that the BPA not capriciously fall "danger trees" along its power-line right-of-way.



photo by Trygve Steen

But those agencies, whose land-management philosophies differ so strikingly from our own, have slowly accommodated us. Instead of flooding the roadside with herbicides and flailing at it with oversize brush cutters, the highway department now permits us (and others along the river) to trim back by hand what brush actually threatens motor traffic. And the regional director of the BPA wrote into a recent contract that I could accompany his fallers, to be certain no felled tree was sent crashing needlessly into other trees.

Sandra and I ourselves, of course, have not left the place untouched. In January 1991 two windstorms felled about 30 trees. We logged them out with horses and put the money toward the land payment. I have felled standing dead trees that threatened the house. We compost

But it is our habit to disturb these acres very little and to look after them in a way only humans can by discouraging or preventing the destruction other humans bring.

our kitchen waste, laundry lint, and woodstove ashes in the woods. We've planted gardens and built outbuildings. But it is our habit to disturb these acres very little and to look after them in a way only humans can by discouraging or preventing the destruction other humans bring. I've asked my

neighbors to stop dumping refuse on our place. (They had done it for years because it was only "the woods," a sort of warehouse for timber, deer, fish, and a dumping ground for whatever one wanted to abandon--cars, bedsprings, fuel drums, mall packaging). I've asked another neighbor's children not to shoot at birds or chop down trees. I've asked unwitting fishermen not to walk through the salmon redd. And, reluctantly, I've gated and posted the land to keep out wanton hunters and people in four-wheel-drives looking for something to break down or climb over.

We know we cannot fence off the endangered chinook redd without attracting curious passersby. Neither I nor anyone can outlaw the product advertising (or foolish popular history) that contributes to images of men taming a violent West. Neither I nor anyone, I fear, can soon change human sentiment to put lands that are unharvested, un hunted, unroaded, or untenanted on the same footing with lands that are domesticated or industrialized. So the birds and animals, the fish and spiders, the wild orchids and other flowers will not have these shields.

Piece by piece, however, as a citizen and as a writer, I want to contest the obsessions that I believe imperil American landscapes--the view that they are principally sources of material wealth or scenic backdrops for a more important human drama. I want to consider the anomalies that lie at the heart of our incessant desire to do good. And I want to see how to sidestep despair, by

placing a faith in something larger than my own ideas.

Sandra and I know we do not own these 35 acres. The Oregon ash trees by the river, in whose limbs I have seen flocks of 100 Audubon's warblers, belong also to the families in Guatemala in whose forests these birds winter. The bereavement I

If I had answers to these problems, or if I felt exempt in this mess, I would be angry about it more often than I am.

feel at the diminishment of life around me is also a bereavement felt by men and women and children I don't know, living in cities I've never visited. And the exhilaration I experience seeing fresh cougar tracks in mud by a creek is an emotion known to any person in love who hears the one-who-is-loved speak.

There is more mystery to be contemplated, there are more lessons to be absorbed, on these 35 acres than all the people in my lineage going back to Runnymede and medieval Asturias could manage, should the study be pursued another 1,000 years. My generation's task, I believe, is to change the direction of Western civilization in order to make such a regard practicable.

When I rise in the morning I often

walk down to the riverbank. If it's summer I'm likely to see mergansers, tree swallows, and osprey. I see first light brightly reflected on alder twigs stripped by beaver. I feel the night movement of cool air downriver and see deerhead orchid and blue gilia blooming in the dark green salal and horsetail rushes.

I am acutely aware, winter or summer, that these waters have come from farther east in the mountains, that in a few days they will cross the bar at the mouth of the Columbia and become part of the Pacific. The ancient history alone of this river, this animate and elusive business of rain and snow and grayity, gives me hope.

I know that to love life, to swear an allegiance to what is alive, is the essence of what I am after.

Walking back to the house in this serene frame of mind, I know that to love life, to swear an allegiance to what is alive, is the essence of what I am after. I'm moved to forgive whoever does not find in these acres what I do. I glance into the moving picket to trees and shadows, alert for what I've never noticed before, in a woods I'm trying to take care of--as in its very complicated way it is taking care of me.

This article first appeared in Audubon magazine. It is reprinted with permission, in its entirety.

Speak No Evil

by
Victor
Rozek



Oklahoma City

Time photo

The wages of hatred

Fifty years after the world learned of the unimaginable atrocities of Nazi death camps, we still debate whether or not words have the power to harm. For the six million Jews who were first marginalized, then dehumanized, then demonized by the inflammatory rhetoric of a failed Austrian painter, the answer is grimly enshrined in the ovens of Auschwitz and Dachau.

An Oklahoma City-like tragedy was foreseeable to those who track the escalation of Right wing rhetoric and violence. Fertilizer was not only used in the making of the bomb, a thick layer of hate rhetoric preceded it, giving aid, comfort, and impetus to the unhinged element among us. History bears bloody witness to the fact that hate crimes grow from the manure of hate rhetoric.

Spokesmen for the Far Right have been in frenzied denial over their contributions to the recent mayhem. Perhaps the most egregious is convicted Watergate felon Gordon Liddy. The now familiar story is worth reviewing, slowly, word by incendiary word, to absorb its full impact. During his nationally syndicated radio show, Liddy first railed against federal law enforcement agents and then instructed his listeners to shoot ATF agents in the head in order to avoid hitting their bullet-proof vests. He also brags about using hand-drawn figures of Bill and Hillary Clinton as targets on a shooting range. Liddy smugly compounds such incredible lack of judgement by saying "I hoped it would improve my accuracy."

What lacks accuracy beyond Mr. Liddy's discernment is his memory. Before Liddy became the nation's best known burglar, he personally experienced the power of the mis-spoken word. During a meeting with Nixon White House staffers, Jeb Magruder remarked that it would "be nice if we could get rid

of' columnist Jack Anderson. According to testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee, Liddy took the comment literally, interpreting it as an order to kill Anderson, and prepared to set off to do so. Magruder eventually calmed Liddy, assuring him murder was not the intent of his off-hand remark, yet Liddy now insists that words have no power to inspire harm.

Words matter, in part, because the range of human belief is not bound by reason. The same folks that are eligible to vote also read the **National Inquirer** and once embraced embezzling tele-evangelists Jim and Tammy Bakker. TV soap opera stars routinely get letters addressed to their characters, chastising them for on-screen behaviors viewers believe are real. Conspiracy theories, from the ever popular Jewish-bankers-rule-the-world, to AIDS as a plot by the white race against blacks, fuel the fantasies of the paranoid. Still others cling to the certainty of UFOs, past life regressions, virgin birth, and the belief that the U.N. which has shown no ability to tame even small regional conflicts, is poised to invade the United States.

The point is not to ridicule personal beliefs or preferences, but to illustrate susceptibility to ideas with arguably weak intellectual underpinnings. Opinion manipulators understand that. Increasingly, their brand of social discourse seeks to manipulate the marginally rational through blame and anger, insult and innuendo. Environmentalists and the government are frequent targets.

When Rush Limbaugh daily assaults and ridicules the President, when he delegitimizes the government, when he marginalizes and dehumanizes the poor, minorities, women, environmentalists, and vilifies all Democrats and liberals, it eventually will have an impact.

Arguing that the more monstrous impacts are unintended is small comfort to the victims on the barbed end of the rhetoric stick.

Public Forests from the Far Right

The forest issue does not lack for Right wing rhetoric. Wise Use organizers who whip rural crowds into hateful frenzies against environmentalists and against government employees charged with enforcing laws on public lands, also bear responsibility for creating a climate that encourages violence. When they accuse environmentalists and the government of conspiring to take away their rights and property, then invite angry rural people to strike out against their "oppressors," they plant the seeds that erupt as threats, intimidation, and ultimately violence.

And that crop, which has been so relentlessly sown by the likes of Limbaugh and Liddy, the anti-environmental movement, and by a new breed of irresponsible legislators, has begun to sprout. Before the explosion in Oklahoma, a long string of unanswered Right wing intimidations contributed to an atmosphere that emboldened extremists.

Journalist David Helvarg, author of **The War Against the Greens**, has researched the growing violence against environmentalists. He documents that activists in Washington, New Mexico, Texas, and Montana reported receiving death threats from militia members. The Native Forest Council itself received a bomb threat the day after the Oklahoma City bombing. No doubt feeling emboldened by the activities of his kind, an anonymous caller warned, "it happened in Oklahoma City, and it can happen to you."

After Ellen Gray, an Audubon Society organizer in Everett, Washington, testified at a County

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***"We have a militia of 10,000,
and if we can't beat you
at the ballot box,
we'll beat you with a bullet."***



**Accuses the President of being a traitor
- Rep. Bob Dornan**



**Clean water supporters are
"the same people that would put homos
in the military,"
- Rep. Randy Cunningham**

Council meeting in support of a land-use ordinance that would (heaven forbid) protect streams and wetlands, a man confronted her with a noose and threatened "This is for you." Another self-appointed defender of liberty told her "We have a militia of 10,000, and if we can't beat you at the ballot box, we'll beat you with a bullet." All of representative government reduced to one bullet, one vote.

Helvarg reports that the Wise Use movement, the counties movement (which denies federal authority over public lands), and the militia movement have philosophical ties and overlapping memberships. The inflammatory Chuck Cushman, a national Wise Use organizer, speaks to meetings of property rights groups where militia materials are distributed. One faction thus recruits from another. Ron Arnold, one of the founders of Wise Use is on the advisory board of the National Federal Lands Conference, the coordinating body of the counties movement.

Government land management agencies have also been targeted. In Nye County, Nevada, a Forest Service office was bombed after receiving threats from local Right wing groups. A Nye County Commissioner, braced by armed militia, held off two Forest Service rangers while he illegally bulldozed a road into the Toiyabe National Forest.

In Idaho and Oregon, Forest Service employees have had guns pointed at them. As a result of such intimidation, Federal land agencies in portions of Idaho have simply stopped performing their duties. Wearing a uniform of the Federal Government in heavily Right wing counties, is seen by government employees as wearing a target.

The High Cost of Free Speech

Anti-government fanaticism is chillingly expressed by militia leaders. Samuel Sherwood, an Idaho radical, urged his followers to "Go up and look legislators in the face because some day you may have to blow it off." Bo Gritz, another Idahoan, apparently has no problem looking at the faces of murdered innocence. He called the Oklahoma City tragedy "A Rembrandt. A masterpiece of science and art put together."

In Montana, a militia leader threatened public officials saying "there cannot be a cleansing without the shedding of blood." **The New York Times** reports that at least two judges in the region say they now fear for their lives. In a case that charged three Montana men with felony crimes of intimidating Federal officials, the prosecutor was threatened with being burned, hanged, and run over.

Even such trivia as a building permit inspires violence. Helvarg reports that Jess Quinn, a Montana property rights militant, told a militia meeting "When the hour strikes, there will be public officials dead in the streets."

Lest the radical Left attempt to claim moral superiority, it must be noted that shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing, Gilbert Murray, a 47-year old timber lobbyist for the California Forestry Association was killed by a mail-bomb attributed to the Unabomber. Evidence suggests the Unabomber has links to the radical Left dating back to the 60s when the Left routinely robbed banks and bombed federal buildings in violent protest against the violence of the Vietnam war.

But to the casualties of hate and to their families, it doesn't much matter whether they were killed by zealots on the Right or the Left. Gun worshipers, Wise Users, county movement thugs, property rights fanatics, militia, pro-life killers, animal liberation militants, or monkeywrenching

environmentalists; the escalation of violence is broad-based and indicative of an increasingly fragmented and frustrated society.

Myrlie Evers-Williams of the NAACP commented, "The Oklahoma City bombing has grimly reminded America of what hate can do when mixed with blind anger in those who feel left out of participatory democracy." Indeed, by dancing almost exclusively to the voices of corporate special interests, both parties of government exclude other legitimate voices and ignore the interests of millions of disenfranchised Americans who no longer even bother to vote. History unmistakably teaches that the frustrations of being unheeded erupt in savagery. Ask the last Russian Czar.

Government Complicity

The government shares responsibility for the overall climate that invites lawlessness, though in a more profound and subtle sense than from its often cited abuses in Waco. First, there is a strikingly unequal enforcement of the law which invites escalation of violence. Second, the overall conduct of public officials is so egregious that respect for the government has eroded to dangerous levels.

In social movements, enforcement of the law has become subjective and unreliable. Right wing violence seems to be more tolerated than its Left wing counterpart. It is difficult to imagine authorities allowing a group of armed environmentalists to hold off federal employees at gunpoint to prevent the bulldozing of a road into a national forest. Yet those responsible in Nye County were not punished. By contrast, a peaceful blockade of a logging road by greens brings swift arrest and prosecution.

Likewise, since 1977 Right wing antiabortionists have committed a reported five murders, nine attempted murders, 95 assaults, 132 bombings or incidents of arson, 210 acts of stalking, 347 invasions, and 585 acts of vandalism. Regardless of one's position on the issue, this suggests that the pro-life movement has been indulged and granted an incredible leeway to abuse not tolerated from other movements.

As one Montana prosecutor correctly observed: "The more the Federal and local law enforcement agencies behave with a hands-off attitude, the more bold and daring these groups become." If the right to free speech is to be balanced by the responsibility to respect the law and tolerate our neighbors, abuses must be punished equally. When authorities practice selective enforcement, that balance is lost. The law, at its best, protects us all, and we fail to defend and apply it at our peril.

Beyond a fair and equal application of the law, government officials, as leaders, also bear the responsibility of modeling the behaviors they wish mirrored in society. Not without reason has coverup become synonymous with government. When the Federal Government consistently violates its own laws, when it lies to its citizens about Vietnam, Guatemala, Iran/Contra; when special prosecutors must be appointed to unearth the truth about such scandals as Watergate and Whitewater; when legislators accept vast amounts of money from industries then allow industry lobbyists to write legislation economically beneficial to those industries, what message do Americans get about acceptable behavior? What do they learn from congressional leaders like D'Amato and Packwood of the value of honesty and integrity? If standards of honorable behavior do not apply to politicians, why should they apply to the citizenry?

“We the People of the United States,

*in order to provide corporate subsidies,
destroy our public lands,
insure biological impoverishment,
provide tax dollars,
promote the welfare of the few,
and secure an uncertain future to ourselves and our posterity...”*





Oklahoma City

Time photo

When Senator Jesse Helms publicly warns the President not to visit a military base in North Carolina without a bodyguard, what inference can militant anti-government advocates draw?

When Representative Bob Dornan repeatedly asserts that President Clinton, duly elected by the American people, is not his Commander and Chief; when he bellows on the House floor that the President is a traitor, what is the militia to make of that? What treatment is commonly accorded to traitors?

When California Representative Randy Cunningham voices his opposition to a clean water amendment by saying that supporters of safe water are "the same people that would put homos in the military," what is to be made of that bizarre linkage? What does one issue have to do with the other? And how do such comments legitimize the bashing of gay people?

When Idaho Representative Helen Chenoweth, appearing in a militia video, links environmentalism with "the erosion of private property rights and to the Communist threat;" when she talks about the "spiritual war between God-fearing Americans and godless environmentalists," by inference, what sort of treatment can godless environmentalists expect? In a "spiritual war" against the "godless," hasn't violence been historically rationalized? How many "godless" millions have died at the hands of "True Believers?" Jesus, protect us from your followers.

As Patrick Dawson, writing in *High Country News*, reasoned: "When you mix guns, anti-environmentalism, conspiracy theories, and disenchanted (and sometimes unbalanced) people with political allies like Helen Chenoweth, then you have a grassroots movement dangerously approaching fascism."

Ironically, it can be argued that the New World Order so feared by the extreme Right has, in economic terms, existed for decades and has been championed primarily by the political Right. The only global entities powerful and influential enough to impose their agendas on governments are corporations. As their influence expands globally, the truth of Thomas Jefferson's obser-

vation rings clear: "Merchants have no country." Multinational corporations have evolved to become stateless entities whose only loyalty is to profit and growth. Resource-grabbing legislation like NAFTA and GATT are potent signs that corporate power is being consolidated and codified into global law. The issue is not movement toward One World Government, but the imposition of a Single Planetary Economic System, where all men are valued primarily as consumers, and all the world's resources are available for exploitation.

Don't Wait Until They Come for You

The work of creating a just society, respectful of individuals and of the earth, is slow and difficult. Social structures are resistant to change, evolving more slowly than the change in our understanding. The real revolution is one of expanding awareness. As that awareness presses for changes in human behavior, it spawns potent anti-bodies. For greens, it was a Republican Congress eager to roll back 25 years of environmental gains, perhaps reacting to the violence of people invested in not changing. For all of us, the Oklahoma City tragedy is a reminder that governance is not a spectator sport; that words inspire actions, that hate unopposed is hate condoned.

The solution lies in the example we set. In Billings, Montana, when white supremacists threw a brick through the window of a Jewish family displaying a Menorah, the entire community began displaying Menorahs in a stand against hate. The violence stopped.

Involvement and immediate response appear to be the most potent remedies. Whether on the airwaves, in public meetings, in the print media, or in personal interactions, hatred must not stand unopposed. Call, write, speak your truth. We must find our voices or those with the loudest voices will impose their truth upon us. And perhaps most important, we must be willing to examine our own beliefs.

We are what we think. Irrational belief, when mortared with blame and intransigence becomes fanaticism. So much violence is caused by proud

people who believe themselves and their intentions to be noble and just, and so do not question themselves or permit others to do so. But as Mark Twain noted, "loyalty to petrified opinion never yet broke a chain or freed a human soul."

Each of us would be well served to examine our own "petrified opinions." And where we find them hardened, to examine our rhetoric and its effect in the world. Feeding fanatics, as we have sadly seen, is a possible consequence.

Let's face it: happy, well-adjusted people leading fulfilling lives do not crawl around the forest in fatigues playing a paunchy version of cowboys and Indians. They do not howl about Jews, homos, or godless environmentalists nor do they find conspiracies under every stone. But hatred has escaped the confines of the kitchen table and the smoky saloon. It has armed and organized, and wears not only fatigues and firearms, but suits and briefcases. It inhabits the airwaves, and walks the halls of Congress. How the rest of us choose to respond to it, will say as much about us as about the threat we face.

For environmentalists, the diamond in the coal bin may be simply this: if what we were doing was not working, if we were not pushing the envelope of established values, there would not be as much resistance.

But when the frustration becomes unbearable, the pain inflicted too great, when the fabric of society begins to unravel, the temptation is to believe that if we just eliminate the unjust people, we can have justice. If we rid ourselves of the insane, we can have sanity. If we kill the warriors, we can have peace. But, in the words of A.J. Mustre, "There is no way to peace. Peace is the way."

In the Declaration of Independence Thomas Jefferson wrote: "That whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends (*life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*), it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it." Who among us would not like to reform the more rancid elements of our government? The choice is to do so within constitutional strictures--to get involved, to organize, to vote, to hold government accountable--or to leave it to the bullet-headed.

Justification

by Derrick Jensen

There is a place I know north of Spokane where the clearcuts wrap around a mountain, drop into a valley, climb the nearby ridge, and cut a swath deep into the next watershed. This fall I walked those clearcuts, past the whitened slash piles of wood dead a dozen years and past the dead green limbs of this year's cut, and in ten consecutive miles I never once came within twenty yards of a live tree.

The forests of the Inland Northwest have been hammered by logging. Seventy percent of the streams in north Idaho are clogged by logging-induced sediment. Habitat damage from logging has caused Idaho to reduce the Elk season in many prime hunting areas from two months to as little as two weeks. Fisheries and wildlife are in universal decline. In an attempt to pacify an increasingly outraged public while still cutting the forests, the Forest Service has long-since taken to calling old growth trees "overmature" or "decadent," and has recently begun to call clearcuts "temporary meadows." In Idaho and possibly elsewhere, the Forest Service has been known to keep two sets of computer inventories of trees, one containing the number of trees actually standing, the other containing grossly inflated numbers and claiming there are thick forests where in actuality there are clearcuts or meadows. The Forest Service has used this second inventory, known as a phantom forest, for public consumption and to feed the computer programs that tell forest sale planners how many trees to sell.

Computer models notwithstanding, it has become impossible to hide the logging-induced damage from anyone who walks in the forest. Now, in a campaign as disingenuous, blatant, and nonsensical as anything in Orwell's 1984, transnational timber corporations, the Forest



Service, and western politicians are attempting to use the damaged state of the forests to justify further cutting. Timber industry organizations are flooding the media in Appalachia, the Southwest, and here in the Inland Northwest with advertisements and press releases saying that the only way to keep the forests from dying is through a massive and immediate program of cutting. Significantly, the advertisements fail to mention that industrial forestry, and fire suppression in support of industrial forestry, are the causes of the forest's problems in the first place.

Recently, Forest Service Chief Jack Ward Thomas has assisted the timber industry by redefining "forest health." According to the Forest Service's new definition, forest health has nothing to do with the presence or absence of fish or wildlife, and in fact has nothing to do with a forest at all. Instead, the new definition has only to do with meeting timber extraction goals: "A desired state of forest health is a condition where biotic and abiotic influences do not threaten resource management objectives now or in the future."

Western politicians such as Larry Craig are currently helping the timber industry in this plan by attempting to legislatively provide "exemptions from environmental laws for logging needed to improve forest health."

It doesn't take a cognitive giant to see that if this logging were truly "needed to improve forest health" there would be no need to exempt it from environmental laws. In fact the only difficult cognitive task in this whole business is understanding how so many people could involve themselves in a plan so blatantly and absurdly destructive as attempting to use massive logging to fix logging-induced damage. Fortunately, though, the work of Dr. Robert Jay Lifton, the world's foremost authority on the psychology of genocide and mass destruction, provides a clue toward understanding this otherwise incomprehensible plan.

Before you can commit any act of mass destruction, Lifton postulates, you must convince yourself and others that your activity is not in fact destructive but instead beneficial. You must, as Lifton describes, have a "claim to virtue." This was true of the crusaders, who killed, looted, and raped their way across southern Europe and the Near East under the



banner of purifying the holy lands, and it was true as well of the Nazis, who murdered six million Jews and millions of others in an effort to revitalize the "Nordic race." While the issues are different, they share a common base. Big timber corporations, the Forest Service, and many western politicians also cling to a "claim of virtue" when implementing policies of mass destruction. Man's abuse of the Earth is just another manifestation of man's inhumanity to man.

The forests of this continent have long fallen under "claims to virtue." The early European colonists, on their arrival in North America, saw it as their task to Christianize the natives and to make a profit on the side. Captain John Chester put it succinctly: the natives were to gain "the knowledge of our faith," while the Europeans would acquire "such riches as the country hath." These "riches" included the dense forests of New England. Under the claim to virtue of spreading the Christian faith, the colonists committed genocide, and at the same time cut down these native forests.

Soon the claim to Christianization was dropped, and the rationalization for the destructiveness became "Manifest Destiny," the tenet that the territorial expansion of the United States was not only inevitable but divinely ordained. Before the United States could expand, however, the land's original inhabitants had to be removed. This necessitated destroying hundreds of human cultures and killing or placing on reservations millions of human beings. Human cruelty extended to nature. Between 45 and 70 million Buffalo and 20 million Pronghorn Antelope were slaughtered, and the native forests of the Midwest fell to the axe.

Manifest Destiny as a claim to virtue soon evolved into the ideal of making money. An enterprise was deemed to be good if it was profitable, no matter the destruction it caused. Under the new motivation native forests once again suffered: A publicist for Northern Pacific, the company that eventually spawned Weyerhaeuser, Potlatch, Boise Cascade, and Plum Creek, described the forests of the Northwest as "a rich heiress waiting to be appropriated and enjoyed." For more than a century these timber companies have appropriated and enjoyed this region's forests until today, the combined worth of these corporations is well over \$20 billion.

As the effects of industrial forestry on the region have become increasingly clear—as the fisheries have collapsed, the biodiversity has been decimated, communities fragmented, and the once-rich forests converted to tree farms—corporate profitability has lost its effectiveness as a claim to virtue. The big timber corporations have had to take to heart the words of the psychologist R.D. Laing: "Exploitation must not be seen as such. It must be seen as benevolence."



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***What is the appropriate response
to a government willing to lie
and to destroy our natural heritage
to further enrich
transnational corporations?***

This is where "forest health," as prescribed by timber companies and the Forest Service, comes into play. The industry line is that "appropriate harvesting is essential to the survival of forests, wildlife and our way of life." This statement ignores, of course, the millennia that forests, including wildlife, survived without the assistance of a single chainsaw.

The fires that occurred in north-central Washington, central Idaho, and other areas during 1994 were not the catastrophic events that corporations and the Forest Service have portrayed them to be and that have been exploited by the media. In most places the fires burned slowly, creating small openings and snags, diversifying habitat and providing nutrients to the soil. When viewed from a landscape perspective, these fires were exactly what the forests needed, and were well within intensity levels to be expected after extended drought, industrial logging, sloppy disposal of slash piles, and fifty years of fire suppression. The fires were painful in terms of loss of human life, as well as economically expensive. But to continue to depict forest fires as bad or purely destructive, as the timber corporations are doing, is to perpetuate a falsehood that leads to shortsighted "solutions" that have proven time and again to be mistakes. Fires, a natural occurrence, must not be used as justification to log off, thin out, or otherwise diminish the forest's biological potential to bring itself back to a balanced state.

In using the "forest health" ploy, the timber industry is merely following a trend the Forest Service began in the 1980s. Forest Service timber sale planners have for years regularly proposed huge timber sales under the pretext of improving forest health. One current and not-atypical example should suffice: the reasoning for the recent Upper Sunday Timber Sale (which targets mainly mature and old growth trees, and includes over a square mile of glorified clearcuts) is that "while insect and disease populations are currently at endemic levels, there is a potential for spruce bark beetle populations to reach epidemic proportions." In other words, the Forest Service justifies cutting these admittedly healthy trees on the grounds that if left standing there is a potential for them to someday get sick.

The aforementioned Larry Craig is not the only Senator helping the transnational timber corporations to access the National Forests. Western Senators such as Bob Packwood (\$101,000 in timber PAC money between 1987-1994), Mark Hatfield (\$90,786), and Slade Gorton (\$83,679) seek to improve forest health, so they say, by exempting many Forest Service sales not only from environmental regulations but also from citizen oversight.

It's all insane. Whether it was medieval crusaders looting for the greater glory of God, Nazis murdering Jews for the sake of the master race, or transnational corporations cutting trees for the sake of forest health, the result is the same: massive and inexcusable destruction. And the dynamic at work is also similar: in each case the "crusaders/Nazis/forest healers," all kill to heal. It is the inexcusable nature of the destructive activity itself that necessitates the perpetrator make a claim to a higher good. This claim, then, is a mask to conceal one's real intent from one's victims and especially from oneself.

The "forest health" advertising campaign, absurd as it may be, has so far been successful at confusing the public. How has this happened?

The first answer is that these companies are very wealthy and are effective at using that wealth to subvert public process. This was recognized at least as long ago as 1940, when Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace wrote, "In a democracy, individual understanding of problems and an aroused public opinion are essential to constructive action. It is my considered judgment that in the Northwest true understanding of the forest problems and the development of an aroused public opinion have been delayed mainly by the hired men of the forest industries who have been adroit in issuing misleading propaganda." He continued, "Actually the purpose is to justify with some kind of rationalization cutting practices dictated by conventional and short-term investment and dividend considerations. These, and not good forestry practice based on public interest, are the determining considerations."

The same subversion of democracy happens today: in the "jobs versus owls" debate, in which the public was bombarded with the number of jobs lost to habitat preservation but never exposed to the greater number of jobs lost because of raw log exportation or mill automation. And in the current debate over forest health, in which everyone encounters paid timber industry advertisements but few hear the voices of conservation biologists.

There is another reason why few question the claims of the timber corporations: to do so would inevitably lead to increasingly difficult questions about the role of our governmental representatives in the destruction of the forests, and even to questions about the sustainability of our industrial way of life. I recently asked Grey Reynolds, deputy to Forest Service Chief Jack Ward Thomas, "If we discover that industrial forestry is indeed incompatible with biodiversity, what then?" His one-sentence response—"What do you want us to do, live in mud huts?"—was revealing in its dismissiveness. Ask yourself the question Grey Reynolds refused to answer: If we discover that industrial forestry is indeed incompatible with biodiversity, or by extension to human survival, what then?

Ask yourself another question: How do we counter the advertisements of the timber industry, and more generally the destruction of the forests? The first step toward stopping the destruction is to recognize that it is in fact destruction. Industrial forestry destroys forests. Ask any conservation biologist, or anyone who hunts or fishes. Or better yet, walk the clearcuts yourself.

As you're walking ask: What is the appropriate response to a government willing to lie and to destroy our natural heritage to further enrich transnational corporations? What is the appropriate response to Larry Craig's "Federal Lands Forest Health Protection and Restoration Act," an act which simultaneously destroys forests, democracy, and integrity? If our governmental system, and the transnational corporations it represents, are destructive of life, liberty, and truth, what options are left to concerned and responsible citizens?

We must recognize that we have the power to stop the destructiveness. The question is—When are we going to exercise it?

W o l k e o n t h e W i l d S i d e

The Uprising

by Howie Wolke

A statesman or stateswoman wields political power to achieve what he or she perceives to be right, and damn the consequences. By contrast, a politician wields power for expediency, votes, prestige, and more power--power for power's sake, and for money which equates to power. Some politicians, not many, have noble ideals, but the ideals are frequently squelched or compromised by political considerations. Teddy Roosevelt, Jeanette Rankin, and Lee Metcalf were statespersons; Lyndon Johnson was the consummate politician. Bill Clinton is an L.B.J. wannabe who apparently lacks the vertebrae to play the strong-arm political game that Johnson had so perfected before Vietnam propelled his political demise.

It is important to distinguish between these two basic creatures of the political lagoon, because advocacy groups should always strategically treat politicians as adversaries, while statesmanship responds to science, morality, ethics, and the needs of those--human and not--who are disenfranchised and lack power. Bears and salmon, for instance. Conservation groups can effectively deal with politicians, even the relatively benign ones, by pressuring them with large-scale noisy grassroots uprisings that spell potential votes, bad press, and/or embarrassment. Dealing with statespersons requires some tactful variations of the same theme, but I'll not detail these variations here because statesmanship is nearly extinct in American politics.

Whenever a Democratic administration assumes power, various women and men are plucked from the conservation movement and scattered about the administration like a few salt grains on a 16 ounce T-bone. These careerists spice the flavor of the administration, but like the salt on the steak, they don't change its basic nature. If history teaches wildland advocates anything, it is this: under salt-sprinkled Democratic administrations, wilderness gets slam-dunked with a smile instead of with a Republican scowl. Remember it was the Carter Administration and ex-Wilderness Society staffer Rupert Cutler who gave us RARE II. And it was under the Clintonian cadre of conservation careerists that Option 9 was adopted. Moreover, it was *before* the November 1994 Republican takeover that the Forest Service and its industry cohorts began to develop a sweeping plan to use a phony "forest health crisis" to secure support for logging and roading our last unprotected national forest wildlands, particularly in the Northern Rockies. The Western Forest Health Initiative, Upper Columbia River Basin Project, Boise River Fire Recovery Plan, and other such bureaucratic assaults began under Clinton/Gore and a Democrat-controlled Congress.

I mention this to put the Republican Contract on America's environ-

ment into perspective. Let's be blunt. The Contract is *horrible*. Other words listed by my 1959 Dictionary of English Synonyms are: frightful, terrible, alarming, portentous, appalling, dire, dreadful, awful, and hideous. The Contract is all of these things and more. I'll withhold comment on non-environmental aspects of the Contract, but the Contract gang now assaults most of our major environmental laws: the Clean Water Act, Endangered Species Act, National Environmental Policy Act, National Forest Management Act, and more. They feel confident in doing this precisely because

Conservation groups can effectively deal with politicians by pressuring them with large-scale noisy grassroots uprisings that spell potential votes, bad press, and/or embarrassment.

historically, the environmental movement has allowed its Democrat "friends" to walk all over it. "If they can do it, so can we in spades," goes the thinking. Had the conservation movement been actively building a bipartisan grassroots uprising to oppose institutionalized habitat destruction and to promote a comprehensive and expanded system of Wilderness and Wilderness Recovery Areas, the Contract on America would have largely bypassed our public wildlands, and the environment in general. Instead, conservation groups built Beltway bureaucracies, fancy offices, stifling boards of directors, and unholy unions with industry donors and corporate-controlled foundations. The scope and success of the Contract on America in dismantling environmental protections should surprise no one.

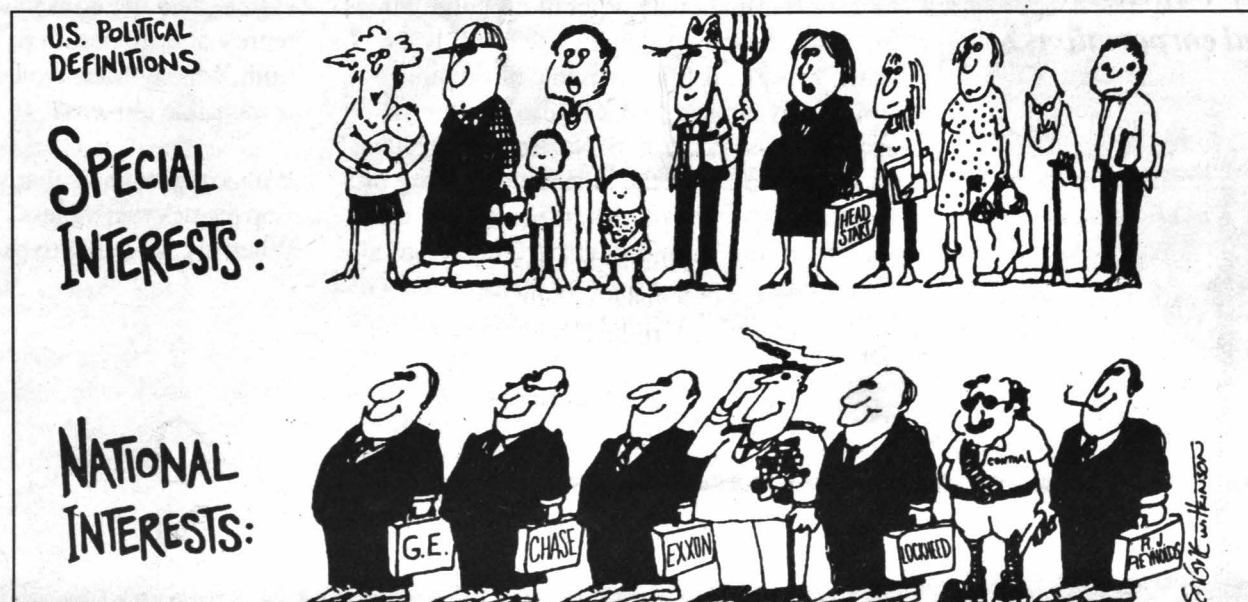
Perhaps the most egregious assault on public wildlands is recently-passed bills that mandate large-scale salvage logging in our western national forests. Make no mistake, the bad guys' and gals' strategy is sound: conjure up a phony "forest health crisis" to divert attention from the real forest crisis (habitat fragmentation, deforestation, erosion, watershed degradation, loss of wilderness and old growth, plummeting biodiversity) and then deceive and scare the public and its officials into believing that logging the hell out of our last and best unprotected forest wildlands will "solve" the problem. In a

perverse way, they are correct: fire, insects, disease, and dead trees will indeed be greatly diminished in a landscape where the forests have been leveled. Of course, fire, insects, disease, and dead or dying trees are all crucial components of a healthy ecosystem, but it's tough to explain why this is so in a media world of 15 second sound bites.

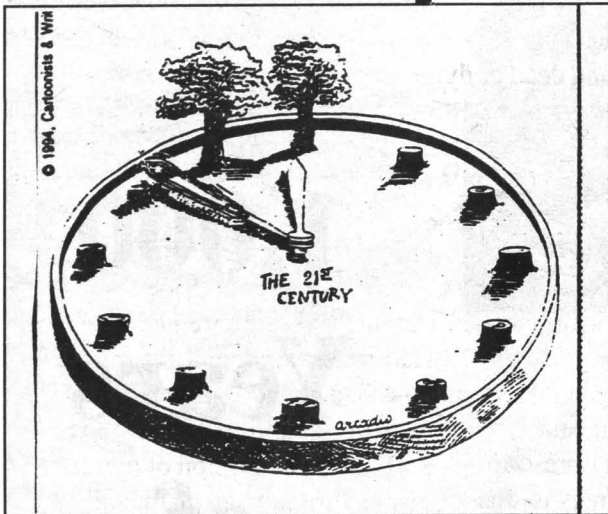
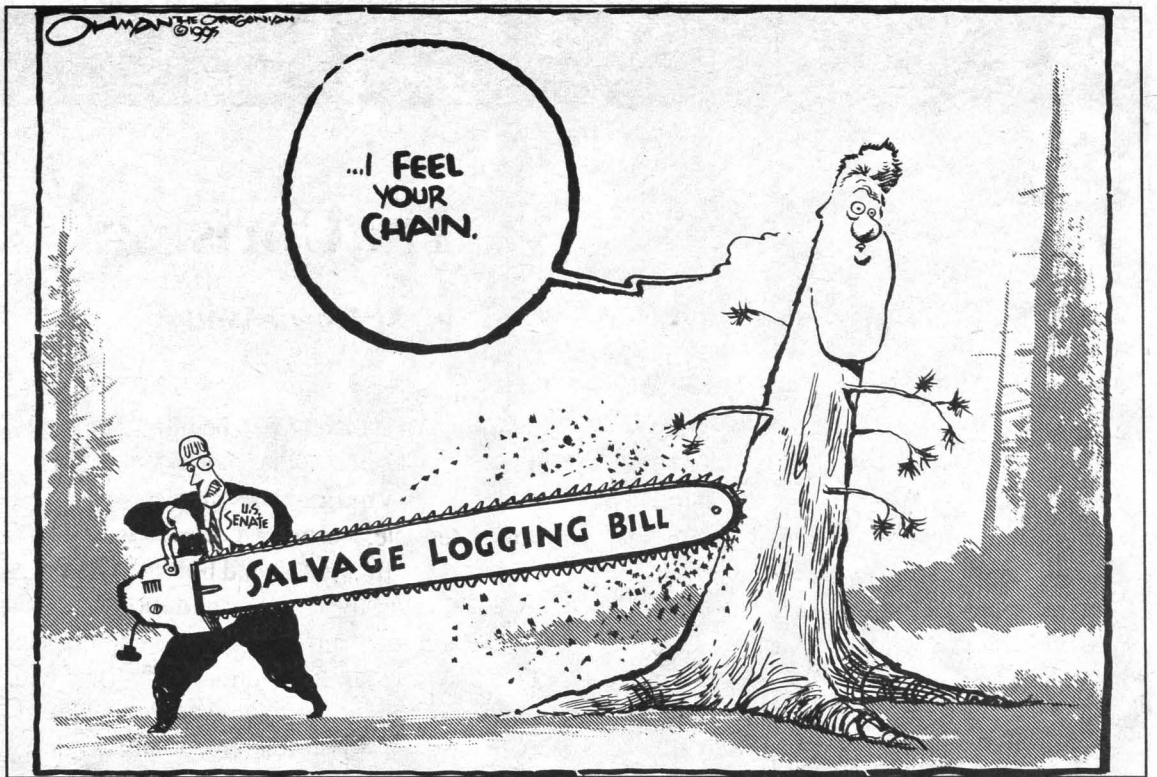
The "salvage" logging bills which recently passed both Houses of Congress as riders to general appropriations bills, are a Republican-engineered mandate to accelerate and exaggerate what the Democrats had already begun. By the time this column is in print, President Bill may or may not have signed some version of these two frightful, terrible, dire salvage mania bills into law. Word has it that Al Gore has vociferously argued with Bill Clinton to veto the travesty. Yet it seems likely that Clinton will sign some compromise of the hideous hacking mandate into law, lacking the guts to veto an entire rescissions package for the sake of our last unprotected public forest wildlands. We'll see.

Veto or no, wildland conservation is in trouble. Plush offices, industry-sponsored foundations that set tactical agendas, more Beltway wheeling and dealing, and more pandering to the plutocratic powers of petulance won't save our forests. What may save our planetary skin is this: an uprising. A big goddamn grassroots uprising of angry citizens of various cultures, colors, and ideologies--lots of 'em--who demand that the government and industry leave our public wildlands alone. We don't need an unfocused tantrum, but a focused, thoughtful, and strategic uprising of literate, articulate, and courageous citizens who will inundate newspaper editors, electronic media, and public officials with letters, faxes, phone calls, news releases, and petitions. We need massive public demonstrations and we need folks who will devise ways to obstruct destruction, even using their bodies when necessary. As a movement we must refuse to accept institutionalized habitat destruction. Period. No qualifier. I suggest not a revolution but an old-fashion grassroots rebellion, the real thing, not like the corporate-sponsored so-called Wise Use movement. I mean a bigger, better version of what conservation used to do relatively well before the careerists, MBAs and Beltway bubbleheads took over.

We wildland defenders and our "client" wildlands are in deep excrement, and the cause goes far beyond one rotten mid-term Congressional election. The final solution looms. The stakes are incalculably high. But there is, maybe, a way out. Anyone want to wager whether or not we can pull it off?



The



Arcadio, San Jose, Costa Rica

Lighter

It is beyond dispute that the [Clinton] plan knowingly causes or allows the extinction of vertebrate species.

- from the NFC's appeal challenging the Clinton forest plan.

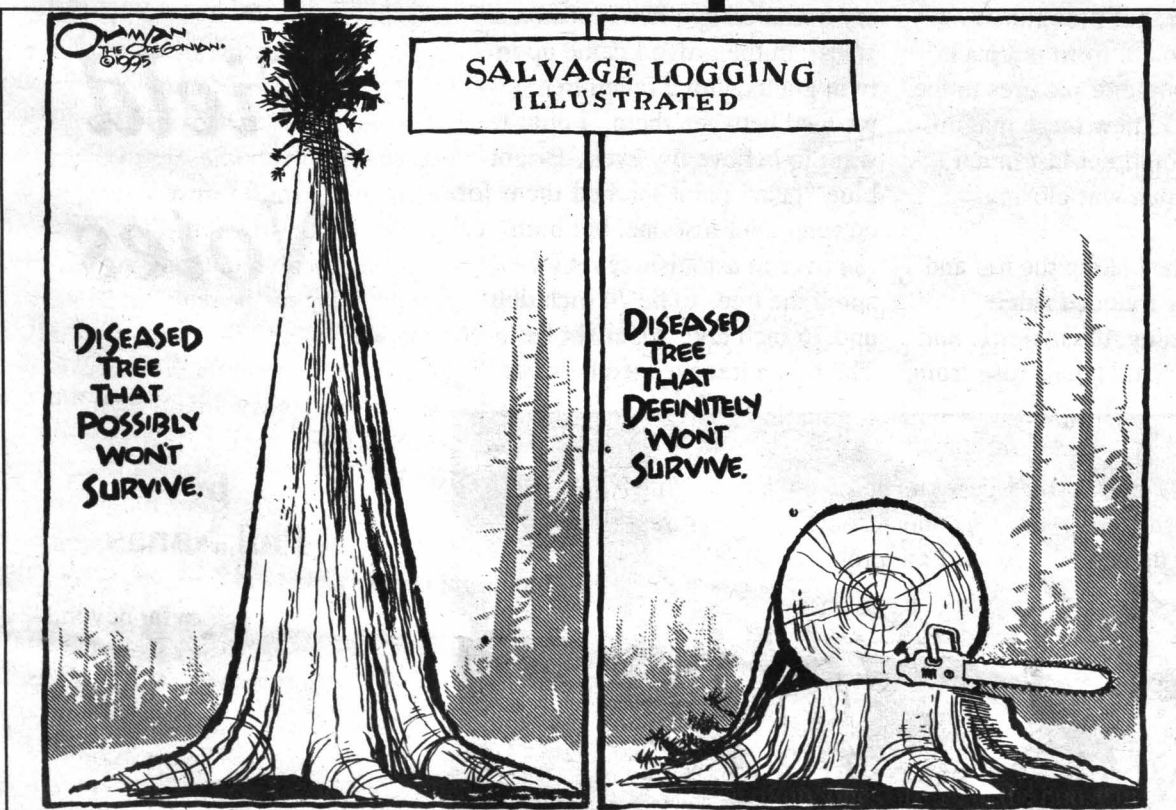
[The rescissions bill is] a perfect illustration of Congress' stealth strategy of making environmental policy without calling it that.

- The New York Times



Side

of



The Republican attack on the laws and regulations that protect America's natural resources has been a masterpiece of legislative subterfuge--seductively packaged as "deregulation," "property rights," and "balancing the budget."

- The New York Times

DEFORRESTATION



The Twins - before

photo by Phil Nanas

**The Power SH
Timber Sale
Mt. St. Helens National
Volcanic Monument
Gifford Pinchot
National Forest
May 5, 1995**

The Forest Service told me they had begun logging these units nearly a month ago. So I came here today expecting to photograph old-growth logging under Clinton's new forest plan. I was looking for the remnants of the forest; the great stumps, still majestic in ruin, the soil damage and, after all this rain, the inevitable erosion. The rain and sleet were coming down hard and I was sinking in mud over the tops of my boots on the ungraveled road-bed. I passed a log-loader and then a water truck stuck in the mud where a culvert was needed but not installed. When I saw the machinery my heart sank, knowing what lay ahead.

When I got to the top of the hill and could see the sale unit I became both angry and joyful. Angry, because the Forest Service had needlessly gouged the new road which ran parallel to an older

road a scant 150 feet away. Both roads ended in approximately the same spot, so the added forest destruction and cost to the taxpayer were unconscionable. But in the name of jobs, subsidized by public tax dollars, such abuses are common. Joyful because, for once, the Forest Service had lied to my advantage. Some of the smaller, second-growth units by the road had indeed been logged, but the cluster of old-growth still stood. It hadn't been logged yet!

I could hear the dozer churning and grinding on the road just behind me. The sound filled, then ravaged the silence. I had the sense of being pursued, like being in one of those Pac-man games with the voracious chewing machines forever in pursuit. I wanted to descend quickly into this pristine grove where I wouldn't be able to hear the dozer, but I took the time to pull my camera from my pack and snap a couple of pictures in the pouring rain. I knew these magnificent giants would not last much longer. Pac-man was closing.

The trees arched along the top and down a gently rounded ridge. Across the valley, the majestic and glistening Mt. St. Helens rose from

the mosaic of plantations and forests. The silvicultural prescription estimated that the trees in this unit were 40 inches in diameter, *on average*. I knew they would be big. But it is never the same on paper as it is in the flesh, or should I say the fiber.

The trees I faced were phenomenally large, matured not by decades, but by centuries. One tree at the edge of the unit measured just over 80 inches in diameter at breast height (dbh). The snag right next to it was just as big around and provided a prime nesting site.

I started down along the perimeter flagging. It enclosed some of the nicest and fattest old-growth I'd ever seen in the western Cascades. Within a hundred yards, the forest had drained me of my angst and drew me in, away from the boundary bordered by plantations on all sides. In the grove I came upon twin giants with a fallen tree wedged between them. I didn't want to believe my eyes. Bright blue "take" paint marked them for cutting. Not just one, but both. I ran over in astonishment. I measured the trees to be 74 inch dbh and 76 inch dbh. Over six feet! The fallen tree wedged between

1,000 Years of Evolution

and Two Days of Field Notes

by
Phil Nanas



Documenting the destruction

photo by Phil Nanas

them was over four feet in diameter, so these sentinels had stood for centuries only four feet apart. This was native old-growth, a forest not violated by man, except for the lethal blue paint.

I took my lunch on the log between the twins in the pouring rain. I ate in momentary peace, beyond the growl of the bulldozer. I was alone with the mighty in a native, virgin forest; but acutely aware that it was an isolated remnant of a once great ecosystem.

My thoughts at lunch were on the lawsuit the Native Forest Council filed, and how we must amend our complaint to include this sale. It was actually still standing, and we had to think of something. If these giants were to become stumps, they would fall with Clinton's name on them.

A little background on the lawsuit is in order here.

During the last round of litigation, the Northwest forest plan was challenged on the ground that it did not allow for the recovery of the declining population of the Northern Spotted Owl. At the behest of the administration, prior to a ruling on the legality of the plan, eleven of thirteen environmental plaintiffs agreed to offer-up some old-growth timber sales as an appeasement, and to thwart the threat of a sufficiency rider that would exempt all logging from environmental laws. Later, by agreement, the injunction that had halted logging for the duration of the court proceedings, was lifted. The plaintiff groups included the Wilderness Society, Western Ancient Forest Campaign, Oregon Natural Resources Council, Klamath Forest Alliance, Headwaters, and the Audubon Society. Only the Forest Conservation Council and the Native Forest Council opposed these decisions.

The released old-growth sales were termed the "Deal of Shame" by activists distressed by the decision. As the NFC worked through the courts, hoping to obtain another injunction, these and other timber sales in owl habitat were being offered. At that time I started monitoring all of the "owl sales," thinking that all I had to do was delay them, because the courts would surely find the Clinton Forest plan illegal. Well, I was wrong. There would be no new injunction. Just new logging.

Thirty-seven timber sales were offered by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and U.S. Forest Service (USFS), all in owl habitat. We successfully protested two of the BLM sales for riparian buffer violations, and they postponed another three, presumably to rework them and make them comply with Clinton's plan. In November, at the Native Forest Network Conference, I felt victorious as I spoke of these and another

nine Forest Service sales that were postponed when we pointed out grave violations of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). I had dreamed of someday saving an old-growth forest that I could, were I to become a father, walk in with my children. This is the legacy I wanted to leave: to share with future generations the awe and wonder of the ancient forest. Unfortunately, these days you are lucky if you take your friend's kids to see an ancient forest a week from now, and it's still there.

By the end of the following April, the sales were made available for logging, but were still not in compliance with the new forest plan. I guess the Forest Service thought no one was watching since environmentalists had voluntarily released them. The violations gave us an opportunity to file a new lawsuit. This suit involves 12 Forest Service timber sales on the Gifford Pinchot, Willamette, Umpqua, and Siskiyou National Forests.

All of the sales, we determined, violate the Endangered Species Act by not adequately considering the cumulative impacts of past and future clearcutting on other federal, state, and private lands. Ten of the sales have NEPA violations. Six offerings on the Gifford Pinchot (about 100 miles from Portland) are within 35 miles of documented gray wolf sightings, and a rare grizzly bear sighting. These animals are Federally listed as endangered not just threatened like the spotted owl. While the USFS had done umpteen surveys for owls, they failed to do any field reconnaissance before determining that there wasn't another species that would be adversely effected in the area. If you don't look, you do not find.

But the new forest plan had changed the rules. Areas that were once inviolate, having been designated as Habitat Conservation Areas or Critical Habitat Units, were now open to logging. The sale I am walking, Power SH, in the Mt. St. Helens National Monument, is a perfect example of how the Clinton

plan makes old-growth timber sales legal that would have been illegal under previous designations. Stripped of its legal protection, we were forced to drop Power SH from our lawsuit, and its doom was sealed.

Yet somehow, this intact virgin old-growth stand had survived perhaps a thousand years of threats: relentless storms, lightning and wildfire, insatiable logging, and even the lethal blast of the mighty Mt. St. Helens. The immensity of these trees, and their calming peace made me think that some power greater than all of these destructive forces had kept this sacred spot intact. I started to feel that, maybe, it could continue to be protected. I began to imagine media events, and photo opportunities. I imagined showing the public these threatened giants on television. I dreamed of protests and tree-sits, and how the twins could provide bracing for a platform with a backdrop of Mt. St. Helens. The media would gobble this up. The sheer power of these trees, coupled with a little public awareness, could save this place.

So we came back to Unit #8 of the Power SH timber sale with a film crew. We trudged up the muddy road and admired the large trees at the edge of Unit #8. Big, tall, fat, with full crowns stretching over the volcano. Just a few more steps to the remarkable 80-inch diameter trees. And then I saw it.

At first, it was just a glint of color through the trees. The blue "cut" marking which was originally painted horizontally across the trees, was showing vertically through the thicket, which meant that the twins were no longer vertical. Sickened, I pushed through the branches. The great trees lay lifeless on the ground. The survivors of centuries, toppled by greed and ignorance and industrial ferocity. The wet sawdust still steamed in the sun; the stumps oozing the last of their life-force.

I looked upon the shattered debris, the torn and shredded boughs, the jagged twisted and split crest of the

stumps. I shuddered, shook at the knees, and had that sinking feeling in my stomach, like a kid about to get a school-yard beating. My heart was pounding and I could feel the hair stand up on the back of my neck. The whole unit had been dropped even though the soggy road wouldn't permit skidding or hauling them for many weeks. A millennium of evolution, converted with sickening quickness to corporate profit; despoiled probably for export.

* * *

In retrospect, and to provide some closure for myself, I must address a few issues. I wish to speak particularly to those who would call themselves environmentalists yet could offer a sale like this. As a movement, we all make decisions based on the information and feeling, consistent with the strategies we employ. Often we are wrong and our record of compromise and failure reveals that. But like the Forest Service, we should at least use the best available data. If we don't know we should ask or better yet, go look for ourselves. Mike Axline, an attorney for several of the compromising plaintiff groups, continued to defend their judgement at the most recent Headwaters' Northwest Forest Activists Conference in January. He claimed there was no old-growth in the offered sales. Apparently, he and his clients never read the Environmental Assessments or the Old-growth Assessments for the watersheds in which these sales resided. It is obvious to me that no one walked these sales before they offered them, which is unconscionable. I can only wonder if these environmentalists that I share a movement with, still spend time in the undisturbed woods?

The forest wars are fought on many fronts, in courtrooms, with computers, writing letters, filing appeals. But the horrors of war cannot be fully appreciated until one sees its victims. If I could share my experience with other activists, I would share the awesome clarity of that horror. It brings to full focus the reason we pursue this strange thing called activism.



Finding comfort amidst the ruin. The Twins - after

photo by Phil Nanas



What is the Sierra Club?

by
Chad
Hanson



photo by Jim Hosmer

What is the Sierra Club? Is it the sum total of its component parts--the local groups, chapters, and members--or is it simply comprised of 15 people on the board of directors? An analogous question could be asked about the United States. Is the U.S. composed of several hundred Federal politicians, or is it defined by the sum of its people and their views? If one takes the latter view, then the United States, and the Sierra Club, support an immediate end to all logging, grazing, mining, and drilling on public lands nationwide.

Last year, the U.S. Forest Service conducted a nationwide poll of U.S. citizens and found that, by a margin of 47% to 36%, Americans want an end to resource extraction on public lands--period. Of the majority, over half of those polled "strongly" disagreed with continuing private extraction from public lands.

So why hasn't the Congress passed legislation to end these destructive uses of public lands? After all, it's what the people want. The answer is simple: federal politicians receive obscene amounts of money from timber barons, multinational mining conglomerates, and other extractive interests. Politicians use this money to fund their reelection campaigns, out-spend their opponents, and keep themselves in office. In other words, they engage in a legalized form of bribery. The public interest is thwarted.

Within the Sierra Club, as within the general population of the United States, there is tremendous

support for ending logging on public lands nationwide. The Club's largest chapter, the Angeles Chapter in Los Angeles, recently passed a resolution supporting zero cut on public lands. So have the Illinois Chapter, the Arkansas Chapter, the Black Hills Group of South Dakota, and the Oregon Chapter's Many Rivers Group which is in an area comprised mainly of federal lands in one of the world's largest timber-producing

If one takes the latter view, then the United States, and the Sierra Club, support an immediate end to all logging, grazing, mining, and drilling on public lands nationwide.

timber-producing regions. The Club's second and third largest chapters, the Atlantic Chapter in New York and the Bay Chapter in San Francisco, have passed resolutions in support of the Native Forest Protection Act (NFPA). NFPA is proposed legislation, drafted and conceived by the Native Forest Council, which would end logging of public lands nationwide. NFPA would also redirect the billions currently spent subsidizing public-lands logging into ecological-restoration jobs for former timber workers, as well as severely restrict exports and imports of unfinished wood materials. Other Sierra Club chapters that have passed resolu-

tions in support of NFPA are the Tennessee Chapter, the Georgia Chapter, the Virginia Chapter, the Kentucky Chapter, the Illinois Chapter, and the Rogue Group of the Oregon Chapter.

Additionally, in the 1994 Sierra Club national election, 41% of Sierra Club members voted in favor of a zero cut initiative placed on the ballot by thousands of Club members nationwide. This happened despite the fact that the board of directors, in a secret closed session, deliberately worded the ballot question in an unfair, prejudicial, and confusing manner, so that members would have to vote "NO" in order to vote in favor of the initiative. Pre-election complaints about the misleading wording were ignored. The board also placed fallacious information on the ballot to confuse and deter voters. Despite the subversion of the democratic process by the board, and its unanimous opposition, almost half of the Club's members voted in favor of the initiative. If the democratic process had been honored, it is likely that the zero-cut initiative would have won an easy majority.

The Sierra Club groups and chapters that have declared support for the zero cut initiative or NFPA represent well over half the Club's total membership. Therefore, despite what the Club's board may say, the Sierra Club is predominantly for zero cut. And that represents a rather remarkable shift.

Even the board has undergone some major changes lately. Over

the last two years the members have elected several challengers to sitting board members. A significant portion, though perhaps not yet a majority, now supports ending logging on public lands. Dave Foreman, co-founder of Earth First! and founder of the Wildlands Project, and David Brower, the visionary former leader of the Sierra Club and founder of Earth Island Institute, were elected to the Club's board in this year's election. Brower, at a recent conference, proposed a 25 year moratorium on logging of all public lands nationwide. The purpose would be twofold: to destroy what Brower calls the "institutional memory" of corrupt federal land agencies; and to allow the ecosystems to rest and recover. Perhaps with the leadership of the two Daves, the Club's board will finally take the lead on environmental protection and openly support zero cut on public lands, rather than trailing behind the Club's membership and the general public.

The time has come.

All that the Club's members and activists really want, after all, is to be given the freedom--one they currently do not have--to go to their federal elected officials as *Sierra Club activists* and ask that legislation be introduced to end all logging on public lands nationwide. Is this too much to ask?

The Native Forest Council spun off from the Sierra Club eight years ago, founded by Sierra Club activists who were essentially forced out of the Club for advocat-

ing an end to all logging of remaining native forests on public lands. One of NFC's campaigns over the years has been to reform and strengthen the Sierra Club--to evolve the organization from being an obstacle to nationwide forest protection, into an ally. Due to the NFC and our allies in the Club, the Sierra Club's forest policy has been dramatically strengthened. Although Club policy is not yet zero cut, it now opposes all logging of roadless areas and old growth forests on public lands--a position they had previously rejected.

The NFC and its friends in the Club have also successfully gathered signatures to place strong, uncompromising forest advocates on the Club's ballot for board of directors. Just two years ago, the Club's board was comprised of staunch opponents of strong forest protection. Now there are five directors who have said that they support ending logging on public lands. The Native Forest Council thanks and applauds these directors for their vision, and courage; and a special thank you to all the Sierra Club activists nationwide who have worked tirelessly to turn the Club around.



Once these mountains were covered with ancient forest. Olympic National Forest, WA

photo by Lighthawk



photo by Elizabeth Feryl

The Native Forest Council Appeals Judge Dwyer's Option 9 Decision

Making the bold argument that the law prohibits the government from knowingly taking any actions which increase the risk of extinction, the Native Forest Council filed its appellate brief against the infamous Option 9--President Clinton's plan which would clearcut the few remaining old growth forests left on public lands in the Pacific Northwest.

The government claims that Option 9 provides an 83% chance of survival for the northern spotted owl, and that that's good enough. But the NFC, in its brief filed before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, points out that the 83% figure "appears without explanation or elaboration," and is the product of four scientists, two of whom stated in sworn testimony "that they are not qualified to assess the viability of the northern spotted owl." One of the panel was a biologist employed by a timber industry research group, in an obvious conflict of interests. It seems imprudent to allow the fate of forest-dependent species to be decided by a representative of an industry financially invested in continued logging of public lands.

The government's viability rating is based on the dangerous premise that the owl could survive additional near-term loss of habitat and that Option 9 would eventually provide adequate habitat to support

a viable owl population, should any owls survive. Thus, not only is the figure artificially inflated, but is the product of sheer fantasy. Even if it wasn't, a 17% chance of extinction grossly fails to meet the government's statutory duty to "ensure" the viability of vertebrate species, not simply to gamble on it.

The NFC also points out that the government's own figures show that Option 9 guarantees the extinction of many other vertebrate species. Nor does the government appear concerned with declining fish populations, although its own studies indicate that hundreds of stocks are at high-to-moderate risk of extinction within the range of the northern spotted owl. They simply observe that extinctions may occur.

Finally, NFC contends that the government broke the law by failing to consider a "no cut" option, and by failing to consider the effects of a recent court decision (soon to be decided by the Supreme Court) which removes key protections of the Endangered Species Act from private lands.

The Native Forest Council was, and continues to be, the only environmental group to challenge the President's plan. The fight for the forests continues.

C.H.

Planned Giving

Planned giving is a painless and tax-advantageous way to support worthy causes. There are a number of estate planning and charitable giving options, and our Certified Financial Consultant can help you choose the plan that's right for you.

Members can take advantage of planning techniques that can offer improved income during retirement while reducing estate taxes. Let us help tailor a plan to your individual circumstances that gives the dollars you would pay in estate taxes to the Native Forest Council. The example below, describes one such option.

Charitable Remainder Unitrusts - How they work.

A charitable remainder Unitrust provides a way of disposing of appreciated property and land without paying any capital gains tax, while retaining income rights that will be paid for life.

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- A donor transfers appreciated assets, which currently earn very little or no income, to a trust.

- The assets are liquidated and reinvested into income-producing investments.

- By avoiding capital gains tax on the sale and converting the assets into income-producing investments, a donor's lifetime income can be substantially increased.

- An income tax deduction generated by the transfer into the trust further enhances the income stream.

- The trust is professionally managed and produces a sound lifetime income to the donor, usually from 6% to 8%. If desired, the income can be continued to the surviving spouse.
- Upon death, the trust value is transferred as a gift to the Native Forest Council Foundation.

For more information, or to arrange a meeting with our financial consultant, call us at (503) 688-2600.

Final Tribute

The Native Forest Council would like to pay tribute to two friends who passed away recently.

Dr. Frances M. Edinger of Orchard Park, New York, passed away in February. Fran was a lifetime member of the Native Forest Council and an ardent supporter of uncompromising forest protection.

Memorial gifts were given in her memory by the following people and organizations:

**Clair D. Burgeson
Robert Neff
The Rockland County
Conservation Assoc.**

Mr. Frank Yoon of San Francisco was an advocate for the forests and a contributor to these pages. In 1993 he wrote an important article on the effects of global deforestation on the oxygen supply. Mr. Yoon was a retired chemist who, for 18 years, worked at the California Department of Air and Industrial Hygiene Lab in Berkeley. He died in April of this year, and our condolences go out to his wife Susan Echaore-Yoon.

About the Native Forest Council

The Native Forest Council is a non-profit, tax-deductible organization founded by a group of business and professional people alarmed by the willful destruction of our national forests. We believe a sound economy and a sound environment are not incompatible, and that current forestry practices are devastating to both.

Therefore, it is the mission of the Native Forest Council to provide visionary leadership, to ensure the integrity of native forest ecosystems, without compromising people or forests.

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