

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the William J. Clinton
Presidential Library Staff.**

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records
Subgroup/Office of Origin: Council on Environmental Quality
Series/Staff Member: Kathleen (Katie) McGinty
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 17806
FolderID:

Folder Title:
[Native Forest Council] [Loose]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
S	61	5	4	2

Native Forest Council
Protecting public forestlands

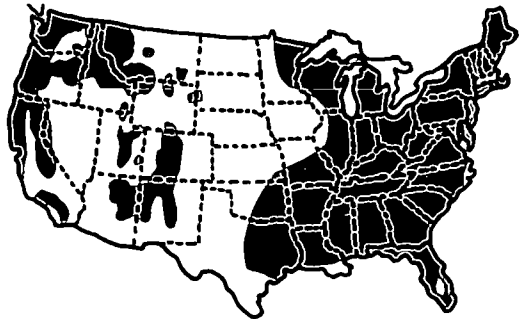
Native Forest Council
Protecting public forestlands

Timothy G. Hermach
Executive Director

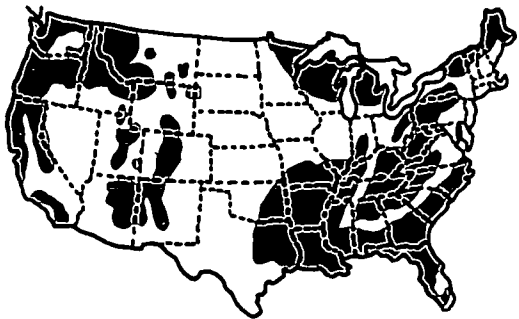
P.O. Box 2171
503•688•2600

Eugene, Oregon 97402
FAX 503•461•2156

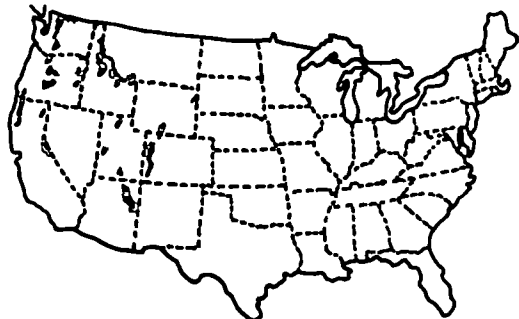
THE INDICTMENT:



Virgin Forests 1620



Virgin Forests 1850



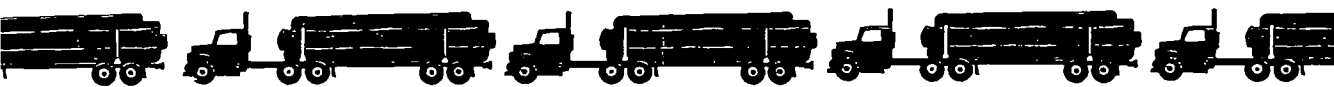
Virgin Forests 1989

America's forests are priceless. They give us cold, clear water to drink. They regulate global and regional climates. They provide habitat for wildlife. And perhaps most important, in their beauty and tranquility we find spiritual enrichment and renewal.

Yet in the time it takes to read this brochure, several acres of irreplaceable virgin forest will be cut. And not much remains, as shown at the left. Called ancient, native, virgin, primeval, or old growth, these are the original, untouched forests that existed when the first settlers arrived in North America. **And only five per cent is left.**

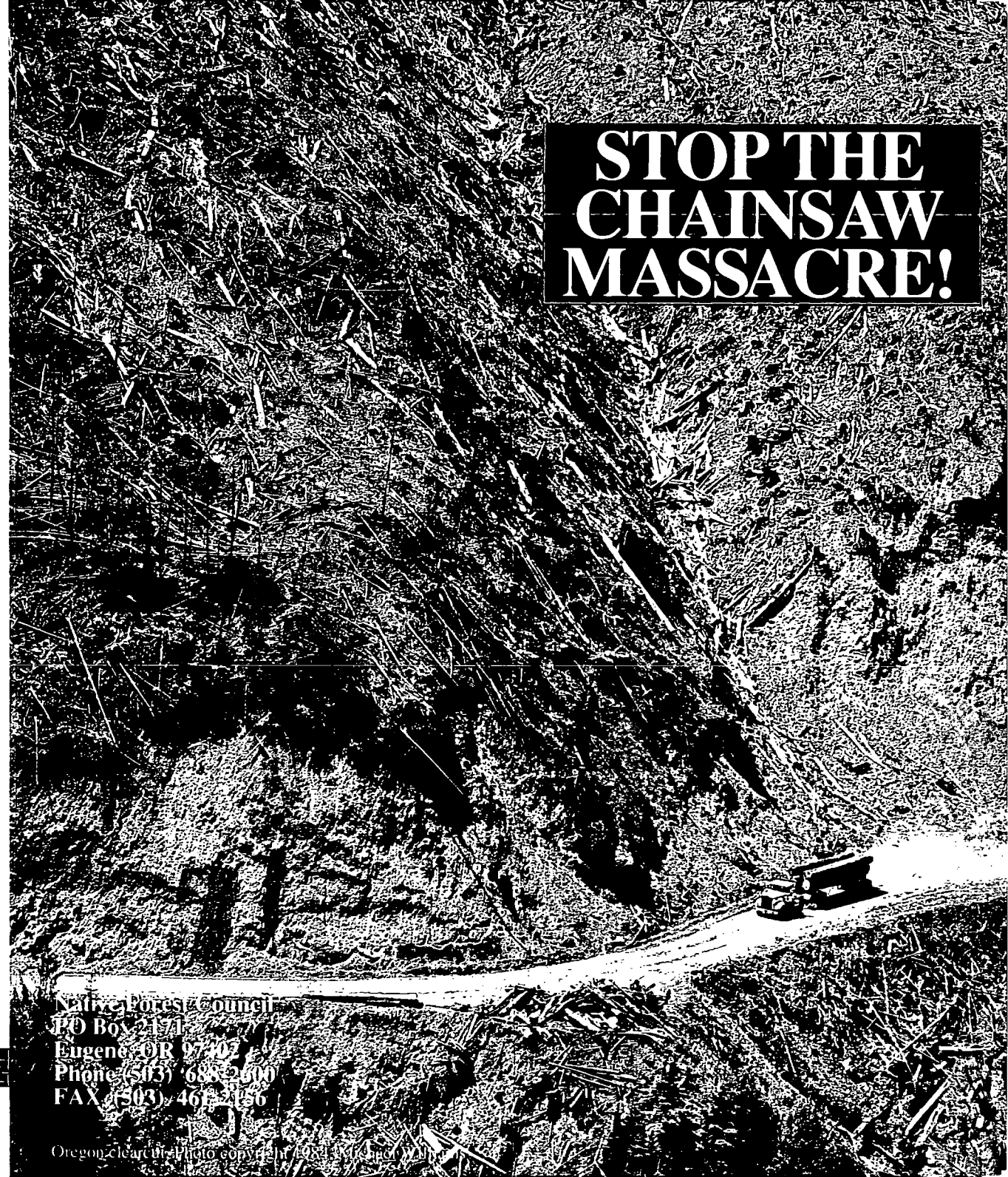
The national forests are on public lands. Every American is entrusted with the responsibility of preserving these forests for all time. However, under administrations committed to the commercial exploitation of all public natural resources, and with land management agencies headed by pro-timber industry appointees, the US Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management have become major suppliers to the timber industry. The rate of destruction is difficult to imagine, but picture a line of log trucks 20,000 miles long. That's how much timber is taken out of our Northwest forests each year.

To make matters worse, our national forests are being liquidated at an enormous loss to taxpayers. **This practice must stop!**



The amount of timber taken from Northwest forests each year is equal to a line of log trucks 20,000 miles long!

STOP THE CHAINSAW MASSACRE!



Native Forest Council
PO Box 2171
Eugene, OR 97402
Phone (503) 688-2600
FAX (503) 461-2156

Oregon clearcut photo copyright 1991 by Native Forest Council

Our nation's beautiful virgin forests...



Opal Creek, Oregon (Photo courtesy of Trygve Sleen)

...are being systematically destroyed.



Olympic National Forest, Washington

THE IMMEDIATE REMEDY

The Native Forest Council proposes an immediate moratorium on the cutting of old growth trees on our public lands, a cessation in clearcutting and road construction, and a halt to the export of unrefined and barely processed logs.

This can be accomplished by means of public pressure applied to Congress. Time is of the essence: In Northwest states, chainsaws are ravaging two square miles every week.

In the United States, chainsaws are ravaging 30 square miles each week.



Clearcuts decimate the Mount Hood National Forest in Oregon (photo courtesy of Lighthawk)

AND IN THE LONGER TERM...

Some of our ancient forests can be added to the existing wilderness system. However, because many of these forests have been extensively cut over, they no longer qualify for wilderness protection. The Native Forest Council proposes a new system of National Forest Preserves. These preserves would protect all remaining public

native forest lands and the long-range ecological, scientific and economic benefits that these forests provide. They would also allow for forest rehabilitation. A fundamental principle of non-consumptive use would prohibit commercial timber cutting on these preserves. Full recreational use with road access, campgrounds and trail systems would be encouraged.

THE NATIVE FOREST COUNCIL

The Native Forest Council is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization formed by a group of business and professional people with no vested interest in the forests except that of private citizens concerned about the quality of life in America. Our purpose is to bring to the attention of all Americans the scandalous destruction of their national forests. We believe that, once informed, Americans will insist on change.

We have undertaken a national campaign to preserve the nations remaining native forests for the benefit of all Americans. We do so in conjunction with other environmental organizations. Our cause has already been joined by David Brower, for many years executive director of the Sierra Club, and Dr. Carl Sagan. Among our programs are:

Save Our Forests Campaign: The Council provides leadership in a petition to Congress calling for protection of national forests.

Publications and The Media: The NFC publishes the *Forest Voice*, a hard-hitting pictorial newspaper. It also serves as an environmental clearinghouse for the latest articles, studies, tapes, and other materials. We are a resource to media and have provided information to such sources as CBS, ABC, The New York Times, and the Atlantic Monthly

WE NEED YOUR HELP.

- **Join and support** the Council by becoming a member today.
- **Contribute.** We are conducting a nationwide awareness campaign, including TV productions and full-page ads in major newspapers. We need your financial support.
- **Write** your US Senators and Congress members, expressing your concern.
- **Identify** other like-minded Americans.

Native Forest Council
PO Box 2171 • Eugene, OR 97402
Phone (503) 688-2600
FAX (503) 461-2156

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a publication.

Publications have not been scanned in their entirety for the purpose of digitization. To see the full publication please search online or visit the Clinton Presidential Library's Research Room.

\$1.00

Protecting Public Forestlands



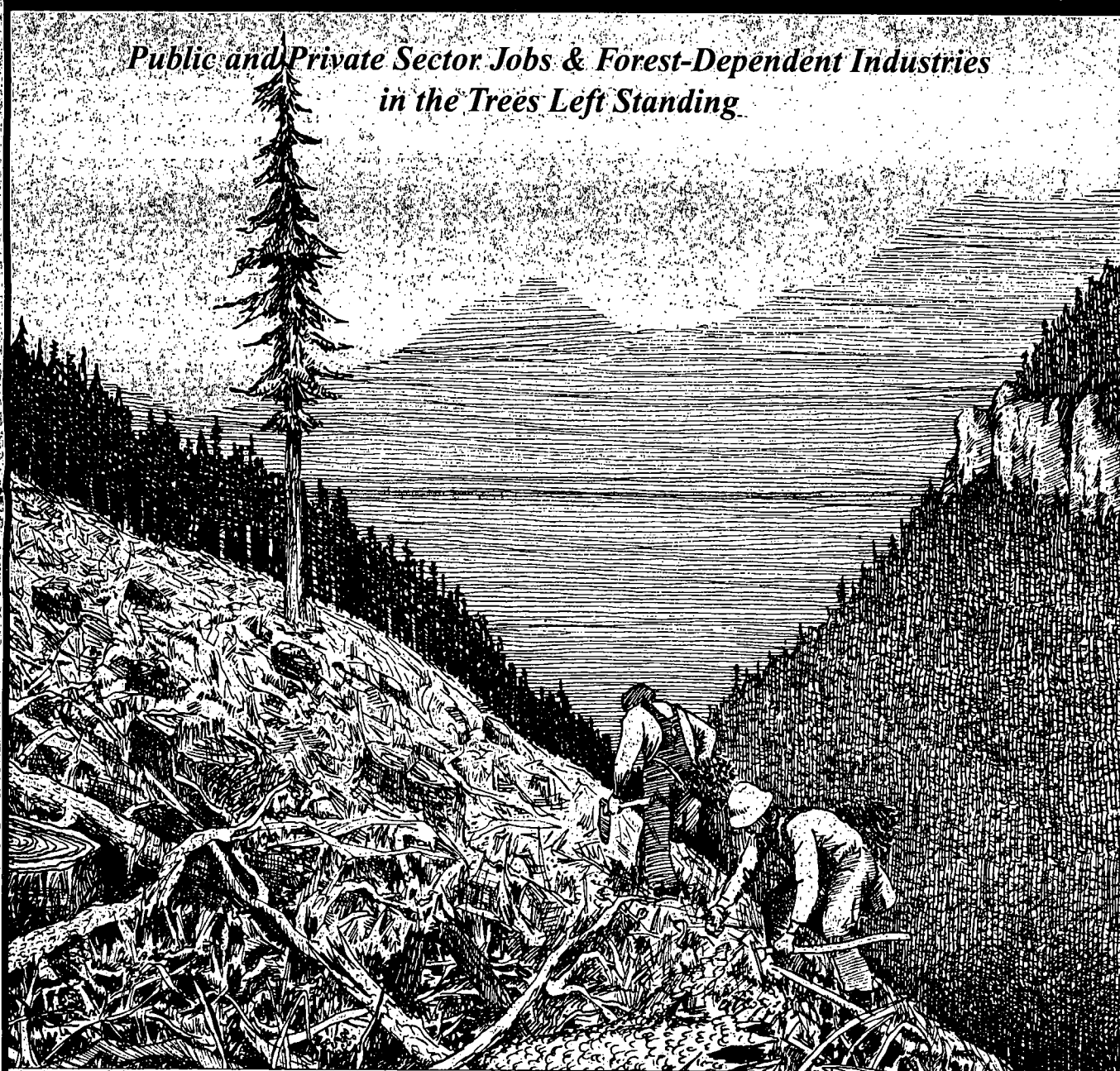
Forest Voice

1993
Volume 6
Number 1

A Publication of the Native Forest Council

Life After Logging

*Public and Private Sector Jobs & Forest-Dependent Industries
in the Trees Left Standing*



Also in this issue:

- *The Economics of the Zero Cut Solution*
- *Howie Wolke and Mark Dowie on the New Conservation Movement*
- *Kenaf: The Annually Renewable, Tree-free Paper*

✻ If you have a GREEN label, it's time to renew your membership! ✻

Native Forest Council
P.O. Box 2171
Eugene, OR 97402

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Eugene, OR
Permit No. 310

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a publication.

Publications have not been scanned in their entirety for the purpose of digitization. To see the full publication please search online or visit the Clinton Presidential Library's Research Room.

\$1.00

Protecting Public Forestlands



Forest Voice

1992
Volume 5
Number 4

A Publication of the Native Forest Council

Special Edition

SMOKEY'S BEEN STEALING YOU BLIND!



Story
page
4

Graphic provided courtesy of Americans for Ancient Forests

Also in this issue:

* **Special Insert:**
The Zero-Cut Solution

* **Why Laws Don't Work**

* **The Fight for Montana**

* If you have a GREEN label, it's time to renew your membership! *

Native Forest Council
P.O. Box 2171
Eugene, OR 97402

Non Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Eugene, OR
Permit No. 310

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

A CAPSULE HISTORY OF CONSERVATION

Values, both those that we approve and those that we don't, have roots as deep as creosote rings, and live as long, and grow as slowly. Every action is an idea before it is an action, and perhaps a feeling before it is an idea, and every idea rests upon other ideas that have preceded it in time. The modern environmental movement, though it has shifted its emphasis from preservation of precious resources to the control of pollution caused by our industrial and agricultural practices, declares our dependence on the earth and our responsibility to it, and thus derives pretty directly from the nineteenth-century travelers, philosophers, artists, writers, divines, natural historians, and what Time has called "upper-class bird-watchers" whose purpose was to know it, celebrate it, and savor its beauty and rightness.

Yes, there was an environmental movement before Earth Day, a long, slow revolution in values of which contemporary environmentalism is a consequence and a continuation. We are still in transition from the notion of man as master of the earth to the notion of man as a part of it.

Wallace Stegner, Where the Bluebird Sings
to the Lemonade Springs, 1992.

Our sanction to be a weed species living at the expense of every other species and of the earth itself can be found in the injunction God gave to newly created Adam and Eve in Genesis 1:28: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it." Whether or not God meant it in quite that way, and whether or not men translated Him correctly, many used these words as justification to make the earth serve human purposes alone. But what we are working toward, what with luck we may eventually attain to, is an outlook that was frequently and sometimes eloquently expressed by the first inhabitants of this continent. The Indians stressed the web of life, the interconnectedness of land and man and creature. Chief Luther Standing Bear of the Oglala Sioux put it this way: "Only to the white man was nature a wilderness and only to him was the land 'infested' with 'wild' animals and 'savage' people. To us it was tame. Earth was bountiful and we were surrounded with the blessings of the Great Mystery."

The New World was such a blinding opportunity to Europeans, and lay there so temptingly, like an unlocked treasure house with the watchman sleeping, that nobody thought of limits, nobody thought of preservation, until generations of living in America and "breaking" its wilderness had taught us to know it, and knowing it had taught us to love it, and loving it had taught us to question what we were doing to it. All of that is the background of the environmental movement.

It took us two hundred years from Jamestown and Plymouth Rock to Americanize our perceptions, loyalties, vocabulary, and palette so that we could begin to see America clearly, and take pride in it. New ideas from Europe, especially the interest in nature that came with the Romantic movement, helped that pride along. But what made America the natural garden of those ideas, what most metamorphosed Europeans into something new, was what Europe had long lost and what America was made of: wilderness.

The seventeenth-century settlers did not look on wilderness

with the eyes of a 1990 Sierra Club backpacker. Our wilderness is safe, theirs was not. Our wilderness is islands in a tamed continent, theirs was one vast wild space, totally unknown, prowled by God-knew-what wild beasts and wild men. In New England they also feared it as the trysting place of witches and devils. Even without devils, the struggle to survive fully occupied the first generation or two, and survival meant, in man's version of God's word, "subduing" the wild earth. Nobody questioned the value of that effort. Civilization was a good; wilderness was what had to be subdued to create the human habitations that looked like progress and triumph even when they were only huts in a stump field.

To the boosters, America was always "prosperous" farms, "smiling" villages, "bustling" towns. But life on the frontier was more often crude and brutal and deprived. Crèvecoeur painted a rosy picture of the established farm and the self-reliant industrious farmer; but he had to admit that out on the edge, beyond the settlements, were those surly, verminous men who lived in dirt-floored cabins with slattern wives and broods of dirty children, sustaining themselves by constant killing of animals and growing ever gloomier and more antisocial by the eating of wild meat. Crèvecoeur thought that as settlement caught up with them they would gradually grow out of their barbarous stage and join the ranks of the happy, prosperous, and civilized.

Maybe some of them did. Maybe some just went farther west when the settlements caught up. No matter which they did, the frontiersman was being built by the popular imagination into an idealized archetypal figure, divorced from Europe, divorced from history, homegrown, a demigod in buckskin. His real-life prototype was Daniel Boone. His larger-than-life fictional version was James Fenimore Cooper's Natty Bumppo, "Leatherstocking," who appeared in the novel *The Pioneers* in 1823 and whose story continued in other novels into the 1840s.

Leatherstocking is everything that any American boy ever

dreamed of being. Far from handsome (looks went with the effete and civilized), he is nevertheless fearless, self-reliant, omniscient, a keen tracker and a dead shot, a mortal enemy and the most loyal of friends. He is also the soul of chivalry, protecting and saving Cooper's "females" when they go implausibly astray in the wild woods. An orphan, untutored, Natty has kept the innocence of the natural man. From his brief contact with the Moravians, or from the woods themselves, he has imbibed a noble magnanimity, a sensitivity to beauty, and a deep if unorthodox piety. Homeless in the civilized sense, he has made the wilderness his home, and no witches, devils, or fears assail him there: he feels the presence of God in every leaf. There is not a trace in him of the overcivilized fastidiousness that in the eighteenth century could lead the French novelist Mme. de Staël to draw the curtains of her carriage so as not to see the unkempt scenery of the Alps. Natty glories in the scenery of his woods and mountains, the wilder the better.

But what makes the Leatherstocking Tales significant in this context is that Cooper reveals an ambivalence that will become more common as the nineteenth century careens on, and that is basic to much later environmental thinking. Civilization, on whose side Cooper felt obliged to be, was at war with the wilderness, which he loved. The carriers of civilization in Cooper's novels, the settlers, are often as uncouth and repulsive as they were to Crèvecoeur, and they destroy the beauty and liberty and bounty of the woods.

The same townsmen who throw Natty Bumppo into jail for shooting a deer out of season fire into a passing flock of passenger pigeons with every weapon in town, even cannon, and strew the earth with mutilated flesh and feathers. Wilderness man cannot live with settlement man. Like Daniel Boone when he felt too many people nearby, Natty goes on west, and Cooper's sympathy, as well as the reader's, goes with him. The destructive practices of settlement, which Cooper was among the first

to lament ("What will the axemen do, when they have cut their way from sea to sea?"), are only a step behind.

Emerson, like Natty Bumppo, saw God in every manifestation of nature, but he was hardly a forerunner of environmental thinking. He declared America's intellectual independence of Europe, and he cheered the rocky, gritty American character that he saw forming on the frontiers, but he was too much enamored of American self-reliance and energy to fear any consequences; and though he professed a liking for the wild, it was for the wild of the Hudson River School paintings, in which wilderness is the backdrop for a foreground of homely husbandry—a farmer's cottage, a fisherman, a herd wading a stream, a rude mill. The Philosophers' Camp in the Adirondacks, where he and fellow spirits gathered to take walks and hone the art of conversation, was wild enough. It was otherwise with his somewhat prickly protégé, Thoreau.

For Thoreau, wildness was a passion. "In wildness is the preservation of the world," he wrote, and meant it. Repudiating his countrymen's concerns—progress, betterment, accumulation—and their predatory habits in the wild, he made his most characteristic gesture by building a shack on Walden Pond and living in it in spartan circumstances for two years. One cannot imagine him as a hunter; he thought every creature was better alive than dead. He loved and studied, not always accurately but devotedly, the creatures of the woods and rivers and ponds around Concord, Massachusetts. From a rustic American base, he strove to look to the edges of the known world, and beyond. Though his life could have been illustrated by the half-tamed, half-wild landscapes of the Hudson River painters, his imagination could not. It demanded the utterly wild, free scenes of a Bierstadt or a Moran.

Thoreau never personally sought the wilderness. His only

excursions into really wild country were his expeditions into the northern woods. As he said, he had traveled extensively in Concord. Nevertheless Thoreau was at one with Emerson in turning his back on the Old World. Even in an afternoon ramble, he said, the needle always settled west. He must walk toward Oregon, not Europe.

In Thoreau there is virtually every idea that later became gospel to the environmental movement, but it is there only as idea, not as action or call to action—unless withdrawal is action. He was not much of a believer in government, and he was the total opposite of a joiner. American as he was, wilderness-lover as he was, he was not a conservationist or environmentalist in our sense. Nevertheless, as the painter George Catlin had anticipated the national park idea by suggesting a wild prairie reservation, so Thoreau anticipated the more modest urban-open-space idea by suggesting that every community should have its patch of woods where people could refresh themselves. His notion of nature as having healing powers has now the force of revealed truth. And the form of Thoreau's essays—rumination hung upon the framework of an outdoor excursion—has influenced virtually every nature writer since, from Burroughs and Muir to Wendell Berry, Edward Abbey, and Barry Lopez.

Unlike Emerson, Thoreau was not one to search for God or the Oversoul in every natural object, but one senses that he was feeling his way toward an identification with nature not too far from that of the Indians. Yet Thoreau did not articulate the concept of the web, the connectedness of all life. The man who did that was George Perkins Marsh.

Marsh was an extraordinary polymath, an architect, linguist, politician, diplomat, and the first man to work backward, with the aid of history and science and observation, to the point of view that primitives know simply by participation. He was an authority on the Icelandic sagas and on Norse explorations. He served as congressman from Vermont and in this capacity was one of the main proponents of using James Smithson's bequest

to create the institution that bears his name. He was minister to Turkey, and for twenty-one years minister plenipotentiary to Italy. All of those real distinctions are now forgotten. What remains is a single book, first published in 1864 as *Man and Nature*, and reissued in revised form in 1874 as *The Earth as Modified by Human Action*. It was the rudest kick in the face that American initiative, optimism, and carelessness had yet received.

Growing up in cutover Vermont, Marsh had observed what deforestation did to streams, fish, birds, animals, the land; and serving for many years in the Mediterranean basin and the Fertile Crescent, he had studied man-made deserts, the barren mountains of Greece, the ruins of once-great civilizations. He saw calamity coming to America and wrote his book "to point out the dangers of imprudence and the necessity of caution in all operations which, on a large scale, interfere with the spontaneous arrangements of the organic or the inorganic world."

Deforestation meant far more than a future shortage of lumber; it meant potentially irrevocable damage to what we now call the ecosystem. "Man," Marsh wrote, "is everywhere a disturbing agent. Wherever he plants his foot, the harmonies of nature are turned to discords." The process was the more dangerous because its results were not always immediately apparent. In the last year of a destructive civil war that made any expenditure of resources seem justifiable, and on the brink of the rampant exploitation that would follow, Marsh spoke out against every ingrained American faith, including the faith in an inexhaustible continent. "It is certain that a desolation, like that which has overwhelmed many once beautiful and fertile regions of Europe, awaits an important part of the territory of the United States . . . unless prompt measures are taken to check the action of destructive causes already in operation."

The destructive causes were indeed in operation. Having

skinned New England, the loggers were now skinning the Midwest at appalling speed. Within a single lifetime they deforested an area the size of Europe. The pineries of Minnesota and Wisconsin were going down the Mississippi as huge lumber rafts. By 1897 the sawmills of Michigan would have processed 160 billion board feet of white pine and left no more than 6 billion standing in the whole state.

It was like a feeding frenzy of sharks. There has been nothing like it since, except the current destruction of the Amazon rain forest. Predictably, Marsh's warnings went unheeded except by a concerned few, upper-class bird-watchers probably, the kind who are generally well ahead of the mass public in these matters. Concerned about the destruction of the forests before reading Marsh, they were doubly concerned afterward, and in 1875 a group of them formed the American Forestry Association with the hope of influencing public opinion and perhaps legislation. Sixteen long years later, when the Michigan pineries were obviously nearing the end of their road, the public indignation that had inspired the formation of the AFA got a rider added to the General Revision Act, authorizing the president to establish "forest reserves on the Public Domain." Benjamin Harrison, and after him Grover Cleveland, and after him Theodore Roosevelt, took advantage of the law, and among them they put forty-three million acres of forests, mainly in the West, out of the reach of the loggers. Then in 1907 angry Northwestern congressmen pushed through a bill rescinding the president's power to create forest reserves. With the help of his chief forester, Gifford Pinchot, Roosevelt named twenty-one new forests totaling sixteen million acres, and then signed the bill that would have stopped him.

The tracing of ideas is a guessing game. We can't tell who first had an idea; we can only tell who first had it influentially, who formulated it in a striking way and left it in some form, poem or equation or picture, that others could stumble upon

with the shock of recognition. The radical ideas that have been changing our attitudes toward our habitat have been around forever. Only if they begin to win substantial public approval and give visible effects do they achieve a plain and even predictable curve of development. But once they reach that stage, they are as easy to trace as a gopher in a spring lawn.

Nearly every aspect of environmentalism since the founding of the AFA has demonstrated the same pattern: a charismatic and influential individual who discerns a problem and formulates a public concern; a group that forms itself around him or around his ideas and exerts educational pressure on the public and political pressure on Congress; legislation that creates some new kind of reserve—national park, national forest, national monument, national wildlife sanctuary, or wilderness area; and finally, an increasingly specific body of regulatory law for the protection of what has been set aside.

Virtually all conservation activity up to the mid-twentieth century was concerned with saving something precious in our national heritage. Thus, as Marsh, and later and more narrowly Gifford Pinchot, galvanized the impulse to protect what remained of our forests, so George Bird Grinnell, a hunting companion and boyhood friend of Theodore Roosevelt's, devoted his time and his magazine, *Forest and Stream*, to the protection of wildlife. He carried on an impassioned campaign against market hunters, poachers, and women who wore feathers on their hats; and he and the Audubon societies (he founded the first one in 1886) can be credited not only with the Park Protection Act of 1894, forbidding hunting within the national parks, but also with the first wildlife sanctuary, Pelican Island, which Roosevelt established in 1903. Wildlife protection came lamely and late—the passenger pigeon, Carolina parakeet, and other species were gone, the buffalo and antelope were down

to remnants, mainly in Yellowstone—but it did come, and those who made it come, by publicity and persistence, were an unlikely combination of bleeding hearts and gunners.

The creation of the first national park happened before this pattern of volunteer organizations working upon politicians had been perfected. It came about in 1872 because a party of Montana tourists had been so struck by the wonders of Yellowstone that they carried to Washington the demand that it be set aside as a public playground. F. V. Hayden's U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories helped by laying before a dazzled Congress the paintings of Thomas Moran and Henry W. Elliott, and the photographs of William Henry Jackson, its expedition artists. Later it published, with fifteen Moran chromoliths, a book that might have served as a model for the Sierra Club's coffee-table books, perhaps the earliest scenic art book with a political purpose.

That national park resulted from a spontaneous overflow of public enthusiasm. The following ones owed a great deal to a single man, John Muir, and to the organization he founded, the Sierra Club. Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant national parks (the last ultimately fused with Sequoia) were largely Muir's doing, as was the Petrified Forest. As John of the Mountains, the grizzled genius of Yosemite, he had entertained the great, among them Emerson and Theodore Roosevelt, on sublime hikes and long campfire talks, and because he knew the Sierra better than anyone else, and was even more persuasive as a talker than as a writer, he got himself listened to. In 1892, two years after the Sierra parks were created, he formed the Sierra Club to look after their interests and enjoy their beauty. In 1905 he and the club finally persuaded California to cede back to the federal government Yosemite Valley itself, which had badly deteriorated under state control, so that it could become the heart of the park it belonged in.

No story of the national park system would be complete without some mention of the Antiquities Act of 1906, passed because of the depredations of pothunters in archaeological sites in the Southwest. It authorized the president to set aside by proclamation sites that were especially precious or threatened. By 1916 there were twenty such national monuments, many of them scheduled to become national parks by later congressional action. A quarter of all our present national parks owe their first reservation to the Antiquities Act.

By 1916 there were thirteen national parks, crown jewels without an adequately stated purpose or an adequate keeper. Those that were managed at all were managed by the Army. But in that year the National Park Act gave these reserves their stated purpose, public enjoyment, public use *without impairment*, and created the National Park Service to carry it out.

Muir had a hand in the National Park Act, too, but only posthumously and as a result of his greatest failure. For years he and the Sierra Club had fought San Francisco's effort to dam the Hetch Hetchy Valley, which lay within Yosemite National Park and which Muir thought second in beauty only to Yosemite Valley itself. The effort enlisted public and newspaper support throughout the country. It also revealed a mortal split between conservationists of Pinchot's variety, who believed in "wise use" of resources, and preservationists like Muir, who believed that some natural things were too sacred to be exploited for profit, water, power, or any other purpose.

In 1913, Congress voted to approve the dam. Within a year, Muir was dead. But the feelings stirred up by the struggle did not subside, and perhaps there was even some guilt felt by people who had fought on the winning side. Three years after it voted for the Hetch Hetchy dam, Congress passed the National Park Act, with its guarantee that parks should indeed be what Muir and the Sierra Club had insisted they were: sacrosanct, to be enjoyed but not impaired.

That "use without impairment" clause was there when next

the Sierra Club and its allies, this time under the leadership of David Brower, found themselves in a battle with dam builders. In the 1950s, as part of the Colorado River Storage Project, the Bureau of Reclamation proposed to build a dam within Dinosaur National Monument in northeastern Utah. The case against the dam was not as strong as that against Hetch Hetchy, for Dinosaur was only a national monument, not a national park, and there had been damsite withholdings. Nevertheless, Dinosaur was part of the national park system, and that system was to be managed for use without impairment; nobody could deny that to drown a canyon under four hundred feet of water would impair it. Ultimately it was the "use without impairment" clause that gave the conservation forces total victory. The Colorado River Storage Project was stalled unless that dam was removed from it, and it was.

Historians have concluded that the Dinosaur controversy marked the coming-of-age of conservation, the first time the diverse single-interest organizations joined together for strength, and proved they had a lot of it. But Dinosaur is not understandable without Hetch Hetchy. The tactics, the publicity campaigns, the political skirmishing, were similar in these instances. The difference between defeat in the first instance and victory in the second is that Muir did not have the National Park Act and the "use without impairment" clause to fight from, while Brower and his alliance did. And the precedent has been instructive in later struggles. Other laws, notably the Endangered Species Act, have similarly been used as barricades, and the snail darter, desert pupfish, and spotted owl have been enlisted on the side of the environment.

If the national park idea is, as Lord Bryce suggested, the best idea America ever had, wilderness preservation is the highest refinement of that idea. Parks are designed for careful human use—they could be justified by a Pinchot. But wildernesses are

something else. Preservation of wilderness implies agreement with Marsh's observation that wherever man plants his foot, nature's harmonies are turned to discords. As the culminating aspect of the preservation sentiment, the wilderness movement differs from the park and forest and wildlife movements in its repudiation of most kinds of human use. What it wants is the continuation of that healthy, natural web of life that Chief Standing Bear and others revered; and if there are human uses implicit in this long-range continuation—watershed protection, protection of genetic variety, the preservation of natural laboratories by which the deteriorating man-managed world can be judged and perhaps saved—the *sentiment* for wilderness, our creature-love for the natural world, is probably as important. Like the other forms of land preservation, wilderness areas are doomed to be islands surrounded by what constantly threatens to invade and damage them, but that is what we get for learning slowly.

The wilderness movement has had its prophets, early and late; of the late ones, Aldo Leopold seems to me the greatest. It has developed its organization, the Wilderness Society, one of the most effective of the environmental groups. It has had its landmark legislation, the Wilderness Act of 1964, which authorized hands-off protection for areas carved out of the national forest, national park, and Bureau of Land Management lands.

One thing wilderness has not lacked is enemies, for its nonutilitarian reserves are said to "lock up" resources and frustrate our fabled American initiative. Not only resource interests but also some destructive recreational groups and both the U.S. Forest Service and the BLM have dragged their heels in the process of wilderness designation. Some people learn late, some never do.

Ironically, wilderness preservation was born in that most utilitarian of organizations, Pinchot's Forest Service. It cropped up here and there like an ineradicable weed. In 1919 Arthur Carhart, a Forest Service architect in Denver, talked his

employers out of civilizing Trappers Lake, in Colorado, with summer cottages. He later did the same thing in the boundary-waters area of northern Minnesota. In 1924 Aldo Leopold, from the Albuquerque office of the Forest Service, got nine hundred roadless square miles of the Gila National Forest set aside as a primitive area. (He defined a "wilderness" as something big enough to absorb a two-week pack trip.) In a 1930 issue of *Scientific Monthly*, Robert Marshall, a plant physiologist working in Wyoming's Wind River Range, issued a ringing manifesto calling for identification and rescue of whatever wilderness areas remained. In 1934, after a conference in Knoxville, Tennessee, Marshall, Benton MacKaye, and several other foresters determined that an organization should be formed to promote wilderness, and the following January, with Leopold and Robert Sterling Yard among the charter members, they formed it.

Their purpose was to replace the unreliable administrative designations of wilderness with wildernesses that were established by law, and hence impregnable.

Much of the program, as it developed, was the work of Marshall. The philosophical justifications, the statement of first principles, appeared in 1949 in Aldo Leopold's posthumous *Sand County Almanac*.

In the forty-one years since its publication, the *Almanac* has become a kind of holy book in environmental circles. It is a superb distillation of what many Americans had been groping toward for more than a century. Leopold loved land, all kinds, but the wilder the better, and over his lifetime of experience with land and its creatures he had come to look upon land as a community, not a commodity. Blessed with a poet's gift of words, trained in forestry, he brought as much sensitivity as Thoreau did to his study of nature, and more science. His book comes to its climax in the essay "The Land Ethic," in which he argues for the kind of responsibility in our land relations that civilized people are supposed to show in their human relations.

Without denying the human need to use natural resources—cut trees, plow prairies, shoot game, whatever—he wanted a portion of the land left wild, for ultimately all human endeavor has to come back to the wilderness for its justification and its new beginnings. He said he would hate to be young again without wild country to grow up in. And he was no lover of public recreation as usually practiced. Recreation could be as dangerous as logging or any extractive use. "Recreational development," he wrote, "is a job not of building roads into lovely country, but of building receptivity into the still unlovely human mind." Knowing how persistent the unloveliness of the human mind could be, he did not expect his land ethic to arrive soon. He perfectly understood that what he described would have its flowering far off, the product of a long, slow, and almost total revolution of American values.

Fifteen years after the publication of *A Sand County Almanac*, and after the extraordinary effort of many people, politicians as well as environmentalists, and especially of Howard Zahniser, executive director of the Wilderness Society, Congress passed the Wilderness Act. Tired of fighting brushfire wars after the Dinosaur struggle, Zahniser had drafted a bill in 1956. During the next eight years he revised it sixty-six times. When, after innumerable hearings and thousands of pages of testimony, it was finally passed, it still contained Zahniser's definition of wilderness as "an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain."

The passage of the Wilderness Act, and its immediate designation of 9.1 million acres of wilderness in national park, national forest, and wildlife refuge land, marked the climax of preservationist environmentalism. The wilderness designation process, clogged with controversy and sullen with turf battles among the bureaus, and shrilly resisted by resource interests, would go on—still goes on. But a corner had already been

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

DATE: 3-26

TOTAL PAGES: 5

TO:

Katie McGinty

Telephone Number

Fax Machine Number

456-2710

FROM:

Jim Lyons, Mark Gaede, Allison Biggs

Office of the Assistant Secretary for
Natural Resources and Environment
Room 217-E, Administration Building
14th and Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20250

Telephone Number

120-8570

Fax Machine Number

420-4732

REMARKS:

03/27/93 17:23 2202 447 4702

MEMORANDUM

TO: Katie McGinty
FROM: Jim Lyons, Mark Gaede
DATE: March 26, 1993
RE: Questions regarding science and forest management

1. What would the rational, reasonable logger say about this issue?

The reasonable person working in the woods will say they understand the need to protect various species and habitat, but there ought to be room for people too. Part of the problem is that the scientific basis for these decisions has not been adequately explained to the real people affected. Perhaps it cannot be adequately explained since it is based on scientific speculation rather than scientific fact. Since limited empirical data exists on habitat requirements for the owl, a judgement call was made. This does not make it bad science, but it is difficult to explain to people being asked to give up their livelihood.

2. What is reasonable and what would make sense to the moderate logger working in the woods?

I believe the moderate logger would understand that a greater effort must be made to protect habitat, species and ecosystem functions in order to provide a sustainable forest. The moderate logger will accept this if the concept of "sustainable forest" includes the idea that we can also have a sustainable, albeit lower, harvest of timber. The moderate logger would support husbanding the resource as opposed to liquidating the resource.

If scientific knowledge is still evolving on what must be done to protect habitat, species and a sustainable forest, the moderate logger would agree that scientific research should form the basis for forest management options knowing that research may show that perhaps we can harvest a little more in the future but realizing that research may show we have to further reduce the harvest level.

What even the moderate logger would find objectionable would be to use the present state of our scientific knowledge to bring a permanent halt to logging across most of the forest.

3. What arguments does the President make to counter those who say forest management policy doesn't have to be based on science?

There was once a time when forests weren't regulated by scientific management.

Rampant destruction of these mostly eastern and northern forests were characterized by boom and bust communities. Companies would come in and cut until the resource was liquidated then shut down and move on to the next forest leaving ghost towns in their wake. They called it "cut and run". Scientific management can help avoid this practice, but we need to be sure that application of scientific concepts doesn't create the same effect.

Most people who earn their living working the land and the forests realize that their way of living depends on the continued productivity of that land. Application of sound scientific forest management principles can guarantee continued productivity.

4. What additional issues could come up?

With respect to the application of science to this problem, Dr. K. Norman Johnson from Oregon State University and a member of the Gang of Four panel, offers the following observations:

a. It is important to draw the distinction between "science" and "scientific assessment". Scientific assessment is defined as **interim** conclusions drawn from incomplete data. Dr. Johnson characterizes all studies done to date on this issue as being scientific assessments. It is informed speculation. Can it stand up to peer review? Sure. Can it be refined and improved upon? Yes, and it should be.

b. The key question for policy makers will be what level of species/ecosystem protection results from a given management strategy. The courts have told us that "medium low" isn't good enough. They have been silent as to "medium" or "medium high". The most recent Scientific Analysis Team report has chosen a high level of protection.

The challenge for policy makers will be to weigh these interim conclusions drawn from incomplete data against their social and economic impacts.

c. Dr. Johnson suggests that the role of science is to help policy makers understand consequences not make policy. He notes that all of the scientific assessments done to date have defined the choices to be made by policy makers. Because they were asked to do that. He feels a more appropriate role of science would be to provide an analysis of choices which policy makers, the people of the Pacific Northwest and other interested constituencies recommend.

5. Possible Q & A's.

Q. How much old growth is needed to maintain a functioning old growth ecosystem?

A. Ancient Forest advocates would say all of it. Dr. Jerry Franklin in the Gang of Four report said you needed about 5.7 million acres for a "medium" chance to maintain a functioning network. The Forest Service says there is about 5.4 million acres of old growth

remaining of which some 3.1 million acres are protected from harvest in forest plans. The Wilderness Society, in a 1988 report, estimated 2.3 million acres of old growth remained. The differences are partially accounted for in differing definitions of old growth, but it points to the difficulty of making sound policy decisions.

Q. Have we been overcutting our forests?

A. In a recent Journal of Forestry article (What's All This Debate About Overcutting? Vol. 89 No. 11, Nov. 1991) at least eight different perspectives were identified which could form the basis for determining whether a particular rate of timber harvest constituted overcutting. The differences depend on which forest value is used as a reference resource -- for example timber volume, frogs, owls, salmon, or some combination thereof.

However, to quote from the article, "Even when a certain level of cutting will maintain the land's productivity for the resources of interest and meet the long term stability and short term persistency requirements, an individual may still make an overcutting claim because that land allocation does not reflect his or her values."

What are the similarities and differences between the old growth forest situation in the Northwest and the tropical deforestation situation worldwide?

The core of this issue is forest conversion versus forest regeneration.

Forest conversion takes place when the intent of forest clearing is non-forest land use, such as agriculture, energy consumption or nothing at all.

Developing countries counter U.S. discouragement of deforestation with the observation that in the past, we have converted our forest lands for development. Why shouldn't they be allowed the same rights for economic development? The U.S. understands this accusation and has responded that science is evolving and the U.S. alters forest management styles to reflect new knowledge.

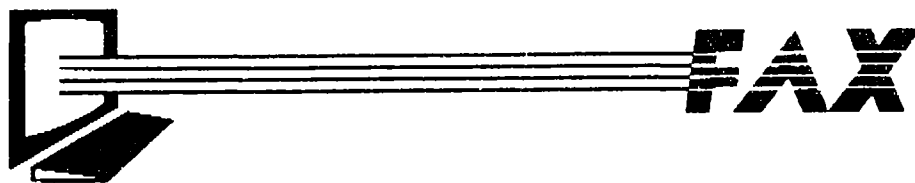
Our underdeveloped neighbors are making sovereign decisions, which the U.S. respects, to convert forest lands at a high rate for a number of very valid reasons: subsistence food production, domestic energy and commodity production for foreign trade.

There are ways, however, that the U.S. can, and does, provide assistance to these countries for extraction of the resource responsibly as well as to counter unplanned deforestation.

1. Providing technical assistance in forest protection and conservation (i.e. fire, insects and disease).
2. Improving understanding of forest ecosystems and associated biological and socio-economic factors.
3. Promoting sustainable forest resource management for the benefit of people.

Forest conversion in developing countries differs from U.S. timber extraction because of our legal mandates for reforestation. Cutting timber on federal lands becomes forest regeneration because the trees are replaced. The U.S.F.S. is currently reforesting harvested areas at a rate of approximately 95 percent.

In this country, groups have attacked this reforesting figure armed with satellite photography. The U.S.F.S. is sensitive to the issue of using satellite imagery to identify reforestation. Coarse resolution satellite imagery fails to identify young trees, management practices in use and ownership borders - all of which look like clearcuts from the air. It is important to remember that clearcutting, which may be unattractive, is an accepted, prescribed forestry practice intended to prepare certain forest lands for reforestation.



MAIL MESSAGE

PRINTED: Mar 27, 1993 5:00 PM EST
ADDR: (202) 456-2710
SEQ # : MAR27.0001
ATTEMPT: 1

Posted: Sat, Mar 27, 1993 4:59 PM EST
Msg: JPJD-4991-4179/20
From: (OU:W01B, SN:C.HOLMES, SITE:USDA)
To: (FAX:202-456-2710) (URGENT) (RECEIPT),
(OU:W01B, SN:Chris, SITE:USDA)(URGENT, RECEIPT)
CC: (FAX:503-226-4603) (URGENT) (RECEIPT)
Subj: Comparing NW forests to Ark!

03/27/93 16:55:57, FHABW1022-7 202 000 2334, Total Pages: 0 Page 2
Katie McGinty/David Cottingham!!
Jim Sanders, FS...FYI
URGENT/URGENT/URGENT
SEE ATTACHED!!!

March 27, 1993

MEMORANDUM

TO: Katie McGinty
FROM: Chris Holmes (Forest Service) for Jim Lyons
SUBJ: Overview of Arkansas and Northwest national forests for President

Attached is a brief overview comparing some of the similarities and differences between the national forests of the Ozarks and the coastal northwest. This is not intended to be detailed or technical. Much of that information has been contained in the briefing materials regarding the northwest and the Conference context.

Jim is on his way to join Secretary Espy for the pre-conference tour of Washington. If you need additional information or assistance, please feel free to contact me.

03/27/73 11:00:23

COMPARING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF NATIONAL FORESTS IN ARKANSAS
WITH NATIONAL FORESTS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

GEOGRAPHY

- ARK National forests are characterized by a series of east-west ridges and mountains, with narrow to broad valleys. Steep stony mountain slopes with narrow ridges and low rolling hills characterize the landscape.
- PNW Water, volcanic and glacial events have created a great variety of landforms, ranging from coastal dunes and flat grasslands to rolling hills and steep, highly dissected hillsides. The major geological feature in the region is the Cascade Range, which runs parallel to the Pacific Ocean about 100 miles inland. The Coast Range includes lower elevation mountains close to the coastline. One active volcano, Mount Saint Helens, is located on the Gifford Pinchot National Forest.

WATERSHED

- ARK High-quality headwaters originate on the forest. Numerous free-flowing streams. Numerous large public lakes with many small lakes and ponds on private inholdings.
- PNW The national forests are the source of the many important rivers of the northwest. The headwaters themselves are often glacially-carved basins lying beneath high mountain peaks. Total water supply in the region is abundant: more than 100,000 miles of streams and 216,000 acres of lakes and reservoirs. Distribution varies widely and seasonal flows are low in many streams in some locations.

CLIMATE

- ARK Precipitation is well distributed throughout the year. Average temperatures range from 41 to 81 degrees. Average growing season is 203 days.
- PNW Climate is highly variable. Annual average precipitation varies from 200 inches on the Olympic Peninsula's rainforests to less than 10 inches east of the Cascades. Much of the precipitation in the Cascades falls as snow, and at higher elevations snowfall totals hundreds of inches each winter.

FOREST TYPE

- ARK Largest contiguous stands of shortleaf pine in the U.S. Other forest types include loblolly pine, mixed pine/hardwood stands as well as stands of pure hardwood. Most stands have been harvested repeatedly and are now second and third generation.
- PNW The Coast Range and the western slopes of the Cascades contain some of the most productive and impressive stands of large trees in the United States, mostly Douglas-fir and western hemlock. The east slopes of the Cascades and the interior mountains are covered by ponderosa pine forests and juniper-sagebrush rangelands. The Siskiyou Mountains in

southern Oregon and northern California contain one of the most diversified forest ecosystems in the United States.

FOREST PRODUCTS

ARK Mostly high-quality pine lumber and plywood (50%-60% of total volume). Although there are a half-dozen major forest industries active in the area, the industry is most typically characterized by small mills and forest operators. Over half of total volume goes to small businesses. Providing firewood to local residents is an important secondary market.

PNW Historically, large-diameter Douglas-fir fueled a lumber and plywood industry west of the Cascades while ponderosa pine was the favored species for high quality lumber on the eastside. Today, innovations in logging and milling technology have provided ways of utilizing smaller-diameter trees and species that previously had little value, such as lodgepole pine. A secondary wood products industry that manufactures high value products such as doors and wood-framed windows is developing. Ownership of mills ranges from such industry giants as Weyerhaeuser to family-owned mills. The tremendous mill capacity in the region assures that virtually any timber offered for sale on the national forest is purchased.

GRAZING

ARK Minimal grazing program, declining in emphasis due to failing local support.

PNW Forests west of the Cascades have small to non-existent grazing programs while eastside forests provide forage that is often essential to the operations of small ranching operations. Controversy over grazing and its effects on other resources is high.

MINERALS

ARK Active in oil and gas leasing, some crystal quartz extraction. Income stream on oil and gas leasing has peaked.

PNW Currently, energy and mineral resource companies are exploring and developing mineral resources on national forest lands in the northwest. At present, there are more than 20,000 mining claims on file. Of interest on the Deschutes National Forest is the development of geothermal resources to generate electricity.

SPECIES DIVERSITY

ARK Extremely diverse, with an estimate of approximately 2,500 plant species and 560 native vertebrate species. Because of the relative ancientness of this area, there is a greater diversity of species -- and therefore a large number of threatened and endangered species -- in this region. These include red-cockaded woodpecker, and several darter and mussel species.

PNW National forests provide habitat for abundant and varied wildlife and fish, including 748 vertebrate species. Several species of birds and fish are listed under the Endangered

Species Act and 214 stocks of salmon have been identified as in need of protection.

INFRASTRUCTURE

ARK Well-roaded, easily accessible resources. Proximity to regional transportation routes impacts resource distribution and visitor use patterns. Broken ownership, scattered rural population, significant urban impact.

PNW The transportation system in the region includes many miles of access roads separated by vast areas of forest, steep slopes, and mountain peaks, as well as 14,000 miles of recreational trails, making the national forest access system one of the largest in the country.

RECREATION

ARK Dispersed use focusing on fishing and long hunting seasons, hiking, driving for pleasure. Summer activities revolve around water sites. Predominant game species include white-tailed deer, turkey, squirrel.

Eastern wildernesses are small in comparison, the six in Arkansas average less than 10,000 acres each.

Forest management activities are highly sensitive to tourism industries in the State.

PNW Nearly any type of recreational experience is available, from resort living to primitive camping to wild river rafting to downhill and cross-country skiing. Three national forests border, or are near the Pacific Ocean. Two areas--Hells Canyon and the Oregon Dunes--have been designated national recreation areas and the Columbia Gorge is a national scenic area under Forest Service management.

PEOPLE

ARK Numerous small communities dependent on national forest resources for employment and economic stimulus. Agrarian culture. Although the minority population in Arkansas is above 17%, that population is at less than 7% near the national forests.

Our proximity to population centers and mixed pattern of ownership contribute to highly personal attachment to public lands by local communities. Management response is a highly participatory decision making process in our planning efforts. Many examples of partnerships and high credibility with special interests.

PNW Although a country of wide-open spaces, most of the population of the west lives in cities and towns. Most people in the region live west of the Cascades in the Puget Sound (Seattle) area and in the Willamette Valley (Portland and south) in Oregon.

MANAGEMENT ISSUE/PUBLIC CONCERNS

03/27/93 17:02:19
FHA0W1022 / 000 000 0001 / 0000 10000000
ARK Clearcutting and even-aged management of forests has been a concern of the public. Converting mixed pine-hardwood stands to pine plantations, the effects on species diversity, and the associated use of herbicides were issues on Arkansas national forests. New direction and ecosystems management are beginning to address most of these concerns and made management practices more compatible with current public values.

PNW Clearcutting and even-aged management are concerns, here also. Primary reasons include visual impact (aesthetics), impacts on species diversity and habitat, and watershed effects such as potential degradation of anadromous fisheries habitat. Tree species are being maintained rather than converted through scientific regeneration practices. However, old growth forests have been converted to new, young forests as a result of harvesting wood products for the American people.

THE MISMANAGEMENT OF THE NATIONAL FORESTS

BY PERRI KNIZE

Dear Tim,

Just a note to let you know that I found both our meeting in New York City and the papers you sent me refreshing and reinvigorating. Since we met, I have spoken with my editor at the Atlantic and we have decided to go ahead with the article as a prescriptive essay on what we can do about national forest mismanagement, rather than the comprehensive examination and history of the problem we had originally planned. That has already been done by me previously and also by many other publications since I first received this assignment. However, I have not yet seen any solutions proposed in national publications.

After the many months I spent traveling the U.S., interviewing all sides, and reading books, government documents, etc., I find my conclusions about this problem are very like yours--i.e., there is no reason we cannot end logging on the national forests and there is every good reason to do so. I was impressed by the good sense of the materials you recently sent me, especially your comments about the Native Forest Protection Act. I have been unable to get a copy of this legislation out of the Congressional Record or federal bills tracking; could you forward me a copy? If not, could you tell me what the number of the bill is so I might have better luck finding it? What is the status of the bill? Are there any Congressional or other kinds of scheduling considerations I should know about vis a vis the publication date of my article? Right now we're scheduled for the September issue, which will appear in mid-August.

Best of luck in all your efforts. Please look me up again soon.



A Letter from the Author Written to the Native Forest Council

A critic argues that the U.S. Forest Service, protected from congressional scrutiny by pork-barrel politics and imaginative bookkeeping, is devastating America's national forests through needless and unprofitable timber sales. A feasible and inexpensive policy alternative is available

THE MISMANAGEMENT OF THE NATIONAL FORESTS

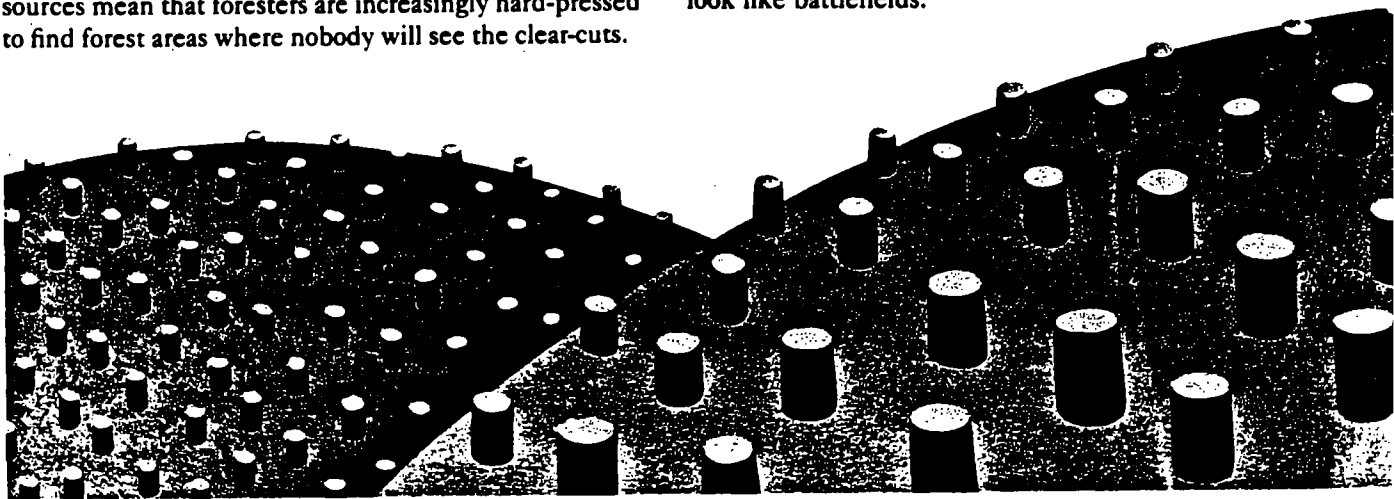
BY PERRI KNIZE

THERE ONCE WAS A TIME WHEN IF A TREE WAS FELLED IN THE FOREST, NOBODY SAW, and business went on as usual. But now a tree can't be felled anywhere in the national forests without causing violent tremors all the way to Washington, D.C. There the bureaucrats at the once-proud and formerly revered U.S. Forest Service, the administrators of the national forests, are losing credibility as forty years of forest devastation come to light.

While our government supports schemes to trade Third World debt for intact Third World rain forests and dispatches American foresters to Ecuador and Honduras to aid those countries in proper forest management, the Forest Service is deforesting our national timberlands at a rate that rivals Brazil's. What remains of America's original virgin forests is being clipped away daily on our public lands, lands that contain the most biomass per acre of any forests on the planet. We are losing intact ecosystems, watersheds, fish habitat, wildlife habitat, recreation lands, and native-species diversity to a degree that may be irreparable.

Once, the land could accommodate this "management" without attracting much notice. The national forests, unlike national parks, have traditionally provided wood, grass, and minerals to the private sector. But population growth, shifting demographics, and reduced resources mean that foresters are increasingly hard-pressed to find forest areas where nobody will see the clear-cuts.

When I joined the U.S. Forest Service as a volunteer wilderness guard, in the summer of 1983, I, like most Americans, thought the Forest Service was a conservation organization dedicated to preserving the nation's wild lands. I was vaguely aware that the Forest Service sold trees, but was unprepared for the extensive logging roads and cutting I saw on the Beaverhead and Bitterroot national forests, in southwest Montana. Entire mountainsides were shorn of cover, and rough roads crisscrossed their faces, creating terraces that bled topsoil into the rivers when the snows melted in spring. Since that summer I've traveled to national forests all over the United States, from the Carolinas to Alaska, and seen the same and worse: Entire mountain ranges have their faces shaved in swaths of forty to a hundred acres which from the air resemble mange. From the ground these forests, charred and smoking from slash burning, look like battlefields.



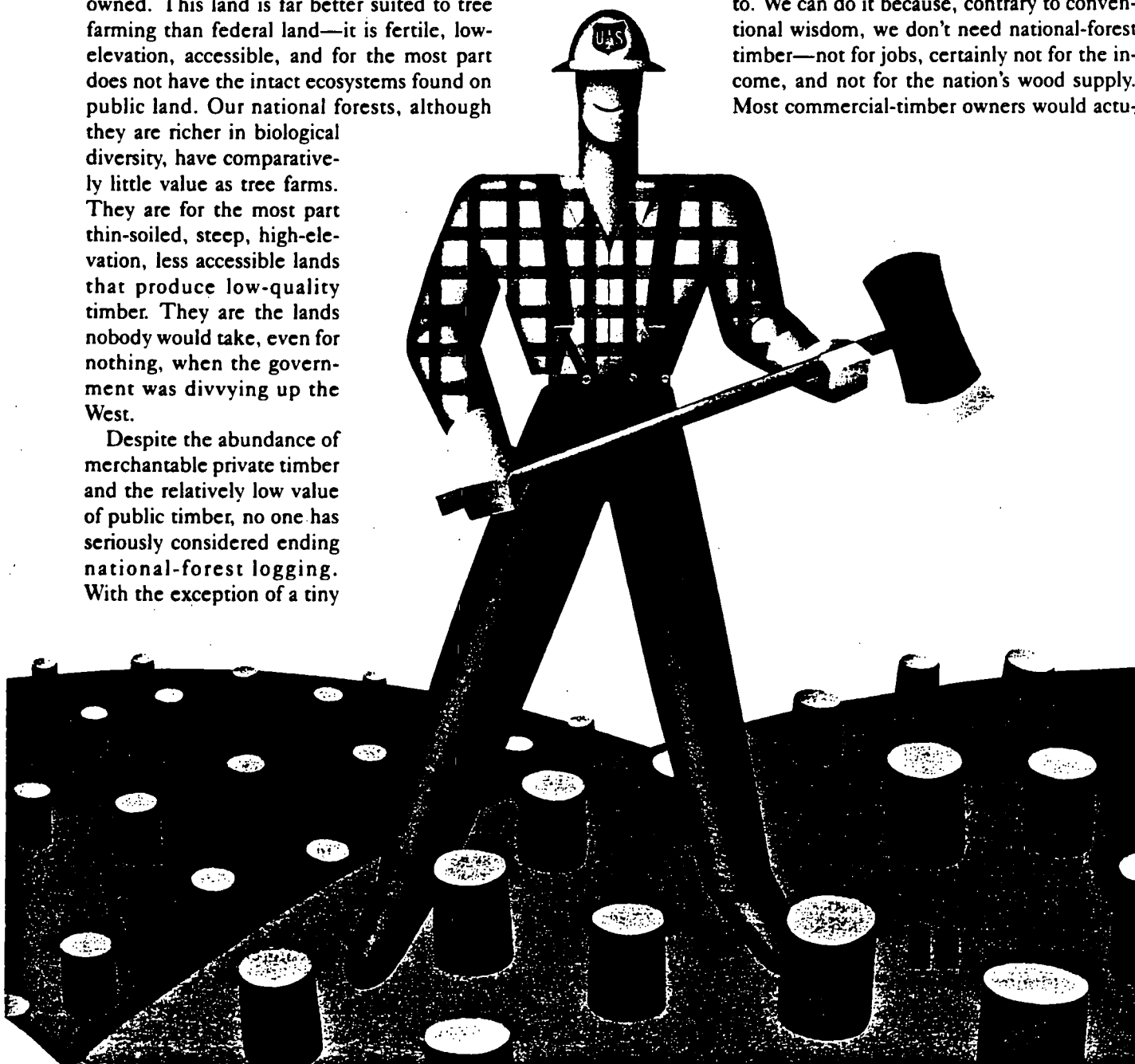
I was shocked: the Forest Service seemed more concerned about selling trees than about the vitality of the public's forests. Yet I met many dedicated Forest Service employees at all levels of the agency who were terribly unhappy about the emphasis on timber, and I felt compelled to learn as much as I could about why the Forest Service was pursuing such an apparently destructive policy.

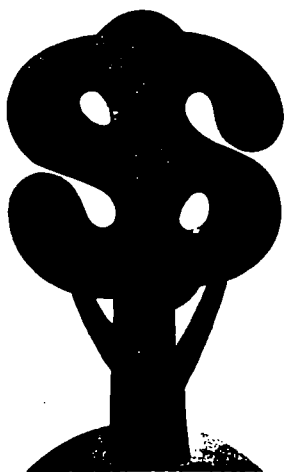
After all, the national forests supply only about 15 percent of the nation's wood, and Forest Service research shows that if that timber were removed from the market, half of the loss would be replaced by wood from private industrial tree farms and half by wood substitutes that are already on the market. Seventy-two percent of all the timberland in the United States is privately owned. This land is far better suited to tree farming than federal land—it is fertile, low-elevation, accessible, and for the most part does not have the intact ecosystems found on public land. Our national forests, although they are richer in biological diversity, have comparatively little value as tree farms. They are for the most part thin-soiled, steep, high-elevation, less accessible lands that produce low-quality timber. They are the lands nobody would take, even for nothing, when the government was divvying up the West.

Despite the abundance of merchantable private timber and the relatively low value of public timber, no one has seriously considered ending national-forest logging. With the exception of a tiny

minority of passionate nature lovers who are considered extremist, virtually everyone I've interviewed over the past eight years says that ending national-forest logging is impractical if not impossible.

A thoughtful look at the condition of our forests, the needs of our communities, and the national demand for wood products reveals that ending national-forest logging is not only possible but also highly pragmatic. In fact, we can end logging on the national forests and at the same time improve the future economic stability of small communities now dependent on timber dollars, stabilize our wood supply, save and spend more wisely the billions now pouring out of the federal Treasury, and preserve the health of our virgin forests—if we decide to. We can do it because, contrary to conventional wisdom, we don't need national-forest timber—not for jobs, certainly not for the income, and not for the nation's wood supply. Most commercial-timber owners would actu-





WE DON'T NEED NATIONAL-FOREST TIMBER—NOT FOR JOBS, NOT FOR INCOME, AND NOT FOR WOOD. COMMERCIAL-TIMBER OWNERS WOULD ACTUALLY BENEFIT IF THE GOVERNMENT WERE NOT COMPETING WITH THEM.

ally benefit if the government were no longer competing with them: as prices rose, long-term forest planning would become more feasible and profitable. The

Forest Service itself would benefit, as it escaped the endless and expensive forest-management planning with an emphasis on timber which inevitably lands it in court. Forest Service employees could begin to inventory and study the national forests, as they were mandated to do in the National Forest Management Act of 1976, though without adequate funding for the job. They could begin repairing the damage of the past forty years, instead of trying to produce board feet that can no longer be cut in an environmentally responsible fashion.

Timber Mythology

IN VIEW OF THESE BENEFITS, WHY ISN'T THE FOREST Service eager to end national-forest logging? Why is it adamant that that cannot or should not be done? The Forest Service rebuffs all such suggestions with three arguments that I call collectively the Great Federal Timber Mythology.

Myth No. 1: Federal timber is needed to meet an ever-escalating demand for wood fiber.

Myth No. 2: Timber sales overall make a profit for the federal Treasury.

Myth No. 3: Federal timber, even if sold at a loss, aids timber-dependent communities.

Last year the Forest Service once again predicted, as it has since its founding, in 1905, that demand for national-forest timber would continue to rise and that timber would remain in short supply. In fact the demand for timber has declined since the invention of the internal-combustion engine and since we began using electricity and fuel oil instead of wood for our energy needs. Many privately held forests logged in the nineteenth century are now regrown. Horse pasture and farmland have returned to forest. We actually have more standing trees today than we did ninety years ago. So whereas the old-growth trees that provide the softwood lumber used for products like fine furniture and musical instruments are indeed in short supply, particularly in the Pacific Northwest, we have plenty of wood fiber that can be made into less-refined products. Most of our ancient trees are not made

into pianos and armoires anyway, but are ground into pulp to make disposable diapers and cellophane for cigarette packs. Obviously, small-diameter trees from tree farms would serve that purpose just as well. As for building materials, we can also create them from small-diameter trees. Oriented-strand board, chipboard, finger-joint board, and particle board—made from chips or small pieces of wood—are already available; they are stronger than regular wood and can be made from very young trees grown in rows like a corn crop.

"Crop forests are where our timber supply really comes from," says a former logging manager at Weyerhaeuser Corporation, who asked not to be named. He explains that the industry wants the old timber on the national forests only because with minimal processing these logs bring a premium price overseas. "As to old growth, everyone has gored that fatted calf long enough. Weyerhaeuser made a fortune from old growth, but you can't cut the last one and say, 'Gee, that was nice. What do we do now?'"

One sign that we have a glut of wood fiber in the United States is that although we exported 4.2 billion board feet of raw logs last year, we can still find plentiful, cheap toilet paper in the supermarket. Timber has such a low market value in this country that owners of private timberland often find that growing trees doesn't pay—the rate of return isn't high enough. Many are selling off their forests and using the profits to reduce their debt. If timber were scarce—and valuable—this would be a poor business practice.

The Forest Service exacerbates the situation by flooding the market with cheap national-forest timber, driving prices down. One could argue reasonably that the national-forest timber program, by competing with the private sector, is destroying the environmental quality of our private timberlands as well.

It also empties the federal purse. "If we simply gave the loggers fourteen thousand dollars a year not to cut the trees, we'd be a lot better off," says K. J. Metcalf, a retired Forest Service planner in Alaska, about his review of the Tongass forest plan in 1978. He echoed the sentiments of many of the agency's critics. The Forest Service has long claimed that the government makes money on timber sales, but an analysis performed at the request of the House Government Operations Subcommittee on the Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources shows that the Forest Service timber program has lost \$5.6 billion over the past decade. Robert Wolf, a retired staffer at

the Congressional Research Service, a forester, and a road engineer, analyzed the Forest Service's timber-income accounting system at the request of Representative Mike Synar, the chairman of the subcommittee. At the time this was written, Wolf expected to submit his testimony in September. He says his original intention was to show that sales of national-forest timber were profitable and beneficial. Instead, he found that most of the 122 national forests have never earned a dime on timber, and only fifteen showed a profit last year. The Forest Service claims that it made \$630 million on its timber program last year; that claim, Wolf says, stems from inflated revenues and discounted costs.

The "net" revenue figure doesn't make allowances for the 25 percent of gross receipts (\$327 million last year) that must be paid to counties from which timber has been removed, as compensation for property taxes lost because those lands aren't privately owned. Nor does it take into consideration road-maintenance expenses—another \$80 million. Land-line location (surveying to confirm national-forest boundaries) cost another \$24 million. The Forest Service also overlooked some \$60 million spent on protection against insects and disease, maintenance of staff buildings, map-making, and fire protection.

Another \$575 million—funds earmarked for reforestation, brush disposal, timber salvage sales, roads built to accommodate timber buyers, and other programs—was depreciated over more years than appropriate for accounting purposes. The Forest Service has used a number of creative accounting gimmicks, including amortizing roads over 240 years. (One year roads on the Chugach National Forest, in Alaska, were amortized over 1,800 years.) The typical life of a logging road, however, is twenty-five years; that's why 60 percent of each year's road-building budget is earmarked for reconstruction. Last year the Forest Service received appropriations of \$700 million for the timber program from the federal Treasury, yet spent more than \$1 billion. According to Wolf's calculations, after a realistic amortization of costs, the timber program actually generated a net loss to the federal Treasury of \$186 million last year.

One reason timber sales don't make money is that most national-forest timber is virtually worthless. Short growing seasons and poor, unstable soils mean that a national-forest tree may need 120 years to reach maturity. "No one in his right mind would pay what it costs to grow it," says Wolf, who now calls the Forest Service timber program "a fraud." Since the Forest Service was founded on the promise that the timber program would make money, to admit losses after so many years of false claims would threaten not only the agency's timber program, and therefore about a third of its 45,000 jobs, but quite probably the existence of the Forest Service itself.

Even in the face of evidence that the timber market is glutted, and that its operations run at a net loss, the Forest Service will justify selling trees as a way to provide

small communities with jobs. But national-forest timber isn't keeping people employed; although timber production and logging on federal lands have increased, industry employment has declined. Automation, exports of raw lumber, and competition for foreign labor are the causes. As for small community sawmills wholly dependent on old-growth national-forest timber, their timber supply is limited. The small family mill is destined to go the way of the small family farm, and leveling the national forests won't save it.

The loggers and mill workers who depend on national-forest timber are, like the forests, victims of federal policy. Since the end of the Second World War the Forest Service has fostered in their communities an expectation that federal timber would be available indefinitely, and a way of life has evolved around that expectation. If the Forest Service and the loggers' elected representatives had been honest with their constituents even ten years ago, and warned them that the supply of trees could not support their industry forever, mill owners and loggers might not have invested further in lumber operations that are doomed, national-forest timber or no. These communities were misled, and they deserve aid in adjusting to what is for them a catastrophe.

But aiding those affected by an end to national-forest logging is less problematic than it seems. The jobs that would be lost are not irreplaceable, nor are they as numerous as claimed by the timber industry, which wants to maintain the flow of cheap national-forest old-growth lumber. A study funded by the timber industry predicted that 100,000 jobs would be lost in the Pacific Northwest as a consequence of restrictions to protect the spotted owl. But according to a Forest Service assessment written for other purposes, the true number is closer to 6,000. The industry study counted jobs projected for the year 2000 if logging continued to increase as was once planned, and it included a loss of secondary jobs, such as pumping gas and waiting tables, though the relatively healthy economy of the Pacific Northwest is creating new jobs in many other sectors.

The Forest Service says that only 106,000 jobs nationwide—including approximately 15,000 in the agency itself—are related to national-forest timber. An agency report speculated that these jobs would be replaced in part by new logging jobs when wood production shifted to private industrial lands. And in communities without nearby industrial timberland new jobs could be created, including jobs rehabilitating the national forests, with federal funds saved when national-forest timber was no longer being sold at a loss.

Inevitably, the small communities dependent on national-forest logging must diversify their economies or die. But if we do not end logging before their timber supply is exhausted, the clear-cuts that surround these communities will bankrupt their future. Once the forests are gone, they will have neither the timber industry nor

property values nor the recreation potential that could help them build a stable economic future. Logging the national forests results in the loss, rather than the strengthening, of community stability.

So if jobs are being lost despite increased logging, and the U.S. government loses millions a year on that logging, and we don't even need the lumber, why does the Forest Service persist in logging the national forests? When environmentalists, economists, forest planners, and policy-makers say it is not practical to end national-forest logging, they mean it is not practical *politically*.

Political Realities

THE NATIONAL FOREST MANAGEMENT ACT OF 1976 stipulates that those who are most intimate with the national forests—the public and the local Forest Service team—should work together to decide how they are to be managed. But in practice the forests are ruled by competing and complementary agendas in Washington, D.C. Forest Service administrators are concerned with maximizing their budgets, holding on to their jobs, and preserving the status quo. Congressmen want jobs in their districts and contin-

ued timber-industry support for their re-election campaigns. And the White House wants to take care of its friends. All use national-forest timber as a means to achieve their aims.

More than a quarter of the money the Forest Service spends comes from selling timber—whether the sales make money or not—through a little-known law called the Knutson-Vandenberg Act of 1930. The K-V Act allows the Forest Service to retain virtually all its gross timber receipts in order to fund projects like tree-planting, wildlife-habitat improvement, and trail-building, and to buy equipment like computers, refrigerators, and so on. It is a back-door way of funding the agency without going through the appropriations process. Last year K-V money and similar timber funds added \$475 million to the Forest Service budget, above and beyond congressional appropriations. Because Congress has limited its funding to timber-sales development, fire fighting, and road-building on the national forests, and has resisted the agency's requests for support of other programs, K-V money is often the only resource on which the Forest Service can rely to finance many of its non-timber activities. Erosion control, campground improvements, and plant and animal inventory, for example, are all funded by timber sales.

AT THE PIANO

At the piano, the girl, as if rowing upstream,
is driving triplets against the duple meter,
one hand for repetition,
one hand for variation and for song.
She knows nothing, but Bach knows everything.
Outside, in the vast disordered world,
the calves have been taken from their mothers;
both groups bawled and hooted all night long—
she heard them from her quilted double bed.
Twice a day, she gives the young
their frothy warm placebo. While her brother
steadies the cow with grain, her sister
leans in close from the little stool,
fingertips aligned on the wrinkled tits
as if to pick some soft, fleshy fruit,
but pressing in, hard, while pulling down,
she milks with both hands, two jets of milk
spraying the metal pail as they go in.
The girl must put her whole hand in the pail
and push the head of the suckling toward it:
wet muzzle, corrugated tongue:
when her last year's calf was in the bank
she drew the money out for candlesticks—

a present for her parents—tall and brass
because she thought the eighteenth was for brass.
Hers was the only gift. Her mother filled them
with thin candles; though never lit, they are twin
lighthouses on the mantle's narrow strait
where the loud clock makes a metronome.
At the piano, hands in her lap—
what's given, and what's made from luck and will—
she also hears a diaphonic moan:
long before dusk the animals in the pens
again have started calling for each other,
either hungry or too full, she can't tell
which is which. Her mother's in the kitchen,
her father's in the hayloft pitching hay,
she pushes off in her wooden boat—
she knows nothing, she thinks
no one could be happier than this.

—Ellen Bryant Voigt

For this reason the K-V Act has led to absolutely perverse management. According to Randal O'Toole, a natural-resource economist and the author of a tendentious book titled *Reforming the Forest Service*, mismanagement in the pursuit of K-V money is rampant. O'Toole has analyzed the management of more than half the national forests. He found, for example, that when Gallatin National Forest, in Montana, needed funds to close roads to protect grizzly-bear habitat, its managers held timber sales and built roads in other prime grizzly habitat. When the Medicine Bow National Forest, in Wyoming, needed funds to inventory ancient Indian archaeological sites, it sold timber on those very sites, destroying them in the process. And in the Sequoia National Forest, in California, when foresters needed funds for a prescribed burn to protect giant-sequoia groves from wildfire, à la Yellowstone National Park, they sold timber in the groves to get the money they needed to pay for the prescribed burn. But the clear-cuts left only a few giant trees, surrounded by devastation. Instead of burning, the foresters had to replant the area, at a cost of \$1,000 an acre. The point of these seemingly pointless exercises was to get and spend money. Like most bureaucracies, the Forest Service is deeply concerned with keeping overhead accounts full and maximizing its budget.

Since a third of all K-V money is spent on administrative overhead for every level of the Forest Service, from the Washington office down to the local districts, the promise of K-V funds encourages everyone in the Forest Service, including wildlife biologists and recreation specialists, to support timber sales, even if those sales damage the resources they are charged with protecting.

Because the Forest Service is so heavily dependent on timber sales, ensuring the future of the timber program is critical to the agency. That future depends on a vast network of access roads. In addition to the annual budget appropriation and the K-V money, the Forest Service has a capital-investment fund—known as hard money—set aside by Congress just for building and reconstructing roads. Last year this fund was \$270 million. In addition to the 360,000 miles of roads already on the national forests—nearly one mile of road for every square mile of forest, or a system about eight times the length of the U.S. interstate highway system—the Forest Service has ambitious plans to build another 43,000 miles of roads over the next fifty years. Depending on the type of road and terrain, building these roads can cost as little as \$5,000 or as much as \$500,000 a mile. The agency is anxious to get roads into even marginally productive areas, critics say, because a roadless area can become a designated wilderness, off limits to logging forever.

Another way the Forest Service hopes to protect the timber program is by rewarding forest managers with promotions for meeting their timber quotas. Congress sets these quotas as a means of accounting for the money it

has given the Forest Service. If the agency has said it will sell 11 billion board feet of timber in return for its \$700 million congressional appropriation, at the close of the fiscal year Congress will want to know that in fact the agency has sold the trees. To make sure they are sold, the Forest Service assigns sales targets to the nine national-forest regions, according to their capacity. Each regional forester's performance rating depends in part on coming within five percent of his target.

Congress's concern about jobs is of a different nature. To get votes, a public servant needs to get jobs and money for his or her district, and in small communities in the West timber sales mean jobs, and money in the county coffers for roads and schools. Counties are entitled to 25 percent of gross receipts from the national forests within their boundaries, so county commissioners are deeply interested in national-forest programs that generate receipts, and many cannot meet their budgets without them. These officials exert tremendous pressure on members of Congress and agency officials to keep the volume of timber cut in the national forests as high as possible. Congressmen from states with lots of national forest are usually zealous about complying if they want to stay in office.

They are also ready to express gratitude to the timber industry for its campaign contributions. The industry contributes to the campaigns of several key congressmen on the appropriations committees who go to bat for timber interests every year when the timber and roads budget comes up for review. Last fall, for example, the soon-to-be retired Senator James McClure, of Idaho, added to the 1991 appropriations bill a promise of a five percent funding bonus for wildlife and recreation to any Forest Service region that meets or exceeds its timber targets—this at a time when regional foresters throughout the West were insisting that they could no longer meet federally mandated targets without damaging the land and violating environmental laws.

The 9.5 billion board feet of timber scheduled for sale on the national forests this year, and the more than 2,000 miles of timber roads scheduled to be built, will continue to make following environmental standards and guidelines difficult. Former Forest Service officials have admitted to overcutting in the past, and timber targets remain high, causing some in the agency to protest that not enough trees are left to meet them. On a day I spent on the Willamette National Forest last year, no one was in the Blue River Ranger District office. The district had three days left to meet its timber target, and the rangers were out on the ground, scrambling to find trees that met specifications for cutting.

"Anybody—on the back of an envelope—could have figured out that the rate of [timber] harvest cannot be sustained," said Max Peterson, a former Forest Service chief, when he met with agency employees at the Wenatchee National Forest in 1989. He said the cut should go

down at least 25 percent; some forest planners, knowing the Forest Service to be extremely conservative on such matters, understood that to mean the cut should go down at least 75 percent.

Heavy cutting in much of the Pacific Northwest over the past decade was caused in part by congressional orders to the Forest Service which resulted in a cut far larger than the agency itself recommended. Last year Oregon's congressional delegation attached a rider to the federal appropriations bill allowing the Forest Service to sell more timber than existing laws allowed, and greatly reducing the possibilities of judicial review. A federal appeals court recently declared the rider unconstitutional.

But the impact of Congress on national-forest management is mild compared with the negative influence of the White House. My season with the Forest Service coincided with the era of John Crowell, Jr., a former timber-industry attorney and lobbyist appointed by President Reagan, as assistant secretary of commerce for natural resources and the environment—the official who oversees the Forest Service. Crowell, who had worked for Louisiana-Pacific Corporation, one of the largest buyers of federal timber, dedicated his term in office to doubling the amount of timber cut on the national forests, and he ordered the Forest Service to ignore federal court orders and national environmental laws to meet that goal.

Logging and road-building in forbidden areas was a familiar occurrence in the national-forest system during the Crowell era, and it continues to this day. Logging in a designated wilderness has been discovered several times on the Willamette National Forest. Crowell's successor, George Dunlop, another Reagan appointee, refused to approve any national-forest plan in the Pacific Northwest that didn't increase logging. As a result, Forest Service Region Six is now under such pressure to meet its targets that some districts have wandered into areas off limits to timber sales.

The President's influence on timber management can be far more direct. In June of last year the Forest Service was about to endorse the Jack Ward Thomas report, a study prepared by a team of scientists from the Forest Service and other natural-resource agencies. The Thomas report spelled out which lands should be spared from logging in the Pacific Northwest in order to save the northern spotted owl from extinction. The week before Dale Robertson, the chief of the Forest Service, was to announce the agency's endorsement of the report, timber-industry representatives paid a visit to the White House. Shortly thereafter the Bush Administration announced that it was ordering its own special task force, chaired by Clayton Yuetter, the Secretary of Agriculture, to study the spotted-owl situation further and to come up with more options. Months later Bush's task force announced its conclusions: the Thomas report's recommendations should be accepted in principle, and the cut should be reduced, but less old-growth forest should be

protected than the Thomas report implied. The delay meant that timber sales in spotted-owl habitat continued unrestricted by either report all summer; by the time Bush's task force made its announcement, the logging season was just about over.

The stalling continues. The Forest Service says it may need another two or three years to come up with a management plan for the spotted owl. And last May a court ordered the agency to withdraw sales planned for 66,000 acres of prime spotted-owl habitat. Those acres would have been in addition to the 400,000 acres of owl habitat already logged since 1984, when the agency began preparing guidelines for the spotted owl. William L. Dwyer, the U.S. district judge presiding over the case in Seattle (also, ironically, a Reagan appointee), wrote a stunning denunciation of the White House in his decision:

More is involved here than a simple failure by an agency to comply with its governing statute. The most recent violation of the National Forest Management Act exemplifies a deliberate and systematic refusal by the Forest Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service to comply with the laws protecting wildlife. This is not the doing of the scientists, foresters, rangers, and others at the working levels of these agencies. It reflects decisions made by higher authorities in the executive branch of government.

Biological Costs

JUDGE DWYER'S DECISION UNDERSCORES THE FUNDAMENTAL reason why we should not be harvesting the national forests. Aside from the facts that we don't need the lumber, that the timber program loses money, that the program is used to prop up faltering local economies artificially, and that the real reasons for timber cutting continue to be unacknowledged, we have a biological stake in an end to logging on our national forests.

The greatest threat represented by our current national-forest policy is that it will destroy biological diversity on public lands. Forest scientists say that the national forest are most valuable to us as founts of life. Our native and old-growth forests are intricate, fragile webs encompassing everything from bacteria, fungi, and insects to grizzly bears, wolves, and ancient sequoias. They constitute a complex, interdependent plant and animal community that is the foundation upon which we human beings eat and breathe. Scientists say they understand little about forest biological systems, but they do know that the fresh air and clean water our forests produce are essential to our survival, because they are basic components of the food chains that keep all species alive. As species die off, the ecosystem is simplified, and the more simplified it becomes, the less life it is capable of supporting.

We are learning more about the value of the national



IF THE FOREST SERVICE GETS FUNDS FOR ITS PROGRAMS BY SELLING TIMBER, AND TIMBER MANAGEMENT IS DESTROYING THE FORESTS FOR OTHER USES, THEN WE MUST FIND A MEANS OTHER THAN TIMBER TO FUND THE PROGRAMS.

forests every day. For example, scientists have recently concluded that forests play a major role in the absorption and storage of carbon dioxide. When very old trees, those more than 200 years old, are cut down, vast stores of carbon are released, owing to soil disturbance, decay, and the burning that accompanies tree harvesting. The resulting climatic changes are called global warming.

With global warming, habitats that will nurture biological diversity become an even more pressing need. When climates change, species must migrate if they are to survive, and land-based species must have connecting corridors of undisturbed forest through which to move unmolested. The burden of protecting habitat that can nurture diversity must fall on the public natural-resource agencies, because virtually all the original, intact ecosystems remaining in the United States are on our public lands.

Our national forests also embody other important values. A national forest is a place where you might awaken to find a bull elk staring you down, startled from his drink at a glacier-fed lake. Snow-tipped crags and rocky cirques reflect in pools and creeks and waterfalls of penetrating clarity; the water is so clear that to look at it is to be mesmerized and merged with it. Sometimes the only sound is the wind, roaring through the giant firs like a locomotive. At other times the silence is so deep and inviolate that you can hear, seemingly, to infinity. To visit a national forest is to let a bit of the harmony lacking in our contemporary lives seep in. A lifelong New Yorker visiting a Montana national forest last summer said that camping there was like staying in a five-star hotel—a city-dweller's ultimate compliment, and a measure of how claustrophobic and diminished our everyday surroundings have become. The wildness, solitude, and silence of the national forests are now among our country's greatest luxuries.

The Forest Service's predominant logging method, clear-cutting, destroys the visual beauty of the national forests. But the threat to biological diversity is more subtle. By law, clear-cuts must be reforested, and they are usually replanted with one favored tree species. These plantings then grow into even-aged monocultures—they are tree farms, not forests. Diversity is reduced, and wildlife is stressed as nesting sites, dens, and cover from

predators are lost. Although the young grasses growing in clear-cuts do provide food for deer and elk, the loss of cover drives away bear, turkey, squirrels, and other species. Clear-cutting is also dangerous where rains are heavy and terrain is steep, as in southeast Alaska, on the western slope of the Cascade Mountains, and in the northwest corner of the Rockies. Flooding, soil erosion, water contamination, and loss of fisheries as sediment flushes into spawning streams are often the result. In some areas washouts and mud slides occur, and soil is removed down to bedrock. Clear-cutting changes the flow of streams, causing flooding during rains and drought during dry periods. It also interferes with recreation: no one wants to go hiking or camping in a clear-cut, and clear-cutting often obliterates recreation trails.

We know that clear-cutting destroys the complexity of forest ecology because we have the example of Europe, which was essentially deforested more than 300 years ago. Foresters there are still trying to figure out how to bring the forests back. Modern forestry techniques have evolved from the attempts, beginning in eighteenth-century Germany, to regenerate old-growth forests like the ones that we are logging here. The forests that European foresters so painstakingly tend are sterile: birds don't sing in them; sticks, not logs, are harvested from them; and now Europeans are worried about the long-term fertility of their soil. "Look to Europe for what the future holds," says Paul Alaback, a research biologist for the Forest Service in Juneau, Alaska. "Is it really necessary to cut all the forests down before we learn from others' mistakes?"

The Forest Service is now experimenting with an alternative to clear-cutting called new forestry. New forestry is an attempt to protect diversity by simulating natural events like windstorms and fires. As I've seen it practiced at the Andrews Experimental Forest, in Oregon, new forestry looks like a messy version of clear-cutting. Instead of clearing the land of all timber and burning the remaining debris, the foresters leave dead and living trees standing in clusters, slash unburned, and dead trees and debris on the ground and in streams. This new method can be just as ugly as a clear-cut and more expensive, because it requires being more careful and yields fewer board feet per acre. And no one knows for sure if it helps preserve long-term biological diversity, the purpose for which it was created by Jerry Franklin, a Forest Service scientist. It may not be biologically destructive, but new forestry is

almost always aesthetically destructive, and if it is adopted in place of clear-cutting, more timber will be sold below cost and net returns will be reduced on those forests that do earn money. We'll lose more money on the national forests than ever.

All of this points toward the conclusion that the Forest Service shouldn't be in the timber business. Managing the land to sustain its ecology is inherently incompatible with managing it to turn a profit. The time frame allowed under today's shortsighted economic system is far too limited to take biological diversity into account, and alternatives to clear-cutting will only increase deficit timber sales. Without regulation or financial incentives, most private industry will never manage its land to enhance biological diversity—long rotations (the number of years trees grow before harvest) don't help short-term profit margins—so this role must fall to the Forest Service. But as long as the Forest Service is in the timber business, its time horizon, too, will be far too short.

A Proposal

WE NEED TO RECONSIDER THE PURPOSE OF the national forests. Most people agree that public lands should exist to benefit the public, with private use permitted only when it does not reduce that public benefit. Yet the Forest Service's timber program is beneficial chiefly to politicians in Washington, to a small segment of the timber industry, and to the Forest Service's administrators. Taxpayers, small communities, recreationists, the owners of private timberland—and the land itself—all lose. The national forests without logging would not be the same as the national parks: hunting, grazing, mining, irrigation, and other private uses that don't interfere with the public's right to enjoy its lands would continue. But without the logging program the Forest Service could, like the National Park Service, emphasize a stronger conservation ethic.

Such a shift in management cannot be achieved without confronting the political realities. That is why any legislation to reform national-forest management must change the incentives that motivate the Forest Service and private users of the forests. If the Forest Service gets funds for its programs by selling timber, and timber management is destroying the national forests for other uses, then we must find a means other than timber to fund the national forests. The most logical approach would be to charge recreation fees.

In its 1990 planning paper the Forest Service estimated that if it were allowed to charge fees for recreation, the income to the agency could be more than \$5 billion a year, or three times what it earns in gross timber receipts. The estimate is based on fees that national-forest users

have said they would be willing to pay, ranging from a few dollars for picnicking to nearly thirty dollars a day for big-game hunting. As Randal O'Toole has pointed out, this income, combined with the money saved by ending logging on the national forests, would fund the agency entirely from its own receipts; tax dollars would no longer be needed to support the Forest Service. Instead, only those who used the national forests would pay, and their fees would ensure that the forests were managed in the best interests of recreationists.

When the agency's funding no longer came from Congress, pork-barrel politics would no longer dictate how the forests were managed. County commissioners would stop putting pressure on their congressmen to appropriate funds for timber sales, because counties that depend on timber receipts for their roads and schools would get even more money from recreation than they did from timber. Private industry and landowners would benefit, because the value of their land and their timber would increase, and they, too, could charge recreation fees. With part of the billions of taxpayer dollars we were no longer investing in the Forest Service, we could easily create programs to help communities dependent on national-forest timber make the transition to a more diverse local economy, one that would serve them for the long term.

Without fees, all taxpayers are paying for the destruction of the national forests. With fees, those who used the national forests would be paying to preserve their integrity. Hikers, hunters, fishermen, backpackers, and skiers would begin to get the resources and management they need to enjoy the national forests, instead of getting leftovers after the interests of the timber industry have been served. With this new emphasis we could fund an inventory of, research on, and monitoring of national-forest species and ecosystems to help us repair the damage done by forty years of overcutting.

To accomplish this revolution in national-forest management, Congress must be persuaded that recreation fees and an end to national-forest logging are a sensible and practical way to ensure a healthy future for our national forests. Environmental groups should endorse these recommendations as a means to preservation. County governments should support this plan because it would more than double their revenues from national-forest use. Large industrial timber farmers like Weyerhaeuser and International Paper should favor it because it would increase the value of their lands and their timber. Fiscal conservatives and those worried about the national debt should support this plan because it would save taxpayers the yearly cost of managing the national forests. An unprecedented coalition of these interests would stop national-forest logging in its tracks. Congress and the White House would have to comply. □

TICKING "TIMBER TIME BOMB"

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." Philosopher and poet Santayana's warning is fitting as Congress debates the fate of forest ecosystems in the Northwest and California, and debates the nation's environmental policies.

Sen. Brock Adams (D-WA) introduced landmark legislation on July 25. Adams' "Pacific Northwest Forest Community Recovery and Ecosystem Conservation Act" (S. 1536) prescribes treatments based on an accurate diagnosis: the forests are in distress, and forest-dependent communities face a historic transition.

Log exports are a major problem. Many of the exported logs come from railroad grant forests intended for building and maintaining America's railroads. In the Northwest trains derail with distressing frequency and the railroad companies abandon lines and farming communities. Meanwhile some timber companies grow wealthy exporting logs from the railroad grant forests, bypassing log hungry mills and potential jobs in value-added industries. The railroad grant lands and corporations that are part of the problem with the Northwest's timber supply should now be part of the solution. Congress should staunch the hemorrhage of exported raw logs from the Northwest, including from the railroad grant lands.

Railroads and forest conservation are central to the debate over Northwest forests. The history of the Northwest forest debate begins when the western states were still territories, in 1864. In 1864 Congress gave 40 million acres to the Northern Pacific Company for building a railroad (now Burlington Northern). In Section 20 of the Northern Pacific Grant, Congress reserved for itself the right at any time to "add to, alter, amend, or repeal" the act. Today the Northwest's two largest timber companies, Plum Creek and Weyerhaeuser, control about 3 million acres of these railroad grant forests—and export logs.

1864 was also a milestone for conservation: Marsh's *Man and Nature* was published. George Perkins Marsh wrote about the crippling social and biological impacts of overcutting in New England's forests. Witnessing deforestation, Marsh feared for the future of civilization. "The earth," wrote Marsh, "is fast becoming an unfit home for its noblest inhabitant, and another era of equal human crime and human improvidence . . . would reduce [the earth] to such a condition of impoverished productiveness, of shattered surface, of climatic excess, as to threaten the depavation, barbarism, and perhaps even extinction of the species."

Man and Nature significantly influenced Dr. Franklin B. Hough (1822-1885), a New York physician and considered by Gifford Pinchot to be the "chief pioneer in forestry in the United States". In his work with the census, including heading the national census of 1870, Hough noticed that timber supplies were being exhausted and the timber industry moving.

Dr. Hough presented a paper to the American Academy for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) in Portland, Maine, in August 1873. "On the Duty of Governments in the Preservation of Forests" described the economic and ecologic importance of forests—including impacts on water supply and climate. Hough asserted that the fate of America's forests was a ques-

*"Those who cannot
remember the past are
condemned to repeat it."*

tion for the whole nation. The assembled scientists then resolved that Hough and Harvard botanist George Emerson travel to Congress with a memorial "on the importance of promoting the cultivation of timber and the preservation of forests."

In 1874 with the support of President U.S. Grant, Dr. Hough sought help from Congress. Rep. Mark Dunnell of Minnesota on the House Public Lands Committee provided encouragement and political help. In 1876, after three years of trying, Rep. Dunnell was unable to pass a law establishing a forest commission. So Dunnell attached funding for forests as a rider on an appropriations bill for the Dept. of Agriculture, where the Forest Service remains today.

In 1876 Dr. Hough was appointed as forestry agent in the Department of Agriculture. In his years of public service working on forests, Hough codified the forestry knowledge of the western world. In 1882 he recommended "that principal bodies of timber land still remaining the property of the government . . . be withdrawn from sale or grant."

After Dr. Hough died Congress, moved by the massive destruction of the Great Lakes forests, passed the Forest Reserve Act of 1891. ("Forest Reserves" later became "National Forests".) Hough's position grew into the Forestry Division in 1880 and, as the US Forest Service under Gifford Pinchot, in 1905 accepted professional responsibility for the National Forest System.

As our nation decides the future of forests, we should not forget the lessons so painfully learned in the past. Dr. Hough, Pinchot, and others who fought to protect America's forests should be part of this national debate—and so too the ghosts of North America's vast forest primeval now reduced to fragments.

—John Osborn

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Owls, Trees and Loggers

THE ENDANGERED Species Act lends itself to caricature; in the case of the northern spotted owl, we print on the opposite page today an explanation of why the caricature is false. The excerpts are not from the works of a biologist or economist but from an opinion by a federal judge; sadly, the courts have become the referees to which one must too often look for environmental truth these days.

The opinion is the best summary we have seen of this dispute. The owl, Judge William Dwyer observes, is not so much the subject of the controversy as it is a convenient metaphor and what the biologists call an "indicator species." What its extinction would indicate is that the entire complex forest system of which it is part is at risk. The real dispute is over that old-growth forest that is the owl's habitat. "A great conifer forest originally covered the western parts of Washington, Oregon and northern California" from the coastal mountains to the sea, Judge Dwyer wrote. As little as 10 percent of it remains, and the question is whether to log the remainder or save it. The judge's opinion has helped to toss the question back to Congress. But the history of the dispute—and the reason it was before the judge—is that neither elected branch of government has wanted to be the one to decide.

Most of the logging of the old-growth forest which Judge Dwyer described was done in the last 50 years; much of the logging on the federal share of that land has been done by smaller companies—the giant companies are more likely to grow their own trees on their own vast tracts of land. The judge observes that the smaller companies logging in the federal domain are in decline for economic rather than environmental reasons that have nothing to do with the spotted owl—but that has made the owl doubly a symbol.

Congress moved to control the logging on federal lands with the National Forest Management Act in 1976. But this call for multiple use of the forests was a straddle that regularized log-

ging as much as it restricted it. The Endangered Species Act was less equivocal, and as the size of the old-growth forest was reduced, a multiple-use compromise became more difficult to achieve.

The Reagan and Bush administrations for the most part dealt with the issue by looking the other way; the law-and-order administration balked at enforcing the law. The judge says the record shows them to have engaged in "a remarkable series of violations of the environmental laws" and a "deliberate and systematic refusal . . . to comply with the laws protecting wildlife," not at the working levels of the relevant agencies but higher up, for political reasons.

The owl—and through it, by proxy, the irreplaceable forest—is to be preserved; the executive branch, for the sake of seeming to protect jobs that are disappearing anyway, has refused. Judge Dwyer has enjoined further logging contracts until a plan to enforce the law is put in place. Congress is now trying to find a legislative compromise; the industry is claiming that efforts to save the owl are having an unhappy impact not just on jobs but also on lumber prices, which have been rising. The idea is that the owl is responsible for the run-up. But that seems not to be so. The people in the logging towns deserve help in making a transition they faced anyway. The Dwyer opinion, while it isn't addressed to Congress, urges facing other obligations at the same time, obligations that are not inconsistent with aiding the loggers now. "The loss of old growth is permanent," he notes, while "to bypass the environmental laws, either briefly or permanently, would not fend off the changes transforming the timber industry. The argument that the mightiest economy on earth cannot afford to preserve old-growth forests for a short time, while it reaches an overdue decision on how to manage them, is not convincing today. It would be even less so a year or a century from now."



Ex-EPA chief says recycling at risk

By Tom Harris
Bee Staff Writer

BOULDER, Colo. — A former two-time administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency has called for government to begin phasing out subsidies for the use of virgin materials or risk losing public support that has fueled explosive growth in recycling.

William Ruckelshaus, now the chief executive officer of one of the nation's largest solid waste management companies, said that continued sale of national forest timber rights at prices far below their actual value already is choking off a promising trend in recycling of newsprint.

Speaking before a national conference of environment writers, Ruckelshaus said that similar favorable treatment for other resources threatens to severely curtail budding initiatives to increase the re-use of metals and the growth of crops for alternative energy sources. Mining firms are charged meager royalties for production of virgin metals for ores mined from public lands and farmers obtain price-support guarantees and other subsidies from the federal government.

"The public will be there to support what has been a remarkable growth in recycling," said Ruckelshaus, "but we must have a level playing field if this is to go forward. All kinds of government subsidies on the use of virgin materials must end."

He did, however, stress that the restructuring be "orderly . . . phased out gradually to avoid what would be chaotic conditions if outlawed all at once."

The keynote speaker at the three-



'We run the risk of turning people off on recycling if they find that things they tried to recycle are . . . going to waste.'

— William Ruckelshaus, former EPA director

day conference used his own company's experience with used newsprint as an example of choking off recycling.

Referring to the experience of Browning-Ferris Industries, which he heads, Ruckelshaus noted, "Just since 1987, we have gone from paying \$60 a ton to get used newsprint to paying someone \$20 a ton to take it off our hands. The market has been absolutely glutted."

Part of the glut, he said, was unfair competition from virgin newsprint pulped from trees cut on national forests where the federal government often spends more money in readying the timber for sale than it gets back in payments from logging firms.

Continued subsidies, he said, would threaten growth in used newsprint de-inking plants that only three years ago numbered two in the nation but now approach 40 either built or announced.

If market constraints aren't lifted on products made from recycled goods, Ruckelshaus warned, "We run the risk of turning people off on recycling if they find that things they tried to recycle are piling up and going to waste."

He also urged the writers to pay more attention to issues in which

emerging scientific discoveries prove that earlier environmental protection rules and standards were more restrictive than necessary.

"Regulations all too often were set from our ignorance about pollutants or the cost to control them," said Ruckelshaus, "and we acted in spite of that ignorance to be as protective as possible, often assuming that things would turn out to be even worse than they appeared."

"We have reduced that level of ignorance now, and new information is proving that we often were overprotective. In the years ahead, this will happen more and more often (but) . . . there is no experience, no process for ratcheting down, making rules less restrictive."

He cited the current struggle regulators face with dioxin, an element long touted as the most lethal compound ever produced by humans but about which new evidence is surfacing that suggests much lower toxicity.

"We may find that dioxin might not be the curse we first expected or that recycling is less of a panacea than we thought," said the former and only two-time EPA administrator. "Things have to change when that happens. But if it is greeted as a conspiracy by industry, then our country will be in a sorry shape."

COURTESY OF:

The Native Forest Council
P.O. Box 2171
Eugene, Oregon 97402
(503) 688-2600



Fly Rod & Reel

Jan./Feb. 1990

The Spotted Fish Under the Spotted Owls

Big Timber, the US Forest Service, and the rape of the Northwest

LAST August I viewed from 35,000 feet the grotesque remains of one of earth's major rain forests. Wide, rectangular ulcers separated by narrow bands of giant trees sprawled across the rolling landscape. Even from the jet it was evident that trees could not grow again on some of the higher slopes; the fragile soils had sloughed into watercourses and bled away in the relentless rains. On more stable terrain the natural forest wouldn't return for at least a millennium, even if the impoverished natives permitted it to do so. No "forestry" down there, just forest removal—primitive liquidation of priceless assets belonging to a planet. America is getting downright shrill in her objections to such practice in Third World nations. But this was Oregon and Washington.

Not quite all of our temperate rain forest has been hacked away. About 1.4 million acres of the original 31 million still exist, most of it in 13 national forests on the west side of the Cascades. The old growth of the Pacific Northwest is, as the timber sloganeers like to say, "a renewable resource." So too are oil and coal, if you wait long enough.

The point is that these trees have been here longer than Caucasians. A Sitka spruce, for example, can be 800 years old, 300 feet high and 14 feet across at the trunk. Virgin Douglas firs average 500 years of age, with individuals attaining 1,000. On the Olympic Peninsula they reach heights of 350 feet and diameters of 14 feet. Other megaflores of America's temperate rain forest include western hemlock, western red cedar, Pacific silver fir, grand fir and bigleaf maple. You don't mow this stuff like July hay.

At least you don't if you are committed to the notion of sustained yield or to any form of forest management or to generations of Americans yet unborn. But most of the timber companies operating on the West Coast are committed only to quick profit. They cut out and get out, occasionally pausing to replant their moonscapes with sterile, even-aged monocultures. They do not renew the forest; they replace it with an agricultural crop. To their way of thinking the old-growth forests that still persist on public land are wasteful, for there is nearly as much cellulose moldering into the ground as growing out of it.

But nothing is wasted in a real forest. Dead trees are what the forest grows on, its nutrient capital; without them the soil eventually gives out and living trees become weak and spindly. Climax creatures like the northern spotted owl, about which so much has been written of late, depend on the rain forest's old trees and dead trees. Give them the "clean, well-managed, vigorous, thrifty" second growth painted for American Forest Institute ads, and they die.

Other old-growth species about which virtually nothing is being written, at least as pertains to their current habitat crisis, are our northern spotted fish—namely trout, char and salmon. Consider, for example, Oregon's John Day River system, the state's biggest steelhead and salmon producer after the Deschutes.

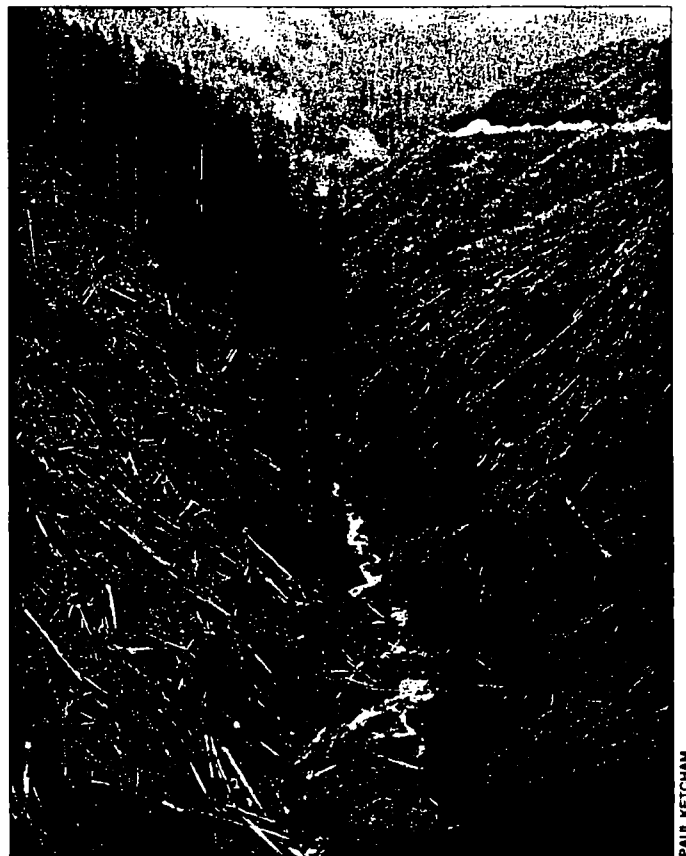
Only 15 percent of the watershed remains in old growth, yet from this patch of ancient forest springs 85 percent of the system's chinook salmon.

Everything in the mature rain forest works toward the fishes' advantage. Massive root systems anchor soil and silt, keeping it away from spawning and rearing habitat. Shade cools water, thereby providing more oxygen and limiting pathogens. Insects, of which 1,500 species have been identified in the uncut woods on the west side of the Cascades, provide the major food source for juvenile salmonids. In ancient forests the moribund trees that timber managers call "decadent" fall across streams to form pools that shelter fish and protect them from drought, runoff and

temperature fluctuations. And as the deadfalls recycle nutrients to the earth over two or three centuries, they feed and shelter countless other forest creatures.

Even discounting what it means to stand beside man-sized ferns and ancient, moss-clad logs and cast to wild trout and salmon in sunlight filtered through cathedral-high trees, woodland fish are worth more than timber. For instance, the South Fork of the Salmon River used to be the most important steelhead/salmon stream in Idaho until Forest-Service-sponsored clearcutting virtually wiped it out. The cash value of the timber gouged from the watershed was \$14 million; but both the state and the Forest Service set the cash value of the lost salmonids at \$100 million.

When the Forest Service evaluated 33 log-



Logging of mature douglas fir along a stream the Oregon Department of Forestry considers "Class I": used by significant numbers of fish for spawning, rearing or migration routes.

PAUL KETCHAM

ging sites along California's Smith River in the Six Rivers National Forest, it found that landsliding and soil loss had increased 500 to 2,000 percent over natural levels, with corresponding devastation to fish spawning and rearing sites. According to the report: "Down-slope effects can last for years, perhaps from 25 to 100 for debris slides. Development of soil is a slow process, and it is difficult to re-establish vegetation on steep, bare landslide scars." What remained of the Smith River fishery was estimated to have an annual worth of \$7.8 million, probably more than the one-time value of the cut logs. This meant that over the next 140 years, the time it would take the Smith drainage to produce one harvestable crop of trees, the river, even in its compromised condition, could produce \$1 billion worth of salmonids.

IN LIGHT of such statistics, provided by the Forest Service itself, one might suppose that the agency would jealously guard the public's last little patches of original rain forest. But no. It has been selling off 60,000 acres a year, despite its legal obligation to manage for multiple use. At this rate there will be no old-growth forest intact by 1995 and no old-growth trees by 2010.

The process may, however, be slowed by the northern spotted owl, now being considered for protection under the Endangered Species Act. When the US Fish and Wildlife Service first took up the owl's case, Big Timber rolled out its heavy artillery. Having cut its own old growth, it wasn't about to let a few dumb birds keep it out of our national forests. The Forest Service proclaimed that endangered status for the owl would destroy 13,600 jobs. The Bureau of Land Management, which also presides over old-growth rain forest, privately informed the Fish and Wildlife Service that it didn't want the owl listed *or even studied*.

Accordingly, Fish and Wildlife fudged its report, announcing in December 1987 that the

owl was not endangered. Rolf Wallenstrom, the regional director who issued the decision and who later was fired by the Reagan/Bush team for pointing out dangers of offshore oil development, had long impressed environmentalists with his professionalism and integrity. He told me that he didn't have an option for listing the owl as endangered, that his bosses in Washington, DC had forbidden it.

Later a GAO report revealed that the Fish and Wildlife Service "changed the body of scientific evidence presented in the study team's status report after it had been reviewed and adjusted by outside experts" and that "the revisions had the effect of changing the report from one that emphasized the dangers facing the owl to one that could more easily support denying the listing petition." When environmental groups challenged the no-listing decision in US District Court, the judge ruled that Fish and Wildlife had acted in a fashion that was "arbitrary, capricious, and contrary to the law."

So now the listing process has started anew. But the pressure on the Fish and Wildlife Service hasn't subsided. Even the agency's overseer, Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, suggests that the Endangered Species Act should be amended so that it need be enforced only when economically convenient. "Maybe we should change the law," he declares. "The spotted owl business is probably the prime example." News that there are ancient or even juvenile trees on property controlled by the Bureau of Land Management (an agency Lujan also directs) came as a shock to him. Previously he had defined BLM land as "a place with a lot of grass for cows."

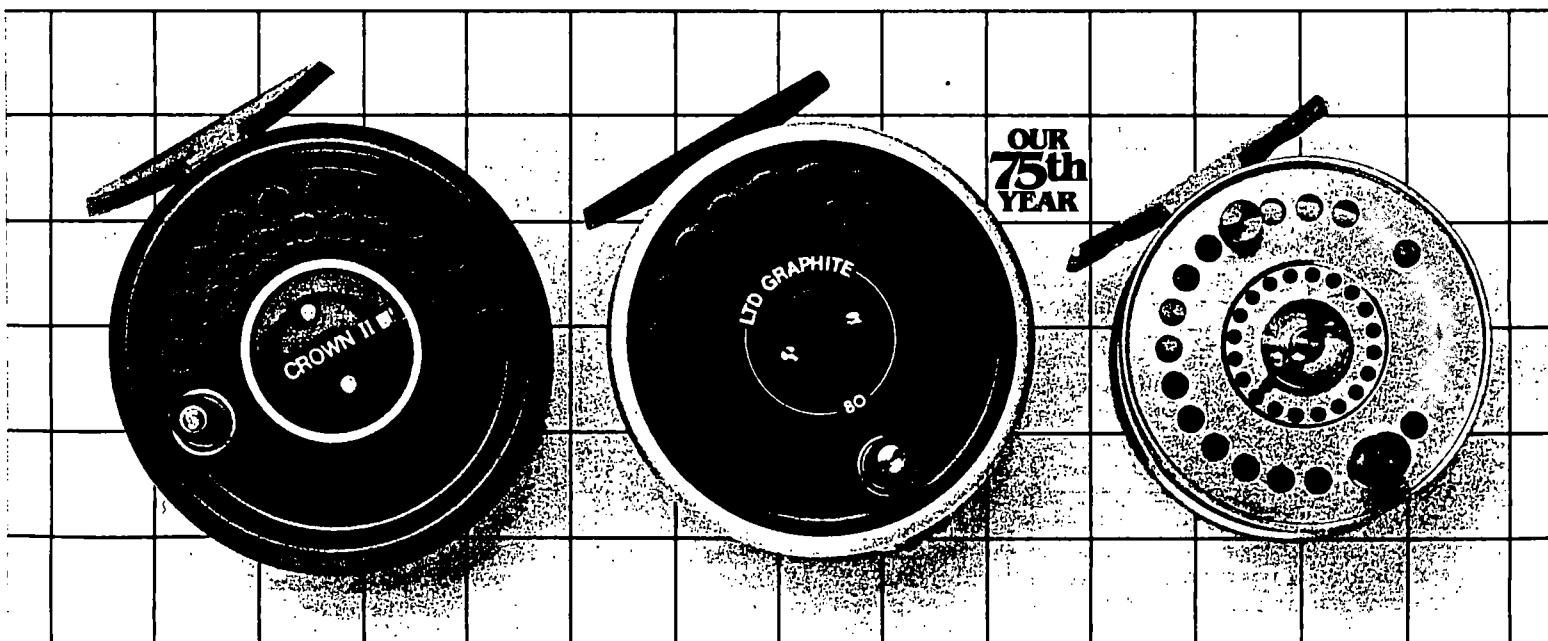
The northern spotted owl is just one of at least 160 indicator species dependent on old growth, but the timber lobby portrays it as an excuse for a lockup. "Industry here is really doing its utmost to prevent the issue of fisheries impacts from being raised," says research biologist Chris Frissell of Oregon State Uni-

versity. "They want everything to hinge on the owl. That appears to be their agenda because there's much more public sympathy for fish and water than there is for an owl that no one's seen or heard. There seems to be a very consistent trend in state government, the major newspapers and the industry itself to do everything to separate all talk of fisheries and water quality from timber concerns."

A forest unfit for spotted owls is unfit for wild salmonids. So in one respect the current plans of the Forest Service to set aside a few old-growth stands for owl habitat will be a blessing for fish. But only the fish under the few owls, warns Frissell. Pushed by Congress, the Forest Service is committed to heavy cuts. If it winds up saving forestland for owls, it's going to compensate with cuts everywhere else. And, because all areas where logging is easy and safe already have been stripped, everywhere else means riparian areas and high, unstable slopes.

Frissell is typical of the new, young breed of biologists who never learned and don't care that earth advocacy is considered unscientific, who defend fish and wildlife as well as chronicling their demise, and who are forever infuriating timber/agribusiness moguls and their hirelings within our land-grant colleges.

One of Frissell's ranker offenses—in the words of Dennis Hayward, executive vice-president of the Northwest Timber Association—has been to act like a "preservationist" and "work in concert" with environmentalists in defense of Grassy Knob Wilderness in the Siskiyou National Forest. Largely because of its prolific wild trout and salmon, the area was designated as wilderness in the early 1980s; this over the strident objections of the Forest Service, which had already made a timber sale. Although the sale site had been excluded from wilderness status, the customer—Gregory Forest Products, of Glendale, Oregon—declined to take the trees. In an astonishing display of corporate responsibility (for which it took considerable heat within its own indus-



try) Gregory declared that it didn't want to be involved in blighting the new wilderness. Sorry, said the Forest Service, a deal's a deal. Cut.

Frissell, who had been studying Grassy Knob's Dry Creek and learning, among other things, that it contributes 80 percent of the wild chinook in the entire Six Rivers basin, wrote a polite letter to the Forest Service. He cited the worth of this never-stocked watershed to American fishermen, and to the forest industry itself as a control against which to measure logging impacts in other forests. Finally, he pointed out that the bill authorizing Grassy Knob as wilderness had stated only that the sale site "could" be cut, not that it had to be.

The Forest Service ignored Frissell, but the timber industry tried to get him fired. In a letter to the president of Oregon State, Hayward demanded that Frissell be kept on the proper side of the line between science and advocacy. But Frissell told the Associated Press, who had picked up the story, that he didn't know about such a line and that no person or publication had ever shown it to him. For a while it looked as if he was in trouble with the university (which gets grants from industry and major funding from taxes on private timber); but when the faculty got excited about academic freedom, the president backed him up. Thanks to Gregory Forest Products and the media flap, the clearcut hasn't happened.

FRISSELL isn't at all heartened by the big money budgeted by the Forest Service for stream restoration: "For the naive layman (or the politician), it is natural to ask why, if we know so much about how to 'rebuild streams,' should we bother to protect them any longer? Can't we now simply 'rebuild' them so that they are even better than they were before? Funding a restoration program, then, becomes a rationale for relaxing the regulations intended to protect fish habitat.

Have you noticed this: the timber industry *likes* hatchboxes and log weirs. It promotes them. It kicks in money. Stream-bred, wild fish, however, which cost nothing, make the industry very nervous." Actually, observes Frissell, it isn't even clear that stream restoration works for anadromous fish of the Pacific, and there is considerable evidence that it's detrimental. Hatcheries, he says, are another dandy excuse for not paying attention to the natural system.

Hatcheries, in fact, are one reason that West Coast fish managers don't have much hard data on relationships between the condition of the forest and natural salmonid production. Sam Wright, of the Washington Department of Fisheries, told me about another reason: "For years, stream damage from clearcutting was so obvious to us that no one documented it. We should have, but the old timers in the business never thought that somebody would ever question what the impacts were."

Wright brims with horror stories. For instance, he used to be able to get a handle on the upcoming chum-salmon season by counting the early running fish in Bear River, a once-clear stream that empties into Willapa Bay in the southwest part of Washington. After heavy logging and roading, the resource simply disappeared: "We have this hydraulic thing that pumps eggs out of the gravel so we can check survival rates," Wright says. "We couldn't even sample because the top two feet of spawning area was just gone. Not only were the eggs dead, the substrate the fish used wasn't even there. This has happened all over the state."

Documentation of what mechanized forest removal does to wild salmonids is slightly better in Oregon. But such is Big Timber's political muscle there that mere data doesn't inconvenience it. One of the more obscene examples is the method the industry employs to bind the friends of the Siuslaw National Forest's Mapleton District and force them to watch its ongoing rape.

Mapleton contains our best public steelhead and salmon water south of Alaska, even though its rivers are being buried by clearcut-induced geologic failures. "We're not talking about a little silt," says James Monteith, executive director of the Oregon Natural Resources Council. "We're talking about scouring out whole systems, utter devastation." After a clearcut it takes two or three years for the soil-supporting rootlets to rot away. Then the headwalls just fall into the rivers, sluice them out and settle into the lower reaches, sending the water braiding over or under wide, fish-proof deltas.

In 1985 one such torrent of forest soil—an estimated 100,000 dump-truck loads—slid out from under a clearcut at the source of Mapleton's Gwynn Creek, negotiated the entire four-mile course, crossed Pacific Coast Highway 101 and merged with the sea. Fish habitat was instantly obliterated, fish life instantly excised.

"Thank God this one wasn't started by a clearcut," intoned a Forest Service official, surveying the mess from the highway. He knew that the Gwynn Creek watershed hadn't been logged, save for one patch at the very top, and it was inconceivable to him that a landslide could travel all that distance. But it had.

When fish habitat loss in the Mapleton District reached 52 percent, a coalition of its friends sued the Forest Service, charging: 1) improper environmental review; and 2) that when you kill off more than half the fish you're not practicing multiple-use anymore. "During the lawsuit," recalls Andy Stahl, then a forester with the National Wildlife Federation, "the industry hired a fisheries consultant to go out and show that creeks with landslides were no worse off than creeks without landslides. Trouble was, he couldn't find any of the latter kind."

When the coalition won an injunction that stopped logging on Mapleton pending an environmental impact study, Big Timber

"ONE FLY REELS BY CORTLAND.

Cortland quality . . . it's more than just a line. It's fly reels too! With 5 models in 18 different versions, Cortland reels offer maximum control, reliability and proven performance.

**GREAT LINE
DESERVES
ANOTHER!"**

Cortland's line of fly reels includes the RIMFLY, CROWN II, LTD GRAPHITE, MAGNUM 140, and CRI. From bluegills to bonefish, Cortland has the reel to match your fishing *and* budget!

Fly fish with confidence! Fish with Cortland's complete product line. Our unbeatable selection of leaders, reels, rods, vests, accessories and world famous fly lines means quality performance . . . time after time—line after line!

For more information visit your Cortland Certified Pro Shop™ or write for our free catalog.

CORTLAND

Cortland Line Company and Precision Sports
P.O. Box 5588/Cortland, NY 13045
(607) 756-2851

prevailed on Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield to attach a rider to a federal appropriations bill. This simply proclaimed that the injunction didn't count, that the Forest Service could keep hawking Mapleton's ancient trees, and that US citizens couldn't interfere in court. So the clearcutting, landsliding and fish loss continue. In late September Congress balked at a new Hatfield rider that would have suspended democracy in 13 national forests as well as in Mapleton. But a compromise package imposes unrealistic time limits on citizen lawsuits and court decisions.

IT IS business as usual in our remnant rain forest because the timber industry has learned to do what environmentalists used to be good at—organize at the grass roots. Until the loggers took it literally and started producing carcasses, the industry passed out bumper stickers that read, "Save a logger, shoot an owl." Now the "yellow-ribbon campaign" is interfering with radio reception all over the Pacific Northwest. (You tie the ribbon around your pickup's antenna to show you love loggers and think they should be able to do whatever they want.)

"Timber companies," says Andy Stahl, "are getting to the millworkers and local businessmen with sophisticated letter-writing campaigns. They're appealing to people's basic fears: losing their jobs and houses, making this thing appear to be a class struggle between the haves in the urban areas, the yuppies, the elitist backpackers... and the have-nots, the salts of the earth, the woods workers, the people who know what it is to have to make a living."

During one lawsuit, the industry claimed that 10 mills had shut down because of environmental injunctions. In fact, three of these milled only young hardwood. Two others had never bought a stick of public timber. One was being remodeled with automated equipment so that it could lay off workers. And one had burned to the ground. Meanwhile, the logs that might have kept nine of the mills prosperous were being shipped to Japan and the Far East at a rate of 3.5 billion board feet a year. Export of raw logs, forbidden everywhere on earth save America and Chile, deprived the Northwest of 16,000 jobs in 1988.

According to the American Loggers' Solidarity Committee, environmentalists have infiltrated the (Port Angeles, Washington) *Peninsula Daily News*. Last year, when the paper covered a local logging community's Fourth of July parade it ran a photo of a bearded, beret-topped, flute-playing marcher who was said to be (or at least look like) an Earth Firster. Forthwith, the publisher was deluged with phone calls and letters. Three newspaper boxes were blown up, one twice in 24 hours. Loggers and logging trucks surrounded *Peninsula Daily News* advertisers. Finally, with advertisers and subscribers cancelling, the publisher and managing editor drove out to meet the loggers. What had to happen, said the committee, was: 1) the publisher resign; 2) a grievance screed appear on

page one; 3) the editors eschew AP stories (AP being biased toward the environment); and 4) the reporters generate more pro-logging copy.

Having at last deduced that the publisher could not implement the last three demands if he implemented the first, the loggers allowed him to stay on and push for "more balanced coverage." This he obediently attended to, and nearly lost his newsroom staff in the process.

If beating up a small-town newspaper doesn't sound like much of an accomplishment, consider what Big Timber has just done to *The World of Audubon* TV series. These documentaries are always honest, fair and beautifully photographed. They've won 48 awards. "Ancient Forests: Rage Over Trees," which premiered September 24 on Turner Broadcasting's Superstation, was as honest and fair as any. In fact, in some environmental circles the producer was sharply criticized for letting timber interests do so much talking.

Still, timber companies found the production so poorly done that they couldn't permit the public to watch it. They boycotted Audubon's major funder, Stroh Brewing Company, thereby snatching away the lucrative logger market. And they orchestrated a phone-a-thon to the other corporate sponsors—Ford, Citicorp, Exxon, Sears, Michelin, New York Life, ITT and *Omni* magazine.

Stroh, which was in the process of being consumed by Coors—the anti-environmentalist firm that propelled James Watt to power—called Audubon and told it to sanitize its documentary, three years in the making. Audubon said it just couldn't do that. Four hours later Stroh cancelled funding, not just for "Rage" but for the entire series, leaving the future of Audubon's TV involvement in doubt. All eight of the other sponsors bailed out, too. "We try not to be controversial," purred a Sears spokesman.

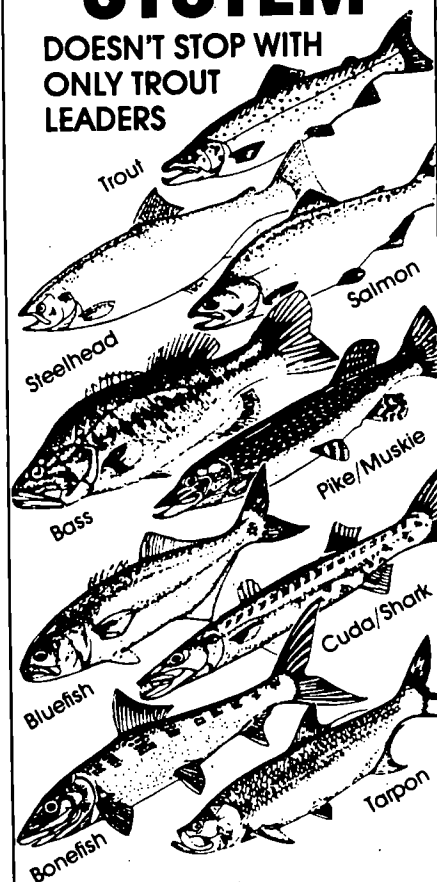
But Ted Turner hung tough, shocking the timber industry by airing "Rage" with no ads and announcing that he was "committed to the goals of Audubon" and that he would "continue to telecast *World of Audubon* specials despite pressure from special-interest groups."

The night after the show, Audubon president Peter Berle (sounding very much out of place in that he speaks intelligently and doesn't whine, shout or interrupt) appeared on *Crossfire* with Bill Grannell, director of the Colorado-based timber coalition that had frightened away all the advertisers. Berle said the American public was more qualified than timber companies to decide which TV programs were good for it. Host Pat Buchanan said all the flap was about a bird (one apparently known only to himself) called the "nocturnal spotted eye" and that environmentalists wanted to "save every single tree because they care more about trees than people." Grannell said his group had kept Audubon from "shutting down the Northwest." The remote control of my television set said "click."

Seeking stimulation, I shuffled to the kitchen to pour myself a beer—not a Stroh. □

THE CLIMAX "SHOCK" LEADER SYSTEM

DOESN'T STOP WITH
ONLY TROUT
LEADERS



THE NEW
CLIMAX II
TIPPET
SPOOLS



goes beyond
amazing
strength-per
diameter; it has minimum
memory, super knot
strength, exceptional high-
abrasion resistance, and
costs about half of what
you would pay for other
brands.

ASK FOR THESE PRODUCTS AT
YOUR LOCAL DEALER

climax®

Fred Arbora's Streamlife Innovations
P.O. Box 4258, Prescott, AZ 86301
(602-778-1870)

JOLENE UNSOELD
3RD DISTRICT, WASHINGTON

1508 LONGWORTH BUILDING
(202) 225-3538

207 FEDERAL BUILDING
OLYMPIA, WA 98501
(206) 752-9528

601 MAIN STREET, SUITE 508
VANCOUVER, B.C. V6B 6B0
(604) 696-7842

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

COMMITTEES:
MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES
FISHERIES AND WILDLIFE
CONSERVATION AND THE ENVIRONMENT
MERCHANT MARINE
EDUCATION AND LABOR
ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY, AND
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
HUMAN RESOURCES
HEALTH AND SAFETY
SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING
HOUSING AND CONSUMER INTERESTS

FAX SHEET

DATE: _____

3/15

PLEASE ROUTE TO: _____

Ken Connally.

OFFICE/ORGANIZATION: _____

V.P. Gore's office

4

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: _____

SUBJECT: _____

map of WA showing C.D.'s

FAX NUMBER BEING SENT TO: _____

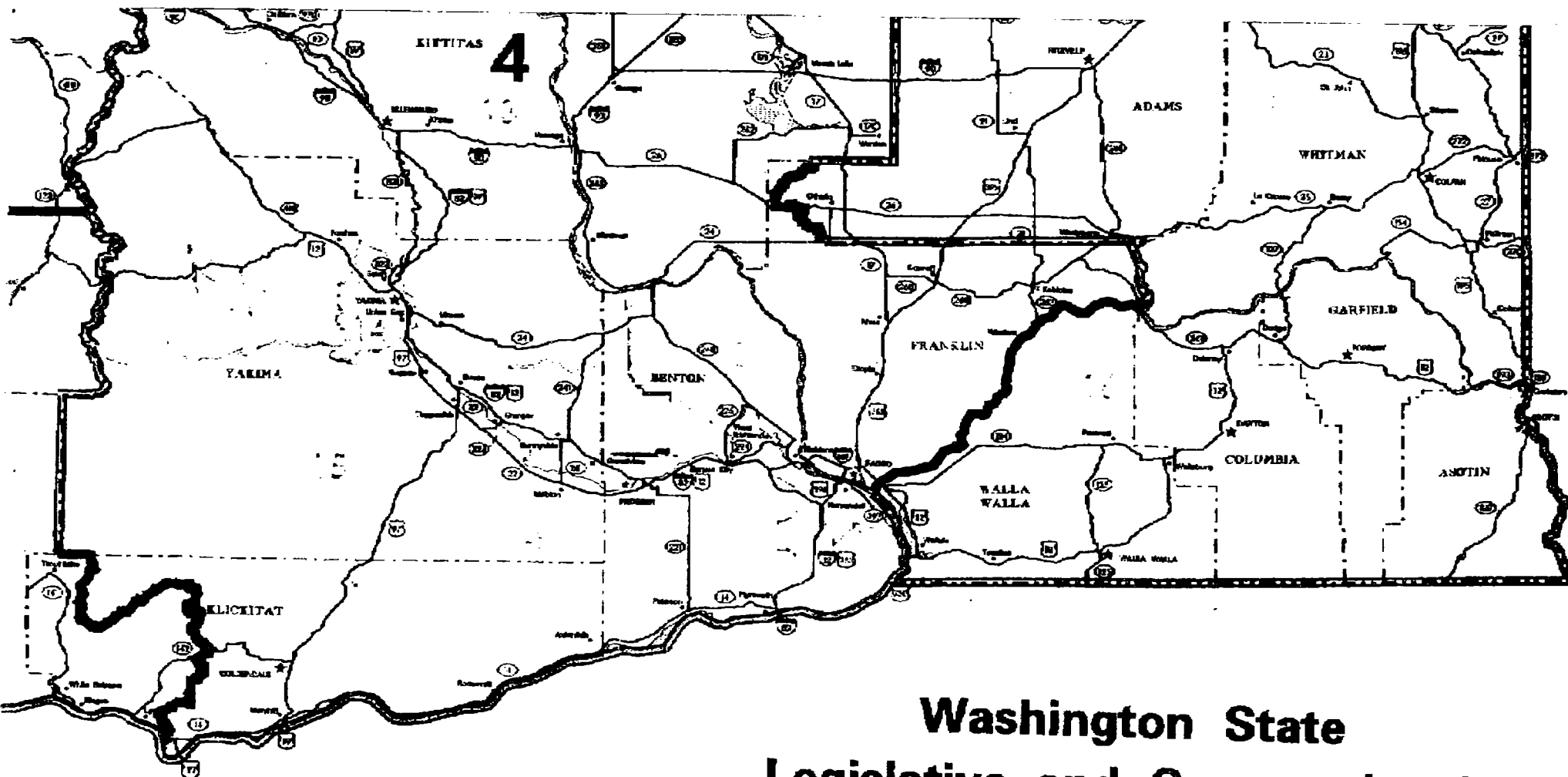
202-456-2710

NAME OF SENDER: _____

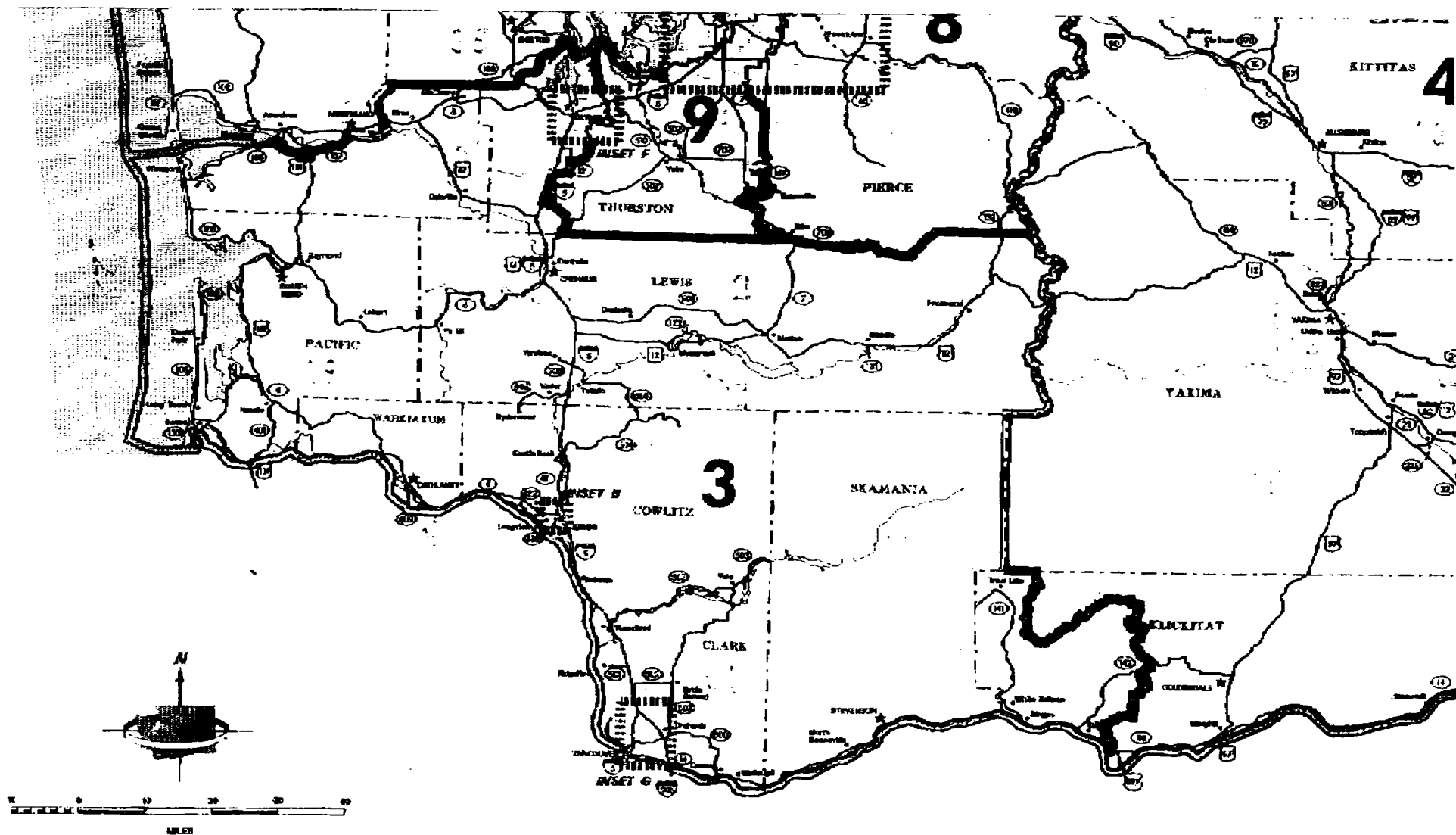
Cong Jolene Unsoeld's office

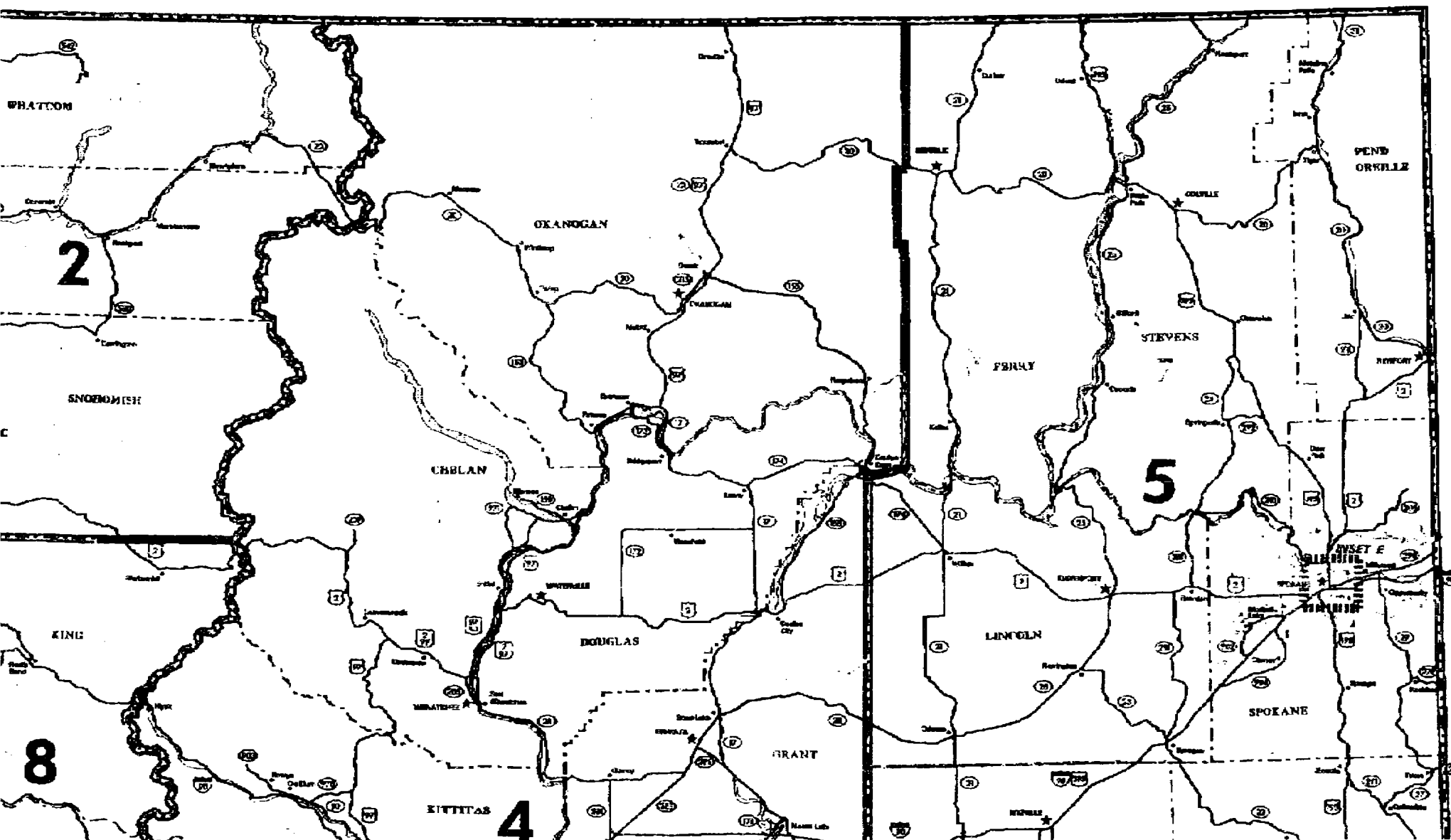
OFFICE/ORGANIZATION: _____

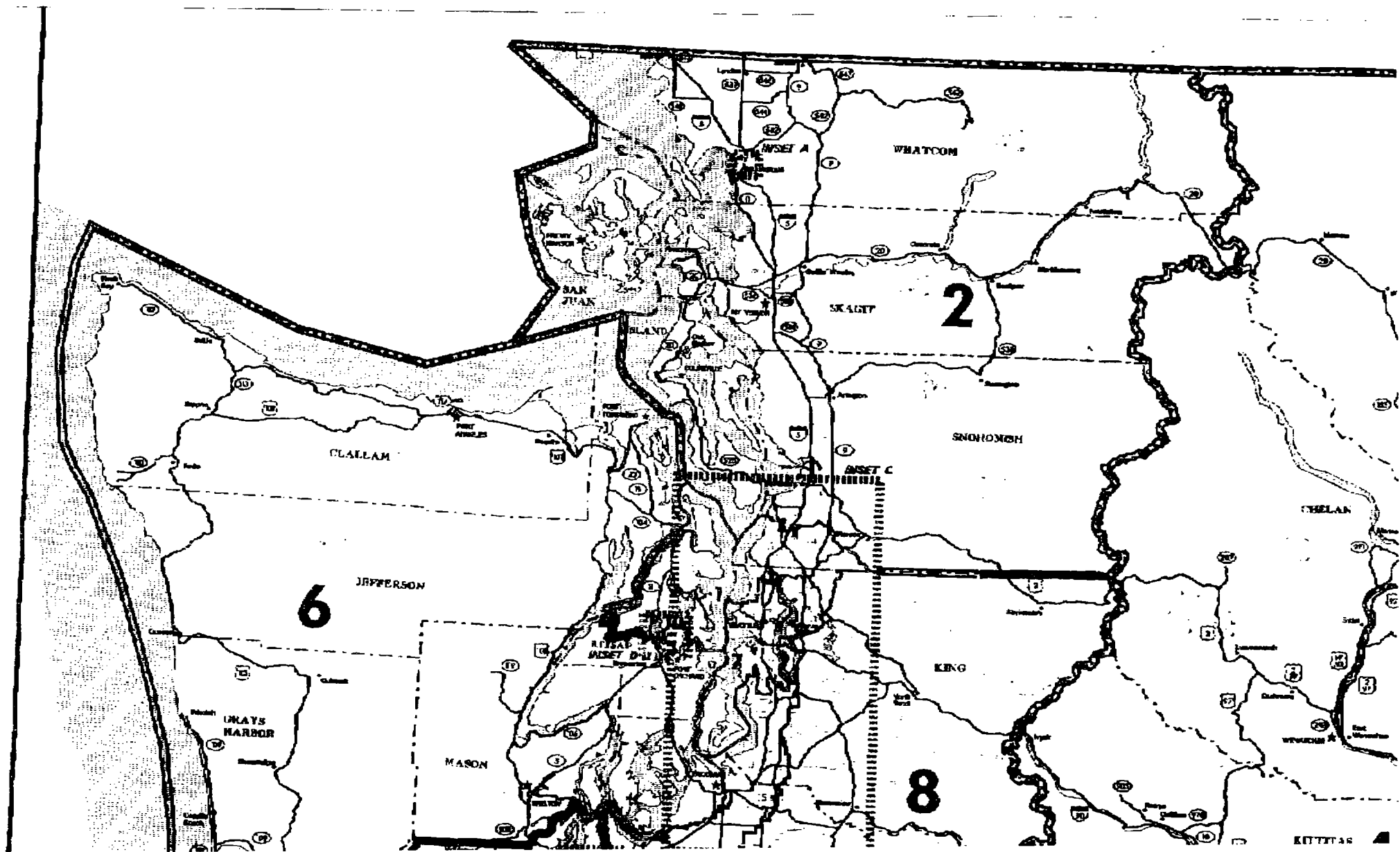
FAX NUMBER: _____



Washington State Legislative and Congressional Districts







One Hundred Years of Compromise

An epic struggle between visionaries and pragmatists has dominated the environmental movement over the last century. Who will control the next?

— By Jay Letto —

JOHN MUIR IS COMING—AND BOY IS HE PISSED. If the turn-of-the-century eco-prophet were resurrected this year—1992 being the 100th anniversary of his founding of the Sierra Club—he would find an environmental movement as fractious, divided and compromised as Jesus would find the Christian church.

Muir, the father of conservation, entertained presidents on wilderness excursions, enlightened literary figures and CEOs alike with unending tirades on the value of wilderness, and was given access to the public via the top media outlets of the day. Yet Muir was both an outspoken pantheist and a radical, unyielding conservationist.

Times have changed. Try to imagine George "The Environmental President" Bush popping the tab on a cool one with Dave Foreman while on an Earth First! retreat in the Southwest. Hardly likely, since the FBI under the Reagan/Bush administrations considers Foreman an eco-saboteur.

The environmental movement has changed as well—grown huge and powerful. It has surged with unprecedented popularity and commands attention from the top levels of government to the richest boardrooms. But what would Muir, philosophizing from a mountain, think of today's environmental movers and shakers? Perhaps he would tell them to shed their three-piece suits, corporate contributions and emphasis on fund-raising, and get out and feel the woods for a few days... then go back and fight—not compromise—for nature.

The changes in Muir's beloved Sierra Club are symbolic of the evolution in leadership at all the big environmental groups: Zealous, uncompromising amateurs have been replaced by pragmatic, accommodating professionals. "If Muir were alive today, he would be talking pretty severely to the Sierra Club," said David Brower, former board member and executive director of the Sierra Club and founder of both Friends of the Earth and Earth Island Institute. Brower, the oft-regarded Muir-reincarnate, once pretended to receive a message from Muir on his computer. In it, Muir said he was

upset with the Sierra Club's hesitancy to work for the restoration of the Hetch-Hetchy Valley in the Sierra high country. The letter ended with Muir threatening to resign as founder of the Club. Brower said that he's about to get another message from Muir, this time on our national forests. "Why can't the Sierra Club be brave on this issue?" Brower asked. "Why do environmental organizations think they have to come up with solutions instead of a position that they will fight like hell for?"

Tim Hermach thinks he has the position to "fight like hell for." Hermach, head of the Native Forest Council, advocates a ban on logging of "all federally-owned virgin and native forests previously unlogged by man regardless of size or fragmentation." The group's petition for a Native Forest Protection Act also calls for bans on slash burning, herbicides, fertilizers and pesticides on federal forest lands; prohibiting or taxing the export of all wood products; allocating funds and incentives for forest rehabilitation; and assistance for timber communities. By most accounts this proposed legislation is the strongest potential protection out there for forests.

But Hermach is having trouble getting support from some of the bigger groups. A letter from a Sierra Club leader to Hermach stated: "[Sierra Club] national staff and local leadership believe that legislation of the type suggested would be counterproductive, go down to defeat quickly and put the whole movement a step backwards."

"Talk about mealy-mouthed rhetoric," Hermach responded. "He ought to be a politician, not a conservationist." Hermach says that the Sierra Club's bill, called the Ancient Forest Protection Act, which is currently the environmentalists' political extreme on forest issues in Congress, is very weak. "All Sierra Club wants to do with old growth is protect some of the remaining ecologically significant tracts in Oregon, Washington and northern California," he explained. They've given up on Montana, Idaho and other states with significant old-growth tracts. "You can't save a cancer patient's life by

incrementally removing the malignant cancers from his body," Hermach declared. "You either go in and take out 100 percent of the malignancies or the patient dies. Today I would charge the Sierra Club with malpractice."

Bruce Hamilton, director of field services for the Sierra Club, explained the club's position. "The clock is ticking," he said. "If we don't quickly pass some legislation, we're going to lose [all the ancient forests]." Furthermore, he added, the politicians know that there is no "scientific" evidence saying that it is essential to save every last tree in order "to protect the spotted owl, the murrelet, the fisher and all the things that are old-growth dependent." So trying to save everything, he explained, "doesn't get you to first base in the political process."

The Ancient Forest Protection Act, which the Sierra Club helped draft, introduced in Congress by Representative Jim Jontz (Dem. of Indiana), "is asking for more than we expect to get," Hamilton said. People who go in and "ask for... no logging anywhere in the National Forests or on the BLM [Bureau of Land Management] lands have immediately cut themselves out," he claimed. "They couldn't even sign on the first Congressman to introduce it... They don't have a legislative strategy, all they have is policy."

But 95 percent of our ancient forests are gone, and, according to Hermach, the Sierra Club still isn't willing to say that we shouldn't lose any more. At the same time, he points out that Brazil has 80 percent left and Sierra Club says Brazil shouldn't lose another tree. "They [Sierra Club] are so addicted to their own self-importance that they can't see how hypocritical and inconsistent that appears," Hermach blasted. "Today the Sierra Club should be called the 'Let's Make a Deal Club' because they are always dealing. They never stay firm. Not behind the Tongass Bill, the Clean Air Act, the 1984 Wilderness Act, and now the Max Baucus Montana Wilderness Bill.... They would rather have lunch with great senators than protect the environment.... John Muir would throw up in disgust."

Sour grapes? Perhaps. But Hermach is also onto something. In fairness to the Sierra Club, most of the other large groups have also made it to the big game, and Muir would be disgusted with them as well. Their insider status and access to top officials have given the groups political credibility and public visibility, and brought the top executives limos and six-figure salaries.

As Dave Foreman, Earth First! co-founder and former environmental "insider," pointed out in *Wild Earth* last summer, the growth of the big groups in recent years caused them to hire "a new breed of professional manager... to manage multi-million dollar budgets." He went on to say that a "conservation group hooked on growth, with a CEO from government or industry, does not want to turn up the heat. Rash or controversial actions could lose soft members and the foundation and corporate grants that the groups increasingly depend upon to fund top-heavy staff and high-profile programs." Even with increased memberships and revenues, he added, "these currents pushed conservation groups to take milder positions and to show greater reluctance in challenging the political and economic

establishment. Indeed, they were becoming part of the establishment, albeit cast as a loyal opposition." Muir would have put it more succinctly: They have become a part of the "gobble gobble school of economics," instead of fighting it.

But how did we get to this point? What's happened to the movement since Muir started it all by saving Yosemite 100 years ago? First, it is a vastly different world today than the one Muir romped through a century ago. Alaska, for instance, was still a vast, unexplored wilderness in Muir's day. Today, environmentalists are trying to save the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, one of the few remaining patches of true wilderness in the US, from oil development. Muir watched Yosemite play host to 2,000 tourists a summer. Now the park somehow accommodates 35 million. Since Muir's death, the world's human population has tripled and has used up four times more resources than in all previous history. And, while the onslaught on wilder-

ness and wildlife may have been predicted by Muir, he could never have imagined the myriad environmental damages inflicted upon the Earth and its inhabitants by the past century's new technologies and proliferation of wastes. Life was much simpler in his day. So was conservation.

The movement has likewise gone through vast changes to continually address new threats and accommodate our new world. The movement grew from simple protection for individual forests and wildlife, to address ecology and whole natural systems, then degradation and human health, and eventually our total global environment.

Shortly after Muir started it all, the government, with Teddy Roosevelt at the helm, took up the cause. Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot, the consummate politician, set the stage for the conservation divisions that have never been bridged: utilitarians versus preservationists, political opinion versus public opinion, professionals versus amateurs. Throughout, the amateurs were led by the visionaries of their day—from Muir and Leopold

to Carson and Brower to Ehrlich and Commoner. By contrast, the professionals were led by the political and economic "realities" of their day. These divisions hold true today and create an anomaly for the big traditional groups. While the staffs consist of professionals catering to political opinion, their members are amateurs looking for visionaries. Needless to say, many members are disgruntled.

The high attrition rate at most of the big groups reflects this. According to Brower, it's around 30 percent, which means the groups have to find hundreds of thousands of new members each year just to hold even. To their delight, however, environmentalism has been so popular the past 25 years, in particular the last few, that this has been no problem. Indeed, with the help of massive direct mail campaigns, they've even doubled, tripled, quadrupled and more their membership sizes and revenues.

According to the American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel, the environmental movement took in \$2.29 billion



Dave Foreman, co-founder of Earth First!

"It is not our job to make the final compromise, our job is to be advocates for the natural world—we speak for wolf."

in 1990. That's almost double 1987 revenues, when the counsel started monitoring environmental giving. The growth of the environmental movement in its first 75 years pales in comparison with the last 25 years. Of the top 25 groups today, only nine were even in existence in 1965. Seven of these old-timers are, by membership numbers and revenue, among the current top 10—National Wildlife Federation, World Wildlife Fund, The Nature Conservancy, National Audubon Society, Sierra Club, Ducks Unlimited and The Wilderness Society. The newcomers rounding out the current top 10 are Natural Resources Defense Council, Environmental Defense Fund and Greenpeace.

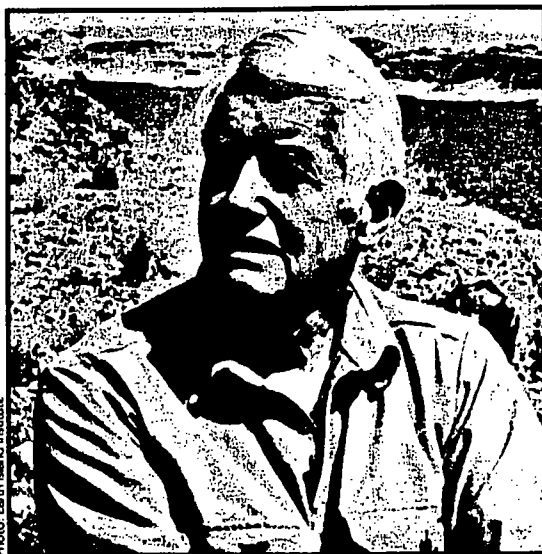
The growth of the movement from 1965 (shortly after Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring* and inadvertently changed the name of the movement from conservation to environment) to its size today is nearly unfathomable. In 1965 there were only a handful of organizations with million-dollar budgets; today there are dozens. The top 10 groups in 1965 together made less than \$10 million; in 1985 they made \$218 million; and in 1990 they made \$514 million, each making well over the total take in 1965. Membership increases for the top 10 are similar: in 1965, less than a half million; in 1985, 3.3 million; and in 1990, 7.2 million members.

Greenpeace, which has grown to become the largest environmental organization ever in the world and (with over 2 million contributors in 1990) has the most US supporters, has managed to accomplish something none of the other big groups has: maintaining its staff's radical-amateur image, while taking in big bucks. For this, and other reasons, Greenpeace may be poised to take over the lead on environmental issues from the traditional groups, if it hasn't already. A recent *Forbes* cover story, which among other things accused Greenpeace of having "Marxist elements" and KGB connections, may be evidence that right-wing, pro-business concerns are worried about the no-compromise group's new leadership role. It was certainly no coincidence that the article was immediately followed by a 20-page advertorial section entitled "The Profit in Preserving America," featuring such environmental stalwarts as Merrill Lynch, Anheuser-Busch and the American Forestry Council, the timber industry group that advocates clearcutting virgin forests. According to Greenpeace International Executive Director Steve Sawyer, Greenpeace is the group these companies would most want to see discredited. His response to the article? "If we didn't get trashed by *Forbes*, I'd be worried that we were getting too mainstream and selling out."

Amid all this growth of the big groups is another phenomenon, one that Greenpeace has been quick to recognize: the proliferation of small grassroots groups organized to address local concerns and specific issues that they feel the nationals are neglecting. The national groups, which once defined the movement, are now only part of it. While environmentalists used to be mainly bearded tree-huggers

and bespectacled bird-watchers, now they are also ghetto mothers who don't want their children eating lead paint, corporate executives breathing smog on a crowded freeway, a gang of Hispanic youths in Brooklyn outraged over toxics in their community, Wall Streeters concerned about asbestos in their kids' schools, and California surfers suing paper companies over water pollution. Increasingly, people are organizing or joining local groups to address their own specific concerns. These are the radical amateurs of the movement, and like the Native Forest Council, they often lock horns with the professionals at the big groups.

While the nationals struggle to keep up with developments in the movement (everything from new global threats voiced by the scientific community, such as loss of biodiversity and the "greenhouse effect," to small-town residents besieged with backyard toxics and lower-income communities demanding environmental equity), grassroots groups are forming coalitions without them.



David Brower, often regarded as Muir-reincarnate.

Compromising wilderness is "just arguing about how much rape, not opposing it."

Last fall, 350 delegates from small organizations across the country gathered in Washington, DC, at the National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit to address the issue of environmental equity with a unified voice. Contending that people of color and low income are disproportionately affected by environmental ills, this movement has grabbed the attention of the nationals, the media and the government. "The summit brought together a diverse group, representing leaders who are out there on the front lines across the country," said Robert Bullard, summit organizer and professor of sociology at the University of California, Riverside. The front lines include inner-city ghettos, Native American reservations, migrant worker-picked farm fields and poor communities across the country. The summit, according to Bullard, seeks to "redefine the environmental movement to include where people live, work and play—all of these together, not separated or compartmentalized."

As far back as 1968, Martin Luther King went to Memphis on an environmental justice issue—working conditions for trash collectors. But African Americans didn't recognize this and other struggles as environmental issues until 1982, when demonstrations against a PCB landfill in rural, largely African-American Warren County, North Carolina, received national attention, Bullard explained. "Here, for the first time, people saw that if they are to achieve any sort of social justice they have to attack environmental racism," he said. But it took a public accusation by Dr. Benjamin Chavis, head of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice—who said in 1990 that environmental groups are racist in their hiring and agenda setting—to get the attention of the traditional white, upper-middle-class environmental movement.

It struck a nerve in the movement. Since then, many groups have hired people of color and started urban environment programs, and many attended the summit. "Environmental

organizations in this country today can no longer ignore people of color and their issues," Bullard proclaimed.

While in 1988, 1989 and 1990 the environmental movement feasted on good economic times and (thanks in large part to the media discovering the issue) unprecedented popularity for the environment, the recession in 1991 (probably with help from the Gulf War and the media's drop in coverage) has knocked the environment out of vogue and taken dollars and members from the big groups. The recession means "more time fund-raising and less time saving the planet," said Sierra Club's Bruce Hamilton. "It's unfortunate," he added, "but we need enough money to keep our lobbyists on the Hill, our organizers in the field, and activist alerts going out to the activists." This is occurring at the outset of what Worldwatch Institute calls the "decisive decade" for saving the planet, citing the immediate need for an "environmental revolution" to stave off social and economic ruin.

To many analysts, the 1990s spell doom for the environmental movement. After the feast, the famine. Already, 1991 was a tough year for both the environment and the groups. The environment took a beating from the Gulf War, Bush's retraction on wetlands policy, the lack of an energy policy, the continued threat to the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, a devastating chemical spill in the Sacramento River, the EPA reassessment of the risks of dioxin, a pro-business attack on the Endangered Species Act, the US continuing to stall the world on carbon dioxide reductions, and on and on. At the same time, National Wildlife Federation cut more than 100 jobs, Earth First! was in the courts instead of the trenches, Sierra Club's payroll shrank 10 percent, Ducks Unlimited announced a \$2 million drop in funds, Greenpeace—citing its unpopular opposition to the Gulf War—had to cut salaries, slash programs and lay off employees, and most of the other groups reported falling revenues and program and staff cutbacks. Even the liberal publication *In These Times* reported last winter, "Global warming notwithstanding, environmentalism is no longer a hot topic."

But, as Mark Twain said in response to his premature obituary, "The reports of my death are greatly exaggerated." The planet may be in big trouble, but the movement isn't dying—it's just changing. Perhaps this shift will mark the beginning of the movement's return to its roots, to the radical amateurs.

Today there exists an unprecedented spectrum of groups that Dave Foreman says has brought things to "a happy boil" in the movement. It is led by what he calls "visionary groups," usually small local or specialty groups, like the newly formed Association of Sierra Club Members for Environmental Ethics. These visionary groups, he said, use a "political approach that dares to demand what was once off-limits," and they "apply the new understandings of conservation biology to practical, on-the-ground preservation proposals and land

management questions." According to Foreman, these groups are "pioneering the ideas, positions and techniques that the large, well-funded and well-staffed national mainstream groups will probably be following in half a decade."

Tim Hermach of the Native Forest Council (one of Foreman's so-called visionary groups) said that if John Muir were here today, he "would tell people to cancel their memberships in the national environmental organizations, because they have become part of the problem, and join the smaller ones with simple, clear, uncompromising messages." This may already be happening: The recession aside, fewer members joining the big groups may mean that more are aligning with the smaller groups.

During tight times, if people are forced to choose between a \$10 membership in a local organization that's headed by their neighbor and is fighting to save their favorite wild place, or a \$30 membership in a faceless national group, it's not too difficult to figure which they will choose. Indeed, as

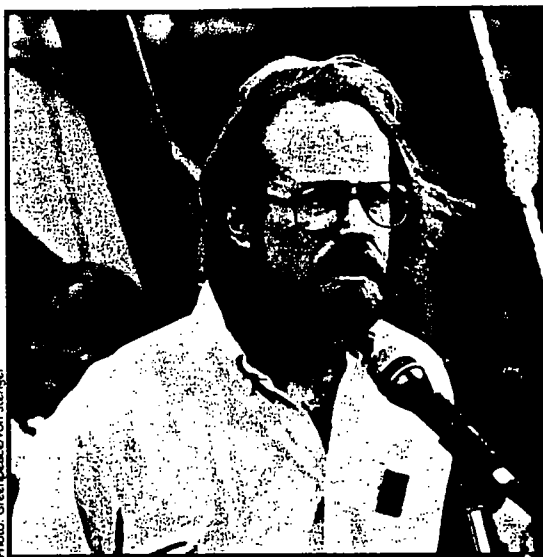
Foreman, Hermach, Bullard and others note, there is no report of a drop-off of members in the smaller or local groups.

Another reason the bigger groups are hurting more than the smaller groups is because "people are tired of the constant direct mail," Foreman said. "They're tired of letting a few professional political technicians handle it all instead of the grassroots. They're tired of the compromise, they want some vision."

What might the big groups do to keep pace with the movement? Even with all their accommodating, politicking and attention to funds, they are still losing money and members. Brower says that he'd like to see the groups halve their fund-raising departments and let the programs bring in money. "They are going into the red now anyway," he said, "so why not do it getting something done?" Foreman says that "the fund-raisers are running the conservation movement today, at least the big groups. You can't run strategy to save the planet with the mind of a fund-raiser."

But maybe the movement needs a mix of visionaries hollering idealistic themes and insiders working deals to win something. Historian Stephen Fox in his widely acclaimed history of the conservation movement, *John Muir and His Legacy*, stated, "On a practical level conservation has been sustained by this interplay between professionals and radical amateurs. Professionals keep the movement organized. Amateurs keep it honest. The ghosts of Muir and Pinchot still wrestle for control—in a fractious but symbiotic embrace."

"We have big groups that don't compromise and small groups that do," Bruce Hamilton of Sierra Club said. "Most of the big organizations—Sierra Club, National Audubon Society, The Wilderness Society and others—go back and forth, depending on what we are trying to do." It is much easier to take a no-compromise position to kill a piece of



Steve Sawyer, Greenpeace International executive director.

"If we didn't get trashed by Forbes, I'd be worried that we were getting too mainstream and selling out."

legislation, like oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, he explained, than it is to pass a piece of legislation, such as a wilderness protection bill. If you want to pass legislation quickly because a certain area is threatened, then you "have to enter into the legislative process, which by its very nature and definition is a process of compromise and give-and-take," he added.

"Every wilderness bill, every park bill, including the original Wilderness Act and National Park Act, were all the products of compromise," Hamilton claimed. The Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980, signed by lame-duck President Carter as Reagan was coming into office, "saved roughly 80 million acres of land in Alaska. It was the environmental act of the century, the biggest land preservation bill ever to pass Congress," he said. "It was a big compromise. We sacrificed all kinds of areas. Lots of Alaskans who were familiar with individual areas that didn't get protected were hopping mad that that bill passed. . . . We hoped to do better, but Ronald Reagan had just won the election, and we knew he was going to screw us. So, we took what we could and got it signed into law. Then we came back later and tried to do more," he added.

Ronald Tipton, director of field programs at The Wilderness Society, said that "there comes a time when the Congress—the decision makers—decide, and environmentalists who are within-the-system advocates" have the job of making the "best possible case for the most possible protection." Tipton said he feels it's important in our society to have environmental values represented inside the rooms, right at the tables, rather than outside the rooms banging on the doors. Meeting face-to-face with decision makers allows environmentalists to educate them on the issues. We can't "leave them in a vacuum with [industry] and government agencies providing all their information," Tipton explained.

Tipton admitted that "it's not that difficult to become too compromise-oriented because you get to the point where you want a decision, a closure. So, there is a danger doing what we do. I don't deny that." He added that "there are definitely times when we've got to say 'No, that's not enough, we're going to fight that.'" In other words, there has to be a point at which the "within-the-system advocates" will walk out of the room.

Hamilton said that it's "beneficial to have a broad spectrum of concerns, especially people who are more protective than us." But, he added, "What I don't find helpful is when we spend lots of time in the press or in front of Congress shooting at each other. . . . We all want to save the ancient forests, we all want to save the atmosphere, we all want to save as much wilderness as we possibly can, but at some point you've got to start the process. . . . It does no good to sit on a mountain and say you should never compromise."

But Muir, the idealist, would have stuck to his guns. He wouldn't compromise away the mountains he sat on. Pinchot, the pragmatist, would. But Pinchot was an insider, a government official. He had to play politics. Muir, as some

suggest environmental groups should be, was an outsider. He had no reason or need to compromise. "Let the people we pay to compromise—the legislature—do the compromising," said Brower, "while we come up with the strongest possible position."

The national groups are "forgetting to use their major weapon—their members," Brower said. "The directors and staff are out of touch with the members. . . . If you have a membership that can fill 10 stadiums, you've got an obligation to take this wealth of talent and find out how to make maximum use of it."

Brower, in a well-circulated 1989 letter to Sierra Club conservation director Doug Scott, presented an eloquent argument against compromise: "My thesis is that compromise is often necessary, but that it ought not originate with the Sierra Club. We are to hold fast to what we believe is right, fight for it, and find allies and adduce all possible arguments for our cause. If we cannot find enough vigor in us or them to win, then let someone else propose the compromise." To Brower, compromising wilderness is "just arguing about how much rape, not opposing it."

Tim Hermach put it another way. The national groups "are willing to compromise when we don't have anything left to compromise over," he stated. "That willingness to compromise is conservation treason. In times of war, soldiers are shot for treasonous behavior. Well, we are in a war, for our planet's environment. And we are all going to die if we lose this war."

"No strategy is working now," Foreman said. "If the insider strategy is working, then where is the old-growth forest? Where are the grizzly bears? Where are the wolves? Why are we constantly losing? We have to remember that it is not our job to make the final compromise, our job is to be advocates for the natural world—we are the ones who speak for wolf." The new conservation movement, Foreman went on, is a return to the "ideals of Thoreau, Muir, Leopold, Marshall and Brower. We have to be practical, realistic and know how to play the game, but we still

need to be guided by the vision of John Muir."

Reflecting on what Muir would say if he were alive today, Brower concluded, "Muir has asked me, 'Why don't these organizations quit following Gifford Pinchot and start following me?'" Good question. 🌿



Tim Hermach, head of the Native Forest Council.

"Today the Sierra Club should be called the 'Let's Make a Deal Club' because they are always dealing."

Jay Letto is an independent environmental consultant and freelance environment and public policy writer.

For further information on the new environmental movement, contact the following:

National People of Color
Environmental Leadership Summit
c/o United Church of Christ
475 Riverside Dr., Ste. 1948
New York, NY 10115
(212) 870-2077

Native Forest Council
P.O. Box 2171
Eugene, OR 97402
(503) 688-2600



Recycled Paper



Recycled Paper

MARK DOWIE • WORLD POLICY JOURNAL

The new face of environmentalism

As big environmental organizations dodder, the movement's energy shifts to the grass roots

Think back 20 years: Environmentalism was winning the hearts of Americans everywhere, with legions of activists countrywide



issuing calls to clean up our land and water and air. Eco-activists stormed Washington, winning powerful new legal and legislative remedies.

Then what happened? Not enough, writes noted investigative reporter Mark Dowie. The big environmental groups got stodgy, mired in Petemas power plays with big business and big government. Dowie credits the nation's thousands of grass-roots groups with keeping environmental hope alive. And if a rambunctious Arkansas citizen's group profiled here is the role model, hope is very much alive.

All is not well in our biosphere. The maladies are well documented and appear to be spreading. The atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide has increased 25 percent over the past century and is now growing at double that rate. The ozone is becoming depleted, greatly increasing skin cancer risks. Flotillas of garbage ride the currents of every ocean. Acid rain is killing lakes on every continent. Dozens of species become extinct every month as deserts in one hemisphere expand and forests shrink in another.

The United States, where almost everyone claims to be an environmentalist, suffers further degradations. Millions of tons of toxic and radioactive waste sit in "storage" with no place left to put them and no known means to recycle them. Landfills are leaking, lakes and bays are dying, groundwater aquifers are poisoned. Every year 2.7 billion pounds of toxics are legally released into our atmosphere, and 150 million American citizens live in communities that don't meet federal air quality standards. Prognoses for the future range from critical to terminal, depending on the



The new environmentalists: Residents of Woodland, North Carolina, oppose a toxic incinerator planned for their community.

ecologist consulted. How can all this be happening when environmentalism has become so entrenched in our culture? Everywhere we turn, citizens are recycling, businesses are bragging about their environmental policies, and politicians of all ideological stripes are discussing ecological concerns in the same reverential tones once confined to discussions of motherhood. Why, after two decades of intensive, well-funded activity, hasn't the American environmental movement made far more significant progress?

Any thoughtful look at the American environmental movement as a whole would reveal cause for hope: It is vast, ideologically diverse, and draws on the energy of millions of people with plenty of passion, determination, and vitality. But, unfortunately, the movement rarely taps the energy of its grass-roots supporters. Environmentalism's financial resources and decision making are concentrated in a dozen or so large national organizations—including the Environmental Defense Fund, the National Wildlife Federation, the Wilderness Society, the Audubon Society, the Natural Resources Defense Council, the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, the Nature Conservancy, the World Wildlife Fund, the World Resources Institute,

and the National Parks and Conservation Association—all centered, if not headquartered, in Washington, D.C. These groups, most of them quasi-membership organizations staffed by lawyers and management school graduates, have led the U.S. environmental effort over the past 20 years.

While "the nationals," as they are known, can take credit for many of this century's environmental

Why, after two decades of well-funded activity, hasn't the environmental movement made more progress?

accomplishments, they must also share the blame for the troubling setbacks the environment has suffered, particularly during the past 10 years, when so many of the movement's earlier triumphs were undone by the Reagan and Bush administrations. During those years, when environmental conditions and political circumstances required new strategies and tougher tactics,



We Shall Overcome
(clockwise from top): Local residents join with actor Martin Sheen to protest a hazardous waste incinerator in East Liverpool, Ohio; opponents of a nuclear dump in Millsboro, New Hampshire, and residents of East Harlem in New York City draw attention to pollution in their neighborhood.

most of the mainstream organizations lost the momentum they had developed over the previous decade. In a desperate drive to win respectability and access around Washington, these groups pursued a course of accommodation and capitulation with elected officials, regulators, and polluters.

In the face of worsening conditions all over the planet, rapid and radical changes must be made in the priorities, structure, and tactics of the national environmental organizations. Otherwise, as the space for compromise narrows, the nationals will continue their evolution toward becoming a weak and superfluous interest group, absorbing almost 90 percent of environmental contributions and doing less and less with that money to protect the environment.

The tactics needed to revive the environmental crusade—less reliance on regulatory legislation and



more direct confrontation with polluters—are being pursued today only at the grass-roots level of the movement. Mainstream environmentalists need to abandon their faith in the ability to contain pollution and adopt, instead, an approach that favors preventing pollution. Mainstream leaders must also question whether current economic policies are compatible with the goal of a healthy environment. Time is running out for a movement that refuses to take a new look at its mission.

To be fair, the achievements of the national environmental organizations have not been insignificant. By educating their vast memberships

©1991 PIET VAN LIER / IMPACT VISUALS (LEFT), IMAGE WORKS (RIGHT)

©1992 DAVID VITA / IMPACT VISUALS

and the public at large, organizations such as the Sierra Club, the Natural Resources Defense Council, the Audubon Society, and the Wilderness Society have placed the environment near the top of the national political agenda.

Tens of millions of acres have been added to the federal wilderness system, environmental impact assessments are now required for all major developments, and several lakes that were declared dead are living again. The nationals can also take credit for lowering the lead content of blood, saving several species from extinction, and virtually eliminating strontium-90 from cow's milk and children's bones.

However, the environmental legislation that emerged in the movement's early days was filled with loopholes that could be exploited by the battalion of lobbyists that industry sent to Washington. In response, the movement concentrated its energies in Washington to protect its gains, hiring more lawyers and business school graduates to replace the impassioned amateurs who had once run their organizations.

To grass-roots activists around the country, the environmental movement began to look less like a social cause and more like any other special interest group playing by the rules and in the style of Washington, D.C.

Compromise, of course, is the lifeblood of democratic government and a necessary pattern of any strategy for social change. But when Reagan and company took over Washington in 1981, they made it clear they intended to make no compromises with the Sierra Club and other environmental groups they had campaigned against as "elitists."

The nationals' response was weak and inadequate. Their retreat, going on at the same time as the federal environmental enforcement mechanism was being gutted under James Watt, was symbolized in a 1986 report, "An Environmental Agenda for the Future," issued by a group of ten environmental organizations (G-10). The report conceded a lot of ground to the conservatives, treating environmental pollution as a technological rather than a political challenge. The implied solutions to all ecological problems were good science and resource management. Controversial subjects and sacred cows, such as nuclear energy, were avoided completely.

The G-10 report authors

SAUGERTIES
OR RECYCLING
IS NOT BURNING

seemed fearful of alienating "friends" they had made on Capitol Hill and in industry. They refused to criticize U.S. dependency on petrochemicals or the nation's disastrous transportation policy and offered no strong recommendations in support of increased reliance on renewable energy, organic farming, sustainable-yield logging, or mass transit. Ironically, as the national environmental organizations grew more timid in their tactics and goals, their direct mail solicitations to the public grew tougher and more outspoken.

In more than 100 million prospect letters mailed

The big Washington eco-groups pursued a course of accommodation with officials, regulators, and polluters.

in the early Reagan years, G-10 groups exploited the "Watt factor"—and citizens responded. The membership rolls of these organizations skyrocketed, and millions of dollars poured into environmental coffers. But was this money wisely spent?

More lobbyists and lawyers were hired. More amendments were drafted and lawsuits filed. On the battlefield, however, little changed. The legislative/litigative strategy remained central. In the face of the clear Reagan assault, there had never been a better



A contingent of protestors, aged 63 to 87, handcuffed themselves to a bridge in Canaan, New York, to block access to a proposed nuclear waste dump. They raised a banner proclaiming themselves "Grandparents for the Future." All were arrested. In response to this and other protests in the area, the state of New York is suing the federal government over nuclear waste siting policies.

time in the history of the environmental movement to initiate aggressive litigation against intransigent regulators, conduct mass demonstrations, organize consumer boycotts, file shareholder suits, and impose non-violent direct action against polluters. Instead the environmental mainstream blinked.

The main problem with emphasizing regulatory legislation is that it stimulates a potent antibody—the industrial lobby. No matter how big and clever environmental groups become, when it comes to lobbying Congress they will always be outmaneuvered and outspent by chemical manufacturers, oil companies, big agriculture, timber interests, and their respective political action committees.

Some environmentalists are finally beginning to realize that they can't compete with the industrial lobby on the playing fields of Capitol Hill. A few, most notably the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth, are



Rubacalua Macias, member of a church-based community organization in El Povenir, Mexico, fights pollution on both sides of the Rio Grande.

economic "realities" of Wall Street as well.

In the early part of this century, the first wave of modern environmentalism ushered in the era of land and wildlife conservation; the second wave arrived with Earth Day and the landmark pollution

beginning to consider more confrontational tactics. Unfortunately, most of the G-10 organizations are moving in the opposite direction. "Conservationists have just got to learn to work with industry," proclaimed Audubon's Don Naish when Mobil Oil was allowed to drill for oil under an Audubon bird sanctuary in Michigan. (Audubon today collects over \$400,000 a year from that and similar lease agreements.) The Audubon-Mobil accord was symptomatic of a lamentable new trend in U.S. environmental history. After having acquiesced to the political "realities" of Washington, the environmental movement is now accommodating the

The grass-roots anti-environmental movement

The wise-use movement takes aim at "environmental elitists"

A DETERMINED BAND OF ACTIVISTS IS WORKING—with help from the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church and oil, mineral, and timber companies—to block environmentalists who wish to promote more sustainable management of America's public lands. The coalition hopes to unite business interests with farmers, ranchers, snowmobilers, motorcyclists, and hunters. By some estimates, that's a potential anti-environmental constituency of more than 50 million Americans.

This anti-environmental movement rallies supporters under the

banner of "wise use" or "multiple use" of public lands. Wise-use activists employ a number of familiar right-wing tricks to stampede people into action. They equate environmental protection with lost jobs, question the Christian morality of their opponents, raise gas-guzzling to the level of a constitutional right, and elevate anti-intellectualism to a virtue.

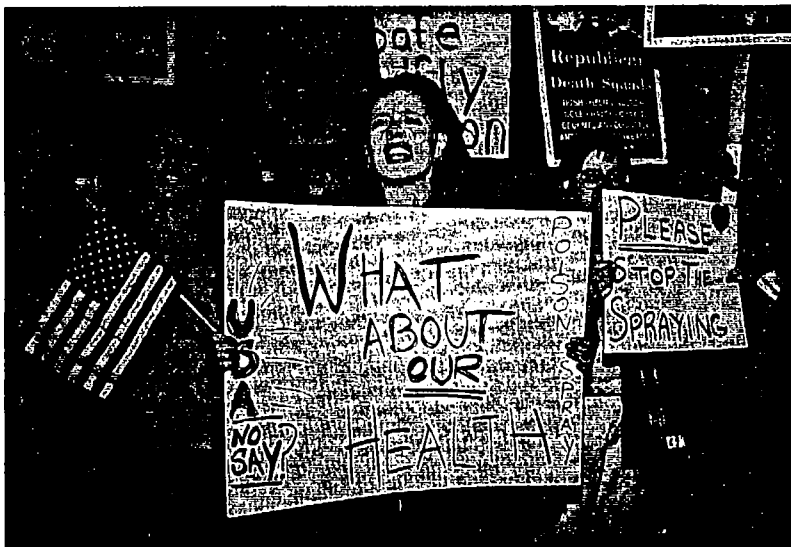
Conservative activists Alan Gottlieb and Ron Arnold coined the term "wise use." In 1989 they published a slim volume called *The Wise Use Agenda* that lists 25 goals, including: open all public lands—

including wilderness areas and national parks—to mineral and energy production; rewrite the Endangered Species Act to remove such "non-adaptive species as the California condor"; make almost anyone protesting corporate activities liable for civil damages; prescribe immediate logging of all old-growth forests; and build national-park concessions under the direction of "private firms with expertise in people moving such as Walt Disney."

Who'd sign on to such an agenda? George Bush, for one. The *Agenda's* cover features a photo of Gottlieb and Bush in a warm embrace. Also listed inside are sympathetic organizations such as the Du Pont company, the National Rifle Association, James Watt's Mountain States Legal Foundation, and Exxon Corporation's exploration and drilling subsidiary Exxon Co. USA. But some 200 tiny clubs signed on, too, mainly recreationists

control legislation of the 1970s. The "third wave" of environmentalism, according to conservatives in the movement like Fred Krupp at the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) and Jay D. Hair at the National Wildlife Federation (NWF), is the belief that market-based initiatives should, whenever possible, be used in lieu of regulation to induce industry to pollute less.

One innovation popular among third-wave environmentalists is the use of "pollution credits." If a firm wishes to pollute in excess of tolerated allowances, it must purchase credits from another firm that does not need them. Pollution is thus made more costly, the argument goes, driving inefficient producers from the market. This approach makes some sense in theory but in practice it is flawed. As long as a business can afford to buy these rights, pollutants are still being belched into the atmosphere, only from a different location—all too often in a poorer and less politically empowered area of the country. Moreover, even if this approach can be made to work



George Bush was the protest target for a crowd outside a Republican Party fundraiser at Los Angeles' Century Plaza Hotel. Many Southern California residents were angry about the pesticide Malathion being sprayed by the government near their homes.

in some cases it is doubtful whether it can ultimately be applied to any but a limited number of pollutants. Every day industry releases into the environment a multitude of hazardous substances, only

with such titles as the Treasure Valley Trail Machine Association, the Missoula Snowgoers, and the Yakima Valley Dust Dodgers—the "grass roots" of the anti-environmental movement.

Ron Arnold, a former Sierra Club member, defines the fight as class warfare. The environmental movement, he says, is made up of "rich, educated people so high up the needs hierarchy that they actively seek to mock and disdain the lower needs, such as food and shelter." Now, he says, "loggers who have an average education of the ninth grade are trying to figure out why these educated people want to put them out of work."

"We're living in a full-stomach America," complains Mike Nickols, a wise-use activist who is a slash contractor to the timber industry in Montana, "and they're after cake and ice cream while we're scrambling for meat and potatoes."

"It's very serious, very ugly," says John Gatchell, program director for the Montana Wilderness Association. The wise-use movement "is deliberately and purposefully trying to drive a wedge between people who should be natural allies. Tree huggers and tree cutters both have an interest in sustained yield [of forests]. The wise-use folks are trying to make out as though it's un-Christian to have a reverence for nature."

Arnold says corporate sponsorship of wise-use activities has been thin. "They're scared of us," he claims. "We've gotten no more than \$500 in contributions from any one company." But Exxon, Chevron, and the timber giant Georgia Pacific helped sponsor the third annual Wise Use Conference in Salt Lake City in April 1990. And Kawasaki, Yamaha, and Honda have given substantial support.

Wise-use activists vehemently

deny any support from the Unification Church and carefully guard their financial secrets. But one of the biggest promoters of the wise use philosophy is the arch-conservative American Freedom Coalition (AFC), with 300,000 members and offices in all 50 states. According to AFC president Robert Grant, almost one-third of all the money the AFC has collected since it was founded three years ago has come from Unification Church "business interests." Gottlieb and Arnold both admit they have served on AFC advisory boards.

—Margaret Knox
The Progressive

Excerpted with permission from The Progressive (Oct. 1991). Subscriptions: \$30/yr. (12 issues) from Box 421, Mount Morris, IL 61054-0421. Back issues: \$3 from 409 E. Main St., Madison, WI 53703.



a small fraction of which are currently regulated.

This points to a deeper problem with the idea of pollution credits: It is a piecemeal approach to environmental protection. If you really want to eliminate hazardous substances, you have to eliminate them at the source, which involves looking

at the nature of the production technology itself. It would be far more effective, for instance, to encourage increased reliance on public transportation within urban

areas than to encourage the auto industry to lower carbon-dioxide emissions.

Blue-collar environmentalists who struggle against polluters close to home are particularly incensed by the third-wavers' assumption that industry has a preordained right to pollute their neighborhoods. Environmental organizations adopting market-based tactics risk losing the confidence of supporters at the grass-



Doris McFadden and Lora Poncik of Defenders of the Environment investigate toxic seepage in Brazoria County, Texas.

roots level. Yet they will gain new supporters. Some of the worst environmental offenders—Du Pont, Chevron, Monsanto, and Waste Management Corporation—have become some of the largest environmental donors. Third-wave organizations, particularly EDF, NWF, and the World Wildlife Fund, are among the largest recipients of corporate largess. Jay Hair at NWF invented a particularly creative mechanism to attract corporate money, the Corporate Conservation Council, to which Du

Pont, Monsanto, and others pay \$10,000 membership fees for the right to attend occasional enviro-seminars. Last year the World Wildlife Fund received donations of over \$50,000 each from the Chevron and Exxon corporations. These funding sources are sure to have an impact on the policies and directions of these organizations.

But the G-10 environmental organizations—despite their financial might and connections on Capitol Hill and corporate boardrooms—do not reflect the full extent of America's environmental movement.

The heart of American environmentalism is the thousands of regional, local, and often ad hoc groups that spring up almost spontaneously to confront a particular environmental assault—a toxic-waste dump in rural Arkansas, an ocean incinerator off the coast of Texas, a pesticide sprayer in California's Central Valley, a refinery in New Jersey, or a shipment of hot nuclear waste through small towns in Wyoming. In recent years, grass-roots environmental groups have popped up in many of the low-income, blue-collar neighborhoods that suffer from the highest concentrations of toxic pollution. Unlike the mainstreamers, a majority of grass-roots environmentalists are women and a significant number are people of color.

Grass-roots activists complain that the national organizations are arrogant, elitist, insensitive to local efforts, and more concerned with wildlife than with human life. At best the nationals are seen as service organizations providing occasional legal or moral support to grass-roots projects. When nationals do get involved in local campaigns, however, decisions are often made in Washington, where deals are struck in private without local consultation and without concern for local consequences. Sometimes national organizations even take undeserved credit for grass-roots triumphs.

In a particularly egregious example, the



A tree grows in Detroit: Inner city kids take part in Earth Day activities.

©1992 SHARON STEWART / IMPACT VISUALS

JIM WEST

©1990 JIM WEST

Environmental Defense Fund began negotiations with McDonald's in 1990 over the use of styrofoam containers only after Lois Gibbs, the pioneer Love Canal activist who founded Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes, had been conducting a consumer campaign

When it comes to lobbying Congress, environmental groups will always be outspent.

against the fast-food chain for several months. When she discovered that McDonald's was planning to place small incinerators behind every outlet to burn styrofoam instead of sending it to landfills, Gibbs persuaded children from every state to send their used containers to the corporate headquarters. Every day, thousands of smelly styrofoam "clamshells" inundated the McDonald's corporate mail room. In desperation, McDonald's approached EDF's Fred Krupp, who quickly negotiated an agreement in which McDonald's agreed to switch to coated paper containers (only a slight



Suburban families in Pasadena, California, protest pesticide use near their homes.

ecological improvement over styrofoam). Not only did Krupp negotiate a soft deal, but EDF took credit in future promotions and press releases for McDonald's decision, never mentioning the indispensable role played by Gibbs and aggressive consumer activism.

Without a deep organizational and cultural transformation, then, the mainstream environmental movement is unlikely to transcend its current status as a narrowly focused interest group of the white upper middle class. This limits its public appeal, political strength, and overall vision. To make an effective start in reversing the ecological calamities at home and abroad, the American environmental movement must develop into a broad-based,

multiethnic movement that takes a long-term global view, challenges prevailing economic assumptions, promotes environmental protection as an extension of human rights, and engages in direct action when necessary. It must become, in short, a movement that expresses the urgency of grass-roots environmental causes such as Love Canal and applies these three lessons to its overall strategies:

- Politicians cannot be trusted to solve environmental crises. Overreliance on Washington for solving problems is what allowed Ronald Reagan and George Bush to be so effective in stymieing environmental progress.

- Controlling pollution, as opposed to eliminating pollutants, is a waste of time. Barry Commoner, the environmental scientist, observes that lead has been sharply reduced in the atmosphere only because the government eliminated, not merely reduced, its use in gasoline and paint. To ensure the elimination rather than mere reduction of hazardous by-products, the use of environmental impact statements must be extended not only to construction projects, but also to new inventions and new technologies.

- Just as the civil rights movement challenged the basic orientation of all institutions, environmentalists need to question the basic economic orientation of all industrial societies (capitalist and socialist)—even if it means losing corporate and conservative foundation support. With prevailing economic systems in various degrees of disarray, the entire environmental movement—with its multipartisan appeal—is uniquely positioned to serve as a vehicle for a newly ordered society.

Excerpted with permission from World Policy Journal (Winter 1991/92). Subscriptions: \$23/yr. (4 issues) from World Policy Journal, World Policy Institute, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10164-0339. Back issues: \$6.75 from same address.

Environmental Resource Guide

Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous Wastes, Box 6806, Falls Church, VA 22040; 703/237-2249. Telephone referral to a contact person in each state.

National Toxics Campaign, 1168 Commonwealth Av., Boston, MA 02134; 617/232-0327. Telephone referral to regional contact people.

Saving the Neighborhood: You Can Fight Developers and Win! by Peggy Robin (\$16.95, Woodbine House, 5615 Fishers Lane, Rockville, MD 20852; 301/468-8800). A how-to guide on having a say in what happens to your community.

Organizing for Social Change, A Manual for Social Activists in the 1990s by Kim Bobo, Jackie Kendall, and Steve Max (\$19.95, Seven Locks Press, Box 27, Cabin John, MD 20818; 301/320-2130). Another how-to guide on organizing your neighbors. Emerging from almost 20 years of experience training 20,000 activists at the Midwest Academy, this is a comprehensive manual for grass-roots organizers working for social and environmental change.

The Great Tree Robbery

The New York Times

By Tim Hermach

NEXT week, the House Subcommittee on Civil Service is expected to meet with top Forest Service officials to determine whether the Bush Administration has put pressure on Government employees to permit increased logging on Federal lands.

The answer is "yes." In his decision May 23 to temporarily halt logging in parts of the Northwest, William L. Dwyer, a Federal judge in Seattle, suggested that excessive logging was "not the doing of scientists, foresters, rangers and others at the working levels of these agencies. It reflects decisions made by higher authorities in the executive branch of Government." The forced resignation last month of John W. Mumma, a regional forester widely regarded as an opponent of increased logging, seems to support Judge Dwyer's argument.

The Forest Service and big timber companies have tried to justify the logging of public lands by focusing on the effects reduced logging would have on local economies. They have pitted humans against endangered species. But the preservation vs. jobs debate is an attempt to distract us from the economic realities that both the Forest Service and the lumber firms would rather keep hidden.

First is the Forest Service's program of subsidized timber sales to the logging industry. Our tax dollars pay for mapping, logging roads and other services that make it more profitable for companies to log public lands than their own. Without this, the timber companies would be forced to make their profits by cutting privately owned lands, which account for 85 percent of the U.S. timber supply.

Further, the Forest Service subsidies violate free enterprise principles and harm the economy: the sales from national forests have devalued timber on private lands, putting small tree growers out of business.

As for employment, the numbers are plain enough. Oregon's Department of Employment reports that from 1977 to 1987, the state lost more than 12,000 jobs in logging and wood processing. This 15 percent drop accompanied a 10 percent increase in wood taken from national forests.

Why? Because at least 60 percent of all Northwest timber is exported unfinished. Like a third world colony, we have turned what's left of our national forests into a source of raw materials for others.

The Forest Service follies have other economic liabilities. According to Forest Service figures for 1990, total revenues from forest-related tourism, hunting and other forms of recreation were \$122 billion, while logging receipts from the nations' public forests and industries were \$13 billion. Few if any tourists will want to visit the ruined forests, clearcuts and tree farms that take the place of old-growth forest land.

Finally, there are the effects of unbridled cutting. Forests are the world's lungs, drawing in carbon dioxide and releasing oxygen. They collect and store rainfall for slow release during dry spells. Losing them means losing their salutary effects on the world's climate and atmosphere.

An end to logging on public lands would make small tree growers viable again by ridding the market of unfair, taxpayer-subsidized competition. The money now spent to prop up Forest Service timber sales could go directly to the employment of loggers and others involved in the planting and restoration of native forests and fisheries. It takes more jobs to rehabilitate a forest than to destroy it.

Native forests could vanish by the year 2000.

More important, all this comes at a time when less than 5 percent of the forest that once covered North America remains. Just 1 percent is protected, while the rest, primarily our national forests, is falling at the rate of nearly a million acres each year — twice as fast as Brazil's rain forest. And while 80 percent of Brazil's rain forest still stands, at current rates, the unprotected remnants of America's forests could be totally fragmented and gone by the year 2000.

In 1989, George Bush said: "The forests are the sanctuaries not only of wildlife, but also of the human spirit. And every tree is a compact between generations." Let's stop logging on public lands and put our forest policies in line with our rhetoric. □

OP-ED TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1991

Tim Hermach is president of the Native Forest Council, which seeks to protect the national forests.

OPINION USA

Odds favor loggers in owl decision

INTERVIEW

Andy Kerr and Tim Hermach say the spotted owl is like a canary in a coal mine: It's warning our forests are being mismanaged.

Q: Will the Bush administration's "God squad" exempt spotted owls from the Endangered Species act to allow logging in its Northwest habitat?

Kerr: If they were making their decision based on the standards in the law, there is no question they would reject the exemption. But the decision is a political one.

Q: A decision is expected Thursday. Why are you so pessimistic?

Kerr: Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan Jr. is working to clear the way for timber cutting in seven square miles of forest that the Fish and Wildlife Service has found to be critical to the spotted owl. The owl essentially would be isolated and cut off from a significant portion of its range.

Q: If Lujan gets his way?

Kerr: It would mean the owl has less chance of continued existence.

Q: Are there alternatives?

Kerr: Our attorneys are confident we can overturn an exemption in the courts.

Q: What's so important about these owls? Why care?

Kerr: Life will go on without the owl. But the owl is like a canary in a coal mine. It is telling us there is something very wrong with the way we are managing our forests. And besides, these public forests belong to all the people. They aren't just for the local benefit of the timber industry.

Q: Is this a warning to people in the Northwest, or people across the USA?

Kerr: The Forest Service is increasingly using clear-cutting throughout national forests across the nation, causing a reduction of biological diversity.

Q: Is the spotted owl controversy diverting public attention from what's going on in forests in other states?

Kerr: I wish the debate were more focused on ecosystems. There are lots of species in trouble. But we wouldn't be having this debate if we hadn't brought litigation on the owl.

Andy Kerr is director of conservation and education for the Oregon Natural Resources Council in Portland. Tim Hermach founded the Native Forest Council four years ago in Eugene, Ore. These are excerpts from their interview by USA TODAY's editorial board and news staff about the battle over preserving the habitat of the endangered spotted owl.

Q: What's happening in other national forests?

Hermach: There are national forests in 40 states. They're all scheduled for logging. None of these national forests is off-limits to logging. Claims are made that they're not clear-cutting anymore. But believe me, all the different names they use — it looks like clear-cutting where they missed a few trees.

Kerr: This new forestry is simply a kinder and gentler rape. All of those green areas on the map that people think are just a slightly different shade of green than a national park, most are being logged.

Q: Name some examples.

Hermach: Oak trees in the Quachita in Arkansas and Missouri are being chained and burned so they can replant them with hybrid pines. The Oglala in Nebraska is suffering a pounding. The Shawnee in Indiana is getting hammered to death. The two national forests in Florida have been converted to pulp farms. The George Washington in Virginia and White Mountains of New Hampshire are slated for clear-cutting.

Q: Should logging be banned on all federal lands?

Hermach: A study came out of Oregon State University last year that said the little old-growth, primary, native forests — whatever you like to call them — regardless of age, size or condition left across the USA are far too precious to continue logging. All we've advocated is federal lands not be converted to tree farms, be taken out of the market competing with the private sector.

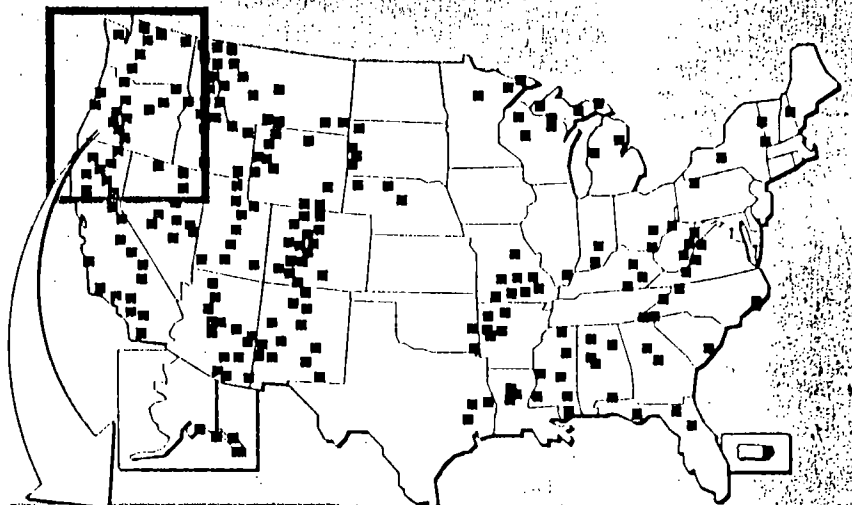
Kerr: It will be good for forests, it will be good for the species that depend on them. It will be good for the generations to come. It will be good for jobs and the economy. It will be good for the atmosphere. Ending the logging of virgin forests is radical in a near-term political context, but over time, the American people will see the necessity of it.

Q: What do you say to people whose livelihood depends on the logging industry?

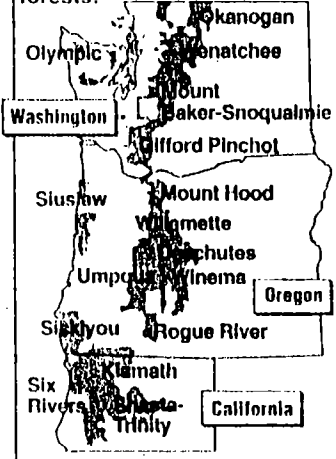
Hermach: We're talking about short-term jobs that are going to be gone anyway. Why? Because the trees are almost gone. Not because of environmental protection. Not because of anything sensible that we've done. It's because we've done the unsensible things, the unintelligent things, and we've liquidated almost this nation's entire forest.

Declining national forests

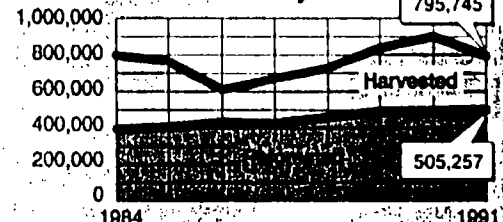
Thursday a Cabinet-level panel of federal officials will say whether logging will continue in the Northwest's national forests that are home to endangered spotted owls.



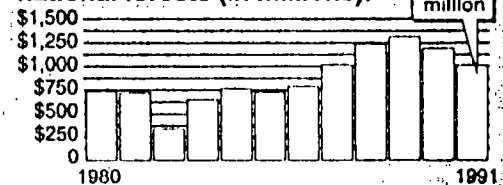
Congress may protect portions of these national forests:



Acres of national forests harvested and reforested annually:



Income for timber taken from national forests (in millions):



Source: U.S. Forest Service

By Elys A. McLean, USA TODAY

Saving spotted owl destroying families

Court injunctions banning timber harvesting on public lands are destroying families in the Northwest, according to Mark Rey, executive director of the American Forest Resource Alliance.

"What we're doing is essentially creating an Appalachia in the Pacific Northwest," he says.

The debate pits environmentalists — who say the old-growth forest and its inhabitants will soon be extinct — against the timber industry and communities dependent on logging for jobs.

Hardest hit are workers who rely on timber to make

a living.

"If you spend a lot of time in the woods, you'll see one endangered species, the spotted owl. But if you're driving through town, you can see another endangered species: an 8-year-old girl. Her father's an out-of-work logger. An 8-year-old's well-being ought to count for as much as the value of a spotted owl."

Legislation being considered in Congress to save the spotted owl is not an honest attempt to resolve the owls-vs.-jobs issue between environmentalists and timber interests, says Rey.

The Old Growth Forest

Reserve Act would preserve millions of acres of public forest to protect the endangered owl. The bill also would provide federal funds for job training and community-assistance programs in northern California, Oregon and Washington.

"It is probably the worst bill so far," he says. "Rep. George Miller's bill cannot reasonably be considered an attempt at compromise."

According to the American Forest Resource Alliance, the bill could result in 147,000 lost jobs and \$6 billion in lost income.

— Debbie Malo

Q: If you stop the cutting, is there any new opportunity for those loggers who lose work?

Hermach: We're currently sending \$3.5 billion a year to the Forest Service for its budget. We could take a small portion of that and employ every dislocated logger, restoring watersheds, undoing stream damage that's killing fisheries, etc.

There's lots of employment. They don't have to be retrained. They can continue working in the woods.

Q: Would legislation working its way through Congress to preserve millions of acres of Northwest forest for at least three years be any help?

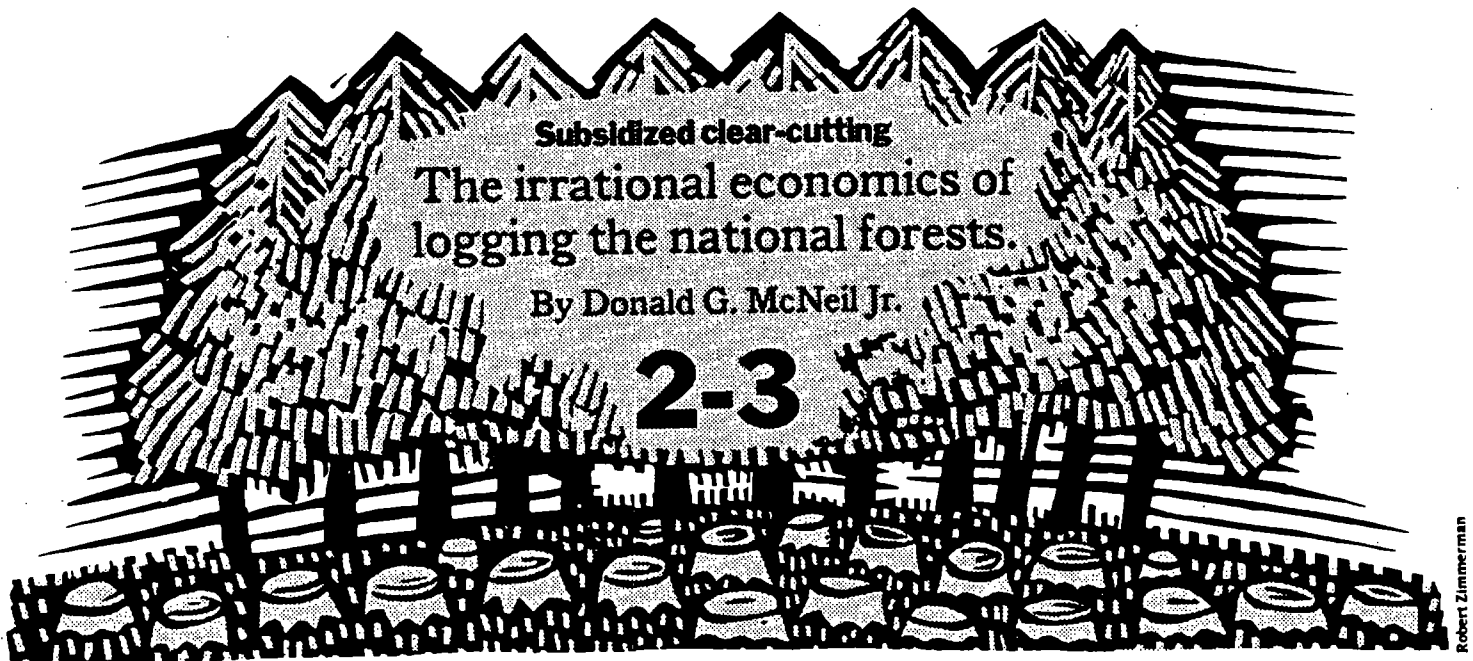
Kerr: The Agriculture Com-

mittee bill saves about one-third of the old-growth forests, the Interior Committee saves about two-thirds. They aren't considering how much forest we've lost. Environmentalists want to save three-thirds of the old growth that's left; that's the last 8% to 10% of the virgin forests left in the Northwest, or about 1% left in the country.

The New York Times

Copyright © 1991 The New York Times

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1991



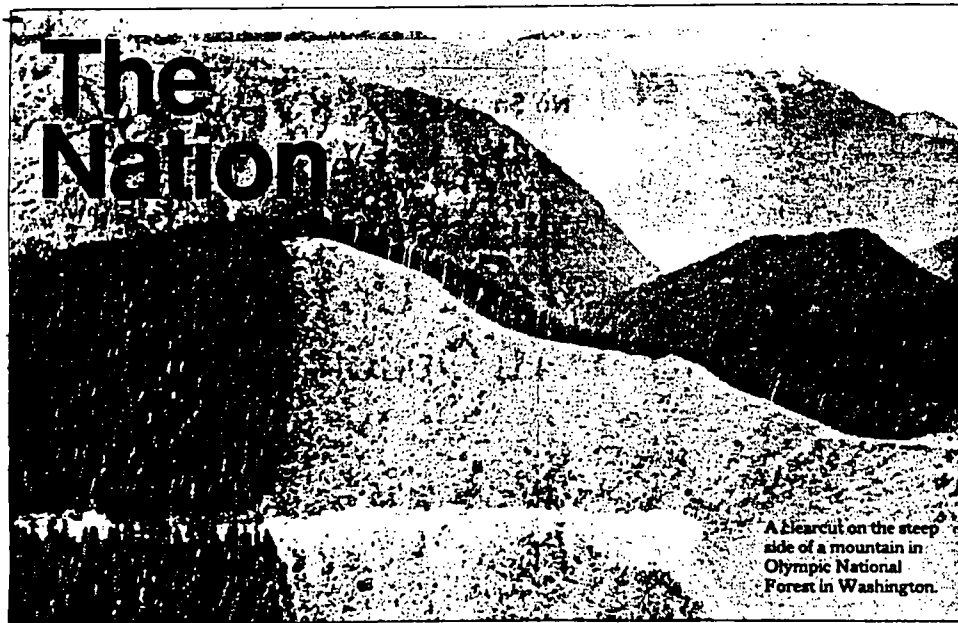
COURTESY OF:

The Native Forest Council
P.O. Box 2171
Eugene, Oregon 97402
(503) 688-2600



Recycled Paper

The Withering Woods



A clearcut on the steep side of a mountain in Olympic National Forest in Washington.

Stephen Perry/Gamma-Liaison

How Most of the Public Forests Are Sold to Loggers at a Loss

Millions of the nation's trees are cut each year, but the Forest Service says 65 of the 122 national forests lose money selling timber. Other economists say government accounting is so logger-friendly that 100 forests lose money. Congress may ban below-cost sales. An overview:

By Donald G. McNeil Jr.

In 1905 Gifford Pinchot, America's first national forester, assured Congress that if it would place the national forest reserves under his direction in the Department of Agriculture he would have them running at a profit within five years. He went so far as to say that he would not even need the \$1 million a year he was given for research and promotion.

The National Forest Service has never made good on Mr. Pinchot's promise. Last year, Congress gave it \$550 million to pay for growing and selling timber. F. Dale Robertson, the present chief, reported that its "net revenues" from timber sales for 1990 were \$629 million.

But a growing chorus of tree-smart economists are challenging timber policy, not on environmental grounds but as business propositions. They are producing cash-flow analyses that conclude that the Treasury is losing up to \$1 million a year on timber and, by conventional business wisdom, ought to stop.

Congress held hearings last week on a bill introduced by Representative Jim Jontz, an Indiana Democrat, that would phase out all money-losing sales over five years and aid towns whose sawmills were forced to close.

But the question remains: why sell the national forests at all? There is no timber shortage. There are more trees in the United States than there were in 1920.

Three historic changes are responsible. Oil and gas heat replaced fireplaces and stoves that used to burn 400 cubic feet of wood per American per year. Cars, trucks and tractors replaced the nation's 50 million horses and the one-third of all agricultural lands that fed them. Advances in seeds and fertilizers mean the nation's crops are being grown on about 400 million acres, the same amount under cultivation in 1920. On the rest, trees grew again.

The national forests have no lock on the timber market. About 72 percent of United States timberland is privately owned.

Trees, like most other crops, grow best on land that is warm, wet and flat. Most Forest Service land, by contrast, is mountainous, dry and cold, the land neither homesteaders nor railroads wanted. It is nearly as impractical to farm timber there as it would be to farm

tomatoes. Trees grow slowly, roads are expensive, fires are hard to fight and small towns may lose their watersheds or tourist trade when the forests are logged.

But publicly owned trees are cut because the Forest Service sells them so cheaply that loggers would be foolish to say no. It builds roads, pays rangers, absorbs the risks of fires and insects, then sells at a loss. Historically, the Forest Service has set minimum bids without figuring in its own costs — a normal part of a business's profit calculation. When loggers compete, their bids are often twice the minimums, suggesting that the many one-bid sales are underpriced.

There are 122 national forests, and the Forest Service admits that 65 lost money on timber in 1990. Economists for Congress, the Wilderness

A road with a 25-year life is amortized over 1,800 years.

Society and Cascade Holistic Economic Consultants calculate instead that between 98 and 108 lost money. All but one of the money-makers are in the Northwest; the exception is the Allegheny in Pennsylvania, which is full of valuable black cherry used in furniture.

Robert E. Wolf, a forester and retired Congressional Research Service economist, contends that the Treasury has lost \$5.6 billion on national forest trees over the last decade.

Critics like Mr. Wolf say Forest Service accounting conceals costs several ways:

While dirt and gravel logging roads normally last about 25 years, the Service amortizes them with "cut rotation per forest" formulas that spread the cost over at least 100 years. In the Chugach Forest in Alaska, they were spread out over 1,800 years. "It's as if the current Italian Government was still paying for the

Apian Way," said Steve Richardson, a staff member for Representative Mike Synar, an Oklahoma Democrat whose committee commissioned Mr. Wolf's study.

In profit-per-forest breakdowns, \$110 million for the 4,000 people in the Service's Washington and regional offices is simply left out. Land surveys and road work paid for by Congress are left out, even if they are for timber. The 25 percent of sales paid in lieu of taxes to counties where the trees are logged is not counted, though any business subtracts taxes from profits.

In separate analyses of other benefits of logging, the Forest Service says 91 of its 122 forests produce "positive returns," when the value of creating wildlife habitat, pastureland, increasing water runoff and adding roads for recreation are calculated. But the critics say these analyses inflate benefits. Increased runoff, for example, is disastrous in spring floods. Clearcut patches of mountain are not easily reached by grazing cattle. Benefits to wildlife are negated if some species disappear or if new roads into deep woods invite poachers in.

"They make the savings and loan business look like an angel," said Mr. Wolf. "If a private business did this, they wouldn't just end up bankrupt — they'd end up in court."

Another quirk in Forest Service budgeting is a provision that lets regional administrators sell timber for cash to manage forests with. This has led to contradictions like timber cuts in grizzly bear habitat and Indian archaeological sites to pay for saving similar sites.

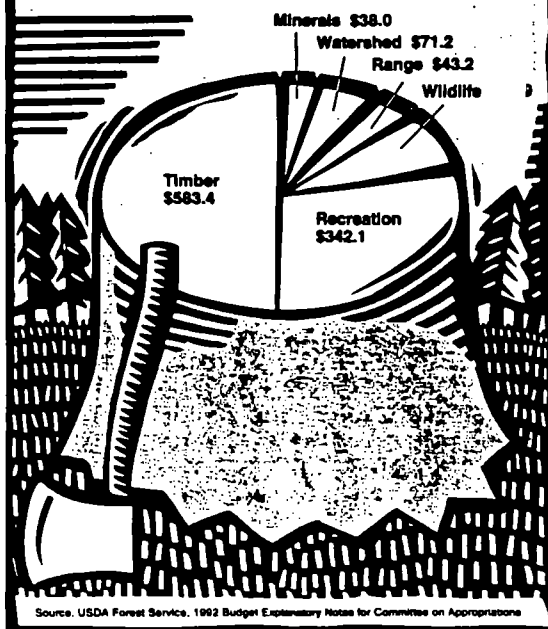
The Forest Service has argued that thousands of jobs will be lost if below-cost sales are stopped. There is no doubt that whole communities have come to depend on those sales. The number of jobs is disputed; but environmentalists reply that the demand for wood is steady, so new jobs are appearing on private lands.

In any case, timber jobs are falling on their own. New mills use fewer workers, logs exported are jobs lost. Over 200 sawmills in the Northwest closed in the 1980's. In Oregon, the number of loggers and sawmill workers dropped from 42,000 in 1979 to 33,000 last year, but the state's economy added 100,000 jobs.

Economists differ on solutions. Some would ban money-losing sales. Some would use them only to save jobs. Others say forests could make up the loss with fees for hiking, hunting and fishing. The Forest Service has said it does not want new laws banning sales, but says it will modify parts of its accounting

Tax money for timber sales

The 1992 Federal budget includes \$1.17 billion to finance the various uses of the national forests. As the chart shows, the largest amount is spent making timber available for logging. The Forest Service also raises money by selling timber and by charging fees for cattle grazing, mining and camping. Figures are in millions of dollars.



Source: USDA Forest Service, 1992 Budget Explanatory Notes for Committee on Appropriations

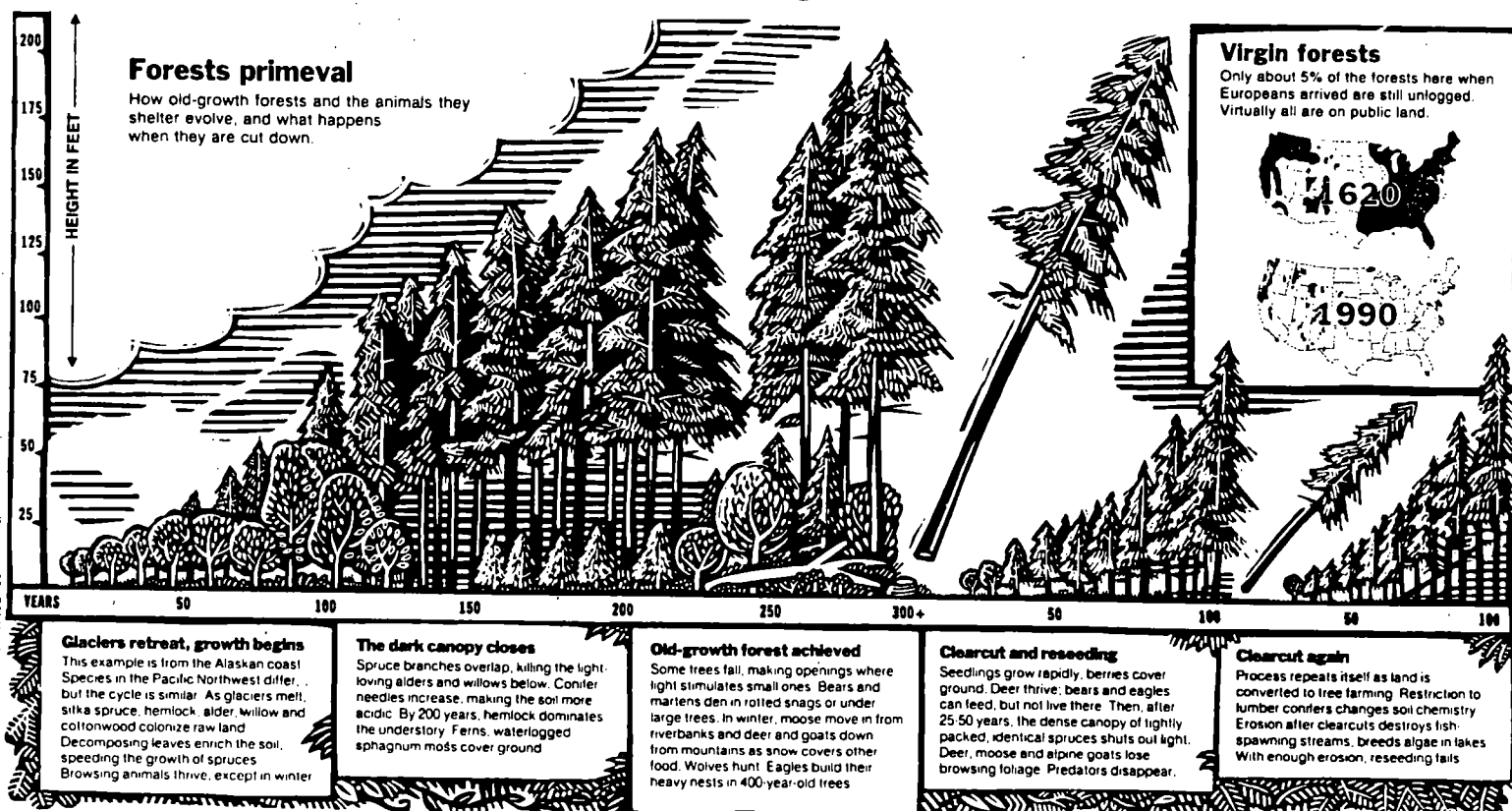
But do the sales make money?

Profit or loss on timber in 1990, as the Forest Service adds it up, and as Cascade Holistic Economic Consultants of Oak Grove, Ore., does. Other forest economists produce similar analyses.

Forest Service calculation		Cascade consultants' calculation
\$1,375,470,386	Revenues	\$358,945,200
	Cascade excludes cash value of timber given to loggers in exchange for building roads and cash kept by the Forest Service for reforestation.	
163,050,585	Administration costs	163,050,585
1,759,480	Depreciation	1,759,480
406,470,225	Sale costs	240,784,110
	Cascade adds forest-surveying costs attributed to logging; excludes reforestation and other sales costs paid out of receipts.	
50,690,749	Road costs	161,661,368
	Forest Service amortizes roads over 100 or more years. Cascade counts actual timber road construction and maintenance costs for 1990.	
13,432,794	Management costs	78,300,469
	Forest Service amortizes timber management costs like reforestation, and thinning over long periods.	
0	Payments to counties	327,264,072
	The Forest Service pays 25% of every sale to the local county in lieu of property taxes.	
110,339,325	Washington and regional offices	107,020,527
	Substantially the same. But when the Forest Service calculates profitability per forest, it excludes this cost entirely.	
\$629,727,247	Net revenue	-\$118,895,390

Illustration by Robert Zinn

The Withering Woods



Why Let Chainsaws Pare the Old Forests at All?

Virtually all the national forests that make money are the Northwest's stands of thick-waisted giants. But they are also a national treasure that cannot be replaced by just planting seedlings for future harvests.

NOT counting Alaska, only about 5 percent of the virgin American forests that existed when the first iron axes arrived on Lief Ericson's ships still stand. Many of the last ancient trees have been spared only by a celebrated diversion, the Fish and Wildlife Service's decision in 1990 to protect a little bird called the northern spotted owl.

That ruling infuriates Washington and Oregon loggers whose jobs are threatened — the bodies of spotted owls have been found nailed to road signs. But like the snail darter in Tennessee and the delta smelt in California, the last 3,000 pairs of owls were fading bit players in world ecology until they became the symbol of their habitat and the legal tripwire for rescuing it. They can only survive in the mix of 300- to 1,000-year-old trees, fallen logs, dead snags, new seedlings and rich forest floor that characterizes old-growth forest.

Some feel that relying on cute or exotic animals to save the day obscures the huge environmental and economic stakes involved in the old-growth battles. The real issue, environmentalists say, is that an irreplaceable treasure is being sawn down for the short-term gain of timber companies and the politicians who support them in the name of saving jobs, and that thinly disguised Government subsidies to the timber industry are encouraging this.

"We're trying to avoid this 'endangered species of the month' parade — we can't expect the Endangered Species Act to carry all the weight," said Representative Jim Jontz, an Indiana Democrat who has introduced bills to ban selling Federal timber below cost and to protect old forests. "We need an 'endangered ecosystems' approach."

Ancient forests were cut in the 1980's at the rate of 70,000 acres a year. They cannot be recreated simply by replanting and waiting.

Harvesting now commonly means clearcutting patches of 40 to 640 acres, burning the cut limbs and debris and reseeded. This practice eliminates decaying trees, a fertilizer source. Unshaded soil heats up, killing microbes that help new trees take root. Replanting with rows of prime lumber conifers then produces not a replacement forest but a mere tree farm, which supports few species. One hard storm can wash off generations of topsoil, wiping out seedlings, smothering fish eggs in spawning streams and making the water too shallow and warm for the 20-pound trout of the Northwest.

Almost all the old-growth forests that remain are in the hands of the Forest Service, the Federal Bureau of Land Management, the states of Washington and Oregon or small timber lot owners.

It is these forests that produce the highest profits for timber companies. Lodgepole pine in the dry eastern Rockies may sell for \$25 per 1,000 board feet, but Japanese buyers are paying nearly \$750 for the same amount of Douglas fir from the rainy Cascades if it's fine enough for the exposed-beam construction of traditional houses. Largely for that reason, a quarter of the logs cut in the Pacific Northwest are exported.

The Beauty of the Wood

The price difference is in the wood's strength and beauty. The grain of thick old trees is knot-free and as compelling to stare at as fire is. The beams made from spruces, ponderosa and sugar pines, and silver and Douglas firs will dry without warping and carry heavy loads. But exporting raw logs from Federal land is illegal, and there are many domestic buyers. Sika spruces become guitars. Rot-resistant redwoods become decks and picnic tables. Incense cedars, whose small repels moths, become closet lining, fenceposts and pencils. Seven-foot-thick red cedars are split into shingles.

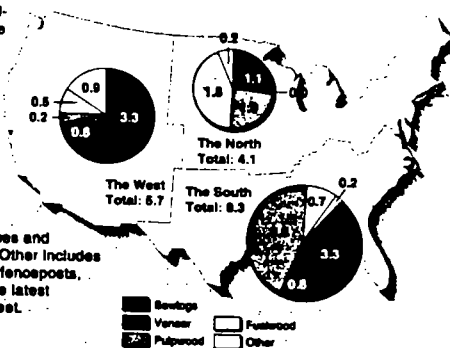
For decades, timber companies fought to keep the public trees from being cut because it depressed the price of their own timberland. But by the late 1980's, the companies had cut virtually all their old growth, and regional Forest Service administrators now say that timber state Congressmen are pressing them to sell trees faster than the public lands can sustain.

The companies argue that people want high-quality lumber, and remind environmentalists that the national forests were set aside, like Europe's, to be harvested regularly. Some timbermen refer to the old forests as

The forest product mix, by region

The wood-products industry is shifting to the tree farms and third-growth forest of the South. But the best lumbers — redwoods, firs, spruces and some pines — are in the Pacific Northwest. Sawlogs include building lumber and products like window frames. Veneers are layers peeled from logs; fine ones cover furniture and paneling, others are glued into plywood. Pulp becomes paper, cellophane and rayon; chips go into strand and particle board. Fuelwood is burned in homes and by some Northeast power plants. Other includes raw log exports, telephone poles, fenceposts, shingles, etc. Figures for 1986, the latest available, are in billions of cubic feet.

Source: U.S. Forest Service



overmature thickets where fine trees are allowed to rot and jobs could be created instead.

Another push to cut has come from Wall Street. Corporate raiders spotted undervalued forests acquired in railroad-building days. The Maxxam Group of Houston, for example, bought the Pacific Lumber Company of California and logged its redwoods to pay off the debt.

But the most economically irrational attack on ancient forests is not in the Northwest, but in Alaska. There, environmentalists say, despite the Tongass Timber Reform Act of 1990, two mills owned by the Louisiana-Pacific Corporation and a Japanese consortium are paying as little as \$3 for 500-year-old sika spruces — a wood so light and strong that Howard Hughes used it in his gigantic Spruce Goose airplane — and grinding them into pulp, something that can be made from any ten-inch

tree farm specimen. The Forest Service is losing 75 to 95 cents on every dollar it spends for forest upkeep.

Meanwhile, Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan Jr. is planning to convene the "God Squad," a panel of Federal officials empowered to grant exemptions to the Endangered Species Act and to ask it to allow 44 sales of old-growth Oregon timber halted by the spotted owl ruling.

But companies, fearing that the future will get bleaker, are aggressively developing wood substitutes. Oriented-strand board, a new plywood, can be made by fusing glue-covered strips of sawmill waste or trees like aspen. More walls are being built of thin steel 2-by-4s, not pine ones. And companies are even importing the Japanese technology that helps foreign sawmills pay so much more for exported American old-growth — thin, laser-guided saw blades that get more planks from a log.

1991 Edition Five dollars

Forbes

Under the U.S. Forest Service, Washington is managing the national forests in ways that are both economically and environmentally unsound.

Spare that tree!

By John Baden

Bureaucratic
paradise
Clear-cutting
in the Olympic
National Forest.
■■■■■

COURTESY OF:

The Native Forest Council
P.O. Box 2171
Eugene, Oregon 97402
(503) 688-2600



Recycled Paper

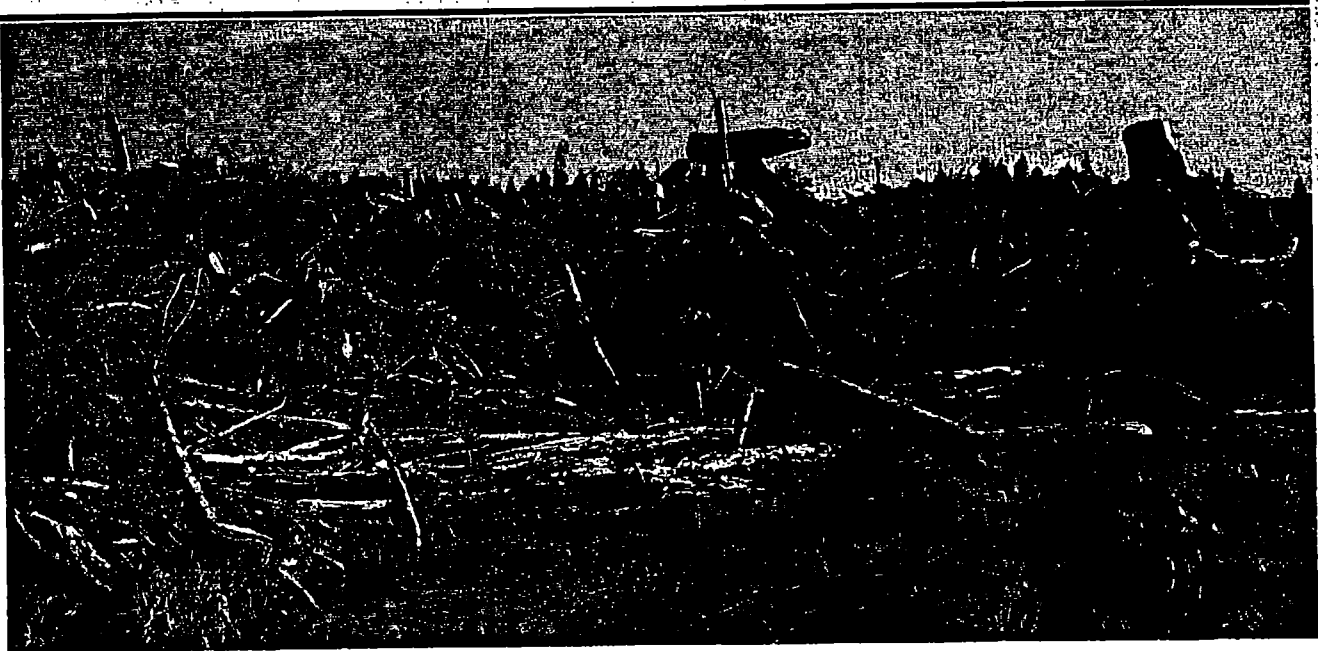
Under the U.S. Forest Service, Washington is managing the national forests in ways that are both economically and environmentally unsound.

Spare that tree!

Bureaucratic
paradise
**Clear-cutting
in the Olympic
National Forest**

By John Baden

Owens Corning Fibers



THIS YEAR is the centennial of the National Forest System. Its custodian, the U.S. Forest Service, manages 191 million acres of national forest and rangeland. That's equal to Texas and Louisiana combined.

When founded, the Forest Service was intended to be a model of good government in the old progressive model of benevolent despotism—rule by the enlightened according to scientific principles. It would be pleasant to report that the experiment has been a success. It hasn't been. It has turned out just about like any other organization where decisions are made by bureaucratic entrepreneurs. Socialism by any other name is still socialism and it still doesn't work.

Yet this is big business. Under the Forest Service's control are marketable assets estimated to be worth over

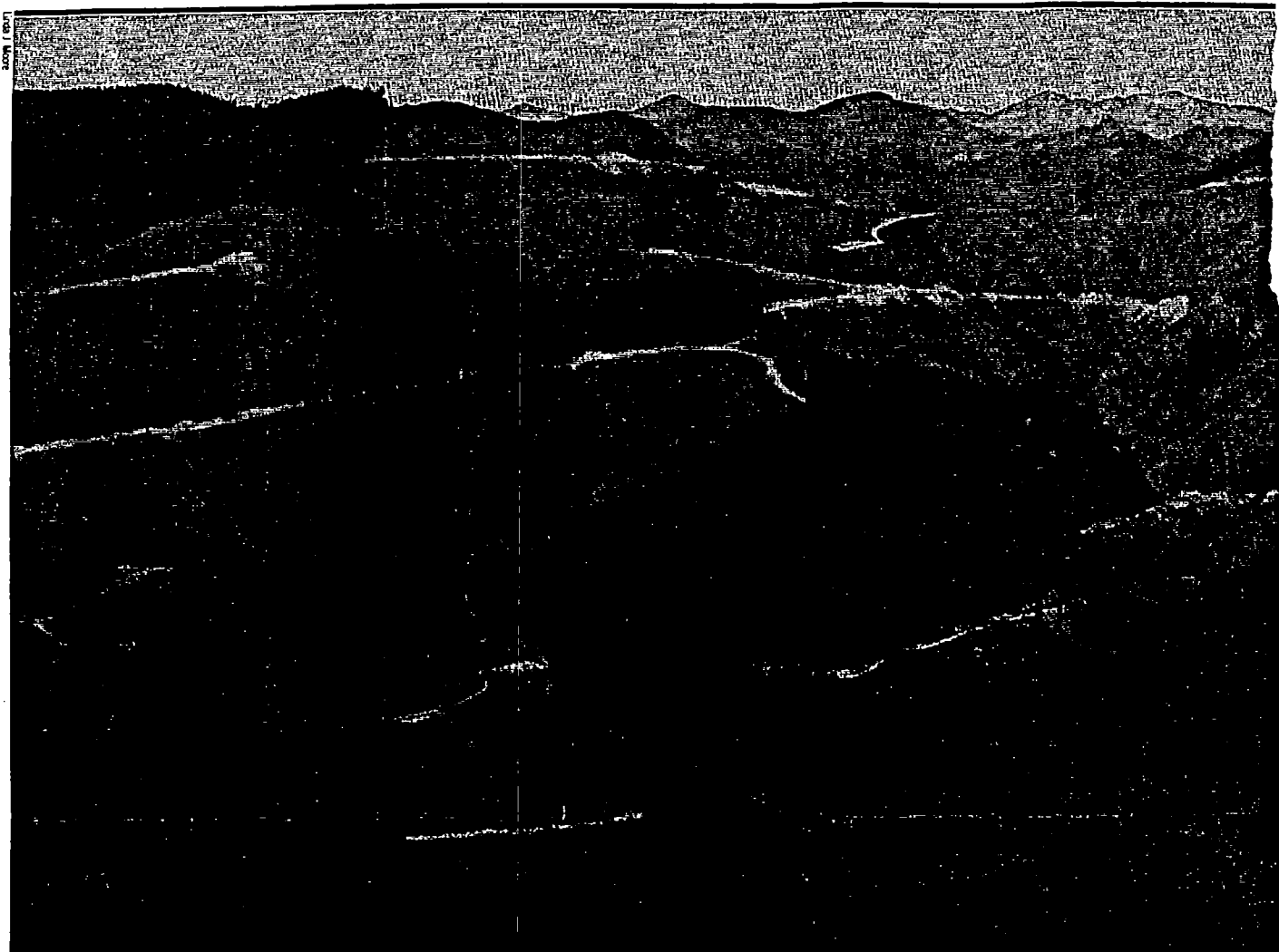
\$50 billion, and its revenues from timber sales last year were some \$1.4 billion. Profits? According to Oak Grove, Ore.'s well-known forest economist Randal O'Toole, money-losing timber sales cost U.S. taxpayers nearly \$400 million last year alone.

What's wrong? Why can't the taxpayer at least break even on a resource of this quality? The problem is that, outside of the Pacific Northwest and the Deep South, most of the national forests are poorly suited for timber harvesting. Forest Service timber sales in Alaska, the Rocky Mountains, the Appalachian and Ozark Mountains, the Midwest and New England often amount to far less than the cost of simply arranging the sales. Essentially, forests that are warm, wet and low subsidize those in the Rockies that are cold, dry and high.

So why log the inefficient forests? The answer makes sense only in a bureaucracy: The inefficient logging continues because the local supervisors need the money. The Forest Service's budget, \$3.6 billion last year, gets most of its money from selling timber on land it manages (over \$1.4 billion; the taxpayer kicks in \$1.7 billion). The numbers would be far different if businesslike accounting methods were used, but they are not.

Timber sales are clearly the chief source of revenues, but the way the forests are managed, there is no true cost accounting. Under a series of laws passed between 1916 and 1976, forest managers are allowed to spend a share of timber receipts on forest management; the more timber they cut, the more money they get to keep.

The most important of these laws is



the Knutson-Vandenberg Act, passed in 1930 to provide funding for reforestation. In 1976 Congress expanded the law to let managers use timber receipts on wildlife, recreation, watershed and other forest improvements.

The incentive, clearly, is to cut. A key flaw in the Knutson-Vandenberg Act is that it allows the USFS to keep a nearly unlimited percentage of gross revenues from timber sales, and does not require forest managers to return the full economic costs of timber sales to the Treasury. When the act was passed, the cost to taxpayers of arranging these sales averaged 50 cents per thousand board feet. At that time the Forest Service wrote rules requiring managers to return at least that amount to the U.S. Treasury.

Since then, inflation has driven the cost of timber sales up to \$50 per thousand board feet. But Forest Service managers are still required to

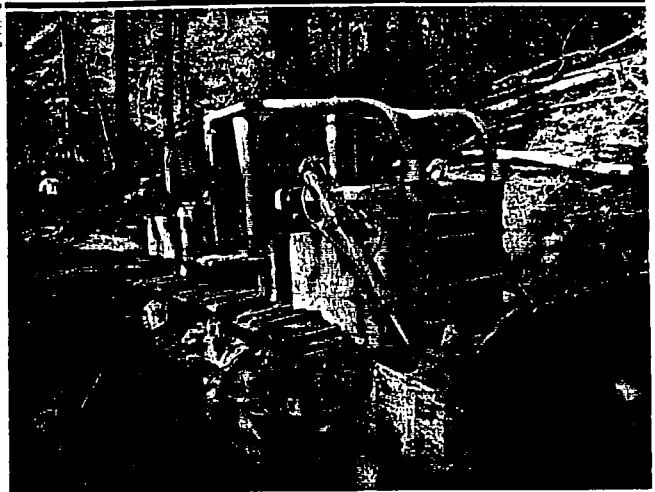
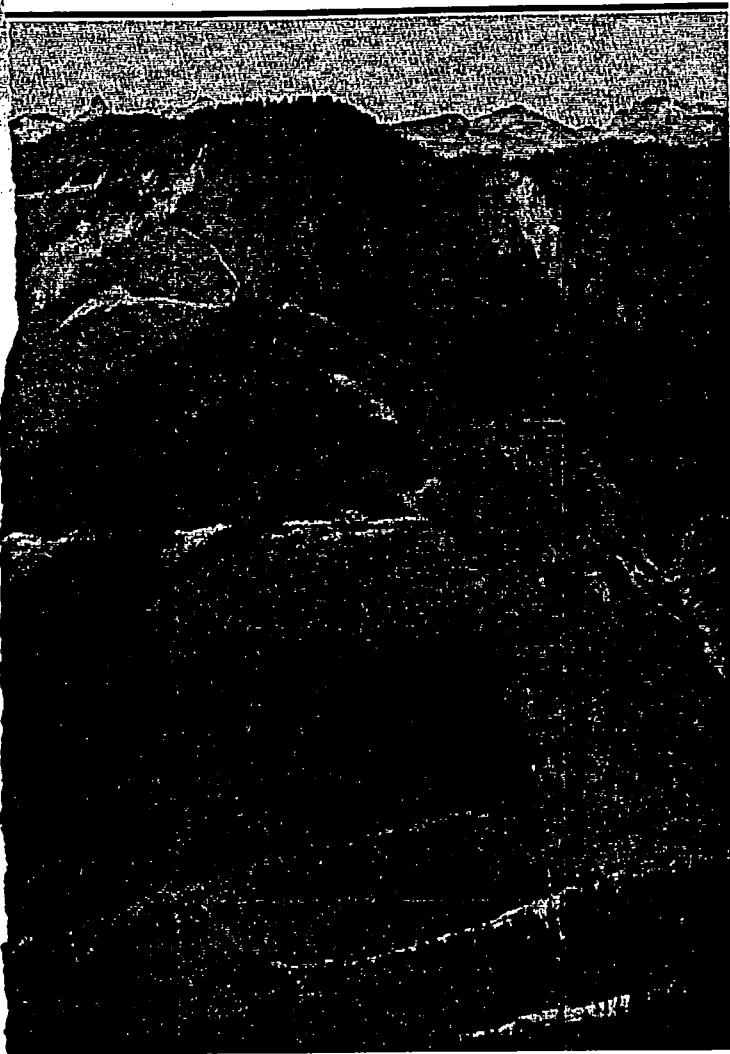
return only 50 cents per thousand to the Treasury. It's almost as if General Motors' Chevrolet division were allowed to buy cars from General Motors at 1930s prices, sell them at 1991 prices, and keep the difference.

Here's an example. In 1990 the Caribou National Forest in southeastern Idaho spent over \$300,000 arranging timber sales and over \$100,000 building roads to the timber sites—all of the money came out of taxpayers' pockets. The Caribou forest's managers collected \$814,000 from timber purchasers. But of this amount, only \$757 made it back to the U.S. Treasury; the rest was kept within the Forest Service's budget.

To open its often remote forests to logging, the Forest Service has become the world's largest socialized road-building company. Of the 47,000 full-time workers on the Forest Service payroll, fewer than half are

foresters. The second-largest professional group consists of engineers who oversee almost 342,000 miles of logging roads that the Service has pushed into some of the world's most beautiful wilderness areas. The U.S. Interstate Highway System, by contrast, is some 50,000 miles. By the year 2040 the Forest Service plans to build another 262,000 miles of new roads, and rebuild 319,000 miles of existing roads—at an estimated cost of \$15 billion in today's dollars. The total mileage would go to the moon and back and then circle the earth four times.

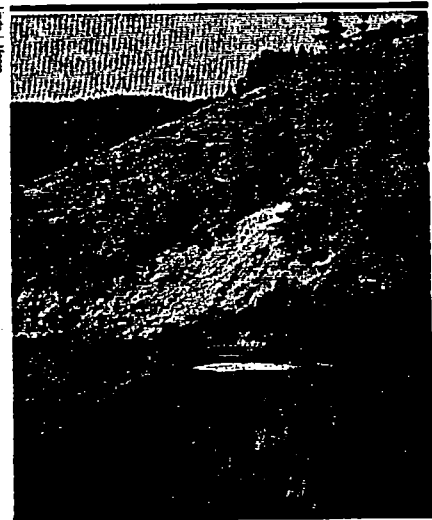
Remember: The cost of this road construction is not factored into the cost of the timber the Forest Service auctions off. In other words, the Forest Service subsidizes logging operations by providing logging companies free access, with increasingly expensive roads built on more remote and



ABOVE:
Road building in an
old-growth forest
in Oregon

LEFT:
Expensive roads,
denuded mountain-
sides in Washing-
ton State's Snoqual-
mie National Forest

RIGHT:
Snoqualmie
National Forest's
Road No. 7320
**Unaccounted
costs.**



steep mountain slopes, to reach increasingly poor-quality timber. Nor are the indirect costs of ravaging the environment included.

I have worked in the woods as both a logger and professor of forestry, and I've cut timber on road right-of-ways. It is necessary to strip a road of its trees and then remove vast quantities of earth in order to make the cuts, fills and switchbacks, and to install drainage pipes and culverts. Disturbing soil, sand and rock destroys the network of vegetation that holds the soil in place, making the area prone to erosion. Massive erosion and siltation from USFS roads adversely affect trout and salmon fisheries, farmers' and ranchers' irrigation systems and the general quality of water. Efforts to reduce erosion are often expensive.

Private firms build roads to lower standards—especially if they have to pay the full cost. To log publicly

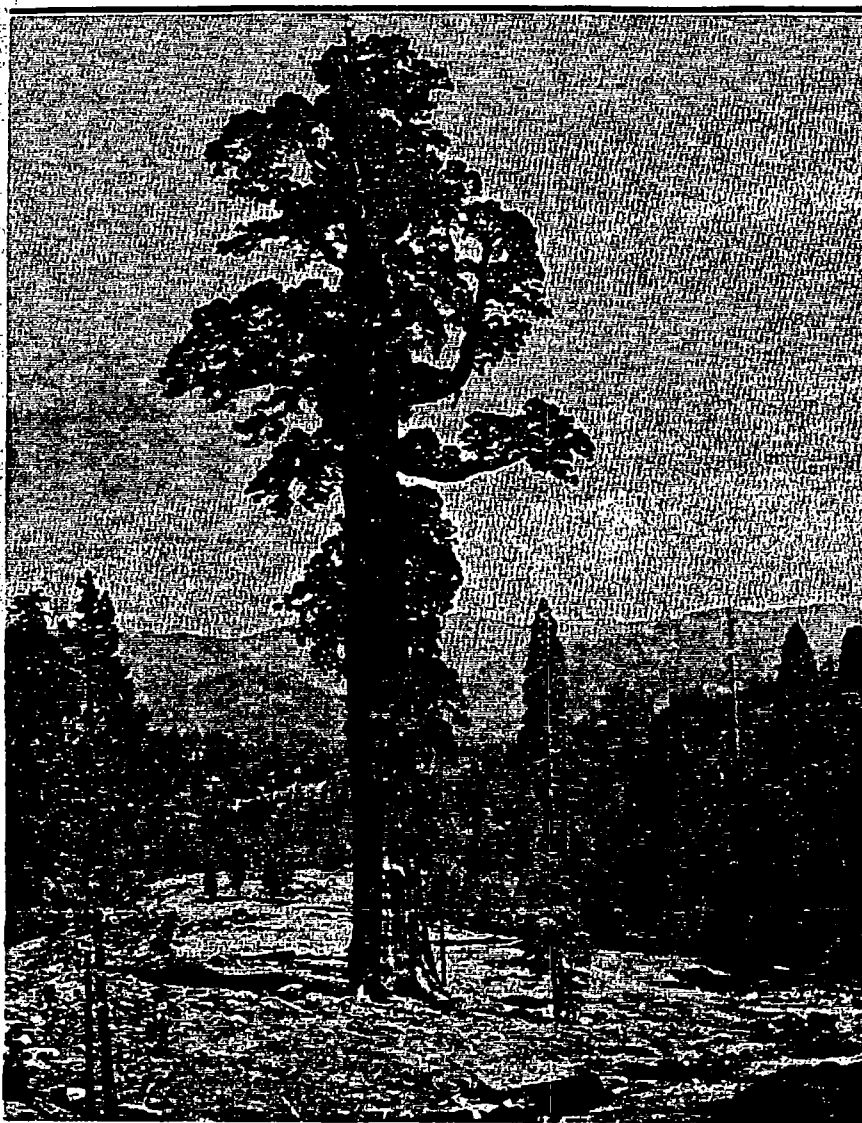
owned forests, the USFS classifies land as "commercial forest" if it produces 20 or more cubic feet of wood fiber per acre per year. The standard for private firms is typically three to five times that. As a consequence of the incentives this low standard provides, the Forest Service consistently underinvests in its most productive sites, and overinvests in moneylosing, environmentally fragile areas.

In the northern Rockies some of America's finest trout and salmon rivers have been severely damaged by more than 10 feet of siltation from Forest Service road building and logging in the mid-1960s. As the timber at lower elevations and in easily accessible valleys is harvested, the Forest Service builds its roads farther into the backcountry and on higher and steeper slopes. Generally, the steeper the slope, the greater the danger of landslides, slumps, sloughs and earth

flows from logging and road-building activities—all in the name of increasing revenues from timber sales.

This increased road access effectively displaces many wildlife species. Although the Forest Service claims to close roads except when they're used for management or logging, they usually do so by placing a green steel gate across the road. Often this is a symbolic action, offering a challenge to four-wheel drive enthusiasts and providing no significant impediment to motorcycles, snowmobiles and all-terrain vehicles.

The roads and logging activities have also displaced trails. For example, in the 1940s the U.S. National Forest had 144,000 miles of trails. Today there are only 114,000 miles. This has occurred despite the fact that the number of backpackers and other recreationists using the forests has increased from some 6 million per



The tree in the trail

The government sold timber from the heart of California's giant sequoia groves.

year to more than 200 million. Backpackers, however, contribute little to Forest Service budgets.

Little wonder it costs the Forest Service much more to harvest timber than it costs private forestry owners.

For an idea of the high cost and destructive potential of the Forest Service system, consider the decision a few years ago by California's Sequoia National Forest managers to clear-cut in its giant sequoia groves, where many trees are over 20 feet in diameter, over 200 feet tall and over 2,000 years old. To provide funds for prescribed burning, Forest Service officials decided to sell all of the timber in the heart of their sequoia groves except for the sequoia trees that were

over 8 feet in diameter. Other species of trees that mingled with the sequoia—ponderosa pine, sugar pine, incense-cedar and white fir, many of them giants in their own right—were all cut down and removed.

The USFS called this practice "sequoia grove enhancement." But according to forest ecologists, a more accurate term would be "sequoia grove destruction." A lawsuit filed by local environmentalists stopped the destruction, but not before the agency had logged several groves.

In essence, then, taxpayers are subsidizing environmentally destructive behavior that no private timber company or landowner could afford.

It is important to note that the

bureaucrats who act in this manner are neither evil nor stupid. They are simply responding to the incentives put in place for them. The political logic of below-cost timber sales is straightforward. National forests are situated in 43 states and in many congressional districts. In these districts, logging and road building directly provide jobs and income to the local communities.

To enhance its budget and its goodwill with congressmen, the Forest Service provides a timber-cutting program in virtually every national forest, regardless of efficiency considerations. Many senators and representatives find it in their interest to vote for expanding Forest Service road building, logging and timber management. Scores of communities have become dependent upon the Forest Service's subsidized logging.

The Gallatin National Forest is near Bozeman, Mont. There, recreation provides more than 16 jobs for every one job produced by the timber industry, which employs only 2% of the local work force. Yet there are plans for a massive road-building project in the Gallatin Forest to maintain 71 timber-related jobs. Little attention is given to the impact upon 1,170 workers in the recreation industry whose jobs are partially dependent upon a relatively pristine environment.

On the other hand, most recreational activities produce no budgetary reward for managers because Congress permits fee collection only for developed campgrounds.

What is to be done to stop the Forest Service's destruction of the forests? Many of America's environmentalists support a coercive, command-and-control approach to environmental management. But this is merely applying stronger doses of a medicine that clearly does not work.

There is a better way. We should auction commercially viable forests to private parties that will manage them better and will not build roads and other facilities that cannot justify their cost. The best managers of commercial timberlands are private timber companies and institutional investors with long time horizons, such as pension funds and insurance companies. Successful bidders would have to accept constraints on herbicide and pes-

Now Printed in New York



**If you like the Trib
when you're
travelling, why not
get it at home?**

Now the International Herald Tribune offers same day delivery in many U.S. cities.

For your daily international briefing - with features on travel, fashion, global investing and much, much more, call us toll free:

1-800-882-2884



**SHARE IN
THE SPIRIT OF
CHRISTMAS.**



Sharing is Caring

U.S. Forest Service

The Park Service's thickly forested Yellowstone National Park (left) abuts Forest Service-sanctioned clear-cuts in the Targhee National Forest. The shape of things to come?



icide use, restrictions on the cutting of old growth timber, recreational easements and protective buffers along watercourses.

Environmentalists often decry private timber companies as environmental plunderers. Yet as the Forest Service shows, it is the logic of bureaucracy that leads to waste and plunder. Unlike the U.S. Forest Service, private firms cannot force taxpayers to subsidize their operations. Those that lose money on timber sales will go bankrupt. The U.S. Forest Service, like any state-owned company, cannot go bankrupt.

Private companies manage their land for marketable products. If a private company owns marginal timberland that is de facto wilderness, it is normally in its interest to leave it alone, or transfer it to a conservation group such as the Nature Conservancy and take a tax deduction. Alternatively, the company may manage it for recreation; this may not be as profitable as logging, but it is more profitable than logging at a loss.

A good example of how private management can benefit wildlife and timber management involves part of the Champion International forestlands of western Washington. In the late 1970s Champion and the Washington Department of Wildlife began a cooperative management program to increase the quality of their forestlands for deer. Champion limited the size of its new clear-cuts and distributed them across the forest to maintain deer habitat potential.

Initially, the forest management activities did not produce the desired

effect. There was an explosion of the deer population, resulting in widespread damage to conifer seedlings. And because of high deer densities, the reproductive rates of does declined and survival of fawns was low.

The public blamed Champion's clear-cutting for the decline. In response to this criticism, the Washington Department of Wildlife agreed to alter the management of the deer herd on Champion lands by designing special hunting seasons to reduce the deer population. This in turn lessened the deer damage to seedlings and allowed increased fawn survival.

In 1987 Champion began a fee-access program. Hunters were charged a modest fee for the right to hunt on Champion lands. Not only was the response of hunters greater than expected, but nearly one-third of the access permits in the first two years were purchased by mushroom and berry pickers, hikers, mountain bikers, fishermen and others.

In 1988 the Champion tree farm had the highest hunter success rate of any forestlands in the state. And for Champion, the deer were converted from an impediment to forest management to an economic resource.

Environmentalists recognize the present system is unsatisfactory. Now they should make a leap of the imagination and see that management by the state is the real problem.

John Baden is chairman of the Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment and teaches business at the University of Washington. This article is adapted from his recent address to the Mont Pelerin Society.

Salmon swimming against logging tide

Former President Jimmy Carter says bill moving toward House floor must be made strong enough to ensure survival of Northwest's forests, fish.

Along with thousands of other Americans who enjoy fishing, camping and other outdoor experiences, I am deeply concerned about further threats to the Pacific Northwest from destruction of the last 10% of the region's old-growth forests. The highly publicized altercation over the endangered spotted owl is just one small part of the overall environmental crisis.

Scientists and economists now tell us that if the ancient forests are lost, there's a good chance a majority of the salmon stocks in the Pacific Northwest will disappear, too. And with them goes an important cog in the region's economy — the \$1 billion sport and commercial fishing industry providing jobs to 60,000 people. Salmon also hold a unique cultural position as a symbol of the region's wilderness character.

The loss of salmon stocks already has been devastating, and prospects for recovering the lost stocks are not

encouraging. The National Marine Fisheries Service has listed four salmon species as threatened under the Endangered Species Act. Environmental scientists are urging similar action for at least three more salmon species. Moreover, according to the American Fisheries Society, some 106 populations of West Coast salmon are extinct, and at least another 214 salmon stocks in the Pacific Northwest are at risk of extinction.

Several factors explain this decline, but perhaps the most universal and insidious is the decades of excessive logging on public lands throughout the region. Most of the spawning and



USA TODAY

By Jimmy Carter, former president of the United States.

rearing habitat for wild salmon in the Pacific Northwest is located on, or directly downstream from, national forests and other federal lands. Much of this habitat has been severely degraded by logging of old-growth forests and associated road building, which increase the amount of fine sediment in streams by as much as 1,000 times. This smothers spawning beds and severely disrupts the feeding patterns of the young salmon. Old growth is the anchor of healthy salmon streams, providing permanent sources of stability, shade and nutrients.

Now, the Bush administration wants Congress to approve a plan that would waive key federal environmental laws to allow clear-cutting on 4 million acres of ancient forest in Oregon and Washington, habitat for the owl, salmon and nearly two dozen threatened or endangered species.

Salmon would absorb some of the worst impacts. Clear-cutting includes removal of shade trees along stream banks and the loss of downed trees in streams, which provide salmon with in-stream pools and side channels used for shelter, rest and protection.

The Bush plan, if executed, would pose a serious threat to forests, fish and families that rely on the non-timber bounty of the ancient forests.

The dilemma over ancient forest protection long ago lost its two-dimensional character. What is now at stake is the survival of a total ecosystem that embodies a variety of values and benefits that typify the Pacific Northwest's unique quality of life.

The watersheds that provide habitat for salmon are also the source of clean water for hundreds of Northwest communities and thousands of businesses. They offer recreational opportunities forming the backbone of a multibillion-dollar tourism industry in the region.

Fortunately, we still have time to act to protect the ancient forests. A scientific panel chartered by Congress identified 137 watersheds in the west-side ancient forests that should be protected. The House Agriculture Committee already has approved its version of a bill to protect the Pacific Northwest ancient forests, and the House Interior Committee should issue a bill soon. Any version of the legislation put before the House should urge reduced logging and road building to protect 90 fish stocks identified as at risk of extinction in the ancient forest ecosystem. A strong bill must be passed to ensure the survival of the forests and fish.

By establishing permanent protection for the last 10% of the ancient forests, we create an opportunity to repair an ecosystem and chart a course for sustainable economic development in the region. New ways must be found to cope with the increasingly complex problems facing the ecosystems in our public lands.

Protection of the ancient forests and watersheds, and all of their jewels, such as salmon, is not a choice but an imperative.



MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1992 • USA TODAY