

April  
May  
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# ForestVoice

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Number 2

PROTECTING FORESTS AND DEFENDING WILDLIFE

A PUBLICATION OF THE NATIVE FOREST COUNCIL

## IN THE REJECTION OF COMPROMISE LIES THE SALVATION OF OUR FORESTS

Ecosystem  
Management

Multiple Use

Perspectives

Forest  
Health

New  
Forestry

Sustained  
Yield

Salvage

### *In this issue:*

- *Anatomy of a protest*
- *How one person made a difference*
- *Annual report*

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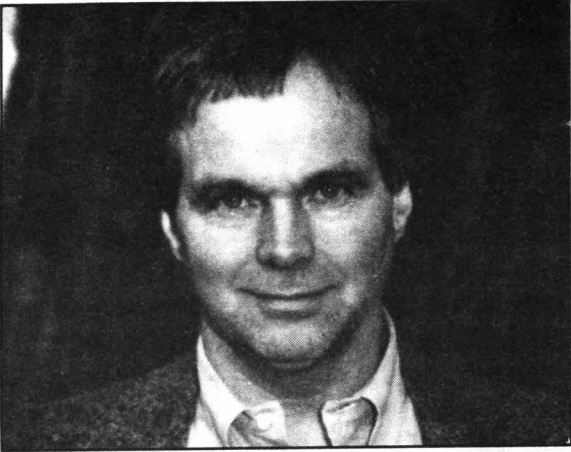
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# From the Executive Director



Tim Hermach

## What Have We Done for You Lately?

It's a question we at the Native Forest Council revisit often. To help answer it, we include our annual report for 1995 in this issue of **Forest Voice**.

One of the enduring strengths of this non-profit is the support of people who share a common vision. Together we have built an organization on the premise that the integrity of native forest ecosystems could be preserved without compromising people or forests. For eight years, it has been our privilege to serve at the pleasure of our members and benefactors. So, it is proper that we regularly answer the question "what have we done?" and it is with gratitude and pride that I do so now.

We began the year by monitoring many of the new sales offered under Option 9. We found that almost none were in compliance with the law. So we took them without suffering any. Why? Because we were saying: NO! This is not only illegal, it is wrong. The court ultimately ruled against us, but for their pro-bono efforts on our behalf, we thank Stephen Truitt and Charles Carpenter. They have donated over \$200,000 in legal services in defense of the forests. We are grateful for their unfailing faith and generosity.

Then came the "salvage" rider, an outrageous resource-grab that facilitated the theft and destruction of public assets and awakened and galvanized the activist community. We co-sponsored a national protest which resulted in 50,000 calls, letters, and pieces of wood being mailed to the

White House with labels that said: "Salvage your presidency, veto the rider." Clinton did veto it the first time it crossed his desk, then characteristically crumbled and signed it into law.

Zero Cut. We started it. We continue to push it in every way we can. When we first began to articulate a Zero Cut position, we were branded as "radical" and "unrealistic" and "politically naive." But we kept making the arguments, stating the facts, showing the evidence. Other grassroots groups, particularly those who worked closest to the forests, joined us in calling for an end to logging on public lands. We worked extensively with the media, and Zero Cut was picked up by mainstream publications like The New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Atlantic Monthly. In 1995 the Oregon Natural Resources Council announced it was adopting a Zero Cut policy. Then, the flood gates opened. One of our staff had been working sedulously to get the Sierra Club to reclaim its core values and support an end to public-land logging. It took several years, a lot of travel, numerous presentations, and some intense negotiating, but recently the Sierra Club's membership voted overwhelmingly to support Zero Cut. (For details of this incredible story see "But I'm Just One Person, What Can I Do?" on page 4.)

This publication is one of the ways we share vital information, and promote the Zero Cut cause. Last year, in addition to our standard issues, we updated our **Forest Voice Primer** and distributed another 55,000 copies. The Forest Voice has become a tool for activists across the country and is consistently acclaimed for the quality of its writing, and the impact of its photographs. A forest area that was torched by arsonists and sold as salvage. Protestors from around the country gathered to block the logging road leading to Warner Creek where, nearly a year later, they still remain. We did a half-hour television interview from the site, and produced a widely-distributed video, "Born in Fire."

We travelled to Washington, D.C. to lobby. We attended various environmental conferences to speak and to participate. We met with the editorial boards of The New York Times, the Washington Post, USA Today, and National Public Radio. We did five radio interviews, twenty television sound-

bites, spoke at Columbia University, Idaho State, the Oregon Governor's School and other local forums.

In 1995, the NFC got on the Internet. The **Forest Voice** is now on-line and available to a much broader readership. We also serve as an information clearinghouse, sending up to 350 faxes per day to activists, media, foundations, and other interested parties. That service, we have been told, has become invaluable, and it electronically augments the thousands of requests we process annually for written material.

Additionally, last year we worked on expanding our membership and acquired nearly 400 new supporters. And we did all these things with only five people--an accomplishment of which I'm exceedingly proud.

That answers the "what." But there is also the matter of "why?" That question is as complex as the natural systems we seek to preserve and as simple as my young son's trusting smile. I believe the vulnerability we project upon the environment, is merely a reflection of our own defenselessness. The environment is not fragile. What is truly fragile, are the conditions which support human life. Humans have flourished within a very narrow range of conditions, and these conditions are precisely what humankind is in the process of energetically dismantling. All around the world our primary forests are being cut at unprecedented rates; in Madagascar, The Philippines, Malaysia, the Amazon, Central America, Siberia, West Africa, New Guinea here in the U.S., and in many other nations. We are already seeing the consequences in changing global weather patterns, severity and frequency of storms, drought, damaged watersheds, declining fish stocks, species eradication, and many other manifestations of abuse. How long this can go on is anyone's business. Where poverty and desperation are rampant, it will be difficult to reverse the process. But that is not the case here. It is not poverty or desperation but simple greed that propels the relentless cutting of public lands. We have the ability and the right to stop it here. And stop it we will.

Beyond human needs, we seek to restore respect for the miracle that is life--all life. Is it not ironic that we can look to the heavens, examine faraway planets and distant galaxies, yet the only place we know of, with any certainty, that supports life, is our own blue-green sphere. Yet we treat life so shabbily. As if it were inexhaustible. As if we could replace it. As if we could create even a single ant.

The state of the world's ecology mirrors our personal ecology and it is time to clean up both. I like to think of the Native Forest Council, all of us, you and I, as part of an expanding grassroots clean-up crew. In our own way we are all working in support of life, in support of the forests, in support of real and enduring change. You make our work possible and, in doing so, allow us to take your vision into the world.

A thousand thanks for the many kind words, the letters, and the continued monetary support. The clean-up continues.

The essay by Barry Lopez published in the last issue of **Forest Voice** under the title "The Price of Passivity" was originally titled "Natural Grief" and should have carried the copyright notice © 1995 by Barry Lopez. It was first published on August 27, 1995 in **The Oregonian**. All requests to reprint or reuse this material should be referred to the author or his agents.

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**Predictions of massive job losses, ghost towns and a "new Appalachia" didn't materialize. Could it be that rural communities were saved by the very thing they fought to destroy?**

# The Wealth of Nature

*by Thomas Michael Power*

***One reason that the debate over environmental issues has become so heated and divisive is that people in many rural communities see their economic futures as tied exclusively to the extractive activities that do the most damage to the landscape.***

***Economic insecurity makes people desperate.***

Although national polls show a widespread consensus on the importance of environmental quality, conflict over environmental issues has escalated dramatically at local and regional levels. In rural areas, where politics are personal and natural resource-based industries have played an important economic role, the conflict has at times taken on the characteristics of a civil war. Communities, civic organizations, and local governments are split into hostile camps. What was once a war of words has escalated into violence in dozens of incidents in several western states.

The combatants in these communities see a lot at stake. On the environmental side, the very animal species that defined huge ecosystems--the grizzly bear, salmon, and wolf--are on the verge of extinction. The dominant features of our landscapes--mountainsides, rivers, deserts, and prairies--face major and permanent modification. On the extractive industry side, whole ways of life that have supported families for generations are threatened: logging, mining, farming, and the manufacturing activities built around them. With so much permanently at risk, it is not surprising that both sides have been mobilizing resources for a prolonged struggle.

One reason that the debate over environmental issues has become so heated and divisive is that people in many rural communities see their economic futures as tied exclusively to the extractive activities that do the most damage to the landscape. That paints them into a very difficult corner. Even if they would like to protect the natural landscape, they are not willing to pay the price of throwing family members or neighbors out of work and forcing them to move away from their homes. Economic insecurity makes people desperate; it breeds the fear and hostility that has come to infect the debate over environmental policy in many rural communities.

If we can lay to rest the fear that environmental protection will cause the imminent economic collapse of local communities, we can moderate the acrimonious tone of the debate. For that reason, it is very important to analyze critically two points: the economic role actually played by extractive industry in local communities and the impact that protected landscapes are likely to have on the local economy.

The data indicate that extractive industry does not play as central a role in local economies as is usually assumed. Natural resource industries relying upon public lands are rarely responsible for more than a tiny sliver of regional employment. Metal mining on public lands in the West, for instance, is directly responsible for fewer than 1 in 2,500 jobs in the 12 western states. Grazing on public lands in the West is responsible for only 1 in 1,700 jobs. Even the federal timberlands in the Pacific Northwest states, the nation's so-called timber basket, directly provide only about 1.5 percent of the region's jobs. Meanwhile, other sources of income in the region have grown steadily. The income generated by service-sector jobs throughout the West is greater than the aggregate income generated by all of the natural resource industries combined, according to data gathered by the U.S. Commerce Department. The same holds true for retirement income.

In many rural areas, moreover, protected landscapes and environmental quality directly support local economic vitality. They are among the driving forces in the resettlement of many nonmetropolitan regions and the economic renaissance taking place there. Rather than being an economic millstone around these communities' necks, environmental quality has turned out to be the source of considerable economic growth. As a result, the choices "extractive-dependent" communities face, as well as their

likely futures, are nowhere near as grim as portrayed by anti-environmentalists.

## The Missing Ghost Towns

Throughout the inland West, the 1980s were a time of trouble for the extractive industries of metal mining and smelting, ranching, and timber. According to the conventional wisdom, the region should have sunk into a permanent depression, while the communities that played host to these industries turned into ghost towns. That is not what happened. In western Montana and northern Idaho, for instance, it is a commonplace that more than half of all jobs and income are directly or indirectly tied to timber, the region's only major commodity export. Oregon is perceived as being even more timber-dependent. Small cities and rural areas stretching south along the Cascade range are regularly described as lumber towns.

It is not surprising, then, that warnings of massive economic disruption accompanied the dramatic reductions in federal timber harvests in the late 1980s and early 1990s to protect endangered species, halt the deterioration of fisheries, and cope with private and public overcutting. Some industry spokespersons claimed that 100,000 jobs would be lost in the Pacific Northwest. In western Montana, with its much-smaller population, more than 10,000 jobs were said to be threatened. Economic calamity would turn the region into "a new Appalachia," the timber industry insisted, unless the federal government boosted the level of timber harvest on public lands.

At the beginning of 1996, the predicted economic damage had yet to appear. Oregon, western Montana, northern Idaho, and northeastern Washington were in the midst of vigorous economic expansions that brought unemployment rates to their lowest levels in 25 years and added tens of thousands of new jobs annually. In metropolitan areas, much of the growth was due to expansion of the high-technology sector. In rural areas, service sector jobs have increased. A review of all 50 state economies by the Corporation for Enterprise Development placed Montana, Oregon, and Idaho on its five-state economic honor roll for economic performance and development policy.

Almost all of the region's nonmetropolitan counties shared in the economic expansion. Even so-called depressed timber towns enjoyed growing populations and mini building booms. A study of the region's small towns that had lost lumber mills found that most of them had gained population rather than lost it. Displaced wood-products workers were quickly absorbed into the expanding economy at wages not far below what they previously earned. Real earnings rose as new, relatively high-paying jobs proliferated. Said one observer: "Economic calamity never looked so good!"

The towns of Butte and Anaconda in Montana provide another example of economic resilience. For nearly a hundred years the economies of the two adjacent towns centered on copper mining and smelting. As late as 1975, almost three-fourths of Butte's economic base was estimated to be associated with a single company, Anaconda Copper. By 1983, the mines and smelter were shut down, and Anaconda Copper had ceased to exist.

Based on folk economics, one would have predicted that Butte would become a ghost town. But nothing could be further from the truth. Between 1974 and 1983, employment outside the mining and metal smelting sectors expanded steadily. Only when oil giant ARCO, which had bought the Anaconda operations in the 1970s, announced the permanent shutdown of the last



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operations, the Berkeley open pit and the smelter in Anaconda, did employment outside of the copper industry dip slightly, falling by less than 10 percent. Although 95 percent of the copper industry employment had been wiped out, eliminating 5,000 of the area's 20,000 jobs, the rest of the economy did not follow copper mining in a terminal downward slide.

This is not to say that the Butte-Anaconda area suffered no serious consequences from the Anaconda Copper shutdown. The area lost 20 percent of its population, and total real income declined by about 15 percent. That would be a painful shock to any community. To the miners and smelter workers and their families, this was an economic catastrophe. Without ignoring or minimizing their economic pain, however, one still has to be impressed by the resilience of these communities and their economies. Clearly there is economic life after mining.

Dubois, Wyo., is another ghost town that wasn't. Until 1987, this town of about a thousand hosted one of the largest stud mills in the nation. The mill provided one-third of the town's jobs and a similar share of its tax base. In order to assure an adequate flow of logs from the Shoshone and Bridger-Teton National Forests to the mill, the Forest Service began to allow loggers access to roadless areas, wildlife habitat, and prime recreation land. Controversy over the environmental cost of keeping the mill alive split Dubois from its neighboring communities of Pinedale and Jackson, whose economies were more clearly recreation oriented. It also split the population of Dubois and Fremont County. Some argued that the very survival of the town and regional economy were at stake. Others said that the mill's voracious appetite could never be satisfied in the long run and that seeking to satisfy it in the short run would destroy the area's emerging

recreational economy.

In 1987, the Forest Service decided that it could not continue to provide the flow of logs the mill required and the mill shut down. The town did not "up and blow away," as many had predicted. In the years following the mill closure, real income in Dubois grew by 8.5 percent per year; by contrast, the Wyoming economy showed almost no real growth and the national economy grew at less than a third of this rate.

This was hardly the doom that proponents of sacrificing the landscape to feed the mill had forecast. By 1993 the mayor was bragging, "Now our economy is steadier and stronger than ever."

The basis for the community's economic strength was visible before the mill shut down. A long-time Dubois resident and retired economics professor, John Murdock, conducted a house-by-house survey of the entire town during the timber-harvest debate. He found that the local economy was already much more diversified than most people realized and that the fraction of the town's income that derived from millworkers' employment could easily be replaced. Moreover, he pointed out that the Dubois area had already begun to attract residents and businesses because of its recreation, wildlife, and scenic beauty and that these so-called amenity resources could be a source of potential wealth.

Today, Dubois is, in the words of the county director of economic development, "one of the few places in the country basing our economic revitalization on wildlife and wildland rehabilitation." Local officials have opposed extractive developments such as oil and gas exploration that might threaten those wildlands and the economic vitality that relies upon them. The opening of a National Bighorn Sheep Interpretive Center in Dubois in 1993--expected to draw 120,000 visitors annually--marks the town's successful completion of the somersault from logging camp to nature camp in just five years.

## Looking in the Rearview Mirror

As Mark Twain might put it, reports of the deaths of towns like Butte, Anaconda, and Dubois have been greatly exaggerated. Yet predictions of economic collapse have terrified residents of communities that rely on extractive industries for some share of local employment. This false sense of economic insecurity flows from a piece of economic theory that is taught and retaught from grade school on up. Most of us remember the economic geography maps in our elementary school social-science textbooks--an icon of a blast furnace at Pittsburgh; for Detroit, an automobile; in Iowa, corn; in the Pacific Northwest, Paul Bunyan and his blue ox, Babe. The economic lesson these maps taught was that one could explain geographic patterns of settlement by looking at the economic activities that drew people to certain areas and supported them there. Geographically specialized economic activities determined why people lived where they did.

The economic theory behind this view is called the economic base model. It argues that in order for people to inhabit any area, they need to have the money that allows them to purchase from the larger, external economy those things that they cannot easily produce themselves. In order to earn that income, they must successfully market some exportable product. The income from their exports allows them to pay for the imports that make life in that particular location viable.

This economic model is used to explain the role played by natural resource extraction in our local economies. According to this view, natural resources such as timber, minerals, or agricultural crops are the economic engine of a local economy. Extracting, processing, and exporting these resources provides the income that allows people in the community to import the goods they need. Communities can survive only as long as their natural resource base remains viable. Anything that threatens the viability of that resource base threatens the continued existence of the entire community. The ghost town symbolizes the lesson implicit in this economic theory.



Turning permanent wealth into temporary income

photo courtesy of Daniel Dancer



***When patterns of economic activity begin to change, there is a considerable lag in intellectual and cultural adjustment. One of the last things to change is that shared collective understanding of what drives the local economy.***

***Environmental quality can serve as an engine for local economic vitality in a variety of ways.***

***The shift from manufacturing to services, combined with improvements in transportation and telecommunications, has allowed the decentralization and diversification of economic activity.***

***First, the federal government should eliminate public subsidies to environmentally damaging economic activities.***

Extractive activities usually have a long history in the communities that depend upon them, often dating back as far as the original European settlement of the area. As a result, most people's conception of the local economy tends to be tied to past patterns of economic activity rather than current economic reality. When patterns of economic activity begin to change, there is a considerable lag in intellectual and cultural adjustment. One of the last things to change is that shared collective understanding of what drives the local economy.

The conventional wisdom about the local economy is a view through the rearview mirror: a vision tied to past reality rather than the present pattern of economic activity. Seen through the rearview mirror, activities that were economically important in the past continue to loom large; the viewer cannot focus on opportunities emerging on the horizon ahead. This is the set of conceptual blinders that keeps public economic policy focused on past reality rather than on the current economy and the prospects for future growth.

### **Dubious Assumptions**

The economic base model is predicated on two familiar assumptions: First, that job location is dictated by facts of economic geography, such as the location of natural resources, transportation costs, and proximity to markets; and second, that people have to move where jobs are located. This view, that people go looking for work and get distributed across the landscape according to where they find it, matches many people's personal experiences with the economy. It supports local economic development policies that seek to recruit new businesses or retain existing ones through tax breaks and subsidies.

But these assumptions are not intuitively obvious. Stated differently, they are, in fact, quite counterintuitive: They imply that firms do not care about labor supply and that people do not care where they live. There is nothing in economic theory or economic fact to support these assumptions. Quite the contrary, both of them are wrong.

Consider the first assumption: that firms do not care about the adequacy, cost, or quality of the available labor supply. Clearly, historical as well as contemporary experience contradicts this view. Industry often relocates in the pursuit of a cheaper labor force. The movement of the textile industry from New England to the rural South earlier in this century, the more recent shift of the meat-packing industry from the Chicago area to the rural Midwest, and the current migration of businesses from the Frost Belt to the Sun Belt and across the border into Mexico are all dramatic examples of industries relocating in pursuit of a relatively inexpensive labor supply. In an economy in which resources are increasingly mobile and in which manufacturing industries that rely on specific resources represent a shrinking share of the national economy, labor has become an increasingly powerful factor in determining the geographic distribution of economic activity.

The second assumption—that people do not care where they live and will shift their residence to any place jobs are located—is equally insupportable. The economic geography of the United States has been transformed during the second half of the 20th century as a result of the population acting on their preferences for particular types of living environments. How else is one to explain the suburbanization of our metropolitan areas after the Second World War? The postwar settlement of the desert Southwest and the Sun Belt, in general, also reflects people's willingness to relocate to areas they perceive as desirable. In the 1980s and 1990s, the population boom in scenic rural areas such as southern Utah, western Montana, nonmetropolitan

Oregon and Washington, the coast of Maine, and Vermont testifies to the wide-ranging impact of people's pursuit of preferred living environments.

Recognition of the elementary economic facts that businesses care about labor supply and that people care where they live can give us a new perspective on local economic health and local economic development. Together, they show that the quality of the social and natural environments can become an important resource in fostering economic vitality.

### **An Environmental View**

An alternative to the economic base model is an environmental view of the economy, so called because it stresses that individuals' and businesses' preferences for certain types of living environments strongly influence the location of economic activity. According to this view, environmental quality can serve as an engine for local economic vitality in a variety of ways.

Technological and economic changes over the past several decades have helped to create the conditions under which environmental quality can help to drive local economic development. The shift from manufacturing to services, combined with improvements in transportation and telecommunications, has allowed the decentralization and diversification of economic activity. Employers have a much wider range of geographic choices when it comes to the location of their firms, and communities can attract and support a much broader array of economic opportunities than ever before.

In many nonmetropolitan areas, a wave of resettlement has helped to spur economic growth. For one thing, the relative excess supply of people trying to make a living in attractive areas has helped to keep labor costs down. Access to a low-cost, high-quality labor supply can act as a powerful magnet for potential employers. For example, the growth in high-tech employment in Washington, Oregon, and Idaho reflects companies' determination to locate in areas that had attracted skilled workers, while capturing the benefits of wage levels significantly below those paid in, say, southern California.

Retirement income plays a particularly important role in the economy of many amenity-rich, nonmetropolitan areas. Retirees are one of the most footloose segments of the population. Attracting one retiree to a community has the same economic impact as creating one job. The money retirees spend—whether generated by pensions, investment income, or savings—contributes as much to the economy as if they were working. On a smaller scale, individuals who move to new areas bring with them savings that they expend while they seek employment. Like tourists, they bring income even when they do not yet hold jobs in the region themselves. The net effect on the local economy is expansionary.

In addition, drawing new residents has helped to spur increased self-sufficiency in many rural communities. Historically, the income generated by employment in extractive industries was spent outside these communities. But entrepreneurs drawn to these areas explore every opportunity to replace imported goods or to capture dollars that would otherwise flow out of the area by developing a more sophisticated array of locally available goods and services—medical, financial, or legal services, small retail or manufacturing businesses, recreational or educational programs. Some businesses may even build on their local success and begin exporting to the larger economy. As a result, more and more small towns are able to capture and retain the money generated in the local economy. All of this allows the community to support a growing number of residents and to



begin to generate a self-sustaining, healthy economy. The increased diversification of small communities is largely responsible for the survival and even growth of communities that have been forcibly weaned from their perceived dependence on extractive industries.

## Policy Implications

The shift from an extractive to an environmental view of the local economy has several important policy implications. First, the federal government should eliminate public subsidies to environmentally damaging economic activities. At the heart of many serious environmental problems are sizable public subsidies that encourage and reward environmentally damaging activities—clearcutting timber, open-pit chemical metal mining on public lands, the construction of massive hydroelectric dams, and intensive grazing on public lands. In recent years, the combination of fiscal conservatism in government and increasing environmental awareness has led to powerful political forces seeking to reduce these subsidies to the natural resource industries.

But these efforts have been labeled a “war on the West” by regional politicians and the anti-government, anti-environmental movement. Many of these forces are attempting not only to protect but to increase extractive activities on public lands. At the federal level, policymakers have introduced bills intended to turn federal lands over to the states or, in the case of grazing lands, to the agricultural interests that use them. Some “Wise Use” groups, with ample funding from extractive industry sources, have convinced local and state governments to use their legislative powers to force the federal government to lift restrictions on extractive uses of federal lands. In Utah and Nevada, some counties are even seeking to gain control of federal lands on the grounds that federal ownership of these lands is illegal. Individual industries have a lot to lose; they will not give up their subsidies without a loud and emotional fight. Yet what is really at stake is not protecting local economies but subsidized environmental destruction.

Second, the federal government should assist communities in economic transition, rather than continuing to subsidize declining industries. Policymakers who take a rearview mirror vision of the local economy often support subsidies intended to keep historically important economic activities from declining—even when powerful technological and market forces assure that decline will take place anyway. A number of extractive or resource-dependent industries such as mining and timber fall into this category. The result is serious environmental damage and only short-term economic gains.

A more productive, forward-looking policy would be to invest those funds in helping communities and individuals make the transition from reliance upon the declining extractive industry to the alternative economy that in almost all cases is already in place and growing. This, for instance, has been the approach taken by the Clinton administration as it has sought to support economic development at the same time that it protects the remnant ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest. The Forest Service has provided grants to educational institutions and local and state governments to help communities and residents adapt to changing economic conditions. Investments in human resources and community infrastructure—counseling, retraining, additional education, small business technical support, and enhanced mobility—are much more likely to be economically productive than subsidies for declining industries.

In fact, the environmental view of the local economy suggests that public economic development policy will work best when it focuses on the quality of the local environment—natural, social, or built—rather than on specific economic activities. Investment in public goods such as infrastructure, education, environmental protection, public safety, or even cultural life will do much more to foster economic growth than subsidies for private industrial or agricultural activity.

Third, local, state, and federal agencies must learn to recognize the economic value of protected natural landscapes when issuing environmental permits. These agencies often have in place regulatory mechanisms that could prevent or limit environmental damage but may choose not to use them for fear of harming the local economy. Meanwhile, the potential economic harm of degrading the local environment is ignored. When the Forest Service authorizes additional clearcutting of our forested mountains, it is not just creating more timber jobs; it is also destroying the recreation, wildlife, and scenic values of the mountains, which may support more economic activity than timber extraction. When a state government leases its lands for mining, timber harvest, or grazing to generate income for schools, it may undermine the attractiveness of the area to new residents and businesses and may reduce the schools’ financial base. The proposed mines adjacent to Yellowstone National Park and on the Blackfoot River in western Montana may each create several hundred jobs but may undermine the healthy, high-amenity, recreational economy now in place and growing. This type of one-sided economic analysis is dangerous to the economic health of our communities.

Finally, policymakers must learn to distinguish between economic change and economic decline.

Even when jobs and real income are growing in a local or regional economy, policymakers and the general public may perceive those economies as being in decline if historically important, highly visible economic activities are failing. As long as more jobs are being created than are being lost, the economy will prosper. However, because the economic activities that generate new jobs are often less well-established or take place on a smaller scale, policymakers and community members often ignore the positive side of the equation. As a result, they assume that the community is economically threatened. The result is unproductive anxiety, overheated debate fueled by public fears, and misguided decisionmaking.

## Resources: A Changing Role

Because the environmental model of community economic development shifts the emphasis away from extractive industries, it might be interpreted as suggesting that natural resources do not matter as much to these communities any longer. But its primary message is quite different. The role of natural resources in the local economy is not diminishing but changing, from extraction and export to nonconsumptive and environmental uses. A community’s economic health continues to depend upon the surrounding natural landscapes but in a fundamentally different way. Our natural landscapes can no longer be treated primarily as warehouses from which to extract commercially valuable resources. Instead, we must recognize that they are the source of increasingly valuable flows of environmental goods and services: clean water and air, recreational opportunities, wildlife, scenic beauty, biodiversity, and environmental stabilization. Protected landscapes make the communities embedded in them attractive places to live, work, and do business. This supports and enhances local economic vitality and well-being.

Extractive industry by itself does generate ghost towns. High-quality living environments, on the other hand, are able to prevent ghost towns by attracting and holding diverse economic activity. Because of this, it is vitally important for all of us to check just where policymakers have their eyes focused and demand that they look toward a safe and prosperous future.

Thomas Michael Power is Dean of Economics, University of Montana, Missoula.

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A region's past is not always its future

photographerunknown



# But I'm Just One Person, What Can I Do?

by Victor Rozek

*Against incredible odds,  
he had done it.  
Slayed the dragon,  
conked Goliath on the noggin,  
tugged on Superman's cape,  
changed political reality,  
uprooted the entrenched.*

*Go ahead  
and have your campaign,  
young man,  
just don't bother  
the membership.*

I first heard about it on a dive boat off the shore of Kauai. Looking back at the island, I could see sugar cane fields burning, releasing mountains of gray-white smoke that blotted out the up-wind landscape. Turning to a stranger who was struggling with his scuba gear, I pointed to the hillside in disgust. "I came over 2,000 miles to get away from precisely that."

"What do you mean?" he asked.

"Field burning, slash burning" I replied. "I'm from the Northwest where timber companies and grass seed growers dispose of their garbage the same way sugar cane growers do--by torching it and dumping it on the public."

"Yeah," said the man, "it's pretty terrible up there. But at least the Sierra Club finally adopted a Zero Cut policy."

The eight people on the dive boat were probably wondering why I started jumping up and down, waving my arms and yelling "Yes!"

Chad had done it. Against incredible odds, he had done it. Slayed the dragon, conked Goliath on the noggin, tugged on Superman's cape, changed political reality, uprooted the entrenched. It was no small feat. Over the years, the Sierra Club had grown, matured, and calcified, becoming conservative as people and organizations do when they have a lot to protect. The Club was now only part environmental advocate. It was also a self-sustaining bureaucracy and a perpetual fund raising machine whose vision, according to critics, had become blurred by unwholesome exposure to inside-the-Beltway politics. The Club's advocacy, these critics charged, had devolved to comply with political reality. Moderation guided its pursuits, and a disconnect developed between fiery fund raisers and cautious campaigns.

What was left of the spirit of John Muir, reformers told me, was stuffed into fund raising appeals. There, a fighting spirit could still be found in ardent solicitations. But no effective, hard-hitting campaign emerged on behalf of the forests. As America's public forests shrank through years of negotiated compromise, of failed litigation strategies, of broken government promises, (the salvage rider being the latest betrayal) the Sierra Club was unwilling to just say Stop! For five years, since the Native Forest Council (NFC) first began advocating a Zero Cut policy on public lands, the Sierra Club had stood vehemently against it. It wanted less logging, better logging, but logging nonetheless.

Chad Hanson disagreed. A long-time member of the Sierra Club, he had just graduated from law school but found his passion in environmental activism. He knew that the NFC's position did not preclude thinning plantations for purposes of restoring native diversity. Nor was the Zero Cut policy intended to deny firewood to forest-enveloped communities. But it was intended to stop commercial logging on public lands. It was intended to free the forests from admirable laws that were repeatedly stripped of their intent through the interpretation and enforcement practices of federal agencies with contrary agendas.

Hanson knew enough about regulatory law to understand its limitations. A well placed word or phrase could reverse the intent of even the most honorable legislation. He knew that the view through any window of commercial-logging opportunity would reveal only clearcuts. He knew that the Forest Service, in spite of its roster of forest-friendly euphemisms--sustainable yield, forest health, salvage--continued to hack away at the shrinking native forest base at an alarming

rate. And he knew, above all, that there was only 5 percent left of the country's native forest base, not enough to survive another round of compromises.

The process of changing the Sierra Club's collective mind started in the Summer of 1993. After the Club's board and national committees disdainfully refused to address the issue of ending logging on public lands, Jim Bensman, a frustrated member and an impudent fellow, launched a petition drive to qualify a no-cut, forest policy reform initiative for the Club's national ballot. Some 1,250 member signatures were required and activists across the nation, including Hanson, set about gathering them.

If the board was unresponsive, the reformers believed the membership was not. By October, two thousand signatures were submitted and the initiative was certified for the ballot.

The Club's management evidently feared the reformers' instincts regarding the membership were right. And so it began a series of behind-the-scenes maneuvers. A minority on the board fought vigorously for the initiative. A majority, it would appear, preferred to deprive the Club's membership of the opportunity to vote its mind. Or at least to do so in an honest, straight forward way.

In November of 1993, the board of directors met in San Francisco. It was not pleased, according to Hanson who attended the meeting, with the prospect of a Zero Cut resolution. But, according to the Club's bylaws, the board was left with one of two choices. Either adopt the proposal outright, or allow members to vote on it.

The board retired in closed-session to consider the dilemma. What discussions ensued we do not know, but we do know the strategy that emerged from them: create confusion. The board's response suggests that it neither wanted to adopt the resolution, nor allow the membership a fair shot at voting it in. Management decided to accede to the uncertainties of the democratic process with one notable caveat: it would word the ballot measure in the negative, so that members would have to vote NO in order to vote YES. "Shall the Sierra Club's existing forest policy be retained as is, and not changed by amendment as proposed by the petition?"

It was a time-honored, if not an honorable, tactic. In 1967 the board played a nearly identical trick on its members when David Brower tried, to stop the Sierra Club from supporting the construction of the Diablo Canyon nuclear reactor. The deception worked then, the reactor was built, and soon thereafter Brower was ousted. The legendary Brower would soon come back as an elected board member to extract a measure of revenge.

When the board emerged from closed-session, it immediately passed resolutions making official--without discussion or comment--the decisions already made in private. The board chose to speak on behalf of majority opinion. Thus opposition to the initiative was both unanimous and conspicuous on the ballot mailed to the membership.

The vote was not scheduled until April of 1994. Bensman filed election complaints about the wording of the ballot measure. No response. Frustrated, he sent an E-mail message to all Sierra Club E-mail users explaining the ballot manipulation. This time he got a reply: the Club threatened to deactivate his E-mail access. Finally, several weeks after the ballot had already been printed and mailed, the Club's Chief Inspector of Elections, denied Bensman's complaint. In addition to the disputed wording,



on the ballot Hanson and Bensman found what they believed to be a fallacious summary of the Club's existing forest policy. It claimed that the Sierra Club always had, and did now support an end to logging of old-growth and incursions into roadless areas. The implication being, if the policy was already strong, why change it?

That didn't jive, Hanson said, with the Sierra Club's past support of the Williams Montana Wilderness Bill which would have handed over millions of acres of roadless native forest to the sawyers. Nor does it align with the Club's recent support of the Murray Bill which would have created a permanent salvage program that would certainly have meant renewed logging of old-growth. It was another example, Hanson said, of the disconnect between theory and practice. But the ballots were out and there was nothing to be done. After the votes were counted, the initiative lost receiving only 41 percent of the tally.

Bensman, Hanson, and other reformers had by now grouped themselves in a loosely-knit cabal they called The Association of Sierra Club Members for Environmental Ethics (later changed to The John Muir Sierrans under threat of lawsuit by the Club's attorney), and they were pissed. They, themselves, proposed to sue the Sierra Club over its electioneering slight-of-hand. Several board members pleaded with them not to file suit, promising that the Club would be restructured, making it more open and accessible.

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***The reformers had by now grouped themselves in a loosely-knit cabal they called The Association of Sierra Club Members for Environmental Ethics, and they were pissed.***

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The Sierrans backed off, the Club restructured but only cosmetically, according to Hanson. "They got rid of some national committees and replaced them with other national committees," he said. "They may have stripped away some of the fat, but in doing so they further consolidated power into the hands of those who had opposed our measure."

At this point, Bensman decided he had taken enough abuse. Chad Hanson, however, was determined to give this ballot thing another try, and this time to leave nothing to chance. With his lawyerly attention to detail, Hanson poured over the Club's bylaws and standing rules trying to find a way to prevent the board from rewriting his ballot measure. What he found was a provision that casts an even longer shadow on the board's conduct. The provision stated that the language of the initiative must be approved by both the board and the petition proponents. If agreement could not be reached, a mutually-selected third party would be chosen to arbitrate.

But the initiative itself was different from the *ballot question*. So while Hanson had some control over the wording of the initiative, the board retained complete sway over language appearing in the ballot itself. Hanson's solution was simple and ingenious: make the initiative a one sentence question. Any attempt to reword that sentence on the ballot would be tantamount to changing the initiative itself which the board could not legally do.

By its own rules, the board had 15 days to reject or approve the language. But as the spring of 1995 turned to full summer, both sides wrangled vehemently over the wording. Months went by. Finally, six weeks before the deadline for

submitting signatures, the board agreed to the existing language.

By October, Hanson had the required signatures. Again, hundreds of people across the country participated in the gathering effort. Hanson worked the phone. He was coordinator, cheerleader, provoker. The following month he traveled to San Francisco for another board meeting. There he learned that, this time, the

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***OK, so he couldn't use the phone, and he couldn't use his computer, and he couldn't even write a letter, but there was nothing preventing him from talking to Sierra Club chapters in person.***

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Sierra Club would not openly oppose his initiative. At first the board voted to take no position on the issue, then it passed a resolution explaining that its neutrality should not be construed as tacit endorsement.

The campaign began anew. Hanson was eager to write letters and articles, exchange correspondence by E-mail with Club members and group leaders, work the phones, drum up support. But he was told that, under the Club's election rules, using telephones and computers is strictly verboten! None of the reformers may communicate with membership regarding the initiative--or any closely related issue, mind you--not by phone, not by E-mail, not even by good-old fashion U.S. mail. Not even at their own expense.

Go ahead and have your campaign, young man, just don't bother the membership.

But Hanson had another idea. OK, so he couldn't use the phone, and he couldn't use his computer, and he couldn't even write a letter, but there was nothing preventing him from talking to Sierra Club chapters in person. Was there? Nothing, that is, except an utter lack of money and an unreliable car.

Hanson shared his idea with fellow John Muir Sierran, David Orr, a long-time California-based

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***In Santa Barbara Hanson and Orr were met by a hysterical woman who had been briefed about the coming threat.***

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forest activist who, among his many virtues, possessed dependable transportation. The two agreed to visit as many chapters as they could and make their case for Zero Cut. Hanson scraped together enough money for train fare to California. He and Orr decided to lobby the Club's west coast stronghold first. They travelled to San Diego, Santa Barbara, San Francisco, later to Portland and Seattle, and met with chapter executive committees. They slept on people's floors, bummed money for gas, and ate irregularly. Everywhere they went, they preached the gospel of Zero Cut, explaining the economic and ecological reasons why the Club should adopt such a policy. They asked for support and entreated each chapter to print favorable editorials in their newsletters.

A grassroots insurgency was developing, and the old guard didn't like it one bit. Misinformation about the initiative began circulating. Representatives from the home office were discharged to

counter the threatening notion that the preeminent proponent of green ideals should advocate an end to the slaughter of nature on public lands.

In Santa Barbara Hanson and Orr were met by a hysterical woman who had been briefed about the coming threat, surmised who they were, and refused to allow them to speak. But speak they did.

San Francisco, home of the Sierra Club's national headquarters, provided the pivotal test. Hanson and Orr were scheduled to speak. Youth and idealism allowed them to enter the lion's den. But this, in many respects, was a fight for the soul of the Sierra Club. The reformers didn't expect to get out unscathed. To their credit they did what young idealists seldom do--they asked for help.

The objects of their appeal were legends in the history of conservation, David Brower and Martin Litton, two of the Clubs--and the nation's--most revered activists. Both men, however, are octogenarians, and Litton, as luck would have it, had fallen down a flight of stairs the day before and bled profusely. How much help could be expected? The meeting room was packed with activists, reporters, and local politicians. The old guard was about to teach youth and idealism a real-life lesson. But at the last minute, Brower and Litton appear, as welcome as sunrise after a summit bivouac. They speak with passion and eloquence and wisdom about the need for Zero Cut. The San Francisco Bay chapter joins other endorsers of the initiative.

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***The old guard was about to teach youth and idealism a real-life lesson. But at the last minute, Brower and Litton appear, as welcome as sunrise after a summit bivouac.***

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A week before the vote, Hanson is back in Oregon, pacing the NFC office like a man who just bet the mortgage money on red and is watching the roulette wheel spin. The vote could go either way, he says. If only he had done more, he says. If only he had been more eloquent. If only he had been more convincing. If only. He worries it, chews it, wraps it in doubt and insecurity, and carries it on his back.

The wheel slows and the white ball bounces crazily between red and black slots. It ricochets, and skips. It jumps, then rebounds, then lands squarely in a red slot where it comes to a resounding halt. The election results are in. Hanson's ballot measure wins by a 2-1 margin. Every chapter Hanson and Orr visited voted for the initiative. Sixty-one out of sixty-five chapters nationwide voted, many overwhelmingly, in favor of Zero Cut.

The membership had spoken.

In Hawaii, I'm still jumping on the boat. I recall something Chad told me during the campaign. While researching the history of national forests, he came across an issue of the **Sierra Club Bulletin** from the 1890s. In it he found something the Sierra Club seemed to have forgotten. He found that it was not the NFC, after all, that was first to propose an end to logging in national forests. It was John Muir and the fledgling Sierra Club.

John Muir, I think, would have liked Chad Hanson.

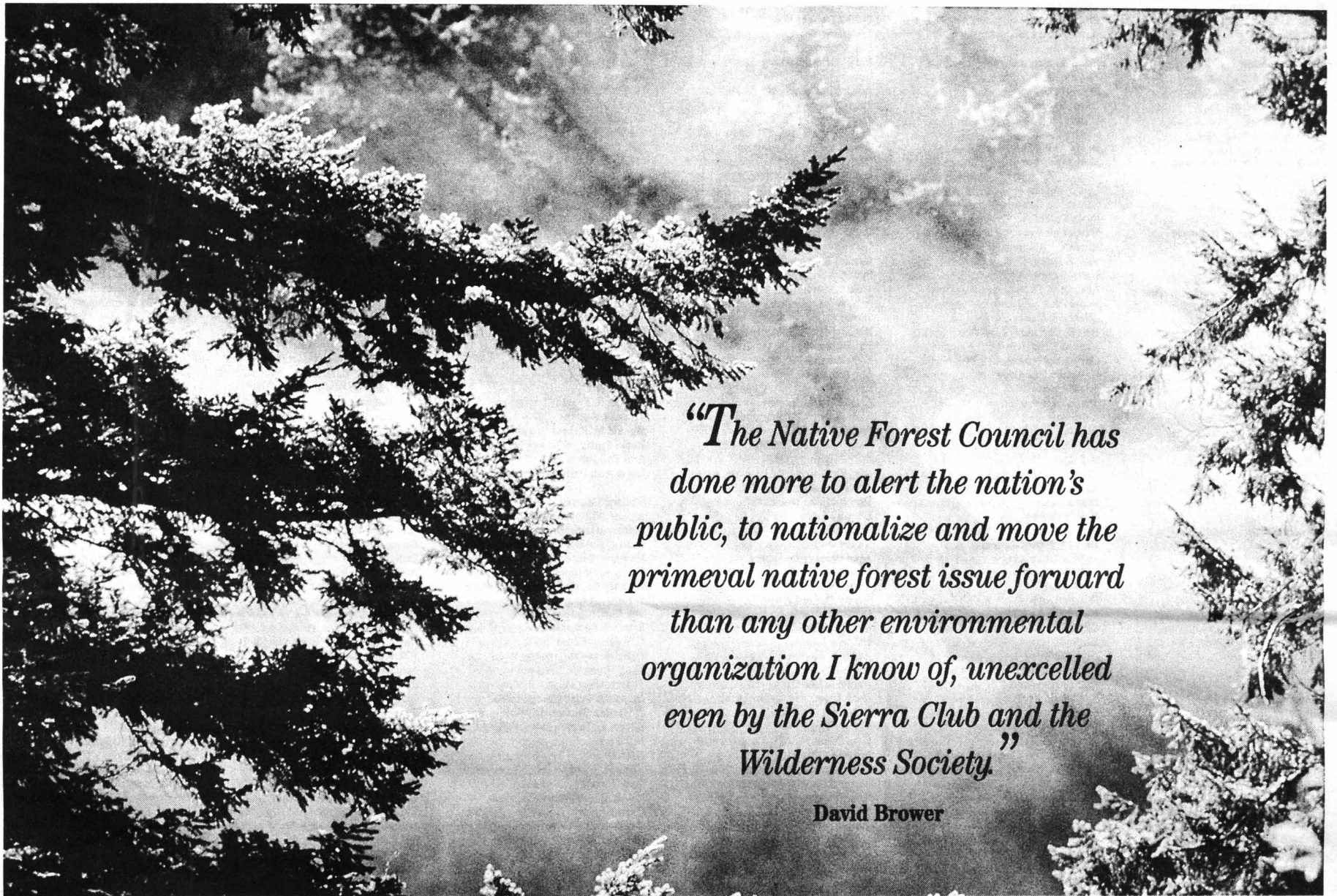
*Chad Hanson, we are proud to say, is a staff member of the Native Forest Council.*



# Annual Report

*Native Forest Council*

*1995*



*"The Native Forest Council has done more to alert the nation's public, to nationalize and move the primeval native forest issue forward than any other environmental organization I know of, unexcelled even by the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society."*

David Brower

Gary Braasch

## **Our Mission**

It is the mission of the Native Forest Council to provide *Visionary Leadership*, to insure the INTEGRITY of forest ecosystems, without compromising people or forests.

## **Our message is simple.**

We Americans own the National Forests, and we are paying for their destruction.

National Forest timber is not needed for domestic consumption. The vast majority of our wood supply comes from private lands, and exceeds domestic needs to such an extent that nearly half of everything cut from public and private lands in six western states is exported. In spite of a demonstrable lack of need, our National Forests continue to be cut down. In the process, public property is being destroyed, irreplaceable natural assets are being purloined, our watersheds are being damaged, and our fisheries are being decimated. Science warns that the natural systems which support life are unravelling, but one hardly requires scientific analysis to notice that our quality of life is gradually being diminished. Absurdly, we subsidize

these activities and encourage these results with billions of our tax dollars.

The Native Forest Council wishes to see this imprudence and injustice stopped.

We advocate an end to industrial logging, and other extractive activities, on public lands. We call our stance, Zero Cut.

Only 5 percent of America's original native forest base remains standing. The rest has already been cut. Vast acreage was converted to tree farms or clearcut and abandoned. The remainder was logged to create farm land or to accommodate shopping malls, roads, housing developments, and other manifestations of human progress.

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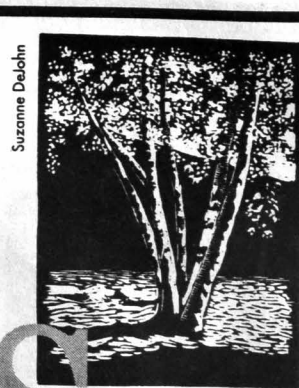




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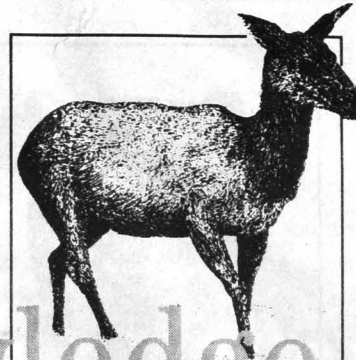
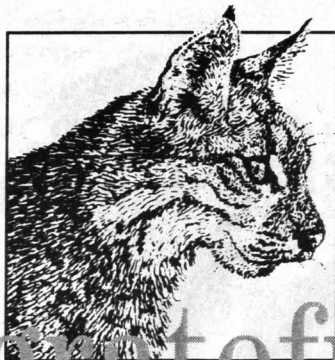
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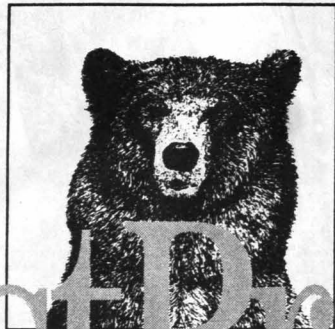
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# Past Present & Future

## Organizational Goals

*At a time when only 5% of America's original forests remain, it is unimaginable that debate still continues regarding how much to save.*

The Native Forest Council has therefore committed itself to:

- Preserving and protecting all remaining native forests on public lands.
- Ending all commercial logging and other extractive activity on public lands.
- Restoring the native biodiversity of public lands which have been logged and converted to tree farms.
- Saving American jobs by ending the practice of exporting raw and minimally processed logs.
- Advocating for economic assistance for timber communities and workers.

## Our message is simple

**Continued from first page of insert**

From a biological and systemic sense, tree farms are not forests. They are typically single-species, corn-row plantations subject to short cutting rotations and are, therefore, biologically impoverished. Tree farms are to native forests what painting by numbers is to art. With few exceptions, what is left of our National Forests are isolated islands of old-growth, surrounded by clearcuts and spindly plantation stands. The practice of clearcutting is so pervasive that it has become the dominant feature of most National Forest landscapes. So large are the areas cleared of trees, that they are visible from space.

Forests, we believe, have many values beyond commodity timber. They cleanse the air, ensure a plentiful supply of pure water, and moderate the climate. They sustain abundant fisheries, are a source of medicines and wild edibles, provide recreational opportunities and spiritual renewal. They shelter wildlife and are the crucible of evolution. Many believe that forests are a splendid example of God's creation which we are

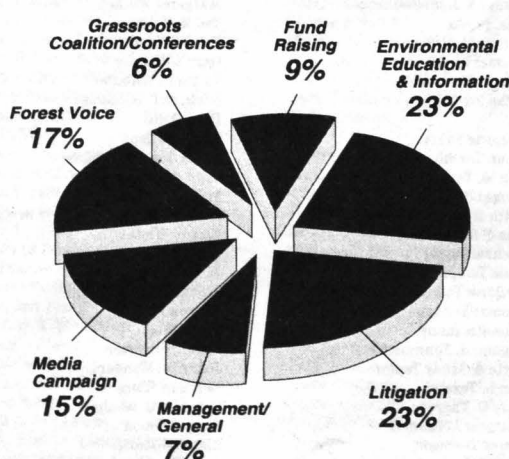
obliged to protect, not ravage with industrial ferocity. Further, the quality of life associated with forested regions is a magnet for sustainable economic development. None of these values are considered or costed when the forests fall. An honest assessment, we believe, would show that economically, as well as ecologically, our public forests are of more value standing than prone.

The Native Forest Council proposes to disclose these facts to the public, and to convey a sense of urgency about changing the policies which permit so outrageous and destructive a transfer of public assets to private hands.

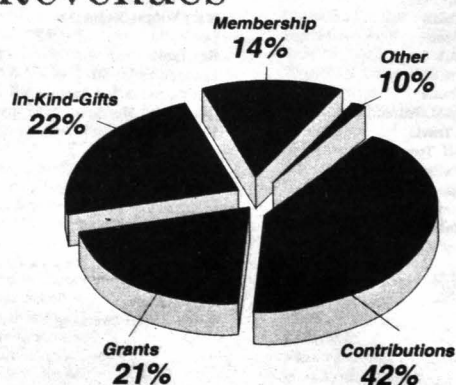
We believe that, given the chance, Americans will choose to retain what is left of their heritage. That Americans will want to conserve their birthright, and not convert the remaining fragments to boardfeet.

We invite all those concerned with the rapid sell off of America's forests, to join us in this urgent and worthy work.

## Expenses



## Revenues



## Financial Summary

Native Forest Council 1995 Summary of Revenues/Support & Expenses and Changes in Fund Balances

	Year Ended 12-31-95	Year Ended 12-31-94
<b>Revenues/Support</b>		
Membership	\$39,923	\$40,153
Contributions	119,578	199,052
Grants	60,454	69,025
In-Kind-Gifts	63,487	93,063
Other	3,912	2,363
<b>Total Revenue/Support</b>	<b>287,35</b>	<b>403,656</b>
<b>Expenses</b>		
Environmental Education & Information	72,592	49,562
Forest Voice	55,350	81,027
Litigation	73,185	128,938
Media Campaign	48,268	94,586
Grassroots Coalition/Conferences	18,464	39,866
Management/General	22,824	24,647
Fund Raising	28,506	38,861
<b>Total Expenses</b>	<b>319,189</b>	<b>457,487</b>
Excess (Deficiency) of Revenues/Support Over Expenses	(31,834)	(53,831)
Fund Balance - Beginning of Year	69,224 *	111,898
Fund Balance - End of Year	37,390	55,067

\* after prior period adjustment



**T**here is a fatalism about natural disasters. They come unbidden and beyond our control, causing random devastation. But residents of the Northwest have a right to be livid because much of the flood damage inflicted on our region was both predictable and preventable. The worse impacts of the 1996 flood--the incredible volume of water scouring our watersheds, washing tons of mud and debris downstream; and the hundreds of landslides which buried roads and damaged homes--could have been averted. Much of the flood damage was human-caused. It was a direct and inescapable result of clearcut logging.

It is a fact that ten times the amount of water runs off of a clearcut slope than is released by a standing forest. Ten times! That number was easily verified in the freshly-logged Mohawk watershed near Springfield, Oregon where I live. Parson's Creek, which is usually no more than 15 feet wide, turned into a 57-yard wide (I measured) torrent of brown muddy water. It screamed downslope carrying logging debris, burying and washing out part of the adjacent road, and threatening homes built along the creek.

In the Mohawk valley below, tons of silt and mud from clearcuts settled in homes, in fields, and smothered the Springfield Golf Course as the Mohawk River left its banks. In some areas as much as five feet of silt, mud, and logging debris settled around the homes of low-land residents.

When Northwest residents see their creeks and rivers running dirty brown, it is important to remember that rainwater is not brown, nor is the water released by standing forests. The source of such massive soil erosion is clearcut logging.

All across the region, landslides collapsed on roadways, some destroying homes and damaging schools. In almost every case, the

# The Making of a Flood

by  
**Victor Rozek**

decades, ignored the social costs of logging. The public loses in four ways. First, we lose billions in tax dollars subsidizing public land logging--about \$8.2 billion since 1980 according to government accounting. Even after counting county revenues from logging operations, the timber industry is still a net tax recipient.

Then we lose by having our public forests destroyed, forests which provide us with many benefits in their living years including: flood abatement, clean drinking water, pure air, healthy fisheries, medicines, wildlife habitat, climate moderation, and recreation.

We further lose when private logs and minimally-processed public timber are exported. According to the USDA's Pacific Northwest

Research Station and the U.S. Department of Commerce, nearly half of everything cut in six western states is exported. If jobs are the issue, they can be found on the export docks.

Last, we lose by incurring the externalized costs of logging activities. Like the cost of flooding, and higher insurance rates. The cost of water filtration plants, and lost revenues from hundreds of businesses that were forced to close. The loss of wildlife and recreation opportunities. And the tab for federal disaster relief. All of these expenses are simply passed on to the public as a cost of doing business--your cost, their business.

If the timber industry was forced to bear its fair share of the cost of this year's flood damage, you could be sure that massive clearcutting on steep slopes would cease. Taxpayers may rightfully expect that

***If the timber industry was forced to bear its fair share of the cost of this year's flood damage, you could be sure that massive clearcutting on steep slopes would cease.***

companies which logged slide sites should compensate the state for road repair and excavation. Citizens whose homes have been damaged by mud and logging debris, should have legal recourse to recover their losses. No one, not Weyerhaeuser, not the BLM, nor private landowners have a right to manage their lands in so irresponsible a fashion as to cause catastrophic damage to their downstream neighbors. Even if the risk is small, it should not be borne by those who had no part in the decision to log. Passing on such costs to the public is simply an outrageous "taking," no different

from having the government seize, destroy, or devalue your property. Such takings should be compensated.

Ironically, watershed protection and flood abatement were the driving reasons for the establishment of National Forest preserves in the late 1800s. It is high time that the timber industry quits claiming all of the benefits of public land logging, but none of the responsibilities.

Five thousand years of human history shows us that if you overcut your forests, you will flood

***Citizens whose homes have been damaged by mud and logging debris, should have legal recourse to recover their losses.***

the valleys below them. It should be no secret. After the 1964 flood, public outrage over the results of excessive logging resulted in the building of 12 dams. This time they were not enough, which should tell us something about the volume of clearcuts and the condition of our watersheds. The consequences will be felt long-term. Studies show that even 25 years after a watershed has been logged, stream flows are still impacted and may carry up to twice their normal volume.

As soon as the waters receded, logging began anew in the damaged Mohawk watershed and throughout the region. As a measure of indifference to the public good, the decision to further damage public watersheds, to further endanger lives and property, has few equals. The victims of the flood of 1996 should respond with a class action suit. Nothing else has yet to get the attention of those who feel entitled to profit at public expense.

*This editorial appeared in the Eugene Register Guard 2/21/96*

***Much of the flood damage was human-caused.***

***It was a direct and inescapable result of clearcut logging.***

collapsing hillsides had been clearcut of trees that would have kept them stable. With no trees, no soil-securing root systems, and no ground cover to soak up rain and prevent erosion, the ground gave way. The greedy cutting of steep-slope timber in populated areas exacerbated a deluge and turned it into a disaster.

It is another example of the many externalized costs of industrial logging. An industry that survives largely on public subsidies has, for



Water, water everywhere. The timber industry would have us believe there is no link between clearcutting and flooding.



# Protecting Maine's Corporate Forests

by Bob LeVangie



Clearcuts in western Maine on land owned by a South African corporation, the Kibby Corp.

photo © John McKeith 1995

**T**here has never been any real limit on how much timber could be cut in Maine. There was little accountability and no hope of legal restraint. Until now.

Ninety-six percent of the north Maine woods is privately owned by international paper companies, and it was common practice here to clearcut over 100,000 acres per year. Lately, corporations claim to be clearing a mere 50,000 acres annually. To verify such claims, environmentalists have had to show up at the gates (with hat in hand) and pay tolls even to get onto the property. Generating media attention was problematic since the press often says it's too far a drive for a story.

A referendum to limit clearcutting will be on November's election ballot and we are confident the voters will pass it. Four hundred Green party volunteers collected the 55,000 signatures required to bring the measure before the voters. Many people waited in lines for the opportunity to sign. If passed, it will force the paper companies to take another look at what they are doing to our environment.

The referendum has already impacted the political establishment beholden to timber interests. Governor King was beside himself after trying at the last minute to convince Jonathan Carter of Maine's Green party (the state's third largest political party) not to submit the signatures for ballot consideration. The area effected by the measure will be the upper half of the state, the so-called unorganized territories, and will limit clearcuts to a half acre.

The measure is particularly timely because Japan has been eyeing Maine's hardwoods for their own paper making. Industry has been plotting to use the public tax trough to build a wood chip port on Sears Island in beautiful Penobscot Bay, the schooner capital of the world. Although over two thirds of Japan is still forested, the plan was to ship them supposedly second quality oak from Maine. But just as Maine's hardwoods were slated to be ground into pulp for the world market, a coalition of environmentalists stopped the Sears Island cargo terminal project.

Japan has little need to open up its own forest to logging. As of 1989 Japan had 69 chip carriers--among the largest ships that can fit through the Panama Canal--importing the shredded remnants of the world's primary forests. According to project consultants, the Sears Island chip port would eventually process 1.5 million tons of debarked, dry hard woods. This is about three times the rate of sustainable growth, according to a report by University of Maine foresters Field and Forster. The diversion of domestic timber for export would also raise the price of fire wood, pallet wood, and building lumber for local residents.

The project was riddled with scandal from the start when the Sierra club discovered two hundred acres of wetlands on the island

being illegally filled in. It was held up for years by a court injunction. Meetings were held out of state for fear of Earth First! disruptions. It is rumored that state agency office doors were glued shut in the night. The state's own Department of Marine Resources and Department of Inland Fisheries and Wildlife tried unsuccessfully to push the project through, but the

U.S. EPA was unmoved. The Bangor Daily and the Maine Times refused to print letters opposing the project.

Soft letters were OK, the hard truth was rejected.

Public TV, meanwhile, had been co-opted by the multinationals to change people's perception of industrial forestry by showing aerial photos of something other than clearcuts. Radio shows were frequently sponsored by paper companies that claimed they were working a "sustainable" forest, although their own reports proved otherwise.

Not only were the forests not sustainable, but neither were the aquatic species impacted by logging and pulp processing. At one time, the upper bay area produced 37 species of fish and a boat could catch 20,000 lbs. in a single day. But in 1937 Champion Paper opened its mill and the fish stocks fell off to almost nothing and have remained there since. Now the state and its citizens is

paying the price for not protecting this, the most important fish nursery on the eastern sea board. A new chip processing facility would finish the job Champion started.

The clearcut ban will force loggers to reduce their cutting between 30 to 60%. In a recent meeting with the governor the hard questions were asked by the Department of Environmental Protection: "where will the trees come from," and "where will the money come from?" The plan was to start exporting 300,000 tons per year, go to 600,000 tons and eventually reach 1.5 million tons. The project would have cost tax payers about \$85 million which, after 30 years of interest payments, balloons to about \$180 million. The profits would belong to Fieldcrest Cannon of North Carolina.

The governor has thrown in the towel on the project. It hasn't been publicly acknowledged, but we suspect not enough timber will be available because of the referendum. The largest uninhabited island on the eastern seaboard will be spared, at least for now. It's a clear victory for the forest, the wildlife in the bay and in the woods. It demonstrated the power of citizen concern, and it certainly pulled Maine's activist community together.

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# Targeting Public Education:

by Bill Willers

## *How the timber industry and the Wise Use movement infiltrated America's schools.*

Back in the early 1970s, when the timber industry was planning its final assault against America's forests, it perceived the value of propaganda especially as applied to schoolchildren who would grow to become today's decision-makers. Large sums from forest products industries were invested to develop indoctrinating programs and to insert them into public schools where they have yielded Orwellian results. Industry-spawned programs now reach into all 50 states, as well as U.S. territories, Canada, Europe, South America, and Asia, and by industrial estimates have been able to influence more than 400,000 educators.

Project Learning Tree (PLT), which has received an award from the National Association for Industry-Education Cooperation, is a case in point. To quote its own literature, PLT began when "in the early 1970s the forest products industry recognized the need for a balanced resource program for the nation's schools". Providing modules for youngsters from pre-kindergarten to 12th grade, PLT "helps to prepare students to make *wise decisions* (emphasis added) about conservation practices and resource use". A stated theme is "teaching how environmental, technological and social systems are interconnected", and that translates to teaching children to "describe all the many roles wood and paper products play in our lives [and] how a forester works to manage forest resources".

Administered nationally by the industry-backed, Washington, D.C.-based American Forest Foundation, PLT programs are promoted within individual states by both corporate and, in some cases, tax-supported government agencies. In both Wisconsin and Minnesota, for example, the state Department of Natural Resources (DNR) is responsible for funneling PLT programs into state schools. In Wisconsin, the Department of Public Instruction (DPI) is also a co-sponsor. In Michigan, it's the Mead Paper Corporation.

Students are not the only targets, so are instructors. A Wisconsin DNR/PLT brochure, in which "substantial support" from forest products industries is acknowledged, advertises workshops--which may allow one to qualify for university credit or Department of Public Instruction equivalency hours--held throughout the state by "trained leaders, both teachers and resource professionals".

In the Spring, 1994 issue of the PLT publication *Branch*, a new module on forest issues is described as "designed to help students... examine beliefs and values related to forests and clarify their thoughts about how forest resources can be managed." One of PLT's projects is called "tree trunks," wooden chests filled with "all kinds of forestry resources such as books, videos, audiotapes, tree cookies ...". PLT recognizes that "teachers appreciate having a wealth of free resources at hand without having to search for them" and advertises that "PLT provides ready-made lessons and activities that can be incorporated into busy classroom schedules [and] infused into science, language arts, social studies, reading, arithmetic, art, music, civics, etc."

A call to the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources about PLT brought a copy of *Tree Talk*, a newspaper-formatted publication clearly designed for lower elementary levels, complete with crossword puzzle, true-false test (Ex: "In the past decade, more than 50 trees have been planted for each Minnesotan." Answer: "True") and a heavy-handed presentation of Wise Use principles ("To the 60,000 Minnesotans who work in forest-related industries [forests] mean jobs;...To the state economy [forests] represent almost \$6 billion...each year; ...Tough compromises are sometimes necessary; ...The science of managing [forests] wisely becomes more important than ever...")

### CONNECTIONS

The Washington, D.C.-based North American Association for Environmental Education (NAAEE) receives financial support from a variety of sources including corporations. The Spring, 1994 issue of *Branch* reported that "recently PLT was a participant in a forum that NAAEE sponsored with the Council on Packaging in the Environment (COPE) to encourage dialogue between environmental educators and industry...This type of dialogue helps environmental educators and members from industry to cooperate more fully." In a stunning example of full industry/environmental educator cooperation, PLT director Kathy McGlaulin became president of NAAEE in 1995.

Individual states have organizations that are affiliated with NAAEE and promote the Project Learning Tree gospel. In Wisconsin, it is the misnamed Wisconsin Association for Environmental Education (WAAEE), which sponsors conferences and workshops, circulates publications, and confers a multitude of awards on teachers, students and schools.

Industry infiltration is intricate and elaborate. Again, using Wisconsin as an example, in 1990, the state established the Wisconsin Center for Environmental Education (WCEE) "to promote the development, dissemination, implementation, and evaluation of environmental education (EE) programs in Wisconsin." Together, industry front groups, public land management agencies, and environmental education groups such as WCEE form what is known as Wisconsin's Environmental Education Network (EE Network). Schools participating in the EE Network appoint a liaison to be "... responsible for disseminating EE information received through the network to other teachers in the school. Ultimately, the goal is to link teachers in over 3000 schools, 400 districts, and 12 Cooperative Educational Service Agencies." In the same year the Wisconsin Environmental Education Board (WEEB), which is administratively attached to DPI, was set up to administer grants for the development of environmental curricula for elementary through adult level education, and for the training of educators. If your brain feels like it's been tied in a Gordian knot by the tangle of inter-acting agencies, the complexity is by design.

The many connections between and among the timber industry, land management bureaus, and public education form an acronym-laced network so dense as to yield a single, well-integrated entity. Unraveling the network as it functions in but a single region is enough of a task that it indicates a system of gargantuan proportions when one extrapolates to national, then to continental, then to global scale.

But it doesn't stop there, for in addition to the relatively hidden industrial influences in public education there are overt corporate initiatives, such as Trees For Tomorrow (TFT). TFT is an industry-funded "natural resources education center" in Eagle River, Wisconsin. It contains a 40-acre campus with dorms, library, and dining hall operated in cooperation with the U.S. Forest Service. Targeting teachers and students from Wisconsin and surrounding states, TFT designs programs in which "*balanced perspectives* (emphasis in the original) are presented to help participants make informed decisions about the proper management and *wise use* (emphasis added) of our natural resources." TFT also assists schools in fundraising with such items as TFT tee-shirts. The stated goal of the organization is "for each student to be an 'ambassador' (quotation marks in the original) of good natural resource management." That translates to making children ambassadors for clearcut logging.

Some industrial groups are large enough to circulate about the country giving workshops, speeches, and seminars. One such is the Oregon-based Temperate Forest Foundation (TFF), an industrial organization dedicated to "research and education" and claiming to focus on "integrating the conservation and development of natural resources to meet human needs [and] balancing responsible consumption with responsible production of (sic) natural resources". Their 1994 seminar in Brooklyn Center, Minnesota, was introduced by a lumber executive followed by speeches from TFF's CEO, a 5th grade teacher, and a University of Minnesota forestry professor who directs the Forest Products Management and Development Institute. Within the audience there were numerous public school teachers who were clearly impressed with the TFF approach of "thinking of humans as the gardeners, and of nature as the garden."

The timber industry is employing a strategy of saturating the minds of young people with an industrial/agricultural/resourcist philosophy with respect to nature in general and forests in particular. A major facet of the strategy is to denigrate, and to portray as pagan, naive, economically unsound, and hostile to family and community, any view of nature as having value beyond satisfying human needs. So many tendrils emanate from timber corporations, through governmental and non-governmental organizations, into classrooms, reading material, and electronic media, that they can be difficult to follow. And this is in addition to timber's huge expenditures in campaign contributions, television advertising, financial support of anti-environmental offensives, and the like.

Really, it's little surprise that we accept the continuing and accelerating deforestation of public lands. We certainly are being well prepared for it.

*Bill Willers is a professor of biology in Wisconsin.*





photo by Phil Nanas

# The Protest

by Victor Rozek

The five of them stood in the broiling noon-day sun, hands cuffed in front with plastic ties, and a thick chain binding them together. They kept talking while an officer snapped each of their pictures, not in pure defiance, but anxious to tell their stories before being transported to jail. I am one of four reporters standing ten feet away, asking questions, scribbling answers, saddened that it has come to this.

Twelve miles to the southwest, stands an uncommon fir tree that has miraculously escaped the management of the United States Forest Service. By some combination of luck and genetic tenacity, it has also survived the winds, insects, and periodic fires that exert their own management on wooded ecosystems. Core samples show it began its life in feudal times.

I am part of a media tour of two bitterly-contended timber sales in the Umpqua National Forest in Oregon. The sales, prophetically dubbed "First" and "Last", are in a rare unprotected roadless area; a five square mile patch of uncut forest in a quilt of industrial clearcuts and homogenous plantation stands.

The administrative history of these sales is brief and telling: They were first made available under Senator Mark Hatfield's 1989 "318 rider," but were withdrawn by the Forest Service for conspicuous legal violations and deleterious impacts to threatened fish stocks. Three other sales in the same

watershed were challenged by environmentalists and enjoined by Federal Judge William Dwyer. Under the provisions of the new "salvage" rider, however, any 318 sales not previously enjoined, were automatically released, regardless of their potential for ecological calamity. Accordingly, 299 acres of ancient forests were sold to Roseburg Lumber.

*By the year 1215, when the Magna Carta was singed, the fir was already over 200 years old. It stood tall and straight, among cedars, hemlocks and other towering firs. It is possible that no human had yet seen it.*

Escorts are required to tour the sales because the area had been recently "locked down." Closure of a 16-square-mile area, and all

**Confrontations between those who prefer public forests vertical to horizontal can be hazardous.**

access roads leading to the logging sites, was the Forest Service's response to citizen protests.

"Public safety" was the reason given by Don Ostby, Supervisor of the Umpqua National Forest. It is an understandable reason and well within the scope of his authority. Confrontations between those who prefer public forests vertical to horizontal can be hazardous.

Several days earlier, one woman was chased by a logger wielding a chainsaw. For their part, timber companies wish to avoid harassment and fear equipment sabotage.

But "public safety" like "national security" masks a myriad of

***I didn't know it at the time, but urine would become a dominant theme in the day's proceedings.***

potential ills. It can be used to keep the public ignorant, and to cloak illegal government activity. Since the salvage rider stripped citizens of legal recourse, prohibiting court challenge of illegal timber sales, I am here, in part, to document what goes on out of sight of public scrutiny, beyond the rule of law.

Our first illustration of the agency's concern for public safety, however, seems a trifle petulant. When we meet with Ostby in the parking lot outside his office in the town of Roseburg--a full hour's drive from the protest site--one of our party asks to use the restroom. He is refused. "This building is locked-down for safety reasons," says Ostby. I didn't know it at the time, but urine would become a dominant theme in the day's proceedings.

*The fir stands in the Little River drainage, a major tributary of the North Umpqua River. Several indigenous tribes may have eventu-*

*ally come upon it. The Upper Umpqua people and the Cow Creek tribe used the divide as a connecting corridor to the Klamouth region where they traded for obsidian.*

A nervous public relations staffer arranges for a Forest Service guide to meet us at an access road where protestors have congregated. We drive to the closure arriving too late to witness the morning's protest. Three people had chained themselves to two derelict cars blocking the logging road. They were cut free and arrested by authorities. The cars were hauled away.

Some fifty people, however, are still milling about outside the gate. They range in age from college to retirement. Many are from the local community, neighbors of the Forest Service employees and Sheriff's department personnel that monitor the activity. Some carry signs of protest, a few cover their faces with bandannas to avoid being identified on videotape. They huddle at the gate to discuss their options under a large replica of a coho salmon strung high between two trees, with the words "Repeal the Rider" painted on its belly.

Having no legal recourse to stop timber sales under the salvage rider, they decide to risk arrest and defy the closure. They proceed down the road toward the inevitable confrontation with federal and local authorities.

To its credit, the Forest Service has prepared a fall-back position, and



set up a secondary blockade on a cement bridge which spans Black Creek. A bus is parked diagonally blocking the far side of the bridge, and no fewer than 14 Forest Service and Sheriff's department vehicles are parked in a clearing beyond. The protestors reach the choke-point and are told that they may not proceed beyond the bridge and must stay off the road or risk arrest. They are, however, permitted to congregate along the side of the logging road.

*The fir is somewhere up ahead where it has patiently waited through the centuries, sheathed in a necklace of green needles. It is a fixed point around which history transpires. By the time Columbus set sail, it was already 500 years old. Two hundred years later, while Louis XIV staged fox hunts on horseback through the halls of Versailles, it stood.*

One at a time, five protestors defy the order and bolt for forbidden ground. They are corralled by authorities, handcuffed, and dragged away to a staging area. Just before she is caught, one woman, Jody Vilbrandt, draws a squirt gun and sprays officers with urine. Some in the crowd cheer, but many more are dismayed and repulsed. Beyond being monumentally disgusting and undignified, such conduct is broadly viewed as tactically stupid. As of this moment, the issues of this protest will be lost under a spray of urine. It is not only a Forest Service official who has been violated, the entire movement has been sprayed.

As the arrestees are dragged out of sight, protesters push forward to join them. Once again the authorities wisely take a fall-back position, defusing a potential confrontation. Protesters, they say, will

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now be allowed to cross the bridge but must keep the road clear.

One of the last people to cross is 63-year old Joan Norman. She has been arrested numerous times in numerous locations, four times at Sugarloaf alone. She has been maced, and found to be in contempt of court. She refused probation as a condition of her release and is appealing her case to the Oregon Supreme Court. She is white-haired, dignified, and determined. "I believe in justice, and in defying injustice," she tells me. "They took away our laws, took away our access to the courts, now they lock us out to protect a flagrantly harmful timber sale that will push threatened trout and

salmon closer to extinction. This must change."

*For the fir tree, things will change soon, and the change will be final. Its fate is written in broad brown strokes across the denuded landscape, and documented in a sad record of historic excess. The fir may have survived the great buffalo herds that once numbered 60 million but were slaughtered without pause until only 500 lived to see the 20th century. It may have survived the last passenger pigeon, a caged remnant of a flock so vast it once darkened the sky for days. But it will not survive greed.*

Cuffed and chained, the five arrestees are huddled against the back of a pickup truck. The crowd is told to stay well away, but the media is allowed access. Besides Jody Vilbrandt, others arrested are: John Moriarty, Aaron Rappaport, Francis Eatherington, and Tom Gawronski.

These are not people one would reflexively stamp as wild-eyed radicals. Rappaport has a PhD.

***Cuffed and chained,  
the five arrestees are  
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of a pickup truck.***

Gawronski works as a biological technician doing wildlife surveys for the Bureau of Land Management. Eatherington, in her fifties, has lived and worked in the Umpqua for 20 years, and is currently doing vegetation surveys for the Forest Service. None of them had been arrested prior to the passage of the salvage rider. They had tried for many years to work through the system, they said. Now, they are here to do something that must seem pointless and pathetic to the armed, uniformed

men who stand, thumbs looped over heavy belts, faces creased with disdain and faint amusement. They are here to give voice to the voiceless; the dying fish and the great trees that inevitably pay the price for our excess.

They are here, they say, because many of the sales offered under the salvage rider are sites previously

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designated as "critical habitat" for endangered and threatened species; sites determined by federal agencies to be "ecologically sensitive old-growth." Sites, according to the President's forest plan, that are in protected "key watersheds" and "roadless areas." The rider, they reiterate, has suspended environmental laws, and taken away the rights of citizens to appeal. If the Forest Service and the Congress aren't going to protect our forests then, they believe, citizens must do it in any way left open to them. Non-violent protest, they say, is what's left.

The authorities act professionally. They are patient and restrained, and for that demonstrators can be grateful. Still, there is something fundamentally twisted about citizens risking arrest for trespassing on public lands; the combined might of local and federal law enforcement agencies massed against those who would preserve in defense of those who would destroy.

*Somewhere in its belly are rings that mark the founding of our nation. Rings, too, mark the passing of the Civil War. Through*

*the industrial revolution, it stood, absorbing newly-created pollutants, cleansing the water, purifying the air. Through the first and second World Wars, it stood, in serene contrast to the insanity of warfare. It stood in service to countless living communities, while the human community was felling 95 percent of its kind. It survived from feudalism to moon walks. For fifty human generations, it stood.*

The demonstration breaks up and we meet with Jim Leoni our tour guide. The tour of the logging sites is sanitized and carefully controlled. Our van is bracketed by two Forest Service vehicles as we proceed up into the watershed. Perhaps they think the reporter from the LA Times is a terrorist, or that one of us will suddenly bolt and flee into the forest.

***It survived from  
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Our first stop is a "shelterwood cut" which is basically a clearcut in which a few trees per acre are allowed to remain standing. Trees in the 200-300 year range are scattered like fat matchsticks on a short, steep slope which is all that is visible from our vantage point. We are not allowed to leave the road.

A short way up the road is a unit marked for cutting. It is still intact, and we are given permission to walk a small distance into the forest. It is a cool and peaceful place. Our feet sink into the mossy ground-cover and crunch logs that have been rotting for hundreds of years. Up slope, we find a tree that is five feet in diameter. The unit



photo by Tom Gawronski



stretches across a plateau far above us. It has kept its secrets for twenty of my lifetimes. I return to the road. Best not to become attached, it may not be standing long.

There is a slim chance, however, that the logging can be stopped. Not stopped really, simply transferred to another site. Environmentalists have appealed to Jim

***It may be that life-long Forest Service employees have hardly noticed the decline of the lands in their trust.***

Lyons, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, to intervene. A Sophie's choice solution is being negotiated, substituting "like volume" (more old-growth) for the contested sales. But Washington D.C. moves with glacial swiftness, and Roseburg Lumber, either tired of waiting, or simply eager to claim so rare and precious a prize, has begun cutting.

*For a millennium, the wind sang through its branches. Then, in April of 1996, an anonymous feller approached the tree on behalf of Roseburg Lumber. He carried a chainsaw. We do not know what kind of a man he was. Whether he felt grief or elation at what he was about to do, or whether he felt anything at all. We do not know if he held great aspirations or if his life unfolded slouched before the television. We do not know what his values were but, by whatever moral or ethical standards he held dearly, he was able to sacrifice a thousand-year-old tree for a day's wages. He was willing to cut down a living museum; able, without apparent compunction, to*

*deprive us of something so immensely unique and irreplaceable that, under ideal conditions, a millennium would be required to duplicate it.*

*One thousand years of silent majesty in service to the planet, gone in a mindless instant.*

Both of our guides are career Forest Service employees. One has served within the agency for 28 years. I ask him for his impressions. His replies are guarded, and he seems genuinely perplexed by the conflict and attention these sales have aroused. He cannot imagine that anyone would take issue with the agency that has become the dominant weave in the fabric of his life.

As we stand together in awkward discomfort, it suddenly occurs to me that our individual experiences, the lenses through which we view the forest, produce vastly different images. It may be that life-long Forest Service employees have hardly noticed the decline of the lands in their trust. Perhaps because it has occurred gradually,

***The cumulative impacts are analogous to the impact of passing days on the face of a loved one.***

one sale at a time. The cumulative impacts are analogous to the impact of passing days on the face of a loved one. Individually, the days seem to exert no force, but over time they re-sculpt the face, and the vibrant and healthy turn frail and old. After a time, a new wrinkle is hardly noticed.

Ironically, the forests have been converted from old to young, and in the process have been stripped of their vitality. In a systemic sense, national forests--specifically those portions in the timber base--are no longer forests at all, and haven't been for a long time. Outside of a few scarce roadless areas and occasional patches of old-growth, all that remains are clearcuts interrupted by sorry clumps of young, even-aged trees, each square mile of forest bisected by three-to-four miles of logging roads. The forests have simply been converted to fiber factories,

***In a systemic sense, national forests--specifically those portions in the timber base--are no longer forests at all, and haven't been for a long time.***

factories that employ Forest Service personnel and timber workers in the conversion of public assets to private profit.

The confusion I sense from our hosts, can be characterized as that of factory workers who wonder why outsiders are disrupting their workplace. Factories, after all, do not produce clean water and fresh air. Factories are not expected to moderate the climate and abate flooding. Factories do not shelter wildlife. Factories can salmon, they are not its natural habitat.

And so, over time, the values of standing forests became ancillary and were replaced by factory values, and public relations replaced stewardship. And on this spring day, seeing no other remedy, five people stand in the broiling

noon-day sun, hands cuffed in front, bound by growing desperation, personal commitment, and a heavy length of chain.

They have come to understand, perhaps sooner than the rest of us, that our values have become

***And so, over time, the values of standing forests became ancillary and were replaced by factory values.***

stunted, constricted by the prospect of economic gain. The grim fact is, that wherever thousand-year-old trees still stand, there are men eager to get at them. In the race between enlightenment and disaster, disaster moves with the speed of the hare. Perhaps the only thing today's protest accomplished was to state, however clumsily, that the race is not yet over.

#### **Author's note:**

After repeated efforts by activists to prod the government into action, a timber swap was finally negotiated. Old-growth from less sensitive areas in the Ranger District was substituted for these salvage sales. Roseburg Lumber, however, refused to stop logging while the Washington bureaucracy grappled with the dilemma of how to stop the logging while permitting it to continue. While all parties danced, enough ancient trees to produce 600,000 board-feet of timber, fell.



The protesters cuffed and chained

photo by Phil Nanas



# Rape of the Beartooths

by Chip Miller

**E**nvironmental rape is something I never thought would affect my home. Growing up in Montana with its spicy alpine forests and verdant mountains stretching as far as the "big sky" spans, I lived a seemingly ideal life. This ended the day I heard a Canadian mining company wanted permission to mine the pristine Beartooth Mountains.

If permitted, the Noranda corporation will create the New World Mining Project, a 1,200-1,800 ton-per-day, gold, silver, and copper mining complex. It will be located 1.5 miles from the Absaroka-Beartooth Wilderness, 2.5 miles from Cooke City, Montana, and 2.5 miles from the northeast corner of Yellowstone National Park. Resting between 8,000 and 10,000 feet on Henderson and Miller between the Fine complex will water of the Wild and Creek and Clarks Fork River. A mine site magnitude will inevitably impact Cooke City, and America's oldest national park.

Cooke City, with a modest population of about 100, has the look and feel of a family reunion. This close-knit backcountry community is nestled in the heart of a vast virgin forest, which offers hundreds of miles of hiking trails and world renowned trout fishing. The area's mountains, forests, streams, and valleys provide rich habitat for native plants and wildlife. But the solitude of this verdant sanctuary will be shattered when Noranda imports its mob of miners, outnumbering the town's population three to one. The socio-cultural impact will be severe. The environmental impact will be devastating.

The water quality of this area may suffer the worst. The region's substrate contains high levels of iron sulfides, a legacy of past mining operations. Noranda's mine will accelerate this problem by increasing the storage of heavy metals in stream sediments, destroying the aquatic habitat and associated flora and fauna.

The New World Mine is expected to annually produce 520,000 tons of waste slurry called tailings. Fifty percent of the tailings will be used to back-fill the underground mine, the remainder to the tailings slurried by water. This impoundment is located in the Fischer Creek drainage, an alpine creek that intersects the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone, Wyoming's only federally designated Wild and Scenic river.

The threat to water quality will eventually grow to 5.5-million tons of waste, the size of 70 football fields, contained by a 100 foot earthen dam nearly a mile across. This impoundment would be subaqueous, meaning the reactive sulfide tailings must be covered with water to prevent oxidation and resultant acid generation. This experimental method hinges on the assumption that a single 1/16th inch plastic liner will contain the toxic mess. It must withstand floods, earthquakes, avalanches, erosion, stress-cracks and punctures—forever—to prevent pollution.

One of the worst aspects of the tailings pond is its proposed location in an active creek bed with the resultant need to permanently relocate Fischer Creek. Despite claims the impoundment will be

To help stop the New World mine in the Beartooths, contact:

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P.O. Box 1141  
Cooke City, MT. 59020.  
Jim Barrett (406) 838-2348 or  
Ralph Glidden (406) 838-2234

*Greater Yellowstone Coalition*  
P.O. Box 1874  
Bozeman, MT. 59771.  
(406) 586-1593

permanently sound, the tailings site is within a valley that has been altered by glacial and seismic activity and other geologic processes. Any of these could contribute to the catastrophic failure of the impoundment creating an environmental disaster for the area surrounding Cooke City and for Yellowstone National Park.

In addition, the tailing pond would displace acres of rare, high elevation wetlands. The alternate site would be located in the Soda Butte Creek drainage, where a leak would release toxic pollutants directly upstream of the park. There is simply no decent spot for this nightmarish slew of toxins in such a pristine area.

The threat to wildlife is equally menacing. The Cooke City region, rich in subalpine forest, provides some of the finest grizzly bear habitat. Whitebark pines produce large, nutritious seeds that grizzlies eat before and during hibernation. This species of pine grows abundantly in the area proposed for the New World Mine.

The bears' migratory corridors, bounded by major rivers, would also be severely disturbed. Ironically, the threatened area is located in what is known as "Management Situation 1" (MS1) grizzly bear habitat—an area in which the welfare of the grizzly supposedly has precedence over competing activities. By law, the land has been dedicated to the recovery of the bear. But citing provisions in the antiquated and destructive 1872 Mining Act, Noranda, a foreign corporation, now wants the land dedicated to the recovery of gold.

Further, the mine will be visible from Yellowstone and the Beartooth Mountains. Unless Noranda is stopped, the solitude, the beauty, and the ecological integrity of the surrounding area will be violated by the noise and pollution of large-scale industrial gold mining. Visitors, a prime and a stable source of revenue for the region, will witness the torn earth and the destructive effects of out-of-control capitalism.

The real issue in this controversy goes beyond the sociological and environmental impacts this mine will have on the region. It is obvious these factors are of little concern to Noranda, or it would not have chosen so vulnerable an area for its mining operations. Clearly, Noranda deliberately picked a remote, sparsely populated area in the Beartooths, with seemingly minimal opposition, to launch its economic gamble.

The environmental gamble, however, will make losers out of the community, and irrevocably alter the wilderness that sustains it. The company will ravage the land for 10 to 12 years, extracting its wealth, leaving only toxic tailings and memories of how things used to look. The shock-waves could well be felt in Yellowstone itself.

The time for opposition to the New World Mine is now. We need to preserve the future of Yellowstone National Park, the Absaroka-Beartooth Wilderness, and the community of Cooke City. If we don't act now, this rape will soon become reality.

*Chip Miller is a free-lance writer who loves the Beartooth Mountains.*



Exploratory drilling and excavation at Noranda's proposed mine site. Yellowstone can be seen beyond the first ridge.

Photo courtesy of the Beartooth Alliance



# Your Government at Work...

## Cowboy Welfare Public Rangeland Management Act - S1459

You may have heard that the Republicans are rethinking their overt hostility toward the environment--just in time for the election. Newt Gingrich even issued an Environmental Manifesto--one might call it a Contract on the Environment--and appeared on television with assorted animals in a sad attempt to detoxify his image.

Well, don't believe any of it. While Newt was petting snakes, Pete Domenici (R-NM), shepherded the Public Rangelands Management Act through the Senate, a bill that would effectively hand over 270 million acres of public lands to the cattle industry.

S1459 elevates grazing to a "right," not a privilege, on public lands. As a "right" grazing permits would be nearly impossible to rescind, thus setting the stage for "takings" claims by private ranchers staking claim to public lands. It would allow ranchers, for the first time, to claim private water rights on national forests, and to divert streams for livestock regardless of the downstream impacts or effects on wildlife. It would exempt grazing from constraints found in the National Environmental Protection Act, and would make grazing mandatory on 270 million acres of public lands, regardless of the damage to the ecosystem.

Domenici sits on a number of powerful committees including Budget (chair), Appropriations, Natural Resources, and Banking. As such, he is guaranteed an unimpeded flow of

special interest money. He is a particular favorite of the Texas Farm Credit Bank which holds the mortgages on a great many cattle ranches in New Mexico. These ranches are frequently quite small, no more than forty acre plots, but their value is assessed based on their federal grazing permits. Although grazing permits are revokable privileges which cannot be bought or sold, and grazing allotments convey no property rights, banks have put pressure on the Department of Agriculture to ensure that when property is sold, it is sold as a package with the federal grazing permit. Banks frequently make loans based on the "permit value" of the land rather than its actual value. The Forest Service supports the practice by holding grazing permits in escrow as collateral for the lender.

But managing public lands for ecological integrity requires restricting livestock. And if livestock numbers are lowered, the value of the property and the collateral go down. Ranchers strain to make their mortgage payments, and bankers whine to receptive members of Congress.

The traditional solution to the problem has been for Congress to mandate unsustainable grazing at below market rates, while sticking the taxpayers for an additional half-billion dollars per year for "range improvements" to mitigate the damage of overgrazing. Domenici had a better idea: legislate the use of the land to his cowboy friends, at taxpayer expense.

The bill passed the Senate and is headed for the House of Newt. Clinton says he'll veto it, but we wouldn't blame you if you didn't believe him

## Ensuring Wildlife Refuges, Aren't National Wildlife Refuge Improvement Act - HR1675

There are 508 national wildlife refuges in the United States. They cover 92 million acres which makes them 14 million acres bigger than the national park system. While the average person might imagine that military bombing runs and logging are pursuits incompatible with wildlife protection, such activities, according to refuge managers, are common and harmful to wildlife in 59 percent of the refuges.

Ted Williams, writing in the May-June issue of *Audubon*, reports on a General Accounting Office study of open uses which reveals mining off-road were ongoing in 26 refuges, 37, airboating was permitted in military overflights and in 36, occurred in 55, water-skiing in 26, power-boating in 262, grazing in 151, commercial fishing in 76, and logging in 79.

As if that wasn't enough, now comes HR1675, the National Wildlife Refuge Improvement Act, introduced by Alaska's answer to a despoiler's wet dream, Republican Don Young. The "improvement" Young has in mind, is to elevate hunting, grazing, mining, and logging to the status of congressionally mandated purposes of the reserve system. In a thinly disguised move to privatize public lands, the bill would permit refuge land to be handed over to other managing "entities" and would allow the use of toxic pesticides.

If you are not wildly enthusiastic about Young's "improvements," let him and your representatives know.

Rep. Don Young (R-AK)  
House Resources Committee Chair  
(202) 224-3121

## 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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